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UNITED STATES SENATE

COMMITTEE ON HOMELAND SECURITY AND GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

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INTERVIEW OF: :

SALLY A. PAINTER :

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Room SD-342 and via Webex  
Dirksen Senate Office Building  
Washington, D.C.  
Monday, August 31, 2020  
10:08 a.m.

INTERVIEW OF SALLY A. PAINTER

1 APPEARANCES:

2 For the Witness:

3 PETER KADZIK, ESQ.

4 JACOB TULLY, ESQ.

5 Venable LLP

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15 For Senator Johnson:

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

17 SCOTT WITTMANN, Senior Professional Staff Member, HSGAC

18 BRIAN DOWNEY, Senior Investigator, HSGAC

19 LYDIA WESTLAKE, Senior Advisor, HSGAC

20 WILLIAM SACRIPANTI, Professional Staff Member, HSGAC

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22 For Senator Grassley:

23 JOSHUA FLYNN-BROWN, Deputy Chief Investigative Counsel,

24 Finance Committee

25 QUINTON BRADY, Investigative Counsel, Finance Committee

1 APPEARANCES (Continued):

2 For Senator Peters:

3 ZACHARY SCHRAM, Minority Chief Counsel, HSGAC

4 ROY AWABDEH, Minority Senior Counsel, HSGAC

5 SOUMYALATHA DAYANANDA, Minority Senior Investigative  
6 Counsel, HSGAC

7 VALERIE SHEN, Investigative Counsel, HSGAC

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9 For Senator Wyden:

10 DAVID BERICK, Minority Chief Investigator, Finance  
11 Committee

12 DAN GOSHORN, Minority Senior Counsel, Finance Committee

13 JOSH HEATH, Minority Investigator, Finance Committee

14 MICHAEL OSBORN-GROSSO, Minority Investigator, Finance  
15 Committee

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1 MAJORITY EXHIBITS MARKED

2 1) Blue Star Strategies Consulting Services Agreement

3 2) Email, Fried to Painter, 4/21/14

4 3) Politico article, 1/11/17

5 4) Email, Redacted to Ippolito, 5/20/14

6 5) Letter, Tramontano to Johnson and Grassley

7 6) Email, Jolevski to Gonya, 12/11/15

8 7) Biden's speech to the Rada in Kyiv, 12/9/15

9 8) Email, Tramontano to Jolevski, 2/18/16

10 9) Day Planner, 3/8/16

11 10) Email, Painter to Jolevski, 3/15/16

12 11) Email, Painter to Pozharskyi, 7/10/16

13 12) Email, Keeley to Tramontano, 3/21/16

14 13) Vadym Pozharskyi meeting, 3/29/16 to 4/1/16

15 14) Devon Archer meeting, 3/29/16 to 4/1/16

16 15) Email, Tramontano to Telizhenko, Painter, 3/22/16

17 16) Email, Painter to Fried, 6/10/16

18 17) Email, Painter to Fried, 6/13/16

19 18) Day planner, 6/22/16

20 19) Email, Redacted to Painter, 6/27/16

21 20) Email, Fried to Painter, 9/6/16

22 21) Email, Fried to Painter, 9/8/16

23 22) Text messages between Painter and Telizhenko

24 23) Email, Tramontano to Pozharskyi, 7/27/19

25 24) Email, Jolevski to Burisma, 1/16/18

1 MINORITY EXHIBITS

MARKED

2 A) Photograph, Andrii Telizhenko and Senator Johnson

3 B) Letter, Grassley and Johnson to Barr, 9/27/19

4 C) Letter, Johnson and Grassley to Ferriero, 11/21/19

5 D) Letter, Johnson and Grassley to Tramontano, 12/3/19

6 E) Press Release from Johnson, 12/6/19

7 F) Letter, Johnson to Peters, 2/24/20

8 G) Dear Colleagues Letter from Johnson, 3/1/20

9 H) Excerpt from Senate Intelligence Committee report

10 I) Page 20 from Senate Intelligence Committee report

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

2 MR. FOLIO: Good morning, everyone. This is a  
3 transcribed interview of Ms. Sally Painter conducted by the  
4 Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental  
5 Affairs and the Senate Committee on Finance.

6 This interview was requested by Chairman Ron Johnson  
7 and Chairman Charles Grassley as part of the Committees'  
8 investigation of whether there were any actual or apparent  
9 conflicts of interest or any other wrongdoing with regard to  
10 the Obama administration's Ukraine policy or Burisma  
11 Holdings, as well as related matters.

12 On December 3, 2019, Chairmen Grassley and Johnson  
13 wrote a letter to Blue Star Strategies requesting  
14 information, and since then they have requested transcribed  
15 interviews of Ms. Sally Painter and certain categories of  
16 documents as well.

17 Ms. Painter, can you please state your full name for  
18 the record?

19 MS. PAINTER: Sally Anna Painter.

20 MR. FOLIO: My name is Joseph Folio. I'm the Chief  
21 Counsel with the Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs  
22 Committee. I'm going to introduce Chairman Johnson's staff,  
23 and then I'll ask other staff to introduce themselves.

24 Joining me from Chairman Johnson's staff is Scott  
25 Wittmann, Brian Downey, and Will Sacripanti.

1 I'll ask Chairman Grassley's staff to introduce  
2 themselves now.

3 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Good morning, Ms. Painter. My name's  
4 Josh Flynn-Brown, Deputy Chief Investigative Counsel for  
5 Chairman Grassley. I'm joined today by my colleague Quinton  
6 Brady. Thank you for your time.

7 MR. FOLIO: And now I'll ask Ranking Member Peters'  
8 staff to introduce themselves.

9 MR. SCHRAM: Good morning. My name is Zack Schram,  
10 Chief Counsel with Ranking Member Peters. Ms. Painter,  
11 thank you for your participation in today's interview. The  
12 minority's participation today is not an endorsement of the  
13 investigation. As the Ranking Members have said publicly,  
14 they believe this investigation advances a Russian  
15 disinformation campaign and is intended to interfere in our  
16 2020 election.

17 We are now 64 days away from the election. Just a few  
18 weeks ago, on August 7th, the Director of the National  
19 Counterintelligence and Security Center, William Evanina,  
20 issued an unclassified assessment of foreign election  
21 threats, stating, "Russia is using a range of measures to  
22 primarily denigrate former Vice President Biden. For  
23 example, pro-Russian Ukrainian Parliamentarian Andrii  
24 Derkach is spreading claims about corruption--including  
25 through publicizing leaked phone calls--to undermine former

1 Vice President Biden's candidacy and the Democratic Party."

2       The Chairmen's investigation has provided the Committee  
3 as a platform to amplify the Russian attack on our election  
4 described by Mr. Evanina. Chairman Johnson has repeatedly  
5 admitted that this investigation is targeted at influencing  
6 voters and hurting Vice President Biden's Presidential  
7 candidacy.

8       In March, hours after Joe Biden became the top  
9 Democratic contender, Chairman Johnson stated, "And if I  
10 were a Democrat primary voter, I'd want these questions  
11 satisfactorily answered before I cast my final vote."

12       Earlier this month, in describing the investigation,  
13 Chairman Johnson said, "I would think it would certainly  
14 help Donald Trump win reelection and certainly be pretty  
15 good, I would say, evidence about not voting for Vice  
16 President Biden."

17       I will also note we are conducting this interview  
18 remotely because we are in the midst of a pandemic that has  
19 created an extraordinary public health crisis in the United  
20 States. Since this investigation started, more than 183,000  
21 Americans have died of COVID. The Homeland Security and  
22 Governmental Affairs Committee has jurisdiction over  
23 pandemic preparedness and response, and yet this Committee  
24 has now spent roughly twice as much time on the record in  
25 this investigation than it has devoted to all of its COVID

1 hearings combined.

2 As Chairman Johnson told a radio host on August 12th,  
3 "Whether I'm in D.C. or not, I'm working on this almost  
4 nonstop. Okay? So is my staff."

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

13 I am joined by my colleagues Soumya Dayananda, Roy  
14 Awabdeh, and Valerie Shen.

15 MR. FOLIO: Thanks, Zack. As has been on the record  
16 with all of the prior witnesses and the public record that  
17 Chairman Johnson and the Committee have set forth, respond  
18 to all of the allegations you have made, including the focus  
19 of dozens of other staff members on the COVID crisis as well  
20 as the fact that your allegation this is somehow advancing  
21 Russian disinformation is not based in fact.

22 Ranking Member Peters?

23 MR. BERICK: I think you mean Wyden.

24 MR. FOLIO: Wyden. Sorry.

25 MR. BERICK: No problem. I'm Dave Berick. I'm the

1 Chief Investigator for the Democratic staff on the Finance  
2 Committee. We associate ourselves with colleagues in the  
3 minority HSGAC regarding the investigation. Your time is  
4 valuable, as is your counsel's, so I'm not going to spend  
5 more time on the reasons for that. I outlined them in the  
6 last interview.

7 I'm joined this morning by Dan Goshorn, Josh Heath, and  
8 Michael Osborn-Grosso, who are a part of the minority staff  
9 investigative team.

10 MR. FOLIO: Thank you, Dave.

11 Ms. Painter, I will now explain how the interview will  
12 proceed. The Federal Rules of Civil Procedure do not apply  
13 to any of the Committees' investigative activities,  
14 including transcribed interviews. The way questioning  
15 proceeds is that we will alternate between the majority and  
16 minority staffs for 1 hour each. The majority staff will  
17 begin and proceed for an hour, and then the minority staff  
18 will have an hour to ask its questions, and we will rotate  
19 back and forth until there are no more questions, and the  
20 interview will be over.

21 During the interview we will do our best to limit the  
22 number of people directing questions at you in any given  
23 hour. That said, from time to time a follow-up or  
24 clarifying question may be helpful, and if that's so, you  
25 may hear from others around the virtual table. Because we

1 are virtual, I will ask everyone to please take their time,  
2 speak clearly, to allow the opportunity for others to speak  
3 as well.

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

9 MS. PAINTER: I do.

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

13 MS. PAINTER: Virtually.

14 MR. FOLIO: And for the record, can counsel please  
15 introduce themselves?

16 MR. KADZIK: It's Peter Kadzik, K-A-D-Z-I-K.

17 MR. FOLIO: Thank you, Peter.

18 Ms. Painter, we want you to answer our questions in the  
19 most complete and truthful manner possible, so we're going  
20 to take our time. If you have nay questions or do not  
21 understand any of the questions, please let us know. We  
22 will be happy to clarify or repeat. Do you understand that?

23 MS. PAINTER: I do.

24 MR. FOLIO: It is the Committee's practice to honor  
25 valid common law privilege claims as an accommodation to a

1 witness or party when those claims are made in good faith  
2 and accompanied by sufficient explanation so the Committee  
3 can evaluate the claim. When deciding whether to honor a  
4 privilege, the Committee weighs its need for the information  
5 against any legitimate basis for withholding it.

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

10 If you need to take a break, please let us know. We  
11 ordinarily will take a 5-minute break at the end of each 1-  
12 hour session, but if you need a break before then, let us  
13 know and we will try to accommodate you.

14 Ms. Painter, you're required to answer questions before  
15 Congress truthfully. Do you understand this?

16 MS. PAINTER: I do.

17 MR. FOLIO: This also applies to questions posed by  
18 congressional staff in an interview. Specifically, 18  
19 U.S.C. Section 1001 makes it a crime to make any materially  
20 false, fictitious, or fraudulent statement or representation  
21 in the course of a congressional investigation. This  
22 statute applies to this interview. Do you understand?

23 MS. PAINTER: I do.

24 MR. FOLIO: Is there any reason that you are unable to  
25 provide us today truthful testimony?

1 MS. PAINTER: No.

2 MR. FOLIO: Finally, we ask that you not speak about  
3 what we discuss in this interview with anyone else outside  
4 of who's in the virtual room today in order to preserve the  
5 integrity of our investigation, and we also ask that you not  
6 copy or remove any exhibits from the interview. Do you  
7 understand and agree?

8 MS. PAINTER: I do.

9 MR. FOLIO: Now, Ms. Painter, do you have any questions  
10 before we begin?

11 MS. PAINTER: I do not.

12 MR. FOLIO: Ms. Painter, what is your position at Blue  
13 Star Strategies?

14 MS. PAINTER: Co-founder and COO.

15 MR. FOLIO: And when was Blue Star founded?

16 MS. PAINTER: November 2009.

17 MR. FOLIO: And for how long have you been COO?

18 MS. PAINTER: Since its founding.

19 MR. FOLIO: And as COO, what are your roles and  
20 responsibilities?

21 MS. PAINTER: I share the management roles with the  
22 CEO, managing the clients, gaining business, handling the  
23 administrative issues and human resources--basically all  
24 elements of running a company.

25 MR. FOLIO: And who's the CEO of Blue Star?

1 MS. PAINTER: Ms. Karen Tramontano.

2 MR. FOLIO: And how do you know Ms. Tramontano?

3 MS. PAINTER: I've known Karen, I've known Ms.  
4 Tramontano since 2002.

5 MR. FOLIO: And why did you all decide to start Blue  
6 Star in 2009?

7 MS. PAINTER: We decided that it was time for us to  
8 start our own firm.

9 MR. FOLIO: Ms. Painter, when did Burisma become a  
10 client of Blue Star Strategies?

11 MS. PAINTER: November 2015.

12 MR. FOLIO: And before Burisma became a Blue Star  
13 client, what did you know about Burisma?

14 MS. PAINTER: I knew about--the first time I knew  
15 anything about Burisma was in the late summer of 2015 or  
16 early fall, and I knew it was an independent energy company  
17 in Ukraine.

18 MR. FOLIO: And how did you learn that?

19 MS. PAINTER: I learned that through one of the board  
20 members.

21 MR. FOLIO: And who was that?

22 MS. PAINTER: Devon Archer.

23 MR. FOLIO: And how do you know Devon Archer?

24 MS. PAINTER: Devon Archer was introduced to me by a  
25 former colleague, Eric Schwerin.

1 MR. FOLIO: And who is Eric Schwerin?

2 MS. PAINTER: Eric is a former colleague of mine from  
3 the Clinton administration.

4 MR. FOLIO: And how did you and Mr. Schwerin know each  
5 other in the Clinton administration?

6 MS. PAINTER: We both worked at the Department of  
7 Commerce.

8 MR. FOLIO: And how would you describe your  
9 relationship with Mr. Schwerin?

10 MS. PAINTER: A professional colleague.

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

13 MS. PAINTER: Mr. Archer was looking to make an  
14 investment in another country and was looking for some  
15 guidance.

16 MR. FOLIO: What country?

17 MS. PAINTER: Latvia.

18 MR. FOLIO: And what was the investment?

19 MS. PAINTER: It was a Latvian bank.

20 MR. FOLIO: Which bank?

21 MS. PAINTER: Norvik.

22 MR. FOLIO: And what kind of investment was he looking  
23 to make in Norvik Bank?

24 MS. PAINTER: A financial investment, and it was a  
25 bank. They were diversifying.

1 MR. FOLIO: So was he looking to buy stock?

2 MS. PAINTER: I don't actually know the instrument. He  
3 was definitely--he was investing, and he wanted us to do  
4 some due diligence.

5 MR. FOLIO: Was he looking to buy part of Norvik Bank's  
6 operations?

7 MS. PAINTER: My understanding is that he was making an  
8 investment in the bank.

9 MR. FOLIO: And any other details beyond that?

10 MS. PAINTER: As it relates to--could you be more  
11 specific?

12 MR. FOLIO: The nature of his investment or interest in  
13 Norvik Bank.

14 MS. PAINTER: He was interested in making an investment  
15 in the bank and had asked us to--was interested in us doing  
16 some due diligence on the bank prior to his investment.

17 MR. FOLIO: So, previously, you said he was looking for  
18 your advice. When you said "advice," were you referring to  
19 his interest in you doing due diligence in the bank before  
20 he invested?

21 MS. PAINTER: That's correct.

22 MR. FOLIO: Did you perform that due diligence for Mr.  
23 Archer?

24 MS. PAINTER: We did.

25 MR. FOLIO: And when you say "we," is that Blue Star?

1 MS. PAINTER: Blue Star Strategies.

2 MR. FOLIO: And did you provide that advice pursuant to  
3 a formal agreement with Mr. Archer?

4 MS. PAINTER: In fact, it was not an agreement with Mr.  
5 Archer. I believe it was an agreement with the bank.

6 MR. FOLIO: So you had a formal agreement with Norvik  
7 Bank?

8 MS. PAINTER: That's correct.

9 MR. FOLIO: And the purpose of that agreement was what  
10 precisely?

11 MS. PAINTER: To do the due diligence about the bank's  
12 position in Latvia, and if it--to do the due diligence on  
13 the bank.

14 MR. FOLIO: And what did you do to conduct the due  
15 diligence?

16 MS. PAINTER: We conducted interviews and did desktop  
17 research.

18 MR. FOLIO: And to whom did you present the results of  
19 your diligence?

20 MS. PAINTER: It was a combination of the chairman of  
21 the bank and Devon Archer.

22 MR. FOLIO: And was it understood in your relationship  
23 with the bank that Mr. Archer would be receiving the results  
24 of your work as well?

25 MS. PAINTER: Yes.

1 MR. FOLIO: And what was the bottom-line advice that  
2 you gave to Mr. Archer and the bank?

3 MS. PAINTER: We understood that while the bank had  
4 some technical issues, that it was a positive assessment  
5 that it--that generally it was okay.

6 MR. FOLIO: And did Mr. Archer act on your advice?

7 MS. PAINTER: I mean, we may have been a part of what  
8 he--his decision process.

9 MR. FOLIO: Did Mr. Archer make the investment in  
10 Norvik Bank?

11 MS. PAINTER: He did.

12 MR. FOLIO: And when exactly did you first engage with  
13 Mr. Archer on the Norvik Bank issue?

14 MS. PAINTER: I believe it was in the fall--the late  
15 summer, early fall of 2015.

16 MR. FOLIO: You said that Mr. Schwerin introduced you  
17 to Mr. Archer. At the time Mr. Schwerin introduced you to  
18 Mr. Archer, what was Mr. Schwerin's work or profession?

19 MS. PAINTER: I'm actually not sure. I believe he was  
20 a consultant.

21 MR. FOLIO: Do you know where he worked?

22 MS. PAINTER: I did not know at the time, no. At the  
23 time I did not know.

24 MR. FOLIO: Did Mr. Schwerin connect you with Mr.  
25 Archer in a professional or personal capacity?

1 MS. PAINTER: Professional.

2 MR. FOLIO: Was Mr. Schwerin an attorney?

3 MS. PAINTER: I do not know.

4 MR. FOLIO: When did you learn about Burisma?

5 MS. PAINTER: Early fall of 2015.

6 MR. FOLIO: And how did that conversation start?

7 MS. PAINTER: Devon Archer, Mr. Archer, had suggested  
8 that he was on the board of an energy company, and that he  
9 would like for me or Blue Star to potentially talk to them  
10 about working together.

11 MR. FOLIO: So was he asking you to explore this  
12 business opportunity in his position as a board member of  
13 Burisma?

14 MS. PAINTER: He never qualified the reason that he--or  
15 the rationale. He told--he said he was on the board, and he  
16 thought that we could be helpful to Burisma.

17 MR. FOLIO: So when Mr. Archer raised the issue of  
18 Burisma, just to orient us, was that after the Norvik Bank  
19 work that you had performed for him?

20 MS. PAINTER: Yeah. I don't recall--I don't recall if  
21 it was concurrent or after.

22 MR. FOLIO: They were around the same time?

23 MS. PAINTER: Norvik came first and then Burisma.

24 MR. FOLIO: When did you learn that Devon Archer served  
25 on the board of Burisma?

1 MS. PAINTER: I believe I learned--I believe his  
2 introduction to me was that he was on the board of this  
3 independent energy company.

4 MR. FOLIO: Did you know any other board members of  
5 Burisma at that time?

6 MS. PAINTER: I didn't know who the board was when he  
7 introduced me.

8 MR. FOLIO: In the course of your conversations with  
9 Mr. Archer about Burisma, did he identify any other board  
10 members to you?

11 MS. PAINTER: The board member he focused on was former  
12 president of Poland, Aleksander Kwasniewski, because I had  
13 worked on NATO issues with the former president, and he  
14 thought I probably knew who he was.

15 MR. FOLIO: Other than his focus on the former  
16 president of Poland, did he talk about any other board  
17 members?

18 MS. PAINTER: I don't recall.

19 MR. FOLIO: Did he ever talk to you about Hunter  
20 Biden's position on the board of Burisma?

21 MS. PAINTER: I eventually learned who all the board  
22 members were, of which Hunter Biden was one of those.

23 MR. FOLIO: When did you learn that Hunter Biden was on  
24 the board of Burisma?

25 MS. PAINTER: I don't remember specifically.

1 MR. FOLIO: Was it before Burisma became a client of  
2 Blue Star's?

3 MS. PAINTER: I learned who all the board members were  
4 before we engaged with Burisma.

5 MR. FOLIO: Can you please describe the process once  
6 Mr. Archer raised the idea of Burisma becoming a client, the  
7 process that Blue Star went through to determine whether or  
8 not it would engage Burisma as a client?

9 MS. PAINTER: We conducted desktop due diligence to  
10 learn more about the company.

11 MR. FOLIO: And what does that mean?

12 MS. PAINTER: Publicly available sources. We did the  
13 research and did an evaluation.

14 MR. FOLIO: Did Mr. Archer provide you with any  
15 specific reasons why he thought Burisma might be interested  
16 in hiring a firm like yours?

17 MS. PAINTER: Mr. Archer did not detail the activities.  
18 That was later when we began engagement, the courtship with-  
19 -or the engagement with a representative of Burisma.

20 MR. FOLIO: So I'm just curious. Is it a position that  
21 firm like Burisma should just have a consulting firm on  
22 contract, or was there any specific reason why Mr. Archer  
23 thought that it would make sense for you to speak with  
24 Burisma and consider them as a client?

25 MS. PAINTER: Are you asking me what Mr. Archer

1 thought?

2 MR. FOLIO: No. I'm asking you what your understanding  
3 was of why Mr. Archer wanted to connect you with Burisma.

4 MS. PAINTER: Mr. Archer suggested that we could be  
5 helpful to Burisma.

6 MR. FOLIO: And why did he think you could be helpful  
7 to Burisma?

8 MS. PAINTER: I think that's a question for Mr. Archer.

9 MR. FOLIO: No. I'm asking from your perspective as  
10 COO of the company. What services does Blue Star offer that  
11 Mr. Archer thought that you could provide to Burisma that  
12 would be helpful to the company?

13 MR. KADZIK: You're again asking her what Mr. Archer  
14 thought, and she can't tell you what Mr. Archer thought.

15 MR. FOLIO: No, I'm not asking her what Mr. Archer  
16 thought. I'm asking what she thought when Mr. Archer said  
17 they had some issues for which he thought Blue Star could be  
18 helpful. So I'm asking what role and responsibilities, et  
19 cetera, did Blue Star offer that you thought that you would  
20 be offering to be helpful to the company.

21 MS. PAINTER: I don't--I can't speculate on what Mr.  
22 Archer thought would be helpful.

23 MR. FOLIO: Again, just to be clear, I'm not asking  
24 what Mr. Archer thought. You said that he came to you and  
25 said they were having some issues and thought Blue Star

1 would be helpful. How could Blue Star be helpful?

2 MS. PAINTER: I think I answered that question. I  
3 can't--I don't know--he said we could be helpful, and we  
4 began some discussions. But I don't--I don't know what he--  
5 he did not articulate how he thought we could be helpful.

6 MR. FOLIO: So he said nothing other than "I think you  
7 can help them out. Please talk to them"?

8 MS. PAINTER: And he arranged a phone call, yes.

9 MR. FOLIO: A phone call with whom?

10 MS. PAINTER: Vadym Pozharskyi.

11 MR. FOLIO: And was there anything in particular that  
12 Mr. Archer identified that he thought Blue Star could help  
13 with?

14 MS. PAINTER: I think I've answered that, but I don't--  
15 but I don't recall anything else.

16 MR. FOLIO: What did Mr. Archer want you to discuss  
17 with Vadym?

18 MS. PAINTER: I don't recall the specifics. He asked  
19 us to get on to a--he set up a telephone conversation, and  
20 once Mr. Pozharskiy got on the phone, we discussed  
21 representation.

22 MR. FOLIO: And when--I'm sorry. I'm going to use his  
23 first name. Vadym. When you spoke with him on the phone  
24 and you discussed representation, did he provide to you any  
25 insight as to why Burisma might at that time have been

1 interested in hiring Blue Star?

2 MS. PAINTER: He was looking for government relations  
3 and communication support.

4 MR. FOLIO: When you say government relations,  
5 relations with which government?

6 MS. PAINTER: You know, I don't recall exactly--I don't  
7 recall exactly--it was--eventually, it was both governments,  
8 but I don't recall at that point, in our early discussions,  
9 [inaudible-audio difficulties].

10 MR. FOLIO: And by both governments, do you mean the  
11 United States and Ukraine?

12 MS. PAINTER: He was looking for government relations  
13 support in the United States and in Ukraine.

14 MR. FOLIO: And any particular issues in which he was  
15 seeking government relations support?

16 MS. PAINTER: Excuse me?

17 MR. FOLIO: Were there any specific issues on which  
18 Vadym was seeking government relations support for Burisma?

19 MS. PAINTER: It related to energy security, energy  
20 independence, and sort of general overall.

21 As the discussions developed, we learned that there had  
22 been public statements made by the U.S. ambassador to  
23 Ukraine that were negative about the company, and he was  
24 looking and the company was looking to understand why the  
25 ambassador had those--or had that impression and if, in

1 fact, that was the impression of just the ambassador or if  
2 that was the impression of the U.S. government.

3 MR. FOLIO: And who was the U.S. ambassador at that  
4 time?

5 MS. PAINTER: Ambassador Pyatt.

6 MR. FOLIO: And what statements had Ambassador Pyatt  
7 made about the company that were negative?

8 MS. PAINTER: Ambassador Pyatt had made negative  
9 comments about the company in a public speech that he had  
10 made. I believe it was in Odessa.

11 MR. FOLIO: And what were those negative comments?

12 MS. PAINTER: I don't recall the specifics, but it was  
13 negative about the company.

14 MR. FOLIO: Who is Nykola or Mykola Zlochevsky?

15 MS. PAINTER: He is the largest shareholder owner of  
16 Burisma.

17 MR. FOLIO: Did Mr. Zlochevsky have his own, for lack  
18 of a better term, legal issues at this time?

19 MS. PAINTER: I don't--I don't recall. I was working--  
20 we were talking with Burisma, and so that was the focus.

21 MR. FOLIO: I guess what I'm trying to understand is  
22 that there are allegations against the company at this time  
23 that they engaged in corrupt conduct. Are you aware of  
24 those allegations?

25 MS. PAINTER: I was aware that there were allegations,

1 yes.

2 MR. FOLIO: And at times, those allegations are leveled  
3 broadly against the company, but at other times, we've seen  
4 those allegations leveled against Mr. Zlochevsky himself.  
5 So I'm asking you if you can distinguish when you said  
6 Ambassador Pyatt made negative comments about the company.  
7 Was he making negative comments about Burisma, or was she  
8 making negative comments about Mr. Zlochevsky?

9 MS. PAINTER: It's my understanding that he was making  
10 the allegations against Burisma.

11 MR. FOLIO: And broadly, what was the nature of the  
12 allegations against the company such that they thought they  
13 needed to hire you to help them address them?

14 MS. PAINTER: I don't recall all with specificity.

15 MR. FOLIO: General is fine.

16 MS. PAINTER: There were allegations as it related to  
17 how the company operated and related to potential  
18 corruption.

19 MR. FOLIO: And when you say operated, operated in what  
20 sense?

21 MS. PAINTER: I mean, I don't have the specifics.

22 MR. FOLIO: I mean, was it--

23 MS. PAINTER: There were general--I was aware of  
24 general allegations.

25 MR. FOLIO: Was it that the company was paying bribes?

1 MS. PAINTER: It was general allegations. I don't have  
2 any specificity.

3 MR. FOLIO: Was it that the company was siphoning off  
4 gas and not accounting for it?

5 MS. PAINTER: I have general knowledge of what some of  
6 the allegations were.

7 MR. FOLIO: I assume, but correct me if I'm wrong, but  
8 wouldn't it be helpful for the company to represent Burisma,  
9 to focus in on exactly what the issues were to address them?

10 MS. PAINTER: The issue that we were asked to address  
11 was to understand the rationale behind Ambassador Pyatt's  
12 accusation or allegation and then to understand if those  
13 allegations was the position of the U.S. government.

14 MR. FOLIO: And with regard to those allegations, what  
15 did you find those allegations to be?

16 MS. PAINTER: I don't recall. I said they were general  
17 allegations, and what we were trying to--our focus was  
18 understanding where Ambassador Pyatt was. Our focus was not  
19 trying to understand lots of noise in the press or whatever.  
20 We were focused specifically on Ambassador Pyatt's view and  
21 if that view was the view of the U.S. government.

22 MR. FOLIO: And were Ambassador Pyatt's concerns  
23 related to corruption?

24 MS. PAINTER: Ambassador Pyatt made allegations about  
25 the company, yes.

1 MR. FOLIO: Allegations about corruption?

2 MS. PAINTER: General allegations, yes.

3 MR. FOLIO: Okay. Generally if the company was  
4 corrupt. That's what you're saying?

5 MS. PAINTER: I don't recall the specificity, but the  
6 general view was that Ambassador Pyatt had a negative view  
7 about Burisma, and we were trying to understand the factual  
8 basis of that and if that--those--that his position was the  
9 position not just of the ambassador but of the U.S.  
10 government.

11 MR. FOLIO: You said one of the other services that the  
12 company was interested in was communications support. What  
13 communications support was Blue Star--did Blue Star provide  
14 to Burisma?

15 MS. PAINTER: I mean, we would generally--do I--I mean--  
16 -can you give me--I don't recall any, you know, specific--we  
17 were dealing with communications generally.

18 MR. FOLIO: Communications with whom?

19 MS. PAINTER: We engaged in a variety of ways with  
20 NGOs. I mean, we were engaged on a government relations  
21 strategy of which there was some ways that we communicated  
22 to get our position across.

23 MR. FOLIO: Can you please describe some of those ways?

24 MS. PAINTER: I mean, I can't--I can't recall with  
25 specificity right now. I mean, if you give me some specific

1 questions, but generally.

2 MR. FOLIO: Sure. Press releases?

3 MS. PAINTER: We did not do press releases.

4 MR. FOLIO: Op-eds?

5 MS. PAINTER: No.

6 MR. FOLIO: Official communications with the United  
7 States government?

8 MS. PAINTER: No.

9 MR. FOLIO: Official communications with Ukrainian  
10 government?

11 MS. PAINTER: No. We did help them edit their  
12 brochures, their corporate brochures.

13 MR. FOLIO: So was this communications support at all  
14 related to the anticorruption issue we spoke a moment ago?

15 MS. PAINTER: No.

16 MR. FOLIO: So turning back to Mr. Archer, what were  
17 Mr. Archer's responsibilities as a board member of Burisma?

18 MS. PAINTER: I do not know.

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

21 MS. PAINTER: I do not know.

22 MR. FOLIO: Other than introducing you to Mr. Vadym,  
23 did Mr. Archer play any other role in the course of you  
24 deciding to represent Burisma?

25 MS. PAINTER: No.

1 MR. FOLIO: Did the board vote on whether or not to  
2 hire Blue Star to represent them?

3 MS. PAINTER: I don't know.

4 MR. FOLIO: Do you think that the decision to hire Blue  
5 Star required any action by the board?

6 MS. PAINTER: It's not--I have no idea.

7 MR. FOLIO: What were Hunter Biden's responsibilities  
8 on Burisma's board?

9 MS. PAINTER: I do not know.

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

12 MS. PAINTER: I do not know.

13 MR. FOLIO: Have you ever met Hunter Biden?

14 MS. PAINTER: Yes.

15 MR. FOLIO: When did you first meet Hunter Biden?

16 MS. PAINTER: I don't recall exactly, but it was about  
17 probably 10 years ago.

18 MR. FOLIO: Are you saying--I'm sorry--2 years before  
19 this 2015 period we're talking about or 2 years ago 2018?

20 MS. PAINTER: No. Probably--probably 10 years ago. I  
21 mean, I don't really recall. I've known--I've known him.

22 MR. FOLIO: And how do you know him?

23 MS. PAINTER: I don't recall exactly how I first met  
24 Hunter, but we served on a board together at the Truman  
25 National Security project.

1 MR. FOLIO: And other than serving on the board of the  
2 Truman project together, did you meet him in any other  
3 context, socially or professionally?

4 MS. PAINTER: Yeah. You know, I may have met him at  
5 large events. I know that at one point, he had a book  
6 signing for one of my colleagues, one of my partners, and I  
7 had--I met him at that book signing party.

8 MR. FOLIO: And who was that colleague?

9 MS. PAINTER: Gabriel Sanchez Zinny. He's no longer  
10 with the firm.

11 MR. FOLIO: Prior to fall of 2015 when Blue Star is  
12 considering taking on Burisma as a client, approximately how  
13 many times have you met with Hunter Biden?

14 MS. PAINTER: Probably over the 10 years before--well,  
15 before 2015, maybe two or three times.

16 MR. FOLIO: So as Blue Star was deciding whether it  
17 wanted to take on Burisma as a client, did you speak with  
18 any current U.S. officials about that--

19 MS. PAINTER: I did not.

20 MR. FOLIO: I'm sorry?

21 MS. PAINTER: I did not. No.

22 MR. FOLIO: Did you ever speak with Vice President  
23 Biden about Burisma, no time limitation?

24 MS. PAINTER: I never spoke to Vice President Biden  
25 about Burisma.

1 MR. FOLIO: Again, no time limitation. Did you ever  
2 speak with anyone in Vice President Biden's staff about  
3 Burisma?

4 MS. PAINTER: I did not.

5 MR. FOLIO: Michael Carpenter?

6 MS. PAINTER: I did not.

7 MR. FOLIO: Colin Kahl?

8 MS. PAINTER: I did not.

9 MR. FOLIO: And just to be clear for your "did nots,"  
10 for all of those, when we say Burisma, that's anything to do  
11 with the company, including Mr. Zlochevsky or Hunter Biden's  
12 position on the board of that company.

13 MS. PAINTER: I have no recollection of talking to the  
14 Vice President or anybody on the Vice President's staff  
15 about Burisma.

16 MR. FOLIO: Have you ever visited the Vice President's  
17 residence at the Naval Observatory?

18 MS. PAINTER: I believe I attended a--holiday parties.

19 MR. FOLIO: Is that parties, more than one total?

20 MS. PAINTER: No. I think I only attended one party.

21 MR. FOLIO: When was that?

22 MS. PAINTER: I don't recall.

23 MR. FOLIO: Do you remember when it was--the Vice  
24 President was Joe Biden?

25 MS. PAINTER: I believe--yeah, I believe so.

1 MR. FOLIO: Did you ever speak to Secretary Kerry about  
2 Burisma or related issues?

3 MS. PAINTER: I did not.

4 MR. FOLIO: So as part of the diligence process, did  
5 Blue Star have any concerns about the involvement of either  
6 the company or Mr. Zlochevsky in corruption?

7 MS. PAINTER: Because I had worked with President  
8 Kwasniewski on Poland's entry into NATO and I had great  
9 respect for him and his judgment, that gave me confidence if  
10 he was involved with the company.

11 MR. FOLIO: Just so I understand your answer, are you  
12 saying that--is that an implicit yes, you had concerns, but  
13 the former president of Poland's position, the board gave  
14 you--gave you comfort that you two could join and work for  
15 them?

16 MS. PAINTER: President Kwasniewski's role on the board  
17 gave me confidence that this was an assignment that I was  
18 comfortable with.

19 MR. FOLIO: And what were his roles and  
20 responsibilities on the board of Burisma?

21 MS. PAINTER: I don't know.

22 MR. FOLIO: So it was his mere presence on the board  
23 that gave you that level of comfort?

24 MS. PAINTER: President Kwasniewski was someone that I  
25 respected, and his being on the board gave me confidence.

1 MR. FOLIO: So either in the negotiation phases to  
2 represent Burisma or any point afterwards, was Blue Star  
3 ever asked to help convince Hunter Biden to end his  
4 relationship with Burisma?

5 MS. PAINTER: Not to my knowledge, no.

6 MR. FOLIO: And prior to the time that we're talking  
7 about now, the fall of 2015, was Blue Star ever asked to  
8 engage on the issue of Hunter Biden and his board membership  
9 on Burisma?

10 MS. PAINTER: I don't understand the question.

11 MR. FOLIO: Sure. So I think the way I phrased my last  
12 question was, during this time in the fall of 2015, when you  
13 were negotiating and deciding whether to take on Burisma as  
14 a client, from that time forward was it ever thought of, or  
15 one of the actual responsibilities of Blue Star to help  
16 convince Hunter Biden to end his relationship with Burisma?

17 MS. PAINTER: No, it was not.

18 MR. FOLIO: And even informally, whether that wasn't  
19 something Burisma was paying you to do, was that ever  
20 something anyone asked you to work on, to provide  
21 information to someone that could then be used to convince  
22 Hunter Biden to end his relationship with Burisma?

23 MS. PAINTER: Who is "someone"?

24 MR. FOLIO: Anyone.

25 MS. PAINTER: Didn't you ask--I don't understand your

1 question, please.

2 MR. FOLIO: Was it ever a goal of yours, whether  
3 formally through the contract or informally otherwise, to  
4 help convince Hunter Biden to sever his relationship with  
5 Burisma?

6 MS. PAINTER: No.

7 MR. FOLIO: As part of Blue Star's work for Burisma,  
8 did Blue Star ever review compensation paid to Burisma board  
9 members?

10 MS. PAINTER: No.

11 MR. FOLIO: Ms. Painter, I'm going to turn the  
12 questioning now over to Josh Flynn-Brown from Chairman  
13 Grassley's staff. Thank you.

14 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Good morning, Ms. Painter. Can you  
15 hear me okay?

16 MS. PAINTER: Yes.

17 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Ms. Painter, are you there?

18 MS. PAINTER: Yes.

19 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Okay. We're having a little bit of  
20 an audio issue. Bear with me.

21 Ms. Painter, you addressed this earlier in your  
22 testimony but I do want to make sure I understand it  
23 clearly. So did the U.S. Government view Burisma as a  
24 corrupt company?

25 MS. PAINTER: I do not know.

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

3 MS. PAINTER: No.

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

6 MS. PAINTER: I do not know that, no.

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

9 MS. PAINTER: I do not know that.

10 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: The question is would you agree that  
11 he has a reputation?

12 MS. PAINTER: No.

13 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Did you ever meet Mykola Zlochevsky?

14 MS. PAINTER: Yes.

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

16 MS. PAINTER: I met him at the conference in Monaco,  
17 energy conference.

18 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: And when was that conference?

19 MS. PAINTER: I believe it was in June of 2016.

20 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Do you recall who you were with when  
21 you met him?

22 MS. PAINTER: I was with Ms. Tramontano and Vadym  
23 Pozharskiy.

24 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: And what was the purpose of that  
25 meeting?

1 MS. PAINTER: It was general introductions. He did not  
2 speak English and I don't speak Ukrainian, so it was a brief  
3 introduction on the edges of the conference.

4 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: That was the only meeting you had  
5 with him?

6 MS. PAINTER: No. I saw him again at the Monaco  
7 conference in 2018.

8 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Who were you with when you met him in  
9 the 2018 meeting?

10 MS. PAINTER: The same individuals. The same  
11 individuals.

12 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: And what was the purpose of that  
13 meeting?

14 MS. PAINTER: Pleasantries again. Introductions, and  
15 it happened to be Karen's birthday, and birthday wishes.

16 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Are you aware of whether or not  
17 Zlochevsky [inaudible-audio difficulties]?

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

19 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Are you aware of reporting that while  
20 Zlochevsky was Ecology Minister he issued licenses to oil  
21 and gas companies that belonged to him?

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

23 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Regarding Zlochevsky, were you aware  
24 of any of his other companies besides Burisma?

25 MS. PAINTER: No, I am not aware of his other companies

1 other than Burisma.

2 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: I want to bring up Tab 47. Call this  
3 Exhibit 1. Ms. Painter, I'm only going to refer to the  
4 Services section, but if you'd like to review the document  
5 in full feel free to do so and let me know when you're  
6 ready.

7 [Painter Exhibit No. 1 was  
8 marked for identification.]

9 MS. PAINTER: Okay.

10 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: On page 1 of your Consulting Services  
11 Agreement it provides the services as follows. Quote,  
12 "Provide government relations assistance to the client in  
13 the United States and Ukraine." Did you provide government  
14 relations assistance in the United States?

15 MS. PAINTER: This was a general agreement. The  
16 request was that we understand if Ambassador Pyatt's public  
17 comments about Burisma were his personal view or were the--  
18 was the view of the U.S. Government. That was our initial  
19 reading of it, and that's what we spent a number of months  
20 trying to find out.

21 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: So would you characterize your  
22 efforts as government relations assistance?

23 MS. PAINTER: At this point it was exploratory. We  
24 were trying to figure out the position of Ambassador Pyatt  
25 relative to the U.S. Government.

1 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: --Ambassador Pyatt's position--

2 MS. PAINTER: I'm sorry?

3 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Once you determined Ambassador  
4 Pyatt's position, did your efforts turn into government  
5 relations assistance?

6 MS. PAINTER: No.

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

10 MS. PAINTER: Yes.

11 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Who?

12 MS. PAINTER: Well, I don't know that I can--the first  
13 meeting that we had with a government official was--I  
14 believe it was Amos Hochstein. We then met with Ambassador  
15 Pyatt.

16 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Anyone else?

17 MS. PAINTER: I believe we had a series of meetings--  
18 I'm sorry?

19 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: You cut out there. You were saying  
20 you may have had a series of meetings, and then it cut out.

21 MS. PAINTER: We had other meetings. I mean, I don't  
22 have them in front of me. If you want to ask me about  
23 specific meetings, I believe we turned over--every time we  
24 had met with U.S. Government officials, those are in your  
25 documents. I don't want to misstate something on a general-

1 -

2 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Okay. So when you met with  
3 government officials, whether physically or by email, did  
4 you provide them any written materials, documents, white  
5 papers, or other informational materials on behalf of your  
6 efforts for Burisma?

7 MS. PAINTER: I did not.

8 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Did you provide government relations  
9 assistance in Ukraine for Burisma?

10 MS. PAINTER: I met with--so ask me the question again,  
11 please.

12 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Did you provide government relations  
13 assistance in Ukraine for Burisma?

14 MS. PAINTER: We met with government officials in  
15 Ukraine, if that's what you're getting at.

16 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: But would you consider your  
17 activities in Ukraine for Burisma to be government relations  
18 assistance?

19 MS. PAINTER: I mean, we were engaging with the  
20 government, yes.

21 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Do you recall the Ukrainian  
22 government officials that you met with?

23 MS. PAINTER: In Ukraine?

24 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Yes.

25 MS. PAINTER: I believe I had participated in one

1 meeting relative to Burisma. That was with the acting  
2 General Prosecutor Sevruk.

3 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: At this point I want to turn to the  
4 second bullet in your Services section, and it says, quote,  
5 "Communicate to officials about the client's business and  
6 its economic importance to Ukraine." Did you do so?

7 MS. PAINTER: We were talking about energy independence  
8 in Ukraine, and it's the number one issue for its national  
9 security. And so we would talk to people about the  
10 importance of Ukraine's energy independence, and as an  
11 independent energy company Burisma was very important in  
12 that regard.

13 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Can you describe Burisma's economic  
14 importance to Ukraine?

15 MS. PAINTER: Well, it's one of the largest taxpayers.  
16 It's a major employer. And it also serves the national  
17 security that is allowing it be less dependent on Russia.  
18 So it's a very important security element to the country.

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

21 MS. PAINTER: I don't have--I can't comment on that.

22 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Was the Ukrainian government  
23 supported by corruption, natural gas and energy sector?

24 MS. PAINTER: I have no knowledge of that.

25 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Were you aware of whether or not the

1 Ukrainian government sought a role in the natural gas trade?

2 MS. PAINTER: I have no knowledge of that.

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

5 MS. PAINTER: I do not know.

6 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Did Burisma's economic importance or  
7 success benefit the Ukrainian government in any way?

8 MS. PAINTER: No. I have no idea.

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

12 MS. PAINTER: That's not for me to comment. I have no  
13 idea.

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

17 MS. PAINTER: Not to my knowledge.

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

20 MS. PAINTER: Not to my knowledge.

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

22 MS. PAINTER: I would not speculate on something like  
23 that.

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

1 MS. PAINTER: I have no idea.

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

3 MS. PAINTER: I would never speculate on something like  
4 that.

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

8 MS. PAINTER: I have no idea.

9 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Are you aware of whether or not  
10 Burisma and Zlochevsky took directions from any political  
11 party?

12 MS. PAINTER: I have no idea.

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

16 MS. PAINTER: No.

17 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: When meeting with U.S. Government  
18 officials, did you intend to influence U.S. policy towards  
19 Burisma?

20 MS. PAINTER: No.

21 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: So when you were meeting with  
22 Ambassador Pyatt to figure out what his position was with  
23 respect to Burisma, once you found out you did not intend to  
24 alter what he believed to be the U.S. Government's policy  
25 with respect to Burisma. Is that correct?

1 MS. PAINTER: I did not. That's correct.

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

4 MS. PAINTER: Yes.

5 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Who?

6 MS. PAINTER: We had, as a contractor, a former--a  
7 young man who had worked at the Ukrainian Embassy.

8 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Who was that?

9 MS. PAINTER: His name was Andrii Telizhenko.

10 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Did you ever employ any other former  
11 Ukrainian government officials?

12 MS. PAINTER: I did not.

13 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: I'd like to point to the third bullet  
14 in the Consulting Services Agreement. It states, quote,  
15 "Prepare brief written reports as requested by the client."  
16 Did you do so?

17 MS. PAINTER: As it turned out we really didn't do much  
18 written. It was predominantly verbal communication and  
19 debriefing.

20 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Did you ever create a lobbying plan  
21 for your Burisma work?

22 MS. PAINTER: We did not.

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

25 MS. PAINTER: We did not.

1 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Did you write any op-eds or make  
2 contact with the media on behalf of Burisma?

3 MS. PAINTER: I did not.

4 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Did anyone in your firm do so?

5 MS. PAINTER: Not to my knowledge.

6 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Did you outsource any of your work  
7 for Burisma to other companies, contractors, or individuals?

8 MS. PAINTER: Not our work.

9 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Regarding your representation of the  
10 national interest of Ukraine, what kind of work did you do  
11 for them?

12 MS. PAINTER: I--you know, I wasn't involved in that  
13 work so I don't recall.

14 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Who was?

15 MS. PAINTER: Ms. Tramontano.

16 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Do you know whether this was a  
17 nonprofit organization?

