



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

August 21, 2020

Case No. F-2019-06331/  
FL-2020-00017

Melanie Sloan  
American Oversight  
1030 15<sup>th</sup> Street NW, B255  
Washington, DC 20005

Dear Ms. Sloan:

As noted in our letter dated July 21, 2020, we are processing your request for material under the Freedom of Information Act (the “FOIA”), 5 U.S.C. § 552. The Department has identified seven additional responsive records subject to the FOIA. We have determined that all seven records may be released in part.

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

We will keep you informed as your case progresses. If you have any questions, you may contact Trial Attorney, Joshua C. Abbuhl at [Joshua.Abbuhl@usdoj.gov](mailto:Joshua.Abbuhl@usdoj.gov); (202) 616-2531. Please refer to the case number, F-2019-06331/FL-2020-00017, and the civil action number, 19-cv-02934, in all correspondence about this case.

Sincerely,

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

Enclosures: As stated.

The Freedom of Information Act (5 USC 552)

FOIA Exemptions

(b)(1) Information specifically authorized by an executive order to be kept secret in the interest of national defense or foreign policy. Executive Order 13526 includes the following classification categories:

- 1.4(a) Military plans, systems, or operations
- 1.4(b) Foreign government information
- 1.4(c) Intelligence activities, sources or methods, or cryptology
- 1.4(d) Foreign relations or foreign activities of the US, including confidential sources
- 1.4(e) Scientific, technological, or economic matters relating to national security, including defense against transnational terrorism
- 1.4(f) U.S. Government programs for safeguarding nuclear materials or facilities
- 1.4(g) Vulnerabilities or capabilities of systems, installations, infrastructures, projects, plans, or protection services relating to US national security, including defense against transnational terrorism
- 1.4(h) Weapons of mass destruction

(b)(2) Related solely to the internal personnel rules and practices of an agency

(b)(3) Specifically exempted from disclosure by statute (other than 5 USC 552), for example:

|                |                                                             |
|----------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| ARMSEXP        | Arms Export Control Act, 50a USC 2411(c)                    |
| CIA PERS/ORG   | Central Intelligence Agency Act of 1949, 50 USC 403(g)      |
| EXPORT CONTROL | Export Administration Act of 1979, 50 USC App. Sec. 2411(c) |
| FS ACT         | Foreign Service Act of 1980, 22 USC 4004                    |
| INA            | Immigration and Nationality Act, 8 USC 1202(f), Sec. 222(f) |
| IRAN           | Iran Claims Settlement Act, Public Law 99-99, Sec. 505      |

(b)(4) Trade secrets and confidential commercial or financial information

(b)(5) Interagency or intra-agency communications forming part of the deliberative process, attorney-client privilege, or attorney work product

(b)(6) Personal privacy information

(b)(7) Law enforcement information whose disclosure would:

- (A) interfere with enforcement proceedings
- (B) deprive a person of a fair trial
- (C) constitute an unwarranted invasion of personal privacy
- (D) disclose confidential sources
- (E) disclose investigation techniques
- (F) endanger life or physical safety of an individual

(b)(8) Prepared by or for a government agency regulating or supervising financial institutions

(b)(9) Geological and geophysical information and data, including maps, concerning wells

Other Grounds for Withholding

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

|                 |                                                                                |
|-----------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>From:</b>    | (b)(6)                                                                         |
| <b>To:</b>      | Hale, David (b)(6) (b)(6)                                                      |
| <b>Subject:</b> | FW: Bloomberg: Timeline in Ukraine Probe Casts Doubt on Giuliani's Biden Claim |
| <b>Date:</b>    | 2019/05/07 12:46:32                                                            |
| <b>Type:</b>    | Note                                                                           |

**Official**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 7, 2019 8:20 AM  
**To:** (b)(6) (b)(6)  
**Subject:** FW: Bloomberg: Timeline in Ukraine Probe Casts Doubt on Giuliani's Biden Claim

FYI

(b)(6)

Special Assistant  
Office of the Under Secretary for Political Affairs

(b)(6)

**Official**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

**From:** Kent, George P (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 7, 2019 5:51 AM  
**To:** (b)(6)  
**Cc:** (b)(6) (b)(6)  
(b)(6) Murphy, Michael J (b)(6) Reeker, Philip T  
(b)(6)  
**Subject:** Fwd: Bloomberg: Timeline in Ukraine Probe Casts Doubt on Giuliani's Biden Claim

(b)(6) and (b)(6) - for your bosses' awareness.

Defer to others for further distro.

Regards from Yerevan. George

Get Outlook for iOS

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 7, 2019 12:53 PM  
**To:** Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv); (b)(6) (b)(6)  
(Kyiv); Kyiv EXEC; (b)(6)  
(b)(6)

Cc: Kyiv IOs; EUR-Press; EUR-Ukraine Desk-DL; Kent, George P; (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Subject:** Bloomberg: Timeline in Ukraine Probe Casts Doubt on Giuliani's Biden Claim

Just for situational awareness – Bloomberg just published the following Ukraine-related article:

### **Timeline in Ukraine Probe Casts Doubt on Giuliani's Biden Claim**

President Donald Trump's personal lawyer is raising the specter that Joe Biden intervened in Ukrainian politics to help his son's business.

But if that was Biden's aim, he was more than a year late, based on a timeline laid out by a former Ukrainian official and in Ukrainian documents.

