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All In The Family
The Sequel

After winning a landslide election in 2014 following the EuroMaidan Revolution, President Petro Poroshenko's popularity has plunged as he concentrates power in his hands and fails to lead and – critics say – even obstructs Ukraine's war on corruption.

Yuriy Lutsenko, ex-head of Poroshenko's faction in parliament and now prosecutor general. *Loyalist*

Volodymyr Groysman, former mayor of president's power base region of Vinnytsia now serving as prime minister. *Loyalist*

Oleksandr Sayenko, the Cabinet's chief of staff. *Loyalists from Vinnytsia*

Andriy Reva, social policy minister. *Loyalists from Vinnytsia*

Volodymyr Kistion, deputy prime minister. *Loyalists from Vinnytsia*

Yury Stets, former executive of the president's Channel 5 who now heads the Ministry of Information Policy. *Loyalist*

Oleksiy Poroshenko, the president's son, lawmaker with Petro Poroshenko Bloc. *Son*

Petro Poroshenko, president of Ukraine. *Loyalist*

Viktor Shokin, ex-prosecutor general. *Loyalist*

Ihor Rainin, A Lozhkin ally who is currently Poroshenko's chief of staff. *Loyalist*

Oleksandr Granovsky, Kononenko confidant with alleged influence over judges and prosecutors. *Loyalist*

From business links to political power

Oleh Gladkovsky, former partner in automobile manufacturing now heading state arms producer Ukroboronprom.

Valeria Gontareva, founder of Investment Capital of Ukraine that managed Poroshenko's assets; now central bank chief.

Nina Yuzhanina, lawmaker and previously Poroshenko's accountant, now tapped to become head of the State Fiscal Service.

Kostyantyn Grigorishin, businessman close to the president who influences the energy sector.

Boris Lozhkin, former partner in media assets and former chief of staff.

Ihor Kononenko, business partner turned lawmaker with a grey cardinal role in managing the president's faction.

Dmytro Vovk, an ex-Roshen executive and now head of the energy regulator.

Kostyantyn Vorushlyn, Head of the Deposit Guarantee Fund, former banking partner with Poroshenko.

This edition kicks off the Kyiv Post's "Oligarch Watch" series of profiles, starting with the nation's most powerful oligarch, President Petro Poroshenko. Subsequent editions will profile billionaires Rinat Akhmetov, Igor Kolomoisky and Viktor Pinchuk. On March 2, 2012, the Kyiv Post published a front page with the same headline as today: "All In The Family." (See image on page 10.) The president then was Viktor Yanukovych who, despite installing loyalists in key positions, fled power on Feb. 22, 2014 during the EuroMaidan Revolution. Today, Poroshenko, after being elected in a landslide vote on May 25, 2014, is installing trusted loyalists to powerful posts, including some with questionable commitments to the national interest. Read more about this project and how to freely republish the articles in English, Ukrainian or Russian on page 10.

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Opinion 4, 5 | Lifestyle 19 – 22
Employment/Real Estate/Classifieds 22, 23

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CURRENCY WATCH
Hr 26 to \$1
Oct. 6 market rate



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Former Ukrainian soldier Vadym Svrydenko (R) leads the field in Kyiv on July 27 as he takes part in a qualifying round to select participants in the 10-kilometer event of the 41st Marine Corps Marathon, which is being held on Oct. 30 in the United States. Svrydenko uses special "blade" running prostheses. He lost both hands and parts of both legs after nearly freezing to death in the Ukrainian soldiers' losing battle of Debaltseve in 2015. (Ukrinform)

Soldier learns to live anew after losing hands and feet

BY YULIANA ROMANYSHYN
ROMANYSHYN@KYIVPOST.COM

Vadym Svrydenko lost his hands and feet during the disastrous battle for Debaltseve in February 2015.

He survived by a miracle, having waited for help for three days in freezing temperatures beside his comrades' dead bodies.

An athletically built 43-year-old man, after suffering his injuries he found himself incapable of the simplest everyday tasks, like walking or eating.

Since that, he's been learning to



Vadym Svrydenko speaks with Kyiv Post in his office in City Hall on Sept. 27. (Anastasia Vlasova)

live anew - he can now walk, eat by himself and cook his own food. And he has set himself a new goal - to run in a 10-kilometer race.

Unlucky escape

Svrydenko, a marketing specialist living in Kyiv, was called up in August of 2014 to serve as a paramedic.

In February 2015, he found himself in Debaltseve, a city in Donetsk Oblast some 800 kilometers away from Kyiv. Joint Russian-separatist forces besieged the city to take control of one of Ukraine's biggest railway junctions, forcing thousands of

Ukrainian soldiers make a fighting retreat out of encirclement.

Around 500 Ukrainian soldiers were killed during the retreat along rough tracks through fields covered with ice and snow - and sowed with landmines.

During the siege, a convoy of several vehicles with injured soldiers tried to make its way out of Debaltseve to get wounded troops to hospital in the nearest big town. Svrydenko was in one of them: His arm and thigh had shrapnel wounds.

But the injured never made it to the hospital. Landmines went off under the vehicles.

Some twelve wounded men, Svrydenko one of them, were forced to spend the night in the wrecked truck, as temperatures plunged to a freezing minus 25 degrees Celsius.

Svrydenko was the only one alive in the morning. All of his comrades had frozen to death in the night.

The wait

The uninjured soldiers in their party had left for the next Ukrainian-held checkpoint right after the explosion, promising to send help.

But no help ever came.

more Soldier on page 18

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Olga may actually be Oleg, so be careful with agencies

Editor's Note: International marriage agencies in Kyiv connect men and women from different countries via webchats and Skype calls. However, on many websites, foreign men are communicating with seductive strangers hiding behind the photographs of a Ukrainian beauty. This Kyiv Post journalist went undercover as a translator for one such agency.

BY VERONIKA MELKOZEROVA
MELKOZEROVA@KYIVPOST.COM

The website looks legitimate. The women are beautiful. And the money paid by male clients looking for a bride from Ukraine or Russia is paid in good faith.

But instead of chatting with, say, Olga, a sexy 25-year-old blonde from Kyiv, clients of international dating websites may be, in reality, talking to Oleg, a bearded 21-year-old computer science student who's impersonating their dream girl for \$200 a month.

The scheme is simple – male clients from the United States, Australia or Europe pay 10-12 cents per 10 minutes of online chat and \$1.50 for a personal letter to an international dating website to link up with a gorgeous woman whom clients believe is a prospect for romance and marriage.

But all too often the person replying to the heterosexual male seeking love is a translator, sometimes a male one, operating the profile of a real woman. Worse than that, the chances are the translator is "cheating" on their client already, typing sweet nothings to a dozen other men at the same time.

A portion of the money male clients pay for chats is transferred at the end of every month from the international dating portals to the smaller dating websites located in Ukraine that have provided them with verified profiles of real women.

One profile of a young beauty can earn \$600-\$2,000 per month, and the translator gets 40 percent of the earnings from each profile they operate.

Lucky Marriage agency is one such matchmaking company, connecting foreign men with Ukrainian women who want to get married, providing the profiles and photographs of real Ukrainian women to the international dating agencies.

It has no website, but is always search-

I am looking for a young Ukrainian wife.

Look no more. I'm a slim, beautiful 24-year-old girl who believes in true love.



NEWS ITEM: Anybody who blindly trusts dating agencies is making a mistake, as a Kyiv Post journalist discovered when working undercover for one online agency.

ing for professional translators. Numerous job offers for the agency can be found on Ukrainian head-hunting websites.

A Kyiv Post reporter attended a job interview day on Sept. 23 at the Lucky Marriage office, located in a renovated apartment on the first floor of an old building in the center of Kyiv, along with eight more job seekers - three of whom were young men. The job is popular among students and freelancers because of the flexible working schedule, the chance to improve one's English skills and the relatively high wages.

Ivan Yakovenko, the Lucky Marriage agency administrator told the undercover Kyiv Post reporter during the job interview that from the end of 2013 the dating business was extremely quiet, as many foreigners were afraid to come to Kyiv to meet with brides because of the EuroMaidan street protests. But since 2015 the situation has been improving, and many more foreigners are coming to Ukraine to meet women.

According to Yakovenko, the capital's marriage agencies expect a good year in 2017, as Kyiv is hosting the Eurovision Song Contest, which should bring not just new tourists and music, but also lots of wealthy foreign bride seekers.

And Yakovenko said that with the start of Russia's war in the Donbas, more women were registering their profiles with the dating agencies in the hope of getting married to a foreigner and leaving Ukraine.

The Kyiv Post contacted a Lucky Marriage representative for an official response, but the agency refused comment.

Professional flirting

The job of marriage website translator has strict rules and a lot of

more **Agencies** on page 18



The internet can be a corrupt swamp for those looking for a soulmate. It pays to be skeptical of the pictures and messengers in online dating agencies. (pixabay.com)

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Editorials

Art of deception

The Kyiv Post's eight-part Oligarch Watch series kicks off in today's edition on page 1 with a look at the nation's most powerful member of this elite club: President Petro Poroshenko.

Poroshenko is obviously more subtle, more flexible and more intelligent than Viktor Yanukovich, his artless, rigid and crassly corrupt predecessor. And unlike Yanukovich, he is more susceptible to pressure from the West and civil society and has not yet succeeded in building an authoritarian regime.

But yet at the same time, he is actually more dangerous than Yanukovich.

Society saw Yanukovich for what he really was: an uncouth kleptocrat with dictatorial tendencies – a petty thief who stole control of Europe's biggest country, just to rip it off and bleed it dry.

Poroshenko is different. He is much better at public relations and at pretending to be someone he is not.

By engaging in Western-style, reformist rhetoric and appointing some reformers to state jobs, Poroshenko has created a smokescreen that obscures his actual intentions.

He has managed to fool the West into giving him financial aid and promising to cancel visas with the European Union. At the same time, his cronies are destroying the very reforms that he is boasting about to the West, as he himself monopolizes power.

And at least Yanukovich never had the gall to cast himself as a patriot.

Poroshenko is using pseudo-patriotic rhetoric to attack his opponents and entrench his power, spreading the false idea that whoever criticizes a wartime president is working for Ukraine's enemy, Russia.

Meanwhile, Poroshenko's allies have been discrediting his critics by launching well-orchestrated smear campaigns, casting them as unpatriotic or corrupt.

Poroshenko himself has fended off a scandal over his British Virgin Islands offshore firm by rubbishing the journalists who broke it, and he has distracted society's attention from the alleged corruption of his allies by criticizing reform-minded politicians.

That's why Poroshenko poses a threat: a clever enemy of reform is more dangerous than a stupid one.

The only way to fight such an enemy is to call his bluff. That, we will do.

Assault on reform

Ihor Hryniv, head of President Petro Poroshenko's faction in parliament, first submitted a bill to effectively kill the system of electronic property and income declarations for officials, and then had to withdraw it under public pressure.

The Supreme Court asked judges of the Constitutional Court, who are being investigated on suspicion of being bribed by ex-President Viktor Yanukovich and helping him usurp power, to cancel judicial reform. Both courts are reportedly influenced by Poroshenko.

Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko, a Poroshenko loyalist, has been fighting for the right to determine which cases can be investigated by the National Anti-Corruption Bureau in an attempt to emasculate the only law enforcement agency independent of the president, while a Poroshenko Bloc lawmaker has submitted legislation to implement the idea.

Poroshenko is also seeking to obtain the right to unilaterally appoint governors and district administration heads, which critics say would let him usurp and monopolize power.

Interior Minister Arsen Avakov is pushing to endow the police with powers to ban citizens from disobeying even illegal orders of the police.

And little-known non-governmental groups are seeking to liquidate the ProZorro electronic public procurement system, while the government's open corporate register is experiencing DDoS attacks.

All of these efforts look to be part of a plan by the authorities to destroy the few checks on their pervasive corruption.

Ukrainian leaders are trying to fool the West into thinking that they are carrying out reforms, so as to get financial aid and the cancellation of visas with the European Union.

In fact, they are doing the opposite.

Ukraine's civil society and its Western friends will face an uphill battle with those in power this fall. The battle's outcome will determine whether Ukraine finally moves towards the rule of law or reverts to a Yanukovich-style gangster state.

NEWS ITEM: The Dutch-led Joint Investigative Team on Sept. 28 officially said that Malaysia Airlines Flight MH17 was shot down by a Buk missile launcher that was brought from Russia. However, the investigators said they were "not making any statement about the involvement" of the Russian Federation. Critics say Dutch investigators are reluctant to antagonize the Kremlin, but authorities say blame will be the focus of the next phase of the investigation.



NEWS ITEM: Head of President Petro Poroshenko Bloc's faction in parliament Ihor Hryniv offered to make information about public officials' declared valuables, such as art pieces, closed to the public. He called back his suggestion on Oct. 5 after a public outcry. He might have tried to protect himself: Although Hryniv was in public service his whole life, he reportedly owns a collection of expensive icons.



NEWS ITEM: Russian President Vladimir Putin suspended the Plutonium Management and Disposition Agreement, the collateral program that commits U.S. and Russia to turning their stocked weapons-grade plutonium into nuclear fuel on Oct. 3. For the deal to be prolonged, Putin has demanded that U.S. lift its sanctions against Russia.



NEWS ITEM: A Russian court on Oct. 3 fined opposition blogger Anton Nosik 500,000 rubles (\$8,000) for calling for "wiping Syria out of existence." Meanwhile, Russian aircraft are carpet bombing the besieged city of Aleppo in Syria, turning it to rubble and killing civilians, and have bombed a humanitarian aid convoy.

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The Kyiv Post welcomes letters to the editors and opinion pieces, usually 800 to 1,000 words in length. Please email all correspondence to Brian Bonner chief editor, at bonner@kyivpost.com. All correspondence must include an email address and contact phone number for verification.

Reformer of the week

Sergiy Petukhov

Sergiy Petukhov, a deputy justice minister, has fought against attempts to sabotage the system of electronic asset and income declarations for public officials. Petukhov, who oversees European integration at his ministry, filed his declaration on Oct. 1.

He said on Oct. 4 that very few officials had submitted their declarations. Not a single minister had filed a declaration, and only one out of Ukraine's 423 Verkhovna Rada members had filed one, he said. As of Oct. 6, only 3,717 officials, or 7 percent of Ukrainian officials and politicians, have submitted their declarations, as time runs out before the Oct. 31 deadline. The National Anti-Corruption Bureau said on Oct. 6 its detectives had stopped filing declarations because the system's templates did not comply with the law.

Anti-graft activist Vitaly Shabunin wrote on Sept. 27 that the State Service for Government Communications was constantly changing the e-declaration software, leading to numerous technical problems, which could result in a possible failure to punish corrupt officials in the courts. Meanwhile, the police are investigating an attempt to forge an electronic declaration. Lawmakers Anton Gerashchenko from the People's Front and Ivan Vinnyk from President Petro Poroshenko's Bloc have been accused of involvement in the forgery, but deny the accusations.

— Oleg Sukhov



Anti-reformer of the week

Ihor Hryniv

Ihor Hryniv, the head of President Petro Poroshenko's faction in parliament, on Sept. 29 submitted a bill seeking to ban public access to major aspects of electronic declarations and abolish criminal responsibility for lying in them, effectively killing the whole declaration system.

If Hryniv's bill had been passed, he would not have had to declare his expensive Orthodox Christian icon collection. He told the Ukrainska Pravda online newspaper in 2011 that he had about 300 icons, with experts estimating their value to be in the millions of dollars.

Hryniv said on Oct. 3 he was withdrawing his bill after consulting with Poroshenko. He blamed civil society's "lack of understanding" for the move, but promised to submit another amendment to the e-declarations legislation.

Neither Hryniv nor Poroshenko have so far filed their electronic declarations.

Officials are also using loopholes, such as their relatives' alleged failure to inform them of their property, divorcing their spouses to avoid declaring assets, and hiding the real source of revenues by identifying them as cash loans.

The e-declaration site became completely unavailable due to a power supply cut on Oct. 4, though access to it was restored later.

— Oleg Sukhov



To nominate someone as reformer or anti-reformer of the week, write to news@kyivpost.com

Ukraine must break grip of oligarchs over news media



OLGA KORNIEV

Ukraine's media are getting alarmingly constrained by ever-growing financial dependence. While private freedom of speech is still safe, things are not the same for journalists.

Ever since democracy was recognized as an ultimate good, the world began taking especial care of freedom of speech. You can't have one without the other, after all.

However, some countries, or better say some countries' establishments, have got hold of the idea that just declaring those values is more than enough. Regrettably, Ukraine seems to be one of these countries.

"Ukraine's stabilization and the fragile ceasefire in the east have been accompanied by a significant fall in abuses," says Reporters Without Borders, an international nongovernmental organization. "The authorities have adopted a number of reforms, including media ownership transparency and access to state-held information, but wealthy businessmen still keep a tight grip

on the media."

Reporters Without Borders' world press freedom index ranks Ukraine only 107 out of 180 countries.

"It's all about the 'oligarchs-media-establishment' love triangle," says Pavel Elizarov, the CEO of TV channel 3s.tv. "Certainly, those players influence each other by their nature. And it's the same in any country. The only question is the level of such interdependence. It's really alarming in Ukraine."

It doesn't look that bad at first sight. Yes, citizens are free to say or write whatever they want. And yes, they can criticize the government and share whatever content. Private freedom of speech is fine unless you cross common moral boundaries.

But if you are a salaried journalist writing an article that paints a not-so-appealing image of the president, things don't look so good.

