

# **EXHIBIT C**

**CONFIDENTIAL**

10 June 20112

**Memo for Paul Manafort**

**From:** D1

**Subject: Revised Network Idea for 2012 Involving Third-Party Champions on Ukraine Electoral and Economic Reforms**

**1. Purpose**

To begin to assemble a small chorus of high-level European third-party endorsers and politically credible friends who can act informally and without a formal government relationship between now and the end of the year. These persons could then become a more formal International Advisory Board starting in January 2013. Their value would be as much after the October election as before.

**2. Structure and Fees**

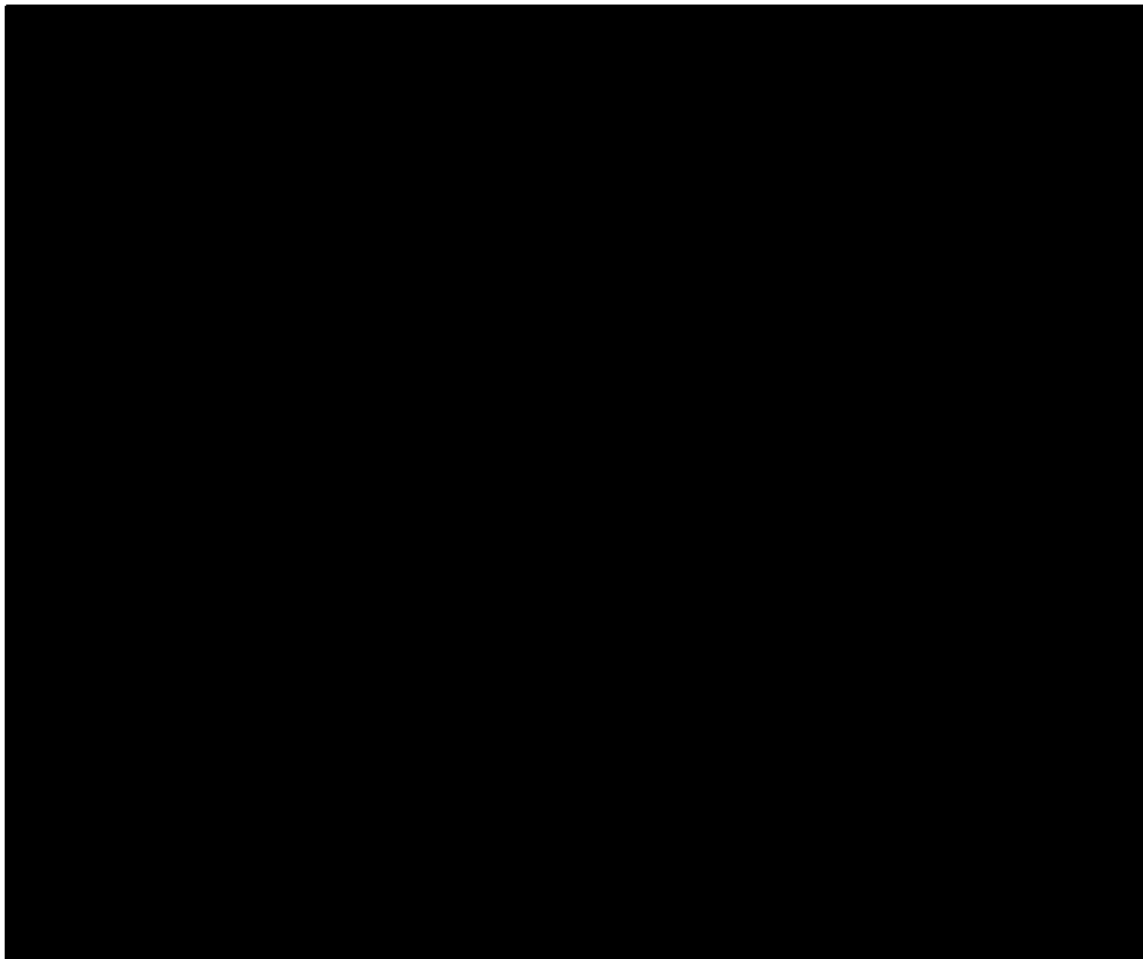
Led by former Chancellor Hapsburg Member, the other former leaders from would have a private sector or NGO relationship, even disbursed via the Chancellor himself for us so as to be quite indirect. Hapsburg member is willing to be discreet. In a just concluded telephone conversation today, he understood completely and embraced the idea of what he called "underground commenting" and said he would do it on a monthly budget that is pro-rated from or similar to his annual fees (that would amount to €30k a month). Even if we pushed him down a bit to €25k a month, that would mean that if we engaged him from July through December it would be €150k. My view is that this is a very good investment.

For others, they could be taken on in different ways via Speaker's Fees and Election Observer or other consulting fees and such in the September-December period, and that would cost for that period €50k to €100k each depending on how much we use them. Again, depending on the stature and nationality of the people we engage, if they were willing these would represent modest costs. A hypothetical total would be plus 2 others = €150,000 (6 mos) + €100,000 (4 mos) x 2 = Total potential of €350,000

### 3. Key Participants

They have not been spoken to but represent the initial talent pool [REDACTED] and I would canvass informally if you approve.

- 
- 
- 
- 
- 
- 
- 
- 



### 4. Work To Be Undertaken

Mission Statement: To take direction from us informally and via [REDACTED] to speak out in the European media and to write and publish occasional op-eds and to appear at select conferences we stage in Rome, Berlin or Brussels before and after the election of October, and if desired, to serve as a prestige international observer during the election. To essentially promote the idea of a Ukraine that is closer to Europe than to Russia and to recognise its path toward electoral and economic



reforms. Perhaps to write and announce a report examining the Electoral Law in terms of transparency, to emerge before or after the election this autumn.