

UNITED STATES SENATE

COMMITTEE ON HOMELAND SECURITY AND GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

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INTERVIEW OF: :

ELISABETH F. ZENTOS :

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Room SD-342 and via Webex  
Dirksen Senate Office Building  
Washington, D.C.  
Monday, July 20, 2020  
10:07 a.m.

INTERVIEW OF ELISABETH F. ZENTOS

APPEARANCES:

For the Witness:

JOSHUA A. LEVY, ESQ.

ZACHARY BLAU, ESQ.

Levy Firestone Muse LLP

1401 K Street, N.W., Suite 600

Washington, D.C. 20005

For Senator Johnson:

JOSEPH C. FOLIO, III, Chief Counsel, HSGAC

SCOTT WITTMANN, Senior Professional Staff Member, HSGAC

BRIAN DOWNEY, Senior Investigator, HSGAC

LYDIA WESTLAKE, Senior Advisor, HSGAC

SARAH SMERLING, Professional Staff Member, HSGAC

WILLIAM SACRIPANTI, Research Assistant, HSGAC

For Senator Grassley:

JOSHUA FLYNN-BROWN, Deputy Chief Investigative Counsel,

Finance Committee

QUINTON BRADY, Investigative Counsel, Finance Committee

APPEARANCES: (Continued):

For Senator Peters:

ZACHARY SCHRAM, Minority Chief Counsel, HSGAC

ALAN KAHN, Minority Chief Investigative Counsel, HSGAC

ROY AWABDEH, Minority Senior Counsel, HSGAC

SOUMYALATHA DAYANANDA, Minority Senior Investigative  
Counsel, HSGAC

For Senator Wyden:

DAVID BERICK, Minority Chief Investigator, Finance  
Committee

DAN GOSHORN, Minority Senior Counsel, Finance Committee

JOSH HEATH, Minority Investigator, Finance Committee

MICHAEL OSBORN-GROSSO, Minority Investigator, Finance  
Committee

For the Department of State:

WILLIAM K. KILLION

Bureau of Legislative Affairs

KENNETH A. THOMAS

Office of the Legal Advisor

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

2 MR. FOLIO: All right, Josh. Now we're officially  
3 ready to go. I'm assuming that's Ms. Zentos to your right?

4 MS. ZENTOS: Yes. Hello.

5 MR. FOLIO: Hi, Ms. Zentos. How are you?

6 MS. ZENTOS: Good. How are you doing?

7 MR. FOLIO: Very well, thank you. We very much  
8 appreciate you taking the time. We understand you're  
9 squeezing us in between transfers of post, so we very much  
10 appreciate that as you prepare to head off to your next  
11 assignment.

12 MS. ZENTOS: Thank you. Happy to be here to answer  
13 your questions.

14 MR. FOLIO: Great. I'm just going to walk through some  
15 welcoming remarks and instructions. Anyone, please feel  
16 free to let me know if I'm not coming through clearly or if  
17 I'm speaking too quickly, which I sometimes do, and I'll  
18 slow down.

19 So this is a transcribed interview of Ms. Elisabeth  
20 Zentos. I'm sorry. Ms. Gray is our court reporter. Ms.  
21 Gray, I just want to confirm that you're on the line and  
22 that you're able to hear me okay. Is that correct?

23 THE COURT REPORTER: Yes.

24 MR. FOLIO: Thank you.

25 So, again, this is a transcribed interview of Ms.

1 Elisabeth Zentos conducted by the Senate Committee on  
2 Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs as well as the  
3 Senate Committee on Finance. This interview was requested  
4 by Chairman Ron Johnson and Chairman Charles Grassley as  
5 part of the Committees' ongoing investigation of whether  
6 there were any actual or apparent conflicts of interest or  
7 any other wrongdoing with regard to the Obama  
8 administration's Ukraine policy or Burisma Holdings as well  
9 as related matters.

10 On April 30, 2020, Chairmen Grassley and Johnson  
11 requested Ms. Zentos' appearance for a voluntary transcribed  
12 interview and certain categories of documents. In response  
13 to her counsel, Mr. Joshua Levy, he notified the Committee  
14 that there were no responsive records, categories of  
15 requested material.

16 Ms. Zentos, can you please state your full name for the  
17 record?

18 MS. ZENTOS: Yes. Elizabeth Ferrell Zentos.

19 MR. FOLIO: Thank you. My name is Joseph Folio. I am  
20 the Chief Counsel for the Homeland Security Committee. I'm  
21 with Committee staff. I'm going to identify other folks--  
22 just to try and keep this an orderly process--in the room  
23 with me, and then I'll identify or give an opportunity to  
24 the folks who are joining us virtually to identify  
25 themselves.

1           Joining me also--I'm sorry, Josh. Go ahead.

2           MR. LEVY: Yeah, if my name is stated for the record  
3 already, I just had a question about something you had said,  
4 and we can say it after you take the roll. That's fine.

5           MR. FOLIO: Okay. So, in addition to myself for  
6 Chairman Johnson's staff, I'm also joined in the room by  
7 Scott Wittmann, Brian Downey, Lydia Westlake, Will  
8 Sacripanti, and Sarah Smerling. and then for Chairman  
9 Grassley's staff, I'm joined in the room by Joshua Flynn-  
10 Brown and Quinton Brady.

11          We also have representatives from Ranking Member  
12 Peters' staff and Ranking Member Wyden's staff. I'll ask  
13 Zack to take the lead and introduce the folks from Ranking  
14 Member Peters' staff who are joining us today.

15          MR. SCHRAM: My name is Zachary Schram with Ranking  
16 Member Peters, and I'm joined in the office, although  
17 virtually in different offices, by Alan Kahn, Soumya  
18 Dayananda, and Roy Awabdeh.

19          MR. FOLIO: Dave Berick, would you like to introduce  
20 people present for Ranking Member Wyden?

21          [No response.]

22          PARTICIPANT: Dave, you're muted.

23          MR. FOLIO: Dan, are you available to step in for Dave?

24          [No response.]

25          MR. FOLIO: All right. So I can see--

1 MR. GOSHORN: This is Dan Goshorn with Senator Wyden's  
2 staff on the Finance Minority. From our team here today, we  
3 have Dave Berick, Josh Heath, and Michael Osborn-Grosso.

4 MR. FOLIO: Thank you, Dan.

5 MR. SCHRAM: So we ought to resolve the audio on Dave's  
6 end. Dave, we can't hear you. I don't know if it's a  
7 microphone issue or...

8 MR. SACRIPANTI: Dave is unmuted. He should be able to  
9 speak.

10 MR. SCHRAM: No, it's not working.

11 MR. FOLIO: It might be helpful, Dave, to check the  
12 microphone access on your computer.

13 MR. GOSHORN: We will be Dave's proxy for the time  
14 being while we get him sorted out, so go ahead.

15 MR. FOLIO: Good. Thank you.

16 So, Josh, I was going to in my script have a spot to  
17 introduce you formally, but happy to do that now, or if you  
18 had an issue you wanted to raise, please go ahead.

19 MR. LEVY: Feel free to introduce.

20 MR. FOLIO: So now I will explain how the interview  
21 will proceed. The Federal Rules of Civil Procedure do not  
22 apply to any of the Committees' investigative activities,  
23 including transcribed interviews.

24 The way questioning will proceed is that we will  
25 alternate between the majority and minority staffs, each

1 taking 1-hour turns. The majority staff will begin and  
2 proceed for an hour, and I'll call out the time. The  
3 minority staff will then have an hour to ask questions, and  
4 we will rotate back and forth until there are no more  
5 questions and the interview will be over.

6 During the interview we will do our best to limit the  
7 number of people who are directing questions at you,  
8 especially in this virtual setting. That said, from time to  
9 time a follow-up question or a clarifying question may be  
10 useful, and if that's the case, you may hear from staff on  
11 different parts of your screen. So we will just take our  
12 time, and I really ask folks to not speak over each other  
13 and to please be careful and cognizant and listen if others  
14 are trying to interject a point.

15 The court reporter, Ms. Irene Gray, who I spoke with  
16 previously, she is on the line as well. She is going to  
17 create a verbatim record of what we discuss today. With  
18 this in mind, Ms. Zentos, it's important that you respond to  
19 questions verbally. The reporter cannot properly record  
20 nonverbal responses or gestures. Do you understand that?

21 MS. ZENTOS: I do.

22 MR. FOLIO: Thank you.

23 We encourage witnesses who appear before the Committees  
24 to freely consult with counsel. To your left, you have  
25 counsel present. Counsel, could you please state your name

1 for the record?

2 MR. LEVY: Joshua Levy, Levy Firestone Muse. And with  
3 me is Zachary Blau of the same law firm, also representing  
4 Ms. Zentos.

5 MR. FOLIO: Thank you.

6 Now, Ms. Zentos, we want you to answer our questions in  
7 the most complete and truthful manner possible. We're going  
8 to take our time. If you have any questions or do not  
9 understand our questions, please let us know, and we will do  
10 our best to clarify. Do you understand?

11 MS. ZENTOS: I do.

12 MR. FOLIO: This interview is unclassified, so if any  
13 question calls for information that you know to be  
14 classified, please state that for the record as well as the  
15 reason for the classification. And then once you've  
16 clarified to the extent possible, please respond with as  
17 much unclassified information as possible. And if we need  
18 to, we will have a classified session at a later time.

19 It is the Committees' practice to honor valid common  
20 law privilege claims as accommodation to a witness or party  
21 when those claims are made in good faith and accompanied by  
22 sufficient explanation so the Committees can evaluate the  
23 claim. When deciding whether to honor a privilege, the  
24 Committee weighs its need for the information against any  
25 legitimate basis for withholding it.

1           This interview is occurring without prejudice to any  
2 future discussion of the Committees, and we reserve the  
3 right to request your participation in future interviews or  
4 to compel testimony.

5           If you need to take a break, please let us know. We  
6 will ordinarily take a 5-minute break at the end of each 1-  
7 hour session. But if you need to take a break before the  
8 end of that, just let us know.

9           You're required to answer questions before Congress  
10 truthfully. Do you understand that?

11          MS. ZENTOS: I do understand.

12          MR. FOLIO: And this also applies to questions posed by  
13 congressional staff in an interview. Specifically, 18  
14 U.S.C. Section 1001 makes it a crime to make any materially  
15 false, fictitious, or fraudulent statements or  
16 representations in the course of a congressional  
17 investigation. That statute applies to your statements in  
18 this interview. Do you understand that?

19          MS. ZENTOS: I do.

20          MR. FOLIO: Is there any reason you are unable to  
21 provide the truthful answers to the Committees' questions?

22          MS. ZENTOS: There is none.

23          MR. FOLIO: Finally, we ask that you not speak about  
24 what we discuss in this interview with anyone else outside  
25 of who's here in the room today in order to preserve the



1 confidentiality and integrity of our investigation. We also  
2 ask that you do not copy or make any other notations of any  
3 exhibits that we're using as part of this interview,  
4 especially nonpublic documents. Do you understand and agree  
5 to those terms?

6 MS. ZENTOS: I do.

7 MR. FOLIO: Do you have any questions before we begin?

8 MR. LEVY: I do. Just a couple of questions.

9 One, I believe you noted at the beginning of the day  
10 that we had sent you a communication about Ms. Zentos'  
11 records, and I just wanted to note that, to my knowledge, no  
12 direct request by either Committee was made directly to Ms.  
13 Zentos or me for records inasmuch as a request was made to  
14 the State Department where she's an employee. It was just  
15 my understanding that the State Department had been  
16 responsive to your request. I just didn't want to create  
17 any confusion on the record and clarify that point. Is that  
18 your understanding as well, Joe?

19 MR. FOLIO: Yes, Josh, that's correct. I apologize.

20 MR. LEVY: Okay. And, secondly, I may not have heard  
21 it, but are there lawyers for the State Department present  
22 on this interview?

23 MR. FOLIO: Oh, thank you. So they were invited--one  
24 second.

25 [Pause.]

1 MR. FOLIO: Josh, thank you again. You're correct.  
2 The State Department is not on the line. We're going to get  
3 them on to join.

4 MR. LEVY: Pardon me?

5 MR. FOLIO: I said you are correct, thank you for  
6 pointing out that the State Department is not with us.  
7 We're going to get them.

8 [Pause.]

9 MR. SCHRAM: Josh, or, pardon me, Joe, while we're  
10 waiting for the State Department to join, I just had a word  
11 about the role of the minority participation, so it seems as  
12 good a time as any to do it.

13 Ms. Zentos, thank you for your service. We have great  
14 admiration for the courageous work and often difficult  
15 sacrifices of Foreign Service officers. I'll note that the  
16 majority declined to give you an opportunity for advance  
17 review of documents that you sent and received while at the  
18 NSC upwards of 4 years ago. In our view, that decision does  
19 not serve the interest of truth seeking.

20 The minority staff members also think that this  
21 investigation is not in keeping with the nonpartisan  
22 traditions and practices of our Committees. As the Ranking  
23 Members have said publicly, we believe this investigation  
24 advances Russian disinformation and election interference  
25 efforts and that we should not facilitate foreign

1 interference in our 2020 election.

2 I'll note also that we're conducting this interview  
3 remotely in part because we are in the midst of a pandemic  
4 that has created an extraordinary public health crisis in  
5 the United States. The Homeland Security and Governmental  
6 Affairs Committee has jurisdiction over pandemic  
7 preparedness and response. Ranking Member Peters believes  
8 that this investigation is a misuse of Committee resources  
9 that does not advance the health, safety, or economic  
10 security of Americans consistent with our Committee's  
11 mission. Our participation today is not an endorsement of  
12 the investigation. Minority staff have a right and  
13 responsibility to be here, and we will do our best to ensure  
14 that you are treated fairly, that the record is accurate and  
15 complete, and that the national security interest of the  
16 United States is protected.

17 MR. FOLIO: Just waiting to confirm that State has  
18 joined.

19 [Pause.]

20 MR. FOLIO: I'll just respond briefly to Zack's point.  
21 Just to note for the record all of the issues Zack raised  
22 have been addressed by Chairman Johnson or have been  
23 addressed by staff in one form or the other, whether at  
24 public hearings, including several public hearings on the  
25 COVID-19 pandemic, or in letters exchanged with Ranking

1 Member Peters, among other places.

2 I see that somebody has dialed in.

3 MR. KILLION: Can you hear us?

4 MR. FOLIO: Yes. There you are.

5 MR. KILLION: Great, thanks. I heard some beep, and I  
6 guess we got in. So Bill and Ken Thomas with State are  
7 here.

8 MR. FOLIO: So Bill Killion from the Office of--what  
9 does that stand for, Bill? I'm sorry.

10 MR. KILLION: Bureau of Legislative Affairs.

11 MR. FOLIO: And Ken Thomas from the Legal Advisor's  
12 Office. Is that correct?

13 MR. KILLION: Yes.

14 MR. FOLIO: Great. Now I think we officially have  
15 everyone. Are you ready to proceed?

16 MR. LEVY: Yes, unless you need to repeat the  
17 preliminaries for State Department lawyers.

18 MR. FOLIO: I don't think so, but we can just notify  
19 them that we went through a whole host of welcome and  
20 instructions and basically asked everyone to speak slowly  
21 and be thoughtful. And if you have any questions, please  
22 raise them and let us know.

23 All right. So I'll note that the time is 10:24. The  
24 majority's questioning will commence for 1 hour.

25 Ms. Zentos, what is your current place of employment

1 and the job?

2 MS. ZENTOS: I'm currently a Foreign Service officer  
3 with the Department of State. I am between postings and on  
4 reduced home leave right now.

5 MR. FOLIO: And what was your previous posting and  
6 what's your future posting?

7 MS. ZENTOS: My previous posting was at the U.S.  
8 Embassy in Tbilisi, Georgia. In 2 days I depart for Kabul,  
9 Afghanistan, where I will serve at the U.S. mission there.

10 MR. FOLIO: At both of those posts, what was your  
11 position and title?

12 MS. ZENTOS: In Tbilisi I was the political economic  
13 chief, and in Kabul I will be the deputy political  
14 counselor.

15 MR. FOLIO: When did you first join the State  
16 Department?

17 MS. ZENTOS: I joined the State Department in 2004.

18 MR. FOLIO: And please briefly describe your postings  
19 at the State Department from 2004 up to your posting in  
20 Georgia?

21 MS. ZENTOS: Sure. My first posting was to Yerevan,  
22 Armenia, where I was the information officer. That was 2005  
23 to 2007. I then went to Ottawa, Canada, where I did a  
24 rotation, 1 year as a political officer and 1 year as a  
25 consular officer. Then I returned to Washington, D.C.,

1 where I worked at the State Department's main headquarters  
2 as the political officer on the Ukraine desk. That would  
3 have been from 2009 to 2011. In 2011 I went to the Foreign  
4 Service Institute where I studied Russian language in  
5 preparation for my follow-on assignments.

6 In the summer of 2012, I went to Kyiv, Ukraine, where I  
7 served as the political, military and external affairs chief  
8 in the political section.

9 I departed Ukraine the summer of 2014 and returned to  
10 Washington, D.C., where I worked again at State Department  
11 main headquarters as a Special Assistant to the Under  
12 Secretary for International Security and Arms Control. That  
13 was a 1-year assignment, so in the summer of 2015, I then  
14 moved to the National Security Council on a 1-year detail  
15 from the State Department where I served as the Director for  
16 Eastern Europe.

17 In the summer of 2016, I left the National Security  
18 Council and went back to the State Department's Foreign  
19 Service Institute where I took advanced Russian language  
20 classes.

21 In 2017 I departed for Moscow where I served as the  
22 external affairs chief in the political section at the U.S.  
23 Embassy in Moscow until the end of March 2018--actually, I  
24 guess I left at the beginning of April 2017 when I was  
25 declared persona non grata by the Russian Government. At

1 that point I returned to Washington briefly, was able to get  
2 an assignment in Tbilisi, Georgia. So in 2018, in the  
3 summer of 2018, I went to Tbilisi, Georgia, where I served  
4 as the political economic chief, served there for 2 years,  
5 and now I am preparing to leave in a couple days for Kabul.  
6 And in all assignments, I was a career Foreign Service  
7 officer for the State Department.

8 MR. FOLIO: Thank you. When you served as a special  
9 advisor--to whom were you working for--or for whom were you  
10 working?

11 MS. ZENTOS: The Under Secretary then was Rose  
12 Gottemoeller.

13 MR. FOLIO: You said before that or maybe a few  
14 postings before that you worked on the Ukraine desk. You  
15 were a desk officer. Can you please describe generally what  
16 were your roles and responsibilities in that position?

17 MS. ZENTOS: Sure. I worked at the State Department  
18 Ukraine desk. There were two desk officers. I was the one  
19 who covered political issues. I had a colleague who covered  
20 economic issues. We reported up through the deputy of the  
21 office. The office covered Ukraine, Moldova, and Belarus.  
22 So we were in charge of looking at U.S.-Ukraine issues, and  
23 my focus was on the political side.

24 MR. FOLIO: When you say were in charge of looking at  
25 Ukraine issues, what did that mean on a day-to-day basis?

1 From whom would you get inquiries or tasking?

2 MS. ZENTOS: I worked for the State Department, so we  
3 looked at Ukraine from a perspective of U.S. foreign policy  
4 and U.S. national security. And there--you know, going back  
5 to the purpose here, I have no recollection of discussing  
6 Burisma or Hunter Biden at any time while I was in that  
7 position.

8 MR. FOLIO: Truly I was just trying to understand your  
9 functions as a Ukraine desk officer as background to the  
10 later work that you've done in Ukraine. So in that  
11 position, would you field questions or inquiries from only  
12 State Department folks or from different parts of the  
13 Government?

14 MS. ZENTOS: I would work with the interagency  
15 definitely at times, as I have in, I think, basically all  
16 positions for the State Department. Usually the State  
17 Department, as you know well, has the lead on foreign policy  
18 issues, but we do that in close cooperation with other U.S.  
19 Government agencies.

20 MR. FOLIO: And when did you start your detail to the  
21 National Security Council?

22 MS. ZENTOS: I began the detail in June of 2015.

23 MR. FOLIO: And I think you mentioned it, but can you  
24 please tell us again what your title at the National  
25 Security Council was?



1 MS. ZENTOS: Yes. I was Director for Eastern Europe.

2 MR. FOLIO: And when did you finish that detail?

3 MS. ZENTOS: I finished that detail at the end of July  
4 of 2016.

5 MR. FOLIO: What were your duties and job  
6 responsibilities as the Director for Eastern Europe on the  
7 National Security Council?

8 MS. ZENTOS: At the National Security Council, my  
9 portfolio focused on the countries of Ukraine, Moldova, and  
10 Belarus and U.S. relations with those countries. On Ukraine  
11 issues, the focus of my work was largely on the ongoing  
12 armed conflict that Russia was conducting in Eastern  
13 Ukraine. I focused on negotiations that were attempting to  
14 end that armed conflict that was resulting in deaths of  
15 Ukrainians daily. And I also focused on helping to provide  
16 Ukrainian defense forces with defensive equipment that would  
17 help them protect their territory and defend their people.  
18 And I was not focused on corruption and, as you I'm sure  
19 already know from the letter that was sent, I have no  
20 recollection of any work discussions related to any  
21 communications, any meetings related to Hunter Biden or  
22 Burisma when I was there, or in any position in the U.S.  
23 Government.

24 MR. FOLIO: So when you said your focus was on the  
25 conflict between Russia and Ukraine, was that the primary

1 nature of your focus? I'm just wondering if, you know,  
2 other issues unrelated to that conflict but still in the  
3 national security foreign affairs realm happened. Is that  
4 something that would come across your desk?

5 MR. LEVY: Do you want her to answer the first question  
6 first? I'm just trying to--you asked a couple questions  
7 there.

8 MR. FOLIO: No, I was just asking the one question to  
9 determine whether or not it was the sole focus--whether the  
10 conflict with Russia was her sole focus or whether she would  
11 address other national security or foreign affairs issues  
12 regarding Ukraine that came up.

13 MS. ZENTOS: What I covered really was dependent on  
14 what I was asked to do by people above me, but like I said,  
15 the big issue when I was there that my superiors were  
16 focused on was the conflict, and so, you know, you asked  
17 what I mainly focused on. So mainly I focused on the  
18 conflict, and my focus was not--the focus was not on  
19 corruption.

20 MR. FOLIO: You mentioned folks that you reported to as  
21 the National Security Council staff. To whom did you  
22 report?

23 MS. ZENTOS: With that person, I have no recollection  
24 of discussing the topics of Burisma or Hunter Biden. That's  
25 certainly not a person I discussed that topic with.

1 MR. FOLIO: That's fine, but my question was: To whom  
2 did you report on the National Security Council?

3 MS. ZENTOS: So, you know, again, I would just note  
4 that that's not a person I had, as far as I recall, any  
5 discussions with on Burisma or Hunter Biden, which is my  
6 understanding of what I came here to discuss today.

7 MR. FOLIO: I don't want to ask a third time, and I'm  
8 not trying to be difficult, but I would just like to  
9 understand your reporting structure. You said you were the  
10 Director for Eastern Europe. Surely that person reports to  
11 someone. Who is that someone?

12 MR. LEVY: Yeah, and, Joe, just--you know, she's here  
13 voluntarily pursuant to the Committee Chairs' letter of  
14 April 30, 2020, to Secretary Pompeo asking for her to  
15 participate in this voluntary interview. The scope of the  
16 investigation set forth in that letter from the Chairmen,  
17 notwithstanding the commentary from staff, was that the  
18 Committees were examining the potential conflicts of  
19 interest relating to the Obama administration's policy  
20 decisions with respect to Ukraine and Burisma Holdings and  
21 the extent to which representatives of Burisma used  
22 individuals with close personal connections to high-level  
23 officials within the Obama administration to gain access to  
24 and potentially influence U.S. Government agencies.

25 We recapitulated that scope in the letter Ms.

1 Zentos referenced from counsel which was sent to the  
2 Committee staff on July 18, 2020. There's no correction or  
3 amendment to the scope made by the Chairs that we're aware  
4 of. She's here to cooperate voluntarily and answer  
5 questions that are pertinent to the inquiry set forth from  
6 the Chairmen which pertain to Burisma and Hunter Biden. And  
7 so inasmuch as you want to ask questions or anyone here on  
8 this call wants to ask questions about the scope of that  
9 investigation and that are pertinent to them, she will  
10 answer them. We're here all day for you.

11 MR. FOLIO: So what's the basis for her not answering  
12 the question as to who her supervisor was?

13 MR. LEVY: It's no one she had a conversation with  
14 about Burisma or any of the issues that seem to be pertinent  
15 to the scope of the Committees' inquiry, and so balancing  
16 your right to information pertinent to the Committees'  
17 examination with her discretion as a former National  
18 Security Council member, she's going to decline to answer  
19 that question.

20 MR. FOLIO: To be clear, you're asserting a privilege  
21 over the answer?

22 MR. LEVY: No.

23 MR. FOLIO: So you're saying it's not relevant?

24 MR. LEVY: I'm saying it's not pertinent to the  
25 Committees' examination.

1 MR. FOLIO: The Committees' examination is indeed with  
2 regard to Burisma, but it's broader than that. The  
3 Committees' investigation is to determine how actual or  
4 apparent conflicts of interest may have affected U.S.  
5 foreign policy in Ukraine. Ms. Zentos sat as a member of  
6 national security staff working on U.S. national security  
7 policy for Ukraine. As part of that policy, she has to  
8 report to people and take guidance from people, and that  
9 could not be more relevant to our inquiry to understand how  
10 she performed her job functions to understand U.S. foreign  
11 policy in Ukraine and how, if at all, it was affected by any  
12 corruption issues with Burisma Holdings.

13 MR. LEVY: Respectfully, your attempt to recapitulate  
14 the Chairmen's distillation of the scope of the  
15 investigation was inaccurate in that it was not related to  
16 potential conflicts of interest with regard to U.S. policy  
17 in the Ukraine in general, but to Ukraine and Burisma  
18 Holdings. And so she's here to answer questions that are  
19 pertinent to that investigation. If you want to ask her  
20 questions about that, you may and she will answer them, but  
21 she's told you that she's had no conversations or business  
22 meetings or official communications of any kind with the  
23 person who supervised her about Burisma or Hunter Biden.  
24 That's not her recollection, and so I would just advise you  
25 to move on. You can ask her other questions that relate to

1 that potential conflict of interest that the Chairmen  
2 specified.

3 MR. FOLIO: Unfortunately, Josh, we can't move on  
4 because the Chairmen's investigation is focused on how these  
5 conflicts of interest or potential conflicts of interest  
6 affected U.S. policy towards Ukraine. She is here to answer  
7 questions about all of them. You cannot send a letter and  
8 unilaterally redefine the scope of the Chairmen's  
9 investigation. The scope of the Chairmen's investigation is  
10 set forth in several letters that they sent to the State  
11 Department, one of which was a follow-up based on  
12 information received from the State Department, and that was  
13 the request to interview your client. So while I appreciate  
14 the effort, you're ignoring the fundamental part of the  
15 investigation, which is we cannot understand how actual or  
16 apparent conflicts of interest affected U.S.-Ukraine policy  
17 without talking about U.S.-Ukraine policy.

18 MR. LEVY: And, Joe, with respect, neither you nor I  
19 can expand or change the Chairmen's scope of the  
20 investigation. The letter that we received or that we were  
21 made aware of from Committee staff was the April 30 letter.  
22 I quoted verbatim from that letter back to you in my letter  
23 of July 18. You did not come back to me, nor did anyone  
24 else, and say that I was wrong about that scope of the  
25 investigation. And she's here all day for you. She'll

1 answer questions that relate to this potential conflict of  
2 interest that your Committees are investigating regarding  
3 Ukraine and Burisma Holdings. But questions that don't  
4 relate to that specific potential conflict of interest seem  
5 to be not pertinent to the inquiry. There are tons of  
6 questions you can ask, and she'll answer those that are  
7 pertinent. And, in part, the big reason why we sent you the  
8 letter on July 18 was to be very transparent with you, that  
9 she doesn't have recollections about Government meetings  
10 where Burisma and Hunter Biden took place, and we wanted to  
11 make the best use of your time and let you know that this  
12 was going to be her testimony.

13 MR. FOLIO: Respectfully, Josh, you're wrong. You are  
14 not in a position to define Chairman Johnson and Chairman  
15 Grassley's scope of their investigation. I as Chief Counsel  
16 for Chairman Johnson am. We're happy to enter into the  
17 record the multiple letters that Chairman Johnson set forth  
18 through the State Department defining the scope of the  
19 investigation, and the proposition you're advancing that a  
20 letter sent at 5:00 p.m. on Saturday, a day and a half  
21 before the interview, somehow unilaterally redefined,  
22 according to your own writing, the scope of the Chairmen's  
23 investigation is simply flat out wrong. If that's--

24 MR. LEVY: Joe--

25 MR. FOLIO: --to take, I'm telling you right now, from

1 Chairman Johnson's perspective--and I'll let Josh speak from  
2 Chairman Grassley's perspective--that that is inappropriate  
3 and we will view that as an effort not to cooperate with  
4 this investigation, in fact, to undermine the investigation  
5 by not answering simple questions as to who was your  
6 supervisor at the National Security Council.

7 MR. LEVY: Joe, just to be clear, I'm not trying to  
8 redefine anything. I was quoting from the Chairmen's April  
9 30, 2020, letter clearly, and that's the only letter that  
10 Committee staff up until this point has ever given me from  
11 the Committee with regard to this interview. So I have to  
12 take you at your word and the Chairmen's word that this was  
13 the scope of the investigation. There's no resolution.  
14 There doesn't necessarily need to be one, but that was how  
15 the scope was defined. She is balancing her discretion as a  
16 former member of the National Security Council, which, as  
17 you know, is not like working with the DMV. Very discreet  
18 communications occur that affect our national security.  
19 She's being professional and protective of that. And that  
20 obligates [inaudible-audio difficulties] that's pertinent to  
21 the Chairmen's April 30 letter. That was the letter we had.

22 MR. FOLIO: Well, Josh, before I turn it over to Josh  
23 Flynn-Brown from Chairman Grassley's staff, I'll point out  
24 that Ms. Zentos, a government employee, she is bound by a  
25 request to the State Department, not just the only letter



1 you chose to read. The April 30th letter was an explicit  
2 follow-up on a prior letter sent, I believe, in December,  
3 not November, which we will enter into the record.

4 MR. LEVY: Do you want to--

5 MR. FOLIO: You're frankly--I mean, this is--you're  
6 playing word games here, and from Chairman Johnson's  
7 perspective--because you're ignoring Chairman Johnson's  
8 other words in other letters. You chose to read one letter,  
9 and you're reading it--"narrowly" I think would be a  
10 compliment. And I think I've made clear how Chairman  
11 Johnson will review--or will view refusal to answer  
12 questions on this basis, which, as you've made clear, is not  
13 a privilege. I'm not even sure you're making a relevancy  
14 argument. You're making an argument that you're advising  
15 your client not to answer just because she doesn't--I'm  
16 going to ask Josh from Chairman Grassley's staff--

17 MR. LEVY: Well, Joe, before Josh speaks, let me  
18 respond to that. I am taking the only letter that your  
19 staff has given me from the Committee, and that is where I  
20 understand the scope of the investigation to [[inaudible-  
21 audio difficulties]. I'm not making a relevancy argument.  
22 I'm saying this is a pertinency argument, and the questions  
23 that you're asking aren't pertinent to the investigation,  
24 and she's balancing your right to ask information that's  
25 pertinent to the investigation as we understood it based on

1 the Chairmen's April 30 letter that invited her for an  
2 interview, and she's here voluntarily. She's here all day  
3 for you. You can ask whatever questions you want, and she's  
4 going to respond balancing those interests and rights that  
5 she has. I can't control how you interpret it. I just want  
6 to clarify our position.

7 MR. FOLIO: Why did you not ask for any other of  
8 Chairman Johnson's letter on this matter to fully understand  
9 the scope of the investigation if you're going to argue that  
10 that is some sort of guide that you're going to follow?

11 MR. LEVY: I thought this was the operative letter.  
12 Nobody told me that it wasn't.

13 MR. FOLIO: So based on your assumption?

14 MR. LEVY: No. We've been operating with this mutual  
15 understanding for some time. We were invited--

16 MR. FOLIO: How could it be mutual if you've never  
17 raised this issue before, again, arguably, a Saturday 5:00  
18 p.m. letter, a day and a half before the interview?

19 MR. LEVY: I didn't think it was an issue. I didn't  
20 know there was a controversy. I thought you were interested  
21 in whether there was a potential conflict of interest in  
22 U.S. policy regarding the Ukraine and Burisma, because  
23 that's what the April 30 letter said.

24 MR. FOLIO: Exactly. Conflict of interest between  
25 U.S.-Ukraine foreign policy to which Ms. Zentos can speak.

1 Can you explain--

2 MR. LEVY: I said--

3 MR. FOLIO: --your definition of pertinency versus  
4 relevance?

5 MR. LEVY: Pardon me?

6 MR. FOLIO: You said you're not--you made crystal clear  
7 you're not arguing privilege. You made crystal clear that  
8 you're not saying it's not relevant. You're saying it's not  
9 pertinent, and my question is: What is the difference  
10 between relevancy and pertinency?

11 MR. LEVY: Pertinency is the standard of law from U.S.  
12 v. Watkins, a 1957 Supreme Court decision--

13 MR. FOLIO: A criminal case?

14 MR. LEVY: It is a criminal case interpreting the  
15 criminal contempt statute for Congress. Now, as you know,  
16 Ms. Zentos is not under a deposition here. She's not  
17 compelled to testify. She's here voluntarily. She's here  
18 all day--

19 MR. FOLIO: As you know, criminal law doesn't really  
20 apply here.

21 MR. LEVY: But it's a specific congressional contempt  
22 statute, Joe. It's--

23 MR. FOLIO: That's for some proceedings. This is a  
24 voluntary interview--

25 MR. LEVY: I understand--

1 MR. FOLIO: --so it's not relevant.

2 MR. LEVY: Joe, we're trying to--we're trying to comply  
3 with the law. We're trying--the standard in Congress for  
4 the last 70 years plus has been that Congress has the right  
5 to ask questions that are pertinent to an investigation, and  
6 the witness may answer those questions, but the witness does  
7 not have a right to--does not have an obligation, rather, to  
8 answer questions that are not pertinent to the inquiry.

9 MR. FOLIO: Before I turn it over to Josh from Chairman  
10 Grassley's staff, I just should be clear. So your position  
11 is it is not pertinent to the inquiry to whom Ms. Zentos  
12 reported in the National Security Council staff, the person  
13 who--the manager of her work.

14 MR. LEVY: Given that she has told you that she's had  
15 no Government meetings or Government communications with  
16 that person about Burisma or Hunter Biden, yes.

17 MR. FOLIO: It is conditional. It's not relevant only  
18 because.

19 MR. LEVY: There has to be a reason why it's pertinent.  
20 That's why it's not pertinent.

21 MR. FOLIO: So is it pertinent for us understanding  
22 U.S.-Ukraine policy and how that was developed in the  
23 National Security Council?

24 MR. LEVY: That's not the scope of the investigation  
25 defined in the April 30 letter. The scope of the

1 investigation defined in the April 30 letter is the  
2 potential conflicts of interest relating to policy decisions  
3 with respect to Ukraine and Burisma Holdings. It's very  
4 specific.

5 MR. FOLIO: Conflict of interests with regard to what?

6 MR. LEVY: Ukraine and Burisma Holdings. That's what  
7 the Chairmen's letter says.

8 MR. FOLIO: Ukraine. And how do you read Ukraine?  
9 Ukraine--

10 MR. LEVY: Ukraine and Burisma--it's a conjunctive  
11 phrase. Ukraine and Burisma Holdings.

12 MR. FOLIO: It is a tortured reading, to say the least.

13 MR. LEVY: Straightforward Committee meeting reading,  
14 and I--this is very simple. I'm just using the language  
15 here. This is how anybody would look at this. I don't see  
16 any other reading but an investigation into the potential  
17 conflict of interests with respect to Ukraine and  
18 [inaudible-audio difficulties].

19 MR. FOLIO: Exactly. Conflicts of interest regarding  
20 U.S. policy towards Ukraine. Josh?

21 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Ms. Zentos, can you hear me okay?

22 MS. ZENTOS: Yes.

23 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Ms. Zentos, are you a Federal  
24 Government employee right now?

25 MS. ZENTOS: Yes.

1 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Were you a Federal Government  
2 employee at the National Security Council?

3 MS. ZENTOS: I was a Federal Government employee  
4 detailed to the National Security Council still working for  
5 the State Department at that time.

6 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Don't you think as a Federal  
7 Government employee you should disclose to Congress who you  
8 reported to?

9 MS. ZENTOS: I think I need to be careful to balance  
10 your request for information, which I want to be responsive  
11 to, with my need to be discreet with other information  
12 that's not pertinent to the investigation or deployment to  
13 the National Security Council.

14 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Is the existence of your supervisor  
15 classified?

16 MR. LEVY: Is it classified? Is that your question?

17 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Yes.

18 MS. ZENTOS: Not classified, but it is--not classified.

19 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Not classified.

20 MS. ZENTOS: That's correct.

21 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: So I see no restrictions other than  
22 your lawyer's incorrect interpretation of the Committee  
23 scope. Are you directing your client not to answer?

24 MR. LEVY: I think she's made it clear that she wants  
25 to be cooperative with all of you, wants to be here all day

1 to answer questions that are pertinent to the inquiry.

2 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Are you directing your client not to  
3 answer?

4 MR. LEVY: Josh, let me finish my answer, please--my  
5 response to your initial question. She's here to answer  
6 questions that are pertinent to the investigation, balancing  
7 her discretion as a former detailee to the National Security  
8 Council. So she's not answering this question.

9 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: This is the Committee's inquiry, and  
10 we determine what's relevant, and we determine what's  
11 pertinent. Are you directing your client not to answer the  
12 question?

13 MR. LEVY: The Chairs of the Committee--the Committee  
14 itself can determine the scope. Our understanding is that  
15 this question is not pertinent to that examination as we  
16 understand it.

17 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: I'm going to ask you a third time.  
18 Are you directing your client not to answer the question?

19 MR. LEVY: She's told you she's going to respectfully  
20 decline to answer this question in a voluntary interview.  
21 You can ask many other questions.

22 MR. SCHRAM: I'll remind the majority that this is a  
23 voluntary interview. At this point the witness and her  
24 counsel have made their point clearly. They're under no  
25 obligation to answer any question. It's a voluntary

1 interview.

2 MR. FOLIO: All right. Just so we're all clear, and,  
3 Josh, I think we've made clear Chairman Johnson's  
4 perspective that the interpretation of the scope of the  
5 investigation could not be more wrong. We view this as  
6 highly relevant to the investigation to determine whether  
7 there was a conflict of interest that affected Ukraine  
8 policy, to understand what U.S.-Ukraine policy is, and we  
9 are undermined and hindered in our ability to understand  
10 that from Ms. Zentos, because by not being able to  
11 understand to whom she reported, to whom she received  
12 guidance about her work, we are unable to identify a person  
13 potentially to determine whether they did or did not have  
14 any of these conversations, thereby making our investigation  
15 more difficult.

16 I will ask Will to enter into the record the letters  
17 from Chairman Johnson setting forth his inquiry to the State  
18 Department on these matters just to make clear the  
19 investigation is focused on conflicts of interest as they  
20 affected U.S.-Ukraine foreign policy. The original letter  
21 as well as the April 30th letter which Josh himself read  
22 out--Josh Levy--the letter to address conflicts of interest  
23 with regard to Ukraine, which is U.S.-Ukraine foreign  
24 policy. It remains Chairman Johnson's position that the  
25 refusal to answer this question is not cooperative and



1 hinders the investigation.

2 MR. SCHRAM: Joe, can you please clarify which letters  
3 you're entering into the record?

4 MR. FOLIO: Sure.

5 MR. LEVY: And can you send us a copy of those letters  
6 so we can review them, please? We've not received those  
7 letters from the Committee at any time since April 30.

8 MR. FOLIO: Josh, you never asked for the letters.

9 MR. LEVY: I didn't know it was my obligation. I just  
10 would like to see the documents that you're entering into  
11 the record during this interview. This is why we asked for  
12 those documents over the weekend, and on July 3rd we asked  
13 for documents that you would be using during the interview.  
14 If this is one of them, we'd like to see it. You said that  
15 we would have ample time to review them during the  
16 interview. We'd like to see the documents.

17 MR. FOLIO: Sure. We'll send you the website link  
18 because the letter has been public since it was sent. To be  
19 clear, on Saturday you did not ask to see any letters. You  
20 asked for exhibits that we would show during the interview.  
21 This was not an exhibit we intended to use during the  
22 interview. But we're entering it as an exhibit now because  
23 of the overly narrow interpretation you were taking of the  
24 letter, which is incorrect on its face, but especially  
25 incorrect in light of the full scope of Chairman Johnson and

1 Chairman Grassley's request [inaudible-audio difficulties]  
2 investigation.

3 MR. LEVY: We obviously disagree with your  
4 mischaracterization of what I was saying, which is simply  
5 quoting back from the Chairman's April 30, 2020, letter, and  
6 we did ask for records that you would be showing Ms. Zentos  
7 or using in this interview on July 3rd. We renewed that  
8 request on July 17, and we'd like to see those documents and  
9 the versions of them that you will be entering into the  
10 record for this interview.

11 MR. FOLIO: Josh Flynn-Brown.

12 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Ms. Zentos, when you were detailed to  
13 the National Security Council, who worked under you?

14 MS. ZENTOS: Whoever may have worked under me, I have  
15 no recollection, again, of discussing Burisma or Hunter  
16 Biden with anyone in any work context in the 2 years I  
17 worked for the Department of State of the U.S. Government.

18 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: So you're not going to answer who  
19 reported directly to you and you're not going to answer who  
20 you reported directly to?

21 MS. ZENTOS: If I didn't discuss Burisma or Hunter  
22 Biden with that person as far as I recall, I don't see how  
23 that's pertinent to the investigation, why a name would be  
24 pertinent.

25 MR. FOLIO: So for the record, maybe we can address

1 this one final time. But, again, "pertinency" is a word  
2 that has no meaning that's been made clear. Relevance to  
3 the investigation, conflict of interest, insofar as that  
4 conflict affects U.S.-Ukraine policy is the scope of the  
5 investigation. The question has been asked several times.  
6 I think unless we hear a different answer, we're just going  
7 to understand your answer, Ms. Zentos, to be that you won't  
8 or are choosing not to answer questions about to whom you  
9 reported at the National Security Council; two, you are  
10 choosing not to answer the questions about who reported to  
11 you at the National Security Council.

12 MR. LEVY: I think we make mischief when we're  
13 characterizing a witness' testimony, and I would just have  
14 you ask her a question. The considerations of pertinency  
15 are clearly long embedded in congressional investigations  
16 law. They have a place here. It's why we're being  
17 respectful of that standard. And if you want to ask a  
18 question, she will answer it or decline to answer it. We're  
19 here voluntarily.

20 MR. FOLIO: Yes, you cited a criminal law case, and the  
21 case law also reflects that the people in the best position  
22 to define the scope of their investigation are the people  
23 investigating the committee.

24 Ms. Zentos, are you refusing to answer the question to  
25 whom you reported at the National Security Council?

1 MS. ZENTOS: My answer is that I did not discuss the  
2 topic of this investigation, Burisma or Hunter Biden, to my  
3 recollection, with that person, or anyone--or anyone that I  
4 can recall at any time working for the U.S. Government.

5 MR. FOLIO: It's a yes or no question. Are you  
6 refusing to identify your superiors?

7 MR. LEVY: She's--you asked and answered this question  
8 a bunch of times, Joe. Just move on, please.

9 MR. FOLIO: We'll take silence as a no.

10 Ms. Zentos, are you refusing to tell us to whom--who  
11 reported to you in the National Security Council?

12 MR. LEVY: She has asked and answered this question,  
13 Joe.

14 MR. FOLIO: We will take that as a no then.

15 MR. FOLIO: Ms. Zentos, what was the status of Ukraine  
16 when you started at the National Security Council?

17 MS. ZENTOS: I'm sorry. Can you--what do you mean the  
18 status?

19 MR. FOLIO: What was the general foreign affairs,  
20 national security situation with regard to Ukraine when you  
21 started at the National Security Council?

22 MR. LEVY: Can you clarify that question?

23 MR. FOLIO: Sure. So when you started at the National  
24 Security Council, you were the Director of Eastern European  
25 Affairs. What was going on in Ukraine at the time?

1 MS. ZENTOS: As I noted earlier, the Russians were  
2 attacking Ukrainians and Ukraine.

3 MR. FOLIO: Other than the conflict with Russia, were  
4 there any other prominent issues with Ukraine, U.S. foreign  
5 policy towards Ukraine?

6 MR. LEVY: On which she worked?

7 MR. FOLIO: Yes.

8 MR. LEVY: I think she told you what she worked on. Go  
9 ahead.

10 MS. ZENTOS: Yeah, I mean, I will just say in any  
11 bilateral relationship, as a State Department officer, we  
12 look at how anything--how developments could affect U.S.  
13 national security. And so the main issue affecting U.S.  
14 national security at that time was the fact that there was  
15 ongoing armed fighting and a threat to a country's  
16 territorial integrity, and so that's what my focus was on.

17 MR. FOLIO: What was the U.S. foreign policy towards  
18 Ukraine at the time?

19 MS. ZENTOS: The U.S. foreign policy was that we wanted  
20 to see Ukraine succeed and democratize and integrate with  
21 the West.

22 MR. FOLIO: Succeed in its conflict against Russia?

23 MS. ZENTOS: We wanted to see Ukraine succeed as a  
24 democratic, Western-oriented country with its territorial  
25 integrity intact.

1 MR. FOLIO: How did U.S. loan guarantees fit into that  
2 policy?

3 MS. ZENTOS: My focus, again, was on the ongoing  
4 conflict. There were many people at the National Security  
5 Council who focused on Ukraine. There were many people  
6 throughout the U.S. Government that focused on the loan  
7 guarantee. Inasmuch as I was in any meetings on the loan  
8 guarantee, again, I recall no discussion of Hunter Biden or  
9 Burisma.

10 MR. FOLIO: How did your work factor in U.S. loan  
11 guarantees?

12 MS. ZENTOS: Sorry. You broke up a little.

13 MR. FOLIO: How did your work factor in U.S. loan  
14 guarantees as an element of U.S. policy toward Ukraine?

15 MS. ZENTOS: Insofar as any loan guarantee was aimed at  
16 helping Ukraine succeed, that was what our goal was. And,  
17 again, there was no discussion of Hunter Biden or Burisma  
18 that I was ever aware of that I recall.

19 MR. FOLIO: Were you ever engaged in discussions about  
20 whether or not loan guarantee conditions had been met?

21 MS. ZENTOS: Insofar as I would have been in any of  
22 those discussions, you know, again, just this, the topic of  
23 Hunter Biden and Burisma never came up as far as I can  
24 recall. There was no discussion of that topic.

25 MR. FOLIO: So were you involved in policy discussions

1 about U.S. loan guarantees?

2 MS. ZENTOS: I was not--my job was not to--I did not  
3 make U.S. policy. Insofar, again, as I was in any  
4 discussion on loan guarantees, again, I have to say there  
5 was no--there was no discussion, I recall no discussion of  
6 Hunter Biden or Burisma.

7 MR. FOLIO: Were you in any discussion about U.S. loan  
8 guarantees to Ukraine?

9 MR. LEVY: Can you repeat the question? We couldn't  
10 hear all that.

11 MR. FOLIO: I asked Ms. Zentos if she was involved in  
12 any discussions about U.S. loan guarantees to Ukraine during  
13 her time at the National Security Council.

14 MS. ZENTOS: Insofar as I would have been in any of  
15 those meetings, I--you know, what I can say, what I want to  
16 emphasize today is that I don't recall any discussion of  
17 Burisma or Hunter Biden. I don't have any information on  
18 that.

19 MR. FOLIO: We've heard you say that several times. I  
20 think you can rest assured that point has been emphasized.  
21 But just for the question that I've asked a couple times  
22 now, were you ever involved in any discussions at U.S.  
23 National Security Council staff about U.S. loan guarantees  
24 to Ukraine? Yes or no.

25 MS. ZENTOS: I don't recall these specifics 4-1/2 years

1 later. I may well have been in a discussion that involved a  
2 loan guarantee. Again, I have to say I have no recollection  
3 of the topics of this interview, Hunter Biden or Burisma,  
4 being discussed at any of those discussions.

5 MR. FOLIO: Were U.S. loan guarantees an important part  
6 of U.S. foreign policy towards Ukraine at that time?

7 MS. ZENTOS: What I would note and emphasize is that I-  
8 -my focus was not on loan guarantees. My focus was on an  
9 ongoing war. My focus was on providing the U.S. Government  
10 with whatever information I could on what was happening, how  
11 many people were being killed, where they were being killed,  
12 how we could help. So other people within the NSC and  
13 throughout the U.S. Government were definitely more focused  
14 on this issue than I was.

15 MR. FOLIO: Were those loan guarantees helpful to the  
16 people of Ukraine?

17 MS. ZENTOS: I'm not sure how--how to answer. I would  
18 hope that any U.S. policy at any time would help U.S.  
19 national security. That's always the goal. I think U.S.  
20 national security in general is linked to Ukraine continuing  
21 to move westward and be successful. So inasmuch as that's  
22 true, yes, any U.S. policy should help the country.

23 MR. FOLIO: Were those U.S. loan guarantees a tool by  
24 which the United States could ensure that Ukraine was moving  
25 westward, as you described it?



1 MS. ZENTOS: Again, I am no expert on U.S. loan  
2 guarantees. There are other agencies in the U.S. Government  
3 and also there were other people within the NSC who focused  
4 on this topic much more. But, you know, again, I would hope  
5 that any U.S. policy, including any U.S. loan guarantee,  
6 would serve the purpose of the U.S. people, which is to help  
7 countries integrate with the West who have stated that  
8 that's what they desire.

9 MR. FOLIO: Were U.S. loan guarantees to Ukraine a good  
10 thing or a bad thing?

11 MS. ZENTOS: I'm not sure that that's--I'm not sure  
12 that I have the ability or the knowledge, the background  
13 knowledge right now to answer that question. I left working  
14 on Ukraine matters several years ago, and I would need to  
15 see--you know, I don't have all the facts. I don't know  
16 what's happened in Ukraine since with those loan guarantees.

17 MR. FOLIO: I just want to be clear. So as the  
18 Director for Eastern Europe on National Security Council  
19 staff from the time you were there, the year you were there,  
20 I just want to be crystal clear that we understand what your  
21 awareness of U.S. loan guarantees was.

22 MS. ZENTOS: My awareness was what--at this point, 4-  
23 1/2 years later, is that there was one and that I would hope  
24 it would have been helpful, and I left working on Ukraine  
25 and today I don't know what effect that loan guarantee has

1 had or not had.

2 MR. FOLIO: I'm not asking about today. I'm asking  
3 about your time at the National Security Council staff.

4 MS. ZENTOS: I mean--

5 MR. FOLIO: Was it U.S. foreign policy to provide loan  
6 guarantees to the Ukraine? And if it was, and assuming that  
7 was viewed as a valuable goal--

8 MS. ZENTOS: I mean, my recollection was that, yes, we  
9 provided at least one loan guarantee that--the U.S.  
10 Government provided at least one loan guarantee to Ukraine.  
11 Again, there are experts on loan guarantees who could  
12 probably speak to that. My recollection is that we provided  
13 one, and that we--you know, that the U.S. Government hoped  
14 it would be effective in helping Ukraine to achieve its  
15 stated goal of integrating with the West and being  
16 independent.

17 MR. FOLIO: According to public reports, Vice President  
18 Joe Biden became the public face of the administration's  
19 handling of Ukraine policy in April 2014. From your  
20 perspective, what was Vice President Biden's role developing  
21 U.S. policy towards Ukraine?

22 MS. ZENTOS: From when I was at the NSC, certainly Vice  
23 President Biden, you know, worked on foreign policy issues,  
24 including Ukraine, but, again, I don't know of any  
25 Government discussion, Government communication, on Hunter

1 Biden or Burisma--that I participated in. I'm unaware of  
2 any discussion of those topics.

3 MR. FOLIO: From your perspective, what was Vice  
4 President Biden's role?

5 MR. LEVY: At what point in time? In 2014 you said?

6 MR. FOLIO: During her time at National Security  
7 Council staff, what was Vice President Biden's role in  
8 setting U.S. foreign policy towards Ukraine?

9 MR. LEVY: You had said 2014. She did not get to the  
10 National Security Council staff until June of 2015.

11 MR. FOLIO: I apologize. 2015 to 2016.

12 MS. ZENTOS: You know, again, the Vice President was  
13 involved in foreign affairs, including Ukraine, but I have  
14 no recollection of any discussion happening that I was  
15 involved in on these topics of Hunter Biden or Burisma.

16 MR. FOLIO: In formulating U.S. policy towards Ukraine  
17 as part of your work, did you ever receive guidance from  
18 anyone on Vice President Biden's staff?

19 MS. ZENTOS: First, I mean, I did not formulate U.S.  
20 policy. I assisted in providing information on what was  
21 happening in Ukraine and things of that nature, but I did  
22 not create policy. I have no recollection of discussing in  
23 any meetings or communications with anyone from the Vice  
24 President's staff or from anywhere else the topics of Hunter  
25 Biden or Burisma.

1 MR. FOLIO: So if you said that you don't recall  
2 speaking with any Vice President staff about Burisma, you're  
3 implicitly acknowledging that you spoke with the Vice  
4 President's staff about Ukraine policy generally. Is that  
5 right?

6 MS. ZENTOS: I mean, certainly I had contact with the  
7 Vice President's staff on work issues. In any  
8 administration, the National Security Council and the Office  
9 of the Vice President tried to make sure that they are on  
10 the same page. So in the extent to which I did that, yes.  
11 But, again, I never had--I don't recall any conversation  
12 with anyone from the Office of the Vice President on Burisma  
13 or Hunter Biden.