A recent Vox Ukraine analysis indicated apparent self-censorship by TV channels. The analysis probed weekly news coverage by the four top channels since President Petro Poroshenko took office.

Believe it or not — but consistently, over the last two years, only 1–2 percent of the news coverage of Poroshenko was negative. Compare similar research in the U.S. — 48 per-



Savik Shuster, host of the popular Shuster Live political talk show, had his work permit revoked on April 25 in a move many interpreted as an attempt to silence him. It was later reinstated. (3s.tv)

cent of the coverage of U.S. President Barack Obama was negative.

"The existing poor conditions actually have a 15- to 20-year history," says Elizarov. "Some of the former presidents used to assign so-called endowments (land, factories, companies) to be managed by those whom we call oligarchs. Later on, those people took over the assets completely. That's how they became who they are now."

"Certainly, the establishment

wants to control them as much as possible. Classically it's done by pressuring their businesses — either through regulation or via power structures. Oligarchs use the media to protect their business in a direct way — instructing them to push a certain topic or highlight some person in a 'correct' way. The indirect way is to shine the spotlight on the 'right' people — those who need to become famous in order to get enough votes to become MPs. MPs

who will then later pass the 'right' laws," says Elizarov.

"This destructive mechanism undermines all the efforts of civil society and drags Ukraine back. It also blocks any movements towards a free journalism market. Oligarch-owned media represent a dead-end for all of us.

"(This is especially relevant) given the ongoing court case on the ban on Savik (Shuster, the political talk show host) working in Ukraine and the 13 million tax fine imposed on him," said Elizarov.

Shuster said: "Freedom of speech for all of us is still a value worth fighting for, and personally, I'm ready to sacrifice a lot for it."

Aside from freedom of speech, the Ukrainian Constitution grants freedom of thought as well. But there's still one important "freedom" missing from the text of Ukraine's fundamental law, one that is explicit in the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution — "freedom of the press."

That's an important phrase that should be enshrined in law — it's still not too late for Ukraine to leverage 300 years of experience and include it in its own constitution.

Olga Korniev is public relations manager for TV political talk show host Savik Shuster's 3s.tv channel. ■

Letter To Editor

Article on European Investment Bank agricultural lending program missed key questions about flaws

Dear Editor,

Although the Kyiv Post generally does high quality reporting, the article headlined "EIB gives €400 million boost to credit-starved agricultural industry" and published on Sept. 30 is poorly researched.

The loan involved is supposed to be oriented on small and medium farmers, however they are defined. This is mentioned in one place, but in fact the article talks about Ukraine's agriculture in general, which is dominated by the holdings.

So the article gives the impres-

sion that the loan is designed for Ukrainian agriculture, which is wrong. It is designed to create a level playing field for the small and medium producers by giving them access to finance. The large holdings do not need the help of European Investment Bank.

If the EIB loan goes to the large holdings, this would amount to corruption.

The question concerns the future of rural Ukraine. Will it be dominated by large financial conglomerates and oligarchs, or will small and medium producers and rural res-

idents get a chance. The EIB loan was justified to its board of directors as a program designed to benefit the small and medium producers.

If this article was supportive of reforms, it would:

- indicate that the implementing instrument (Ukreximbank) has little to no experience with the small to medium sector;
- it would transparently describe the loan conditions;
- i.e., what are the loan conditions that target the small and medium sector, and how is "small and medium" defined;

- i.e., how are the commercial banks selected? What proves that a bank has the capacity and interest to service this sector?;
- i.e., how does the loan deal with the issue of collateral, which is severely constrained due to the moratorium on land sales.

Finally, in the context of Ukrainian agricultural, the Agricultural Ministry states that the small and medium sector is a priority. So what is the involvement of the ministry with regards to this loan. How will they support the small and medium sector farmers to gain access to this loan.

I've been working on this subject matter for more than 10 years. I can be contacted at any time for more information. Currently I am working with Credit Dnipro bank; formerly I worked for the IFC (World Bank group). I help develop strategy for lending to the small and medium producers.

Sincerely,
Gary Reusche
Advisor to the Management Board
Agricultural Lending
Credit Dnipro Bank
Kyiv

Weekly business roundup

BY JOSH KOVENSKY
AND NATALIE VIKHROV
KOVENSKY@KYIVPOST.COM AND
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IMF hints at PrivatBank nationalization

The International Monetary Fund on Oct. 3 released its review of how Ukraine is progressing with the international lender's reform plan.

The 150-page document, which came together with a \$1 billion disbursement released last month, offers an in-depth chronicle of the country's attempt to reconstitute itself in line with the IMF's lending program, which could net Ukraine \$17.5 billion in loans if the country meets all of the lender's criteria.

The IMF suggests that PrivatBank - Ukraine's biggest lender and only privately owned systemically important bank - could be nationalized, and that the Finance Ministry would then hire a "well-known international firm" to run the bank.

Privat, which processes 75 percent of all transactions in Ukraine and accounts for more than 20 percent of banking assets, is alleged to have serious problems with related-party lending in its loan portfolio, which, together with a lack of operating capital, has rendered it unstable.

In the report, the IMF expressed disappointment with Ukraine's fight against corruption, noting that not a single high-ranking official has been convicted on corruption charges, and that the 2015 state budget received a total of just \$4,000 in recovered assets from corruption cases.

In other areas, the Washington-based lender was more positive - the IMF complimented the Ukrainian government on its willingness to increase gas tariffs charged to the public by 425 percent since the start of the loan program. That reform has played well macro-economically, although it has infuriated large sections of the Ukrainian population.

But when it comes to achieving



A PrivatBank branch in Kyiv on Aug. 19. Privat is Ukraine's only privately owned systemically important bank. (Anastasia Vlasova)

the structural reform of state-owned oil and gas companies, which continue to serve as cash cows for the country's oligarchs, Ukraine is lagging behind schedule. The IMF report notes that the government has yet to approve the transfer of Naftogaz gas transmission assets to a new entity, a move that could significantly stunt corruption in the sector.

The \$1 billion Ukraine received in September was \$700 million less than the country was initially set to receive. The country has received a total of \$7.6 billion since the current lending program began in March 2015.

Ukrnafta's financial statements leaked

State-owned oil extractor Ukrnafta's audited financial statements were leaked to a Ukrainian newspaper in early October, giving a new look at the state of the company's internal finances.

The Ukrainian weekly Dzerkalo Tyzhnia published the company's PwC-audited financial statements for 2014 and 2015. The documents reveal a total loss of \$261 million in 2015, along with an additional \$411 million in unpaid taxes.

"The statements also suggest Ukrnafta will not be able to continue as a going concern without a specific financial recovery program that would allow the cancelling of outstanding penalties for unpaid taxes, and recovering prepayments and debt for unpaid oil supplies," wrote Denis Sakva, an analyst at Dragon Capital.

Ukrnafta owes total of Hr 12 billion (\$460 million) to the state tax service.

Rescuing the company remains in the hands of its majority owner, Naftogaz, and its minority shareholder, the person who de facto controls the company - the oligarch Igor Kolomoisky.

Ukrnafta's management has drawn up a restructuring plan for the company, but it needs to be approved by a meeting of the company's shareholders. The minority shareholders have blocked the proposal over the course of two shareholder meetings.

State banks seek Hr 15.5 billion recapitalization

An estimated Hr 15.5 billion (\$600 million) is needed to recapitalize state-owned Ukreximbank and Oschadbank, according to media reports.

Ukreximbank is seeking Hr 12 billion (\$460 million) from the Ukrainian government for 2017 while

Oschadbank would need an estimated Hr 3.5 billion (\$140 million) to stay afloat.

The Ministry of Finance in January decided to recapitalize Ukreximbank with Hr 9.32 billion, increasing its registered capital to Hr 31 billion, while raising Oschadbank's registered capital by Hr 4.96 billion, to Hr 34.8 billion.

Dragon Capital analyst Anastasia Tuyukova said news of the banks requesting further state support was not surprising given the two banks as well as the National Bank of Ukraine made it clear that the Hr 14 billion received in the first quarter of 2016 was part of a three-year recapitalization program.

"Ukreximbank's higher recapitalization needs suggest more significant asset quality deterioration in view of the bank's higher share of F/X loans and a large customer base dependent on exports to Russia," she said.

Tuyukova the company believed the next injection would be approved in the first quarter of 2017.

"Concurrently, the banks are required to proceed with corporate governance reform. According to the latest Ukraine-IMF memorandum, independent directors are to be appointed to the state banks by the end of January 2017, after parliament passes underlying legislation by the end of October 2016," she said. ■

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In 2015, the Ukrainian budget received a total of \$4,000 in assets recovered from corruption cases. This would be enough to pay 2.5 bribes, according to Transparency International:



\$4,000

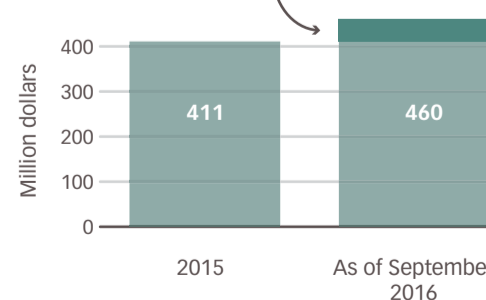
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2.5
bribes

By Ira Movchan | Source: www.imf.org, www.ti-ukraine.org

Ukrnafta is deep in debt to the state tax service, placing its future in deep doubt.



Total debt is \$460 million

By Ira Movchan

The International Monetary Fund has noted that has only recovered \$4,000 in stolen assets - nowhere near the \$20 billion or more allegedly stolen by ex-President Viktor Yanukovich's regime.



8th Kyiv Post CEO Breakfast assesses financial stability in Ukraine's economy

Several of Ukraine's top government and business leaders took part on Oct. 5 in the Kyiv Post CEO Breakfast to discuss the nation's economic developments.

The Hyatt Regency Hotel event was sponsored by DHL Express Ukraine and Syutkin & Partners law firm in Kyiv. Participants included: Vadim Sidoruk, DHL Express Ukraine; Nataliya Osadscha, partner, Syutkin & Partners law firm; Steven Fisher, CEO of Citibank Ukraine; Viktor Ponomarenko, general manager of ProCredit Bank; Dmitriy Kuzmin, CEO of Universal Bank; Dmytro Krepak, country manager, VISA; Rostyslav Shurma, CEO, Zaporizhstal; Taras Lukachuk, regional president, Jacobs Douwe Egberts; Dmytro Sologub, deputy governor, National Bank of Ukraine; Petro Rondiak, general director, Winner Imports Ukraine; Penko Dinev, general manager, IBM Ukraine; Shaun Lee, GESS companies; Brian Bonner, Kyiv Post chief editor; Kyiv Post commercial director Alyona Nevmerzhytska and Kyiv Post photographer Volodymyr Petrov. (Photos by Volodymyr Petrov)



Kyiv Post CEO Breakfast participants discuss how Ukraine can get from financial stability to robust economic growth

BY BRIAN BONNER
BONNER@KYIVPOST.COM

While Ukraine has emerged from economic crisis to something approaching financial stability, the nation still has a long way to go before it will attract enough foreign direct investment to help propel the nation's economy to solid growth.

That was the consensus of many of the more than a dozen government and business leaders who took part in the 8th Kyiv Post CEO Breakfast held on Sept. 5 in the Hyatt Regency Hotel. The event was sponsored by DHL Express Ukraine and Syutkin & Partners law firm in Kyiv.

A contentious debate took place

over whether the National Bank of Ukraine should lift currency restrictions to allow companies to repatriate profits out of the country. The NBU, worried about capital flight, has set a policy that restrictions can be eased only gradually as economic conditions improve. The central bank has set macroeconomic stability and structural reforms as their priorities.

The NBU has been widely praised for closing 80 insolvent banks, leaving 100 left that must pass stress tests, meet recapitalization requirements and end the widespread practice of insider lending and bank fraud that contributed to \$11.4 billion in losses since 2008.

Ukraine's economic stability has come at a tremendous cost to citizens, however, as a flexible exchange rate has seen Ukraine's currency, the hryvnia, lose two-thirds of its value against the dollar since 2014.

Moreover, no one has been brought to trial or convicted for what Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko estimates to be \$40 billion stolen from the nation during the 2010-2014 rule of ex-President Viktor Yanukovich.

While there also was consensus that Ukraine still has massive opportunities for growth in many sectors, the lackluster fight against corruption, bureaucracy and excessive regulation is causing investors world-

wide to bypass Ukraine.

Some in Ukraine tout the nation's educated workforce and cheap wages as attractions to investors – but at least one participant said that low wages is not something to brag about, because it means low purchasing power for consumers.

Ukraine has also not offset reduced imports with increased domestic production in some areas, indicating lingering problems with the investment climate. While Ukraine's banks have much liquidity – meaning they are capable of lending much more than they are – extending credit to many customers is still seen as too risky for bankers while the interest rates remain too high for prospective

borrowers.

But, as a recent International Monetary Fund report summarized, economic growth has returned, inflation has lessened, macroeconomic stability has taken hold and official unemployment is down. So there is hope for the future.

But with a gross domestic product that has dropped from \$180 billion in 2013 to an expected \$92 billion this year, the nation will not be able to achieve its economic aims – or satisfy the demands of Ukrainians for better living standards – with just 1 percent growth. Some, including U.S. Commerce Secretary Penny Pritzker, say Ukraine should aim for at least 6 percent GDP annual growth. ■



Free Roman Sushchenko!

Ukrainian journalists hold placards depicting their colleague Roman Sushchenko during an Oct. 6 protest to call for the release of a Ukrainian journalist detained in Moscow on allegations of spying, in front of the Russian Embassy in Kyiv. (AFP)



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Hasidic Jews honor Nachman



1. Tens of thousands of Hasidic Jews this week flocked to the central Ukrainian city of Uman in a pilgrimage to mark Jewish New Year. 2. A group of pilgrims blow the shofar, a horn used for Jewish religious events. 3. Orthodox Jews pray along a narrow Uman street near the grave of Rabbi Nachman. 4. Orthodox Jewish pilgrims pray near the lake during the celebration of Rosh Hashanah in Uman on Oct. 3. 5. Pilgrims pray near a grave of an old Jewish cemetery. (Volodymyr Petrov)

Revelry and prayer at Uman Orthodox Jewish pilgrimage

BY JOSH KOVENSKY
KOVENSKY@KYIVPOST.COM

UMAN, Ukraine – Tens of thousands of Orthodox Jews flocked to Uman this week to mark the Jewish New Year.

The pilgrims – who go to Uman to visit the grave of Rabbi Nachman of Bratslav – come mainly from Orthodox communities in Israel and the United States.

The gathering sees more than 30,000 pilgrims visit Uman, according to the Uman Emergency Clinic, a non-profit that supplies medical services for the gathering.

Uman, which is 191 kilometers south of Kyiv, has a population of roughly 86,000.

Cleansing Souls

Rabbi Nachman died in 1810. A Hasidic Rabbi who is noted for combining notoriously legalistic Jewish exegesis with the Kabbalah, a brand of Jewish mysticism in vogue with Hollywood.

Nachman's teachings founded a sect of Orthodox Judaism called Breslover Hasidism, named for Bratslav, the Vinnytsia Oblast city where the rabbi spent much of his life.

Nachman moved to Uman in his later years. Before his death, he



Orthodox Jewish pilgrim from Israel prepares meal during the celebration of Rosh Hashanah in Uman, on Oct. 3. (Volodymyr Petrov)

wrote that he would expiate the sins of any Jew who came to his grave on New Years.

In the Jewish religion, New Years occurs 10 days before Yom Kippur, the day on which Jews are supposed to atone for their sins of the past year. The Jews who travel to Uman believe that communion with Nachman's grave will allow them to further cleanse their souls.

"We're all gonna be in a better place because of him," said Zev Bennet, a

38-year-old pilgrim from Israel.

The pilgrimage's epicenter is located on Uman's Pushkin Street, a dusty road that winds down the hill where Nachman is buried. Many of the buildings that line the road have large banners with Hebrew writing on them.

During the Soviet Union, some pilgrims were able to receive visas for the pilgrimage, while others snuck across the Polish border, said Nachman Siegel, a New Yorker who

has made the pilgrimage nearly every year since 1989.

"People come from all over," said Shmuel Siegel, Nachman's brother, who also resides in New York City. Siegel then said that on the flight to Kyiv he sat next to another pilgrim who was coming directly from the Burning Man festival in Nevada.

"It's all very spiritual," Siegel added.

Jewish Messiah

Many of the pilgrims believe that Nachman's writings herald the coming of the Jewish messiah.

Though nobody at the gathering appeared to think that traveling to Uman would speed that process up, most pilgrims were quite open about their beliefs. Many of the pilgrims were anti-Zionist, believing that Israel's secular government is an abomination, and that the territory should be controlled by a theocratic Jewish government.

With the coming of the messiah, the pilgrims explained, Israel would cease to be secular, Israel would become a theocracy, and then the world would end.

One Israeli pilgrim named Mo Dori told the Kyiv Post that he became a follower of Nachman after a life of partying that nearly ended with a suicide attempt.

"When the messiah comes, all the bad guys are gonna go away," Dori said. "It's going to happen soon."

Drinking and praying

Residents of Uman have criticized the pilgrims for public drunkenness, saying that the event is a pretext for Orthodox Jews to get drunk and party near the grave of a man they consider holy.

Though this year's gathering passed in peace, pilgrims have clashed with locals in the past.

2010 saw 10 Hasids deported from Ukraine after getting into a knife-fight with local residents.

