

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 01-20-2018

[REDACTED]
ALEXSANDER "SASHA" KASANOF,
[REDACTED]
KASANOF provided the following information:

KASANOF served as the lead Political Counselor at the US Embassy in Kiev (USEMB) from 2012 to 2014, where he managed a 10-person staff that included both US citizens and Foreign Service Nationals. From 2014 to 2016, KASANOF served as the Director of Europe/Eurasia at Main State in Washington, DC, where he helped craft policy on Ukraine. [REDACTED]

At the time of the interview, KASANOF was the Deputy Director of the Executive Secretariat at DOS. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

KONSTANTIN KILIMNIK

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

EXHIBIT A

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[REDACTED]

KASANOF met KONSTANTIN KILIMNIK sometime around 6 to 12 months after he started his tour in Ukraine. KASANOF met KILIMNIK through USEMB Deputy Chief of Mission (DCM), ERIC SCHULTE. KASANOF did not know how KILIMNIK had been identified to USEMB. KASANOF did not know how SCHULTE had met KILIMNIK.

KILIMNIK was one of the only people within the administration who was willing to talk to USEMB. KASANOF considered KILIMNIK an embassy contact. Initially, KILIMNIK met with KASANOF and SCHULTE. When SCHULTE left, the new DCM told KASANOF to be the point-of-contact for KILIMNIK. KASANOF believed that when he left Ukraine, ALAN BURCEL became KILIMNIK's point-of-contact, but KASANOF was not sure.

KILIMNIK self-identified as an employee of PAUL MANAFORT and sat in the Presidential Administration of VIKTOR YANUKOVITCH. MANAFORT was a well-known political operative and was an advisor to other governments in addition to Ukraine. KASANOF was not sure if KILIMNIK had physical office space within YANUKOVITCH's offices or where KILIMNIK's offices were located.

KASANOF met with KILIMNIK at least bi-weekly, and occasionally multiple times in the same week. KILIMNIK and KASANOF always met in public places, most often at a restaurant or at a hotel bar. USEMB was far from town so they met rarely at USEMB. KASANOF had no concern about meeting KILIMNIK in public places; KASANOF allowed KILIMNIK to take the lead on matters related to operational security. Their meetings were conducted in English.

KILIMNIK was invited to USEMB functions but never attended.

KASANOF communicated with KILIMNIK by telephone, email and in-person. He used only his official DOS email address to email KILIMNIK, except one time when KILIMNIK asked for restaurant recommendations. KASANOF was unable to send links to websites from his DOS Blackberry and used his personal phone to send KILIMNIK an email with links from his personal address. KASANOF told interviewing agents that he would provide them a copy of this email at a later time.

KASANOF had no recollection of intentionally leaving KILIMNIK's name out of cables, and had no recollection of directing others to do so. KASANOF opined that he may have avoided using KILIMNIK's name in cables when he first arrived because of KILIMNIK's proximity to the administration and KASANOF's concerns about cables being released on Wikileaks. KASANOF opined that may have been his way of protecting sources. [REDACTED]

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KILIMNIK had worked for IRI in Moscow. At some point in the early 2000's KILIMNIK had a falling out with IRI and started working on political campaigns with a colleague whose name KASANOF did not recall.

KILIMNIK worked on YANUKOVITCH's 2004 campaign that led to the Orange Revolution. KILIMNIK met MANAFORT somehow through that experience.

KILIMNIK was a Russian citizen but had family ties in Ukraine. He traveled regularly to Moscow to check on the apartment he kept there.

At first, KASANOF's relationship with KILIMNIK was strictly professional, but the two became more friendly as time went on.

KILIMNIK provided information about the inner workings of YANUKOVITCH's administration. He displayed good knowledge and seemed to know what was going on. Most sources of information in Ukraine were slanted in one direction or another. KILIMNIK came across as less slanted than others.