14 MR. FOLIO: And who from the Vice President's staff did  
15 you communicate with about developing U.S. policy?

16 MS. ZENTOS: Whoever that was, I did not, as far as I  
17 recall, have any work discussions of Hunter Biden or  
18 Burisma.

19 MR. FOLIO: Are you refusing to identify the people in  
20 the Vice President's staff with whom you spoke about U.S.-  
21 Ukraine policy?

22 MS. ZENTOS: I'm telling you that all those people who  
23 worked on that staff, I don't recall any work discussion of  
24 those topics, Hunter Biden or Burisma. I'm declining to get  
25 into names of people who worked in the NSC or OVP or

1 anywhere else. But I had none of these discussions on the  
2 topic of this interview, so that's what I want to emphasize.

3 MR. FOLIO: Did you ever meet with Vice President Biden  
4 about Ukraine policy?

5 MR. LEVY: We're not getting into conversations with  
6 the Vice President in a congressional interview.

7 MR. FOLIO: I didn't ask about conversations with the  
8 Vice President. I just asked simply if she's ever met with  
9 the Vice President to discuss Ukraine policy.

10 MR. LEVY: I don't think this is the place to talk  
11 about communications with the Vice President.

12 MR. FOLIO: I'm not talking about communications with  
13 the Vice President, Josh. Surely you can appreciate I'm  
14 asking simply did she ever have meetings or phone calls with  
15 the Vice President about U.S.-Ukraine policy.

16 MR. LEVY: She's going to decline to answer that  
17 question.

18 MR. FOLIO: On the basis of?

19 MR. LEVY: It's inappropriate to ask about meetings and  
20 communications with the President of the United States, the  
21 Vice President of the United States, in a congressional  
22 interview.

23 MR. FOLIO: What does "inappropriate" mean? Is that a  
24 legal term?

25 MR. LEVY: It's a voluntary interview. She's declining

1 to answer the question, Joe.

2 MR. FOLIO: I just want to be clear that there's no  
3 privilege assertion.

4 MR. LEVY: Joe, it's a tradition that is well regarded  
5 and well respected in these kinds of settings where  
6 communications with the President and Vice President are off  
7 limits, not talking. It's a voluntary interview.

8 MR. FOLIO: To be clear, what is privileged is the  
9 substance of the communications. That's very well defined  
10 in case law. My question had nothing to do with the  
11 substance of the communications. It was simply the fact  
12 that's not privileged. So I do not understand you to be  
13 asserting privilege unless you state otherwise.

14 MR. LEVY: I'm--I just want to be careful and  
15 protective of communications with the Vice President himself  
16 or the President himself because of the tradition of not  
17 having those kinds of communications discussed in these  
18 kinds of interviews. It's a voluntary interview, could  
19 implicate privilege, but I'm not here to invoke privilege or  
20 anything.

21 MR. FOLIO: Because it's not your privilege to invoke,  
22 right?

23 MR. LEVY: Correct. And at the same time, it's not  
24 ours to waive, and we'd just like you to move on.

25 MR. FOLIO: Well, I appreciate that, but for the

1 record, just making clear that tradition and appropriateness  
2 are not relevant here. Insofar as the privilege to assert,  
3 you are declining the opportunity--are you making another  
4 relevancy or should I say pertinency argument, refusal,  
5 directing her to not answer because of the pertinency?

6 MR. LEVY: No.

7 MR. FOLIO: So just choosing not to answer.

8 MR. LEVY: Correct.

9 MR. FOLIO: Thank you.

10 In May 2014, Hunter Biden joined the board of Burisma  
11 Holdings. Burisma actually issued a press release, and it  
12 stated that Hunter Biden would "be in charge of its legal  
13 unit," and according to him, he would focus on--his quote  
14 now--"matters of transparency, corporate governance, and  
15 responsibility" among other issues. Hunter Biden received  
16 around \$50,000 a month for serving in this role.

17 Ms. Zentos, are you familiar with Burisma Holdings, a  
18 Ukrainian gas company?

19 MR. LEVY: Are you reading from a document, Joe?

20 MR. FOLIO: I'm quoting from a press release.

21 MR. LEVY: Is that something we can see?

22 MR. FOLIO: Sure. Will's going to pull them up for you  
23 right now.

24 MR. LEVY: Thank you very much.

25 [Pause.]

1 MR. FOLIO: We can enter this as what we'll call  
2 Exhibit 1.

3 [Zentos Exhibit No. 1 was  
4 marked for identification.]

5 MR. FOLIO: We'll just scroll down to the second  
6 paragraph, the start of the second paragraph, on page 1.  
7 Right there. Josh and Ms. Zentos, if you could focus your  
8 attention to the second paragraph starting with, "R. Hunter  
9 Biden will be in charge of..."

10 MR. LEVY: And...

11 MR. FOLIO: Go ahead, Josh.

12 MR. LEVY: Yeah, she just wanted to clarify an answer  
13 to your previous question about meetings with the Vice  
14 President.

15 MR. FOLIO: Okay.

16 MS. ZENTOS: Yeah, I mean, insofar as you asked if I  
17 ever had a meeting with the Vice President, I never--I have  
18 no recollection of having a meeting with the Vice President,  
19 certainly not--certainly I have no recollection of any one-  
20 on-one meetings with then-Vice President Biden.

21 MR. FOLIO: Sure, but just to be clear now, were there  
22 any larger group meetings about Ukraine policy that you  
23 attended where Vice President Biden was there as well?

24 MR. LEVY: And inasmuch as there were, we're not  
25 getting into any of that communication. She's just telling



1 you she didn't have a one-on-one meeting with the Vice  
2 President.

3 MR. FOLIO: So you just want to be clear. So now it's  
4 not refusing to answer the entire question, but choosing to  
5 answer part of the question and then refusing to answer the  
6 remainder.

7 MR. LEVY: Right. We're trying to strike a balance  
8 here, Joe, between your right to information and all kinds  
9 of obligations that she has, and that's how we are trying to  
10 strike a balance right now with you. We're doing our best  
11 in this voluntary interview.

12 MR. FOLIO: So I'll just note for the record that the  
13 balance is not being struck very well at all. You have not  
14 asserted privilege. You have not asserted relevancy. And  
15 now you're refusing to partially answer the questions with  
16 answers that seem to suit your client but refuse to answer  
17 the other parts of the questions that would be relevant to  
18 what we have asked.

19 MR. LEVY: Joe, it's a voluntary interview, and she's  
20 declining to answer aspects of that question, balancing her  
21 discretion as a former member of the National Security  
22 Council staff and your Committee's right to information  
23 that's pertinent to your investigation, so thank you. We've  
24 made that clarification. You've made your position.

25 MR. FOLIO: We're just trying to understand what's on

1 your side of the ledger, and I'm not quite sure I appreciate  
2 it after all these conversations.

3 MR. LEVY: We're not obligated to assert a privilege in  
4 a voluntary interview, Joe.

5 MR. FOLIO: I understand. I'm just being clear not  
6 asserting a privilege, not asserting relevance, just  
7 choosing not to answer.

8 Do you need to see the other quote in this document?

9 MR. LEVY: What is the quote you're directing us to?

10 MR. FOLIO: I read two quotes, and you asked to see the  
11 document. So this is the document. I pointed you to the  
12 first quote I read, which was the second paragraph,  
13 beginning, "R. Hunter Biden."

14 MR. LEVY: Yeah, I'd like to note for the record that  
15 we don't have a copy of this document. You're putting it up  
16 on a share screen. I don't know if--it looks like there are  
17 two pages. I don't see the second--I don't see the first  
18 page or the--I see one page. I don't know if it's the first  
19 or the second. Can you send us this document?

20 MR. FOLIO: It's the first page. We can scroll down to  
21 show you the second page. I believe it's publicly--

22 MR. LEVY: This is the problem. This is why we asked  
23 you for documents in advance of the interview.

24 MR. FOLIO: These are the circumstances--

25 MR. LEVY: This is--

1 MR. FOLIO: Although they're not ideal, we're happy to  
2 scroll for you.

3 MR. LEVY: Can you send us a copy of--what's the harm  
4 in sending us a copy of the document? You have my email  
5 address.

6 MR. FOLIO: If this is a publicly available document,  
7 which I think it is, we can send that to you.

8 MR. LEVY: You should be able to send me any record  
9 that you're showing Ms. Zentos in this interview. You said  
10 you would.

11 MR. FOLIO: I never said I would. In fact, we've taken  
12 the opposite position so far as the Committees' practice  
13 under Chairmen Johnson and Grassley not to share records  
14 with witnesses prior to the interview.

15 MR. LEVY: I'm saying during the interview, right now,  
16 you're not sharing the document with me right now. I don't  
17 have a copy of it. You're putting it on a share screen. I  
18 don't have the document.

19 MR. FOLIO: Is the share screen not enough for you,  
20 Josh?

21 MR. LEVY: It's not because it's a multi-page document  
22 and I'd like to be able to have it so that the witness can  
23 read it all the way through at her pace and not at whoever's  
24 behind the computer manipulating it. I just--

25 MR. FOLIO: We're here to help you, Josh and Ms.

1 Zentos, so we're happy to leave it here on the second page  
2 as long as you need, and let us know when you'd like us to  
3 scroll up, and we will do that. Again, these are very  
4 unique circumstances, not our ideal situation, or anyone's  
5 for that matter. But we're doing the best we're able to.

6 MR. LEVY: So you are declining to send us a Committee  
7 record that's being used for the Committee interview?

8 MR. FOLIO: Yes.

9 MR. LEVY: And what's the basis for that?

10 MR. FOLIO: As I explained in my email to you, it's not  
11 the practice of Chairman Johnson or Chairman Grassley to  
12 share Committee records with interview witnesses.

13 MR. LEVY: Is there a Committee rule that precludes the  
14 Committee from sharing Committee record with a witness the  
15 Committee staff is interviewing in a voluntary interview?

16 MR. FOLIO: We certainly are able to show witnesses  
17 documents as we are showing you and Ms. Zentos documents  
18 now. However, Chairman Grassley and Chairman Johnson have  
19 the practice of not sharing documents with witnesses ahead  
20 of time. Furthermore, because we're able to do it  
21 virtually, we think that is more than sufficient at this  
22 point. We take these steps to protect the integrity and  
23 confidentiality of our investigations, and it's probably a  
24 better conversation for another time. But we've had a  
25 number of concrete examples where the integrity of the

1 investigation here has been threatened, if not actually  
2 undermined, by leaks of information, which is part of the  
3 reason we asked for mutual confidentiality at the beginning  
4 of the interview.

5 MR. LEVY: We have no interest in leaking anything. We  
6 just want to have fairness for the witness, and what I'm  
7 hearing from you is that you're relying on a practice, not a  
8 rule, as the justification for not providing us with a copy  
9 of the document. Is that right?

10 MR. FOLIO: It's both. I mean, it's grounded in the  
11 rule about the confidentiality of Committee records, and  
12 there are different ways to interpret that rule I'm sure you  
13 can appreciate, Josh.

14 Now, Josh, the second page is up. Are you and Ms.  
15 Zentos reading the second page? Just let us know when  
16 you're ready, and we're happy to scroll to the first page.

17 MR. LEVY: Can you make it bigger?

18 MR. FOLIO: Yes, we can.

19 MR. LEVY: That's better. Thank you.

20 [Pause.]

21 MR. LEVY: Okay. Let me see the first one. Can you  
22 show us the first page now?

23 MR. FOLIO: Yes.

24 [Pause.]

25 MR. LEVY: Okay.

1 MR. FOLIO: So the question, Ms. Zentos, was: Are you  
2 familiar with Burisma Holdings?

3 MS. ZENTOS: I recall learning--reading about Burisma  
4 last year when this topic came up in the news. I do not  
5 recall seeing this press release, either when it came out or  
6 since until now.

7 MR. FOLIO: During your time in national security  
8 staff, were you familiar with the Ukrainian company Burisma  
9 Holdings?

10 MS. ZENTOS: I do not recall when I learned about  
11 Burisma Holdings, and I don't recall honestly--I don't  
12 recall if I learned about it during--when I was at the  
13 National Security Council or not. It may have--a news  
14 article may have come across my desk. I may have seen it.  
15 I don't recall. I recall last year, when reading this in  
16 the news, googling Burisma.

17 MR. FOLIO: During your time on National Security  
18 Council staff, are you aware of what the official U.S.  
19 Government position towards Burisma was?

20 MS. ZENTOS: No, I'm not aware of any U.S. Government  
21 position towards Burisma.

22 MR. FOLIO: Were you aware that it was the U.S.  
23 Government, and particularly the folks working at the U.S.  
24 Embassy in Ukraine, it was their position that Burisma and  
25 its owner, Mykola Zlochevsky, were viewed as corrupt?

1 MS. ZENTOS: I don't recall being aware of that sitting  
2 here today, no.

3 MS. ZENTOS: Were you aware whether Burisma or its  
4 owner, Mr. Zlochevsky, was under criminal investigation?

5 MS. ZENTOS: I do not recall being aware of that.  
6 Again, I was focused on an ongoing war in Ukraine. There  
7 were a lot of priorities, and there were many people, other  
8 people who were looking at issues like energy or like  
9 corruption. I don't recall, no.

10 MR. FOLIO: According to public reports, Burisma had  
11 signed an agreement with USAID's Municipal Energy Reform  
12 Project in the Ukraine in October 2014. Were you aware of  
13 this agreement?

14 MS. ZENTOS: I do not recall being aware of this  
15 agreement.

16 MR. FOLIO: Were you aware of USAID's Municipal Energy  
17 Reform Project in Ukraine?

18 MS. ZENTOS: I'm not--I can't recall for sure sitting  
19 here today. I may have been aware of it at the time, but  
20 there were many USAID programs in Ukraine. It was the  
21 largest--is the largest recipient, as far as I know, of U.S.  
22 assistance. I can't say for sure.

23 MR. DOWNEY: Hey, Joe, could I just ask one follow-up  
24 question?

25 MR. FOLIO: Yes, and then I have a concluding comment

1 before we turn it over to the minority. Go ahead, Brian.

2 MR. DOWNEY: Ms. Zentos, just for clarity, I think we  
3 asked regarding your knowledge of Burisma Holdings during  
4 your time on the National Security Council. As you  
5 mentioned earlier in this interview, you were posted in  
6 Ukraine I believe in 2014, if I'm correct. Is that correct?

7 MS. ZENTOS: I departed Ukraine in 2014, so for part of  
8 2014 I was posted to Ukraine.

9 MR. DOWNEY: Okay. So during that time frame posted  
10 in-country, did the topic of Burisma Holdings come up during  
11 your time at the embassy?

12 MS. ZENTOS: Not that I'm aware of or that I recall. I  
13 was the political, military, and external relations officer,  
14 so those were the issues I was focused on. And I do not  
15 recall Burisma coming up while I was there--not in any  
16 meeting that I was at, not in anything that I'm aware of  
17 personally.

18 MR. DOWNEY: During that time in-country, were you  
19 aware of press reports of the legal trouble that Burisma  
20 Holdings found themselves in during 2014?

21 MS. ZENTOS: I do not recall being aware of that. You  
22 know, just to put it in perspective, there had been a  
23 revolution with violence on the streets, including on my  
24 street, annexation of Crimea, and invasion of the country.  
25 So I don't remember--I don't recall learning that.



1 MR. DOWNEY: Do you recall when you were in-country who  
2 would handle sort of the corruption law enforcement  
3 functions for the U.S. Government? So who would be the  
4 people in the embassy who might handle these issues?

5 MR. SCHRAM: Brian, I'm sorry to interrupt. This  
6 sounds like a whole line of questioning and you're over the  
7 hour.

8 MR. DOWNEY: Well, I'm just--I'll finish up right now.

9 MR. SCHRAM: Okay.

10 MS. ZENTOS: I mean, I can just say that--

11 MR. LEVY: Brian, finish your question.

12 MR. DOWNEY: So I just wanted some clarity if Ms.  
13 Zentos--this wouldn't fall in her portfolio while she was  
14 in-country in Ukraine, who would be that proper individual  
15 at the U.S. Embassy that would keep track of, you know, the  
16 Burisma Holdings legal troubles, knowing that they're a huge  
17 natural gas producer in-country?

18 MR. LEVY: At that point in time?

19 MR. DOWNEY: In 2014 when Ms. Zentos was in Ukraine.

20 MS. ZENTOS: I'm not aware of if they were a huge  
21 producer of natural gas. Again, I don't recall them ever  
22 coming up. There was a person in the economics section who  
23 covered energy. There is a person in the economics section  
24 who covered corruption. We have an international narcotics  
25 and law enforcement person at the embassy. There's a front

1 office at any embassy that will cover a host of issues. And  
2 so depending on what aspect you're talking about, one of  
3 those people may have covered issues. But, again, I am  
4 unaware of Burisma ever coming up. I don't know if it did  
5 come up at the embassy, but as far as any communications I'm  
6 aware of, it didn't come up.

7 MR. DOWNEY: Okay. Thank you. Joe?

8 MR. FOLIO: And just to wrap up, before turning to the  
9 minority, I'm just going to enter into the record Exhibit 2,  
10 which is the April 30, 2020, letter from Chairman Johnson  
11 and Chairman Grassley to the State Department, a follow-up  
12 on their November letter. For the record, at the beginning,  
13 in the first paragraph, it says that the Chairmen are  
14 examining potential conflicts of interest relating to the  
15 Obama administration's policy decisions with respect to  
16 Ukraine and Burisma Holdings.

17 [Zentos Exhibit No. 2 was  
18 marked for identification.]

19 MR. FOLIO: And I'll make Exhibit 3 the November 6,  
20 2019, letter, which is the initial request to the State  
21 Department from Chairman Johnson and Chairman Grassley,  
22 again, the investigation focusing on conflicts of interest  
23 with regard to the development of U.S. policy towards  
24 Ukraine.

25 [Zentos Exhibit No. 3 was

1 marked for identification.]

2 MR. FOLIO: Zack?

3 MR. SCHRAM: So is this--are we taking a break at this  
4 point? Sorry, Josh?

5 MR. LEVY: Yeah, I think the water has gotten to us.  
6 If we could take a bathroom break, that would be great.

7 MR. SCHRAM: It's 11:30 now. Can we say we'll go back  
8 on the record at 11:40?

9 MR. LEVY: Perfect.

10 MR. SCHRAM: Joe, that's okay with you?

11 MR. FOLIO: Yes, sir.

12 MR. SCHRAM: Okay.

13 [Recess.]

14 MR. SCHRAM: Let's go back on the record.

15 Ms. Zentos, again I'd like to begin by expressing our  
16 gratitude to our Foreign Service officers generally and to  
17 you specifically for the risks that you take on behalf of  
18 this country. I'd like to spend a few minutes getting a bit  
19 more into your background. What motivated you to join the  
20 Foreign Service?

21 MS. ZENTOS: I was motivated to join the Foreign  
22 Service because I liked the idea of serving my country and  
23 serving my Government. I was also interested in foreign  
24 affairs and its intersection with national security, and so  
25 I decided to take the Foreign Service exam.

1 MR. SCHRAM: You testified previously that from 2009 to  
2 2011 you were a political officer on the Ukraine desk at the  
3 State Department?

4 MS. ZENTOS: Correct.

5 MR. SCHRAM: Can you just say a little bit more about  
6 your roles and responsibilities there?

7 MS. ZENTOS: Sure. As the Ukraine desk officer, part  
8 of my responsibilities were to read cables that the embassy  
9 sent to Washington, to help our embassy in Kyiv, for  
10 example, if they were overloaded with doing congressional  
11 reporting--not that there's too much congressional  
12 reporting. You know, we might help them from the desk. We  
13 might be in touch with the agency or the office that they  
14 wanted to deal with. We kept up on the news on what was  
15 happening in Ukraine, that sort of thing.

16 MR. SCHRAM: So with respect--you mentioned  
17 congressional reporting. Does a desk officer have a role in  
18 helping principals prepare to communicate policy to  
19 Congress?

20 MS. ZENTOS: It would depend on the principal. It's  
21 possible that if someone from the Department of State or  
22 even from another agency was going to testify to Congress,  
23 we might help collect information or review a draft. It  
24 would depend on the situation.

25 MR. SCHRAM: Understood. Then you said in 2012 you

1 went to Kyiv?

2 MS. ZENTOS: Yes.

3 MR. SCHRAM: And you're a political, military affairs  
4 officer. Is that the correct position?

5 MS. ZENTOS: Yes. I was--sorry.

6 MR. SCHRAM: No. Go ahead.

7 MS. ZENTOS: Just to clarify, the full title was  
8 political, military, and external affairs unit chief.

9 MR. SCHRAM: Great. And can you tell us a little bit  
10 more about your responsibilities in that role?

11 MS. ZENTOS: Yes. I focused mainly on political,  
12 military, defense relationship issues, arms control, and  
13 nonproliferation issues. This would include disposal of old  
14 Soviet weaponry, provision of U.S. assistance to the defense  
15 forces, and Ukraine's relationship with NATO, among other  
16 issues.

17 MR. SCHRAM: We spent time in the majority's round  
18 talking about your work at the National Security Council.  
19 Can you just explain generally the role of the National  
20 Security Council in the interagency process?

21 MS. ZENTOS: Sure. The role of the National Security  
22 Council, as I understand it, is largely to help ensure that  
23 there is coordination occurring between agencies of the U.S.  
24 Government. Again, when I was there, I don't have any  
25 recollection of the topics of Burisma or Hunter Biden coming

1 up in any of my work dealings.

2 MR. SCHRAM: And does NSC have a role informing or  
3 helping principals inform Congress of policy on matters in  
4 its purview?

5 MR. LEVY: Then or now?

6 MR. SCHRAM: Then.

7 MS. ZENTOS: I think in any--it's possible any matters  
8 related to Congress could come through the NSC, could come  
9 across the desk of an NSC employee. But, again, you know,  
10 as far as this relates to Hunter Biden or Burisma, I have no  
11 recollection of those topics coming up in any of my work  
12 dealings.

13 MR. SCHRAM: So then in 2017, you became the external  
14 affairs chief in Moscow. Is that correct?

15 MS. ZENTOS: Yes, I was the external affairs chief in  
16 the political section at U.S. Embassy Moscow.

17 MR. SCHRAM: And what were your responsibilities  
18 generally in that role?

19 MS. ZENTOS: In that role I oversaw the embassy's work  
20 on Russia's external relations and its--and political-  
21 military issues. Shortly after I arrived, the Russian  
22 Government forced a significant cut in U.S. Embassy staff,  
23 so I attempted to provide Washington--meet Washington's  
24 desire for information with a cut of my staff of 60 percent.

25 MR. SCHRAM: And was one of your responsibilities in

1 that role to understand Russian malign influence efforts in  
2 Europe?

3 MS. ZENTOS: Certainly that could have fallen within my  
4 portfolio. I will say that at the time my recollection is  
5 that much of our focus was on what was happening between  
6 Russia and China, between Russia and Afghanistan, what  
7 Russia was doing with Iran, certainly Russia and North  
8 Korea. So those were--and Russia and Ukraine.

9 MR. SCHRAM: And at that time what was happening with  
10 respect to Russia and Ukraine?

11 MS. ZENTOS: At that time negotiations were ongoing as  
12 part of the Minsk process to attempt to end the fighting,  
13 but, nonetheless, the Russians were continuing to pursue  
14 aggressive measures in Eastern Ukraine, and there was  
15 ongoing active fighting in Eastern Ukraine.

16 MR. SCHRAM: And then you mentioned in 2018 you were  
17 declared persona non grata by the Russian Government and  
18 forced to leave the country. Can you tell us a little bit  
19 more about that?

20 MS. ZENTOS: Yes. After the poisoning of Skripal in  
21 the United Kingdom, there was a tit-for-tat expulsion where  
22 the U.S. Government expelled Russian Government employees  
23 from the United States and Russia in turn expelled 50 U.S.  
24 diplomats from the country.

25 MR. SCHRAM: I imagine that's an unpleasant experience.

1 MS. ZENTOS: That was a challenging experience. We  
2 were given only several days to finish up all loose ends and  
3 get out of the country with no onward assignment or place to  
4 live.

5 MR. SCHRAM: So returning for a moment to your time in  
6 Kyiv, you said that battles came to your street, if I  
7 understand correctly your earlier testimony?

8 MS. ZENTOS: During the Maidan revolution, there were  
9 what is called "Titushky" or sort of government-hired thugs  
10 who were basically active on the streets of Kyiv, including  
11 on my street, yes.

12 MR. SCHRAM: Did that create a personal risk to you?

13 MS. ZENTOS: Yes, I can say there was at least one  
14 evening where I saw the armed thugs outside moving--carrying  
15 cars and pushing them around, and I felt concerned for my  
16 safety.

17 MR. SCHRAM: And who paid for those thugs?

18 MS. ZENTOS: Well, my understanding is that they were  
19 hired by the Janukovych government. They were Party of  
20 Regions-paid thugs.

21 MR. SCHRAM: And that was a Russian-backed government?

22 MS. ZENTOS: That was a government that certainly had  
23 close relations with the Russian Government.

24 MR. SCHRAM: Turning now again to your time at the NSC,  
25 you've spoken frequently over the last hour about being



1 focused on other matters, matters not related to Burisma or  
2 Hunter Biden. What had your attention at that time in that  
3 role?

4 MS. ZENTOS: At that time in that role, I was focused  
5 on the ongoing fighting that was happening in Eastern  
6 Ukraine, whether the Russians were going to attempt to push  
7 further into Ukrainian territory. I was also focused on  
8 what types of defensive military equipment would be most  
9 useful to the Ukrainian military in its efforts to defend  
10 its territorial integrity.

11 MR. SCHRAM: And did your responsibility include  
12 understanding Russian disinformation efforts, whether in the  
13 Ukraine or related to their invasion of Ukraine?

14 MS. ZENTOS: Again, my focus was mainly on the ongoing  
15 fighting. There were many people in the NSC and throughout  
16 the U.S. Government who were focused on misinformation and  
17 disinformation. There was then a separate Russia and  
18 Central Asia Directorate within the NSC also.

19 MR. SCHRAM: Just a moment, please.

20 [Pause.]

21 MR. SCHRAM: That's all we have this round.

22 MR. FOLIO: Ms. Zentos or Josh, would you like a break,  
23 or are you happy to continue?

24 MR. LEVY: Are you okay?

25 MS. ZENTOS: I'm okay.

1 MR. LEVY: All right. We can stay on the record.

2 MR. FOLIO: Okay.

3 MR. LEVY: Unless you need a break.

4 MR. FOLIO: I think we're good, thanks. I'm looking  
5 around the room. We're good. So I'll just note for the  
6 record that it's 11:54, and the majority will start its  
7 second round.

8 Ms. Zentos, during this time at the National Security  
9 Council staff, were you aware of Hunter Biden's role on  
10 Burisma's board of directors?

11 MR. LEVY: Can you repeat the question? The end of it  
12 got lost.

13 MR. FOLIO: Sure. During your time at National  
14 Security Council staff, were you aware of Hunter Biden's  
15 role on Burisma's board of directors?

16 MS. ZENTOS: I don't recall when I learned, if I  
17 learned when I was at the National Security Council or not.  
18 What I can again reiterate is that I don't have any  
19 recollection of either topic, Burisma or Hunter Biden,  
20 coming up in any of my work while at the National Security  
21 Council.

22 MR. FOLIO: So aside from your work at the National  
23 Security Council, did it come up in any other setting?

24 MS. ZENTOS: So--

25 MR. LEVY: Outside of work?

1 MR. FOLIO: She's saying her work at the National  
2 Security Council.

3 MR. LEVY: Right, so in a different position in the  
4 Government.

5 MR. FOLIO: Sure.

6 MR. LEVY: State Department meeting.

7 MS. ZENTOS: No, I don't recall any--I don't recall any  
8 of my work for the U.S. government dealing with any  
9 communications or meetings related to Hunter Biden or  
10 Burisma.

11 MR. FOLIO: You never casually discussed it with a  
12 colleague?

13 MS. ZENTOS: I--

14 MR. LEVY: I think you're here to ask her about  
15 official Government business, right? That's what the  
16 function of oversight is. She said Government meetings and  
17 email, she has no recollection of either Burisma or Hunter  
18 Biden coming up in that course of business.

19 MR. FOLIO: Right. Well, everyone knows that  
20 Government business isn't limited to formal meetings and  
21 phone calls, and conversations with colleagues, especially  
22 when those colleagues work on the same issues with you, that  
23 counts as work, which is why they're governed by ethics  
24 rules, among other restrictions. So the question is, in  
25 that context, did you ever speak with your colleagues of

1 Hunter Biden's position on the board of Burisma?

2 MS. ZENTOS: I don't recall. I don't recall doing so.  
3 I can't say for sure, again, what came across my desk in the  
4 news. I can't say for certain if I, you know, ever  
5 mentioned something. I don't recall any specific discussion  
6 of Hunter Biden or Burisma while I was at the NSC.

7 MR. FOLIO: Do you remember I asked if you were aware  
8 of his position on the board of Burisma during your time at  
9 National Security Council staff, you said you were aware of  
10 it, but you weren't sure when? Are you able to know the  
11 time frame?

12 MR. LEVY: I think it's helpful not to characterize the  
13 witness' testimony. It should speak for itself. If you  
14 could just ask a question, then she can answer it, that  
15 would be--

16 MR. FOLIO: Sure. Are you aware of Hunter Biden's role  
17 on the board of directors of Burisma?

18 MR. LEVY: Is she aware now?

19 MR. FOLIO: Yes.

20 MS. ZENTOS: I'm aware now, yes. I have read it in the  
21 news, yes.

22 MR. FOLIO: When did you first become aware?

23 MS. ZENTOS: I do not remember when I first became  
24 aware. Again, I remember reading it in the news last year  
25 and needing to google what Burisma was. I do not recall for

1 certain if I knew what Burisma was while I was at the NSC 4-  
2 1/2 years ago or not. It was certainly not a major topic  
3 or, as far as I call, a topic of any work that I did.

4 MR. FOLIO: When you googled Burisma about a year ago,  
5 is that the first time that you heard that Hunter Biden  
6 served on the board, or was that merely sparking your  
7 recollection?

8 MS. ZENTOS: I do not recall--again, I do not recall  
9 for sure if I knew when I was at the NSC or not. It is  
10 possible that I'd read a news article, saw it, scanned a  
11 news article headline. I don't recall. But, again, it is  
12 not a topic I worked on, not a topic that I can recall I had  
13 any conversation about.

14 MR. FOLIO: On December 8, 2015, James Risen wrote an  
15 article in the New York Times titled, "Joe Biden, His Son,  
16 and the Case Against a Ukrainian Oligarch." We're going to  
17 enter this as Exhibit 4, and I'll ask Will to pull it up on  
18 the screen.

19 [Zentos Exhibit No. 4 was  
20 marked for identification.]

21 MR. LEVY: Can you send us a copy of that article?

22 MR. FOLIO: We can send you a copy.

23 MR. LEVY: Thank you.

24 MR. FOLIO: My question is: Did you read this article?  
25 And as before, just let Will know when you're done.

1 [Pause.]

2 MR. LEVY: Can you scroll down so we can see the rest  
3 of it, please?

4 MR. FOLIO: Sure. The next part.

5 [Pause.]

6 MR. LEVY: Joe, you said you were going to send this to  
7 us as well?

8 MR. FOLIO: We can do that.

9 MR. LEVY: Are you sending it to us?

10 MR. FOLIO: Oh, you're asking us to do that right now?

11 MR. LEVY: Yeah.

12 MR. FOLIO: I think we are hopeful that we can proceed  
13 with the document on the screen. I'm happy to send them to  
14 you during a break.

15 MR. LEVY: Well, the purpose of giving them to us now  
16 would be so that the witness can review them before your  
17 asking questions about them.

18 MR. FOLIO: That's what we're giving you and the  
19 witness time to do right now, to review on the screen.

20 MR. LEVY: Well, I'd just like to note that that is not  
21 the fairest way to proceed.

22 MR. FOLIO: Do you need more time?

23 MR. LEVY: Can you scroll down and let us see the rest  
24 of the article, please?

25 MR. FOLIO: Of course.

1 [Pause.]

2 MR. LEVY: Joe, I just want to note that under normal  
3 circumstances where Committees are being fair to a witness,  
4 the document's in front of the witness so that the witness  
5 can refer to the entirety of the document while the  
6 questioner is asking questions. The witness is being  
7 deprived of that opportunity here. And you can proceed, but  
8 I just want to note this is not fair to the witness.

9 MR. FOLIO: No, I understand but--

10 MR. LEVY: This is just not a fair process in this  
11 respect.

12 MR. FOLIO: I understand the desire, Josh.  
13 Unfortunately, these are not typical circumstances. We're  
14 doing the best we can in these virtual settings. As I told  
15 you several times in email, we're happy to give you and Ms.  
16 Zentos ample time to review the documents. So just let us  
17 know. Again, happy to take breaks, happy to show you the  
18 document, whatever page you need, just let us know. It's  
19 slightly more convenient. I don't understand how it's  
20 unfair. You still have the opportunity to review the  
21 document. Take all the time you need. Confer with your  
22 client if necessary.

23 MR. LEVY: Well, it frustrates quite a bit the ability  
24 to look through a document on our own without having to ask  
25 the Committee that's asking questions about it to turn to

1 different pages of it as the witness is trying to process  
2 the information and process the questions. The one thing we  
3 have asked for you are not doing, which is just sending us a  
4 copy of the email--or the article by email, and you've made  
5 your position clear, and I'm just stating that that's not  
6 fair. But we'll continue, and you can proceed and ask a  
7 question.

8 MR. SCHRAM: I'll note also that it's hard for us to  
9 follow along. Joe, do you have a series of publicly  
10 available documents that you plan to refer to? Can you just  
11 provide them all to us now so we can see it at once?

12 MR. FOLIO: I think we have a series of publicly  
13 available documents. I think it was just two. The  
14 documents have come up as circumstances have warranted, such  
15 as the prior letters from the Chairmen. But I think you can  
16 find this document fairly easily on Google since it's a New  
17 York Times article.

18 MR. LEVY: I've never been in an interview or  
19 deposition where a lawyer said, "Please Google the exhibit  
20 I'm about to show your client." If you could just send us  
21 the documents, particularly if there's no concern about  
22 confidentiality as to those specific documents, can you just  
23 send them to everybody on this call right now?

24 MR. FOLIO: How many interviews have you participated  
25 in during a pandemic?



1 MR. LEVY: That's privileged, but the--

2 MR. FOLIO: Classified?

3 MR. LEVY: Joe, we're all trying to balance a lot of  
4 equities here, and I think there's a very simple solution  
5 here. If you can send us whatever newspaper articles or  
6 news media articles that you're going to ask the witness  
7 about, I think it's an effective way to proceed. And it's  
8 not compromising the integrity of any investigation or any  
9 classified issues or Committee confidentiality issues. It  
10 seems very reasonable. It sounds like the minority has made  
11 the same request.

12 MR. FOLIO: Josh, we can take a break and get off this  
13 system to email you a copy of the New York Times article if  
14 that's what you want so you can scroll through on your phone  
15 or computer. Is that what you're asking us to do?

16 MR. LEVY: That and the other document--and any other  
17 document you want to show her today, but yes.

18 MR. FOLIO: Okay. We'll take a break, and we can send  
19 you the publicly available documents. I don't think we'll  
20 have to take a formal break, but hold on one second.

21 MR. LEVY: Thank you.

22 MR. FOLIO: We'll stop the clock.

23 [Pause.]

24 MR. FOLIO: Josh, this is Joe. We just sent the email  
25 to you and to staff for Ranking Members Peters and Wyden.

1 MR. LEVY: Yeah.

2 [Pause.]

3 MR. FOLIO: Ms. Zentos, have you had an opportunity to  
4 read that New York Times article?

5 MS. ZENTOS: Yes, I have.

6 MR. FOLIO: Were you aware of this article during your  
7 time in the National Security Council staff?

8 MS. ZENTOS: I do not recall reading it. It's possible  
9 I saw it. I don't recall today.

10 MR. FOLIO: What's your impression of the article?

11 MR. LEVY: What do you mean by that?

12 MR. FOLIO: What does she think about it?

13 MS. ZENTOS: I think that there is--I mean, I think  
14 that--I would like to point out that at the time there were  
15 articles in every major newspaper about Ukraine, you know,  
16 almost every day. So as far as whether I read it or not, I  
17 think that's important to the context to show that I read a  
18 lot of articles about Ukraine.

19 MR. FOLIO: Sure.

20 MS. ZENTOS: I just don't remember if I read this. As  
21 far as the content, I don't recall discussing it. I don't  
22 recall having any work dealings, work or otherwise, related  
23 to it. And I don't recall discussing obviously Burisma or  
24 Hunter Biden during my time as a U.S. Government employee  
25 during my work in work settings and work communications and

1 officials settings while I was at the NSC.

2 MR. FOLIO: Would it have been relevant to your work on  
3 the National Security Council as the Council's Director for  
4 Eastern Europe to know that one of the issues on Vice  
5 President Biden's agenda with Ukraine, aggressive fight  
6 against rampant corruption, was potentially being undermined  
7 by the association of his son with one of Ukraine's largest  
8 natural gas companies, Burisma Holdings?

9 MS. ZENTOS: First, I don't know if the way that you  
10 describe it is correct or not. I don't have any personal  
11 knowledge of this situation. Would it be relevant? There  
12 were many people working on Ukraine at the NSC, and the Vice  
13 President had his own staff. Again, I was focused on doing  
14 my job, which was to help ensure the U.S. Government was  
15 playing what role it could in stopping the killing of  
16 Ukrainian soldiers and civilians. And so I would assume  
17 that my colleagues were doing their job, and I had no reason  
18 to think they were not.

19 MR. FOLIO: So to be clear, my characterization there  
20 was--I was just reading from the first and second paragraphs  
21 of the New York Times article.

22 MS. ZENTOS: Okay.

23 MR. FOLIO: I want to clarify my question. So my  
24 question is--you do not recall whether or when you read this  
25 article. So my question is, generally, is this the type of

1 information that would have been relevant to your work on  
2 the National Security Council staff as the Director of  
3 Eastern European Affairs?

4 MR. LEVY: She answered the question.

5 MS. ZENTOS: Not necessarily. It would not be--you  
6 know, I had a focus of my work, which was the ongoing  
7 conflict. I would assume that my colleagues would do their  
8 jobs. I had no reason to doubt they were not.

9 MR. FOLIO: So you're saying you had colleagues who  
10 were more focused on the anticorruption issues in Ukraine  
11 than you were?

12 MS. ZENTOS: Yes, I had colleagues who were more  
13 focused on anticorruption in Ukraine than I was, and I had  
14 colleagues who worked for the Office of the Vice President,  
15 and there were lawyers at the Office of the Vice President  
16 and the NSC.

17 MR. FOLIO: So who were your National Security Council  
18 staff colleagues who were more focused on anticorruption  
19 issues with regard to Ukraine?

20 MS. ZENTOS: Again, I do not want to get into names.  
21 With all of these people, I recall no discussion, having no  
22 discussion in my role as an NSC staffer of Hunter Biden or  
23 Burisma.

24 MR. FOLIO: Again, to be clear, you're refusing to  
25 answer the question when we asked you to identify the

1 individuals on National Security Council staff who you said  
2 primarily focused on anticorruption issues in Ukraine?

3 MR. LEVY: She's declining to answer the question in a  
4 voluntary interview, yes.

5 MR. FOLIO: About five paragraphs down in the New York  
6 Times article, it references that Ambassador Pyatt called  
7 out Burisma's owner by name in a September 2015 speech.  
8 During your time on the National Security Council staff,  
9 were you aware of that speech by Ambassador Pyatt?

10 MS. ZENTOS: I don't recall. The NSC did not have to  
11 review all speeches by ambassadors. I don't recall this  
12 speech. But it's possible that I heard about it at the  
13 time, that I read about it at the time.

14 MR. FOLIO: Was it significant that the U.S. Ambassador  
15 to Ukraine called out a private company by name in a speech  
16 and identified them as being corrupt?

17 MS. ZENTOS: There was a lot of corruption in Ukraine.  
18 I'm sure that the embassy in Ukraine, you know, knows of  
19 many, many, many corrupt individuals and companies. So I do  
20 not find it particularly unusual that a specific company--  
21 that the embassy noted a specific company that as corrupt.

22 MR. FOLIO: Is there a different level of significance  
23 when the U.S. Ambassador identifies particular companies in  
24 a speech as opposed to when the U.S. Government may strike a  
25 policy with regard to a company, et cetera? Does that

1 matter from a diplomatic perspective?

2 MS. ZENTOS: I'm sorry. Could you repeat the question?

3 Apologies.

4 MR. FOLIO: Sure. Recognizing that there are different  
5 ways the U.S. Government can choose to address a  
6 hypothetically corrupt company, does it make a difference,  
7 is it more significant that the U.S. Ambassador chooses to  
8 call out the company as corrupt in a public speech?

9 MS. ZENTOS: Probably, but it would depend on the exact  
10 situation and facts, but probably.

11 MR. FOLIO: And to my prior question, so in the Ukraine  
12 context, was it typical for the U.S. Government, Ambassador  
13 to Ukraine in particular, to call out specific companies as  
14 being corrupt in public statements?

15 MS. ZENTOS: I--I don't know. I definitely--you know,  
16 Ambassador Pyatt and others in the U.S. Government at this  
17 time made many speeches, made many public comments about  
18 Ukraine. This was a subject that was front and center  
19 because of the ongoing war there. Was it typical to call  
20 out companies? I wouldn't say typical. Were companies and  
21 individuals called out? I don't remember specifics, but I  
22 would not be surprised if they were.

23 MR. FOLIO: You previously said you had other  
24 colleagues, National Security Council staff that focused on  
25 corruption, but you also mentioned that there were folks

1 from the Vice President's staff who focused on corruption  
2 issues in Ukraine. Who were those folks?

3 MS. ZENTOS: They were not anyone with whom I had any  
4 work related to Burisma or Hunter Biden. Again, I'm not  
5 going to get into names.

6 MR. FOLIO: We'll just take that as you again declining  
7 to answer.

8 To your statement with regard to your conversations at  
9 work, whether in official meetings or in conversations with  
10 colleagues, did you ever in those circumstances discuss  
11 Hunter Biden's role on Burisma's board?

12 MS. ZENTOS: I do not recall ever in any work situation  
13 discussing Hunter Biden's role in Burisma and any work  
14 meeting or communication. It is possible that the topic  
15 came up in a side conversation at some point. I don't  
16 recall. I don't recall that happening. I don't recall.  
17 This was not an issue that was front and center for me.

18 MR. FOLIO: Were you aware of any U.S. Government  
19 official expressing concern about Hunter Biden's position on  
20 Burisma's board?

21 MS. ZENTOS: I don't recall being aware of that, no.

22 MR. FOLIO: So from your experience, you don't recall.  
23 You said it wasn't front and center. Why do you think that  
24 no one seemed to be focused on the issue of Hunter Biden  
25 taking a position on the board of Burisma?

1 MR. LEVY: She didn't say that. That wasn't her  
2 testimony.

3 MR. FOLIO: Okay. Please clarify.

4 MR. LEVY: She didn't have a personal recollection of  
5 Burisma or Hunter Biden coming up in her Government  
6 business. It's not to say that it came up in other people's  
7 work. She's said that before. If you want to ask her a  
8 question, go ahead.

9 MR. FOLIO: So why do you think that in your position  
10 as Director for Eastern Europe on the National Security  
11 Council staff that this did not come up as an issue?

12 MR. LEVY: For you.

13 MS. ZENTOS: For me. I was--I was busy, very busy  
14 following, again, a war in Europe, following what was  
15 happening in that armed conflict, providing information  
16 about what was happening, gathering information about what  
17 was happening in that armed conflict, discussing with our  
18 partners how to try to stop that conflict that was ongoing.  
19 As a director-level person at the National Security Council,  
20 that was my focus. There's a war in Europe, and I'm going  
21 to try to help the U.S. Government to try to put an end to  
22 that fighting and protect the important concept of  
23 territorial integrity. And so that's what I worked on.  
24 There were a lot of people at the NSC, a lot of people at  
25 OVP, and I assumed they were doing their jobs.



1 MR. FOLIO: Did any Ukrainian official ever raise  
2 Hunter Biden's board position with Burisma to you?

3 MS. ZENTOS: I do not recall any Ukrainian official  
4 raising Hunter Biden or Burisma with me, no.

5 MR. FOLIO: Did any other foreign official raise Hunter  
6 Biden's position on Burisma with you?

7 MS. ZENTOS: I do not recall any foreign official  
8 raising Hunter Biden or Burisma with me, no.

9 MR. FOLIO: Are you aware of whether that issue was  
10 ever raised by any Ukrainian official with any of your  
11 colleagues?

12 MS. ZENTOS: I am not aware of whether it was raised  
13 with any colleague, no.

14 MR. FOLIO: And same question, are you aware of whether  
15 any other foreign official raised that issue with any of  
16 your colleagues?

17 MS. ZENTOS: I am not aware whether any foreign  
18 official raised that issue with my colleagues, no.

19 MR. FOLIO: So from an international relations,  
20 national security perspective, what does it mean when a  
21 foreign company hires a relative of a prominent U.S.  
22 politician? How is that viewed?

23 MS. ZENTOS: By whom?

24 MR. FOLIO: I said from an international perspective.  
25 I'm happy to have you parse that as you will. You can start

1 with from a Ukrainian perspective. How would that be  
2 viewed?

3 MR. LEVY: I'm still not clear on the question, Joe.  
4 Forgive me. Can you clarify, please?

5 MR. FOLIO: Sure. We'll just start with Ukraine. So  
6 from the perspective of Ukraine, whether the Ukrainian  
7 Government or Ukrainian nationals, what would it mean to  
8 them when a Ukrainian firm hire a relative of a prominent  
9 U.S. politician?

10 MR. LEVY: I think you would have to ask them.

11 MR. FOLIO: Well, no, I'm asking Ms. Zentos because,  
12 you know, in her position, it's her job and responsibility  
13 to understand foreign governance so she can understand how  
14 they think and advise on U.S. foreign policy. So I'm asking  
15 from her perspective--she seems to be an expert on Ukraine--  
16 how would a Ukrainian, whether a government official or  
17 person on the street, view Burisma's decision to put the son  
18 of a prominent U.S. politician on the board of directors.

19 MR. LEVY: I just think it's hard to generalize, but go  
20 ahead.

21 MS. ZENTOS: I mean, I think it would very much depend  
22 on, yes, who the Ukrainian is that we are talking about. If  
23 you're asking, you know, what I think about that, again,  
24 Burisma was never an issue, as far as I recall, that crossed  
25 my desk. I was not working on it. It was not relevant as

1 far as I knew and know to my work. It was not something we  
2 were dealing with. So if there was an article in the New  
3 York Times about a company I hadn't heard of involving an  
4 issue I don't work on, that would not have been something I  
5 would have paid a lot of attention to, and I don't know how  
6 Ukrainians view it or if they knew about it.

7 MR. FOLIO: The question I'm asking is trying to get at  
8 the basic proposition that, you know, recognizing that  
9 different countries and people would view something a  
10 different way, I'm just trying to get a sense of, for  
11 example, if the U.S. Government was investigating a  
12 Ukrainian company and that Ukrainian company placed on its  
13 board a relative of a prominent U.S. politician, how would  
14 that be viewed in Ukraine?

15 MS. ZENTOS: I mean, I think really it depends on the  
16 facts of who is on it, what company is it, who is judging  
17 it. And, again, my focus was not on corruption. That was  
18 not the main focus of my portfolio. There were many people  
19 who were more focused on this issue, and my job was to focus  
20 on the big issue in my portfolio and to assume that people  
21 in the Office of the Vice President and other places are  
22 doing their jobs.

23 MR. FOLIO: I guess what I'm trying to understand is  
24 from a Ukrainian perspective, and possibly other  
25 international perspectives, recognizing that we had a lot of

1 international partners with our efforts in Ukraine, but  
2 starting with the Ukrainian perspective first, you know, is  
3 it something such that the mere placement of someone on a  
4 board is all that one needed to get the desired effect?

5 MS. ZENTOS: I don't know. I don't know.

6 MR. FOLIO: What if the U.S. Government was in a  
7 position to influence how that country, Ukraine in this  
8 instance, was going to administer its criminal  
9 investigations of that company? Would that matter?

10 MS. ZENTOS: Would that matter to--can you clarify?

11 MR. FOLIO: Sure. Again, from the perspective of the  
12 Ukrainian Government official or Ukrainian person on the  
13 street, what's the perception that that official or that  
14 person would have if the U.S. Government was in a position  
15 to influence how the Ukrainian Government was going to  
16 conduct a criminal investigation of a company and then that  
17 company chose to place a relative of a prominent U.S.  
18 politician on its board?

19 MR. LEVY: I think that question's hard to answer  
20 because you're asking her to generalize about the Ukrainian,  
21 I think your words were, "man on the street" and, I think,  
22 the Ukrainian Government official. There are many  
23 Ukrainians. There are many Ukrainian Government officials.  
24 And I'd just ask to you to be, if you could, just a little  
25 bit more specific in your question.

1 MR. FOLIO: Sure. So I'm just trying to come at it  
2 from the angle of in her position, right, as an expert on  
3 Ukraine, someone who is sitting in the chair of the Director  
4 of Eastern European Affairs, U.S. National Security Council  
5 staff 2015 and 2016, you know, drawing upon that expertise,  
6 what would that be viewed as?

7 MS. ZENTOS: I think--I would like to note that I think  
8 Ukrainians have a very different idea of--some Ukrainians  
9 have a different idea of corruption and of these issues than  
10 we do. So I am--you know, I can look at it from my  
11 perspective, but I really don't know how a Ukrainian would  
12 see it, and I'm not sure that that's what is most, you know,  
13 relevant here because an average Ukrainian probably pays  
14 bribes, right? So if we want to look at it from a U.S.  
15 Government perspective where we don't expect conflicts of  
16 interest and--just because I was the--just because I was the  
17 Director for Ukraine at the NSC does not mean I have the  
18 lead on every issue related to Ukraine.

19 MR. FOLIO: Do you think that the hiring of a relative  
20 of a prominent U.S. politician in a firm that's being  
21 investigated, do you think that has any effect on the  
22 investigation--

23 MS. ZENTOS: I--

24 MR. FOLIO: --of that firm?

25 MS. ZENTOS: I don't know. I think there could be

1 questions raised about such a situation. I was not the  
2 person who would have looked at that. I don't know if  
3 people were looking at that.

4 MR. FOLIO: You think such a hiring would give people  
5 confidence that the investigation was going to proceed with  
6 integrity?

7 MS. ZENTOS: I do not know. Again, I think there could  
8 be questions about this, about such a situation, but I am  
9 unaware--I don't recall any of the work interactions, the  
10 work meetings, the work communications that I had involving  
11 any discussion of Hunter Biden or Burisma.

12 MR. FOLIO: Did Hunter Biden's position on the board of  
13 Burisma ever affect your work?

14 MS. ZENTOS: Not that I am aware of, no.

15 MR. FOLIO: Did it ever complicate any policy matters  
16 that you worked on?

17 MS. ZENTOS: Not that I'm aware of, no.

18 MR. FOLIO: Did it ever make any policies more  
19 difficult to achieve?

20 MS. ZENTOS: Not that I'm aware of. I don't recall  
21 being--I don't recall whether I was even aware that this was  
22 the case, so no.

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

24 MS. ZENTOS: No.

25 MR. FOLIO: Based on public reporting, Vice President

1 Biden and Ukraine President Petro Poroshenko had numerous  
2 telephone calls. Did you ever join any of these phone  
3 calls?

4 MS. ZENTOS: You cut out--I'm sorry--in the middle of  
5 that. Would you mind repeating?

6 MR. FOLIO: Did you ever join a phone call between Vice  
7 President Biden and Ukraine President Petro Poroshenko?

8 MR. LEVY: She said that she has had no recollection of  
9 Burisma or Hunter Biden coming up in any work meetings that  
10 she was a part of, and on this question she's going to  
11 decline to answer it in this voluntary setting.

12 MR. FOLIO: Did you receive any briefings, official  
13 readouts or transcripts of phone calls between Vice  
14 President Biden and President Poroshenko?

15 MR. LEVY: She's not received any Government  
16 communications to her recollection that referenced Burisma  
17 or Hunter Biden, so with that in mind, she's going to  
18 decline to answer your question.

19 MR. FOLIO: One second.

20 MR. DOWNEY: Hey, Joe, real quick.

21 MR. FOLIO: Go ahead, Brian.

22 MR. DOWNEY: Ms. Zentos, you've told us that most of  
23 your work on the NSC was to monitor and help the Ukrainians  
24 fight the Russians in the war, in the conflict that was  
25 ongoing? Is that correct?

1 MS. ZENTOS: It was to help the Ukrainians defend their  
2 territory and their people from attacks from the Russians,  
3 yes.

4 MR. DOWNEY: So as part of that work, did you or other  
5 members of the NSC analyze or receive reports regarding  
6 whether major companies within Ukraine, who they supported,  
7 political party they supported or how they might have  
8 supported one side over the other? Did you do that analysis  
9 or--

10 MS. ZENTOS: I do not recall that being something we  
11 did, but regardless, I mean, I have no recollection of  
12 certainly Burisma or Hunter Biden being part of any work  
13 decisions or discussions.

14 MR. DOWNEY: So do you know through that work whether  
15 Burisma fell on one side or the other in the conflict, their  
16 owner?

17 MS. ZENTOS: I do not know.

18 MR. DOWNEY: Is that something that as a member of the  
19 NSC that would come up or you would receive reports about  
20 from in-country money flowing or public comments by a CEO of  
21 a major company in Ukraine?

22 MS. ZENTOS: I don't know. All I can say is that I  
23 have no recollection of Burisma ever coming up in any work  
24 context, or Hunter Biden.

25 MR. DOWNEY: Okay, because a lot of the oligarchs



1 within Ukraine apparently supported the Russians. So I was  
2 just trying to suss out whether the owner of Burisma fell on  
3 that side or on the other side, and if you examined that.