Since then, the Ukrainian authorities have taken steps to separate the main pilgrimage center from the rest of the city, with non-Jewish residents needing special authorization to make it past a police cordon that covers the area.

The festival was full of people swigging bottles of Corona or Carlsberg in between prayers. One teenage Hasid appeared to be sneaking a bottle of Glenfiddich whisky under his coat jacket to a ritual purification session, while many started the day with beer.

"It's all about loving each other," said Yitzhak Feldman, an Israeli pilgrim sporting a porkpie hat instead of a yarmulke along with aviator sunglasses. "It's fun – you pray when you want." ■

IMF praises, raps Ukraine

BY KYIV POST

It's a 150-page report, but well worth reading to gain understanding of where Ukraine's economy stands in the estimation of the International Monetary Fund.

The IMF is a big creditor to Ukraine, having doled out \$7.6 billion in loans since last year out of a \$17.5 billion program through the end of 2018. But Ukraine's faltering anti-corruption drive and slow progress on structural reforms caused the international lender to delay a fresh \$1 billion installment for more than a year. Finally, Ukraine showed enough commitment to its conditions for the IMF to recommend restarting the lending program last month.

The executive summary by Christine Lagarde, the IMF's managing director, is straight to the point:

"Ukraine is showing welcome signs of recovery, notwithstanding a difficult external environment and a severe economic crisis. Activity is picking up, inflation has receded quickly, and confidence is improving. Gross international reserves and bank deposits have risen. While the social and economic cost of the crisis has been high, growth is expected to be higher in the period ahead. This progress owes much to the authorities' program implementation, including sound macroeconomic policies, bold steps to bring energy tariffs to cost-recovery levels, and measures to rehabilitate the banking system. Determined policy implementation, however, remains critical to achieve program objectives, given the significant challenges ahead.

"Further progress in fiscal reforms is key to ensure medium-term sustainability. The authorities need to avoid tax policy changes that lead to higher deficits. The focus should be on improving tax and customs administrations. Moreover, para-



A demonstrator in Kyiv holds a banner on July 6 during a rally in front of the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers to protest hikes in utility rates on July 6. Ukraine's painful moves to market-based utility pricing has reduced corruption in the energy sector, but has triggered consumer protests. (Volodymyr Petrov)

metric pension reform is crucial to reduce the pension fund's large structural deficit, help reduce fiscal deficits and public debt, and create room to bring pensions to sustainable levels over time.

"Monetary policy has been skillfully managed and financial sector reforms have started to yield results. Priority should continue to be given to reducing inflation and rebuilding international reserves, also to make room for the gradual removal of remaining administrative measures. The authorities need to further strengthen the banking system through recapitalization, unwinding of related-party lending, and resolution of impaired assets.

"A sustainable recovery requires completing the structural transformation of the economy, where much remains to be done, including combating corruption and improving governance. Creating a level-playing field and ensuring equal application of the rule of law is essential to raise investment. A decisive start needs to be made with the restructuring and divestiture of state-owned enterprises, and prosecuting high-level corruption cases.

"Ukraine's international partners have contributed to efforts to strengthen the economy with considerable financial and technical support. These remain important for the success of the program.

The completion of the restructuring of sovereign debt held by pri-

vate bondholders was an important step to put debt back on a sustainable path. It is important that the resolution of remaining sovereign arrears proceeds promptly."

"The ex-post evaluation...notes that while the program faced substantial risks from the outset and did not achieve many of its goals, it served as an important policy anchor in an uncertain environment."

In a published Sept. 1 letter of intent signed by President Petro Poroshenko, Prime Minister Volodymyr Groysman, National Bank of Ukraine Governor Valeria Gontareva and Finance Minister Oleksandr Danylyuk, the Ukrainian leaders made this commitment:

"We remain committed to continuing our efforts to enhance transparency and address corruption, speed up privatization and improve governance of state-owned enterprises...In this regard, we have adopted legislation and launched an effective and transparent asset declaration requirement for high-level officials. We have also stepped up our efforts by adopting several key pieces of legislation, including amendments to the law on privatization and a new law on corporate governance of state property." ■

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Deja vu all over again?

Story At A Glance

Petro Poroshenko is, in many ways, the ultimate insider: He was a co-founder of Viktor Yanukovich's disgraced Party of Regions and served the former president as his economic minister, served as foreign minister under former President Viktor Yushchenko and served for five years on the board of directors of a corrupt, non-transparent National Bank of Ukraine. He has the keen ability to change political tack when needed.

One person who studied with him, Vitaly Bala, said Poroshenko doesn't trust many people – common for those who built their fortunes in the gangster capitalism era of Ukraine's early independence years.

Nonetheless, his approachability before assuming the presidency in 2014 made him popular. During two revolutions, he waded into crowds on his own, in contrast to the bodyguard-protected, Soviet-style apparatchiks who dominated politics. He also, importantly, took the right side in both revolutions.

He is widely suspected of making a deal two years ago with exiled billionaire oligarch Dmytro Firtash, the so-called "Vienna Agreement," in which Poroshenko agreed not to prosecute Firtash, in exile in Vienna, and other Yanukovich allies in exchange for support in the May 25, 2014 presidential election. Poroshenko admits to meeting Firtash in Vienna, but denies any deal.

A return to authoritarianism under Poroshenko is unlikely. His temperament is softer and the nation has changed. However, Poroshenko is now unpopular. While winning the May 25, 2014 election with 55 percent of the vote, a poll by the Rating agency released in August shows his approval rating has dropped to 6.4 percent – close to the ratings that denied Yushchenko re-election in 2010. Rather than changing course to meet the public's demands, the president appears to be digging in, putting him on a collision course with the electorate.

Editor's Note: This article is the start of the "Oligarch Watch" series of reports supported by Objective Investigative Reporting Program, a MYMEDIA project funded by the Danish government. All articles in this series can be republished freely with source credit and are available in the Russian or English languages. Contact news@kyivpost.com for details. Content is independent of the donor.

BY OLEG SUKHOV, OKSANA GRYTSENKO AND ALYONA ZHUK
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He is the president of Ukraine, living in a luxurious mansion in the suburbs of Kyiv with a high fence concealing a vast estate that even has its own chapel.

He's one of the founders in 2000 of the now-defunct Party of Regions. His son is a lawmaker. His business is on the rise when the rest of the country is struggling to crawl out of a deep recession.

No, this is not a story about Viktor Yanukovich, the disgraced former president who fled after riot police and snipers from behind police lines gunned down protesters demanding a break from cronyism, kleptocracy and nepotism nearly three years ago during the EuroMaidan Revolution.

This is the story about his successor and vehement critic, Petro Poroshenko.

But is he really very much different?

An oligarch president

"They have a symmetrical, mirror-like image in many ways," says Igor Lutsenko, a lawmaker from the opposition Batkivshchyna Party and former EuroMaidan Revolution activist. "The difference is that Poroshenko is more sensitive to Western demands and Western support. But in all other things, he is just the same."

Like Yanukovich, Poroshenko has shown a proclivity to monopolize power and surround himself in government not with profession-

als whose credentials are based on merit, but with close friends, business partners and other loyalists – some of whom are accused of massive corruption.

But in contrast with the previous president, Poroshenko is more constrained by Ukraine's emboldened civil society and a public less fearful of state power. He has, as a consequence, not built a fully centralized, let alone authoritarian, regime.

Ukraine's future may depend on whether Poroshenko succumbs to the more sinister inclinations of his predecessor, or meets society's demands for rule of law and an end to systemic kleptocracy. The outcome of the ongoing struggle goes down in history as a national hero or ends his political career in disgrace, like his four predecessors.

Poroshenko did not agree to be interviewed by the Kyiv Post for this profile.

When asked at a press conference in June on how different from his predecessor he is, Poroshenko answered: "You see the difference yourself."

He added that his son, Oleksiy, got elected to parliament in 2014 in a competitive way and his confidant Yuriy Lutsenko, appointed prosecutor general on May 12, is bringing positive changes and reforms.

Yanukovich built his massive billion-dollar Mezhyhirya mansion and established a crony and kleptocratic "family capitalism" style of government as president from 2010-2014. After years of serving as a political front man representing the interests of Donbas-based oligarchs, he had finally taken his place among their ranks.

Petro Poroshenko

Date of birth: Sept. 26, 1965.
Place of birth: Bolgrad, Odessa Oblast; then moved to Bendery, Moldova; his political and business base was in Vinnytsia.
Wealth: \$858 million, sixth richest person in Ukraine, according to a 2016 Forbes ranking.
Key Assets: Roshen confectionary, Fifth Channel, Leninska Kuznya shipyard.
Personal: Married to Maryna Poroshenko; two sons and two daughters.
Praised for: Signing an association agreement with the European Union that secured the West's political and trade support for Ukraine; going against corrupt power structures by supporting the 2004 Orange Revolution and 2013-14 EuroMaidan Revolution.
Criticized for: Obstructing legal and economic reforms; covering up for controversial allies accused of corruption.



(Volodymyr Petrov)

With his popularity sinking at home and in Western capitals, President Viktor Yanukovich appears to be digging in to keep his hold on power. While he doesn't stand for re-election until 2015, his ruling Party of Regions faces a key test in the Oct. 28 parliamentary election. The president has installed key allies to head virtually all of the nation's most powerful financial and law enforcement agencies. The impression that loyalty rather than qualifications is the determining factor in these appointments is worrisome to many people. See story on page 2.

All In The Family



Yanukovich's kleptocratic rule was family affair

At the time, many readers considered the Kyiv Post front page from March 2, 2012, to be a bold and daring look at ex-President Viktor Yanukovich's inner circle of loyalists installed in powerful jobs. Looking back, the coverage seems tame and restrained, especially this sentence: "The impression that loyalty rather than qualifications is the determining factor in these appointments is worrisome to many people." Almost everyone in this photograph has been driven into exile after their patron, Yanukovich, fled power on Feb. 22, 2014, during the EuroMaidan Revolution. His younger son, Viktor Yanukovich Jr., drowned. What hasn't changed are some of the habits of Ukraine's five presidents. As shown on page 1, President Petro Poroshenko has installed loyalists and current or former business partners in key positions. Is this good for the nation?

In contrast, Poroshenko made the leap to president after having established himself in prior years as an oligarch with his own business empire, television channel, political party and mansion.

Early life

A glance into the early life of Poroshenko, who owns a diversified business empire spanning from the Roshen confectionary group to banking and shipbuilding, provides

insights that could explain what drives him as a person, and his behavior as president.

What rise of Poroshenko's son, Oleksiy, says about father's ways

Some see echoes of Yanukovich's nepotism in rising political career of president's son

BY ALYONA ZHUK
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The resume of Oleksiy Poroshenko tells much more than the credentials of the president's son.

It offers a glance into how Petro Poroshenko often appears to shape his political power base and make top-level appointments from business to politics not necessarily based on merit, but from a mix of loyalists, former business partners and even family.

The swift rise of his 31-year-old son from top-tier universities into management at family-owned companies -- and ultimately into politics as a parliament lawmaker -- is telling.

For some, it smacks of the deeply entrenched nepotism and cronyism that Ukraine was yearning to rid itself of nearly three ago, when protesters dodged sniper fire on Kyiv's main square to oust Viktor Yanukovich, the kleptocratic pro-Moscow president.

In a rare interview, an English-speaking and at times nervous Oleksiy Poroshenko, who has served as a lawmaker in the president's party since October 2014, steadfastly denounced such comparisons.

'Do you see similarity...?'

"Do you see a similarity between me and Oleksandr Yanukovich or Viktor?" asked Poroshenko Junior, a physically gentle character compared to the two towering sons of ex-president Yanukovich.

Under his father's presidency, Oleksandr Yanukovich, the elder son educated as a dentist, became one of Ukraine's wealthiest people. The younger Viktor, who reportedly drowned while driving over Lake Baikal on March 20, 2015, was more known for his love of tuned-up automobiles and off-road racing.

According to his declaration, Oleksiy Poroshenko owns a BMW cabriolet, Land Rover Discovery, and

rare GAZ 14 Chaika, a legendary Soviet business-class car.

Switching to other comparisons made between his father and the former president, Oleksiy Poroshenko stressed his father became president after having already owned a vast estate outside Kyiv -- after having established himself as a wealthy man, not vice versa.

"Everyone knew about these estates when Poroshenko was being elected. It's a different story where Yanukovich got the estates," he said referring to Yanukovich's vast Mezhyhirya estate outside the capital.

Defends father's record

Oleksiy Poroshenko defended his father's record on reforms.

"I always believed that Petro Poroshenko is very professional and very patriotic man. For me he has been a role model for the big part of my life," he said. "So when he was elected as president I definitely thought that he is a person who has the will power and necessary instruments to bring around change and reforms."

Oleksiy Poroshenko studied at some of the world's most prestigious schools, from Eton and Winchester Colleges, to the London School of Economics and INSEAD business school in Singapore and France.

Apart from summer internships at Merrill Lynch and JP Morgan, most of his hands-on working experience came either thanks to his father, or under his watchful eye.

He spent a few years working at the finance department in Roshen company, Petro Poroshenko's confectionary giant.

"(Then) I thought that people with good education, with some experience and most of all with good intentions should try to reform the government. That's why I applied for the job in diplomacy," he says. He applied for and got a job in Ukraine's



Oleksiy Poroshenko talks to a colleague in parliament on April 12. (Volodymyr Petrov)

Son of wealthy president disputes comparisons between his father and Yanukovich; says his father earned his wealth, didn't steal it. Oleksiy Poroshenko also believes his father is patriotic and reform-minded, and calls him a 'role model.'

trade economic mission in China in 2010, when his father served as Ukraine's foreign minister.

No nepotism here

Oleksiy Poroshenko says his father had nothing to do with his appointment for the job, as he was a subordinate to the economy and trade minister, who made all the decisions considering the economic and trade mission.

The president's son has also consulted his father's Channel 5 television station on cost cutting.

The political career of Oleksiy Poroshenko started a few years back when he was elected to the oblast council of Vinnytsia, a region that has served as a political power base for his father. Poroshenko himself was elected for many years to parliament in the region where his Roshen chocolate group is a big employer.

Interestingly, Oleksiy Poroshenko was elected regional council member from the Batkivshchyna Party led by then-jailed Yulia Tymoshenko, the former prime minister and rival of his father. Oleksiy said he at the time considered this "the main opposition party to Yanukovich." Soon after the EuroMaidan Revolution, Oleksiy Poroshenko switched to Petro Poroshenko Bloc and was elected to parliament in autumn 2014.

Oleksiy Poroshenko says he takes his job seriously.

"For me the main thing is that the overwhelming majority of citizens in my constituency trusted me and delegated me to the parliament to do what I promised them I'd do,"

Oleksiy Poroshenko says. "And this is very important for me. Not to let them down."

Judge by deeds

"I want to show that if you're a relative of a president or a prime minister, or a member of parliament, or whoever in politics, it doesn't necessarily make you good or bad," Oleksiy Poroshenko explains, adding that one can judge a person only by their deeds.

While Viktor Yanukovich Jr. hardly ever attended parliamentary sessions, Oleksiy Poroshenko seems more diligent in his job.

As a lawmaker, Oleksiy Poroshenko has co-written 23 draft laws, according to the official website of Ukraine's parliament. Of those, six have already become law.

In four cases Oleksiy Poroshenko initiated draft laws with one co-author, either his father's former press secretary Iryna Fryz or another ex-member of the Vinnytsia Oblast Council and former assistant of Petro Poroshenko, Ivan Melnychuk. At least half of the bills filed by Oleksiy Poroshenko were co-written by more than 15 authors.

While Viktor Yanukovich Junior was elected to parliament on the party ticket of his father's party, Oleksiy Poroshenko claims he decided to get elected through a single mandate constituency so as "not to hide behind parties or ... [a] family member."

The constituency in Vinnytsia

Oblast where he was elected is the same one that twice elected his father to parliament.

But pointing to Oleksiy's own resume, critics paint a different picture.

Daria Kaleniuk, the executive director of the Anti-Corruption Action Center, told the Kyiv Post that it is almost impossible to win a seat in parliament through the single-mandate constituency in Ukraine without administrative resources or bribes.

"Oleksiy Poroshenko is not known for any exceptional achievements for the community, so his appearance in parliament is connected to a single feature -- that he is the son of Petro Poroshenko," she said.

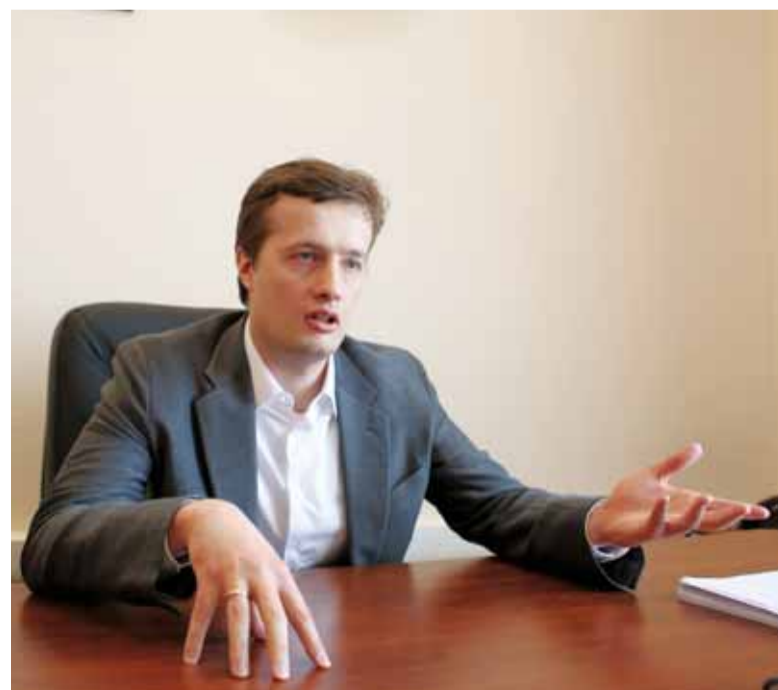
Oleksiy Poroshenko defended his father's work as president.