In his conversations with KILIMNIK, KASANOF conveyed only the official USEMB position on matters and only information he was approved to share. Additionally, KASANOF would offer guidance on how the Ukrainian government could better get through to USEMB. For example, KILIMNIK often asked about Yulia Tymoshenko. KASANOF advised KILIMNIK that the US position on Tymoshenko was unlikely to change. KASANOF did not give KILIMNIK "unofficial" information.

A few days prior to YANUKOVITCH's waffle on the decision to sign the Association Agreement with the EU, KILIMNIK had come to KASANOF to provide an urgent heads-up and to set up a meeting for SERGEY LYOVYCHENIN with USEMB to manage the fallout.

KILIMNIK was flabbergasted at the Russian invasion of Crimea, a sentiment that was echoed throughout POR's successor-party, Opposition Bloc (OB).

KASANOF left Ukraine in July 2014. As Director of Europe/Eurasia, KASANOF maintained official contact with KILIMNIK. KASANOF had consulted his RSC regarding his ongoing contact with KILIMNIK and was advised that it was approved as long as his contact fell within his official duties.

In his new role, KASANOF was working more on the policy side of DOS. KILIMNIK and KASANOF never discussed slipping in policy. KASANOF asked KILIMNIK policy-related questions. Generally, KASANOF informed his superiors of his contact with KILIMNIK. However, KASANOF did not always communicate with USEMB about his contact with KILIMNIK.

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KASANOF had met KILIMNIK for dinner in 2014 when KILIMNIK was accompanying LYOVCHENKO on visits with US government officials in Washington, DC. These meetings were held with at least DOS and the White House. KASANOF was not sure who had arranged the meetings but believed some of the meetings may have been arranged by the Ukrainian Embassy.

Dinner with KILIMNIK May 2016

KASANOF had last seen KILIMNIK when the two had dinner in Washington DC in May 2016. KASANOF's reason for meeting KILIMNIK was to get his perspective on Christine and his thoughts about PETRO POROSHENKO.

KILIMNIK was coming to the US for what he described as work in the United States on behalf of LYOVCHENKO, and for a meeting with MANAFORT. KASANOF was not sure if the two purposes were related or distinct. KASANOF knew that at this time MANAFORT was affiliated with the Trump presidential campaign.

Normally, KILIMNIK was very forthcoming about his discussions with others. Regarding his discussions with MANAFORT, however, KILIMNIK was unusually reticent and did not divulge any details about the interaction. KASANOF did not have the sense that KILIMNIK was probing him for information at this meeting.

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PAUL MANAFORT

KASANOF met MANAFORT one time at a meeting MANAFORT had arranged with US Ambassador JOHN TEFET in his official capacity as an advisor to YANUKOVITCH. MANAFORT was a political advisor from the US who was advising YANUKOVITCH. He was considered one of the key architects behind YANUKOVITCH's successful presidential run.

KASANOF did not recall the date of the meeting with MANAFORT but did recall that it was in the Fall or Winter of 2012 or 2013. KASANOF knew that he would have escorted MANAFORT to TEFET's office, but he was not sure if he was in the meeting. If KASANOF was not in the meeting, TEFET would have recounted the meeting to him afterward.

KILIMNIK accompanied MANAFORT and was introduced as an assistant to MANAFORT who worked inside the Ukrainian presidential administration as an advisor to LYOVCHENKO.

The imprisonment of Yulia Tymoshenko was the main topic of discussion between MANAFORT and TEFET (NFI). MANAFORT told TEFET that he was trying to urge YANUKOVITCH to take a more proactive direction toward the EU and the West (NFI).

Throughout KASANOF's time in Ukraine, MANAFORT would sporadically meet with the Ambassador.

Within USEMB, there was speculation regarding who held MANAFORT's contract. It was unclear to KASANOF whether MANAFORT's relationship was with Party of Regions (POR) or YANUKOVITCH. Due to his leadership of the party, YANUKOVITCH's name was a shorthand for POR and the Presidential Administration.

KASANOF recalled that the Skadden Report was a report commissioned by YANUKOVITCH or POR and seemed very pro-YANUKOVITCH.

KASANOF did not know RICK GATES.