4 MR. LEVY: She answered the question. She didn't know.

5 MR. DOWNEY: She doesn't know?

6 MS. ZENTOS: I don't know. Again, I don't know that I  
7 was even aware of Burisma. I don't remember being aware of  
8 it. It was not an issue that fell into my portfolio or that  
9 I worked on. I don't know.

10 MR. DOWNEY: Okay. Thank you.

11 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Given your experience with Ukraine  
12 matters, given Hunter Biden's--

13 MR. SCHRAM: Sorry to interject. We're getting a bad  
14 echo. If folks in the room with Josh could mute so that we  
15 don't get the echo. Also, Josh, I don't know if you're  
16 doing this on purpose, but we can't see your face, so it's  
17 just a disembodied voice asking questions.

18 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Sorry. The camera's not working.

19 So with respect to my question, based on your  
20 experience and with respect to Hunter Biden being on the  
21 board of Burisma, his father was the public face of the  
22 Obama administration's Ukraine policy, does that create the  
23 appearance of a conflict of interest?

24 MS. ZENTOS: I do not have all of the facts of this  
25 situation. I don't recall I was aware of Burisma. I'm not

1 an expert on conflict of interest. and I don't feel placed  
2 to speculate to judge. I'm not an expert on it.

3 MR. FOLIO: Thank you, Ms. Zentos. We now would like  
4 to turn to a meeting in January 2016 with a delegation from  
5 Ukraine that you attended. Just a bit of background. From  
6 January 18 to January 23, 2016, a group of senior-level  
7 Ukrainian prosecutors attended a series of meetings with  
8 various U.S. Government officials here in Washington, D.C.  
9 You seem to have participated in at least one of these  
10 meetings on January 19, 2016, and I'm going to ask Will to  
11 post the agenda from the series of meetings, which we will  
12 label as Exhibit 5.

13 [Zentos Exhibit No. 5 was  
14 marked for identification.]

15 MR. LEVY: Can you send the document to us by email,  
16 please?

17 MR. FOLIO: No, Josh, we can't. This is a non-public  
18 record.

19 MR. LEVY: It's a Committee record that's being used  
20 for the interview. You still won't--you're refusing to send  
21 it to us so we can look at it.

22 MR. FOLIO: Correct. We're asking that you please give  
23 Ms. Zentos view it on the screen.

24 MS. ZENTOS: Would you mind making it larger?

25 MR. FOLIO: I think we learned that 150 is appropriate.

1 MR. LEVY: Can you scroll down?

2 [Pause.]

3 MS. ZENTOS: Would you mind scrolling down further?

4 MR. LEVY: I think you scrolled down too quickly.

5 Yeah, thanks.

6 [Pause.]

7 MS. ZENTOS: Okay. If you could scroll down more.

8 [Pause.]

9 MR. LEVY: Can you scroll down, please?

10 [Pause.]

11 MR. LEVY: Scroll down, please.

12 [Pause.]

13 MR. LEVY: Scroll down, please.

14 [Pause.]

15 MR. LEVY: I don't know if we missed something between  
16 pages 2 and 3. This is part of the problem with this  
17 process.

18 [Pause.]

19 MR. LEVY: Can you scroll up, please? Thank you.

20 Can you scroll to the very top of the document, please?

21 [Pause.]

22 MR. LEVY: Go ahead.

23 MR. FOLIO: Ms. Zentos, taking a look at the entire  
24 agenda, what was the purpose of these series of meetings  
25 with the Ukrainian delegation?

1 MS. ZENTOS: I did not set up this visit. I did not  
2 draft that schedule. I could not speak to that. But I can  
3 say that I have no recollection of Hunter Biden or Burisma  
4 coming up in any discussions, in any work meetings,  
5 including any meeting that I was in that was related to this  
6 visit. But, yeah, if I was in a meeting, yeah.

7 MR. FOLIO: Who set up this delegation visit?

8 MS. ZENTOS: I do not recall. I'm not sure if I knew  
9 who set it up.

10 MR. FOLIO: What was the purpose of the delegation  
11 meeting with National Security Council staff, including  
12 yourself, as part of this visit?

13 MS. ZENTOS: Part of national security staff duties are  
14 to meet with people to find out what's happening in the  
15 countries you cover. My colleagues and I met often with  
16 officials from the countries we covered. Again, I have no  
17 recollection of anyone in that--in any meeting I may have  
18 been in, with this delegation or otherwise, discussing  
19 Burisma or Hunter Biden.

20 MR. FOLIO: So the title of this series of meetings is  
21 "Examination of the US Adversarial Criminal Justice System  
22 for senior-level Ukrainian prosecutors." You told us  
23 previously, though, that that was not a focus of your work  
24 at the National Security Council, so why were you involved  
25 in it?

1 MS. ZENTOS: The focus of my work was definitely on the  
2 ongoing war. The situation overall in Ukraine certainly was  
3 a factor in my work. So if there was--if there were  
4 visiting Ukrainian officials, I would attend, might attend,  
5 and together with colleagues or not.

6 MR. FOLIO: And why did you attend this one?

7 MS. ZENTOS: I don't recall. I mean, I assume I was--  
8 well, yeah, also, I mean--so I recall attending a meeting at  
9 some point while I was at the NSC with at least one  
10 Ukrainian prosecutor. I do not know if I was at this  
11 specific meeting. I may well have been. I remember a  
12 meeting that included David Sakvarelidze, who was a  
13 Ukrainian prosecutor, so that may have been this meeting.  
14 But I don't remember a date, so I cannot say for sure.

15 MR. FOLIO: And the meeting you do recall with the  
16 Ukrainian prosecutor, what was the purpose of that meeting?

17 MS. ZENTOS: Again, I will say the purpose of that  
18 meeting was not--since I have no recollection of it--  
19 discussing Hunter Biden or Burisma. Again, I met with  
20 Ukrainian officials, Moldovan officials, Belarussian  
21 officials, and that was part of the job.

22 MR. FOLIO: I just want to understand. If your primary  
23 focus, you told us before, was the conflict between  
24 Ukrainian and Russia, why are you spending time attending  
25 meetings like this about Ukrainian prosecutors and the

1 criminal justice system?

2 MS. ZENTOS: Sometimes I would take a meeting--  
3 sometimes I would take a meeting because there, you know,  
4 was a--a Ukrainian official was visiting and it's helpful to  
5 know what the situation is in the country that you're  
6 covering. So I did this often, as did all of my colleagues.  
7 This was the norm.

8 MR. FOLIO: Is it fair to say that understanding what  
9 senior-level Ukrainian prosecutors thought was relevant to  
10 your work?

11 MS. ZENTOS: I thought that there could be some  
12 relevance to issues I was working on.

13 MR. FOLIO: And why?

14 MS. ZENTOS: I took the meeting, I assume. I don't  
15 recall this--the run-up to this particular meeting. I don't  
16 recall what specific issues we got into. I recall no  
17 discussion of Hunter Biden or Burisma.

18 MR. FOLIO: Can you please explain how meeting with  
19 Ukrainian prosecutors would have been relevant to your work?

20 MS. ZENTOS: Sure. I can say that a deputy prosecutor  
21 general is a relatively high-level official in Ukraine and I  
22 assume would have some insights into what's happening in the  
23 country and in U.S.-Ukraine relations. At a minimum, that  
24 would be of interest.

25 MR. FOLIO: Anything else?

1 MS. ZENTOS: I mean, there could be a host of issues,  
2 depending on that person's or that group's knowledge or  
3 experience or thoughts, that would be interesting to  
4 understand Ukraine. I don't remember specifics of this  
5 meeting.

6 MR. FOLIO: You were scheduled to attend the meeting  
7 with Eric Ciaramella. Who is Eric Ciaramella?

8 MS. ZENTOS: He's not somebody with whom I remember  
9 having any work dealings related to Burisma or Hunter Biden.

10 MR. FOLIO: What was his title in the National Security  
11 Council staff?

12 MS. ZENTOS: Again, he is not anyone I remember having  
13 any work discussions on about Hunter Biden or Burisma.

14 MR. FOLIO: Does the Director for Baltic and Eastern  
15 European Affairs sound right?

16 MS. ZENTOS: What I said was I do not recall having any  
17 discussions with anyone in work-related matters related to  
18 Hunter Biden or Burisma.

19 MR. FOLIO: As the Director for Baltic and Eastern  
20 European Affairs, what was Mr. Ciaramella's purpose for  
21 attending that meeting along with you?

22 MR. LEVY: You'd have to--

23 MS. ZENTOS: Again.

24 MR. LEVY: If he attended that meeting, you'd have to  
25 ask him.

1 MR. FOLIO: No, I'm asking Ms. Zentos from her  
2 perspective as the Director for Eastern European Affairs.  
3 What was the purpose of having the Director for Baltic and  
4 Eastern European Affairs as well?

5 MS. ZENTOS: All right. So what I would like to  
6 emphasize is that at that meeting, if I was there, I have no  
7 recollection of anyone discussing Hunter Biden or Burisma,  
8 and that's what I have to say.

9 MR. FOLIO: Just to be clear, you're declining to  
10 answer about Mr. Ciaramella and his portfolio?

11 MS. ZENTOS: That's correct.

12 MR. SCHRAM: That's the second time we've made the  
13 witness repeat her answers on this issue. Can we just  
14 stipulate that that's the answer moving forward and not have  
15 to force the witness to continue to repeat herself?

16 MR. FOLIO: I'm happy to find a more efficient way to  
17 do that. I'll leave that to Josh and Ms. Zentos. They seem  
18 to want to repeat the longer phrase. But if she's just  
19 simply going to decline to answer, I'm happy just to have  
20 her say that for the reasons previously discussed if that's  
21 more efficient. I'll leave that to Josh and Ms. Zentos to  
22 determine.

23 MR. LEVY: Yeah, look, I think she and we have made it  
24 clear that she was happy to and has been answering many of  
25 your questions today that are pertinent to the Committee's



1 investigation, so she's here for as long as you'd like  
2 today. She's balancing that with her discretion as a former  
3 National Security Council and her privileges under the  
4 Constitution, including the First Amendment.

5 MR. FOLIO: So, Josh, do we want to stipulate to the  
6 shorter answer or no?

7 MR. LEVY: We can stipulate to the shorter answer that  
8 when she is declining to answer a question--I mean, it's  
9 hard because there may be questions that you want to ask her  
10 that she wants to decline to answer for some other reason.  
11 But when she is--should she decline to answer a question  
12 because it's not pertinent and it's her effort to meet her  
13 obligations as a former member of the National Security  
14 Council and make sure that her constitutional privileges are  
15 being maintained, then we can say that that is why she is  
16 declining in this voluntary interview.

17 MR. FOLIO: Okay. Maybe I can just round out this  
18 conversation, so perhaps we can move forward more  
19 efficiently when she's declining to answer on that basis.

20 What I would like to do is enter into the record as  
21 Exhibit 6 the press release from Chairman Grassley and from  
22 Chairman Johnson on December 6, 2019, when they publicly  
23 initiated the Ukraine investigation. Josh, this was one of  
24 the documents I sent to you in the emails, and I'll quote  
25 from the last paragraph. It says that, "The investigation

1 is focused on potential conflicts of interest and political  
2 influence by Ukrainian elements, including the natural gas  
3 firm Burisma, which employed as a board member Hunter Biden  
4 while his father was the U.S. Vice President and public face  
5 of the Obama administration's handling of Ukraine." Please  
6 note that the "including," of course, does not mean "only,"  
7 as you have interpreted it.

8 [Zentos Exhibit No. 6 was  
9 marked for identification.]

10 MR. FOLIO: The next document I'd like to introduce is  
11 Exhibit 7, the second press release that we sent you, Josh,  
12 on December 18, 2019, from Chairman Johnson and Chairman  
13 Grassley. This was the first set of transcribed interviews  
14 with regard to the investigation requested by the Chairmen.  
15 It identifies the same focus, potential conflicts of  
16 interest and political influence that Ukrainian elements,  
17 including the firm Burisma.

18 [Zentos Exhibit No. 7 was  
19 marked for identification.]

20 MR. FOLIO: Then for the record I will just point to  
21 Senate Resolution 70, which describes the jurisdiction of  
22 the Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee:  
23 ""The Committee is authorized to study or investigate the  
24 efficiency and economy of operations of all branches of the  
25 Government including the possible existence of"--a long list

1 I'm ellipsing--"corruption or unethical practices...[and]  
2 conflicts of interest."

3 MR. LEVY: And I'd just note that Exhibits 6 and 7 from  
4 which you read were sent to me for the first time today. We  
5 were in receipt of the April 30, 2020, letter from the  
6 Chairs and the--from the Chairs of these Committees to  
7 Secretary Pompeo, and reading all three of them together or  
8 separately, we came here prepared today to have Ms. Zentos  
9 voluntarily answer questions pertinent to the examination of  
10 potential conflicts of interest and U.S. Government policy  
11 with respect to the Ukraine and Burisma Holdings. And I  
12 don't see anything in anything you just read to me that  
13 would change that reasonable understanding of the scope of  
14 the investigation for which Ms. Zentos prepared to answer  
15 questions, and she is here for the rest of the day to  
16 continue to answer questions that are pertinent to that  
17 investigation.

18 MR. FOLIO: And I will note for the record that you  
19 never asked for any of these documents. I'll also note  
20 these documents are all publicly available, and they fully  
21 define the scope of the Chairmen's investigation that began  
22 again publicly on December 6, 2019. I will note that on  
23 their face, none of them support your position. I will note  
24 that in context all of them undermine your position. Your  
25 interpretation is frankly absurd. That's just a textualist

1 interpretation.

2 MR. LEVY: We disagree with that position and your use  
3 of language. It's our position it's reasonable, and we  
4 would also hold much more weight with a signed letter from  
5 the Chairmen than a press release. But even taking the  
6 press release into consideration, the focus of this  
7 investigation, the scope of it seems to be on whether there  
8 was a potential conflict of interest regarding the Ukraine  
9 and Burisma and matters including Burisma, not including but  
10 not limited to Burisma. It seems very clear from the plain  
11 reading of everything you've read to me that that's the  
12 scope of this investigation. That's what we came here  
13 prepared to talk about, and she's--Ms. Zentos will continue  
14 to answer your questions pertinent to that investigation.

15 MR. FOLIO: And I'll just add that it is difficult, if  
16 not impossible, for the Committee to investigate conflicts  
17 of interest affecting U.S. foreign policy toward Ukraine if  
18 the witness does not answer questions about what the U.S.  
19 foreign policy towards Ukraine is. But I think having made  
20 it abundantly clear what our respective positions are, Josh,  
21 please feel free that insofar as we're referring back to  
22 this conversation, she can just simply decline to answer  
23 based on that conversation, and if she declines to answer on  
24 another basis, just let us know.

25 MR. LEVY: Okay. We'll do so.

1 MR. FOLIO: All right. Now I'd like to turn to what  
2 we'll pull up and mark as Exhibit 8.

3 [Zentos Exhibit No. 8 was  
4 marked for identification.]

5 MR. FOLIO: If you could start at the bottom, please,  
6 Will.

7 MR. LEVY: And I'll just renew my request to have you  
8 send us these documents so that we can review them on our  
9 own.

10 MR. FOLIO: Understood. So it's going to be the same  
11 conversation, so for efficiency's sake, we'll just note your  
12 objection to any of the documents that we haven't shared  
13 with you.

14 MR. LEVY: You're declining the request?

15 MR. FOLIO: Correct.

16 So this is a list of folks who attended the meeting,  
17 the WAVES. You'll see the context as Will scrolls up.

18 MR. LEVY: We can't see the entirety of the document.  
19 It looks like the width has been cut off. I don't know when  
20 the document begins and ends.

21 MR. FOLIO: On my screen, that's the entirety of the  
22 document. The first column in the left, last name, last  
23 column on the right.

24 MR. LEVY: And was there--

25 MR. FOLIO: That's the full width.

1 MR. LEVY: Was there data--we're on the last page of  
2 the document. Can you show us the first page through the  
3 seventh page of the seven-page document? And is this  
4 Exhibit 8, Joe?

5 MR. FOLIO: Correct.

6 MR. LEVY: Can you scroll to the bottom of the email  
7 thread and then scroll up so we can read it chronologically  
8 as it happened?

9 Is there a text to this? We see to a number of people.

10 MR. FOLIO: That document is how it was received. It  
11 does seem to be the same original message. This is the only  
12 one that we have.

13 MR. LEVY: So is the earliest email this email from  
14 Jeffrey Cole on Wednesday, January 6 at 5:54 a.m.?

15 MR. FOLIO: Yes.

16 MR. LEVY: And there's no text in the message--

17 MR. FOLIO: Correct.

18 MR. LEVY: --in this document. Okay.

19 [Pause.]

20 MR. LEVY: Can you scroll up a little bit, please?

21 [Pause.]

22 MR. LEVY: Can you scroll up a little bit more?

23 [Pause.]

24 MR. LEVY: Can you scroll up more?

25 [Pause.]

1 MR. LEVY: Can you scroll up, please?

2 [Pause.]

3 MR. LEVY: Can you scroll up so we can see who it's  
4 reportedly from? Okay. Can you scroll up?

5 [Pause.]

6 MR. LEVY: Scroll up, please.

7 [Pause.]

8 MR. LEVY: Can you scroll down? I think you jumped  
9 over an email.

10 [Pause.]

11 MR. LEVY: Can you scroll up, please?

12 [Pause.]

13 MR. LEVY: Can you scroll up?

14 [Pause.]

15 MR. LEVY: Can you scroll up?

16 [Pause.]

17 MR. LEVY: Scroll up a little bit more, please. Now  
18 scroll down a little bit.

19 [Pause.]

20 MR. LEVY: Scroll up, please.

21 [Pause.]

22 MR. LEVY: Scroll up, please.

23 [Pause.]

24 MR. SCHRAM: Joe, as I understand, this is an excerpt  
25 from a larger production, and I don't know the discrepancy,

1 but our PDF of this excerpt is a different number of pages  
2 than what you've presented. If you can provide us the  
3 exhibits in PDF form so we can compare it to the documents  
4 in our possession, we can ensure that it's a complete  
5 record, and also try to follow along at the same time.

6 MR. FOLIO: Zack, this is the NARA production with the  
7 Bates range 1695 through 1699. I'm just going to ask my  
8 team--oh, I'm sorry, 1700. That's where the spread sheet  
9 is, 1700.

10 Josh and Ms. Zentos, are you all ready to proceed?

11 MR. LEVY: Can you scroll up to the first page?

12 MR. FOLIO: That was the first page.

13 MR. LEVY: Okay. And then the very last page is where  
14 I think you were wanting us to focus.

15 MR. FOLIO: Yes.

16 MR. LEVY: Which is an attachment of some kind.

17 MR. FOLIO: To one of these emails. The Bates number  
18 is 1700. It's a list of Ukrainian officials as explained in  
19 the email that were checked into the White House for the  
20 meeting. And the question is: Earlier, Ms. Zentos, you  
21 said that you recall a meeting with the Ukrainian  
22 prosecutor. I cannot remember the name that you said, but  
23 can you please repeat that name? And then let us know if  
24 that name is on the list.

25 MS. ZENTOS: Sure. I mean, again, I don't remember a



1 particular date, but it was David Sakvarelidze, which is the  
2 first name listed here.

3 MR. FOLIO: And you pronounced that much better than I  
4 ever will. What is David's title and position?

5 MR. LEVY: What's the question, Joe? We couldn't hear  
6 it.

7 MR. FOLIO: David's--

8 MR. SCHRAM: I'm sorry to interrupt. Joe, can you send  
9 us the PDF of this? It is different than the way the  
10 records are in the production we've received. I don't know  
11 if you've combined two records or if you're omitting blank  
12 pages. This is an excerpt from a larger PDF, so it is not  
13 clear to us that it is a discrete record. You can provide  
14 us the discrete record. We can compare it to what we have  
15 in our possession.

16 MR. FOLIO: So, Zack, are the Bates numbers not working  
17 for you?

18 MR. SCHRAM: The Bates numbers that you provided in our  
19 understanding of the document is not a discrete record. It  
20 is an excerpt of another production and not in our judgment  
21 a single discrete record.

22 MR. FOLIO: What is it missing? You mean you want the  
23 PDF that contained like 100 emails in it?

24 MR. SCHRAM: We have the whole PDF, but I don't know  
25 how you've selected this--you seem to be characterizing it

1 as a "record." But I don't know whether it is discrete or  
2 inclusive. It's hard for us to tell. And since we don't  
3 have it in front of us, we're just following your scrolling.

4 MR. FOLIO: I'll ask that we please just sort this out  
5 during the break. We gave you the Bates numbers. But I  
6 think we can just--we have just one or two questions about  
7 this email. We can do that and then take a break.

8 So the question, Ms. Zentos, was--

9 MR. SCHRAM: I leave that in the discretion of the  
10 witness' counsel whether or not that needs to be resolved in  
11 advance of answering a question.

12 MR. LEVY: It looks like there's a discrepancy between  
13 the majority and the minority about whether this is a  
14 complete record. And if that is something that the majority  
15 and the minority can resolve, that would be helpful so that  
16 we can have the witness be asked about complete records.

17 MR. FOLIO: I think that we would be happy to resolve  
18 that now if we wouldn't lose the time that we've just spent  
19 having Ms. Zentos review the email. So our request would be  
20 that we could take a break now since the hour is just about  
21 up, and then we would speak with our minority and then upon  
22 returning, we could ask our handful of questions about this  
23 document while it's still somewhat fresh in Ms. Zentos'  
24 mind. And then we would turn it over to the minority.  
25 Zack, does that sound all right?

1 MR. SCHRAM: That's fine. I would note that it's 1:15,  
2 and I would suggest a longer break so that we can have some  
3 lunch if folks want to.

4 MR. FOLIO: Do you want to try to reconvene around 2  
5 o'clock?

6 MR. SCHRAM: No objection.

7 MR. LEVY: That's fine. How much longer do you all  
8 think we're going to be going today? How many more hours?

9 MR. FOLIO: I think now that we've got a more sort of  
10 efficient path through for the places in which she's going  
11 to decline to answer--I think we have a fair amount more to  
12 go, but I think it's going to move more quickly now, that we  
13 can just quickly refer to previous positions on declinations  
14 to answer. So I think it's going to be at least two, if not  
15 three more sessions from the majority.

16 MR. LEVY: Okay. I'd just note that she's trying to  
17 prepare to leave the country for Government business in a  
18 couple days. It would be good to get out of here at least  
19 before--

20 MR. FOLIO: We completely understand. We appreciate  
21 her time, and we will do our best.

22 MR. LEVY: Thank you.

23 MR. FOLIO: All right. We'll see you all at 2:00.

24 [Recess.]

25

1 AFTERNOON SESSION

2 [2:10 p.m.]

3 MR. FOLIO: Ms. Zentos, before we took a break, I had  
4 asked whether or not the prosecutor from Ukraine you  
5 remember meeting with, if that person's name was on the  
6 list. My understanding is you said, yes, it was Mr. David--  
7 I'm going to mispronounce his last name, but Sakvarelidze.  
8 And I asked you what is David's position in the Ukrainian  
9 Government.

10 MR. LEVY: What is it now or what was it in 2016?

11 MR. FOLIO: In 2016, when she met with him.

12 MS. ZENTOS: I believe he was deputy prosecutor  
13 general.

14 MR. FOLIO: And what did you discuss at your meeting  
15 with him?

16 MS. ZENTOS: I do not recall details, and if--I believe  
17 I remember a meeting that included him. I can't say for  
18 certain what date that meeting was on. I see this email  
19 chain was setting up a meeting, and so--but assuming I was  
20 at this meeting, I don't have any recollection of Hunter  
21 Biden or Burisma being discussed.

22 MR. FOLIO: What types of issues would you have  
23 discussed with the deputy prosecutor general?

24 MR. LEVY: What type of issues would she have  
25 discussed?

1 MR. FOLIO: Yes.

2 MR. LEVY: Is that a hypothetical?

3 MR. FOLIO: Well, not really. It's based on her work  
4 and portfolio at the National Security Council staff, so if  
5 she was meeting the deputy prosecutor general, what types of  
6 issues that he would be able to address would she find  
7 relevant to her work?

8 MS. ZENTOS: Again, I don't recall the specifics of  
9 this meeting. I had meetings all the time. When I would  
10 meet with any person on a country, I would talk about the  
11 situation in that country and probably U.S. relations with  
12 that country. Again, I don't have any recollection of  
13 discussing the topics of Hunter Biden or Burisma or those  
14 topics ever coming up. I don't want to speculate on what I  
15 may have discussed when I don't recall.

16 MR. FOLIO: How is the work of the Ukraine prosecutor  
17 general's office relevant to your work at the National  
18 Security Council?

19 MS. ZENTOS: Again, I mean, I--going back to the main  
20 point, I don't have any recollection of the topics of  
21 Burisma or Hunter Biden coming up at that meeting.

22 MR. FOLIO: In what other ways would such a meeting  
23 have been relevant to your work? And, again, if you're  
24 declining to answer, just be efficient and just let us know.

25 MR. LEVY: It just calls for speculation, and based on

1 the grounds that we set forth before, she's going to decline  
2 to answer the question.

3 MR. FOLIO: Turning to page 1698...

4 MR. LEVY: This is Exhibit 9?

5 MR. FOLIO: We're still on Exhibit 8.

6 MR. LEVY: Still on Exhibit 8, okay. Just a different  
7 page within it?

8 MR. FOLIO: Correct. So at the bottom of 1698, Jeff  
9 Cole--I'm sorry. At the top, Ambassador Pyatt writes on  
10 January 7, 2016, at the end of his response, he says, "Jeff  
11 Cole is orchestrating this for all of us"--"is orchestrating  
12 it all for us." Who is Jeff Cole? And what was his role in  
13 dealing with the Ukraine delegation?

14 MS. ZENTOS: I don't want to--I'm going to decline to  
15 get involved in--to get involved in names of U.S. Government  
16 officials.

17 MR. FOLIO: What agency did Mr. Cole work for?

18 MR. LEVY: She's told you that she doesn't--

19 MS. ZENTOS: I'm going to decline to talk about  
20 specific U.S. Government individuals by name.

21 MR. LEVY: Inasmuch as she doesn't have a recollection  
22 of them meeting with her or communicating with her about  
23 Burisma or Hunter Biden, and so in this case she doesn't  
24 have a recollection of that. She's going to decline.

25 MR. FOLIO: Who is Rory?

1 MR. LEVY: Same answer.

2 MR. FOLIO: I'd appreciate it if Ms. Zentos could just  
3 state for the record that she's declining to answer.

4 MS. ZENTOS: Yes, I'm declining to answer about  
5 individuals--I have no recollection of discussing Hunter  
6 Biden or Burisma with anyone.

7 MR. LEVY: That's on the grounds of pertinency, her  
8 discretion as a former National Security Council member, and  
9 her privileges under the First Amendment.

10 MR. FOLIO: Josh, every time you say things like that,  
11 then I feel the need to repeat my thing. I thought we were  
12 going to find a more efficient path to do this. Is this  
13 going to be the same basis as we discussed before?

14 MR. LEVY: The three bases I just articulated are the  
15 three bases.

16 MR. FOLIO: The same ones that we've discussed before?  
17 This is not a new grounds for not answering?

18 MR. LEVY: It's the grounds for not answering this  
19 question in a voluntary interview. I'm not trying to be  
20 difficult.

21 MR. FOLIO: Please don't. We had a long discussion  
22 prior to our break where we both set forth our respective  
23 positions about her declining to answer because of your  
24 interpretation of one part of the letter that we think is an  
25 interpretation that leads to absurd results and, therefore,

1 is not correct. You and I spent a lot of time talking about  
2 our respective positions on the record. I thought we had  
3 reached an agreement that was going to be the basis for Ms.  
4 Zentos' declining to answer. We can simply say she's  
5 declining to answer based on the reasons that we have  
6 previously discussed. And if it was going to be a new  
7 basis, you would identify that new basis for us. So I'd  
8 appreciate, for efficiency's sake, if you could just let us  
9 know if it's on the same basis as previously discussed or if  
10 there's a new basis upon which Ms. Zentos is declining to  
11 identify any U.S. Government official that she talked to in  
12 this email.

13 MR. LEVY: Going forward we will do that.

14 MR. FOLIO: What's the answer for this question? Who  
15 is Rory?

16 MR. LEVY: She told you that she didn't recall speaking  
17 with this person or having Government business with this  
18 person regarding Burisma or Hunter Biden and on that basis  
19 was going to be declining the question. And I told you that  
20 those were on the grounds of pertinency, her discretion as a  
21 National Security Council member, and her First Amendment  
22 privileges.

23 MR. FOLIO: Ms. Zentos, who is Christina?

24 MS. ZENTOS: I'm sorry. You broke up.

25 MR. FOLIO: Who is Christina?



1 MS. ZENTOS: Again, I'm going to decline to answer.

2 MR. FOLIO: And who is--

3 MS. ZENTOS: No recollection--just to say it again, I  
4 have no recollection of discussing Burisma or Hunter Biden  
5 with that person or anyone.

6 MR. FOLIO: Again, we'll stipulate that when you say  
7 you decline to answer, that's going to be your--behind  
8 everything. And if there's something different, just let us  
9 know if there's a difference.

10 Who is Celeste?

11 MS. ZENTOS: Same answer. I'll decline.

12 MR. FOLIO: Why was Mr. Ciaramella interested in having  
13 Rory and Christina, perhaps Celeste, join your meeting with  
14 the Ukrainian delegation?

15 MS. ZENTOS: No recollection. Same answer.

16 MR. LEVY: Recollection.

17 MS. ZENTOS: No recollection of--what I think we're  
18 saying that--I have no recollection of Burisma, Hunter  
19 Biden, same answer.

20 MR. FOLIO: You're just saying you're declining to  
21 answer the question?

22 MR. LEVY: And she shouldn't have to speculate.

23 MR. FOLIO: No one's asking her to speculate.

24 MR. LEVY: I think the answer to that question would  
25 call for speculation.

1 MR. FOLIO: How?

2 MR. LEVY: Repeat the question.

3 MR. FOLIO: Why did Mr. Ciaramella want Rory and  
4 Christina, and perhaps Celeste, to join your meeting with  
5 the Ukrainian delegation?

6 MR. LEVY: Calls for speculation because you would have  
7 to ask Mr. Ciaramella that question.

8 MR. FOLIO: Your objection is noted, but she should  
9 still answer.

10 MS. ZENTOS: I'm going to decline to answer questions--  
11 this question.

12 MR. FOLIO: What was your professional relationship  
13 with Mr. Ciaramella?

14 MS. ZENTOS: I'm going to decline to answer that.

15 MR. FOLIO: Do you still have contact with Mr.  
16 Ciaramella?

17 MS. ZENTOS: Declining to answer that.

18 MR. FOLIO: In addition to yourself, what other U.S.  
19 officials attended this meeting with the Ukraine delegation?

20 MS. ZENTOS: I don't--

21 MR. LEVY: She didn't say that she attended this  
22 meeting. She has said that attended a meeting. She doesn't  
23 recall the specific date.

24 MS. ZENTOS: Correct. I attended a meeting. I recall  
25 attending a meeting that included David Sakvarelidze. I do

1 not recall the date, and I do not--I'm not going to talk  
2 about names of U.S. officials.

3 MR. FOLIO: How many times have you met David at the  
4 White House?

5 MR. LEVY: David who?

6 MR. FOLIO: A name I can't pronounce: Sakvarelidze.

7 MS. ZENTOS: I only recall one meeting that involved  
8 him. That is my recollection.

9 MR. FOLIO: So based on the information we've shown  
10 you, does that refresh your recollection that the one  
11 meeting you recall is this meeting for which we've shown you  
12 the agenda?

13 MS. ZENTOS: I mean, I cannot say for certain. I  
14 recall one meeting that I believe took place in the Old  
15 Executive Office Building that involved U.S. officials and  
16 involved Ukrainian officials, including David Sakvarelidze.

17 MR. FOLIO: What U.S. officials other than yourself  
18 were at that meeting?

19 MS. ZENTOS: Other people from the U.S. Government,  
20 from various agencies.

21 MR. FOLIO: Which agencies?

22 MS. ZENTOS: I'm going to decline answering.

23 MR. FOLIO: On the same basis?

24 MR. LEVY: Yes.

25 MR. FOLIO: Approximately how many other U.S. officials

1 were at the meeting with you?

2 MS. ZENTOS: I do not recall.

3 MR. FOLIO: Was it more than a dozen?

4 MS. ZENTOS: I don't--

5 MR. LEVY: Don't guess.

6 MS. ZENTOS: Okay. I could not tell you for certain.

7 MR. FOLIO: More than six?

8 MS. ZENTOS: I'm not going to speculate. I don't  
9 recall how many people were there.

10 MR. FOLIO: Did Andriy Telizhenko attend that meeting?

11 MS. ZENTOS: I don't recall.

12 MR. FOLIO: I'm going to introduce as Exhibit 9--Will,  
13 if you could pull that document up, please. This is a  
14 printout of the White House visitor log from that day.

15 [Zentos Exhibit No. 9 was

16 marked for identification.]

17 MR. FOLIO: Ms. Zentos, do you see David Sakvarelidze's  
18 name on that list?

19 MS. ZENTOS: Yes, I see David Sakvarelidze's name on  
20 that list.

21 MR. LEVY: Is there any more to this document, by the  
22 way? We're seeing the top half. I don't know if the bottom  
23 half has any writing on it.

24 MR. FOLIO: No, there's no more.

25 MR. LEVY: Can you scroll down, please?

1 MR. FOLIO: Sure. Will? Thank you.

2 MR. LEVY: Thanks.

3 MR. FOLIO: Sure. Ms. Zentos, do you see the date of  
4 the meeting on this excerpt from a White House visitors log  
5 is the same date, January 19, 2016, as the prior email--I'm  
6 sorry, the prior meeting with the Ukrainian delegation that  
7 we were discussing?

8 MS. ZENTOS: Yes, I do see that.

9 MR. FOLIO: Do you see Andriy Telizhenko's name at the  
10 end of this list?

11 MS. ZENTOS: I do. I see his name.

12 MR. FOLIO: Do you know Andriy Telizhenko?

13 MS. ZENTOS: I have met Andriy Telizhenko.

14 MR. FOLIO: And do you see in the last name category  
15 that you are listed as the last name for Nazar Kholodnytski?

16 MS. ZENTOS: I see my name there. I will just note,  
17 since we're discussing what appears to be a WAVES record or  
18 a copy of a WAVES record, that I am not an expert on how  
19 that process works. The office manager would deal with  
20 WAVES. But my recollection is that because--just because  
21 your name is listed there does not mean you had to be the  
22 one to escort the individual or to attend the meeting. So  
23 just to note.

24 MR. FOLIO: Understood. And you see Mr. Ciaramella's  
25 name listed for every other individual?

1 MS. ZENTOS: Yes.

2 MR. FOLIO: And he was your colleague on the National  
3 Security Council?

4 MS. ZENTOS: I'm going to decline to answer that.

5 MR. LEVY: For the same reasons.

6 MR. FOLIO: Right. So I think this was our bonus time  
7 to continue forward with that exhibit. I think at this  
8 point we'll turn the questioning over to the minority,  
9 unless, of course, you all want a break.

10 MR. LEVY: We're okay.

11 MR. FOLIO: 2:25 p.m. Zack?

12 MR. SCHRAM: Will, are you able to turn control of the  
13 exhibits over to Roy?

14 MR. SACRIPANTI: Coming through now.

15 MR. SCHRAM: Thank you.

16 [Pause.]

17 MR. SACRIPANTI: Roy has control.

18 MR. SCHRAM: Great.

19 Mr. Levy, we've spoken a few times about the letter  
20 that you provided to the Committee staff on July 18th, but I  
21 don't believe it's been entered as an exhibit into the  
22 interview today, so I would like to mark it Exhibit 9.

23 MR. LEVY: Okay.

24 MR. SCHRAM: And just in the interest of efficiency--

25 MR. FOLIO: I'm sorry. Two points of order. First,

1 we've already entered an Exhibit 9. And then, second,  
2 unless you object, could we start a different numbering  
3 scheme, perhaps a lettering scheme, for minority exhibits,  
4 perhaps starting with A, if I may suggest that.

5 MR. SCHRAM: No objections.

6 MR. FOLIO: Thanks.

7 [Zentos Exhibit A was marked  
8 for identification.]

9 MR. SCHRAM: We'd like to introduce Exhibit A, which is  
10 your letter to the Committee staff received on July 18th,  
11 and I'll note that in this letter you write, "...please note  
12 that, while she is not certain of the precise date, Ms.  
13 Zentos does recall attending a meeting with Ukrainian and US  
14 officials on or about January 19, 2016, but she has no  
15 recollection of either Hunter Biden or Burisma being  
16 discussed at that meeting--contrary to news reporting. Nor  
17 does Ms. Zentos recall the topics of either Burisma Holdings  
18 or Hunter Biden arising out of any official government  
19 business where she was present or in which she participated.  
20 She does not recall meeting with, or otherwise being in  
21 communication with, Hunter Biden or anyone from Burisma  
22 Holdings. Nor does she recall attending meetings with any  
23 reportedly representing Burisma Holdings, including but not  
24 limited to Blue Star and Karen Tramontano. Ms. Zentos does  
25 not recall the subject of Burisma Holdings or Hunter Biden

1 being discussed at any government meeting in which she  
2 participated with US and/or Ukrainian officials. Nor does  
3 she recall the subject of Burisma Holdings or Hunter Biden  
4 appearing in any government communication she sent or  
5 received."

6 I read it in hopes--and now entered into the record--in  
7 the hopes that we can be more efficient and not make you  
8 repeat those answers endlessly such that you have adequate  
9 time to prepare for your imminent assignment in Afghanistan.

10 MS. ZENTOS: Thank you.

11 MR. LEVY: Thank you.

12 MR. SCHRAM: In the last session, the majority  
13 referenced the November 21, 2019, letter from Chairmen  
14 Johnson and Grassley to the Archivist of the United States,  
15 Mr. Ferriero, if I'm pronouncing that correctly. The  
16 documents that the majority has been referring to, the NSC  
17 documents, were provided in response to that letter, and  
18 although in their discretion, they have not provided you  
19 opportunity to review those documents in advance, those  
20 documents themselves were provided to the majority in the  
21 discretion of the office, and Barack and Michelle Obama,  
22 President Obama has a privilege and was under no obligation  
23 to provide those documents to the majority.

24 When permission was provided to the Archivist to  
25 provide the majority with those documents, provide the



1 Committee with those documents, it included a cover letter,  
2 which I will now enter as Exhibit B, which is a March 13,  
3 2020, letter from the Honorable David S. Ferriero--sorry, to  
4 the Honorable David S. Ferriero from Anita Decker  
5 Breckenridge, Records Representative to President Obama.

6 [Zentos Exhibit B was marked  
7 for identification.]

8 MR. SCHRAM: I'll give you a moment to review this  
9 document. Just let me know when you're ready.

10 MR. LEVY: You can scroll down.

11 MS. ZENTOS: Right there is good.

12 MR. SCHRAM: And you should--I provided these records  
13 copying the majority. I provided this as a potential  
14 exhibit yesterday, so obviously you should have the PDF of  
15 this. You don't have to refer to the version on our screen.

16 MR. LEVY: Thank you, and we have that in front of us.

17 MR. SCHRAM: I'd like to point to the third paragraph  
18 that starts, "President Obama has consistently supported the  
19 nonpartisan administration of presidential records and the  
20 commitment to transparency core to NARA's mission. However,  
21 the current request is not a proper use of the limited NARA  
22 exceptions. It arises out of efforts by some, actively  
23 supported by Russia, to shift the blame for Russian  
24 interference in the 2016 election to Ukraine. See Fiona  
25 Hill HSPCI Testimony at 39-40. (Based on questions I have

1 heard, some of you on this committee appear to believe that  
2 Russia and its security services did not conduct a campaign  
3 against our country and that, perhaps, somehow for some  
4 reason Ukraine did. This is a fictional narrative that is  
5 being perpetrated and propagated by the Russian service  
6 services themselves.');

7 David Hale Senate Committee on  
8 Foreign Relations Testimony of December 3, 2019 ('I have  
9 seen no credible evidence about these allegations of  
10 Ukraine.')

11 Moving on to the final paragraph in the letter, which  
12 begins, "Nevertheless, in the interest of countering the  
13 misinformation campaign underlying this request, we are  
14 prepared on this occasion to provide the Committees access  
15 to the records responsive to this request. In doing so, we  
16 emphasize that abuse of the special access process strikes  
17 at the heart of presidential confidentiality interests and  
18 undermines the statutory framework and norms that govern  
19 access to presidential records."

20 Ms. Zentos, were you aware of this letter at the time?

21 MS. ZENTOS: I do not recall being aware of this letter  
22 at the time.

23 MR. SCHRAM: Reading it now, does it raise any concerns  
24 for you about a Russian misinformation campaign?

25 MS. ZENTOS: I generally am concerned about Russian  
misinformation as a topic, and so it could, yes.

1 MR. SCHRAM: In your view, is it within the capability  
2 of Russian actors to utilize a congressional investigation  
3 itself to advance misinformation efforts?

4 MS. ZENTOS: I don't want to speculate on that. I will  
5 just note that Russia certainly is looking to use  
6 disinformation and misinformation in the United States and  
7 elsewhere.

8 MR. SCHRAM: Moving on, on May 12 this year, this  
9 Committee, the Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs  
10 Committee, provided notice of a vote to authorize a subpoena  
11 of Blue Star Strategies related to these matters. That  
12 notice was circulated on May 12th.

13 On May 19th, Andrii Derkach released recordings of  
14 phone calls between--that are alleged to be recordings of  
15 phone calls between Vice President Biden and former  
16 Ukrainian President Poroshenko. Do you know who Andrii  
17 Derkach is?

18 MS. ZENTOS: I have read in the past few months about  
19 his release of recordings and watched part of one press  
20 conference, but I know no details on him.

21 MR. SCHRAM: According to the press, he was a member of  
22 the Party of Regions, and his father was a KGB officer, and  
23 he attended a KGB-operated school. Are you aware of those  
24 press reports?

25 MS. ZENTOS: Yes, I've read that in the press.

1 MR. SCHRAM: Then on May 20th, hours after the release  
2 of those recordings, this Committee voted on--held a  
3 business meeting to vote on the authorization of subpoenas  
4 related to the subject of the Chairmen's investigation.  
5 That was on May 20th.

6 On May 22nd and May 23rd, there was a statement signed  
7 by pro-Western Ukrainian politicians, diplomats, and civic  
8 activists, a statement on the Ukrainian-American Strategic  
9 Partnership, and I'll now enter that statement into the  
10 record as Exhibit C.

11 [Zentos Exhibit C was marked  
12 for identification.]

13 MR. SCHRAM: The majority in their round of questioning  
14 asked you to speculate on the views of hypothetical  
15 Ukrainians with respect to Hunter Biden's role on the  
16 Burisma board. Exhibit C is the interviews of actual  
17 Ukrainians about the majority's investigation. I'll give  
18 you a moment to review the statement. I should say that is  
19 at least in part related to and timed to coincide with the  
20 Committee's vote on the Blue Star subpoena authorization.  
21 Please let me know after you've had a moment to review the  
22 document, which was also provided to your counsel yesterday.

23 [Pause.]

24 MS. ZENTOS: Okay.

25 MR. SCHRAM: So just past the halfway mark of this

1 statement, I'll point you to the paragraph that starts, "We  
2 oppose the dishonest attempts to use the political  
3 controversies in the United States. We do not choose any  
4 side, but support each of them in the same way that they  
5 together help Ukraine's independence."

6 "We call on America's leaders to distinguish between  
7 the position of our nation from the actions of politicians  
8 instigated by Moscow."

9 Do you have any view on this statement or the  
10 legitimacy of the concerns expressed by these dozens of pro-  
11 Western diplomats, politicians, and civic activists?

12 MS. ZENTOS: I will first note that I have not worked  
13 on Ukraine for several years now, so I am not an expert on  
14 current Ukrainian politics or the current Ukrainian  
15 situation. I will just note from my prior experience the  
16 importance that I viewed of continued bipartisan support for  
17 Ukraine, U.S. support for Ukraine and its stated desire to  
18 move westward and strengthen democratic institutions and  
19 become a secure, stable, independent country within its  
20 internationally recognized borders. And I continue to  
21 believe that's very important today.

22 MR. SCHRAM: The majority asked you about Biden-  
23 Poroshenko calls, the tapes of which were released by pro-  
24 Russian KGB-affiliated Ukrainians, as we just discussed, Mr.  
25 Derkach in that instance. I'll point you to Exhibit D,

1 which is a July 1st article from the Washington Post  
2 entitled "Hunt for Biden tapes in Ukraine by Trump allies  
3 revives prospect of foreign interference."

4 [Zentos Exhibit D was marked  
5 for identification.]

6 MR. SCHRAM: I'll give you a moment to review that  
7 article or as much time as you need.

8 MR. LEVY: Thank you.

9 [Pause.]

10 MR. SCHRAM: Noting that this is a long article, I'll  
11 mention that I'm going to ask you just briefly about the  
12 section that begins on page 9 of the document related to Mr.  
13 Onyshchenko. And, again, take as much time as you need.  
14 Please just let me know when you're ready.

15 MR. LEVY: Okay.

16 [Pause.]

17 MR. LEVY: Okay.

18 MR. SCHRAM: Ms. Zentos, who is Oleksandr Onyshchenko,  
19 if you know?

20 MS. ZENTOS: So what I do know about him I should not  
21 talk about in this setting.

22 MR. SCHRAM: Okay. I'll respect that answer and  
23 appreciate you being conscientious to the setting. It's  
24 probably reported that he was a member of President  
25 Yanukovich's Party of Regions. Is that accurate, if you can

1 say?

2 MR. LEVY: It's difficult for her to couple and  
3 uncouple what she knows from information that can't be  
4 discussed here and what can be--what's from public record.  
5 So in the interest of making sure that she abides by those  
6 obligations and that we all abide by those obligations, it  
7 might be helpful to move on.

8 MR. SCHRAM: Okay. I'm just going to ask one more  
9 question that I hope is answerable in this setting. If it's  
10 not, I completely understand. Is Mr. Onyshchenko regarded  
11 as pro-Western or pro-Russian?

12 MR. LEVY: Again, I think it's the same answer to that  
13 question.

14 MR. SCHRAM: Okay. Moving on, turning your attention  
15 to page 9 of the Post Article, towards the bottom, the third  
16 to final paragraph of that page starts--I'll wait until Roy  
17 has it queued up here. A little higher, Roy. A little  
18 more. Go to the top of--yeah, just a little higher, next  
19 little sentence. That's good.

20 "Onyshchenko told The Post that the tapes that have  
21 been released are his, part of a cache he said he obtained  
22 from Poroshenko aides."

23 "He told the Russian state news service Sputnik in late  
24 May that his lawyers and Giuliani's team has `exchanged  
25 hundreds of emails,' and that he has handed over materials

1 about Biden, which he said Trump's allies will make use of  
2 in the fall."

3 "Because of the coronavirus, they are waiting,'  
4 Onyshchenko told Sputnik. 'But in September, closer to the  
5 elections, they will begin to use them more.' He told The  
6 Post the materials were being given to the Republican-led  
7 Senate Homeland Security Committee, which is pursuing an  
8 inquiry into Biden's activities in Ukraine."

9 "A spokesman for the committee did not respond to a  
10 question about whether the panel has received such tapes or  
11 plans to use them."

12 MR. FOLIO: Zack, if I just may interject here for the  
13 record, so the part you just read about whether or not  
14 documents have been provided to the Republican-led Senate  
15 Homeland Security Committee, it has been the position that  
16 we will not publicly confirm nor deny what documents the  
17 Committee has received. However, in a private conversation,  
18 because if received, those would be Committee records, you  
19 and I have discussed this. So you know well the answer to  
20 this question, and I'm going to note the objection that it  
21 is unfair that you are raising this issue in a setting in  
22 which you know that we will not and are not able to respond  
23 to it.

24 MR. SCHRAM: I'll just note that as much time, Joe, as  
25 we've spent together and the respect we have for each other,



1 you are not yet capable of reading my mind and that is not,  
2 in fact, the question I was prepared to ask, simply context  
3 to the reporting.

4 MR. FOLIO: Yeah, you're right. I was just making a  
5 comment in response to the fact that you read those  
6 paragraphs into the record, so I was clarifying for the  
7 record our objection that it is an unfair question because  
8 you know it is. To address that question would require  
9 information that we do not have. Go ahead.

10 MR. SCHRAM: Just to finish this dialogue, Joe, I think  
11 the point I'm making here is with respect to Mr.  
12 Onyshchenko's claims and his motives, and I'm not making any  
13 judgment with respect to--I'm happy to note for the record--  
14 well, I'll let you handle that, the extent to which you want  
15 to comment on this. But certainly your characterization of  
16 our private conversation is true. I'm not making any  
17 comment with respect to what records the Committee may or  
18 may not have.

19 Moving on, Ms. Zentos, the concerns expressed in this  
20 article, are they consistent with the concerns you  
21 previously expressed with respect to Russian disinformation  
22 efforts?

23 MS. ZENTOS: I don't know anything specifically about  
24 Onyshchenko's purported statements reported in this article.  
25 What I will just say is that I think Russia is looking to

1 use anyone it can to spread misinformation to conduct malign  
2 influence activities in the United States and other  
3 countries. And so when looking at actions related to  
4 Russia, I would keep that in mind.

5 MR. SCHRAM: Thank you. That's all from us.

6 MR. FOLIO: Ms. Zentos, before we get back to the  
7 January 2016 meeting with the Ukrainian delegation, I just  
8 wanted to ask, are you aware of information that we  
9 declassified in April of this year demonstrating that the  
10 FBI received intelligence reports as part of the Steele  
11 reporting was, in fact, the product of a Russian  
12 disinformation--

13 MR. LEVY: Is that a document that you want to put in  
14 front of us?

15 MR. FOLIO: I'm happy to do that. It might take time  
16 to find it. But without the document, I'm just asking Ms.  
17 Zentos if she's aware of that.

18 MR. LEVY: I just think out of fairness to the witness,  
19 it's hard to have her comment on a document that's not  
20 before her. There's a lot that's been published on that  
21 topic.

22 MR. FOLIO: We can get the document. So is she not  
23 going to answer until we have the document in front of her?

24 MR. LEVY: Let's move on. I'm not sure it's pertinent  
25 to this investigation in any event.

1 MR. FOLIO: I was just following up on Ms. Zentos'  
2 statement that Russians would use--and forgive me if I'm  
3 misstating it, but something along the lines of anyone to  
4 achieve their ends. Is that correct, Ms. Zentos, that's  
5 what you said?

6 MS. ZENTOS: I don't remember my exact words now. I  
7 think the sense of what I was trying to convey is that my  
8 understanding is that Russia is looking to use all means  
9 possible to undermine democracy and to conduct malign  
10 influence in the United States and elsewhere.

11 MR. FOLIO: And my question was purely just to  
12 highlight the declassification of information in April  
13 demonstrating that there were intelligence reports saying  
14 that two different parts, at least, of the reporting by  
15 Christopher Steele, which was the foundation for the  
16 Crossfire Hurricane investigation of the Trump campaign  
17 were, in fact, actually the product of Russian  
18 disinformation campaigns. But we'll find that document and  
19 send that to you in a little bit.

20 Turning back to the January 2016--

21 MR. LEVY: The premise of your question is incorrect,  
22 for the record.

23 MR. FOLIO: Which part was incorrect?

24 MR. LEVY: A lot of it, but--

25 MR. FOLIO: But--

1 MR. LEVY: --in the main it's just not perfect. But  
2 keep going.

3 MR. FOLIO: I only brought it up in light of the  
4 question asked by Zack and in the response by Ms. Zentos.

5 MR. LEVY: Okay.

6 MR. FOLIO: Now I'd like to turn to another email,  
7 which we're going to mark as Exhibit 10.

8 [Zentos Exhibit No. 10 was  
9 marked for identification.]

10 MR. FOLIO: Will, if you could please bring that up on  
11 the screen?

12 [Pause.]

13 MR. FOLIO: Let's start at the bottom, please. So at  
14 the bottom of the last page, Bates number 1910, it's just a  
15 phone number. Will, if you'll please scroll up to the next  
16 page, 1909. This is an email from Eric Ciaramella to the  
17 Europe Ukraine desk, copying you, Ms. Zentos. Would you  
18 please start reading there? Ready to scroll.

19 MS. ZENTOS: Okay. Scroll.

20 [Pause.]

21 MS. ZENTOS: Okay. You can go ahead and scroll up.

22 [Pause.]

23 MS. ZENTOS: Okay. Scroll further.

24 [Pause.]

25 MS. ZENTOS: Okay. You can scroll further.

1 MR. LEVY: A little bit more.

2 [Pause.]

3 MR. LEVY: Can you go down? Sorry.

4 [Pause.]

5 MR. LEVY: Go up, please.

6 MS. ZENTOS: One second, one second. I'm sorry.

7 MR. LEVY: Scroll down, please.

8 MS. ZENTOS: That's good. Okay.

9 MR. LEVY: Scroll up, please.

10 [Pause.]

11 MR. LEVY: The document's gone, but I don't know if  
12 there's a question you wanted to ask.

13 MR. FOLIO: Yes, so the question relates back to a part  
14 that you've already read, so I can start with the question  
15 and she can answer it. So on January 14, 2016, in  
16 preparation for the meeting with the Ukrainian delegation,  
17 Mr. Ciaramella sent an email to the State Department copying  
18 you, Ms. Zentos, requesting information "on how the various  
19 anticorruption agencies/authorities fit together" and  
20 "whether there are any particular points that you or Post  
21 would like us to raise with the group."

22 The State Department official responded: "The Deputy  
23 Assistant Secretary Bridget Brink was scheduled to meet with  
24 the Ukrainian delegation that same week."