"I think that we're very lucky that we have such a president, because I definitely see a lot of positive changes in national security, and of course our diplomacy. I think this is one of the areas we have had a very professional approach from the very beginning."

He said Yanukovich and Poroshenko can't be compared, as the first one usurped power, while the second one maintains freedom of speech and respects the constitution.

"Can we say that everything is fine now and everyone should be satisfied? Obviously, no," he said. "But if we keep asking these questions, we're just trying to prove to ourselves that nothing is changing. I think that's dangerous. Something is changing, 100 percent."

"We had a very negative experience before in Ukraine, and given that, I can understand some frustration," he said stressing: "I have nothing to be ashamed of." ■



Oleksiy Poroshenko sits in his office in Kyiv during an interview with the Kyiv Post on April 22. (Anastasia Vlasova)



**OLIGARCH
WATCH**

Poroshenko seen as loath to take on other oligarchs

Poroshenko from page 10

Poroshenko was born in the Soviet Union, in Bolgrad, Odesa Oblast, a city of 15,000 people located 700 kilometers south of Kyiv in the far southwestern corner of Ukraine. When he was a schoolboy, his family moved away from Bolgrad, with its strong ethnic Bulgarian makeup, to the city of Bendery, now part of Moldova's Russian-speaking break-away Transnistria region.

The president's allies say they moved because Poroshenko's father, Oleksiy, received a job as a top executive at an automotive repair plant. But residents in Bolgrad have said the Poroshenko brothers had a reputation for getting involved in fights, noting that the reason the family left Bolgrad may have been related to an incident involving Poroshenko's elder brother, Mykhailo.

Petro Poroshenko demonstrated a short temper during his youth. While serving in the Soviet army, he was in 1984 sent to serve in a strategic missile unit in Kazakhstan as a penalty for a fight with two other conscripts.

From 1982 to 1989, Poroshenko studied international economics at the Kyiv Institute of International Relations, a prestigious university where children of top Soviet officials and those of big bosses from Soviet satellite countries studied. At the university, Poroshenko met Mikheil Saakashvili, who went on to become Georgia's president and now serves as governor of Odesa Oblast.

Poroshenko took part in the family business starting from the late 1980s, though details remain clouded by the reluctance of the president and his relatives to discuss in detail the early years of their family and the formation of their now-vast business empire.

Brother dies

Poroshenko was dealt a heavy blow when his elder brother Mykhailo died tragically in 1997, but family members do not discuss the incident in detail.

In a Kyiv Post interview, Poroshenko's son Oleksiy, a lawmaker in parliament, got nervous when asked about what happened to his uncle.



Petro Poroshenko, then a lawmaker, tries to placate EuroMaidan Revolution demonstrators on Bankova Street in front of the Presidential Administration in Kyiv on Dec. 1, 2013. (Pavlo Podufalov)

"To be honest, at that time I was quite small, and I don't remember or have the information. So I can't provide you with any insider information," he told the Kyiv Post, adding: "I know that he died when he was fairly young, but how and in which circumstances - I don't know."

In Poroshenko's official biography published on the presidential website, details of his business career are limited to 1993-1998, when he headed the Ukrprominvest diversified business group.

Friends made during his service in the army became his business partners. Then he made the shift into politics, ultimately ushering associates along with him into the highest

levels of government

"Poroshenko's problem is that he's a businessman of the 1990s, so he doesn't trust anyone," said political analyst Vitaly Bala, referring to the chaotic early days following independence when business was ruthless, often involving gangster-style hits and racketeering. Bala studied alongside Poroshenko at university in Kyiv.

Poroshenko's wife Maryna was born in the Russian city of Lipetsk, where Poroshenko later bought a confectionary. Her father, Anatoly Perevedentsev, was a deputy health minister of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Kuchma's protege

Poroshenko emerged as a politician under President Leonid Kuchma and borrowed patterns of behavior from him, said Sergii Leshchenko, a lawmaker from the Poroshenko Bloc, yet a fierce critic of the president himself.

Similarly to Kuchma, Poroshenko plays several scenarios at the same time and arbitrates among several business-political clans, Leshchenko added.

Unlike Yanukovich, who has been more or less consistent in his political positions, Poroshenko has changed tack many times and served in many different Ukrainian governments. Having backed Viktor Yushchenko before and after the 2014 Orange Revolution, he was briefly economy minister under Viktor Yanukovich.

Critics accuse him of extreme conformism, arguing that he has always jumped onto the bandwagon of the winning side.

Start with oligarchs

Poroshenko's path into politics started in 1998, when he joined the then highly influential United Social Democratic Party of Ukraine, or the so-called "oligarch party," which was headed by Viktor Medvedchuk, who was then an ally of Kuchma and is today a close friend of Russian President Vladimir Putin. In that year Poroshenko was elected to parliament for the first time.

Two years later, he left Medvedchuk's party and created his own party - Solidarnist.

In 2000 Solidarnist merged into the Party of Regions, which later became Yanukovich's power base. Poroshenko, ironically, was one of its co-founders.

But in 2001 he switched to the political camp of Viktor Yushchenko's Our Ukraine, which was opposed to Kuchma and Yanukovich. According to Ukrainian political analyst Kostyantyn Bondarenko, Poroshenko then decided that Yushchenko's political project "was more promising." Poroshenko was also tied to Yushchenko, as he was the godfather of Yushchenko's twin daughters.

"The Party of Regions at that moment didn't have any bright leaders, they didn't have Yanukovich, who became the party's chairman only in 2003," Bondarenko says.

After two terms as a lawmaker with Yushchenko's camp, Poroshenko went on to head the National Security and Defense Council in 2005, the supervisory board of the National Bank of Ukraine in 2007 to 2012 and the Foreign Ministry in 2009 to 2010.

Poroshenko switched sides again in 2012, when Yanukovich appointed him economy and trade minister. He lasted less than a year on the job, however.

Bondarenko said that Poroshenko had managed to have good relations with all governments because he is a businessman.

"Big business can't be opposed to the authorities because otherwise it would lose its profits," Bondarenko said. "In Europe it's the same - when a new political force comes to power, business gradually starts orienting itself towards it. (Poroshenko) is still a businessman foremost."

War-time president

Despite having served Viktor Yanukovich, Poroshenko joined the EuroMaidan Revolution, which toppled the disgraced president on Feb. 22, 2014. At that time, he was known mostly as a pro-Western lawmaker whose business was suffering from Russia's ban on the imports of Ukrainian confectionary products.

While Yanukovich was seen as a Soviet-style apparatchik who was uncomfortable with direct contact with ordinary people, Poroshenko was not afraid of facing crowds.



Filaret, the patriarch of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, ex-presidents Viktor Yushchenko and Leonid Kuchma and President Petro Poroshenko (from left to right) on Victory Day on May 9, 2015. (UNIAN)

On Dec. 1, 2013 Poroshenko unexpectedly appeared out of the crowd to placate radical protesters who were clashing with the police in front of the Presidential Administration. It didn't help, but Poroshenko stood out among opposition politicians as brave and decisive. His public approval rating grew steadily. Just four months later, Poroshenko won the early presidential election with almost 55 percent support, as voters sought to quickly and decisively choose a new national leader after Yanukovich fled, and the country faced war with Russia over Crimea and the eastern Donbas region.

"A good education, a flexible mind and fast reactions" helped Poroshenko to seize the moment, said Vasyl Gorbai, a former Yanukovich party lawmaker and banker who studied alongside Poroshenko during their university days.

"It's no secret that he spoke to (the EuroMaidan Revolution's) opponents... So he probably had more information than his other colleagues, (and) could analyze it faster and come to a decision," Gorbai added.

Faces enemies

On Feb. 28, 2014, before being elected president, Poroshenko tested his skills as a power broker when he arrived in the soon-to-be-annexed Crimea to negotiate with local politicians and persuade them to deal with Kyiv. But he failed to meet anyone, recalling later that the local authorities proposed meeting at a local bath and laundry complex near Simferopol – an offer that he refused. An angry crowd of locals attacked him with shouts of "Russia" and "Out of Crimea" in front of Crimea's parliament.

On April, 24, 2014, Poroshenko risked making a one-day visit to Luhansk, which was already under Kremlin-backed separatist control. He had to storm through a blockade of hundreds of pro-Russian locals at Luhansk Airport. Later in May, he claimed that separatists had tried to kidnap him.

"When I traveled to Luhansk Oblast, my car was fired at and there was an attempt to take our entire group hostage," he told journalists.

Firtash deal?

Dmytro Firtash, a Yanukovich ally who has been a partner of Russia's Gazprom in supplying natural gas to Ukraine and European markets, claimed that he played an important role in clearing Poroshenko's path to the presidency. Firtash said that in April 2014 he had met in Vienna with Poroshenko and Vitali

Klitschko, the heavyweight boxing champion turned politician whom polls predicted in 2013-2014 would win the early presidential election. Firtash claimed to have convinced Klitschko to back down from his presidential ambitions and back the candidacy of the more experienced Poroshenko.

"The main thing is that we got what we wanted: Poroshenko is the president, and Klitschko has become the mayor (of Kyiv)," Firtash said at a court hearing on his extradition to the United States in a bribery case. Both Poroshenko and Klitschko have admitted to meeting Firtash in Vienna, but denied seeking Firtash's blessing for a political power-sharing agreement or offering him legal protection from prosecution.

In spite of the EuroMaidan Revolution bringing him to power, Poroshenko has not moved to purge ex-Yanukovich allies from key government positions. He has been accused of consistently violating the lustration law, which envisages firing top Yanukovich-era officials. The lustration law does not apply to Poroshenko, first because he is an elected official, and second because he served under Yanukovich for less than a year.

Instead, Poroshenko "is exploiting fossils of the Yanukovich era at the Central Election Commission and the Constitutional Court," Leshchenko said.

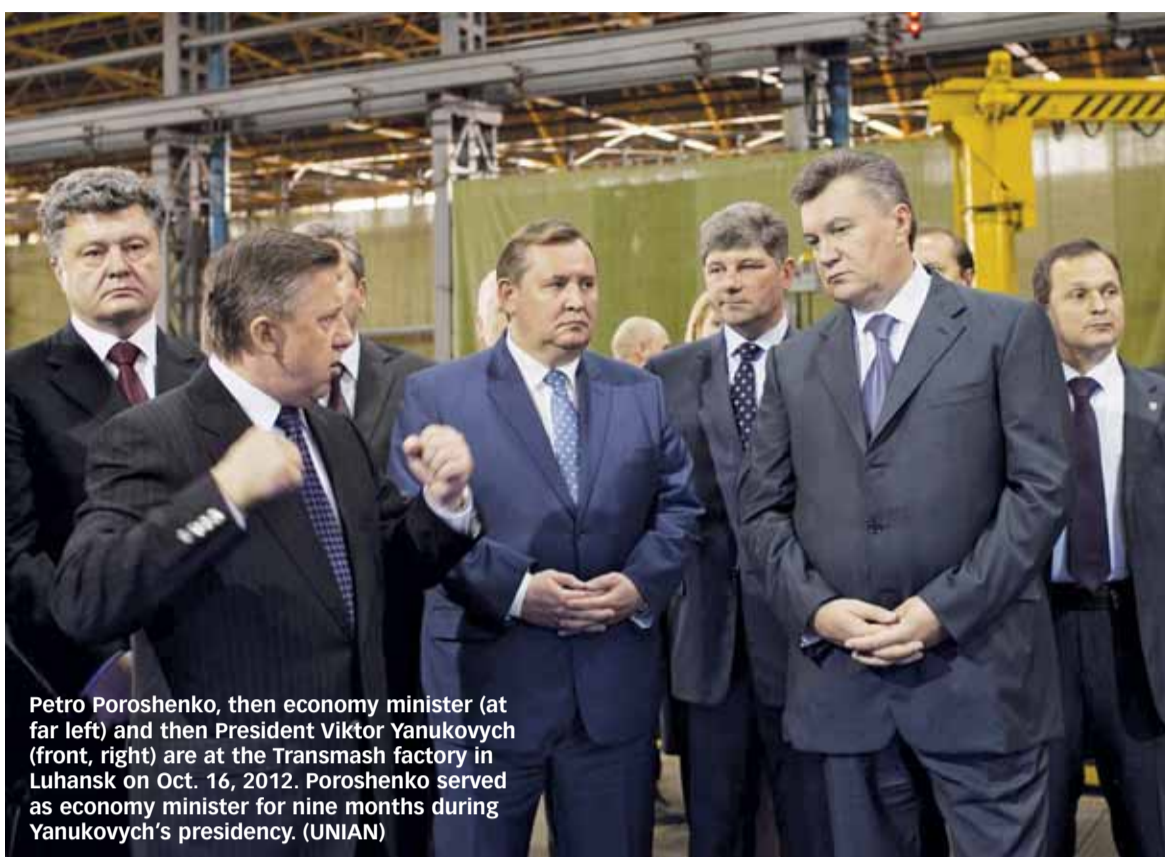
Like Yanukovich, Poroshenko appears to trust only a narrow inner circle of political allies. And he expects them to follow his own working regime.

'Control freak'

Borys Lozhkin, Poroshenko's chief of staff who resigned on Aug. 29, describes Poroshenko's working schedule in his book *Fourth Republic* in the following way: "We work 15-16 hours per day. A working day looks like this: I'm in the office at about 10-10:30. We leave at about 2 a.m... We always work on Saturdays. We almost always work on Sundays."

Hard-working, a night owl who has suffered in past years from diabetes, a control freak – that's how people who know Poroshenko well describe him. The president's other qualities reportedly include strong English language and diplomacy skills, toughness in negotiations, bravery and ability to seize the moment. All are features that helped him to come to power.

But critics also notice an authoritarian streak similar to that of his predecessor. Both Poroshenko



Petro Poroshenko, then economy minister (at far left) and then President Viktor Yanukovich (front, right) are at the Transmash factory in Luhansk on Oct. 16, 2012. Poroshenko served as economy minister for nine months during Yanukovich's presidency. (UNIAN)



Petro Poroshenko, then a lawmaker (left) and presidential candidate Viktor Yushchenko (second from left) on Dec. 28, 2004 on Maidan Nezalezhnosti in Kyiv. Poroshenko was then an ally of Yushchenko, who came to power as president thanks to the pro-Western Orange Revolution, defeating his competitor Viktor Yanukovich. (UNIAN)

and Viktor Yanukovich have been accused of using the Prosecutor General's Office and other agencies to crack down on political opponents and as a form of leverage, pressuring lawmakers into backing pro-presidential initiatives, for example.

Yanukovich jailed his political nemesis, Yulia Tymoshenko, and her ally, Yuriy Lutsenko, the former interior minister and current prosecutor general. Similarly, prosecutors loyal to Poroshenko have temporarily jailed close confidantes of oligarch Igor Kolomoisky and Radical Party leader Oleh Lyashko.

Yanukovich-lite

Poroshenko's authoritarian impulses and scale of repression are far less than Viktor Yanukovich's. But these protective tactics are stonewalling crucial reforms that, among other consequences, prevent Ukraine from establishing an independent and effective law enforcement system – including judiciary, prosecution and police.

Poroshenko's loyalists at the Prosecutor General's Office have opened numerous investigations

against critics of prosecutorial corruption, including ex-deputy prosecutors general Davit Sakvarelidze and Vitaly Kasko. In another high-profile case, a court in Vinnytsia, Poroshenko's political base, sentenced a protester who tore up the president's portrait to four-and-a-half years in prison on hooliganism charges in April.

Yanukovich's allies also took over many of Ukraine's media outlets and introduced censorship there, while Poroshenko and Roman Nasirov, head of the State Fiscal Service, have been accused of pressuring critical journalist Savik Shuster through tax inspections and the cancellation of his work permit.

Poroshenko has denied persecuting opponents for political reasons and cracking down on free speech.

Freewheeling bloc

People who worked with both Poroshenko and Viktor Yanukovich admit there are significant differences in their management style. Poroshenko is prone to substantive debate, while Yanukovich "could end up with some (irrelevant) memories... and start talking about tennis

and stuff like that," said Gorbai, an ex-Party of Regions lawmaker and the governor of Lviv Oblast under Yanukovich.

Gorbai also says that the Bloc of Petro Poroshenko, the fractious pro-presidential faction with 143 members, more than any other in the 423-member body, is a much more liberal political grouping than the Party of Regions.

"In the Party of Regions's parliamentary faction, voting differently from the rest of the faction was a big event, while in the Poroshenko Bloc it seems to be the rule," Gorbai said. "I can count just a few cases when some lawmakers (of Yanukovich's party) voted differently."

One reason of Poroshenko's liberalism is that "the system of decision-making was less flexible in Yanukovich's times," Gorbai says.

Leshchenko agreed that both the current political system and Poroshenko's political style are much less authoritarian than under Yanukovich.



Ihor Rainin, President Petro Poroshenko's chief of staff (L), is a protégé of Boris Lozhkin (R), his predecessor on the job. (UNIAN)



Poroshenko's business deals hit reputation

Poroshenko from page 13

"The Party of Regions was a monolith," Leshchenko said. "There were people there who were ready to die for Yanukovich and fled with him... Poroshenko doesn't have such people... You can't pursue an authoritarian line with such an amorphous structure."