18 MS. PAINTER: I don't know. I don't recall.

19 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Do you know whether that entity  
20 served as a vehicle to enrich Ukrainian government  
21 officials?

22 MS. PAINTER: No.

23 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Do you know whether that entity  
24 served as a vehicle to enrich Ukrainian political parties?

25 MS. PAINTER: No.

1 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Are you aware of whether or not that  
2 entity and its leadership took directions from the Ukrainian  
3 government or any Ukrainian government officials?

4 MS. PAINTER: No.

5 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Are you aware of whether or not your  
6 firm engaged in any public relations activity for that  
7 entity?

8 MS. PAINTER: I don't know.

9 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Are you aware of whether or not your  
10 firm wrote any op-eds or engaged with the media on behalf of  
11 that entity?

12 MS. PAINTER: No.

13 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: At this point my line of questioning  
14 on this issue is done. I may revisit some issues, but I  
15 want to pass the microphone back to Scott. Thank you, Ms.  
16 Painter.

17 MR. WITTMANN: Hi, Ms. Tramontano. My name is Scott  
18 Wittmann. Can you hear me?

19 MS. PAINTER: I'm not Ms. Tramontano. I'm Ms. Painter.

20 MR. WITTMANN: Oh, my apologies, Ms. Painter.

21 MS. PAINTER: No worries.

22 MR. WITTMANN: You can hear me. Thank you for your  
23 time today. We just have a few minutes left before we send  
24 it over to the minority for their questions so I'll just ask  
25 you one question on one document and then we'll send it over

1 to them.

2 I'd like to introduce what we'll mark as Exhibit 2 into  
3 the record. This is Tab 30, Will.

4 [Painter Exhibit No. 2 was  
5 marked for identification.]

6 MR. WITTMANN: Ms. Painter, please let me know when you  
7 can see this on your screen.

8 MS. PAINTER: Okay. Can you scroll down, please?  
9 Okay. Keep going. Is that the end?

10 MR. WITTMANN: Yes, that is the end, and we can scroll  
11 back up so you can see that first email. On April 21, 2014,  
12 you contacted Dan Fried, and I think I'm pronouncing that  
13 correctly but let me know if I'm not, and wrote, "Please let  
14 me know a convenient time to briefly speak on Ukraine." Mr.  
15 Fried responded, "Let's talk tomorrow." Could you let us  
16 know who Mr. Fried is?

17 MS. PAINTER: That's Ambassador Daniel Fried. He was  
18 the Assistant Secretary for Europe at the Department of  
19 State.

20 MR. WITTMANN: Thank you. And what did you want to  
21 speak with Mr. Fried about, about Ukraine?

22 MS. PAINTER: I wanted to get his position on whether  
23 the U.S. Government was going to support increased financial  
24 support for the govt of Ukraine.

25 MR. WITTMANN: Did you and Mr. Fried connect?

1 MS. PAINTER: I believe we did. I can't recall  
2 specifically.

3 MR. WITTMANN: Did Ms. Tramontano join this discussion?

4 MS. PAINTER: I don't believe so. I can't recall.

5 MR. WITTMANN: If she did, would you normally debrief  
6 Ms. Tramontano about this type of a discussion?

7 MS. PAINTER: Not necessarily.

8 MR. WITTMANN: What work did Blue Star have related to  
9 Ukraine in 2014?

10 MS. PAINTER: We were working with the Atlantic Council  
11 to get support for additional aid to Ukraine. They had been  
12 invaded by the Russians, and we were trying to be  
13 supportive.

14 MR. WITTMANN: At this point in time, in April 2014,  
15 did you have any awareness of the company Burisma?

16 MS. PAINTER: I had no awareness whatsoever.

17 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. I think our time just ended.  
18 Zack, I'm happy to turn it over to you, or Ms. Painter, if  
19 you would like a break please let us know.

20 MS. PAINTER: A five-minute break would be great.

21 MR. WITTMANN: That sounds good. Zack?

22 MR. SCHRAM: Sounds good.

23 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. We'll take five and we can  
24 reconvene at 11:23.

25 MR. SCHRAM: Let's call it 11:25.

1 MR. WITTMANN: Okay.

2 [Recess.]

3 MR. SCHRAM: Let's go on the record.

4 Ms. Painter, thank you for being here this morning.

5 Thank you for your patience. Can you describe your career  
6 time prior to starting at Blue Star Strategies?

7 MS. PAINTER: Sure, thank you. I started my career at  
8 the American Association for the Advancement of Science  
9 working for the Committee on Freedom and Responsibility,  
10 working to get Soviet scientists out of prison. I did that  
11 human rights work for a number of years, and then I went and  
12 I worked at a firm that did economic analysis, portfolio  
13 analysis for the Fortune 500, helping them insulate  
14 themselves from the cyclicalities of the market.

15 I then went into the Clinton administration working for  
16 Secretary Ron Brown, the late Commerce Secretary, and worked  
17 on trade, to promote American trade abroad and  
18 internationally.

19 Then I found my real passion, which was to work on  
20 transatlantic relations, and I spent the last 25 years  
21 working to get former Soviet countries into Western  
22 institutions like NATO, EU, OECD, and have been very  
23 passionate about the transatlantic relationship, and that's  
24 really been my focus for the last 25 years.

25 MR. SCHRAM: Are there any particular achievements from

1 your work either in the Clinton administration or working on  
2 transatlantic relations that you're particularly proud of?

3 MS. PAINTER: Thank you for asking. I really believe  
4 that one of the most important things that we have done as  
5 Americans--and I was proud to be a part of it--is to get the  
6 former Soviet countries into NATO, particularly the Baltics.  
7 If we hadn't done that, it may not have been Georgia and  
8 Ukraine but Latvia or Lithuania or Estonia. So I'm very,  
9 very proud of that work and continue to devote time to  
10 ensuring that more countries can get into the Western  
11 alliance.

12 MR. SCHRAM: And what's the Global Fairness Initiative?

13 MS. PAINTER: The Global Fairness Initiative is an NGO  
14 that I sit on the board of and helped create that tries to  
15 alleviate poverty for the poorest of producers. And so we  
16 work on programming around the world with an economic base.

17 MR. SCHRAM: In the majority's first hour, they raised  
18 Andrii Telizhenko. Do you know Andrii Telizhenko?

19 MS. PAINTER: I do.

20 MR. SCHRAM: How do you know him?

21 MS. PAINTER: I met Andrii Telizhenko when he was  
22 working as a low-level junior assistant at the embassy.

23 MR. SCHRAM: And what work--

24 MS. PAINTER: The Ukrainian Embassy.

25 MR. SCHRAM: And what work did he do for Blue Star

1 Strategies?

2 MS. PAINTER: Do you mean when he was in the government  
3 or--or when do you mean?

4 MR. SCHRAM: At some point did he have a relationship  
5 with Blue Star Strategies?

6 MS. PAINTER: So, okay, yes. He was hired as a  
7 contract--subcontract employee, contractor, and he did  
8 administrative work following press and, you know, helping  
9 identify emails and such.

10 MR. SCHRAM: And at some point did that relationship  
11 end?

12 MS. PAINTER: Yes.

13 MR. SCHRAM: Why?

14 MS. PAINTER: He at one point had been heavily quoted  
15 in the press, and we as a firm do not engage with the press,  
16 and that was breaking one of our tenets, and so we had to  
17 put him on hold. And so we put him on hold for that  
18 misstep. He needed work, and he eventually came back and  
19 promised that he would not speak to the press, so we engaged  
20 him for a few more months generally, but then we decided it  
21 was best to part ways.

22 MR. SCHRAM: So when you say he promised that he would  
23 stop communicating to the press, did he keep that promise?

24 MS. PAINTER: He did not.

25 MR. SCHRAM: You said he was put on hold. Do you mean

1 that his contract was suspended?

2 MS. PAINTER: It was actually more than suspended. It  
3 was cut off. But when he came back to us and he said he  
4 would not talk to the press and that he needed the work and  
5 that he could still do the admin stuff, we put him on back  
6 for a couple more months. But he did not honor that.

7 MR. SCHRAM: Not speaking to the press, was that part  
8 of a contractual obligation with Mr. Telizhenko or just a  
9 company policy?

10 MS. PAINTER: It was a company policy.

11 MR. SCHRAM: And he gave his word that he would honor  
12 it but he didn't?

13 MS. PAINTER: He did not.

14 MR. SCHRAM: Sorry, just to clarify, he did not give  
15 his word or he did not honor the policy?

16 MS. PAINTER: He did not honor the policy.

17 MR. SCHRAM: Based on your interactions with Mr.  
18 Telizhenko, do you find him credible?

19 MS. PAINTER: I do not.

20 MR. SCHRAM: Would you care to elaborate?

21 MS. PAINTER: We'd asked him to do admin and sort of  
22 low-level administrative things, and it became increasingly  
23 clear that he may have had another agenda because he wasn't  
24 following what we were asking him to do. And he became  
25 increasingly--he had conspiracy theories that were unfounded

1 and not proven, and we like to deal in facts. And so we  
2 felt that he did not have--he was not credible. He was a  
3 young guy.

4 MR. SCHRAM: You mentioned that you judged him to have  
5 his own agenda. In your view, what was that agenda?

6 MS. PAINTER: I don't want to speculate on the agenda,  
7 but clearly the minimal tasks that we had asked him to do,  
8 he was engaging on side projects or things that we had  
9 nothing to do or no knowledge and no longer felt that he was  
10 the right fit.

11 MR. SCHRAM: Ms. Painter, are you familiar with the  
12 public reporting that Andrii Telizhenko is responsible for  
13 amplifying Russian disinformation theories that Ukraine  
14 interfered in the 2016 election?

15 MS. PAINTER: Yes.

16 MR. SCHRAM: Are you aware that last week the Senate  
17 Intelligence Committee published a bipartisan report that  
18 concluded that the narrative that Mr. Telizhenko promotes  
19 about Ukraine's 2016 election interference originated with a  
20 Russian intelligence officer, Konstantin Kilimnik?

21 MS. PAINTER: Yes.

22 MR. SCHRAM: Are you aware that after Mr. Telizhenko's  
23 Ukraine election interference became public, Chairman  
24 Johnson met with him on or about July 2019?

25 MS. PAINTER: I was not aware of that. I mean, I've

1 subsequently become aware of it, but I wasn't at the time.

2 MR. SCHRAM: Marking as Exhibit A, a photograph. Roy  
3 will put it on the screen.

4 [Painter Exhibit A was marked  
5 for identification.]

6 MR. SCHRAM: Bear with us as Roy operates it.

7 Ms. Painter, do you recognize the individuals in this  
8 photograph?

9 MS. PAINTER: I do.

10 MR. SCHRAM: Who are they?

11 MS. PAINTER: Andrii Telizhenko and Senator Johnson.

12 MR. SCHRAM: Marking as Exhibit B a September 27, 2019,  
13 letter sent from Chairman Grassley and Chairman Johnson to  
14 Attorney General Barr.

15 [Painter Exhibit B was marked  
16 for identification.]

17 MR. SCHRAM: Please take a moment to familiarize  
18 yourself with this letter if you need one.

19 MS. PAINTER: Could you please scroll down? Okay,  
20 pause. Stop.

21 MR. SCHRAM: I will ask you about the top of page 2.

22 [Pause.]

23 MS. PAINTER: Okay. You can scroll down.

24 [Pause.]

25 MS. PAINTER: Stop.

1 MR. FOLIO: Zack, this is Joe. While Ms. Painter is  
2 reading, I just wanted to make one point for the record  
3 reflected in this letter. I think you said that when  
4 Chairman Johnson met with Mr. Telizhenko in the summer of  
5 2019, he had just learned about the allegations that he made  
6 about his contact with DNC operatives. I just want to make  
7 clear it's reflected in this letter; that was made clear in  
8 a January 2017 news article that Chairman Grassley wrote  
9 about in July 2017. So that's when the allegations of his  
10 contact with the DNC operative first arose. Thanks.

11 MR. SCHRAM: I don't think that accurately  
12 characterized my question. We can let the record--

13 MR. FOLIO: I wasn't trying to characterize your  
14 question. I was just trying to be clear for the record as  
15 to when the agricultures of Mr. Telizhenko's contact with a  
16 DNC operative first arose. They were first reported in  
17 January 2017. Chairman Grassley wrote about them in July  
18 2017, and that's what's reflected in the top of this letter.  
19 Thanks.

20 MR. SCHRAM: So, Joe, my questioning had the timeline  
21 correct, but you've now had an opportunity to state your  
22 narrative during the minority's hour, and I would ask that  
23 you respect our time. There was nothing in what you said  
24 just now that was in any way inconsistent with the question  
25 I asked.

1 MR. FOLIO: Okay. Sorry if I misheard. I just wanted  
2 to make sure the record was clear.

3 MS. PAINTER: So I've read the first two paragraphs.

4 MR. SCHRAM: Ms. Painter, are you aware that on  
5 September 27, 2019, Chairman Johnson and Chairman Grassley  
6 wrote a letter to Attorney General Barr which cites a John  
7 Solomon article and quoting Andrii Telizhenko as a basis for  
8 their request?

9 MS. PAINTER: I mean, I'm vaguely aware of some of this  
10 stuff, but I didn't follow it closely.

11 MR. SCHRAM: But you can see in this letter that it  
12 includes a block quote, which is taken from a John Solomon  
13 article, and the quote is of Andrii Telizhenko.

14 MS. PAINTER: So can you just go up a little bit? So I  
15 just want to make sure I know what the quote is. So you're  
16 saying Chalupa said the DNC wanted to collect? That's the  
17 quote you're using?

18 MR. SCHRAM: Correct.

19 MS. PAINTER: You're asking about.

20 MR. SCHRAM: Just that that is a quote from Andrii  
21 Telizhenko that is offered as a basis for the request made  
22 by the Chairmen.

23 MS. PAINTER: Yes, I'm aware of it because I'm reading  
24 it right now, yes.

25 MR. SCHRAM: Marking as Exhibit C a November 21, 2019,

1 letter from Chairman Johnson and Chairman Grassley to the  
2 Archivist of the United States.

3 [Painter Exhibit C was marked  
4 for identification.]

5 MR. SCHRAM: Drawing your attention to the top of the  
6 second full paragraph, the paragraph that begins, "According  
7 to Andrii Telizhenko."

8 MS. PAINTER: Okay.

9 MR. SCHRAM: And then drawing your attention again to  
10 the second page, to the same block quote, also introduced by  
11 saying, "According to Andrii Telizhenko."

12 MS. PAINTER: Yes.

13 MR. SCHRAM: Roy, if you'll just permit Ms. Painter the  
14 opportunity to review the rest of this letter.

15 MS. PAINTER: Okay. I need to go down to White House  
16 visitor logs. Scrolling down.

17 [Pause.]

18 MS. PAINTER: Okay, stop.

19 MR. SCHRAM: Ms. Painter, as you can see, the Chairmen  
20 again included information attributed to Andrii Telizhenko  
21 as a basis for their document requests.

22 MS. PAINTER: Yes.

23 MR. SCHRAM: Twelve days later, on December 3, 2019,  
24 the Chairmen sent a letter to your firm. We'll admit that  
25 letter a Exhibit D.

1 [Painter Exhibit D was marked  
2 for identification.]

3 MR. SCHRAM: And looking at the first full paragraph,  
4 the middle of the paragraph, it begins, "Recent reports  
5 indicate that Blue Star Strategies sought to leverage Hunter  
6 Biden's membership on the board of directors for Burisma in  
7 its communications and meetings with various U.S. Government  
8 officials at the same time his father, then-Vice President  
9 Joe Biden, served as the public face of the administration's  
10 handling of the Ukraine"--pardon me, "of Ukraine."

11 MS. PAINTER: Yes.

12 MR. SCHRAM: Ms. Painter, did you or Blue Star  
13 Strategies use Hunter Biden's name as "leverage" to meet  
14 with Obama administration officials?

15 MS. PAINTER: We did not.

16 MR. SCHRAM: Do you consider Andrii Telizhenko to be a  
17 reliable source of information for document requests and  
18 information requests?

19 MS. PAINTER: I do not.

20 MR. SCHRAM: Marking as Exhibit E a December 6, 2019,  
21 press release from Chairman Johnson.

22 [Painter Exhibit E was marked  
23 for identification.]

24 MR. SCHRAM: And, Roy, if you'll please scroll down.

25 [Pause.]

1 MS. PAINTER: Okay. Okay. Stop.

2 MR. SCHRAM: So drawing your attention to the paragraph  
3 that begins "In addition" in this press release, the press  
4 release says in the second sentence: They are also seeking  
5 a similar interview with Andrii Telizhenko, a political  
6 officer within the Ukrainian embassy at the time.

7 MS. PAINTER: Okay.

8 MR. SCHRAM: So are you aware that after requesting  
9 records from your firm on December 3rd, three days later on  
10 December 6th, Chairman Johnson's staff wrote to Mr.  
11 Telizhenko to request documents and to request that Mr.  
12 Telizhenko participate in a voluntary transcribed interview,  
13 which is captured in this press release.

14 MS. PAINTER: I think I have to go down further. I  
15 mean, I read the--I read--okay. If you could keep going  
16 down. Keep going down.

17 Okay. I'm sorry. Your question?

18 MR. SCHRAM: Are you aware that Chairman Johnson  
19 requested an interview of Mr. Telizhenko and  
20 contemporaneously put a press release announcing their  
21 request of an interview Mr. Telizhenko?

22 MS. PAINTER: I became aware of it. I don't know if it  
23 was exactly that same time, but yes, I was aware of it. I  
24 became aware of it.

25 MR. SCHRAM: Ms. Painter, are you aware that Andrii

1 Telizhenko appeared on Rudy Giuliani's YouTube show "Common  
2 Sense," which aired on February 8th, 2020?

3 MS. PAINTER: I'm aware that he did a number of YouTube  
4 videos with him, with Mr. Telizhenko.

5 MR. SCHRAM: On the February 8th YouTube show, Mr.  
6 Giuliani asked Mr. Telizhenko, quote, What are they all  
7 about, Blue Star Strategies? What are they?

8 Mr. Telizhenko replied: They are the lobbying firm for  
9 Burisma Holdings. They were involved, from what I  
10 understand, from the beginning when Burisma hired Hunter  
11 Biden. They were offered a job there by Burisma themselves  
12 after they came up with an audit who at the request of Mr.  
13 Vice President Biden, they did, and came up with no evidence  
14 that the company is corrupt. And they provided this  
15 information to Mr. Biden, from what I heard personally from  
16 the owners of Blue Star, by Sally Painter, and also they  
17 provided this information to Burisma and officially got  
18 hired right afterwards.

19 Did Vice President Biden ever request you or your firm  
20 to conduct, quote, an audit of Burisma?

21 MS. PAINTER: Never.

22 MR. SCHRAM: Did you ever provide information to Vice  
23 President Biden during your representation of Burisma?

24 MS. PAINTER: Never.

25 MR. SCHRAM: Is there anything else you'd like to add

1 about the validity of the statement that Mr. Telizhenko made  
2 to Mr. Giuliani?

3 MS. PAINTER: It's totally inaccurate and fanciful and  
4 another indication that he makes things up and has another  
5 agenda--

6 MR. SCHRAM: Ms. Painter, two weeks--

7 MS. PAINTER: --about the facts.

8 MR. SCHRAM: Ms. Painter, two weeks after this  
9 interview aired, Chairman Johnson requested subpoena  
10 authorization for documents in a voluntary transcribed  
11 interview of Andrii Telizhenko. It was requested on  
12 February 24th, 2002, in a letter to Ranking Member Peters,  
13 which we're marking as Exhibit F.

14 [Painter Exhibit F was marked  
15 for identification.]

16 MS. PAINTER: Okay. Stop.

17 [Pause.]

18 MS. PAINTER: Okay. Please keep going. Stop.

19 MR. SCHRAM: Ms. Painter, I'm going to ask you about  
20 the paragraph that begins "In response," and just let me  
21 know when you're ready.

22 MS. PAINTER: Okay.

23 [Pause.]

24 MS. PAINTER: Okay. If you keep doing down to finish  
25 the paragraph. Okay.

1 MR. SCHRAM: Roy, can you just go up to the top of that  
2 paragraph, please?

3 So in the chairman's letter of February 24th, he  
4 writes: Mr. Telizhenko confirmed his intention to cooperate  
5 fully with the committee's investigation and expressed his  
6 readiness to provide any evidence in his possession. During  
7 the course of our conversations with Mr. Telizhenko, he  
8 informed us that he worked as a consultant for Blue Star,  
9 and he has responsive records from his time there,  
10 specifically records relating to the work he did at Burisma.

11 Did you consider Mr. Telizhenko to be a consultant?

12 MS. PAINTER: He was a contract--contractor for general  
13 work that Blue Star was doing in Ukraine.

14 MR. SCHRAM: Do you think conversations with Mr.  
15 Telizhenko are credible as the basis for an investigation?

16 MS. PAINTER: Definitely not.

17 MR. SCHRAM: On March 1st, Chairman Johnson sent a  
18 letter to committee members outlining the reasons for  
19 requesting subpoena authorization for Mr. Telizhenko. We'll  
20 mark that letter as Exhibit G.

21 [Painter Exhibit G was marked  
22 for identification.]

23 MS. PAINTER: Okay.

24 MR. SCHRAM: Take as much time as you want to  
25 familiarize yourself with this request. I'm going to ask

1 you about the third paragraph that Roy just scrolled past.

2 MS. PAINTER: Okay. Stop. Go up a little bit, please.

3 MR. SCHRAM: Yeah. I'm going to ask you about the  
4 paragraph that begins "Blue Star."

5 MS. PAINTER: Okay. I have it, to answer questions  
6 about that paragraph.

7 MR. SCHRAM: The last sentence of that paragraph says,  
8 As part of the Committee's ongoing investigation, it has  
9 received U.S. government records indicating that Blue Star  
10 sought to leverage Hunter Biden's role as a board member for  
11 Burisma to gain access to and potentially influence matters  
12 at the State Department.

13 Ms. Painter, did you seek to leverage Hunter Biden's  
14 role as a board member of Burisma to gain access to and  
15 potentially influence matters at the State Department?

16 MS. PAINTER: Never.

17 MR. SCHRAM: Roy, if you don't mind continuing to  
18 scroll down so Ms. Painter can review this letter.

19 MS. PAINTER: Okay. Stop.

20 [Pause.]

21 MR. SCHRAM: I will ask you a question about the last  
22 paragraph.

23 MS. PAINTER: Does it starts with "As part of this  
24 investigation"?

25 MR. SCHRAM: No.

1 MS. PAINTER: Okay. Then can you keep going, please?

2 Stop.

3 [Pause.]

4 MS. PAINTER: Okay. You can keep going. Stop.

5 [Pause.]

6 MS. PAINTER: Okay. You can keep going. Stop.

7 [Pause.]

8 MS. PAINTER: Keep going, please. Stop.

9 [Pause.]

10 MS. PAINTER: Okay.

11 MR. SCHRAM: Ms. Painter, in the last paragraph, the  
12 chairman wrote, But I do wonder why would anyone object to  
13 the committee receiving records about a Democrat lobbying  
14 firm appearing to strong-arm U.S. officials at the State  
15 Department for the benefit of a corrupt Ukrainian company?

16 Did you or your firm strong-arm State Department  
17 officials to benefit Burisma?

18 MS. PAINTER: Never.

19 MR. SCHRAM: Are you aware that on--that after  
20 bipartisan pressure from committee members concerned about a  
21 Russian disinformation effort, the chairman abruptly  
22 withdrew his subpoena authorization request for Andrii  
23 Telizhenko?

24 MS. PAINTER: Yes.

25 MR. SCHRAM: Are you aware that in a July 2020

1 interview with BuzzFeed News, Mr. Telizhenko claimed, quote,  
2 We are going to expose corruption under the Obama-Biden  
3 administration in Ukraine and promise that, quote, there's a  
4 lot of new information still to come?

5 MS. PAINTER: I was not aware of that but don't believe  
6 that there is any.

7 MR. SCHRAM: Is Mr. Telizhenko a reliable source  
8 concerning corruption in the Obama administration?

9 MS. PAINTER: I don't believe so.

10 MR. SCHRAM: Ms. Painter, Chairman Johnson sent a  
11 letter on August 10th. I won't ask you to review it. It's  
12 11 pages long. In that letter, he asks, quote, Did Burisma,  
13 its owner, or representatives receive special access to or  
14 treatment from U.S. agencies or officials because of Hunter  
15 Biden's role on the board of directors?

16 Ms. Painter, did you or your firm receive special  
17 access to U.S. government agencies or officials because of  
18 Hunter Biden's position on Burisma's board?

19 MS. PAINTER: No.

20 MR. SCHRAM: Did you or your firm receive special  
21 treatment from U.S. agencies or officials because of Hunter  
22 Biden's role on the board of directors?

23 MS. PAINTER: No.

24 MR. SCHRAM: Did you use Hunter Biden's name to secure  
25 a meeting with Ambassador Pyatt?

1 MS. PAINTER: No.

2 MR. SCHRAM: Did you use Hunter Biden's name to secure  
3 a meeting with Amos Hochstein?

4 MS. PAINTER: No.

5 MR. SCHRAM: Did you use Hunter Biden's name to secure  
6 a meeting with Ambassador Yovanovitch?

7 MS. PAINTER: No.

8 MR. SCHRAM: Did you use Hunter Biden's name to secure  
9 a meeting with any State Department official?

10 MS. PAINTER: No.

11 MR. SCHRAM: Did you use Hunter Biden's name to secure  
12 a meeting with any U.S. government official?

13 MS. PAINTER: No.

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

16 MS. PAINTER: Never.

17 MR. SCHRAM: Did you ever consult with Vice President  
18 Biden about Blue Star Strategies and its representation of  
19 Burisma?

20 MS. PAINTER: Never.

21 MR. SCHRAM: Did the Vice President ever direct any of  
22 Blue Star Strategies in its representation of Burisma?

23 MS. PAINTER: No.

24 MR. SCHRAM: Did you ever consult with Hunter Biden  
25 about Blue Star Strategies and its representation of

1 Burisma?

2 MS. PAINTER: Never.

3 MR. SCHRAM: Did Hunter Biden ever direct any of Blue  
4 Star Strategies and its representation of Burisma?

5 MS. PAINTER: No.

6 MR. SCHRAM: Did any of your meetings with any Obama  
7 administration officials on behalf of Burisma result in  
8 policy changes toward Ukraine?

9 MS. PAINTER: No.

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

12 MS. PAINTER: No.

13 MR. SCHRAM: Did Vice President change Ukraine policy  
14 because of the influence of Blue Star Strategies?

15 MS. PAINTER: No.

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

18 MS. PAINTER: No.

19 MR. SCHRAM: Did any U.S. government official change  
20 Ukraine policy because of the influence of Blue Star  
21 Strategies?

22 MS. PAINTER: No, not that I'm aware.

23 MR. SCHRAM: To your knowledge, did Vice President  
24 Biden alter Ukraine policy because of Hunter Biden's role on  
25 the board of Burisma?

1 MS. PAINTER: I have no way--no. No. No, he did not.

2 MR. SCHRAM: To your knowledge, did Vice President  
3 Biden alter our policy in Ukraine in any manner to benefit  
4 his son?

5 MS. PAINTER: Not to my knowledge.

6 MR. SCHRAM: Do you have a view of the--of who it  
7 benefits to provide these allegations a large platform?

8 MS. PAINTER: I mean, I don't believe--I mean, I can't  
9 speculate, but this is not helpful to our democracy.

10 MR. SCHRAM: You spoke about your work advancing the  
11 Western Alliance in Europe. What are the consequences of  
12 advancing a false narrative about Obama-Biden corruption in  
13 Ukraine with respect to Western interests in Europe?

14 MS. PAINTER: I think it undermines our credibility and  
15 undermines our democracy.

16 MR. SCHRAM: And what about the democracy of Ukraine?

17 MS. PAINTER: You know, I'm--I don't believe that this  
18 is a positive narrative for anybody, and I don't think it's  
19 positive for American, U.S. policy.

20 MR. SCHRAM: That's all.

21 MR. FOLIO: Hi, Ms. Painter. Joe Folio for Chairman  
22 Johnson's staff.

23 Do you need a break, or are you happy to keep going for  
24 a little while?

25 MS. PAINTER: We can go for a little bit, but maybe in

1 15 minutes or so.

2 MR. FOLIO: Okay. That sounds fair.

3 I'm sorry, Zack. I'm not sure if you could maybe let  
4 me know the chairman's February 24th letter. You all  
5 introduced that as an exhibit. I just want to make sure I  
6 am referring to it appropriately. What exhibit was that for  
7 you all?

8 MR. SCHRAM: F.

9 MR. FOLIO: Thank you.

10 Ms. Painter, the Minority staff showed you Exhibit F,  
11 which was the February 24th letter in which Chairman Johnson  
12 provide notice to the committee of his intention to subpoena  
13 Mr. Telizhenko for certain records and testimony. I just  
14 want to make sure. Was it clear to you that the sole basis  
15 of the subpoena that Chairman Johnson sought from the  
16 committee was for Mr. Telizhenko's records and his knowledge  
17 of his time working for you all, for Blue Star Strategies?

18 MS. PAINTER: Did I know that that was the basis?

19 MR. FOLIO: I just want to make sure. Was that clear  
20 to you from your review of Exhibit F with the Minority that  
21 the chairman sought to subpoena Mr. Telizhenko only for his  
22 records from the time that he worked for Blue Star  
23 Strategies?

24 MS. PAINTER: I think it speaks for itself.

25 MR. FOLIO: I agree. And do you understand that the

1 reason why Chairman Johnson sought that subpoena is because  
2 pursuant to your contract with Mr. Telizhenko, he was bound  
3 by a nondisclosure agreement? Do you understand that?

4 MS. PAINTER: I would not speculate on what he  
5 understood or didn't understand.

6 MR. FOLIO: Did your contract with Mr. Telizhenko  
7 include a nondisclosure agreement?

8 MS. PAINTER: Yes.

9 MR. FOLIO: Ms. Painter, if you thought that Mr.  
10 Telizhenko was untrustworthy or unreliable, why did you hire  
11 him back after his January hiatus?

12 MS. PAINTER: Mr. Telizhenko was--his contract was  
13 stopped because he was talking to the press. He came back  
14 to us and said he needed the work and that he would not  
15 speak to the press, and so we said if you don't speak to the  
16 press we can go back to a general assignment where he would  
17 do administrative things and following the press and  
18 translation kinds of things. And then he disregarded that.

19 MR. FOLIO: When and how?

20 MS. PAINTER: I don't recall the exact point, but it  
21 was perpetual. And so we realized that we had different  
22 agendas and we amicably ended the contract.

23 MR. FOLIO: So if it was perpetual, why didn't you just  
24 end the contract? Why did you continue it from February  
25 through May?

1 MS. PAINTER: I don't recall the exact details.

2 MR. FOLIO: Ms. Painter, was it your position at the  
3 time that you ended your contract with Mr. Telizhenko that  
4 he was untrustworthy and unreliable?

5 MS. PAINTER: You know, over time we lost faith in him  
6 and his credibility, and over time he became increasingly--  
7 he created scenarios and things that could not be  
8 corroborated, which made us uncomfortable, and that grew  
9 over time.

10 MR. FOLIO: So I want to be clear, because what the  
11 minority counsel read to you was statements that Mr.  
12 Telizhenko from, you know, the end of last year or even  
13 early this year. So you're making assessments as to Mr.  
14 Telizhenko. I just want to be clear what your thoughts were  
15 about Mr. Telizhenko at the time he worked and you continued  
16 to employ him at Blue Star. So you said he spoke to the  
17 press. What other specific reasons gave you concern with  
18 Mr. Telizhenko?

19 MS. PAINTER: I think I answered that question, that he  
20 was increasingly talking about conspiracy theories that  
21 could not be corroborated, and we became increasingly  
22 uncomfortable with his credibility, and his motives.

23 MR. FOLIO: And yet you brought in back on board to  
24 work with you for four more months.

25 MS. PAINTER: It was after that, that it further

1 deteriorated. He was good for a little bit and then he  
2 started to deteriorate again.

3 MR. FOLIO: What was the article, or the news report,  
4 that sparked the initial freeze in Mr. Taliento's employment  
5 in January of that year?

6 MS. PAINTER: The Politico article.

7 MR. FOLIO: And what was the Politico article?

8 MS. PAINTER: He was quoted as criticizing both his  
9 boss, Ambassador Chaly, and the President of Ukraine,  
10 President Poroshenko.

11 MR. FOLIO: I'm going to introduce as majority Exhibit  
12 3.

13 [Painter Exhibit No. 3 was  
14 marked for identification.]

15 MR. FOLIO: Ms. Painter, is this the Politico article  
16 to which you're referring, written by Ken Vogel and David  
17 Stern, January 11, 2017, and titled "Ukraine Efforts to  
18 Sabotage Trump Backfire"?

19 MS. PAINTER: I have to read it. I don't have it at  
20 this time. Keep going, please. Okay, stop. Okay, keep  
21 going, please. Okay, keep going. Keep going. Stop.

22 MR. FOLIO: Ms. Painter, I can help focus you a little  
23 bit, if we could scroll down to the bottom of page 6.

24 MS. PAINTER: Okay.

25 MR. FOLIO: It's the first time Mr. Taliento's name

1 comes up.

2 MS. PAINTER: Okay. Okay, starting with "but"?

3 MR. FOLIO: Correct.

4 [Pause.]

5 MS. PAINTER: Okay.

6 MR. FOLIO: So does this look like the article, Ms.

7 Painter?

8 MS. PAINTER: Yes.

9 MR. FOLIO: So I just wanted to make sure you were  
10 aware of parts of this article. So in response to questions  
11 from the minority, and I don't want to misphrase, but the  
12 short of it was that the allegations of what was broadly  
13 defined as Ukrainian interference in the election was not  
14 true. But are you aware, and maybe I'll start back on page  
15 4, Will, if you could scroll up--

16 MR. SCHRAM: Joe, that did not accurately characterize  
17 the questions.

18 MR. FOLIO: Yeah, I apologize. I'll just--

19 MR. SCHRAM: If you want to--

20 MR. FOLIO: I'll just walk through the facts here and  
21 then the record can just [inaudible-audio difficulties].

22 MR. SCHRAM: Well, I'd like for you to correct your  
23 characterization of the question. I made no assertion. I  
24 only asked questions about Mr. Taliento's credibility.

25 MR. FOLIO: So on page 4, I'll start reading with that

1 paragraph, beginning "Manafort's work."

2 MS. PAINTER: That's not on--okay.

3 MR. FOLIO: So, Ms. Painter, just going to walk--

4 MS. PAINTER: Yeah. Stop.

5 MR. FOLIO: --you through a few paragraphs, and I'm  
6 just going to show that the allegations that Mr. Telizhenko  
7 raised about his contact with the DNC operative, Alexandra  
8 Chalupa, were actually admitted to by Ms. Shulyar herself.  
9 And I'll walk you through a couple of paragraphs and then  
10 ask you a question.

11 So that paragraph begins, "Manafort's work for  
12 Yanukovych caught the attention of a veteran Democratic  
13 operative named Alexandra Chalupa, who had worked in the  
14 White House Office of Public Liaison for the Clinton  
15 administration. Chalupa went on to work as a staffer, then  
16 as a consultant for the Democratic National Committee. The  
17 DNC paid her \$412,000 from 2004 to June 2016, according to  
18 the Federal Election Commission records."

19 Will, if you could please scroll down to page 5, the  
20 paragraph beginning "She said." Thank you.

21 "She"--Ms. Chalupa--"said that she shared her concern  
22 with Ukraine's Ambassador to the U.S., Valeriy Chaly, and  
23 one of his top aides, Oksana Shulyar, during a March 2016  
24 meeting at the Ukrainian Embassy. According to someone  
25 briefed on the meeting, Chaly said that Manafort was very

1 much on his radar and that he wasn't particularly concerned  
2 about the operative's ties to Trump since he didn't believe  
3 Trump stood much of a chance of winning the GOP nomination,  
4 let alone the presidency."

5       And moving to the second sentence of that next  
6 paragraph, "That all started to change just four days after  
7 Chalupa's meeting at the Embassy when it was reported that  
8 Trump had, in fact, hired Manafort, suggesting that Chalupa  
9 may have been onto something. She quickly found herself in  
10 high demand. The day after Manafort's hiring was revealed,  
11 she briefed the DNC's communications staff on Manafort,  
12 Trump, and their ties to Russia, according to an operative  
13 familiar with the situation. A former DNC staffer described  
14 the exchange as an 'informal conversation' saying briefing  
15 makes it sound way too formal, and adding, 'We're not  
16 directing or driving her work.' Yet the former DNC staffer  
17 and the operative familiar with the situation agreed, with  
18 the DNC's encouragement, Chalupa asked Embassy staff to try  
19 and arrange an interview in which Poroshenko might discuss  
20 Manafort's ties to Yanukovich."

21       Moving to the next paragraph, "Officials at the  
22 Ukrainian Embassy there became helpful in Chalupa's efforts,  
23 she said, explaining that she traded information and leads  
24 with them. 'If I asked a question, they would provide  
25 guidance, or if there was someone I needed to follow up

1 with.' But she stressed, 'There were no documents given,  
2 nothing like that.'"

3 So to be clear this is Ms. Chalupa herself, and a  
4 former employee of the DNC, admitting that she was knocking  
5 on the Embassy door of Ukraine asking for assistance at the  
6 time that Mr. Telizhenko was working there. Were you aware  
7 that these are admitted facts, Ms. Painter?

8 MR. SCHRAM: Joe, I think that you omitted the word  
9 "reportedly." This is not a court of law that these facts  
10 were admitted, which you've just described. I think you  
11 have to put the word "reportedly" into your question.

12 MR. FOLIO: I don't think--Ms. Painter were you aware  
13 of these facts that Ms. Chalupa was quoted as admitting to  
14 this conduct in the article that you reviewed in January of  
15 2017?

16 MS. PAINTER: All I know is what I read in the article,  
17 but I know nothing about the underlying facts.

18 MR. FOLIO: Okay.

19 MR. WITTMANN: Hi, Ms. Painter. I think earlier you  
20 said that you could go on for another 15 or so and then take  
21 a break. I think we're at that 15 mark, 15-minute mark.  
22 Would you like a break?

23 MS. PAINTER: No, that's fine. We can go on. If you  
24 would like to ask me some questions and maybe after that.

25 MR. WITTMANN: Sure. We're going to move on to the

1 next exhibit that we'll enter into the record as Exhibit No.  
2 4, Tab 29

3 [Painter Exhibit No. 4 was  
4 marked for identification.]

5 MR. WITTMANN: Ms. Painter, this is an email chain from  
6 May 2014. My question--and you can scroll down to the  
7 beginning of the email chain--and my question begins on--  
8 let's scroll back up a little. My question has to do with  
9 the email on Bates 9680. So we can scroll up, Ms. Painter,  
10 and just let us know.

11 MS. PAINTER: So are we starting with "Dear Dan"?

12 MR. WITTMANN: Yes.

13 MS. PAINTER: Okay. Can you go down a little bit then?  
14 Okay.

15 MR. WITTMANN: On May 15, 2014, you emailed Mr. Fried  
16 and requested to meet with him. You wrote that in addition  
17 to the topic of the meeting request you also have another  
18 project "I would like to discuss at your convenience on  
19 Ukraine." Based on the rest of the email chain, it appears  
20 that the meeting was scheduled between you and Mr. Fried on  
21 May 29, 2014. Did this meeting occur?

22 MS. PAINTER: I don't recall specifically if it was a  
23 meeting or a call, but it looks like it did, based on what  
24 the email says.

25 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. And what was the other project

1 that you wanted to discuss with Mr. Fried regarding Ukraine?

2 MS. PAINTER: I wanted to get Ambassador Fried's  
3 assessment of increased support for Ukraine, because they  
4 had been invaded and were requesting additional financial  
5 support from the U.S. Government.

6 MR. WITTMANN: And did this additional project or new  
7 project, did this have to do with a specific client?

8 MS. PAINTER: I was working in coordination with the  
9 Atlantic Council and a coalition of people, groups or  
10 whatever, mostly the Atlantic Council, to try to see what  
11 kind of support the Ukrainian government had.

12 MR. WITTMANN: We're going to move on to the next  
13 exhibit, which we'll mark as Exhibit No. 5, Tab 2, please,  
14 Will.

15 [Painter Exhibit No. 5 was  
16 marked for identification.]

17 MR. WITTMANN: Ms. Painter, this is the cover letter  
18 that Blue Star sent to the Committees in December of 2019.  
19 In this cover letter it mentions several meetings that Blue  
20 Star had regarding Burisma. Are you familiar with this  
21 cover letter?

22 MS. PAINTER: Well, I mean, I have read it, but if  
23 you're going to ask me some questions I'd like to point to  
24 where you're asking me questions.

25 MR. WITTMANN: Sure. Absolutely. The next question I

1 had is on page 2, which we can scroll to now, and just let  
2 us know when it appears on your screen.

3 MS. PAINTER: Okay. So just where do you want me to  
4 look?

5 MR. WITTMANN: Sure. Let's scroll down, please, Will,  
6 to the bottom of page 2, in the footnotes, and we're going  
7 to look at footnote number 3, please.

8 MS. PAINTER: Mm-hmm.

9 MR. WITTMANN: This footnote is in reference to a  
10 meeting on December 14, 2015, with Mr. William Laitinen, the  
11 Economic Counselor at the Embassy, the U.S. Embassy in Kiev.  
12 The cover letter noted that the meeting had not been  
13 scheduled to discuss Burisma "as we had several other  
14 corporate clients interested in Ukraine's economic  
15 situation. To be fully transparent, we disclosed that we  
16 were working with Burisma and inquired to his views of the  
17 company."

18 How did you obtain this meeting with Mr. Laitinen?

19 MS. PAINTER: Oh, you know, I don't recall  
20 specifically, but typically we would have just made an email  
21 meeting request and see if we got the meeting.

22 MR. WITTMANN: Would you email directly to Mr. Laitinen  
23 or his staff?

24 MS. PAINTER: If we did do that, you would have the  
25 documents. We would have turned those over.

1 MR. WITTMANN: If the meeting was not originally  
2 scheduled to discuss Burisma, why did you disclose that you  
3 were working--that you were also doing work on behalf of  
4 that company?

5 MS. PAINTER: I mean, it states it in the letter. We  
6 always try to be fully transparent, and we wanted to, you  
7 know, disclose that we were also working with Burisma, as we  
8 do when we are in a foreign country working on different  
9 clients. That's our typical way we operate.

10 MR. WITTMANN: We're going to move on to the next  
11 exhibit that we'll mark as Exhibit 6. Tab 3, please, Will.

12 [Painter Exhibit No. 6 was  
13 marked for identification.]

14 MR. WITTMANN: This is an email chain between Mr. Pero  
15 Jolevski--and my apologies if I'm mispronouncing that--and  
16 Mr. Stephen Gonyea. And my question has to do with the  
17 first page of the document, so we can scroll down so you can  
18 see where it begins. Oh, let's scroll down to the first  
19 page, please, Will.

20 And, Ms. Painter, please just let us know when you'd  
21 like us to scroll up.

22 MS. PAINTER: Okay. Keep scrolling up. Stop. Okay.  
23 Keep going up. Okay. Okay, I read it.

24 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. On December 11, 2015, Mr.  
25 Jolevski wrote to Mr. Gonyea, as USAID official, about

1 scheduling a meeting with Mr. Laitinen, and Pero wrote,  
2 "Chip doesn't know anything about work with Burisma and they  
3 will probably not mention anything to him about it." Mr.  
4 Gonyea responded, "This would be a very bad move to not  
5 mention this. Burisma linkages, good and bad, as you know,  
6 have been a major news story and hugely politicized issue,  
7 especially during the recent visit. It's been used in  
8 attempts to criticize U.S. policy and embarrass the  
9 ambassador. Honesty would be the best policy, seriously."  
10 Pero wrote, "I totally understand but I think we are  
11 changing strategy."

12         Why would Blue Star not want to mention their work for  
13 Burisma initially in the meeting, as they prepared for the  
14 meeting with Mr. Laitinen?

15         MS. PAINTER: Well, I just told you that we did report  
16 it, and in this memo Pero Jolevski says, "I will leave it up  
17 to them on what they will talk about the Embassy." So he  
18 doesn't even know what we're going to do. But we stated  
19 categorically that we did mention it.

20         MR. WITTMANN: Do you know why Pero was under the  
21 impression initially that you all weren't going to mention  
22 Burisma?

23         MS. PAINTER: I do not, but he was incorrect, because  
24 we did.

25         MR. WITTMANN: Okay. During this meeting with Mr.

1 Laitinen, what was his awareness of Burisma?

2 MS. PAINTER: I don't recall.

3 MR. WITTMANN: Did he have any awareness of Burisma?

4 MS. PAINTER: I don't recall.

5 MR. WITTMANN: And what about Mr. Zlochevsky? Did he  
6 have any awareness of him?

7 MS. PAINTER: We were working with Burisma, so I'm  
8 sure, but I don't recall. We only disclosed that we were  
9 working with Burisma.

10 MR. WITTMANN: Did he have any reaction to that after  
11 you disclosed it to him?

12 MS. PAINTER: I don't recall.

13 MR. WITTMANN: Around the time period that you met with  
14 Mr. Laitinen, in early December 2015, Vice President Biden  
15 had just traveled to Ukraine. Did the Vice President's  
16 recent trip come up in the conversation with Mr. Laitinen?

17 MS. PAINTER: Not that I recall.

18 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. I'm going to turn it over to my  
19 colleague, Mr. Downey. But again, Ms. Painter, please let  
20 us know if you'd like a break.

21 MS. PAINTER: A five-minute break would be great.

22 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. Do you want to reconvene at  
23 12:33?

24 MS. PAINTER: That's fine.

25 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. Great.

1 [Recess.]

2 MR. DOWNEY: It is 12:35, and we'll go back on the  
3 record. I'm Brian Downey. I'm with Chairman Johnson's  
4 office.

5 Before the break, we were in the December 2015 time  
6 period where Blue Star Strategies was in-country in Ukraine  
7 and Mr. Wittmann asked you about whether Vice President  
8 Biden's speech to the Rada that occurred in the beginning of  
9 December 2015 came up in your meetings. You said that it  
10 did not come up in your meetings, but did you review or did  
11 you listen to Vice President Biden's speech to the Rada in  
12 December of 2015?

13 [Pause.]

14 MR. DOWNEY: Were you able to hear me, Ms. Painter?

15 MS. PAINTER: I did not listen to the speech.

16 MR. DOWNEY: So during that speech, Vice President  
17 Biden said, "Senior elected officials have to remove all  
18 conflicts between their business interests and their  
19 government responsibilities. Every other democracy in the  
20 world--that system pertains."