25 What was the purpose of reaching out to the State

1 Department for this information about your upcoming meeting  
2 with the delegation?

3 MS. ZENTOS: Okay. So as far as I recall, none of this  
4 was related--none of this involved discussion of Burisma or  
5 Hunter Biden.

6 MR. LEVY: So she's going to decline to--

7 MR. FOLIO: Are you declining to answer?

8 MR. LEVY: Well, she did answer, but she's going to  
9 decline to provide any additional information based on the  
10 three grounds we stated before.

11 MR. FOLIO: The question was: Why would you send an  
12 email like this to the State Department asking for  
13 information?

14 MR. LEVY: She's not going to speculate.

15 MR. FOLIO: So in your role as National Security  
16 Council staff, was it part of your job responsibility to  
17 coordinate across different executive agencies for meetings  
18 like this?

19 MR. LEVY: In this particular meeting or communication,  
20 she said she didn't recall anything having to do with  
21 Burisma or Hunter Biden.

22 MR. FOLIO: I asked a different question of her.

23 MR. LEVY: Right, and I'm just saying that on that  
24 basis she's going to decline.

25 MR. FOLIO: She's been asked a second question.

1 MR. LEVY: Correct, and she's going to decline to  
2 answer the question on that basis.

3 MR. FOLIO: I'd appreciate if Ms. Zentos could just say  
4 that for the record so it's clear since you're not raising a  
5 privilege objection. I just want to hear it from her.

6 MR. LEVY: We are raising a privilege objection. We've  
7 referred in the past to three bases. I thought you didn't  
8 want to go through this again, but it was pertinency, her  
9 discretion as a former National Security Council member, and  
10 her constitutional privilege under the First Amendment.

11 MR. FOLIO: Wait, what was the privilege? A First  
12 Amendment privilege?

13 MR. LEVY: Yes.

14 MR. FOLIO: I don't think we talked about that. Tell  
15 me more.

16 MR. LEVY: I've mentioned it several times today,  
17 including in the original discussion that you have continued  
18 to reference.

19 MR. FOLIO: Please identify with specificity the  
20 privilege that you are invoking.

21 MR. LEVY: Her privilege under the First Amendment to  
22 have free assembly, freedom of association, freedom of  
23 anonymity.

24 MR. FOLIO: That is not a privilege. There's a Bill of  
25 Rights. What privilege are you invoking?

1 MR. LEVY: It's a constitutional privilege under the  
2 First Amendment. I think if you look at the case law,  
3 you'll find that it's described as a privilege in the  
4 context of responding to Government inquiries. This is not  
5 a compulsory one, but were we here under a compulsory  
6 setting, we would be invoking privileges. We're just giving  
7 you the legal basis for it. So she has an interest--

8 MR. FOLIO: I don't--

9 MR. LEVY: Let me finish, please. She has First  
10 Amendment interests that she is entitled to protect her  
11 along with the other considerations that we had set forth  
12 today repeatedly, and we're trying to be efficient, as  
13 you've asked.

14 MR. FOLIO: So I'm fairly certain that we never talked  
15 about a First Amendment privilege in our prior  
16 conversations. I don't want to retread--

17 MR. LEVY: If you read the record back, I'm sure you'll  
18 see multiple references to my invocation of her First  
19 Amendment privileges.

20 MR. FOLIO: We talked about executive privilege and  
21 Presidential communication privilege, so pardon me if I'm  
22 retreading old ground. I just don't recall. So it will be  
23 helpful--so there's a Fifth Amendment privilege against  
24 self-incrimination. But what's the First Amendment  
25 privilege that you're referring to and what's the case



1 you're citing to in support of that claim of privilege?

2 MR. LEVY: We're here voluntarily, Joe. We have  
3 asserted a First Amendment privilege repeatedly today. You  
4 had asked me not to go through this again. It's the First  
5 Amendment of the Constitution. That's where the privilege  
6 is. There are a number of Supreme Court cases and circuit  
7 court cases that talk about the First Amendment privilege.  
8 There are at least a trilogy of cases from the Red Scare era  
9 when Congress was asking questions that implicated that  
10 privilege, and the Supreme Court spoke to those issues.  
11 There are other cases as well. It's not necessary for me to  
12 provide you a legal brief right now, and I don't want to  
13 take up your time or any of the other staff's time with  
14 further discussion. But it's a long, well-settled privilege  
15 under the Bill of Rights.

16 MR. FOLIO: I just want to make sure the record is  
17 entirely clear, so you are asserting on Ms. Zentos' behalf a  
18 First Amendment privilege. And what's the name of that  
19 privilege with specificity?

20 MR. LEVY: I've told you this already. It's a right to  
21 free association, right to anonymity, privacy rights, which  
22 go beyond the First Amendment.

23 MR. FOLIO: Again, those are all constitutional rights.  
24 I don't understand common law privileges, but--and I have  
25 not heard a case that you've referred me to, so I remain

1 unclear as to your basis for privilege, but it doesn't sound  
2 like we're going to get any more out of it.

3 MR. LEVY: It's not a common law privilege. I never  
4 said it was. It's a constitutional privilege. And it's a  
5 First Amendment privilege. If you want to look at  
6 Barenblatt or the trilogy of cases from the Red Scare, MPAC  
7 is one. There are a number of cases that talk about the  
8 exercise of the First Amendment privilege, usually in the  
9 face of compulsory production or compulsory testimony.  
10 Here, just to remind you, we're here voluntarily. She  
11 doesn't have to assert a privilege, but she can, and I don't  
12 want to waste anyone's time with additional discussion of  
13 the basis of privilege under the First Amendment. I'd  
14 suggest we just move on.

15 MR. FOLIO: No, I think we need to make the record  
16 here. So I don't understand any First Amendment privilege.  
17 I understand a First Amendment right not to have compelled  
18 speech, which is severely restricted for Government  
19 officials when especially coming before Congress and being  
20 asked questions about their official capacity, and the case  
21 I'm thinking of Garcetti against Ceballos saying that  
22 someone could be disciplined for official speech. All of  
23 our questions regard only official speech, nothing that  
24 would impinge on any First Amendment right, to say nothing  
25 of the privilege. So we think this basis of your claim is

1 unfounded. I frankly just don't understand how the First  
2 Amendment enables Ms. Zentos to refuse to identify her  
3 superior at the National Security Council staff.

4 On page 1907 of this document, January 18, 2016, a  
5 State Department official provided you and Mr. Ciaramella an  
6 outline of topics that State officials were planning to  
7 raise at their meetings with the Ukrainian delegation. Ms.  
8 Zentos, what did you do with this information when you  
9 received it from the State Department?

10 MS. ZENTOS: I do not recall. This was one meeting 4-  
11 1/2 years ago.

12 MR. FOLIO: Can we just walk through the outline a  
13 little bit? I'll let you just sit there for a second.  
14 Thank you. The first point in the outline was about "the  
15 importance of appointing a new PG"--prosecutor general--  
16 "reiterating that Shokin is an obstacle to reform."

17 Prior to receiving this email from the State  
18 Department, were you aware at that time, Ms. Zentos, that  
19 the United States Government considered then-Prosecutor  
20 General Shokin an obstacle to reform?

21 MS. ZENTOS: I do not remember the exact dates when I  
22 was first involved in a discussion of this. I do not recall  
23 any discussion related to this topic involving Burisma or  
24 Hunter Biden.

25 MR. FOLIO: Why was Prosecutor General Shokin

1 considered an obstacle to reform?

2 MR. LEVY: She's going to decline to answer that  
3 question based on pertinency and discretion.

4 MR. FOLIO: What does "obstacle to reform" mean in the  
5 context of Ukraine at this time?

6 MR. LEVY: The email speaks for itself. She's not  
7 going to answer that question. She has no recollection of  
8 any of this having to do anything with Burisma or Hunter  
9 Biden.

10 MR. FOLIO: To be clear, the email actually doesn't  
11 speak for itself. It is, in fact, a piece of paper and is  
12 silent. This email was sent to, among other people, Ms.  
13 Zentos and my question is asking how she read and understood  
14 those words, which is why we're here today.

15 MR. LEVY: She said she doesn't recall.

16 MR. FOLIO: I didn't hear her say that for this  
17 question.

18 MS. ZENTOS: I'm sorry. I'm perhaps unclear on what  
19 the question is at this point.

20 MR. FOLIO: Sure. So for the first question you said  
21 that, but my next question says in the context of Ukraine at  
22 the time that you received this email, what does it mean to  
23 be a "obstacle to reform"?

24 MS. ZENTOS: I mean, I cannot answer for the person who  
25 sent this email. Again, I don't have any recollection of

1 this meeting, anything related to this meeting involving any  
2 discussion of Burisma or Hunter Biden.

3 MR. FOLIO: Previously, you identified corruption as  
4 being a rampant issue that you dealt with in the Ukraine  
5 context, so this seems like something that you all were  
6 focused on on the National Security Council. So in the  
7 context of corruption being rampant in Ukraine, what would  
8 it mean generally for something to be an obstacle to reform?

9 MS. ZENTOS: Okay. Again, I don't recall anything  
10 related to this meeting involving Burisma or Hunter Biden,  
11 and so I'm not--I don't want to speculate.

12 MR. LEVY: And I would also just ask, Joe, if you'd  
13 refrain from characterizing her testimony, or trying to.

14 MR. FOLIO: I was just trying to repeat back what she  
15 said. Please feel free to correct me if I've said something  
16 incorrect.

17 MR. LEVY: It creates for a muddled record. Her  
18 testimony is her testimony, and when a questioner is trying  
19 to recapitulate what the witness says, it creates further  
20 confusion--it creates confusion.

21 MR. FOLIO: I appreciate that. That unfortunately will  
22 be our problem to deal with, but I'm just trying to link her  
23 prior testimony about Ukraine at the time to this question  
24 here.

25 So, Ms. Zentos, are you declining to answer that

1 question?

2 MS. ZENTOS: Yes.

3 MR. FOLIO: What evidence did the U.S. Government have  
4 about Prosecutor General Shokin being an obstacle to reform?

5 MR. LEVY: She's uncomfortable answering that question.  
6 It's inappropriate to answer that question in this setting.

7 MR. FOLIO: Are you saying that the answer would  
8 require her to get into classified national security  
9 information?

10 MR. LEVY: Yes.

11 MR. FOLIO: Okay. To the extent you can avoid it, is  
12 there an unclassified response as to the reason why not long  
13 after, the U.S. Government seemed to be, quote-unquote,  
14 reiterating that Shokin was an obstacle to reform here in  
15 this unclassified document? What was the reason?

16 MR. LEVY: In order to avoid any possible complications  
17 regarding information that shouldn't be discussed in this  
18 setting because of its classification, she's going to  
19 decline to answer that question.

20 MR. FOLIO: So it would just be helpful in this context  
21 to understand where Ms. Zentos believes the boundaries are  
22 for classified national security information. What type of  
23 information exactly does she believe implicates--I'm sorry.  
24 What part of her answer would implicate classified national  
25 security information and what part of the executive order

1 would it be relevant under?

2 MR. THOMAS: I'm sorry to interrupt. This is Ken  
3 Thomas at the State Department. I understand--usually  
4 there's a way to break out--I'm not sure how we can discuss  
5 potential answers that might implicate classification on an  
6 open line.

7 MR. FOLIO: Right. So what I'm asking Ms. Zentos is  
8 that--my question is based on an unclassified email which  
9 talks about the U.S. Government's reiterating its position  
10 that Prosecutor General Shokin is an obstacle to reform.  
11 And my request of her was to identify any unclassified  
12 information she can provide to explain the basis for this.

13 MR. LEVY: Right, and she doesn't want to risk  
14 disclosing classified information, so she's going to decline  
15 to answer that question.

16 MR. FOLIO: And is this based on her understanding of  
17 the State Department's guidance on classification?

18 MR. LEVY: The Government's.

19 MR. FOLIO: State Department, right?

20 MR. THOMAS: This is Ken Thomas again. The general  
21 guidelines should be the same, but if the information is  
22 information generated or obtained while she was at the NSC,  
23 then technically the origin of the classification markings  
24 would not be the State Department or may not be the State  
25 Department.

1           As to the question as you phrased it, I would only note  
2 that if there is a direct recollection of information that  
3 was marked unclassified at the time, then I'm not concerned  
4 about speculation about that. But there would have to be a  
5 clear recollection of what the source of the information was  
6 by the witness and what the markings were on it at the time  
7 it was observed.

8           MR. FOLIO: Ms. Zentos, under those circumstances are  
9 you able to answer the question?

10          MS. ZENTOS: No, sorry, no, I'm not able to answer the  
11 question.

12          MR. FOLIO: We will flag that as something we could  
13 follow up with in a more appropriate setting.

14          How did Prosecutor General Shokin compare to former  
15 Prosecutor General Vitaly Yarema?

16          MS. ZENTOS: I would not--I do not recall details. I  
17 again was focused on other issues as my main focus, and,  
18 again, I don't recall any work-related matters involving  
19 discussion of Burisma or Hunter Biden.

20          MR. FOLIO: Are you declining to answer the question?

21          MR. LEVY: She answered it.

22          MR. FOLIO: That she doesn't recall how one prosecutor  
23 general compares to the other?

24          MR. LEVY: She's told you that in her conversations--  
25 rather, in her business conduct at the Government, she was--



1 inasmuch as she was discussing Shokin, did not relate to  
2 Burisma or Hunter Biden that she recalled. She's not going  
3 to speculate.

4 MR. FOLIO: So if she's declining to answer the  
5 question, she can just say that to be clear.

6 MS. ZENTOS: I mean, as far as comparing two prosecutor  
7 generals from then 6 years ago, I could not do so today.

8 MR. FOLIO: Well, were you aware that it was under  
9 Prosecutor General Yarema's watch that the PG's office  
10 provided a letter to courts in the United Kingdom that  
11 cleared Burisma owner Mr. Zlochevsky from corruption  
12 charges?

13 MS. ZENTOS: I do not recall knowing that, no.

14 MR. FOLIO: Were you aware that Prosecutor General  
15 Shokin, his office conducted a raid of Mr. Zlochevsky's home  
16 in February 2016?

17 MS. ZENTOS: I do not recall knowing that at the time,  
18 no.

19 MR. FOLIO: At the time you received this email where  
20 the State Department set forth its views that it was going  
21 to cover in its own meetings the Ukrainian delegation, did  
22 the National Security Council agree with the State  
23 Department's position that Shokin was an obstacle to reform?

24 MS. ZENTOS: Well, can I take just a moment, actually?

25 MR. FOLIO: Of course.

1 [Pause.]

2 MS. ZENTOS: Okay. I'm sorry. Would you mind  
3 repeating the exact question?

4 MR. LEVY: Joe?

5 MR. FOLIO: Sorry. I was taking a minute to confer  
6 with you colleague. Please give me 15 seconds.

7 [Pause.]

8 MR. FOLIO: I'm sorry. Are you prepared?

9 MR. LEVY: Do you want to repeat the question?

10 MR. FOLIO: Sure. So I said at the time that you  
11 received this email, did the National Security Council agree  
12 with the State Department's position that Shokin was an  
13 obstacle to reform?

14 MS. ZENTOS: As far as I recall, the U.S. Government  
15 position at that time was based on clear information that  
16 Shokin was supporting corrupt practices in Ukraine, and I  
17 don't recall any--I recall that the U.S. Government  
18 position, united position among all agencies, as far as I  
19 know, is that Prosecutor Shokin was supporting corruption  
20 and was preventing reforms that would have rooted out  
21 corruption.

22 MR. FOLIO: Did you discuss Prosecutor General Shokin  
23 during the meeting that you had with the Ukrainian  
24 prosecutors?

25 MS. ZENTOS: I do not recall.

1 MR. FOLIO: So in your prior answer, you described Mr.  
2 Shokin as being--

3 MR. LEVY: Yeah, let's refrain from--her testimony was  
4 her testimony. If you have a question, just ask the  
5 question.

6 MR. FOLIO: Can you please describe in more detail the  
7 problems that you identified with Mr. Shokin?

8 MS. ZENTOS: I mean, two things. First is that I do  
9 not at this point many, many years later where I've worked  
10 on many different countries since, I do not recall details.

11 Second, I will note that I was briefed on intelligence  
12 matters every morning at the NSC, and to recall what was  
13 classified and what was not at this point, I would not feel  
14 comfortable doing that.

15 MR. FOLIO: Previously I asked you to compare  
16 Prosecutor General Shokin to Prosecutor General Yarema,  
17 mostly because Prosecutor General Yarema was the head of the  
18 office at the time it issued a letter clearing Burisma from  
19 corruption prosecution in the United Kingdom. So how would  
20 you compare Yarema to Shokin in light of the information  
21 you've just described about Shokin?

22 MS. ZENTOS: I do not know when--my recollection is  
23 that when Prosecutor General Yarema was in his position, I  
24 was not--I was either at the embassy covering political-  
25 military issues or working for an Under Secretary covering

1 arms control. I can't speak to Yarema.

2 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Ms. Zentos, I want to make sure I  
3 understand everything that you stated earlier correctly  
4 here. So do you recall any opinion that you had of Mr.  
5 Shokin?

6 MS. ZENTOS: I do--I do not have a personal opinion. I  
7 can say that I recall the U.S. Government position was that  
8 Mr. Yarema was--I'm sorry. Mr. Shokin was [inaudible-audio  
9 difficulties].

10 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Sorry. It sounded like you cut out  
11 there. Do you mind restating that?

12 MS. ZENTOS: Sure. My understanding, my recollection  
13 is that the U.S. Government was aware that Mr. Shokin as  
14 prosecutor general was, as the email states, an obstacle to  
15 reform.

16 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Do you agree with that?

17 MS. ZENTOS: As far as I recall, yes.

18 MR. WITTMANN: Hi, Ms. Zentos. I'm Scott, and sorry  
19 about the echo, if there is one. You mentioned that you  
20 agreed that Mr. Shokin was an obstacle to reform. Did you  
21 share that perspective with anyone?

22 MS. ZENTOS: Me personally? My understanding is that  
23 was the U.S. Government's position, and, again, I don't  
24 recall any discussion or work, any work correspondence  
25 involving Burisma or Hunter Biden, related to that topic of

1 any other.

2 MR. WITTMANN: Right, but about your concerns about Mr.  
3 Shokin, who did you share those concerns with?

4 MR. LEVY: Hold on one second.

5 MR. WITTMANN: Sure.

6 [Pause.]

7 MS. ZENTOS: Okay. Again, this was not my personal  
8 view. This was the view of the U.S. Government. This was  
9 an agreed-upon position of the U.S. Government, as far as I  
10 recall.

11 MR. WITTMANN: Understood. So did you ever discuss  
12 that perspective with anyone at any meetings?

13 MS. ZENTOS: I do not recall today, and, again, I know  
14 of no connection. Certainly at any meetings where Shokin  
15 would have come up, I have no recollection of there being  
16 any discussion of Hunter Biden or Burisma.

17 MR. WITTMANN: If a discussion about Mr. Shokin came up  
18 at this meeting with the Ukrainian prosecutor generals--I'm  
19 sorry, the Ukrainian prosecutors, would you--do you recall  
20 talking about--and I'm sorry about the noise; we having  
21 votes right now. Do you recall discussing the Government's  
22 concerns about Mr. Shokin at this meeting?

23 MS. ZENTOS: I don't recall if we did or not.

24 MR. WITTMANN: Do you recall discussing the  
25 Government's concerns about Mr. Shokin with any other

1 meeting that you had with Ukrainian officials?

2 MS. ZENTOS: Again, corruption was not the main focus  
3 of my portfolio, and, you know, 4-1/2 to 5-1/2 years later,  
4 I am--I do not recall specifics of specific meetings of  
5 which I had hundreds.

6 MR. WITTMANN: Right. Was it--if Mr. Shokin was an  
7 obstacle to reform, would that have been a serious and  
8 important topic that you would have had awareness of and you  
9 would have participated in conversations in as the Director  
10 of Eastern European Affairs?

11 MS. ZENTOS: That's why I noted that I was generally  
12 aware of the U.S. Government's position, but I was not--you  
13 know, as one of many people who worked on Ukraine at the NSC  
14 and within the U.S. Government, I was certainly not a main  
15 interlocutor, you know, on this issue and have no  
16 recollection, again, of anything involving Hunter Biden or  
17 Burisma coming up in this context.

18 MR. WITTMANN: How did you become aware of the U.S.  
19 Government's position on Mr. Shokin?

20 MS. ZENTOS: I do not recall when I very first became  
21 aware of it.

22 MR. WITTMANN: At what point--but by the January 19,  
23 2016, meeting, you had that awareness?

24 MS. ZENTOS: Based--looking at the email you put in  
25 front of me--well, I will say today with an independent

1 recollection just of myself, I don't know when I found that  
2 out.

3 MR. WITTMANN: Were you surprised when you saw this  
4 email that it referenced Mr. Shokin as an obstacle to  
5 reform?

6 MR. LEVY: Was she surprised then?

7 MR. WITTMANN: Yes.

8 MS. ZENTOS: I don't recall then.

9 MR. WITTMANN: If this was the first time as the  
10 Director of Eastern European Affairs that you saw that the  
11 prosecutor general of Ukraine was considered an obstacle to  
12 reform by entities in the United States Government, wouldn't  
13 that have been a surprising moment?

14 MR. LEVY: Can you repeat the question, please?

15 MR. WITTMANN: Sure. If this was the first moment in  
16 which you saw that it was the United States' position that  
17 Mr. Shokin was an obstacle to reform, would that have been a  
18 surprising moment for you?

19 MS. ZENTOS: I can't--I can't say honestly if I ever  
20 read that email. If I had read that email and it had been  
21 the first time I had ever seen something like that, I assume  
22 it would have been surprising. I'm not supposed to assume,  
23 so I don't know.

24 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. So the email--I mean, I  
25 understand that you might not remember whether or not you

1 saw the email, but the email itself appears to be informing  
2 you and your colleague what they plan on discussing at the  
3 State Department's meeting with the Ukrainian delegation.  
4 So it seems like--would that have been something that  
5 entities at the State Department would frequently share with  
6 officials at NSC like yourself?

7 MR. LEVY: What do you mean by "something"?

8 MR. WITTMANN: That they would share topics of what  
9 they plan to discuss with officials?

10 MR. LEVY: She's told you that her recollection of this  
11 entire course of communication and this meeting, if she  
12 attended it, did not to her recollection relate to Burisma  
13 or Hunter Biden. And so your questions about this meeting  
14 aren't pertinent, and she's going to decline to answer, also  
15 her discretion as a National Security Council former staff.

16 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: So with respect to the conclusion  
17 that Shokin was an obstacle to reform, what's the basis for  
18 making that conclusion?

19 MR. LEVY: From the U.S. Government?

20 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: I'm asking Brian what the basis is.

21 MR. LEVY: I want to make a distinction between--I want  
22 to clarify your question, Josh. Are you asking--or Joshua.  
23 Are you asking whether--how the Government arrived at its  
24 position?

25 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Yes, let's start there.



1 MS. ZENTOS: I do not recall exactly how the Government  
2 arrived at its position. My overall recollection is that  
3 there was overwhelming--there were overwhelming facts and  
4 information that showed that Mr. Shokin was an obstacle to  
5 reform. I do not recall details. If I did, I could  
6 probably not disclose most of them.

7 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: In the position that you were in as  
8 of January 18, 2016, would you have had access to the  
9 information that the Government would have used to conclude  
10 that he was an obstacle to reform?

11 MR. LEVY: That sounds like it would get into  
12 classified, potentially, and I don't think it's appropriate  
13 for her to answer--

14 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Well, I'm not asking what the  
15 information is. I'm simply asking if your client had access  
16 to that information to the Government views that formed the  
17 basis to conclude that Shokin was an obstacle to reform.

18 MR. LEVY: She's not going to answer that question. It  
19 could implicate classified. She's told you it doesn't--

20 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Your client won't answer whether or  
21 not she had access to information? I'm not asking about the  
22 information itself. I'm just asking whether or not she  
23 would have had access.

24 MR. LEVY: I don't know what information you're  
25 referring to with specificity, and I'm just not going to

1 have her answer a question that could implicate the status  
2 of her security clearance let alone her legal obligations  
3 outside of the security clearance to abide by the strictures  
4 of classified information.

5 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Well, confirming whether or not an  
6 individual has access to certain information does not put a  
7 security clearance at risk.

8 MS. ZENTOS: My under--

9 MR. LEVY: Respectfully, she's not going to answer  
10 these questions.

11 MR. SCHRAM: Joe, I just want to remind you that you  
12 had made the request that we limit our participation to  
13 primarily one person on the record, and in the last hour  
14 we've had three, up to four, and some not on video. It's  
15 hard to follow the conversation, even see who's speaking.

16 MR. FOLIO: I think that's just Josh, Zack. I think  
17 these are appropriate follow-up questions from other folks  
18 on our team.

19 Ms. Zentos--

20 MR. SCHRAM: Reiterating your request of us that we  
21 limit the questioning, to the extent possible, to one  
22 person, I think that would help to create a clear record and  
23 just even follow the conversation that's happening.

24 MR. FOLIO: All right. Turning back to the document,  
25 Will, if we can put that back up? So the second tick of the

1 notes that were sent to you from the State Department said,  
2 "Discuss the `diamond prosecutors' case." What was the  
3 diamond prosecutors case?

4 MS. ZENTOS: I do not recall these details now, and  
5 what I do recall is having no recollection of anything  
6 related to this meeting involving Hunter Biden or Burisma.

7 MR. FOLIO: The third issue that State planned to  
8 discuss with the Ukrainian delegation was "what high-level  
9 cases are on the docket for prosecution. Not that we're  
10 expecting big steps in the near future." What do you  
11 understand that to mean?

12 MS. ZENTOS: I do not know.

13 MR. FOLIO: You're saying when you read that you did  
14 not know what that means, or you're saying you do not?

15 MS. ZENTOS: Today I do not know, and I do not know if  
16 at the time I knew or would have known what that means.

17 MR. FOLIO: Was it common for folks like yourself at  
18 the National Security Council or in the State Department to  
19 requests updates from foreign countries about their  
20 prosecution efforts?

21 MS. ZENTOS: Again, I mean, this was not my issue.  
22 This was not my issue, my main issue. You can see, by the  
23 way, that I'm on the copy line, and, again, I have no  
24 recollection of anything at this meeting involving Hunter  
25 Biden or Burisma.

1 MR. FOLIO: I understand it's not your main issue, but  
2 you nonetheless are copied on this. You're read into this,  
3 and you're listed as attending the meeting that you seem to  
4 have some recollection of. I just want to understand what  
5 the purpose is of you getting this information. When the  
6 State Department tells you they're focused on high-level  
7 cases that are on the Ukrainian docket for prosecution, I  
8 just would like to know what do you read that--or what did  
9 you read that to mean?

10 MR. LEVY: I would just have you direct that question  
11 to the State Department itself, and she's answered your  
12 question. She's told you that she has no recollection of  
13 any of these communications relating to Burisma or Hunter  
14 Biden, and so the rest of the questioning about these  
15 communications are no longer pertinent to your inquiry.  
16 She's going to decline to answer.

17 MR. FOLIO: I'd just like a clear record, right? I'm  
18 not asking the State Department. I'm asking Ms. Zentos, who  
19 was a recipient of this email. And if the answer is  
20 declining to comment because it's not about Burisma, that's  
21 one thing. If she doesn't recall, that's another thing. So  
22 I'd just like to be clear. So with regard to this third  
23 tick that the State Department is going to ask what high-  
24 level cases are on the Ukrainian docket for prosecution  
25 because the U.S. Government is "expecting big steps," my

1 question to Ms. Zentos is: What did she understand that to  
2 mean? I'd just like to be clear about what her answer is.

3 MR. LEVY: I think she told you she didn't recall. She  
4 doesn't recall.

5 MR. FOLIO: Ms. Zentos, is that right, you do not  
6 recall?

7 MS. ZENTOS: I do not.

8 MR. FOLIO: The sixth issue at the bottom is that State  
9 planned to discuss implementation of new legislation and, in  
10 particular, the new IG and--

11 MR. LEVY: I think we're on a different page of the  
12 document. Can you--

13 MS. ZENTOS: It's right there.

14 MR. LEVY: Got it. Okay. Go ahead.

15 MR. FOLIO: In particular, the new IG and the PGO.  
16 What was the new IG and the PGO?

17 MS. ZENTOS: I mean, IG stands for inspector general,  
18 but I don't remember details.

19 MR. FOLIO: And what was the role of the inspector  
20 general in the prosecutor general's office in Ukraine?

21 MS. ZENTOS: I do not know details of that, and, again,  
22 none of this, as far as I know, is related to any discussion  
23 of Hunter Biden or Burisma.

24 MR. FOLIO: I want to make sure I understand your  
25 position. So if the prosecutor general's office was either

1 investigating or not investigating and protecting Burisma,  
2 how is that not relevant to Burisma?

3 MR. LEVY: I don't think that's in this email at all.  
4 There's no mention of Burisma or Hunter Biden in this email.

5 MR. FOLIO: Correct, but the prosecutor general's  
6 office is in this email, and that's the entity that was  
7 investigating or in some cases not investigating Burisma.  
8 That's the relevance.

9 MR. LEVY: What's your question?

10 MS. ZENTOS: I think I misspoke.

11 MR. LEVY: What's your question?

12 MR. FOLIO: I want to understand what Ms. Zentos  
13 misspoke on.

14 MS. ZENTOS: I recall no discussion of Hunter Biden or  
15 Burisma at this meeting. If you're saying I can't say  
16 discussion of the prosecutor general is not related to  
17 something, what I'm saying is that from my experience, in  
18 fact, I can--I have no knowledge of this meeting involving  
19 any discussion of Hunter Biden or Burisma.

20 MR. FOLIO: So my question was: Why was it important  
21 to the U.S. Government that the inspector general be placed  
22 in the prosecutor general's office?

23 MS. ZENTOS: I don't recall details of that.

24 MR. FOLIO: Do you recall whether it was important to  
25 the U.S. Government?

1 MS. ZENTOS: But can I take just one second?

2 Apologies.

3 [Pause.]

4 MR. LEVY: Can you repeat the question? Can you repeat  
5 the question? Can you hear me?

6 MR. FOLIO: Sorry.

7 MR. LEVY: Can you repeat the question?

8 MR. FOLIO: Give me one second.

9 [Pause.]

10 MR. FOLIO: Sorry about that. I was just asking the  
11 importance to the United States of having the inspector  
12 general in the prosecutor general's office.

13 MS. ZENTOS: Yeah, I will just reiterate that, you  
14 know, getting into the details of this meeting or any other  
15 meeting that may or may not have happened, I am unaware of  
16 any discussion of Hunter Biden or Burisma, and I will leave  
17 it there.

18 MR. FOLIO: So questions are not limited to Hunter  
19 Biden or Burisma, to be clear. Insofar as it doesn't  
20 involve those, are you declining to answer?

21 MR. LEVY: She is.

22 MS. ZENTOS: Yes.

23 MR. FOLIO: At the top of the email, Mr. Ciaramella  
24 told the State Department official that he would provide a  
25 readout after the meeting to help inform Ambassador Brink's

1 meeting with the delegation later in the week. Is that a  
2 typical practice?

3 MR. LEVY: Hold on. We can't see where that's said in  
4 the email.

5 [Pause.]

6 MS. ZENTOS: Again, that does not refresh my memory at  
7 all related to any discussion of Hunter Biden or Burisma, so  
8 I will decline to speculate further.

9 MR. FOLIO: Well, the question was: For National  
10 Security Council staff meetings, did you all typically  
11 provide readouts back to the State Department about what  
12 happened during them?

13 MR. LEVY: And she responded to the question. She  
14 declined to answer it.

15 MR. FOLIO: She declined to answer. That's fine.

16 In meetings like this one, was there typically a note  
17 taker at the meeting?

18 MS. ZENTOS: Again, I'm going to just decline to  
19 answer.

20 MR. FOLIO: Would the meeting have been documented or  
21 recorded in any other way?

22 MR. LEVY: Again, for the same reasons we've provided  
23 in the past, she's going to decline to answer that question,  
24 just to balance her discretion as a National Security  
25 Council member among other things.



1 MR. FOLIO: I can pull up what we'll mark as Exhibit  
2 11, Will, please.

3 [Zentos Exhibit No. 11 marked  
4 for identification.]

5 MR. LEVY: Scroll down, please.

6 [Pause.]

7 MR. FOLIO: That's the cover sheet.

8 [Pause.]

9 MR. LEVY: Scroll up.

10 [Pause.]

11 MR. LEVY: Scroll up, please.

12 [Pause.]

13 MR. LEVY: Scroll up, please.

14 [Pause.]

15 MR. LEVY: Can you scroll down a little bit, please?

16 [Pause.]

17 MS. ZENTOS: Scroll up.

18 MR. LEVY: Scroll up, please.

19 MR. FOLIO: That's the end of the email. So this  
20 email, which begins on January 21, 2016, with the subject  
21 line "DT:US loan guarantee conditional on Shokin's  
22 dismissal," this occurs 2 days after your meeting with the  
23 Ukrainian delegation. Ambassador Pyatt sent you and Mr.  
24 Ciaramella an excerpt of an article that stated, "The U.S.  
25 State Department has made it clear to Ukrainian authorities

1 that it links the provision of a \$1 billion loan guarantee  
2 to Ukraine to the dismissal of Prosecutor General Viktor  
3 Shokin." The article stated that this position became known  
4 during the Ukrainian delegation meetings with U.S.  
5 officials. The Ambassador's email to you simply said,  
6 "Buckle in."

7 What did you understand Ambassador Pyatt to mean when  
8 he said, "Buckle in"?

9 MS. ZENTOS: I don't recall specifics, and, again, I  
10 don't recall this being linked to Hunter Biden or Burisma.

11 MR. FOLIO: Insofar as this document, are you declining  
12 to answer?

13 MR. LEVY: No. She said she doesn't recall. She  
14 answered your question.

15 MR. FOLIO: When I get "the specifics I don't recall,"  
16 that just makes me want to ask the follow-on question of are  
17 there things she's declining to answer. So a simple "I  
18 don't recall everything" works.

19 MR. LEVY: I think she said she didn't recall that in  
20 the email that you were referring to.

21 MS. ZENTOS: I'm not sure what that means. I'm not  
22 certain.

23 MR. FOLIO: Mr. Ciaramella responds, "Yikes. I don't  
24 recall this coming up in our meeting with them on Tuesday,  
25 although we did discuss the fact that the PGO IG condition

1 has not yet been met." Parenthetical, "(I've been meaning  
2 to write to you about our meeting--we were super-impressed  
3 with the group, and we had a two-hour discussion of their  
4 priorities and the obstacles they face.)"

5 Just focus on that first paragraph. The email sent  
6 from Mr. Ciaramella, the only other recipients are yourself,  
7 Ambassador Pyatt, and Anna Makanju. Ms. Makanju--was she on  
8 the Vice President's staff at that time?

9 MS. ZENTOS: I'm going to decline to answer that.

10 MR. FOLIO: So is the "we" not suggestive that you  
11 attended this meeting?

12 MS. ZENTOS: I can't say.

13 MR. FOLIO: This does not refresh your recollection as  
14 to whether or not you attended a 2-hour meeting with  
15 Ukrainian prosecutors about their priorities and obstacles  
16 they faced?

17 MS. ZENTOS: I've shared my recollection with you,  
18 which I already thought about deeply before coming here, and  
19 I shared with you what I remember, which is that I  
20 participated in a meeting that involved David Sakvarelidze,  
21 who was a deputy prosecutor general at the time, and I  
22 recalled there were several U.S. officials and several  
23 Ukrainian officials there.

24 MR. FOLIO: Looking at Ambassador Pyatt's response,  
25 "Buckle in," and the response from your colleague Eric

1 Ciaramella says, "Yikes," how do you interpret those  
2 responses?

3 MS. ZENTOS: I do not interpret them. I do not want to  
4 speculate. Again, I have no knowledge of any link between  
5 this meeting or the meeting discussed in this email and the  
6 topics of Hunter Biden or Burisma.

7 MR. FOLIO: I think what we're asking for is you to  
8 help explain the context of these emails. This is the U.S.  
9 Ambassador to Ukraine who's emailing you and Mr. Ciaramella  
10 and a member of the Vice President's staff, telling you all  
11 to "Buckle in." It sounds pretty serious, doesn't it?

12 MR. LEVY: You're asking her to speculate about  
13 somebody's email.

14 MR. FOLIO: No. I'm asking her to look at an email  
15 that she received, someone that she likely worked regularly  
16 with, as the Director for European Affairs in the National  
17 Security Council, and to explain to us how she interpreted  
18 and understood that email.

19 MS. ZENTOS: Again, I don't recall any of this back and  
20 forth, anything related to this meeting involving Hunter  
21 Biden or Burisma, and that's what I'm here to answer  
22 questions about today.

23 MR. FOLIO: You're declining to answer insofar as it  
24 doesn't address those issues?

25 MS. ZENTOS: Yes.

1 MR. FOLIO: When Mr. Ciaramella responds, "Yikes," does  
2 he seem surprised?

3 MS. ZENTOS: I don't know how anyone feels based on  
4 that email.

5 MR. FOLIO: I'm not asking how he felt. I'm asking how  
6 you perceived him when he said, "Yikes"?

7 MS. ZENTOS: I don't recall if I read this email chain,  
8 when I read this email chain. I cannot speculate today.

9 MR. FOLIO: Mr. Ciaramella goes on to write in the  
10 email, "In yesterday's IPC"--what's an IPC?

11 MS. ZENTOS: All right. I mean, again, I don't--I  
12 don't see a connection here between Hunter Biden and  
13 Burisma, based on my recollection of the meeting or this  
14 email chain, and so I'd rather not get into NSC workings.

15 MR. FOLIO: Does it stand for Interagency Policy  
16 Committee?

17 MR. LEVY: Same, asked and answered. She's--it's the  
18 same question.

19 MR. FOLIO: "In yesterday's IPC we agreed to come up  
20 with some interagency press guidance/talking points for UA  
21 officials on the Shokin/LG issue." Did you attend IPC  
22 meetings?

23 MS. ZENTOS: Sometimes I did, sometimes I did not.

24 MR. FOLIO: At IPC meetings, what does it mean when  
25 you're going to come up with interagency press guidance and

1 talking point?

2 MS. ZENTOS: I don't know specifically what is meant in  
3 this case, and, again, as far as I know, that IPC, if there  
4 was one, had no connection, no discussion of Hunter Biden or  
5 Burisma.

6 MR. FOLIO: But it did involve discussion of the United  
7 States Government conditioning a loan guarantee on Shokin's  
8 dismissal, right?

9 MR. LEVY: She's going to decline to answer that  
10 question for the same grounds we discussed earlier in the  
11 day.

12 MR. FOLIO: The email also states that you discussed  
13 the PGO-IG condition and how it has not been met. Was that  
14 a condition for the Ukrainians to receive the loan  
15 guarantee?

16 MR. LEVY: She's going to decline to answer that  
17 question for the same grounds we discussed today.

18 MR. FOLIO: Ambassador Pyatt responded to Mr.  
19 Ciaramella that, "We also need to readdress all the LG anti-  
20 corruption conditions, since some of what we have been  
21 asking for is now [overcome by events], and at this stage  
22 there's only one that really matters." What was the one  
23 that really matters?

24 MS. ZENTOS: I'm going to decline for the same reasons,  
25 decline to answer.

1 MR. FOLIO: So then you responded, "Yes, just talked to  
2 the Desk about this." What was that?

3 MS. ZENTOS: I'm going to decline to answer questions  
4 about this email chain that as far as my recollection has no  
5 link to Hunter Biden or Burisma.

6 MR. FOLIO: Just to be clear for the record, the  
7 declinations to answer make it very difficult for us to  
8 determine if there was any link to Hunter Biden or Burisma,  
9 especially when the conversation regards the entity that was  
10 investigating or perhaps not investigating Burisma.

11 You then also said you recommend that Ambassador Pyatt  
12 or Post email Rory informing him of this view. Who is Rory?

13 MS. ZENTOS: Same answer.

14 MR. FOLIO: Declining to answer?

15 MS. ZENTOS: Yes, I decline to answer for the same  
16 reason.

17 MR. FOLIO: Why was it necessary to inform Rory of this  
18 view?

19 MS. ZENTOS: Decline to answer for the same reason.

20 MR. FOLIO: You then forwarded this conversation with  
21 Ambassador Pyatt and Mr. Ciaramella to Molly Montgomery and  
22 Michael Ellsworth. Who are Molly Montgomery and Michael  
23 Ellsworth?

24 MS. ZENTOS: I decline to answer for the same reason.

25 MR. FOLIO: It's our understanding that, in addition to

1 the meeting at the White House, the Ukrainian delegation  
2 also met with officials, U.S. officials at different  
3 agencies. Did you participate in any other meetings with  
4 the Ukrainian delegation other than the one we looked at on  
5 the agenda?

6 MS. ZENTOS: I don't recall participating in any other  
7 meetings. If I attended the one in question, it--as I said,  
8 I remember attending a meeting that involved David  
9 Sakvarelidze and other Ukrainian officials. So I do not  
10 recall being in any additional meetings with Mr.  
11 Sakvarelidze other than that one that I noted.

12 MR. FOLIO: Did you or your colleagues receive any  
13 readouts from the other meetings the Ukrainian delegation  
14 had?

15 MS. ZENTOS: I do not recall.

16 MR. FOLIO: In those circumstances, would it have been  
17 usual for you to have received readouts from other meetings  
18 that a foreign delegation had?

19 MS. ZENTOS: I will decline to answer for the same  
20 reason.

21 MR. FOLIO: During the January 2016, meetings, did you  
22 hear any discussion of an investigation of U.S. persons  
23 receiving payment from Ukraine's Russia-backed Party of  
24 Regions?

25 MS. ZENTOS: I do not recall any discussion of such a



1 topic.

2 MR. FOLIO: Were you aware of any planning or  
3 preparation to discuss that topic at these meetings?

4 MS. ZENTOS: No, not that I recall.

5 MR. FOLIO: Are you aware of any such discussions  
6 actually occurring at those meetings?

7 MS. ZENTOS: No, I am not aware. I do not recall any  
8 such discussions.

9 MR. FOLIO: Have you ever discussed with any Ukraine  
10 official the Party of Regions and illegal payments to United  
11 States persons?

12 MS. ZENTOS: No, I do not--not that I recall. I do not  
13 recall discussing Party of Regions and payments to any  
14 Ukrainian official.

15 MR. FOLIO: During these January 2016 meetings, did you  
16 hear any discussion about whether Ukraine's National Anti-  
17 Corruption Bureau, or NABU, could help locate evidence about  
18 the Party of Regions payments to and dealings with U.S.  
19 persons?

20 MS. ZENTOS: I do not recall any discussion of that at  
21 this meeting.

22 MR. FOLIO: Were you aware of any planning or  
23 preparations to engage in that discussion?

24 MS. ZENTOS: As far as I recall, I do not know of any  
25 preparations to discuss that topic, no.

1 MR. FOLIO: During the January 2016 meetings, did you  
2 hear any discussion of Burisma?

3 MS. ZENTOS: I do not recall any discussion of Burisma  
4 during any meeting while I served with the U.S. Government.

5 MR. FOLIO: Any plans or preparations to engage in  
6 those discussions of Burisma?

7 MS. ZENTOS: No, I do not recall any plans or  
8 preparations to engage in those discussions.

9 MR. FOLIO: And were you ever made aware of any  
10 discussions of Burisma with a foreign delegation?

11 MS. ZENTOS: I do not recall being made aware of any  
12 discussions related to Burisma.

13 MR. FOLIO: I think Brian Downey from our staff has one  
14 question, and then we're going to hand it over.

15 MR. DOWNEY: Hi, Ms. Zentos. With yourself most likely  
16 attending this January 19, 2016, meeting with this Ukrainian  
17 delegation along with Mr. Eric Ciaramella, is it safe to say  
18 that Mr. Ciaramella is the one who dealt with anticorruption  
19 issues with regards to Ukraine?

20 MR. LEVY: Brian, before she answers that question,  
21 she--I think you said it was most likely the case that she  
22 attended this January 19th meeting. She has not said that.  
23 She has said repeatedly today that she recalls attending a  
24 meeting around the time of January 2016 with Ukrainian  
25 officials, including one in particular, not necessarily on

1 the 19th. And, again, I would just caution everybody on the  
2 call not to characterize her testimony but to just ask  
3 questions. So if you have a question, please just ask the  
4 witness.

5 MR. DOWNEY: Sure, and we'll do our best to lay out  
6 what Chairman Johnson's office knows through the documents  
7 we've requested, and from our point of view, it's decently  
8 clear that Ms. Zentos did attend this meeting of January 19,  
9 2016, with the Ukrainian delegation.

10 Ms. Zentos, how many people within the National  
11 Security Council handled anticorruption efforts in regards  
12 to Ukraine?

13 MS. ZENTOS: Many people, and I will decline to get  
14 into names.

15 MR. DOWNEY: Well, how many is many? Did many of these  
16 people attend this January 19, 2016, meeting with the  
17 Ukrainian delegation?

18 MS. ZENTOS: I do not recall who attended such a  
19 meeting or even for certain if I attended the meeting in  
20 question. The National Security Council, as I'm sure you're  
21 aware, is composed of many offices focused on both regional  
22 issues and thematic issues, and I could not name today all  
23 the people who covered Ukraine and corruption.

24 MR. DOWNEY: In an effort for Chairman Johnson's office  
25 to better understand what happened at this January 19, 2016,

1 meeting with the Ukrainian delegation, who do we need to  
2 speak with? Do we need to speak with Eric Ciaramella?

3 MR. LEVY: I don't think it's our place to tell you how  
4 to do your investigation.

5 MR. DOWNEY: Well, we're trying to do it, and we're not  
6 getting too much response from Ms. Zentos.

7 MR. LEVY: She's been answering your questions for  
8 almost 6 hours now, and--

9 MR. DOWNEY: Well, when we're presenting emails that  
10 she's a party to or authored and she's not willing to really  
11 provide anything more than that she doesn't recall.

12 MR. LEVY: Well, she can only recall what she can  
13 recall. I'm sure you don't want her to give you inaccurate  
14 information, and you don't want her to speculate or guess.  
15 She's doing what she's supposed to be doing here. She's  
16 voluntarily cooperating, answering questions that are  
17 pertinent, and declining when they are not.

18 MR. DOWNEY: Joe?

19 MR. LEVY: Joe, you're on mute if you're trying to say  
20 something.

21 MR. FOLIO: Oh, sorry. I was turning it over to Zack,  
22 and then I'm asking how long he would like to take since  
23 it's been a little while since the last break.

24 MR. SCHRAM: Can we take 10 right now and then  
25 reconvene?

1 MR. FOLIO: For 10, that sounds good.

2 MR. LEVY: How much time does everybody have left?

3 Because Ms. Zentos is leaving for another foreign assignment  
4 in 2 days, and it would be great to get her out of here in  
5 at least an hour.

6 MR. FOLIO: We in the majority will confer during the  
7 break to see how much we have left, and we'll let you know  
8 when we come back.

9 MR. LEVY: Thank you. Zack?

10 MR. SCHRAM: We'll be brief.

11 MR. LEVY: Thank you.

12 [Recess.]

13 MR. LEVY: Zack, we're ready when you are.

14 MR. SCHRAM: Joe, are you ready?

15 MR. FOLIO: Yes, sir.

16 MR. SCHRAM: Ms. Gray, I believe it was, are you back?

17 THE COURT REPORTER: Yes.

18 MR. SCHRAM: Great. Ms. Zentos, you have been  
19 repeatedly asked by the majority to speculate about issues  
20 outside of your areas of responsibility, and to the extent  
21 that those repeated questions have unfortunately required  
22 you to restate either that you could not speculate about  
23 other individuals' views or that those issues were outside  
24 your area of responsibility, can you please clarify for the  
25 record what your areas of responsibility and focus were

1 during your time on the NSC?

2 MS. ZENTOS: Sure. At the NSC I focused mainly on the  
3 ongoing Russian-instigated conflict in Eastern Ukraine. I  
4 focused on following where the fighting was, whether the  
5 Russians were trying to push further into Ukrainian  
6 territory and what the death toll was. I also focused on  
7 trying to help provide the Ukrainian defense forces with  
8 defensive military equipment to help them defend their  
9 territory.

10 MR. SCHRAM: With respect to the United States support  
11 for the defense of the territorial integrity of Ukraine and  
12 the advancement of Western values and democracy in Ukraine,  
13 were those issues that Congress took an interest in?

14 MS. ZENTOS: My recollection is, yes, that Congress was  
15 interested in Ukraine maintaining its internationally  
16 recognized borders and in democratizing.

17 MR. SCHRAM: And those groups and individuals in  
18 Congress who were interested in Ukraine issues, would that  
19 include the Ukraine Caucus in the Senate?

20 MS. ZENTOS: My recollection is, yes, the Ukraine  
21 Caucus was involved in Ukraine issues and wanted Ukraine to  
22 move westward.

23 MR. SCHRAM: Would it include the Subcommittee on  
24 Europe and Regional Security Cooperation, a subcommittee of  
25 the Senate Foreign Relations Committee?

1 MS. ZENTOS: I must admit I'm not familiar with that  
2 specific--with that subcommittee, so I can't say for  
3 certain, but I would expect.

4 MR. SCHRAM: Are you aware that Senator Johnson was the  
5 Chairman--is the Chairman of the Subcommittee on Europe and  
6 Regional Security Cooperation of the Senate Foreign  
7 Relations Committee?

8 MS. ZENTOS: I have read that.

9 MR. SCHRAM: And a member of the Ukraine Caucus in the  
10 Senate?

11 MS. ZENTOS: Okay. I'm not sure I knew the latter.

12 MR. SCHRAM: Marking as Exhibit E, this is a letter  
13 signed by the Ukrainian Caucus of the U.S. Senate to  
14 President Poroshenko dated February 12, 2016. It's among  
15 the material that I sent to you and my majority counterparts  
16 yesterday. Please take a moment to review that document and  
17 let me know when you have finished.

18 [Zentos Exhibit E was marked  
19 for identification.]

20 MR. LEVY: Can you scroll? We have this document.

21 [Pause.]

22 MR. LEVY: Okay.

23 MR. SCHRAM: Starting first on the signature page,  
24 directing your attention to the second column, second row,  
25 do you see the signature of Senator Johnson?

1 MS. ZENTOS: I do.

2 MR. SCHRAM: Turning now to the substance of the  
3 letter, the fourth full paragraph beginning, "Succeeding in  
4 these reforms will show Russian President Vladimir Putin  
5 that an independent, transparent, and democratic Ukraine can  
6 and will succeed. It also offers a stark alternative to the  
7 authoritarianism and oligarch cronyism prevalent in Russia.  
8 As such, we respectfully ask that you address the serious  
9 concerns raised by Minister Abromavicius. We similarly urge  
10 you to press ahead with urgent reforms to the Prosecutor  
11 General's office and judiciary. The unanimous adoption by  
12 the Cabinet of Ministers of the Basic Principles and Action  
13 Plan is a good step."

14 So the Ukrainian Caucus as of February 12, 2016, is on  
15 the record supporting urgent reforms to the prosecutor  
16 general's office and judiciary.

17 I would like to enter into the record Exhibit F. This  
18 is not something I sent last night. It wasn't something I  
19 anticipated using, but Roy will email it to everybody on  
20 this call now, as well as bringing it up for us to view. It  
21 is an article in The Hill by Zack Budryk from October 3,  
22 2019, entitled "GOP Senator says he doesn't remember signing  
23 2016 letter urging `reform' of Ukraine prosecutor's office."

24 [Zentos Exhibit F was marked  
25 for identification.]



1 MR. LEVY: Let us take a minute to look at this. We  
2 just received it.

3 MR. SCHRAM: Please let me know when you're ready.

4 [Pause.]

5 MR. LEVY: Okay. We've reviewed it on our devices  
6 here. Zack, I don't know if you can hear us, but we've  
7 reviewed the document.

8 MR. SCHRAM: Thank you. Sorry.

9 Drawing your attention to the fifth paragraph that  
10 starts, "Johnson did acknowledge the letter in an interview  
11 Thursday on WIBA's 'The Vicki McKenna Show,' saying 'The  
12 whole world, by the way, including the Ukrainian caucus,  
13 which I signed the letter, the whole world felt that this  
14 Shokin wasn't doing a [good] enough job. So we were saying  
15 hey you've...got to rid yourself of corruption.'"

16 Were you aware that Senator Johnson supported the  
17 removal of Shokin at the time?

18 MS. ZENTOS: I don't recall if I was aware at the time.

19 MR. SCHRAM: No further questions.

20 MR. WITTMANN: Hi, Ms. Zentos. Earlier we talked about  
21 Mr. Andriy Telizhenko. Who is Andriy Telizhenko?

22 MS. ZENTOS: The last I can recall being in any touch  
23 with Andriy Telizhenko was while I was at the National  
24 Security Council. I don't remember exactly when, but, of  
25 course, I departed at the end of July 2016. I don't believe

1 I've been in touch with him since.

2 MR. WITTMANN: Understood. So that was the last time  
3 you were in touch with him. But who is he?

4 MS. ZENTOS: He is a man--he--at the time--

5 MR. WITTMANN: Professionally, who is he?

6 MS. ZENTOS: So for a time when I was at the National  
7 Security Council, he worked for the Ukrainian Embassy in  
8 Washington, D.C., as far as I'm aware. I know that at some  
9 point before that, I believe he was an adviser to then-  
10 Prosecutor General Yarema, and that at some point prior to  
11 that, he worked for Yulia Tymoshenko's party. That's my  
12 knowledge of him

13 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. How and when did you first  
14 communicate with Mr. Telizhenko?

15 MS. ZENTOS: I do not remember exactly when I first  
16 communicated with him, but I believe it was while I was  
17 working at the U.S. Embassy in Kyiv, so it would have  
18 between 2012 and 2014.

