



Kyiv Post Tiger Conference previews and coverage on pages 3-4,10-18. Look for special supplement of top 30 under 30 winners to be published soon.





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In Russian-occupied Crimea, 'wrong' opinion can mean jail

BY KYIV POST

2 National

FEODOSIA, Crimea - Suleiman Kadyrov is at his gate in Feodosia, Crimea, dressed impeccably in a suit and tie decorated with the Tamga, the symbol of Crimea's indigenous minority the Crimean Tatars.

Beyond, the building is painted blue and yellow, the colors of both the Ukrainian and Crimean Tatar flags. In his living room, the two flags take pride of place on the wall. This is a man making no attempt to hide his loyalties, or his conviction that Crimea is still Ukraine.

Convictions – both the personal and the legal kind – figure largely in 54-year-old Kadyrov's life. As deputy head of criminal investigations in the south-east coastal town of Feodosia, he spent years putting other people behind bars; locals remember at least two high-profile murder cases he solved. Now, he's facing a court case of his own under Russian criminal law. If convicted, he could spend up to five years in prison for reposting a video and writing a comment under it on Facebook.

Criminal cases

Kadyrov is one of three Crimeans charged under a recent Russian law on "making public calls to action intended to violate the territorial integrity of the Russian Federation," for their statements that Crimea is Ukrainian territory.

Ilmi Umerov, also a Crimean Tatar and former head of the Bakhchisaray administration, is charged over comments he made on TV channel ATR, and journalist Mykola Semena for an article written under a pseudonym for Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty's news site Crimea Realities.

Kadyrov, Umerov and Semena are not alone in their opinion about the status of Crimea. On November 15 the International Criminal Court (ICC) in the Hague released a report concluding that Russia is an occu-





Suleyman Kadyrov, a Crimean Tatar activist, serves coffee in his house on Nov. 17. The Russian Federal Security Service, or FSB, has opened a criminal case against him on charges of extremism. (Courtesy)

pying power in Crimea. A day later the UN general assembly adopted a Ukraine-sponsored resolution calling Russia an aggressor committing egregious human right abuses in Crimea.

"The whole international community recognises that Crimea is Ukraine," said Kadyrov. "So by any idea of logic (the Russian authorities) should halt our criminal cases. Or if they continue with our cases, then they have to open a case against the whole United Nations and the court in the Hague."

In fact the Russian response was to formally withdraw its (unratified) signature from the ICC's founding treaty, the Rome Statute, the day after the court published its preliminarv report.

The relevant Russian legal article (280.1) on Russian territorial integrity was added to the Criminal Code in May 2014, less than two months after Russia annexed Crimea from Ukraine.

"It was written especially for Crimea," said Kadyrov.

his personal Facebook page, under a reposted video. According to the lawsuit, his comment read "Suleiman Kadyrov agrees. Crimea is Ukraine, always was and always will be. I thank the author for this video. I support it!!!'

Kadyrov deleted his Facebook page after the lawsuit was brought in October. But the 2014 video he allegedly reposted is still available online, as is a linked page on Russian social media site VKontakte. In the video someone calling himself 'Demyan Demyanchenko' (the face and voice are disguised) says he is setting up an armed 'Crimea battalion' to liberate Crimea, and asks for donations and volunteers. One of the last posts from 'Demyan Demyanchenko' from July 2014 on VKontakte notes that 57 hryvna (then about \$7) has been collected for the battalion's foundation.

Typical situation

Kadyrov is not the first person to go to court over this material. According to Russian court records, a K T on the internet, then they should make sure it is not being distributed," she said. "They should work with website owners to ensure materials are removed, or if they are not, start court proceedings to get them removed.'

Instead, she said, law enforcement staff "go to work in the morning, get a cup of coffee, sit at the computer and catch 25 people who are distributing some kind of videos or pictures or phrases."

"It's very convenient," she said. "They don't have to go far, it doesn't require collecting any complicated evidence; the expertise is very poor and unprofessional and the courts are obedient."

Oath breakers

SOVA considers the particular online material in Kadyrov's case does indeed constitute dangerous material, because it calls for armed action to free Crimea.

Kadvrov claims he can't remember reposting the video or writing the comment, and suspects it was faked. He also claims that his comment, if indeed he wrote it, does not violate the law. "All I said was that Crimea is Ukraine. That's my point of view and I've never hidden it, because I didn't change my oath like many other former state employees did," he said. gave my oath to Ukraine. Why "I should I as an officer and a citizen be forced to break it?" Kadyrov worked for over 20 years for the Ukrainian Interior Ministry in the Feodosia criminal police, before retiring in 2010. He was elected a local representative of the Crimean Tatar governing body, the Mejlis, the 2011.

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Political act

Maria Kravchenko, who heads the department for monitoring government misuse of counter-extremism measures at the Moscow-based SOVA Centre for Information and Analysis, says that the new article is unnecessary, because any genuine calls for violent violation of Russia's borders fall under existing laws on extremism or terrorism. "The creation of article 280.1 was a completely political act, that in practice applies to any discussion at all on the subject of territorial integrity," she said. "It's a violation of freedom of speech, especially relating to Crimea, where inhabitants have the right to think what they want about the situation; they can welcome it or not, and they should have the right to express

Kadyrov's offending statement was

Kadyrov (no relation) went on trial in Tomsk in October 2015 for creating the video and a related website and VKontakte page. He was charged with the same offence as his Feodosia namesake.

K T Kadyrov pleaded guilty. The court, without examining the evidence, sentenced him to 300 hours community service, but immediately cancelled it under an April 2015 amnesty in honour of the 70 anniversary of World War II victory.

Kadyrov considers it absurd, or an active provocation, that material already found to break Russian law was still available online a year later for him to allegedly repost and so fall under the same criminal prosecution. But according to Kravchenko from SOVA, this is a typical situation.

"From our point of view, if law enforcement agencies are determined to tackle dangerous material

In spring 2014 Kadyrov watched as the vast majority of his former work colleagues defected to join Russian police and security services, while the

more Feodosia on page 11



Tiger Conference Keynote Speaker: Mikheil Saakashvili, president of Georgia from Jan. 20, 2008-Nov. 17, 2013

Saakashvili: Ukraine faces chaos if no early elections

BY OLEG SUKHOV

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Unless Ukraine resolves its political crisis through an early parliamentary election, it may undergo a military coup, disintegrate, and become easy prey for Russia, ex-Georgian President Mikheil Saakashvili said in an interview with the Kyiv Post.

Early elections are necessary due to Ukraine's pervasive corruption, a lack of trust in the political elite, and economic stagnation, he said. The next scheduled parliamentary elections are in 2019 - but Ukrainians won't wait that long, he said.

"When the political class is delegitimized and has such low popularity, the only way out is through elections," said Saakashvili, outlining his vision for Ukraine. "The next elections will be revolutionary ones because they will get rid of the entire political class.'

As the third anniversary is under way of the EuroMaidan Revolution that forced President Viktor Yanukovych to flee power in 2014, frustration is growing with the authorities' failure to achieve the revolution's goals. With top officials' fabulous wealth revealed in electronic declarations recently and no one punished for large-scale corruption and high-profile murders, society's patience is running thin.

Saakashvili talked to the Kyiv Post in the office of his newly-created Movement of New Forces, not far from Hrushevsky Street, where violent clashes took place during the EuroMaidan Revolution. Before the interview, he gave a pep talk to his supporters in a brightly lit conference hall of Europe Office Center.

Saakashvili resigned as governor of Odesa Oblast on Nov. 7, accusing President Petro Poroshenko of blocking his efforts to reduce corruption in the region's law enforcement bodies, civil service and customs - a claim denied by the president's representatives. Saakashvili, a firebrand visionary who applied his zeal to Ukraine after leaving his native Georgia in 2013, later announced plans to launch a political party in an effort to come to power and replace Ukraine's political establishment.



Ex-Georgian President Mikheil Saakashvili sits down with the Kyiv Post for an interview on Nov. 19 in his headquarters at Europe Office Center in Kyiv. He resigned on Nov. 7 as governor of Odesa Oblast, complaining of lack of support for reforms, and is leading a drive for early parliamentary elections. (Anastasia Vlasova)

Russia

"If Ukraine weakens, it will be very easy prey," he said. "(Russian President Vladimir) Putin only has to sit on the fence and wait until Ukraine kills itself."

Military coup

Saakashvili said that he saw "a real, clear threat of violence" if the crisis was not resolved. "In order to avoid real violence, we need to have a democratic process," he added.

Saakashvili warned that there could be a coup by armed nationalist groups.

"If we don't have elections, 5,000 armed people can easily take over any government building here," he said. "No one is going to resist."

He said that such a coup could be triggered by legislative concessions to Russian-separatist forces in the Donbas and could eventually lead to a "Yugoslav scenario for Ukraine."

"Then 5,000 people will take over Kharkiv and Odesa, and then these people will start shooting at each other," he added.

toms inspectors. "They should be given a chance

to take over because they have the experience of governing but

didn't have time to be corrupted or become part of the system," he said. "We should elevate these people from the level of trouble makers to that of decision makers."

Many of the reformers who joined government after the EuroMaidan Revolution have been forced out or quit, citing sabotage of their efforts by Poroshenko and other top officials.

"The second Maidan brought a thick layer of young guys - many of them are here - whom we recruited from all kinds of Western universities," Saakashili said. "These guys have already gotten a taste of some limited success but also a taste of bitter frustration because they were not allowed to make real change."

Saakashvili's party

To propel a new generation of reformers to power, Saakashvili on Nov. 11 announced plans to create the Movement of New Forces.

He said would not take any money from oligarchs to fund his political project, prompting speculation that a lack of funding would hamper the party.

Yet Saakashvili was confident

more Saakashvili on page 18

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Ousting the elite

While skeptics say there are no preconditions for early elections now, Saakashvili argues that they are inevitable due to public discontent with the authorities. "The post-Maidan government is very sensitive to public opinion," he said.

Saakashvili also criticized Western governments for opposing early elections in Ukraine, saying that in the West crises were usually resolved through a democratic vote.

He said that large-scale protests were one of the scenarios that could lead to snap elections.

Saakashvili argued that, by failing to reform itself and oust the corrupt political elite through early elections or create the rule of law, Ukraine would become an easy target for

Another challenge facing Ukraine is economic stagnation. Saakashvili said that, if Ukraine's economy grew at the rate forecast by the government, it would only get back to the pre-EuroMaidan level in 15 years.

"I don't think people have patience for that," he said. "Ukraine as a state will be under threat of disappearing... We're facing existential choices right now."

New generation

Saakashvili said that - given the chance -- voters will replace Ukraine's corrupt political elite with a new post-EuroMaidan generation of reformers. In Odesa Oblast, Saakashvili's team held competitions to recruit young professionals, including Western-educated ones, as his deputies, district chiefs and cusRange Rover Evoque ідеально пасує до міського оточення завдяки своєму впевненому характеру та витонченій поставі. Його прогресивні сенсорні технології дозволять вам почуватися всередині авто як вдома. Він оснащений легендарною системою Land Rover Terrain Respon Насолоджуйтесь ритмами мегаполісу, реєструйтеся на тест-драйв

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4 Opinion

November 25, 2016

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Tiger Conference. Tuesday, Nov. 29 – Hilton Kyiv Hotel Editorials

Tiger time

The nation is over-conferenced and many people have too many events on their calendar already. We understand. There are more events and news stories for us to cover than existing resources allow.

But, since 2012, the Kyiv Post has put tremendous energy into its now 5th annual English-language conference that takes place around American Thanksgiving. We call it the Tiger Conference because it remains our hope that Ukraine will have a tiger, as in fast-growing, economy soon. It hasn't worked out that way for many reasons.

The conference is a low-budget but not a low-quality affair. We don't spend the millions of dollars on honorariums that billionaire Victor Pinchuk lays out for speakers to his annual Yalta European Strategy conferences. We can't afford to spend anything on honorariums at all.