21 Was Hunter Biden on Burisma's Board in December of  
22 2015?

23 MS. PAINTER: Yes.

24 MR. DOWNEY: Does that statement by the Vice President  
25 comport to what was happening within his own family?

1 MS. PAINTER: I'm not speculating on that.

2 MR. DOWNEY: Do you have your own opinion about the  
3 fact that Hunter Biden served on Burisma's board while his  
4 father--

5 MS. PAINTER: I have no opinion.

6 MR. DOWNEY: --Vice President Biden, was the lead  
7 official for U.S.-Ukraine policy?

8 MS. PAINTER: I have no opinion.

9 MR. DOWNEY: We'll enter into the record what will be  
10 Exhibit 7, which is 48Q, Will.

11 [Painter Exhibit No. 7 was  
12 marked for identification.]

13 MR. DOWNEY: Scroll down, please.

14 So Exhibit 7 is Vice President Biden's speech to the  
15 Rada in Kyiv, Ukraine, in December of 2015. And if you  
16 could turn to page 5, Will? A little lower, please. Thank  
17 you. Right there.

18 So, Ms. Painter, if you could turn your attention to  
19 the paragraph that starts with, "As the Prime Minister and  
20 the President heard me often say..." This is where Vice  
21 President Biden said, "Senior elected officials have to  
22 remove all conflicts between their business interests and  
23 their government responsibilities. Every other democracy in  
24 the world--that system pertains."

25 Vice President Biden goes on to say, "Oligarchs and

1 non-oligarchs must play by the same rules. They have to pay  
2 their taxes, settle their disputes in court--not by bullying  
3 judges. That's basic. That's how nations succeed in the  
4 21st century."

5 Do you have any opinion on the oligarchs and non-  
6 oligarchs part of the Vice President's speech?

7 MS. PAINTER: No.

8 MR. DOWNEY: Do you know if Burisma had been paying  
9 their taxes in Ukraine?

10 MS. PAINTER: I do not know.

11 MR. DOWNEY: Do you know if--

12 MS. PAINTER: I do know that they were large--they paid  
13 a lot of taxes, but I don't know the details.

14 MR. DOWNEY: Do you know if they were under  
15 investigation by the Prosecutor General's office in Ukraine  
16 for not paying their taxes?

17 MS. PAINTER: I do not know.

18 MR. DOWNEY: Okay. Just a minute.

19 [Pause.]

20 MR. DOWNEY: I'm going to turn it back over to Mr.  
21 Wittmann. Thank you.

22 MR. WITTMANN: Hi, Ms. Painter. Can you hear me?

23 MS. PAINTER: Yes.

24 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. We're going to go back to Exhibit  
25 No. 5. Tab 2, please, Will. This is the cover letter that

1 we spoke about a little earlier. We're going to go to page  
2 2 of that cover letter. And my question has to do with the  
3 paragraph slightly above that, Will, that starts with, "Your  
4 letter asserts," and please just let me know when that's on  
5 your screen.

6 MS. PAINTER: Okay.

7 MR. WITTMANN: Let me know when you're ready, Ms.  
8 Painter.

9 [Pause.]

10 MS. PAINTER: I've read that paragraph.

11 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. This cover letter noted that you  
12 and Ms. Tramontano met with Amos Hochstein on December 10,  
13 2015. What was discussed at that meeting?

14 MS. PAINTER: We wanted to understand what Amos  
15 Hochstein's view was of Burisma.

16 MR. WITTMANN: The cover letter stated, "The initial  
17 meeting with Mr. Hochstein was to understand his and the  
18 State Department's position regarding an independent energy  
19 company, Burisma. At that meeting we learned Mr.  
20 Hochstein's view although it was not stated to be the State  
21 Department's view."

22 What was Mr. Hochstein's view of Burisma?

23 MS. PAINTER: It was negative.

24 MR. WITTMANN: In what way was it negative?

25 MS. PAINTER: I recall that it was negative, but he did

1 not say it was the view of the State Department.

2 MR. WITTMANN: Did he tell you that this was his  
3 personal view?

4 MS. PAINTER: He presented as if it--he had a negative  
5 view, but he didn't specifically state it was the State--his  
6 personal view. When asked if it was the view of the State  
7 Department, he declined. When we asked him if Ambassador  
8 Pyatt's view was the State Department view, he suggested  
9 that we ask Ambassador Pyatt, and he did not opine on that.

10 MR. WITTMANN: Did Mr. Hochstein specify any reason for  
11 why he held the negative perspective of Burisma?

12 MS. PAINTER: He did not.

13 MR. WITTMANN: Why did you want to meet with Mr.  
14 Hochstein?

15 MS. PAINTER: He was the energy czar and worked in  
16 Ukraine, and we thought he would probably have a view, and  
17 we were trying to find out if that view was the same as  
18 Pyatt's and if that view was the same as the State  
19 Department or the U.S. Government's view.

20 MR. WITTMANN: Did you or Ms. Painter try to convince  
21 Mr. Hochstein to change his perspective on Burisma?

22 MS. PAINTER: My name is Painter. We were not trying  
23 to convince Mr. Hochstein of anything. We were trying to  
24 understand what his position was and what the State  
25 Department's position was on Burisma.

1 MR. WITTMANN: Did you discuss Mr. Zlochevsky at this  
2 meeting?

3 MS. PAINTER: Not that I recall.

4 MR. WITTMANN: Did Mr. Hochstein provide you any advice  
5 regarding Burisma?

6 MS. PAINTER: He suggested that we meet with Ambassador  
7 Pyatt to talk to him firsthand about his views.

8 MR. WITTMANN: Did you meet with Ambassador Pyatt?

9 MS. PAINTER: I think we've reported--I've reported  
10 that, yes.

11 MR. WITTMANN: Did Mr. Hochstein play any role in  
12 helping you obtain that meeting?

13 MS. PAINTER: At the meeting Mr. Hochstein offered to  
14 help us get the meeting. I don't remember if that, in fact,  
15 was helpful or not. But we eventually did get the meeting.

16 MR. WITTMANN: Why did Mr. Hochstein make that offer to  
17 you?

18 MS. PAINTER: I think that was professional courtesy.

19 MR. WITTMANN: Did he offer to help you meet with any  
20 other U.S. official?

21 MS. PAINTER: Not that I recall. He was very focused  
22 on us meeting Ambassador Pyatt and hearing from him  
23 directly.

24 MR. WITTMANN: Why do you think it was important to  
25 meet with Ambassador Pyatt?

1 MS. PAINTER: Because Ambassador Pyatt had made public-  
2 -disparaging comments publicly, and we wanted to understand  
3 if that was his personal view or if that was the view of the  
4 State Department.

5 MR. WITTMANN: At the time you met with Mr. Hochstein,  
6 was he aware of Hunter Biden's role on Burisma's board?

7 MS. PAINTER: I don't recall, but I would assume so.

8 MR. WITTMANN: Why would you assume so?

9 MS. PAINTER: Because he knew the company.

10 MR. WITTMANN: And he knew--it was your understanding  
11 that he knew the board members of the company?

12 MS. PAINTER: No, but he was the energy czar, and this  
13 was the second largest energy company in the country. So I  
14 would assume that he was aware. But I don't recall that the  
15 discussion came up.

16 MR. WITTMANN: Did you think at the time that he was  
17 aware that Mr. Archer was also on the board of Burisma?

18 MS. PAINTER: I don't recall.

19 MR. WITTMANN: One moment, please.

20 [Pause.]

21 MR. WITTMANN: I want to turn to another part of the  
22 same cover letter, Ms. Painter. It's actually in the  
23 footnote at the bottom of page 2 regarding the meeting with  
24 USAID Representative Mr. Gonyea. The cover letter noted  
25 that USAID had made a decision to decline Burisma's offer of

1 assistance during a gas shortage. What did Burisma offer  
2 USAID?

3 MS. PAINTER: What are you referencing right now?  
4 Because I don't see anything that's referencing this letter.

5 MR. WITTMANN: Sure, sure. It's the footnote number 3,  
6 and let me know if this isn't on your screen. It's the very  
7 last sentence in footnote 3.

8 MS. PAINTER: Okay. I'm sorry. What's your question?

9 MR. WITTMANN: What did Burisma offer USAID?

10 MS. PAINTER: I don't recall.

11 MR. WITTMANN: How were you made aware of USAID's  
12 decision to decline Burisma's offer of assistance?

13 MS. PAINTER: I believe that Burisma told us that they  
14 had been declined.

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

17 MS. PAINTER: My understanding is there was some  
18 relationship prior to our working with Burisma, but I don't  
19 know what it is--or what it was, really.

20 MR. WITTMANN: And how were you made aware of that?

21 MS. PAINTER: Burisma had suggested that they had a  
22 relationship and that it had ended.

23 MR. WITTMANN: And when did they make you aware of  
24 this?

25 MS. PAINTER: I don't recall, but we clearly were aware

1 of it by the time we were going to Ukraine.

2 MR. WITTMANN: So they had--just so I understand,  
3 Burisma had a previous relationship with USAID, and then  
4 that relationship ended, and then there was another offer to  
5 assist, and that assistance was declined. Is that correct?

6 MS. PAINTER: I'm not clear on whether there was a  
7 second offer.

8 MR. WITTMANN: I understand. So the reference to the  
9 decision to decline the company's assistance is a reference  
10 to assistance that Burisma once had with USAID?

11 MS. PAINTER: I don't recall.

12 MR. WITTMANN: Did Burisma offer any information to you  
13 about when they had cooperation between the company and  
14 USAID?

15 MS. PAINTER: I only know that it was--it started and  
16 ended before we met the company.

17 MR. WITTMANN: Started and ended before November 2015.  
18 Is that correct?

19 MS. PAINTER: That's correct.

20 MR. WITTMANN: How did you obtain the meeting with Mr.  
21 Gonyea?

22 MS. PAINTER: I believe we sent an email asking for a  
23 meeting, either to him or to his assistant. It's pronounced  
24 "gon-yay."

25 MR. WITTMANN: "Gon-yay." I'm sorry. Thank you.

1           What was Mr. Gonyea's awareness of Burisma?

2           MS. PAINTER: I don't recall. I mean, he knew about--  
3 he knew about the company. But I don't recall his exact  
4 knowledge. He knew--I believe he did know about the  
5 company.

6           MR. WITTMANN: Did he have awareness that USAID had  
7 declined Burisma's offer of assistance?

8           MS. PAINTER: One of the questions we asked was why did  
9 they end the relationship, and he did not provide any  
10 guidance.

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

13          MS. PAINTER: I don't recall.

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

16          MS. PAINTER: I don't recall.

17          MR. WITTMANN: I want to stay on this document but turn  
18 to the next page. So we'll scroll down to the top, at the  
19 very top, Ms. Painter, referencing the meeting with  
20 Ambassador Pyatt on December 16, 2015. Who attended this  
21 meeting?

22          MS. PAINTER: Ms. Tramontano and I attended the  
23 December 16th meeting.

24          MR. WITTMANN: And did anyone else from the embassy  
25 attend besides the ambassador?

1 MS. PAINTER: I don't recall.

2 MR. WITTMANN: And what was discussed at this meeting?

3 MS. PAINTER: We discussed a variety of issues because  
4 we had a number of clients that were active in Ukraine at  
5 the time, and then we asked Ambassador Pyatt his view on  
6 Burisma.

7 MR. WITTMANN: And did he share that view with you?

8 MS. PAINTER: We asked him the basis of this review,  
9 and he declined to comment.

10 MR. WITTMANN: He declined to comment about the basis  
11 for his view?

12 MS. PAINTER: Correct.

13 MR. WITTMANN: Did he discuss his view with you?

14 MS. PAINTER: He declined to comment.

15 MR. WITTMANN: Did you or Ms. Tramontano share your  
16 perspective of Burisma with the ambassador?

17 MS. PAINTER: We did not.

18 MR. WITTMANN: When you left the meeting with the  
19 ambassador, what was your understanding of the State  
20 Department's position regarding Burisma?

21 MS. PAINTER: We had no more clarity because he  
22 declined to comment.

23 MR. WITTMANN: Why was it your understanding that the  
24 position of the ambassador and Mr. Hochstein was not or  
25 different from the position of the State Department?

1 MS. PAINTER: In regards to Ambassador Pyatt, he  
2 wouldn't engage on the discussion with us. So we did not  
3 have any--we only knew what had been reported in the press,  
4 and he was negative.

5 As it related to Mr. Hochstein, he gave us the general  
6 impression that he was negative, but he did not give us--he  
7 did not answer that that was the position of the Department  
8 of State or the U.S. Government.

9 MR. WITTMANN: Did you think that it was odd that he  
10 wouldn't tell you whether or not his position was that of  
11 the State Department or of the government?

12 MS. PAINTER: I can't opine on that. I mean, we were  
13 trying to understand it, and we did not get any  
14 clarification.

15 MR. WITTMANN: In your meeting with the ambassador, did  
16 you or he specifically reference when he made the public  
17 comments regarding Burisma?

18 MS. PAINTER: Not that I recall.

19 MR. WITTMANN: At this meeting, did you discuss Mr.  
20 Zlochevsky?

21 MS. PAINTER: We had asked Ambassador Pyatt his view on  
22 Burisma, and he declined to comment.

23 MR. WITTMANN: Burisma the company, but did you ask him  
24 or discuss anything regarding Mr. Zlochevsky?

25 MS. PAINTER: No.

1 MR. WITTMANN: Did you discuss Vice President Biden's  
2 recent trip to Ukraine?

3 MS. PAINTER: Not that I recall.

4 MR. WITTMANN: Was Ambassador Pyatt aware of Hunter  
5 Biden's role on Burisma's board?

6 MS. PAINTER: That wasn't discussed.

7 MR. WITTMANN: Did you discuss Ukraine's Prosecutor  
8 General's office with the ambassador?

9 MS. PAINTER: We did not.

10 MR. WITTMANN: Following your meeting with Mr.  
11 Hochstein, you mentioned that he assisted you in obtaining  
12 the meeting with Ambassador Pyatt, correct?

13 MS. PAINTER: No. In our meeting, he suggested that we  
14 should meet with Ambassador Pyatt, and he offered  
15 assistance. But I'm unclear as to whether or not he  
16 actually did or not, but we did get the meeting.

17 MR. WITTMANN: Understand. Understood. Did the  
18 ambassador offer anything following this meeting or at the  
19 meeting?

20 MS. PAINTER: Not that I recall.

21 MR. WITTMANN: Did he make any suggestions to you or  
22 Ms. Tramontano about any other U.S. official that you should  
23 speak to on this issue?

24 MS. PAINTER: He did not.

25 MR. WITTMANN: I think at this time, we've--okay. I'm

1 going to turn it over to my colleague, Mr. Downey.

2 MR. DOWNEY: Hi, Ms. Painter.

3 So we're going through the meetings that Blue Star had  
4 with U.S. government officials. Did Blue Star or Burisma  
5 ever meet with Department of Justice?

6 MS. PAINTER: I'm sorry. What was the question?

7 MR. DOWNEY: Did Burisma or Blue Star ever seek  
8 meetings or meet with the U.S. Department of Justice?

9 MS. PAINTER: Blue Star never sought meetings with the  
10 Department of Justice.

11 MR. DOWNEY: Why not?

12 MS. PAINTER: Because that wasn't our assignment. We  
13 don't deal with the Department of Justice.

14 MR. DOWNEY: But at this time in December of 2015, with  
15 you guys trying to find out what the State Department's  
16 position is in regards to Burisma, was there any other  
17 strategy of going to other U.S. government agencies to try  
18 to figure out what's going on? You have the Ambassador  
19 Pyatt declining to comment on Burisma. You have a negative  
20 view by Mr. Hochstein in Washington. What was Blue Star  
21 thinking at this time in December 2015? What were you going  
22 to do to figure this out?

23 MR. KADZIK: I think that question--it was a rambling.  
24 I don't know where you ended up. So you want to ask a  
25 direct question?

1 MR. DOWNEY: So in December 2015, Blue Star still does  
2 not know what the U.S. State Department's position is in  
3 regards to Burisma, correct?

4 MS. PAINTER: That's correct.

5 MR. DOWNEY: Did you take that back to Burisma?

6 MS. PAINTER: I mean, eventually, we shared with them  
7 that we had no more clarity on what Department of State of  
8 the U.S. government's view was on the company.

9 MR. DOWNEY: And what was Burisma's reaction to that?

10 MS. PAINTER: I don't recall.

11 MR. DOWNEY: You don't recall what Burisma's reaction  
12 was?

13 MS. PAINTER: No, I don't recall.

14 MR. DOWNEY: But they hired Blue Star to figure out  
15 what the State Department's view is in regards to Burisma,  
16 correct?

17 MS. PAINTER: That's correct.

18 MR. DOWNEY: And the answer you provided them in  
19 December of 2015 was you were still working to figure that  
20 out?

21 MS. PAINTER: At the end of December 2015, we were no  
22 closer to understanding it.

23 MR. DOWNEY: Did you or Ms. Tramontano think it was odd  
24 that you could not get any clarity from the Department of  
25 State?

1 MS. PAINTER: No.

2 MR. DOWNEY: Why not?

3 MS. PAINTER: I can't--we didn't--I don't think we  
4 thought about it in that regard. I don't know.

5 MR. DOWNEY: So in December 2015, did you have to go  
6 back to the drawing board of how to figure out what the  
7 State Department's view of Burisma was? Because you've gone  
8 to the head official in-country in Ukraine. You've gone to  
9 the energy czar at the State Department, and you're  
10 reporting back to Burisma that you do not know what the  
11 State Department's view of Burisma is.

12 MS. PAINTER: At this moment in time, we had only been  
13 under retainer for less than a month, and so we had lots  
14 more to look into.

15 MR. DOWNEY: Yes. And we'll get into that.

16 I think it's 1:05. How about a lunch break?

17 MR. SCHRAM: Yeah. Let's take a lunch break.

18 MR. DOWNEY: It's 1:06, and we're off the record.

19 [Whereupon, at 1:06 p.m., the interview was recessed,  
20 to reconvene at 1:35 p.m., this same day.]

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1 AFTERNOON SESSION

2 [1:43 p.m.]

3 MR. SCHRAM: Let's go on the record. Ms. Painter, at  
4 the beginning of the last round of questions the majority  
5 framed statements made by Alexandra Chalupa, reported in a  
6 January 2017 Politico article as admissions of fact. Are  
7 you aware that Ms. Chalupa called the Politico article cited  
8 by the majority, quote, "nonsense"?

9 MS. PAINTER: I'm not.

10 MR. SCHRAM: Incredibly, the majority used Mr.  
11 Telizhenko's claims that Ukraine interfered in the 2016  
12 election in an effort to rehabilitate his credibility. Are  
13 you aware that Dr. Fiona Hill, who President Trump appointed  
14 as Deputy Assistant to the President and Senior Director for  
15 European and Russian Affairs on his National Security  
16 Council staff testified before the House Intelligence  
17 Committee on November 21, 2019, that, quote, "Some of you on  
18 this Committee appear to believe that Russia and its  
19 security services did not conduct [inaudible-audio  
20 difficulties] against our country and that perhaps somehow,  
21 for some reason, Ukraine did. This is a fictional narrative  
22 that has been perpetrated and propagated by the Russian  
23 security services."

24 MS. PAINTER: I'm aware of that, yes.

25 MR. SCHRAM: Are you aware that she further testified

1 that, quote, "The result of all of these narratives is  
2 exactly what the Russian government was hoping to  
3 [inaudible-audio difficulties.]"?

4 MS. PAINTER: Yes.

5 MR. SCHRAM: On August 18, 2020, the Senate  
6 Intelligence Committee released its report and bipartisan  
7 findings on Russia active measures, campaigns, and  
8 interference in the 2016 U.S. election. The report states,  
9 quote, "The Committee observed numerous Russian government  
10 actors from late 2016 until at least January of 2020,  
11 consistently spreading overlapping false narratives which  
12 sought to discredit investigations into Russian interference  
13 in the 2016 U.S. elections, and spread false information  
14 about the events of 2016. As part of these efforts,  
15 Manafort and Kilimnik both sought to promote the narrative  
16 that Ukraine, not Russia, interfered in the 2016 U.S.  
17 election."

18 Ms. Painter, do you think that Mr. Telizhenko's support  
19 for the theory that Ukraine interfered in the 2016 election  
20 bolsters or diminishes his credibility?

21 MS. PAINTER: Excuse me. Whose credibility?

22 MR. SCHRAM: I'll repeat the question. Do you think  
23 that Mr. Telizhenko's support for the theory that Ukraine  
24 interfered in the 2016 election bolsters or diminishes Mr.  
25 Telizhenko's credibility?

1 MS. PAINTER: Diminishes his credibility.

2 MR. SCHRAM: Why?

3 MS. PAINTER: It's my understanding that that is  
4 unfounded and it's buying into Russian conspiracy theories.

5 MR. SCHRAM: Do you think the Senate should advance a,  
6 quote, "fictional narrative that has been perpetrated and  
7 propagated by the Russian security services"?

8 MS. PAINTER: I do not.

9 MR. SCHRAM: Ms. Painter, did Blue Star continue to  
10 represent Burisma during the Trump administration?

11 MS. PAINTER: Yes, we did.

12 MR. SCHRAM: Was Blue Star successful in securing  
13 meetings during the Trump administration?

14 MS. PAINTER: Yes, we were.

15 MR. SCHRAM: Did any Trump administration officials  
16 speak at conferences sponsored by Blue Star?

17 MS. PAINTER: The conferences were sponsored or  
18 organized by the Atlantic Council, and yes, a senior  
19 official from the Trump administration participated.

20 MR. SCHRAM: And how did he come to participate?

21 MS. PAINTER: He contacted both our office and  
22 Burisma's office to see if he could attend.

23 MR. SCHRAM: Did Obama administration officials ever  
24 attend the conference in Monaco?

25 MS. PAINTER: They were never asked and they did not

1 attend, so no one ever attended from the Obama  
2 administration.

3 MR. SCHRAM: Nothing further.

4 MR. GOSHORN: This is Dan Goshorn with Senator Wyden's  
5 staff. To be clear on the conference in Monaco, you said it  
6 was organized by the Atlantic Council. Is that correct?

7 MS. PAINTER: It was organized by--the Atlantic Council  
8 as well as Burisma were both sponsors.

9 MR. GOSHORN: Okay. Thank you for clarifying that.  
10 Nothing further from me.

11 MR. FOLIO: Hi, Ms. Painter. This is Joe Folio. I  
12 just want to take a minute to clarify, for the record, and  
13 also for your awareness, that the investigation by Chairman  
14 Johnson and Chairman Grassley speaks nothing about Ukrainian  
15 interference in the 2016 election in any way that is being  
16 characterized by the minority, and the only investigative  
17 efforts that we are focused on that issue, as reflected in  
18 the Chairmen's letter that the minority posted as an  
19 exhibit, as well as in the Politico article, was the fact  
20 that is undisputed, that a DNC operative by the name of  
21 Alexandra Chalupa was knocking on the door of the Ukrainian  
22 embassy asking for help in 2016.

23 And I appreciate those are embarrassing facts and you  
24 might want to distance yourself from them, but those are the  
25 only facts that Chairman Johnson and Chairman Grassley have

1 focused on, and they are undisputed. That article includes  
2 quotes from Ms. Chalupa, and I don't see what the minority  
3 put in the record but may be referring to an article in  
4 which she realized that her admissions probably weren't in  
5 her best interest or the party's best interest and she tried  
6 to walk them back, but she has not retracted them.

7 MR. SCHRAM: Joe, I appreciate your extensive testimony  
8 on this matter. Is it your assertion that reported quotes  
9 for a person in an article are admissions for the purpose of  
10 congressional investigations?

11 MR. FOLIO: I'm going to turn the question back over to  
12 Scott.

13 MR. SCHRAM: Is it also your testimony that the  
14 Chairman has not advanced the theory or used as a basis of  
15 their letters, the theory that Ukraine interfered in the  
16 2016 election? Is that your testimony?

17 MR. FOLIO: Zack, to be clear, I'm not testifying  
18 today. I was clarifying for the record your misreading of  
19 Chairman Johnson and Chairman Grassley's letter. Again, the  
20 focus, as you have demonstrated by posting the December 6  
21 press release, was the focus on the fact that a DNC  
22 operative by the name of Alexandra Chalupa was seeking  
23 foreign assistance in the 2016 election. That is an  
24 undisputed fact, and that was the full scope and extent of  
25 the Chairmen's inquiry, no matter how much you want to tie

1 it to other theories.

2 MR. SCHRAM: So, Mr. Folio, are you aware that--

3 MR. FOLIO: And I will now ask Scott--

4 MR. SCHRAM: --the letter that you're referring to--

5 MR. FOLIO: --to continue the questioning.

6 MR. SCHRAM: --asks--are you investigating links and  
7 coordination between the Ukraine government and the  
8 individuals associated with the campaign of Hillary Clinton,  
9 that that's in the letter that we've introduced, in the  
10 contents of the letter?

11 MR. WITTMANN: Ms. Painter, we're going to continue.  
12 Ms. Painter, we are going to move on to our next exhibit,  
13 which we will mark as Exhibit 8.

14 [Painter Exhibit No. 8 was  
15 marked for identification.]

16 MR. SCHRAM: I would just recognize--

17 MR. WITTMANN: Will, please.

18 MR. SCHRAM: --Scott, I won't interrupt you and Joe.  
19 I'll just say we shouldn't be using this as an opportunity  
20 to introduce testimony, and that's what you were doing. It  
21 was not a clarification. It was an introduction of  
22 testimony.

23 MR. WITTMANN: Ms. Painter, Ms. Painter, can you hear  
24 me. We're going to put this document up, and let us know  
25 when it's on your screen.

1 MS. PAINTER: This is the Novelli.

2 MR. WITTMANN: That's correct, and Will, if you could  
3 please scroll down to the bottom, the first email on this  
4 page.

5 Ms. Painter, I'm going to ask you a question about this  
6 email, so just let me know when you're ready for me to  
7 proceed.

8 MS. PAINTER: Okay.

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

16 Were you aware of Ms. Tramontano emailing this request  
17 to Under Secretary Novelli?

18 MS. PAINTER: I was not involved in this meeting. I'm  
19 now reading it here, as you sent me the note.

20 MR. WITTMANN: Sure. You were not aware that Ms.  
21 Tramontano wanted to meet with Under Secretary Novelli at  
22 this time?

23 MS. PAINTER: I was not aware of this email. I'm  
24 reading it now.

25 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. Do you know what Ms. Tramontano

1 was referring to in this email regarding a matter that she  
2 needed Under Secretary Novelli's advice?

3 MS. PAINTER: I would rather not speculate. I think  
4 you need to speak to Ms. Tramontano.

5 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. Do you know what Ms. Tramontano  
6 was referring to when she wrote that the "U.S. Government  
7 has taken a position in a commercial matter regarding a  
8 Ukrainian individual"?

9 MS. PAINTER: I'm not comfortable speculating.

10 MR. WITTMANN: She said that that position is in error.  
11 Do you know what position Ms. Tramontano is referring to in  
12 this email?

13 MS. PAINTER: I do not.

14 MR. WITTMANN: Do you know why, at this time, Ms.  
15 Tramontano was seeking to meet with Under Secretary Novelli?

16 MS. PAINTER: No.

17 MR. WITTMANN: Did Burisma request Blue Star to meet  
18 with Under Secretary Novelli?

19 MS. PAINTER: I have no idea.

20 MR. WITTMANN: At this time, what was Under Secretary  
21 Novelli's position in the State Department?

22 MS. PAINTER: I don't recall. I don't recall  
23 specifically. I know she was a high-ranking person.

24 MR. WITTMANN: Did you know Under Secretary Novelli?

25 MS. PAINTER: I met her a couple of times but I did not

1 know her. She wasn't a friend. I mean, she was someone who  
2 I knew of.

3 MR. WITTMANN: Do you know if Ms. Tramontano knew her,  
4 either personally or professionally?

5 MS. PAINTER: I believe that they worked together in  
6 government.

7 MR. WITTMANN: Under--for an administration?

8 MS. PAINTER: Under President Clinton's administration.

9 MR. WITTMANN: I want to go back to Exhibit No. 5.  
10 Page 2, please, Will. Ms. Painter, the question will be on  
11 the paragraph that starts with "The second incorrect  
12 assertion."

13 MS. PAINTER: Mm-hmm.

14 MR. WITTMANN: And please let me know when you're ready  
15 for me to proceed.

16 MS. PAINTER: Okay.

17 MR. WITTMANN: This cover letter acknowledged an  
18 internal State Department email about Ms. Tramontano's  
19 request to meet with Under Secretary Novelli. Did you have  
20 any conversations with individuals in the State Department  
21 about meeting with Under Secretary Novelli regarding  
22 Burisma?

23 MS. PAINTER: I did not.

24 MR. WITTMANN: Were you aware of whether Ms. Tramontano  
25 had those conversations at the time?

1 MS. PAINTER: I don't recall. I don't recall.

2 MR. WITTMANN: Did you meet with Ms. Novelli on March  
3 1, 2016?

4 MS. PAINTER: I did not.

5 MR. WITTMANN: Are you aware that Ms. Tramontano had  
6 met with Under Secretary Novelli on that date?

7 MS. PAINTER: I only know what I'm reading here, and it  
8 says that they met.

9 MR. WITTMANN: Did you have awareness at the time that  
10 they were meeting with Ms. Novelli?

11 MS. PAINTER: Not that I recall.

12 MR. WITTMANN: Was it common for Ms. Tramontano to take  
13 meetings regarding Burisma and brief you, and provide you a  
14 debrief afterwards?

15 MS. PAINTER: No, not necessarily.

16 MR. WITTMANN: Other than what's written in this cover  
17 letter, do you have any other insight regarding the meeting  
18 on March 1, 2016, between Ms. Tramontano and Ms. Novelli?

19 MS. PAINTER: I do not.

20 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. Do you know whether Blue Star  
21 received more information about the U.S. Government's  
22 position on Burisma following this March 1, 2016, meeting?

23 MS. PAINTER: March 16th or March 1st? Which meeting  
24 are you asking about?

25 MR. WITTMANN: This is March 1, 2016.

1 MS. PAINTER: And the question is?

2 MR. WITTMANN: Did Blue Star have any more information  
3 regarding the U.S. Government's position about Burisma at  
4 this point in time?

5 MS. PAINTER: I don't recall.

6 MR. WITTMANN: Other than what you had previously  
7 stated.

8 MS. PAINTER: I'm only stating what's on this letter.  
9 I mean, I'm reading it right now.

10 MR. WITTMANN: We're going to go to the next document,  
11 which we'll mark as Exhibit No. 9. Tab 5, please, Will.  
12 I'm sorry--Tab 6.

13 [Painter Exhibit No. 9 was  
14 marked for identification.]

15 MR. WITTMANN: Ms. Painter, we're going to scroll to  
16 the bottom of this document, and at the bottom you can see  
17 your name is listed. Scroll all the way to the bottom. And  
18 let us know when you see that on the screen.

19 MS. PAINTER: I see it.

20 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. And we'll scroll back up now so  
21 that you can see the meeting that's scheduled. I think it's  
22 the first meeting on the calendar that says "Call Devon on  
23 court case." And the date of this schedule is for March 8,  
24 2016.

25 Ms. Painter, did you have a call with Devon on a court

1 case on March 8, 2016?

2 MS. PAINTER: It looks like I did.

3 MR. WITTMANN: And who is Devon?

4 MS. PAINTER: Devon Archer.

5 MR. WITTMANN: And what was the court case you were  
6 scheduled to speak to Mr. Archer about?

7 MS. PAINTER: At the time I was working with Devon on a  
8 court case that was in Latvia.

9 MR. WITTMANN: And could you expand on that? What was  
10 the court case in reference to?

11 MS. PAINTER: There was a court case in the municipal  
12 courts on a wind project that the bank was engaged with.

13 MR. WITTMANN: And this is Novik [sic] Bank. Is that  
14 correct?

15 MS. PAINTER: Norvik.

16 MR. WITTMANN: Norvik Bank.

17 MS. PAINTER: Yes.

18 MR. WITTMANN: And at this point in time, was--well,  
19 let me back up. Was Norvik Bank a client of Blue Star's?

20 MS. PAINTER: Honestly, I don't recall, but I may have  
21 been getting a briefing on it. I don't recall when they  
22 became clients. I may have just been getting a briefing.

23 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. And just so I understand, did  
24 they eventually--did Norvik Bank become a client?

25 MS. PAINTER: Yes.

1 MR. WITTMANN: Okay.

2 MS. PAINTER: Yes.

3 MR. WITTMANN: And how often did you receive briefings  
4 from Mr. Archer about this specific court case?

5 MS. PAINTER: I don't recall.

6 MR. WITTMANN: Did Mr. Archer discuss Burisma on this  
7 call?

8 MS. PAINTER: He did not.

9 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. We're going to turn to the next  
10 document that we'll mark as Exhibit 10. Tab 8 please, Will.

11 [Painter Exhibit No. 10 was  
12 marked for identification.]

13 MR. WITTMANN: Scroll down please, Will.

14 MS. PAINTER: Can you just slow down? I'm looking for  
15 the date. What's the date on this?

16 MR. WITTMANN: Sure. Ms. Painter, this is--the date of  
17 the email that I'd like to ask you about is on March 15,  
18 2016. It's an email that you forwarded. We're happy to  
19 show you the entire document, but my question is only on the  
20 first page. Let us know if you'd like us to turn to that.

21 MS. PAINTER: Well, go to the first page then. Sure.

22 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. First page. And can you scroll  
23 down, Will?

24 On March 15, 2016, you sent an email that included a  
25 portion of Victoria Nuland's congressional testimony. You

1 instructed Pero to draft a note to Vadym at Burisma about  
2 this testimony.

3 MS. PAINTER: Mm-hmm.

4 MR. WITTMANN: At this time, Ms. Painter, what was Ms.  
5 Nuland's position in the State Department?

6 MS. PAINTER: So my question is, is the rest of this  
7 document basically a summary of what she said? Is that what  
8 the whole document is?

9 MR. WITTMANN: Yes, that's correct. I believe that the  
10 rest of the document actually contains the entire testimony,  
11 prepared remarks.

12 MS. PAINTER: Okay. Mm-hmm.

13 MR. WITTMANN: So the question is, at this time what  
14 was Ms. Nuland's position in the State Department?

15 MS. PAINTER: She was a senior person at State,  
16 focusing, I believe, on Europe.

17 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. And you may have addressed this  
18 already but just in case you didn't, could you tell us what  
19 position Vadym held at Burisma?

20 MS. PAINTER: I believe had the title of Advisor to the  
21 Board of Directors, or something like that.

22 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. And why did you instruct Pero to  
23 draft a note to Vadym?

24 MS. PAINTER: I mean, it was typical procedure that  
25 when a high-ranking person from the U.S. Government

1 addressed an issue in a country that we would pass on as an  
2 FYI the contents of that speech or testimony or whatever.  
3 It mean, we do that in many countries, and people care about  
4 what the U.S. says.

5 MR. WITTMANN: Mr. Downey referenced earlier a speech  
6 that Vice President Biden gave at the Rada in December of  
7 2015. Did you or anyone at Blue Star draft a note to Vadym  
8 about that speech?

9 MS. PAINTER: I don't recall.

10 MR. WITTMANN: What specifically did Ms. Nuland say  
11 that you wanted Vadym to be aware of?

12 MS. PAINTER: Nothing specific.

13 MR. WITTMANN: Did Pero draft a note to Vadym on Ms.  
14 Nuland's testimony?

15 MS. PAINTER: I don't recall. If he did, you would  
16 have a copy of it.

17 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. We're going to move on to what  
18 we'll mark as Exhibit 11. Tab 45, please.

19 [Painter Exhibit No. 11 was  
20 marked for identification.]

21 MR. WITTMANN: Ms. Painter, this email is dated July  
22 10, 2016, and it's an email that you forwarded to Vadym that  
23 contained an exit interview about Ambassador Pyatt that  
24 Ambassador Pyatt gave to the Kyiv Post. The rest of the  
25 email, we can scroll down. It just contains the article

1 that you forwarded to Vadym, and we're happy to scroll down  
2 if you would like to see the article.

3 MS. PAINTER: Okay.

4 MR. WITTMANN: And the--

5 MS. PAINTER: One moment.

6 MR. WITTMANN: Sure. My question is rather general.

7 So if you'd like to read the whole article, let us know.

8 Otherwise go ahead.

9 MS. PAINTER: Why don't you ask me the question, and  
10 then I'll decide if I need to read more.

11 MR. WITTMANN: Sounds good. Why did you forward this  
12 article to Vadym?

13 MS. PAINTER: It was an FYI. This was another example  
14 of a high-ranking U.S. official talking about Ukraine, and  
15 so we sent it as an FYI.

16 MR. WITTMANN: Was there anything specific in this  
17 article that you wanted Vadym to see?

18 MS. PAINTER: We wanted to highlight that the  
19 ambassador was exiting and he gave an interview, and we sent  
20 it along.

21 MR. WITTMANN: Did you have any conversations with  
22 Vadym outside of this email about the ambassador's exit?

23 MS. PAINTER: Not that I recall.

24 MR. WITTMANN: The article talks about the ambassador's  
25 perspective of Viktor Shokin. Were you aware of whether

1 Vadym had a view of Viktor Shokin?

2 MS. PAINTER: I was not.

3 MR. WITTMANN: Did you ever discuss Viktor Shokin with  
4 Vadym?

5 MS. PAINTER: I did not.

6 MR. WITTMANN: Did you discuss Viktor Shokin with any  
7 other employees of Burisma?

8 MS. PAINTER: I did not.

9 MR. WITTMANN: At this time, did Burisma see Ambassador  
10 Pyatt as an obstacle?

11 MS. PAINTER: Did they see Ambassador Pyatt as what?

12 MR. WITTMANN: As an obstacle.

13 MS. PAINTER: I don't have any idea.

14 MR. WITTMANN: Did you ever discuss Viktor Shokin with  
15 any members of Burisma's board?

16 MS. PAINTER: I did not.

17 MR. WITTMANN: I'm going to go back to Exhibit No. 5,  
18 and the paragraph that I want to bring your attention to is  
19 the paragraph that begins with "Your letter asserts." I  
20 have several questions.

21 MS. PAINTER: So I don't see that.

22 MR. WITTMANN: Let us know when you can see it, please.

23 MS. PAINTER: Oh, "Your letter asserts." Okay, yes.

24 MR. WITTMANN: The letter notes at the bottom of this  
25 paragraph that you met with Mr. Hochstein on March 24th,

1 2016.

2 MS. PAINTER: Yes.

3 MR. WITTMANN: And according to the letter, Mr. Buretta  
4 attended this meeting; is that correct?

5 MS. PAINTER: That sounds correct.

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

7 MS. PAINTER: No.

8 MR. WITTMANN: I'm sorry?

9 MS. PAINTER: No.

10 MR. WITTMANN: And what was the purpose of this  
11 meeting?

12 MS. PAINTER: When I had met with Mr. Hochstein the  
13 first time, he knew we were going to Kyiv, and he asked if  
14 we would come back and give him a briefing about our trip.

15 MR. WITTMANN: And did you provide that briefing to  
16 him?

17 MS. PAINTER: Yes. Well, we provided the summary of  
18 our meeting with Ambassador Pyatt.

19 MR. WITTMANN: And what was Mr. Hochstein's reaction to  
20 that summary?

21 MS. PAINTER: I don't recall. I don't recall.

22 MR. WITTMANN: The cover letter states that Mr. Buretta  
23 led this briefing. Did Mr. Buretta accompany you in the  
24 meeting with the ambassador?

25 MS. PAINTER: He did not.

1 MR. WITTMANN: Why did he lead the briefing about the  
2 meeting regarding the conversation with the ambassador if he  
3 didn't attend that meeting?

4 MS. PAINTER: Mr. Buretta wanted to attend the meeting,  
5 and there had been a lot of misinformation about a UK court  
6 care, and Mr. Buretta was expert on that. And we wanted to  
7 make sure that if--he wanted to make sure that if Mr.  
8 Hochstein had any questions, particularly about that case,  
9 that he would answer questions.

10 MR. WITTMANN: So is it fair to say that in addition to  
11 providing Mr. Hochstein a summary of the meeting with  
12 Ambassador Pyatt, Mr. Buretta also provided Mr. Hochstein a  
13 briefing on the UK court case?

14 MS. PAINTER: I think--yes, yes.

15 MR. WITTMANN: And what did the UK court case have to  
16 do with Burisma?

17 MS. PAINTER: The court case in the UK, there was a lot  
18 of swirl around that, that it was reported that it had to do  
19 with other cases that were pending with Burisma. So there  
20 was misinformation around the UK court case, and it was  
21 having an effect on how it was reported about other Burisma  
22 cases.

23 MR. WITTMANN: Did the UK court case relate to Mr.  
24 Zlochevsky?

25 MS. PAINTER: You know, I don't recall the case

1 material. I wasn't really involved in that, which is why  
2 Mr. Buretta handled that piece of it.

3 MR. WITTMANN: At the briefing with Mr. Hochstein that  
4 Mr. Buretta attended, in addition to discussions about  
5 Burisma, did you or Mr. Buretta also discuss Mr. Zlochevsky?

6 MS. PAINTER: Not that I recall.

7 MR. WITTMANN: Did you or Mr. Buretta mention Blue  
8 Star's meeting with Ms. Novelli on March 1st, 2016?

9 MS. PAINTER: Not that I recall.

10 MR. WITTMANN: At this meeting with Mr. Hochstein, had  
11 his view--was his view different--was his view on Burisma  
12 any different on March 24th, 2016, compared to the previous  
13 time that you had met with him?

14 MS. PAINTER: Not that I recall.

15 MR. WITTMANN: Was it your understanding that his view  
16 had not changed regarding Burisma?

17 MS. PAINTER: I don't think I asked him that question.

18 MR. WITTMANN: Just to be clear, you did not ask Mr.  
19 Hochstein whether or not--

20 MS. PAINTER: I don't believe I asked--I don't know if  
21 his view had changed because I don't think it was something  
22 I was trying to ascertain.

23 MR. WITTMANN: What were you trying to ascertain?

24 MS. PAINTER: I was trying to respond to his request  
25 that we provided a briefing from our meeting with Ambassador

1 Pyatt.

2 MR. WITTMANN: Why do you think Mr. Hochstein wanted  
3 Blue Star to provide this briefing?

4 MS. PAINTER: I think you should ask Mr. Hochstein.

5 MR. WITTMANN: Did you or Mr. Buretta discuss Ukraine's  
6 Prosecutor General's office with Mr. Hochstein at this  
7 meeting?

8 MS. PAINTER: Not that I recall.

9 MR. WITTMANN: Do you know whether at this point in  
10 time what Mr. Hochstein's awareness of Ukraine's Prosecutor  
11 General was at this time?

12 MS. PAINTER: I don't know that, no--or didn't know  
13 that then.

14 MR. WITTMANN: You met with Ambassador Pyatt in  
15 December of 2015, and you had your briefing with Mr.  
16 Hochstein in March of 2016. Why did it take so many months  
17 to provide Mr. Hochstein this briefing?

18 MS. PAINTER: I don't--I have--I don't--I don't recall.

19 MR. WITTMANN: Did Mr. Hochstein offer you anything  
20 during this meeting or following?

21 MS. PAINTER: No.

22 MR. WITTMANN: Did he have any other advice on who you  
23 or anyone else at Blue Star should reach out to regarding  
24 Burisma?

25 MS. PAINTER: No.

1 MR. WITTMANN: What was Mr. Hochstein's reaction to  
2 hearing about your meeting with the ambassador?

3 MS. PAINTER: I don't recall.

4 MR. WITTMANN: At this meeting with Mr. Hochstein, did  
5 you discuss Hunter Biden's role on Burisma's board?

6 MS. PAINTER: We did not.

7 MR. WITTMANN: I'm going to pause for one moment,  
8 please.

9 [Pause.]

10 MR. WITTMANN: I'm going to go to our next document  
11 that we'll introduce in the record at Exhibit No. 12.

12 Tab 10, please, Will.

13 [Painter Exhibit No. 12 was  
14 marked for identification.]

15 MR. WITTMANN: Scroll down, please, Will, to the next  
16 email. That's good.

17 Ms. Painter, on March 20th, 2016, Ms. Tramontano sent  
18 an email to you and your colleagues about Vadym's upcoming  
19 trip to Washington, D.C., on March 29th, 2016.

20 MS. PAINTER: Mm-hmm.

21 MR. WITTMANN: In this email--would you scroll down to  
22 the next page, please, Will. That's good.

23 In this email, Ms. Tramontano mentioned that Vadym  
24 would like to just stop by to see Hunter, no more than 30  
25 minutes, because he does not have an agenda. Why was Vadym

1 traveling to Washington?

2 MS. PAINTER: I believe this was--the U.S.-Ukrainian  
3 Business Council was holding a series of meetings, and  
4 President Poroshenko was going to be delivering an address.

5 MR. WITTMANN: Why did Vadym want to meet with Hunter  
6 Biden?

7 MS. PAINTER: I don't--I do not--I don't--I do not  
8 know.

9 MR. WITTMANN: How often did Vadym or other employees  
10 of Burisma meet with Hunter Biden?

11 MS. PAINTER: I don't know. Other employees as in--

12 MR. WITTMANN: I'm sorry. Other employees of Burisma.

13 MS. PAINTER: I don't know.

14 MR. WITTMANN: We'll continue to scroll down in this  
15 email, and at the bottom, Ms. Tramontano mentioned that on  
16 March 30th, 2016, the evening will be focusing on the pull-  
17 aside with President Poroshenko. Do you know what Ms.  
18 Tramontano meant by this?

19 MS. PAINTER: Yes. It means that you pull someone  
20 aside very briefly and say hello. Pull them aside.

21 MR. WITTMANN: Was it your understanding that Ms.  
22 Tramontano wanted to have a side conversation with President  
23 Poroshenko?

24 MS. PAINTER: No. It was me that wanted to say hello  
25 to the president.

1 MR. WITTMANN: And what did you want to discuss with  
2 the president?

3 MS. PAINTER: I wanted to congratulate him.

4 MR. WITTMANN: Congratulate him on?

5 MS. PAINTER: He had just given a great speech.

6 MR. WITTMANN: And did this conversation occur?

7 MS. PAINTER: Yes.

8 MR. WITTMANN: And did anyone else besides you and the  
9 president participate in this discussion--or conversation?

10 MS. PAINTER: Well, it was very, very brief. So no.  
11 It was me--and I had a very, very brief interchange with the  
12 president.

13 MR. WITTMANN: And could you describe that interchange,  
14 please?

15 MS. PAINTER: I congratulated the president on the  
16 speech and his presidency, and I told him that I would be  
17 going to Ukraine in the next month or so.

18 MR. WITTMANN: And did he say anything to you?

19 MS. PAINTER: He did. He said thank you very much, and  
20 he turned to his ambassador, Ambassador Chaly, and he said,  
21 "They're going to be going to Kyiv. Help them if they need  
22 any help with meetings."