19 MR. WITTMANN: And when did you first meet Mr.  
20 Telizhenko?

21 MR. LEVY: She said she didn't recall.

22 MR. WITTMANN: Would it have been when you were at the  
23 U.S. Embassy, around that time?

24 MS. ZENTOS: Yes. Yes, I just said that I believe I  
25 met him while I was serving at the U.S. Embassy in Ukraine.

1 I don't remember exactly when, but I served at the U.S.  
2 Embassy between 2012 and 2014.

3 MR. WITTMANN: All right. I'd like to discuss what  
4 I'll guess we'll call Exhibit 12.

5 [Zentos Exhibit No. 12 was  
6 marked for identification.]

7 MR. WITTMANN: On January 19, 2016, Mr. Telizhenko  
8 emailed you asking to join the Ukrainian delegation's  
9 meeting at the White House that same day. How did he obtain  
10 your email address?

11 MS. ZENTOS: Good question. I don't know.

12 MR. WITTMANN: Did you facilitate his attendance at  
13 this meeting?

14 MR. LEVY: Can we read the whole document, please?

15 MR. WITTMANN: Sure.

16 MR. LEVY: We've got the bottom of the email.

17 MR. WITTMANN: Let me know when you're done.

18 MR. LEVY: Thanks. Scroll up, please? Keep scrolling.

19 [Pause.]

20 MS. ZENTOS: Okay.

21 MR. WITTMANN: Did you facilitate his attendance at the  
22 meeting?

23 MS. ZENTOS: I don't recall.

24 MR. WITTMANN: It looks like you forwarded this email  
25 to Mr. Ciaramella later that day. Do you remember why you

1 forwarded this email to him?

2 MS. ZENTOS: I do not recall.

3 MR. WITTMANN: How many times did you and Mr.  
4 Telizhenko meet after the January 2016 meeting?

5 MS. ZENTOS: I do not recall that either.

6 MR. WITTMANN: Was it more than once?

7 MR. LEVY: And I'd just like to note that you assumed  
8 that she met with Mr. Telizhenko at this January 19 meeting.  
9 She hasn't said that she did. She said that she recalled  
10 attending a meeting on January 19--in or around January 19,  
11 not January 19 specifically necessarily. She identified the  
12 one Ukrainian official that she can recall being there. She  
13 did not identify Mr. Telizhenko as having been there.

14 MR. WITTMANN: Ms. Zentos, do you recall whether Mr.  
15 Telizhenko attended the January 19, 2016, meeting?

16 MR. LEVY: Before she answers that again, she doesn't  
17 even recall she was at a January 19 meeting. So if you want  
18 to rephrase the question, go ahead.

19 MR. WITTMANN: At the meeting you referenced in your  
20 letter, I believe you said on or about January--and,  
21 apologies, I don't have the letter in front of me. So the  
22 meeting that you did reference, do you recall if Mr.  
23 Telizhenko attended that meeting?

24 MS. ZENTOS: I do not recall.

25 MR. DOWNEY: Scott, one question.

1 Ms. Zentos, going back to the document, specifically to  
2 where Mr. Telizhenko's emailing you, he says, "Dear Liz, Hi  
3 this is Andrii Telizhenko, how are you? Tried contacting  
4 you through facebook." Do you recall whether you checked  
5 Facebook or whether that occurred, that contact occurred?

6 MS. ZENTOS: I don't recall. I will say we couldn't  
7 have our phones in the NSC, in our offices at the NSC. So I  
8 was not on Facebook in general, but I don't recall about  
9 this incident.

10 MR. DOWNEY: Okay.

11 MR. WITTMANN: How would you describe your relationship  
12 with Mr. Telizhenko?

13 MS. ZENTOS: I recall that I met him at least once  
14 while I was in Ukraine serving at the embassy there, and I  
15 believe I met with him at some point while I was in the  
16 National Security Council, but I have no recollection of  
17 ever discussing Burisma or Hunter Biden with him.

18 MR. WITTMANN: I'm going to move on to Exhibit 13.

19 [Zentos Exhibit No. 13 was  
20 marked for identification.]

21 MR. WITTMANN: I'm going to start all the way at the  
22 bottom and then you all just please tell us when you'd like  
23 us to move up.

24 MR. LEVY: Sure, and the majority had said that it was  
25 going to tell us about how much longer it was going to have

1 in this now hopefully last round. Do you have an idea of  
2 that?

3 MR. WITTMANN: I think 2 hours, about a couple hours.

4 MR. LEVY: She's got to go--she's got to prepare to be  
5 overseas at a Government assignment. We've been going now  
6 for 6-1/2 hours. This is getting a little excessive.

7 MR. WITTMANN: Understood. We'll try to move as  
8 efficient--we'll try to be as efficient as possible. And we  
9 appreciate your time. Please let us know when you'd like to  
10 move up.

11 MR. LEVY: Move up.

12 [Pause.]

13 MS. ZENTOS: Okay. Just keep moving up.

14 [Pause.]

15 MS. ZENTOS: Okay.

16 MR. WITTMANN: On February 1, 2016, Mr. Telizhenko  
17 emailed you to schedule a meeting. It looks like you  
18 offered to meet Mr. Telizhenko on February 5, 2016. Why did  
19 he want to meet with you?

20 MS. ZENTOS: I do not know.

21 MR. WITTMANN: Why were you interested in meeting with  
22 him?

23 MR. LEVY: Again, I don't think she's said that she was  
24 interested in meeting with him. This is another fact that  
25 you're assuming.

1 MR. WITTMANN: Sure. Can you scroll down?

2 MR. LEVY: Please ask questions.

3 MR. WITTMANN: In the email it says, "Any chance you're  
4 free for coffee on Friday at either 10:30 a.m. or 2 p.m.?"  
5 Ms. Zentos, why did you want to get coffee with Mr.  
6 Telizhenko?

7 MS. ZENTOS: I believe Mr. Telizhenko wanted to get  
8 coffee with me, according to his email, first.

9 Second, I do not recall.

10 Third, he was a representative of the Ukrainian  
11 Government. Part of my job was to be in touch with the  
12 Ukrainian Government.

13 And, lastly, I have no recollection of ever discussing  
14 Burisma or Hunter Biden with him.

15 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. We're going to go to Exhibit 14,  
16 Tab 22, please.

17 [Zentos Exhibit No. 14 was  
18 marked for identification.]

19 MR. LEVY: Scroll up, please.

20 [Pause.]

21 MR. LEVY: Scroll up, please.

22 [Pause.]

23 MR. LEVY: Scroll up.

24 [Pause.]

25 MR. LEVY: Scroll up.

1 [Pause.]

2 MR. LEVY: All right.

3 MR. WITTMANN: On March 1, 2016, you and Mr. Telizhenko  
4 agreed to meet on March 3, 2016, at the bar the Exchange.  
5 You told Mr. Telizhenko, "I'll see if my colleague Eric is  
6 up for joining." Is this Mr. Ciaramella that you were  
7 referring to?

8 MS. ZENTOS: I would decline to answer that.

9 MR. WITTMANN: Did you invite Mr. Ciaramella to join  
10 your meeting with Mr. Telizhenko?

11 MS. ZENTOS: I do not remember that.

12 MR. WITTMANN: At any time before or after this email  
13 exchange, did you discuss Mr. Telizhenko with Mr.  
14 Ciaramella?

15 MS. ZENTOS: I don't recall.

16 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. We're going to go to Exhibit 15,  
17 Tab 24, please.

18 [Zentos Exhibit No. 15 was  
19 marked for identification.]

20 [Pause.]

21 MS. ZENTOS: Could you please scroll up?

22 [Pause.]

23 MR. LEVY: Scroll up, please.

24 [Pause.]

25 MR. LEVY: Scroll up.



1 [Pause.]

2 MS. ZENTOS: Okay.

3 MR. LEVY: Okay. Is there more email above this, or is  
4 this it?

5 MR. WITTMANN: This is it.

6 MR. LEVY: Okay.

7 MR. WITTMANN: Do you recall what you discussed with  
8 Mr. Telizhenko on the March 4, 2016, meeting?

9 MS. ZENTOS: I do not recall.

10 MR. WITTMANN: Do you recall if Mr. Ciaramella joined  
11 this meeting?

12 MS. ZENTOS: I do not recall.

13 MR. WITTMANN: Following this March 4, 2016, meeting,  
14 Mr. Telizhenko wrote, "About the meeting with"--and my  
15 apologies if I mispronounce the name. "About the meeting  
16 with Mr. Prystayko, I know that Mr. Brysuik asked for a  
17 possible meeting with Mr. Kupchan Charles. However if you  
18 would like a meeting with Mr. Prystayko, please let me  
19 know."

20 So it appears--did you discuss planning these meetings  
21 with Mr. Telizhenko?

22 MS. ZENTOS: I don't recall this email chain  
23 independently. It looks like an email chain I'm on. It  
24 looks like we're planning a meeting of sorts. But, again, I  
25 have no recollection of having any conversation with--

1 certainly with Mr. Telizhenko regarding Burisma or Hunter  
2 Biden.

3 MR. WITTMANN: Who is Mr. Kupchan?

4 MS. ZENTOS: I'm going to decline to answer that.

5 MR. WITTMANN: And who is Mr. Prystayko and Mr.  
6 Brysuik?

7 MS. ZENTOS: Just a moment.

8 [Pause.]

9 MS. ZENTOS: Okay. Certainly nobody I discussed Hunter  
10 Biden or Burisma with.

11 MR. WITTMANN: Are these Ukrainian officials?

12 MS. ZENTOS: Yes, they were at the time.

13 MR. WITTMANN: Did they work at the Ukrainian Embassy?

14 MS. ZENTOS: I--I'm going to say that I--I have no  
15 recollection of discussing Burisma or Hunter Biden with  
16 these two individuals or with anyone related to my work  
17 while I was at the embassy or anywhere else in the U.S.  
18 Government.

19 MR. WITTMANN: Will, would you scroll up just a little  
20 bit?

21 So in your response, you said, "I actually just  
22 received an email from Slava requesting a meeting for Vadym  
23 with Charlie, which is perfect. I'll write back to Slava  
24 and let him know that it looks like Charlie will be able to  
25 do at least a short meeting (and I'll sit in as well)."

1           Could you please let us know who Slava and who Vadym  
2 are?

3           MS. ZENTOS: I'm going to decline to talk about  
4 individuals.

5           MR. WITTMANN: Are they Ukrainian officials?

6           MS. ZENTOS: Yes, they were Ukrainian officials at the  
7 time.

8           MR. WITTMANN: When you said--what does it mean that  
9 Slava requested this meeting? Did she request the meeting  
10 through you?

11          MS. ZENTOS: I don't recall.

12          MR. WITTMANN: Do you recall the purpose between the  
13 meeting--of the meeting between Mr. Prystayko and Mr.  
14 Kupchan?

15          MS. ZENTOS: I do not.

16          MR. WITTMANN: Do you know if this meeting occurred?

17          MS. ZENTOS: I do not.

18          MR. WITTMANN: Did you help facilitate a meeting  
19 between Mr. Brysuik and Mr. Kupchan?

20          MS. ZENTOS: I do not recall.

21          MR. WITTMANN: Do you know what the purpose of that  
22 meeting was?

23          MS. ZENTOS: I do not.

24          MR. LEVY: And she hasn't said that she knows of a  
25 meeting.

1 MR. WITTMANN: We're going to go to Exhibit 16, Tab 25,  
2 please.

3 [Zentos Exhibit No. 16 was  
4 marked for identification.]

5 MR. LEVY: Scroll up, please.

6 [Pause.]

7 MR. LEVY: Scroll up.

8 [Pause.]

9 MR. LEVY: Scroll up.

10 [Pause.]

11 MR. LEVY: Scroll up.

12 [Pause.]

13 MR. LEVY: Okay.

14 MR. WITTMANN: On March 10, 2016, Mr. Telizhenko  
15 emailed asking to meet with you that afternoon for 5  
16 minutes. Based on the rest of the email, it appears that  
17 you met at 5:00 p.m. that day at Cosi. What did you and Mr.  
18 Telizhenko discuss at this meeting?

19 MR. LEVY: You first have to ask if she recalls that  
20 there was a meeting. She hasn't told you there was--

21 MR. WITTMANN: She can say that.

22 MR. LEVY: Yeah, well, you can't assume a fact in  
23 evidence since you're asking questions. I just want to--

24 MR. WITTMANN: She can say whatever she wants.

25 MR. LEVY: I understand that, but there's an element of

1 fairness that we would expect you to bring to the exercise.

2 MR. WITTMANN: I'm telling her that she can say  
3 whatever she wants. I don't know how to be more fair than  
4 that.

5 MR. LEVY: It's to ask appropriate questions. That's  
6 all I'm asking you to do.

7 MR. WITTMANN: Ms. Zentos, please feel free to tell us  
8 whatever you'd like.

9 MR. LEVY: About what?

10 MR. WITTMANN: About this meeting and whether or not it  
11 occurred.

12 MS. ZENTOS: I do not remember if this occurred. As  
13 you can probably see from the email, Mr. Telizhenko likes to  
14 ask me to meet. I don't remember if this specific meeting  
15 happened.

16 MR. WITTMANN: Do you know why he asked to meet for  
17 just 5 minutes?

18 MS. ZENTOS: I do not know.

19 MR. WITTMANN: Did you and Mr. Telizhenko have other  
20 meetings that--where he asked for, you know, a few minutes  
21 just to meet? Are there other email exchanges where he  
22 would email you and say, "Can we meet for just only a few  
23 minutes?"

24 MS. ZENTOS: I don't recall, but there may well have  
25 been. Again, I don't have any recollection of discussing

1 anything related to Hunter Biden or Burisma in any  
2 correspondence or meeting.

3 MR. WITTMANN: Do you recall if anyone else ever  
4 attended any of the meetings that you had with Mr.  
5 Telizhenko?

6 MS. ZENTOS: I don't recall.

7 MR. WITTMANN: Do you recall whether you shared any  
8 information about what was discussed in your meeting with  
9 Mr. Telizhenko with any of your colleagues or any other U.S.  
10 agencies?

11 MS. ZENTOS: Again, I don't recall. I don't want to  
12 speculate on what I would have shared and what I wouldn't  
13 have shared when I don't recall when we met, what we  
14 discussed, et cetera. What I can say is that I don't recall  
15 any discussion of Burisma or Hunter Biden.

16 MR. WITTMANN: I'm going to go to Exhibit 17, Tab A,  
17 please.

18 [Zentos Exhibit No. 17 was  
19 marked for identification.]

20 MR. LEVY: Scroll up, please.

21 [Pause.]

22 MR. LEVY: Scroll up.

23 [Pause.]

24 MR. LEVY: Scroll up, please.

25 [Pause.]

1 MR. LEVY: Okay.

2 MR. WITTMANN: Ms. Zentos, do you recall meeting Mr..  
3 Telizhenko on April 13, 2016?

4 MS. ZENTOS: I do not recall when any specific meeting  
5 was with Mr. Telizhenko.

6 MR. WITTMANN: Ms. Zentos, in your email you wrote, "No  
7 worries! Just got here. See you soon." Is it a fair  
8 assumption to say that you met with Mr. Telizhenko on April  
9 13, 2016, based on this email?

10 MS. ZENTOS: I believe I was advised not to assume. I  
11 don't recall if we actually met. I think the email speaks  
12 for itself.

13 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. I'm going to go to Exhibit 18,  
14 Tab C, please.

15 [Zentos Exhibit No. 18 was  
16 marked for identification.]

17 MR. LEVY: Scroll up, please.

18 [Pause.]

19 MR. LEVY: Scroll up, please.

20 [Pause.]

21 MR. LEVY: Scroll up, please.

22 [Pause.]

23 MS. ZENTOS: All right.

24 MR. WITTMANN: On Wednesday, April 27, 2016, Ms.  
25 Zentos, you wrote to Mr. Telizhenko, "Yes, that would be

1 great. So, Friday, 2 p.m. at Cosi. Looking forward to it!"

2 And then we're going to go to Exhibit 19, Tab D, please.

3 [Zentos Exhibit No. 19 was  
4 marked for identification.]

5 MR. LEVY: You have no questions about this exhibit?

6 MR. WITTMANN: Just showing it for her situational  
7 awareness. Want to be as clear as possible.

8 MR. LEVY: In the interest of time, I would just ask if  
9 you show us an exhibit if you're going to ask us a question  
10 about it.

11 MR. WITTMANN: I just want to make sure that she sees  
12 all the documents that we're basing questions on.

13 MR. LEVY: Well, that's a little disingenuous given  
14 that we've asked to receive the documents and they have not  
15 been sent to us.

16 MS. ZENTOS: Okay. Scroll up.

17 [Pause.]

18 MR. LEVY: Scroll up, please.

19 [Pause.]

20 MR. LEVY: Scroll up, please.

21 [Pause.]

22 MS. ZENTOS: Okay. Scroll up, please.

23 [Pause.]

24 MS. ZENTOS: Okay.

25 MR. WITTMANN: On Friday, April 29, 2016, you emailed



1 Mr. Telizhenko to cancel the previous meeting and to  
2 reschedule for May 4, 216, at 4:00 p.m. at Cosi. Do you  
3 recall if this meeting occurred?

4 MS. ZENTOS: I do not recall.

5 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. We'll go to Exhibit 20, Tab 2.

6 [Zentos Exhibit No. 20 was  
7 marked for identification.]

8 [Pause.]

9 MR. LEVY: Scroll up, please.

10 [Pause.]

11 MR. LEVY: Scroll up, please.

12 [Pause.]

13 MR. LEVY: Scroll up, please.

14 [Pause.]

15 MR. LEVY: Okay. Do you want to ask a question?

16 MR. WITTMANN: On July 8, 2016, you emailed Mr.  
17 Telizhenko and asked if he wanted to meet for coffee on the  
18 next day, July 9th. The next part of the email, you tell  
19 him that you "need to be in Podil at 2 p.m." Were you in  
20 Ukraine at the time that you sent this email?

21 MS. ZENTOS: I'm not sure.

22 MR. WITTMANN: You can't recall if you were in Ukraine  
23 when you sent these emails?

24 MS. ZENTOS: I don't know. I may have been in Ukraine  
25 when I sent them. I'm reading--

1 MR. WITTMANN: Do you recall why you were in Ukraine?

2 MS. ZENTOS: I joined Secretary Kerry's delegation to  
3 Ukraine.

4 MR. WITTMANN: Did you and Mr. Telizhenko speak about  
5 this trip?

6 MS. ZENTOS: I have no recollection.

7 MR. WITTMANN: Mr. Telizhenko offered to pick you up at  
8 your hotel and drive you to lunch. Did Mr. Telizhenko pick  
9 you up the next day, on July 9th, at your hotel?

10 MS. ZENTOS: I don't recall, but I highly doubt it.

11 MR. WITTMANN: Why?

12 MS. ZENTOS: My general policy is to not have foreign  
13 officials drive me places, and, similarly, we are not  
14 allowed, when we are a representative of the U.S. Embassy,  
15 to drive a foreign official somewhere.

16 MR. WITTMANN: Do you recall whether or not you met him  
17 in the lobby of the hotel?

18 MS. ZENTOS: I do not recall. It's possible--I talked  
19 I talked with him in the lobby.

20 MR. WITTMANN: Do you recall whether or not you met  
21 with Mr. Telizhenko for lunch on July 9th?

22 MS. ZENTOS: I do not recall.

23 MR. WITTMANN: Besides your earlier time in Ukraine  
24 when you said you may have met with Mr. Telizhenko, were  
25 there other trips where you met with Mr. Telizhenko in

1 Ukraine?

2 MS. ZENTOS: I'm sorry--

3 MR. LEVY: Can you repeat the question?

4 MR. WITTMANN: I believe you--and correct me if I'm  
5 wrong, but I believe you mentioned earlier that when you  
6 were in Ukraine in 2014, you met with Mr. Telizhenko. Is  
7 that right?

8 MS. ZENTOS: I believe I met him while I was there. He  
9 was not mainly my contact. He was a contact of others in  
10 the U.S. Embassy. My recollection is that within the U.S.  
11 Embassy there were many complaints that he wanted to meet  
12 all the time with U.S. Embassy officials and, similarly,  
13 wanted to meet with U.S. officials all the time when he was  
14 in Washington.

15 MR. WITTMANN: When you were on NSC, do you recall any  
16 meetings with Mr. Telizhenko in Ukraine?

17 MS. ZENTOS: I think I just said I don't recall whether  
18 I met with Mr. Telizhenko when I was in Ukraine. I did go  
19 to Ukraine around this time on Secretary Kerry's trip as an  
20 NSC official. It's possible I spoke to him. I was there to  
21 help advise Secretary Kerry and...

22 MR. WITTMANN: Did you and Mr. Telizhenko ever discuss  
23 the U.S. firm Blue Star Strategies?

24 MS. ZENTOS: I have no recollection of discussing Blue  
25 Star Strategies with Mr. Telizhenko or anyone else.

1 MR. WITTMANN: Did you know on or about July 2016 that  
2 Mr. Telizhenko left the Ukrainian Embassy to work for Blue  
3 Star Strategies?

4 MS. ZENTOS: I don't believe I knew that, no.

5 MR. WITTMANN: Are you familiar with the firm Blue Star  
6 Strategies?

7 MS. ZENTOS: I have read references to it in the past  
8 year. That's all I know about it.

9 MR. WITTMANN: What were those references in regards  
10 to?

11 MS. ZENTOS: I don't remember specifics, but in regards  
12 to it being a lobbying firm involved in Ukraine issues. I  
13 will also note that, again, I did not know Mr. Telizhenko  
14 was going there. The last I remember is that Mr. Telizhenko  
15 told me he was going to go back to Ukraine and be a deputy  
16 prosecutor general.

17 MR. WITTMANN: When did he tell you that?

18 MS. ZENTOS: He was trying to do that. He thought he  
19 could make it happen. While I was at the NSC. I don't  
20 remember when.

21 MR. WITTMANN: Do you know Karen Tramontano or Sally  
22 Painter?

23 MS. ZENTOS: No, I do not, as far as I recall.

24 MR. WITTMANN: Did you know Blue Star Strategies  
25 represents Burisma?

1 MS. ZENTOS: I do not believe I knew that. Not that I  
2 recall.

3 MR. WITTMANN: Do you know that--you didn't know that  
4 at the time that you were on NSC, or are you saying you  
5 don't know that now?

6 MS. ZENTOS: Right now I would have to think about what  
7 I had read. I don't automatically know that. I had been  
8 very focused on Georgia, and then in the last 2 weeks I'm  
9 learning about Afghanistan. I don't know much of anything  
10 about Blue Star.

11 MR. WITTMANN: Were you aware that Blue Star Strategies  
12 officials were attempting to secure meetings with U.S.  
13 officials on behalf of their client Burisma?

14 MS. ZENTOS: I don't believe I was aware, no.

15 MR. WITTMANN: Did you and Mr. Telizhenko ever discuss  
16 Burisma?

17 MS. ZENTOS: Again, I do not recall ever discussing  
18 Burisma with Mr. Telizhenko.

19 MR. WITTMANN: Did you and Mr. Telizhenko discuss  
20 Hunter Biden?

21 MS. ZENTOS: I do not recall ever discussing Hunter  
22 Biden with Mr. Telizhenko.

23 MR. WITTMANN: Did you and Mr. Telizhenko discuss Vice  
24 President Biden?

25 MS. ZENTOS: I do not recall specifically--I do not

1 recall discussing the Vice President with Andriy Telizhenko.

2 MR. WITTMANN: Did you ever discuss politics with Mr.  
3 Telizhenko?

4 MS. ZENTOS: Ukrainian or American?

5 MR. WITTMANN: Both.

6 MS. ZENTOS: I don't recall specifics of any  
7 conversation. I do not recall certainly discussing U.S.  
8 politics with Mr. Telizhenko. I don't recall if I discussed  
9 Ukrainian politics with Mr. Telizhenko. If I discussed  
10 things with him, it would have been U.S.-Ukraine relations.  
11 He was an official of the Ukrainian Government.

12 MR. WITTMANN: Did you and Mr. Telizhenko discuss  
13 Prosecutor General Shokin or any other member of the PGO's  
14 office?

15 MS. ZENTOS: Again, I believe he mentioned Prosecutor  
16 General Yarema to me, and I then mentioned before also I  
17 believe he worked for Prosecutor General Yarema in Ukraine.  
18 But I do not recall any specific discussion of him. I do  
19 not recall any discussion of Shokin with him.

20 MR. WITTMANN: Did you ever express--did you express  
21 any concerns about potential conflicts of interest regarding  
22 Hunter Biden's role at Burisma?

23 MS. ZENTOS: No, I do not recall expressing, ever  
24 mentioning, ever discussing Hunter Biden or Burisma, once  
25 again.

1 MR. WITTMANN: And could you just for the record state  
2 again, based on your recollection, the last time you were in  
3 contact with Mr. Telizhenko?

4 MS. ZENTOS: I do not remember exactly when, but it  
5 would have been before I left the NSC, which was the end of  
6 July 2016. As far as I recall.

7 MR. WITTMANN: Did you help facilitate meetings between  
8 American officials and Mr. Telizhenko?

9 MS. ZENTOS: Not that I recall, no. I mean, I was an  
10 American official, so I recall having met him at some point,  
11 and I probably set it up myself. But not with anyone else.

12 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. Did you help facilitate meetings  
13 between Blue Star Strategy officials or were you--I'll stick  
14 with that. Did you ever help facilitate meetings between  
15 Blue Star Strategy officials?

16 MR. LEVY: She told you she didn't even recall Blue  
17 Star.

18 MS. ZENTOS: No.

19 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. Did you and Andriy Telizhenko  
20 ever discuss specifically the 2016 Presidential election,  
21 U.S. Presidential election?

22 MR. LEVY: She told you she didn't talk U.S. politics  
23 with him.

24 MS. ZENTOS: I do not recall doing that.

25 MR. WITTMANN: Okay.

1 MR. DOWNEY: Ms. Zentos, now that we've discussed  
2 Andriy Telizhenko, we wanted to briefly touch on other  
3 Ukrainian officials that you may have interacted with during  
4 your time at the National Security Council. So if we could  
5 put up Tab 1, Will, this will be Exhibit--what exhibit is  
6 this, Scott?

7 This will be Exhibit 21.

8 [Zentos Exhibit No. 21 was  
9 marked for identification.]

10 MR. LEVY: Scroll up, please.

11 [Pause.]

12 MS. ZENTOS: Okay.

13 MR. DOWNEY: So this exhibit is from October 16 and  
14 October 17, 2015, and it's an email between yourself and Ms.  
15 Oksana Shulyar regarding a draft readout of a meeting  
16 between Susan Rice and Minister of Foreign Affairs of  
17 Ukraine Pavlo Klimkin.

18 Ms. Zentos, who is Oksana Shulyar?

19 MS. ZENTOS: She's not somebody I discussed Hunter  
20 Biden or Burisma with.

21 Okay, okay. I mean--sorry. She--my recollection is  
22 that she was a representative of the Ukrainian Government at  
23 the Ukrainian Embassy in Washington, D.C.

24 MR. DOWNEY: So from your recollection, is she higher  
25 up in the--was she higher up in the Ukrainian Embassy than



1 Andriy Telizhenko?

2 MS. ZENTOS: I did not know the inner workings of the  
3 Ukrainian Embassy in Washington.

4 MR. DOWNEY: Do you know--how often did you communicate  
5 with Ms. Oksana Shulyar?

6 MS. ZENTOS: I don't remember. I don't remember.

7 MR. DOWNEY: Ms. Shulyar and Mr. Telizhenko each worked  
8 for the Ukrainian Embassy, as we discussed. Did you meet  
9 with Ms. Shulyar apart from official meetings like you met  
10 with Mr. Telizhenko?

11 MS. ZENTOS: I knew Ms. Shulyar through my work. I'm  
12 not sure what you mean by in not official meetings. My  
13 dealings with Ms. Shulyar would involve work.

14 MR. DOWNEY: Well, as Mr. Wittmann went through your  
15 meetings with Mr. Telizhenko, they were sort of off-site at  
16 coffee shops and other places around Washington. Did you  
17 meet with Oksana Shulyar outside of the White House grounds?

18 MS. ZENTOS: NSC officials held most of their meetings  
19 off of NSC grounds, at least at my level, because it was  
20 very difficult to get people into the NSC. And all of those  
21 meetings with Mr. Telizhenko were work-related; they were  
22 work meetings.

23 MR. DOWNEY: Gotcha. So turning back to the exhibit,  
24 you wrote to Ms. Shulyar on October 17, 2015, "Please do not  
25 yet publish this. I've found out that Susan often does not

1 like readouts of her meetings to be published." Is this  
2 "Susan" Susan Rice?

3 MS. ZENTOS: This is not a meeting that I recall  
4 anything being discussed about Hunter Biden or Burisma.

5 MR. DOWNEY: Can you explain to the Committee why Susan  
6 did not like published readouts of her meetings?

7 MS. ZENTOS: I cannot. I do not know.

8 MR. DOWNEY: Was it common practice for Ukrainian  
9 officials to send you and other U.S. officials draft  
10 readouts of meetings before publishing?

11 MS. ZENTOS: At times officials could send--this is a  
12 practice that sometimes happens in the diplomatic corps in  
13 all countries I've worked in.

14 MR. DOWNEY: Did you attend this meeting between Susan  
15 and Mr. Klimkin?

16 MS. ZENTOS: Insofar as I attended any meeting, I  
17 recall no discussion of Hunter Biden or Burisma.

18 MR. DOWNEY: Okay. Let's go to Tab 8, which will be  
19 Exhibit 22.

20 [Zentos Exhibit No. 22 was  
21 marked for identification.]

22 MR. LEVY: Scroll up, please.

23 [Pause.]

24 MR. LEVY: Scroll up, please. Okay.

25 MR. DOWNEY: So as you can see, this is first an email

1 of December 22, 2015, from Oksana Shulyar, who has the  
2 signature tag as counselor to the U.S. Embassy for Ukraine  
3 in Washington. She sends her contact information to you,  
4 Ms. Zentos, and then the day after Christmas, on December  
5 26, 2015, you forward that email to Mr. Eric Ciaramella.  
6 Can you describe what prompted you to forward this  
7 information to Mr. Ciaramella?

8 MS. ZENTOS: I do not remember.

9 MR. DOWNEY: Did you forward this information to him  
10 because Mr. Ciaramella dealt more with Ukraine than you did?

11 MS. ZENTOS: I am going to decline to answer about  
12 specific individuals.

13 MR. DOWNEY: Did you and Mr. Ciaramella work together  
14 on Ukraine policy?

15 MS. ZENTOS: Decline to answer.

16 MR. DOWNEY: Why did you forward this, Ms. Shulyar's  
17 information, only to Mr. Ciaramella? What other people on  
18 NSC worked on Ukraine could have been forwarded this  
19 information?

20 MS. ZENTOS: I do not recall why I forwarded it.

21 MR. DOWNEY: Do you know if Mr. Ciaramella ever met  
22 with Oksana Shulyar?

23 MS. ZENTOS: I'm going to decline to comment on  
24 specific individuals.

25 MR. DOWNEY: Okay. We're going to go to Tab 26,

1 please. This will be Exhibit 23.

2 [Zentos Exhibit No. 23 was  
3 marked for identification.]

4 MR. LEVY: Scroll up, please.

5 [Pause.]

6 MS. ZENTOS: Okay.

7 MR. DOWNEY: So this exhibit is regarding a March 31,  
8 2016, meeting between--a working lunch between Vice  
9 President Joe Biden and Ukraine President Petro Poroshenko.  
10 Do you recall this lunch meeting?

11 MS. ZENTOS: No.

12 MR. DOWNEY: Did you attend the working lunch?

13 MS. ZENTOS: I don't know.

14 MR. LEVY: She said she doesn't recall it.

15 MR. DOWNEY: The draft statement notes that, "The  
16 Ukrainian Government is committed to a reform program--  
17 including prosecutorial and other anti-corruption reforms."  
18 The statement continues: "The VP welcomed the news and  
19 reaffirmed that the United States is prepared to move  
20 forward on a third \$1 billion loan guarantee and other  
21 assistance once these steps are taken."

22 Do you recall what specific steps the Ukrainians had to  
23 take to secure the \$1 billion loan guarantee?

24 MS. ZENTOS: I don't recall.

25 MR. DOWNEY: Do you recall working on any of these

1 issues connected to the Ukrainian loan guarantee?

2 MS. ZENTOS: It was not the focus of my work, and  
3 insomuch as I was in any meetings that involved discussion  
4 of a loan guarantee, I recall no discussion that involved  
5 Hunter Biden or Burisma.

6 MR. DOWNEY: One more question on this document. After  
7 the Ukrainian officials replied to the email chains which  
8 suggested that it's to the statement, you, Ms. Zentos, then  
9 forwarded the email to Alexander Kasanof at the State  
10 Department and wrote, "Ugh." And Kasanof responded,  
11 "Agree."

12 Who is Mr. Kasanof?

13 MS. ZENTOS: I'm going to decline to comment on  
14 specific individuals.

15 MR. DOWNEY: Does he work at the State Department?

16 MS. ZENTOS: Decline to answer.

17 MR. DOWNEY: Do you recall why you forwarded this email  
18 chain and why you included a comment, "Ugh"?

19 MS. ZENTOS: Do not recall.

20 MR. DOWNEY: Okay. We're going to go to Tab E, Will.

21 [Zentos Exhibit No. 24 was  
22 marked for identification.]

23 [Pause.]

24 MR. DOWNEY: Is Mr. Levy there?

25 [No response.]

1 MR. DOWNEY: Ms. Gray, we're going to go off the  
2 record. It's 5:11 p.m.

3 [Recess.]

4 MR. DOWNEY: Okay. It's 5:20 p.m., and we're back on  
5 the record with Ms. Zentos.

6 MR. LEVY: I think the building's WiFi shut off at 5  
7 o'clock, and so we had to go to a different source of WiFi.

8 MR. DOWNEY: No problem.

9 MR. LEVY: We're back. Thank you for your patience.  
10 Just a quick question. How much longer does the  
11 majority expect to go this round?

12 MR. DOWNEY: I will probably go for maybe 5 more  
13 minutes, and then Josh Flynn-Brown from Senator Grassley's  
14 office will have some questions. And then our hour is  
15 probably up, and then we'll kick it over to the minority.

16 MR. LEVY: Okay. Thank you.

17 MR. DOWNEY: No problem.

18 Ms. Zentos, we were on Exhibit 24. Tab E, Will, if you  
19 can pull that back up.

20 [Pause.]

21 MS. ZENTOS: Okay.

22 MR. LEVY: Scroll up, please.

23 [Pause.]

24 MR. LEVY: Scroll up, please.

25 [Pause.]

1 MR. LEVY: Scroll up, please.

2 [Pause.]

3 MS. ZENTOS: Okay. Scroll up more, please.

4 [Pause.]

5 MS. ZENTOS: Okay. Scroll up more.

6 [Pause.]

7 MS. ZENTOS: Okay.

8 [Pause.]

9 MS. ZENTOS: Okay.

10 [Pause.]

11 MS. ZENTOS: Okay.

12 [Pause.]

13 MS. ZENTOS: Okay.

14 [Pause.]

15 MS. ZENTOS: Okay.

16 [Pause.]

17 MS. ZENTOS: Okay.

18 MR. DOWNEY: Okay. So this is an email chain that  
19 spans from late May of 2016 to June 17, 2016. On June 6,  
20 2016--which is on Bates 1102, Will, if we can go back down  
21 to that section.

22 This June 6th email from Ms. Oksana Shulyar to you, Ms.  
23 Zentos, she is seeking help to facilitate a meeting between  
24 Boris Lozhkin and Denis McDonough, President Obama's Chief  
25 of Staff. Ms. Shulyar wrote, "I think it would be

1 interesting for both." Who is Boris Lozhkin?

2 MS. ZENTOS: I recall that he worked for the Ukrainian  
3 presidential administration. I don't recall his exact  
4 title.

5 MR. DOWNEY: Would he sort of be the counter--the  
6 similar position as Denis McDonough is, chief of staff to  
7 the President of Ukraine?

8 MS. ZENTOS: I don't recall his exact title, but--so I  
9 don't want to speculate. I don't recall his exact title.

10 MR. DOWNEY: Do you recall why they requested this  
11 meeting between Mr. Lozhkin and Mr. McDonough?

12 MS. ZENTOS: I do not.

13 MR. DOWNEY: Were there any previous requests for  
14 meetings between Mr. Lozhkin and Mr. McDonough between  
15 January 2016 and July 2016?

16 MS. ZENTOS: I don't know. I don't remember.

17 MR. DOWNEY: Okay. We're going to go to Exhibit 25,  
18 Tab P.

19 [Zentos Exhibit No. 25 was  
20 marked for identification.]

21 [Pause.]

22 MS. ZENTOS: Okay.

23 MR. LEVY: Scroll up, please.

24 [Pause.]

25 MS. ZENTOS: Okay. Please scroll up.



1 [Pause.]

2 MS. ZENTOS: Okay. Just keep going.

3 [Pause.]

4 MS. ZENTOS: Okay.

5 [Pause.]

6 MS. ZENTOS: Okay.

7 [Pause.]

8 MS. ZENTOS: Okay.

9 [Pause.]

10 MS. ZENTOS: Okay.

11 [Pause.]

12 MS. ZENTOS: Okay.

13 [Pause.]

14 MS. ZENTOS: Okay.

15 [Pause.]

16 MS. ZENTOS: Okay.

17 [Pause.]

18 MS. ZENTOS: Okay.

19 [Pause.]

20 MS. ZENTOS: Okay.

21 MR. DOWNEY: So if we could turn our attention to the

22 last page of this Exhibit 25, which is Bates number 1141--

23 can you go down? Thanks. So on May 20, 2016, you were

24 copied on an email from Charles Kupchan to Natalie Quillian

25 that stated, "You may recall that we were in the midst of

1 setting up a meeting between Denis and Lozhkin a couple of  
2 months ago, but Lozhkin had to cancel his trip."

3 Were you involved in facilitating this meeting between  
4 Mr. McDonough and Mr. Lozhkin?

5 MS. ZENTOS: I don't recall. You mean the supposed  
6 prior one? I don't recall anything about a supposed prior  
7 attempt to set up a meeting.

8 MR. DOWNEY: Understood. Let's go to Tab X, which will  
9 be Exhibit 26.

10 [Zentos Exhibit No. 26 was  
11 marked for identification.]

12 MR. DOWNEY: And for the record, the State Department  
13 document that Ms. Zentos is not a party to--I'll attempt to  
14 tie this together.

15 MR. LEVY: What's your question?

16 MR. DOWNEY: I'll let you review the email first.

17 MR. LEVY: What's your question?

18 MR. DOWNEY: On March 28, 2016, Karen Tramontano, the  
19 chief executive officer of Blue Star Strategies, emailed  
20 Denis McDonough and asked him to meet with Boris Lozhkin.  
21 Ms. Tramontano said, "I'm assisting the Office of the  
22 President (Ukraine) with his upcoming visit to the [United  
23 States.] His Chief of Staff, Boris Lozhkin has asked  
24 whether it would be possible to meet you."

25 Ms. Zentos, were you or anyone else on the NSC aware of

1 this request by Karen Tramontano?

2 MS. ZENTOS: I do not recall knowing about this request  
3 from Karen Tramontano. I cannot speak to others in the NSC.

4 MR. DOWNEY: Was this March 2016 request by Karen  
5 Tramontano the same meeting that Mr. Kupchan referenced in  
6 his email to Ms. Quillian?

7 MS. ZENTOS: I do not know.

8 MR. DOWNEY: Was it common for an individual not  
9 employed by the embassy to make a request on behalf of  
10 another country to have that country's top official meet  
11 with the U.S. President's Chief of Staff?

12 MS. ZENTOS: I'm not going to speculate on what other  
13 countries do and have their lobbyists do. I don't know.

14 MR. DOWNEY: From your experience working in the State  
15 Department, have you seen that before?

16 MR. LEVY: She's answered the question. She's not  
17 going to speculate.

18 MR. DOWNEY: Thank you.

19 Real quick, Vice President Biden asserted that he  
20 threatened to withhold \$1 billion in U.S. aid if Prosecutor  
21 General Shokin wasn't fired. When did you, Ms. Zentos,  
22 become aware of that fact?

23 MS. ZENTOS: I don't remember when I became aware.

24 MR. DOWNEY: Do you recall when that threat was made by  
25 Vice President Biden?

1 MR. LEVY: Is there a document that you're reading  
2 from?

3 MR. DOWNEY: No. I'm just going off public reporting.

4 MS. ZENTOS: I don't recall.

5 MR. DOWNEY: Do you recall whether that was the  
6 official Obama administration position?

7 MR. LEVY: Whether what was the official Obama  
8 administration position?

9 MR. DOWNEY: That if they didn't fire--the Ukrainians  
10 didn't fire Prosecutor General Shokin, aid would be  
11 withheld?

12 MR. LEVY: At what point in time?

13 MR. DOWNEY: I think there's a discrepancy of when Vice  
14 President Biden made this comment, whether it was in late  
15 2015 or the spring of 2016.

16 MR. LEVY: So could you just rephrase the question with  
17 specificity as to the time period you're asking about?

18 MR. DOWNEY: When Vice President Biden threatened to  
19 withhold \$1 billion of aid, was that the Obama  
20 administration's position?

21 MR. LEVY: At what point in time?

22 MR. DOWNEY: In the fall of 2015.

23 MS. ZENTOS: I don't remember dates from when I was  
24 there 4-1/2 to 5-1/2 years ago at the NSC. What I can say  
25 is that, again, I have no recollection of Burisma or Hunter

1 Biden ever coming up in any context related to U.S.  
2 Government work, including a loan guarantee or conditions on  
3 it.

4 MR. DOWNEY: Thank you. Josh, if you have a couple  
5 questions, I'll turn it over to you. Thank you, Ms. Zentos.

6 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Thank you, Ms. Zentos. Just a couple  
7 more questions, and I think we'll be done for the day. I  
8 appreciate your time today.

9 So, Ms. Zentos, do you know Alexandra Chalupa?

10 MS. ZENTOS: I do not believe so. I do not recall  
11 knowing Alexandra Chalupa.

12 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Okay. Why don't we then turn to Tab  
13 J? That's Exhibit 27.

14 [Zentos Exhibit No. 27 was  
15 marked for identification.]

16 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: And once it's up, please let me know  
17 that you've reviewed it.

18 [Pause.]

19 MR. LEVY: Is this the document?

20 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Yes, it is.

21 MR. LEVY: Can you scroll up?

22 [Pause.]

23 MR. LEVY: Scroll up, please.

24 [Pause.]

25 MR. LEVY: Scroll up, please.

1 [Pause.]

2 MR. LEVY: Scroll up, please.

3 [Pause.]

4 MS. ZENTOS: Apologies.

5 [Pause.]

6 MR. LEVY: Scroll up, please.

7 [Pause.]

8 MR. LEVY: Scroll up, please.

9 [Pause.]

10 MS. ZENTOS: Okay.

11 MR. LEVY: Okay.

12 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: On June 6, 2016, Oksana Shulyar  
13 thanked you for helping to arrange Mr. Lozhkin's visit to  
14 the White House and then invited you to attend an event at  
15 the Embassy of Ukraine--or that the Embassy of Ukraine was  
16 hosting. The meeting was held in collaboration with the  
17 House of Ukraine, which was co-chaired by Alexandra Chalupa.  
18 Do you know what the House of Ukraine is?

19 MR. LEVY: Before she answers that question, I just  
20 wanted to state that the email does not say a visit to the  
21 White House. It just says a visit, in terms of Mr.  
22 Lozhkin's visit. Do you want to note that for the question?

23 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Noted. Thank you.

24 So the question is: What is the House of Ukraine?

25 MS. ZENTOS: I do not know what the House of Ukraine

1 is.

2 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: You've never attended an event hosted  
3 by the House of Ukraine?

4 MS. ZENTOS: I can say sitting here right now I have no  
5 idea what the House of Ukraine is. Have I attended--I don't  
6 recall--I don't recall if I attended an event. I received  
7 many invitations to many events while I was at the NSC.

8 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Okay. Let's turn then to Exhibit 28.  
9 That will be Tab K.

10 [Zentos Exhibit No. 28 was  
11 marked for identification.]

12 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: After you're done reviewing, please  
13 let me know.

14 [Pause.]

15 MS. ZENTOS: Okay. Please scroll up.

16 [Pause.]

17 MS. ZENTOS: Okay.

18 [Pause.]

19 MS. ZENTOS: Okay.

20 [Pause.]

21 MS. ZENTOS: Okay.

22 [Pause.]

23 MS. ZENTOS: Okay.

24 [Pause.]

25 MR. LEVY: We've reviewed the document.

1 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: So you see at the top you responded  
2 by thanking Ms. Shulyar for the invitation and said you were  
3 going to--and said you were "going to attempt to make it."  
4 Do you recall if you made that event?

5 MR. LEVY: It's not the end of the quote. It continues  
6 and says, "I'm going to attempt to make it, although am  
7 worried I might be stuck here late tomorrow. I'll let you  
8 know tomorrow once I know for sure whether I can get away."

9 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Do you recall if you were able to  
10 attend that event?

11 MS. ZENTOS: I don't recall for sure. I don't recall  
12 attending it. But I can't say for sure.

13 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: So with respect to Ms. Chalupa, is it  
14 correct that you do not recall ever meeting her or  
15 communicating with her?

16 MS. ZENTOS: I do not recall doing so.

17 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: So you never saw her at the White  
18 House?

19 MR. LEVY: She's told you she doesn't recall meeting  
20 her.

21 MS. ZENTOS: I do not know. I don't recall meeting  
22 her.

23 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Last two questions. During the  
24 course of your employment in the Obama administration, did  
25 you ever have unauthorized contact with the media?



1 MS. ZENTOS: I did not.

2 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: During the course of your employment  
3 in the Trump administration, did you ever have unauthorized  
4 contact with the media?

5 MS. ZENTOS: I did not.

6 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Thank you, Ms. Zentos.

7 MR. SCHRAM: Can we take 5? Joe, you're on mute. Joe,  
8 we can't hear you. I don't know if it's a microphone issue  
9 or a mute issue.

10 MR. FOLIO: Great. I just have a few wrap-up questions  
11 and points, but I wanted to turn it over to Zack since we're  
12 at the end of our hour if you have additional questions,  
13 Zack.

14 MR. SCHRAM: Joe, when you say "wrap-up," do you mean  
15 with respect to the line of questioning that you spent the  
16 previous hour on or overall wrap-up?

17 MR. FOLIO: Some overall wrap-up questions and then  
18 some overall wrap-up concluding remarks.

19 MR. SCHRAM: All right. Let's see. It's 5:41 now.  
20 Can you give us until 5:50, a break until 5:50? Then we'll  
21 have our round, and I expect, pending your remarks, that  
22 we'll be done.

23 MR. FOLIO: Okay.

24 [Recess.]

25 MR. SCHRAM: Ms. Zentos, thanks again for your time.

1 The majority asked you a series of questions about your  
2 meetings with Ukrainian officials. Was it a routine part of  
3 your responsibility to meet with officials of foreign  
4 governments within the portfolio of countries that you  
5 covered?

6 MS. ZENTOS: Yes. Yes, it was routine to meet with  
7 foreign government officials from the countries I covered.

8 MR. SCHRAM: In advance of foreign assignments,  
9 assignments overseas, is it routine for Foreign Service  
10 officers to receive defensive briefings about  
11 counterintelligence or disinformation threats they might  
12 face?

13 MS. ZENTOS: We might receive them in Washington before  
14 going, or we might receive it at post when we get there,  
15 depending on the situation.

16 MR. SCHRAM: I'm going to enter a series of letters  
17 into the record. These are provided to you and to the  
18 majority yesterday. The first is a December 17, 2019,  
19 letter from Ranking Members Feinstein, Peters, and Wyden, to  
20 Chairmen Graham, Johnson, and Grassley. We'll mark that as  
21 Exhibit G. If you'd just take a quick moment to--well, take  
22 as much time as you'd like to review this letter.

23 [Zentos Exhibit G was marked  
24 for identification.]

25 MR. LEVY: What's the date of the letter?

1 MR. SCHRAM: December 17th.

2 MR. LEVY: Okay.

3 MR. SCHRAM: The second paragraph of the December 17th  
4 letter says, "Allegations of Ukrainian interference in the  
5 2016 election are part of a Russian disinformation campaign.  
6 Dr. Fiona Hill, the former head of Russia and Ukraine policy  
7 for the National Security Council and formerly the top  
8 analyst for Russia at the National Intelligence Council,  
9 testified to Congress, with regard to these allegations:  
10 'This is a fictional narrative that is being perpetrated and  
11 propagated by the Russian security services themselves.'  
12 And Assistant Secretary of State George Kent testified that  
13 there's no evidence 'whatsoever' of wrongdoing by Vice  
14 President Biden."

15 This goes on to say, "We should not facilitate foreign  
16 interference in our 2020 election."

17 Marking as Exhibit H, a February 27, 2020, letter from  
18 Senator Peters to Chairman Johnson. I believe you also have  
19 a copy of that letter.

20 [Zentos Exhibit H was marked  
21 for identification.]

22 MR. SCHRAM: The second paragraph states, "I warned  
23 when this investigation began that '[w]e should not  
24 facilitate foreign interference in our 2020 election.' I  
25 remain concerned that the United States Senate and this

1 Committee could be used to further disinformation efforts by  
2 Russian or other actors. Because these efforts pose a  
3 threat to our national security, I have asked for the  
4 Committee to receive defensive briefings--specifically  
5 regarding Mr. Telizhenko--from relevant intelligence  
6 community and law enforcement officials, to ensure the  
7 Senate is not used to advance any disinformation campaigns."

8       Marking as Exhibit I a March 17, 2020, letter from  
9 Senator Peters to Chairman Johnson. The second paragraph  
10 states, "The subpoena request is inappropriate for a number  
11 of reasons: you have not fully pursued voluntary production  
12 of these records; you have not scheduled the intelligence  
13 briefings you agreed to; you risk continuing to amplify  
14 foreign election interference efforts; and your own public  
15 comments acknowledged that your investigation is at least  
16 partially targeted at influencing voters, `if I were a  
17 Democrat primary voter, I'd want these questions  
18 satisfactorily answered before I cast my final vote.'"

19                               [Zentos Exhibit I was marked  
20                               for identification.]

21       MR. SCHRAM: Marking as Exhibit J, a July 16, 2020,  
22 letter from Ranking Members Peters and Wyden to Chairmen  
23 Johnson and Grassley.

24                               [Zentos Exhibit J was marked  
25                               for identification.]

1 MR. SCHRAM: The first paragraph refers to the Post  
2 article we discussed earlier. "The Post reported that this  
3 lawmaker `studied under the KGB in Moscow in the early  
4 1990s' and that these efforts `suggest a new push by foreign  
5 forces to sway American voters in the run-up to the 2020  
6 election.'"

7 "Our staff requested this briefing in December 2019.  
8 Ranking Member Peters then requested a Member briefing after  
9 a classified staff briefing led to the cancellation of a  
10 Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental  
11 Affairs...vote to subpoena AndriI Telizhenko. Ranking  
12 Member Peters then made a motion asking for this briefing at  
13 the HSGAC May 20, 2020, business meeting before a vote  
14 authorizing a subpoena for some of the same information  
15 Chairman Johnson first sought from the canceled Telizhenko  
16 subpoena vote."

17 "As Committees charged with safeguarding our homeland  
18 security and financial systems, we have a responsibility to  
19 fully understand the national security and  
20 counterintelligence implications of foreign election  
21 interference and your ongoing investigative work. We ask  
22 that you please formally request, schedule, and prioritize  
23 this briefing for the Members of our Committees as soon as  
24 possible."

25 Ms. Zentos, do you see any reason why members of this

1 Committee should not be fully informed of Russian  
2 disinformation efforts?

3 MS. ZENTOS: I hope that we are all aware of Russia's  
4 ongoing disinformation efforts.

5 MR. SCHRAM: I'll wrap there. I wish you luck on your  
6 assignment. Again, we are appreciative that people like you  
7 are willing to take risks to defend the national security  
8 interests of this country.

9 Joe, with respect to the transcript of this interview,  
10 I just want to request that we be given an opportunity to  
11 review it in advance of publication for corrections or  
12 potentially redactions with respect to any information that  
13 is particularly sensitive or the publication of which would  
14 be contrary to the national security interests.

15 MR. FOLIO: Thanks, Zack.

16 Roy, while you still have the proverbial ball, could I  
17 please ask you to pull up--I can't remember what exhibit it  
18 was, but it was the Ukraine Caucus exhibit. I want to say  
19 it was Charlie, but I might be wrong on that.

20 [Pause.]

21 MR. FOLIO: Thank you, Roy. If you just wouldn't mind  
22 please scrolling down to the--

23 MR. SCHRAM: Joe, that's Exhibit E.

24 MR. FOLIO: Okay. Thank you. A little farther. Thank  
25 you.

1           So, Ms. Zentos, referring back to what minority staff  
2 has entered as Exhibit E, I'd ask you to please focus your  
3 attention on the penultimate sentence in the penultimate  
4 paragraph beginning, "We similarly urge you..."

5           The sentence reads, "We similarly urge you to press  
6 ahead with urgent reforms to the Prosecutor General's office  
7 and judiciary." Anywhere in that sentence, does that call  
8 for the firing of then-Prosecutor General Shokin?

9           MS. ZENTOS: I don't want to speculate on the meaning  
10 behind that sentence.

11          MR. FOLIO: It doesn't say that, though, does it? It  
12 doesn't say, "Please fire Prosecutor General Shokin"?

13          MR. LEVY: The sentence speaks for itself.

14          MR. FOLIO: Ms. Zentos, are you aware of Congress' push  
15 during your time on the National Security Council for lethal  
16 defensive weaponry to be provided to Ukraine?

17          MS. ZENTOS: Yes.

18          MR. FOLIO: Are you aware that Senator Johnson was a  
19 supporter of lethal weaponry being provided to Ukraine?

20          MS. ZENTOS: I don't think I was aware of his position.  
21 I don't recall.

22          MR. FOLIO: Did you work on the issue of whether  
23 defensive lethal weaponry should be provided to Ukraine  
24 during your time at the National Security Council staff?