The official described to Bloomberg details about the country's political dynamic in the run-up to early 2016 when Biden, then the U.S. vice president, threatened to hold up U.S. funding to Ukraine unless it cracked down on corruption. Biden's chief demand was the ouster of a top Ukrainian prosecutor who he said had been ineffective. The episode has come under the spotlight in the last week because at one point, that prosecutor had been investigating a natural gas company where Biden's son, Hunter Biden, sat on the board and received substantial compensation.

There's little question that the Bidens' paths in Ukraine held the potential for conflict, and in a tweet last week, Trump attorney Rudy Giuliani said the U.S. should investigate the matter. But what has received less attention is that at the time Biden made his ultimatum, the probe into the company -- Burisma Holdings, owned by Mykola Zlochevsky -- had been long dormant, according to the former official, Vitaliy Kasko.

"There was no pressure from anyone from the U.S. to close cases against Zlochevsky," Kasko said in an interview last week. "It was shelved by Ukrainian prosecutors in 2014 and through 2015."

Kasko's assessment adds a wrinkle to one of the first political intrigues of the 2020 election season. It undercuts the idea that Biden, now a top Democratic presidential candidate, was seeking to sideline a prosecutor who was actively threatening a company tied to his son. Instead, it appears more consistent with Biden's previous statements that he was pressing for the removal of a prosecutor who was failing to tackle rampant corruption: According to public reports and internal documents from the Ukrainian prosecutor's office, U.S. officials had expressed concern for more than a year about Ukrainian prosecutors' failure to assist an international investigation of Zlochevsky.



Joe Biden declined to comment through a spokesman, who also said that Hunter Biden wouldn't comment. Zlochevsky couldn't be located for comment. Representatives for Burisma, which is based in Cyprus, didn't respond to emails requesting comment.

## **U.K. Probe**

Questions about the potential Ukraine conflict resurfaced with recent reports of a video in which Joe Biden described how he'd threatened to withhold \$1 billion in U.S. loan guarantees from Ukraine unless its leaders dismissed Prosecutor General Viktor Shokin. The New York Times reported on May 1 that Hunter Biden had a stake in the outcome because at the time he was on the board of Zlochevsky's company, where he was paid as much as \$50,000 a month for his work.

Hunter Biden joined the board in April 2014, two months after U.K. authorities requested information from Ukraine as part of a probe against Zlochevsky related to money laundering allegations. Zlochevsky had been minister of environmental protection under then-President Viktor Yanukovich, who fled to Russia in February 2014 after mass protests.

After the U.K. request, Ukrainian prosecutors opened their own case, accusing Zlochevsky of embezzling public funds. Burisma and Zlochevsky have denied the allegations.

The case against Zlochevsky and his Burisma Holdings was assigned to Shokin, then a deputy prosecutor. But Shokin and others weren't pursuing it, according to the internal reports from the Ukrainian prosecutor's office reviewed by Bloomberg.

In a December 2014 letter, U.S. officials warned Ukrainian prosecutors of negative consequences for Ukraine over its failure to assist the U.K., which had seized Zlochevsky's assets, according to the documents.

Those funds, \$23.5 million, were unblocked in 2015 when a British court determined there wasn't enough evidence to justify the continued freeze, in part because Ukrainian prosecutors had failed to provide the necessary information.

## **No Action**

Shokin became prosecutor general in February 2015. Over the next year, the U.S. and the International Monetary Fund criticized officials for not doing enough to fight corruption in Ukraine.

Shokin took no action to pursue the case throughout 2015, said Kasko, who was Shokin's deputy overseeing international cooperation and helping in asset-recovery investigations. Kasko said he had urged Shokin to pursue the case.

The U.S. stepped up its criticism in September 2015, when its ambassador to Ukraine, during a speech, accused officials working under Shokin of "subverting" the U.K. investigation. Kasko resigned in February 2016, citing corruption and lawlessness in the prosecutor general's office. Biden's threat to withhold \$1 billion if Ukraine did not crack down on corruption reportedly came in March. That same month, hundreds of Ukrainians demonstrated outside President Petro Poroshenko's office demanding Shokin's resignation, and he was dismissed.

Shokin has denied any accusations of wrongdoing and declined to provide immediate comment for this article. In an interview with the Ukrainian website Strana.ua published on May 6, Shokin said he believes he was fired because of his Burisma investigation, which he said had been active at the time.

In October 2017, Burisma issued a statement saying Ukrainian prosecutors had closed all legal and criminal proceedings against it.

### **No Convictions**

Earlier this year, Ukraine's current prosecutor general, Yuriy Lutsenko, met with Trump attorney Giuliani, and the two discussed the Burisma investigation, according to Lutsenko's spokeswoman Larysa Sargan.

Sargan said the prosecutor general hasn't reopened the case into Burisma or Zlochevsky, contradicting a claim in the New York Times that the Ukrainian prosecutor is scrutinizing millions of dollars of payments from Burisma to the firm that paid Hunter Biden. A Times spokesman said, "We stand by our reporting, which is detailed and well documented."

Ukraine's incoming president, Volodymyr Zelenskyy, is likely to appoint his own top prosecutor to replace Lutsenko. Under Poroshenko, Ukraine hasn't convicted any high-ranking officials of corruption.

Giuliani has been pressing for greater scrutiny of the Biden matter. "Biden conflicts are too apparent to be ignored and should be investigated quickly and expeditiously," Giuliani tweeted, sharing a link to the Times's story.

President Donald Trump has also referenced potential conflicts of interest by Joe Biden, one of the Democrats currently seen as having the greatest chance to defeat him.

"Sure, I'm hearing it's a major scandal, major problem," Trump said. "I hope for him it is fake news. I don't think it is."

