**United States Department of State**

***Washington, D.C. 20520***

April 28, 2022

Case No: FL-2020-00006

American Oversight
Daniel McGrath
1030 15th Street NW, B255
Washington, DC 20005

Dear Mr. McGrath:

We refer to our letter dated March 28, 2022, regarding the release of certain Department of State ("Department") material under the Freedom of Information Act (the "FOIA"), 5 U.S.C. § 552. The Department identified an additional nine records responsive to your request. After reviewing these records, we have determined that all nine records may be released in part.

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

The processing of your request remains ongoing. If you have any questions, your attorney may contact Trial Attorney, Josh Abbuhl at (202) 616-8366 or at Joshua.Abbuhl@usdoj.gov. Please refer to civil action number 19-cv-3058, and FOIA case number FL-2020-00006 in all correspondence regarding this case.

Sincerely,

Jeanne Miller
Chief, Programs and Policies Division
Office of Information Programs and Services

Enclosures: As stated.

AMERICAN OVERSIGHT

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

AMERICAN OVERSIGHT

Released in Part

| | |
|---|---|
| **From:** | "Taylor, William B" (b)(6) |
| **To:** | Vindman, Alexander S. (b)(6) |
| **Subject:** | RE: UKRAINE: Scene setter for DPNSA John Bolton |
| **Date:** | Wed, 21 Aug 2019 12:57:27 -0400 |

Got it. Sorry you won't be here this time. Come another time.

**Official**
**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** Vindman, Alexander S. (b)(6)
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 21, 2019 6:52 PM
**To:** Taylor, William B
**Subject:** RE: UKRAINE: Scene setter for DPNSA John Bolton

Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
==========

Thank you for send. FYSA. I'm not going on this one. Tim is the only #EUR body on the trip.

V/R,
Alex Vindman
Director for Eastern Europe and Russia
Secure: (b)(6)

---

**From:** Taylor, William B (b)(6)
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 21, 2019 11:05 AM
**To:** Vindman, Alexander S. (b)(6) Erath, John F. (b)(6)
**Subject:** FW: UKRAINE: Scene setter for DPNSA John Bolton

Looking forward to seeing you.

**Official**
This message is **UNCLASSIFIED** when separated from **CONFIDENTIAL** attachment(s)
Classified By: William Taylor - CDA, Office:Kyiv, Agency:U.S. Department of State
Declassify On: 8/21/2029
Reasons: Derived Per DSCG.

---

**From:** Holmes, David A
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 21, 2019 5:11 PM
**To:** Kyiv, POL Cables DL
**Subject:** FW: UKRAINE: Scene setter for DPNSA John Bolton

AMERICAN OVERSIGHT

Colleagues – Flagging this NSA Bolton scene setter. Best, David

*David Holmes*
*Political Counselor*
*U.S. Embassy Kyiv*

**Official**
This message is **CONFIDENTIAL** when separated from **UNCLASSIFIED** attachment(s)
Classified By: William B. Taylor - Chargé d'Affaires, a. i., Office:Embassy Kyiv, Agency:U.S. Department of State
Declassify On: 8/21/2044
Reasons: Derived Per DSCG.

---

**From:** SMART Core
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 21, 2019 5:09 PM
**To:** Holmes, David A
**Subject:** UKRAINE: Scene setter for DPNSA John Bolton

**CONFIDENTIAL**
Sensitive

| | |
|---|---|
| **Action Office:** | POL, ODC, POL_MIL |
| **Info Office:** | AID, DAO_INFO, POL_INFO |

| | |
|---|---|
| **MRN:** | 19 KYIV 473 |
| **Date/DTG:** | Aug 21, 2019 / 211406Z AUG 19 |
| **From:** | AMEMBASSY KYIV |
| **Action:** | WASHDC, SECSTATE *IMMEDIATE* |
| **E.O.:** | 13526 |
| **TAGS:** | PREL, PGOV, UA, RU, MASS |
| **Captions:** | SENSITIVE |
| **Pass Line:** | AMCONSUL FRANKFURT PASS TO AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF<br>AMCONSUL FRANKFURT PASS TO AMCONSUL HAMBURG<br>AMEMBASSY BERLIN PASS TO AMCONSUL LEIPZIG<br>AMEMBASSY VILNIUS PASS TO AMEMBASSY MINSK<br>AMEMBASSY PARIS PASS TO AMCONSUL STRASBOURG<br>AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PASS TO AMCONSUL VLADIVOSTOK<br>AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PASS TO AMCONSUL YEKATERINBURG |
| **Subject:** | UKRAINE: Scene setter for DPNSA John Bolton |

AMERICAN OVERSIGHT

1. (SBU) Ambassador Bolton, welcome back to Ukraine, where you will find the political landscape transformed since your last visit exactly one year ago, personified by a new president committed and empowered to advance an agenda largely consistent with our reform priorities and strategic interests. "Historic" is the right word to describe President Volodymyr Zelenskyy's landslide victory in successive presidential and parliamentary elections – spanning every region and demographic – that ousted the former president, sacked the government, and replaced 80 percent of the Rada (parliament). This reboot of Ukraine's political class reflects its failure to live up to the Ukrainian people's ambitious but consistent post-EuroMaidan demands for an end to the conflict with Russia that restores national unity, European standards of economic growth and opportunity, and effective rule of law that delivers justice, including in cases of high-level official corruption. The overwhelming victory of a political outsider shows Ukrainians are willing to take a risk to deliver the full promise of their Revolution of Dignity. This revolution at the ballot box underscores that despite Ukraine's imperfections, it is a genuine and vibrant democracy and an example to other post-Soviet countries.