25          MS. ZENTOS: As I noted, part of my portfolio included

1 helping defensive--helping Ukrainians receive defensive  
2 military equipment.

3 MR. FOLIO: During the time you were national security  
4 staff, did the U.S. Government provide lethal weaponry to  
5 Ukraine to defend itself in its conflict against Russia?

6 MS. ZENTOS: As far as I'm aware, while I was at the  
7 NSC, we provided defensive weaponry but not lethal weapons.

8 MR. FOLIO: Why not?

9 MS. ZENTOS: The decision--that was not my decision. I  
10 don't want to speculate on the exact reasons for that  
11 decision.

12 MR. FOLIO: Turning back to the last series of exhibits  
13 that the minority staff entered into the record, several of  
14 those exhibits made certain suggestions about Mr. Andriy  
15 Telizhenko. Assuming they're ever remotely true  
16 suggestions, how do they make you feel about your half-dozen  
17 meetings with Mr. Telizhenko during your time on the  
18 National Security Council staff?

19 MR. LEVY: She's here to answer questions that call for  
20 factual responses about what she knows and what she recalls.  
21 I don't think she's here to talk about her opinion or  
22 feelings.

23 MR. FOLIO: I'm just asking her to comment on  
24 information that the minority entered into the record  
25 without any questions about defensive briefings and Russian



1 disinformation during which they make several suggestions  
2 about someone you met multiple times when you worked on the  
3 National Security Council staff. I'm asking for your  
4 impression of that information with regard to a foreign  
5 official you met with multiple times.

6 MS. ZENTOS: I will just note that in general my job as  
7 a U.S. Foreign Service officer, as a career diplomat, is to  
8 meet with foreign government officials of all walks of life.  
9 I met with Russian Government officials frequently when  
10 posted to Russia. I assume I will meet with officials in  
11 Afghanistan. Part of our job is to listen to that  
12 information and then decide based on our knowledge and our  
13 analytical skills what's relevant, what's true, what's not.

14 MR. FOLIO: Just one second, please.

15 [Pause.]

16 MR. FOLIO: All right, Ms. Zentos. I think that's the  
17 end of our questions, but before we formally conclude, I  
18 just wanted to conclude by saying although we appreciate you  
19 appearing voluntarily to answer our questions, we remain  
20 quite disappointed that you did not answer most of our  
21 questions and refused to answer questions as simple as who  
22 was your supervisor at the National Security Council.

23 We're also disappointed that the overly narrow  
24 interpretation that your counsel took allegedly in the  
25 letter sent at 5:00 p.m. on Saturday, a day and a half

1 before the interview, was not something he chose to discuss  
2 with us ahead of time.

3       Mr. Levy, I think that we have a fairly robust record,  
4 but our disappointment is based on the fact that you  
5 asserted several privileges that are not based in law or in  
6 fact. There was a very incomplete discussion at best of  
7 your explanation for why the executive privilege would apply  
8 at all. There is no such thing as a First Amendment  
9 privilege, and you did not explain that. And for those  
10 reasons, we remain not only disappointed, but we are  
11 significantly concerned that this has frustrated the  
12 Committee's ability to discover what has and had not  
13 happened here. And at this point in time, we will be  
14 speaking with Chairman Johnson and Chairman Grassley, and I  
15 think they will have to consider alternative routes for  
16 getting this information, whether through voluntary or  
17 involuntary means. So I wanted to flag that for your  
18 attention just so we're clear.

19       MR. LEVY: Well, I would just like to wrap the day up  
20 by noting that Ms. Zentos has devoted the 2-1/2 weeks that  
21 she has been home in the United States between foreign  
22 assignments for the U.S. Government to prepare for and  
23 participate voluntarily in this interview, including  
24 spending over 8 hours today with staff answering questions.  
25 She came prepared to answer questions that were pertinent to

1 her understanding, our understanding of the scope of the  
2 investigation. And she struck the balance all day long  
3 between what was pertinent to our understanding of the  
4 Committees' investigation and her discretion as a former  
5 member of the national security staff.

6 As to the executive privilege, that is not our  
7 privilege to invoke. We are not aware that it has been  
8 invoked. I had no indication of that, and we were not  
9 asserting that.

10 As to her constitutional privilege under the First  
11 Amendment, she has plainly asserted that. I have done so on  
12 her behalf, and it is grounded in the law as a testimonial  
13 privilege before Congress. And in any event, as you note,  
14 this is a voluntary interview. No basis for declining to  
15 answer a question need be given. You've asked for one.  
16 It's not been always satisfactory to you. You've pressed  
17 your counsel on the legal justifications for some of the  
18 privileges that--the constitutional privilege that we  
19 asserted, and we have explained those grounds. They're all  
20 principled and just, and she should be commended for her  
21 voluntary cooperation, for her 8 hours today, and she is  
22 about to fly to Afghanistan to help serve all of us in less  
23 than 48 hours.

24 Thank you for your indulgences. And we would also like  
25 to reserve the right to review the transcript before it is

1 made public in any form, in excerpt form or in full, to make  
2 sure that we can review it for errata and any other  
3 considerations, including the considerations the minority  
4 set forth with regard to classification of information.

5 MR. FOLIO: We understand your request, and as I noted  
6 before, I don't think this interview would have taken 8  
7 hours had you reached out to us and we had a conversation  
8 about your unique interpretation of what Chairman Johnson  
9 and Chairman Grassley have been clear the investigation is  
10 focused on. Again, I think that we both have made a pretty  
11 robust record of where we stand on this issue. None of this  
12 is to detract from our well wishes for Ms. Zentos in  
13 preparing for her departure and her continued service in  
14 Afghanistan. So despite all these legal issues, we wish you  
15 well.

16 Thank you.

17 MS. ZENTOS: Thank you.

18 MR. LEVY: Yeah, and, Joe, just with respect, I don't  
19 believe the delay today was caused by any inability of mine  
20 to call you up about a letter that you received and  
21 responded to. It didn't ask for any clarification of it. I  
22 think that the delays in the main today occurred because of  
23 the way in which documents were handled. And we had asked  
24 for copies of those documents ahead of time or in real time.  
25 You declined those requests. And so scrolling through

1 documents took an awful lot of time today, and part of that  
2 is a function of COVID-19, and I understand that. And it's  
3 the Committees' call as to whether it wants to share  
4 documents with a witness before an investigation interview  
5 or during it, and you declined to do that. And we've made  
6 those requests, we've made those objections, and I  
7 respectfully disagree with your characterization of why we  
8 had delays today.

9 MR. FOLIO: Although the document issue certainly could  
10 have been more efficient, I think we spent about an hour  
11 trying to understand your claim of privilege and relevancy  
12 and pertinency, and I will just end by noting that if you  
13 would have written a letter on Saturday evening, a day and a  
14 half before the interview, making it clear that Ms. Zentos  
15 would refuse to answer questions such as, "Who is your  
16 supervisor?" and "For whom does this U.S. official"--"what  
17 agency do they work at?" we probably could have had a  
18 conversation and made it clear. But I think that you chose  
19 just instead to quote something back to us to provide  
20 yourself with the opportunity to make these broad-based  
21 objections, which is why I think we have taken the position  
22 that this has not advanced the investigation, in fact,  
23 probably served more to frustrate it.

24 MR. LEVY: We disagree.

25 MR. FOLIO: Fine. Thank you both for your time.

1 Unless anyone has anything else, we will conclude this.

2 Thank you very much, Ms. Gray. Thank you very much,

3 Ms. Zentos. Thank you, Josh.

4 [Whereupon, at 6:11 p.m., the interview was concluded.]

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## Hunter Biden joins the team of Burisma Holdings



Press release

London, 12 May, 2014

### **Burisma Holdings, Ukraine's largest private gas producer, has expanded its Board of Directors by bringing on Mr. R Hunter Biden as a new director.**

R. Hunter Biden will be in charge of the Holdings' legal unit and will provide support for the Company among international organizations. On his new appointment, he commented: "Burisma's track record of innovations and industry leadership in the field of natural gas means that it can be a strong driver of a strong economy in Ukraine. As a new member of the Board, I believe that my assistance in consulting the Company on matters of transparency, corporate governance and responsibility, international expansion and other priorities will contribute to the economy and benefit the people of Ukraine."

The Chairman of the Board of Directors of Burisma Holdings, Mr. Alan Apter, noted: "The company's strategy is aimed at the strongest concentration of professional staff and the introduction of best corporate practices, and we're delighted that Mr. Biden is joining us to help us achieve these goals."

R. Hunter Biden is a counsel to Boies, Schiller & Flexner LLP, a national law firm based in New York, USA, which served in cases including "Bush vs. Gore", and "U.S. vs. Microsoft". He is one of the co-founders and a managing partner of the investment advisory company Rosemont Seneca Partners, as well as chairman of the board of Rosemont Seneca Advisors. He is an Adjunct Professor at Georgetown University's Masters Program in the School of Foreign Service.

Mr. Biden has experience in public service and foreign policy. He is a director for the U.S. Global Leadership Coalition, The Center for National Policy, and the Chairman's Advisory Board for the National Democratic Institute. Having served as a Senior Vice President at MBNA bank, former U.S. President Bill Clinton appointed him an Executive Director of E-Commerce Policy Coordination under Secretary of Commerce William Daley. Mr. Biden served as Honorary Co-Chair of the 2008 Obama-Biden Inaugural Committee.

Mr. Biden is a member of the bar in the State of Connecticut, the District of Columbia, the U.S. Supreme Court and the Court of Federal Claims. He received a Bachelor's degree from Georgetown University, and a J.D. from Yale Law School.

R. Hunter Biden is also a well-known public figure. He is chairman of the Board of the World Food Programme USA which works together with the world's largest humanitarian organization, the United Nations World Food Programme. In this capacity he offers assistance to the poor in developing countries, fighting hunger and poverty, and helping to provide food and education to 300 million malnourished children around the world.

*Company Background:*

Burisma Holdings is a privately owned oil and gas company with assets in Ukraine and operating in the energy market since 2002. To date, the company holds a portfolio with permits to develop fields in the Dnieper-Donets, the Carpathian and the Azov-Kuban basins. In 2013, the daily gas production grew steadily and at year-end amounted to 11.6 thousand BOE (barrels of oil equivalent – incl. gas, condensate and crude oil), or 1.8 million m3 of natural gas. The company sells these volumes in the domestic market through traders, as well as directly to final consumers.

For more information contact the press office at [media@burisma.com](mailto:media@burisma.com)





# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

April 30, 2020

The Honorable Michael R. Pompeo  
Secretary of State  
2201 C Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20520

Dear Secretary Pompeo:

As we explained to you in our letter on November 6, 2019, the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs and the Committee on Finance (the Committees) continue to examine potential conflicts of interest relating to the Obama administration's policy decisions with respect to Ukraine and Burisma Holdings. In addition, the Committees are examining the extent to which representatives of Burisma 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.

Based on the Committees' review of material produced by the State Department and by other agencies and related entities, we respectfully request the following additional records<sup>1</sup> and information related to this matter:

1. Please make the following State Department employees available for an interview:
  - a. Ambassador Bridget Brink;
  - b. Ambassador Geoffrey Pyatt;
  - c. George Kent; and
  - d. Elisabeth Zentos.
2. All records, including call transcripts and summaries, related to then-Vice President Biden's phone calls with then-President of Ukraine Petro Poroshenko from March 2015 through April 2016, especially with regard to any mention of the Ukrainian Prosecutor General's investigation of Burisma or Viktor Shokin.
3. All records between then-Vice President Biden or his office and President Poroshenko or his office after the raid on Mykola Zlochevsky's home on February 2, 2016, until the dismissal of Prosecutor General Viktor Shokin on March 29, 2016.
4. Please provide all State Department records related to the Department's assessment of Viktor Shokin, the former Prosecutor General of Ukraine, including, but not limited to:
  - a. The decision to seek his removal from office, including when that decision was made;

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<sup>1</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).

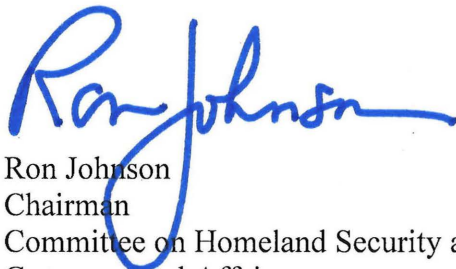
- b. When and how that decision was communicated to the Ukrainian government;
  - c. Discussions relating to the Department's or the administration's view of Shokin's effectiveness as prosecutor general;
  - d. Discussions regarding whether Shokin was implementing anti-corruption measures in Ukraine; and
  - e. Whether officials believed Shokin was an obstacle to Ukrainian reforms.
5. Former Vice President Biden previously expressed that he wanted Prosecutor General Viktor Shokin fired.<sup>2</sup> When did the United States government determine that Shokin should be removed? Please explain the justification for that decision and how and when that determination was communicated to the Ukrainian government.

We request this material and to arrange interviews with these individuals as soon as possible but no later than May 14, 2020.


We anticipate that your written response and most of the 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. The Committees comply with all laws and regulations governing the handling of classified information. The Committees are not bound, absent their prior agreement, by any handling restrictions or instructions on unclassified information unilaterally asserted by the Executive Branch.

If you have any questions about this request, please ask your staff to contact Brian Downey and Scott Wittmann of Chairman Johnson's staff at (202) 224-4751, and Joshua Flynn-Brown of Chairman Grassley's staff at (202) 224-4515. Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Sincerely,



Ron Johnson  
Chairman  
Committee on Homeland Security and  
Governmental Affairs



Charles E. Grassley  
Chairman  
Committee on Finance

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<sup>2</sup> Erielle Davidson, *Watch Joe Biden Brag About Bribing Ukraine to Fire The Prosecutor Investigating His Son's Company*, The Federalist, Sept. 24, 2019, <https://thefederalist.com/2019/09/24/watch-joe-biden-brag-about-bribing-ukraine-to-fire-the-prosecutor-investigating-his-sons-company/>.



United States Senate  
WASHINGTON, DC 20510

November 6, 2019

The Honorable Michael R. Pompeo  
Secretary of State  
2201 C Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20520

Dear Secretary Pompeo:

In April 2014, Vice President Biden reportedly became the “public face of the administration’s handling of Ukraine.”<sup>1</sup> Around the same time, the Vice President’s son, Hunter Biden, and his business associate, Devon Archer, both began serving on the board of Burisma Holdings, a Ukrainian energy company.<sup>2</sup> According to the *New York Times*, Hunter Biden, “would be paid as much as \$50,000 per month in some months for his work for the company.”<sup>3</sup>

E-mails obtained and publicly released through the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) show that, at the time Hunter Biden and Devon Archer joined Burisma, their other business partner, Christopher Heinz, the stepson to then-Secretary of State John Kerry, e-mailed senior State Department officials about the announcement with concern.<sup>4</sup> Specifically, on May 13, 2014, Heinz wrote to Special Assistant Matt Summers and Chief of Staff David Wade:

Apparently Devon and Hunter both joined the board of Burisma and a press release went out today. I cant [sic] speak why they decided to, but there was no investment by our firm in their company.<sup>5</sup>

Heinz has also been quoted through his spokesman as saying he “strongly warned Mr. Archer that working with Burisma was unacceptable” and “[t]he lack of judgment in this matter was a major catalyst for Mr. Heinz ending his business relationships with Mr. Archer and Mr. Biden.”<sup>6</sup>

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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> Kenneth P. Vogel and Iuliia Mendel, *Biden Faces Conflict of Interest Questions That Are Being Promoted by Trump Allies*, N.Y. Times, May 1, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/01/us/politics/biden-son-ukraine.html>.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.*

<sup>4</sup> According to reports, Christopher Heinz and Devon Archer founded Rosemont Capital, a private equity firm. Hunter Biden, Christopher Heinz, and Devon Archer founded Rosemont Seneca Partners. Adam Entous, *Will Hunter Biden Jeopardize His Father’s Campaign?* New Yorker, July 1, 2019, <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2019/07/08/will-hunter-biden-jeopardize-his-fathers-campaign>.

<sup>5</sup> Email from Chris Heinz to Matt Summers & David Wade, U.S. State Dep’t (May 13, 2014), <https://www.scribd.com/document/433436789/CU-v-State-FOIA-Doc-Ukraine>; see also Alana Goodman, *John Kerry’s son cut business ties with Hunter Biden over Ukrainian oil deal*, Wash. Examiner, Aug. 27, 2019, <https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/politics/john-kerrys-son-cut-business-ties-with-hunter-biden-over-ukrainian-oil-deal>.

<sup>6</sup> Paul Sonne, Michael Kranish, Matt Viser, *The gas tycoon and the vice president’s son: The story of Hunter Biden’s foray into Ukraine*, The Washington Post (Sept. 29, 2019), <https://www.msn.com/en-us/news/world/the-gas-tycoon-and-the-vice-president-s-son-the-story-of-hunter-biden-s-foray-into-ukraine/ar-AAHZFB6>.

According to the *Times*, “Hunter Biden’s work for Burisma prompted concerns among State Department officials at the time that the connection could complicate Vice President Biden’s diplomacy in Ukraine[.]”<sup>7</sup> Based on this report, it is unclear the extent to which State Department officials expressed these concerns formally and what, if any, action the Department took to address them.

In 2016, while Hunter Biden and Devon Archer were both working for Burisma Holdings, Ukraine’s top prosecutor was conducting an investigation into the company and its owner.<sup>8</sup> The *Times* reported that, in 2016, Vice President Biden “threatened to withhold \$1 billion in United States loan guarantees if Ukraine’s leaders did not dismiss the country’s [Prosecutor General Viktor Shokin].”<sup>9</sup> Ukraine’s parliament voted to dismiss Shokin after Vice President Biden called for his removal.<sup>10</sup>

Indeed, Vice President Biden later bragged about how he was responsible for Shokin’s firing:

...we’re not going to give you the billion dollars. They said, you have no authority. You’re not the president. The president said—I said, call him. I said, I’m telling you, you’re not getting the billion dollars. I said, you’re not getting the billion. I’m going to be leaving here in, I think it was about six hours. I looked at them and said: I’m leaving in six hours. If the prosecutor is not fired, you’re not getting the money. Well, son of a b-tch. He got fired. And they put in place someone who was solid at the time.<sup>11</sup>

E-mails recently obtained and made public through a FOIA request indicate that Burisma’s consulting firm used Hunter Biden’s role on Burisma’s board 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>7</sup> Kenneth P. Vogel and Iuliia Mendel, *Biden Faces Conflict of Interest Questions That Are Being Promoted by Trump Allies*, N.Y. Times, May 1, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/01/us/politics/biden-son-ukraine.html>.

<sup>8</sup> *Id.*; Oleg Sukhov, *Powerful suspects escape justice on Lutsenko’s watch*, Kyiv Post, Apr. 13, 2018, <https://www.kyivpost.com/ukraine-politics/powerful-suspects-escape-justice-lutsenkos-watch.html?cn-reloaded=1>.

<sup>9</sup> Another report indicates that Vice President Biden made this threat in late 2015. *See e.g.*, Kenneth P. Vogel and Iuliia Mendel, *Biden Faces Conflict of Interest Questions That Are Being Promoted by Trump Allies*, N.Y. Times, May 1, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/01/us/politics/biden-son-ukraine.html>; Glen Kessler, *Correcting a media error: Biden’s Ukraine showdown was in December 2015*, Wash. Post, Oct. 2, 2019, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/10/02/correcting-media-error-bidens-ukraine-showdown-was-december/>.

<sup>10</sup> *Prosecutor General Shokin dismissed officially*, Unian, Apr. 3, 2016, <https://www.unian.info/politics/1308082-prosecutor-general-shokin-dismissed-officially.html>.

<sup>11</sup> Erielle Davidson, *Watch Joe Biden Brag About Bribing Ukraine to Fire The Prosecutor Investigating His Son’s Company*, The Federalist, Sept. 24, 2019, <https://thefederalist.com/2019/09/24/watch-joe-biden-brag-about-bribing-ukraine-to-fire-the-prosecutor-investigating-his-sons-company/>.

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>12</sup>

Although it is not clear if Under Secretary Novelli met with Karen Tramontano on March 1, 2016, as planned, later that month Tramontano and other members of Burisma's legal team reportedly met with Ukrainian prosecutors.<sup>13</sup> According to what appears to be contemporaneous notes by one of those Ukrainian prosecutors, during that meeting, Burisma's legal team apologized about what they alleged to be "false information" promoted by the U.S. Government about the prosecutors' handling of the investigation of Burisma.<sup>14</sup>

Additionally, other documents obtained and made public through FOIA show other meetings that Burisma board members Hunter Biden and Devon Archer scheduled with high-ranking State Department officials. In May 2015, Hunter Biden asked to meet then-Deputy Secretary of State Antony Blinken to "get [his] advice on a couple of things" and again for lunch on July 22, 2015.<sup>15</sup> On March 2, 2016, just one day after Tramontano was scheduled to meet with Under Secretary Novelli about Burisma, Devon Archer was scheduled to meet with Secretary of State John Kerry.<sup>16</sup>

To better understand what actions, if any, the Obama administration took to ensure that policy decisions relating to Ukraine and Burisma were not improperly influenced by the employment and financial interests of family members, please provide the following information no later than November 20, 2019:

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<sup>12</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>13</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>14</sup> *Id.*

<sup>15</sup> Emails between Hunter Biden and U.S. State Dep't Officials (May 2015), <https://www.scribd.com/document/433389212/Biden-Blinken-Meeting>.

<sup>16</sup> Email between U.S. State Dep't Officials (Mar. 2, 2016), <https://www.scribd.com/document/433389208/Archer-Meeting-Kerry>.

1. All State Department records<sup>17</sup> relating to Hunter Biden, Devon Archer, Christopher Heinz, and Karen Tramontano.
2. All State Department records relating to Burisma Holdings, Rosemont Seneca Partners, Rosemont Seneca Bohai LLC, Rosemont Capital, and Blue Star Strategies.
3. Based on the February 24, 2016 e-mail cited above, it appears that Tramontano wanted to meet with then-Under Secretary Novelli. Did this meeting occur? If so, when and who attended? Please produce all records relating to the meeting.
4. With respect to the March 2, 2016, meeting between Devon Archer and Secretary Kerry, did that meeting take place? If so, when did it occur, what was it about, and who attended? Please produce all records relating to the meeting.
5. With respect to the May 27, 2015, and July 22, 2015, meetings between Hunter Biden and Antony Blinken, did these meetings take place? If so, when did it occur, what was it about, and who attended? Please produce all records relating to the meeting.
6. In the February 24, 2016 e-mail cited above, a State Department employee wrote that, “Tramontano would like to talk with U/S Novelli about getting a better understanding of how the U.S. came to the determination that [Burisma] is corrupt.” Based on this e-mail, it appears that the U.S. had “determin[ed]” Burisma to be corrupt. Is this accurate? Please explain.
7. Has the State Department requested that the Office of the Legal Adviser or the Office of Inspector General review potential concerns and conflicts of interest related to Hunter Biden’s work for Burisma while Vice President Biden reportedly acted as the United States’ top official in Ukraine? If not, why not?

The Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs is authorized by Rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate to investigate “the efficiency, economy, and effectiveness of all agencies and departments of the Government.”<sup>18</sup> Additionally, Senate Resolution 70 (116th Congress) authorizes the Committee to examine “the efficiency and economy of operations of all branches and functions of the Government with particular references to (i) the effectiveness of present national security methods, staffing, and processes[.]”<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>17</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).

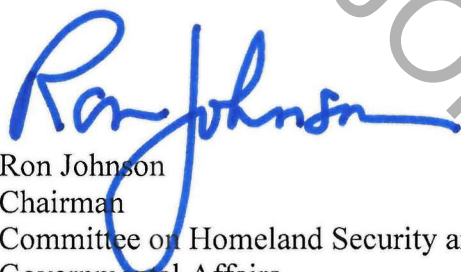
<sup>18</sup> S. Rule XXV; *see also* S. Res. 445, 108th Cong. (2004).

<sup>19</sup> S. Res. 70, 116th Cong. § 12(e)(1)(E) (2019).

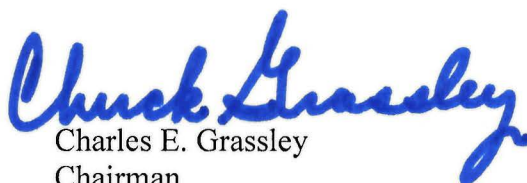
We anticipate that your written response and most of the responsive documents will be unclassified. Please send all unclassified material directly to the Committees. In keeping with the requirements of Executive Order 13526, if any of the responsive documents do contain classified information, please 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. The Committees comply with all laws and regulations governing the handling of classified information. The Committees are not bound, absent their prior agreement, by any handling restrictions or instructions on unclassified information unilaterally asserted by the Executive Branch.

If you have any questions about this request, please ask your staff to contact Brian Downey and Scott Wittmann of Chairman Johnson's staff at (202) 224-4751 or Joshua Flynn-Brown of Chairman Grassley's staff at (202) 224-4515. Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Sincerely,



Ron Johnson  
Chairman  
Committee on Homeland Security and  
Governmental Affairs



Charles E. Grassley  
Chairman  
Committee on Finance

HS MAJORITY STAFF EXHIBIT



## *Joe Biden, His Son and the Case Against a Ukrainian Oligarch*

By James Risen

Dec. 8, 2015

WASHINGTON — When Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. traveled to Kiev, Ukraine, on Sunday for a series of meetings with the country's leaders, one of the issues on his agenda was to encourage a more aggressive fight against Ukraine's rampant corruption and stronger efforts to rein in the power of its oligarchs.

But the credibility of the vice president's anticorruption message may have been undermined by the association of his son, Hunter Biden, with one of Ukraine's largest natural gas companies, Burisma Holdings, and with its owner, Mykola Zlochevsky, who was Ukraine's ecology minister under former President Viktor F. Yanukovich before he was forced into exile.

Hunter Biden, 45, a former Washington lobbyist, joined the Burisma board in April 2014. That month, as part of an investigation into money laundering, British officials froze London bank accounts containing \$23 million that allegedly belonged to Mr. Zlochevsky.

Britain's Serious Fraud Office, an independent government agency, specifically forbade Mr. Zlochevsky, as well as Burisma Holdings, the company's chief legal officer and another company owned by Mr. Zlochevsky, to have any access to the accounts.

But after Ukrainian prosecutors refused to provide documents needed in the investigation, a British court in January ordered the Serious Fraud Office to unfreeze the assets. The refusal by the Ukrainian prosecutor general's office to cooperate was the target of a stinging attack by the American ambassador to Ukraine, Geoffrey R. Pyatt, who called out Burisma's owner by name in a speech in September.

"In the case of former Ecology Minister Mykola Zlochevsky, the U.K. authorities had seized \$23 million in illicit assets that belonged to the Ukrainian people," Mr. Pyatt said. Officials at the prosecutor general's office, he added, were asked by the United Kingdom "to send documents supporting the seizure. Instead they sent letters to Zlochevsky's attorneys attesting that there was no case against him. As a result, the money was freed by the U.K. court, and shortly thereafter the money was moved to Cyprus."

Mr. Pyatt went on to call for an investigation into "the misconduct" of the prosecutors who wrote the letters. In his speech, the ambassador did not mention Hunter Biden's connection to Burisma.

But Edward C. Chow, who follows Ukrainian policy at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, said the involvement of the vice president's son with Mr. Zlochevsky's firm undermined the Obama administration's anticorruption message in Ukraine.

"Now you look at the Hunter Biden situation, and on the one hand you can credit the father for sending the anticorruption message," Mr. Chow said. "But I think unfortunately it sends the message that a lot of foreign countries want to believe about America, that we are hypocritical about these issues."

Kate Bedingfield, a spokeswoman for the vice president, said Hunter Biden's business dealings had no impact on his father's policy positions in connection with Ukraine.

"Hunter Biden is a private citizen and a lawyer," she said. "The vice president does not endorse any particular company and has no involvement with this company. The vice president has pushed aggressively for years, both publicly with groups like the U.S.-Ukraine Business Forum and privately in meetings with Ukrainian leaders, for Ukraine to make every effort to investigate and prosecute corruption in accordance with the rule of law. It will once again be a key focus during his trip this week."

Ryan F. Toohey, a Burisma spokesman, said that Hunter Biden would not comment for this article.

It is not known how Mr. Biden came to the attention of the company. Announcing his appointment to the board, Alan Apter, a former Morgan Stanley investment banker who is chairman of Burisma, said, "The company's strategy is aimed at the strongest concentration of professional staff and the introduction of best corporate practices, and we're delighted that Mr. Biden is joining us to help us achieve these goals."

Joining the board at the same time was one of Mr. Biden's American business partners, Devon Archer. Both are involved with Rosemont Seneca Partners, an American investment firm with offices in Washington.

Mr. Biden is the younger of the vice president's two sons. His brother, Beau, died of brain cancer in May. In the past, Hunter Biden attracted an unusual level of scrutiny and even controversy. In 2014, he was discharged from the Navy Reserve after testing positive for cocaine use. He received a commission as an ensign in 2013, and he served as a public affairs officer.

Before his father was vice president, Mr. Biden also briefly served as president of a hedge fund group, Paradigm Companies, in which he was involved with one of his uncles, James Biden, the vice president's brother. That deal went sour amid lawsuits in 2007 and 2008 involving the Bidens and an erstwhile business partner. Mr. Biden, a graduate of Georgetown University and Yale Law School, also worked



as a lobbyist before his father became vice president.

Burisma does not disclose the compensation of its board members because it is a privately held company, Mr. Toohey said Monday, but he added that the amount was “not out of the ordinary” for similar corporate board positions.

Asked about the British investigation, which is continuing, Mr. Toohey said, “Not only was the case dismissed and the company vindicated by the outcome, but it speaks volumes that all his legal costs were recouped.”

In response to Mr. Pyatt’s criticism of the Ukrainian handling of Mr. Zlochevsky’s case, Mr. Toohey said that “strong corporate governance and transparency are priorities shared both by the United States and the leadership of Burisma. Burisma is working to bring the energy sector into the modern era, which is critical for a free and strong Ukraine.”

Vice President Biden has played a leading role in American policy toward Ukraine as Washington seeks to counter Russian intervention in Eastern Ukraine. This week’s visit was his fifth trip to Ukraine as vice president.

Ms. Bedingfield said Hunter Biden had never traveled to Ukraine with his father. She also said that Ukrainian officials had never mentioned Hunter Biden’s role with Burisma to the vice president during any of his visits.

“I’ve got to believe that somebody in the vice president’s office has done some due diligence on this,” said Steven Pifer, who was the American ambassador to Ukraine from 1998 to 2000. “I should say that I hope that has happened. I would hope that they have done some kind of check, because I think the vice president has done a very good job of sending the anticorruption message in Ukraine, and you would hate to see something like this undercut that message.”

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A version of this article appears in print on Dec. 9, 2015, Section A, Page 22 of the New York edition with the headline: The Vice President, His Son and the Case Against a Ukrainian Oligarch



**Agenda for Examination of the US Adversarial Criminal Justice System for senior-level Ukrainian prosecutors**  
**January 18 – January 23, 2016**  
**Washington, DC**

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**Points of Contact:**

Catherine Newcombe: (202) 436 6885 catherine.newcombe@usdoj.gov

Rob Hurtekant: (214) 458 7707 rob.hurtekant@usdoj.gov

**Monday, January 18, 2016**

Delegation Arrives in Washington, D.C.

Airport transfer to: **JW Marriot**, 1331 Pennsylvania Ave N. W. Washington, DC 20004

**Tuesday, January 19, 2016**

- 9:45 Meeting in the hotel to discuss the program
- 10:10 Depart hotel
- 11:00 – 12:00 **Meeting with Eric Ciaramella, Elizabeth Zentos and others TBD, National Security Council - Confirmed**  
*Location:* 1600 Pennsylvania Ave NW  
*POCs:* Eric Ciaramella – (202) 456-9106  
 Elizabeth Zentos – (202) 456-9158
- 13:00 – 14:00 **Meeting with Kenneth Blanco, Deputy Assistant Attorney General and Bruce Swartz, Counsel to the Attorney General for International Affairs, U. S. Department of Justice - Confirmed**  
*Location:* 950 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Suite 4706  
*POC:* Denise Turcotte (202) 616-9318  
 (202) 314- 2333
- 15:00 – 16:00 **Meeting with FBI – TBC**  
*Location:* TBC
- 16:00 – 17:00 **Meeting with OPDAT/DOJ - Confirmed**  
*Location:* 1331 F Street NW, Room 745  
*POC:* Rob Hurtekant: (214) 458 7707

**Wednesday, January 20, 2015**

- 10:00 Depart hotel
- 10:30 – 12:00 **Meeting with Michael E. Horowitz, Inspector General of US Department of Justice and Robert Storch, Deputy Inspector General of US Department of Justice – Confirmed**

*Location:* 1425 New York Avenue, NW

Point of Contact: Rob Storch, (202) 532-6980, [robert.p.storch@usdoj.gov](mailto:robert.p.storch@usdoj.gov)

Point of Contact: Pat Brantley, (202) 514-3435 (receptionist)

12:15 – 13:15

**Lunch**

14:00 – 15:00

**Meeting with Raymond Hulser, Chief of the Public Integrity Section, US Department of Justice – Confirmed**

*Location:* 1400 New York Ave. NW, 12<sup>th</sup> Floor

Point of Contact: Peter Koski, tel. 202 524 1412

15:30 – 16:30

**Operational meeting with FBI – Confirmed**

*Location:* 1400 New York Ave. NW, 9<sup>th</sup> Floor

*POC:* Mary Butler – (202) 598- 6711  
(202) 538-0394

**Thursday, January 21, 2015**

08:45

Depart hotel

09:45 – 10:45

**Meeting with James A. Walsh, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State - Confirmed**

*Location:* 2201 C St NW

*POC:* Adriana Cosgriff - (202)647-0777

11:00 – 11:45

**Meeting with Bridget A. Brink Deputy Assistant Secretary of State - Confirmed**

*Location:* 2201 C St NW

*POC:* Jamie Gusack - (202 )647-4117

12:00 – 13:00

**Lunch**

13:00 – 14:00

**Meeting with Jonathan Katz, Deputy Assistant Administrator for the Bureau for Europe and Eurasia, USAID and Tomas Melia, Assistant Administrator of the United States Agency for International Development - Confirmed**

*Location:* 301 4<sup>th</sup> Street, SW (Federal Center Bldg), room 247-SA-44, Washington, DC 20004

*POC:* Michelle Sadler - (202)567-4005

15:00 – 16:00

**Meeting with Mary Rodriguez, Chief of Office of International Affairs and Jason Carter, Associate Director of Office of International Affairs, US Department of Justice - Confirmed**

*Location:* 1301 New York Ave. NW. Washington D.C 20530

*POC:* Jason Carter tel. (202)514 -0000

**Friday, January 22, 2015**

**Check out from the hotel**

001757

13:50-14:05

**Depart for airport**

15:00

**AIRPORT DROP OFF: *TBC***

HSGAC MAJORITY STAFF EXHIBIT

# Senators Seek Interviews on Reported Coordination between Ukrainian Officials, DNC Consultant to Aid Clinton in 2016 Elections

*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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HSGAC MAJORITY STAFF EXHIBIT

# Senators seek interviews with former Obama Administration officials regarding Burisma Holdings and Hunter Biden

Wednesday, December 18, 2019

**WASHINGTON** – Senate 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 five former Obama administration officials:

Antony Blinken

*Former U.S. Deputy Secretary of State*

Amos Hochstein

*Former senior advisor on international energy affairs to Vice President Joe Biden*

Catherine Novelli

*Former Under Secretary of State for Economic Growth, Energy, and the Environment*

Victoria Nuland

*Former Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs*

David Wade

*Former Chief of Staff to Secretary of State John Kerry*

These interview requests continue the chairmen's oversight efforts (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 Hunter Biden as a board member while his father was vice president and the public face of the Obama administration's handling of Ukraine. Additional records and interviews related to these matters may also be necessary. The chairmen have requested these individuals to respond by no later than December 23, 2019.

On December 6, 2019, Johnson, Grassley, and Graham requested records and transcribed interviews with Andrii Telizhenko and Alexandra Chalupa, two individuals reportedly involved in an effort by Ukrainian embassy officials to undermine the Trump campaign in the 2016 election (see [here](#)). Both individuals have since been in contact with the committees and discussions are ongoing regarding document productions and scheduling interviews.

###

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**BEGINNING OF  
NEW RECORD**

HSGAC MAJORITY STAFF EXHIBIT



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**From:** Ciaramella, Eric <eric\_a\_ciaramella@nsc.eop.gov>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 12, 2016 9:06 AM  
**To:** Hartwell, Kyle; Hartwell, Kyle  
**Subject:** FW: Ukraine anti-corruption delegation  
**Attachments:** Copy of Copy of WAVES.xls

The meeting is at 11 on the 19<sup>th</sup> in 230A. I have one person registered via the link (which I will share with you in a sec), and the others are attached in the WAVES doc. Not sure if you want to go back to Svitlana to double check that names match passports and that birthdays are in the American style – it looks like the months for all of the birthdays were explicitly spelled out, so hopefully there is no confusion as per usual. Thanks for your help!

---

**From:** Pardus, Svitlana V [mailto:PardusSV@state.gov]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 12, 2016 8:51 AM  
**To:** Ciaramella, Eric  
**Cc:** Cole, Jeffrey W  
**Subject:** FW: Ukraine anti-corruption delegation

Dear Eric,

Please see the spreadsheet with the information on the participants attached.

Please let me know in case you need any additional information.

Thank you,

**Svitlana Pardus**  
Program Assistant  
Criminal Justice Reform  
and Anti-Corruption Program  
US Embassy in Kyiv, Ukraine

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

From: Ciaramella, Eric [mailto:Eric\_A\_Ciaramella@nsc.eop.gov]  
Sent: Tuesday, January 12, 2016 2:49 AM  
To: Cole, Jeffrey W; Zentos, Elisabeth (nsc.eop)  
Cc: Hartwell, Kyle  
Subject: RE: Ukraine anti-corruption delegation

Hi Jeff,

You could either use the link below or the attached spreadsheet to fill out the relevant info for all US and Ukrainian participants in the meeting. Catherine already submitted her info to me separately. Kyle (CCed) will be able to help with any logistical questions.

<http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=https://events.whitehouse.gov/form?rid=XH2B924VXG>

Best,  
Eric

---

**From:** Cole, Jeffrey W [<http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:ColeJW2@state.gov>]  
**Sent:** Monday, January 11, 2016 4:45 AM  
**To:** Ciaramella, Eric; Zentos, Elisabeth  
**Subject:** RE: Ukraine anti-corruption delegation

Eric/Liz

Thanks again for agreeing to this meeting. I am not sure what WAVES information is but if you let me know I will get it to you or someone you designate right away.

Thanks

Jeff

---

From: Ciaramella, Eric [[http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:Eric\\_A\\_Ciaramella@nsc.eop.gov](http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:Eric_A_Ciaramella@nsc.eop.gov)]  
Sent: Thursday, January 07, 2016 2:45 AM  
To: Cole, Jeffrey W; Zentos, Elisabeth (nsc.eop)  
Cc: Newcombe, Catherine  
Subject: RE: Ukraine anti-corruption delegation

Jeff/Catherine,

11 a.m. on the 19<sup>th</sup> works for us, so let's plan on that. We'll just need WAVES information for all the meeting participants to get them into the building. Here is a link to enter the info:

<http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=https://events.whitehouse.gov/form?rid=XH2B924VXG>

Will let you know as we approach the date who exactly from NSC will attend, but at a minimum, Liz and I will be there. Looking forward to it!

Best,  
Eric

Eric Ciaramella  
Director for Baltic and Eastern European Affairs  
National Security Council | The White House  
(202) 456-9106

---

**From:** Cole, Jeffrey W  
[<http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:ColeJW2@state.gov>]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 06, 2016 7:23 PM  
**To:** Zentos, Elisabeth; Pyatt, Geoffrey R; Ciaramella, Eric; Makanju, Anna

001697

Cc: Newcombe, Catherine  
Subject: Re: Ukraine anti-corruption delegation

Liz,

Sorry about the mix-up. I emailed Catherine to thank her for her help but did let her know that I had started the process and that he proposed time was 11 on the 19th. 11 on the 19th still works well so I will wait to hear from you all to get confirmation.

Thanks

Jeff  
Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Zentos, Elisabeth  
Sent: Thursday, January 7, 2016 07:00  
To: Cole, Jeffrey W; Pyatt, Geoffrey R; Ciaramella, Eric A (nsc.eop.gov); Makanju, Anna  
Subject: RE: Ukraine anti-corruption delegation

Smaller group – I talked to Catherine Newcomb at DOJ today, who said that she would be talking to Anna and me about scheduling a time for a meeting.

I'm happy to meet any time – just want to ensure we're synced about the timing. Jeff—Just let us know if the below definitely works, and if you'll inform Catherine or I should get back to her.

Thanks,  
Liz

**From:** Cole, Jeffrey W  
[http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://mailto:ColeJW2@state.gov]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 06, 2016 5:33 PM  
**To:** Pyatt, Geoffrey R <[PyattGR@state.gov](mailto:PyattGR@state.gov)>; Ciaramella, Eric <[Eric\\_A\\_Ciaramella@nsc.eop.gov](mailto:Eric_A_Ciaramella@nsc.eop.gov)>; Makanju, Anna <[Anna\\_A\\_Makanju@ovp.eop.gov](mailto:Anna_A_Makanju@ovp.eop.gov)>; Brink, Bridget A <[Brinkba2@state.gov](mailto:Brinkba2@state.gov)>; [tmelia@usaid.gov](mailto:tmelia@usaid.gov); Katz, Jonathan <[jokatz@usaid.gov](mailto:jokatz@usaid.gov)>  
**Cc:** Smith, Christopher W <[SmithCW@state.gov](mailto:SmithCW@state.gov)>; Urban, Carol J <[UrbanCJ@state.gov](mailto:UrbanCJ@state.gov)>; Brink, Bridget A <[Brinkba2@state.gov](mailto:Brinkba2@state.gov)>; Kasanof, Alexander <[KasanofA@state.gov](mailto:KasanofA@state.gov)>; Purcell, Alan S <[PurcellAS@state.gov](mailto:PurcellAS@state.gov)>; Heffern, John A <[HeffernJA@state.gov](mailto:HeffernJA@state.gov)>; Michael R. Carpenter <[michael.r.carpenter58.civ@mail.mil](mailto:michael.r.carpenter58.civ@mail.mil)>; Zentos, Elisabeth <[Elisabeth\\_F\\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov](mailto:Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov)>; [tmelia@usaid.gov](mailto:tmelia@usaid.gov); Katz, Jonathan <[jokatz@usaid.gov](mailto:jokatz@usaid.gov)>; Wagner, JoAnne <[WagnerJ@state.gov](mailto:WagnerJ@state.gov)>; Alexander, Paige (E&E/AA) <[paalexander@usaid.gov](mailto:paalexander@usaid.gov)>; Malinowski, Tom P <[MalinowskiTP@state.gov](mailto:MalinowskiTP@state.gov)>; Price, James W (Kyiv) <[PriceJW@state.gov](mailto:PriceJW@state.gov)>; Iemelianova, Anna I <[IemelianovaAI@state.gov](mailto:IemelianovaAI@state.gov)>  
**Subject:** Re: Ukraine anti-corruption delegation

Hello Eric,

Thank you for the offer. Sorry for the delayed response but I am in Asia so did not see it until this morning. A meeting at 11 on Tuesday the 19th would work perfectly as I am moving the OPDAT meeting that morning

back to 9 - if that will not work, if you could suggest an alternative time based on the schedule, I will do what I can to make that time work.

Thanks again,

Jeff

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

---

From: Pyatt, Geoffrey R  
Sent: Thursday, January 7, 2016 01:37  
To: Ciaramella, Eric A (nsc.eop.gov); Makanju, Anna; Cole, Jeffrey W; Brink, Bridget A; [tmelia@usaid.gov](mailto:tmelia@usaid.gov); Katz, Jonathan  
Cc: Smith, Christopher W; Urban, Carol J; Brink, Bridget A; Kasanof, Alexander; Purcell, Alan S; Heffern, John A; Michael R. Carpenter; Zentos, Elisabeth (nsc.eop); [tmelia@usaid.gov](mailto:tmelia@usaid.gov); Katz, Jonathan; Wagner, JoAnne; Alexander, Paige (E&E/AA); Malinowski, Tom P; Price, James W (Kyiv)  
Subject: RE: Ukraine anti-corruption delegation

That would be terrific Eric. There's definitely time as reflected in the attachment. Jeff Cole is orchestrating it all for us.

-----Original Message-----

From: Ciaramella, Eric  
[\[http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:Eric\\_A\\_Ciaramella@nsc.eop.gov\]](http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:Eric_A_Ciaramella@nsc.eop.gov)  
Sent: Wednesday, January 06, 2016 5:32 PM  
To: Makanju, Anna; Cole, Jeffrey W; Pyatt, Geoffrey R; Brink, Bridget A; [tmelia@usaid.gov](mailto:tmelia@usaid.gov); Katz, Jonathan  
Cc: Smith, Christopher W; Urban, Carol J; Brink, Bridget A; Kasanof, Alexander; Purcell, Alan S; Heffern, John A; Michael R. Carpenter; Zentos, Elisabeth (nsc.eop); [tmelia@usaid.gov](mailto:tmelia@usaid.gov); Katz, Jonathan; Wagner, JoAnne; Alexander, Paige (E&E/AA); Malinowski, Tom P; Price, James W (Kyiv)  
Subject: RE: Ukraine anti-corruption delegation

Charlie will also be gone that week, but Liz and I would be delighted to meet Nazar and his team if there is time in his schedule. We can see if Rory and Christina can join as well, perhaps Celeste too if she has time. Just let us know how the agenda shakes out - we should be pretty flexible that week.

Eric

-----Original Message-----

From: Makanju, Anna  
Sent: Wednesday, January 06, 2016 10:05 AM  
To: Cole, Jeffrey W; Pyatt, Geoffrey R; Brink, Bridget A; [tmelia@usaid.gov](mailto:tmelia@usaid.gov); Katz, Jonathan  
Cc: Smith, Christopher W; Urban, Carol J; Brink, Bridget A; Kasanof, Alexander; Purcell, Alan S; Heffern, John A; Michael R. Carpenter; Zentos, Elisabeth; Ciaramella, Eric; [tmelia@usaid.gov](mailto:tmelia@usaid.gov); Katz, Jonathan; Wagner, JoAnne; Alexander, Paige (E&E/AA); Malinowski, Tom P; Price, James W (Kyiv)  
Subject: RE: Ukraine anti-corruption delegation

It would have been great to meet with Nazar, and I am disappointed that I will miss him - I will be on travel with the VP from the 17th to the 23d. I will, however, reach out to my contacts in the AG's office to underscore the value of a trip to Ukraine. Best, Anna

-----Original Message-----

From: Cole, Jeffrey W  
[\[http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:ColeJW2@state.gov\]](http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:ColeJW2@state.gov)  
Sent: Wednesday, January 06, 2016 4:54 AM

001699

To: Pyatt, Geoffrey R; Brink, Bridget A; Makanju, Anna; [tmelia@usaid.gov](mailto:tmelia@usaid.gov); Katz, Jonathan  
Cc: Smith, Christopher W; Urban, Carol J; Makanju, Anna; Brink, Bridget A; Kasanof, Alexander; Purcell, Alan S; Heffern, John A;  
Michael R. Carpenter; Zentos, Elisabeth; Ciaramella, Eric;

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State		
DC	<p><b>Waves Request System (WRS) Excel Template</b> Version: <b>1.8.9</b> Last Updated: 19 March 2011</p> <p><b>WRS Instructions:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The WRS Excel template must be saved as an '<b>Excel 97-2003 Workbook</b>'</li> <li>2. The WRS Excel template file must end with <b>.xls</b> (not <b>.xlsx</b>)</li> <li>3. <b>The header row must remain in place and unchanged</b></li> <li>4. The <b>Visitors worksheet name must remain unchanged</b> (do not rename the worksheet)</li> <li>5. The maximum number of visitors per appointment is <b>250</b></li> <li>6. Do not use any periods, apostrophes or other special characters</li> </ol> <p><b>Tips:</b> <b>Pasting data from other spreadsheets may cause errors.</b> Be sure to check that your data has been pasted into the correct columns and that numbers are not missing (example: pasting an SSN starting with a zero may result in the zero being dropped which would result in an error). Use the Format Cells feature to fix any problem data cells prior to loading the file into WRS (example: set the SSN column to 'TEXT' to ensure you keep any leading zeros in the SSN)</p> <p><b>Data Fields</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Last_Name:</b> Use letters only (no numbers or special characters). Max characters is 20</li> <li>2. <b>First_Name:</b> User letters only (no numbers or special characters). Max characters is 20</li> </ol>	
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HSGAC MA


3. **Middle\_Name:** Provide the full middle name. Use letters only (no numbers or special characters). Max characters is 20

4. **DOB:** DOB format is MM/DD/YYYY (no letters)

5. **SSN:** SSN is required for all U.S. Citizens over the age of 18. Foreign Nationals may leave the SSN blank. (no letters or special characters) Do not use any dashes in the SSN

6. **Citizen:** Select Y for YES or N for NO to indicate if the visitor is or is not a U.S. Citizen

7. **Country:** Country of Birth. Use the 'Countries' worksheet to find the Country Code for the Country of Birth for the visitor. You must use the country codes provided in the 'Countries' worksheet. Select the code from the drop-down list.

8. **Gender:** Select M for Male or F for Female

9. **City:** City of Residence - For visitors who reside in the United States enter the primary city of residence. For visitors who reside outside of the United States enter the city where they are residing during their visit. (no numbers or special characters)

10. **State:** State of Residence - For visitors who reside in the United States enter the primary state of residence. For visitors who reside outside of the United States enter the state where they are residing during their visit. Use the 'States' worksheet to locate the appropriate two-letter State Code. Select the code from the drop-down list.

EXHIBIT









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A vertical table with 27 empty rows and a single column. The table is centered on the page and appears to be a placeholder for data or a list of items.



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January 19, 2016 (names appear as listed in public White House visitor log)

	<b>First Name</b>	<b>Date of Meeting</b>	<b>Last Name</b>	<b>First</b>	<b>Meeting</b>	<b>Room</b>
COLE	JEFFREY	1/19/2016 11:00	Ciaramella	Eric	OEOB	230A
IEMELIANOVA	ANNA	1/19/2016 11:00	Ciaramella	Eric	OEOB	230A
KHOLODNYTSKI	NAZAR	1/19/2016 11:00	Zentos	Liz	OEOB	230A
NEWCOMBE	CATHERINE	1/19/2016 11:00	Ciaramella	Eric	OEOB	230A
PARDUS	SVITLANA	1/19/2016 11:00	Ciaramella	Eric	OEOB	230A
SAKVARELIDZE	DAVID	1/19/2016 11:00	Ciaramella	Eric	OEOB	230A
SYTNYK	ARTEM	1/19/2016 11:00	Ciaramella	Eric	OEOB	230A
telizhenko	andriy	1/19/2016 11:00	Ciaramella	Eric	OEOB	230A

\*\*Mr. Kholodnytski's name appears twice on the visitor log for this meeting.

MAJORITY STAFF EXHIBIT

**BEGINNING OF  
NEW RECORD**

HSGAC MAJORITY STAFF EXHIBIT

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**From:** Ciaramella, Eric <eric\_a\_ciaramella@nsc.eop.gov>  
**Sent:** Monday, January 18, 2016 3:24 PM  
**To:** gusackje@state.gov  
**Cc:** Zentos, Elisabeth; kasanofa@state.gov; montgomerymc@state.gov; Zentos, Elisabeth  
**Subject:** Re: Upcoming meeting with Ukraine anticorruption delegation

Thanks, Jamie! Will definitely provide a readout after the mtg to help inform Bridget's mtg later in the week.

---

**From:** Gusack, Jamie E [mailto:GusackJE@state.gov]  
**Sent:** Monday, January 18, 2016 03:14 PM  
**To:** Ciaramella, Eric  
**Cc:** Zentos, Elisabeth; Kasanof, Alexander <KasanofA@state.gov>; Montgomery, Molly C <MontgomeryMC@state.gov>  
**Subject:** RE: Upcoming meeting with Ukraine anticorruption delegation

Eric,

Sorry for the delay. I don't have a full BCL to share (just starting on it now) but can give you an outline of topics I plan to include (see below). Adding Sahsa and Molly here in case they have anything to add to my suggested agenda. Let me know if I'm missing anything from your perspective.

If you could give us a brief readout after your meeting tomorrow/let us know if you'd like us to follow up on anything specific on Thursday, that would be great. We're happy to reinforce any points that need to be driven home.

Best,  
Jamie

- Note the importance of appointing a new PG, reiterating that Shokin is an obstacle to reform.
- Discuss the "diamond prosecutors" case, check on progress of the case, underscore the importance of putting corrupt high-level officials in jail.
- Ask the del what high-level cases are on the docket for prosecution. Note that we're expecting big steps in the near future.
- Be prepared for a long list of asks. (Looking for updated numbers from ACE and INL on much money is already set aside and for what.)
- An "if time permits" point for Sakvarelidze regarding reining in Saakashvili.
- Ask about implementation of new legislation. How is the new IG in the PGO shaping up? Where does the NABU stand, etc.

SBU  
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

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**From:** Gusack, Jamie E  
**Sent:** Sunday, January 17, 2016 11:08 PM  
**To:** Ciaramella, Eric A (nsc.eop.gov)  
**Cc:** Zentos, Elisabeth (nsc.eop)  
**Subject:** Re: Upcoming meeting with Ukraine anticorruption delegation

I'll be in the office writing this BCL tomorrow. Will send a draft/bootleg version when I have something to share.

---

**From:** Ciaramella, Eric  
**Sent:** Sunday, January 17, 2016 1:44 PM  
**To:** Gusack, Jamie E  
**Cc:** Zentos, Elisabeth (nsc.eop)  
**Subject:** RE: Upcoming meeting with Ukraine anticorruption delegation

Thanks, Jamie!