23 MR. WITTMANN: Did you have a conversation with  
24 Ambassador Chaly?

25 MS. PAINTER: Not at that point in time, no.

1 TRACK 14

2 MR. WITTMANN: Did you reach out to Ambassador Chaly  
3 for help with meetings in Ukraine following this  
4 conversation?

5 MS. PAINTER: I did. I wrote an email, which you have.

6 MR. WITTMANN: And what did you ask Mr. Chaly?

7 MS. PAINTER: Well, it's all in the email. Do you have  
8 the email?

9 MR. WITTMANN: I'm sorry?

10 MS. PAINTER: It's on--it's spelled out in the email  
11 that we turned over to you. Do you have the email?

12 MR. WITTMANN: If you turned it over to us, then I'm  
13 sure we have it, but I just wanted to ask you if you wanted  
14 to expand on that.

15 MS. PAINTER: I don't specifically recall all the  
16 meetings. I think there were three or four meetings that we  
17 had said we were going to try to set up, but I can't recall  
18 them at this moment. But I'm happy to look at the email.

19 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. All right. Thank you.  
20 Appreciate it.

21 In this email that's on the screen, that final  
22 sentence, Ms. Tramontano wrote, "Let's begin to plan our  
23 trip to Kyiv leaving on the 5th. We still do not have the  
24 meeting with the general prosecutor. Let's get together to  
25 talk about how to get this done. It's a must-have for that



1 between Vadym and Hunter Biden?

2 MS. PAINTER: I actually do not know.

3 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. The person, the staffer that's  
4 listed on there, is Karen. I'm assuming that that's Karen  
5 Tramontano. Was it common for Blue Star staffers to attend  
6 meetings with Vadym and other individuals?

7 MS. PAINTER: No. This reference means that Karen had-  
8 -would be available if there were any issues, but we did not  
9 attend meetings that Vadym had with Hunter Biden. We never  
10 attended any of those meetings. They were separate and  
11 apart from us.

12 MR. WITTMANN: Did Vadym ever talk to you about  
13 meeting--or meetings with Hunter Biden?

14 MS. PAINTER: He did not.

15 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. I'd like to turn to our next  
16 document. We'll enter it into the record as Exhibit 14.  
17 Tab 13, please, Will.

18 [Painter Exhibit No. 14 was  
19 marked for identification.]

20 MR. WITTMANN: And we're going to go to the bottom of  
21 page four. Ms. Painter, this is a similar briefing book for  
22 Devon Archer, and you can see here on your screen that there  
23 is also a meeting with Hunter Biden scheduled, and the date  
24 of this--if we scroll up a little bit, Will, please--is  
25 March 31st. This is in 2016. Do you know if Hunter Biden--

1 I'm sorry. Do you know if Mr. Archer met with Mr. Biden?

2 MS. PAINTER: I do not know.

3 MR. WITTMANN: Do you know if this was the same meeting  
4 at the same time that Vadym was scheduled to meet with Mr.  
5 Biden?

6 MS. PAINTER: I'd have to go back and look to see at  
7 the other book. But if it was the same time, it could also  
8 just be an FYI. But I don't know.

9 MR. WITTMANN: And it would be an FYI for who?

10 MS. PAINTER: For Devon.

11 MR. WITTMANN: Why would he need an FYI?

12 MS. PAINTER: Devon Archer was on the board of Burisma,  
13 and he was also attending the reception.

14 MR. WITTMANN: Are you saying that there are entries in  
15 his briefing booklet that don't necessarily correspond to  
16 what his schedule is?

17 MS. PAINTER: It could be an FYI, yes. I'm not clear--  
18 I'm not definitive, but that could be the case, yes.

19 MR. WITTMANN: If it was an FYI, would there be any  
20 sort of indication in the briefing booklet that it was an  
21 FYI?

22 MS. PAINTER: No.

23 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. What role did Blue Star play in  
24 arranging or scheduling meetings between Vadym and Hunter  
25 Biden?

1 MS. PAINTER: That was strictly an administrative role  
2 to find a time that worked with both of their schedules.

3 MR. WITTMANN: Did Blue Star help schedule any other  
4 meetings with Vadym and other board members of Burisma? I'm  
5 sorry. Let me--let me just--let me rephrase that. Did Blue  
6 Star assist in scheduling any other meetings between Vadym  
7 and Burisma board members from the U.S.?

8 MS. PAINTER: Yes. We also arranged meetings with  
9 Cofer Black.

10 MR. WITTMANN: And who is Cofer Black?

11 MS. PAINTER: Cofer Black joined the Burisma board as a  
12 board member, and he's an American, former diplomat.

13 MR. WITTMANN: I'm going to pause for a moment. Thank  
14 you.

15 [Pause.]

16 MR. DOWNEY: Ms. Painter, can you hear me?

17 MS. PAINTER: Yes.

18 MR. DOWNEY: Okay. We're going to go to--this will be  
19 Exhibit 15, which is Tab 14, Will.

20 [Painter Exhibit No. 15 was  
21 marked for identification.]

22 MR. DOWNEY: Exhibit 15 is a March 22, 2016, email by  
23 Mr. Telizhenko to you and Ms. Tramontano commenting on your  
24 visit to the Ukraine Embassy and thanking you for your help.  
25 Is this the first time you received an email from Mr.

1 Telizhenko?

2 MS. PAINTER: I believe so because that was the first  
3 time we'd ever met him.

4 MR. DOWNEY: Who attended the March 22, 2016 meeting at  
5 the Ukraine Embassy?

6 MS. PAINTER: I believe it was Karen and me.

7 MR. DOWNEY: Did Mr. Telizhenko attend this meeting?

8 MS. PAINTER: Yes.

9 MR. DOWNEY: Was there any other individuals from the  
10 Ukraine Embassy in attendance?

11 MS. PAINTER: The DCM attended.

12 MR. DOWNEY: And who was the DCM?

13 MS. PAINTER: Oksana Shulyar.

14 MR. DOWNEY: Did you and Blue Star Strategies  
15 communicate with Ms. Shulyar after this March 22nd meeting?

16 MS. PAINTER: I don't recall. I mean, we may have sent  
17 a thank-you note or something. But you would have that if  
18 we did.

19 MR. DOWNEY: What was the purpose of this March 22,  
20 2016, meeting?

21 MS. PAINTER: We were asking the embassy support for  
22 meetings in Ukraine.

23 MR. DOWNEY: Did Mr. Telizhenko or Oksana Shulyar  
24 discuss meetings that they had with U.S. Government  
25 agencies?

1 MS. PAINTER: No.

2 MR. DOWNEY: In this same email chain--Will, if you  
3 could scroll up a little bit on the document? Thank you.  
4 Ms. Tramontano responded to Mr. Telizhenko, saying, "Sally  
5 and I will be in Kyiv April 6th, 7th, and 8th of 2016, the  
6 attorney from the U.S., John Buretta, who has reviewed the  
7 matter we discussed, and I would like to meet the general  
8 prosecutor on April 6th preferable in the afternoon."

9 Why did Ms. Tramontano email these details to Mr.  
10 Telizhenko about your trip to Ukraine?

11 MS. PAINTER: In our meeting, the embassy agreed to be  
12 helpful in getting meetings in Ukraine.

13 MR. DOWNEY: And was this based off your pull-aside  
14 with Ukrainian President Poroshenko and Mr.--

15 MS. PAINTER: This meeting happened before the pull-  
16 aside with the President.

17 MR. DOWNEY: Did Ambassador Chaly know that you had met  
18 with Oksana Shulyar on March 22nd before the pull-aside with  
19 President Poroshenko at the end of March 2016?

20 MS. PAINTER: I don't know.

21 MR. DOWNEY: Was Burisma aware of your meetings with  
22 the Ukrainian Embassy?

23 MS. PAINTER: I don't recall.

24 MR. DOWNEY: Is that something you would normally  
25 update Burisma on if you met with the Ukrainian Embassy in

1 Washington?

2 MS. PAINTER: I mean, I don't recall. We brief people  
3 when we think it's necessary.

4 MR. DOWNEY: Our hour's almost up. I'm going to turn  
5 it over to Chairman Grassley's staffer, Quinton, for a  
6 couple questions. Thank you.

7 MR. BRADY: Good afternoon, Ms. Painter. Can you hear  
8 me?

9 MS. PAINTER: Yes.

10 MR. BRADY: My name is Quinton Brady. I'm with  
11 Chairman Grassley's staff. I just have two quick questions  
12 for you today.

13 The first one: Did you, Karen Tramontano, or Blue Star  
14 Strategies ever seek or receive an advisory opinion from the  
15 Department of Justice regarding registering under the  
16 Foreign Agents Registration Act as it pertained to your  
17 firm's representation of Burisma?

18 MS. PAINTER: No.

19 MR. BRADY: Did you, Karen Tramontano, or Blue Star  
20 Strategies ever receive a FARA letter of inquiry from the  
21 Department of Justice as it pertains to your firm's  
22 representation of Burisma?

23 MS. PAINTER: No.

24 MR. BRADY: Great. Thank you so much. That's all from  
25 me. I'm going to turn it back. Thank you.

1 MR. WITTMANN: Hi, Ms. Painter. Can you hear me? Ms.  
2 Painter, can you hear me?

3 MS. PAINTER: Yes.

4 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. Just one more question in this  
5 round, and then we'll turn it over to the minority, and  
6 obviously, ask--if you need to take a break, just let us  
7 know.

8 We'll enter into the record Exhibit 16. Tab 22,  
9 please, Will.

10 [Painter Exhibit No. 16 was  
11 marked for identification.]

12 MR. WITTMANN: Scroll down, please, Will.

13 Ms. Painter, this is an email that you sent Mr. Fried  
14 on June 7, 2016. You thank Mr. Fried for taking time to  
15 listen. Do you know what this was in reference to, what you  
16 had discussed with Mr. Fried?

17 MS. PAINTER: Can I see the full chain? You're in the  
18 middle of it.

19 MR. WITTMANN: Sure.

20 MS. PAINTER: From the beginning?

21 MR. WITTMANN: This is--

22 MS. PAINTER: No, that's the end of it. Can I see the  
23 beginning, how it started? Is there anything below--

24 MR. WITTMANN: There is nothing other than just the  
25 standard language and I think an image.

1 MS. PAINTER: Okay. So the first email that I--is this  
2 "Dear Dan, Thank you for taking the time to listen."

3 MR. WITTMANN: That's correct.

4 MS. PAINTER: And can you go all the way to the top, or  
5 is this only one email?

6 MR. WITTMANN: Oh, there's a response and then I think  
7 another reply.

8 MS. PAINTER: Okay.

9 MR. WITTMANN: And the question is: What did you  
10 discuss with Mr. Fried?

11 MS. PAINTER: I had reached out to Ambassador Fried to  
12 discuss a matter as it related to George Kent.

13 MR. WITTMANN: And what was George Kent's position at  
14 this time?

15 MS. PAINTER: I believe he was the DCM in the U.S.  
16 Embassy in Ukraine.

17 MR. WITTMANN: And what was the matter that you wanted  
18 to discuss with the Ambassador regarding Mr. Kent?

19 MS. PAINTER: Mr. Kent had made false allegations about  
20 Blue Star, and I was trying to get Dan's view on the best  
21 way to handle it.

22 MR. WITTMANN: And what were the false allegations?

23 MS. PAINTER: He had asserted that Blue Star was  
24 representing individuals from Russia that we were not. He  
25 was--

1 MR. WITTMANN: Who did Mr. Kent allege this to?

2 MS. PAINTER: I don't know the exact individual, but it  
3 came to our attention through a client who was vetting the  
4 firm.

5 MR. WITTMANN: I'm sorry. A client who was vetting the  
6 firm?

7 MS. PAINTER: Right. We had a potential client who was  
8 doing a vet, and they reached out and were told this by  
9 Kent.

10 MR. WITTMANN: Understood.

11 Why did you seek Ambassador Fried's advice on this  
12 matter?

13 MS. PAINTER: Because when I tried to reach out to Kent  
14 to clear the record, Mr. Kent refused to do so and said he  
15 could say whatever he wanted.

16 MR. WITTMANN: And when did you reach out to Mr. Kent?

17 MS. PAINTER: I don't recall the exact time.

18 MR. WITTMANN: Would it have been before the date of  
19 this email, June 2016?

20 MS. PAINTER: Yeah. Yes--I don't recall, actually. It  
21 could have been after. I don't--I don't actually recall the  
22 sequence of events.

23 MR. WITTMANN: Well, if it was after this email, what--  
24 why--I'm a bit confused. You reached out to Ambassador  
25 Fried to discuss what you had heard about the allegations

1 Mr. Kent was making?

2 MS. PAINTER: I was trying to understand--I was trying  
3 to understand or get his guidance on how to handle a  
4 situation with somebody who was making false allegations and  
5 how best to deal with something like that.

6 MR. WITTMANN: What was--what kind of guidance did Mr.  
7 Fried provide?

8 MS. PAINTER: From this email, I believe he was trying  
9 to set up a time for me to talk directly to Kent.

10 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. And were you able to talk  
11 directly to Mr. Kent?

12 MS. PAINTER: I believe I was, yes.

13 MR. WITTMANN: The email chain shows that the  
14 ambassador provided you an email address that you said that  
15 you'd be able to reach--or email Mr. Kent on. In another  
16 document that you provided, it looks like you did email that  
17 address, and we're happy to put it up if you'd like to see  
18 that.

19 Did Mr. Kent--

20 MS. PAINTER: Okay.

21 MR. WITTMANN: Sure. We'll go to--we'll put it into  
22 the record as Exhibit 17.

23 Tab 23, please, Will.

24 [Painter Exhibit No. 17 was  
25 marked for identification.]

1 MR. WITTMANN: You can scroll down, please, Will.

2 Ms. Painter, this email shows a March 10th--or I'm  
3 sorry--June 10th, 2016, you emailed Mr. Kent, but on June  
4 13th, you wrote back to Ambassador Fried and said that you  
5 had not heard back from Mr. Kent. Were you able to connect  
6 with Mr. Kent on email eventually?

7 MS. PAINTER: I don't--I don't recall the sequence, but  
8 I know we didn't meet when he was in Washington.

9 MR. WITTMANN: Could you repeat that? I had trouble  
10 hearing you. You did meet or no?

11 MS. PAINTER: We did not.

12 MR. WITTMANN: You did not.

13 MS. PAINTER: We did not meet when he was in  
14 Washington.

15 MR. WITTMANN: Were you able to eventually connect with  
16 Mr. Kent?

17 MS. PAINTER: Yes.

18 MR. WITTMANN: And did you discuss this matter with  
19 him?

20 MS. PAINTER: I did.

21 MR. WITTMANN: And when did that discussion occur?

22 MS. PAINTER: I don't recall.

23 MR. WITTMANN: One last question before our time is up.  
24 We're going to go back to Exhibit 16.

25 Tab 22, Will.

1           In this email, Ms. Painter, you wrote Mr. Zlochevsky's  
2 name. Why did you send this information to Ambassador  
3 Fried?

4           MS. PAINTER: In the course of my discussion with  
5 Ambassador Fried, I had disclosed that I was working with  
6 Burisma, and Ambassador Fried asked me who the owner or  
7 chairperson of was Burisma because I was also talking about  
8 a person that Kent--George Kent had said was--that we were  
9 representing. We weren't. And so Dan asked, "Okay. Well,  
10 who were we representing, or who weren't we representing?  
11 Or who was--are you representing Burisma?" And he asked me  
12 his name, and he--I told him the name, and he said, "Just  
13 give me the spelling of it." And so I wrote back, and I  
14 gave him the spelling of Mr. Zlochevsky's name.

15           MR. WITTMANN: Why did you disclose to Ambassador Fried  
16 that Burisma was a client of Blue Star's?

17           MS. PAINTER: I was--I was trying to differentiate  
18 between a company that we did work for versus one we didn't  
19 work for.

20           MR. WITTMANN: Was the other company a Ukrainian  
21 company?

22           MS. PAINTER: It was--I believe it was a Russian  
23 individual. I don't recall who it was.

24           MR. WITTMANN: Why did you--why did you feel like there  
25 was a--that Burisma would--that you needed to disclose

1 Burisma in order to clear up that it wasn't the other  
2 company?

3 MS. PAINTER: I was trying to be fully transparent.

4 MR. WITTMANN: Did Ambassador Fried have any awareness  
5 of Burisma at this time?

6 MS. PAINTER: No.

7 MR. WITTMANN: Was he aware of its owner, Mr.  
8 Zlochevsky?

9 MS. PAINTER: We didn't have that conversation.

10 MR. WITTMANN: After you sent Ambassador Fried the  
11 name, Mr. Zlochevsky's name, do you know what, if anything,  
12 he did with this information?

13 MS. PAINTER: I do not.

14 MR. WITTMANN: What was the purpose of him having this  
15 information?

16 MS. PAINTER: I disclosed to him that I was working  
17 with a company, the company Burisma, and he asked me who the  
18 chairperson or the owner was. And I told him who it was,  
19 and he asked me to send him the spelling of the name.

20 MR. WITTMANN: Zack, I think our time is up. We're  
21 going to turn it over to you now.

22 MR. SCHRAM: Could we go off the record?

23 [Discussion off the record.]

24 MR. DOWNEY: All right. It's 3:17 and we're back on  
25 the record.

1 Ms. Painter, in the last round for Chairman Johnson we  
2 discussed the meetings that occurred with setting up Blue  
3 Star's travel to Ukraine in April of 2016. Did Blue Star  
4 meet with the acting Prosecutor General in April of 2016?

5 MS. PAINTER: Yes.

6 MR. DOWNEY: Did you attend that meeting?

7 MS. PAINTER: Yes.

8 MR. DOWNEY: Who else attended the meeting with the  
9 acting Prosecutor General?

10 MS. PAINTER: John Buretta and Karen Tramontano.

11 MR. DOWNEY: Was there anyone else that attended from  
12 the Ukrainian side?

13 MS. PAINTER: I believe there was an additional  
14 gentleman with the acting Prosecutor General.

15 MR. DOWNEY: And who was the acting Prosecutor General  
16 in April of 2016?

17 MS. PAINTER: Mr. Sevruk.

18 MR. DOWNEY: Can you provide detail of what was  
19 discussed at this meeting with Mr. Sevruk?

20 MS. PAINTER: We were looking to find out what Mr.  
21 Sevruk's position was on the pending cases against Burisma.

22 MR. DOWNEY: What did Mr. Sevruk respond to those  
23 questions?

24 MS. PAINTER: It was very unclear. His English wasn't  
25 good, and we had very poor translation, and we don't speak

1 Ukrainian.

2 MR. DOWNEY: Before this meeting with the acting  
3 Prosecutor General, did you--did Blue Star have any  
4 understanding of Mr. Sevruk's poor English skills?

5 MS. PAINTER: No.

6 MR. DOWNEY: So there was no effort to obtain a  
7 translator for the meeting?

8 MS. PAINTER: No.

9 MR. DOWNEY: What did you learn from this meeting with  
10 the acting Prosecutor General?

11 MS. PAINTER: Not much.

12 MR. DOWNEY: How long did the meeting last?

13 MS. PAINTER: I don't recall specifically but 20, 30  
14 minutes.

15 MR. DOWNEY: So would you describe this meeting as not  
16 helpful to determining what Burisma's standing was with the  
17 PGO's office?

18 MS. PAINTER: We didn't learn any new facts.

19 MR. DOWNEY: Were you surprised that you didn't learn  
20 anything more?

21 MS. PAINTER: I didn't have expectations to be happy or  
22 sad or surprised.

23 MR. DOWNEY: So at this point in April of 2016, Blue  
24 Star still doesn't have, I guess, an understanding of what  
25 the State Department's position is in regards to Burisma.

1 And you met with the acting Prosecutor General of Ukraine  
2 and did not get much detail on the cases against Burisma.  
3 What did you go and tell Burisma after this meeting?

4 MS. PAINTER: I don't recall.

5 MR. DOWNEY: Did you debrief Burisma after meeting the  
6 acting Prosecutor General?

7 MS. PAINTER: I don't recall.

8 MR. DOWNEY: Was it normal for you to brief a client  
9 after meeting with just, you know, Ukraine's Justice  
10 Department officials?

11 MS. PAINTER: Every client is unique. We treat every  
12 client uniquely.

13 MR. DOWNEY: Did you provide the little that you  
14 learned from the acting Prosecutor General, did you provide  
15 that information to anyone at the State Department?

16 MS. PAINTER: No.

17 MR. DOWNEY: Why not?

18 MS. PAINTER: I don't think there was much information  
19 to provide.

20 MR. DOWNEY: Okay. We're going to turn to Tab 21,  
21 Will, which will be Exhibit 18.

22 [Painter Exhibit No. 18 was  
23 marked for identification.]

24 MR. DOWNEY: Roy, can you pass the baton back to Will?  
25 Thank you.

1 MR. SCHRAM: Actually I think Roy just stepped out.

2 Roy, are you there? Okay. Never mind.

3 MR. DOWNEY: Tab 21. So Exhibit 18 is calendar entry  
4 of June 22, 2016, and if we scroll down, I believe this is  
5 Karen Tramontano's schedule. And I wanted to point your  
6 attention to the last entry on the calendar was "meeting  
7 with prosecutor." Do you see that, Ms. Painter?

8 MS. PAINTER: I do.

9 MR. DOWNEY: Did this meeting occur?

10 MS. PAINTER: I was not a part of that meeting.

11 MR. DOWNEY: In June of 2016, do you know who the  
12 Prosecutor General of Ukraine was?

13 MS. PAINTER: I think his name was Mr. Lutsenko.

14 MR. DOWNEY: Did Ms. Tramontano attend this meeting  
15 with Mr. Lutsenko?

16 MS. PAINTER: I didn't attend the meeting, so I'd  
17 rather not comment on a meeting that I didn't attend.

18 MR. DOWNEY: After the meeting, did Ms. Tramontano  
19 communicate with you about what was discussed?

20 MS. PAINTER: No.

21 MR. DOWNEY: One second.

22 [Pause.]

23 MR. DOWNEY: Is there a reason why Ms. Tramontano  
24 wouldn't debrief you on this meeting with the Prosecutor  
25 General of Ukraine?

1 MS. PAINTER: I don't--I can't answer a question that  
2 you're asking me to think about what Ms. Tramontano thinks.

3 MR. DOWNEY: This meeting with the Prosecutor General  
4 that Ms. Tramontano attended, do you understand [inaudible-  
5 audio difficulties] Burisma?

6 MS. PAINTER: I did not attend the meeting and I got no  
7 briefing.

8 MR. DOWNEY: Okay. We're going to go to Tab 27, which  
9 will be Exhibit 19.

10 [Painter Exhibit No. 19 was  
11 marked for identification.]

12 MR. DOWNEY: So Exhibit 19 is a June 27, 2016, email  
13 that Ms. Painter sent to a redacted individual, subject  
14 line, "Coffee with Tony." And in the email you wrote, "Per  
15 my conversation with Tony at the Truman event, Karen  
16 Tramontano and I would like to have a brief coffee with Tony  
17 at his earliest convenience regarding troubling events we  
18 are seeing in Ukraine." In parentheses it says, "He said  
19 yes." Who is Tony?

20 MS. PAINTER: His name is Antony Blinken.

21 MR. DOWNEY: And where did he work?

22 MS. PAINTER: At the Department of State.

23 MR. DOWNEY: Now do you know Mr. Blinken?

24 MS. PAINTER: I've known Tony--I've known Mr. Blinken  
25 over 25 years as a professional colleague.

1 MR. DOWNEY: What were the troubling events you wanted  
2 to discuss with Mr. Blinken?

3 MS. PAINTER: We wanted to get his guidance on how to  
4 deal with Mr. Kent.

5 MR. DOWNEY: What was Mr. Kent doing that you sought  
6 Mr. Blinken's guidance?

7 MS. PAINTER: I believe I answered that question, but  
8 I'll tell you again, that Mr. Kent was making false  
9 allegations about representation in our firm.

10 MR. DOWNEY: Did this meeting with Mr. Blinken occur?

11 MS. PAINTER: It did not.

12 MR. DOWNEY: Was there a phone call between Blue Star  
13 Strategies and Mr. Blinken about this issue?

14 MS. PAINTER: There was not.

15 MR. DOWNEY: Did you ever discuss the issues with Mr.  
16 Kent with Mr. Blinken?

17 MS. PAINTER: I never had the opportunity to talk to  
18 Mr. Blinken about this.

19 MR. DOWNEY: Okay. We're going to go Tab 25, Will,  
20 which will be Exhibit 20.

21 [Painter Exhibit No. 20 was  
22 marked for identification.]

23 MR. DOWNEY: And scroll down please.

24 Exhibit 20 is a September 6, 2016, email Sally Painter  
25 sent to Mr. Fried, with the subject line, "Please call me on

1 cell," redacted, "Thank you. I need your guidance."

2 Why did you request to speak with Mr. Fried on this  
3 date?

4 MS. PAINTER: Can you scroll up to the beginning of  
5 this email?

6 MR. DOWNEY: Sure.

7 MS. PAINTER: Oh, it's the same issue as Mr. Kent.

8 MR. DOWNEY: Did you connect with Mr. Fried on this day  
9 to discuss this issue about Mr. Kent?

10 MS. PAINTER: I can't recall if I talked to Ambassador  
11 Fried at this moment.

12 MR. DOWNEY: Did you have a phone call with Mr. Kent  
13 during this same time period of September of 2016?

14 MS. PAINTER: I can't recall the sequence of events,  
15 but by time I believe I had talked to Mr. Kent.

16 MR. DOWNEY: What did you discuss?

17 MS. PAINTER: With Mr. Kent?

18 MR. DOWNEY: Yes.

19 MS. PAINTER: I asked Mr. Kent to stop making false  
20 allegations about our firm.

21 MR. DOWNEY: How long was the discussion with Mr. Kent?

22 MS. PAINTER: It was brief.

23 MR. DOWNEY: How would you describe it? Was he  
24 receptive to your overture?

25 MS. PAINTER: He was not.

1 MR. DOWNEY: And why not?

2 MS. PAINTER: I don't know why.

3 MR. DOWNEY: Did he disagree with what you were  
4 bringing up on the phone call?

5 MS. PAINTER: I can't speak for him.

6 MR. DOWNEY: Did any other members of Blue Star contact  
7 the Ukrainian Embassy connected to this?

8 MS. PAINTER: Yes.

9 MR. DOWNEY: Who contacted the Ukrainian Embassy?

10 MS. PAINTER: Ms. Tramontano.

11 MR. DOWNEY: Quickly going back to your conversation  
12 with Mr. Kent, did you discuss Burisma in that phone call  
13 with Mr. Kent?

14 MS. PAINTER: We did not.

15 MR. DOWNEY: Did you discuss Zlochevsky on the  
16 September 2016 phone call with Mr. Kent?

17 MS. PAINTER: We did not.

18 MR. DOWNEY: Just a minute.

19 [Pause.]

20 MR. DOWNEY: This phone call in September 2016 with Mr.  
21 Kent, what did he discuss with you, or what was his argument  
22 for--why was there conflict between Blue Star and Mr. Kent?

23 MS. PAINTER: Mr. Kent was making false allegations  
24 about our firm. I called him on it and asked him to stop,  
25 and he refused.

1 MR. DOWNEY: So on that phone call you explained Blue  
2 Star's position why Mr. Kent was in error, but he still  
3 refused to back down from his position?

4 MS. PAINTER: I explained to Mr. Kent I never heard of  
5 the individual that he had alleged that we were working for,  
6 and I asked him to stop repeating that.

7 MR. DOWNEY: And his response to that was--

8 MS. PAINTER: Mr. Kent said he was allowed to say what  
9 he wanted to say.

10 MR. DOWNEY: And who was Mr. Kent saying this stuff to?

11 MS. PAINTER: I believe I answered that question  
12 already.

13 MR. DOWNEY: Was it outside the State Department?

14 MS. PAINTER: Yes.

15 MR. DOWNEY: So going back to the conversation between  
16 Ms. Tramontano and Ambassador Yovanovitch that occurred in  
17 September of 2016, did you get any debrief from Ms.  
18 Tramontano about that phone call?

19 MS. PAINTER: What time frame are you talking about?  
20 It's the whole year?

21 MR. DOWNEY: Yeah. September of 2016. September 8th  
22 of 2016. We'll just put this in the record. This will be  
23 Exhibit 21, Will. It's Tab 26.

24 [Painter Exhibit No. 21 was  
25 marked for identification.]

1 MS. PAINTER: Okay. I see what you're saying. So you  
2 can go back up to the beginning.

3 MR. DOWNEY: So Exhibit 21 is a September 8th, 2016,  
4 email from Ms. Painter to Dan Fried, saying, "Dear Mr.  
5 Ambassador, a quick update. Masha called Karen back and  
6 they had a very good conversation. She said she would clear  
7 up any confusion around the misrepresentation that we are  
8 representing Andriy Klyuyev, which, as you know, we are not,  
9 and have never met him."

10 Can you offer any more details on what Karen and the  
11 ambassador talked about?

12 MS. PAINTER: What I put in the note was what I know to  
13 be what I already summarized, what I know.

14 MR. DOWNEY: Was the confusion ever cleared up?

15 MS. PAINTER: I don't know.

16 MR. DOWNEY: In December of 2016, Blue Star had a  
17 meeting with Ambassador Yovanovitch. Are you aware of this?

18 MS. PAINTER: Yes.

19 MR. DOWNEY: Did you attend this meeting with Ms.  
20 Yovanovitch?

21 MS. PAINTER: I did not.

22 MR. DOWNEY: Do you know who attended with Blue Star?

23 MS. PAINTER: Ms. Tramontano.

24 MR. DOWNEY: Did Ms. Tramontano provide a debrief from  
25 her meeting with Ms. Yovanovitch?

1 MS. PAINTER: Not that I recall.

2 MR. DOWNEY: Do you recall anything from the meeting  
3 with Ms. Yovanovitch in December of 2016?

4 MS. PAINTER: No.

5 MR. DOWNEY: Do you know what was discussed between Ms.  
6 Tramontano and Ms. Yovanovitch?

7 MS. PAINTER: I do not.

8 MR. DOWNEY: Are you aware of the independent audit  
9 being conducted on Burisma during this time period?

10 MS. PAINTER: Well, can you maybe be more specific?  
11 What does that mean?

12 MR. DOWNEY: We understand an independent auditor was  
13 doing work connected to Burisma during late 2016, and we're  
14 trying to learn more about it.

15 MS. PAINTER: I don't have any more information on  
16 that. No. I don't--I don't know what you're talking about.

17 MR. DOWNEY: Okay. Just a second.

18 [Pause.]

19 MR. DOWNEY: Ms. Painter, going back to the meeting  
20 between Ms. Tramontano and Ms. Yovanovitch in December of  
21 2016, did Blue Star prepare any materials for that meeting?

22 MS. PAINTER: I don't believe so.

23 MR. DOWNEY: Okay. We probably briefly covered this,  
24 but when did Blue Star hire Mr. Telizhenko?

25 MS. PAINTER: I think it was sometime in either July or

1 September of 2016.

2 MR. DOWNEY: Before contracting with Mr. Telizhenko,  
3 did Blue Star receive any recommendations on Mr.  
4 Telizhenko's behalf before deciding to--

5 MS. PAINTER: Not that I recall.

6 MR. DOWNEY: Does Blue Star generally do that type of  
7 due diligence before hiring?

8 MS. PAINTER: Every situation is unique.

9 MR. DOWNEY: Whose decision at Blue Star was it to  
10 contract with Mr. Telizhenko?

11 MS. PAINTER: Ms. Tramontano and I made a joint  
12 decision.

13 MR. DOWNEY: And why did you have--why did you jointly  
14 decide to contract with Mr. Telizhenko?

15 MS. PAINTER: We jointly usually decide things as we  
16 run the company.

17 MR. DOWNEY: But what was the overarching reasons for  
18 wanting to contract with Mr. Telizhenko at that time?

19 MS. PAINTER: We needed a low-level administration  
20 person who was based in Kyiv and could do administrative  
21 tasks for us.

22 MR. DOWNEY: Where did Mr. Telizhenko perform his work  
23 for Blue Star?

24 MS. PAINTER: Oh, I don't know. He was never--I don't  
25 know where he operated out of.

1 MR. DOWNEY: So did Mr. Telizhenko only perform  
2 administrative tasks for Blue Star?

3 MS. PAINTER: He delivered letters, identified email.  
4 He looked at press, followed press, very low-level, junior-  
5 type things.

6 MR. DOWNEY: Did Blue Star provide Mr. Telizhenko with  
7 any computer equipment, phone, company email address?

8 MS. PAINTER: We did not.

9 MR. DOWNEY: How did you communicate with Mr.  
10 Telizhenko?

11 MS. PAINTER: We communicated by email and on the  
12 telephone.

13 MR. DOWNEY: By telephone, you mean phone calls?

14 MS. PAINTER: Yes.

15 MR. DOWNEY: Who was Mr. Telizhenko's supervisor or  
16 main point of contact at Blue Star during his contracted  
17 work?

18 MS. PAINTER: We don't have supervisors for contractual  
19 employees.

20 MR. DOWNEY: So who did he report--who did Mr.  
21 Telizhenko report to in the company?

22 MS. PAINTER: Both Ms. Tramontano and I interacted with  
23 Mr. Telizhenko.

24 MR. DOWNEY: Did Mr. Telizhenko interact with anyone  
25 else at Blue Star Strategies besides you two?

1 MS. PAINTER: There may have been some administrative  
2 emails or something, but we managed all--we were the lead  
3 contacts for him, Ms. Tramontano and myself.

4 MR. DOWNEY: Did Mr. Telizhenko's work, contracted work  
5 with Blue Star, overlap with Blue Star's work on behalf of  
6 Burisma?

7 MS. PAINTER: From a timing perspective?

8 MR. DOWNEY: Yes.

9 MS. PAINTER: Yes.

10 MR. DOWNEY: Did you or Ms. Tramontano discuss Blue  
11 Star's Burisma's work with Mr. Telizhenko?

12 MS. PAINTER: Not once Mr. Telizhenko had become a  
13 contractor.

14 MR. DOWNEY: So you discussed Burisma with him before  
15 he became a contractor?

16 MS. PAINTER: I had explained to you all that when he  
17 was at the embassy, he facilitated by delivering letters and  
18 such, requests for meetings. So he was aware of meeting  
19 requests.

20 MR. DOWNEY: Did Mr. Telizhenko mention or discuss  
21 Burisma's allegations of corruption with you?

22 MR. KADZIK: Brian, I don't know if you're using the  
23 same outline that your colleagues used, but all these  
24 questions have been asked and answered. I think many of  
25 them by you. So let's move on to stuff that you want to

1 know because we're wrapping up in less than 45 minutes.

2 MR. DOWNEY: Well, I don't know if Mr. Telizhenko ever  
3 discussed Burisma's allegations of corruption with Blue  
4 Star.

5 MR. KADZIK: Yes, you do because either you or one of  
6 your colleagues asked it once before.

7 MR. FOLIO: Hi, Peter. This is Joe. I appreciate your  
8 concern on the 45 minutes. We're trying to make best use as  
9 possible, and so we're going to decide how we want to spend  
10 the time. All those questions being asked, but I think that  
11 if they have, we can just sort of run through them quickly  
12 with Ms. Painter as to what work she did with Mr. Telizhenko  
13 and specifically what work Mr. Telizhenko did with regard to  
14 their client Burisma.

15 So, Brian, if you want to run through those, that would  
16 be helpful. Thank you.

17 MR. KADZIK: Again, those questions have been asked and  
18 answered. If you want to spend the time on it, that's fine.

19 MR. DOWNEY: So we're going to go to Tab 49-R, Will,  
20 and this will be Exhibit 22.

21 [Painter Exhibit No. 22 was  
22 marked for identification.]

23 [Pause.]

24 MR. DOWNEY: So Exhibit 22 are messages we believe from  
25 Mr. Telizhenko and Sally Painter. I'll let Ms. Painter

1 review this document.

2 [Pause.]

3 MS. PAINTER: It starts with "Hello"?

4 MR. DOWNEY: Yep.

5 MS. PAINTER: Does this--okay. Then can I read through  
6 the rest of it, please?

7 MR. DOWNEY: Sure can.

8 [Pause.]

9 MS. PAINTER: You can keep going.

10 [Pause.]

11 MS. PAINTER: Okay. Keep going.

12 [Pause.]

13 MS. PAINTER: Keep going. Keep going. Go ahead.

14 [Pause.]

15 MS. PAINTER: Keep going. Okay.

16 [Pause.]

17 MS. PAINTER: Okay. Okay.

18 [Pause.]

19 MS. PAINTER: Keep going.

20 [Pause.]

21 MS. PAINTER: Okay.

22 MR. DOWNEY: Did you text with Andrii Telizhenko?

23 MS. PAINTER: I believe so, yes.

24 MR. DOWNEY: Do these appear to be messages between  
25 yourself and Mr. Telizhenko?

1 MS. PAINTER: Yes.

2 MR. DOWNEY: How often do you text with Mr. Telizhenko?

3 MS. PAINTER: I can't quantify. I don't recall the  
4 number.

5 MR. DOWNEY: Do you currently still communicate with  
6 Mr. Telizhenko?

7 MS. PAINTER: I do not.

8 MR. DOWNEY: Why not?

9 MS. PAINTER: We have nothing to communicate about.

10 MR. DOWNEY: When is the last time you communicated  
11 with Mr. Telizhenko?

12 MS. PAINTER: I don't recall.

13 MR. DOWNEY: So according to these messages, on April  
14 30th, 2019--which is on page 1, Will--why did you ask Mr.  
15 Telizhenko to take Blue Star off his resume?

16 MS. PAINTER: That really doesn't explain what the  
17 situation was.

18 MR. DOWNEY: What was the situation?

19 MS. PAINTER: Mr. Telizhenko had voiced concern with me  
20 that as he was working more and more with Mr. Giuliani that  
21 that would hurt him with the Republicans if he were to say  
22 he was working with Blue Star.

23 MR. DOWNEY: But you asked him to remove Blue Star from  
24 his resume?

25 MS. PAINTER: I don't believe this is a representation

1 of the conversation that we had because we had a verbal  
2 conversation, and he was wondering if I thought that he  
3 would be hurt with the Republicans if he had Blue Star on--I  
4 believe it wasn't his resume. I believe it was his Facebook  
5 page, but this does not represent the conversation that I  
6 had with Mr. Telizhenko.

7 MR. DOWNEY: So those missed voice calls, is that you  
8 trying to call Mr. Telizhenko?

9 MS. PAINTER: It could be back and forth.

10 MR. DOWNEY: And just for clarity, you did discuss this  
11 over the phone with Mr. Telizhenko?

12 MS. PAINTER: I believe we did.

13 MR. DOWNEY: Was anything else discussed on that phone  
14 call?

15 MS. PAINTER: I don't recall.

16 MR. DOWNEY: On page 2, Will.

17 On June 4th, 2019, you asked Mr. Telizhenko if  
18 everything is okay, and you said you were hearing rumors.  
19 Why did you ask Mr. Telizhenko this?

20 MS. PAINTER: I don't recall.

21 MR. DOWNEY: What rumors were you hearing?

22 MS. PAINTER: I don't recall.

23 MR. DOWNEY: What did you mean that you heard that  
24 things were getting complicated for Mr. Telizhenko?

25 MS. PAINTER: I don't recall.

1 MR. DOWNEY: If you go to page 3, Will.

2 On June 18th, 2019, you wrote "Complaint filed." What  
3 is this reference to?

4 MS. PAINTER: I don't recall.

5 MR. DOWNEY: You have no recollection?

6 MS. PAINTER: I do not.

7 MR. DOWNEY: Why would you have to tell Mr. Telizhenko  
8 that a complaint was filed?

9 MS. PAINTER: I don't recall.

10 MR. DOWNEY: This is nearly three years after he left--  
11 or two years after he left Blue Star.

12 MS. PAINTER: I don't recall.

13 MR. DOWNEY: On July 9th, 2019, you texted "Please  
14 remind him that we'll be first Ukrainian to work with  
15 prince." Who do you want Mr. Telizhenko to speak to about  
16 the prince? What prince?

17 MS. PAINTER: We're--I don't see this. Where is it?

18 MR. DOWNEY: I think it's on the screen now, Ms.  
19 Painter: "I landed in London."

20 MS. PAINTER: I just--doesn't meet without--that  
21 doesn't make any sense.

22 MR. DOWNEY: Do you use the messaging app, WhatsApp?

23 MS. PAINTER: I do periodically.

24 MR. DOWNEY: Does this look like WhatsApp looks like?

25 MS. PAINTER: It does.

1 MR. DOWNEY: Do you recall if you attempted to call Mr.  
2 Telizhenko around July 9th, 2019?

3 MS. PAINTER: I don't recall that specific--can you  
4 keep scrolling down so I can read what this is to get a  
5 context?

6 [Pause.]

7 MS. PAINTER: Is there any more? Keep going. Keep  
8 going. Keep going.

9 MR. DOWNEY: I think that's it.

10 MS. PAINTER: So this round of discussion has nothing  
11 to do with the prince people. It has nothing to do with  
12 Burisma.

13 MR. DOWNEY: So do you still have these messages  
14 between yourself and Mr. Telizhenko?

15 MS. PAINTER: I do not keep my WhatsApp messages.

16 MR. DOWNEY: Why not?

17 MS. PAINTER: I like to get rid of them. It makes me  
18 know that I finished a task. So I get rid of my texts and  
19 my WhatsApp and any of my traffic like that. I like to have  
20 a clean file.

21 MR. DOWNEY: So at this point of July of 2019, do you  
22 trust Mr. Telizhenko?

23 MS. PAINTER: In what capacity?

24 MR. DOWNEY: As a person, as someone who is keeping up  
25 with the news on Ukrainian-U.S. relations?

1 MS. PAINTER: I think Mr. Telizhenko is a young person  
2 who has the capacity to do administrative work.

3 MR. DOWNEY: On page 4, why did you thank Mr.  
4 Telizhenko for sending you a list of names? Why did he send  
5 you these names? And what is the significance of these  
6 individuals?

7 MS. PAINTER: Mr. Telizhenko offered to send me a list  
8 of people that he thought were going to be senior people,  
9 and he often just would send things and offer things that  
10 weren't asked.

11 MR. DOWNEY: So why were you communicating with Mr.  
12 Telizhenko in July of 2019?

13 MS. PAINTER: We had a fine rapport, and he would  
14 communicate with me periodically.

15 MR. DOWNEY: You had a fine rapport, but you asked him  
16 to take Blue Star off his résumé?

17 MS. PAINTER: As I explained, Mr. Telizhenko was  
18 working--was concerned about his reputation with the  
19 Republicans because he was working more and more with Mr.  
20 Giuliani, and his question to me was would it hurt him with  
21 the Republicans.

22 MR. DOWNEY: Did you communicate with Mr. Telizhenko  
23 through WhatsApp in 2017 and 2018?

24 MS. PAINTER: I do not believe so, no.

25 MR. DOWNEY: So this string of communication between

1 yourself and Mr. Telizhenko in the spring and summer of 2019  
2 was new?

3 MS. PAINTER: I really didn't work with WhatsApp that  
4 much, so it was a new thing for me.

5 MR. DOWNEY: Did you communicate with Mr. Telizhenko in  
6 2017, 2018, and 2019 via email?

7 MS. PAINTER: I think I communicated in email in 2017.  
8 I don't recall--I don't recall when I switched over or what  
9 I did.

10 MR. DOWNEY: Do you know if Ms. Tramontano communicated  
11 with Mr. Telizhenko on messaging apps?

12 MS. PAINTER: I do not.

13 MR. DOWNEY: Would it surprise you if she did?

14 MS. PAINTER: I wouldn't speculate.

15 MR. DOWNEY: One minute, please.

16 [Pause.]

17 MR. DOWNEY: Going back to the January 2017 Politico  
18 article that was done by Mr. Vogel and Mr. Stern, did you  
19 communicate with Mr. Telizhenko about that article?

20 MS. PAINTER: Is that the Politico article--I believe I  
21 did talk to him because that was when we said that we don't-  
22 -our people or our contractors don't talk to the press, and  
23 he had spoken to the press.

24 MR. DOWNEY: And what did you discuss with Mr.  
25 Telizhenko about that article?

1 MS. PAINTER: I explained that Blue Star Strategies  
2 contractors do not--we do not speak to the press, and he had  
3 broken that rule, and that we were no longer able to work  
4 together.

5 MR. DOWNEY: Did you ask him how did this get out?

6 MS. PAINTER: I mean, he clearly was quoted and said he  
7 did talk to the press and he was quoted. He did not dispute  
8 that.

9 MR. DOWNEY: So to be clear, do you communicate with  
10 Mr. Telizhenko at this point, in 2020?

11 MS. PAINTER: No.

12 MR. DOWNEY: And you can't recall when you ended  
13 communication with Mr. Telizhenko?

14 MS. PAINTER: I don't recall exactly, but it was clear  
15 that he was talking to the press a lot, and it was  
16 unsettling.

17 MR. DOWNEY: So if you go to the last page of these  
18 messages between yourself and Mr. Telizhenko, the last  
19 message you sent was August 22, 2019. Do you know if you  
20 communicated past this date with him?

21 MS. PAINTER: I don't recall.

22 MR. DOWNEY: It's nearly 1 year ago on the date.

23 Just a minute. Thank you.

24 [Pause.]

25 MR. DOWNEY: Will, if we can bring that exhibit back

1 up? On the first page, so for clarity, your message to Mr.  
2 Telizhenko says, "Please take Blue Star off your résumé."

3 MS. PAINTER: Mm-hmm.

4 MR. DOWNEY: It sound like you're ordering him to do  
5 that. No?

6 MS. PAINTER: As I stated before--this will be the  
7 third time--Mr. Telizhenko was working more and more with  
8 Mr. Giuliani, and we had a conversation about whether it  
9 would hurt him with the Republicans if he had Blue Star on  
10 his résumé. So this is not a characterization of our  
11 conversation.

12 MR. DOWNEY: So is that connected to the message you  
13 sent above on April 26, 2019, that says, "Have you seen what  
14 Solomon has written about what you said?"

15 MS. PAINTER: I don't think the--I can't comment on  
16 that because I don't think this is an accurate  
17 representation of the chain of events.

18 MR. DOWNEY: So you're advising Mr. Telizhenko how to  
19 better work with Rudy Giuliani and Republicans?

20 MS. PAINTER: Ironically, Mr. Telizhenko was asking my  
21 advice.

22 MR. DOWNEY: All right. It's 4:10. I've got to confer  
23 with my colleagues here, and we'll be right back.

24 [Pause.]

25 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Hey, Zack, do you have any questions

1 at this time?

2 MR. SCHRAM: I have one set of questions. I estimate  
3 it will take about 5 minutes.

4 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Okay. Why don't you go ahead?