In contrast with Yanukovich, Poroshenko doesn't try to force a

majority in parliament into his party and doesn't seize competitors on the chocolate market, Leshchenko said.

This spring, however, Poroshenko copied Yanukovich's coalition-building methods when 11 lawmakers switched to his faction.

"While Yanukovich was able to control the country in an authoritarian way, Poroshenko can't do this," said political analyst Bala. "People identify themselves in a different

way. There were the Revolution of Dignity, the war, and many other factors that don't allow Poroshenko to be like Yanukovich."

Reputation matters

Unlike Viktor Yanukovich, who resisted demands that he release his political foe Yulia Tymoshenko from prison, Poroshenko is more susceptible to both Western pressure and civil society's influence. After

two years as president, he relented to months of pressure to fire loyalists, most recently former Prosecutor General Viktor Shokin.

And unlike Yanukovich, Poroshenko cherishes his reputation in the West.

"Poroshenko (has said he) wants to become a member of the European Parliament after his presidency. He doesn't see himself in Rostov breaking pencils," Leshchenko said, referring to a much-ridiculed incident when Yanukovich angrily broke a pencil during a news conference in Rostov following the EuroMaidan Revolution.

Offshore, tax schemes

Just like Viktor Yanukovich, Poroshenko has had problems with transparency and accountability. Recently, the biggest of them was the April 3 publication of documents showing that Poroshenko has an undeclared offshore firm in the British Virgin Islands. The publication is part of the Panama Papers, a massive leak of documents from Panama's Mossack Fonseca consulting firm.

Critics said Poroshenko's failure to declare the company is a violation of the law, and may indicate intent to optimize or evade taxes. Poroshenko denied the accusations, insisting he has relinquished the management of his businesses, ultimately to a blind trust. The claim was this year confirmed in a statement by Rothschild Wealth Management & Trust.

Channel 5 conflict

One more problem is a potential conflict of interest with Poroshenko's ownership of Channel 5, one of Ukraine's main television channels.

He has been consistently criti-

cized for his reluctance to sell the channel. His former chief of staff Borys Lozhkin explained in his book that, if sold, the channel would

probably be bought by a rival oligarch. But he never explained what makes Poroshenko different from other oligarchs who keep unprofitable but influential television channels as necessary attributes of their power.

Poroshenko has regularly urged businesspeople to be diligent taxpayers, but ex-journalists of his channel claim that management paid a portion of salaries under the table to minimize, perhaps evade, tax obligations.

The channel's executives have told journalists that the company doesn't want to support corrupt officials with taxes, Khrystyna Bondarenko, an ex-journalist of Channel 5 told the Kyiv Post. That implies that Poroshenko doesn't trust even the tax agency, although it is headed by one of his loyalists.

Reporters of the channel have been issued two bank cards by International Investment Bank, which is co-owned by Poroshenko.

"One card has an official salary, which is minimal," Bondarenko said. "And the second card is for the shadow salary."

Poroshenko's son Oleksiy has allegedly imposed strict fines for journalists for violations, which were deducted from the "shadow" salary cards, she said.

"Once I was fined Hr 3,000 and another time Hr 2,000," Bondarenko said. "There was no way to prove you were fined."

Oleksiy Poroshenko denied the accusations, saying that he was involved in Channel 5 only as an adviser on cost-cutting. He said he



(Above): Petro Poroshenko, then a top official of then-President Viktor Yushchenko's Our Ukraine party, speaks at a congress of the party on Nov. 12, 2005. (UNIAN). (Above left): A customer leaves a recently opened Roshen outlet near Zhytomyrska metro station in Kyiv on April 14, 2015. The Roshen confectionery is part of Poroshenko's business empire. (Volodymyr Petrov)



Oleksandr Zinchenko (front, left), then-President Viktor Yushchenko's ex-chief of staff, accuses Petro Poroshenko (at right in background), then secretary of the National Defense and Security Council, of corruption and abuse of power on Sept. 5, 2005. Poroshenko resigned following the accusations. (UNIAN)



had not been in charge of any decisions at the channel.

Several other journalists have also spoken out about the shadow salaries at the channel.

The channel's chief editor, Volodymyr Mzhelsky would not comment.

Flashes of arrogance

In January Khrystyna Bondarenko asked Poroshenko a question at a news conference as a journalist of independent Hromadske TV, and received a mocking response from the president, who said she "had had more viewers at Channel 5."

"This is the way a feudal lord talks to his subordinates," Bondarenko said, adding that Poroshenko had never apologized.

Poroshenko's palace

Another parallel with Yanukovich is Poroshenko's luxurious suburban residence, which by its extravagance has been compared with his predecessor's Mezhyhirya estate.

Journalist turned lawmaker Igor Lutsenko has filmed Poroshenko's residence using a drone. The estate includes a spacious white mansion resembling the U.S. White House, two smaller houses and even a chapel. The total area of the buildings is over 1,300 square meters, according to the state register of real estate. Poroshenko also has a land plot of over 3.3 hectares in the same area.

In August 2015 Poroshenko also leased a 0.7 hectare land plot on the banks of the Dnipro River next to his estate. The lease runs until 2064, at \$1,000 per year. Ukrainian law bans the purchasing of river banks and sea shores.

Lawmaker Igor Lutsenko believes the cost of the lease is at least 100 times below the market price.

"This land should be available to everyone, but he restricted access to it," he said. "We can make parallels with ... Mezhyhirya here," he added, comparing Poroshenko's estate with the famous palatial residence owned by Yanukovich.

Poroshenko also has a land plot of some 0.5 hectares in the upscale Pechersk district of Kyiv, according to the state register. This plot is part of the territory of an 18th century fortress that is protected by the state. Radio Liberty reported in 2014 that Poroshenko had started construction on this land plot, which violates the law on the protection of historic heritage, and that the work had damaged the territory.

Poroshenko's son, Oleksiy, argued that the Mezhyhirya parallel was unfair.

"About the mansions: When people elected Poroshenko, everyone knew where (the mansions) came from, journalists filmed them with drones and from the ground," he told the Kyiv Post, insisting that his father as an oligarch owning a massive confectionary business, could easily explain his wealth and expensive lifestyle. "Where Yanukovich got his mansions from – that's a completely different story."

The grey cardinal

Both Poroshenko and Yanukovich handed key jobs to close allies. Poroshenko has preferred to entrust government to business associates. And like Yanukovich's cronies, several allies of the incumbent president face major corruption accusations.

Viktor Yanukovich's son, Oleksandr, was his "grey cardinal" who, along with his business partners and other associates, was accused



Vitaly Shabunin, head of the Anti-Corruption Action Center's management board, speaks at a rally in favor of appointing an independent prosecutor general on March 28. Ex-prosecutor generals Vitaly Yarema and Viktor Shokin, current Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko and top prosecutors Yuriy Stolyarchuk and Yuriy Sevruk (all pictured above) are Poroshenko loyalists who have failed to deliver justice, according to critics. (Volodymyr Petrov)



Petro Poroshenko, then secretary of the National Defense and Security Council, plants a tree on April 17, 2005. Then Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko (second from left), then President Viktor Yushchenko and then Kyiv Mayor Oleksandr Omelchenko (next to Yushchenko) are in the first row in the background. (UNIAN)

of running large-scale corruption schemes and illegally seizing large chunks of the economy.

Poroshenko's grey cardinal and right-hand man in parliament is Ihor Kononenko, a deputy head of the Poroshenko Bloc. Kononenko and Poroshenko are co-owners of the International Investment Bank and have been acquainted for 30 years, since serving in the Soviet military together. The ties between them are so strong that Poroshenko has told Leshchenko not to write about Kononenko because he is "a member of his family," Leshchenko told the Kyiv Post.

"If Poroshenko leaves, Kononenko as a politician will disappear," Leshchenko says.

Kononenko's style of leadership is different from that of the Party of Regions, which was a much more authoritarian and centralized structure. Unlike Yanukovich and his allies, Kononenko does not place his friends in the most important positions, Leshchenko said.

Instead, he has created a more business-like management structure and delegates functions to people who are not his friends or relatives, he added. One of Kononenko's top confidantes is Oleksandr Hranovsky, another lawmaker from the Poroshenko Bloc.

Neither Kononenko nor Hranovsky would comment to the Kyiv Post.

"Kononenko is the president's man, and Hranovsky is Kononenko's man.

It's a matryoshka within a matryoshka," Leshchenko said, referring to the traditional Russian nesting dolls.

Odesa Port Plant

Ihor Kononenko and Oleksandr Hranovsky are targets of numerous corruption accusations. Specifically, they have been accused of profiting from state-owned firms by appointing their placeholders. They deny the accusations.

One of the alleged schemes is linked to a contract concluded in October between the Odesa Port Plant and Antra, a little-known Austrian company. Under the deal, Antra supplied natural gas to the plant in exchange for ammonia and other fertilizers that are produced.

Ex-Deputy Prosecutor General Davit Sakvarelidze, who has investigated the scheme, claims that the plant effectively supplies fertilizers to Antra at below-market prices, which deprives it of revenues.

Olga Tkachenko, until recently a member of the plant's executive board, used to be an aide to Hranovsky and chief executive of Hranovsky's Sky Mall shopping center. Odesa Oblast Governor Mikheil Saakashvili said in December that Tkachenko could be linked to lawmakers of the Poroshenko Bloc. Hranovsky did not respond to Kyiv Post requests for comment. Nashi Groshi, an anti-corruption watchdog, reported on May 19 that a court had banned the National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine from accessing Viber messages written by Tkachenko.

Centerenergo

Another company that is allegedly linked to Kononenko is power producer Centerenergo.

Samopomich Party lawmaker Victoria Voytytska and Poroshenko Bloc lawmaker Sergii Leshchenko have accused Kononenko of influencing the state company through his placeholders in its management and siphoning money out. Leshchenko

wrote in his blog this year that Kononenko was behind a court ruling that blocked a competition for the job of Centerenergo's chief executive in April.

Ukrzaliznytsa

Sergii Leshchenko claimed in January that Kononenko's placeholders had been appointed to state-owned railway monopoly Ukrzaliznytsa. Kononenko has also been lobbying against increasing Ukrzaliznytsa's freight shipping tariff, a step to remove hidden subsidies for vested interests.

Abromavicius scandal

Another high-profile corruption scandal around Ihor Kononenko erupted on Feb. 3, when then-Economy Minister Aivaras Abromavicius said Kononenko had "interests" at ammonia shipping company Ukrkhimtransamiak and had been trying to install his protégé as the chief executive of the firm.

Kononenko has also been trying to have his people appointed to Derzhzhovnishinform, a market research company, powder metallurgy companies and to the National Accreditation Agency, Abromavicius said.

Abromavicius also said that Kononenko had been trying to impose his protégé Andriy Pasishnik as a deputy economy minister. In March the National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine filed a notice of suspicion for Pasishnik, accusing him of illegally interfering with a government official's work. The case against Pasishnik was sent to court on April 25.

The Prosecutor General's Office said later that it had found no proof of Abromavicius' accusations against Kononenko, triggering speculation that prosecutors were covering up

for him. Kononenko, who was suspended as a deputy head of the



Lawmakers Ihor Kononenko (left) and Oleksandr Hranovsky (right) are seen as President Petro Poroshenko's grey cardinals and have been accused of corruption and interfering with law enforcement. They deny the accusations. Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko (center), a Poroshenko loyalist, has come under fire for failing to combat corruption or curb the alleged interference of Kononenko and Hranovsky with law enforcement. (Kostyantyn Chernichkin)

Critics say Poroshenko blocks corruption fight

Poroshenko from page 15

presidential faction in January, was reinstated in the job on May 12.

Energomerezha

The National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine is also investigating a \$13.8 million embezzlement case against Energomerezha, a firm that acquired debt claims from state regional power company Zaporizhzhiaoblenergo. According to Sergii Leshchenko and sources cited by Ukrainska Pravda, Ihor Kononenko is lobbying for Energomerezha's interests. Critics accuse Leshchenko of being biased in favor of a rival businessman, Kostyantyn Grigorishin.

Ukrprominvest

Last October British journalist Graham Stack and ex-Security Service of Ukraine Chief Valentyn Nalyvaichenko also accused Ihor Kononenko of money laundering. The alleged laundering scheme involved moving money from Ukrprominvest, a group founded by Kononenko and Poroshenko, to the British Virgin Islands through offshore companies Intraco Management Ltd and Ernion.

According to payment orders published by Stack, Kononenko's daughter, Daria, received money from Intraco Management Ltd. The Panama Papers leak revealed that Intraco is owned by Serhiy Zaitsev, a deputy CEO of Roshen. Blogger Denys Kazansky has published documents according to which Intraco paid for Daria Kononenko's studies and recreation abroad, as well as for Poroshenko's charter flights.

In April the liga.net news site published customs documents according to which Intraco bought jet fuel from Russian gas giant Gazprom in 2014. Zaitsev was quoted in domestic media denying wrongdoing, insisting the purchases were made while a jet was refueling at a Russian airport where other suppliers were not available.

Another controversy has emerged around allegations that Oleksandr Hranovsky and his partner Andriy Adamovsky illegally seized the Skymall shopping center in Kyiv from Estonian businessman Hillar Teder. In May a London court ruled in favor of Teder, ordering the mall to be transferred to his firm Arricano Real Estate.

Hranovsky has also admitted getting \$700,000 in cash from his part-

ners in a British Virgin Islands court, according to the court records. He did not include the money in his declaration.

Kononenko-Hranovsky

Oleksandr Hranovsky has also been repeatedly accused of interfering with the prosecutorial and judicial system on behalf of Poroshenko and Kononenko. He denies influencing judges and prosecutors.

Hranovsky and Ihor Kononenko are believed to control the anti-corruption department at the Prosecutor General's Office, which has been accused of routinely fabricating political cases.

In May Radio Liberty filmed Hranovsky meeting with a major judge and the head of the Kyiv Institute for Forensic Research, while investigative journalist Dmytro Gnap took a picture of Hranovsky meeting with Serhiy Lysenko, a prosecutor who threatened to beat up a photographer last year and who faces corruption accusations.

Corporate family

Borys Lozhkin, who stepped aside as Poroshenko's chief of staff in late August, is also a former business partner of Poroshenko.

Together they bought and co-owned KP Media, a holding company that until 2009 included the Kyiv Post, the English-language newspaper founded by American Jed Sunden in 1995.

Poroshenko's decision to appoint Lozhkin, a long-time media tycoon, as his chief of staff suggests that public relations is paramount for him, Gorbali said.

Lozhkin is believed to manage relations with oligarchs including Rinat Akhmetov, Serhiy Lyovochkin and Ihor Kolomoisky. Historically, he has run media assets for rival oligarchs and served as a liaison among them.

"He communicates with oligarchic clans," Sergii Leshchenko said.

Lozhkin's role is comparable to that of Lyovochkin, who was the chief of staff for Yanukovich, Leshchenko added. Like Lozhkin, Lyovochkin was seen as the liberal pillar of the president's entourage and a tool of oligarchic influence.

"The Lozhkin-Kononenko duo can be compared to the Lyovochkin-Klyuyev tandem," Leshchenko said, referring to Andriy Klyuyev, who was also a chief of staff for Yanukovich.

But Gorbali said that Lyovochkin had had a much greater political

weight under Yanukovich and "was playing his own game," unlike Lozhkin.

"Lyovochkin worked even under (Ukrainian President Leonid) Kuchma, and the administrative experiences of Lyovochkin and Lozhkin are incomparable," he added.

Lozhkin has been trying to cast himself as a reformer, arguing that it was his idea to invite Georgian reformers to Ukraine. Leshchenko disputes his reformist credentials.

Lozhkin's tax scandal

Boris Lozhkin's image has also been tainted due to a corruption scandal. In 2013 Integrity International Holdings Ltd, a British Virgin Islands firm owned by Lozhkin, sold his UMH media group to tycoon Serhiy Kurchenko, a Yanukovich ally, for \$315 million. The money was not included in any of Lozhkin's Ukrainian property declarations. Moreover, it's not clear if the sale was taxed in Ukraine.

In 2014 Austrian authorities opened a money laundering investigation into the sale but Deutsche Welle reported in April, citing Austrian prosecutors, that it had been closed due to the reluctance

of the Prosecutor General's Office of Ukraine to provide information on the matter.

"Shokin didn't want to investigate this criminal case," Leshchenko wrote in his blog in April. "This is a real Offshoregate that's being covered up by the president's servile prosecutor general."

Lozhkin did not reply to a request for comment.

Kostyantyn Grigorishin

Another prominent figure who has business ties to Poroshenko is Zaporizhia-born tycoon Kostyantyn Grigorishin, until recently a Russian citizen who holds a diversified portfolio of business assets in Ukraine. Grigorishin, who was reportedly granted Ukrainian citizenship this year, used to co-own the Sevastopol Sea Plant and Kyiv, a firm that has 6.4 hectares in the city center.

Informed sources said Grigorishin clashed viciously with Boris Lozhkin and ex-Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenyuk over influence at state companies and agencies. Critics have described Grigorishin as another Poroshenko grey cardinal, though Sergii Leshchenko, who has himself faced criticism for being close to Grigorishin, says his influence is overestimated and is incomparable to Ihor Kononenko's.