2. (SBU) While the typical "first 100 day" stock-taking milestone since Zelenskyy's inauguration roughly corresponds with your visit, the "Zelenskyy administration" really begins within hours of your departure August 29, when his Servant of the People (SoP) party convenes the new Rada for the first time and employs its outright majority to pass legislation (including a plan to introduce 100 bills the first day), appoint a Prime Minister, and endorse a government embodied in a Cabinet of Ministers that will implement his agenda. (This also means that the officials you will meet, apart from Zelenskyy, are in-coming designees rather than outgoing lame duck officials.) These past 100 days have revealed a great deal about Zelenskyy as a person and a president, the people around him, the policies he supports, and the political context in which his administration will advance its agenda – and, thus far, indications are positive.

(b)(1)

3. (C) (b)(1)

(b)(1)

(b)(1)

4. (C) (b)(1)

(b)(1)

AMERICAN OVERSIGHT

Page 04 to Page 06

Withheld pursuant to exemption

(b)(1)

AMERICAN OVERSIGHT

(b)(1)

13. (C) (b)(1)

(b)(1)

**Signature:** TAYLOR

---

**Classified By:** Name: William B. Taylor, Title: Charge d'Affaires, a. i.
Office: U.S. Embassy Kyiv
Agency: Department of State

**Derived From:** DSCG 17-1
**Declassify On:** 2044/08/21
**W/O Attachment(s):** This document is ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ when separated from UNCLASSIFIED attachment(s).
**Drafted By:** KYIV:Holmes, David A
**Cleared By:** EXEC\DCM:Kvien, Kristina A
KYIV\POL (b)(6)
POL (b)(6)
POL: (b)(6)
INL: (b)(6)
KYIV\USAID (b)(6)
ECON (b)(6)
(b)(6)
**Approved By:** EXEC\AMB:Taylor, William B
**Released By:** KYIV: (b)(6)

AMERICAN OVERSIGHT

| | |
|---|---|
| **Info:** | BEIJING, AMEMBASSY *ROUTINE*; USNATO, USMISSION *ROUTINE*; USUN NEW YORK, USMISSION *ROUTINE*; NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON DC *ROUTINE*; OSD WASHINGTON DC *ROUTINE*; EUCOM POLAD VAIHINGEN GE *ROUTINE*; CIA WASHINGTON DC *ROUTINE*; WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC *ROUTINE*; DNI WASHINGTON DC *ROUTINE*; EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE *ROUTINE*; CIS COLLECTIVE *ROUTINE*; ZEN/DUSSELDORF, AMCONSUL; ZEN/HAMBURG, AMCONSUL; ZEN/LEIPZIG, AMCONSUL; ZEN/MINSK, AMEMBASSY; ZEN/STRASBOURG, AMCONSUL; ZEN/VLADIVOSTOK, AMCONSUL; ZEN/YEKATERINBURG, AMCONSUL |
| **XMT:** | ZEN/ST PETERSBURG, AMCONSUL |
| **Attachments:** | President Zelenskyys First 100 Days.docx |

| | |
|---|---|
| **Action Post:** | NONE |
| **Dissemination Rule:** | POL, DAO_INFO, ODC, POL_MIL, POL_INFO |

**CONFIDENTIAL**
Sensitive

This message has been scanned for malware.

==========

Classification: UNCLASSIFIED

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Sender:** | "Taylor, William B" | (b)(6) |
| **Recipient:** | Vindman, Alexander S. < | (b)(6) |

AMERICAN OVERSIGHT

| | |
|---|---|
| **From:** | "Kvien, Kristina A" (b)(6) |
| **To:** | Kent, George P (b)(6)<br>'Morrison, Timothy A.' (b)(6)<br>Vindman, Alexander S. (b)(6)<br>Taylor, William B (b)(6)<br>Holmes, David A (b)(6) |
| **CC:** | EUR-EE-DL (b)(6) |
| **Subject:** | RE: Ukraine - two Tridents (one: Motor Sich; other: Energy/PSA) |
| **Date:** | Wed, 31 Jul 2019 12:41:03 +0300 |

(b)(1); (b)(5)

- Kristina

**Sensitivity:** Sensitive
**Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL//NOFORN
**Classified By:** Kristina Kvien, DCM, FO
**Derived From:** DSCG 11-01
**Declassify On:** 2044/07/31

---

**From:** Kent, George P
**Sent:** Tuesday, July 30, 2019 10:51 PM
**To:** 'Morrison, Timothy A.'; Vindman, Alexander S.; Taylor, William B; Kvien, Kristina A; Holmes, David A
**Cc:** EUR-EE-DL
**Subject:** Ukraine - two Tridents (one: Motor Sich; other: Energy/PSA)

(b)(1); (b)(5)



