

Helsinki Commission Whistleblowers Summary
September 25, 2024

Dear Senate, House, Appropriations, Oversight, Ethics, Inspectors' General, GAO, Defense, State, and Commerce officials:

This letter notifies you of on-going national security risks, including foreign manipulation of Congressional Foreign Relations and Armed Services leaders on Ukraine and Russia war decisions, that compromise the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).¹ It summarizes years of reports, from over a dozen whistleblowers and officials, disclosing information related to national security, counterintelligence (CI), Foreign Agent Registration Act (FARA), ethics violations, False Claims Act (FCA), corruption, criminal obstruction, and racism/sexism that officials acted to suppress past the November 4 election.² Urgent action is needed prior to Congress' recess to initiate independent investigations, prevent destruction of evidence, and stop foreign influence from tarnishing U.S. elections and national security acts.³

Implicated U.S. officials include: Foreign Relations Chair Senator Benjamin Cardin, Chief of Staff Christopher Lynch, Armed Services Ranking Member Senator Roger Wicker, Chief of Staff Michelle Richardson, and CSCE staffers Kyle Parker and Paul Massaro.⁴

Foreign actors include: former Russian Duma Member and alleged foreign intelligence asset Ilya Ponomarev who worked to tie U.S. officials to his Russia armed coup, civil war/"decolonization," and assassination efforts;⁵ Ukraine politician Oleksiy Goncharenko, who sought to politically and personally replace President Zelenskyy;⁶ foreign financier Bill Browder who sought to direct CSCE work after offering unethical gifts to CSCE staff;⁷ Azov Brigade and Georgian Legion contacts that Parker and Massaro used CSCE to promote;⁸ and Ukrainian interests and a supposed Ukrainian "cousin" who provided at least \$87,400 in cash and gifts to Parker while he engaged U.S. export agencies on their behalf and also pushed a CSCE Ukraine export initiative with apparent conflicts.⁹ NGO official/former lobbyist Steven Moore is also cited offering benefits on unofficial Ukraine trips and undermining investigations.¹⁰

In the spring of 2023, CSCE Chairman Joe Wilson directed CSCE officials (investigators) to conduct an internal investigation into years of sexism, racism and other staff allegations involving Kyle Parker.¹¹ During the investigation, investigators learned of serious security, legal, and criminal allegations related to CSCE officials, Senators Cardin and Wicker and Lynch, Parker, and Massaro, as well as security and counterintelligence matters referred to the FBI and CIA.¹²

After they learned investigators were reviewing Parker's management issues, Senator Wicker met with Parker to "get rid of" the investigators. *See Parker Investigation Transcript February 6 2024 p 134.* Following this, Lynch, Senators Cardin and Wicker, and others took actions to retaliate against the investigators and obstruct investigations.¹³ It included blocking CSCE investigators while instituting an alternate review controlled by Senators Cardin, Wicker, their Chiefs of Staff, and others directly implicated in the underlying security, legal, and criminal allegations.¹⁴ These retaliatory acts served to conceal rather than fully investigate (including by intimidating and stripping legal protections for whistleblowers, and undermining review of implicated officials) and to block recommended referrals of national security, legal, and criminal matters to Congressional, security, and law enforcement authorities outside their control.¹⁵

Despite implicated officials' efforts to control investigations, in early 2024 attorneys from Seyfarth Shaw (the former firm of Senators Cardin's and Wicker's lawyer, Erica Watkins) retained to conduct their internal CSCE review were nonetheless preparing a report that Chairman Wilson wrote "vindicated" the whistleblowers.¹⁶ As their report was being finalized, internal U.S.

government investigative information was leaked to foreign sources associated with Parker (including Mr. Goncharenko and Browder).¹⁷ Foreign actors and Parker then used internal information to target whistleblowers through public statements that CSCE officials and Senators Cardin and Wicker knew to be false, and served to undermine investigation of their acts.¹⁸ This included Parker and Browder making false (and factually impossible) assertions that the CAA investigation Chairman Wilson initiated in Spring 2023 was launched in "retaliation" for Parker's allegations made after he learned he was being investigated.¹⁹ Parker's own Seyfarth interview establishes that Parker and Senator Wicker met to discuss plans to "get rid of" officials only after they learned these investigators were reviewing Parker's management issues, and Parker followed Lynch's direction to compile retaliatory allegations in September 2023 (after they both knew of the required CSCE investigation of Parker launched months earlier).²⁰ Parker and CSCE officials' own statements establish they knew Parker's and Browder's and other foreign actors' public statements in 2024 (including in the New York Times, Politico, and Twitter/X) were false and defamatory.²¹ Despite this, they refused to correct the false statements and allowed foreign actors to be used to undermine U.S. government investigations of their alleged legal and security violations. Such reliance on foreign actors' false statements for protection, places U.S. Senators and CSCE officials under ongoing risk of foreign manipulation compromising 2024 elections.²²