Yet every year, we are blessed by great people willing to speak in the public interest on serious public policy issues. We have corporate and other sponsors whose support ensures we at least break even, essential for an independent and commercial newspaper that survives mainly on revenue from advertising, subscriptions and such events.

We try, however, to include fun events and pack them all into a 24-hour period. This year, we will have a reception on the eve of the Nov. 29 conference, six panels the day of the conference and an evening awards ceremony - honoring the top 30 Ukrainians under 30 years of age and expat Stuart McKenzie for his contributions to Ukraine. The top 30 under 30 awards were one of the welcome ideas of Kyiv Post CEO Luc Chenier.

We hope as many people as possible can join us or watch the livestream. Otherwise, the Kyiv Post can be counted on to provide complete coverage.

Keep what you stole

The 5th annual Tiger Conference kicks off on Nov. 29 with six panel discussions and an evening awards program.

When organizing the event, we chose the subject of asset reovery presumably a big political goal of leaders who say they are trying to track and recover the \$40 billion stolen (by official estimates) during ex-President Viktor Yanukovych's regime from 2010-2014. The sum equals the government's annual budget.

But in assembling the guests and talking with experts, we came to the conclusion that the unofficial policy of President Petro Poroshenko is "keep what you stole" rather than "we are going to search for you with all the resources at our disposable and will never stop until everyone is held accountable.'

It's obvious, and it's sad.

The nation's top political leaders chose to bypass an opportunity to talk about the importance of asset recovery and establishing legal responsibility for theft. The panel is represented by intelligent, competent and committed experts who are the first to acknowledge that they have limited influence in the budget priorities of politicians and law enforcement.

So, we are left with a Deposit Guarantee Fund that has made little progress in recovering assets under its control from the 80 closed and insolvent banks in the multibillion-dollar bank fraud of the last decade. The fund wrongly puts its emphasis on criminal bank-fraud convictions (which don't exist) rather than the more useful civil lawsuits to recover assets.

General Prosecutor Yuriy Lutsenko, taking over a hopeless institution that existed to protect, not prosecute corruption, hasn't gotten around to forming a special bank fraud unit - even though the National Bank of Ukraine and Deposit Guarantee Fund have forwarded hundreds of clearcut bank-fraud cases for investigation.

Meanwhile, those who looted the banks with insider lending are freely walking the streets, including Mykola Lagun of Delta Bank and Oleg Bakhmatyuk of VAB Bank and Financial Incentive Bank. Or their assets remain safe and under their control in Ukraine, like those belonging to exiled oligarch Dmytro Firtash, who owes the central bank Hr 12 billion. He got this loan without putting up any lasting personal guarantees or collateral. His Nadra Bank failed spectacularly.

The dismal status quo is best illustrated by the fact that prosecutors are still trying to recover the \$270 million stolen by ex-Prime Minister Pavlo Lazarenko in the 1990s. At this pace, the money will be long gone and we'll all be long dead before anybody moves on the lion's share of



the \$40 billion looted during the Yanukovych era.



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Opinion/National 5

Reformer of the week

Tetiana Kozachenko

Tetiana Kozachenko stepped down on Nov. 21 as head of the Justice Ministry's lustration department, which is in charge of firing top officials who served ex-President Viktor Yanukovych.

Kozachenko's resignation follows an exodus earlier this year of at least 22 other top reformers, some of whom cited sabotage of reforms by the authorities as their reason for quitting. Top reformers who have quit include Odesa Oblast Governor Mikheil Saakashvili, Odesa Oblast Customs Chief Yulia Marushevska, and National Police Chief Khatia Dekanoidze.

According to a report filed by Kozachenko before her resignation, State Fiscal Service Chief Roman Nasirov is the top saboteur of lustration: 14 Yanukovych-era officials still remain at

his agency, which has also failed to fire a single top official subject to lustration due to their ill-gotten wealth.

President Petro Poroshenko has refused to fire Kirovohrad Oblast Governor Serhiy Kuzmenko under lustration, without explaining the reasons, and also illegally appointed two other Yanukovych-era officials: his deputy chief of staff Oleksiy Dniprov, and Luhansk Oblast Governor Yuriy Harbuz, the report said.

The Prosecutor General's Office has failed to appeal against questionable and controversial court rulings exempting from lustration top prosecutors Oleh Valendyuk, Maksim Melnychenko and Oleksandr Tkachenko. Meanwhile, the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU) and the Interior Ministry have refused to fire under the lustration law the SBU's top investigator, Grigory Ostafiychuk, and Ukraine's Interpol bureau chief, Vasyl Nevolya, respectively. The officials and agencies involved have denied accusations of sabotaging the lustration law.

- Oleg Sukhov

4

Anti-reformer of the week

Oleksiy Takhtai

Oleksiy Takhtai, formerly a deputy of Interior Minister Arsen Avakov and his chief of staff, was appointed as the Interior Ministry's state secretary on Nov. 23.

Persons resembling Takhtai, who is an ex-official of ex-President Viktor Yanukovych's administration, and ex-Deputy Interior Minister Serhiy Chebotar, an ex-deputy of Avakov, were seen negotiating a corrupt deal to sell sand in video footage shot by the Security Service of Ukraine and leaked on the Internet last year. Investigators have so far failed to file notices of suspicion on either of the men.

The appointment followed the Nov. 14 resignation of reformist National Police Chief Khatia Dekanoidze, who later mentioned political interference by Avakov and President Petro



Poroshenko, a lack of authority to bring about change, and the authorities' failure to root out corruption. The Presidential Administration, which could not comment immediately, also imposed on the National Police the candidacy of Anton Shevtsov as Vinnytsa Oblast Police Chief, Dekanoidze said. Shevtsov was fired in March after evidence of his pro-Russian views emerged. Dekanoidze said on Nov. 17 that only 5,656 police officers, or 4.8 percent of those subject to vetting, had been fired as part of efforts to oust corrupt and unprofessional officers. Of those, many could have been reinstated by the courts, and the ministry has even refused to publish the names of those dismissed during vetting.

Avakov, who faces several corruption investigations, is also pushing for anti-reformist legislation that would ban citizens from disobeying illegal actions by the police, and would expand officers' ability to use force against citizens. Interior Ministry spokesman Artem Shevchenko did not respond to a request for comment.

– Oleg Sukhov

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













1. A woman bows at the monument to the Heavenly Hundred - the 100 protesters killed during Ukraine's EuroMaidan Revolution - on Institutska Street in Kyiv on Nov. 21. Most demonstrators were killed on this street on Feb. 20, 2014, two days before President Viktor Yanukovych fled power. 2. After rallying on Independence Square, nationalists marched to what they presumed were the offices of pro-Kremlin politician Viktor Medvedchuk and vandalized the building. However, the premises turned out to be a beauty salon. 3. A man throws a smoke bomb through the broken window of a building in Kyiv attacked by nationalists during a rally to mark the third anniversary of the start of the EuroMaidan Revolution on Nov. 21. 4. A police officer prevents a woman from bringing a tire to burn on Independence Square during the nationalist rally 5. Activists and supporters of Ukrainian nationalist groups scuffle with police and national guardsmen as they try to bring tires to burn on Independence Square. 6. Activists and supporters of Ukrainian nationalist groups burn tires on Independence Square in front of the monument to independence. Hundreds gathered on Independence Square to mark the third anniversary of the start of the EuroMaidan Revolution on Nov. 21. (Volodymyr Petrov)



November 25, 2016

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Ukraine industrial park boom depends on local authorities

BY ISOBEL KOSHIW AND NATALIE VIKHROV KOSHIW@KYIVPOST.COM

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For more than a decade,Ukraine has been attempting to set up conditions for industrial parks.

But it was only in February 2014 that the government officially placed the first such development on its register. Since then, a total of 15 developments have been registered by the state but only two of those are currently operating.

After assuming his position in April, as part of the post-EuroMaidan decentralization drive, Ukrainian Prime Minister

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Volodymyr Groysman said that he wanted to see an industrial park in every Ukrainian city. The government-led initiative on industrial parks aims to attract multinational investors to Ukraine's regions, creating jobs and developing local industry.

Despite the growing number of state registrations, industrial parks are failing to take off.

Ukrainian government officials call investor interest strong. Over the past year, The Netherlands, Japan, Germany, China, and Turkey have all expressed interest.

However, the sharp economic decline which hit Ukraine in 2014, coupled with inadequate laws to



The industrial park Svema, located in Sumy region, houses a series of chemical plants. Not all the lots are currently taken and it is looking to attract further participants, according to its spokespeople. (Courtesy)

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stimulate their development, has led to difficulties in attracting investors, said Igor Nykolyn, director of Ukraine's Association of Industrial Parks.

Those registered by the state are eligible to apply for financing from the State Regional Development Fund, though it has yet to fund any industrial park projects. This is a marked difference from countries like Poland and Czech Republic, which offer significantly better tax incentives as well as grants.

ly lower benefits compared to its regional competitors.

"Even under the current proposals, the benefits are only half of those which exist in Turkey for example," Nykolyn said.

Rasim Bekmezci, vice chairman of the Turkey-Ukraine Business Council, told the Kyiv Post that the two laws awaiting approval will be sufficient to attract Turkish investment. But until the laws are passed, Ukraine cannot claim it has any industrial parks, said Bekmezci: "Industrial park zones must offer something special, they can't just be like everywhere else." There is strong interest among Turkish textile and agricultural companies, said Bekmezci, attracted by cheap labor costs and natural resources, such as sunflowers, corn and grain.

ties can play a bigger role in supporting the establishment of industrial parks

For instance, local authorities can offer subsidized rent on state land, preferential land sales and administrative services, subsidized tariffs for electricity and water, and special loans.

There are very few examples of

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Legal changes

Ukraine's central authorities have tried to mitigate the situation by passing amendments to the 2012 law on industrial parks. For instance, in November 2015, they removed articles which obliged investors to pay for 75 percent of the infrastructure for the site: "This was the biggest barrier to the creation of new parks," said Nykolyn.

According to Nykolyn, the two legislative initiatives currently on the table, 2554a and 2555a, which are designed to boost tax and customs incentives, are still insufficient, despite being a step in the right direction. Even if passed, he says, Ukraine would still offer significant-

Local authorities

Bekmezci said that Turkish businesspeople are not looking to move to a specific area of the country. Rather, they are looking for the local authorities who will offer the best conditions.

Additional controls given to Ukraine's regional governments under the decentralization bill passed in 2015 mean local authori-

local authorities doing so, according Daniel Bilak of UkraineInvest, a project under Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers which aims to promote investment.

Lviv's Ryanse-2 Industrial Park is one of the few examples of local authorities "bending over backwards to make investors feel at home," said Bilak. Significantly, according to Bilak, Lviv City Council sold Ukraine's branch of Dutch real estate developers CTP land in December 2015 which means that they can attract institutional investors. The Lviv authorities also offered to build all the infrastructure connected to the site, said Bilak.

According to their plans, Ukraine's branch of CTP, City Park Lviv, plans to invest 50 million Euros into Ryasne-2, which will specialize in

more Parks on page 7





- 1. IPark (aimed at Odesa sea port users)
- 2. First Ukrainian Industrial Park (pharmaceuticals, food stuffs, furniture and metals)
- 3. Central Industrial Park (engineering, IT & electronics, energy alternatives)
- 4. Trostyanets (manufacturing of food transportation technologies)

5. Myrots'ke (wood, food processing, building materials, energy alternatives)

6. Industrial Park Zhytomyr East (building materials, wood, food processing, engineering)

7. Vinnytsia Industrial Park (manufacturing refrigeration equipment)

- 8. Bionic Hill (IT development)
- 9. Svema (chemical plants)
- 10. Solomonovo (car manufacturing)
- **11. Kryvbass** (manufacturing of cars, building materials and logistics)
- **12.** Riasne- 2 (electronic appliances, wood processing)
- **13.** Dolyna (car manufacturing and logistics)
- **14. Slavuta** (metals, building materials)
- 15. Korosten (cars, electronics manufacturing and food stuffs)

What is an industrial park?

industrial parks are defined areas where related businesses cluster. They may house oil refineries, ports, warehouses, chemical plants, manufacturers, food and beverage processors and wood processers. The national and regional authorities usually offer tax incentives and help with infrastructure construction in exchange for job creation and the economic boost that the parks bring to local economies. Ukraine has only two operating industrial parks, but another 13 have been registered and are under construction. Source: Ministry of Economic Development and Trade of Ukraine

Push for economic development leads



to industrial parks

Parks from page 6

sorting garbage and is expected to create 3,000 jobs.