---

**From:** Gusack, Jamie E [<http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:GusackJE@state.gov>]  
**Sent:** Friday, January 15, 2016 3:32 PM  
**To:** Ciaramella, Eric  
**Cc:** Zentos, Elisabeth  
**Subject:** RE: Upcoming meeting with Ukraine anticorruption delegation

Eric,

I'd be happy to share Bridget's BCL, but haven't written it yet (since the meeting isn't until Thursday). I was planning to draft it today, but that prospect is becoming less and less likely with all the work that is piling up. I may just come in on Monday to work on it.

I'll try work up an outline/send it your way later today if time permits.

Thanks,  
Jamie

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

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**From:** Ciaramella, Eric [[http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:Eric\\_A\\_Ciaramella@nsc.eop.gov](http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:Eric_A_Ciaramella@nsc.eop.gov)]  
**Sent:** Friday, January 15, 2016 3:16 PM  
**To:** Gusack, Jamie E  
**Cc:** Zentos, Elisabeth (nsc.eop)  
**Subject:** RE: Upcoming meeting with Ukraine anticorruption delegation

Jamie – Thanks, this is extremely helpful! I was wondering whether you happen to have a draft of the BCL for Bridget's meeting, and whether you might be willing to share it informally with us before Tuesday. We have some ideas for what we'd like to raise with the group, but it's always good to check in on top lines and make sure we're all saying the same thing.

Thank you!!  
Eric



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**From:** Gusack, Jamie E  
[<http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:GusackJE@state.gov>]  
**Sent:** Thursday, January 14, 2016 8:01 PM  
**To:** Ciaramella, Eric; EUR-Ukraine Desk-DL  
**Cc:** Zentos, Elisabeth  
**Subject:** RE: Upcoming meeting with Ukraine anticorruption delegation

Eric,

Thanks very much for the invitation. DAS Brink will meet with the delegation on Thursday. Attached are the final agenda for the visit and the bios of the participants so you have full visibility.

On the question of background info on how the various anticorruption agencies/authorities fit together, I don't have anything at the ready, but will check with EUR/ACE tomorrow. I agree that this would be extremely helpful and we'll look to put something together if it doesn't already exist.

Thanks again and let me know if you have any further questions or if you'd like us to follow up on any outstanding issues that may come up in your meeting on Tuesday.

Best,  
Jamie

SBU  
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

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**From:** Ciaramella, Eric  
[[http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:Eric\\_A\\_Ciaramella@nsc.eop.gov](http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:Eric_A_Ciaramella@nsc.eop.gov)]  
**Sent:** Thursday, January 14, 2016 7:35 PM  
**To:** EUR-Ukraine Desk-DL  
**Cc:** Zentos, Elisabeth (nsc.eop)  
**Subject:** Upcoming meeting with Ukraine anticorruption delegation

Desk colleagues –

We'll be hosting Deputy PG Sakvarelidze, NABU chief Sytnyk, and AC prosecutor Kholodnytsky here on Tuesday 1/19 at 11:00. Are you having meetings with them at State? If not, would anyone from the desk like to attend our meeting?

In addition, I was wondering whether you have any off-the-shelf background info on how the various anticorruption agencies/authorities fit together (no need to create this if it doesn't exist), and whether there are any particular points that you or Post would like us to raise with the group.

Thank you!  
Eric

Eric Ciaramella  
Director for Baltic and Eastern European Affairs  
National Security Council | The White House

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**BEGINNING OF  
NEW RECORD**

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**From:** Zentos, Elisabeth <elisabeth\_f\_zentos@nsc.eop.gov>  
**Sent:** Thursday, January 21, 2016 10:46 AM  
**To:** Montgomery, Molly C; Ellsworth, Michael P  
**Subject:** FW: DT: US loan guarantee conditional on Shokin's dismissal

---

**From:** Zentos, Elisabeth  
**Sent:** Thursday, January 21, 2016 10:44 AM  
**To:** 'Pyatt, Geoffrey R' <PyattGR@state.gov>; Ciaramella, Eric <Eric\_A\_Ciaramella@nsc.eop.gov>; Makanju, Anna <Anna\_A\_Makanju@ovp.eop.gov>  
**Subject:** RE: DT: US loan guarantee conditional on Shokin's dismissal

Yes, just talked to the Desk about this.

Recommended that you or Post email Rory informing him of this view. Will be much more influential coming from you (or at least from someone at Post).

---

**From:** Pyatt, Geoffrey R [<mailto:PyattGR@state.gov>]  
**Sent:** Thursday, January 21, 2016 10:31 AM  
**To:** Ciaramella, Eric <[Eric\\_A\\_Ciaramella@nsc.eop.gov](mailto:Eric_A_Ciaramella@nsc.eop.gov)>; Zentos, Elisabeth <[Elisabeth\\_F\\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov](mailto:Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov)>; Makanju, Anna <[Anna\\_A\\_Makanju@ovp.eop.gov](mailto:Anna_A_Makanju@ovp.eop.gov)>  
**Subject:** RE: DT: US loan guarantee conditional on Shokin's dismissal

We also need to readdress all the LG anti-corruption conditions, since some of what we had been asking for is now OBE, and at this stage there's only one that really matters.

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**From:** Ciaramella, Eric [[mailto:Eric\\_A\\_Ciaramella@nsc.eop.gov](mailto:Eric_A_Ciaramella@nsc.eop.gov)]  
**Sent:** Thursday, January 21, 2016 5:23 PM  
**To:** Pyatt, Geoffrey R; Zentos, Elisabeth (nsc.eop); Makanju, Anna  
**Subject:** RE: DT: US loan guarantee conditional on Shokin's dismissal

Yikes. I don't recall this coming up in our meeting with them on Tuesday, although we did discuss the fact that the PGO IG condition has not yet been met. (I've been meaning to write to you about our meeting—we were super impressed with the group, and we had a two-hour discussion of their priorities and the obstacles they face.)

In yesterday's IPC we agreed to come up with some interagency press guidance/TPs for UA officials on the Shokin/LG issue. So, we will circle back with EUR and our/their press folks to expedite that effort.

---

**From:** Pyatt, Geoffrey R [<http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:PyattGR@state.gov>]  
**Sent:** Thursday, January 21, 2016 10:03 AM

To: Zentos, Elisabeth; Ciaramella, Eric; Makanju, Anna

Subject: FW: DT: US loan guarantee conditional on Shokin's dismissal

Buckle in

---

**From:** Pasichnyk, Volodymyr O <[PasichnykVO@state.gov](mailto:PasichnykVO@state.gov)>  
**Sent:** Thursday, January 21, 2016 16:11  
**To:** Kyiv, POL ALL  
**Subject:** DT: US loan guarantee conditional on Shokin's dismissal

According to Dzerkalo Tyzhnya news website, “the U.S. State Department has made it clear to the Ukrainian authorities that it links the provision of a one billion dollar loan guarantee to Ukraine to the dismissal of Prosecutor General Viktor Shokin. This became known during the visit by Deputy PGs Vitaliy Kasko, David Sakvarelidze, and Anti-Corruption Prosecutor Nazar Kholodnytsky to the U.S. The Ukrainian officials are holding a number of professional and political meetings during their working visit to the U.S.”

<http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://zn.ua/POLITICS/ssha-privyazali-predostavlenie-ukraine-kreditnyh-garantiy-k-otstavke-shokina-201985.html>

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**BEGINNING OF  
NEW RECORD**

HSGAC MAJORITY STAFF EXHIBIT

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**From:** Zentos, Elisabeth <elisabeth\_f\_zentos@nsc.eop.gov>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 19, 2016 9:42 PM  
**To:** Ciaramella, Eric; Ciaramella, Eric  
**Subject:** FW: Embassy of Ukraine Telizhenko

FYI—just took the time to actually read this. Woops.

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

Dear Liz,

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

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

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

With Regards,

Andrii Telizhenko

--

--

Андрій Теліженко | Andrii Telizhenko  
| +380504467876 | [telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com](mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com) |

**BEGINNING OF  
NEW RECORD**

HSGAC MAJORITY STAFF EXHIBIT



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**From:** Andrii Telizhenko <telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com>  
**Sent:** Monday, February 01, 2016 3:37 PM  
**To:** Zentos, Elisabeth; Zentos, Elisabeth  
**Subject:** Re: Andrii Telizhenko

Liz,

Thats great) Maybe at 12:30pm? - where would you recommend?

Andrii

--

Андрій Теліженко | Andrii Telizhenko  
III Секретар Посольства України в США  
III Secretary of the Embassy of Ukraine to the USA  
| [telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com](mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com) |

2016-02-01 15:34 GMT-05:00 Zentos, Elisabeth <[Elisabeth\\_F\\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov](mailto:Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov)>:

Hi Andriy,

Meeting this week would be great!

Any chance you're free for coffee on Friday at either 10:30 a.m. or 2 p.m.?

Looking forward to catching up soon.

Best,

Liz

Liz Zentos

000006

Director for Eastern Europe

National Security Council

[202-456-9158](tel:202-456-9158)

[Elisabeth\\_F\\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov](mailto:Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov)

**From:** Andrii Telizhenko [mailto:[telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com](mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com)]

**Sent:** Monday, February 01, 2016 3:30 PM

**To:** Zentos, Elisabeth <[Elisabeth\\_F\\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov](mailto:Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov)>

**Subject:** Andrii Telizhenko

Liz,

Hi how are you? wanted to ask if you are able to meet for coffee or lunch maybe this week or the next?

Andrii

--

Андрій Теліженко | Andrii Telizhenko  
III Секретар Посольства України в США

III Secretary of the Embassy of Ukraine to the USA

| [telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com](mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com) |

**BEGINNING OF  
NEW RECORD**

HSGAC MAJORITY STAFF EXHIBIT

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**From:** Andrii Telizhenko <telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 01, 2016 4:31 PM  
**To:** Zentos, Elisabeth; Zentos, Elisabeth  
**Subject:** Re: Andrii Telizhenko

That would good)

On Tuesday, March 1, 2016, Zentos, Elisabeth <[Elisabeth\\_F\\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov](mailto:Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov)> wrote:

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

**From:** Andrii Telizhenko [mailto:[telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com](mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com)]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 01, 2016 4:27 PM  
**To:** Zentos, Elisabeth <[Elisabeth\\_F\\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov](mailto:Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov)>  
**Subject:** Re: Andrii Telizhenko

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

On Tuesday, March 1, 2016, Zentos, Elisabeth <[Elisabeth\\_F\\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov](mailto:Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov)> wrote:

Yes, let's do it!

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

**From:** Andrii Telizhenko [mailto:[telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com](mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com)]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 01, 2016 4:20 PM  
**To:** Zentos, Elisabeth <[Elisabeth\\_F\\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov](mailto:Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov)>  
**Subject:** Re: Andrii Telizhenko

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

On Tuesday, March 1, 2016, Zentos, Elisabeth <[Elisabeth\\_F\\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov](mailto:Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov)> wrote:

| Andriy!

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

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

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

Liz,

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

Andrii

--  
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) |

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Андрій Теліженко | Andrii Telizhenko  
| +380504467876 | [telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com](mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com) |

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Андрій Теліженко | Andrii Telizhenko  
| +380504467876 | [telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com](mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com) |

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Андрій Теліженко | Andrii Telizhenko  
| +380504467876 | [telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com](mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com) |

HSGAC MAJORITY STAFF EXHIBIT

**BEGINNING OF  
NEW RECORD**

HSGAC MAJORITY STAFF EXHIBIT

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**From:** Zentos, Elisabeth <elisabeth\_f\_zentos@nsc.eop.gov>  
**Sent:** Friday, March 04, 2016 6:47 PM  
**To:** Andrii Telizhenko  
**Subject:** RE: Andrii Telizhenko meeting

Hi Andrii,

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

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

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

Liz

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

Liz,

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

Thank you

Andrii Telizhenko

On Friday, March 4, 2016, Zentos, Elisabeth <[Elisabeth\\_F\\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov](mailto:Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov)> wrote:

Yes!

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

Want to meet at Swing's coffee house on G and 17<sup>th</sup>? They have the best coffee around.

See you soon!



Liz

**From:** Andrii Telizhenko [mailto:[telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com](mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com)]  
**Sent:** Friday, March 04, 2016 12:54 PM  
**To:** Zentos, Elisabeth <[Elisabeth\\_F\\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov](mailto:Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov)>  
**Subject:** Andrii Telizhenko meeting

Wanted to confirm the meeting for today.

Andrii

--  
Андрій Теліженко | Andrii Telizhenko  
III Секретар Посольства України в США  
  
III Secretary of the Embassy of Ukraine to the USA  
  
| [telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com](mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com) |

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Андрій Теліженко | Andrii Telizhenko  
| +380504467876 | [telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com](mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com) |

**BEGINNING OF  
NEW RECORD**

HSGAC MAJORITY STAFF EXHIBIT

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**From:** Andrii Telizhenko <telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com>  
**Sent:** Thursday, March 10, 2016 4:55 PM  
**To:** Zentos, Elisabeth; Zentos, Elisabeth  
**Subject:** Re: Andrii Telizhenko

I am between cosi and swing, thought to come earlier juat incase)

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

On Thursday, March 10, 2016, Zentos, Elisabeth <[Elisabeth\\_F\\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov](mailto:Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov)> wrote:

Want to just grab a coffee at Cosi on 17<sup>th</sup> and Pennsylvania?

**From:** Andrii Telizhenko [mailto:[telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com](mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com)]  
**Sent:** Thursday, March 10, 2016 2:08 PM  
**To:** Zentos, Elisabeth <[Elisabeth\\_F\\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov](mailto:Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov)>  
**Subject:** Re: Andrii Telizhenko

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

Once again thank you.

Andrii

On Thursday, March 10, 2016, Zentos, Elisabeth <[Elisabeth\\_F\\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov](mailto:Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov)> wrote:

Hi Andrii,

Sorry for the delay.

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

Hope all is well!

Liz

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

Hi Liz,

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

Andrii

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

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

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Андрій Теліженко | Andrii Telizhenko  
| +380504467876 | [telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com](mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com) |

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Андрій Теліженко | Andrii Telizhenko  
| +380504467876 | [telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com](mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com) |

HSGAC MAJORITY STAFF EXHIBIT

**BEGINNING OF  
NEW RECORD**

HSGAC MAJORITY STAFF EXHIBIT

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**From:** Zentos, Elisabeth <elisabeth\_f\_zentos@nsc.eop.gov>  
**Sent:** Wednesday, April 13, 2016 3:12 PM  
**To:** telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com  
**Subject:** Re: Andrii Telizhenko

No worries! Just got here. See you soon,

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**From:** Andrii Telizhenko [mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, April 13, 2016 03:09 PM  
**To:** Zentos, Elisabeth  
**Subject:** Re: Andrii Telizhenko

Here but looking for parking

On Wednesday, April 13, 2016, Zentos, Elisabeth <[Elisabeth F Zentos@nsc.eop.gov](mailto:Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov)> wrote:

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

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

Liz,

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

Andrii

--  
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) |

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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) |

HSGAC MAJORITY STAFF EXHIBIT



**BEGINNING OF  
NEW RECORD**

HSGAC MAJORITY STAFF EXHIBIT

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**From:** Andrii Telizhenko <telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com>  
**Sent:** Thursday, April 28, 2016 7:30 AM  
**To:** Zentos, Elisabeth; Zentos, Elisabeth  
**Subject:** Re: Andrii Telizhenko

Me too :) have a nice day :)

On Wednesday, April 27, 2016, Zentos, Elisabeth F. EOP/NSC <[Elisabeth\\_F\\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov](mailto:Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov)> wrote:  
Yes, that would be great. So, Friday, 2 p.m. at Cosi. Looking forward to it!

-----Original Message-----

From: Andrii Telizhenko [mailto:[telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com](mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com)]  
Sent: Wednesday, April 27, 2016 2:19 PM  
To: Zentos, Elisabeth F. EOP/NSC <[Elisabeth\\_F\\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov](mailto:Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov)>  
Subject: Re: Andrii Telizhenko

No problem, I thought that my email was not working, sorry for the second email.

2 pm would work. - at cosi?

On Wednesday, April 27, 2016, Zentos, Elisabeth F. EOP/NSC <[Elisabeth\\_F\\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov](mailto:Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov)> <mailto:[Elisabeth\\_F\\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov](mailto:Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov)>> wrote:

Andrii! So sorry I haven't gotten back to you sooner.

Want to do coffee on Friday? Maybe around 2 or 3 p.m.?

-----Original Message-----

From: Andrii Telizhenko [mailto:[telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com](mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com) <javascript:;> ]  
Sent: Tuesday, April 26, 2016 1:29 PM  
To: Zentos, Elisabeth F. EOP/NSC <[Elisabeth\\_F\\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov](mailto:Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov) <javascript:;> >  
Subject: Fwd: Andrii Telizhenko

Liz,

sorry to bother you, I had some issues with my email, some of my friends have not received my emails.  
Just re sending my email from yesterday if possible to meet this week.

Andrii

--

Андрій Теліженко | Andrii Telizhenko  
III Секретар Посольства України в США  
III Secretary of the Embassy of Ukraine to the USA  
| [telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com](mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com) <javascript:;> <mailto:[telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com](mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com) <javascript:;> > |

----- Forwarded message -----

From: Andrii Telizhenko <[telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com](mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com)

<javascript:;> <mailto:[telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com](mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com) <javascript:;> > >

Date: 2016-04-25 9:28 GMT-04:00

Subject: Andrii Telizhenko

To: "Zentos, Elisabeth" <[Elisabeth\\_F\\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov](mailto:Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov)

<javascript:;> <mailto:[Elisabeth\\_F\\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov](mailto:Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov) <javascript:;> > >

Hi Liz,

Hope all is well, I just came back from Kyiv. Wanted to ask if you have time to meet this week?

Andrii

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Андрій Теліженко | Andrii Telizhenko

ІІІ Секретар Посольства України в США

III Secretary of the Embassy of Ukraine to the USA

| [telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com](mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com) <javascript:;> <mailto:[telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com](mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com) <javascript:;> > |

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Андрій Теліженко | Andrii Telizhenko

ІІІ Секретар Посольства України в США

III Secretary of the Embassy of Ukraine to the USA

| [telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com](mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com) <mailto:[telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com](mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com)> |

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Андрій Теліженко | Andrii Telizhenko

ІІІ Секретар Посольства України в США

III Secretary of the Embassy of Ukraine to the USA

| [telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com](mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com) |

# BEGINNING OF NEW RECORD

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**From:** Andrii Telizhenko <telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com>  
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 04, 2016 7:27 AM  
**To:** Zentos, Elisabeth; Zentos, Elisabeth  
**Subject:** Re: Andrii Telizhenko

4pm is perfect) ar Cosi?

On Tuesday, May 3, 2016, Zentos, Elisabeth F. EOP/NSC <[Elisabeth\\_F\\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov](mailto:Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov)> wrote:

Hi Andrii,

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

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

See you soon!

Liz

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

Liz,

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

Andrii

On Friday, April 29, 2016, Zentos, Elisabeth F. EOP/NSC <[Elisabeth\\_F\\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov](mailto:Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov)> wrote:

Yes, let's plan for Wednesday! Just let me know what time is good for you.

-----Original Message-----

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

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

Get well soon

Andrii

On Friday, April 29, 2016, Zentos, Elisabeth F. EOP/NSC <Elisabeth\_F\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov <javascript:\_e(%7B%7D,'cvml','Elisabeth\_F\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov');> > wrote:

Andrii,

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

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

Really sorry. Hope you are doing well!

Liz

--

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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> |

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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) |

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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) |

**BEGINNING OF  
NEW RECORD**

HSGAC MAJORITY STAFF EXHIBIT



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**From:** Andrii Telizhenko <telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, July 09, 2016 5:32 AM  
**To:** Zentos, Elisabeth; Zentos, Elisabeth  
**Subject:** Re: Happy 4th of July!

Hi, i am downstairs in the lobby

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

See you tomorrow at 12:30 pm!

Sent from my iPhone

On Jul 8, 2016, at 6:52 PM, Andrii Telizhenko  
<[telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com](mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com)<mailto:[telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com](mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com)>> wrote:

12:30 works out fine) I can come to the Hyatt and I will pick you up and we can drive to Podil and have lunch there- it will be closer for you? See you soon)

On Friday, July 8, 2016, Zentos, Elisabeth F. EOP/NSC  
<[Elisabeth\\_F\\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov](mailto:Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov)<mailto:[Elisabeth\\_F\\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov](mailto:Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov)>> wrote:

Let's do 12:30 pm if that still works for you. Where should we meet? I'm staying at the Hyatt, but can go anywhere. I just need to be in Podil at 2 pm, so depending on where we meet, I'll have a little over an hour to chat.

See you soon!!!

Sent from my iPhone

On Jul 8, 2016, at 12:37 PM, Andrii Telizhenko  
<[telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com](mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com)<javascript:;><mailto:[telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com](mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com)<javascript:;>>> wrote:

Hi Liz,

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

Andrii

On Friday, July 8, 2016, Zentos, Elisabeth F. EOP/NSC  
<[Elisabeth\\_F\\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov](mailto:Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov)<javascript:;><mailto:[Elisabeth\\_F\\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov](mailto:Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov)<javascript:;>>>

wrote:

Andrii!

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

Hope to see you soon!

Sent from my iPhone

On Jul 4, 2016, at 9:35 AM, Andrii Telizhenko

<[telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com](mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com)<javascript:;><javascript:;><mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com<javascript:;><javascript:;>>> wrote:

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

Enjoy the great day, BBQ and the fireworks!

With Regards,

Andrii Telizhenko

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?????? ?????????? | Andrii Telizhenko

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[telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com](mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com)<javascript:;><javascript:;><mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com<javascript:;><javascript:;>> |

<IMG\_0844.JPG>

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?????? ?????????? | Andrii Telizhenko

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[telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com](mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com)<javascript:;><mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com<javascript:;>> |

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?????? ?????????? | Andrii Telizhenko

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[telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com](mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com)<mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com> |

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Андрій Теліженко | Andrii Telizhenko

| [telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com](mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com) |

**BEGINNING OF  
NEW RECORD**

HSGAC MAJORITY STAFF EXHIBIT

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**From:** Zentos, Elisabeth <elisabeth\_f\_zentos@nsc.eop.gov>  
**Sent:** Saturday, October 17, 2015 10:05 AM  
**To:** oksana.shulyar@mfa.gov.ua  
**Subject:** Re: Rice-Klimkin readout draft

Oksana--Please do not yet publish this. I've found out that Susan often does not like readouts of her meetings to be published. I'm waiting for an answer for her. Hope to get back to you soon.

Thanks so much.

Best,  
Liz

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From: Oksana [mailto:oksana.shulyar@mfa.gov.ua]  
Sent: Friday, October 16, 2015 09:25 PM  
To: Zentos, Elisabeth  
Subject: Rice-Klimkin readout draft

Dear Liz,

It was very nice meeting you today during Minister's meeting at the White House.

As discussed please find below a readout draft for your attention. Let me know if you would have any comments to it. We would like to publish it tomorrow morning.

"Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine Pavlo Klimkin met with National Security Advisor to the President of the United States Susan Rice.

Susan Rice congratulated Pavlo Klimkin on Ukraine's election as non-permanent member of the UN Security Council. The interlocutors discussed implementation of the Minsk agreements, withdrawal of weapons and troops and talked about a need of full access for the OSCE monitors, as elements for further steady progress in Donbas. They also exchanged views on preparation to local elections in certain areas of Donetsk and Luhansk regions, underlining that they must be held according to the Ukrainian legislation and to the OSCE/ODIHR standards.

Pavlo Klimkin and Susan Rice also discussed international security issues, where the Ukrainian Minister underlined the importance of further US support for Ukraine. He welcomed President Obama's decision to allocate \$21.5 million to Ukraine for providing defensive equipment, namely counter-battery radars. He also spoke about a positive experience of train and equip program for the Ukrainian National Guard and welcomed a recent decision to launch trainings for the Ukrainian army.

The interlocutors also discussed the Ukrainian reforms and dwelled on further steps in this process, namely with regards to the fight against corruption, judicial and healthcare reforms."

Thank you and look forward to your feedback.

With kind regards,

Oksana Shulyar  
Counselor,  
Embassy of Ukraine in the United States

000597

Tel: 202 349 2934

Cell: 202 412 2171

E-mail: [Oksana.shulyar@mfa.gov.ua](mailto:Oksana.shulyar@mfa.gov.ua)

HSGAC MAJORITY STAFF EXHIBIT

**BEGINNING OF  
NEW RECORD**

HSGAC MAJORITY STAFF EXHIBIT

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**From:** Zentos, Elisabeth <elisabeth\_f\_zentos@nsc.eop.gov>  
**Sent:** Saturday, December 26, 2015 2:48 PM  
**To:** Ciaramella, Eric; Ciaramella, Eric  
**Subject:** FW: Oksana Shulyar contact

FYI

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**From:** Oksana Shulyar [mailto:oksana.shulyar@mfa.gov.ua]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 22, 2015 4:18 PM  
**To:** Zentos, Elisabeth <Elisabeth\_F\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov>  
**Subject:** Oksana Shulyar contact

Hi Liz,

Let follow up on tomorrow and Friday option for the call.

Here are my contacts.

Telephone: +1 202 349 2934  
Cell: +1 202 412 2171

Best,  
Oksana  
Counselor,  
Embassy of Ukraine in the United States  
3350 M Street, NW  
Washington DC 20007

E-mail: [Oksana.shulyar@mfa.gov.ua](mailto:Oksana.shulyar@mfa.gov.ua)

**BEGINNING OF  
NEW RECORD**

HSGAC MAJORITY STAFF EXHIBIT



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**From:** Kasanof, Alexander <kasanofa@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Thursday, March 31, 2016 5:03 PM  
**To:** Zentos, Elisabeth; Zentos, Elisabeth  
**Subject:** RE: Statement

Agree.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

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**From:** Zentos, Elisabeth [mailto:Elisabeth\_F\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov]  
**Sent:** Thursday, March 31, 2016 4:32 PM  
**To:** Kasanof, Alexander  
**Subject:** FW: Statement

Ugh.

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**From:** Yaroslav Brisiuck [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:brisiuck@gmail.com]  
**Sent:** Thursday, March 31, 2016 3:49 PM  
**To:** Zentos, Elisabeth <[Elisabeth F Zentos@nsc.eop.gov](mailto:Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov)>  
**Subject:** Fwd: Statement

Sent from my iPhone

Begin forwarded message:

**From:** Yaroslav Brisiuck <[brisiuck@gmail.com](mailto:brisiuck@gmail.com)>  
**Date:** March 31, 2016 at 3:16:01 PM EDT  
**To:** "Makanju, Anna A. EOP/OVP" <[Anna\\_A\\_Makanju@ovp.eop.gov](mailto:Anna_A_Makanju@ovp.eop.gov)>, Oksana Shulyar <[oshulyar@gmail.com](mailto:oshulyar@gmail.com)>  
**Cc:** "[k.yelisieiev@gmail.com](mailto:k.yelisieiev@gmail.com)" <[k.yelisieiev@gmail.com](mailto:k.yelisieiev@gmail.com)>  
**Subject:** Re: Statement

Anna, thank you very much. Very good statement overall. A few changes we would suggest:

- could we not specify that the meeting was in a lunch format (not to distract from the substance of the discussion);
- could we remove the specific mentioning of the prosecutorial reform, wording it like this: "... committed to a reform program, including anti-corruption reforms";
- after the words "335 million in security assistance," can we end the sentence there, without spelling out the types of assistance, or, at the least, use Mike's words - to "train, equip and advise";
- instead of "welcomed the news" could we say that VP welcomed the efforts of President Poroshenko to resolve the governmental (or parliamentary/governmental) crisis and form a new government;

- Re Minsk, could you add a sentence about Trans-Atlantic solidarity and sanctions remaining in place until Russia fully implements Minsk, including restoring our sovereignty, including Crimea;

- Re Savchenko, would be good to add that we called on Russia to ensure immediate and unimpeded access for doctors due to concerns about her health condition and called for her immediate release.

Thank you,  
Slava

2016-03-31 15:04 GMT-04:00 Makanju, Anna A. EOP/OVP

<[Anna\\_A\\_Makanju@ovp.eop.gov](mailto:Anna_A_Makanju@ovp.eop.gov)>:

Gentlemen, I'm sorry please hold on this. I have to send one change.

Original Message

From: Makanju, Anna A. EOP/OVP

Sent: Thursday, March 31, 2016 2:39 PM

To: Yaroslav Brisiuck; [k.yelisieiev@gmail.com](mailto:k.yelisieiev@gmail.com)

Subject: Statement

Slava, Kostiantyn, is this ok with you? Thanks, Anna

Vice President Biden hosted a working lunch today with Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko. President Poroshenko updated the Vice President on coalition negotiations to form a new Ukrainian government that is committed to a reform program - including prosecutorial and other anti-corruption reforms - that is in line with Ukraine's IMF commitments, and full implementation of Minsk. The VP welcomed the news and reaffirmed that the United States is prepared to move forward on a third \$1 billion loan guarantee and other assistance once these steps are taken. The Vice President also informed President Poroshenko that the United States can now move forward with an additional \$335 million in security assistance, which will fund additional advisors, training, and non-lethal assistance aimed at reforming Ukraine's security institutions in line with Western standards. The leaders condemned the illegal imprisonment of pilot Nadia Savchenko, as well as the recent violence in eastern Ukraine. The Vice President reaffirmed U.S. commitment to Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity, emphasizing that the U.S. continues to reject the unlawful occupation and attempted annexation of Crimea.

**BEGINNING OF  
NEW RECORD**

HSGAC MAJORITY STAFF EXHIBIT

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**From:** Ciaramella, Eric A. EOP/NSC <eric\_a\_ciaramella@nsc.eop.gov>  
**Sent:** Friday, June 17, 2016 11:15 AM  
**To:** Zentos, Elisabeth; Zentos, Elisabeth  
**Subject:** RE: (San-Fransisco June 22-23) Borys Lozhkin's visit

Nope - does the desk?

-----Original Message-----

From: Zentos, Elisabeth F. EOP/NSC  
Sent: Friday, June 17, 2016 11:11 AM  
To: Ciaramella, Eric A. EOP/NSC <Eric\_A\_Ciaramella@nsc.eop.gov>  
Subject: RE: (San-Fransisco June 22-23) Borys Lozhkin's visit

Do you know anything about this summit???

-----Original Message-----

From: Oksana Shulyar [mailto:oksana.shulyar@mfa.gov.ua]  
Sent: Thursday, June 16, 2016 5:44 PM  
To: Zentos, Elisabeth F. EOP/NSC <Elisabeth\_F\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov>  
Cc: Ciaramella, Eric A. EOP/NSC <Eric\_A\_Ciaramella@nsc.eop.gov>  
Subject: RE: (San-Fransisco June 22-23) Borys Lozhkin's visit

Dear Liz,

Thank you for all the support with the PM's visit.

I am waiting to get the final list of Borys's delegation for Monday's meeting. Will get back to you tomorrow on that if that's ok.

I also wanted to ask for a piece of advice on a possibility for Borys to attend the Global Entrepreneurship Summit in San-Francisco on June 22-23. We've been told that the White House and the Department of State are involved in its organization. Borys will be also travelling to the West Coast and since he is very much involved in his official capacity in economic reforms and entrepreneurship issues in Ukraine, it would be very beneficial for us if he'd got a chance to attend the Summit.

Would appreciate your help.

Best,  
Oksana

-----Original Message-----

From: Zentos, Elisabeth F. EOP/NSC [mailto:Elisabeth\_F\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov]  
Sent: Wednesday, June 15, 2016 6:23 PM  
To: Oksana Shulyar <oksana.shulyar@mfa.gov.ua>  
Cc: Ciaramella, Eric A. EOP/NSC <Eric\_A\_Ciaramella@nsc.eop.gov>  
Subject: FW: Borys Lozhkin's visit and Hopko question

Hi Oksana,

It was great seeing you today!

I know you must be focused on the PM's visit, but Denis McDonough's office is hoping to find out whether Mr. Lozhkin plans to bring anyone with him to the meeting on Monday. Do you know? If would like to bring someone, please

let me know how many people he'd like to include, and I'll check with McDonough's office if this is ok. (I understand he likes to keep meetings small, so I'd suggest requesting to bring one person, or max two, if at all possible.)

Once you know who will attend, please fill out information for the meeting participants using this link:

<https://events.whitehouse.gov/form?rid=GQMPWV8KCJ>

Lastly, do you know what topics Mr. Lozhkin would like to discuss?

Thanks so much.

Best,  
Liz

-----Original Message-----

From: Zentos, Elisabeth F. EOP/NSC [mailto:Elisabeth\_F\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov]  
Sent: Tuesday, June 07, 2016 12:37 PM  
To: Oksana Shulyar <oksana.shulyar@mfa.gov.ua>  
Cc: 'Tarasiuk ukremb' <tarasiuk@ukremb.com>  
Subject: RE: Borys Lozhkin's visit and Hopko question

Thanks, Oksana! I'll snag the 9:30 spot and get back to you with details.

Yes, I heard that Hanna Hopko will meet with Anna and Colin in OVP. Do I understand correctly that she isn't interested in an NSC meeting, since we've received no request? An NSC meeting would be need to be at the director level (DAS equivalent level).

Thanks,  
Liz

-----Original Message-----

From: Oksana Shulyar [mailto:oksana.shulyar@mfa.gov.ua]  
Sent: Tuesday, June 7, 2016 11:43 AM  
To: Zentos, Elisabeth F. EOP/NSC <Elisabeth\_F\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov>  
Cc: 'Tarasiuk ukremb' <tarasiuk@ukremb.com>  
Subject: RE: Borys Lozhkin's visit and Hopko question

Liz, could we get the 9.30-10.00 for Lozhkin at the WH. Thank you! Please let me know what additional information we have to provide.

Also, you may know that Hanna Hopko is here now. She will be have a meeting with Anna Macanju and Colin Kahl on Thursday at 5.30. Also for your information, she will be at the event tonight at the Embassy.

Best,  
Oksana

-----Original Message-----

From: Zentos, Elisabeth F. EOP/NSC [mailto:Elisabeth\_F\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov]  
Sent: Monday, June 06, 2016 8:52 PM  
To: Oksana Shulyar <oksana.shulyar@mfa.gov.ua>  
Cc: 'Tarasiuk ukremb' <tarasiuk@ukremb.com>  
Subject: RE: Borys Lozhkin's visit

Yes, tomorrow sounds great. Thank you!

-----Original Message-----

From: Oksana Shulyar [mailto:oksana.shulyar@mfa.gov.ua]

Sent: Monday, June 6, 2016 8:19 PM  
To: Zentos, Elisabeth F. EOP/NSC <Elisabeth\_F\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov>  
Cc: 'Tarasiuk ukremb' <tarasiuk@ukremb.com>  
Subject: RE: Borys Lozhkin's visit

Thank you very much, Liz! Can I get back to you tomorrow with one of the options. Just need to align it with the most recent schedule on our side. Have a great evening and hope to see you tomorrow!

Best,  
Oksana

-----Original Message-----

From: Zentos, Elisabeth F. EOP/NSC [mailto:Elisabeth\_F\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov]  
Sent: Monday, June 06, 2016 7:55 PM  
To: Oksana Shulyar <oksana.shulyar@mfa.gov.ua>  
Cc: 'Tarasiuk ukremb' <tarasiuk@ukremb.com>  
Subject: RE: Borys Lozhkin's visit

Good news!

We should be able to hold the meeting on the 20th either 9:30-10:00am or 1:00-1:30pm.

Would one of those options work?

Thanks!

-----Original Message-----

From: Oksana Shulyar [mailto:oksana.shulyar@mfa.gov.ua]  
Sent: Monday, June 6, 2016 3:20 PM  
To: Zentos, Elisabeth F. EOP/NSC <Elisabeth\_F\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov>  
Cc: 'Tarasiuk ukremb' <tarasiuk@ukremb.com>  
Subject: RE: Borys Lozhkin's visit

Thanks Liz, waiting for the good news!

-----Original Message-----

From: Zentos, Elisabeth F. EOP/NSC [mailto:Elisabeth\_F\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov]  
Sent: Monday, June 06, 2016 2:08 PM  
To: Oksana Shulyar <oksana.shulyar@mfa.gov.ua>  
Cc: 'Tarasiuk ukremb' <tarasiuk@ukremb.com>  
Subject: RE: Borys Lozhkin's visit

Woops, sorry, I see in your original email it's definitely the 20th that he'll be here. I'll go back to his staff and let them know. Thanks!

-----Original Message-----

From: Oksana Shulyar [mailto:oksana.shulyar@mfa.gov.ua]  
Sent: Monday, June 6, 2016 1:53 PM  
To: Zentos, Elisabeth F. EOP/NSC <Elisabeth\_F\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov>  
Cc: 'Tarasiuk ukremb' <tarasiuk@ukremb.com>  
Subject: RE: Borys Lozhkin's visit

Thank you Liz, the dates were modified. He is in DC on June 20th, then he will travel to the West Coast.

Also, we know that there will be the Global Entrepreneurship Summit held in San-Francisco on June 22-23 and we would be very interested to have Borys to attend.

It is important for us, since he is involved in his official capacity in

advancing economic reforms, that also includes entrepreneurship and SMEs issues. Would very much appreciate if you could help.

Best regards,  
Oksana

-----Original Message-----

From: Zentos, Elisabeth F. EOP/NSC [mailto:Elisabeth\_F\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov]  
Sent: Monday, June 06, 2016 1:37 PM  
To: Oksana Shulyar <oksana.shulyar@mfa.gov.ua>  
Cc: 'Tarasiuk ukremb' <tarasiuk@ukremb.com>  
Subject: RE: Borys Lozhkin's visit

Hi Oksana,

We're hoping for an answer soon.

Just to confirm, this would be on June 22, yes?

Thanks,  
Liz

-----Original Message-----

From: Oksana Shulyar [mailto:oksana.shulyar@mfa.gov.ua]  
Sent: Monday, June 6, 2016 12:12 PM  
To: Zentos, Elisabeth F. EOP/NSC <Elisabeth\_F\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov>  
Cc: 'Tarasiuk ukremb' <tarasiuk@ukremb.com>  
Subject: RE: Borys Lozhkin's visit

Dear Liz,

Now we have certainty that Borys Lozhkin will be in DC on June 20.

We already have a tentative confirmation from the VP's office. Could we still explore a possibility of having a meeting with the President's Chief of Staff Denis McDonough? I think it would be interesting for both. Your help would be very much appreciated.

Best,

Oksana

-----Original Message-----

From: Zentos, Elisabeth F. EOP/NSC [mailto:Elisabeth\_F\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov]  
Sent: Tuesday, May 24, 2016 3:52 PM  
To: Oksana Shulyar <oksana.shulyar@mfa.gov.ua>  
Subject: RE: Borys Lozhkin's visit

Hi Oksana,

We've reached out to them, but haven't received an answer yet, unfortunately. I check in with them again now. Sorry for the delay!

Thanks,  
Liz

-----Original Message-----

From: Oksana Shulyar [mailto:oksana.shulyar@mfa.gov.ua]  
Sent: Tuesday, May 24, 2016 3:36 PM  
To: Zentos, Elisabeth F. EOP/NSC <Elisabeth\_F\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov>  
Subject: FW: Borys Lozhkin's visit

Hi Liz,

Wanted to follow up on our earlier request. Was there any feedback from Denis McDonough's office, by any chance?

Thank you!  
Oksana

-----Original Message-----

From: Zentos, Elisabeth F. EOP/NSC [mailto:Elisabeth\_F\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov]  
Sent: Friday, May 20, 2016 5:27 PM  
To: Oksana Shulyar <oksana.shulyar@mfa.gov.ua>  
Subject: RE: Borys Lozhkin's visit

Thanks, Oksana! I'll let you know as soon as I hear back.

-----Original Message-----

From: Oksana Shulyar [mailto:oksana.shulyar@mfa.gov.ua]  
Sent: Friday, May 20, 2016 4:59 PM  
To: Zentos, Elisabeth F. EOP/NSC <Elisabeth\_F\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov>  
Subject: Borys Lozhkin's visit

Dear Liz,

Further to our conversation, please find a link to Borys Lozhkin's bio  
>>>>>>>>>>>>>http://www.president.gov.ua/en/administration/apu-structure/gla<  
>>>>>>>>>>>>>v<  
>>>>>>>>>>>>>a<  
>>>>>>>>>>>>>-<  
>>>>>>>>>>>>>a<  
>>>>>d<  
>>>>m<  
>>>i<  
>>nistr<  
aciyi-prezidenta-ukrayini<.

The tentative date of his DC visit is June 22.

Thank you very much for all your kind assistance in this matter.

Best,

Oksana

HSGAC MAJORITY STAFF EXHIBIT



**BEGINNING OF  
NEW RECORD**

HSGAC MAJORITY STAFF EXHIBIT

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**From:** Zentos, Elisabeth F. EOP/NSC <elisabeth\_f\_zentos@nsc.eop.gov>  
**Sent:** Saturday, June 18, 2016 5:13 PM  
**To:** Ciaramella, Eric; Ciaramella, Eric  
**Subject:** Fwd: Ukraine's COS request to meet Denis

He speaks English, right?

And Charlie seemed fine with the format as long as he's included, yes?

Sent from my iPhone

Begin forwarded message:

From: "Wang, Jenny W. EOP/WHO" <Ya\_W\_Wang@who.eop.gov<mailto:Ya\_W\_Wang@who.eop.gov>>  
Date: June 18, 2016 at 3:14:10 PM EDT  
To: "Zentos, Elisabeth F. EOP/NSC"  
<Elisabeth\_F\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov<mailto:Elisabeth\_F\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov>>  
Cc: "Freshwater, Meg E. EOP/NSC"  
<Margaret\_E\_Freshwater@nsc.eop.gov<mailto:Margaret\_E\_Freshwater@nsc.eop.gov>>, "Ciaramella, Eric A.  
EOP/NSC" <Eric\_A\_Ciaramella@nsc.eop.gov<mailto:Eric\_A\_Ciaramella@nsc.eop.gov>>, "Hartwell, Kyle E.  
EOP/NSC" <Kyle\_E\_Hartwell@nsc.eop.gov<mailto:Kyle\_E\_Hartwell@nsc.eop.gov>>  
Subject: RE: Ukraine's COS request to meet Denis

If Charlie believes this manifest is appropriate, we'll make it work.

As a reminder, we only have 30-minutes for this meeting. Assume we will not need a translator, correct?

From: Zentos, Elisabeth F. EOP/NSC  
Sent: Saturday, June 18, 2016 2:16 PM  
To: Wang, Jenny W. EOP/WHO <Ya\_W\_Wang@who.eop.gov<mailto:Ya\_W\_Wang@who.eop.gov>>  
Cc: Freshwater, Meg E. EOP/NSC  
<Margaret\_E\_Freshwater@nsc.eop.gov<mailto:Margaret\_E\_Freshwater@nsc.eop.gov>>; Ciaramella, Eric A.  
EOP/NSC <Eric\_A\_Ciaramella@nsc.eop.gov<mailto:Eric\_A\_Ciaramella@nsc.eop.gov>>; Hartwell, Kyle E.  
EOP/NSC <Kyle\_E\_Hartwell@nsc.eop.gov<mailto:Kyle\_E\_Hartwell@nsc.eop.gov>>  
Subject: RE: Ukraine's COS request to meet Denis

Jenny,

I just sent you a read-ahead, cleared by DNSA Avril Haines, on JWICs. Please let us know if anything additional would be helpful.

The Ukrainians have requested to have the meeting be 1 + 3 if possible. In addition to Mr. Lozhkin, they have requested that his two advisors attend (Nataliia Popovych and Oleg Kylymnyk), as well as Ambassador Chaliy (or Political Counselor Oksana Shulyar if the Ambassador is unable to attend for some reason). Will this be ok?

On our side, we would like to have Senior Director for Europe Charlie Kupchan attend, if possible. If there is additional space to fill, we would have Eric Ciaramella (Director for Ukraine and the Baltics) and me attend.

We have submitted WAVES info for the Ukrainian participants and will take care of escorting them to Denis' office. Please let us know if we can do anything additional to assist.

Thanks so much for all your help.

Best,

Liz

Liz Zentos  
Director for Eastern Europe  
National Security Council  
202-456-9158

-----Original Message-----

From: Wang, Jenny W. EOP/WHO  
Sent: Tuesday, June 7, 2016 12:49 PM  
To: Zentos, Elisabeth F. EOP/NSC <Elisabeth\_F\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov<mailto:Elisabeth\_F\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov>>  
Cc: Kupchan, Charles A. EOP/NSC  
<Charles\_A\_Kupchan@nsc.eop.gov<mailto:Charles\_A\_Kupchan@nsc.eop.gov>>; Quillian, Natalie H. EOP/WHO  
<natalie\_h\_quillian@who.eop.gov<mailto:natalie\_h\_quillian@who.eop.gov>>; Freshwater, Meg E. EOP/NSC  
<Margaret\_E\_Freshwater@nsc.eop.gov<mailto:Margaret\_E\_Freshwater@nsc.eop.gov>>; Ciaramella, Eric A.  
EOP/NSC <Eric\_A\_Ciaramella@nsc.eop.gov<mailto:Eric\_A\_Ciaramella@nsc.eop.gov>>; Hartwell, Kyle E.  
EOP/NSC <Kyle\_E\_Hartwell@nsc.eop.gov<mailto:Kyle\_E\_Hartwell@nsc.eop.gov>>  
Subject: RE: Ukraine's COS request to meet Denis

We will host in Denis's office, assuming it's just Mr. Lozhkin?

Thank you.

-----Original Message-----

From: Zentos, Elisabeth F. EOP/NSC  
Sent: Tuesday, June 7, 2016 12:43 PM  
To: Wang, Jenny W. EOP/WHO <Ya\_W\_Wang@who.eop.gov<mailto:Ya\_W\_Wang@who.eop.gov>>  
Cc: Kupchan, Charles A. EOP/NSC  
<Charles\_A\_Kupchan@nsc.eop.gov<mailto:Charles\_A\_Kupchan@nsc.eop.gov>>; Quillian, Natalie H. EOP/WHO  
<natalie\_h\_quillian@who.eop.gov<mailto:natalie\_h\_quillian@who.eop.gov>>; Freshwater, Meg E. EOP/NSC  
<Margaret\_E\_Freshwater@nsc.eop.gov<mailto:Margaret\_E\_Freshwater@nsc.eop.gov>>; Ciaramella, Eric A.  
EOP/NSC <Eric\_A\_Ciaramella@nsc.eop.gov<mailto:Eric\_A\_Ciaramella@nsc.eop.gov>>; Hartwell, Kyle E.  
EOP/NSC <Kyle\_E\_Hartwell@nsc.eop.gov<mailto:Kyle\_E\_Hartwell@nsc.eop.gov>>  
Subject: RE: Ukraine's COS request to meet Denis

Perfect.

Yes, we're happy to handle WAVES and escorting, and to draft a read ahead.

Do we know where the meeting will take place?

Thanks again,

Liz

-----Original Message-----

From: Wang, Jenny W. EOP/WHO

Sent: Tuesday, June 7, 2016 12:42 PM

To: Zentos, Elisabeth F. EOP/NSC <Elisabeth\_F\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov<mailto:Elisabeth\_F\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov>>

Cc: Kupchan, Charles A. EOP/NSC <Charles\_A\_Kupchan@nsc.eop.gov<mailto:Charles\_A\_Kupchan@nsc.eop.gov>>; Quillian, Natalie H. EOP/WHO <natalie\_h\_quillian@who.eop.gov<mailto:natalie\_h\_quillian@who.eop.gov>>; Freshwater, Meg E. EOP/NSC <Margaret\_E\_Freshwater@nsc.eop.gov<mailto:Margaret\_E\_Freshwater@nsc.eop.gov>>; Ciaramella, Eric A. EOP/NSC <Eric\_A\_Ciaramella@nsc.eop.gov<mailto:Eric\_A\_Ciaramella@nsc.eop.gov>>

Subject: RE: Ukraine's COS request to meet Denis

Thank you.

We can confirm a meeting from 9:30-10:00am on Monday (6/20).

Will your office handle the WAVES and escorting?

A read ahead would also be welcome.

-----Original Message-----

From: Zentos, Elisabeth F. EOP/NSC

Sent: Tuesday, June 7, 2016 12:40 PM

To: Wang, Jenny W. EOP/WHO <Ya\_W\_Wang@who.eop.gov<mailto:Ya\_W\_Wang@who.eop.gov>>

Cc: Kupchan, Charles A. EOP/NSC <Charles\_A\_Kupchan@nsc.eop.gov<mailto:Charles\_A\_Kupchan@nsc.eop.gov>>; Quillian, Natalie H. EOP/WHO <natalie\_h\_quillian@who.eop.gov<mailto:natalie\_h\_quillian@who.eop.gov>>; Freshwater, Meg E. EOP/NSC <Margaret\_E\_Freshwater@nsc.eop.gov<mailto:Margaret\_E\_Freshwater@nsc.eop.gov>>; Ciaramella, Eric A. EOP/NSC <Eric\_A\_Ciaramella@nsc.eop.gov<mailto:Eric\_A\_Ciaramella@nsc.eop.gov>>

Subject: RE: Ukraine's COS request to meet Denis

Hi Jenny,

The Ukrainians would like to take the 9:30 spot on June 20.

Just let me know what further steps we should take regarding paper, access, etc.

Thanks so much.

Best,

Liz

-----Original Message-----

From: Wang, Jenny W. EOP/WHO

Sent: Monday, June 6, 2016 9:08 PM

To: Zentos, Elisabeth F. EOP/NSC <Elisabeth\_F\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov<mailto:Elisabeth\_F\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov>>

Cc: Kupchan, Charles A. EOP/NSC <Charles\_A\_Kupchan@nsc.eop.gov<mailto:Charles\_A\_Kupchan@nsc.eop.gov>>; Quillian, Natalie H. EOP/WHO <natalie\_h\_quillian@who.eop.gov<mailto:natalie\_h\_quillian@who.eop.gov>>; Freshwater, Meg E. EOP/NSC <Margaret\_E\_Freshwater@nsc.eop.gov<mailto:Margaret\_E\_Freshwater@nsc.eop.gov>>; Ciaramella, Eric A. EOP/NSC <Eric\_A\_Ciaramella@nsc.eop.gov<mailto:Eric\_A\_Ciaramella@nsc.eop.gov>>

Subject: Re: Ukraine's COS request to meet Denis

Great, thanks.

On Jun 6, 2016, at 8:53 PM, Zentos, Elisabeth F. EOP/NSC <Elisabeth\_F\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov<mailto:Elisabeth\_F\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov>> wrote:

Hi Jenny,

The Ukrainians asked if they could get back to us tomorrow with their preferred choice of the two times below. I'll let you know as soon as I hear back.

Thanks so much!

Best,

Liz

-----Original Message-----

From: Wang, Jenny W. EOP/WHO

Sent: Monday, June 6, 2016 7:44 PM

To: Zentos, Elisabeth F. EOP/NSC <Elisabeth\_F\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov<mailto:Elisabeth\_F\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov>>; Kupchan, Charles A. EOP/NSC <Charles\_A\_Kupchan@nsc.eop.gov<mailto:Charles\_A\_Kupchan@nsc.eop.gov>>; Quillian, Natalie H. EOP/WHO <natalie\_h\_quillian@who.eop.gov<mailto:natalie\_h\_quillian@who.eop.gov>>

Cc: Freshwater, Meg E. EOP/NSC <Margaret\_E\_Freshwater@nsc.eop.gov<mailto:Margaret\_E\_Freshwater@nsc.eop.gov>>; Ciaramella, Eric A. EOP/NSC <Eric\_A\_Ciaramella@nsc.eop.gov<mailto:Eric\_A\_Ciaramella@nsc.eop.gov>>

Subject: RE: Ukraine's COS request to meet Denis

We should be able to make a meeting work from 9:30-10:00am on Monday (6/20). If afternoon is better, 1:00-1:30pm should also work as well.

Let me know if they are able to confirm a date/time.

Thank you.

-----Original Message-----

From: Zentos, Elisabeth F. EOP/NSC

Sent: Monday, June 6, 2016 2:50 PM

To: Kupchan, Charles A. EOP/NSC <Charles\_A\_Kupchan@nsc.eop.gov<mailto:Charles\_A\_Kupchan@nsc.eop.gov>>; Wang, Jenny W. EOP/WHO <Ya\_W\_Wang@who.eop.gov<mailto:Ya\_W\_Wang@who.eop.gov>>; Quillian, Natalie H. EOP/WHO <natalie\_h\_quillian@who.eop.gov<mailto:natalie\_h\_quillian@who.eop.gov>>

Cc: Freshwater, Meg E. EOP/NSC  
<Margaret\_E\_Freshwater@nsc.eop.gov<mailto:Margaret\_E\_Freshwater@nsc.eop.gov>>; Ciaramella, Eric A.  
EOP/NSC <Eric\_A\_Ciaramella@nsc.eop.gov<mailto:Eric\_A\_Ciaramella@nsc.eop.gov>>

Subject: RE: Ukraine's COS request to meet Denis

Colleagues -- Apologies, but I just found out that Lozhkin will actually be here on June 20 (not the 22nd as originally planned).