In an interview with Bloomberg in December 2015 when he was vice president, Biden said he'd never discussed Burisma with his son or with Ukrainian officials. "No one has ever raised that with me in Ukraine," he said. "I don't talk to my son" about his work.

Hunter Biden, 49, is a son of Joe Biden's late wife, Neilia, who was killed in a car accident when he was a child. Biden, a Yale-educated lawyer, was discharged from the Navy Reserve in 2014 after testing positive for cocaine and joined the Burisma board shortly after. The company's website listed him as a board member as recently as last month, but he has since left the position.

#### Official - Transitory

#### UNCLASSIFIED

|                   |                     |
|-------------------|---------------------|
| <b>Sender:</b>    | (b)(6)              |
| <b>Recipient:</b> | Hale, David (b)(6)  |
| <b>Sent Date:</b> | 2019/05/07 12:46:32 |

|                 |                             |
|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| <b>From:</b>    | Hale, David (b)(6)          |
| <b>To:</b>      | (b)(6)                      |
| <b>Subject:</b> | RE: A bright spot in my day |
| <b>Date:</b>    | 2019/03/26 12:38:14         |
| <b>Type:</b>    | Note                        |

(b)(5)

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 26, 2019 8:38 AM  
**To:** Hale, David (b)(6)  
**Subject:** RE: A bright spot in my day

(b)(5)

**Official**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

**From:** Hale, David (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 26, 2019 8:33 AM  
**To:** (b)(6)  
**Subject:** FW: A bright spot in my day

(b)(5)

**From:** Hale, David  
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 26, 2019 8:33 AM  
**To:** Reeker, Philip T (b)(6)  
**Subject:** RE: A bright spot in my day

(b)(5)

**From:** Reeker, Philip T (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 26, 2019 6:09 AM  
**To:** Hale, David (b)(6)  
**Subject:** Fw: A bright spot in my day

David,

(b)(5)



(b)(5)

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

**From:** Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Monday, March 25, 2019 12:44 PM  
**To:** Hale, David; Reeker, Philip T  
**Cc:** (b)(6) Murphy, Michael J; Kent, George P  
**Subject:** A bright spot in my day

ZIK TV conducts public opinion poll regarding the level of trust to Lutsenko's statements about the Ambassador versus statements issued by the U.S. side. 83.4% of respondents trust Ambassador Yovanovitch, 5.5% trust Lutsenko, and 11.1% do not care.

**Official**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

|                   |                     |
|-------------------|---------------------|
| <b>Sender:</b>    | Hale, David (b)(6)  |
| <b>Recipient:</b> | (b)(6)              |
| <b>Sent Date:</b> | 2019/03/26 12:38:14 |

|                 |                                                                              |
|-----------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>From:</b>    | Brechbuhl, Thomas U [REDACTED] (b)(6)                                        |
| <b>To:</b>      | Reeker, Philip T [REDACTED] (b)(6)                                           |
| <b>Subject:</b> | Re: U.S. ambassador to Ukraine is recalled after becoming a political target |
| <b>Date:</b>    | 2019/05/12 23:58:05                                                          |
| <b>Type:</b>    | Note                                                                         |

Phil,

I have started the discussion but not arrived at the right place yet. I will continue to work this issue tomorrow.

Separately S, wanted me to contact the British Ambassador to the US (Kim Darrick). Who can connect me with him?

TUB

Sent from my iPhone

On May 12, 2019, at 5:08 PM, Reeker, Philip T [REDACTED] (b)(6) wrote:

Ulrich,

I'm departing again shortly to fly to Brussels, where I will connect with S for travel Tuesday morning to Sochi.

Wondering if [REDACTED] (b)(5)

I will be monitoring email on this platform, and will try to check Hi-side in Brussels Monday.

Many thanks.

Phil

---

**From:** Brechbuhl, Thomas U [REDACTED] (b)(6)

**Sent:** Thursday, May 9, 2019 1:00 PM

**To:** Reeker, Philip T [REDACTED] (b)(6)

**Cc:** C\_Schedulers <C\_Schedulers@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: U.S. ambassador to Ukraine is recalled after becoming a political target

Please do stop by before 1430...

**Official**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** Reeker, Philip T [REDACTED] (b)(6)

**Sent:** Thursday, May 9, 2019 12:56 PM

**To:** Brechbuhl, Thomas U [REDACTED] (b)(6) Giuda, Michelle

[REDACTED] (b)(6) Taylor, Mary Elizabeth [REDACTED] (b)(6)

**Subject:** RE: U.S. ambassador to Ukraine is recalled after becoming a political target

Ulrich,

I see (b)(6) in 5 mins (14:00). Will get back to you after that. (Perhaps I can stop up before I depart at 14:30?)

Phil

**From:** Brechbuhl, Thomas U (b)(6)

**Sent:** Thursday, May 9, 2019 12:39 PM

**To:** Reeker, Philip T (b)(6) Giuda, Michelle

(b)(6) Taylor, Mary Elizabeth (b)(6)

**Subject:** RE: U.S. ambassador to Ukraine is recalled after becoming a political target

Phil,

Thanks for your continuing efforts on this front. (b)(5) Does

(b)(5)

TUB

**Official**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

**From:** Reeker, Philip T (b)(6)

**Sent:** Thursday, May 9, 2019 1:11 AM

**To:** Giuda, Michelle (b)(6) Taylor, Mary Elizabeth

(b)(6) Brechbuhl, Thomas U (b)(6)

**Subject:** Re: U.S. ambassador to Ukraine is recalled after becoming a political target

Thanks, Michelle.

(b)(5)

We're about to take off from London, returning to Washington.

