
From: Kasanof, Alexander <kasanofa@state.gov>
To: K. Kilimnik </o=mex05/ou=exchange
administrative group
(fydibohf23spdlt)/cn=recipients/cn=kkilimnik@dmpint.com35e>
Cc:
Bcc:
Subject: Re: Second Round
Date: Sun Nov 15 2015 22:11:16 EST
Attachments:

Thank you very much for this! Agrees w/ what I've been worrying over and confirms my worst fears...
And, as ever, your analogies have me rolling on the floor. I'm sure Alan does not view you as a sex-doll!
:)

Not sure I'm going to make it out to Kyiv before next year. Things ever worse for me at work in terms of heavy load. But I haven't given up yet. You, of course, are always welcome in DC!

Keep up the good fight and we'll find a way to get together soon.

Best. -S

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

Original Message
From: K. Kilimnik
Sent: Sunday, November 15, 2015 5:12 PM
To: Kasanof, Alexander
Subject: Re: Second Round

Hey

Am surviving - overwhelmed by work and still have to analyze the results and get my hands around the data. I will try to write a longer email once I get all the facts.

Thanks for your congrats re: Klichko, although I honestly have to say he has been a personal disappointment. We had very strong team of consultants helping him, which I personally take pride in, and a very sound strategy. He should have won in the 1st round if he had listened to his consultants, and had not got distracted by his numerous "team members" and press-secretaries who want to be strategists. But I think he won anyways, and I am deeply disappointed and concerned at how he won.

The results of elections to the Kyiv city council should have been different. Democratic Alliance, Beryoza's Party of Resolute Citizens and Opposition Block should have qualified - they all had between 5 and 7%. We had very precise polling, which was right in every other case and city except in Kiev with respect to these 3 parties. The reason for this is that PP's Kononenko, Berezenko and Klichko's Stolar basically produced a set of extra ballots through illegal means bypassing the election commission (in Kiev - over 20 000 ballots) and falsified the elections. They stuffed these ballots in favor of Omelchenko's Yednist, which had very big number of PP's people.

So, as result of this artificial increase parties who were barely making it got disproportionately low number of votes. the Udar-BPP "mega-faction", which sort of has dominating positions in Kyiv city Rada, will consist of PP's people for the most part, and new heads of city administration departments (now 100% PP's people) will be doing things that will make you and everybody want Yanukovich back. It could actually have consisted of different set of people, who were willing and knowledgeable how to make the city work. So... VK will not simply be a "wedding general" - he will be "a wedding fuck toy", i.e. actively screwed by PP and basically have to play a role of scape goat for all the corruption. I think I and my people can help Klichko build a fence against it, but so far we have seen zero evidence of Klichko having his act together and implementing the strategy with precision.

Re: 2nd round in the other regions - again, our polling showed different numbers. In DP Vilkul was leading with 53 to 47%, and in Nikolaev OB's Dyatlov was winning by a big margin. In both of these cases I suspect that Kononenko-Berezenko technology of printing illegal ballots has worked, especially taking into account the low turnout. I would not take the exit polls seriously - unlike micro targeting technology that we are using exit polls have between 20 and 40% of people who refuse to answer, and the methodology is pretty questionable. I think we should wait for the election commissions to count the ballots and then I will be able to make some conclusions.

Overall I have to say that these elections have been probably the dirtiest in Ukraine's history. The law was not great, and both the law and the decisions of the CEC were ignored in many cases. I am not even raising the legal issues around OB - it is for the first time in my 10 years of work in Ukraine when territorial election commissions in Chernyiv, Vinnitsa, Zhitomyr, Herson sit down and "negotiate" the results of the ballots with very little connection to the PEC protocols. Somebody comes with a gun and says we need to quailify, otherwise you are dead (Svoboda in Chernyiv), and TEC sits down and just negotiates the final protocol. On the surface it helps this government a bit, although BPP's result, like other parties, is lower than expected by them. In reality it blows up the democratic framework and puts a huge time bomb under the next elections.

I did expect the West, particularly OSCE and the US Embassy to take a tougher stance against violations and be more attentive to nuances and details. These elections are clearly not the last ones and, from my standpoint, are not as important as the new Constitution process that should lead to peace and ultimately "a new deal" for the nation. What is important is integrity of the system and democratic framework, which I think is the biggest loser today.

I will write a longer analysis of the elections once I have time. At some point you and I should meet - either in Kiev - I still hope that you are coming this fall - or in Washington DC. A lot of things can not be put in email or communicated through the Embassy. I forced myself upon Alan last week, although I think he treats me like a rubber doll from a sex-shop - sort of useful sometimes, but generally confusing and awkward to recognize that sometimes you get along with it.

:))

K

11/15/15, 10:23 PM пользователь "Kasanof, Alexander" <KasanofA@state.gov>
написал:

>Hey, hope you are well. Watching 2nd round wrap up. Seeing reports come
>in, including exit polling.

>

>Congrats on Klychko! Your work paying off!

>

>See that everyone claiming Filatov won in Dnipro, except OppBloc exit
>polling. What are you hearing?

>

>And what do you think overall? What is SL thinking? I'm very worried
>about all the dirty dealing and where that leads Bankova...

>

>-S

>

>Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.