AMERICAN OVERSIGHT

| | |
|---|---|
| **Action Office:** | ECON, POL, AID, DOE |
| **Info Office:** | ECON_INFO, FAS_INFO |

| | |
|---|---|
| **MRN:** | 19 KYIV 423 |
| **Date/DTG:** | Jul 30, 2019 / 301317Z JUL 19 |
| **From:** | AMEMBASSY KYIV |
| **Action:** | WASHDC, SECSTATE *ROUTINE* |
| **E.O.:** | 13526 |
| **TAGS:** | ECON, ENRG, TRGY, EPET, PGOV, BTIO, AID, UA, RU |
| **Captions:** | SENSITIVE |
| **Reference:** | A) 19 KYIV 285<br>B) 19 KYIV 349 |
| **Subject:** | UKRAINE: Controversy Surrounds Offshore PSA Award to U.S.-Based Trident Black Sea |

1. (SBU) **Key Points**

- United States-based Trident Black Sea (parent company Trident Acquisitions) was awarded the Dolphin Production Sharing Agreement (PSA) offshore block on July 26.
- Trident's win was viewed as a political decision by Minister of Energy Igor Nasalyuk, primarily because it (b)(1)
(b)(1)
- Azerbaijan-owned Caspian Drilling International, which some Commission members suggested was the most qualified bidder, withdrew its application on July 25, reportedly either due to pressure from Russia or to preserve its reputation after being informed that the tender would be awarded to Trident.
- On July 27, Prime Minister Groysman proposed on social media cancelling the award and announcing a new competition for the Dolphin block with the goal of attracting large, international companies.

2. (C) **Comment:** (b)(1)
(b)(1)

AMERICAN OVERSIGHT

investment. **End comment.**

**Trident Black Sea Awarded Dolphin PSA Block**

3. (SBU) United States-based company Trident Black Sea was awarded the Dolphin PSA offshore block on July 26 by the Commission. Trident Black Sea is an investment fund set up specifically for Ukraine's PSA competition. Ninety percent of the company is owned by Trident Acquisitions and 10 percent is owned by Irish San Leon Energy. San Leon Energy produces oil in Albania, Ireland, Nigeria, Poland and Spain. Trident Acquisitions was founded in 2016 by Ilya Ponomarev, a former member of Russia's parliament (State Duma), for the exploration and production of oil and gas in Ukraine. It does not appear that Trident had any specific business plan beyond winning this tender, and the company has never engaged in actual extraction or production of oil. [Note: Ponomarev was the only member of the State Duma to vote against Russia's annexation of Crimea during the 2014 invasion. End Note.] Having received Ukrainian citizenship in May by presidential decree, Ponomarev currently lives in Kyiv. Trident's present chief financial officer is Russian investment banker Vadim Komissarov. Edward Verona, a senior advisor of the international strategic advisory firm McLarty Associates, serves as Trident's director and chairman of the board. According to numerous experts involved with the Commission, awarding Trident the tender was a political decision, as evidenced by its lack of financial resources and drilling experience.

4. (SBU) Four companies submitted bids on June 12 for the Dolphin offshore block. This included two U.S. companies — Trident Black Sea and Frontera Resources Corporation [Note: Frontera Resources applied for and received official advocacy from the Department of Commerce for this tender. According to Commerce, Trident Black Sea did not apply for or receive advocacy despite being encouraged to apply. End note.] The other two companies were Azerbaijani Caspian Drilling International Ltd (CDI) and Ukrnaftoburinnia, one of the largest private gas producing companies in Ukraine. CDI was founded by the State Oil Company of Azerbaijan (SOCAR), which has strong links to Russia. Member of Parliament (MP) Vitaliy Khomutynnik and oligarch Igor Kolomoyskyy are both major shareholders in Ukrnaftoburinnia. Throughout the bidding process for both onshore and offshore PSAs, experts and bidders alike expressed concerns to emboffs that the criteria for PSAs were subjective and open to manipulation by corrupt interests (Ref A).

(b)(1)

5. (C) (b)(1)

(b)(1)

AMERICAN OVERSIGHT

(b)(1)

6. (C) (b)(1)
(b)(1)

**Uncertainty Surrounds Remaining Tender Process for Dolphin Block**

7. (U) On July 27, Prime Minster Groysman posted on Facebook that the offshore PSA tender did not meet Ukraine's expectations and failed to attract world players, such as Shell and Exxon. He also stated the Dolphin block was a matter not only of energy independence, but also geopolitics due to the close proximity of the gas-bearing region to the occupied Crimea. Groysman proposed the possibility of announcing a new competition for the Dolphin block.

8. ~~(C)~~ (b)(1)
(b)(1)

9. ~~(C)~~ (b)(1)
(b)(1)

10. (SBU) Once a winner is confirmed negotiations will start on the PSA contract itself. Under the current process, Trident proposes its own contract, which will likely extend the negotiation period. The current PSA law also does not require contracts to include a termination clause triggered if no drilling occurs within a specific time. During a June 24 meeting, Finance Minister Oksana Markarova asked Chargé d'Affaires, a.i., William Taylor for U.S. assistance in developing a uniform financial model and contract template to be used during the negotiation of PSAs. USAID could provide this support, but assurance would be needed that the Cabinet would utilize these recommendations. Taylor sent a letter to Markarova offering USAID

AMERICAN OVERSIGHT

assistance on July 8, but there has been no response from the Ministry.

**Signature:** TAYLOR

**Official**
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Classified By: George Kent - DAS, Office:EUR, Agency:U.S. Department of State
Declassify On: 7/30/2044
Reasons: Derived Per DSCG.