Best, Phil

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

**From:** Giuda, Michelle

**Sent:** Thursday, May 9, 2019 1:52 AM

**To:** Taylor, Mary Elizabeth; Brechbuhl, Thomas U; Reeker, Philip T

**Subject:** RE: U.S. ambassador to Ukraine is recalled after becoming a political target

Here's a read from our analytics/media monitoring team on the traction this article is getting. Dormant for now... but of course could be revived.

(b)(5)

**From:** Taylor, Mary Elizabeth (b)(6)

**Sent:** Wednesday, May 8, 2019 12:40 PM

**To:** Giuda, Michelle (b)(6) Brechbuhl, Thomas U

(b)(6) Reeker, Philip T (b)(6)

**Subject:** RE: U.S. ambassador to Ukraine is recalled after becoming a political target

(b)(5)

**Official**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

**From:** Giuda, Michelle (b)(6)

**Sent:** Wednesday, May 8, 2019 12:26 PM

**To:** Brechbuhl, Thomas U (b)(6); Reeker, Philip T

(b)(6) Taylor, Mary Elizabeth (b)(6)

**Subject:** WP: U.S. ambassador to Ukraine is recalled after becoming a political target

Making sure everyone saw this ran yesterday. I missed it. Note statements by Hoyer and Engel. Getting a read on traction this is getting and will relay.

[https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2019/05/07/us-ambassador-ukraine-is-recalled-after-becoming-political-target/?noredirect=on&utm\\_term=.570a9a606dd4](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2019/05/07/us-ambassador-ukraine-is-recalled-after-becoming-political-target/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.570a9a606dd4)

## U.S. ambassador to Ukraine is recalled after becoming a political target

By **Josh Rogin** Columnist

The Trump administration has recalled the U.S. ambassador to Ukraine abruptly and ahead of her scheduled departure, after she became a target of political attacks by conservative media outlets and Donald Trump Jr. Democrats see her early departure under pressure as the unfair targeting of a career Foreign Service officer by Team Trump.

According to an internal State Department management notice that I obtained, U.S. Ambassador Marie Yovanovitch will leave her post permanently on May 20, with no replacement in place and no nominations to fill that position. “We expect the Department to appoint a long-term Chargé d’Affaires to lead the mission until a new Chief of Mission is nominated and confirmed,” said the notice, which was sent to all mission personnel at the U.S. Embassy in Kiev. Incoming Deputy Chief of Mission Kristina Kvien plans to arrive in Kiev on May 28, and Joseph Pennington will continue to serve as chargé d’affaires and acting deputy chief through the transition period, the notice said.

A State Department spokesman told me, “Yovanovitch is concluding her three-year diplomatic assignment in Kiev in 2019 as planned.” One senior administration official told me that she had been previously scheduled to depart at the beginning of July and that her new May departure was a change in that plan. Another administration official said that Yovanovitch was given a choice whether to stay until July or leave early and she chose to leave early, due to the ongoing political attacks. Yovanovitch did not respond to a direct request for comment.

“Her confirmed departure date in May aligns with the presidential transition in Ukraine,” the State Department spokesperson said. The senior administration official told me that’s true but irrelevant because the State Department doesn’t rotate ambassadors to align with political transitions in host countries.

The House Democratic leadership thinks that Yovanovitch’s early departure under pressure is a clear sign that the White House is responding to calls from Trump allies, Trump family members and conservative media sites that have accused Yovanovitch, without firm evidence, of being part of a conspiracy that involves anti-corruption probes in Ukraine and efforts by the Trump team to investigate ties between Ukrainian officials and the Hillary Clinton campaign.

“Ambassador Yovanovitch is a dedicated public servant and a diplomat of the highest caliber who has represented the United States under both Republican and Democratic administrations. The White House’s outrageous decision to recall her is a political hit job and the latest in this Administration’s campaign against career State Department personnel,” said a statement released Tuesday morning by House Majority Leader Steny H. Hoyer (D-Md.) and House Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Eliot L. Engel (D-N.Y.). “It’s clear that this decision was politically motivated, as allies of President Trump had joined foreign actors in lobbying for the Ambassador’s dismissal.”

On March 24, Donald Trump Jr. tweeted that Yovanovitch was a “joker,” and he linked to an article in the Daily Wire headlined “Calls Grow To Remove Obama’s U.S. Ambassador To Ukraine.” That article is a roundup of conservative media figures leveling thinly sourced allegations against Yovanovitch on Fox



News. Former federal prosecutor Joe diGenova said on Fox that she had “bad mouthed the President of the United States to Ukrainian officials.” Fox News’ Laura Ingraham reported that former congressmen Pete Sessions (R-Tex.) wrote to Secretary of State Mike Pompeo to say that Yovanovitch “reportedly demonstrated clear anti-Trump bias.”

Four days before Don Jr.’s tweet, the Hill’s John Solomon, a staunch Trump ally, published an interview with Ukrainian Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko, who alleged that Yovanovitch had given him a “do not prosecute list,” ostensibly to protect Obama-Clinton allies, back in 2016. The State Department told Solomon that that allegation was “an outright fabrication.”

Lutsenko also told Solomon that he would open up an investigation into allegations that the Ukrainian government helped the Clinton campaign in 2016, perhaps by providing information on corrupt payments from the administration of then-President Viktor Yanukovich to former Trump campaign chairman Paul Manafort.

Last week, the New York Times reported that Lutsenko has met with President Trump’s lawyer Rudy Giuliani multiple times in New York this year. Lutsenko also told Solomon that he was reopening an investigation into Burisma Holdings, an energy company owned by a Ukrainian oligarch that for a time had Hunter Biden, son of Joe Biden, on its board.