5 MR. SCHRAM: Ms. Painter, in our earlier discussion  
6 about Mr. Telizhenko's lack of credibility and his advocacy  
7 of Russian disinformation efforts, you spoke about him  
8 peddling the theory that Ukraine interfered in our 2016  
9 election. I quoted testimony from Dr. Fiona Hill, the top  
10 expert on Russia at the National Security Council, and the  
11 findings of the bipartisan investigation by the Senate  
12 Intelligence Committee, both of which unequivocally stated  
13 that the Ukrainian interference theory is false.

14 Ms. Painter, I'd like to direct your attention again to  
15 the September 27, 2019, letter from Chairman Grassley and  
16 Johnson to Attorney General Barr, which was entered as  
17 Exhibit B. At the top of page 3, the middle of the first  
18 full paragraph, starting with "Ukrainian efforts,"  
19 "Ukrainian efforts abetted by a U.S. political party to  
20 interfere in the 2016 election should not be ignored. Such  
21 allegations of corruption deserve due scrutiny, and the  
22 American people have a right to know when foreign forces  
23 attempt to undermine our democratic processes."

24 "Accordingly, please provide an answer to two questions  
25 from the July 2017 letter related to the Democrats'

1 collusion with Ukrainian officials."

2 "One, are you investigating links and coordination  
3 between the Ukrainian Government and individuals associated  
4 with the campaign of Hillary Clinton or the Democratic  
5 National Committee? If not, why not?"

6 "Two, why hasn't the Justice Department required  
7 Alexandra Chalupa to register as a foreign agent under  
8 FARA?"

9 When I raised this previously, the majority sought to  
10 "clarify" that they're specifically investigating the theory  
11 that Ukrainian interfered in our elections through Alexandra  
12 Chalupa and that somehow these other experts who denounced  
13 that theory as Russian disinformation were looking at some  
14 other Ukrainian interference. The very Politico article the  
15 majority cited as evidence that they are not advancing  
16 Russian disinformation was identified in the Senate  
17 Intelligence Committee report as being used to advance a  
18 Russian disinformation effort. The report of the Senate  
19 Intelligence Committee also specifically addresses the  
20 theory about Alexandra Chalupa.

21 Marking as Exhibit H an excerpt of the report, the  
22 fifth volume of the report, page 112.

23 [Painter Exhibit H was marked  
24 for identification.]

25 MR. SCHRAM: I'll give you a moment to review it.

1 [Pause.]

2 MR. SCHRAM: As you can see, the Senate Intelligence  
3 Committee cites an email from Paul Manafort to Donald Trump  
4 Jr. in which Manafort says that the Vogel Politico article,  
5 the same one the majority introduced into evidence,  
6 incredulously cited today, "lays out clearly the conspiracy  
7 to implement the disinformation campaign on me between the  
8 DNC, Obama administration, and the Government of Ukraine."

9 And you can look at the footnote 695. The footnote  
10 says, "The Politico article Manafort sent would be used by  
11 others close to Manafort to make the case that Ukraine, not  
12 Russia, interfered in the U.S. elections. For example, on  
13 August 22nd"--and this says 2017, but you have seen the  
14 cite, we believe that the correct cite is 2018--"Kilimnik's  
15 alias Twitter account retweeted a story by Sputnik reporter  
16 Lee Stranahan, who used the Politico article as a basis to  
17 legitimize his claims that DNC contractor Alexandra Chalupa  
18 and the Ukrainian Government was the real 2016 election  
19 interference."

20 Turning your attention to page 120 of the report--which  
21 I'll mark as Exhibit I.

22 [Painter Exhibit I was marked  
23 for identification.]

24 MR. SCHRAM: The report details the ways Russian  
25 disinformation was amplified, and that the Committee

1 discusses Russian intelligence officer Konstantin Kilimnik's  
2 efforts to push the very same narrative. "On August 22,  
3 2018, Kilimnik retweeted Sputnik reporter Lee Stranahan's  
4 tweet related to allegations that Alexandra Chalupa, a  
5 former DNC contractor, was involved in interfering with the  
6 U.S. election and that the real election interference had  
7 been between the DNC [inaudible - audio difficulties]."  
8 Again, it's cited on page 112 and on page 120.

9 Ms. Painter, should the Senate be used as a platform to  
10 amplify Russian disinformation efforts that are peddled by  
11 the likes of Mr. Kilimnik and Mr. Telizhenko?

12 MS. PAINTER: I do not believe so, no.

13 MR. SCHRAM: Ms. Painter, the majority has also  
14 insisted that their entire investigation is based solely on  
15 Government records and testimony. Yet in the last round,  
16 they entered into evidence material provided directly--  
17 apparently provided directly by Mr. Telizhenko. Were the  
18 text messages that you were shown in the last round  
19 Government records?

20 MS. PAINTER: No.

21 MR. SCHRAM: Nothing further.

22 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Ms. Painter, can you hear me okay?

23 MS. PAINTER: Yes.

24 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Besides its own shareholders, would  
25 the--who would benefit most from improving Burisma's

1 reputation in the United States? Would the Ukrainian  
2 Government benefit most from that?

3 Yes, I'll repeat it in full. Would the Ukrainian  
4 Government benefit most from improving Burisma's reputation  
5 in the United States?

6 MS. PAINTER: I don't know.

7 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: I'll go back to one of the questions  
8 I asked you earlier in the day. So it's your testimony here  
9 today that when meeting with U.S. Government officials, you  
10 and Blue Star Strategies did not intend to influence U.S.  
11 policy with respect to Burisma. Is that correct?

12 MS. PAINTER: That's correct.

13 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: And it is your testimony here today  
14 that you and Burisma--excuse me, you and Blue Star  
15 Strategies [inaudible - audio difficulties] assistance in  
16 the United States for Burisma?

17 MS. PAINTER: Blue Star Strategies was looking to  
18 understand the position of the U.S. Government for Burisma.  
19 We were trying to understand if Ambassador Pyatt had an  
20 individual view or he had the view of the U.S. Government.  
21 That's the activities that we engaged on, which was to  
22 explore or try to determine what the U.S. Government  
23 position was as it related to Burisma.

24 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Those actions and activities for  
25 Burisma, your testimony here today is that you do not

1 consider them to be government relations assistance. Is  
2 that correct?

3 MS. PAINTER: I do not consider them to be lobbying. I  
4 consider that to be exploring to understand the position of  
5 the U.S. Government.

6 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: And again, you would not consider  
7 that to be government relations assistance. Is that  
8 correct?

9 MS. PAINTER: I do not believe--we were looking to  
10 explore what the position of the U.S. Government was as it  
11 relates to Burisma and understand the U.S. position relative  
12 to Burisma.

13 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Well, then I'll just assume your  
14 answer is no, you do not consider it to be government  
15 relations assistance.

16 MR. KADZIK: Her testimony--

17 MS. PAINTER: I explained, we were trying--

18 MR. SCHRAM: Sorry, Peter. We couldn't hear you.

19 MR. KADZIK: Her testimony, you can't make an  
20 assumption. Move on.

21 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: I've asked her repeatedly, and I'm  
22 not getting an answer, so I'll assume the answer is no.

23 MR. KADZIK: You can assume whatever you want. She's  
24 given her answer.

25 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Scott, over to you.

1 MR. WITTMANN: Ms. Painter, just a few more questions  
2 and then our time will be up today. I want to enter into  
3 the record Exhibit No. 23, Tab 460.

4 [Painter Exhibit No. 23 was  
5 marked for identification.]

6 MR. WITTMANN: Ms. Painter, this is a July 27, 2019,  
7 email that Ms. Tramontano sent to you and others, including  
8 Vadym, regarding clips about President Trump's call with  
9 President Zelensky mentioning Burisma. And please let us  
10 know if you'd like us to scroll down. It's just one page.

11 MS. PAINTER: Okay. So this is to Vadym from Ms.  
12 Tramontano.

13 MR. WITTMANN: That's correct, and you are copied on  
14 here as well.

15 MS. PAINTER: Can you go back to the top, please?

16 MR. WITTMANN: Ms. Tramontano wrote, "Thank you, Vadym.  
17 I have brief Sally. She will reach out to her friend. I  
18 talked to our other friend this morning."

19 What did Ms. Tramontano brief you on?

20 MS. PAINTER: I don't recall.

21 MR. WITTMANN: Did you discuss these clips with Ms.  
22 Tramontano around this time period?

23 MS. PAINTER: I don't recall.

24 MR. WITTMANN: Who is the friend that Ms. Tramontano  
25 said that you would reach out to?

1 MS. PAINTER: I don't recall.

2 MR. WITTMANN: Did you speak to anybody about these  
3 clips around this time period?

4 MS. PAINTER: I don't recall.

5 MR. WITTMANN: Ms. Tramontano also wrote that she will  
6 reach out to your other friend--her other friend this  
7 morning. Do you know who this person is, or was?

8 MS. PAINTER: I do not.

9 MR. WITTMANN: We're going to enter into the record,  
10 this will be Exhibit No. 24. Tab 44M please, Will.

11 [Painter Exhibit No. 24 was  
12 marked for identification.]

13 MR. WITTMANN: And you can scroll down so you can see  
14 the next page as well, Ms. Painter.

15 MS. PAINTER: Mm-hmm.

16 MR. WITTMANN: This email has to do with a letter from  
17 Ambassador Herbst, and as you can see on the next page, the  
18 letter is signed by the ambassador. What kind of  
19 interaction did Blue Star have with Ambassador Herbst  
20 regarding Burisma?

21 MS. PAINTER: Burisma was a sponsor of Atlantic Council  
22 activities related to the transatlantic space.

23 MR. WITTMANN: And how long, or when did they become a  
24 sponsor?

25 MS. PAINTER: I think it was either 2017 or 2018.

1 MR. WITTMANN: Do you know Ambassador Herbst?

2 MS. PAINTER: I do.

3 MR. WITTMANN: How do know him?

4 MS. PAINTER: I knew him when he was Ambassador to  
5 Ukraine, back under Viktor Yushchenko.

6 MR. WITTMANN: On January 16, 2018, Pero wrote to  
7 Vadym, and others are copied, including yourself, "Please  
8 find attached letter from Ambassador Herbst for the visa  
9 application purposes." What did--what was Pero referring to  
10 regarding the visa application?

11 MS. PAINTER: The Atlantic Council was inviting him to  
12 come to the U.S. for a briefing, and to come to the U.S. for  
13 a briefing he needed a visa. It was for all board members,  
14 and that's why he wrote him the invitation.

15 MR. WITTMANN: And who needed the visa?

16 MS. PAINTER: Anybody who was coming to the U.S. from  
17 Ukraine who didn't have a visa.

18 MR. WITTMANN: And in this specific case who needed the  
19 visa?

20 MS. PAINTER: Mr. Zlochevsky needed a visa to attend an  
21 Atlantic Council briefing.

22 MR. WITTMANN: Did he obtain the visa?

23 MS. PAINTER: He did not.

24 MR. WITTMANN: Do you know why?

25 MS. PAINTER: The event never happened so there was no

1 event to come to, so I don't believe he--I don't know. But  
2 there was no event. The event never took place.

3 MR. WITTMANN: Did Mr. Zlochevsky obtain visas for  
4 other events in the United States?

5 MS. PAINTER: I don't have knowledge of that.

6 MR. WITTMANN: Ms. Painter, our time is up. We will  
7 conclude today. Zack, do you have anything else to add?

8 MR. SCHRAM: No. Thank you, Scott. Thank you, Ms.  
9 Painter, for your time and for your patience.

10 MS. PAINTER: Thank you.

11 MR. WITTMANN: Thank you, Ms. Painter, for your time.  
12 It's 4:30. We're off the record.

13 MR. KADZIK: So wait, wait, wait, wait, wait, wait.  
14 Just to be clear, when you said this concludes, this is it.  
15 This concludes her testimony, period.

16 MR. FOLIO: Hi, Peter. No, that's not what we agreed  
17 to. It wasn't a one and done. But we appreciate Ms.  
18 Painter appearing voluntarily, and if we have additional  
19 questions for her we will reach out to you and let you know.

20 MR. KADZIK: So you may not agree to this one and done,  
21 but that was our condition, so it's one and done.

22 MR. FOLIO: I appreciate that, but insofar as they're  
23 unilateral conditions, I mean, you can repeat them but  
24 that's not what we agreed to.

25 MR. KADZIK: Well, you--

1 MR. FOLIO: We very much appreciate Ms. Painter's  
2 appearance today. We were able to ask many of our  
3 questions. We will go back and do our diligence and look at  
4 what we have, and if we have additional things we'd like to  
5 speak to her about we will let you know.

6 MR. KADZIK: You can let me know but it's not going to  
7 happen. Thanks.

8 MR. FOLIO: I appreciate that. I don't think I need to  
9 remind anyone the Committee has authorized subpoenas here,  
10 but just in case it needed to be said.

11 Thank you, Ms. Painter. We appreciate it.

12 MR. KADZIK: I'd like to see you get that subpoena.

13 MR. FOLIO: We already have it. Thank you, Peter.

14 [Whereupon, at 4:31 p.m., the interview was concluded.]

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## CONSULTING SERVICES AGREEMENT

This Consulting Services Agreement (the "Agreement") is between **Burisma Holdings Ltd.** (the "Client"), an independent oil and gas company, with principal place of business at Archiepiskopou. Makariou III, 155 PROTEAS HOUSE, 5<sup>th</sup> floor, 3026, Limassol Cyprus, and **Blue Star Strategies, LLC** (the "Firm"), a limited liability company with its principal place of business at 888 17th Street, NW, Suite 800, Washington, D.C. 20006, USA. For purposes of this Agreement, the Client and the Firm are referred to singularly as "the Party" or collectively as "the Parties". The Parties hereby agree to the following terms and conditions:

### AGREEMENT

#### 1. SERVICES

Under the terms of this Agreement, the Firm agrees to provide to the Client independent professional consulting services ("Services") as follows:

- Provide government relations assistance to the Client in the U.S. and Ukraine;
- Communicate to officials about the Client's business and its economic importance to Ukraine; and
- Prepare brief written reports as requested by the Client.

#### 2. OBLIGATIONS OF THE FIRM

- A. The Firm shall perform its responsibilities under this Agreement in an ethical and business-like manner and as per requirements and/or guidance of the Client and in its best interests.
- B. The Firm shall submit all reports required of it by applicable federal and state disclosure and/or reporting laws.

#### 3. OBLIGATIONS OF CLIENT

- A. Assisting with Government Disclosures by the Firm: Where applicable, the Client recognizes that the Firm may periodically be required to file federal and disclosure forms in the U.S. which may require the Client's signature.



- B. Non-payment: The Client acknowledges that any failure to timely remit payments due under this Agreement constitutes a material breach hereof.

#### 4. COMPENSATION

- A. Monthly Retainer Fee: The Client agrees to pay the Firm a Monthly Retainer Fee of US\$30,000 (thirty thousand U.S. dollars), exclusive of all expenses. The Monthly Retainer Fee is exclusive of value-added tax (VAT) and out-of-pocket business expenses. Any expenses exceeding US\$500 (five hundred U.S. dollars) shall be pre-approved by the Client in advance of being incurred.
- B. Payment Schedule: Payment of the Monthly Fee is due upon receipt of the Firm's invoice. The first invoice shall include the first two months of the Monthly Retainer Fee, in the amount of \$60,000 (sixty thousand U.S. dollars). Should the Client allow its account to fall more than thirty (30) days in arrears, the Firm retains the option of suspending its Services and those of subcontractors called for in this Agreement until payment arrangements are made to the reasonable satisfaction of the Firm.
- C. Payment by Check: If the Client chooses to remit payment in the form of a check, please make payable to:

Blue Star Strategies, LLC  
888 17<sup>th</sup> Street NW, Suite 800  
Washington, DC 20006, USA  
Attn: Sally Painter

- D. Payment by Wire: If the Client chooses to remit payment by wire transfer:

Receiving Bank: Sun Trust Bank  
Receiving Bank Swift: SNTRUS3A  
Beneficiary Bank: ABA#061000104

Account Name: Blue Star Strategies, LLC  
Account Number: #1000168741998

- E. Invoices: The Firm agrees to send all invoices to the Client. Such invoice must be original and will contain a detailed statement (report) of the work and tasks performed by the Firm hereunder, as well as receipts and/or other appropriate documents for all items for which the Firm requests reimbursement. The Client shall pay for appropriately documented and approved fees within thirty (30) days of receipt. Invoices should be mailed to:

Burisma Holdings Ltd.  
10-A Ryleyeva St., Office 424



Kyiv 04073, Ukraine  
Attn: Vadym Pozharskyi  
[vadym.pozharskyi@burisma.com](mailto:vadym.pozharskyi@burisma.com)

## **5. ASSIGNMENT**

The Firm shall not assign this Agreement or any of its rights or obligations hereunder without the express prior written approval of the Client. This Agreement shall bind and inure to the benefit of the Parties, and their respective successors and assigns permitted, as provided in this section.

## **6. CONFIDENTIALITY**

The Firm and the Client agree that they will hold in confidence and will not utilize in any manner the content of this Agreement and any information whatsoever of a restricted or confidential nature concerning the activities or business of the other, unless such disclosure: (a) is mutually agreed upon in writing; (b) is reasonably required in connection with the fulfillment of the disclosing party's obligations hereunder, and then is made only to the minimum extent necessary to carry out such obligations; (c) pertains to information which had generally become known to the public other than through the disclosure thereof by the disclosing party; (d) is made to attorneys, accountants or other professional advisors of the disclosing party under confidentiality agreements substantially similar to this one; or (e) pursuant to compulsory legal process, provided that the disclosing party has opportunity to seek a protective or similar order and only the minimum information is disclosed to comply with such legal process. "Confidential information" means any (a) information designated by the other party in writing as confidential, proprietary or restricted, and (b) any information of which the receiving party knows or should reasonably know that (i) the disclosing party treats as confidential or proprietary, or (ii) public disclosure can or will negatively affect the interests of the other party. The terms of this Section 6 shall survive the termination of this Agreement.

## **7. WORK PRODUCT**

Any and all Work Product developed or generated under this Agreement per Section 1 herein shall be owned by the Client unless otherwise agreed with the Firm.

## **8. NOTICES**

All notices required or authorized by this Agreement shall be given in writing and shall contain a reference to this Agreement. All such notices shall be deemed effective when they are either served by personal delivery, or sent, postage pre-paid, by registered or certified mail to the receiving Party at the following address:



If to the Firm: Blue Star Strategies, LLC  
888 17th Street, NW, Suite 800  
Washington, DC 20006 USA  
Attn: Sally Painter  
[sally.painter@bluestarstrategies.com](mailto:sally.painter@bluestarstrategies.com)

If to the Client: Burisma Holdings Ltd.  
10-A Ryleyeva Str., Office 424  
Kyiv 04073, Ukraine  
Attn: Vadym Pozharskyi  
[vadym.pozharskyi@burisma.com](mailto:vadym.pozharskyi@burisma.com)

## **9. RESOLUTION OF DISPUTES**

The Firm and the Client agree to make every effort to resolve amicably by direct informal negotiations any disagreement or dispute arising between them under or in connection with this Agreement. Any dispute, controversy or claim arising out of or relating to this Agreement, which cannot be settled amicably within sixty (60) days, shall be settled by arbitration in accordance with the rules of the American Arbitration Association as presently in force. The place of arbitration shall be agreed by the parties in writing within ten (10) days from the above-mentioned 60 day period, or if no agreement is reached, shall be determined by the arbitral tribunal, having regard to the circumstances of the arbitration. The language to be used in the arbitral proceedings shall be English. The Parties hereto agree to be bound by any arbitration award rendered in accordance with this provision as the final adjudication of any dispute arising under this Agreement.

## **10. PRIVILEGES AND IMMUNITIES**

Nothing in this Agreement or relating thereto shall be construed as constituting a waiver of the privileges and immunities of the Parties.

## **11. AMENDMENTS**

This Agreement may only be amended in writing signed by the Client and an executive officer of the Firm, explicitly stating that the writing is intended to amend this Agreement.

## **12. DURATION AND TERMINATION**

- A. **Term and Renewal:** This Agreement shall commence on November 1, 2015 ("the Start Date") and continue until October 31, 2016 ("Initial Term"). This



Agreement shall automatically renew and continue on a six month basis until renewed or terminated by either Party pursuant to the terms herein.

- B. Either Party may terminate this Agreement for cause upon the other Party's breach or default of any provision of this Agreement unless such breach or default is corrected or cured within thirty (30) days after receipt of written notice thereof from the other Party.
- C. Either Party may terminate this Agreement for cause immediately, in the event that the other Party: (i) is the subject of a voluntary or involuntary petition in bankruptcy; (ii) is or becomes insolvent; or (iii) ceases to pay its obligations or conduct business in the normal course.
- D. Following the expiration of the Initial Term, the Client may terminate the Agreement upon the provision, in writing, of no fewer than sixty (60) days' notice. Termination pursuant to this paragraph does not release Client or the Firm from any ongoing disclosure or reporting requirements either might have under this Agreement or any amendments hereto or of any obligation of the Client to provide compensation for any and all Services provided on behalf of the Client, which shall be pro-rated for any partial month.

### **13. WAIVER**

The failure of either Party to enforce at any time or for any period of time any provision hereof shall not be construed to be a waiver of such provision of the right thereafter to enforce each and every provision. No waiver by either Party to this Agreement, either express or implied, of any breach of any term, condition or obligation of this Agreement shall be construed as a waiver of any subsequent breach of that term, condition or obligation or of any other term, condition or obligation of this Agreement.

### **14. RELATIONSHIP OF THE PARTIES**

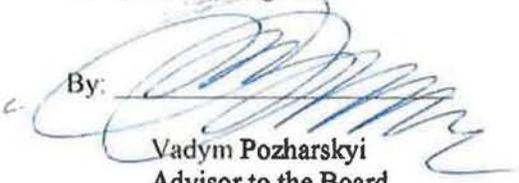
The Firm is an independent contractor. All persons employed by the Firm in the performance of the Agreement shall perform under the control and direction of the Firm and shall under no circumstances be considered employees of the Client.

\*\*\*



We, the undersigned, hereby agree that these terms and conditions constitute the entire Agreement governing the business relationship between the **Burisma Holdings Ltd.** and **Blue Star Strategies, LLC** for the purpose of delivery of the Services agreed above, which is made effective as from the Start Date above.

**Burisma Holdings Ltd.**

By: 

Vadym Pozharskyi  
Advisor to the Board

Date: 11/11/2015

**Blue Star Strategies, LLC**

By: 

Sally Painter  
Chief Operating Officer

Date: Nov. 18, 2015



**From:**Fried, Daniel  
**Sent:**Mon, 21 Apr 2014 22:12:07 +0000  
**To:**'Sally.Painter@bluestarstrategies.com'  
**Subject:**Re: Connecitng

Let's talk tomorrow. Was on travel when you called.

---

**From:** Sally Painter [mailto:Sally.Painter@bluestarstrategies.com]  
**Sent:** Monday, April 21, 2014 06:11 PM  
**To:** Fried, Daniel  
**Subject:** Connecitng

Dear Dan,

Hope this note finds you well. I left a message at your office last week. Please let me know a time convenient to briefly speak on Ukraine.

I understand that we are both being honored next Monday by the Bulgarians. I am clearly in good company!

warmest regards,

sally

Sally Painter  
Blue Star Strategies

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PRESIDENTIAL TRANSITION

**Ukrainian efforts to sabotage Trump backfire**

Kiev officials are scrambling to make amends with the president-elect after quietly working to boost Clinton.

By KENNETH P. VOGEL and DAVID STERN | 01/11/2017 05:05 AM EST



President Petro Poroshenko's administration, along with the Ukrainian Embassy in Washington, insists that Ukraine stayed neutral in the American presidential race. | Getty

Donald Trump wasn't the only presidential candidate whose campaign was boosted by officials of a former Soviet bloc country.

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

A Ukrainian-American operative who was consulting for the Democratic National Committee met with top officials in the Ukrainian Embassy in Washington in an effort to expose ties between Trump, top campaign aide Paul Manafort and Russia, according to people with direct knowledge of the situation.

The Ukrainian efforts had an impact in the race, helping to force Manafort's resignation and advancing the narrative that Trump's campaign was deeply connected to Ukraine's foe to the east, Russia. But they were far less concerted or centrally directed than Russia's alleged hacking and dissemination of Democratic emails.

Russia's effort was personally directed by Russian President Vladimir Putin, involved the country's military and foreign intelligence services, according to U.S. intelligence officials. They reportedly briefed Trump last week on the possibility that Russian operatives might have compromising information on the president-elect. And at a Senate hearing last week on the hacking, Director of National Intelligence James Clapper said "I don't think we've ever encountered a more aggressive or direct campaign to interfere in our election process than we've seen in this case."

There's little evidence of such a top-down effort by Ukraine. Longtime observers suggest that the rampant corruption, factionalism and economic struggles plaguing the country — not to mention its ongoing strife with Russia — would render it unable to pull off an ambitious covert interference campaign in another country's election. And President Petro Poroshenko's administration, along with the Ukrainian Embassy in Washington, insists that Ukraine stayed neutral in the race.

ADVERTISING

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CONGRESS

## Lawmakers broach possible Trump campaign coordination with Russia

By **AUSTIN WRIGHT** and **MARTIN MATISHAK**

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Yet Politico's investigation found evidence of Ukrainian government involvement in the race that appears to strain diplomatic protocol dictating that governments refrain from engaging in one another's elections.

Russia's meddling has sparked outrage from the American body politic. The U.S. intelligence community undertook the rare move of publicizing its findings on the matter, and President Barack Obama took several steps to officially retaliate, while members of Congress continue pushing for more investigations into the hacking and a harder line against Russia, which was already viewed in Washington as America's leading foreign adversary.

Ukraine, on the other hand, has traditionally enjoyed strong relations with U.S. administrations. Its officials worry that could change under Trump, whose team has privately expressed sentiments ranging from ambivalence to deep skepticism about Poroshenko's regime, while sounding unusually friendly notes about Putin's regime.

Poroshenko is scrambling to alter that dynamic, recently signing a \$50,000-a-month contract with a well-connected GOP-linked Washington lobbying firm to set up meetings with U.S. government officials "to strengthen U.S.-Ukrainian relations."

Revelations about Ukraine's anti-Trump efforts could further set back those efforts.

"Things seem to be going from bad to worse for Ukraine," said David A. Merkel, a senior fellow at the Atlantic Council who helped oversee U.S. relations with Russia and Ukraine while working in George W. Bush's State Department and National Security Council.

Merkel, who has served as an election observer in Ukrainian presidential elections dating back to 1993, noted there's some irony in Ukraine and Russia taking opposite sides in the 2016 presidential race, given that past Ukrainian elections were widely viewed in Washington's foreign policy community as proxy wars between the U.S. and Russia.

"Now, it seems that a U.S. election may have been seen as a surrogate battle by those in Kiev and Moscow," Merkel said.

...

The Ukrainian antipathy for Trump's team — and alignment with Clinton's — can be traced back to late 2013. That's when the country's president, Viktor Yanukovich, whom Manafort had been advising, abruptly backed out of a European Union pact linked to anti-corruption reforms. Instead, Yanukovich entered into a multibillion-dollar bailout agreement with Russia, sparking protests across Ukraine and prompting Yanukovich to flee the country to Russia under Putin's protection.

In the ensuing crisis, Russian troops moved into the Ukrainian territory of Crimea, and Manafort dropped off the radar.

Manafort's work for Yanukovich caught the attention of a veteran Democratic operative named Alexandra Chalupa, who had worked in the White House Office of Public Liaison during the Clinton administration. Chalupa went on to work as a staffer, then as a consultant, for Democratic National Committee. The DNC paid her \$412,000 from 2004 to June 2016, according to Federal Election Commission records, though she also was paid by other clients during that time, including Democratic campaigns and the DNC's arm for engaging expatriate Democrats around the world.

A daughter of Ukrainian immigrants who maintains strong ties to the Ukrainian-American diaspora and the U.S. Embassy in Ukraine, Chalupa, a lawyer by training, in 2014 was doing pro bono work for another client interested in the Ukrainian crisis and began researching Manafort's role in Yanukovich's rise, as well as his ties to the pro-Russian oligarchs who funded Yanukovich's political party.

In an interview this month, Chalupa told Politico she had developed a network of sources in Kiev and Washington, including investigative journalists, government officials and private intelligence operatives. While her consulting work at the DNC this past election cycle centered on mobilizing ethnic communities — including Ukrainian-Americans — she said that, when Trump's unlikely presidential campaign began surging in late 2015, she

began focusing more on the research, and expanded it to include Trump's ties to Russia, as well.

She occasionally shared her findings with officials from the DNC and Clinton's campaign, Chalupa said. In January 2016 — months before Manafort had taken any role in Trump's campaign — Chalupa told a senior DNC official that, when it came to Trump's campaign, "I felt there was a Russia connection," Chalupa recalled. "And that, if there was, that we can expect Paul Manafort to be involved in this election," said Chalupa, who at the time also was warning leaders in the Ukrainian-American community that Manafort was "Putin's political brain for manipulating U.S. foreign policy and elections."

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#### PRESIDENTIAL TRANSITION

### Trump confronts firestorm over Russia allegations

By ELI STOKOLS, SHANE GOLDMACHER, JOSH DAWSEY and MICHAEL CROWLEY

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She said she shared her concern with Ukraine's ambassador to the U.S., Valeriy Chaly, and one of his top aides, Oksana Shulyar, during a March 2016 meeting at the Ukrainian Embassy. According to someone briefed on the meeting, Chaly said that Manafort was very much on his radar, but that he wasn't particularly concerned about the operative's ties to Trump since he didn't believe Trump stood much of a chance of winning the GOP nomination, let alone the presidency.

That was not an uncommon view at the time, and, perhaps as a result, Trump's ties to Russia — let alone Manafort's — were not the subject of much attention.

That all started to change just four days after Chalupa's meeting at the embassy, when it was reported that Trump had in fact hired Manafort, suggesting that Chalupa may have been on to something. She quickly found herself in high demand. The day after Manafort's hiring was revealed, she briefed the DNC's communications staff on Manafort, Trump and their ties to Russia, according to an operative familiar with the situation.

A former DNC staffer described the exchange as an "informal conversation," saying "briefing' makes it sound way too formal," and adding, "We were not directing or driving her work on this." Yet, the former DNC staffer and the operative familiar with the situation agreed that with the DNC's encouragement, Chalupa asked embassy staff to try to arrange an interview in which Poroshenko might discuss Manafort's ties to Yanukovich.

While the embassy declined that request, officials there became "helpful" in Chalupa's efforts, she said, explaining that she traded information and leads with them. "If I asked a

question, they would provide guidance, or if there was someone I needed to follow up with.” But she stressed, “There were no documents given, nothing like that.”

Chalupa said the embassy also worked directly with reporters researching Trump, Manafort and Russia to point them in the right directions. She added, though, “they were being very protective and not speaking to the press as much as they should have. I think they were being careful because their situation was that they had to be very, very careful because they could not pick sides. It’s a political issue, and they didn’t want to get involved politically because they couldn’t.”

Shulyar vehemently denied working with reporters or with Chalupa on anything related to Trump or Manafort, explaining “we were stormed by many reporters to comment on this subject, but our clear and adamant position was not to give any comment [and] not to interfere into the campaign affairs.”

Both Shulyar and Chalupa said the purpose of their initial meeting was to organize a June reception at the embassy to promote Ukraine. According to the embassy’s website, the event highlighted female Ukrainian leaders, featuring speeches by Ukrainian parliamentarian Hanna Hopko, who discussed “Ukraine’s fight against the Russian aggression in Donbas,” and longtime Hillary Clinton confidante Melanne Vermeer, who worked for Clinton in the State Department and was a vocal surrogate during the presidential campaign.

Shulyar said her work with Chalupa “didn’t involve the campaign,” and she specifically stressed that “We have never worked to research and disseminate damaging information about Donald Trump and Paul Manafort.”

But Andrii Telizhenko, who worked as a political officer in the Ukrainian Embassy under Shulyar, said she instructed him to help Chalupa research connections between Trump, Manafort and Russia. “Oksana said that if I had any information, or knew other people who did, then I should contact Chalupa,” recalled Telizhenko, who is now a political consultant in Kiev. “They were coordinating an investigation with the Hillary team on Paul Manafort with Alexandra Chalupa,” he said, adding “Oksana was keeping it all quiet,” but “the embassy worked very closely with” Chalupa.

In fact, sources familiar with the effort say that Shulyar specifically called Telizhenko into a meeting with Chalupa to provide an update on an American media outlet’s ongoing investigation into Manafort.

Telizhenko recalled that Chalupa told him and Shulyar that, “If we can get enough information on Paul [Manafort] or Trump’s involvement with Russia, she can get a hearing in Congress by September.”

Chalupa confirmed that, a week after Manafort’s hiring was announced, she discussed the possibility of a congressional investigation with a foreign policy legislative assistant in the office of Rep. Marcy Kaptur (D-Ohio), who co-chairs the Congressional Ukrainian Caucus. But, Chalupa said, “It didn’t go anywhere.”

Asked about the effort, the Kaptur legislative assistant called it a “touchy subject” in an internal email to colleagues that was accidentally forwarded to Politico.

Kaptur’s office later emailed an official statement explaining that the lawmaker is backing a bill to create an independent commission to investigate “possible outside interference in our elections.” The office added “at this time, the evidence related to this matter points to Russia, but Congresswoman Kaptur is concerned with any evidence of foreign entities interfering in our elections.”

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Almost as quickly as Chalupa’s efforts attracted the attention of the Ukrainian Embassy and Democrats, she also found herself the subject of some unwanted attention from overseas.

Within a few weeks of her initial meeting at the embassy with Shulyar and Chalupa, Chalupa on April 20 received the first of what became a series of messages from the administrators of her private Yahoo email account, warning her that “state-sponsored actors” were trying to hack into her emails.

She kept up her crusade, appearing on a panel a week after the initial hacking message to discuss her research on Manafort with a group of Ukrainian investigative journalists gathered at the Library of Congress for a program sponsored by a U.S. congressional agency called the Open World Leadership Center.

Center spokeswoman Maura Sheldon stressed that her group is nonpartisan and ensures “that our delegations hear from both sides of the aisle, receiving bipartisan information.” She said the Ukrainian journalists in subsequent days met with Republican officials in North Carolina and elsewhere. And she said that, before the Library of Congress event, “Open World’s program manager for Ukraine did contact Chalupa to advise her that Open World is a nonpartisan agency of the Congress.”

Chalupa, though, indicated in an email that was later hacked and released by WikiLeaks that the Open World Leadership Center “put me on the program to speak specifically about Paul Manafort.”

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## Republicans pile on Russia for hacking, get details on GOP targets

By MARTIN MATISHAK and AUSTIN WRIGHT

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In the email, which was sent in early May to then-DNC communications director Luis Miranda, Chalupa noted that she had extended an invitation to the Library of Congress forum to veteran Washington investigative reporter Michael Isikoff. Two days before the event, he had published a story for Yahoo News revealing the unraveling of a \$26 million deal between Manafort and a Russian oligarch related to a telecommunications venture in Ukraine. And Chalupa wrote in the email she’d been “working with for the past few weeks” with Isikoff “and connected him to the Ukrainians” at the event.

Isikoff, who accompanied Chalupa to a reception at the Ukrainian Embassy immediately after the Library of Congress event, declined to comment.

Chalupa further indicated in her hacked May email to the DNC that she had additional sensitive information about Manafort that she intended to share “offline” with Miranda and DNC research director Lauren Dillon, including “a big Trump component you and Lauren need to be aware of that will hit in next few weeks and something I’m working on you should be aware of.” Explaining that she didn’t feel comfortable sharing the intel over email, Chalupa attached a screenshot of a warning from Yahoo administrators about “state-sponsored” hacking on her account, explaining, “Since I started digging into Manafort these messages have been a daily occurrence on my yahoo account despite changing my password often.”

Dillon and Miranda declined to comment.

A DNC official stressed that Chalupa was a consultant paid to do outreach for the party’s political department, not a researcher. She undertook her investigations into Trump, Manafort and Russia on her own, and the party did not incorporate her findings in its dossiers on the subjects, the official said, stressing that the DNC had been building robust research books on Trump and his ties to Russia long before Chalupa began sounding alarms.

Nonetheless, Chalupa's hacked email reportedly escalated concerns among top party officials, hardening their conclusion that Russia likely was behind the cyber intrusions with which the party was only then beginning to grapple.

Chalupa left the DNC after the Democratic convention in late July to focus fulltime on her research into Manafort, Trump and Russia. She said she provided off-the-record information and guidance to "a lot of journalists" working on stories related to Manafort and Trump's Russia connections, despite what she described as escalating harassment.

About a month-and-a-half after Chalupa first started receiving hacking alerts, someone broke into her car outside the Northwest Washington home where she lives with her husband and three young daughters, she said. They "rampaged it, basically, but didn't take anything valuable — left money, sunglasses, \$1,200 worth of golf clubs," she said, explaining she didn't file a police report after that incident because she didn't connect it to her research and the hacking.

But by the time a similar vehicle break-in occurred involving two family cars, she was convinced that it was a Russia-linked intimidation campaign. The police report on the latter break-in noted that "both vehicles were unlocked by an unknown person and the interior was ransacked, with papers and the garage openers scattered throughout the cars. Nothing was taken from the vehicles."

Then, early in the morning on another day, a woman "wearing white flowers in her hair" tried to break into her family's home at 1:30 a.m., Chalupa said. Shulyar told Chalupa that the mysterious incident bore some of the hallmarks of intimidation campaigns used against foreigners in Russia, according to Chalupa.

"This is something that they do to U.S. diplomats, they do it to Ukrainians. Like, this is how they operate. They break into people's homes. They harass people. They're theatrical about it," Chalupa said. "They must have seen when I was writing to the DNC staff, outlining who Manafort was, pulling articles, saying why it was significant, and painting the bigger picture."

In a Yahoo News story naming Chalupa as one of 16 "ordinary people" who "shaped the 2016 election," Isikoff wrote that after Chalupa left the DNC, FBI agents investigating the hacking questioned her and examined her laptop and smartphone.

Chalupa this month told Politico that, as her research and role in the election started becoming more public, she began receiving death threats, along with continued alerts of state-sponsored hacking. But she said, "None of this has scared me off."

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While it's not uncommon for outside operatives to serve as intermediaries between governments and reporters, one of the more damaging Russia-related stories for the Trump campaign — and certainly for Manafort — can be traced more directly to the Ukrainian government.

Documents released by an independent Ukrainian government agency — and publicized by a parliamentarian — appeared to show \$12.7 million in cash payments that were earmarked for Manafort by the Russia-aligned party of the deposed former president, Yanukovich.

The New York Times, in the August story revealing the ledgers' existence, reported that the payments earmarked for Manafort were “a focus” of an investigation by Ukrainian anti-corruption officials, while CNN reported days later that the FBI was pursuing an overlapping inquiry.

HSGAC MAJORITY STAFF EXHIBIT

One of the most damaging Russia-related stories during Donald Trump's campaign can be traced to the Ukrainian government. | AP Photo

Clinton's campaign seized on the story to advance Democrats' argument that Trump's campaign was closely linked to Russia. The ledger represented "more troubling connections between Donald Trump's team and pro-Kremlin elements in Ukraine," Robby Mook, Clinton's campaign manager, said in a statement. He demanded that Trump "disclose campaign chair Paul Manafort's and all other campaign employees' and advisers' ties to Russian or pro-Kremlin entities, including whether any of Trump's employees or advisers are currently representing and or being paid by them."

A former Ukrainian investigative journalist and current parliamentarian named Serhiy Leshchenko, who was elected in 2014 as part of Poroshenko's party, held a news conference to highlight the ledgers, and to urge Ukrainian and American law enforcement to aggressively investigate Manafort.

"I believe and understand the basis of these payments are totally against the law — we have the proof from these books," Leshchenko said during the news conference, which attracted international media coverage. "If Mr. Manafort denies any allegations, I think he has to be interrogated into this case and prove his position that he was not involved in any misconduct on the territory of Ukraine," Leshchenko added.

Manafort denied receiving any off-books cash from Yanukovych's Party of Regions, and said that he had never been contacted about the ledger by Ukrainian or American investigators, later telling POLITICO "I was just caught in the crossfire."

According to a series of memos reportedly compiled for Trump's opponents by a former British intelligence agent, Yanukovych, in a secret meeting with Putin on the day after the *Times* published its report, admitted that he had authorized "substantial kickback payments to Manafort." But according to the report, which was published Tuesday by BuzzFeed but remains unverified. Yanukovych assured Putin "that there was no documentary trail left behind which could provide clear evidence of this" — an alleged statement that seemed to implicitly question the authenticity of the ledger.

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2016

## Inside the fall of Paul Manafort

By KENNETH P. VOGEL and MARC CAPUTO

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The scrutiny around the ledgers — combined with that from other stories about his Ukraine work — proved too much, and he stepped down from the Trump campaign less than a week after the *Times* story.

At the time, Leshchenko suggested that his motivation was partly to undermine Trump. "For me, it was important to show not only the corruption aspect, but that he is [a] pro-Russian candidate who can break the geopolitical balance in the world," Leshchenko told the *Financial Times* about two weeks after his news conference. The newspaper noted that Trump's candidacy had spurred "Kiev's wider political leadership to do something they would never have attempted before: intervene, however indirectly, in a U.S. election," and the story quoted Leshchenko asserting that the majority of Ukraine's politicians are "on Hillary Clinton's side."

But by this month, Leshchenko was seeking to recast his motivation, telling Politico, “I didn’t care who won the U.S. elections. This was a decision for the American voters to decide.” His goal in highlighting the ledgers, he said was “to raise these issues on a political level and emphasize the importance of the investigation.”

In a series of answers provided to Politico, a spokesman for Poroshenko distanced his administration from both Leshchenko’s efforts and those of the agency that reLeshchenko Leshchenko leased the ledgers, The National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine. It was created in 2014 as a condition for Ukraine to receive aid from the U.S. and the European Union, and it signed an evidence-sharing agreement with the FBI in late June — less than a month and a half before it released the ledgers.

The bureau is “fully independent,” the Poroshenko spokesman said, adding that when it came to the presidential administration there was “no targeted action against Manafort.” He added “as to Serhiy Leshchenko, he positions himself as a representative of internal opposition in the Bloc of Petro Poroshenko’s faction, despite [the fact that] he belongs to the faction,” the spokesman said, adding, “it was about him personally who pushed [the anti-corruption bureau] to proceed with investigation on Manafort.”

But an operative who has worked extensively in Ukraine, including as an adviser to Poroshenko, said it was highly unlikely that either Leshchenko or the anti-corruption bureau would have pushed the issue without at least tacit approval from Poroshenko or his closest allies.

“It was something that Poroshenko was probably aware of and could have stopped if he wanted to,” said the operative.

And, almost immediately after Trump’s stunning victory over Clinton, questions began mounting about the investigations into the ledgers — and the ledgers themselves.

An official with the anti-corruption bureau told a Ukrainian newspaper, “Mr. Manafort does not have a role in this case.”

And, while the anti-corruption bureau told Politico late last month that a “general investigation [is] still ongoing” of the ledger, it said Manafort is not a target of the investigation. “As he is not the Ukrainian citizen, [the anti-corruption bureau] by the law couldn’t investigate him personally,” the bureau said in a statement.

Some Poroshenko critics have gone further, suggesting that the bureau is backing away from investigating because the ledgers might have been doctored or even forged.

Valentyn Nalyvaichenko, a Ukrainian former diplomat who served as the country's head of security under Poroshenko but is now affiliated with a leading opponent of Poroshenko, said it was fishy that "only one part of the black ledger appeared." He asked, "Where is the handwriting analysis?" and said it was "crazy" to announce an investigation based on the ledgers. He met last month in Washington with Trump allies, and said, "of course they all recognize that our [anti-corruption bureau] intervened in the presidential campaign."

And in an interview this week, Manafort, who re-emerged as an informal advisor to Trump after Election Day, suggested that the ledgers were inauthentic and called their publication "a politically motivated false attack on me. My role as a paid consultant was public. There was nothing off the books, but the way that this was presented tried to make it look shady."

He added that he felt particularly wronged by efforts to cast his work in Ukraine as pro-Russian, arguing "all my efforts were focused on helping Ukraine move into Europe and the West." He specifically cited his work on denuclearizing the country and on the European Union trade and political pact that Yanukovich spurned before fleeing to Russia. "In no case was I ever involved in anything that would be contrary to U.S. interests," Manafort said.

Yet Russia seemed to come to the defense of Manafort and Trump last month, when a spokeswoman for Russia's Foreign Ministry charged that the Ukrainian government used the ledgers as a political weapon.

"Ukraine seriously complicated the work of Trump's election campaign headquarters by planting information according to which Paul Manafort, Trump's campaign chairman, allegedly accepted money from Ukrainian oligarchs," Maria Zakharova said at a news briefing, according to a transcript of her remarks posted on the Foreign Ministry's website. "All of you have heard this remarkable story," she told assembled reporters.

...

Beyond any efforts to sabotage Trump, Ukrainian officials didn't exactly extend a hand of friendship to the GOP nominee during the campaign.

The ambassador, Chaly, penned an op-ed for The Hill, in which he chastised Trump for a confusing series of statements in which the GOP candidate at one point expressed a willingness to consider recognizing Russia's annexation of the Ukrainian territory of Crimea as legitimate. The op-ed made some in the embassy uneasy, sources said.

“That was like too close for comfort, even for them,” said Chalupa. “That was something that was as risky as they were going to be.”

Former Ukrainian Prime Minister Arseny Yatseniuk warned on Facebook that Trump had “challenged the very values of the free world.”

Ukraine’s minister of internal affairs, Arsen Avakov, piled on, trashing Trump on Twitter in July as a “clown” and asserting that Trump is “an even bigger danger to the US than terrorism.”

Avakov, in a Facebook post, lashed out at Trump for his confusing Crimea comments, calling the assessment the “diagnosis of a dangerous misfit,” according to a translated screenshot featured in one media report, though he later deleted the post. He called Trump “dangerous for Ukraine and the US” and noted that Manafort worked with Yanukovich when the former Ukrainian leader “fled to Russia through Crimea. Where would Manafort lead Trump?”

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#### INVESTIGATIONS

### Manafort’s man in Kiev

By KENNETH P. VOGEL

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The Trump-Ukraine relationship grew even more fraught in September with reports that the GOP nominee had snubbed Poroshenko on the sidelines of the United Nations General Assembly in New York, where the Ukrainian president tried to meet both major party candidates, but scored only a meeting with Clinton.

Telizhenko, the former embassy staffer, said that, during the primaries, Chaly, the country’s ambassador in Washington, had actually instructed the embassy not to reach out to Trump’s campaign, even as it was engaging with those of Clinton and Trump’s leading GOP rival, Ted Cruz.

“We had an order not to talk to the Trump team, because he was critical of Ukraine and the government and his critical position on Crimea and the conflict,” said Telizhenko. “I was yelled at when I proposed to talk to Trump,” he said, adding, “The ambassador said not to get involved — Hillary is going to win.”