Grigorishin was at the center of a major corruption scandal centered on purchases of transformers for state-owned power company Ukrenergo. In 2015 Ukrenergo said it planned to buy transformers for over Hr 500 million from Zaporizhtransformator, a firm controlled by Grigorishin. The company's transformers were 72.6 percent more expensive than those of German engineering company Siemens.

Grigorishin has been accused of profiteering from Ukrenergo due to his ties to Poroshenko. Yuri Kasich, Ukrenergo's CEO, previously worked at Grigorishin's companies. He denied the accusations. Subsequently the plans were cancelled under public pressure, though in February Zaporizhtransformator won another Ukrenergo supply contract.

Valeria Gontareva

Other people with business links to Poroshenko include Information Policy Minister Yuriy Stets, who used to be the chief producer at Poroshenko's Channel 5, and National

Bank Chief Valeria Gontareva, who was a co-founder of investment bank ICU, which has managed the president's assets.

Like Poroshenko, Gontareva was also involved in the scandal around the Panama Papers. The offshore leak revealed that she had business ties to top executives from Russia's VTB Bank before she became the central bank's head. Critics said this could imply a conflict of interest, while she denied the accusations.

Meanwhile, Oleh Gladkovsky, a deputy secretary of the National Security and Defense Council, co-owned bus maker Bogdan with Poroshenko until he bought out Poroshenko's stake in 2009. According to the Panama Papers leak, Gladkovsky owns Teckford Investments Financial Corporation, a British Virgin Islands firm affiliated with bus maker Bogdan.

Nina Yuzhanina

Nina Yuzhanina, a lawmaker from the Poroshenko Bloc and a potential candidate to become head of the State Fiscal Service, reportedly used to be the chief executive of Express-Inform, a firm that co-founded Poroshenko's Channel 5. She has also worked at European Auditing Group, which reportedly provided auditing services to Poroshenko's firms.

Contacted by the Kyiv Post, she refused to answer questions on whether she had worked at any Poroshenko firms in the past, or done work for them.

Another manager linked to Poroshenko, ex-Roshen executive Dmytro Vovk, is the head of the National Commission for Energy and Utilities Regulation. This puts him in the crucial position of controlling utility tariffs.

Kostyantyn Vorushylyn

Kostyantyn Vorushylyn, the head of the state-financed Deposit Guarantee Fund that has paid out at least \$3 billion since 2014 to bank depositors who lost their money in Ukraine's banking scandal, has done business with Poroshenko. He has previously worked for such Poroshenko assets as the International Investment Bank, Bogdan Corporation and Mriya Bank, which now belongs to Russian-owned VTB Bank. He denied any conflict of interest.



Activists wear masks depicting President Petro Poroshenko and then-Prosecutor General Viktor Shokin flushing criminal cases down a toilet bowl at a rally on June 17, 2015. Poroshenko and Shokin were accused of sabotaging corruption cases against ex-President Viktor Yanukovich and his allies. (Volodymyr Petrov)

'Vinnytsia clan'

However, not all of Poroshenko's allies are his current or former business partners. Some are politicians from his political and business base in Vinnytsia.

While Yanukovich appointed his loyalist from his native Donbas region Mykola Azarov as prime minister, ex-Verkhovna Rada Speaker Volodymyr Groysman, a protege of Poroshenko, was appointed as prime minister on April 14. Groysman, from 2006 to 2014 the mayor of Vinnytsia, long a political power base for the president, has long been Poroshenko's ally. Poroshenko's Roshen confectionery is a major regional employer by virtue of having a local factory.

Though Groysman is a Poroshenko loyalist, he could become more independent due to the political weight of the prime minister's office.

"He has his own ambitions," Leshchenko said. "I don't think he's like (ex-Verkhovna Rada Speaker Volodymyr) Rybak, who burned in the same fire as Yanukovich."

Groysman, a native of Vinnytsia,

has brought with him to Kyiv a number of allies colloquially known as the "Vinnytsia clan." These include Deputy Prime Minister Volodymyr Kistion; Oleksandr Sayenko, the Cabinet's chief of staff, and Social Policy Minister Andriy Reva.

The Vinnytsia clan has been compared with Yanukovich's Donetsk clan, though their sizes and influence are very different.

While Yanukovich's placeholders from Donetsk controlled all branches of government and the economy, the up-and-coming Vinnytsia clan is more modest. "To count members of the Vinnytsia clan, the fingers on two hands would be enough," Leshchenko said. "For Yanukovich's Donetsk clan, all the fingers and toes wouldn't be enough."

Shokin 'part of family'

Another Poroshenko protege, Viktor Shokin, was the prosecutor general in 2015-2016.

Shokin has been close to Poroshenko since at least 2005, when he was a deputy prosecutor general, Yegor Sobolev, a lawmaker from the Samopomich Party, told the Kyiv Post.

He is so loyal to Poroshenko that his spokesman said in February that "the president's word is the law for Shokin."

Leshchenko said that Poroshenko considers Shokin "part of the family."

That is one of the reasons why Poroshenko stubbornly refused to fire Shokin until February, despite increasing pressure from civil society and the West. Shokin was criticized for failing to send a single high-profile corruption case to court and for sabotaging prosecutorial reform.

With Shokin out of office, Poroshenko appointed another loyalist and ex-head of his faction in parliament, Yuriy Lutsenko, as prosecutor general on May 12. Lutsenko has been linked to Poroshenko since the time when both of them were part of President Viktor Yushchenko's inner circle. Poroshenko was the secretary of the National Defense and Security Council, while Lutsenko was the interior minister under Yushchenko.

Poroshenko and Viktor Yanukovich are quite different in intellect and temperament. They have different inner circles. Yet both fall far short not only of civil society's demands but also the demands of the Ukrainian people, judging by polls that show plummeting voter support for Poroshenko.

"Any president would be more open compared to Yanukovich because he was a political tyrannosaur – a fossil that came to power by accident in the 21st century and the head of a criminal gang that's been involved in banditry for 20 years," said Sergii Leshchenko, the lawmaker and former investigative journalist. "But society still wants a more modern, transparent and honest politician (than Poroshenko)."

Surveys back up Leshchenko. A poll conducted by the Rating polling agency in late August shows Poroshenko ranks third with an approval rating of 6.4 percent – dangerously close to the unpopularity that denied Yushchenko re-election in 2010.

Mykola Tomenko, an ex-member of parliament and the Poroshenko Bloc, argued that "Poroshenko has two problems: greed and distrust. He's greedy in the sense that he views every government program as his own business project and seeks to appoint a loyalist of his to oversee it, because he's sure that anyone else would steal," he told the Liga.net news site in May. "His distrust is manifested in the fact that, other than his narrow circle of cadres, he doesn't see anyone who he can work with... For Poroshenko, Ukraine is no more than a bigger version of Roshen."

Tomenko has changed his view on Poroshenko several times.

In 2005 he accused him and other allies of then-President Viktor Yushchenko of corruption, yet by 2014 he was on the campaign trail with Poroshenko during the presidential election.

But he left the Poroshenko Bloc's faction in 2015 and was expelled from parliament in February.

"When I supported him during the presidential election, I thought that the businessman Poroshenko could become the statesman Poroshenko," he said "But this didn't happen." ■



OLIGARCH WATCH



President Petro Poroshenko greets newly appointed Prime Minister Volodymyr Groysman (C) at the parliament in Kyiv on April 14. (Volodymyr Petrov)

Common threads

How soldier lived when others didn't is 'question to God'

Soldier from page 2

There was no escape for Svyrydenko: Even if he could walk, he was in enemy-held territory and didn't know his exact location.

So he waited. He waited for three long days and four longer nights, staying inside the truck wreckage, wrapped into blankets, surrounded by the corpses of his comrades. He ate snow.

"How I survived - this question goes to God," he says with a smile.

On the morning of the fourth day, he was found by Russian-backed separatists, who took him to their stronghold, Donetsk.

They took the corpses too. The body of his 23-year-old commander, who died of cold in the truck, was buried in his hometown Lutsk in western Ukraine. One day, Svyrydenko wants to visit his grave.

Saved by the enemy

In Donetsk, Svyrydenko was sent to a hospital to get first aid. He says that the separatists had treated him better than most of other captives, giving him medical care and food. They did break two of his ribs when they heard he was from Kyiv. But he says it was nothing comparing to what the cold did to him.

Seeing his condition - his hands and feet were severely frostbitten - the separatists sent him off to the government-controlled territory.

In a Kyiv hospital, the doctors amputated his infected hands and feet.

When they asked his permission for the amputation, Svyrydenko felt angry and depressed. The alternative to amputation was death.

"It was hard to hear," he recalls. "But the doctor told me I should live for my family."

US rehabilitation

After the amputations, Svyrydenko had to learn everything from the ground up. Everyday tasks such as eating became impossible without help. He spent his days lying in bed.

A month after the surgery he ate by himself for the first time - Canadian physical therapists working in Kyiv brought him special devices designed to allow amputees to hold a fork or spoon.

"You have to learn as much as possible to become independent and not rely only on your wife or others' help," Svyrydenko says of his life after the amputations.

Svyrydenko spent six months in hospital in Kyiv. It was there that his rehabilitation started. Veterans of the Soviet war in Afghanistan came in to teach him how to walk on prostheses.

But Svyrydenko's real recovery began when he traveled to the U.S. military medical center in Bethesda, Maryland, under a U.S. government-funded rehabilitation program. He spent eight months in the United States, where he took physical therapy courses, was given three pairs of hand and feet prostheses, and learned to run.

The next step was swimming.

Svyrydenko was sure he would never swim again, but doctors persuaded him to try. He succeeded at once.

"A coach swam after me and yelled something, but I just asked him to leave me alone and let me swim," he says.

Another challenge was cooking. "The physicians wouldn't let you go until you can show you can cook for yourself," Svyrydenko says.

To prove that he had learned, Svyrydenko made steaks for the hospital staff. He didn't even get a bite himself - everything was eaten immediately.

Sport and family

Many veterans suffer from post-traumatic stress disorder, which in extreme cases pushes them to suicide. Svyrydenko's recipe to keep his spirits up is sports and family support.

"I would give all my medals to my wife," Svyrydenko says.

When he was freezing in the field near Debaltseve, his wife was pregnant with their second child. Since his return, she has supported him at all times.

After he underwent the basic rehabilitation, Svyrydenko established his next goal. He applied to take part in a 10-kilometer race for veterans in the United States at the end of October, and was accepted.

To train for the race, every second day he goes to a nearby stadium and does up to 40 laps of the track, as his wife counts. He found inspiration in the Rio Paralympic Games.

The U.S. doctors gave Svyrydenko special running prostheses. To his knowledge, only three people in Ukraine who aren't Paralympic athletes have such prostheses.

Post-war battles

After the rehabilitation, Svyrydenko didn't go back to marketing. Instead, he works in a non-profit that aims to improve the lives of veterans.

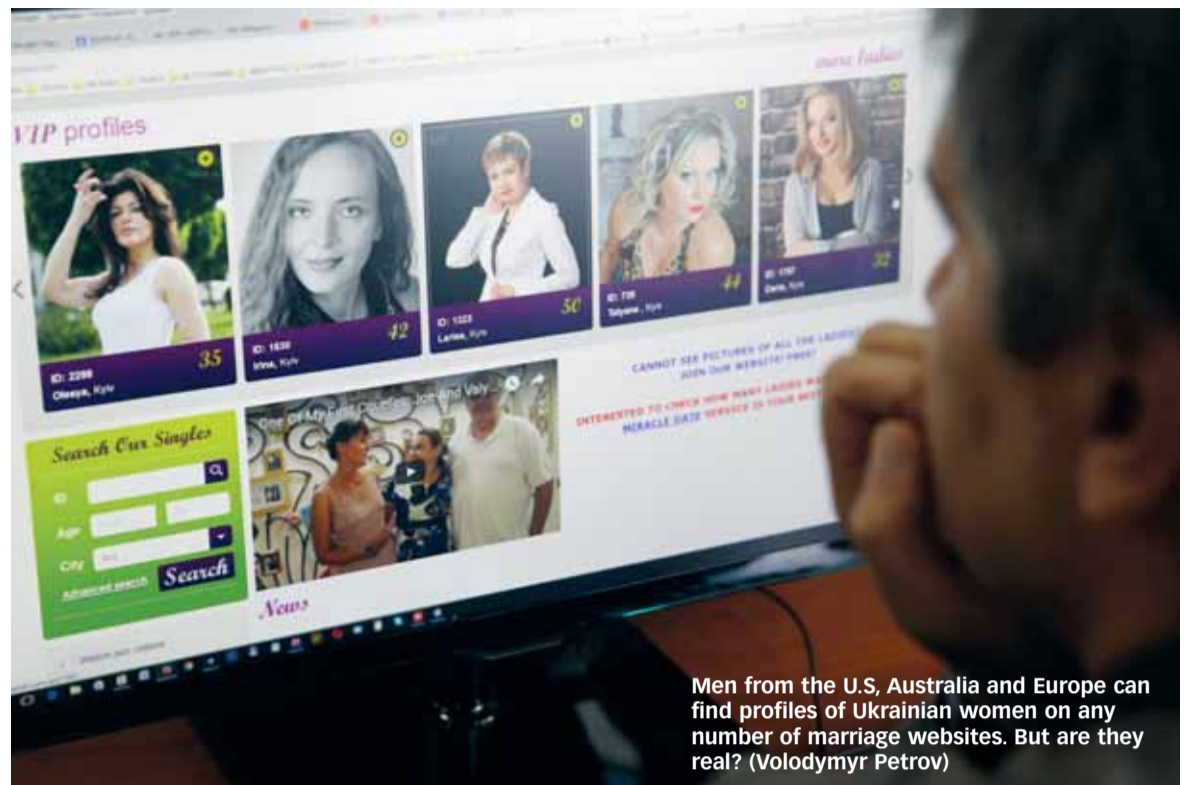
Lobbying for an increase in budget funding for prostheses, improving access to buildings for people with disabilities, mentoring soldiers with post-traumatic stress disorder - these are the issues that now occupy Svyrydenko's day.

He has experienced such problems himself, of course.

Svyrydenko works on Khreshchatyk Street in the very center of Kyiv, but lives in the city's outlying Troyeshchyna neighborhood some 15 kilometers away. He tried to use public transport, but there weren't enough seats and standing wasn't an option - with no hands he couldn't hold the handrail. In the end, the government had to provide Svyrydenko with a driver to take him to work.

But this isn't an option for everyone. So Svyrydenko works to raise awareness of disabled people's problems and persuade the authorities that changes are urgent.

"If you're behind the wheel, then do something, not just trifles," Svyrydenko says. ■



Men from the U.S., Australia and Europe can find profiles of Ukrainian women on any number of marriage websites. But are they real? (Volodymyr Petrov)

Looking for love in all the wrong places

Agencies from page 3

duties, and administrators monitor the language and topics visitors discuss online. The word "sex" and explicit language may not be used by the translators, at the risk of incurring fines. Translators must chat with as many men as possible; a special spam program helps them send letters to dozens and dozens of men inviting them to chat.

Yakovenko said that, according to the rules of dating portals, the woman is obliged to chat with her admirer by herself, but female clients have no time to spend 4-6 hours at night chatting with potential grooms. Furthermore, although they want to marry a foreigner, many of them don't have good enough language skills to chat to potential marriage partners.

The male clients, who are usually from 20 to 40 years older than an average woman, have a wide range of potential chat partners. So translators must work hard to attract a male client's attention and maintain their interest for as long as possible, being flirtatious and seductive, so that the men spend more money on the paid chat. Time is money, said Yakovenko.

Asked if it is hard for heterosexual men to flirt with other men while pretending to be a woman, Yakovenko said this was not a problem. Every translator is given the chance to take a free course in professional online flirting, he said.

As part of their selection process, translators take a special imagination test - they have to create a fake personality, describe her looks and character, write a fake biography and be able to explain why they have decided to search for a husband abroad, and how they can impress older and more experienced men.

If translators pass the test, the agency invites the candidate to work for a week on probation, during which the translator has to earn a minimum of \$50 from the paid online chat.

If a male client decides he wants to meet in person with the woman with whom he believes he has been chatting, the woman who owns the profile is obliged to attend at least one date. The man pays the agency between \$300 and \$500 for the date, and he will have to pay for travel to Ukraine, as well as accommodation. This can run to thousands of dollars.

Love is possible

Nataliya Koval, the owner of the international matchmaking company MarriageByNatalie, which, she says, does not use translators, instead connecting clients directly via Skype video chats, told the Kyiv Post that since 2014 her female clients base had increased by 25 percent.

"But I would not connect this fact with women's desire to move from Ukraine. Most likely it is related to

the fact that Ukraine has become more open to the Western world," said Koval.

Koval said happy marriages between web lovers do happen. According to MarriageByNatalie statistics, every year from five to seven couples who met via the agency get married.

An experienced matchmaker, Koval said foreigners usually pick Ukrainian women because they are in general more feminine than Western women.

"In the West women are too independent, they don't want to be protected, and they are more social climbers," Koval said.

"Our women are more old-fashioned - they don't mind being wives and home keepers."

In turn, Ukrainian women look for husbands from abroad for a range of reasons, such as the desire to have better and secure life in a new country, and have a new start in life.

Koval says she tries to be honest with her clients, and encourage them to be realistic about their expectations.

"I once had a 65-year-old male client who came to me in search of a 25-year-old wife," she recalls. "He wanted her to be able to give birth to at least three children. I asked him what he could offer to such girl with his \$35,000 yearly income. His answer was 'personality and love.'"