Solomon wrote a column on April 1 drawing connections between Biden’s work to fight corruption in Ukraine as vice president and his son’s interest in Burisma. The allegation is that Biden pressured Kiev to fire Lutsenko’s predecessor in an effort to stop the Burisma probe. Initially, Lutsenko had cleared Burisma of any wrongdoing, but he told Solomon that he had reopened the investigation.

The Times also reported that the case had been reopened. “Some see [Lutsenko’s] decision as an effort to curry favor with the Trump administration,” the Times reported. On Tuesday, Bloomberg quoted Lutsenko’s own spokesperson saying that the case had not been reopened.

Biden has said he never discussed Burisma or his son’s business with Ukrainian officials. Bloomberg also reported that the case against Burisma had been shelved at least a year before Biden

called for the firing of the general prosecutor at the time, which undermines the theory that he was trying to influence that investigation. The Biden campaign declined to comment. Trump campaign spokeswoman Erin Perrine doubled down on the accusation that Biden tried to intervene in Ukraine on behalf of his son and Burisma, sending me a statement Tuesday accusing Biden of “blackmailing a foreign government to drop an investigation.”

As for Ambassador Yovanovitch, several officials told me that she was indeed involved in and strongly supportive of Ukraine’s anti-corruption efforts. But there’s no public evidence that she was directly involved in anything related to Burisma, Manafort or providing information to the Clinton campaign that would help it against the Trump campaign.

The clear and coordinated effort to smear a sitting U.S. ambassador has now resulted in her early departure under attack after 33 years of service to administrations in both parties. But that’s just the beginning of the larger effort to create a cacophony of allegations by the Trump team and its allies to highlight Ukraine to attack Biden, help Manafort and re-litigate the 2016 election.

|                        |                     |        |
|------------------------|---------------------|--------|
| <b>Sender:</b>         | Brechbuhl, Thomas U | (b)(6) |
|                        | (b)(6)              |        |
| <b>Recipient:</b>      | Reeker, Philip T    | (b)(6) |
|                        | (b)(6)              |        |
| <b>Sent Date:</b>      | 2019/05/12 23:58:04 |        |
| <b>Delivered Date:</b> | 2019/05/12 23:58:05 |        |

|                 |                                                                              |
|-----------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>From:</b>    | Giuda, Michelle (b)(6)                                                       |
|                 | (b)(6)                                                                       |
|                 | Reeker, Philip T (b)(6)                                                      |
|                 | (b)(6)                                                                       |
| <b>To:</b>      | Taylor, Mary Elizabeth (b)(6)                                                |
|                 | (b)(6)                                                                       |
|                 | Brechbuhl, Thomas U (b)(6)                                                   |
|                 | (b)(6)                                                                       |
| <b>Subject:</b> | RE: U.S. ambassador to Ukraine is recalled after becoming a political target |
| <b>Date:</b>    | 2019/05/09 11:54:43                                                          |
| <b>Type:</b>    | Note                                                                         |

Thanks, Phil. If you hear any updates from DGHR please let me know. Agree that would help the narrative. We'll continue to track from PA's end.

**From:** Reeker, Philip T (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Thursday, May 09, 2019 1:11 AM  
**To:** Giuda, Michelle (b)(6); Taylor, Mary Elizabeth (b)(6)  
 Brechbuhl, Thomas U (b)(6)  
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**Subject:** RE: U.S. ambassador to Ukraine is recalled after becoming a political target

(b)(5) on this in short order.

**Official**

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(b)(6) Taylor, Mary Elizabeth (b)(6)

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[https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2019/05/07/us-ambassador-ukraine-is-recalled-after-becoming-political-target/?noredirect=on&utm\\_term=.570a9a606dd4](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2019/05/07/us-ambassador-ukraine-is-recalled-after-becoming-political-target/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.570a9a606dd4)

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“Ambassador Yovanovitch is a dedicated public servant and a diplomat of the highest caliber who has represented the United States under both Republican and Democratic administrations. The White House’s outrageous decision to recall her is a political hit job and the latest in this Administration’s campaign against career State Department personnel,” said a statement released Tuesday morning by House Majority Leader Steny H. Hoyer (D-Md.) and House Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Eliot L. Engel (D-N.Y.). “It’s clear that this decision was politically motivated, as allies of President Trump had joined foreign actors in lobbying for the Ambassador’s dismissal.”

On March 24, Donald Trump Jr. tweeted that Yovanovitch was a “joker,” and he linked to an article in the Daily Wire headlined “Calls Grow To Remove Obama’s U.S. Ambassador To Ukraine.” That article is a roundup of conservative media figures leveling thinly sourced allegations against Yovanovitch on Fox News. Former federal prosecutor Joe diGenova said on Fox that she had “bad mouthed the President of the United States to Ukrainian officials.” Fox News’ Laura Ingraham reported that former congressman Pete Sessions (R-Tex.) wrote to Secretary of State Mike Pompeo to say that Yovanovitch “reportedly demonstrated clear anti-Trump bias.”

Four days before Don Jr.’s tweet, the Hill’s John Solomon, a staunch Trump ally, published an interview with Ukrainian Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko, who alleged that Yovanovitch had given him a “do not prosecute



list,” ostensibly to protect Obama-Clinton allies, back in 2016. The State Department told Solomon that that allegation was “an outright fabrication.” Lutsenko also told Solomon that he would open up an investigation into allegations that the Ukrainian government helped the Clinton campaign in 2016, perhaps by providing information on corrupt payments from the administration of then-President Viktor Yanukovich to former Trump campaign chairman Paul Manafort.