Thanks,

Liz

-----Original Message-----

From: Kupchan, Charles A. EOP/NSC

Sent: Monday, June 6, 2016 12:59 PM

To: Wang, Jenny W. EOP/WHO <Ya\_W\_Wang@who.eop.gov<mailto:Ya\_W\_Wang@who.eop.gov>>; Quillian,  
Natalie H. EOP/WHO <natalie\_h\_quillian@who.eop.gov<mailto:natalie\_h\_quillian@who.eop.gov>>

Cc: Freshwater, Meg E. EOP/NSC  
<Margaret\_E\_Freshwater@nsc.eop.gov<mailto:Margaret\_E\_Freshwater@nsc.eop.gov>>; Zentos, Elisabeth F.  
EOP/NSC <Elisabeth\_F\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov<mailto:Elisabeth\_F\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov>>

Subject: RE: Ukraine's COS request to meet Denis

Jenny:

We would like to go ahead and schedule this meeting with Denis. Thanks

Charlie

-----Original Message-----

From: Wang, Jenny W. EOP/WHO

Sent: Tuesday, May 24, 2016 7:36 PM

To: Kupchan, Charles A. EOP/NSC  
<Charles\_A\_Kupchan@nsc.eop.gov<mailto:Charles\_A\_Kupchan@nsc.eop.gov>>; Quillian, Natalie H. EOP/WHO  
<natalie\_h\_quillian@who.eop.gov<mailto:natalie\_h\_quillian@who.eop.gov>>

001141

Cc: Freshwater, Meg E. EOP/NSC

<Margaret\_E\_Freshwater@nsc.eop.gov<mailto:Margaret\_E\_Freshwater@nsc.eop.gov>>; Zentos, Elisabeth F. EOP/NSC <Elisabeth\_F\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov<mailto:Elisabeth\_F\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov>>

Subject: RE: Ukraine's COS request to meet Denis

Hi Charlie -

If you recommend that Denis do this meeting, then we can find a time to schedule it on June 22.

Let me know what works. Thank you.

-----Original Message-----

From: Kupchan, Charles A. EOP/NSC

Sent: Friday, May 20, 2016 7:59 PM

To: Quillian, Natalie H. EOP/WHO <natalie\_h\_quillian@who.eop.gov<mailto:natalie\_h\_quillian@who.eop.gov>>

Cc: Wang, Jenny W. EOP/WHO <Ya\_W\_Wang@who.eop.gov<mailto:Ya\_W\_Wang@who.eop.gov>>; Freshwater, Meg E. EOP/NSC <Margaret\_E\_Freshwater@nsc.eop.gov<mailto:Margaret\_E\_Freshwater@nsc.eop.gov>>; Zentos, Elisabeth F. EOP/NSC <Elisabeth\_F\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov<mailto:Elisabeth\_F\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov>>

Subject: Ukraine's COS request to meet Denis

Natalie:

Boris Lozhkin, President Poroshenko's COS, has asked to meet Denis on June 22. You may recall that we were in the midst of setting up a meeting between Denis and Lozhkin a couple of months ago, but Lozhkin had to cancel his trip. Might June 22 work?

Charlie



**From:**Nuland, Victoria J  
**Sent:**Wed, 30 Mar 2016 16:28:04 -0400  
**To:**Pyatt, Geoffrey R; [REDACTED]  
**Subject:**RE: UA lobbyist

And they can't spell the President's name

---

From: Pyatt, Geoffrey R  
Sent: Wednesday, March 30, 2016 12:18 AM  
To: Nuland, Victoria J; [REDACTED]  
Subject: UA lobbyist

So I see below Ukraine hired a new lobbyist – same firm that saw Kathy Novelli complaining about my pressure on the PGO's cover-up of the case against the disgraced Yanukovich era environment minister....

From: Karen Tramontano [<http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:Karen.Tramontano@bluestarstrategies.com>]  
Sent: Monday, March 28, 2016 11:21 AM  
To: McDonough, Denis R. EOP/WHO <[REDACTED]>  
Subject: Possible meeting

Dear Dennis,

I know you are extraordinarily busy – so I hesitate to even write. I am assisting the Office of the President (Ukraine) with his upcoming visit to the US. His Chief of Staff, Boris Lozhkin has asked whether it would be possible to meet you. While Lozhkin will be with President Porachenko throughout the visit, he will not be attending the dinner President Obama is hosting on 3/31 and wondered whether it would be possible to meet you during that time or if there is another time that would be more convenient for you ?Currently, Lozhkin arrives with the President on 3/30 and leaves with him on 4/1. Thank you Dennis for your consideration. I do hope you are doing well.

My best regards

Karen

Karen A. Tramontano

Blue Star Strategies

(+1) 202-833-1265 direct

(+1) [REDACTED]

(+1) 202-822-9088 fax

[karen.tramontano@bluestarstrategies.com](mailto:karen.tramontano@bluestarstrategies.com)

<<http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:patrick.boland@bluestarstrategies.com>>

888 17th Street NW, Suite 800

Washington, DC 20006

>[www.bluestarstrategies.com](http://www.bluestarstrategies.com)<

The information in this transmittal is privileged and confidential and is intended only for the recipient(s) listed above. If you are not the intended recipient(s) for the delivery of this transmittal, you are hereby notified that any unauthorized distribution or copying of this transmittal is prohibited. If you have received this transmittal in error, please notify me at (+1) 202-833-1281

SBU

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

**BEGINNING OF  
NEW RECORD**

HSGAC MAJORITY STAFF EXHIBIT

**From:** Oksana Shulyar <oksana.shulyar@mfa.gov.ua>  
**Sent:** Monday, June 6, 2016 2:29 PM  
**To:** Zentos, Elisabeth; Zentos, Elisabeth  
**Subject:** Invitation: Women's Leadership Event at the Embassy of Ukraine June 7, 2016  
**Attachments:** FINAL - THE HOUSE OF UKRAINE-6.png

Dear Liz,

Thank you very much for your assistance with Lozhkin's visit.

Please find attached an invitation to an event that we are hosting tomorrow. It would be great to see you there if your schedule permits.

Best,

Oksana

MAJORITY STAFF EXHIBIT



**Alexa Chopivsky & Alexandra Chalupa**

HOUSE OF UKRAINE CO-CHAIRS

**In collaboration with the Embassy of Ukraine**

INVITE YOU TO THE

---

**HOUSE OF UKRAINE**

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INAUGURAL WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT CELEBRATION OF  
**IMMIGRANT HERITAGE MONTH**

FEATURING

*Ambassador Valeriy Chaly*  
&

*Hon. Melanne Verweer*

*Joined by a delegation of female Members of the Parliament of Ukraine*

Tuesday, June 7th, 6 pm - 9 pm

Embassy of Ukraine

3350 M St NW, Washington, DC 20007



**HOUSE OF UKRAINE**

Invites you to its Inaugural Women's Empowerment Celebration of

**IMMIGRANT HERITAGE MONTH**

FEATURING

***Ambassador Valeriy Chaly***  
Ambassador of Ukraine to the United States

&

***Hon. Melanne Verweer***

**Ukrainian-American  
First-ever U.S. Ambassador-At-Large for Global Women's Issues  
Executive Director, Georgetown University's Institute for Women Peace and Security**

**JOINED BY**

***A delegation of female Members of Ukraine's Parliament***

**Tuesday, June 7, 2016  
Doors Open at 6 pm  
Program Begins at 6:30 pm**

**Embassy of Ukraine  
3350 M Street NW  
Washington, DC 20007**

The evening will include a speaking program about the Ukraine crisis and the important role of women in leadership, followed by a reception of Ukrainian food, drinks, and music. Amb. Verveer will sign copies of her book 'Fast Forward: How Women Can Achieve Power and Purpose' which will be available for purchase.

**This invitation is non-transferable. Space is limited.**

**We hope you can join us for this unique opportunity.**

**Alexa Chopivsky & Alexandra Chalupa  
House of Ukraine Co-Chairs**

**&**

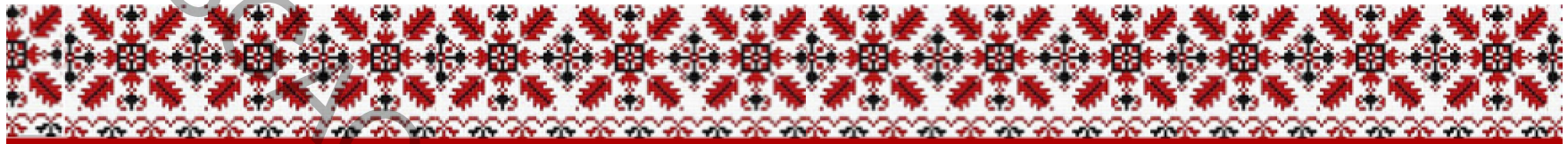
**The Embassy of Ukraine**

**Thank you to our event sponsor:**



---

House of Ukraine is a pilot program in partnership with the Embassy of Ukraine to share information about the current situation in Ukraine while promoting Ukraine's unique culture through food, dance and music. Each program highlights Ukrainian-Americans who are doing tremendous work in the United States and on behalf of their Ukrainian heritage.



**Alexa Chopivsky & Alexandra Chalupa**

HOUSE OF UKRAINE CO-CHAIRS

**In collaboration with the Embassy of Ukraine**

INVITE YOU TO THE

---

## **HOUSE OF UKRAINE**

---

INAUGURAL WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT CELEBRATION OF  
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**Embassy of Ukraine**

**3350 M St NW, Washington, DC 20007**



**BEGINNING OF  
NEW RECORD**

HSGAC MAJORITY STAFF EXHIBIT



---

**From:** Zentos, Elisabeth F. EOP/NSC <elisabeth\_f\_zentos@nsc.eop.gov>  
**Sent:** Monday, June 6, 2016 3:53 PM  
**To:** Oksana Shulyar  
**Subject:** RE: Invitation: Women's Leadership Event at the Embassy of Ukraine June 7, 2016

Thanks so much for the invitation, Oksana!

Sounds like an event I'd really enjoy. I'm going to attempt to make it, although am worried I might be stuck here late tomorrow. I'll let you know tomorrow once I know for sure whether I can get away.

Thanks much!

-----Original Message-----

From: Oksana Shulyar [mailto:oksana.shulyar@mfa.gov.ua]  
Sent: Monday, June 6, 2016 2:29 PM  
To: Zentos, Elisabeth F. EOP/NSC <Elisabeth\_F\_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov>  
Subject: Invitation: Women's Leadership Event at the Embassy of Ukraine June 7, 2016

Dear Liz,

Thank you very much for your assistance with Lozhkin's visit.

Please find attached an invitation to an event that we are hosting tomorrow. It would be great to see you there if your schedule permits.

Best,

Oksana

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002334

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&

The Embassy of Ukraine

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---

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Levy Firestone Muse LLP  
1401 K Street NW, Suite 600  
Washington, DC 20005

T (202) 845-3215  
F (202) 595-8253

levyfirestone.com

July 18, 2020

via Electronic Mail

Joe Folio  
Counsel  
US Senate Committee on Homeland Security  
and Governmental Affairs  
[Joe.Folio@hsgac.senate.gov](mailto:Joe.Folio@hsgac.senate.gov)

**Re: *Voluntary Testimony of Elisabeth Zentos***

Dear Joe:

We write on behalf of Elisabeth Zentos, who is scheduled to appear for a voluntary transcribed interview on July 20, 2020, in furtherance of the inquiry conducted by the US Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs and the US Senate Committee on Finance into “potential conflicts of interest relating to the Obama administration’s policy decisions with respect to Ukraine and Burisma Holdings,” and “the extent to which representatives of Burisma 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.” Letter from Chairman Johnson and Chairman Grassley to Sec. Pompeo (Apr. 30, 2020), at 1.

Committee staff represented that the focus of Ms. Zentos’ interview would be 2016 and expressed interest in speaking with Ms. Zentos specifically about the news

July 18, 2020

media's account that she attended a meeting on January 19, 2016, with Ukrainian and US officials where Burisma Holdings and Hunter Biden were reportedly discussed.<sup>1</sup> Ms. Zentos served as a staff member on the National Security Council from June 2015 to August 2016, when she enrolled in foreign language classes at the Foreign Service Institute to help prepare for a subsequent assignment at the State Department. As a civil servant, she is willing to cooperate and voluntarily appear before you on July 20, 2020, where she will balance the interest of the Committees to obtain information pertinent to their inquiry with her obligations, including but not limited to the discretion expected of a former member of National Security Council staff.

In advance of the scheduled interview and in furtherance of her cooperation with the Committees, please note that, while she is not certain of the precise date, Ms. Zentos does recall attending a meeting with Ukrainian and US officials on or about January 19, 2016, but she has no recollection of either Hunter Biden or Burisma being discussed at that meeting – contrary to the news reporting. Nor does Ms. Zentos recall the topics of either Burisma Holdings or Hunter Biden arising out of any official government business where she was present or in which she participated. She does not recall meeting with, or otherwise being in communication with, Hunter Biden or anyone from Burisma Holdings. Nor does she recall attending meetings with anyone reportedly representing Burisma Holdings, including but not limited to Blue Star and Karen Tramontano. Ms. Zentos does not recall the subject of Burisma Holdings or Hunter Biden being discussed at any government meeting in which she participated with US and/or Ukrainian officials. Nor does she recall the subject of Burisma Holdings or Hunter Biden appearing in any government communication she sent or received.

In light of the foregoing, please advise whether you would like to proceed with the interview. If so, please send us, in advance of the interview, any documents you

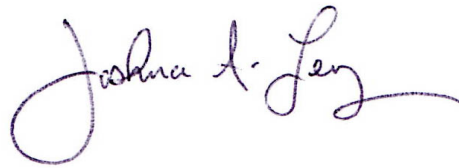
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<sup>1</sup> Daniel Chaitin, *Laura Ingraham shows emails tying alleged Ukraine whistleblower to Obama White House meeting on Burisma*, WASH. EXAMINER (Jan. 23, 2020) (reporting on an email from New York Times reporter Ken Vogel indicating his intention to report that Elisabeth Zentos attended a meeting at the White House on January 19, 2016, with Ukrainian prosecutors and other US government officials regarding efforts within the US government to support prosecutions of Burisma Holdings and “concerns that Hunter Biden’s position with the company could complicate such efforts”), <https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/news/laura-ingraham-shows-emails-tying-alleged-ukraine-whistleblower-to-obama-white-house-meeting-on-burisma>.

Letter to J. Folio  
Page 3 of 3  
July 18, 2020

intend on showing the witness, because it will be impractical for the witness and counsel to receive them in the middle of the remotely conducted interview, if the witness is to be given a meaningful opportunity to review a document about which she is being questioned.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Joshua A. Levy". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large initial 'J' and a long horizontal flourish at the end.

Joshua A. Levy  
Zachary Blau

cc: Soumyalatha Dayananda, Brian Downey, Alan Kahn, Zachary Schram, Scott Wittman, US Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs staff

David Berick, Joshua Flynn-Brown, Daniel Goshorn, Senate Committee on Finance staff



## OFFICE OF BARACK AND MICHELLE OBAMA

March 13, 2020

The Honorable David S. Ferriero  
Archivist of the United States  
National Archives and Records Administration  
700 Pennsylvania Avenue NW  
Washington, DC 20408

Dear Mr. Ferriero:

I write in connection with the November 21, 2019 request from Senator Johnson and Senator Grassley to the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) for Obama administration records related to certain meetings connected to Ukraine.

As you know, under the Presidential Records Act, the records requested are scheduled for release pursuant to terms set under that Act. NARA is authorized to provide special access to presidential records to a Committee of either House of Congress before their scheduled release date, provided the information in the records “is needed for the conduct of its business” and “is not otherwise available.” 44 U.S.C. § 2205(2)(C). By law, both the former and incumbent Presidents are provided an opportunity to review the documents and withhold documents from release in order to protect the constitutionally based interest in the confidentiality of presidential communications. The express terms of the Presidential Records Act, together with the established norms governing its ongoing administration, achieve Congress’ legislative purpose of ensuring the public ownership of presidential records while “assiduously minimize[ing] outside interference with the day-to-day operations of the President and his closest advisors....” *Armstrong v. Bush*, 982 F.2d 38 (D.C. Cir. 1991).

President Obama has consistently supported the nonpartisan administration of presidential records and the commitment to transparency core to NARA’s mission.<sup>1</sup> However, the current request is not a proper use of the limited NARA exceptions. It arises out of efforts by some, actively supported by Russia, to shift the blame for Russian interference in the 2016 election to Ukraine. *See Fiona Hill HSPCI Testimony at 39-40* (“Based on questions I have heard, some of you on this committee appear to believe that Russia and its security services did not conduct a campaign against our country and that, perhaps, somehow for some reason Ukraine did. This is a fictional narrative that is being perpetrated and propagated by the Russian security services themselves.”); *David Hale Senate Committee on Foreign Relations Testimony of December 3, 2019* (“I have seen no credible evidence about these allegations of Ukraine.”).

The request for early release of presidential records in order to give credence to a Russian disinformation campaign – one that has already been thoroughly investigated by a bipartisan congressional committee – is without precedent. *See Natasha Bertrand, Senate panel look into Ukraine interference comes up short,*

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<sup>1</sup> Since 2017, the Office of President Obama has produced 12,880 pages of presidential records in response to special access requests from the White House and Congress.



## OFFICE OF BARACK AND MICHELLE OBAMA

Politico (Dec. 2, 2019). This use of the special access process serves no legitimate purpose, and does not outweigh or justify infringing confidentiality interests that all presidents have sought to protect.

Nevertheless, in the interest of countering the misinformation campaign underlying this request, we are prepared on this occasion to provide the Committees access to the records responsive to this request. In doing so, we emphasize that abuse of the special access process strikes at the heart of presidential confidentiality interests and undermines the statutory framework and norms that govern access to presidential records.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Anita Decker Breckenridge". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long horizontal stroke at the end.

Anita Decker Breckenridge  
Records Representative to President Obama

cc: The Honorable Ron Johnson  
The Honorable Charles E. Grassley

# Statement On the Ukrainian-American Strategic Partnership

23 May, 20:11

***Kyiv Security Forum expresses gratitude to the distinguished Ukrainian politicians, diplomats and civic activists for their support of the appeal to the American leaders and society on the importance of protecting the Ukrainian-American strategic partnership.***

## **Statement On the Ukrainian-American Strategic Partnership**

We, the representatives of Ukrainian politics, civil society, and the expert community, are deeply concerned to watch a campaign to involve Ukraine in the political competition in the United States unfold with renewed vigor.

Ukraine greatly appreciates the steadfast support of the American people for our independence, security, and Western course.

Our nations share the common values of national and human freedom.

The combined efforts of the two largest political parties in the United States and all concerned Americans to defend Ukraine are a major historical contribution to the creation of a united Europe and a just world order.

We call on American leaders to distinguish between the position of new Ukraine, which stands for the unity of the West and acts to unite democracies around the world, and those forces that seek to turn the political developments in our country into a toxic narrative to sow discord among our partners.

We oppose the dishonest attempts to use the political controversies in the United States. We do not choose any side, but support each of them in the same way that they together help Ukraine's independence.

We call on America's leaders to distinguish between the position of our nation from the actions of politicians instigated by Moscow.

We condemn hostile provocations aimed at alienating our nations.

We believe in the strategic partnership between Ukraine and the United States.

Let us not allow mutual distrust and doubt to erode this great and lasting relationship.

Let us stand together in times of great trials.

*Signed on May 22-23, 2020*

\* \* \*

**Arseny Yatsenyuk**, Chairman of the Kyiv Security Forum, Prime Minister of Ukraine (2014-2016).

**Oleksandr Turchynov**, acting President of Ukraine, Speaker of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine (2014), National Security Advisor (2014-2019).

**Oksana Zabuzhko**, writer, National Taras Shevchenko Prize laureate.

**Joseph Zissels**, member of the First of December Initiative Group, member of the Strategic Council of the Movement against Capitulation.

**Myroslav Marynovych**, Vice-Rector of the Ukrainian Catholic University, political dissident and prisoner of conscience under the Soviet occupation, member of the First of December Initiative Group.



**Yevhen Zakharov**, Chairperson of the Kharkiv Human Rights Group, Head of the Board of the Ukrainian Helsinki Human Rights Group, member of the First of December Initiative Group.

**Leonid Finberg**, Director of the Research Center of the History and Culture of Eastern European Jewry at the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, Editor-in-Chief of the “Dukh i Litera” Publishing house.

**Ihor Kozlovsky**, prisoner of the Russian occupation regime in Donbas, President of the Center for Religious Studies, member of the First of December Initiative Group.

**Lilia Hrynevych**, Minister of Education of Ukraine (2016-2019).

**Volodymyr Vasylenko**, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Judge of the International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia (2001-2005), Representative of Ukraine to the UN Human Rights Council (2006-10).

**Volodymyr Ohryzko**, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ukraine (2007-2009).

**Danylo Lubkivsky**, Deputy Foreign Minister of Ukraine (2014), member of the Board of Open Ukraine Foundation.

**Ivanna Klympush-Tsintsadze**, Chair of the Parliamentary Committee on Ukraine’s integration into the EU, European Solidarity faction, Deputy Prime Minister for European and Euro-Atlantic integration of Ukraine (2016-2019).

**Yuriy Shcherbak**, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to Israel (1992-1994), the United States (1994-1998), Canada (2000-2003).

**Oleksandr Motsyk**, First Deputy Foreign Minister of Ukraine (2004-2005), Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the United States (2010-2015).

**Valeriy Chaly**, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the United States (2015-2019), Chair of the Board of the Ukrainian Crisis Media Center.

**Hanna Hopko**, civic activist, Chairwoman of the Parliamentary Committee on Foreign Affairs (2014-2019).

**Roman Bezsmetny**, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Vice-Prime-Minister of Ukraine (2005).

**Natalia Popovych**, Co-Founder of the Ukrainian Crisis Media Center, Founder of One Philosophy Group.

**Ivan Vasyunyk**, Head of the Supervisory Board of the International Foundation for the Development of the Holodomor Victims’ Memorial, Vice-Prime-Minister of Ukraine (2007-2010).

**Solomiia Bobrovska**, member of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of IX convocation, Holos / Voice faction.

**Ostap Semerak**, Minister of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine (2014), Minister of Ecology of Ukraine (2016-2019), member of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of VI and VIII convocations.

**Iryna Geraschenko**, member of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of IX convocation, Co-Chair of the European Solidarity faction, First Deputy Speaker of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine (2016-2019).

**Serhiy Kvit**, Minister of Education of Ukraine (2014-2016), professor at the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy.

**Svitlana Voitsekhivska**, member of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of VIII convocation, member of the Board of Open Ukraine Foundation.

**Maksym Burbak**, Minister of Infrastructure of Ukraine (2014), member of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of VII and VIII convocations.

**Iryna Friz**, member of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of VIII and IX convocations, European Solidarity faction, Minister of Veterans Affairs (2018-2019).

**Mykola Kniazhytskyi**, journalist, member of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of VIII and IX convocations.

**Maria Ionova**, member of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of VIII and IX convocations, European Solidarity faction.

**Mykola Ryabchuk**, Honorary President of the Ukrainian PEN-Club.

**Myroslava Barchuk**, journalist, member of the Ukrainian PEN-Club.

**Vitaliy Portnykov**, journalist, writer.

**Volodymyr Yermolenko**, philosopher, Chief-editor of UkraineWorld Initiative, analytics director at Internews Ukraine.

**Vakhtang Kebuladze**, philosopher, professor at the Kyiv Taras Shevchenko National University.

**Taras Lyuty**, philosopher, professor at the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy.

**Mykhaylo Basarab**, civic activist, Coordinator of the Movement against Capitulation.

**Victoria Ptashnyk**, member of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of VIII convocation.

**Viktor Yelensky**, member of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of VIII convocation.

**Borys Potapenko**, Head of International Council in Support of Ukraine.

**Serhiy Vysotsky**, journalist, member of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of VIII convocation.

**Andriy Levus**, civic activist, Coordinator of the Movement against Capitulation, member of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of VIII convocation.

**Oleksandr Sochka**, member of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of VI, VII and VIII convocations.

**Mykhaylo Khmil**, member of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of VIII convocation.

**Myroslav Hai**, civic activist, Chairman of the Peace and Co Charitable Foundation.

**Yevhen Bystrytsky**, philosopher.

**Kateryna Smagliy**, Director of the International Cooperation Department at the Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine's Foreign Ministry.

**Mykola Horbal**, poet, political prisoner under the Soviet occupation.

**Volodymyr Dubrovsky**, economist.

**Borys Zakharov**, Director of "Human and Right" Charitable Foundation.

**Hennadiy Kurochka**, member of the Board of the Ukrainian Crisis Media Center.

**Oleksiy Panych**, philosopher, member of the Ukrainian PEN-Club.

**Valeriy Pekar**, Lecturer of Kyiv-Mohyla Business School.

**Kostyantyn Sigov**, philosopher, civic activist, Chair of the Center of the European Humanitarian Studies at the National University of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy.

**Hennadiy Buryak**, Deputy Director of the National Institute of the History of Ukraine.

**Oleksandr Skipalsky**, Lieutenant General, Honorary President of the Veterans Society of the Intelligence Community.

**Anatoliy Podolsky**, Director of the Ukrainian Center of the Holocaust Studies.

**Ukrainian Crisis Media Center**.

# The Washington Post

*Democracy Dies in Darkness*

## Hunt for Biden tapes in Ukraine by Trump allies revives prospect of foreign interference

By **Paul Sonne**, **Rosalind S. Helderman**, **Josh Dawsey** and **David L. Stern**

July 1, 2020 at 7:02 p.m. EDT

President Trump’s allies were in pursuit of a tantalizing prospect last year: tape recordings of Joe Biden speaking to Ukrainian officials while he was vice president, conversations they believed could help them damage Biden’s current bid for the White House.

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The previously undisclosed hunt for tapes of Biden and other recordings in Ukraine, described by several people who were involved, came as the president’s personal attorney, Rudolph W. Giuliani, was casting a wide net for material to undermine Trump’s political rival — a scheme that ultimately helped set in motion the president’s impeachment.

“We would have loved to get the recordings, but we never did,” Giuliani said in a recent interview.

AD

Now, with just four months to go before Election Day, that material is surfacing in Ukraine and being touted by some of the president's backers in the United States, including his eldest son in May.

Last week, a Ukrainian lawmaker who was once affiliated with a pro-Russian political party and has met with Giuliani released 10 edited snippets of what appeared to be Biden's official vice presidential phone calls in 2016 with Petro Poroshenko, then the president of Ukraine. It was the second cache of recordings the lawmaker, who studied under the KGB in Moscow in the early 1990s, has released since May.

The recordings show that Biden, as he has previously said publicly, linked loan guarantees for Ukraine to the ouster of the country's prosecutor general. The tapes do not provide evidence to back Giuliani's long-standing accusation that Biden sought to have him fired to block an investigation of a gas company that had hired his son Hunter.

AD

The authenticity of the audio files, which appear heavily edited, could not be verified. The Ukrainian government is investigating how they were obtained. Biden's campaign has said they are part of an effort to concoct conspiracy theories to smear him. Poroshenko has gone further and called them fake.

Still, the material was quickly seized upon by One America News, a favorite network of the president that has featured pro-Trump conspiracy theories and in June debuted the first installment of what it said will be a series of reports featuring recordings of Biden.

Both Giuliani and Lev Parnas, a Ukrainian American businessman who served as his fixer in Ukraine, confirmed that they sought tapes of Biden last year. Giuliani said he received assistance in his pursuit from a source within the State Department, who he claimed pointed him to the dates of certain conversations between Biden and Poroshenko by accessing an official U.S. government archive.

AD

Giuliani told The Washington Post that he did not know the recently released recordings were coming before they were posted online in May. But in a recent interview with OAN, the former New York mayor claimed to be aware of other tapes that were “far more damaging,” saying, “I would hope that those tapes are put out also.”

On their own, the audio snippets that have been released do not significantly change what was already known about Biden’s diplomacy toward Ukraine, where he led a U.S. and European effort to back Poroshenko’s pro-Western government in the face of a Russian invasion and destabilization campaign. And other than from OAN, they have received little attention.

But the efforts to promote the recordings in Ukraine and the United States — and pledges by other Trump allies to release more in the coming months — suggest a new push by foreign forces to sway American voters in the run-up to the 2020 election, one welcomed by the president’s personal lawyer.

The developments further illustrate Trump’s willingness to benefit from foreign intervention in U.S. elections, even after being impeached on charges of pressuring Ukraine to launch investigations into his political rivals. In an interview last year, the president said that if a foreign country called offering information on his opponent, “I think I’d want to hear it.” His former national security adviser John Bolton alleges in a newly released book that Trump last year asked the Chinese president to help him win reelection. The White House has denied Bolton’s account.

AD

Tim Murtaugh, a spokesman for the Trump campaign, declined to comment on the Ukraine tapes. The campaign has so far not focused on the recordings in its attacks on Biden.

Andrew Bates, a spokesman for Biden's campaign, said, "All the president's men, both within our country and outside of it, have been constantly trafficking in objectively false, malicious conspiracy theories targeting Joe Biden since before he even entered the race. And their efforts have invariably fallen apart — because the American people know Joe Biden, his character and his values."

Giuliani has been interacting on and off with the Ukrainian lawmaker who has been releasing the clips, Andrii Derkach, since meeting him in Kyiv in December, the former New York mayor told The Post. In an interview, Giuliani described the former member of Ukraine's Russian-leaning Party of Regions as "very helpful" and said that they talked many times about Ukraine.

AD

Derkach, who is the son of a former KGB officer and says in his official biography that he attended the now-renamed Higher School of the KGB in Moscow, also appeared on Giuliani's podcast in New York in February. Since then, Derkach has said his U.S. visa was revoked.

Giuliani, who has worked as Trump's unpaid personal attorney since 2018 and was recently tapped by the president to negotiate with the presidential debate commission, said he would be concerned if Derkach had obtained the tapes from the Russians.

But, Giuliani said, the lawmaker "doesn't seem pro-Russian to me."

Asked about Derkach's background, Giuliani said: "I don't depend on his credibility. I depend on the credibility of his documents."

AD



Derkach declined to be interviewed. In a statement, he said allegations that he is working in the interests of foreign intelligence services are attempts to pressure him into stopping his activity. “There is not a single confirmed or reliable fact of my illegal activity or wrongful connections,” he said.

Asked whether he discussed the tapes with Giuliani during their meetings, Derkach did not answer directly. “We discussed available information on international corruption and the need to investigate it in the United States,” he said.

## Foreign interference redux

The hunt by the president’s allies for the Biden tapes and their subsequent release have echoes of the 2016 campaign, when Trump publicly asked Russia to find emails of his Democratic rival Hillary Clinton. Trump later said the comment was a joke, even as GOP operatives mounted a serious but unsuccessful operation to obtain her emails from hackers claiming to have them.

AD

Democratic emails stolen by Russian intelligence officers were ultimately released through WikiLeaks, as special counsel Robert S. Mueller III detailed in his report.

The sequence of events sparked a nearly two-year investigation, multiple congressional inquiries and federal charges against 12 Russian military intelligence officers.

U.S. intelligence officials have warned that Russia could reprise its 2016 efforts to influence the race for the White House in 2020.

In January, the Ukrainian gas company whose board used to include Biden's son said that it had been hacked by Russian spies, raising fears the Kremlin could be intending to release stolen material to sway U.S. voters in coming months.

AD

Giuliani said he would welcome new material about Biden in Ukraine, but he said he wasn't aggressively seeking it, as he had been last year. Any new revelations, he added, should not be dismissed even if Russia may be involved.

"The strange thing is what the Russians put out last time — it may have been illegal how they obtained it, but it was all true," Giuliani said.

Michael Carpenter, a Biden foreign policy adviser and former senior Defense

Department official, called the tape snippet that Donkirk is releasing "a KGB style

Department official, called the tape snippets that Derkach is releasing a KGB-style disinformation operation tied to pro-Russian forces in Ukraine whose chief aim is to make deceptive noise in the U.S. election campaign to advance the interests of their oligarchic backers, the Kremlin, and the faltering Trump campaign.”

Ukrainians with a variety of competing political and personal agendas have claimed to be releasing or publicizing the Biden tapes, moves critics say align with both Russia’s and Trump’s interests.

In addition to Derkach, they include former Ukrainian prosecutor Kostiantyn Kulyk, former Ukrainian diplomat Andrii Telizhenko and Ukrainian gas tycoon and former lawmaker Oleksandr Onyshchenko, who all have interacted with Giuliani or his associates. Some have promised more leaks are coming to help Trump later in the year.

“This summer, there will be more release of conversations, with full transcripts,” said Telizhenko, who said he speaks regularly with Giuliani in between aiding various Ukrainian tycoons, some of them with Russian interests. Telizhenko said he is working independently from Derkach, noting: “I’m going to release everything all together when the time is right.”

Onyshchenko told The Post that the tapes that have been released are his, part of a cache he said he obtained from Poroshenko aides.

He told the Russian state news service Sputnik in late May that his lawyers and Giuliani’s team had “exchanged hundreds of emails,” and that he has handed over materials about Biden, which he said Trump’s allies will make use of in the fall.

“Because of the coronavirus, they are waiting,” Onyshchenko told Sputnik. “But in September, closer to the elections, they will begin to use them more.” He told The Post the materials were being given to the Republican-led Senate Homeland

Security Committee, which is pursuing an inquiry into Biden’s activities in Ukraine.

Security Committee, which is pursuing an inquiry into Biden's activities in Ukraine.

A spokesman for the committee did not respond to a question about whether the panel has received such tapes or plans to use them.

Like Derkach, Onyshchenko is a former member of the now-defunct Party of Regions, a pro-Russian political party in Ukraine. He has been waging a multiyear campaign against Poroshenko since fleeing Ukraine on corruption charges he says are fabricated.

Onyshchenko has said that he has tried to tell U.S. authorities about his corruption accusations against Poroshenko various times. Poroshenko references - Onyshchenko twice in the leaked calls with Biden, telling the vice president that the exiled lawmaker holds a Russian passport and is working in Russia's interests to destabilize Ukraine. Biden appears in one snippet to reassure Poroshenko that the FBI is not working with Onyshchenko.

When asked for comment on Poroshenko's accusation that he's advancing Russian interests, Onyshchenko said the former Ukrainian leader accuses everyone who is against him of doing the Kremlin's bidding. Onyshchenko said he is speaking out because the former Ukrainian president "destroyed my life."

While the recordings released in Ukraine have received little attention in most mainstream U.S. news outlets, they are being heavily promoted by One America News, which has more than 700,000 followers on Facebook and some 900,000 on Twitter.

Carpenter, the Biden adviser, has accused OAN of being "the preferred conduit for Kremlin disinformation in the 2020 cycle."

One of its correspondents, Chanel Rion, traveled around Europe last year with

Civilians to film Ukrainians who made accusations against Biden, many of them

Giuliani to him Ukrainians who made accusations against Biden, many of them unproven or spurious.

In a program that aired last month, Rion said she had received 10 hours of recordings related to Biden from the “Ukrainian secret service” and “a source who was present during some of those recordings.” She said she would be pursuing the story “well past the summer and into the fall.”

The Department of the State Guard, Ukraine’s version of the Secret Service, said in a statement that it “does not make any recordings and has never recorded any conversations of the state guarded public officials.”

An OAN spokeswoman did not respond to a request for comment. In its stories, the network has suggested that accusations that Russia is promoting the allegations against Biden are efforts to distract from the story.

## 'We knew about these tapes'

Biden made five trips to Ukraine during the last three years of the Obama administration and held at least 70 phone calls with Ukrainian leaders, as The Post previously reported. Most of his calls were with Poroshenko in an effort to shore up the fledgling pro-Western government against Russia.

The recently released recordings, which Derkach has said he obtained from “investigative journalists,” appear to feature conversations the two men had at the time. But if they are authentic, it is unclear who made them.

It is possible Poroshenko aides taped the calls he had with Biden. Russian intelligence agencies have intercepted the phone calls of U.S. officials in Ukraine in

intelligence agencies have intercepted the phone calls of U.S. officials in Ukraine in the past.

In an interview in May, Parnas said he and his colleague Igor Fruman were told by sources in Ukraine of the Biden-Poroshenko recordings, along with a number of other recordings Ukrainians claimed existed of Americans, including embassy officials in Kyiv.

“We knew about these tapes,” Parnas said.

Parnas and Fruman were arrested in October and charged with making illegal campaign contributions, including from foreign sources, to Republican candidates and political action committees. They both pleaded not guilty and are awaiting trial.

After his arrest, Parnas turned on Giuliani and Trump, saying the president had blessed their endeavors in Ukraine. The White House has dismissed his claims as false.

Parnas told The Post that he and Fruman discussed the recordings with then-Ukrainian Prosecutor General Yuri Lutsenko and Kulyk, a former Ukrainian prosecutor who has been working with Derkach and appearing alongside him at news conferences releasing the recordings.

In a statement, Lutsenko said he “never discussed, provided or promised to provide any recordings to Giuliani or his colleagues.” Kulyk declined to answer directly, dismissing the question as lacking credibility.

Parnas said that at one point during a trip to Kyiv in spring 2019, he anticipated being provided copies of some of the recordings to bring back to the United States. But, he said, Ukrainian officials did not ultimately hand them over at the time.

After the trip, Parnas said, he and Fruman discussed the elusive recordings with Giuliani at strategy sessions they held at the BLT restaurant at the Trump International Hotel in Washington.

Victoria Toensing, a conservative lawyer who attended some of those sessions, said she did not recall the discussions but did not dispute that Parnas may have told the group about tapes.

“Lev is a fast talker,” she said. “He was always telling us, ‘There is Biden stuff.’ It would go in one ear and out the other.”

Giuliani was particularly interested in obtaining tapes of calls that Biden made to Poroshenko in early 2016 to feed his claims that the former vice president used his office to protect the business interests of his son Hunter, according to Parnas.

Giuliani has asserted without evidence that Biden pushed for Ukraine’s prosecutor general to be fired because Hunter Biden was serving on the board of Burisma, a Ukrainian gas company owned by a former government minister whom Ukrainian authorities were investigating.

In fact, at the time, Biden was serving as the lead voice in a coalition of U.S. and European officials, including top Republicans, who were sharply critical of the prosecutor general’s office for failing to go after high-level corruption cases and thwarting the probe of an episode in which lower-ranking officials were found with diamonds and cash thought to be bribes.

Among the cases that the United States argued had not received enough attention: an inquiry into the owner of Burisma.

In late 2015, Biden delivered a blunt message to Poroshenko: Unless the prosecutor’s office got a new leader, a \$1 billion loan guarantee for the Ukrainian

government wouldn't be forthcoming. The prosecutor general agreed to resign.

In the recordings that Derkach released, Biden can be heard urging Poroshenko to fire the prosecutor general. At one point, Poroshenko defends the top prosecutor, saying there was "no information" he had done anything wrong, but said he asked for the prosecutor's resignation as part of his promise to the U.S. vice president.

In an interview with CNN's Fareed Zakaria last month, Poroshenko said that Biden never brought up Burisma in their many conversations. "My absolutely clear answer: No, never," Poroshenko said.

Ruslan Ryaboshapka, who served as Ukraine's prosecutor general until March, conducted a full audit of all the criminal cases in Ukraine involving the company and told The Post he found no evidence of illegal acts by Biden or his son.

Giuliani told The Post that his pursuit of the Biden-Poroshenko calls was aided by someone inside the State Department.

"A guy at the State Department who gave us a lot of information" consulted the archive of conversations between American leaders and their counterparts overseas to identify three conversations in February 2016 during which Biden mentioned the prosecutor general's name in conversations with Poroshenko, he said.

"He didn't show it to us but told us they existed," Giuliani said of the State Department official. "He said, 'I guarantee there are three conversations on February 15, 17 . . . one of them is quite lengthy. It's between Biden and Poroshenko. There are transcripts of them, but they are classified.'"

Giuliani declined to name the State Department official. A spokeswoman for the



State Department did not respond to requests for comment.

Giuliani said last year that he regularly kept the president abreast of his efforts in Ukraine, but it is unclear whether Trump knew about the hunt for the tapes.

When pressed in May if he specifically mentioned the recordings to the president, Giuliani declined to comment.

The White House did not respond to a request for comment on whether Trump knew his lawyer was seeking tapes of Biden in Ukraine.

But one witness during the House impeachment hearings said that Trump made an allusion to tapes of the former vice president.

Lt. Col. Alexander Vindman, a Ukraine expert who served on the National Security Council, testified that he heard Trump refer to recordings of Biden during his July 25, 2019, phone call with Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky, the conversation that set in motion the impeachment investigation.

According to a rough transcript of the call released by the White House, Trump told Zelensky: “Biden went around bragging that he stopped the prosecution, so if you can look into it.”

Vindman testified that his own notes, which he took while listening to the call, show that Trump added, “There are recordings.”

That phrase was not included in the call’s official transcript. Vindman testified that he notified his superiors of the omission when the transcript was circulated internally for review, but that no changes were made.

Vindman was uncertain what Trump meant by “recordings,” his lawyer said recently.

At the time, his description of Trump's mention of "recordings" on the call was widely assumed to be a reference to the tape of a public speech Biden delivered in 2018 bragging that he had held up loan guarantees to Ukraine until the prosecutor general was fired.

*Tom Hamburger contributed to this report. Stern reported from Kyiv.*

## Election 2020: What to know

Updated July 19, 2020

Presumptive Democratic nominee Joe Biden has a double-digit lead over President Trump in the latest Washington Post-ABC News poll, and the election seems like it will be a referendum on Trump. The president faces rising disapproval and widespread distrust on his handling of the coronavirus pandemic.

Trump's attacks on mail voting are turning Republicans off absentee ballots. Rules on voting changed quickly in many states for the primaries, but the battle for how Americans will vote in the general election is just heating up. Barring a landslide, we may not have a result in the presidential election on Nov. 3. See what elections are coming up and which have moved.

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United States Senate  
WASHINGTON, DC 20510

February 12, 2016

H.E. Petro Poroshenko  
President of Ukraine  
Presidential Administration of Ukraine  
11 Bankova Street  
Kyiv, Ukraine 01220

Dear President Poroshenko,

As members of the U.S. Senate Ukraine Caucus and strong supporters of your government, we write to express our concern regarding the recent resignation of Minister of Economy Aivaras Abromavičius and his allegations of persistent corruption in the Ukrainian political system.

During the past year, Mr. Abromavičius and his team implemented tough but necessary economic reforms, worked to combat endemic corruption, and promoted more openness and transparency in government. He was known to many of us as a respected reformer and supporter of the Ukrainian cause. Minister Abromavičius's allegations raise concerns about the enormous challenges that remain in your efforts to reform the corrupt system you inherited.

We recognize that your governing coalition faces not only endemic corruption left from decades of mismanagement and cronyism, but also an illegal armed seizure of territory by Russia and its proxies. Tackling such obstacles to reforms amidst a war and the loss of much of southeastern Ukraine's economic productivity is a formidable challenge -- one which we remain committed to helping you overcome.

Succeeding in these reforms will show Russian President Vladimir Putin that an independent, transparent, and democratic Ukraine can and will succeed. It also offers a stark alternative to the authoritarianism and oligarchic cronyism prevalent in Russia. As such, we respectfully ask that you address the serious concerns raised by Minister Abromavičius. We similarly urge you to press ahead with urgent reforms to the Prosecutor General's office and judiciary. The unanimous adoption by the Cabinet of Ministers of the Basic Principles and Action Plan is a good step.

We very much appreciate your leadership and commitment to reform since the Ukrainian people demonstrated their resolve on the Maidan two years ago, and we look forward to continued cooperation in the future.

Sincerely,

*Rob Portman*

Senator Rob Portman

*Dick Durbin* *Jeanne Shaheen*

Senator Richard J. Durbin

Senator Jeanne Shaheen

*Ron Johnson*

Senator Ron Johnson

*Chris Murphy* *Mark Kirk*

Senator Chris Murphy

Senator Mark Kirk

*Richard Blumenthal*

Senator Richard Blumenthal

*Sherrod Brown*

Senator Sherrod Brown



# GOP senator says he doesn't remember signing 2016 letter urging 'reform' of Ukraine prosecutor's office

BY ZACK BUDRYK - 10/03/19 06:00 PM EDT

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Sen. Ron Johnson (R-Wis.) told reporters Thursday he did not recall signing a letter urging reforms in the office of the Ukrainian prosecutor President Trump has alleged former Vice President Joe Biden improperly had ousted, [The Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel reported](#).

Trump has repeatedly alleged Biden used his office to have Prosecutor General Viktor Shokin fired and prevent him from investigating a gas company whose board included Biden's son Hunter.

CNN on Thursday reported that three Republican senators, including Johnson, Sen. Rob Portman (R-Ohio) and then-Sen. Mark Kirk (R-Ill.) [signed a 2016 letter](#) urging "urgent reforms to the Prosecutor General's office and Judiciary."

"I send out all kinds of oversight letters ... I don't know which 2016 oversight letter you're referring to so I will look at that and then we'll issue a press release, statement, or something — but I don't engage in hypocrisy. I'm looking at getting the truth," Johnson said when asked about the letter.

Johnson did acknowledge the letter in an interview Thursday on WIBA's "The Vicki McKenna Show," saying "The whole world, by the way, including the Ukrainian caucus, which I signed the letter, the whole world felt that

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this that Sholkin wasn't doing a [good] enough job. So we were saying hey you've ... got to rid yourself of corruption."

In the first interview, Johnson also said there was no misconduct in Trump's call on Thursday for China to investigate Biden and his son.

"If there's potential criminal activity, the President of the United States is our chief law enforcement officer. We have proper agreements with countries to investigate potential crimes so I don't think there's anything improper about doing that," he said.

Even as he endorsed investigations by both China and Ukrainian officials, Johnson denied the July 25 call between Trump and Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky at the heart of a whistleblower complaint represented Trump pressuring Zelensky to investigate the Bidens.

"I look at that transcript and I go, it's Trump being Trump," Johnson said, according to the Journal-Sentinel.

In a statement, Andrew Bates, rapid response director for the Biden campaign, told The Hill: "The United States, the European Union, the I.M.F., and Ukraine's leading reform figures were all pressing for Viktor Shokin to be removed from office because he was one of the biggest obstacles to fighting corruption in the entire country. This was a bipartisan goal in Congress as well."

"It is unfortunate that Senator Johnson seems to have forgotten a time when he put the country's values over his own politics, but perhaps re-reading his well-articulated words whole-heartedly agreeing with Joe Biden's push to move the anti-corruption cause in Ukraine forward will help him on his journey back to intellectual consistency," Bates added.

Updated: 9:35 p.m.

TAGS DONALD TRUMP RON JOHNSON ROB PORTMAN JOE BIDEN MARK KIRK

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# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

December 17, 2019

The Honorable Lindsey O. Graham  
Chairman  
Committee on the Judiciary  
United States Senate  
224 Dirksen Senate Office Building  
Washington, DC 20510

The Honorable Ron Johnson  
Chairman  
Committee on Homeland Security and  
Governmental Affairs  
340 Dirksen Senate Office Building  
Washington, DC 20510

The Honorable Charles E. Grassley  
Chairman  
Committee on Finance  
United States Senate  
219 Dirksen Senate Office Building  
Washington, DC 20510

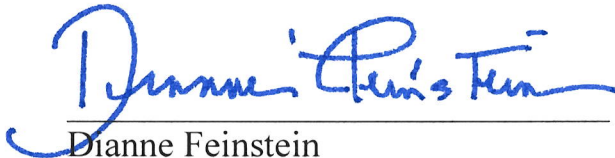
Dear Chairs Graham, Grassley and Johnson:

You have stated your intent to investigate purported Ukrainian interference in the 2016 election and Vice President Joe Biden – the same investigations that President Trump pressed the Ukrainian government to announce that it would pursue.

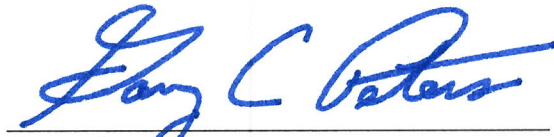
Allegations of Ukrainian interference in the 2016 election are part of a Russian disinformation campaign. Dr. Fiona Hill, the former head of Russia and Ukraine policy for the National Security Council and formerly the top analyst for Russia at the National Intelligence Council, testified to Congress, with regard to these allegations: “This is a fictional narrative that is being perpetrated and propagated by the Russian security services themselves.” And Assistant Secretary of State George Kent testified that there is no evidence “whatsoever” of wrongdoing by Vice President Biden. Consequently, we do not see a basis for an investigation by three major Senate Committees into these discredited allegations and believe that doing so could advance the Russian disinformation and election interference efforts. We should not facilitate foreign interference in our 2020 election.

Should you chose to continue this effort, we ask, consistent with Senate Rule 26, that you provide us with any evidence that you have that supports the investigation.

Sincerely,



Dianne Feinstein  
Ranking Member  
Committee on the Judiciary



Gary C. Peters  
Ranking Member  
Committee on Homeland Security  
and Governmental Affairs



Ron Wyden  
Ranking Member  
Committee on Finance



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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 27, 2020

The Honorable Ron Johnson  
Chairman  
Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs  
United States Senate  
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Chairman Johnson:

On February 24, 2020, you notified me of your intent to issue a subpoena to Andrii Telizhenko for attendance and the production of records.<sup>1</sup>

I warned when this investigation began that “[w]e should not facilitate foreign interference in our 2020 election.”<sup>2</sup> I remain concerned that the United States Senate and this Committee could be used to further disinformation efforts by Russian or other actors. Because these efforts pose a threat to our national security, I have asked for the Committee to receive defensive briefings – specifically regarding Mr. Telizhenko – from relevant intelligence community and law enforcement officials, to ensure the Senate is not used to advance any disinformation campaigns.

Given the significant national security concerns related to this request, it should be subject to a Committee vote. Pursuant to Rule 5(C) of the Rules of Procedure of the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, I disapprove of the issuance of the subpoena.

Sincerely,



Gary C. Peters  
Ranking Member  
Committee on Homeland Security  
and Governmental Affairs

<sup>1</sup>Letter from Sen. Ron Johnson, Chairman, S. Comm. on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs to Sen. Gary C. Peters, Ranking Member, S. Comm. on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs (February 24, 2020).

<sup>2</sup>Letter from Sen. Gary C. Peters, Ranking Member, S. Comm. on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, Sen. Diane Feinstein, Ranking Member, S. Comm. on the Judiciary, and Sen. Ron Wyden, Ranking Member, S. Comm. on Finance to Sen. Ron Johnson, Chairman, S. Comm. on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, Sen. Lindsey Graham, Chairman, S. Comm. on the Judiciary, and Sen. Charles Grassley, Chairman, S. Comm. on Finance (December 17, 2019).

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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 17, 2020

The Honorable Ron Johnson  
Chairman  
Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs  
United States Senate  
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Chairman Johnson:

On March 12, 2020, you notified me of your intent to issue a subpoena to Blue Star Strategies. Pursuant to Rule 5(C) of the Rules of Procedure of the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, I disapprove.

The subpoena request is inappropriate for a number of reasons: you have not fully pursued voluntary production of these records; you have not scheduled the intelligence briefings you agreed to; you risk continuing to amplify foreign election interference efforts; and your own public comments acknowledge that your investigation is at least partially targeted at influencing voters, "if I were a Democrat primary voter, I'd want these questions satisfactorily answered before I cast my final vote."<sup>1</sup>

I would disapprove of the subpoena under ordinary circumstances. But these are not ordinary circumstances. A day after you sent the subpoena notice, the President declared a national emergency for the COVID-19 pandemic. This is an unprecedented crisis, and it requires an all hands response. This is a misuse of Committee resources, especially at a time when we must focus on work that advances the health, safety, and economic security of Americans consistent with our Committee's mission. Your subpoena request does not advance that work.

Sincerely,



Gary C. Peters  
Ranking Member  
Committee on Homeland Security  
and Governmental Affairs

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<sup>1</sup> *Republicans lean into Biden probe as he surges in Democratic primary*, Politico (March 4, 2020) (<https://www.politico.com/news/2020/03/04/joe-biden-probe-2020-election-120924>).

# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

July 16, 2020

The Honorable Ron Johnson  
Chairman  
Senate Committee on Homeland Security  
and Governmental Affairs  
340 Dirksen Senate Office Building  
Washington, DC 20510

The Honorable Chuck Grassley  
Chairman  
Senate Committee on Finance  
219 Dirksen Senate Office Building  
Washington, DC 20510

Chairmen Johnson and Grassley,

We reiterate our request for a briefing for Members of our Committees from the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Foreign Influence Task Force and relevant Intelligence Community members related to your ongoing investigation. Two weeks ago, the *Washington Post* reported that "a Ukrainian lawmaker who was once affiliated with a pro-Russian political party and has met with [Rudy] Giuliani released 10 edited snippets of what appeared to be [Joe] Biden's official vice presidential phone calls in 2016 with Petro Poroshenko." The *Post* reported that this lawmaker "studied under the KGB in Moscow in the early 1990s" and that these efforts "suggest a new push by foreign forces to sway American voters in the run-up to the 2020 election."<sup>1</sup>

Our staff requested this briefing in December 2019. Ranking Member Peters then requested a Member briefing after a classified staff briefing led to the cancellation of a Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs (HSGAC) vote to subpoena Andrii Telizhenko. Ranking Member Peters then made a motion asking for this briefing at the HSGAC May 20, 2020, business meeting before a vote authorizing a subpoena for some of the same information Chairman Johnson first sought from the canceled Telizhenko subpoena vote.

As Committees charged with safeguarding our homeland security and financial systems, we have a responsibility to fully understand the national security and counterintelligence implications of foreign election interference and your ongoing investigative work. We ask that you please formally request, schedule, and prioritize this briefing for the Members of our Committees as soon as possible.

Sincerely,



Gary C. Peters  
Ranking Member  
Senate Committee on Homeland Security  
and Governmental Affairs



Ron Wyden  
Ranking Member  
Senate Committee on Finance

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<sup>1</sup> Paul Sonne et al., *Hunt for Biden tapes in Ukraine by Trump allies revives prospect of foreign interference*, THE WASHINGTON POST (July 1, 2020), [https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/for-months-trump-allies-hunted-for-tapes-of-biden-in-ukraine-now-theyre-turning-up/2020/06/30/f3acaba8-a67b-11ea-8681-7d471bf20207\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/for-months-trump-allies-hunted-for-tapes-of-biden-in-ukraine-now-theyre-turning-up/2020/06/30/f3acaba8-a67b-11ea-8681-7d471bf20207_story.html).