The incidents below are a small sample of reports over four years by nonpartisan career, Democratic, Republican, CSCE, Embassy, police, and other officials.²³ Unless destroyed, each incident should be documented in investigation materials cited in the endnotes.²⁴

- **Parker and Massaro foreign intelligence manipulation reports reviewed by top House Security official with intelligence officials, urgently referred to FBI.** In July 2023, a former Harvard/Oxford official ("Source") independently reported to CSCE their work with OHS and Ukraine sources that flagged potential foreign intelligence manipulation of Parker and Massaro, during their at least 6 unauthorized,²⁵ unofficial trips to Ukraine and actions with foreign contacts.²⁶ After the top House Security official did initial credibility checks with security agencies, CSCE leaders unanimously approved urgent referral of this matter to the FBI.²⁷ An earlier press report linked Parker to a "Kremlin-Connected Russian" OSCE official.²⁸ Parker reported that Lynch intervened with him while he was under investigation, falsely portrayed Massaro as the Source's primary counterintelligence focus, and didn't "have any confidence in Paul."²⁹ Source reported a 4-hour talk with FBI counterintelligence.³⁰ FBI told CSCE General Counsel it was taking the allegations against Parker "very seriously," before Senators Cardin and Wicker and Lynch intervened and cut off investigators' contact with federal investigations.³¹
- **Parker and Massaro engaged former Russian Duma Member/alleged foreign intelligence asset Ilya Ponomarev for months, including on "Wagner Group"-style coup /assassinations/civil war to break up, and post-regime change event to "decolonize," "imperial" Russia.**³² Massaro hosted a July 2023 CSCE meeting where Ponomarev's coup plan discussed.³³ Parker engaged on a post-regime event for Senator Cardin/U.S. officials.³⁴ Source warned of Parker/Massaro unwittingly use (in Russia's "useful idiots" tactic) by Putin to link U.S. to a coup plot to justify his war, and for Ukrainian elements pushing a direct U.S-Russia war before the 2024 election.³⁵ Regardless of final counterintelligence determinations, Parker and Massaro risked undercutting U.S. policy and unknowingly creating Putin propaganda with little oversight.
- **Parker criminal FARA issued flagged following review with Treasury FARA Chief of reported \$30,000³⁶ (later at least \$87,400)³⁷ Payments/Export for his Ukrainian Contacts/"Cousin" concealed from CSCE Chair.**³⁸ Criminal 18 § U.S.C. 219 concerns

identified after cash transfers noted in Maine news article shared with Treasury FARA Unit Chief.³⁹