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The clear and coordinated effort to smear a sitting U.S. ambassador has now resulted in her early departure under attack after 33 years of service to

administrations in both parties. But that's just the beginning of the larger effort to create a cacophony of allegations by the Trump team and its allies to highlight Ukraine to attack Biden, help Manafort and re-litigate the 2016 election.

|                   |                        |        |
|-------------------|------------------------|--------|
| <b>Sender:</b>    | Giuda, Michelle        | (b)(6) |
|                   |                        | (b)(6) |
| <b>Recipient:</b> | Reeker, Philip T       | (b)(6) |
|                   |                        | (b)(6) |
|                   | Taylor, Mary Elizabeth | (b)(6) |
|                   |                        | (b)(6) |
|                   | Brennani, Thomas O     | (b)(6) |
| <b>Sent Date:</b> | 2019/05/09 11:54:43    |        |
|                   |                        |        |

|                 |                                                                              |
|-----------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>From:</b>    | Reeker, Philip T (b)(6)                                                      |
|                 | (b)(6)                                                                       |
|                 | Giuda, Michelle (b)(6)                                                       |
|                 | (b)(6)                                                                       |
| <b>To:</b>      | Brechbuhl, Thomas U (b)(6)                                                   |
|                 | (b)(6)                                                                       |
|                 | Taylor, Mary Elizabeth (b)(6)                                                |
|                 | (b)(6)                                                                       |
| <b>Subject:</b> | Re: U.S. ambassador to Ukraine is recalled after becoming a political target |
| <b>Date:</b>    | 2019/05/18 22:28:17                                                          |
| <b>Type:</b>    | Note                                                                         |

Amb. Yovanovitch does depart May 20 (unexpectedly same day as the Zelenskyy Inauguration). After homeleave she is assigned as a Fellow at Georgetown.

(b)(5)

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Giuda, Michelle  
**Sent:** Saturday, May 18, 2019 5:21 AM  
**To:** Brechbuhl, Thomas U; Reeker, Philip T; Taylor, Mary Elizabeth  
**Subject:** RE: U.S. ambassador to Ukraine is recalled after becoming a political target

Hi All – Any updates on this front given the Ambassador's May 20 departure date?

**From:** Brechbuhl, Thomas U (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Thursday, May 9, 2019 12:39 PM  
**To:** Reeker, Philip T (b)(6); Giuda, Michelle (b)(6); Taylor, Mary Elizabeth (b)(6)  
**Subject:** RE: U.S. ambassador to Ukraine is recalled after becoming a political target

Phil,

Thanks for your continuing efforts on this front.

(b)(5)

TUB

**Official**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

**From:** Reeker, Philip T (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Thursday, May 9, 2019 1:11 AM  
**To:** Giuda, Michelle (b)(6); Taylor, Mary Elizabeth (b)(6)  
Brechbuhl, Thomas U (b)(6)  
**Subject:** Re: U.S. ambassador to Ukraine is recalled after becoming a political target  
Thanks, Michelle.

(b)(5)

We're about to take off from London, returning to Washington.

Best, Phil

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

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**Sent:** Thursday, May 9, 2019 1:52 AM

**To:** Taylor, Mary Elizabeth; Brechbuhl, Thomas U; Reeker, Philip T

**Subject:** RE: U.S. ambassador to Ukraine is recalled after becoming a political target

Here's a read from our analytics/media monitoring team on the traction this article is getting. Dormant for now... but of course could be revived.

(b)(5)

**From:** Taylor, Mary Elizabeth (b)(6)

**Sent:** Wednesday, May 8, 2019 12:40 PM

**To:** Giuda, Michelle (b)(6); Brechbuhl, Thomas U (b)(6)

Reeker, Philip T (b)(6)

**Subject:** RE: U.S. ambassador to Ukraine is recalled after becoming a political target

(b)(5)

**Official**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

**From:** Giuda, Michelle (b)(6)

**Sent:** Wednesday, May 8, 2019 12:26 PM

**To:** Brechbuhl, Thomas U (b)(6); Reeker, Philip T

(b)(6) Taylor, Mary Elizabeth (b)(6)

**Subject:** WP: U.S. ambassador to Ukraine is recalled after becoming a political target

Making sure everyone saw this ran yesterday. I missed it. Note statements by Hoyer and Engel. Getting a read on traction this is getting and will relay.

[https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2019/05/07/us-ambassador-ukraine-is-recalled-after-becoming-political-target/?noredirect=on&utm\\_term=.570a9a606dd4](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2019/05/07/us-ambassador-ukraine-is-recalled-after-becoming-political-target/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.570a9a606dd4)

## U.S. ambassador to Ukraine is recalled after becoming a political target

By **Josh Rogin** Columnist

The Trump administration has recalled the U.S. ambassador to Ukraine abruptly and ahead of her scheduled departure, after she became a target of political attacks by conservative media outlets and Donald Trump Jr.

Democrats see her early departure under pressure as the unfair targeting of a career Foreign Service officer by Team Trump.

According to an internal State Department management notice that I obtained, U.S. Ambassador Marie Yovanovitch will leave her post permanently on May 20, with no replacement in place and no nominations to fill that position. “We expect the Department to appoint a long-term Chargé d’Affaires to lead the mission until a new Chief of Mission is nominated and confirmed,” said the notice, which was sent to all mission personnel at the U.S. Embassy in Kiev. Incoming Deputy Chief of Mission Kristina Kvien plans to arrive in Kiev on May 28, and Joseph Pennington will continue to serve as chargé d’affaires and acting deputy chief through the transition period, the notice said.