---

**From:** Morrison, Timothy A. (b)(6)
**Sent:** Tuesday, July 30, 2019 3:15 PM
**To:** Kent, George P; Vindman, Alexander S.; Taylor, William B; Kvien, Kristina A; Holmes, David A
**Cc:** EUR-EE-DL
**Subject:** RE: Max - two Tridents

Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
==========

Something we will discuss tomorrow.

(b)(5)

---

**From:** Kent, George P (b)(6)
**Sent:** Tuesday, July 30, 2019 12:11 PM
**To:** Vindman, Alexander S. (b)(6) Taylor, William B (b)(6) Kvien, Kristina A (b)(6) Holmes, David A (b)(6)
**Cc:** Morrison, Timothy A. (b)(6) EUR-EE-DL (b)(6)
**Subject:** RE: Max - two Tridents

To the best of collective knowledge, different. One is energy focused, this other, defense.

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

---

**From:** Vindman, Alexander S. (b)(6)
**Sent:** Tuesday, July 30, 2019 11:55 AM
**To:** Taylor, William B; Kvien, Kristina A; Holmes, David A; Kent, George P
**Cc:** Morrison, Timothy A.; EUR-EE-DL
**Subject:** RE: Max

AMERICAN OVERSIGHT

Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
==========

Probably not, but just checking. Is this the same Trident involved in the PSAs?

V/R,
Alex Vindman
Director for Eastern Europe and Russia
(b)(6)

---

**From:** Vindman, Alexander S.
**Sent:** Tuesday, July 30, 2019 11:47 AM
**To:** (b)(6) (b)(6) (b)(6) (b)(6) (b)(6) (b)(6) 'Kent, George P' (b)(6)
**Cc:** Morrison, Timothy A. (b)(6) (b)(6) (b)(6)
**Subject:** FW: Max

Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
==========

Is this the same Trident involved in the PSAs?

V/R,
Alex Vindman
Director for Eastern Europe and Russia
(b)(6)

---

**From:** Taylor, William B (Kyiv)
**Sent:** Tuesday, July 30, 2019 9:29 AM
**To:** Morrison, Timothy A. EOP/NSC ; Vindman, Alexander S. EOP/NSC
**Subject:** Fwd: Max

From: (b)(6) (Kyiv)
Sent: Tuesday, July 30, 3:24 PM
Subject: RE: Max
To: Taylor, William B (Kyiv)
Cc: Kvien, Kristina A

Hi Sir,

Max Polyakov is a Ukrainian-born U.S. LPR and entrepreneur, who also holds both Ukrainian and UK citizenship. A Ukrainian patriot, Polyakov has repeatedly emphasized his interest in protecting Ukrainian defense companies that produce sensitive technology, especially against

AMERICAN OVERSIGHT

the Chinese who tend to share these technologies with the Russians. Max is also a “hometown” boy from Zaporizhzhya, the city where Motor Sich is headquartered, and is thus uniquely situated to understand both American and Ukrainian interests.

Max heads the Ukrainian portion of Trident Defense, a commercial enterprise established by Noosphere Ventures with the mission of ensuring the success of Ukraine through defense investment and security cooperation with the US, NATO, and the EU. The company’s mission statement notes that Trident will mitigate regulatory, corruptionm and technology risks through a long-term investment horizon, the active promotion of international security cooperation, and strict compliance with the US Foreign Corrupt Practices Act (FCPA) and the US International Traffic in Arms Regulations (ITAR). Based in Silicon Valley, Noosphere Ventures manages a global portfolio of companies with offices in 16 countries and 5,500 employees, 5,000 of whom work in Ukraine. Max is hoping to find the same success with Trident as he did with Firefly Aerospace, a subsidiary of Noosphere Ventures he founded in 2017. Firefly is a company that manufactures small and middle-sized launch vehicles, as well as EOS DA – a company that analyzes Earth Sensory data from satellites.

Please let me know if we can provide any additional information.

v/R,
(b)(6)

**From:** Taylor, William B (Kyiv)
**Sent:** Tuesday, July 30, 2019 1:30 PM
**To:** (b)(6) Kyiv)
**Cc:** Kvien, Kristina A
**Subject:** Max

Can you send me a short description of Max P and Trident Defense that I can forward to the NSC?
Thanks

**Official**
**UNCLASSIFIED**

==========
Classification: UNCLASSIFIED

==========
Classification: UNCLASSIFIED

==========
Classification: UNCLASSIFIED

==========
Classification: UNCLASSIFIED

==========
Classification: UNCLASSIFIED

AMERICAN OVERSIGHT

| | |
|---|---|
| **Sender:** | "Kvien, Kristina A" (b)(6) |
| **Recipient:** | Kent, George P (b)(6)<br>'Morrison, Timothy A.' (b)(6)<br>Vindman, Alexander S. (b)(6)<br>Taylor, William B (b)(6)<br>Holmes, David A (b)(6)<br>EUR-EE-DL (b)(6) |

AMERICAN OVERSIGHT

Released in Part

(b)(1); (b)(6)

| | |
|---|---|
| **From:** | "Taylor, William B" (b)(6) |
| **To:** | Freden, Bradley A (b)(6)<br>Kvien, Kristina A (b)(6) |
| **Subject:** | RE: [redacted] to Kyiv September 5 |
| **Date:** | Mon, 19 Aug 2019 11:28:17 -0400 |

Got it -- thanks

**Official**
**UNCLASSIFIED**

(b)(1); (b)(6)