- **Parker and Massaro used CSCE to push export policy changes apparently directly benefiting Parker's FARA-flagged foreign contacts/"cousin." Conflicts and cash transfers concealed from CSCE Chair/Staff Director.** Initiative had CSCE staff pressuring U.S. export agencies Parker engaged for foreigners linked to \$87,400 cash transfers/benefits.⁴⁰
- **Parker admitted to at least 6 "unofficial" Ukraine trips; wearing foreign military gear; having U.S. official's name written on munitions targeting Russians; ⁴¹ and receiving unreported gifts/lodging/transport from Ukrainian military/officials. ⁴²** After Parker made unsupported claims that he was not covered by legal/ethics rules or had undetailed gift "exceptions, appears implicated officials stopped investigation.⁴³
- **Parker unilaterally inserted top political operative of Oleksiy Goncharenko, a Ukrainian politician seeking to politically remove and personally replace President Zelenskyy, ⁴⁴ into official CSCE post despite ethics/security rules,** including a bar on foreign staff doing work related to their nation flagged by CSCE's top career official.⁴⁵ Internal U.S. information leaked to Goncharenko who then publicly undermined investigation of his and Parker's acts.⁴⁶
- **Foreign financier Browder offered improper gifts to CSCE staff while directing specific CSCE acts through Parker and Massaro, ⁴⁷ used leaked U.S. government information and made false public statements to undermine investigations their acts. ⁴⁸** Browder pushed specific hearings, witnesses, and legislation. Despite Parker admitting to accepting gifts and only offering that some exceptions could apply, implicated officials appeared to end investigation.⁴⁹
- **Parker and Massaro used official positions to promote then-U.S. Leahy sanctioned, ⁵⁰ alleged Neo-Nazi linked Azov Brigade ⁵¹ or Georgia Legion foreign military units accused of human rights violations** through public postings and planned official briefing to pressure State Department to issue a U.S. visa for Massaro's Georgian Legion contact.⁵²
- **Parker and Massaro used CSCE to promote suspicious U.S. individuals/NGOs as fighters for Ukraine without proper vetting, risks flagged by top career official. ⁵³**
- **Antisemitism issues include Massaro posts "boosting Holocaust perpetrators" linked to Nazi Jewish pogroms; ⁵⁴ and staff disturbed by Hitler/Nazi statements at Dachau Concentration Camp wreath laying. ⁵⁵** It was reported Massaro did not apologize to Jewish groups for post.⁵⁶ Senior official reported concern over Massaro's Nazi statements, including that Hitler wasn't that bad compared to Stalin, during Dachau CSCE ceremony and visit to remember Holocaust victims.⁵⁷
- **Parker's incidents/legal violations/detentions/arrest by U.S. and foreign armed police put officials at risk; Parker released/not charged after interventions by Senator or Embassy officials.** In 2023, multiple officials reported Parker refused U.S. Ambassador/Embassy requests and violated police orders at Turkish election site, putting officials at a risk in acts EU parliamentarian called "worst she has experienced."⁵⁸ Armed U.S. Embassy security intervened and made false statements on Parker's pictures in Ukrainian military gear to prevent Parker and EU officials being detained by Turkish prosecutor.⁵⁸ Earlier, Senator Wicker made extraordinary Capitol Police interventions prior

to Parker not being charged after arrest for "belligerent," "assaulting, resisting or impeding" arrest/refusing to surrender while "drawing ... out" military-style locking knife.⁶⁰ Parker and Senator Wicker later represented the incident as a "mistake," in apparent contradiction to official police reports/interviews documenting dangerous military-style knife/belligerent acts requiring drawn weapons, handcuffed arrest, and detention.⁶¹ Staff reported Parker stated he was proud of acts.⁶² Unknown if Senator Wicker or officials also intervened with prosecutors to prevent Parker from being charged.

- **Under Parker and his personally-picked security lead, CSCE and Parker had years of unreported foreign contacts/security violations, Parker rejected CSCE Chair instructions and authority to review** and then coordinated efforts with security lead on private messaging to generate materials targeting the security whistleblowers.⁶³
- **Parker defense utilized Steele Dossier/Russia disinformation conduits, attorney Jonathan Winer and David Kramer who were investigated/deposed by Congressional committees.**⁶⁴ Press reported Winer initially tried to conceal from Senate investigators Winer's service as FARA lobbyist for Putin-linked Oligarch Oleg Deripaska.⁶⁵ Unclear who is funding Parker's lawyer Winer, who shares long ties to implicated foreign financier Browder.⁶⁶ State Department officials who worked with Winer/Kramer were also linked to press and other interventions to publicly undermining investigation and whistleblower.⁶⁷
- **Risks exacerbated by CSCE corruption, bribery, fraud, gross mismanagement reports.**⁶⁸ Parker asserted extra-legal authority to block hiring, conceal information, control staff, and enable potential waste, fraud, and abuse⁶⁹ including: seeking to promote a staffer who received a six-figure salary while refusing to come to work/respond to his legal supervisor for months;⁷⁰ removing key management oversight;⁷¹ taking long foreign trips with over \$700 a night hotel rooms with little CSCE oversight;⁷² with Lynch, pushing an extraordinary, out of cycle raise/promotion to a woman who reported sexual discrimination by Parker;⁷³ and providing other benefits to staff who helped undermine investigations of Parker.⁷⁴
- **Parker, Massaro, Cecire had years of reports of racism, sexism, and bullying abuse including "Ceramic Cock,"⁷⁵ "Yellowface" Asian "accent"⁷⁶ mocking, and other incidents.**⁷⁷ Examples include sexism and professional abuse allegations by female graduate fellow in tears and feeling "threatened" by Massaro;⁷⁸ Parker telling CSCE's only African American "he would have never hired" her on first seeing her race,⁷⁹ Parker playing "yellow face" video, and mocking Asian "accent"/laughing in front of junior staff.⁸⁰
- **Implicated Senators/officials and Parker coordinated to "get rid of" investigators and obstructed recommended referrals on FBI/Treasury criminal matters.**⁸¹ In his Seyfarth interview, Parker detailed meeting with Senator Wicker to "get rid" of the CSCE investigators (Ust weeks into their tenure) for reviewing management⁸² issues in a legally-required investigation, and organized actions against whistleblowers with select staff that obstructed investigations. Parker then made false statements in a memo to Senator Cardin, Senator Wicker, and Commissioner Cohen. Memo concealed from Chairman Wilson until after it was used to block investigators from actions/halt recommended referrals of Federal criminal matters.⁸³
- **Massaro appointed Staff Director despite Seyfarth Report that "vindicated"⁸⁴ whistleblowers, and Massaro being implicated in extensive violations/obstruction/retaliation, and conflicted for any further investigations.** Beyond Parker,