However, Koval said it is possible to find a wife through a marriage agency, but the man must be careful. To make sure that he is actually communicating with the woman pictured in a profile, a man should not use web chat, but arrange a video meeting via Skype.

Koval also said that more and more of her website's male clients are choosing older women, from 30 to 35 years old. The average age disparity in a couple is 5-13 years. For a face-to-face meeting, Koval's agency charges men 150 euros.

"I'm very glad that foreigners have finally realized that Ukrainian women are not fancy toys. This is an investment in their future family, with a beautiful mother." ■

Job interview questions, tasks

During the job interview, the Kyiv Post reporter had to create answers to questions men frequently ask on matchmaking websites and complete tasks that showed they could impersonate the women registered on a website:

- "I am very passionate in bed and have a lot of experience. How do you think you can impress me?"
- "I saw you online yesterday but you didn't reply to my message. Do you correspond with other men here?"
- "I am not going to come to your country, because I don't have any money, can you come to visit me for a week? Will you stay at my house?"
- Ask an unfamiliar man 5-7 interesting questions to show your interest in him.
- Imagine you are filling up the profile on dating website. Can you write an interesting and creative description of yourself?
- Write a reaction to a man's profile and explain why it has caught your attention.
- Write down your potential client's first presentation letter and tell a woman's story that will catch the attention of potential admirers.



Carpathians offer great autumn vacation spots

Book Review



WITH ANNA YAKUTENKO
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New guidebook lists best places to eat and drink in the capital

A new glossy guide called “Best Restaurants Kyiv,” as its title implies, takes its readers on a tour of Kyiv’s most sophisticated bars, cafes and restaurants.

The guide covers 40 spots located mostly in the city center. It provides readers with a restaurant description, combined with plenty of photos of interiors and the food served to diners. The guide also offers a map and a symbol system that shows readers if the place offers extra features such as city views, live music or business lunches.

The guide’s author, Maud Joseph, a French citizen who moved to Kyiv more than three years ago, was fascinated by the variety of restaurants that have popped up in Kyiv recently: In the introduction of her book she writes that 50 percent of her choices have existed for only two years or less.

“Food is my real passion and I also know that it is very difficult for foreigners to understand the city and to feel at home here,” Joseph told the Kyiv Post.

So to introduce the city to foodies, Joseph, who took master classes at the Alain Ducasse cookery school in Paris, compiled the almost 200-page pocket guidebook. The book provides readers with a client’s-eye view of the restaurants, rather than a chef’s, because apart from delicious food the places also have to be fashionable, with exceptional design and good service.

The restaurants that made it into the top-40 have a range of prices and cuisine specializations: there are some serving eastern European, Asian, and Mediterranean cuisine, as well as top-notch wine bars and confectionaries.

The restaurants reviewed are divided into three price categories: less than Hr 400 for a dinner, Hr 400-1000 for a dinner, and the most expensive ones with prices starting from Hr 1,000. In most of the restaurants in the guide, the bill starts from Hr 400, and only seven out of the 40 are in the low price category.

The list of places is geographically divided into five areas named according to the metro stations located nearby:

more **Guide** on page **21**



A bride and a groom dance during the Gold Marriage festival held on Sept. 18 in Kolochava village. The festival replicates marriage traditions of Zakarpattya Oblast. (Ukrinform)

BY NATALIYA TRACH
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Stunning nature, lots of mushrooms, berries, fresh air and autumn mists – the Carpathian Mountains region is at its most majestic in fall. The Kyiv Post picked out some of the best holiday destinations in the Carpathians for improving health, getting a break from the everyday big-city routine, or just enjoying the beauty of a Ukrainian autumn.

Palanok Castle

Palanok Castle in Zakarpattya Oblast’s Mukacheve is a very pop-

ular year-round tourist destination because of its turbulent history and impressive exterior. Dating back to the 11th century, Palanok is one of Ukraine’s oldest castles, whose walls survived many sieges and attacks. The structures standing today date from the early 18th century. Over its long history, the castle has been a royal residence, a jail for political prisoners, and a military outpost of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Some parts of the castle are in disrepair today, but most of its buildings have undergone serious refurbishment, so visitors can walk through

its 130 rooms (many connected by underground passages), discovering the castle’s history and the legends that have grown up around it, and have a snack in one of its cafés.

How to get there

Kurutsiv alley, Mukachevo, Zakarpattya Oblast. Take train No. 081K (Kyiv-Chop) or No. 023KO (Kyiv-Uzhhorod) from Kyiv to Mukacheve for Hr 429 – 999. The trip takes more than 14 hours.

Open daily 9 a.m. – 6 p.m. The entrance fee is Hr 20 for adults, Hr 10 for children. A guided tour costs Hr 60 per person.

Kolochava village

Lovers of rural holidays will be charmed by Kolochava, one of the most picturesque villages in Zakarpattya Oblast. Nestled in the intersection of several valleys, it offers magnificent views of the mountains. It’s clean air and dense forests make it a Mecca for hikers.

Kolochava is located in the Synevyr National Park. During a walk through its nearby mountains and valleys,

more **Carpathians** on page **21**

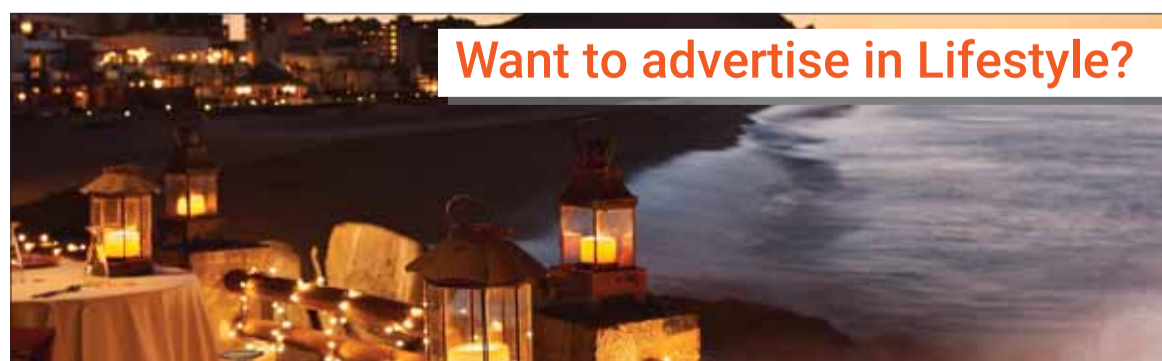
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10 types of people who use Tinder app in Ukraine

BY ANNA YAKUTENKO
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Tinder, one of the most popular dating apps in a world, has become very popular in Ukraine over the last year or so.

The idea is simple: you see a person's profile with photos, name (no surname though), age and Instagram profile (optional) and if you like him or her, you swipe right. If this person has also swiped right on your profile, you get a match and are able to text each other. The app is discreet: people will never see you "liking" them if it's not mutual. It also encourages people to start chatting, because they know that the attraction is mutual.

At first, Tinder was used mostly by European-minded Ukrainians who found out about the app abroad, but now its user base had become wider and more diverse. Here are the most common types of user you'll bump into.

Proper ladies, gentlemen

Ladies are elegant and softhearted, they love nature and pose with trees and kittens. They don't answer your message right away and don't agree to meet over the weekend if the offer is made later than Wednesday - just as a proper lady wouldn't. Offered lunch instead of dinner? Inappropriate. Dinner not fancy enough to suit a lady? Scrooge. Offered to split the bill? Forget it. A proper gentlemen expects a lady to follow all of the same patterns.



A woman looks at potential matches on Tinder. While the app is still new in Ukraine, there are already enough users for recognizable personality types to show up in searches. (Pavlo Podufalov)

Partygoers

Their slogan is "let's have fun."

Partygoers hang out in clubs and pubs all night long. If you don't drink with them, you're boring. Don't go partying every week? Boring. Have to go home because you need to wake up early in the morning and go to work? Don't bother with me.

Some are hippies who don't like to plan in advance. Some are college students. Some graduated a long time ago, but still act like college students.

It's easy to spot a partygoer: the main photo on their profile is cut out of a group photo in the club.

The traveler

Likes traveling a lot and meeting a

new people. Can't imagine life without travel. Has lots of photos showing them in different corners of the planet. If native English speakers - offers tutoring via Skype. Overuses the phrases "looking for something new" and "exploring the world." Doesn't usually have a regular job because it prevents them from travelling. If you meet up, they're likely to eat all the food in your fridge.

Talking business people

"I'll be honest with you," they say, "I'm not looking for anything serious right now because I don't have time for relationships /don't feel like I'm at that point of my life, etc. Meet at my place in 30 minutes."

Talking business people know

exactly what they want and don't like wasting precious time. Small talk? No way. Compliment? Oh, please, who needs such banality? Let's get straight to the point.

They often add that they don't want to create wrong expectations or hurt your feelings afterwards. That's how caring they are.

Looking for a tutor

"Actually, I'm just looking for a native speaker who will teach me some of the basics of your language," they say. The only thing you don't really get is why they're looking for a teacher on Tinder. But they promise fair payment and to cover all the expenses. They might send you a full job description (I'm not kidding!). Better to always have your resume updated just in case.

Selfie people

Sometimes you see their selfies in the gym, a mirror, elevator, toilet or wherever, and Kanye West's hit "I am God" starts playing in your head. They are sexy and they know it all too well. Their bio usually contains a few requirements about age, height, appearance and habits for those who want to swipe right. Make sure you meet them all.

Mature

They will either invite you to move to their city or expect you to invite them after the second message. They want a family and kids, because it's time for them to have a family and kids. And if you're not so certain or don't

want it all immediately, then gosh - "You're so immature."

Delicate flowers

They are all ones of a kind, and nobody can really understand their deep personalities. They probably consider themselves artists or have an unusual hobby. They will never reply to the ordinary "Hey. How are you?" as that's simply not creative enough. It's easy to offend them with an incautious remark or too direct a flirt. Be ready for their mood swings, and prepared to discuss the work of their favorite philosopher.

Rich and persistent

They like expensive things and taking pictures with them. Look, here's me on a yacht, me in a chic restaurant, or in the limo. They might offer to buy you a ticket to a Mediterranean country because for them, it's not a problem. At least that's what they say. If you're a girl, don't be surprised if they ask for your office address right away: You might find a bunch of flowers with a cheesy note on your desk the next morning. They are also very persistent when it comes to sending you presents or coming to meet you in your city. Very, very persistent.

Mysterious

People who don't show their face on a profile picture and have no bio. Don't ask which criteria people are supposed to use to decide if they're the kind of person they want to meet. It would spoil the enigma. ■

At last, real Mexican food comes with Dos Amigos



WITH NATALIYA TRACH
TRACH@KYIVPOST.COM

Dos Amigos, a newly opened Mexican cafe in Kyiv, is already one of the best Mexican food spots in a capital starved for this type of cuisine.

Passersby might miss the eatery while walking along the busy Mezhyhirskaya Street in Podil district, where Dos Amigos is located. The restaurant is housed in an early 1900s building, and only a green signboard reading "Dos Amigos" hints that a little taste of Mexico is just behind its large glass doors.

Once over the threshold one immediately enters a lively Latin

American atmosphere, the jolly rhythmic music and original interior whisks visitors away from a damp and cold Kyiv autumn.

The Dos Amigos is a two-level cafe consisting of two small rooms. The interior is decorated mostly in dark brown and green colors and is decorated with exotic cacti and sombreros. The small wooden tables and benches give visitors the feeling they're sitting in a Mexican tavern in the heart of a Mexican desert.

But Dos Amigos is authentic not only because of its interior, but also because of its all-Mexican menu. And here, all the dishes are prepared and served very quickly - on average it takes only 15 minutes between an order being taken and the plates hitting the table.

That said, Dos Amigos offers only a limited choice of dishes, although prices are reasonable. A tortilla soup is Hr 40, spicy nachos with salsa

costs Hr 40, while burgers go for Hr 60-70. A tasty chicken quesadilla for Hr 80 or a veal burrito for Hr 80 are also good options for a quick lunch or snack.

As for alcoholic drinks, Dos Amigos serves up tasty Margarita cocktails. The barista can mix not only the classic Margarita recipe of tequila, lime juice and triple sec, but also strawberry, raspberry and mango Margaritas (Hr 80 - 95). Other drinks options include tequila with sangrita (Hr 50), Jack Daniels whiskey (Hr 55), or cider (Hr 25 -35).

The small number of non-alcoholic drinks options in the cafe might put off non-drinkers and families with kids, however. When the Kyiv Post visited, the restaurant offered only lemonade (Hr 30) and coffee (Hr 40), but the staff say that more non-alcoholic drink options will soon be introduced.

In all, Dos Amigos, with its helpful



Women sit outside Dos Amigos, a new Mexican cafe-bar in Kyiv's Podil district. The spot is already winning the favor of Kyivans for its authentic range of Mexican dishes and drinks. (Anastasia Vlasova)

staff and convivial atmosphere, is an ideal place to have a good time with a couple of friends, or even more.

Dos Amigos is located at 9 Mezhyhirskaya St. Open daily between 11 a.m. - 11 p.m. ■



Palanok, one of Ukraine's oldest castles, at different times used to be a royal residence, an Austrian outpost, and a political prison. (UNIAN)

Castles, hot springs, bears: Carpathians have much to offer

Carpathians from page 19

one can come across Carpathian Mountains wildlife – bears, deer, wolves, foxes. Mushrooms, blackberries and cowberries grow plentifully just outside the village in autumn.

Kolochava is famous for its outdoor museum of folk architecture, which acquaints visitors with the homes of locals from the 18th century to the early 20th century. Among other attractions is a narrow-gauge railway museum, a bunker used by Ukrainian nationalists, and a magnificent wooden church, the Church of the Holy Spirit, which is now a museum.

How to get there

Take trains No. 99, 81 or 13 from Kyiv to Volovets for Hr 131 – 418. Then take a taxi from Volovets to Kolochava, which will cost at least Hr 300.

Thermal springs

Zakarpattia's numerous hot springs are great places to take a break during the fall season. The springs are believed to improve skin and treat nervous system disorders and heart disease, although doctors do not recommend spending more than two hours in the spring water at a time.

Kosyno and Berehove are the most famous Zakarpattia springs, while the suburbs of Uzhhorod, Vynohradiv or Khustalsohave, also boast hot Carpathian spa waters. Those who enjoy a shock to the system can try a combination of cold and hot swimming pools in Lushmory, Voyevodyno or Uzhhorod.

For a little luxury, try the Zhayvoronok spa complex (www.zhayvoronok.net). Hr 400 – 675 per night, Hr 60 – 130 per hour in the thermal pool.

How to get there

Take a train from Kyiv to Mukachevo for Hr 128 – 215. Then take a bus from Mukachevo to

Berehove for Hr 16.

A more expensive option is the Kosyno thermal waters entertainment and recreation complex (www.kosino.com.ua). Here it costs Hr 150 – 300 for a three-hour stay in the thermal pool, and Hr 1,800 – 5,000 per night at a hotel room.

How to get there

From Berehove take a minibus from Kyiv to the village of Koson for Hr 12, or a taxi for Hr 120.

For a mid-range option with charming wooden accommodation, try the Karina tourist complex (www.karina.com.ua), which costs Hr 700 – 900 per night for a double room.

How to get there

Take the Kyiv – Mukachevo bus for Hr 230, or train No. 99 (Kyiv-Uzhhorod) to Svalyava for Hr 147 – 230. Transfer to the Karina tourist complex from the train station is included in the price of the room.

Brown Bear Rehabilitation Center

To get a close-up view of some of the region's most impressive creatures, visit the Brown Bear Rehabilitation Center in Synevyrsk Polyana, Zakarpattia region. Captive bears who have suffered bad treatment at the hands of humans are nursed back to health here, and the center's workers also train the animals to survive in the wild. Launched in 2011, the rehabilitation center stretches over an area of 12 hectares and currently shelters 19 bears. Those who want to donate money for the bears' rehabilitation can do so via the center's website at www.npp-synevyr.net.ua

The rehabilitation center is open daily from 9 a.m. until 6 p.m. The entry fee is Hr 15.

Hot to get there

Take trains No. 99, 81 or 13 from Kyiv to the village of Volovets for Hr 131 – 418. Then take a taxi from Volovets to Synevyrsk Polyana, which will cost at least Hr 400.

Climbing Mount Hoverla

Hoverla is Ukraine's highest mountain, so no wonder there are lots of tourists all year round coming to climb to its peak. The mountain is 2,061 meters above sea level and from its top one can enjoy stunning views of nearby mountains and villages. Hoverla is especially beautiful in autumn when the last autumn flowers bloom in the meadows, and the trees paint their leaves in different shades of yellow and red. It takes two hours to climb Hoverla, but the climb is relatively easy.

How to get there

Take train No. 357 from Kyiv to Vorokhta for Hr 150 – 554. From Vorokhta, take a taxi to the Zaroslyak sports complex, which will cost at least Hr 200. ■

'Best Restaurants Kyiv' guide uncovers capital's top eateries

Guide from page 19

Ploshcha Lva Tolstogo/ Olympiiska, Maidan/Podil, Teatralna/ Universitet, Klovska/Arsenalna, and Lukianivska/Vokzalna.

Each group of restaurants starts with a table listing of all of the restaurants in the area, with symbols indicating those that have dining and drinking options, the price category of the place, and so on. Along with a map showing the dining spot's location, the author gives a detailed description of each place, indicating its strongest points.

As the author chose her favorite places, you won't find many criticisms of the listed restaurants.

The author also lists her own preferences in the guide's opening pages. She names the places with the best desserts options, the best Asian food,

a pretty terrace or a good view. Some of the author's top picks, however, are simply restaurants with "a cool atmosphere."