However, in November, Ukraine's Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko opened a criminal investigation into the land sale, claiming that it was sold for Hr 52 million: Hr 88 million under its value in November 2015 of Hr 140 million.

The city council say an independent valuation of the land before the sale put the price at Hr 52 million, not Hr 140 million.

The head of legal at Lviv City Council, Helena Paionkevych, told journalists on Nov. 15 that no searches had taken place as all the documents were voluntarily handed over.

She said that most of the documents relating to the sale were already publicly available online.

Čriticising Lutsenko, Lviv's Mayor Andriy Sadoviy wrote on Nov. 15: "Today's actions at the City Council provide us with the best answer as to why Ukraine has no investors."

"The investigation is into whether or not they followed the right procedure. I'm sure they are not completely incompetent," said Bilak. "I hope that the investigation will bring a good housekeeping seal of approval for industrial parks in Ukraine."

Overall, says Nykolyn, it's up to the authorities to instigate changes that ensure conditions, such as long-term tax breaks, remain the same for the next 10 years.

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Latest Khmelnytsky quest: Bila Tserkva Industrial Park

BY NATALIE VIKHROV

NATALIE.VIKHROV@GMAIL.COM

If at first you don't succeed, try again. That seems to be Ukrainian multimillionaire Vasyl Khmelnytsky's maxim for his latest project: the construction of the Bila Tserkva Industrial Park.

It will be the ex-Party of Regions member of parliament's second industrial park, to be built in the face of a tough investor climate.

Located 80 kilometers southwest of Kyiv, the Bila Tserkva project will host industries including food manufacturing, pharmaceutical production and engineering projects.

Among the 20 to 30 factories planned for what could eventually be expanded to a 500-hectare park will be Ukraine's first nanotechnology factory. It is planned to produce rods from sand that can be then used for building materials.

Khmelnytsky's development company UDP - which was behind Kyiv's Zhuliany Airport and shopping centre Ocean Plaza - purchased the first 50 hectares of land earlier this year from Iranian businessman Ali Mohammed Khani Omran's Euro Finance Ltd. group.

According to Khmelnytsky, the company planned to build a metallurgical factory there, but sold the land due to a bad economic climate for the industry.

Two parks operating

Khmelnytsky says he plans to add Bila Tserkva to the Ministry of hEco-



Ukrainian businessman Vasyl Khmelnytsky at Unit Factory on Sept. 14. (Volodymyr Petrov)

nomic Development and Trade's register of industrial parks in the coming months.

There are currently 15 industrial parks registered with the ministry, but only two are operating.

Among the 13 that are still in

bdevelopment is Khmelnytsky's first project, Bionic Hill, in Kyiv's Sviatoshynsky district.

Khmelnytsky said the project is currently frozen because of a lack of investors.

Although Khmelnytsky says Bionic

ill is technically not an industrial park – but a technology park – the development has been on the ministry's register since 2014.

Khmelnytsky admits he registered the project as an "industrial park" to attract investors.



"Ukraine can't attract investors because there are big risks here," he said.

"If you're a foreign investor and it's viable for you to produce something here, to get the land, get the infrastructure, electricity, water...it will take two to three years at best, and that's if you don't run into corrupt schemes. A park has conditions that guard against corruption and has the infrastructure."

Khmelnytsky's innovation park was intended to become Ukraine's answer to California's Sillicon Valley, but was frozen in 2014. A smaller version of the park, Unit Factory, was set up in Kyiv earlier this year.

Tax breaks coming?

The Verkhovna Rada adopted a bill to lift barriers to the creation of industrial parks in 2015. Meanwhile, two laws proposing tax breaks and customs benefits are currently on the docket in parliament. In spite of these moves, industry experts say Ukraine significantly lags behind its competitors and neighbors when it comes to investor incentives.

Khmelnytsky says while he backs the adoption of the legislation – which passed the first reading in October - he is confident his project will succeed even without the proposed incentives.

"If these laws are adopted, I'll have more investors. But if they're not, I'll have less but I'll still have them," he said.

Foreign interest

He said the development has already attracted plenty of interest, with around 20 inquiries from potential investors including Turkish and Italian food processors.

He is confident that at least three of them are ready to sign on.

Furthermore, in October Chinese and Korean delegations visited the park, which resulted in the park and Korea's Jeonnam Technology Park management signing a memorandum "confirming mutual aspiration to further forge bilateral cooperation and facilitate business-to-business relations between the countries."

And despite the lack of inves-

An artist's impression of a portion of the Bionic Hill Innovation Park, a project designed to be similar to Silicon Valley in the United States. The development in Kyiv's Sviatoshynsky district was frozen in 2014 because of a lack of investors. "Ukraine can't attract investors because there are big risks here," says developer Vasyl Khmelnytsky. (Courtesy)

tors halting Bionic Hill, Khmelnytsky maintains that Ukraine's economy is recovering and now is the right time to build Bila Tserkva.

'A catastrophe'

He wants to use the development to set an example of a successful industrial park model for the government.

"I will make this park with no profits, because it's the first step to economic growth," he claimed. "In reality, the government should be doing this. But I want to create an example of how to do this, because I have experience. I've travelled and I've seen (how others do it)."

"Tm ready to spend a little of my own money to make (Ukraine rich). To be successful, I need people to be rich... Right now people are becoming poorer, and it's a catastrophe for me as a businessman. I don't see any other alternatives."

Kyiv's historic ice hockey school slides into decay

BY OLENA GONCHAROVA

GONCHAROVA@KYIVPOST.COM

Oleksiy Zhytnyk looks sadly at what used to be his ice hockey training venue, the Avangard Ice Rink Arena. It's where he started his path to professional hockey with the Sokil (Falcon) Kyiv Youth Ice Hockey School.

The arena stands dark and abandoned, its floor covered in dust and building materials piled chaotically all around. Not a single puck has hit the ice here for many years – and there's not even any ice.

For Zhytnyk, a Ukrainian former professional defenseman, who has played 1,085 games in the National Hockey League, including two Stanley Cup finals — with the Los Angeles Kings in 1992-93 and the Buffalo Sabres in the 1998-99, it's a depressing picture.

"At least there was ice here before," he says as the winter dusk begins to settle on this gray, unwelcoming building.

Dim future

Every year Zhytnyk returns from his home in the United States to Kyiv to visit family. He stays connected with Ukraine's hockey scene, although he's not hopeful that it will recover quickly.

"We can compare (hockey) to a destroyed house - you can't fix it with cosmetic changes," he says, adding that its future is dim.

But things used to be different.

Sokil Kyiv Youth Ice Hockey School opened its doors to children in 1982. Sokil coaches raised a number of homegrown stars on their home rink at Avangard, including Zhytnyk, Dmitri Khristich and Nikolai Zherdev, the highest drafted player in Kyiv's history.

But after Ukraine gained independence in 1991, many hockey rinks became less used than in Soviet times, when the nation's clubs starred in the Soviet league. Some have been closed and turned into shopping malls or rented for office

Canadian Ambassador to Ukraine Roma. Waschuk and Serhiy Tymofeyev (R), Lead of the skating rink in Kyiv's Obolon



space since then.

Ukraine ended up having just 25 professional ice rinks.

In 2014, when the EuroMaidan Revolution forced disgraced former president Viktor Yanukovych out of the country, the 8,422 square meter building of the Avangard Ice Arena was returned to the government, after having been managed by trade unions.

A year later, a former Sokil player, Kostyantyn Simchuk, was appointed a head of Avangard, and it was granted the status of the Olympic training base. But in 2016, Avangard still lacks an actual ice rink.

Past glory

shopping malls or rented for office Despite the tough conditions, the

Sokil School still exists. They train around 250 kids, compared to nearly 500 in recent years when they had a rink in Avangard. Now the children train in Obolon district, where there's a small rink under a bright yellow tent. According to the National Federation of Hockey, the rink does not meet the requirements to be a proper training venue because of its small size and lack of utilities.

Simchuk has been working side by side with Sports Ministry, National Federation and donors trying to restore the Avangard rink for Sokil Youth Hockey School.

The process is tough, he confessed, as they had to undergo a number of court hearings regarding ownership, and work out reconstruction plans that will help to access how much money they will need to bring hockey back to the Avangard. have a rebirth, like a phoenix,"

The past achievements of Sokil School and its professional team, which won the 1985 bronze medal in the Soviet championship, are of little help when it comes to the school's survival.

"I'm not a businessman, I'm a hockey player," Simchuk says. "I can't even talk about the money Avangard will need, because there's no plan yet." He estimates that the skating rink reconstruction could be completed in some five months and it would cost at least \$500,000 - but those figures are preliminary ones.

On Nov. 9, Canadian Ambassador Roman Waschuk visited the Avangard facilities.

"We can help to spread the word on potential of (Ukrainian hockey) in Canada," Waschuk told the Kyiv Post. "But it's up to Ukrainians to work on he's always been a fan of the Kyiv team. "I believe that Sokil could have a rebirth, like a phoenix," Dumych said, adding that this could happen if there are joint efforts by the authorities and the hockey fan community.

Future hopes

There are only three rinks in the capital, including one at central Palats Sportu, which will host the World Hockey Championship in Division 1A for the first time in April 2017. In comparison, there are at least seven rinks in Minsk, the capital of neighboring Belarus.

Olga Drobotko, whose 11-year-old son is a goaltender with Sokil, is frustrated by the country's inability to sustain its ice rinks. She still hopes, however, that Avangard will become a place for her son to train in the future.



the nation's hockey."

Hockey hub

Pavlo Bulgak, an advisor to the sports minister told the Kyiv Post that the Avangard Ice Arena is undergoing a facility audit to establish how much equipment it will need to resume work: "Lots of it was stolen before Avangard was returned to the government. We need to find the equipment, so Avangard can become a real hockey hub for the city's team."

However, Simchuk is not alone campaigning for Ukrainian hockey. His biggest support, he says, are mostly parents of young Sokil players and hockey enthusiasts.

A couple of years ago, Taras Dumych, a partner with law firm Wolf Theiss, began to help raising awareness about school's conditions. Dumych, a native of Lviv, says Now she regularly drives her son Illiya to a private hockey school so he can master his skills, as well as to Sokil.

Drobotko says she's happy for her son's passion, but concerned about his future in professional hockey.

Drobotko sets an alarm for early morning: her son's daily training routine starts at 5:45 a.m. in the unheated tent where Sokil Youth Hockey School plays for now.

And the Sokil School still is still going, even though Sokil's professional team was forced to forfeit games in 2013 due to the lack of funding.

"In fact, there's no hockey in Ukraine," Drobotko says. "But my son often tells me that hockey is the only thing he excels at."

That's what has kept her motivated to wake up early to take her son to training sessions.

'Romantic' Shymkiv says Ukraine needs lofty goals, a grand vision

BY OLGA RUDENKO RUDENKO@KYIVPOST.COM

It's been two years since Dmytro Shymkiv developed the ambitious Strategy 2020 program, which includes a set of key performance indicators that Ukraine plans to achieve by the decade's end.