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Massaro is also implicated in the legal, ethical, and other allegations documented, including: counterintelligence, sexist and professional abuse of graduate fellows, anti-semitism, security violations, inappropriate behavior/substance abuse, and abusive treatment.⁸⁵ Parker reported Massaro's improprieties led to his earlier ban from any management roles⁸⁶ and Senate officials called for his termination in 2023. As Massaro coordinated with Parker and others on whistleblower retaliation and concealing violations, he cannot now report them without implicating himself.

Along with these specific incidents, Senator Cardin and CSCE officials' efforts to silence or target whistleblowers stretch back years. In 2017, the Washington Post, NBC, and other media outlets reported that Senator Cardin secretly arranged (without informing key Commissioners) a then-record "\$220,000 payment" to an African American staffer who reported sexual harassment by a Commissioner and abuse by CSCE attorneys seeking to silence and financially damage her.⁸⁷ In 2020, warnings and a formal memo to Senator Cardin from CSCE Chief of Staff Alex Johnson reported Parker's "racist," "misogynistic," "bullying" acts to include: threateningly charging/cornering Johnson while screaming he was "un-American;" openly instructing staff to be insubordinate to the Chairman; denigrating pro-women efforts as based on "what is swinging between someone's legs;" and claiming extra-legal authority to conceal his acts leading to "known and unknown liabilities."⁸⁸ After Parker was empowered despite this notice, a predicted senior staff exodus occurred with at least 4 of the top 5 staffers departing thereafter, while the sole remaining top official continued whistleblowing on Parker.⁸⁹ These departures removed experienced career staff oversight amid Parker's growing allegations until Chairman Wilson's 2023's CAA investigation.⁹⁰ The two most recent House Chairs are both reported calling for Parker's termination for violations, but were blocked by Senator Cardin.⁹¹

The 2020 memo's notice of racism and sexism allegations legally required a prompt and thorough CAA investigation. Senator Cardin, Lynch and notified officials appear to have been in legal violation for at least 3 years.⁹² As later CAA, security, criminal, FARA, and other allegations grew, Senator Cardin and others implicated had increasing incentives to silence and target whistleblowers due to their own increasing liabilities for failing to act for years. Actions against whistleblowers include CSCE lawyers stripping clear, legally guaranteed rights to funded legal support from all current and future CSCE whistleblowers.⁹³ These actions by powerful officials make it critical to protect CSCE whistleblowers and their confidentiality. It is critical to prevent new abuse and allow new, now-intimated whistleblowers to safely come forward on the additional unknown liabilities concealed by the current, unchecked threats of retaliation.

To ensure this, Congressional CSCE appropriations must be stopped until evidence (as CSCE is not covered by FOIA) and independent investigations are secured immediately.⁹⁴ Full and transparent review of suppressed matters implicating senior officials must be made prior to 2024's election to protect America's national security, electoral integrity, and Rule of Law.

NOTE: All statements in the letter and endnotes document good faith understandings, beliefs, opinions, and facts based on the evidence available to and reported by CSCE whistleblowers. They are not intended as an end, but a start of multiple urgent, independent investigations and acts. The endnotes provide detailed explanations and roadmaps to specific evidence accessible publicly or (unless destroyed) to be urgently secured from CSCE/officials. Endnotes can be provided separately and confidentially to official investigators when effective whistleblower protections (including for those currently inside CSCE) are confirmed.