**From:** Freden, Bradley A
**Sent:** Monday, August 19, 2019 4:53 PM
**To:** Taylor, William B; Kvien, Kristina A
**Subject:** RE: [redacted] to Kyiv September 5

(b)(1); (b)(6)

**Official**
**SECRET//NOFORN**
Classified By: William Taylor - CDA, Office:Kyiv, Agency:U.S. Department of State
Declassify On: 8/19/2029
Reasons: (Derived) Classification derived from previous message(s)

(b)(1); (b)(6)

**From:** Taylor, William B
**Sent:** Monday, August 19, 2019 9:37 AM
**To:** Kvien, Kristina A; Freden, Bradley A
**Subject:** RE: [redacted] to Kyiv September 5

(b)(1); (b)(5); (b)(6)

**Official**
**CONFIDENTIAL**
Classified By: William Taylor - CDA, Office:Kyiv, Agency:U.S. Department of State
Declassify On: 8/19/2029
Reasons: Derived Per DSCG.

(b)(1); (b)(6)

**From:** Kvien, Kristina A
**Sent:** Monday, August 19, 2019 3:50 PM
**To:** Freden, Bradley A; Taylor, William B
**Subject:** RE: [redacted] to Kyiv September 5

AMERICAN OVERSIGHT

Page 18 to Page 21

Withheld pursuant to exemption

(b)(1); (b)(5); (b)(6)

AMERICAN OVERSIGHT

Released in Part

| | |
|---|---|
| **From:** | "Kvien, Kristina A" (b)(6) |
| **To:** | (b)(6) |
| **CC:** | Holmes, David A (b)(6) (b)(6) |
| **Subject:** | RE: O/I item |
| **Date:** | Wed, 21 Aug 2019 11:55:36 -0400 |

Thanks (b)(6) excellent work! - KK

**Sensitivity:** Sensitive
**Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL//NOFORN
**Classified By:** William Taylor, CDA, EXEC, DOS
**Derived From:** DSCG 11-01
**Declassify On:** 2044/08/21

---

**From:** (b)(6)
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 21, 2019 6:52 PM
**To:** Kyiv, Official Informal
**Subject:** O/I item

One late-breaking item:

**(C)** (b)(1)
(b)(1)

AMERICAN OVERSIGHT

(b)(1)

**Official**
**CONFIDENTIAL**
Classified By: William Taylor - Charge d'Affaires a.i., Office:Kyiv, Agency:U.S. Department of State
Declassify On: 8/21/2044
Reasons: Derived Per DSCG.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Sender:** | "Kvien, Kristina A" | (b)(6) |
| **Recipient:** | | (b)(6) |
| | Holmes, David A | (b)(6) |
| | | (b)(6) |

AMERICAN OVERSIGHT

Released in Part

| | |
|---|---|
| **From:** | "Taylor, William B" (b)(6) |
| **To:** | (b)(6) |
| **CC:** | Holmes, David A (b)(6)<br>Kvien, Kristina A (b)(6) |
| **Subject:** | RE: O/I item |
| **Date:** | Wed, 21 Aug 2019 13:00:26 -0400 |

Nice job, (b)(6)

**Official**
**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From** (b)(6)
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 21, 2019 6:52 PM
**To:** Kyiv, Official Informal
**Subject:** O/I item

One late-breaking item:

**(C)** (b)(1)
(b)(1)

AMERICAN OVERSIGHT

(b)(1)

**Official**
**CONFIDENTIAL**
Classified By: William Taylor - Charge d'Affaires a.i., Office:Kyiv, Agency:U.S. Department of State
Declassify On: 8/21/2044
Reasons: Derived Per DSCG.

| | |
|---|---|
| **Sender:** | "Taylor, William B" (b)(6) |
| **Recipient:** | (b)(6)<br>Holmes, David A (b)(6)<br>Kvien, Kristina A (b)(6) |

AMERICAN OVERSIGHT

Released in Part

(b)(1); (b)(6)

| | |
|---|---|
| **From:** | "Taylor, William B" (b)(6) |
| **To:** | (b)(6) |
| **CC:** | Kvien, Kristina A (b)(6) |
| **Subject:** | RE: |
| **Date:** | Fri, 2 Aug 2019 07:00:15 -0400 |

Thanks, (b)(6) Can you remind me about the passport case?

**Official**
**UNCLASSIFIED**

**From:** (b)(6)
**Sent:** Friday, August 02, 2019 1:53 PM
**To:** (b)(6)
(b)(6)
(b)(6) Kyiv, EXEC AMs; (b)(6)
(b)(6)
**Subject:** (b)(1); (b)(6)

(b)(1); (b)(6)

AMERICAN OVERSIGHT

(b)(1); (b)(6)

Thanks,
(b)(6)

**Official - Sensitive**
**CONFIDENTIAL**
Classified By: (b)(6) INL Director, Office:U.S. Embassy Kyiv, Agency:U.S. Department of State
Declassify On: 8/2/2044
Reasons: Derived Per DSCG.