Although few of the indicators have budged much since they were set in 2014, Shymkiv, deputy head of President Petro Poroshenko's administration and secretary of the National Reforms Council, is not giving up.

He is one of many Ukrainians from the private sector who came into government on a wave of patriotism and optimism following the EuroMaidan Revolution that drove President Viktor Yanukovych from power in 2014.

Not many of them are left now - their numbers shrinking from disappointment at the lack of progress. Shymkiv says reform efforts have been stalled by disagreements at all levels, by bureaucracy and by an immature political discourse that favors populism over solutions.

"I was a romantic," says Shymkiv. "I thought that all the middle-level officials would come to believe in the ideals of the Maidan, and would be helping us."

Still, he thinks that setting an ambitious goal -- like getting into the top 30 in World Bank's Ease of Doing Business ranking and doubling national wealth were the right thing to do.

"The goals need to be high," says Shymkiv. "A country needs a vision." So far, his philosophy of setting high goals has worked well for him.

In 2009, when Shymkiv was the CEO of Microsoft Ukraine, he set a goal for his team to become the best



Dmytro Shymkiv, deputy head of President Petro Poroshenko's administration, presents Strategy 2020 in Kyiv on Sept. 29, 2014. (Mykhailo Markiv)

Microsoft office globally - a competition that is held each year. He won the coveted title two years later.

Setting goals for a nation, however, has proved to be a different story.

High goals, low results

It took less than three months for a team of six people, including Shymkiv, to draft the Strategy 2020 in 2014. They considered many performance indicators and chose 25. Early in 2016, Shymkiv's team put together a report on the strategy's progress in 2015. It compared the performance indicators to the start-

Shymkiv ready to set Ukraine's goals for 2030 in his next strategic plan

ing point in 2014, and the ultimate goals to be attained by 2020.

One of the most important indicators, gross domestic product per capita, is one of the biggest disappointments. Standing at \$8,508 in 2014, it rose to just \$8,666 in 2015. The goal, set in Strategy 2020, is for it to reach \$16,000 by 2020.

Shymkiv admits that setting this goal so high was very ambitious, and a lower number had been considered. But he decided to

go for \$16,000 after he saw that GDP in Belarus was an impressive \$17,000 in 2014. "I said - wait, are

you telling me that in six years ing who he wants to work on it with we won't even be at the level of him. "This time it will be different:

that they would compete to draft the best plan to achieve its goals.

That didn't happen.

Instead, battle lines were drawn between power-hungry political opponents, who offer no solutions, but operate in the realm of populism. Shymkiv is visibly annoyed when he speaks about how politicians promise things like "no one will be poor" without attempting to back up their promises with a plan.

"Guys, you can't be throwing mud at each other forever," Shymkiv says emotionally, addressing imaginary politicians in front of him. "It's time to sit at one table and start taking decisions."

Small successes

When the strategy was first presented, experts and representatives of business criticized Shymkiv for planning to devote 3 percent of GDP to defense spending. In 2014, it stood at 1 percent.

"They were saying it was way too much," says Shymkiv. "But we looked at the experience of the countries that are under a constant military threat, like Israel, or Oman."

It proved the easiest goal to achieve: A year after the strategy was set, military spending has already surpassed 3 percent of GDP, thanks to Russia's war.

Another of Shymkiv's decisions that set him up for criticism was adding a section of cultural indicators -- like increasing the number of movies produced in Ukraine or setting the number of medals to be won by athletes at the 2020 Olympic Games. Shymkiv argues that such indicators are an essential part of the country's future and had to be included.

Next decade

TIGER

Ukraine: Vision 2020

Even though the 2020 vision plan

is far from being achieved, Shymkiv is thinking about writing a fol-CONFERENCE low-up - Strategy 2030. He is in the process of decid-

today's Belarus?" he said. "That's We will include a lot more people

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impossible."

Shymkiv blames sluggish GDP growth on economic decisions, especially the stalling of privatization of big enterprises and failure to push ahead with deregulation.

President Poroshenko, according to Shymkiv, fully supports the Strategy 2020 program. Asked why, then, the strategy's performance indicators are lagging, when the president has an ally as prime minister, and a majority in parliament, Shymkiv shakes his head and makes a face. His look conveys the impression that the president is constrained by other powers. Getting bills through parliament is

tough and Shymkiv sometimes has to lobby lawmakers personally.

The immaturity of the political process frustrates him. When he drew up Strategy 2020, he thought it would become a goal that would unite the country's politicians, and

in the development of this strategy,' he says.

Vision, not a plan

Shvmkiv stresses that Strategy 2020 is merely a sign helping Ukraine to reach its destination.

"We were tempted to work out a detailed plan," Shymkiv said, but added that he wanted to give politicians a chance to offer their solutions to make the final plan everyone's plan.

So far, there is no unified, step-bystep plan for making sure that the goals for Strategy 2020 are reached.

When asked if a middle-level ministry employee would be able to name some of the strategy's main indicators if someone cared to quiz him, Shymkiv said with a chuckle: "No, he wouldn't know them. But he would know that there is a strategy."

Three years after revolution, a reality check for Ukraine

BY JOSH KOVENSKY KOVENSKY@KYIVPOST.COM

It has been three years since the start of the EuroMaidan Revolution that drove President Viktor Yanukovych from power in 2014.

While Yanukovych's departure is one of the highlights of the last nearly three yeras, Ukraine has had other successes -- and many setbacks.

Evaluating where Ukraine stands today is the focus of the Kyiv Post's Nov. 29 Tiger Conference will be the challenge of the Reality Check panel, the last one of the day.

American-Canadian journalist Diane Francis will moderate a discussion that includes Ciklum CEO Torben Majgaard, Bloc of Petro Poroshenko member of parliament Sergii Leshchenko, former Economy Minister Aivaras Abromavicius and U.S.-Ukraine Business Council president Morgan Williams.

The four panelists have gained fans - and critics - for their vocal criticism of the shortcomings of some of Ukraine's leaders.

Torben Majgaard

Torben Majgaard heads Ciklum, one of Ukraine's largest information-technology outsourcing companies. Headquartered in Kyiv, the



firm has offices across Europe and in Pakistan. Majgaard, who is originally from Denmark, moved to Ukraine nearly 20 years ago.

He founded Ciklum in 2002. It has since grown into the country's fifth-largest IT company by number of employees.

Many look to the IT firm as an example of how the country's human capital can be harnessed to make Ukrainian products competitive in foreign markets. Billionaire George Soros invested an undisclosed amount in Ciklum in November 2015, adding to the firm's prestige.

Majgaard himself has been a consistent advocate of Ukraine's IT sector as a conduit for increased investment into the country.

Morgan Williams

The business community will also be represented by Morgan Williams, head of the U.S.-Ukraine Business Council.

Williams, who hails from Kansas, has worked in Ukraine since 1992.



Former Economic Development and Trade Minister Aivaras Abromavicius speaks at a Kyiv Post CEO breakfast on June 11. (Volodymyr Petrov)

He worked as a staff member on former U.S. Senator Bob Dole's congressional team, focusing on agriculture issues.

Those Capitol Hill connections dovetail with Williams's other main employer: Investment fund SigmaBleyzer, for which he works as government relations executive in Washington, D.C.

Sergii Leshchenko

Member of parliament and for-

mer investigative journalist Sergii Leshchenko will also speak on the panel. Leshchenko attained prominence as a muckraking reporter for Ukrainska Pravda news website, where he started work in 2001.

Leshchenko investigated the corrupt dealings of ex-President Viktor Yanukovych. After the 2014 EuroMaidan Revolution, he became a member of parliament in the president's faction.

He has used that perch to shed light on allegations of cronyism in the Poroshenko administration and he has remained a powerful voice against corruption, both within Ukraine and abroad.

In response, the president's political party has attempted to reduce the deputy's influence in parliament.

Aivaras Abromavicius

Former Economy Minister Aivaras Abromavicius, who created a political earthquake when he quit in February and accused Poroshenko ally and lawmaker Igor Kononenko of corruption and interference, will also speak.

Abromavicius started doing business in Ukraine in the early 2000s. A U.S.-educated Lithuanian investment banker, he served in the Cabinet of Ministers of former Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenyuk, who was forced out in April.

Abromavicius, a powerful critic of cronyism and corruption, also remains a political figure in Lithuania.

"My resignation hopefully will serve as a cold shower for the leadership of the country that something is going wrong," Abromavicius said in his February resignation speech.

How much has changed since then will a topic of discussion at the conference. ■

Crimean Tatar faces criminal prosecution for his activism

Feodosia from page 2

Mejlis briefly considered whether to cooperate with the new authorities. This betrayal and indecision drove his outspoken opposition to Russian rule.

"For a while our old (Crimean Tatar) activists couldn't understand what was happening," he said. "In Feodosia there was a complete collapse. No one could say anything. During this toughest time for our people who takes responsibility? An officer, or someone who gave his oath to Ukraine and won't break it." The Mejlis was banned by Russia as an extremist organisation earlier this year Kadyrov began monitoring human rights abuses in Feodosia. He gave interviews to the Crimean TV channel ATR (now closed down in Crimea), attended court hearings of other Crimean Tatars who oppose annexation and helped prosecute a case against a woman in Feodosia who verbally abused a Crimean Tatar ambulance nurse on a call-out (the woman was fined 1,000 rubles for incitement to ethnic hatred.) His house was searched twice by Russian security services, in November 2015 and on Oct. 5 2016, when his computer was confiscated. The law suit was brought two days later. Kadyrov believes he's been targeted because of his activism.





Suleyman Kadyrov, a Crimean tatar activist, shows on Nov. 17 his medal and ID for serving in the Ukrainian police for 20 years. (Courtesy)

Fight to the end

While he awaits a hearing, Kadyrov is free to travel around Crimea; the other two Crimeans facing the same charges are not allowed to leave their home towns of Bakhchisaray and Sevastopol. In Russia, three cases brought under article 180.1 have led to prison terms; others resulted in fines or suspended sentences. One defendant was sent for enforced psychiatric treatment. Ilmi Umerov in Bakhchisaray was also confined in a psychiatric hospital for three weeks after he refused a court order that he undergo a psychiatric examination, which is not foreseen by the charges against him.

A trained lawyer, Kadyrov monitors these cases, as well as filling notebooks with articles on the right to freedom of speech and opinion enshrined in the Russian constitution and Russian and international law, to defend his own case.

"I'll fight to the end; I'll never give up," he said. "But it just doesn't tally with my lawyer's head, how to fight with this system." ■

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Daniel Bilak Chief Investment Advisor to the Prime Minister of Ukraine and Head of the Ukraine Investment Office by the Cabinet of Ministers



Tomas Fiala CEO of Dragon Capital



Dmytro Krepak Country Manager, Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia at Visa



Torben Majgaard CEO of Ciklum

CREATING UKRAINE'S STRATEGIC



Diane Francis Editor-at-Large, National Post



Aivaras Abromavicius former Minister of Economy and Trade of Ukraine





COMMUNICATIONS PLAN



Myron Wasylyk CEO of PBN Hill+Knowlton Strategies



Natalia Mykolska Deputy Minister of Economic Development & Trade Representative of Ukraine

CASHLESS ECONOMY: MOVING TOWARDS A CASHLESS FUTURE



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KEYNOTE SPEAKER



Mikheil Saakashvili Former Georgian President, Former Odesa Oblast Governor



Journalist. Entertainer. TV Host of UA Tea Time: Host Speaker of EURO 2012; Founder of IMPROV Club, IMPROVersity and TEAMproviz



Evgeni Utkin Founder and President of hi-tech holding company KM Core



Sergii Leshchenko member of Committee on Corruption Prevention & Countereaction in the Parliament of Ukraine





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LAN BUS BOW



Ukraine's 2020 goals range from realistic to unlikely

BY EUAN MACDONALD EUAN@HOTMAIL.COM

It is useful to set goals for the future, for countries as well as individuals. But similarly, it's important for such goals to be realistic and achievable, otherwise the exercise will likely end in disappointment.