Emails

KASANOF was shown a number of email exchanges between himself and KILIMNIK and provided the information below:

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Exhibit 22:

KASANOV was shown an email with the subject line, "FT (print): Trump's 'dick prince' honed skills in Ukraine."

KASANOV's comment that he "[c]ouldn't help think of" KILIMNIK was because the article discussed MANAFORT'S "makeover" of YANUKOVITCH. KASANOV recalled that prior to MANAFORT'S involvement in the region, KILIMNIK had independently traveled to Ukraine with a partner and linked up with the YANUKOVITCH campaign effort that preceded the Orange Revolution.

KILIMNIK's response that "Manafort got unchained" was a reference to RINAT AKHMETOV's failure to pay MANAFORT for his work. It had never been clear whether AKHMETOV was the sole payer of MANAFORT'S contract or one among others. There had been speculation that KOLESNIKOV and LYOVCHENKO were also paying for MANAFORT'S work. Additionally, there had been speculation that DMITRY FIRTASH was paying MANAFORT'S contract. At one time YANUKOVITCH and FIRTASH had been close but they had subsequently fought. LYOVCHENKO had done work with FIRTASH in the past.

KILIMNIK had previously mentioned that MANAFORT was not being paid for his work and therefore was no longer committed to the Ukraine account.

[REDACTED]

Exhibit 23

KASANOV was shown an email exchange with the subject line, "our dinner yesterday."

KASANOV explained that this was a reference to his May 2016 dinner with KILIMNIK.

KILIMNIK's reference to "North" was a reference to Russia.

KASANOV suspected that KILIMNIK's contacts were members of OS who would often travel to Moscow to arrange deals for themselves or for OS itself. KILIMNIK never told KASANOV that he got information from Moscow.

[REDACTED]

After receiving this email, KASANOV would have likely communicated the parts of value to FOS executive, Eric Rubin and Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs, Victoria Nuland.

[REDACTED]

Exhibit 31

KASANOF was shown an email exchange with the subject, "an idiotic question."

KASANOF had no knowledge of why KILIMNIK was in the United States.

KASANOF had no contact with KILIMNIK after this email exchange.

Exhibit 2

KASANOF was shown an email exchange with the subject, "a funny article."

"Misha" from the email was a reference to Mikheil Saakashvili.

Exhibit 6

KASANOF was shown an email exchange with the subject, "Evening News Digest, July 3."

KASANOF explained that there had been a long-running disagreement between himself and KILIMNIK about whether or not the war in the East of Ukraine was in Russia's interest. KILIMNIK believed this was the case and that the West needed to give Russia a way out of the conflict so that Putin could save face.

Exhibit 13

KASANOF was shown an email exchange with the subject, "situation in Kiev."

The "friend" referenced in the email was LYOVOCHNIK.

Sometimes KILIMNIK was reluctant to use full names in emails, either to protect himself or them. KILIMNIK was not similarly guarded in-person.

Exhibit 24

KASANOF was shown an email exchange with the subject, "Second Round."

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"We" was a group of people working with KILIMNIK. According to KILIMNIK, LYOVCHKIN was sponsoring Klischko's campaign for mayor of Kiev.

KILIMNIK was worried that USEMB thought poorly of him and did not value him. He shared information with KASANOF to make sure that the information would not fall on deaf ears. Most of the information he provided to KASANOF was an echo of the information he had already provided to PURCELL. KASANOF had built good rapport with KILIMNIK. KASANOF wanted KILIMNIK to work with the Political Section at USEMB. KASANOF told PURCELL that he was still in touch with KILIMNIK.

KASANOF may have communicated on rare occasion with other contacts after leaving station. His contact with KILIMNIK was far more frequent than with any others.

Exhibit 25

KASANOF was shown an email with the subject, "podrobnosti.biz".

KASANOF was the acting Deputy Chief of Mission for one week at USEMB in anticipation of a visit from Vice President Joseph Biden. While in Kiev, KASANOF met with KILIMNIK and other contacts from his time at USEMB.