---

**From:** (b)(6)
**Sent:** Friday, July 19, 2019 12:20 PM
**To:** (b)(6) Taylor, William B; Kvien, Kristina A; (b)(6)
(b)(6)
(b)(6)
**Subject:** (b)(1);

(b)(1); (b)(6)

Thanks,
(b)(6)

**Official - Sensitive**
**CONFIDENTIAL**

AMERICAN OVERSIGHT

Classified By: (b)(6) INL Director, Office:U.S. Embassy Kyiv, Agency:U.S. Department of State
Declassify On: 7/19/2044
Reasons: Derived Per DSCG.

| | |
|---|---|
| **Sender:** | "Taylor, William B" (b)(6) |
| **Recipient:** | (b)(6) Kvien, Kristina A < (b)(6) |

AMERICAN OVERSIGHT

Released in Part

| | |
|---|---|
| **From:** | "Kvien, Kristina A" (b)(6) |
| **To:** | (b)(6) Kyiv, EXEC AMs (b)(6) |
| **Subject:** | RE: FOR DCM CLEARANCE: Country Team Notes: Aug 20 |
| **Date:** | Wed, 21 Aug 2019 11:50:34 -0400 |

Excellent notes! Made one small change on last entry, otherwise good to go!

This document is UNCLASSIFIED//NOFORN when separated from SECRET//NOFORN attachment(s).

| | |
|---|---|
| **Sensitivity:** | Sensitive |
| **Classification:** | **SECRET//NOFORN** |
| **Classified By:** | KvienKA, DCM, FO |
| **Derived From:** | DSCG 11-01 |
| **Declassify On:** | 2044/08/21 |

---

**From:** (b)(6)
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 21, 2019 3:16 PM
**To:** Kyiv, EXEC AMs
**Subject:** FOR DCM CLEARANCE: Country Team Notes: Aug 20

Dear Kristina,

Please find attached my notes for country team.

Best,

(b)(6)

**Official - SBU**

This message is **UNCLASSIFIED** when separated from **SECRET** attachment(s)

Classified By: William B Taylor - Charge d'Affaires, Office:U.S. Embassy Ukraine, Agency:U.S. Department of State
Declassify On: 8/21/2044
Reasons: Derived Per DSCG.

| | |
|---|---|
| **Sender:** | "Kvien, Kristina A" (b)(6) |
| **Recipient:** | (b)(6) Kyiv, EXEC AMs (b)(6) |

AMERICAN OVERSIGHT

**(SBU) EXEC – CDA Taylor**

- Farewell call with Prime Minister Groysman Aug 20.
- Swiss AMB requested U.S. Embassy support the Ministry of Temporarily Occupied Territories and IDPs because there are rumors it will be dissolved under the new administration (USAID to provide additional information).

**(SBU) DCM – Kristina Kvien**

- Newcomers from MED, IPC, ODC, LEGATT, and CDC. And new staff assistant: (b)(6)
- Farewell to (b)(6) from EXBS and (b)(6) from DOE.

**(C) DAO –** (b)(6)

(b)(1); (b)(6)

**(C) CONS** (b)(6)

(b)(1)

**(SBU) RSO –** (b)(6)

(b)(7)(E)

**(S) Assistance –** (b)(6)

(b)(1)

**(SBU) INL** (b)(6)

- Attending two different EU coordination meetings on reform.
- On PGO reform, new local expert hired based in Kharkiv.

**(U) LEGATT –** (b)(6)

- (b)(6) is out for the next two weeks.



AMERICAN OVERSIGHT

**(U) MGT –** (b)(6)

- Cafeteria will be closed starting next Tuesday Aug 27 for two months. Sandwiches, salads, and some hot food options will be available for sale in the area under the stairs.

**(SBU) POL – David Holmes**

- Multiple upcoming visits:
  - Volker Aug 23-25; his assistant Catherine Croft arriving Aug 22
  - Bolton Aug 27-29
  - StaffDel Aug 27-29
  - CODEL Johnston and CODEL Kaptur in September; there will be joint meeting with President Zelenskyy.
  - Volker and DAS Kent for YES Conference the week of Sept 9.
- Approximately 70 percent of ministers have selected, according to Braun.
- Please coordinate with POL when arranging meetings with new heads of Rada committees.
- Planning to host various events at CMR to meet new Rada members.
- French President Macron met with Putin on Monday. Macron stated France would support Russia return to G7 (returning to G8) if Russia returned occupied territory to Ukraine.
- President Zelenskyy planning trips to Warsaw and UNGA
- Upcoming SBU reform cable.

**(SBU) PAS –** (b)(6)

- From monitoring press/media coverage over the weekend: Normandy Four meeting likely in the upcoming future and Ukraine will not move its embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.
- Thanks to Peace Corps volunteers there is nation-wide coverage for the "Run for the Fallen."
- Two new Rada members are FLEX alumni and three new Rada Committee chairs are Open World alumni.

**(SBU) USAID –** (b)(6)

- FTC advisor (b)(6) returning to Ukraine Aug 26. USAID has put Honcharuck in contact with (b)(6) current FTC advisor.
- Meeting Aug 20 with World Bank on land reform (AMB asked to be briefed on land reform). Troublesome that individuals, which have offered to lead President's efforts on land reform have large agro-holding interests.
- "New Justice" will have completed investment screening draft law by the end of the week to share with the interagency. There are working on various other draft laws including legislation on judicial discipline and whistleblowers.

**(SBU) EXBS –** (b)(6)

- Two projects completed: K9 assessment in Lviv and joint maritime rescue course in Estonia.
- CBP training on contraband in Odessa scheduled for September.



AMERICAN OVERSIGHT

**(U) CDC** – (b)(6)

- Awaiting final permit/ approval to begin construction of lab in Kyiv.
- (b)(6) will be out next week.