Ukraine set a range of goals in the "Ukraine 2020 Strategy" approved by President Petro Poroshenko in January 2015 in four key areas: development, security, responsibility and social justice, and pride.

Together, these four pillars include 62 reform projects, programs, and goals, eight priority reforms and two priority state programs that are intended to achieve Ukraine's goal of making Ukraine "a country of European standards with a rightful place in the world."

The goals themselves range from raising living standards, reforming the justice system, improving the health and education systems and promoting respect and tolerance in society.

But to carry out this package of reforms, Ukraine will have to push through sweeping legislation, such as overhauling the historically corrupt and politically subservient Prosecutor General's Office.

The strategy sets 25 benchmarks, or key performance indicators, by which to gauge the progress of reform. The main indicator is simply described as creating "a new social contract between state, business and civil society."

Still, the remaining 24 benchmarks give starting conditions and goals for Ukraine to achieve by 2020 in facts and figures.

An initial analysis of these indicators breaks them into categories of achievability: unlikely, possible, likely and "who knows?"

Who knows?

Four of the 24 benchmarks are difficult to assess in terms of achievability – they rely on surveys of public opinion or statistical measurements that are yet to be carried out. They include "experts' confidence in



A man holds Ukrainian souvenir flags on Khreshchatyk Street during Independence Day on Aug. 24, 2015 in Kyiv. (Volodymyr Petrov)

the judiciary" for which the goal is "70 percent," with no starting level of confidence indicated (although recent polls show confidence in law enforcement institutions to be in the single digits) and "public confidence in the police," which is also supposed to hit 70 percent by 2020.

Another benchmark with a 70 percent goal is "Ukrainians' pride in their country," which is to be measured by national opinion polls.

Likely

The one key indicator that is likely to be achieved by 2020 is military spending as a percentage of gross domestic product. From a starting point of 1 percent, Ukraine for the foreseeable future – since the onset of Russia's war in 2014 – plans to spend 5 percent of annual GDP by 2020 on national defense.

Another factor is that Ukraine also aims to make its military "NATO ready" by 2020 – meeting standards that would make it eligible for alliance membership in future. Given that most of NATO's 28 members have consistently failed to meet the alliance's own goal that they devote 2 percent of their GDP to defense spending, Ukraine looks set to exceed this one benchmark.

Possible

of the global economy, which are outside of the government's control.

Unlikely

The remaining eight benchmarks in Ukraine's development strategy seem unlikely to be hit, based on independent forecasts, and the government's own track record in past years.

For instance, Ukraine hopes to raise life expectancy from 71 in 2015 to 74 by 2020.

But according to the University of Denver's Pardee Center for International Futures, which produces a range of development forecasts for countries around the world, Ukraine's life expectancy by 2020 is that tracks around 200 statistical indicators for 196 countries around the world, analysts actually expect Ukraine's GDP per capita to go down, to about \$7,800, by 2020.

And Poroshenko's key goal of raising Ukraine's World Bank Ease of Doing Business rating, at present at 80, to within the top 20 by 2020 also looks unlikely, says Trading Economics. The business and investment research organization, based on historical data and the expectations of analysts, sees Ukraine dropping back to a rating of 98 in the Ease of Doing Business ranking by 2020.

Hopes for the best

Semi-final Tiger Conference Agenda Tuesday, Nov. 29 at Hilton Kyiv Hotel For latest updates, go to: http://projects.kyivpost.com/tiger/

8:15 a.m. — 9:00 a.m.	Registration. Welcoming Coffee
9:00 a.m. — 9:15 a.m.	Opening Remarks
9:15 a.m. — 10:30 a.m.	Security & Defense Panel
10:30 a.m. — 10:45 a.m.	Coffee Break
10:45 a.m. — 12:00 p.m.	Security & Defense Panel
12:00 a.m. — 12:15 p.m.	Coffee Break
12:15 p.m. — 1:30 p.m.	Asset Recovery Panel
1:30 p.m. — 3:00 p.m.	Lunch
2:00 p.m. — 3:00 p.m.	Breakout Sessions
	"Creating Ukraine's Strategic Communications Plan"
	 New York meeting room
	"Cashless Economy: Moving Towards a Cashless
	Future" — San Francisco meeting room
3:00 p.m. — 4:30 p.m.	New Economy Panel
4:30 p.m. — 4:45 p.m.	Coffee break
4:45 p.m. — 6:15 p.m.	Reality Check Panel
6:15 p.m. — 6:30 p.m.	Closing remarks
6:30 p.m. — 6:55 p.m.	Evening cocktail
7:00 p.m. — 8:30 p.m.	TOP 30 UNDER 30 Awards Ceremony
8:30 p.m. — 9:00 p.m.	Evening cocktail

Eleven of the 24 key indicators can be categorized as "possible." Where independent forecasts are available, such as energy intensity of GDP (2020 goal: 0.2 kilogram of oil equivalent, per 2005-indexed dollar) and government deficit, percentage of GDP (2020 goal: 3 percent), the goals look to be within the range of possibility when compared to forecasts from the IMF and World Bank. However, other goals, such as reducing Ukraine's energy dependence on Russia, increasing local budgets to 65 percent of Ukraine's public sector spending, and increasing Ukraine's sovereign credit rating from today's "B-" to "BBB," depend mainly on the actions of the government. These, in turn, are dependent on Ukraine's political situation, which in turn can be dependent on external factors such as Russia's war on Ukraine and the overall state

more likely to have barely risen – to F 71.67.

5th TIGER CONFERENCE Ukraine: Vision 2020

Raising life expectancy relies on improving such a broad range of influencing factors, from wages to lifestyle, health care and environmental conditions, that this benchmark looks unlikely to be hit, given the scant progress Ukraine has made in all of these areas in the recent past.

The same goes for the government's ambitious goal of raising gross domestic product per capita (PPP) from about \$8,500 in 2015 to \$16,000 in 2020 – practically doubling it. According to a forecast by Trading Economics, an organization Fully half of the key benchmarks Ukraine has set out in its 2020 strategy are possible or likely to be hit. But the picture looks less rosy when considering that the other half of the key goals, which are unlikely to be achieved or for which it is impossible to predict an outcome, cover some key areas such as combatting corruption, raising living standards, and boosting the economy.

Nevertheless, before Ukraine's EuroMaidan Revolution and the outbreak of Russia's aggressive war on the country, few would have predicted Ukraine would have made the progress it has done in the last two years, from defense reform to shaking up the notoriously corrupt state procurement system.

Hope for further progress in reform, to paraphrase the words of Ukraine's national anthem, hasn't perished yet.

3 key events ahead in recovering assets stolen from Ukraine

Nov. 28

A committee is expected to name the head of a new anti-corruption agency formed by the Verkhovna Rada. The entity's official name is: National Agency of Revealing, Tracing And Managing Assets Which Are Proceeds Of Corruption And Other Crimes. Insiders shorten it to Asset Recovery/Asset Management Office or ARO/AMO.

Dec. 15-16

An International Asset Recovery Conference will be held in President Hotel in Ukraine, organized by the Anti-Corruption Action Center.

Week of July 10

An International Asset Recovery Conference will take place in Washington, D.C., organized by the World Bank's Stolen Asset Recovery Initiative. The effort focuses on Ukraine, Nigeria, Sri Lanka and Tunisia. A preliminary meeting was held this year in Vienna, but details remain sketchy about the event.

Ukraine only starting to recover \$40 billion stolen in recent years

BY BRIAN BONNER BONNER@KYIVPOST.COM

When Igor Budnik took over two years ago as head of the National Bank of Ukraine's financial risk management department, he made a surprising discovery: Most of his 14 employees spent their work time watching movies and writing useless reports.

"Very few of those people did some job that had any value at all," Budnik, a speaker on the asset recovery panel of the Nov. 29 Kyiv Post Tiger Conference, said in an interview. "Most of the time these people spent watching movies over the internet. They spent a half hour producing those reports in the morning. The rest of the time they were doing nothing."

Over at the General Prosecutor's Office, Eugene Yenin this year took over as head of the international cooperation department shortly after the arrival of Yuriy Lutsenko as top prosecutor in May.

He also found a bad situation.

Broken trust

While cooperation from other nations is essential in recovering stolen assets, since much of the pilfered loot is abroad, Yenin learned that some nations don't trust prosecutors in Ukraine

One publicized reason why involved the United Kingdom, which had frozen a suspicious \$23 million in the bank account of Mykola Zlochevsky, the former minister of ecology during the President Viktor Yanukovych era. However, he had allies under the command of ex-Prosecutor General Viktor Shokin. On the eve of a hearing in Britain last year, prosecutors issued a letter saying that Zlochevsky wasn't a suspect in Ukraine; U.K. authorities released the money.

Yenin said he apologized formally to his British counterparts and guaranteed "that we have done everything to prevent leakage in the future."

Lazarenko remains the highest-ranking Ukrainian official -- and about the only one -- to be convicted of corruption. His conviction came after a federal trial in America, where he spent 97 months in prison.

The experiences of Budnik and Yenin illustrate how the nation is only getting out of the starting gate in tracking and recovering the staggering sums of money looted from Ukraine in the last decade, mainly during the rule of Yanukovych from 2010-2014, when the nation was robbed by official estimates of \$40 billion.

Yenin, who is out of the country on Lazarenko-related business, will be represented at the Tiger Conference by deputy division head Myroslava Krasnoborova.

How much, how soon?

Asset recovery will be a focus of the Tiger Conference. The discussion will be moderated by ex-Finance Minister Natalie Jaresko.

Besides the central bank's Budnik and prosecutor Krasnoborova, the two other speakers on the panel are Andriy Stelmashchuk, managing partner of Vasil Kisil & Partners law firm, and Daria Kaleniuk, executive director of the Anti-Corruption Action Center.

Under optimistic scenarios, there are hopes that Ukraine can recover



up to 10 percent of the \$40 billion Yanukovych-era losses by 2020. But the more realistic scenario is that it will take far longer to recover far less.

Despite the slow and sluggish start, movement is happening. Parliament has created a national agency for the recovery of stolen assets. Stelmashchuk heads the search committee to choose the new agency's director, while Kaleniuk is a member



Igor Budnik of the National Bank of Ukraine.

Budnik hopes 20 percent of the balance – about \$240 million -- can be recovered by 2020.

The unpaid loans are part of an astronomical \$11.4 billion in banking losses, most of which is not likely to be recovered for taxpayers. About \$3 billion in depositors' losses were insured by the state, but another \$5.2 billion were not.

The losses reveal how badly corrupt the central bank was during the presidencies of Viktor Yushchenko, a former central bank head, and Yanukovych, who fled power on Feb. 22, 2014, during the EuroMaidan Revolution.

Firtash, Lagun

Two of the biggest deadbeats are fugitive oligarch Dmytro Firtash, owner of the failed Nadra Bank who owes Hr 12 billion, and Mykola Lagun, owner of the failed Delta Bank, who owes Hr 9 billion. Budnik said that Firtash and Lagun borrowed the money from the central bank without any lasting personal guarantees or collateral. "We can't touch them," Budnik said.



Eugene Yenin of the General Prosecutor's Office

He said the NBU started having better success after retaining a private law firm for civil lawsuits. "We believe this is the way to go," said Budnik, who worked for commercial banks and McKinsey & Company consultancy before joining the central bank. "Litigation is what the private sector has been very successful at. The government is best served by using the private sector instead of trying to build the same competence in government."

Budnik's staff has grown to 42 employees to meet unprecedented demands. He has an advantage because the NBU pays salaries competitive with the private sector, unlike much of the rest of goverment.

Sluggish DGF

One state agency stalling progress is the Deposit Guarantee Fund, run by Kostyantyn Vorushylyn, an ex-business partner of President Petro Poroshenko.

