

**From:** Paul Manafort [REDACTED]  
**Sent:** Monday, June 4, 2012 10:57 AM  
**To:** K. Kilimnik  
**Cc:** Rick Gates  
**Subject:** Re: ST documents  
**Attachments:** ST Stump Speech #1.docx; VIP Elite Speakers.xls

K

I HAVE ATTACHED 2 DOCS WITH MY COMMENTS

1. STUMP SPEECH – THIS IS A GOOD OPENING OF CAMPAIGN SPEECH. I AM RECOMM=NDING TO DAN/ADAM TO USE THE HOUSE ANALOGY FOR WAVE2 TV AND RADIO AD

<=i>VIP ELITE SPEAKERS – I HAVE ADDED WHERE I KNOW THE PEOPLE. PLS REVIEW =Y RECOMMENDATION AND ADD THOSE OF YOURS THAT I HAVE NOT SELECTED

PAUL

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**From:** Konstantin Kilimnik [REDACTED]  
**Date:** Fri, 1 Jun 2012 11:44:03 -050=   
**To:** Paul Manafort [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Re: ST documents

Ok. Excellent. I sent them all to you separately, and it was probably = good idea to send them as one package.

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**От:** Paul Manafort [REDACTED]  
**Кому:** Констан=F2ин Килимник [REDACTED]  
**Тема:** Re: ST documents

Just got this email. I will provide comments by tomorrow

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**From:** Konstantin Kilimnik [REDACTED] >  
**Date:** Fri, 1 Jun 2012 11:33:26 -050=   
**To:** Paul Manafort [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** ST documents

So that you could have them all in one place – please review  
The key documents that require your attention are their incarnation of=the stump speech and the excel table with the speakers –  
Tigipko's peopl= would like to have your comments by Tuesday.

The other documents may be useful for Dan/advertisement.

Pls confirm that you have these docs

Thanks



## ST STUMP SPEECH #1

### PJM Comments

Speech is a very good table setting speech

1. On attack section of speech
  - a. Repeat that opposition wants you to forget their failed govt
  - b. Make point several times the same leaders who are the united opposition are the ones who created the mess – the very same leaders
    - i. They have no new ideas and no new leaders
2. On positive section of speech
  - a. A little bit more on the opposition doesn't want you to should add a few specifics of how people's lives have benefited
  - b. should lay out some promises for the next year and say during the course of this campaign we will be more specific
3. should remind people it is a 5 year program

It was very important for me to meet with you, especially at a time like this.

You probably heard of an old Japanese saying: "May God spare you to live at the time of change".

The Ukrainian version is somewhat different: "May God spare you to live at the time of elections".

The campaign is about to begin.

And I understand that the pressure on you is tremendous.

On TV, in newspaper articles, on the web they are trying to persuade you that what you see is not the reality.

You're told that your income is not growing as fast as you wanted it.

You're told that the increase of pensions is but election populism.

You're told that Viktor Yanukovych and the PoR failed to fulfill their promises.

You are pointed to the "bumps and bruises".

Boxing bouts are staged before you, not on the ring, but in the Parliament.

You're intimidated by boycotts and international isolation.

All of this is done to achieve one single goal: to distract you from the most important issue.

What is it?

**Are you ready to repeat the Orange Experiment?**

**Are you ready to sink into the chaos created in the country by the Orange team – especially now, after so much effort and resources were spent to stop the country from slipping into the abyss.**

They are afraid that you will ask this question.

And they will do everything that you do not ask it.

They have the only hope to stay in politics: the hope that you have short memory.

But they hope in vain. Some things may not be forgotten.

First of all, because some of the aftershocks of the orange period we still feel until this day.

It's like a back injury. You were injured in your young years. The acute period is over. But as the weather changes, the pain grows stronger and makes your life miserable. The Tymoshenko gas contract with Gazprom is like this type of injury to me.

Under this contract Ukraine pays for gas almost \$300/tcm more than Europeans. Even though Ukraine is closer to Russia – both geographically and historically. Therefore, Ukraine should be getting a lower price compared to Europe, not the price that is \$300 more expensive. Let us not discuss the criminal nature of this contract.

Just look how this contract robs Ukrainians.

Every year Ukraine overpays Gazprom 5-6 billion dollars. If we could use this money to increase pensions, then the 13 million of Ukrainian pensioners would be getting 427 hryvnas more. Every month! But these money flow to a foreign corporation.