**(U) Peace Corps**

- Additional volunteers arrived over the weekend. First volunteer born in 2000.

**(U) CLO** – (b)(6)

- Please send changes to EFM contact information to update SAFE.
- There will be a call for school information for a DC report.

**(U) Marine Attaché** – (b)(6)

- Marine Ball Committee meeting Aug 21. Still looking for two additional volunteers for ticket sales and contracts.

**(U) DTRO** (b)(6)

- (b)(6) going on Leave Friday. (b)(6) will be acting. Attending Nuclear Conference in Odessa.

**(C) ODC** – (b)(6)

(b)(1)



AMERICAN OVERSIGHT

Released in Part

| | |
|---|---|
| **From:** | "Taylor, William B" (b)(6) |
| **To:** | (b)(6) |
| **CC:** | Kyiv, EXEC AMs (b)(6) (b)(6) |
| **Subject:** | RE: FOR CDA Clearance: UKRAINE: Special Representative Volker's July 24-27 Visit –(b)(5) (Part 1 of 3) |
| **Date:** | Fri, 2 Aug 2019 02:00:38 -0400 |

Looks great -- clear

**Official**
**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** (b)(6)
**Sent:** Friday, August 02, 2019 8:47 AM
**To:** Taylor, William B
**Cc:** Kyiv, EXEC AMs; (b)(6)
**Subject:** FW: FOR CDA Clearance: UKRAINE: Special Representative Volker's July 24-27 Visit –(b)(1); (b)(5) (Part 1 of 3)

Ambassador – here is part 1 of 3 again. Thanks again for clearing the other two.

Best,

(b)(6)

**Official**
This message is **UNCLASSIFIED** when separated from ~~**CONFIDENTIAL**~~ attachment(s)
Classified By: William B. Taylor - Chargé d'Affaires, a. i., Office:U.S. Embassy Kyiv, Agency:U.S. Department of State
Declassify On: 8/2/2044
Reasons: Derived Per DSCG.

---

**From:** (b)(6)
**Sent:** Wednesday, July 31, 2019 9:59 AM
**To:** Kyiv, EXEC AMs
**Cc:** (b)(6)
**Subject:** FOR CDA Clearance: UKRAINE: Special Representative Volker's July 24-27 Visit –(b)(5) (b)(5) (Part 1 of 3)

Sir,

AMERICAN OVERSIGHT

Please see attached for your clearance, the first of a series of three cables on the SRUN Volker/Amb. Sondland visit.

The first cable is focused on (b)(5) The second will be focused on (b)(5) and the third, on (b)(5).

Many thanks, (b)(6)

(b)(6)
External Unit Chief
Political Section
U.S. Embassy in Kyiv

**Official**
This message is **UNCLASSIFIED** when separated from ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ attachment(s)
Classified By: Willaim B. Taylor - Chargé d'Affaires, a.i. , Office:Kyiv, Agency:U.S. Department of State
Declassify On: 7/31/2044
Reasons: Derived Per DSCG.

| | |
|---|---|
| **Sender:** | "Taylor, William B" (b)(6) |
| **Recipient:** | (b)(6)<br>Kyiv, EXEC AMs (b)(6)<br>(b)(6) |

AMERICAN OVERSIGHT

Released in Part

| | |
|---|---|
| **From:** | "Taylor, William B" (b)(6) |
| **To:** | Brechbuhl, Thomas U (b)(6)<br>Hale, David (b)(6)<br>Reeker, Philip T (b)(6) |
| **CC:** | Kent, George P (b)(6)<br>(b)(6) |
| **Subject:** | FW: UKRAINE: Scene setter for DPNSA John Bolton |
| **Date:** | Wed, 21 Aug 2019 11:10:47 -0400 |

FYI

**Official**
This message is **UNCLASSIFIED** when separated from **CONFIDENTIAL** attachment(s)
Classified By: William Taylor - CDA, Office:Kyiv, Agency:U.S. Department of State
Declassify On: 8/21/2029
Reasons: Derived Per DSCG.

---

**From:** Holmes, David A
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 21, 2019 5:11 PM
**To:** Kyiv, POL Cables DL
**Subject:** FW: UKRAINE: Scene setter for DPNSA John Bolton

Colleagues – Flagging this NSA Bolton scene setter. Best, David

*David Holmes*
*Political Counselor*
*U.S. Embassy Kyiv*

**Official**
This message is **CONFIDENTIAL** when separated from **UNCLASSIFIED** attachment(s)
Classified By: William B. Taylor - Chargé d'Affaires, a. i., Office:Embassy Kyiv, Agency:U.S. Department of State
Declassify On: 8/21/2044
Reasons: Derived Per DSCG.