"There is a widespread recognition that the DGF has not been so

lending, authorities will go after you and seize your assets," Budnik said. "That's still not the common practice in Ukraine. DGF has the old-style Soviet mindset that the bad guy must be put in prison. This is not necessarily the case. First, the bad guy has to redeem the losses he created and, with luck, he will also be put in prison if he does not redeem the losses.'

He said that "most other countries put emphasis on civil proceedings," but not Ukraine. "This is quite distressing."

Even Russia is having greater success, citing the case of Sergei Pugachev, whose multibillion-dollar fortune was frozen by courts in London.

'Deterrent value'

Despite the obstacles, Budnik said that authorities must make the effort. "There is going to be a huge deterrent value when people start seeing they can not just walk around Kyiv and nobody is going after them, as Mr. Lagun is doing.

Budnik said "a lot of obstruction starts when you go outside the NBU...Ukraine is now in the early stages of building a functional state. You need to start with the basics: courts, army, the police and other law enforcement. Until those basic functions of the state are reformed and become functioning, the central bank will find it extremely difficult to do its job properly."

Yenin's challenge

Yenin said the public wants the stolen \$40 billion returned "as soon as possible." In reality, however, "even if we take the right track, it takes five to eight years or longer," he said.

Some of the money is in cash, sone in Russia, some untraceable. Prosecutors are only starting to identify where the money went, with help from the government's financial intelligence unit. Yenin said only 200 million euros in suspicious assets have been frozen in European Union nations, while \$1.4 billion has been frozen in Ukraine, money linked to the fugitive Yanukovych and his central bankerhead, Sergei Arbuzov, also a fugitive. This is also an area where, if the money is abroad, Ukraine must learn what proof is required to freeze assets in other nations. Some require criminal convictions; others don't. He cited Latvia and Switzerland as helpful partners, while singling out Cyprus as a nation that takes a long time to respond to requests. Despite the long road ahead, recovering assets is a journey worth taking, Yenin said. Establishing "criminal responsibility for those who robbed the country," he said, "is important to me."

No prosecutions

Yenin, moreover, found that no prosecutions for financial fraud under wav.

He also learned that his predecessors had stalled on establishing mutual legal assistance agreements with other nations. Additionally, some subordinates were uncomfortable speaking English on phone abroad. Yet another probcalls lem: in-house translators were overburdened.

To illustrate how far behind the nation's prosecutors are in catching the crooks, he and his colleagues are still spending time on civil proceedings abroad trying to recover \$270 million stolen by ex-Prime Minister Pavlo Lazarenko in the 1990s.

of the committee. Also, an international asset recovery conference will take place in Kyiv in Dec. 15-16. And the World Bank's Stolen Asset Recovery Initiative is hosting an asset recovery conference next July in Washington, D.C. Ukraine will be one of the priority countries along with Tunisia, Nigeria and Sri Lanka.

Budnik's challenge

One of Budnik's priorities is recovering Hr 47 billion (\$1.8 billion) owed from failed banks to the NBU, which shut down 80 banks in the last two years, finding them insolvent largely due to bank fraud and embezzlement.

The NBU recovered Hr 1.2 billion last year and Hr 3.4 billion this year.

Bakhmatiuk, Zhevago

Three other big deadbeats put up personal loans and collateral, but the central bank hasn't made much progress in getting the money back yet. The trio -- Oleg Bakhmatiuk of the failed VAB Bank and Financial Initiative Bank; Kostyantyn Zhevago of the failed Finance & Credit Bank; and Leonid Klimov of the failed Imex Bank -- still owe a collective Hr 10.5 billion, or \$410 million.

We have filed lawsuits against all these gentlemen. So far they have been very effective in stalling the court proceedings," Budnik said. "There have been some successes. We have been able to get a court ruling to arrest all of Bakhmatiuk's personal assets.'

far successful in recovering the assets it has under managmenet -- Hr 500 billion by book value. Hr 100 billion in appraised value."

The fund is recovering less than 1 billion hryvnias per year. "At the current rate, it will take decades to recover the money it has under management," Budnik said.

A better solution, he said, is to hire private sector advisers. A test sale of bank assets will take place in May, he said. "The only way to sell the huge inventory of distressed assets is to put them on bulk sale through international loan sales advisers," he said.

'Quite distressing'

The fund is also failing to file civil lawsuits to recover money and assets. Instead, it relies on criminal prosecutions that are not happening.

"In more advanced jurisdictions, when banks fail because of insider

What's been done and what hasn't been done in reaching lofty goals

BY OLENA GONCHAROVA GONCHAROVA@KYIVPOST.COM

In 2014, Ukraine unveiled an ambitious roadmap to prosperity by 2020.

The varied aims include applying for European Union membership, becoming one of the top 30 countries in the World Bank's Doing Business ranking, overhauling the civil service and winning at least 35 medals at the 2020 Olympics in Tokyo.

Two years later, progress has been made, but a breakthrough has yet to happen. The recent resignations of top reformers from government are creating the sense that Ukraine's corruption and hidebound Sovietstyle bureaucracy are stubbornly unyielding.

The Kyiv Post looks at the main goals of the "Strategy 2020" and what's been done to achieve them so far.

Aiming for NATO

One strategic transformation by 2020 is army modernization that will allow Ukraine to seek closer cooperation with NATO. The strategy doesn't set a goal of NATO membership till 2020, but sees it as an ultimate goal. In 2015, Poroshenko said Ukraine's NATO membership was still five or six years away.

A roadmap was created for Ukraine based on the country's military doctrine and Ukraine-NATO partnership goals. It lists requirements like improvement in military training, appointing a civilian defense minister by 2018, and establishing a transparent procurement system for military.

What has been done?

Ukraine's parliament has approved an increase in the 2016 military budget that totaled Hr 113.6 billion (\$4.4 billion) or 5 percent of the country's gross domestic product.

It tops the strategy's goal. The document, approved in 2014, planned that the defense spending would rise from 1 percent of GDP in 2014 to 3 percent in 2020. NATO requires its members to spend 2 percent of GDP on defense.

Defense Ministry's Reforms



Ukrainian soldiers film the tanks moving Khreshchatyk Street during a rehearsal of the Independence Day military parade in Kyiv on Aug. 22. (Volodymyr Petrov)

Also, a group of foreign policy advisers from the United Kingdom, Canada and Lithuania have started working with the ministry.

Energy independence

Two years after Russia's annexation of Crimea and the beginning of the war in the Donbas, Ukraine is still struggling to achieve energy independence from its aggressive neighbor. The goal was to reduce Russian gas consumption and import gas from Europe.

The draft plan of the government's energy strategy envisages the transition of Ukraine's energy sector to market principles in operation and competition, and the elimination of Ukraine's dependence on energy resource imports from monopolistic sources before the 2020 deadline.

In particular, Ukraine is planning to raise its own gas production to



Despite progress on many goals, Ukraine has still not achieved dramatic breakthroughs

million cubic meters from Hungary. In 2013, for example, Ukraine bought 60 percent of gas from Russia.

Ukraine is also trying to boost its own production. It is extracting 20 billion cubic meters of gas yearly and the government plans to boost the production by 7 billion cubic meters by 2020.

Another goal was to complete de-monopolization of gas market.

One of the main challenges is incomplete reform of legislation governing the operation of the natural gas market, said Nataliya Katser-Buchkovska, a member of the parliamentary energy committee from the People's Front party. among the top 30 countries on the Doing Business rating, where it currently sits at 83rd place. Anticorruption and judicial reforms are also the key priorities.

What has been done?

Almost 100,000 public officials have submitted their online declarations in October, revealing their wealth. This is a key element of the country's anti-corruption agenda, a reform backed by the Ukraine's main creditor – the International Monetary Fund. It was also one of

reform. Judges will also receive a hike in their salaries, which aims to reduce the incentive for corruption and attract lawyers from outside the current system, according to judicial expert at the Centre for Policy and Legal Reform, Roman Kuybida.

At the same time, to implement judicial reform the country also needs to determine a procedure for the competitive selection of the prosecutor general and the judges of the Constitutional Court, as well as introduce an effective model for jury trials in criminal and commercial cases.

Culture and sports

The authors of the "Strategy 2020" also set up goals in sports, the film industry and talent-searching. Ukraine plans to win 35 medals at the 2020 Olympics and become one of the world's top 30 countries in the Global Talent Competition Index. To achieve that, Ukraine "will attract the best specialists of Ukraine, the region and the world," the document reads.

They also plan to release 20 Ukrainian movies to showcase talent in this area.

Another goal is to make at least 70 percent of citizens proud of the nation by 2020, which will be measured by polls.

What has been done?

In 2015, the National Olympic Committee announced that the country's athletes preparing for the Rio de Janeiro Olympics would receive 70 scholarships totaling Hr 6.5 million or \$249,886. At the same time, the average state scholarship Ukrainian Olympic athlete gets is Hr 7,500 or \$288 per month. For comparison, the average salary in Kyiv this summer totaled Hr 8,550 or \$342, according to the State Statistics Service of Ukraine.

The Ukrainian team won 11 medals during the Rio Olympics and the nation's Paralympics team ranked third after China and the United Kingdom, with a total of 117 medals. The film industry also saw improvements.

In 2014, Ukrainian sign language drama "The Tribe" made it to the Hollywood Reporter's list of Top 10

Office was created in 2015 to lead Ukrainian army into NATO. It is in charge of improving the military's organization, overseeing the transition from the army's antiquated logistical system to a more efficient model, managing new warehouses and providing soldiers with NATOstandard uniforms.

To achieve transparency in procurement, the Defense Ministry started using ProZorro – a new electronic procurement system – for competitive non-weapons purchases.

"We're taking small steps, but we're getting there," says Natalia Zeynalova, a volunteer and a member of the Committee on the Development of the Ukrainian Navy at the Defense Ministry.

According to Zaynalova, by the end of the year there a state secretary will be appointed in the Defense Ministry. 27 billion cubic meters by 2020 – which would cover the household consumption.

The key steps to be implemented in the midterm include injecting liquidity into the natural gas market, the restructuring of state-run energy company Naftogaz Ukraine, and the development of a legal framework for the creation of a gas hub in Ukraine.

What has been done?

Naftogaz hasn't bought any Russian gas directly since November 2015. In October, the country imported 1.441 billion cubic meters of gas from Europe, including 1.197 billion cubic meters from Slovakia, 122.4 million cubic meters from Poland, and 121.5 A cornerstone bill on gas market, passed in April 2015, needs amendments, according to Katser-Buchkovska. For example, to achieve competitive access to the gas distribution network, the bill needs to drop the part that imposes a mandatory fee applied for the use of distribution and transmission networks that are controlled by private regional gas distribution companies.

"Competition will allow consumers to choose suppliers of natural gas. It will affect prices and the quality of supply," Katser-Buchkovska said.

Economic development

Ukraine's main economic goals for 2020 include increasing the country's sovereign credit rating from "B-" to "BBB," and placing Ukraine the European Union's requirements for canceling visas for Ukrainians.

The National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine (NABU) has opened at least 236 cases since the start of the year, according to a report issued by the National Reforms Council. However, legislation to allocate more powers to the NABU to investigate corruption cases has still not been passed.

A clean-up of the banking sector has started: Some 80 banks were declared insolvent and are in varying stages of liquidation, leaving 100 on the market.

Ukraine improved its position in the latest Doing Business that ranked the country 83rd, comparing to its 87th place in the 2015 report.

In early November, Ukraine's parliament also passed at first reading the president's bill on the High Council of Justice as a part of judicial films of 2015. It was shown at 30 festivals and became the first-ever Ukrainian movie to be shown in the United States in commercial theaters, rather than at festivals only. The Netflix documentary "Winter on Fire: Ukraine's fight for freedom" on the EuroMaidan Revolution was co-produced by Ukraine, the U.S. and the U.K. It was the first movie made with the participation of Ukraine to be shortlisted for an Oscar.