This account was confirmed by Nalyvaichenko, the former diplomat and security chief now affiliated with a Poroshenko opponent, who said, “The Ukrainian authorities closed all doors and windows — this is from the Ukrainian side.” He called the strategy “bad and short-sighted.”

Andriy Artemenko, a Ukrainian parliamentarian associated with a conservative opposition party, did meet with Trump's team during the campaign and said he personally offered to set up similar meetings for Chaly but was rebuffed.

"It was clear that they were supporting Hillary Clinton's candidacy," Artemenko said. "They did everything from organizing meetings with the Clinton team, to publicly supporting her, to criticizing Trump. ... I think that they simply didn't meet because they thought that Hillary would win."

Shulyar rejected the characterizations that the embassy had a ban on interacting with Trump, instead explaining that it "had different diplomats assigned for dealing with different teams tailoring the content and messaging. So it was not an instruction to abstain from the engagement but rather an internal discipline for diplomats not to get involved into a field she or he was not assigned to, but where another colleague was involved."

And she pointed out that Chaly traveled to the GOP convention in Cleveland in late July and met with members of Trump's foreign policy team "to highlight the importance of Ukraine and the support of it by the U.S."

Despite the outreach, Trump's campaign in Cleveland gutted a proposed amendment to the Republican Party platform that called for the U.S. to provide "lethal defensive weapons" for Ukraine to defend itself against Russian incursion, backers of the measure charged.

The outreach ramped up after Trump's victory. Shulyar pointed out that Poroshenko was among the first foreign leaders to call to congratulate Trump. And she said that, since Election Day, Chaly has met with close Trump allies, including Sens. Jeff Sessions, Trump's nominee for attorney general, and Bob Corker, the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, while the ambassador accompanied Ivanna Klymush-Tsintsadze, Ukraine's vice prime minister for European and Euro-Atlantic integration, to a round of Washington meetings with Rep. Tom Marino (R-Pa.), an early Trump backer, and Jim DeMint, president of The Heritage Foundation, which played a prominent role in Trump's transition.

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Many Ukrainian officials and operatives and their American allies see Trump's inauguration this month as an existential threat to the country, made worse, they admit, by the dissemination of the secret ledger, the antagonistic social media posts and the perception that the embassy meddled against — or at least shut out — Trump.

“It’s really bad. The [Poroshenko] administration right now is trying to re-coordinate communications,” said Telizhenko, adding, “The Trump organization doesn’t want to talk to our administration at all.”

During Nalyvaichenko’s trip to Washington last month, he detected lingering ill will toward Ukraine from some, and lack of interest from others, he recalled. “Ukraine is not on the top of the list, not even the middle,” he said.

Poroshenko’s allies are scrambling to figure out how to build a relationship with Trump, who is known for harboring and prosecuting grudges for years.

A delegation of Ukrainian parliamentarians allied with Poroshenko last month traveled to Washington partly to try to make inroads with the Trump transition team, but they were unable to secure a meeting, according to a Washington foreign policy operative familiar with the trip. And operatives in Washington and Kiev say that after the election, Poroshenko met in Kiev with top executives from the Washington lobbying firm BGR — including Ed Rogers and Lester Munson — about how to navigate the Trump regime.

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## Ukrainians fall out of love with Europe

By DAVID STERN

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Weeks later, BGR reported to the Department of Justice that the government of Ukraine would pay the firm \$50,000 a month to “provide strategic public relations and government affairs counsel,” including “outreach to U.S. government officials, non-government organizations, members of the media and other individuals.”

Firm spokesman Jeffrey Birnbaum suggested that “pro-Putin oligarchs” were already trying to sow doubts about BGR’s work with Poroshenko. While the firm maintains close relationships with GOP congressional leaders, several of its principals were dismissive or sharply critical of Trump during the GOP primary, which could limit their effectiveness lobbying the new administration.

The Poroshenko regime’s standing with Trump is considered so dire that the president’s allies after the election actually reached out to make amends with — and even seek assistance from — Manafort, according to two operatives familiar with Ukraine’s efforts to make inroads with Trump.

Meanwhile, Poroshenko’s rivals are seeking to capitalize on his dicey relationship with Trump’s team. Some are pressuring him to replace Chaly, a close ally of Poroshenko’s who

is being blamed by critics in Kiev and Washington for implementing — if not engineering — the country’s anti-Trump efforts, according to Ukrainian and U.S. politicians and operatives interviewed for this story. They say that several potential Poroshenko opponents have been through Washington since the election seeking audiences of their own with Trump allies, though most have failed to do so.

“None of the Ukrainians have any access to Trump — they are all desperate to get it, and are willing to pay big for it,” said one American consultant whose company recently met in Washington with Yuriy Boyko, a former vice prime minister under Yanukovich. Boyko, who like Yanukovich has a pro-Russian worldview, is considering a presidential campaign of his own, and his representatives offered “to pay a shit-ton of money” to get access to Trump and his inaugural events, according to the consultant.

The consultant turned down the work, explaining, “It sounded shady, and we don’t want to get in the middle of that kind of stuff.”

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HSGAC MAJORITY STAFF EXHIBIT

**From:** [REDACTED]  
**Sent:** Tue, 20 May 2014 16:50:23 +0000  
**To:** 'Gabriella Ippolito'  
**Cc:** Sally Painter  
**Subject:** RE: Setting up a meeting with Sally Painter and Ambassador Fried

Received, thanks!

---

**From:** Gabriella Ippolito [mailto:Gabriella.Ippolito@bluestarstrategies.com]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 20, 2014 12:29 PM  
**To:** [REDACTED]  
**Cc:** Sally Painter  
**Subject:** RE: Setting up a meeting with Sally Painter and Ambassador Fried

Sure:

Sally Anna Painter

Blue Star Strategies

[Sally.painter@bluestarstrategies.com](mailto:Sally.painter@bluestarstrategies.com)

Thanks,

Gabriella

---

**From:** [REDACTED]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 20, 2014 12:25 PM  
**To:** Gabriella Ippolito  
**Subject:** RE: Setting up a meeting with Sally Painter and Ambassador Fried

Just her full name, organization that she works for, and an email address for her. Thanks.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
*Executive Assistant to Ambassador Daniel Fried,  
Coordinator for Sanctions Policy - D/CSP  
U.S. Department of State  
ATSG, LLC - Contractor  
(202)647-3893*

---

**From:** Gabriella Ippolito [mailto:Gabriella.Ippolito@bluestarstrategies.com]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 20, 2014 12:21 PM

**To:** [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** RE: Setting up a meeting with Sally Painter and Ambassador Fried

Hello [REDACTED],

Thursday the 29<sup>th</sup> at 3:00 works for Sally. Do we need to provide any information ahead of her visit?

Thanks,

Gabriella

Gabriella Ippolito  
Blue Star Strategies

(+1) 202-650-5463 direct  
(+1) 202-822-9088 fax  
[gabriella.ippolito@bluestarstrategies.com](mailto:gabriella.ippolito@bluestarstrategies.com)

888 17th Street NW, Suite 800  
Washington, DC 20006

[www.bluestarstrategies.com](http://www.bluestarstrategies.com)

---

**From:** [REDACTED]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 20, 2014 10:22 AM  
**To:** Gabriella Ippolito  
**Subject:** RE: Setting up a meeting with Sally Painter and Ambassador Fried

How about Thursday, May 29<sup>th</sup> at 3pm? Please confirm that this will work on your end. Thanks.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
*Executive Assistant to Ambassador Daniel Fried,  
Coordinator for Sanctions Policy - D/CSP  
U.S. Department of State  
ATSG, LLC - Contractor  
(202)647-3893*

---

**From:** Gabriella Ippolito [<mailto:Gabriella.Ippolito@bluestarstrategies.com>]  
**Sent:** Friday, May 16, 2014 11:24 AM  
**To:** [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** RE: Setting up a meeting with Sally Painter and Ambassador Fried

Hi [REDACTED]

If it's easier Sally is available the afternoon's of the 29<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup>,

Thanks again,

Gabriella

---

**From:** [REDACTED]  
**Sent:** Friday, May 16, 2014 11:19 AM  
**To:** Gabriella Ippolito  
**Cc:** Sally Painter  
**Subject:** RE: Setting up a meeting with Sally Painter and Ambassador Fried

I will confirm a date/time shortly, but I believe that Ambassador Fried will be on travel the first week in June. Please standby. Thanks.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
*Executive Assistant to Ambassador Daniel Fried,  
Coordinator for Sanctions Policy - D/CSP  
U.S. Department of State  
ATSG, LLC - Contractor  
(202)647-3893*

---

**From:** Gabriella Ippolito [<mailto:Gabriella.Ippolito@bluestarstrategies.com>]  
**Sent:** Thursday, May 15, 2014 5:12 PM  
**To:** [REDACTED]  
**Cc:** Sally Painter  
**Subject:** RE: Setting up a meeting with Sally Painter and Ambassador Fried

Dear [REDACTED]

Sally asked me to coordinate a time for her and Ambassador Fried to meet. Would the Ambassador be available for a half hour meeting during the first week of June? If so, could you suggest some times that work with his schedule?

Thank you,

Gabriella

Gabriella Ippolito  
Blue Star Strategies

(+1) 202-650-5463 direct  
(+1) 202-822-9088 fax  
[gabriella.ippolito@bluestarstrategies.com](mailto:gabriella.ippolito@bluestarstrategies.com)

888 17th Street NW, Suite 800  
Washington, DC 20006

[www.bluestarstrategies.com](http://www.bluestarstrategies.com)

---

**From:** Fried, Daniel [<mailto:> ██████████]  
**Sent:** Thursday, May 15, 2014 12:31 PM  
**To:** Sally Painter  
**Cc:** ██████████  
**Subject:** RE: Connecting

Happy to do so as well!

---

**From:** Sally Painter [<mailto:Sally.Painter@bluestarstrategies.com>]  
**Sent:** Thursday, May 15, 2014 12:29 PM  
**To:** Fried, Daniel  
**Cc:** ██████████  
**Subject:** Re: Connecting

And how about meeting me? S

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

---

**From:** Fried, Daniel  
**Sent:** Thursday, May 15, 2014 12:14 PM  
**To:** 'Sally.Painter@bluestarstrategies.com'  
**Cc:** ██████████  
**Subject:** Re: Connecting

Sure, I'll see the Slovenian, if I'm around. ██████████ can set up.

---

**From:** Sally Painter [<mailto:Sally.Painter@bluestarstrategies.com>]  
**Sent:** Thursday, May 15, 2014 12:10 PM  
**To:** Fried, Daniel  
**Subject:** Connecting

Dear Dan,

Greetings and I hope this note finds you well. I was very humbled to be honored with you, Senator Lugar and Ian. A wonderful night for me and what a good team we all were.

I am writing you today to see if you would have time in your busy schedule (30 minutes) to meet Marko Makovec, the Foreign Policy advisor to the President of Slovenia when he is here on the

Department of State's International Diplomat's program. Marko is one of the best and brightest in Slovenia and a dear friend as well. He arrives on June 6<sup>th</sup> for a week. I know there were things with Gitmo but alas, things move on.

Below is an email and background on Marko.

I also have another project I would like to discuss at your convenience on Ukraine. I left a message at your office. Many thanks in advance for your consideration.

warmest regards,  
sally

Sally Painter  
Blue Star Strategies

(+1) 202-833-1268 direct  
(+1) 202-822-9088 fax  
[sally.painter@bluestarstrategies.com](mailto:sally.painter@bluestarstrategies.com)

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[www.bluestarstrategies.com](http://www.bluestarstrategies.com)

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---

**From:** [Marko.Makovec](mailto:Marko.Makovec) [mailto: ]

**To:** Sally Painter

**Subject:** Re: two articles on Ukraine

Dear Sally,

As we spoke over the phone the other day I'm sending you my brief bio and a few main points I'd like to raise or discuss with respected guests:

1. Ukraine; political, security and economic aspects of the tensions in Ukraine and the relations with Russian Federation;
2. The Future integration of the European Union (including also the political aspect of Enlargement as parallel process) – the phenomena of euro-scepticism, the importance of TTIP,..;

3. Slovenija: its challenges and opportunities in the changing European union;
4. Western Balkans:
  - a) possible spill over effect of destabilisation from Ukraine to BiH – namely the protest in Maidan squar has started bcause of social sitation and corrouption the same as in BiH, which is also quit fragile in this moment (taking intro account the Russian element in Republika Srpska)
  - b) Initiatives of regional cooperation in Western Balkans such as Brdo Process
5. Energy Security in the context of the tensions with the Russian Federation

Best,

Marko

\*\*\*



Marko Makovec is a Foreign Policy Advisor to the President of the Republic of Slovenija, HE Borut Pahor.

After joining the Office of the President he served as Principle Foreign Policy Advisor to the Prime Minister of Slovenija. As Principle Foreign Policy advisor he covered entire bilateral and multilateral foreign relations with the special emphasis on the economic diplomacy. During his term in the Prime Minister's Office, he also acted as the main negotiator for the Arbitration Agreement for the boarder issue with Croatia, Strategic partnership with France and Declaration on enhanced relation with Germany. He has also initiated several initiatives in the Western Balkans region, such as Brdo process. In the area of European Policies he held the position of the Sherpa of the Prime Minister to the EU and negotiated the Fiscal Pact for the Government of the Republic of Slovenija, since.

In 2008, before joining the Prime Minister's Office he acted as the Head of the Department for Western Balkans and Enlargement at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovenija.

Previously he served in Brussels as the National Advisor to the Working Party for Western Balkans at the Council of the EU.

From 2004-2006 he acted as the advisor the Director General for International Law and protection of Interests at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. At the period he dealt also with the working party COJUR (transatlantic dialogue).

Before joining Ministry for foreign Affairs in 2003, he worked at the Institutes ISCOMET and ECERS where he dealt with human right, minority rights and regional cooperation in the EU/The Council of Europe.

MARKO MAKOVEC  
Svetovalec predsednika republike za zunanje zadeve  
Foreign Policy Adviser to the President of the Republic of Slovenia



URAD PREDSEDNIKA REPUBLIKE SLOVENIJE  
Office of the President of the Republic of Slovenia  
Erjavčeva cesta 17, SI-1000 Ljubljana, Slovenija  
Telefon: +386 1 478 1317, faks: +386 1 478 1357  
e-naslov: marko.makovec [REDACTED]

Od:	"Sally Painter" < <a href="mailto:Sally.Painter@bluestarstrategies.com">Sally.Painter@bluestarstrategies.com</a> >
Za:	< <a href="mailto:Marko.Makovec">Marko.Makovec</a> > [REDACTED]
Datum:	15.04.2014 18:14
Zadeva:	two articles on Ukraine



The Honorable Ron Johnson  
Chairman  
U.S. Senate Committee on Homeland  
Security and Governmental Affairs  
328 Hart Senate Office Building  
Washington, DC 20510

The Honorable Charles E. Grassley  
Chairman  
U.S. Senate Committee on Finance  
135 Hart Senate Office Building  
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Chairman Johnson & Chairman Grassley:

I have received your letter dated December 3, 2019 requesting certain information from Blue Star Strategies, LLC (Blue Star Strategies).

Blue Star Strategies is a small, woman owned government and public affairs firm co-founded by Sally Painter and me.<sup>1</sup> This year marks Blue Star Strategies' 10<sup>th</sup> Anniversary. Prior to founding Blue Star Strategies, Sally Painter and I were partners in a bi-partisan government affairs firm, Dutko Worldwide. Dutko Worldwide's partners included Mark Irion, Ron Kaufman, Brad Card and Gary Andres – all well-known professionals in the government affairs sector. Sally Painter and I led the international business at Dutko Worldwide. In 2009, we decided to launch Blue Star Strategies.

Blue Star Strategies is unique in that the government and public affairs practice is exclusively international. We assist foreign entities (public and private) by providing an array of government and public affairs services. From time to time, those services include advocacy before government agencies, including the U.S. government. We also assist U.S. private, commercial enterprises in Europe, Eurasia and throughout Latin America.

As early as 2002, the founders of the firm began working with Eastern European countries and countries formerly within the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) to develop their strategic security plans to join the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). To achieve that end, we worked closely with the Bush Administration and other Members of the NATO Alliance and saw several countries – including Bulgaria, Latvia and Estonia – be accepted into NATO. In 2004, again in collaboration with the Bush Administration, we began our work in Ukraine – initially to see the fraudulent 2005 election overturned, and Viktor Yushchenko elected President of Ukraine.

I outline our history so that you would understand Blue Star Strategies' track record of achieving positive results for governments and private enterprises from Eastern European and former USSR countries. Based

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<sup>1</sup> A third individual, Gabriel Zinny was a minority shareholder at the time of the company's founding. Mr. Zinny is no longer with the firm and was not at the firm during the firm's work with Burisma.



on our success, we receive referrals from current and former clients, colleagues, and other professionals when they believe we have the expertise to provide the services required. Burisma is among several clients referred to our firm. Given the questions raised in your letter, I note that Hunter Biden did not refer Burisma to the firm.

The firm continues to work in the private and public sectors in Central and Eastern Europe, the Baltics, the Balkans, and the Caucasus regions and throughout Latin America.

We were engaged by Burisma in November 2015 to provide a range of government, public affairs, and legal services. The U.S. component of our work has focused on fact-finding as outlined below, partnerships with private institutions, and discussions with appropriate government and non-governmental organizations regarding Ukraine's energy security needs. In Ukraine, we provide legal advice and public affairs services. Burisma continues as a client of the firm.

Your letter asserts several claims referenced primarily to two media sources: the Washington Examiner and The Hill. It is important to inform the Committees that the assertions made, and the conclusions drawn from those assertions, are incorrect. While Sally Painter and I met Mr. Amos Hochstein, it was not "to convince Hochstein. . .that Burisma was on the level and did not warrant further investigation," as stated in your letter. The initial meeting with Mr. Hochstein was to understand his and the State Department's position regarding an independent energy company, Burisma. At that meeting we learned Mr. Hochstein's view – although it was not stated to be the State Department's view. There was a subsequent meeting with Mr. Hochstein that included Burisma's U.S. counsel, John Buretta. While Sally Painter attended the meeting, the counsel led the briefing. The first meeting with Mr. Hochstein was on December 10, 2015. The second meeting was on March 24, 2016.

The second incorrect assertion is that I leveraged Hunter Biden's name for a meeting with then Under Secretary of State Catherine Novelli. To substantiate that claim, your letter references a note written by someone presumably in the State Department. The note was not written by me. The fact is, I have known Catherine Novelli for over two decades and did not need to use anyone's name – including Hunter Biden's – to obtain a meeting. Ms. Novelli agreed to the meeting at my request. The purpose of the meeting was to understand the State Department's position regarding Burisma, as well as how the State Department came to that position. The date of the meeting was March 1, 2016.<sup>2</sup>

Although not referenced in the Committees' letter, as part of our fact-finding Sally Painter and I had meetings with State Department professionals<sup>3</sup> in Washington, DC and at the U.S. Embassy in Kyiv wherein Burisma was mentioned. During a trip to Kyiv, we requested a meeting with Ambassador Geoffrey Pyatt to discuss several issues, one of which included understanding how he came to his

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<sup>2</sup> John Buretta, Burisma's U.S. Counsel attended the meeting and briefed Undersecretary Novelli.

<sup>3</sup> Prior to meeting Ambassador Pyatt, we had two professional staff meetings at the U.S. Embassy in Kyiv. On December 14, 2015 we met William Laitinen, Economic Counselor at the Embassy, to understand his view of Ukraine's economic situation. The meeting had not been scheduled to discuss Burisma as we had several other corporate clients interested in Ukraine's economic situation. To be fully transparent, we disclosed that we were working with Burisma and inquired as to his views of the company. Also, on December 14, 2015 we met USAID Representative Steve Gonyea to understand USAID's decision-making process. Burisma had offered to assist USAID during a gas shortage in regions under Russian attack and we were inquiring about the decision to decline the company's assistance.



position about Burisma.<sup>4</sup> A year later, we met Ambassador Marie Yovanovitch to discuss a variety of issues – Burisma was raised in our discussions. As it related to Burisma, the purpose of the meeting was to understand whether Ambassador Yovanovitch held the same view of Burisma as Ambassador Pyatt. The meeting with Ambassador Pyatt was on December 16, 2015. The meeting with Ambassador Yovanavitch was on December 8, 2016.

On December 14, 2016 we met Reggie Singh, Ukraine Desk Officer, to discuss economic and energy security in Ukraine and the role of independent gas companies such as Burisma<sup>5</sup>. On November 2, 2017 we met Andrea Lockwood, Deputy Assistant Secretary of International Affairs at the Energy Department, to discuss the role independent gas companies such as Burisma could play to better ensure energy security in Ukraine.

Burisma purchases extraction and other equipment from several U.S. companies. The cost of this specialized equipment exceeds \$80 million over 5 years. As a result of the Trump Administration’s focus on U.S. jobs, we met officials at the Departments of State and Commerce who were interested in foreign company purchases from U.S. manufacturers that resulted in job creation. At the State Department we met Melissa Simpson, then Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary, and Brian DaRin. The State Department meeting was held on November 21, 2018. At the Department of Commerce, we met Matthew Edwards, Director, and Boris Chumuk, Desk Officer, of the Office of Russia, Ukraine & Eurasia to discuss Burisma’s U.S. equipment purchases. The Department of Commerce meeting was held on November 27, 2018. Among several recommendations from that meeting was to meet Charles Phillips, Deputy Senior Commercial Officer and Heather Bell, Director from the Department of Energy at the U.S. Embassy in Kyiv. The meeting with Mr. Phillips and Ms. Bell meeting took place on February 19, 2019.

We had no meetings related to Burisma at the Executive Office of the President or the Office of the Vice President during the Obama Administration.

In response to your request outlined in item #2 of your letter, we include an appendix (Appendix A)<sup>6</sup> containing records between Blue Star and U.S. officials specifically related to Burisma. Due to the Confidentiality clause and the Client Work Product Ownership clause of the binding contract between Blue Star Strategies and Burisma, we are unable to provide copies of documents requested in item #1b of your letter.

During my meetings in Ukraine with Ukrainian officials, I was working in my capacity as “Of Counsel” to Burisma in collaboration with Burisma’s U.S. counsel, John Buretta. Due to the nature of those meetings, disclosure of the discussions would be a breach of client confidentiality and the attorney-client privilege.

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<sup>4</sup> Ambassador Pyatt had been sharply critical of Burisma in one of his official public speeches in his capacity as the U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine.

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Singh included colleagues from the State Department’s Economics office. We have no record of the attendees.

<sup>6</sup> The records include records for meetings that occurred, and records for meetings requested that did not occur. We have indicated the dates of those meetings that did occur in the letter. Where the records refer to a discussion of issues unrelated to Burisma we have redacted the reference. Where the records specifically identify a Burisma representative we have redacted the name to adhere to the confidentiality clause in our agreement.





Finally, I want to assure the Committees' Chairmen that at no time did I or anyone else in the firm working on behalf of Burisma collaborate or coordinate the development or implementation of our work with Hunter Biden. We had no discussions or meetings with Mr. Biden regarding our contractual agreement with Burisma or Blue Star Strategies' terms of engagement. Mr. Biden played no role in Blue Star Strategies' work on behalf of Burisma – either in its limited scope in the U.S. or its more extensive scope in Ukraine. Mr. Biden has no role in Blue Star Strategies and holds no financial interest in Blue Star Strategies.

The information provided in this letter is based on the firm's best recollection and after a review of our records.<sup>7</sup> Consistent with recommendations from the IRS we retain records, including client records, for a period of 5 years. We will continue to preserve records relevant to this inquiry.

I trust that this letter responds to your inquiry.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Karen Tramontano", written over a horizontal line.

Karen Tramontano  
Chief Executive Officer  
Blue Star Strategies, LLC

---

<sup>7</sup> Earlier this year, Blue Star Strategies embarked on an office renovation that included major changes in our telecommunications and computer systems. While we are confident that the search of our records has resulted in producing records responsive to your inquiry major systems changes have their challenges.



## Pero Jolevski

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**From:** Pero Jolevski  
**Sent:** Friday, December 11, 2015 4:54 PM  
**To:** Stephen Gonyea  
**Subject:** RE: Meeting next week

Ok, will give you a buzz over the weekend. Have a good night!

---

**From:** Stephen Gonyea [mailto:sgonyea@usaid.gov]  
**Sent:** Friday, December 11, 2015 4:52 PM  
**To:** Pero Jolevski <Pero.Jolevski@bluestarstrategies.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Meeting next week

I don't want to be in a position of knowing something that I can't share with the ambassador. :) Not a good career move. Let's talk over the weekend. I'm going to sleep!

**Steve Gonyea Director/EG Office | USAID/Ukraine (From U.S. - 301.985.8659 ext 5494)**

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On Dec 11, 2015, at 23:30, Pero Jolevski <Pero.Jolevski@bluestarstrategies.com> wrote:

I totally understand – but I think we are changing strategies. I am not sure what their talking points are for the meeting but will leave it up to them on what they will talk about at the Embassy. I can confidentially brief you over the phone. Let me know when you have 5 minutes to talk.

---

**From:** Stephen Gonyea [mailto:sgonyea@usaid.gov]  
**Sent:** Friday, December 11, 2015 4:23 PM  
**To:** Pero Jolevski <Pero.Jolevski@bluestarstrategies.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Meeting next week

IMHO, this would be a VERY bad move to not mention this. Burisma and linkages, good and bad, as you know, have been a major news story and hugely politicized issue, especially during the recent visit. It's been used in attempts to criticize US policy and embarrass the Ambassador. Honesty would be the best policy. Seriously.

---

**Steve Gonyea Director/EG Office | USAID/Ukraine (From U.S. - 301.985.8659 ext 5494)**

On Dec 11, 2015, at 19:01, Pero Jolevski <Pero.Jolevski@bluestarstrategies.com> wrote:

Apparently the pool is nice ☺

Ok so I'll tell them that you will meet them after Chip. BTW – Chip doesn't know anything about our work with Burisma and they will probably not mentioning anything to him about it.

**From:** Stephen Gonyea [mailto:sgonyea@usaid.gov]  
**Sent:** Friday, December 11, 2015 11:34 AM  
**To:** Pero Jolevski <Pero.Jolevski@bluestarstrategies.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Meeting next week

Yes at the embassy.

Well Premier is a nice Russian owned hotel. :)

---

On Dec 11, 2015, at 18:31, Pero Jolevski <Pero.Jolevski@bluestarstrategies.com> wrote:

Yes, meeting with Chip on Monday at 4 pm so after that will work. Is your office at the Embassy?

They are staying at Premier Palace Hotel

---

**From:** Stephen Gonyea [mailto:sgonyea@usaid.gov]  
**Sent:** Friday, December 11, 2015 11:27 AM  
**To:** Pero Jolevski <Pero.Jolevski@bluestarstrategies.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Meeting next week

So your meeting with Chip is Monday? I may be called in on it too. If so then after that is fine. Maybe I can bring them back to the center. Have them a hotel yet?

**Steve Gonyea Director/EG Office | USAID/Ukraine (From U.S. - 301.985.8659 ext 5494)**

On Dec 11, 2015, at 18:18, Pero Jolevski <Pero.Jolevski@bluestarstrategies.com> wrote:

Monday. Sorry. Tuesday works too

---

**From:** Stephen Gonyea [mailto:sgonyea@usaid.gov]  
**Sent:** Friday, December 11, 2015 11:17 AM  
**To:** Pero Jolevski <Pero.Jolevski@bluestarstrategies.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Meeting next week

Uh, on which day?

**Steve Gonyea Director/EG Office | USAID/Ukraine (From U.S. - 301.985.8659 ext 5494)**

1355024

On Dec 11, 2015, at 17:23, Pero Jolevski  
<[Pero.Jolevski@bluestarstrategies.com](mailto:Pero.Jolevski@bluestarstrategies.com)> wrote:

Hi Steve,

What is a good time for you to meet Karen and Sally next week. They have a 4 pm meeting with Chip from the Embassy. Would sometime before or after that work with you?

I'll send you a full list of their meetings later today.

Pero

Pero Jolevski  
Blue Star Strategies

(+1)-202-833-1281  
(+1)-202-822-9088 fax

[pero.jolevski@bluestarstrategies.com](mailto:pero.jolevski@bluestarstrategies.com)

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## The White House

Office of the Vice President

For Immediate Release

December 09, 2015

SHARE THIS:



# Remarks by Vice President Joe Biden to The Ukrainian Rada

The Rada

Kyiv, Ukraine

11:58 A.M. (Local)

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you. What a great honor for me to be able to represent my country before such an august audience.

Mr. President, Mr. Prime Minister, Mr. Chairman, members of the Rada, ladies and gentlemen, I am deeply honored to be invited to speak to you today at a moment marked by great opportunity, as well as great uncertainty for the people of Ukraine. The stakes for your country and the expectations of your people have never been higher because Ukraine, as you know better than I, has been here before.

In the West, as here we remember, the Orange Revolution -- young men and women who filled the Maidan a decade ago demanding that their voices and their votes both be respected. They refused to back down in the face of rigged elections, and they succeeded.

But as history tells us and shows, and as we know, Ukraine's leaders proved incapable of delivering on the promise of democratic revolution. We saw reforms put in place only to be rolled back. We saw oligarchs uninterested in change ousted from power only to return. Reformers persecuted, thrown in prison as political retribution. And the bright flame of hope for a new Ukraine snuffed out by the pervasive poison of cronyism, corruption, and kleptocracy.

Nearly a decade later, that flame of hope was reignited by thousands of brave Ukrainians, some of you in this room, storming the Maidan, demanding a Revolution of Dignity. The world was transfixed. This time they were not going to be denied the future that so many of your country have longed for, for so long.

And the world was horrified when peaceful patriots were met by violence. They stayed at the Maidan day and night, facing down the Berkut in riot gear. For the first time since the Middle Ages, the bells of St. Mary [\*sic] raised the alarm, calling the citizens of Ukraine to reinforce their brothers and sisters on the Maidan. Tens of thousands heeded the call bringing with them food, clothing, blankets, medical supplies, and their support. As the world watched -- and I was literally on the phone with your former President urging restraint -- as the world watched, the final assault came. Amidst fire and ice, snipers on rooftops, the Heavenly Hundred paid the ultimate price of patriots the world over. Their blood and courage delivering to the Ukrainian people a second chance for freedom. Their sacrifice -- to put it bluntly -- is now your obligation.

You have a historic opportunity to be remembered as the Rada that finally and permanently laid in place the pillars of freedom that your people have longed for, yearned for, for so many years.

I need not tell you this is a joint responsibility. The President, the Prime Minister, the members of this august body -- all of you must put aside parochial differences and make real the Revolution of Dignity.

My country, too, was born of revolution. But the battle for our independence was underway well before the first shots were fired. It began when men of conscience stood up in legislative bodies representing every region in what was then Colonial America -- Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Virginia, very different interests -- and declared in each of their regions the inherent rights of free people in different documents, in different language -- but the inherent right to be free.

They took a vast continent and a diverse people -- what John Adams, one of our Founding Fathers and future Presidents once said -- called "an unwieldy machine". And they molded that unwieldy machine into a united representative democracy where people saw themselves as Americans first and citizens of their region second.

But our union remained imperfect, our democracy incomplete. Seventy years later we went through a second testing during the American Civil War, which nearly tore our still young country asunder. Winning on the field of battle wasn't sufficient to unite our country. To end slavery and the regional differences we had, to grant former slaves citizenships and rights, the United States Congress assembled -- had to amend our Constitution.

Individual members of that Congress lost their jobs standing up to do the right thing. Everyone took real political risks to overcome entrenched opposition for the good of achieving a truly United States of America.

In the end, it came down to extraordinary patriots -- individuals putting their personal needs behind the needs of their nation, their narrow interest behind unity.

Ladies and gentlemen, I believe the President, the Prime Minister, every member of this body now faces a similar test of courage.

To quote an early American patriot, Thomas Paine, "These are the times that try men's souls." These are the times that try men's souls.

This is your moment. This is your responsibility. Each of you -- if you'll forgive me for speaking to you this way in your body -- each of you has an obligation to seize the opportunity that the sacrifices made in the Maidan, the sacrifices of

the Heavenly Hundred. Each of you has an obligation to answer the call of history and finally build a united, democratic Ukrainian nation that can stand the test of time.

Edmund Burke said it best in 1774, speaking to his constituency in Bristol, England. Here's what he said: "Parliament is a deliberative assembly of one nation, with one interest -- that of the whole; where not local purpose, not local prejudice ought to guide, but the general good."

I respectfully suggest this is a standard for which each of you will be judged. This is the standard by which your grandchildren and great grandchildren, your progeny will judge whether or not you had the moral courage to put the general good above local prejudice. And this is all within your power. It's within your hands. Nobody else's -- yours.

You can bend the arc of history of this nation toward greater justice and opportunity for the Ukrainian people, and you can do it now.

I've had the great privilege and opportunity afforded to me by all of you over the past two years to meet with representatives representing all sectors of this country -- east and west, including the illegally occupied Crimea -- from all walks of life -- civil society, members of this body, your military leaders, your clergy. I've met with souls who stood on the Maidan -- some of you are now in this chamber -- a place which I visited yesterday. All one has to do is look at the photographs of the Heavenly Hundred at that spontaneously erected monument where I stood yesterday. Just look at the photographs. This is not hyperbole. I'm not trying to be unduly -- this is real. As a foreigner, all I have to do is look at the photographs. See the photographs of young men as early as their early 20s to those in their early 80s. Every one of them were joined in common purpose, a Revolution of Dignity.

My father had an expression he repeated a thousand times growing up: Every man and woman is entitled to be treated with dignity. Everyone. That's what your new revolution was about: dignity.

And those martyrs still give voice to the timeless ideals and the timeless ideas, the universal values that unite free people all around the world. I visited every part of this world. There's fewer than a handful of countries I've not been in. I've traveled over 1.3 million miles just since being Vice President. The whole world is watching you. That's a fact. They're watching you because their hopes for your success as you fight both the unrelenting aggression of the Kremlin and the cancer of corruption will impact on them.

In both these struggles you have the unwavering support of the United States of America and the American people -- including nearly 1 million proud Ukrainian Americans. You have the united support of Europe -- Western, Central, and Eastern Europe -- all invested in your democratic success because your success goes to the heart of an enduring commitment to a Europe whole, free, and at peace. If you fail, the experiment fails. It is no exaggeration to say that the hopes of freedom-loving people the world over are with you because so much rides on your fragile experiment with democracy succeeding.

It's equally important, by the way, for aggressors around the world to understand that they can't use coercion, bribery, sending tanks and men across a border to extinguish the dreams and hopes of a people. For if you succeed, that message is sent around the world.

The President asked me back in the late winter, 2009, to come to Europe to speak at the Munich Conference to lay out the principles that would guide our administration; the fundamental elements of American foreign policy under the Obama-Biden administration. And what I said then I will repeat now. I said, we will not recognize any nation having a sphere of influence. Sovereign states have the right to make their own decisions and choose their own alliances. Period. Period. (Applause.)

In the 21st century, nations cannot -- and we cannot allow them to redraw borders by force. These are the ground rules. And if we fail to uphold them, we will rue the day. Russia has violated these ground rules and continues to violate them. Today Russia is occupying sovereign Ukrainian territory. Let me be crystal clear: The United States does not, will not, never will recognize Russia's attempt to annex the Crimea. (Applause.) It's that saying -- that simple. There is no justification.

And as Russia continues to send its thugs, its troops, its mercenaries across the border, Russian tanks and missiles still fill the Donbas. Separatist forces are organized, commanded and directed by Moscow -- by Moscow. (Applause.)

So the United States will continue to stand with Ukraine against Russian aggression. We're providing support to help and train and assist your security forces, and we've relied on and rallied the rest of the world to Ukraine's cause.

I have spent hours -- as the President has -- talking to heads of state in Europe and around the world, making it clear that one of the tests for whether or not they are our allies is are they allied with your purpose.

America and Europe now stand together united in our commitment to impose tough economic sanctions on Russia. And while Russian aggression persists, the cost imposed on Moscow will continue to rise. The false propaganda that the Kremlin is disseminating in an attempt to undermine Ukraine and fracture Europe's resolve will not work. No one should mistake saber rattling and bombast for strength. Let me say that again, no one should mistake saber rattling and bombast for real strength.

We're taking steps to bolster Europe's resilience to Russian coercive tactics. We are strengthening NATO as I speak, improving energy security as I speak, and attempting to help spur an economic revival throughout Europe.

The United States and Europe will maintain pressure until Moscow fulfills its commitments under the Minsk Agreement. While there has been some progress in deescalating the violence, there can be no sanctions relief unless and until Russia meets all of its commitments under the Minsk Agreement. (Applause.)

And I might add parenthetically, I don't think the Russian people fully understand what Putin is doing. That's why he spends so much time hiding at home the presence of Russian forces here in your country. Heavy weapons must be withdrawn from the frontlines. The OSCE must be granted full, unencumbered access. Russia must press the separatists to hold elections according to Ukrainian law and OSCE standards and disavow the illegal election that's just taken place. Hostages held by Russia and its proxies must be returned. Russian troops must leave. The Ukrainian side of the border must be returned to Ukrainian control. Unless all -- if they do all of that, and only if they do, Ukraine also has a responsibility it still has to fulfill -- including amnesty for those who have not committed capital offenses; granting devolved administration to the Donbas. But we've made it clear to Russia and the world that continued delay and foot-dragging is unacceptable. That includes elections in the Donbas. They can only go forward as stipulated under the Minsk Agreement. Full access to the media must be provided. Ukrainian political parties allowed to compete openly. Full and unobstructed OSCE election monitoring. Full voting rights for the people displaced from their homes in the Donbas and living elsewhere in Ukraine. And all weapons contained and kept under OSCE supervision. That only happens if Russia lives up to its commitments, if Russia does its part. If it does, then you must follow through with yours because this is the best chance to keep Donbas in Ukraine, end the conflict, and begin restoring Ukrainian sovereignty and territorial integrity. (Applause.)

It's hard. There's nothing easy about what you have to do. There's nothing easy. The pressure you will all get will be immense.

I'd like to also speak directly to the people in the Donbas. The alternative to what I just said is to continue to live under separatists thugs, criminals who deny humanitarian aid, keep out organizations like Doctors Without Borders, stealing lifesaving medicine to sell on the black market. That's not a future. That's not a future I believe any Ukrainian wants for their children.

That's why the Minsk Agreement needs to be implemented in full. And truly free and fair elections are exactly what the Kremlin fears the most. It's not just your territory they covet; it's your success that they fear. For if free elections occur, and the people determine, as I am confident they will, that they want to remain and integral part of Ukraine, that they are Ukrainians first, that's what Russia fears. That's what Putin fears.

Because as all of you know the struggle for Ukraine's freedom is not confined to the battlefields of the east. Constitutional reform that includes judicial reform and decentralization does not compromise your sovereignty. It enhances it. It's an important step to building a strong, new nation. And it's important to the Ukrainian-European future.

This issue of federalism is the thing that almost prevented our nation from coming into being. Autonomous independent states, their determination to have their own police forces, their determination to have their education system, to have their own government under the united Constitution.

But in addition, you also have a battle, a historic battle against corruption. Ukraine cannot afford for the people to lose hope again. The only thing worse than having no hope at all is having hopes rise and see them dashed repeatedly on the shoals of corruption.

And if the people resign themselves to exploitation and corruption for fear of losing whatever little they have left, that would be the death knell for Ukrainian democracy. We've taken so many critical steps already. But all of you know there's more to do to finish this race. Not enough has been done yet.

As the Prime Minister and the President heard me often say, I never tell another man or another nation or another woman what's in their interest. But I can tell you, you cannot name me a single democracy in the world where the cancer of corruption is prevalent. You cannot name me one. They are thoroughly inconsistent. And it's not enough to set up a new anti-corruption bureau and establish a special prosecutor fighting corruption. The Office of the General Prosecutor desperately needs reform. The judiciary should be overhauled. The energy sector needs to be competitive, ruled by market principles -- not sweetheart deals. It's not enough to push through laws to increase transparency with regard to official sources of income. Senior elected officials have to remove all conflicts between their business interest and their government responsibilities. Every other democracy in the world -- that system pertains.

Oligarchs and non-oligarchs must play by the same rules. They have to pay their taxes, settle their disputes in court -- not by bullying judges. That's basic. That's how nations succeed in the 21st century.

Corruption siphons away resources from the people. It blunts the economic growth, and it affronts the human dignity. We know that. You know that. The Ukrainian people know that. When Russia seeks to use corruption as a tool of coercion, reform isn't just good governance, it's self-preservation. It's in the national security interest of the nation.

Russia is trying to undermine the stability and sovereignty of Ukraine any way they can't, including squeezing Ukraine financially, trying to undermine your economy. They view that as a cheaper way than sending tanks across the line of contact.

So Ukraine must be strong enough to choose its own future, strongly. Strong defensively. Strong economically. A strong system of democratic governance.

The United States is with you in this fight. We understand we're with you afar. It's much harder for you than it is for us. We've stepped up with official assistance to help backstop the Ukrainian economy. We've rallied the international community to commit a total of \$25 billion in bilateral and multilateral financing to support Ukraine. It includes \$2 billion in U.S. loan guarantees and the possibility of more.

Yesterday I announced almost \$190 million in new American assistance to help Ukraine fight corruption, strengthen the rule of law, implement critical reform, bolster civil society, advance energy security. That brings our total of direct aid to almost \$760 million in direct assistance, in addition to loan guarantees since this crisis broke out. And that is not the end of what we're prepared to do if you keep moving.

But for Ukraine to continue to make progress and to keep the support of the international community you have to do more, as well. The big part of moving forward with your IMF program -- it requires difficult reforms. And they are difficult. Let me say parenthetically here, all the experts from our State Department and all the think tanks, and they come and tell you, that you know what you should do is you should deal with pensions. You should deal with -- as if it's easy to do. Hell, we're having trouble in America dealing with it. We're having trouble. To vote to raise the pension age is to write your political obituary in many places.

Don't misunderstand that those of us who serve in other democratic institutions don't understand how hard the conditions are, how difficult it is to cast some of the votes to meet the obligations committed to under the IMF. It requires sacrifices that might not be politically expedient or popular. But they're critical to putting Ukraine on the path to

a future that is economically secure. And I urge you to stay the course as hard as it is. Ukraine needs a budget that's consistent with your IMF commitments.

Anything else will jeopardize Ukraine's hard-won progress and drive down support for Ukraine from the international community, which is always tenuous. It's always tenuous. We keep pushing that support.

The Ukrainian people have long struggled to direct their own destinies, to carve out a place besides the mighty Dnipro, to claim their own identity, proud and distinct.

A great poet Taras Shevchenko wrote verse after verse declaiming the spirit of Ukraine, urging his fellow Ukrainians rise up and claim their liberty. His poem "The Testament" ends with this reflection. And I quote:

Then, in the mighty family

Of all men that are free,

May be sometimes, very softly

You will speak of me?

May be sometimes very softly you will speak of me. (Applause.)

Ladies and Gentlemen, I will speak of Ukraine. I will speak of the writer who took a beating on the Maidan to put him in the hospital. When asked why he sustained those injuries, why he was willing to endure it, he wrote: "People who don't protest injustice, they have no future."

I will speak of the young mother who gave up a lucrative career working on government reform. And then when asked why, she replied: "I have two small children and I cannot fight in the east. So this is what I can do for my country." (Applause.)

I will speak up for the university student who handed out food on the Maidan and later spoke about how those months changed. She said: "Now people don't think about what Ukraine can give them but about what they can give Ukraine."

I will speak of the men and women of this institution, a freely elected representative body of the people. I will speak of the sacrifices you've made. Nadiya Savchenko, the pioneering Ukrainian helicopter pilot who was elected to the Rada, despite being unjustly imprisoned in [sic] to this day. I will speak of her bravery, and many others will, as well. I will speak about how it's up to all of you to ensure the people of this land, once and for all -- that mighty family of all men that are free.

Ukraine's moment. It may be your last moment. Please for the sake of the rest of us, selfishly on my part, don't waste it. Seize the opportunity. Build a better future for the people of Ukraine.

There was a famous American politician when I was a young senator. He was in the other party -- very different ideology. But he said -- once in response to a question, he said, in your heart, in your heart, you know it's right. In your heart, you know what's right. You know. Do it. As long as you remain on that path, as long as you honor the obligation to the Ukrainian people, you never have to worry or doubt America and the United States will be by your side.

I hesitated to come to make this speech. The reason I did is not because a lack of affection for your country. But as a man who sat where you're sitting for 36 years as a United States senator, sometimes when a foreign leader would come to speak, I resented when he or she appeared to lecture us. I hope I don't come across as hectoring or lecturing you. Because that's not my intention. I just have -- as a fellow human being, I just have such hope in the promise of what you could deliver. It will spread far beyond the borders of Ukraine.

I used to wonder as a young senator when I first stood up on the Senate floor, and I've never been frightened of standing and speaking, I stood up and all of a sudden I realized that my desk is exactly where a senator, Daniel Webster, spoke from. I mean this sincerely. And for the first and only time in my career, I was seized with, my God, one of the great men in our history stood in this spot. And I wondered what it'd have been like to be in that first Congress that gave us our freedom, created what I consider to be a great and decent nation. Well, that's where you are. It's not hyperbole. That's

where each of you sit. If you succeed, you will be the founders of the first truly free, democratic, united Ukraine. An awesome responsibility, but what an incredible, incredible opportunity to serve your country.

Thank you so much for this opportunity to speak to you today. May God bless our two great nations and may God protect our troops. (Applause.)

END

12:33 P.M. (Local)

\*St. Michael's



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## Pero Jolevski

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**From:** Karen Tramontano  
**Sent:** Thursday, February 18, 2016 8:00 AM  
**To:** Pero Jolevski  
**Subject:** Fwd: Need your advice

see below. please follow up with her office. thanks

---

Sent from my iPhone

Begin forwarded message:

**From:** "Novelli, Catherine A" <NovelliCA@state.gov>  
**Date:** February 18, 2016 at 7:48:00 AM EST  
**To:** Karen Tramontano <Karen.Tramontano@bluestarstrategies.com>  
**Cc:** "Dodman, Michael J" <DodmanMJ@state.gov>, "Thomas, Anita Y" <ThomasAY@state.gov>  
**Subject:** Re: Need your advice

---

Hi Karen,

Happy to meet with you. Copying Anita Thinas who can make it happen on my schedule

Best,  
Cathy

Sent from my iPhone

On Feb 18, 2016, at 7:42 AM, Karen Tramontano  
<Karen.Tramontano@bluestarstrategies.com<mailto:Karen.Tramontano@bluestarstrategies.com>>  
wrote:

<image001.gif>

Dear Undersecretary Novelli:

I have requested a meeting to discuss a matter on which I need your advice. I spoke to Michael Tracton in your office yesterday to explain my reason for asking for a meeting. Essentially, the U.S. government has taken a position in a commercial matter regarding a Ukrainian individual and I believe the position is in error. I would like to give you a briefing and ask your advice in this matter. We are reaching out to your office and hopefully we could arrange a meeting in the upcoming week. Thank you in advance for your time.