The US Ambassador had seen an article from OB that was critical about the US and had asked KASANOF to pass the message that he was unhappy about the article. KASANOF had not discussed who should pass the information with PURCELL.

Nuland was coming to Kiev in advance of Biden. In the email, KASANOF was informing KILIMNIK that some of LYOVCHKIN's talking points had not been convincing. That was KASANOF's opinion; he had not been directed to communicate that information to KILIMNIK or OB.

Some members of OB were trying to advance themselves at the cost of the United States. KILIMNIK and LYOVCHKIN claimed to be against that. "[P]eople we know very well," was a reference to those people.

KASANOF believed that IGOR SHUVALOV was a producer or other executive at the Ukrainian news channel, Inter. SHUVALOV was coming to the US for a conference or something similar and KASANOF had given him a referral for a B Visa. KASANOF did not recall if he had met SHUVALOV, but if he had it would have been through KILIMNIK. KILIMNIK received B Visa referrals from USEMB.

[REDACTED]

KILIMNIK's description of SHUVALOV as "a very good solidly pro-Ukrainian guy" was KILIMNIK's way of giving SHUVALOV credit. KILIMNIK often slipped in unsupported evaluations like this in their communication. KASANOF did not always agree with these evaluations and would sometimes disagree. Sometimes KILIMNIK would argue to support his claim, sometimes KILIMNIK would smile ambiguously and change the subject.

Exhibit 26

KASANOF was shown an email with the subject, "Boyko and other animals."

Boyko was going to meet with Nuland in the near future. KASANOF was trying to encourage a substantive discussion between BOYKO and Nuland. KASANOF described his email as coaching for a fruitful exchange.

Exhibit 1

KASANOF was shown an email exchange with the subject "Bulatov."

The reference to "BG" in this email was a reference to YANUKOVITCH. KILIMNIK called YANUKOVITCH "the big guy" in their conversations. YANUKOVITCH was the only person KILIMNIK referred to as "BG" or "the big guy" with KASANOF.

Exhibit 3

KASANOF was shown an email exchange with the subject "Yanu Interview."

[REDACTED]

While they were going through Maidan, KASANOF and KILIMNIK were in contact, and both would reflect on how they would view Maidan and the upheaval of the Ukrainian government after it was complete. KASANOF's email to KILIMNIK was an expression of this sentiment.

Conclusion

KASANOF suggested that agents speak to Ambassador Pyatt for additional information. PYATT served as the US Ambassador to Ukraine during Maidan and would have additional information about MANAFORT and KILIMNIK.

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From: K. Kilimnik </o=mex05/ou=exchange
administrative group
(fydibohf23spdlt)/cn=recipients/cn=kkilimnik@dmpint.com35e>
To: Kasanof, Alexander <kasanofa@state.gov>
Cc:
Bcc:
Subject: Re: Bulatov
Date: Fri Jan 31 2014 04:32:59 EST
Attachments:

Did u get my email with the law?

31 янв. 2014 г., в 8:32, "Kasanof, Alexander" <KasanofA@state.gov> написал(а):

I cannot tell you how disgusting this is for everyone on the U.S. side. Thank God he was found alive, but how fucking awful that he was so badly tortured.

But from the government, not one word about an investigation, no efforts to help find the guy, and still no word on the others who have disappeared or had similar things happen to them, much less those who have died.

This is what is killing the Ukrainian Government right now in the West, including BG, and people like Bondarenko. It may not be fair, but that is what is happening.

If I were the BG, I would be rushing to set up an independent justice commission (with reps from opposition) to show action and concern, as well as condemning in no uncertain terms this type of behavior. That would help alleviate some of the damage.

As for Russian involvement in this incident and others like it. Zero doubt in my mind. We're getting that from a number of contacts.

-S

-----Original Message-----

From: K. Kilimnik [mailto:kkilimnik@dmpint.com]
Sent: Friday, January 31, 2014 7:34 AM
To: Kasanof, Alexander
Subject: Bulatov

<http://www.pravda.com.ua/news/2014/01/30/7012136/>