The 2015 biopic "Unbroken" had a budget of \$5 million and was co-produced by Ukraine and Russia, and co-financed by state agencies in both countries. It was the most expensive movie ever made in Ukraine, and made \$8 million at the box office.

According to the state budget for 2016, the government planned to allocate Hr 265.5 million or \$10 million for the producing and distribution of the national films.

SPECIAL EVENING AWARDS GALA CEREMONY

TOP 30 UNDER 30

MUSICAL PERFOMANCES





- The Akademia Best Alternative Song/Ballad Winner
- Song of the Year Semi-Finalist

Ukrainian Indie-Rock group created in 2015 by T.O.M. project and singer-songwriter Nanè. Accompanied with ones of the best jazz and rock musicians tends to bring to life new Ukrainian rock style, based on progressive rock traditions fused with best Ukrainian rock legacy.



Victoria Olize

Victoria Olize is a real name of a young and very talented singer. Her love to music began at an early age, as she started to compose her own lyrics and tunes. Later on she became a winner of various music and fashion contests. Not only Victoria has a chic mellow voice but also unparalleled exotic beauty which she owes to her African origins. In 2008 Victoria enters Kyiv Municipal Academy of Circus and Variety Arts. This becomes a starting point for her career. Capital city gave her huge opportunities: she got to know popular show people, producers, shared stage with Ukrainian and foreign music stars. This unique experience allowed her to bring her talent to light and win the hearts of the audience. An important step of Victoria's career

was co-writing and further airtiming of the song "To share dreams" created together with a Ukrainian singer Roman Polonsky. In 2013 Victoria participates in TV-show "The Voice of the Land" (adaptation of a popular European TV format "The Voice of Holland"). Her vocals

attracted interest of all the four coaches. Upon hearing Victoria's voice a legendary Ukrainian musician Svyatoslav Vakarchuk even broke the voting button! "History repeating" is the song which made Victoria a star of Ukrainian television and a favorite show participant for millions of viewers. Now Victoria Olize works in various styles like Pop, Dance, RnB. She is a unique singer creating unforgettable emotional experience.



Trump doesn't like 'losers,' so Ukraine must succeed

Saakashvili from page 3

that he would get enough financial support from small and mid-sized businesses.

Currently, the reformist forces in Ukraine are split between the Movement of New Forces; Hvylia, a project announced in July by Saakashvili's supporters; the Democratic Alliance, and the Force of the People.

Saakashvili, who has distanced himself from Hvylia, dismissed the idea that the split weakens the reformist movement.

He said that he was still open to cooperating and merging with the other reformist parties. But he said that they were "obsessed with the idea that they don't need leaders."

"If there are no leaders, you don't win and get 1 percent," he added.

There are currently no ratings of Saakashvili's new party, while the rating of Hvylia amounted to 1.3 percent of all voters as of Nov. 13, according to the Kyiv International Sociology Institute.

Premiership

Saakashvili's decision to create an opposition party followed his disappointment with Poroshenko, with

whom he had been acquainted since they both studied at Kyiv National University in the 1980s.

In September 2015 Poroshenko offered to appoint him as prime minister, Saakashvili said. But Saakashvili said he refused because Poroshenko did not agree to call an early parliamentary election.

A source familiar with the matter told the Kyiv Post that Poroshenko had also changed his mind on appointing Saakashvili. The source, who was not authorized to speak to the press, attributed this to Poroshenko realizing that Saakashvili could be a threat to the corruption schemes of his allies.

Saakashvili said that this scenario was also possible. "Poroshenko was seriously floating that idea (of making him prime minister)," he added. "Maybe it was a game."

Saboteur-in-chief

Saakashvili said he had talked to Poroshenko two days before his resignation as governor of Odesa Oblast.

"It was very clear that he wasn't willing to help in Odesa," he said. "First he stopped to help us in Odesa and then he started to actively sabotage us."



Ex-Georgian President Mikheil Saakashvili speaking to his supporters in the office of his Movement of New Forces on Nov. 19. The movement seeks to oust Ukraine's current political establishment through early parliamentary elections. In late 2015, Saakashvili also launched the Movement for Cleansing to remove then-Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenyuk and then-Prosecutor General Viktor Shokin. (Anastasia Vlasova)



Saakashvili said he had told Poroshenko: "You are in dire straits. The economy's bad, people are unhappy, you are facing armed chaos. Who's going to protect you? You are basically alone and very vulnerable."

Saakashvili also said Poroshenko had tried to contact him after his resignation, but he had refused to talk.

Drawing parallels with his drive to oust Georgian President Eduard Shevarnadze during the 2003 Rose Revolution, Saakashvili said that he "never talked to him" until he "went to accept his resignation."

"Poroshenko is part of the same Kononenko old political class

as Yanukovych... What difference does it make for ordinary Ukrainians who rips them off -

Yanukovych cronies or Poroshenko ed replacing most of Ukraine's judg-

TIGER

Ukraine: Vision 2020

about radical change.

"Poroshenko agreed to the reform of the patrol police but he was not willing to reform the back office of the police because that's where real political control is," he said. "When the real leverage started, he did not want to give up an inch of it."

He also said that the ongoing judicial reform was a "way for Poroshenko to take control of the judiciary."

"At face value, it looks good," he said. "But if you look at who's selecting (new judges), it's different." Poroshenko's top allies Ihor and Oleksandr

Hranovsky have been accused of controlling the **CONFERENCE** selection of new judges, though they deny it.

He also suggest-

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For invitations, donations and sponsorship please contact: Sergey@istilgroup.com or phone 0503330701

cronies?"

Saakashvili also said that Poroshenko was pressuring television channels to prevent them from interviewing him.

The authorities are also considering reaching a deal with Bidzina Ivanishvili, the leader of Georgia's ruling party, to strip Saakashvili of his Ukrainian citizenship and extradite him to Georgia, he added. In his native country, Saakashvili faces embezzlement and abuse of power charges that he believes to be fabricated and political.

Poroshenko's press office declined to comment.

Stymied reform

One of Saakashvili's associates, National Police Chief Khatia Dekanoidze, resigned on Nov. 14. complaining about political interference and a lack of authority to bring

es and prosecutors with new ones and hiring foreigners as judges.

Success story

If Ukraine fails to carry out reforms, it is unlikely to get any assistance from United States President-elect Donald Trump, who has flirted with Russia and said he could accept its annexation of Crimea, Saakashvili said.

Saakashvili, who has been acquianted with Trump for years, said that he would use this acquiantance to promote Ukraine's interests if he got a position in the Ukrainian government.

"Trump is attracted by success stories," he said. "And in order to gain his attention, Ukraine needs to be successful... He doesn't like losers." that he would get enough financial support from small and mid-sized businesses.



Play | Food | Entertainment | Sports | Culture | Music | Movies | Art | Community Events

Kyiv venues offer live music for all tastes



BY ANNA YAKUTENKO YAKUTENKO.ANNA@KYIVPOST.COM

Kyiv now has plenty of bars and cafes that put on live music for their clients, and the style of music ranges from piano jazz to raucous rock and pop. The Kyiv Post has drawn up a list of the most popular drinks and music venues in the Ukrainian capital.

other intelligentsia. The bar, located at the crossroad of Khreshchatyk and Prorizna Streets in the heart of Kviv, has live piano music performances almost every night, and shows by bands on Saturdays. The indie rock and covers of famous hits. Prices for drinks start from around Hr 30.

live music on Tuesdays, Thursdays, Fridays and Saturdays. The live music ranges from jazz to acoustic covers and piano. The café is actually a literature pub - clients can read books here and order the cocktails Ernest Hemingway. Movie screenings are also held on weekends. The price of a cocktail varies from Hr 86 to 138, while a main course costs from Hr 68 to 288.

Ziferblat

Ziferblat, which is nestled in the courtyard near the Tetralna metro station, holds various master classes and music performances, particularly jazz concerts, almost each music menu includes jazz, blues, named after famous writers, such as evening. The music usually starts at 7-8 p.m., but check out the café's Facebook page (www.facebook.com/ ClockfaceKiev) for a detailed schedule. In Ziferblat visitors pay only for the time they spend there - coffee and snacks are available at no additional fee.

www.kyivpost.com



WITH ANNA YAKUTENKO YAKUTENKO@KYIVPOST.CON

Ukrainian film wins **Crystal Palace** International Film Festival

The Soviets were famous for altering history to suit their political needs. Now a new Ukrainian film makes some historical tweaks to the story of a Russian revolutionary in the service of telling a fascinating story - and has won acclaim from the critics in doing so.

"My Grandmother Fanny Kaplan," a biopic by Ukrainian director Olena Demyanenko, was named the best international film at the British Crystal Palace International Film Festival on Nov. 19.

The festival, which has been held every year since 2009, took place in a range of venues located in the south east of London from Oct. 29 to Nov. 19.

The film tells an alternative story connected to Russian revolutionary Feiga Roytblat, known as Fanny Caplan, who tried to assassinate Vladimir Lenin in 1918. She shot Lenin three times when he was leaving the Hammer and Sickle factory in Moscow after giving a speech to the workers who were staging a protest there. Lenin, of course, survived, and Kaplan was executed in the age of 28 in three days after the assassination attempt.

However, some historians doubt Kaplan was actually the one who shot Lenin, as she had almost been blind.

"Fanny Kaplan is one of the main anti-heroines of Soviet mythology, because she shot at Lenin," Demyanenko told the Kyiv Post by phone on Nov. 23. "But we know that history has

been rewritten many times." The film tells the story of a journalist who travels to France to find the Kaplan's grandson, who had kept her secret diary and found out the truth about the attempt on Lenin's life. The biopic recounts the turbulent events of Kaplan's life, starting from her childhood in Odessa, her membership in anarchist terrorist organizations, the prison term she served in Siberian labor camps, and her alleged affair with Dmitriy Ulyanov, Lenin's brother. Demyanenko's vision of Kaplan is almost totally at variance with the way Kaplan was depicted by the Soviet authorities. She portrays her as loving woman and a victim of the Soviet system that dehumanized peo-

Baraban

Opened in 2000, Baraban was among Kyiv's first art pubs, gathering writers and art critics along with

Baraban. 4 A Prorizna St. 12 p.m. – 12 a.m. facebook.com/baraban.bar

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more Music on page 20



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more Film on page 20

20 Lifestyle

In the mood for live music? Check out these places in Kyiv

Music from page 19

Ziferblat. 49A Volodymyrska St. 11 a.m. - 11 p.m. kiev.ziferblat.net

Docker's ABC

Dockers ABC is a classic bar with a simple design, wooden furniture, around 13 types of beer, and live music. The musical fare is covers of popular rock songs, performed by Ukrainian rock bands from around 9 p.m. every evening. Most of the performances are free, but some require tickets (Hr 100-150), which can be bought online (concert.ua. carabas.com). The price of a beer varies from Hr 39 to Hr 98 for a glass, and a meat course costs Hr 125-325.

Docker's ABC. 15/4 Khreshchatyk St. 12 p.m. – 6 a.m. abc.docker.com.ua

Barrel Pub

Another classic pub offering live music is the rebranded Bochka Pub at 3B Khmelnytskoho St., which is now named Barrel Pub. The music here is mostly covers of popular rock songs, as well as original hits performed by Ukrainian rock bands and performers such as Mandry and Sergiy Babkin. The pub offers their own brand of beer for just Hr 33 a glass, and appetizers to go with it for Hr 39-109.

Barrel Pub. 3B Bohdana Khmelnytskoho St. 24/7. barrelpub. com.ua.

Floyd White Pub

Floyd White Pub is a cozy pub that holds live music performances on Thursdays, Fridays and Saturdays starting from 8 p.m. Various Ukrainian bands and artists perform here, playing their own tracks and covers of famous rock hits. Apart from rock tunes, the pub offers several types of beer for Hr 29-55, and snacks for Hr 65-108.