Best regards

Karen

1355089

Karen A. Tramontano

Blue Star Strategies

<image002.png>

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BSS030



## Sally Painter

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**From:** Sally Painter  
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 15, 2016 12:04 PM  
**To:** Pero Jolevski  
**Cc:** Karen Tramontano; Sean Keeley  
**Subject:** Re: Speeches: Ukrainian Reforms Two Years After the Maidan Revolution and the Russian Invasion

Thanks. Draft note to Vadym at Burisma.

Sent from my iPhone

On Mar 15, 2016, at 8:45 AM, Pero Jolevski <[Pero.Jolevski@bluestarstrategies.com](mailto:Pero.Jolevski@bluestarstrategies.com)> wrote:

From Nuland's testimony:

### **What Ukraine Must Do**

The 2016 U.S. assistance program is designed to support all these priorities. Specifically, we will support Ukraine as it takes steps to:

1. Clean up its energy sector by passing legislation to establish an Independent Energy Regulator, reduce unsustainable energy subsidies, and accelerate de-monopolization of the gas market, efficiency of procurement and revenue management, and the unbundling of services;
2. Appoint and confirm a new, clean Prosecutor General, who is committed to rebuilding the integrity of the PGO, and investigate, indict and successfully prosecute corruption and asset recovery cases – including locking up dirty personnel in the PGO itself;
3. Improve the business climate by streamlining the bureaucracy, moving ahead with the privatization of the largest state-owned enterprises in a manner that meets international standards, and further recapitalizing and strengthening the banking system;
4. Strengthen judicial independence, including the certification, dismissal, and recruitment of judges;
5. Improve services and eliminate graft in key service areas that affect every Ukrainian: healthcare, education, and transportation; and
6. Modernize the Ministry of Defense, squeeze out corruption in logistics and supply chains, and move toward western standards of command and control and parliamentary oversight.

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**From:** Max Gleichman [<mailto:mgleichman@gpg.com>]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 15, 2016 11:40 AM  
**To:** OSPC-Internal <[OSPC-Internal@gpg.com](mailto:OSPC-Internal@gpg.com)>  
**Subject:** FW: Speeches: Ukrainian Reforms Two Years After the Maidan Revolution and the Russian Invasion

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**From:** "U.S. Department of State" <usstatebpa@subscriptions.fcg.gov>  
**Reply-To:** "usstatebpa@subscriptions.fcg.gov" <usstatebpa@subscriptions.fcg.gov>  
**Date:** Tuesday, March 15, 2016 at 11:36 AM  
**To:** Max Gleichman <mgleichman@gpg.com>  
**Subject:** Speeches: Ukrainian Reforms Two Years After the Maidan Revolution and the Russian Invasion

You are subscribed to Speeches, Remarks, Testimony (other than by the Secretary) for U.S. Department of State. This information has recently been updated, and is now available.

**Speeches: Ukrainian Reforms Two Years After the Maidan Revolution and the Russian Invasion**

*03/15/2016 11:09 AM EDT*

## **Ukrainian Reforms Two Years After the Maidan Revolution and the Russian Invasion**

Testimony  
Victoria Nuland  
Assistant Secretary, Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs  
Statement Before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee  
Washington, DC  
March 15, 2016

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*As prepared*

Thank you Chairman Corker, Ranking Member Cardin, members of this committee for the opportunity to join you today and for the personal investment so many of you have made in Ukraine's democratic, European future. Ukraine still has a long way to go to meet the aspirations of its people, but your bipartisan support, your visits to Ukraine, and the assistance you and your fellow members have provided have been essential to our policy.

Before I begin, let us take a moment to honor the sacrifice of Ukrainian pilot and Rada Deputy Nadiya Savchenko, who was seized in Ukraine in 2014, dragged across the Russian border and unjustly held and tried in Russia. Today, her hunger strike continues as the court in Rostov again delays announcement of its verdict. Nadiya's struggle is a stark reminder of the severe pressures and violence Ukraine continues to face even as it works to build a stronger, more resilient country for its citizens. I thank this Committee for its continued focus on Nadiya Savchenko and all Ukraine's hostages, and for the passage of Senate Resolution 52. We call on Russia to release her immediately, and return her to Ukraine and to her family before it's too late.

Like Nadiya, all across Ukraine, citizens are standing up and sacrificing for the universal values that bind us as a transatlantic community: for sovereignty, territorial integrity, human rights, dignity, clean and accountable government, and justice for all. The United States has a profound national interest in Ukraine's success, and with it, a more democratic, prosperous, stable Europe.

We have stood by Ukraine for more than two years as Russia has sought to stymie its democratic rebirth at every turn – with political pressure, economic pressure, and with unprecedented military aggression and violation of international law. Any set of leaders would be challenged to lead their country in this environment. Today, however, Ukraine's European future is put at risk as much by enemies within as by external forces. The oligarchs and kleptocrats who controlled Ukraine for decades know their business model will be broken if Maidan reformers succeed in 2016. They are fighting back with a vengeance, using all the levers of the old system: their control of the media, state owned enterprises, Rada deputies, the courts and the political machinery, while holding old loyalties and threats over the heads of decision-makers to block change.

Against this backdrop, Ukraine's leaders have been locked for months in a cycle of political infighting and indecision about how to restore unity, trust and effectiveness in the reform coalition, and reboot the government and its program. Every week that Ukraine drifts, reform is stalled, IMF and international support goes undispensed, and those inside and outside the country who preferred the old Ukraine grow more confident. More than 3 months ago, Vice President Biden spoke before Ukraine's Rada, its President and its Prime Minister and called on all of Ukraine's leaders to set aside their parochial interests, reminding them: "Each of you has an obligation to seize the opportunity of the sacrifices made in the Maidan, the sacrifices of the Heavenly Hundred. Each of you has an obligation to answer the call of history and finally build a united democratic Ukrainian nation that can stand the test of time."

The ability of the United States and the international community to continue to support Ukraine depends upon the commitment of its leaders to put their people and country first. All those who call themselves reformers must rebuild consensus behind a leadership team and an IMF- and EU-compliant program of aggressive measures to clean up corruption, restore justice, and liberalize the economy. With more unity and leadership, 2016 can and should be the year Ukraine breaks free from the unholy alliance of dirty money and dirty politics which has ripped off the Ukrainian people for too long. Without it, Ukraine will slide backwards once again into corruption, lawlessness, and vassal statehood.

It is precisely because Ukrainians have worked so hard, and come so far already, that their leaders must stay united and stay the course now. And it is because the reforms already taken are cutting into ill-gotten fortunes and cutting off avenues for corruption that the forces of revanche are fighting back. Here's the good news: since I last testified before this Committee five months ago, Ukraine has largely stabilized its currency; and is rebuilding its reserves; seen some modest growth in the economy; passed its first winter without relying on gas from Gazprom; approved a 2016 budget in line with IMF requirements; passed civil service reform to create competition and transparency; recruited a new corporate board for Naftogaz; broke its own record for greatest wheat exports; stood up an independent Anti-Corruption Bureau and Special Prosecutor; and, begun to decentralize power and budget authority to local communities to improve services and policies for citizens.

The very week in February that the current government survived a no-confidence vote, Rada deputies also approved five critical pieces of reform legislation to stay on track with IMF conditions and advance Ukraine's bid for visa-free travel with the EU, including laws on:

- ? Privatization of state owned enterprises;
- ? Improvements in corporate governance of state owned enterprises;
- ? Asset seizure and recovery;

- ? The appointment process for anti-corruption prosecutors; and,
- ? Mandatory asset disclosure for public officials, which the President just sent back to the Rada with several fixes.

U.S. assistance has been critical to these efforts. Since the start of the crisis, the United States has committed over \$760 million in assistance to Ukraine, in addition to two \$1 billion loan guarantees. U.S. advisors serve in almost a dozen Ukrainian ministries and localities and help deliver services, eliminate fraud and abuse, improve tax collection, and modernize Ukraine's institutions.

- ? With U.S. help, newly-vetted and trained police officers are patrolling the streets of 18 cities;
- ? In court rooms across Ukraine, Free Legal Aid attorneys, funded by the U.S., have regained their credibility and won 2/3 of all acquittals in Ukraine in 2015.
- ? Treasury and State Department advisors embedded in Ukraine's National Bank and related institutions helped Ukraine shutter over 60 failed banks out of 180 and protect assets.
- ? The U.S. and our EU partners are supporting privatization, freeing up about \$5 billion in Ukraine's coffers and pushing the largest state-owned enterprise, Naftogaz, to form an independent supervisory board that operates without interference.
- ? And, since there can be no reform in Ukraine without security, over \$266 million of our support has been in the security sector, training nearly 1200 soldiers and 750 Ukrainian National Guard personnel and providing: 130 HMMWVs, 150 thermal goggles and 585 night vision devices, over 300 secure radios, 5 Explosive Ordnance Disposal robots, 20 counter-mortar radars, and over 100 up-armored civilian SUVs. In FY16, we plan to train and equip more of Ukraine's border guards, military, and coast guard to help Ukraine secure its border, defend against and deter future attacks, and respond to illicit smuggling.

But first, Ukraine, President Poroshenko, Prime Minister Yatsenyuk, and the Rada must come together behind a government and reform program that delivers what the Maidan demanded: clean leadership; justice an end to zero-sum politics and backroom deals; and public institutions that serve Ukraine's citizens rather than impoverishing or exploiting them.

### **What Ukraine Must Do**

The 2016 U.S. assistance program is designed to support all these priorities. Specifically, we will support Ukraine as it takes steps to:

1. Clean up its energy sector by passing legislation to establish an Independent Energy Regulator, reduce unsustainable energy subsidies, and accelerate de-monopolization of the gas market, efficiency of procurement and revenue management, and the unbundling of services;
2. Appoint and confirm a new, clean Prosecutor General, who is committed to rebuilding the integrity of the PGO, and investigate, indict and successfully prosecute corruption and asset recovery cases – including locking up dirty personnel in the PGO itself;
3. Improve the business climate by streamlining the bureaucracy, moving ahead with the privatization of the largest state-owned enterprises in a manner that meets international standards, and further recapitalizing and strengthening the banking system;
4. Strengthen judicial independence, including the certification, dismissal, and recruitment of judges;
5. Improve services and eliminate graft in key service areas that affect every Ukrainian: healthcare, education, and transportation; and
6. Modernize the Ministry of Defense, squeeze out corruption in logistics and supply chains, and move toward western standards of command and control and parliamentary oversight.

## **Minsk Agreements**

Of course, Ukraine's greatest challenge remains the ongoing occupation of its territory in Crimea and Donbas, and its efforts to restore sovereignty in the East through full implementation of the September 2014 and February 2015 Minsk agreements. These agreements remain the best hope for peace, and we continue to work in close coordination with the "Normandy Powers" -- Ukraine, Russia, Germany, and France -- to see them fully implemented.

The last time I came before this Committee, Ukraine was in a better place. The September 1 ceasefire had largely silenced the guns, and some Ukrainians were even returning home to Donbas. But today, things are heating up again. In recent weeks, we have seen a spike in ceasefire violations, taking the lives of 68 Ukrainian military personnel and injuring 317. In February alone, OSCE monitors reported 15,000 violations, the vast majority of which originated on the separatist-controlled side of the line of contact. And, there were more recorded ceasefire violations in the first week of March than at any time since August 2015. And despite President Putin's commitments to the Normandy powers last October, combined Russian-separatist forces continue to deny OSCE monitors access to large portions of Donbas and to harass and intimidate those who do have access.

At the last meeting of Normandy Foreign Ministers in early March, Ukraine supported concrete steps to pull back forces on the line of contact, increase OSCE monitors and equipment in key hotspots, and establish more OSCE bases deeper into Donbas and on the border. Taking these steps now and releasing hostages will greatly improve the environment for compromise in Kyiv on election modalities and political rights for Donbas. In the meantime, neither Moscow nor the self-appointed Donbas authorities should expect the Ukrainian Rada to take up key outstanding political provisions of the Minsk agreement, including election modalities and constitutional amendments, before the Kremlin and its proxies meet their basic security obligations under Minsk. Although the U.S. is not a party to the Normandy process, we maintain a very active pace of diplomatic engagement at all levels with Kyiv, Moscow, Paris and Berlin to facilitate implementation of both the security and political aspects of Minsk, and to help the parties brainstorm solutions.

Here again, with will and effort on all sides, 2016 can be a turning point for Ukraine. If security can improve in coming weeks, if hostages are returned, if the parties can finalize negotiations on election modalities and other political issues, we could see legitimate leaders elected in Donbas by fall, the withdrawal of Russian forces and equipment, and the return of Ukraine's sovereignty over its border before the end of the year. We will keep working with Ukraine to do its part to implement Minsk, and working with our European partners to ensure Russia stays under sanctions until it does its part -- all of it. And of course, Crimea sanctions must remain in place so long as the Kremlin imposes its will on that piece of Ukrainian land.

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Ranking Member, members of this committee, we knew Ukraine's road to peace, sovereignty, clean, accountable government and Europe would be difficult and rocky. Today, the stakes are as high as ever. With strong, unified leadership in Kyiv, 2016 can and should be a turning-point year for Ukraine's sovereignty and European future. If and as Ukraine's leaders recommit to drive the country forward, the United States must be there to support them, in our own national interest. At the same time, we must be no less rigorous than the Ukrainian people themselves in demanding Kyiv's leaders take their responsibility now to deliver a truly clean, strong, just Ukraine while they still have the chance. I thank this committee for its bipartisan support and commitment to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine and to a Europe whole, free and at peace.

I look forward to your questions.

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## Sally Painter

---

**From:** Sally Painter  
**Sent:** Sunday, July 10, 2016 1:14 PM  
**To:** Vadym Pozharskyi  
**Subject:** Fwd: Pyatt exit interview in Kyiv Post

Just FYI

Sent from my iPhone

Begin forwarded message:

**From:** "Sean Keeley" <[Sean.Keeley@bluestarstrategies.com](mailto:Sean.Keeley@bluestarstrategies.com)>  
**Date:** July 8, 2016 at 10:39:32 AM EDT  
**To:** Karen Tramontano <[Karen.Tramontano@bluestarstrategies.com](mailto:Karen.Tramontano@bluestarstrategies.com)>, Sally Painter <[Sally.Painter@bluestarstrategies.com](mailto:Sally.Painter@bluestarstrategies.com)>, Pero Jolevski <[Pero.Jolevski@bluestarstrategies.com](mailto:Pero.Jolevski@bluestarstrategies.com)>  
**Subject:** Pyatt exit interview in Kyiv Post

Ambassador Pyatt gave a lengthy exit interview to the Kyiv Post. See highlighted quotes for his thoughts on the Prosecutor's office and future reforms.

## Pyatt: High hopes, some regrets, one big question

...

### Removing Shokin

It was in support of Ukrainians' fight against their corrupt authorities that Pyatt took one of his stronger and more memorable stands.

The U.S. viewed Viktor Shokin, President Petro Poroshenko's choice for general prosecutor in February 2015, as a prime obstacle to the war on corruption and creation of rule of law.

Getting rid of Shokin became one of the few conditions known publicly for the U.S. government to continue assisting Ukraine financially. That assistance package now includes \$3 billion in loan guarantees, security aid of \$600 million and economic aid of \$500 million since the revolution that ousted Viktor Yanukovich on Feb. 22, 2014, days after the murders of 100 demonstrators.

Shokin's malfeasance in leading the nation's 18,000 prosecutors, his refusal to prosecute any high-level crimes and his obstruction of investigations prompted Pyatt to call him out publicly (and Poroshenko, by implication) on Sept. 24 in Odesa.

It took, however, another six months to persuade Poroshenko to fire his loyalist Shokin and replace him with another loyalist, Yuriy Lutsenko, the former interior minister and Yanukovich-

era political prisoner who headed Poroshenko's faction in parliament. Lutsenko took over on May 12.

Pyatt has no regrets about the tough stance on Shokin.

"It wasn't me taking on Shokin. It was the United States government," Pyatt said. "The conditionality of getting rid of Shokin was an important step to at least opening the door to reform the prosecutor's office."

For the U.S., Shokin was only the latest in a string of obstructionist prosecutors since the revolution -- including Oleh Makhnitsky and Vitaly Yarema -- who were so uninterested in justice that U.S. law enforcement agents assigned to help "were basically locked out of the prosecutor's office," Pyatt said. "An inner corps in the prosecutor's office was a) not interested in pursuing justice and b) not going to do anything that was going to compromise relationships with key political personalities."

The U.S. actively assisted attempts by ex-prosecutors Davit Sakvarelidze and Vitaly Kasko "to cleanse the system and build a new team," but both were driven out earlier this year "by the corrupt cabal around Shokin," Pyatt said. "There are no illusions about what's happened there, because we saw it from the inside."

By contrast, with Lutsenko, "we have excellent cooperation" and also the same with the National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine, where a U.S. FBI agent was embedded to share expertise.

#### **'Ukraine needs a lot'**

Rebuilding trust in Ukraine's discredited government institutions and delivering justice and rule of law remain long-term projects, Pyatt said.

"I think Ukraine needs a lot of things. It needs a functional judiciary. It needs an effective prosecutorial service. It needs trusted police. It needs institutions that enjoy the confidence of the Ukrainian people."

He supports the idea of deeper U.S. involvement in righting Ukraine's criminal justice system as well as the creation of a special anti-corruption court to take on cases that the regular judiciary, made up of 9,000 discredited judges, cannot be entrusted to adjudicate. He views such a special court as an interim step until judicial reforms take hold and new, clean, professional judges are appointed to the bench.

Pyatt also thinks the U.S. can play an active role in helping Ukraine recover the billions of dollars in assets that have been illicitly spirited offshore. With support from the United Kingdom, America is hosting an asset recovery conference next year designed specifically to help four corruption-plagued nations: Ukraine, Sri Lanka, Nigeria and Tunisia.

But to do that, credible investigations and evidence will have to come from Ukraine's broken criminal justice system. "The more successful Ukraine is in building new and effective institutions, the more effective we can be in supporting and helping Ukrainian courts find assets," Pyatt said.

**'Tragedy for all'**

Only results matter.

"There is only one yardstick of success in this area and that's bringing people to trial and getting them convicted," Pyatt said. "It's a tragedy for all Ukrainians that two-and-a-half years after the revolution, not one Yanukovich-era crook has been convicted and nobody has been brought to account for the murders on Maidan. That needs to change, and Lutsenko knows that needs to change."

Ukrainian politicians "don't have to worry about me" or other foreigners, Pyatt said. "They have to worry about the expectations of the Ukrainian people for rule of law."

<http://www.kyivpost.com/article/content/business/pyatt-high-hopes-some-regrets-one-big-question-418139.html>

**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](mailto:sean.keeley@bluestarstrategies.com)

[www.bluestarstrategies.com](http://www.bluestarstrategies.com)

## Karen Tramontano

---

**From:** Sean Keeley  
**Sent:** Monday, March 21, 2016 4:47 PM  
**To:** Karen Tramontano  
**Cc:** Sally Painter; Jessica Lindgren  
**Subject:** RE: Vadym P - Burisma coming to Washington

Dear Karen,

Sally, Jes and I just talked to Morgan and he will hold a lunch spot on Thursday, March 31<sup>st</sup> (12:15-1:30pm) for Vadym to present on the energy situation in Ukraine for USUBC members. Morgan said he will invite about 30-35 members who would be interested for a lunch reception led by Vadym.

I sent a request to Marcy Kaptur as you saw this morning.

I will also reach out to:

- Tyler Brace: Republican Staff Contact for Senate Ukraine Caucus (Senator Portman's office)
- Chris Homan: Democrat Staff Contact for Senate Ukraine Caucus (Senator Durbin's office)
- John Herbst – Sally to do out reach?
- Alexander Orr – Ukraine desk officer at State (energy)
- Marc Gartner – Ukraine desk officer at State
- Hunter Biden for quick meeting

Let me know if I am missing anyone that should be on the list. And if you have 5-10 minutes at the end of the day today to confer and also discuss the upcoming Kiev trip and Prosecutor outreach, that would be helpful for me.

Thanks,  
Sean

---

**From:** Karen Tramontano  
**Sent:** Sunday, March 20, 2016 10:01 AM  
**To:** Sally Painter; Jessica Lindgren; Sean Keeley  
**Subject:** Vadym P - Burisma coming to Washington

Dear All  
I just spoke w/ Vadym -

He will be arriving on 29 March and expects no agenda on that day. Sally we may want to take him to dinner. On 30th - the evening will be focusing on the pull aside w/ President Poroshenko - Jessica thank you for talking to Morgan's person L - and informing her of our needs.

Here are the meetings I discussed with Vadym

On the House side ... let's get Marcy Kapter if we can Let's make the request early this week

Let's figure out the 2 staff people - one R and one D that either care about Ukraine or Energy but focus on Ukraine

In the Senate let's request meeting at the Ukraine desk -- Sally the guy we met with was very help.

He would like to just "stop by" to see Hunter - no more than 30 minutes because he does not have an agenda -

I think we should also ask for Pfifer or Herbts -- Sally what do you think?

We should try for meetings on the 30th and the afternoon of the 31st

Jesica he said Morgan was putting together a morning briefing for Vadym to discuss the energy situation in Ukraine the morning of the 31st would you check this out with Morgan and L --

any other thoughts?

sally i know you are trying to figure out whether the chief of staff is coming w/ the President -

Lastly let's begin to plan our trip to Kiev - leaving on the 5th. We still do not have the meeting w/ the General Prosecutor .... Let's together talk about how to get this done it's a MUST have for that trip

thanks

Karen



# Burisma Holdings Ltd.

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Washington, D.C. Meetings

**Vadym Pozharskyi**

**March 29-April 1, 2016**

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Office of Sen. Rob Portman.....6  
Office of Sen. Jeanne Shaheen.....7  
Office of Rep. Marty Kapur.....8  
State Department.....9

**Washington, D.C.**

**TUESDAY, MARCH 29:**

**8:00 PM      Arrival in Washington**

*Dulles International Airport  
1 Saarinen Circle  
Dulles, VA 20166*

**WEDNESDAY, MARCH 30:**

**9:00 AM      Briefing at Blue Star Strategies**

Karen Tramontano, CEO, Blue Star Strategies

*Blue Star Strategies  
888 17<sup>th</sup> Street NW  
Suite 800  
Washington, D.C. 20006*

**10:00 AM      Arrival of Devon at Blue Star Strategies**

**10:30 AM      Meeting with Staff of Senator Rob Portman**

Tyler Brace, Legislative Aide to Senator Rob Portman and Republican Staff  
Contact for Senate Ukraine Caucus

*Office of Senator Rob Portman (R-OH)  
448 Russell Senate Office Building  
2 Constitution Ave NE  
Washington, DC 20515  
Tel: (202) 224-3353*

Staffer: Sally Painter

**3:00 PM      Meeting with Staff of Senator Jeanne Shaheen**

Josh Lucas, Foreign Policy Advisor to Sen. Jeanne Shaheen  
Ariel Marshall, Energy Advisor to Sen. Jeanne Shaheen

*Office of Senator Jeanne Shaheen (D-OH)  
506 Hart Senate Office Building  
Washington, DC 20510  
Tel: (202) 224-2841*

Staffer: Karen

**5:30 PM Reception before Poroshenko Speech**  
**-7:00PM**

*Atrium by Congressional Auditorium  
U.S. Capitol Visitors Center  
First Street, NE  
Washington, DC 20515*

Staffers: Karen and Sally

N.B. Ticket and photo ID required  
Seating for speech begins at 6:00pm

**7:00 PM Speech by President Petro Poroshenko**  
**-8:00PM**

*Congressional Auditorium  
U.S. Capitol Visitors Center  
First Street, NE  
Washington, DC 20515*

**8:00 PM VIP Reception with President Petro Poroshenko**  
**-9:00PM**

*Congressional Meeting Room South  
U.S. Capitol Visitors Center  
First Street, NE  
Washington, DC 20515*

**THURSDAY, MARCH 31:**

**10:30 AM Meeting with Congressional Staff of Rep. Marcy Kaptur (D-OH)**

TJ Lowdermilk, Legislative Assistant (Energy)  
Nora Sarsour, Legislative Assistant (Foreign Affairs)

*Office of Congresswoman Marcy Kaptur (OH-9)  
2186 Rayburn House Office Building  
Washington, DC 20515  
Tel: (202) 225-4146*

Staffer: Jesica Lindgren

**12:15 PM USUBC Roundtable Briefing and Lunch with Vadym Pozharskyi**  
**-1:45 PM "Ukraine's Future Energy Security"**

Hosted by: Morgan Williams, President/CEO, U.S.-Ukraine Business Council

*1030 15<sup>th</sup> Street NW  
Suite 230E, Conference Room  
Washington, DC 20005*

**2:30 PM Meeting with Hunter Biden**

**-3:00 PM**

Hunter Biden, Director, Burisma Holdings

*Rosemont Seneca Partners  
1010 Wisconsin Ave NW  
Suite 705  
Washington, DC 20007  
Tel: (202) 333-1880*

Staffer: Karen

**3:30 PM Meeting with State Department Officials**

**-4:15PM**

Alex Orr, Ukraine Desk Officer, State Department  
Marc Gartner, Ukraine Desk Officer, State Department  
Leo Gallagher, Bureau of Energy Resources, State Department

*2201 C Street NW\*  
Washington, D.C. 20520  
Tel: (202) 647-5998*

*\*Note: Alex and Marc to meet you outside the C street entrance*

Staffer: Karen

**7:00 PM Dinner with Karen and Sally**

Karen Tramontano, CEO, Blue Star Strategies  
Sally Painter, COO, Blue Star Strategies

*Location to be determined*

**FRIDAY, APRIL 1:**

**5:20 PM Departure from Washington**

## BACKGROUND

### Office of Senator Rob Portman (R-OH)



**Senator Rob Portman** is an influential Republican politician who is currently the junior United States Senator from Ohio, in office since 2011. Portman won his first election in 1993, earning a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives. Portman became a U.S. trade representative under President George W. Bush in 2005. He also served as Bush's budget director from 2006 to 2007. In 2010, Portman won his bid for the U.S. Senate. Portman is a member of the Finance Committee, Committee On Homeland Security And Governmental Affairs, Energy And Natural Resources Committee, and Committee On The Budget.

Senator Portman is also the co-chair of the Senate Ukraine Caucus, which was inaugurated in February 2015 to “strengthen the political, military, economic, and cultural relationship between the United States and Ukraine.” Portman has been a vocal advocate on behalf of Ukraine in the Senate, arguing for increased military assistance to Ukraine, speaking out in favor of loan guarantees to the country, and writing several op-eds on the subject. Senator Portman has also participated in two Congressional delegations to Ukraine, met with President Petro Poroshenko after his address to Congress in September 2014, and co-sponsored the Ukraine Freedom Support Act of 2014.

**Tyler Brace** is a legislative assistant to Senator Rob Portman. His legislative responsibilities include the armed services and military, defense, foreign affairs, homeland security, intelligence issues, judiciary issues, and veterans’ affairs. He is also the Republican Staff contact for the Senate Ukraine Caucus, which is co-chaired by Senator Portman. In this capacity, he travelled to Ukraine in October 2014, to serve as an election monitor for Ukraine’s parliamentary elections and meet with key Ukrainian and U.S. Embassy officials. Previously, Tyler worked in the office of Congressman Michael Turner.

**Office of Senator Jeanne Shaheen (D-NH)**



**Senator Jeanne Shaheen** is the senior United States Senator from New Hampshire, in office since 2009. She also served as Governor of New Hampshire from 1997 to 2003, and remains the only woman in U.S. history to be elected as both a Governor and a U.S. Senator. She is a member of the Senate Committees on Armed Services, Appropriations, the Small Business and Entrepreneurship Committee, and the Committee on Foreign Relations. She is the ranking member of the Subcommittee on Europe and Regional Cooperation.

Senator Shaheen is also a vice chair of the Senate Ukraine Caucus, which was inaugurated in February 2015 to strengthen ties between the United States and Ukraine. Shaheen has been a strong advocate for Ukraine, speaking frequently of the need to increase military and financial aid to the country and to punish Russia with sanctions. Senator Shaheen led a Congressional delegation to Ukraine in October 2015, where she met with President Poroshenko and Prime Minister Yatsenyuk, and urged the country to follow through on anti-corruption reforms.

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**Ariel Marshall** is the Energy Policy Advisor to Senator Jeanne Shaheen.

**Office of Rep. Marcy Kaptur (D-OH)**



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## State Department

### **Office of Ukraine, Moldova, and Belarus Affairs [EUR/UMB]**

The Office of Ukraine, Moldova, and Belarus Affairs is an office within the State Department's Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs. EUR/UMB coordinates U.S. foreign policy with Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus. The office serves as the link between the three embassies, bureaus and offices within the Department, and a wide range of U.S. Government agencies. EUR/UMB works closely with posts in the development and implementation of U.S. political and economic strategy for each country and for the region. The overarching goal is to help these countries develop into nations that are democratic, prosperous, secure within their own borders, and free to become full partners in the Euro-Atlantic community.



#### **Alexander Orr, Ukraine Desk Officer**

Alexander Orr is a desk officer for Ukraine at the State Department's Office of Ukraine, Moldova, and Belarus Affairs. He has worked for the State Department since August 2009 at various postings both in Washington, D.C. and abroad. Alex has worked as the Vice Consul at the U.S. Embassy in Astana, Kazakhstan; an Economic Officer at the U.S. Embassy in Bogota, Colombia; and a Trade and Commercial Officer at the U.S. Consulate General in Karachi, Pakistan. Prior to joining the Foreign Service, Alex worked as an Emerging Markets

Equities Analyst at JP Morgan Chase, and a strategy consultant for Oliver Wyman in New York.

#### **Marc Gartner, Ukraine Desk Officer**

Marc Gartner is an Economic Officer at the Ukraine desk in the State Department's Office of Ukraine, Moldova, and Belarus Affairs. Marc previously served in the Economic Section at the U.S. Embassy in Kyiv, Ukraine. He holds a Master of Business Administration from UCLA. Prior to joining the Foreign Service, Marc worked in finance in Los Angeles, California.

### **Bureau of Energy Resources [ENR]**

The Bureau of Energy Resources is a State Department bureau first established in October 2011. The Bureau has three principal goals:

- 1) To manage the geopolitics of today's energy economy through vigorous diplomacy with producers and consumers;
- 2) To stimulate market forces for transformational policies in alternative energy, electricity, development and reconstruction;
- 3) To increase access to energy in developing countries, expand good governance, and deepen transparency.

#### **Leo Gallagher, Officer at Bureau of Energy Resources**

Leo Gallagher is an officer at the State Department's Bureau of Energy Resources. Leo's previous roles have included work as an Economic/Commercial Officer at the U.S. Embassy in Barbados.





# Burisma Holdings Ltd.

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Washington, D.C. Meetings

**Devon Archer**

**March 29-April 1, 2016**

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Office of Sen. Jeanne Shaheen.....7

Office of Rep. Marty Kapur.....8

**Washington, D.C.**

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Sally Painter, COO, Blue Star Strategies

*Blue Star Strategies  
888 17<sup>th</sup> Street NW  
Suite 800  
Washington, D.C. 20006*

**10:30 AM Meeting with Staff of Senator Rob Portman**

Tyler Brace, Legislative Aide to Senator Rob Portman and Republican Staff  
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Staffer: Sally Painter

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Staffers: Karen and Sally

N.B. Ticket and photo ID required  
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Staffer: Jesica Lindgren

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*Location to be determined*

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## Karen Tramontano

---

**From:** Karen Tramontano  
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 22, 2016 6:06 PM  
**To:** Andrii Telizhenko; Sally Painter  
**Subject:** RE: Andrii Telizhenko (Embassy of Ukraine)

Dear Andrii

Thank you very much. It was indeed a pleasure to meet you. As I mentioned, Sally and I will be in Kiev April 6, 7 and 8. The attorney from the U.S. John Buretta who has reviewed the matter we discussed and I would like to meet the General Prosecutor on April 6<sup>th</sup> – preferable in the afternoon. I will reach out to John today to see whether he has any flexibility and get back to you ASAP. Thank you again for your assistance.

Most sincerely,  
Karen

**From:** Andrii Telizhenko [mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 22, 2016 5:14 PM  
**To:** Karen Tramontano <Karen.Tramontano@bluestarstrategies.com>; Sally Painter <Sally.Painter@bluestarstrategies.com>  
**Subject:** Andrii Telizhenko (Embassy of Ukraine)

Dear Sally, Karen,

It was nice seeing you at the Embassy today, thank you for coming and your help. This is my email that I respond 24/7 if you have any questions.

My cell 202 230 0141

With Regards,

Andrii Telizhenko

--

Андрій Теліженко | Andrii Telizhenko  
III Секретар Посольства України в США  
III Secretary of the Embassy of Ukraine to the USA  
| [telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com](mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com) |

**From:** Sally Painter  
**Sent:** Fri, 10 Jun 2016 12:23:15 +0000  
**To:** Fried, Daniel  
**Subject:** Re: Many thanks  
**Attachments:** image001.png

Thank you very much. Greatly appreciated. Warmest regards sally

Sent from my iPhone

On Jun 10, 2016, at 7:52 AM, Fried, Daniel [REDACTED] > wrote:

As it turns out, George Kent, our DCM in Kyiv is in town and willing to be in touch with you. You may reach him at [GPKent@icloud.com](mailto:GPKent@icloud.com).

---

**From:** Sally Painter  
[<http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:Sally.Painter@bluestarstrategies.com>]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 07, 2016 2:17 PM  
**To:** Fried, Daniel  
**Subject:** Many thanks

Dear Dan,  
Thank you for taking the time to listen. It is greatly appreciated. The man's name is Nikolai Zlochevsky - but sometimes written as Mykola Zlochevsky.

Many thanks and warmest personal regards,

sally

Sally Painter  
Co-Founder and COO  
Blue Star Strategies

[<image001.png>](#)

(+1) 202-833-1268 direct  
(+1) 202-822-9088 fax  
[sally.painter@bluestarstrategies.com](mailto:sally.painter@bluestarstrategies.com)

888 17th Street NW, Suite 800  
Washington, DC 20006

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**From:** Sally Painter  
**Sent:** Mon, 13 Jun 2016 20:11:19 +0000  
**To:** Fried, Daniel  
**Subject:** Fwd: Connecting

Dear Dan,  
Thanks for trying. I sent the note to the DCM below but have not heard back. Do you know if he has left? Many thanks again. Warmest sally

Sent from my iPhone

Begin forwarded message:

**From:** <[Sally.Painter@bluestarstrategies.com](mailto:Sally.Painter@bluestarstrategies.com)>  
**Date:** June 10, 2016 at 8:26:12 AM EDT  
**To:** <[GPKent](mailto:GPKent) [REDACTED]>  
**Subject:** Connecting

Dear Mr. Kent.  
Good morning. A mutual colleague and friend, Dan Fried, suggested you might be available for a meeting while you are in Washington. Are there any times that might be convenient for your schedule today or even this weekend. Many thanks in advance for your consideration. Warmest personal regards sally painter

Sent from my iPhone



[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

-----Original Message-----

From: [REDACTED]  
Sent: Monday, June 27, 2016 9:09 AM  
To: 'Sally Painter'  
Cc: Pero Jolevski; [REDACTED] D\_Scheduling  
Subject: RE: Coffee with Tony

Sally -

Thanks for following up - I'm looping in our scheduling team and some other colleagues.

Regards,

[REDACTED]

-----Original Message-----

From: Sally Painter [<mailto:Sally.Painter@bluestarstrategies.com>]  
Sent: Monday, June 27, 2016 9:05 AM  
To: [REDACTED]  
Cc: Pero Jolevski  
Subject: Coffee with Tony

Dear [REDACTED]

Per my conversation with Tony at the Truman event, Karen Tramontano and I would like to have a brief coffee with Tony at his earliest convenience regarding some troubling events we are seeing in Ukraine. (He said yes).

Karen was President Clinton's Deputy Chief of Staff and we are just back from Kiev.

Many thanks for your help. With warm regards sally

Sent from my iPhone

**From:** Fried, Daniel  
**Sent:** Tue, 6 Sep 2016 09:56:58 -0400  
**To:** 'Sally Painter'  
**Subject:** RE: Please call me on cell. [REDACTED] Thank you. I need your guidance

Just tried calling. I'm at 202-647-3893

-----Original Message-----

From: Sally Painter [<mailto:Sally.Painter@bluestarstrategies.com>]  
Sent: Tuesday, September 06, 2016 9:01 AM  
To: Fried, Daniel  
Subject: Re: Please call me on cell. [REDACTED]. Thank you. I need your guidance

Thank you

Sent from my iPhone

> On Sep 6, 2016, at 8:57 AM, Fried, Daniel <[REDACTED]> wrote:

>

> About to go into meetings. Will call when I've a few minutes.

>

> -----Original Message-----

> From: Sally Painter [<http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:Sally.Painter@bluestarstrategies.com>]

> Sent: Tuesday, September 06, 2016 8:43 AM

> To: Fried, Daniel

> Subject: Please call me on cell. [REDACTED] Thank you. I need your guidance

>

>

>

> Sent from my iPhone

>

**From:**Fried, Daniel  
**Sent:**Thu, 8 Sep 2016 12:02:36 -0400  
**To:**'Sally Painter'  
**Subject:**RE: Update

Good to hear.

---

**From:** Sally Painter [mailto:Sally.Painter@bluestarstrategies.com]  
**Sent:** Thursday, September 08, 2016 11:37 AM  
**To:** Fried, Daniel  
**Subject:** Update

Dear Mr. Ambassador,

Quick update. Masha called Karen back and they had a very good conversation.

She said she would clear up any confusion around the misrepresentation that we are representing Andriy Klyuyev – which as you know we are not and have never met him.

Thank you very much for your guidance, support and most importantly friendship. Karen and I deeply appreciate it and you. Warmest sally

Sally Painter  
Co-Founder and COO  
Blue Star Strategies



(+1) 202-833-1268 direct  
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**Sally Blue star**

last seen yesterday at 17:55



Hello) To Mr. Z or Mr. Danyluk

15:49 ✓✓

thank you

15:49 ✓✓

Also we are having a call today with you at 11am?)

15:50 ✓✓

Ok. I will check to see who he is most comfortable with. Will report back

15:51

thank you again

15:52 ✓✓

also please confirm the 30 when you receive please

15:57 ✓✓

Will do

15:59

:)

15:59 ✓✓



15:59 ✓✓

Apr 26, 2019



Missed voice call at 15:20

Have you seen what Solomon has written about what you said?

15:20



Missed voice call at 16:56

Apr 30, 2019

please Take blue star off resume

23:06



Message input field





**Sally Blue star**

last seen yesterday at 17:55



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?

17:27 ✓✓

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



Message input field





Sally Blue star

last seen yesterday at 17:55



Jun 7, 2019

Did u see dems are going to open an investigation into Rudy Ukraine and Biden trips. Just FYI

21:28

not yet, interesting thanks

21:29

its mostly for PR i think

21:30

Jun 18, 2019

Complaint filed

22:10

Jun 19, 2019

What did you think of NYT article

14:23

Its seem very fair

14:28

Jul 9, 2019

Missed voice call at 12:30

Hi. Landed in London. Meet with ounce folks at 4. Please remind him he will be first Ukrainian to work with prince. Thank you

12:31

Missed voice call at 16:54

Jul 24, 2019

Missed voice call at 11:18

Jul 25, 2019

just saw your call from yesterday sorry



Message input field





**Sally Blue star**

last seen yesterday at 17:55



had some issues with whatsapp

14:11 ✓✓



[Missed voice call at 15:02](#)

Called you back

15:06

Vladislav Rashkovan

Oleksandr Danyluk

Yulia Tymoshenko

Andriy Kobolev

Abramavichius - but not a lot of chances

2 more names should be discussed next

week

17:00 ✓✓

Jul 28, 2019

Oleksiy Goncharuk

Oleg Ustenko

those are the other 2 names for Prime

14:20 ✓✓

Thank you

14:50

Aug 6, 2019

Anything for prince of Wales ? Thanks

16:07

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 s

15:03



## Karen Tramontano

---

**From:** Karen Tramontano  
**Sent:** Saturday, July 27, 2019 10:44 AM  
**To:** Vadim Pozharskyi  
**Cc:** Tamar Gegechkori; Sally Painter  
**Subject:** Re: Zelensky/Trump talk

Thank you Vadym. I've briefed sally. She will reach out to our friend. I've talked to our other friend this morning.

Sent from my iPhone

On Jul 27, 2019, at 10:34 AM, Vadim Pozharskyi <[v.pozharskyi.ukraine@gmail.com](mailto:v.pozharskyi.ukraine@gmail.com)> wrote:

Dear Karen and all,

Please, see a link to an official website of the President of Ukraine with news on the recent phone call between Ukraine's President Zelensky and President Trump:

<https://www.president.gov.ua/en/news/volodimir-zelenskij-proviv-telefonnu-rozmovu-z-prezidentom-s-56617>

**"Donald Trump is convinced that the new Ukrainian government will be able to quickly improve image of Ukraine, complete investigation of corruption cases, which inhibited the interaction between Ukraine and the USA"**

Some Ukrainian media focused on this very quote and made it look as though President Trump was talking about Burisma/Biden situation.

Please, see links to correspondent publications:

<https://www.eurointegration.com.ua/news/2019/07/25/7098933/>

**"The GP's office is investigating the case of a former Minister of Ukraine under Viktor Yanukovich, Mykola Zlochevsky and his firm Burisma Holdings on suspicion of obtaining illegal decisions on gas extraction, money laundering, and evasion of tax payments in particularly large amounts. The son of Trump's opponent in the 2020 Presidential elections Joe Biden, Hunter was a member of the Board of Burisma Holdings. Trump's personal attorney, Rudolf Giuliani, said that Biden had wrongfully pressured the Ukrainian president Petro Poroshenko and the parliament in March 2016 to fire GP Viktor Shokin. The visit of Ukraine's President Volodymyr Zelensky to the United States will take place prior to his visit to Warsaw on September 1, said Deputy Head of Office Mr Vadym Prystaiko."**

Links to other publications on this are offered below:

<https://antikor.com.ua/articles/317745->

[tramp\\_nameknul\\_zelenskomu\\_na\\_neobhodimostj\\_rassledovatj\\_dela\\_protiv\\_bajdena](#)

<https://tsn.ua/politika/zelenskiy-upershe-telefonom-peregovoriv-iz-trampom-1384566.html>

[https://zik.ua/news/2019/07/26/tramp\\_radyt\\_zelenskomu\\_rozsliduvaty\\_koruptsiyni\\_spravy\\_shcho\\_gal\\_muyut\\_1614285](https://zik.ua/news/2019/07/26/tramp_radyt_zelenskomu_rozsliduvaty_koruptsiyni_spravy_shcho_gal_muyut_1614285)

## Sally Painter

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**From:** Pero Jolevski  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 16, 2018 6:05 PM  
**To:** Burisma  
**Cc:** Anna Smaga; Karen Tramontano; Sally Painter  
**Subject:** Invitation Letter  
**Attachments:** Invitation - Zlochevskyi.pdf

Dear Vadym,

Please find attached letter from Ambassador Herbst for the visa application purposes.

Best regards  
Pero

Pero Jolevski  
Blue Star Strategies

(+1)-202-833-1281  
(+1)-202-822-9088 fax

[pero.jolevski@bluestarstrategies.com](mailto:pero.jolevski@bluestarstrategies.com)

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**INVITATION**

Mykola Zlochevskyi  
10-A Ryleyeva Str.  
04073, Kyiv  
Ukraine

Dear Mr. Zlochevskyi,

The Atlantic Council invites you to attend a **Ukraine Strategy Session** on **March 19, 2018** from **12:00 p.m. to 3:00 p.m.** at the **Atlantic Council headquarters** (1030 15<sup>th</sup> Street NW, 12<sup>th</sup> Floor, West Elevators).

The session will feature prominent international policy makers and experts. To RSVP, please email my colleague Tamari Ramishvili at [tramishvili@atlanticcouncil.org](mailto:tramishvili@atlanticcouncil.org).

We hope you can join us for this important and timely strategy session.

Best,

John

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "John Herbst".

**John Herbst** Ambassador (Ret.)  
Director, Eurasia Center



# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

September 27, 2019

## VIA ELECTRONIC TRANSMISSION

The Honorable William Barr  
Attorney General  
Department of Justice

Dear Attorney General Barr:

We write to follow up on Senator Grassley's July 20, 2017 letter, which highlighted brazen efforts by the Democratic National Committee and Hillary Clinton campaign to use the government of Ukraine for the express purpose of finding negative information on then-candidate Trump in order to undermine his campaign.<sup>1</sup> That letter also highlighted news reports that, during the 2016 presidential election, "Ukrainian government officials tried to help Hillary Clinton and undermine Trump" and did so by "disseminat[ing] documents implicating a top Trump aide in corruption and suggest[ing] they were investigating the matter[.]"<sup>2</sup> Ukrainian officials also reportedly "helped Clinton's allies research damaging information on Trump and his advisers."<sup>3</sup>

At the center of this plan was Alexandra Chalupa, described by reports as a Ukrainian-American operative "who was consulting for the Democratic National Committee" and who reportedly met with Ukrainian officials during the presidential election for the express purpose of exposing alleged ties between then-candidate Donald Trump, Paul Manafort, and Russia.<sup>4</sup> *Politico* also reported on a *Financial Times* story that quoted a Ukrainian legislator, Serhiy Leschenko, as saying that Trump's candidacy caused "Kiev's wider political leadership to do something they would never have attempted before: intervene, however indirectly, in a U.S. election."<sup>5</sup>

The July 20, 2017 letter further noted that the Democratic National Committee encouraged Chalupa to work with Ukrainian embassy staff to "arrange an interview in which Poroshenko [the president of Ukraine] might discuss Manafort's ties to Yanukovich."<sup>6</sup> In March 2016, Chalupa met with Valeriy Chaly, Ukraine's ambassador to the U.S., and Oksana Shulyar, a top aid to the Ukrainian ambassador, to share her alleged concerns about Manafort. Reports state that the purpose of that initial meeting was to "organize a June reception at the embassy to promote Ukraine." However, another Ukrainian embassy official, Andrii Telizhenko, told

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<sup>1</sup> Letter from Hon. Charles E. Grassley, Chairman, Senate Committee on the Judiciary, to Hon. Rod J. Rosenstein, Attorney General, U.S. Department of Justice (July 20, 2017), *available at* <https://www.grassley.senate.gov/sites/default/files/constituents/2017-0720%20CEG%20to%20DOJ%20%28Ukraine%20DNC%20FARA%29.pdf>.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*

<sup>3</sup> Kenneth P. Vogel & David Stern, *Ukrainian efforts to sabotage Trump backfire*, *POLITICO* (Jan. 11, 2017), <https://www.politico.com/story/2017/01/ukraine-sabotage-trump-backfire-233446>.