A State Department spokesman told me, “Yovanovitch is concluding her three-year diplomatic assignment in Kiev in 2019 as planned.” One senior administration official told me that she had been previously scheduled to depart at the beginning of July and that her new May departure was a change in that plan. Another administration official said that Yovanovitch was given a choice whether to stay until July or leave early and she chose to leave early, due to the ongoing political attacks. Yovanovitch did not respond to a direct request for comment.

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a statement released Tuesday morning by House Majority Leader Steny H. Hoyer (D-Md.) and House Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Eliot L. Engel (D-N.Y.). “It’s clear that this decision was politically motivated, as allies of President Trump had joined foreign actors in lobbying for the Ambassador’s dismissal.”

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|                   |                        |        |
|-------------------|------------------------|--------|
| <b>Sender:</b>    | Reeker, Philip T       | (b)(6) |
|                   |                        | (b)(6) |
| <b>Recipient:</b> | Giuda, Michelle        | (b)(6) |
|                   |                        | (b)(6) |
|                   | Brechbuhl, Thomas U    | (b)(6) |
|                   |                        | (b)(6) |
|                   | (b)(6)                 |        |
|                   | Taylor, Mary Elizabeth | (b)(6) |
|                   |                        | (b)(6) |
| <b>Sent Date:</b> | 2019/05/18 22:28:17    |        |

|                 |                                                                              |
|-----------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>From:</b>    | Brechbuhl, Thomas U [REDACTED] (b)(6)                                        |
| <b>To:</b>      | Reeker, Philip T [REDACTED] (b)(6)                                           |
| <b>Subject:</b> | Re: U.S. ambassador to Ukraine is recalled after becoming a political target |
| <b>Date:</b>    | 2019/05/13 14:50:26                                                          |
| <b>Type:</b>    | Note                                                                         |

Thanks...

TUB

T. Ulrich Brechbühl  
Counselor, U.S. Department of State

On May 12, 2019, at 8:22 PM, Reeker, Philip T [REDACTED] (b)(6) wrote:

Thanks Ulrich.

Sir Kim Darrick: [REDACTED] (b)(6)

(ops can also connect you through UK Emb)

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Brechbuhl, Thomas U  
**Sent:** Sunday, May 12, 2019 7:58 PM  
**To:** Reeker, Philip T  
**Subject:** Re: U.S. ambassador to Ukraine is recalled after becoming a political target

Phil,

I have started the discussion but not arrived at the right place yet. I will continue to work this issue tomorrow.

Separately S, wanted me to contact the British Ambassador to the US (Kim Darrick). Who can connect me with him?

TUB

Sent from my iPhone

On May 12, 2019, at 5:08 PM, Reeker, Philip T [REDACTED] (b)(6) wrote:

Ulrich,

I'm departing again shortly to fly to Brussels, where I will connect with S for travel Tuesday morning to Sochi.

Wondering if [REDACTED] (b)(5)

I will be monitoring email on this platform, and will try to check Hi-side in Brussels Monday.

Many thanks.

Phil

---

**From:** Brechbuhl, Thomas U [REDACTED] (b)(6)

**Sent:** Thursday, May 9, 2019 1:00 PM

**To:** Reeker, Philip T [REDACTED] (b)(6)

**Cc:** C\_Schedulers <C\_Schedulers@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: U.S. ambassador to Ukraine is recalled after becoming a political target

Please do stop by before 1430...

**Official**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** Reeker, Philip T [REDACTED] (b)(6)

**Sent:** Thursday, May 9, 2019 12:56 PM

**To:** Brechbuhl, Thomas U [REDACTED] (b)(6); Giuda, Michelle [REDACTED] (b)(6); Taylor, Mary Elizabeth [REDACTED] (b)(6)

**Subject:** RE: U.S. ambassador to Ukraine is recalled after becoming a political target

Ulrich,

I see [REDACTED] (b)(6) in 5 mins (14:00). Will get back to you after that. (Perhaps I can stop up before I depart at 14:30?)

Phil

---

**From:** Brechbuhl, Thomas U [REDACTED] (b)(6)

**Sent:** Thursday, May 9, 2019 12:39 PM

**To:** Reeker, Philip T [REDACTED] (b)(6); Giuda, Michelle [REDACTED] (b)(6); Taylor, Mary Elizabeth [REDACTED] (b)(6)

**Subject:** RE: U.S. ambassador to Ukraine is recalled after becoming a political target

Phil,

Thanks for your continuing efforts on this front. [REDACTED] (b)(5)

[REDACTED] (b)(5)

TUB

**Official**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** Reeker, Philip T [REDACTED] (b)(6)

**Sent:** Thursday, May 9, 2019 1:11 AM

**To:** Giuda, Michelle [REDACTED] (b)(6); Taylor, Mary Elizabeth [REDACTED] (b)(6); Brechbuhl, Thomas U [REDACTED] (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Subject:** Re: U.S. ambassador to Ukraine is recalled after becoming a political target  
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(b)(5)

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**Sent:** Thursday, May 9, 2019 1:52 AM

**To:** Taylor, Mary Elizabeth; Brechbuhl, Thomas U; Reeker, Philip T

**Subject:** RE: U.S. ambassador to Ukraine is recalled after becoming a political target

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(b)(5)

**From:** Taylor, Mary Elizabeth (b)(6)

**Sent:** Wednesday, May 8, 2019 12:40 PM

**To:** Giuda, Michelle (b)(6) Brechbuhl, Thomas U

(b)(6) Reeker, Philip T

(b)(6)