In fact, it is an additional tax – the Tymoshenko tax.

It reaches 20% of the country's budget.

Imagine that from every 100 hryvnas of your wage you immediately would have to pay 20 hryvnas to someone else.

Instead of buying your child a toy.

Or helping your mother pay her utility bills.

Can you imagine this?

Now you understand what I feel as the Minister of Social Policy. When I understand that these funds could be allocated to increase pensions, to create jobs for people with disabilities, to help ill children or orphans. Think about it. It's been two years since the Orange were removed from power, but their legacy continues to cause damage to our land.

For me, just this alone is enough to prevent the return of the opposition to power. But Tymoshenko's gas deal is just one example of the legacy Yanukovych's team received after the election. Probably, the most difficult, the most traumatic, but it is still just one example. In general, the situation was even worse.

Remember a sad anecdote told four years ago? The economic crisis flies over the world. It flies over America and thinks: "They live very well! I should land here and stay for a while. It flies over the UK - "They live very well, too! And I'll stay with them". It flies over Ukraine and is amazed: "Tymoshenko's government has already done the work for me!"

In 2010, when our team came to power, this anecdote crossed my mind every day. But I did not laugh. We lost 15% of our GDP. Industrial output dropped by 20%. Inflation was in double digits. In the first quarter, the deficit of the State Pension Fund reached 29 billion UAH. And it seemed that the worst times returned. The 90's, pensions were delayed.

You all know how seniors were waiting for their pensions in stuffy rooms of savings banks and post offices for several hours. They were just standing there, taking heart medication. In 2010, we were two steps away from the same situation. We were literally on the brink. We began receiving information about delays of pension payments in certain oblasts. A bit more and we would have faced systematic delays in payments.

I would like to ask you: will the current opposition be responsible for this?

So you take a loan in the bank, and your apartment is the security for the loan, you manage your money. If you managed your funds like the "orange team" did with the Pension Fund, you would have already lost the apartment, the money and your property. And they, who led the country to the brink of bankruptcy, are now trying to take a new loan, and not from someone, from you, the credit of your trust.

I'll tell you now a paradoxical thing. If I spoke as politician, I would say, "It's a good thing that we went through the orange period in our history". In fact, a cold shower produces a sobering

effect. A painful injection puts you on your feet. You have something to compare with and what to compare.

But I will not talk as a politician. Sometimes I am insulted just like anyone else - when I recall the situation with the public finances that we inherited from the previous government, and when I hear their criticism of what we did not accomplish in the first year. Indeed, we wanted to bring long-awaited changes and improvements to the country much faster than it happened.

We are also disappointed that it took so long to provide real growth in wages, pensions, social benefits supported by the economy. We understand that you expected more and deserve more.

But I want to ask you: if a person suffers a cut to his artery, will the doctors check his eye-sight and hearing? Of course, not. They should take immediate measures, so that he loses as little blood as possible. The rest will be left for later. Our economy is in a very similar situation.

After the Orange team it was bleeding heavily.

We continued to lose blood, and soon this would lead to irreversible consequences.

We were able to stop this bleeding. Believe me, it was not easy.

Unfortunately, only now we have been able to overcome the chaos and get out of a steep dive.

And we need to correct many other things.

But at least we have a stable chain of command, we have stable public finances.

We have the economic growth. Its rates are not as high as we would like them to be. But still, our economy is growing one and a half times faster than the world economy.

We have a surplus of our current account of more than half a billion USD. In other words, the country sells more than it buys.

As of April, we have 0% of inflation.

Considering the incredible efforts we applied to get out of the financial hole, which we inherited, we carried out major changes in the system of governance.

If Tymoshenko's government initiated crises (sugar, petrol, meat), we initiate and carry out reforms (tax, administrative, pension). As they say, feel the difference.

And only today, when we were able to cope with the chaos left by the previous team, we were able to proceed to concrete measures to improve people's lives.

Pensions have been significantly increased

Almost all social payments have been increased

Payments on deposits of the former USSR Savings Bank are resumed

We began the implementation of our plan on creation of high-paid jobs

And the most important thing is that we now have some real resources to increase the social standards.

We have money in the economy.

We have an economic growth.

We have a predictable economic policy without government-created crisis. Even in the most difficult of times we were not shouting "All is lost!". Today we can say: "It is just the beginning!".

How is the house constructed? Nobody starts from decoration and soft couches.