<sup>4</sup> *Id.*

<sup>5</sup> *Id.*

<sup>6</sup> *Id.*

*Politico* that Shulyar instructed him to assist Chalupa with research to connect Trump, Manafort, and the Russians. He reportedly said, “[t]hey were coordinating an investigation with the Hillary team on Paul Manafort with Alexandra Chalupa” and that “Oksana [Shulyar] was keeping it all quiet...the embassy worked very closely with” Chalupa.<sup>7</sup> In a May 2019 article, Telizhenko was quoted as saying,

[Chalupa] said the DNC wanted to collect evidence that Trump, his organization and Manafort were Russian assets, working to hurt the U.S. and working with [Russian President Vladimir] Putin against the U.S. interests. She indicated if we could find the evidence they would introduce it in Congress in September and try to build a case that Trump should be removed from the ballot, from the election.<sup>8</sup>

Reportedly, Telizhenko was instructed by the Ukrainian government to meet with an American journalist about Paul Manafort’s ties to Ukraine.<sup>9</sup> In addition, in May 2016, Chalupa emailed a DNC official stating that she met with 68 Ukrainian investigative journalists about Manafort and that there would be “[a] lot more coming down the pipe.”<sup>10</sup> Less than a month later, the “black ledger” identifying payments made to Manafort from Ukrainian politicians was publicly released.<sup>11</sup> And finally, Nellie Ohr, the wife of Justice Department official Bruce Ohr, stated during a congressional interview that Fusion GPS used Serhiy Leschenko, a Ukrainian politician that admitted Ukraine intervened in the 2016 election, as a source for derogatory material against then-candidate Trump.<sup>12</sup>

After two years, more than 2,800 subpoenas, approximately 500 search warrants and witness interviews, and \$30 million in taxpayer money, Robert Mueller reported that then-candidate Trump did not collude with the Russians or any other foreign government to interfere with the 2016 presidential election.<sup>13</sup> In contrast, however, the Clinton campaign and Democratic National Committee hired Fusion GPS to conduct opposition research against candidate Trump, which included, among other efforts, the hiring of former British Intelligence Officer Christopher Steele to compile the “Steele Dossier” that reportedly used Russian government sources for information. These facts continue to raise concerns about foreign assistance in the 2016 election that have not been thoroughly addressed.

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<sup>7</sup> Kenneth P. Vogel & David Stern, *Ukrainian efforts to sabotage Trump backfire*, *POLITICO* (Jan. 11, 2017), <https://www.politico.com/story/2017/01/ukraine-sabotage-trump-backfire-233446>

<sup>8</sup> John Solomon, *Ukrainian Embassy confirms DNC contractor solicited Trump dirt in 2016*, *The Hill* (May 2, 2019), <https://thehill.com/opinion/white-house/441892-ukrainian-embassy-confirms-dnc-contractor-solicited-trump-dirt-in-2016>

<sup>9</sup> *Id.*

<sup>10</sup> *Id.*

<sup>11</sup> Jack Gillum et al., *Manafort firm received Ukraine ledger payout*, *AP* (Apr. 12, 2017), [available at https://www.apnews.com/20cfc75c82eb4a67b94e624e97207e23](https://www.apnews.com/20cfc75c82eb4a67b94e624e97207e23).

<sup>12</sup> Transcript of Nellie Ohr Interview, Executive Session House Committee on the Judiciary joint with the Committee on Government Reform and Oversight (Oct. 19, 2018), [available at https://dougcollins.house.gov/sites/dougcollins.house.gov/files/10.19.18%20Nellie%20Ohr%20Interview.pdf](https://dougcollins.house.gov/sites/dougcollins.house.gov/files/10.19.18%20Nellie%20Ohr%20Interview.pdf).

<sup>13</sup> See generally DEP’T OF JUSTICE, OFF. OF SPECIAL COUNSEL, REPORT ON THE INVESTIGATION INTO RUSSIAN INTERFERENCE IN THE 2016 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION (Mar. 2019), <https://www.justice.gov/storage/report.pdf>.

According to the Justice Department, U.S. Attorney John Durham is “exploring the extent to which...Ukraine, played a role in the counterintelligence investigation” during the 2016 election.<sup>14</sup> However, the Justice Department has yet to inform Congress and the public whether it has begun an investigation into links and coordination between the Ukrainian government and individuals associated with the campaign of Hillary Clinton or the Democratic National Committee. Ukrainian efforts, abetted by a U.S. political party, to interfere in the 2016 election should not be ignored. Such allegations of corruption deserve due scrutiny, and the American people have a right to know when foreign forces attempt to undermine our democratic processes. Accordingly, please provide an answer to two questions from the July 2017 letter related to the Democrats’ collusion with Ukrainian officials:

1. Are you investigating links and coordination between the Ukrainian government and individuals associated with the campaign of Hillary Clinton or the Democratic National Committee? If not, why not?
2. Why hasn’t the Justice Department required Alexandra Chalupa to register as a foreign agent under FARA?

In addition, information has surfaced that raises new questions. A recent report described a note purporting to memorialize a meeting in Kiev between the Ukrainian Acting Prosecutor General, Yuriy Sevruck, and Burisma’s American legal team.<sup>15</sup> Yuriy Sevruck was the temporary replacement for the Prosecutor General that Vice President Biden demanded be fired, Victor Shokin. The note, reportedly written by Sevruck, states that “[t]he purpose of their visit was an apology for dissemination of false information by U.S. representatives and public figures on the activities of the Prosecutor General’s Office of Ukraine [Shokin] in regards to the investigation of criminal activities of Zlochevshy [Oligarch owner of Burisma Holdings].”<sup>16</sup>

The article also reports that Ukrainian prosecutors have unsuccessfully been trying to get information to Justice Department officials since the summer of 2018, possibly including “[h]undreds of pages of never-released memos and documents ... [that] conflict with Biden’s narrative”<sup>17</sup> that his actions in Ukraine had nothing to do with his son’s connections to Burisma. In light of this reporting, has the Justice Department obtained or been offered documents from Ukrainian officials related to these matters? If so, what were those documents?

We respectfully request that you respond to all of these questions no later than October 14, 2019.

---

<sup>14</sup> Jeff Mordock, *John Durham investigating Ukraine in Trump-Russia origins probe*, The Washington Times (Sept. 25, 2019), <https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2019/sep/25/john-durham-probing-ukraine-as-part-of-trump-russi/>

<sup>15</sup> John Solomon, *These once-secret memos cast doubt on Joe Biden’s Ukraine story*, The Hill (Sept. 26, 2019), <https://thehill.com/opinion/campaign/463307-solomon-these-once-secret-memos-cast-doubt-on-joe-bidens-ukraine-story>.

<sup>16</sup> *Id.*

<sup>17</sup> *Id.*

We anticipate that your written reply and most responsive documents will be unclassified. Please send all unclassified material directly to the Committee. In keeping with the requirements of Executive Order 13526, if any of the responsive documents do contain classified information, please segregate all unclassified material within the classified documents, provide all unclassified information directly to the Committees, and provide a classified addendum to the Office of Senate Security. Although the Committees comply with all laws and regulations governing the handling of classified information, they are not bound, absent their prior agreement, by any handling restrictions.

Thank you in advance for your prompt attention to these matters. Should you have any questions, please contact Joshua Flynn-Brown of Chairman's Grassley's staff at (202) 224-4515 or Brian Downey or Scott Wittmann of Chairman Johnson's staff at (202) 224-4751.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Grassley  
Chairman  
Senate Finance Committee

Ron Johnson  
Chairman  
Senate Homeland Security  
and Governmental Affairs

# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

November 21, 2019

The Honorable David S. Ferriero  
Archivist of the United States  
U.S. National Archives and Records Administration  
700 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20408

Dear Mr. Ferriero:

We write to request records of multiple White House meetings that took place in 2016 between and among Obama administration officials, Ukrainian government representatives, and Democratic National Committee (DNC) officials. According to recent reports, in January 2016 “some of Ukraine’s top corruption prosecutors and investigators [met] face to face with members of former President Obama’s National Security Council (NSC), FBI, State Department and Department of Justice (DOJ).”<sup>1</sup> Other meetings included Alexandra Chalupa, a contractor for the DNC, who reportedly worked with Ukrainian government officials to undermine the Trump campaign.

According to Andrii Telizhenko, a political officer in the Ukraine Embassy in Washington, D.C. who participated in a January 2016 meeting, “U.S. officials volunteered . . . that they had an interest in reviving a closed investigation into payments to U.S. figures from Ukraine’s Russia-backed Party of Regions,” which refers to the investigation that involved Paul Manafort.<sup>2</sup> He “recalled DOJ officials asking investigators from Ukraine’s National Anti-Corruption Bureau (NABU) if they could help locate new evidence about the Party of Regions’ payments and its dealings with Americans.”<sup>3</sup>

During that same meeting, U.S. officials also reportedly brought up investigations relating to Burisma Holdings, the Ukrainian gas company that had hired then-Vice President Joe Biden’s son, Hunter, to serve as a board member.<sup>4</sup> According to Telizhenko, “U.S. officials told the Ukrainians they would prefer that Kiev drop the Burisma probe and allow the FBI to take it over.”<sup>5</sup>

According to that same reporting, there were multiple meetings between U.S. officials and Ukrainian authorities in January 2016. It noted that at least one of these meetings was held

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<sup>1</sup> John Solomon, *How the Obama White House engaged Ukraine to give Russia collusion narrative an early boost*, The Hill (Apr. 25, 2019), <https://thehill.com/opinion/white-house/440730-how-the-obama-white-house-engaged-ukraine-to-give-russia-collusion>.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*

<sup>3</sup> *Id.*

<sup>4</sup> *Id.*

<sup>5</sup> *Id.*

in the White House's Old Executive Office Building (OEOB), and confirmed that Nazar Kholodnytsky, the head of Ukraine's Specialized Anticorruption Prosecutor's Office, attended some but not all of these meetings.<sup>6</sup>

White House meeting records also show that Alexandra Chalupa, a Ukrainian-American operative "who was consulting for the Democratic National Committee" during the 2016 U.S. presidential election, attended numerous meetings at the White House, including one event with President Obama.<sup>7</sup>

Chalupa reportedly worked to get dirt on Trump from the Ukrainians. For example, in March 2016, Chalupa reportedly met with Valeriy Chaly, Ukraine's ambassador to the U.S., and Oksana Shulyar, a top aid to the Ukrainian ambassador, to share her alleged concerns about Manafort.<sup>8</sup> Reports state that the purpose of that initial meeting was to "organize a June reception at the embassy to promote Ukraine."<sup>9</sup> However, Ukrainian embassy official Andrii Telizhenko told *Politico* that Shulyar instructed him to assist Chalupa with research to connect Trump, Manafort, and the Russians.<sup>10</sup> He reportedly said, "[t]hey were coordinating an investigation with the Hillary team on Paul Manafort with Alexandra Chalupa" and that "Oksana [Shulyar] was keeping it all quiet...the embassy worked very closely with" Chalupa.<sup>11</sup> According to Telizhenko:

[Chalupa] said the DNC wanted to collect evidence that Trump, his organization and Manafort were Russian assets, working to hurt the U.S. and working with [Russian President Vladimir] Putin against the U.S. interests. She indicated if we could find the evidence they would introduce it in Congress in September and try to build a case that Trump should be removed from the ballot, from the election.<sup>12</sup>

White House visitor logs indicate that Chalupa visited the White House on at least 27 occasions.<sup>13</sup> In 2016, the year of the presidential election, she visited the White House at least five times on January 12, 2016; February 22, 2016; April 4, 2016; May 13, 2016; and June 14, 2016.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> *Id.*

<sup>7</sup> White House Visitor Access Records 2016 Log, [obamawhitehouse.archives.gov](https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov), <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/briefing-room/disclosures/visitor-records>.

<sup>8</sup> Kenneth P. Vogel & David Stern, *Ukrainian efforts to sabotage Trump backfire*, *Politico* (Jan. 11, 2017), <https://www.politico.com/story/2017/01/ukraine-sabotage-trump-backfire-233446>.

<sup>9</sup> *Id.*

<sup>10</sup> *Id.*

<sup>11</sup> *Id.*

<sup>12</sup> John Solomon, *Ukrainian Embassy confirms DNC contractor solicited Trump dirt in 2016*, *The Hill* (May 2, 2019), <https://thehill.com/opinion/white-house/441892-ukrainian-embassy-confirms-dnc-contractor-solicited-trump-dirt-in-2016>.

<sup>13</sup> Sara Carter, *Whistleblower and DNC Contractor Visited Obama WH. It Must Be Investigated*, *Saraacarter.com* (Nov. 8, 2019), <https://saraacarter.com/whistleblower-and-dnc-contractor-visited-obama-wh-it-must-be-investigated/>; White House Visitor Access Records 2008-2016 Logs, [obamawhitehouse.archives.gov](https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov), <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/briefing-room/disclosures/visitor-records>.

<sup>14</sup> White House Visitor Access Records 2016 Log, [obamawhitehouse.archives.gov](https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov), <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/briefing-room/disclosures/visitor-records>.

In order to better understand the nature of these meetings, including who attended and what was discussed, please provide the following information:

1. All records<sup>15</sup> relating to the five White House meetings listed above—January 12, 2016; February 22, 2016; April 4, 2016; May 13, 2016; and June 14, 2016—including, but not limited to:
  - a. Purpose and attendees;
  - b. Notes or transcriptions from the meetings; and
  - c. Communications about the meetings.
  
2. All records relating to meetings between and among White House officials, Andrii Telizhenko, Nazar Kholodnytsky, Oksana Shulyar, and Valeriy Chaly including, but not limited to:
  - a. Purpose and attendees;
  - b. Notes or transcriptions from the meetings; and
  - c. Communications about the meetings.

Please provide these documents as soon as possible but no later than 5:00 p.m. on December 5, 2019.

We anticipate that your written reply and most responsive documents will be unclassified. Please send all unclassified material directly to the Committees. In keeping with the requirements of Executive Order 13526, if any of the responsive documents do contain classified information, please segregate all unclassified material within the classified documents, provide all unclassified information directly to the Committees, and provide a classified addendum to the Office of Senate Security. Although the Committees comply with all laws and regulations governing the handling of classified information, they are not bound, absent their prior agreement, by any handling restrictions.

Thank you for your prompt attention. Should you have any questions, please contact Brian Downey or Scott Wittmann of Chairman Johnson's staff at 202-224-4751 and Joshua Flynn-Brown of Chairman Grassley's staff at 202-224-4515.

Sincerely,



Ron Johnson  
Chairman  
Committee on Homeland Security  
and Governmental Affairs



Charles E. Grassley  
Chairman  
Committee on Finance

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<sup>15</sup> "Records" include any written, recorded, or graphic material of any kind, including letters, memoranda, reports, notes, electronic data (emails, email attachments, and any other electronically-created or stored information), calendar entries, inter-office communications, meeting minutes, phone/voice mail or recordings/records of verbal communications, and drafts (whether or not they resulted in final documents).

# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

December 3, 2019

Ms. Karen Tramontano  
Chief Executive Officer  
Blue Star Strategies  
888 17th Street, NW, Suite 800  
Washington, DC 20006

Dear Ms. Tramontano:

The Senate Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee and the Committee on Finance (Committees) are investigating whether certain officials within the Obama administration had actual or apparent conflicts of interest because of Hunter Biden's role in Rosemont Seneca and related entities, or as a board member of Burisma Holdings (Burisma). In addition, the Committees are reviewing whether Hunter Biden or his associates had any role in the formulation of the Obama administration's policies with respect to Ukraine. Recent reports indicate that Blue Star Strategies (Blue Star) sought to leverage Hunter Biden's membership on the board of directors for Burisma in its communications and meetings with various U.S. government officials at the same time his father, then-Vice President Joe Biden, served as the "public face of the administration's handling of Ukraine."<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, as part of the Committees' inquiry, we write to request information with regard to Blue Star's work for Burisma.

A recent report indicates that, in November or December 2015, Blue Star officials met with Amos Hochstein, then-senior advisor to Vice President Biden on international energy affairs, and invoked Hunter Biden during a discussion of Burisma.<sup>2</sup> The report describes Mr. Hochstein as "a vocal proponent of Ukraine cracking down on Burisma," and explained that the purpose of the meeting was for "Blue Star Strategies [] to convince Hochstein (but [it] did not) that Burisma was on the level and did not warrant further investigation."<sup>3</sup>

Additional documents demonstrate how Blue Star used Hunter Biden's board membership to gain access and potentially influence matters at the State Department. In a February 24, 2016, email with the subject line "Burisma," a State Department official wrote:

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<sup>1</sup> Susan Crabtree, *Joe Biden emerges as Obama's trusty sidekick*, Wash. Examiner, Apr. 25, 2014, <https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/joe-biden-emerges-as-obamas-trusty-sidekick>.

<sup>2</sup> Tiana Lowe, *Joe Biden adviser Amos Hochstein took meetings with Burisma-hired lobbying firm*, Wash. Examiner, Nov. 7, 2019, <https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/opinion/joe-biden-adviser-amos-hochstein-took-meetings-with-burisma-hired-blue-star-strategies>.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.*

Per our conversation, Karen Tramontano of Blue Star Strategies requested a meeting to discuss with [Under Secretary] Novelli [U.S. Government] remarks alleging Burisma (Ukrainian energy company) of corruption. **She noted that two high profile U.S. citizens are affiliated with the company (including Hunter Biden as a board member). Tramontano would like to talk with U/S Novelli about getting a better understanding of how the U.S. came to the determination that the company is corrupt.** According to Tramontano, there is no evidence of corruption, has been no hearing or process, and evidence to the contrary has not been considered. Would appreciate any background you may be able to provide on this issue and suggested TPs for U/S Novelli's meeting.<sup>4</sup>

On March 1, 2016, Blue Star reportedly met with Under Secretary Novelli, and in April 2016 Blue Star reportedly met with Ukrainian prosecutors.<sup>5</sup> According to what appears to be contemporaneous notes by one of those Ukrainian prosecutors during the April 2016 meeting, Blue Star apologized about allegedly "false information" promoted by the U.S. Government about the prosecutors' handling of the investigation of Burisma.<sup>6</sup>

To assist the Committees' examination of the role that Hunter Biden and individuals within the U.S. government may have played with regard to lobbying for Burisma, we respectfully request the following information:

1. With respect to Blue Star's work for Burisma, please provide:
  - a. A description of how, and through whom, Blue Star first became aware of Burisma;
  - b. Blue Star's contract with and all other documents describing its relationship with Burisma;
  - c. The date Blue Star began work for Burisma;
  - d. The date for when Blue Star ended work for Burisma, if applicable;
  - e. A description of the services Blue Star provided Burisma;
  - f. The names and titles of all Blue Star employees, including contractors, that worked on matters relating to Burisma;

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<sup>4</sup> John Solomon, *Hunter Biden's Ukraine gas firm pressed Obama administration to end corruption allegations, memos show*, johnsolomonreports.com, Nov. 4, 2019, <https://johnsolomonreports.com/hunter-bidens-ukraine-gas-firm-pressed-obama-administration-to-end-corruption-allegations-memos-show/> (emphasis added).

<sup>5</sup> John Solomon, *These once-secret memos cast doubt on Joe Biden's Ukraine story*, The Hill, Sept. 26, 2019, <https://thehill.com/opinion/campaign/463307-solomon-these-once-secret-memos-cast-doubt-on-joe-bidens-ukraine-story>; Tiana Lowe, *Joe Biden adviser Amos Hochstein took meetings with Burisma-hired lobbying firm*, Wash. Examiner, Nov. 7, 2019, <https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/opinion/joe-biden-adviser-amos-hochstein-took-meetings-with-burisma-hired-blue-star-strategies>.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.*

- g. The names and titles of Burisma employees that worked with Blue Star employees or contractors;
  - h. The dates and descriptions, including a list of attendees, of all meetings between Blue Star representatives and Ukrainian officials regarding Burisma; and
  - i. The dates and descriptions, including a list of attendees, of all meetings about or related to Burisma between Blue Star representatives and U.S. officials. This includes, but is not limited to, the State Department, the Office of the Vice President, and the Executive Office of the President.
2. Please provide all records<sup>7</sup> between and among Blue Star and U.S. officials relating to its representation of Burisma. This includes, but is not limited to, the State Department, the Office of the Vice President, and the Executive Office of the President.
  3. Please describe Blue Star's document and email retention policies from 2014 to present.

Please provide a response as soon as possible but no later than December 17, 2019. As part of that response, please also confirm in writing Blue Star's ongoing obligation to preserve all records relevant to these matters.

Thank you for your prompt attention. Should you have any questions, please contact Brian Downey or Scott Wittmann of Chairman Johnson's staff at 202-224-4751 and Joshua Flynn-Brown of Chairman Grassley's staff at 202-224-4515.

Sincerely,



Ron Johnson  
Chairman  
Committee on Homeland Security  
and Governmental Affairs



Charles E. Grassley  
Chairman  
Committee on Finance

---

<sup>7</sup> "Records" include any written, recorded, or graphic material of any kind, including letters, memoranda, reports, notes, electronic data (emails, email attachments, and any other electronically-created or stored information), calendar entries, inter-office communications, meeting minutes, phone/voice mail or recordings/records of verbal communications, and drafts (whether or not they resulted in final documents).

# Senators Seek Interviews on Reported Coordination between Ukrainian Officials, DNC Consultant to Aid Clinton in 2016 Elections

s Site

*Alleged foreign interference, collusion demand due scrutiny*

Friday, December 6, 2019

**WASHINGTON** – Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Chairman Ron Johnson (R-Wis.), Senate Finance Committee Chairman Chuck Grassley (R-Iowa) and Senate Judiciary Committee Chairman Lindsey Graham (R-S.C.) are seeking records from and transcribed staff interviews with two individuals reportedly involved in an effort by Ukrainian embassy officials to undermine the Trump campaign in the 2016 election. The interview and records requests are a continuation of an inquiry that Grassley [launched in 2017](#) following [news reports](#) that a Democratic National Committee (DNC) consultant solicited derogatory information on the Trump campaign from Ukrainian embassy officials prior to the 2016 election. According to those reports, elements of the Ukrainian government were actively working to undermine candidate Trump's electoral prospects in favor of Hillary Clinton.

“Contrary to the popular narrative in the ‘main stream media’ that Ukrainian involvement in the 2016 election has been debunked, or ‘no evidence exists,’ there are many unanswered questions that have festered for years. One of the reasons our nation remains so divided is the disconnect between those who are curious about any and all possible foreign interference and those who are not. Those who are curious, have a legitimate and understandable desire to know if wrongdoing occurred. The American public also has a right to know if no wrongdoing occurred. The sooner we get answers to the many unanswered questions, the sooner we can turn our attention to the many challenges our nation faces,” **Johnson said.**

“Election interference by any foreign entity is a serious matter. Since the last presidential election, our nation rightly expended significant resources to examine allegations of collusion and foreign interference by Russia to influence the outcome. While there was no collusion between the Trump campaign and Russia, we know that Russia meddled in our democratic processes. However, certain reports of collusion and interference involving Ukrainian officials have not been sufficiently examined, and the few answers that have been given are inadequate. With another election right around the corner, choosing to ignore these matters or conflating them with separate, uncorroborated allegations is no way to adequately safeguard the sanctity of our elections,” **Grassley said.**

“To believe that the mainstream media will investigate all things Russia or Ukraine is to hope against hope. The hacking of the Democratic National Committee’s emails was done by the Russians and no one else. Whether there’s a connection between Democratic operatives and Ukrainian officials during the 2016 election has yet to be determined. It will only be found by looking. We intend to look,” **said Graham.**

In addition to the production of relevant records, Johnson, Grassley and Graham are requesting staff-led transcribed interviews with then-DNC consultant Alexandra Chalupa, who reportedly solicited damaging information on Trump campaign associates and lobbied Congress to launch a congressional investigation months before the election. They are also seeking a similar interview with Andrii Telizhenko, a political officer within the Ukrainian embassy at the time. According to reports, Telizhenko was ordered to assist in an off-the-books investigation into ties between the Trump campaign and Russia he said was being coordinated between Ukrainian officials and “the Hillary team.” That investigation included then-Trump campaign advisor Paul Manafort’s prior business dealings in the region. A [CBS News analysis](#) of the reported arrangement noted that “it’s deeply unusual for an American campaign to be working with foreign assets like this, regardless of whether it’s Ukraine or Russia.”

Grassley and Johnson recently requested information from the National Archives and Records Administration regarding [White House meetings](#) in 2016 that included representatives from the Obama administration, Ukrainian government and the DNC. They also requested Justice Department records related to the [FBI’s interactions with Chalupa](#). The senators’ inquiries are unrelated to an uncorroborated theory that Ukraine was also behind the hack of DNC servers. U.S. intelligence officials and Special Counsel Robert Mueller’s investigation found that Russia was responsible for the DNC hack.

Grassley, Johnson, and Graham also have outstanding requests (see [here](#), [here](#), [here](#), and [here](#)) related to potential conflicts of interest and political influence by Ukrainian elements, including the natural gas firm Burisma, which employed as a board member Hunter Biden while his father was the U.S. vice president and public face of the Obama administration’s handling of Ukraine. Additional records and interviews related to these matters may also be necessary.

###

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# United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON  
HOMELAND SECURITY AND GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6250

GABRIELLE D'ADAMO SINGER, STAFF DIRECTOR  
DAVID M. WEINBERG, MINORITY STAFF DIRECTOR

February 24, 2020

The Honorable Gary C. Peters  
Ranking Member  
Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs  
U.S. Senate  
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Ranking Member Peters:

Pursuant to Rule 5(C) of the Rules of Procedure of the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, I write to notify you of my intent to issue a subpoena for attendance and the production of records to Andrii Telizhenko, a former consultant at Blue Star Strategies (Blue Star).<sup>1</sup> This subpoena is in furtherance of the Committee's ongoing work to address the many unanswered questions about potential conflicts of interest and the extent to which representatives of Burisma—including officials at Blue Star—used individuals with close personal connections to high level officials within the Obama administration to gain access to and potentially influence U.S. government agencies. This committee's oversight work is being conducted jointly with the Senate Committee on Finance and the Senate Committee on the Judiciary (the committees).

As you know, on December 6, 2019, the committees wrote to Mr. Telizhenko and requested the production of records and an interview about, among other topics, "whether certain officials within the Obama administration had actual or apparent conflicts of interest, or whether there was any other wrongdoing, because of Hunter Biden's role in Rosemont Seneca and related entities, and as a board member of Burisma Holdings."<sup>2</sup>

In response, Mr. Telizhenko confirmed his intention to "cooperate fully with the [committees'] investigation" and expressed his readiness "to provide any evidence" in his possession.<sup>3</sup> During the course of our conversations with Mr. Telizhenko, he informed us that he worked as a consultant for Blue Star and he has responsive records from his time there, specifically, records relating to work the firm did for Burisma. However, because Mr. Telizhenko's employment contract with Blue Star included a non-disclosure agreement (NDA),

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<sup>1</sup> According to Mr. Telizhenko, he was employed as a consultant at Blue Star Strategies from July 2016 through June 2017. Prior to his work at Blue Star Strategies, Mr. Telizhenko served as an official at the Embassy of Ukraine in Washington, D.C.

<sup>2</sup> Email from S. Comm. on Homeland Sec. & Governmental Affairs Staff to Andrii Telizhenko (Dec. 6, 2019) (on file with Comm.).

<sup>3</sup> Email from Andrii Telizhenko to S. Comm. on Homeland Sec. & Governmental Affairs Staff (Dec. 10, 2019) (on file with Comm.).

he believes that he is unable to produce these records to the committees without being compelled to do so by a congressional subpoena.

These records are important to the committees' investigation for several reasons. First, records indicate that Blue Star sought to leverage Hunter Biden's role as a board member of Burisma to gain access to and potentially influence matters at the State Department. In a February 24, 2016, email with the subject line "Burisma," a State Department official wrote:

Per our conversation, Karen Tramontano of Blue Star Strategies requested a meeting to discuss with [Under Secretary] Novelli [U.S. Government] remarks alleging Burisma (Ukrainian energy company) of corruption. **She noted that two high profile U.S. citizens are affiliated with the company (including Hunter Biden as a board member). Tramontano would like to talk with U/S Novelli about getting a better understanding of how the U.S. came to the determination that the company is corrupt.** According to Tramontano, there is no evidence of corruption, has been no hearing or process, and evidence to the contrary has not been considered. Would appreciate any background you may be able to provide on this issue and suggested TPs for U/S Novelli's meeting.<sup>4</sup>

On March 1, 2016, Blue Star met with Under Secretary Catherine A. Novelli in an effort "to understand the State Department's position regarding Burisma," and in April 2016 Blue Star then reportedly met with Ukrainian prosecutors.<sup>5</sup> According to what appears to be contemporaneous notes by one of those Ukrainian prosecutors during the April 2016 meeting, Blue Star apologized about allegedly "false information" promoted by the U.S. Government about the prosecutors' handling of the investigation of Burisma.<sup>6</sup>

On December 3, 2019, Chairman Charles Grassley and I sent a letter to Blue Star requesting information and records on this matter.<sup>7</sup> On December 18, 2019, Blue Star provided a written response to the committees and produced 83 pages of records showing interactions

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<sup>4</sup> John Solomon, *Hunter Biden's Ukraine gas firm pressed Obama administration to end corruption allegations, memos show*, johnsolomonreports.com, Nov. 4, 2019, <https://johnsolomonreports.com/hunter-bidens-ukraine-gas-firm-pressed-obama-administration-to-end-corruption-allegations-memos-show/> (emphasis added).

<sup>5</sup> See Letter from Karen Tramontano, Chief Executive Officer, Blue Star Strategies, to Sen. Ron Johnson, Chairman, S. Comm. on Homeland Sec. & Governmental Affairs, and Sen. Charles E. Grassley, Chairman, S. Comm. on Finance (Dec. 18, 2019) (on file with Comm.); John Solomon, *These once-secret memos cast doubt on Joe Biden's Ukraine story*, The Hill, Sept. 26, 2019, <https://thehill.com/opinion/campaign/463307-solomon-these-once-secret-memos-cast-doubt-on-joe-bidens-ukraine-story>.

<sup>6</sup> Solomon, *These once-secret memos cast doubt on Joe Biden's Ukraine story*, *supra* note 5.

<sup>7</sup> Letter from Sen. Ron Johnson, Chairman, S. Comm. on Homeland Sec. & Governmental Affairs, and Sen. Charles E. Grassley, Chairman, S. Comm. on Finance, to Karen Tramontano, Chief Executive Officer, Blue Star Strategies (Dec. 3, 2019), available at <https://www.grassley.senate.gov/sites/default/files/documents/2019-12-03%20RHJ%20CEG%20to%20Blue%20Star%20Strategies%20%28Burisma%29.pdf>.

between the firm and U.S. government agencies about Burisma.<sup>8</sup> Many of these records are emails arranging meetings between Blue Star and U.S. officials at different agencies, including the Departments of State, Commerce, and Energy.

Second, Blue Star's response to the committees was incomplete. Notably, although we asked Blue Star twice to identify its employees and contractors who worked on the Burisma matter, it never identified Mr. Telizhenko. Additionally, Mr. Telizhenko recently produced records to the committees that included some correspondence with Blue Star before he began his employment there (and, thus, not covered by his NDA) which indicate that Blue Star has records about its work on behalf of Burisma that are responsive to the committees' requests that it has not produced.

For example, the committees requested from Blue Star "the dates and descriptions, including a list of attendees, of all meetings between Blue Star representatives and Ukrainian officials regarding Burisma."<sup>9</sup> This month, Mr. Telizhenko provided the committees a copy of a May 27, 2016, letter he received from a Blue Star official which was sent from John Buretta, Burisma's U.S. attorney, to Yuriy Lutsenko, the General Prosecutor of Ukraine, requesting a meeting "on behalf of my client, Burisma Holdings Limited, and its owner Mykola Zlochevskiy."<sup>10</sup> Blue Star's Chief Executive Officer, Karen Tramontano, noted to the committees that she worked "in collaboration with Burisma's U.S. counsel, John Buretta."<sup>11</sup> The letter to Mr. Lutsenko and information about this meeting was not included in Blue Star's production to the committees.

Mr. Telizhenko also provided a March 23, 2016, email from a Blue Star official to individuals at the Embassy of Ukraine, including Oksana Shulyar, offering to help schedule a meeting between a Ukrainian official and Denis McDonough, the then-Chief of Staff to President Obama.<sup>12</sup> The committees did not receive this email or others related to it from Blue Star. It is unclear what the purpose of that meeting was and whether the meeting occurred. Mr. Telizhenko's responsive records on this matter from his time working for Blue Star will enable the committees to ensure that they are receiving complete and thorough productions from other subjects of this investigation, as well as ensure that the committees are gathering all relevant information to determine what actually occurred.

The American people have a right to know how their government officials conducted official business, whether certain parties received special treatment, and whether any apparent or actual conflict of interest unduly influenced U.S. policy. Gathering all of the relevant information is necessary to determine not only whether any wrongdoing occurred, but also if wrongdoing did not occur. Accordingly, pursuant to the committee rules, this letter constitutes

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<sup>8</sup> See Letter from Karen Tramontano, *supra* note 5.

<sup>9</sup> Letter from Chairman Ron Johnson and Chairman Charles E. Grassley, *supra* note 7.

<sup>10</sup> Letter from John D. Buretta, Counsel for Burisma Holdings, Ltd., to Yuriy Lutsenko, Gen. Prosecutor of Ukraine (May 27, 2016) (on file with Comm).

<sup>11</sup> Letter from Karen Tramontano, *supra* note 5.

<sup>12</sup> Email from Sally Painter, Chief Operating Office, Blue Star Strategies, to Andrii Telizhenko *et al.*, (Mar. 23, 2016) (on file with Comm.).

The Honorable Gary C. Peters  
February 24, 2020  
Page 4

official notice that I intend to issue a subpoena to Andrii Telizhenko, a former consultant at Blue Star Strategies, for the records and attendance described in the enclosed schedule.

Sincerely,



Ron Johnson  
Chairman

Enclosure

Mr. Andrii Telizhenko  
Sent Electronically

**Schedule A**

Please provide the following by March XX, 2020:

1. All records from your work for Blue Star Strategies (“Blue Star”) related to Burisma Holdings, including emails, memoranda, employment contract, or other electronically stored information (*e.g.*, text messages).
2. Your attendance, at a date and time to be determined by the Chairman, to discuss the matters described in Request 1.

RON JOHNSON, WISCONSIN, CHAIRMAN

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# United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON  
HOMELAND SECURITY AND GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS  
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6250

GABRIELLE D'ADAMO SINGER, STAFF DIRECTOR  
DAVID M. WEINBERG, MINORITY STAFF DIRECTOR

March 1, 2020

The Honorable Members of the  
Senate Committee on Homeland Security  
& Governmental Affairs

Dear Colleagues:

I am writing to inform you of my intention to schedule a business meeting to consider issuing a Committee subpoena pursuant to Rule 5(C) of the Rules of Procedure of the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs.

On February 24, 2020, I notified Ranking Member Peters of my intent to issue a subpoena to an individual for records and attendance related to his work as a consultant at Blue Star Strategies (Blue Star). A copy of my notification letter to Ranking Member Peters—which includes a more detailed explanation of the Committee's oversight work leading up to the request and the subpoena schedule—is enclosed. On February 27, 2020, Ranking Member Peters notified me of his disapproval of the issuance of the subpoena.

Blue Star, a U.S.-based government and public affairs firm founded by Karen Tramontano (former deputy chief of staff to President Clinton) and Sally Painter (a former Senior Advisor for the Clinton administration), was a U.S. representative for a Ukrainian gas company, Burisma Holdings. As part of the Committee's ongoing investigation, it has received U.S. government records indicating that Blue Star sought to leverage Hunter Biden's role as a board member of Burisma to gain access to, and potentially influence matters at, the State Department.

As part of this investigation, the Committee requested and received documents from both Blue Star, and a former consultant for Blue Star, Andrii Telizhenko. Although Mr. Telizhenko expressed his willingness to "cooperate fully" with our investigation, he identified a limited subset of relevant records from his work with Blue Star that are responsive, but subject to a non-disclosure agreement (NDA) in his employment contract. In other words, he cannot provide this responsive information unless he is compelled to do so by subpoena. Unfortunately, Blue Star has not provided this information to the Committee. The Committee notified Blue Star that we consider their response to be incomplete, but they responded that they will not be producing any more documents. In fact, although the Committee asked Blue Star twice to identify its employees and contractors who worked on the Burisma matter, it never identified Mr. Telizhenko. Because Mr. Telizhenko's records and information would be responsive to the Committee's requests, and Blue Star has refused to produce them, a subpoena to Mr. Telizhenko for these records is appropriate at this time.

The Honorable Members of the  
Senate Committee on Homeland Security & Governmental Affairs  
March 1, 2020  
Page 2 of 4

Ranking Member Peters' disapproval letter stated that he is "concerned that the United States Senate and this Committee could be used to further disinformation efforts by Russian or other actors," and he asked "for the Committee to receive defensive briefings—specifically regarding Mr. Telizhenko—from relevant intelligence community and law enforcement officials."

I share the Ranking Member's interest in ensuring the Senate and this Committee not be used to advance disinformation. As discussed below, this is precisely why I and my staff have gone to great lengths to receive briefings and review and verify all information received by the Committee before making any of it public.

First, we informed Ranking Member Peters' staff that, through the Senate Judiciary Committee, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) already responded satisfactorily to a request for a defensive briefing on this matter. Ranking Member Peters' staff asked if they could speak with the FBI directly, and we were in the process of scheduling that discussion when we received his disapproval letter. Majority and minority Committee staff spoke with the FBI on February 28, 2020, and the FBI provided a response that directly addressed the stated concerns. I also invite Members to review the February 10, 2020, classified "intelligence product" that was referred to the Committee by Democrat Senators, together with additional information that the Committee will provide for your review in the SCIF.

Second, we narrowly drafted the subpoena to request only "records from [Mr. Telizhenko's] work for Blue Star Strategies [] related to Burisma Holdings" and his attendance to discuss those matters. Any concern about disinformation efforts is simply not relevant to whether or not the Committee should seek to obtain these specific records from Mr. Telizhenko's work for a private U.S. consulting company. We have already received productions from Mr. Telizhenko (which, to date, Ranking Member Peters' staff has refused to accept) confirming his contact with Blue Star about Burisma just prior to his employment. And we know that he worked for over a year on matters for Blue Star as it lobbied the U.S. and Ukrainian governments on behalf of Burisma. Mr. Telizhenko's additional records and information—which can easily be authenticated or challenged by Blue Star—could prove highly relevant to our oversight.

Third, the Committee's investigation is seeking information from the different parties involved precisely because this is how any investigation accurately determines what did and did not happen. The Committee recently reviewed relevant State Department documents that corroborate records Mr. Telizhenko already produced to the Committee, including correspondence with Blue Star officials not covered by his NDA. Blocking the receipt of relevant records, as any Committee member voting against this subpoena would be doing, only heightens the risk of "disinformation" because the Committee would not have access to all pertinent information. Accepting records and testing them against other information—not willfully ignoring potentially relevant information—is intended to discover and prevent disinformation, not advance it.

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One final point. This Committee has been investigating matters related to Burisma for nearly a year. Throughout, we have sought to keep the Committee's information-gathering on these matters largely outside the public spotlight, allowing us to first carefully review information to determine its authenticity and potential confidentiality. If there is a concern that a foreign actor could be using our Committee to provide disinformation to the public, it is someone else, not the Committee majority, who has facilitated those efforts by selectively leaking information to the press. One egregious example occurred last month, when someone improperly leaked information about what we allegedly asked for and received from the Treasury Department about suspicious financial transactions.

For these reasons, it is impossible not to question the motivations behind, and the timing of, Politico's inaccurate article regarding my meeting in a classified setting with Senator Burr and his staff—which "coincidentally" was published on the same day as the Ranking Member's letter disapproving of this subpoena. Apparently, some here in Congress believe they are above the law when they publicize the fact of a meeting and purported details of conversations that occurred in a classified setting. Conveniently for them, but unfortunate for the public and the truth, it is not appropriate or lawful for me to comment on the substance of those discussions. But taking into account all of the information I have learned throughout the course of this investigation, including my discussions with other Members, I am convinced obtaining Mr. Telizhenko's Blue Star documents and information is an important part of this investigation. I sincerely hope the Members of the Committee will agree and support this subpoena.

These coordinated and persistent efforts to undermine this investigation have not deterred me. But I do wonder: why would anyone object to the Committee receiving records about a Democrat lobbying firm appearing to strong-arm U.S. officials at the State Department for the benefit of a corrupt Ukrainian company? As I explained to the Ranking Member in my February 24 letter, "[t]he American people have a right to know how their government officials conducted official business, whether certain parties received special treatment, and whether any apparent or actual conflict of interest unduly influenced U.S. policy. Gathering all of the relevant information is necessary to determine not only whether any wrongdoing occurred, but also if wrongdoing did not occur." The proposed subpoena is probative of an issue within our Committee's jurisdiction, and is necessary to further the aims outlined here and in my February 24 letter to the Ranking Member. Accordingly, I will be scheduling a vote in the near future to approve issuing the enclosed subpoena.

Sincerely,



Ron Johnson  
Chairman

Enclosure

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cc: The Honorable Chuck Grassley  
Chairman, Senate Committee on Finance

The Honorable Ron Wyden  
Ranking Member, Senate Committee on Finance

The Honorable Lindsey Graham  
Chairman, Senate Committee on the Judiciary

The Honorable Dianne Feinstein  
Ranking Member, Senate Committee on the Judiciary

[REDACTED]

**COMMITTEE SENSITIVE – RUSSIA INVESTIGATION ONLY**

“no real fire behind all this smoke.”<sup>693</sup> The article ultimately was published by *U.S. News & World Report* on February 6, 2017.<sup>694</sup>

(U) Manafort embraced and promoted the narrative of Ukraine’s alleged involvement in the 2016 elections. For example, in a February 2017 meeting with Donald Trump Jr., Manafort discussed how Ukraine, not Russia had meddled in the election. In an email to Trump Jr., Manafort shared a *Politico* article that seems to have underpinned repeated claims by others helping advance this narrative.<sup>695</sup>

**From:** Paul Manafort [pmanafort@dmpint.com]  
**Sent:** 2/14/2017 4:15:07 PM  
**To:** Donald Trump Jr. [/o=ExchangeLabs/ou=Exchange Administrative Group (FYDIBOHF23SPDLT)/cn=Recipients/cn=3e47f0472653400d85d07849e0f57b42-djtjr]  
**Subject:** Enjoyed our meeting

Don  
It was great to reconnect. I am pursuing the topics we discussed and will be back to you.

On a separate note, I have pasted below the Ken Vogel story in Politico that ran about 3 weeks ago. He lays out clearly the conspiracy to implement the disinformation campaign on me between the DNC/Obama Administration and the Govt of Ukraine. The Ukraine Govt has now totally backed off saying that there is no interest ever in me and the ledger was a falsified document.

Of course, now with the Flynn resignation, all of this will be dragged up again, with no facts and no basis for anything.  
Best  
Paul

<http://www.politico.com/story/2017/01/ukraine-sabotage-trump-backfire-233446>

(U) As described above, in late-February 2017 Manafort met with Kilimnik in Madrid to discuss the Russia-related investigations, including the one in Ukraine, which Kilimnik said was “going nowhere.”<sup>696</sup>

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<sup>693</sup> (U) *Ibid*.

<sup>694</sup> (U) Serhiy Lyovochkin, “Ukraine Can Win in the Trump Age,” *U.S. News & World Report*, February 6, 2017. Patten pleaded guilty to violating FARA based, in part, on his efforts drafting and placing this article with Kilimnik. Criminal Information, *United States v. W. Samuel Patten*, Case No: 1:18-cr-260 (D.D.C. August 31, 2018).

<sup>695</sup> (U) Email, Manafort to Trump Jr., February 14, 2017 (TRUMPORG\_76\_001248); see also Emails, Manafort and Trump Jr., February 2–6, 2016 (indicating that Manafort planned to meet Trump Jr. in Trump Jr.’s New York office on February 7, 2016). The *Politico* article Manafort sent would be used by others close to Manafort to make the case that Ukraine, not Russia, interfered in the U.S. elections. For example, on August 22, 2017, Kilimnik’s alias Twitter account, @PBaranenko, retweeted a story by *Sputnik* reporter Lee Stranahan who used the *Politico* article as a basis to legitimize his claims that DNC contractor Alexandra Chalupa and the Ukrainian government was “THE REAL 2016 Election Interference.” Tweet, @PBaranenko, August 22, 2018 (Retweet of @stranahan).

<sup>696</sup> (U) FBI, FD-302, Manafort 9/13/2018.

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- (U) Kilimnik repeatedly tweeted information related to the Bidens and Ukraine, much of which originated from Solomon. For example, on April 1, 2019, Kilimnik retweeted Solomon’s own tweet linking to his article in *The Hill* titled, “Joe Biden’s 2020 Ukrainian nightmare: A closed probe is revived.”<sup>752</sup> On May 14, 2019, Kilimnik tweeted, “Ukraine’s Prosecutor General Lutsenko is ready to provide payment orders concerning Hunter Biden, says there are payments for millions USD” and attached a link to an article about the issue.<sup>753</sup>
- (U) On September 16, 2018, Kilimnik retweeted a tweet by Donald Trump which stated, “The illegal Mueller Witch Hunt continues in search of a crime. There was never Collusion with Russia, except by the Clinton campaign.”<sup>754</sup>
- (U) On August 22, 2018, Kilimnik retweeted *Sputnik* reporter Lee Stranahan’s tweet related to allegations that Alexandra Chalupa, a former DNC contractor, was involved in interfering in the U.S. elections and that the “real” election interference had been between the DNC and Ukraine.<sup>755</sup> Kilimnik retweeted Stranahan or others restating Stranahan’s claims on this theme dozens of times. In January 2019, Kilimnik used his persona’s account to send a single direct message to Stranahan.<sup>756</sup>

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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<sup>752</sup> (U) Tweet, @PBaranenko, April 1, 2019 (Retweet of @jsolomonReports).

<sup>753</sup> (U) Tweet, @PBaranenko, May 14, 2019.

<sup>754</sup> (U) Tweet, @PBaranenko, September 16, 2018 (Retweet of @realDonaldTrump).

<sup>755</sup> (U) Tweet, @PBaranenko, August 22, 2018 (Retweet of @stranahan).

<sup>756</sup> (U) Twitter, @PBaranenko (direct messaging metadata).

<sup>757</sup>

<sup>758</sup> (U) *Ibid.*

<sup>759</sup> (U) *Ibid.*