---

**From:** SMART Core
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 21, 2019 5:09 PM
**To:** Holmes, David A
**Subject:** UKRAINE: Scene setter for DPNSA John Bolton

**CONFIDENTIAL**
Sensitive

AMERICAN OVERSIGHT

| | |
|---|---|
| **Action Office:** | POL, ODC, POL_MIL |
| **Info Office:** | AID, DAO_INFO, POL_INFO |

| | |
|---|---|
| **MRN:** | 19 KYIV 473 |
| **Date/DTG:** | Aug 21, 2019 / 211406Z AUG 19 |
| **From:** | AMEMBASSY KYIV |
| **Action:** | WASHDC, SECSTATE *IMMEDIATE* |
| **E.O.:** | 13526 |
| **TAGS:** | PREL, PGOV, UA, RU, MASS |
| **Captions:** | SENSITIVE |
| **Pass Line:** | AMCONSUL FRANKFURT PASS TO AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF<br>AMCONSUL FRANKFURT PASS TO AMCONSUL HAMBURG<br>AMEMBASSY BERLIN PASS TO AMCONSUL LEIPZIG<br>AMEMBASSY VILNIUS PASS TO AMEMBASSY MINSK<br>AMEMBASSY PARIS PASS TO AMCONSUL STRASBOURG<br>AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PASS TO AMCONSUL VLADIVOSTOK<br>AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PASS TO AMCONSUL YEKATERINBURG |
| **Subject:** | UKRAINE: Scene setter for DPNSA John Bolton |

1. (SBU) Ambassador Bolton, welcome back to Ukraine, where you will find the political landscape transformed since your last visit exactly one year ago, personified by a new president committed and empowered to advance an agenda largely consistent with our reform priorities and strategic interests. "Historic" is the right word to describe President Volodymyr Zelenskyy's landslide victory in successive presidential and parliamentary elections – spanning every region and demographic – that ousted the former president, sacked the government, and replaced 80 percent of the Rada (parliament). This reboot of Ukraine's political class reflects its failure to live up to the Ukrainian people's ambitious but consistent post-EuroMaidan demands for an end to the conflict with Russia that restores national unity, European standards of economic growth and opportunity, and effective rule of law that delivers justice, including in cases of high-level official corruption. The overwhelming victory of a political outsider shows Ukrainians are willing to take a risk to deliver the full promise of their Revolution of Dignity. This revolution at the ballot box underscores that despite Ukraine's imperfections, it is a genuine and vibrant democracy and an example to other post-Soviet countries.

2. (SBU) While the typical "first 100 day" stock-taking milestone since Zelenskyy's inauguration roughly corresponds with your visit, the "Zelenskyy administration" really begins within hours of your departure August 29, when his Servant of the People (SoP) party convenes the new Rada for the first time and employs its outright majority to pass legislation (including a plan to introduce 100 bills the first day), appoint a Prime Minister, and endorse a government embodied in a Cabinet of Ministers that will implement his agenda. (This also means that the officials you will meet, apart from Zelenskyy, are in-coming designees rather than outgoing lame duck officials.) These past 100 days have revealed a great deal about Zelenskyy as a person and a president, the people around him, the policies he supports, and

AMERICAN OVERSIGHT

the political context in which his administration will advance its agenda – and, thus far, indications are positive.

(b)(1)

AMERICAN OVERSIGHT

Page 38 to Page 40

Withheld pursuant to exemption

(b)(1)

AMERICAN OVERSIGHT

(b)(1)

| | |
|---|---|
| **Signature:** | TAYLOR |
| **Classified By:** | Name: William B. Taylor, Title: Charge d'Affaires, a. i.<br>Office: U.S. Embassy Kyiv<br>Agency: Department of State |
| **Derived From:** | DSCG 17-1 |
| **Declassify On:** | 2044/08/21 |
| **W/O Attachment(s):** | This document is CONFIDENTIAL when separated from UNCLASSIFIED attachment(s). |
| **Drafted By:** | KYIV:Holmes, David A |
| **Cleared By:** | EXEC\DCM:Kvien, Kristina A<br>KYIV\POL (b)(6)<br>POL (b)(6)<br>POL: (b)(6)<br>INL (b)(6)<br>KYIV\USAID:Fritz, Susan K<br>ECON: (b)(6)<br>wofford |
| **Approved By:** | EXEC\AMB:Taylor, William B |
| **Released By:** | KYIV:Holmes, David A |
| **Info:** | BEIJING, AMEMBASSY *ROUTINE*; USNATO, USMISSION *ROUTINE*; USUN NEW YORK, USMISSION *ROUTINE*; NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON DC *ROUTINE*; OSD WASHINGTON DC *ROUTINE*; EUCOM POLAD VAIHINGEN GE *ROUTINE*; CIA WASHINGTON DC *ROUTINE*; WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC *ROUTINE*; DNI WASHINGTON DC *ROUTINE*; EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE *ROUTINE*; CIS COLLECTIVE *ROUTINE*; ZEN/DUSSELDORF, AMCONSUL; ZEN/HAMBURG, AMCONSUL; ZEN/LEIPZIG, AMCONSUL; ZEN/MINSK, AMEMBASSY; ZEN/STRASBOURG, AMCONSUL; ZEN/VLADIVOSTOK, AMCONSUL; ZEN/YEKATERINBURG, AMCONSUL |
| **XMT:** | ZEN/ST PETERSBURG, AMCONSUL |
| **Attachments:** | President Zelenskyys First 100 Days.docx |
| **Action Post:** | NONE |
| **Dissemination Rule:** | POL, DAO_INFO, ODC, POL_MIL, POL_INFO |

**CONFIDENTIAL**
Sensitive

| | |
|---|---|
| **Sender:** | "Taylor, William B" (b)(6) |

AMERICAN OVERSIGHT

| | |
|---|---|
| **Recipient:** | Brechbuhl, Thomas U (b)(6)<br>Hale, David (b)(6)<br>Reeker, Philip T (b)(6)<br>Kent, George P (b)(6)<br>Freden, Bradley A (b)(6) |

AMERICAN OVERSIGHT