**Subject:** RE: U.S. ambassador to Ukraine is recalled after becoming a political target

(b)(5)

**Official**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

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**Sent:** Wednesday, May 8, 2019 12:26 PM

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(b)(6)

**Subject:** WP: U.S. ambassador to Ukraine is recalled after becoming a political target

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[https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2019/05/07/us-ambassador-ukraine-is-recalled-after-becoming-political-target/?noredirect=on&utm\\_term=.570a9a606dd4](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2019/05/07/us-ambassador-ukraine-is-recalled-after-becoming-political-target/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.570a9a606dd4)

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|                   |                                       |
|-------------------|---------------------------------------|
| <b>Sender:</b>    | Brechbuhl, Thomas U [REDACTED] (b)(6) |
| <b>Recipient:</b> | Reeker, Philip T [REDACTED] (b)(6)    |
| <b>Sent Date:</b> | 2019/05/13 14:50:26                   |

|                 |                                                          |
|-----------------|----------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>From:</b>    | Hale, David (b)(6)                                       |
| <b>To:</b>      | Reeker, Philip T (b)(6)                                  |
| <b>CC:</b>      | (b)(6)                                                   |
| <b>Subject:</b> | Re: Ukraine tweet update - Embassy/Masha preelection vid |
| <b>Date:</b>    | 2019/03/24 15:23:25                                      |
| <b>Type:</b>    | Note                                                     |

Yes

Sent from my iPhone

On Mar 24, 2019, at 10:32 AM, Reeker, Philip T (b)(6) wrote:

Yes, that's already the plan. Email lines have been busy; and I believe they are gathering w/ WHA in the office. Is 13:00 early enough for your needs, with at least preliminary ideas?

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Hale, David  
**Sent:** Sunday, March 24, 2019 10:16 AM  
**To:** Reeker, Philip T  
**Cc:** (b)(6) Kenna, Lisa D  
**Subject:** Re: Ukraine tweet update - Embassy/Masha preelection vid

Hi, then your team should send me their thoughts while you are out. I want to send him an email before you are available again. We can send a more detailed product later after you can review. I promised him responses today.

Sent from my iPhone

On Mar 24, 2019, at 8:52 AM, Reeker, Philip T (b)(6) wrote:

Good morning. Focus on VZ /RUS this morning, but also the ongoing UKR-related stuff.



[REDACTED] (b)(6)  
 [REDACTED] (b)(6) But will monitor  
 email/phones.

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

**From:** Kent, George P [REDACTED] (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Sunday, March 24, 2019 8:35 AM  
**To:** Reeker, Philip T; Murphy, Michael J; [REDACTED] (b)(6)  
 [REDACTED] (b)(6)  
**Subject:** Re: Ukraine tweet update - Embassy/Masha preelection  
 vid

Embassy taped two videos. This one is a 90 second public service announcement, urging Ukrainians to vote, then unite to carry the country forward.

<https://youtu.be/6IJxkAPFOjw>

At the 45 second mark:"...and i promote and carry out the policies of the Trump administration."

---

**From:** Kent, George P [REDACTED] (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Sunday, March 24, 2019 8:07 AM  
**To:** Reeker, Philip T; Murphy, Michael J; [REDACTED] (b)(6) [REDACTED] (b)(6)  
**Subject:** Ukraine tweet update - Sunday morning

Morning. Rudy Giuliani and one of the other main tweeters tryin to keep the Ukraine connection alive thru retweets and reiterating "it was ukraine" (vice russia).

Separately, embassy kyiv released a pre (ukrainian) election video calling on all Ukrainians to vote, and then unite to carey the country forward after the vote regardless of who wins. Masha slipped in references to he being nominated by various presidents, serving under others, as a government servant loyal to all, promoting national interests.

Not quite sure how to paste a link from FB with the firewall, but will try to forward from my private account.

---

**From:** [REDACTED] (b)(6)  
**Date:** March 24, 2019 at 8:41:03 AM GMT+2  
**To:**  
**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>  
**Subject:** Reactions to Hill article - Sunday morning

A few Ukraine updates this morning:

Rudy Giuliani also retweeted the Ryan Saavedra post featuring DiGenova criticizing Amb. Y.

Jack Posobiec of OANN has some new Ukraine tweets in the past hour:

It was Ukraine  
 It was always Ukraine  
 They didn't even hide it

And a separate tweet from the same individual with just the hashtags:

#UkraineCash  
#UkrainiumOne  
#UkraineJoe

Not directly related to this issue, but just for awareness of other Ukraine-related topics the Western media are covering this weekend, the AP published the following article Saturday, which has been picked up by various media outlets such as the New York Times and Fox News.

### **5,000 nationalists protest corruption in Ukraine**

KIEV, Ukraine – About 5,000 nationalist demonstrators have held a protest in the Ukrainian capital of Kiev calling for arrests in a defense industry corruption case. The Saturday protest was the latest in several weeks of demonstrations by supporters of the far-right focusing on corruption.

A journalistic investigation in February reported that figures close to President Petro Poroshenko and a factory controlled by him were involved in an embezzlement scheme. It has become a top issue in the heated campaign ahead of Ukraine's March 31 presidential election.

Poroshenko is trying to get re-elected, but a deep recession, endemic corruption and a war with Russia-backed separatists that has killed some 13,000 people since 2014 are weighing heavily on his ambitions.

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|                   |                     | (b)(6) |
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| <b>Sent Date:</b> | 2019/03/24 15:23:25 |        |