The author, perhaps controversially, also indicates via the symbol of a cartoon girl in a crown the presence of "beautiful people" in a restaurant. (Please be sure to read the 13th point of the Kyiv Post's articles about myths and facts about Ukraine before setting off to look for a "princess").

One of the guide's most attractive points is its good print quality and beautiful pictures of restaurants' interior and food. The edition, however, is pricey comparing to the average cost of a book in a store – Hr 400 (\$16) for a copy.

The guide can be found in 13 Kyiv's book shops and cafes (visit eatinkiev.com for details). ■



A girl holds "Best Restaurants Kyiv," a guidebook that inspects 40 top-notch restaurants of the city. (Volodymyr Petrov)







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Oct. 14-15



(UNIAN)

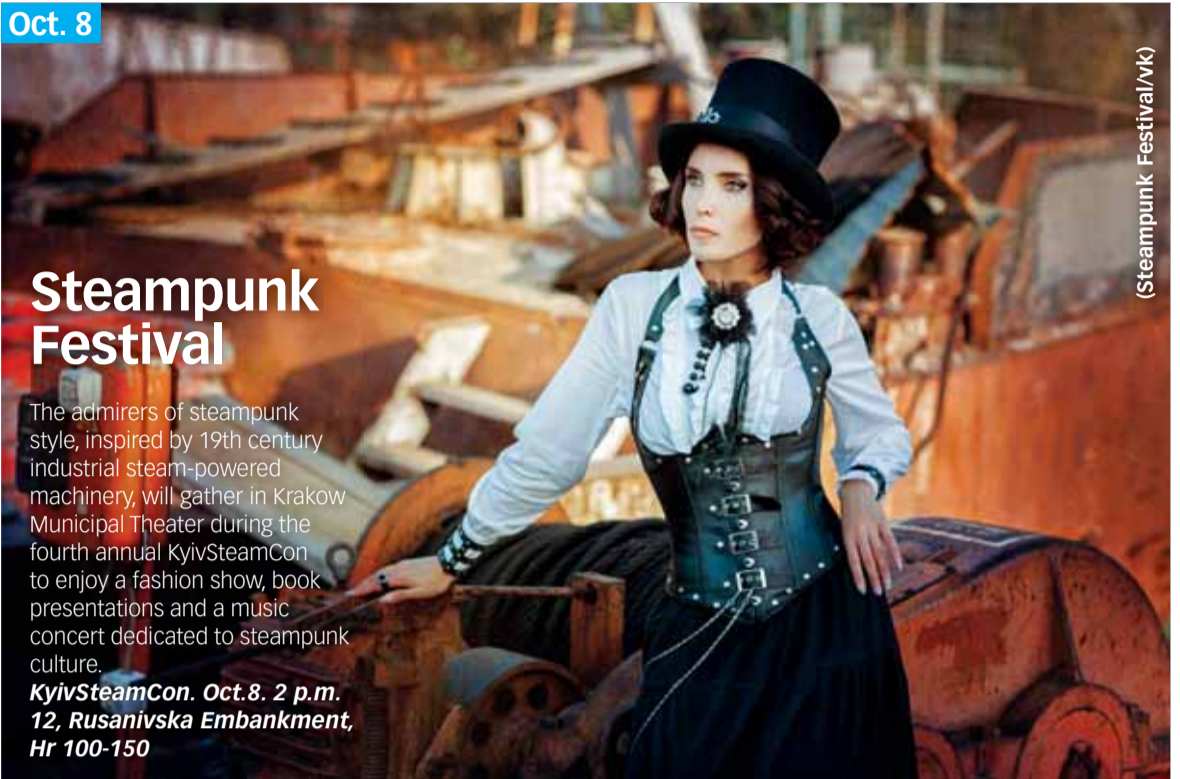
Beer festival

Visitors will have the opportunity to sample 50 types of Ukrainian beer, which will be presented at the Craft Beer Fest at Ukraine's Expocenter (VDNG). There will also be a street food court and special photo zone made out of wild hop plants.
Craft Beer Fest. Oct. 14-15. 12 p.m. VDNG. 1, Glushkova Avenue. Hr 100-150

Oct. 8

Steampunk Festival

The admirers of steampunk style, inspired by 19th century industrial steam-powered machinery, will gather in Krakow Municipal Theater during the fourth annual KyivSteamCon to enjoy a fashion show, book presentations and a music concert dedicated to steampunk culture.
KyivSteamCon. Oct. 8. 2 p.m. 12, Rusanivska Embankment, Hr 100-150



(Steampunk Festival/vk)

Cover show

Ukrainian cover band The Colors of The Beatles will present their BeatleMania program - jazz versions of old hits by the Beatles.
The Colors of The Beatles. Oct. 13. 8 p.m. Caribbean Club. 4, Symona Petlyury St. Hr 150-400



(The Colors of The Beatles/facebook)

Oct. 13

Oct. 8



(The States Vibe)

Retro Cruise

Vintage bicycles and their owners dressed in stylish old-fashioned clothes, listening to rockabilly music – all this and more awaits attendees of the annual Retro Cruise festival at Ukraine's Expocenter (VDNG). Note: the organizers say they might reschedule the date of the festival by one day, depending on weather conditions. For up-to-date information, check retrocruise.com.ua.
Retro Cruise. Oct. 8. 12 p.m. VDNG. 1, Glushkova Avenue, Hr. 80-100

Compiled by Veronika Melkozerova



Pact Inc. seeks candidates to fill the position of **Program Officer (Civic Education)** for the USAID/Enhance Non-Governmental Actors and Grassroots Engagement (ENGAGE) activity in Ukraine

Position summary

The Program Officer will be responsible for the portfolio of initiatives under the ENGAGE activity. S/he ensures that the activity produces high quality results through partnerships on time. The Program Officer will work with civil society organizations to develop and pilot the civic education curriculum and oversee the quality of civic education grants.

Specific duties and responsibilities:

- Support campaigns to build demand for civic education and campaign connected to issues advocated by partner organizations;
- Support the development of high school and/or university-level civic education curriculum and/or extra-curricular activities;
- Design and pilot civic education curriculum in close cooperation with the Ministry of Education and Science;
- Identifying capacity development opportunities for Pact partners;
- Provide assistance in programming plans;
- Ensure timely and high quality delivery of reports;
- Coordinate and strengthen networking between project partners and stakeholders;
- Assist and coordinate capacity development for ENGAGE partners;
- Support the development of civic education resources for teachers;
- Performs other tasks as needed.

Requirements:

- Bachelor's or Master's degree in relevant field;
- 3-5 years of relevant work experience;
- Deep knowledge of civil society organizations in Ukraine;
- Experience with international donor-funded programs, particularly USAID-funded contracts;
- Fluent in English, Ukrainian, and Russian;
- Ability to form and maintain relationships through teamwork and networking.

For more information on Pact and this vacancy, please visit www.pactworld.org.

To Apply: Please send your CV and cover letter to engagehr@pactworld.org with "Program Officer (Civic Education)" in the subject line by COB **October 14, 2016**. Please note that only short-listed candidates will be invited to interview.



Pact Inc. seeks candidates to fill the position of **Inclusion Advisor** for the USAID/Enhance Non-Governmental Actors and Grassroots Engagement (ENGAGE) activity in Ukraine

Specific duties and responsibilities:

- Provide technical assistance to ENGAGE grantees and staff related to gender mainstreaming;
- Ensure that issues of gender, PWD and LGBTI inclusion are integrated into all data analysis and planned studies to understand the varying impacts on men, women, youth, and vulnerable groups and how to target them appropriately;
- Develop and support initiatives that address bullying against LGBTI youth and mitigate the existence of widespread gender stereotypes;
- Ensure strong cooperation and collaboration with partners, donors, government, and other key stakeholders;
- Support the capacity development of civil society organizations to conduct gender and inclusion analysis to better advocate for women, PWD and LGBTI communities;
- Coordinate and strengthen networking between the ENGAGE activity partners and stakeholders;
- Provide assistance in programming plans;
- Assist and coordinate capacity development for the activity partners.

Requirements:

- Bachelors and Master's degree in the relevant field;
- At least 3 – 5 years of work experience related to gender mainstreaming and inclusion;
- Experience with international donor-funded programs, particularly USAID-funded contracts;
- Experience providing assistance to civil society organizations on matters related to gender and inclusion;
- Strong understanding of challenges facing women and vulnerable groups in Ukraine;
- Fluent in English, Ukrainian, and Russian.

For more information on Pact and this vacancy, please visit www.pactworld.org.

To Apply: Please send your CV and a cover letter to engagehr@pactworld.org with "Inclusion Advisor" in the subject line by COB **October 14, 2016**. Please note that only short-listed candidates will be invited to interview.



The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) is a non-profit organization working to strengthen democracy worldwide.

NDI-Ukraine is currently seeking a Program Manager for Women's Political Participation Program. The position will be based in Kyiv and require some local travel. Interested applicants should submit CVs and motivation letters in English by email to the following email address: ukraine@ndi.org
Deadline: The deadline for the submission of the required documents is by close of business on **October 20, 2016**. Only selected candidates will be invited for a written test and interview. <https://www.kyivpost.com/classifieds>

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The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) is a non-profit organization working to strengthen democracy worldwide.

NDI-Ukraine is currently seeking Program Assistant for its Women's Political Participation Program. The position will be based in Kyiv and require some local travel. Interested applicants should submit CVs and motivation letters in English by email to the following email address: ukraine@ndi.org
Deadline: The deadline for the submission of the required documents is by close of business on **October 20, 2016**. Only selected candidates will be invited for a written test and interview. <https://www.kyivpost.com/classifieds>

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Agriteam Canada Consulting Ltd., an International consulting company is seeking candidates to fill the following position on International Technical Assistance Project funded by the Government of Canada

• **Finance Assistant**

The closing date for applications is October 16, 2016

Please, submit your CV and Cover letter to liudmylais@agriteam.ca

For more detailed information about applying procedure, please visit our website: <http://edge.in.ua/vacancies.html>

USAID/OTI Ukraine Confidence Building Initiative is looking for qualified individuals to fill the position of Program Development Assistant (PDA)-Kyiv.

The Program Development Assistant (PDA) will lead UCBI monitoring of grant activities and reporting on the local political, civic, and economic environment in different oblasts where UCBI operates including, Kyiv, Kharkiv, Dnipropetrovsk, Zaporizhzhia, Odesa, and GOU-controlled areas of Luhansk and Donetsk. For qualifications and job description please refer to <https://www.facebook.com/USAIDUCBI/> Send electronic submissions to ukrainelocalrecruit@gmail.com by Friday, October 14, 2016.



Pact Inc. seeks candidates to fill the position of **Policy and Strategic Communications Analyst** for the USAID/Enhance Non-Governmental Actors and Grassroots Engagement (ENGAGE) activity in Ukraine

Position Summary

The Policy and Strategic Communications Analyst ensures use of cutting-edge analysis, research methods, and strategic communication. A native English speaker, he/she supervises Program Officers, Policy Experts and the ENGAGE Communications personnel. He/she generates ideas and new solutions based on rigorous analyses. He/she produces technical documents and studies to international and domestic audiences.

Specific Duties and Responsibilities:

- Create external and internal materials on state-of-the-art methods in civil society development and produce communications, including Pact's weekly newsletter on Ukrainian civil society, memo, analytical documents, success stories;
- Coordinate marketing and promotion of the ENGAGE activity;
- Manage relationships with technical resource partners including local and international firms;
- Serve as a supervisor to the Communications personnel and provide direction and feedback as needed;
- Supervise Program Officers to develop program learning and program advancement studies;
- Identify problems and implement solutions to resolve them;
- Develop communication objectives and communication plans;
- Advise on and arrange publicity for the ENGAGE activity through different outlets;
- Compose, edit, design, record, produce publications such as newsletters, leaflets and brochures;
- Keep Donor and partners up to date with ENGAGE activity news.

Requirements:

- Master's degree in relevant field, such as journalism, public policy analysis, communication;
- At least 5 years of related work experience in a strategic communications role;
- Understanding of civil society and governance in Ukraine;
- Knowledge of research methods and strong analytical skills;
- Excellent native English writing skills;
- Experience in supervisor role with demonstrated ability to solve problems;
- Native in English;
- Knowledge of Ukrainian or Russian is an asset.

For more information on Pact and this vacancy, please visit www.pactworld.org

To Apply: Please send your CV and cover letter to engagehr@pactworld.org with "Policy and Strategic Communications Analyst" in the subject line by COB **October 14, 2016**. Please note that only short-listed candidates will be invited to interview.

**POSITIONS ANNOUNCEMENT**

Chemonics International Inc., an international development consulting firm, seeks highly-qualified Ukrainian professionals for the following positions on the USAID Nove Pravosudnya Justice Sector Reform Program in Ukraine:

Legal Specialist**Duties and Responsibilities:**

- Work with Ukrainian partners, including the Verkhovna Rada (Parliament), Ministry of Justice, Supreme Court, High Council of Justice, High Qualifications Commission of Judges, State Judicial Administration, National School of Judges, and Human Rights Ombudsman, in support of legal and judicial reform programs.
- Develop policy papers, analytical reports, and commentaries on a variety of topics related to the justice sector.
- Support institutional capacity building for Ukrainian judicial and governmental partners.
- Assist in designing, conducting and evaluating conferences, seminars and workshops.
- Contribute to public outreach materials, progress reports and work plans.
- Coordinate activities with other international donors active in rule of law reform.

Job Qualifications:

- Law degree from a university in Ukraine.
- Five years of legal practice and/or experience with the Ukrainian judiciary, government or legislature.
- Previous USAID or other international donor experience preferred.
- Ability to speak and write clearly and effectively in English and Ukrainian required.
- Knowledge of the Ukrainian judicial system preferred.

Translator/Interpreter**Duties and Responsibilities:**

- Translation of legal materials, including laws, judicial decisions, other legal documents and materials related to project activities.
- Interpretation during meetings with Ukrainian government partners and counterparts, subcontractors, as well as field visits, conferences, seminars and workshops.
- Proofreading and reviewing materials related to project activities.

Job Qualifications:

- Bachelors or equivalent degree in English or other relevant discipline from a Ukrainian university.
- Two years experience as a translator, with experience translating legal text.
- Fluency in English and Ukrainian required.
- Previous USAID or other international donor experience preferred.
- Knowledge of the Ukrainian legal and judicial system preferred.

Application Instructions: Please send a CV and a brief cover letter in English in the email body to office@fair.org.ua. Please submit one application per candidate, and include the name of the position in the subject line. Candidates will be reviewed on a rolling basis until the position is filled. No telephone inquiries, please. Short-listed candidates will be contacted.

Application Deadline: October 21, 2016 at 6 P.M. Kyiv Time



Professionals for Reform Support Mechanism (PRSM) provides human resource support – from managers to technical experts – to critical reform initiatives undertaken by national governmental agencies. PRSM is currently seeking candidates to fill the following expert positions:

- **Sector Lead (4 positions) at the Project Office for Sectoral Decentralization (POSD)**
- **Sector Lead for Administrative Services Centers at the Administrative Services Reform Office (ASO)**
- **Export Services Unit Leader and Export Services Specialists at the Export Promotion Office (EPO)**

Please, submit your CV and Cover letter to: prsm@fsr.org.ua

For more detailed information about preferred qualifications and skills, indicative duties and responsibilities, as well as applying procedure, please visit web-site: <http://edge.in.ua/vacancies.html>

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Pact Inc. seeks candidates to fill the position of **Monitoring and Evaluation Officer** for the USAID/Enhance Non-Governmental Actors and Grassroots Engagement (ENGAGE) activity in Ukraine

Position summary

- The Monitoring and Evaluation Officer will oversee all monitoring and evaluation related tasks, including: data collection, analysis, and learning. S/he ensures setting up systems at various levels for tracking of the progress and the achievement of USAID/ENGAGE objectives.

Specific duties and responsibilities:

- In coordination with the Project Management Team, the Monitoring and Evaluation Officer will lead efforts related to Monitoring and Evaluation Plan development and planning; developing and adjusting indicators and tools for measurement, coordinating data collection efforts, ensuring high quality of data, submitting information on reports;
- Ensuring participatory approach in ENGAGE monitoring and evaluation by involving other stakeholders in the monitoring and evaluation related activities;
- Coordinate with Pact staff at Washington DC headquarters to complete monitoring and evaluation related responsibilities;
- Oversee data quality management, analysis and reporting;
- Ensuring the lessons learned from the monitoring and evaluation results;
- Design assessments and tools for data collection as needed;
- Developing and implementing the monitoring and evaluation system of Pact including but not limited to developing the logic framework of ENGAGE and its components;
- Compiling and revising core program documents such as Monitoring and Evaluation Plan and approving it with the donor;
- Coordination of mid-term and final evaluation of the USAID/ENGAGE activity.

Requirements:

- Master's degree in relevant field;
- 5-7 years of work experience with monitoring and evaluation with progressively increased levels of responsibility, preferably in democracy and governance sector;
- Knowledge of data collection methods and analysis;
- Experience with international donor-funded programs, particularly USAID-funded contracts;
- Fluent in English, Ukrainian, and Russian.

Preference for:

- Master's degree in relevant field.

For more information on Pact and this vacancy, please visit www.pactworld.org.

To Apply: Please send your CV and cover letter to engagehr@pactworld.org with "Monitoring and Evaluation Officer" in the subject line by COB **October 14, 2016**. Please note that only short-listed candidates will be invited to interview.

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