Floyd White Pub. 2 Kopernika St. 24/7. floyd.com.ua

Café L'étage & Bel étage

The Bel étage restaurant and concert hall hosts various concerts by pop and alternative singers and bands, along with DJ sets every Thursday, Friday and Saturday. While listening to music, one can enjoy various meals such as salads (Hr 98 - 217), pastas (Hr 89 - 207) and mean and fish courses (Hr 109-267). The restaurant also has a wide range of alcoholic drink options such as wine, for Hr 200-600 per bottle, or cocktails for Hr 90-120.

Café L'étage & Bel étage. 16A Shota Rustaveli St. 11 a.m. – 11 p.m. etage. kiev.ua

Blues Bar

Live music performances start every day at 8 p.m. in Blues Bar, located near St. Michael's Monastery. Founded more than 10 years ago, the bar attempts to preserve some of the atmosphere of old Kyiv. While listening to the music, clients can sample the bar's traditional Ukrainian borsch for just Hr 40 or Olivier salad for Hr 6o. Liquors, wine and cocktails for start from Hr 45.

Blues Bar. 24A Mykhailivska St. From 12 p.m. till the last client leaves. bluesbar.com.ua

Alchemist Bar

Alchemist Bar, located near Palace of Sports in the center of Kyiv, holds live jazz and soul performances every day at about 9 p.m. The bar usually has performances of Ukrainian and foreign DJs right after the jazz sessions. Alchemist has two rooms: a large one with tables another one with a bar, where clients can order cocktails for Hr 80-120.

Alchemist Bar. 12 Shota Rustaveli St. 12 p.m. – 3 a.m. facebook.com/ AlchemistBarKiev



This screenshot from the film"My Grandmother Fanny Kaplan" shows actress Kateryna Molchanova as Russian revolutionary Fanny Kaplan, who tried to assassinate Soviet leader Vladimir Lenin. The film was named best film at the Crystal Palace International Film Festival in London on Nov. 19. (Courtesy)

Ukrainian filmmaker recasts Soviet-era myth of Fanny Kaplan

Film from page 19

ple. Kaplan is played by Ukrainian actress Kateryna Molchanova. "With the example of Fanny Kaplan we wanted to make the

viewer contemplate the fact that slogans can change, but the most important thing that stays with us is love," Demvanenko said.

The director also said that she didn't want to create another myth about Kaplan, therefore film doesn't give a direct answer to whether she was the one who shot at Lenin or not. She said that her main goal was to make the audience think critically about history

Demyanenko produced her first films in the late 1990s. Another of her movies, "Violent Fantasy," made in 1997, won the Golden Crown prize at the Casablanca International Film Festival in 1998. The director spent more than 10 years working on a

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Russian TV series in Moscow, but returned to her homeland in 2012. The same year, she founded Gagarin Media Film Company, which produced "My Grandmother Fanny Kaplan."

The story was filmed in France and Ukraine. The crew started filming in April 2014 and was supposed to shoot in Crimea and at the north of Russia, but had to interrupt the filming because of Russia's annexation of peninsula and war at the eastern Ukraine. They even had to shoot scenes about Kaplan's term in Siberian labor camps in Kyiv.

Demyanenko said that because most of the film had to be shot in Ukraine, she decided to add the plot line about Lenin's brother. The character is played by the famous Ukrainian director Myroslav Slaboshpytskiy, who directed "The Tribe," a drama about an orphanage for deaf children that received three awards at 2015 Cannes Festival. For his acting in "My Grandmother Fanny Kaplan" Slaboshpytskiy won a title of the best actor at the 2016 Odessa International Film Festival The film was first screened at the same festival at the end of July this year.

Apart from in the U.K. and Ukraine, the film has been screened at the Cottobus Film Festival in Germany, and at the Days of Ukrainian Films events in Beirut, Lebanon, and Budapest, Hungary. The upcoming screened is planned at the International Film Festival of India in Goa, which kicks off on Nov. 20.

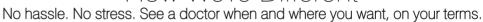
The film's producer Dmitriy Tomashpolski said they are in negotiations with British channels to screen the movie in the U.K. after the film won the Crystal Palace International Film Festival.

The film will hit the theaters in Ukraine on Dec. 8.



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Top Ukrainian conductor fuses music and philosophy to bring emotion to audience

BY MARIA ROMANENKO

When Herman Makarenko, the chief conductor of the National Opera of Ukraine, receives his UNESCO "Artist for Peace" award on Nov. 29, he will become the first Ukrainian in the history of independent Ukraine to receive such a distinction.

"Ukraine got a chance to convey itself on at the international level in a positive way," the conductor says of the award.

After the award ceremony, Makarenko plans to give a concert with the Kyiv Classic Orchestra, which he has been conducting for almost 15 years.

Born into culture

Makarenko was born in 1961 into a highly artistic family. His mother was a lead ballet dancer and his father a lead singer in the opera.

"I grew up backstage. Even my name Herman comes from Peter Tchaikovsky's 'The Queen of Spades,' my dad's favorite opera," says Makarenko, who is now 55.

A family story too possibly explains his early interest in conducting. When as a 4-year-old, Makarenko was at one of his parents' shows, somebody told him he was to take part in the concert.

"It was a joke, but I took it very

seriously at the time. I picked up a conducting baton and started preparing," he recalls.

The young Makarenko was disappointed when he found out it had been a joke. But he was not discouraged: He soon started learning piano at just 4-5 years old, and conducting quickly became his main ambition.

"When I was 8, I just wanted to start conducting straightaway, without learning the basics," he says. "It was only thanks to my dad's pressure and my own will power that I carried on and gradually made my dream come true."

Makarenko attended the Mykola Lysenko Music School and the Tchaikovsky Kyiv State Conservatoire, where he studied piano. By the age of 29 he was already a prizewinner in a Soviet young performers' contest. Since 1982 he has been a professional conductor, although he views his job as a mission rather than a profession.

"I used to think conductors were celestial beings who descend from the sky, but I soon realized it is also a skill that can be learned," says Makarenko.

His philosophy

Makarenko says that no member of the audience should leave without the feeling that they have grown wings.

Herman Makarenko, chief conductor of the National Opera of Ukraine, talks to the Kyiv Post in the Kyiv Opera House on Nov. 23. (Kostyantyn Chernichkin)



"Musicians, singers and dancers come together to create simultaneously, and it is all controlled by a conductor. There is no better way to describe this process other than it being a miracle."

Apart from being a remarkable conductor, Makarenko is also a scholar, they author of many academic works, and a Ph.D. degree holder.

"I never thought about becoming a scholar, but it just happened, and I then wrote a Ph.D. dissertation about creation as a philosophical activity," the conductor says.

Makarenko says he only recently

realized why it was necessary for him to become a scholar.

"A conductor needs to combine the subconscious types of creativity that are music and art with rational reflection, which comes from philosophy," he says.

Personal projects

Makarenko has his own musical projects too.

The idea for the annual "New Year's Strauss Concert" was born when Makarenko, having conducted a number of Christmas programs in Europe, wanted to give the Kyiv audience a similar fairy-tale experience.

His other project, "Concert Premiere" - a collaboration with some 20 embassies - started with the idea of performing music from all over the world in Kyiv for the first time.

Makarenko is a supporter of charity, frequently giving concerts for sick children and disabled people.

"If you feel good, you need to share your happiness and anything else you can with those who need it," he says.

And Makarenko is convinced that music itself can heal. It affects people more than other forms of art do because it speaks directly to the subconscious, he says.

"When you see the eyes of those in need enjoying it, you just know that you are doing the right thing."

His son and daughter, the twins who are now in their second year at school, attend all of Makarenko's concerts and have already started learning to play violin.

"I would really like them to love something as much as I love and adore conducting," says the conductor.

The Kyiv Classic Orchestra's next show, "IX New Year's Strauss Concert," will take place on Dec. 28-29 at the National Opera of Ukraine.



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22 Entertainment Guide



David Garret concert

David Garret, the famous violin virtuoso, will give two shows in Kyiv. Garret is famous for his violin interpretations of modern rock hits by Marilyn Manson, Metallica and AC/DC, as well as classical melodies by Wolfgang Mozart, Frédéric Chopin and Johann Bach. David Garret (violin) and his band. Dec. 16, 18. 7 p.m. Dec. 18. 6 p.m. Palace Ukraine (103 Velyka Vasylkivska St.). Hr 400 – 3,950



Kyiv Flower Show

The best florists from Ukraine, Poland, Russia, Romania, the Netherlands and Azerbaijan will showcase their skills and creativity at the Kyiv Flower Show. The festival's program also features workshops, floral installations and an exhibition of Christmas flower decorations.

Kyiv Flower Show. Nov 26 – 27. 10 a.m. – 5 p.m. Acco International Exhibition Center (40B Peremohy Ave.). Hr 50 – 1,000

Compiled by Nataliya Trach





Charity Fair

Show)

Flower

(Kyiv

Nearly 40 embassies and consulates will take part in the 24th annual charity fair in Kyiv. The fundraising event, organized by the International Women's Club of Kyiv, aims to raise money for the elderly, orphans, and people with special needs. Charity fair visitors will have a chance to enjoy dishes of various national cuisines, purchase souvenirs, and do Christmas shopping.

Charity Fair. Dec. 3. 10 a.m. – 5 p.m. NSC Olimpiysky (55 Velyka Vasylkivska St.). Hr 20 – 80



Antytila (Ukrainian rock)

Ukrainian rock band Antytila will perform its best hits together with the Belarussian rock band Bez Bileta on the stage of Kyiv's Atlas club. Antytila and Bez Bileta joint rock concert. Dec. 8. 7 p.m. Atlas (37-41 Sichovykh Striltsiv St.). Hr 400 – 500

Nov. 26

Beer festival

The first Kyiv craft beer festival will introduce its visitors to various beers from the country's best breweries. The festival promises lots of novelties, as well as the chance to sample popular light and strong beers. **Craft Winter Beers Fest. Nov. 26. 12 p.m. VDNH (1 Akademika Hlushkova St.) Hr 100**

A document confirming your right to a discount is required

For 24 years international community have been always meeting the first Saturday of December at the IWCK Charity Bazaar in order to support charity in Kyiv region. Christmas atmosphere in starts with us on Saturday Dec. 3rd at IWCK Charity Bazaar! This year three floors at NSC Olympiyskiy for IWCK Charity Bazaar! All money from sales go to charity!

- * 40 embassies selling their national food and souvenirs
- * Rich cultural program (i.e. Carillion from Belgium, Bulgarian, Georgian, Greek dance ensembles, Dance workshop from Latvia, Tatar dancers from Crimea, Salsa and jive workshop, Argentinian tango, Indian Bollywood dance.
- Kids corner: Kids will have opportunity to learn different Christmas Crafts, be introduced to laboratory experiements with Vesela Nauka, dance for fun, participate in different football games. First aid workshop or just relax on the bean bags!
- Valuable prizes to win at the Grand Rattle as i.e. airline tickets, hotel vouchers or goodie baskets prepared by the Embassies.





Punk film festival

Kyiv Cinema will hold a three-day film festival "Punk Weekend" dedicated to British punk rock music. The festival program includes documentaries about punk music featuring rare footage and exclusive interviews with members of bands such as the Sex Pistols, The Stooges, and Daft Punk. The films will be screened in English with Ukrainian subtitles.

"Punk Weekend" film festival. Dec. 2 – 4. Kyiv Cinema (19 Velyka Vasylkivska St.) Hr 80



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Employment 23

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Full job description is available at: www.kyivpost.com/classifieds/jobs/accountant

Candidates are asked to submit resumes and cover letters in English to UkraineHR@globalcommunities.org indicating the position title in the subject line by December 11, 2016.

Only applicants selected for interviews will be contacted. No telephone inquiries will be accepted.



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