First, people dig trenches, then they lay the foundation, and after that they erect walls

Today we have reached this stage. We have laid the foundation, this is economic growth, stable power vertical and stable finances. We construct walls in the form of reforms.

We now need to put the roof and to begin decoration.

We have not reached this stage yet, but aspire to it.

I have already mentioned the main issue on today's agenda for a good reason. Are we ready at this stage to destroy the building and to trust the construction to those, who left us ruins?

We know that we need to do a lot of things.

We know you want more and want it right now.

We set the same goal.

Finally, we can show you the facts, not just words.

This is not the time for experiments, especially if we already know, where these experiments take us.

Now we have the time to let the stability, created by us, to bring us to prosperity you want and deserve.

		PoR list status (Oksana Nazarenko)	Pre-approved by Tigipko	Recommendations of consultants	Comments
1	Azarov Mykola	Individual program			
2	Akimova Iryna	Yes	Yes	YES	
3	Bohatyryova Raisa	No	Yes	YES	<a href="http://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C1%EE%E3%EO%F2%FB%FO%B8%E2%EO_%D0">http://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C1%EE%E3%EO%F2%FB%FO%B8%E2%EO_%D0</a> .
4	Bohuslaev Viacheslav	Yes			
5	Boiko Yury	Yes		YES	
6	Bondarenko Olena	Yes		YES	
7	Brodsky Mykhail	No	Yes	YES	<a href="http://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/%CC%E8%F5%EO%E8%EB_%DE%F0%FC%E5%E2%E8%F7_%C1%FO%EE%E4%F1%EA%E8%E9">http://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/%CC%E8%F5%EO%E8%EB_%DE%F0%FC%E5%E2%E8%F7_%C1%FO%EE%E4%F1%EA%E8%E9</a>
8	Vilkul Oleksandr	Yes		YES	
9	Holenko Valery	Yes			
10	Honcharenko Oleksiy	No	Yes		Check relations of the target. Conflicts within the PoR in Odesa
11	Hrynevetsky Serhiy	Yes			Good speaker, but needed to clarify if he will work for PoR (conflicts within the Odessa PoR)
12	Dobkin Mykhail	Yes			
13	Yefremov Oleksandr	Yes	Yes	YES	Individual program is possible
14	Zhuravsky Vitaliy	No	Maybe		<a href="http://politradar.com/dossier/personne/id/570">http://politradar.com/dossier/personne/id/570</a>
15	Zarubinsky Oleh	Yes			
16	Zubanov Vladimir	Yes			
17	Kolesnikov Borys	Individual program		YES	
18	Kolesnichenko Vadym	Yes			
19	Korzh Viktor	Yes	No		
20	Kuzmuk Oleksandr	Yes			Is not recommended
21	Lavrynovych Oleksandr	Yes			
22	Larin Serhiy	Yes		YES	
23	Lukash Olena	Yes		YES	
24	Myroshnychenko Yury	Yes	Yes	YES	
25	Nadosha Oleh	Yes			
26	Oleinyk Vladimir	Yes	Yes		
27	Pinchuk Andriy	Yes			
28	Poroshenko Petro	Yes	Will not work		Is not a PoR member
29	Rybak Vladimir	Yes	No		
30	Samofalov Hennadiy	Yes			
31	Safiullin Ravil	No	Maybe		<a href="http://ubop.net.ua/dose/safiullin-ravil-safovich.html">http://ubop.net.ua/dose/safiullin-ravil-safovich.html</a>
32	Svyatash Dmytro	Yes			

33	Sivkovych Vladimir	No			<a href="http://potok.ua/dosie-politiki/12260-sivkovich-vladimir-leonidovich.html">http://potok.ua/dosie-politiki/12260-sivkovich-vladimir-leonidovich.html</a>
34	Skudar Heorhiy	Yes			
35	Slauta Viktor	Yes		YES	
36	Stoyan Oleksandr	Yes	Yes		
37	Sukhy Yaroslav	Yes	Yes		
38	Tabachnyk Dmytro	Yes	Yes	YES IN SOUTH	Need to test him in the polls
39	Tigipko Serhiy	Individual program			
40	Tolstoukhov Anatoliy	Yes			
41	Udovichenko Vladimir	Yes			
42	Fabrikant Svitlana	Yes	Yes		
43	Chmyr Yury	Yes			
44	Shufllich Nestor	Yes	Yes	YES	