

**AMENDMENT TO THE REPORT ISSUED BY THE CHAIR,
PURSUANT TO SECTION 2, PARAGRAPH 6 OF H. RES.
660, AS PART OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES’
IMPEACHMENT INQUIRY
OFFERED BY JORDAN OF OHIO**

At the end of Volume I, section 8 insert the following as a new section:

1 **Section X: Ukrainian Corruption**
2 Since it became an independent nation following the
3 collapse of the Soviet Union, Ukraine has been plagued
4 by systemic corruption. The Guardian has called Ukraine
5 “the most corrupt nation in Europe”¹ and Ernst & Young
6 cites Ukraine among the three most-corrupt nations of the
7 world.² In 2011, then-President Petro Poroshenko
8 estimated that 15%, or \$7.4 billion, of the state budget
9 “ends up in the pockets of officials” through corrupt
10 public procurement practices.³ Pervasive corruption in
11 Ukraine has been one of the primary impediments to

¹ Oliver Bullough, Welcome to Ukraine, the Most Corrupt Nation in Europe, Guardian, (Feb. 6, 2015).

² See, e.g., 14th Global Fraud Survey, Ernst & Young, (2016), [https://www.ey.com/Publication/vwLUAssets/EYcorporate-misconduct-individual-consequences/\\$FILE/EY-corporate-misconduct-individual-consequences.pdf](https://www.ey.com/Publication/vwLUAssets/EYcorporate-misconduct-individual-consequences/$FILE/EY-corporate-misconduct-individual-consequences.pdf) (noting that 88% of Ukrainian’s agree that “bribery/corrupt practices happen widely in business in [Ukraine]”). See also Viktor Tkachuk, People First: The Latest in the Watch on Ukrainian Democracy, Kyiv Post, (Sept. 11, 2012) <https://www.kyivpost.com/article/opinion/op-ed/people-first-the-latest-in-the-watch-on-ukrainian-democracy-5-312797.html>.

³ Mark Rachkevych, Under Yanukovych, Ukraine Slides Deeper in Ranks of Corrupt Nations, Kyiv Post, (Dec. 1, 2011).

12 Ukraine joining the European Union.⁴ Corruption-related
13 concerns also figure prominently in the E.U.- Ukrainian
14 Association Agreement, the document establishing a
15 political and economic association between the E.U. and
16 Ukraine.⁵ The Agreement was entered into with the intent
17 of Ukraine committing to gradually conform to E.U.
18 technical and consumer standards.
19
20 State Department witnesses confirmed Ukraine's
21 reputation for corruption. Deputy Assistant Secretary of
22 State George Kent described Ukraine's corruption
23 problem as "serious" and said corruption has long been
24 "part of the high-level dialogue" between the United
25 States and Ukraine.⁶ Ambassador Bill Taylor said
26 corruption in Ukraine is a "big issue."⁷ Ambassador Kurt
27 Volker testified that "Ukraine has a long history of
28 pervasive corruption throughout the economy[,]
29 throughout the country, and it has been incredibly
30 difficult for Ukraine as a country to deal with this, to

⁴ See, e.g., Vladimir Isachenkov, Ukraine's integration into West dashed by war and corruption, *Assoc. Press*, Mar. 26, 2019.

⁵ E.U.-Ukraine Ass'n Agreement, art. 14, Mar. 21, 2014, 57 *Off. J. of the E.U.* L161/3 ("In their cooperation on justice, freedom and security, the Parties shall attach particular importance to the consolidation of the rule of law and the reinforcement of institutions at all levels in the areas of administration in general and law enforcement and the administration of justice in particular. Cooperation will, in particular, aim at strengthening the judiciary, improving its efficiency, safeguarding its independence and impartiality, and combating corruption. Respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms will guide all cooperation on justice, freedom and security.").

⁶ Kent deposition, *supra* note 65 at 105, 151.

⁷ Taylor deposition, *supra* note 47, at 86.

31 investigate it, to prosecute it.”⁸ He later elaborated:
32 “Ukraine had for decades a reputation of being just a
33 corrupt place. There are a handful of people who own a
34 disproportionate amount of the economy. Oligarchs, they
35 use corruption as kind of the coin of the realm to get
36 what they want, including influencing the Parliament, the
37 judiciary, the government, state-owned industries. And so
38 businessmen generally don’t want to invest in Ukraine,
39 even to this day, because they just fear that it’s a horrible
40 environment to be working in, and they don’t want to put
41 – expose themselves to that risk. I would have to believe
42 that President Trump would be aware of that general
43 climate.”⁹

44 President Trump has a deeply-rooted skeptical view of
45 Ukraine and its corruption—a fact echoed by various
46 witnesses throughout the impeachment inquiry. On
47 October 14th, Dr. Fiona Hill said “the President has
48 actually quite publicly said that he was very skeptical
49 about corruption in Ukraine. And, in fact, he’s not alone,
50 because everyone has expressed great concerns about
51 corruption in Ukraine.”¹⁰ In an October 3rd transcribed
52 interview Ambassador Kurt Volker stated that:
53 “President Trump demonstrated that he had a very deeply
54 rooted negative view of Ukraine based on past

⁸ Volker transcribed interview, *supra* note 60, at 76.

⁹ *Id.* at 148-49.

¹⁰ Hill Depo., p. 118

55 corruption. And that's a reasonable position. Most people
56 who would know anything about Ukraine would think
57 that."¹¹ Ambassador Volker went on to state that
58 President Trump held these "very deep-rooted skeptical
59 view" of Ukraine as early as September of 2017.¹²
60 Ambassador Marie "Masha" Yovanovitch also confirmed
61 in an October 11th deposition that the administration had
62 concerns about corruption in Ukraine, adding "We all
63 did."¹³

###

¹¹ Volker Transcribed Interview, p. 30

¹² Volker Transcribed Interview, p. 295

¹³ Yovanovitch Depo., p. 143