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# Not So Easy This Time

In 2014, a nation energized by revolution and then traumatized by Russia's military invasion elected Petro Poroshenko by a landslide. Now polls show he is fighting for his political survival on March 31. What went wrong?



**See story on page 8**

Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko speaks in Zhytomyr, a provincial capital of 266,000 people located 140 kilometers west of Kyiv, on March 11. Poroshenko is using his incumbency to full advantage as he campaigns for re-election ahead of the March 31 vote. He makes working trips around Ukraine that are widely broadcast on TV. He has blanketed the nation with billboards and he's won the support of local authorities in many key cities. But he's scrambling to win one of the top-two places, qualifying him for the April 21 runoff. Voters blame him for rampant corruption and the failure to establish rule of law since his inauguration on June 7, 2014. (Mikhail Palinchak)

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Засновник ТОВ "БІЗНЕСГРУПП"

Головний редактор Брайан Боннер

Відповідальний за випуск

Брайан Боннер

Адреса видавця та засновника

співпадають: Україна, м. Київ, 01004,

вул. Пушкінська, 31А, 6-й поверх.

Реєстраційне свідоцтво

КВ № 23191-13031ПР від 29.03.2018.

Передплатний індекс ДП Преса 40528

Надруковано ТОВ «Новий друк»,

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# Violence raises question: Who backs the instigators?

BY BERMET TALANT  
BERMET@KYIVPOST.COM

The presidential election campaign in Ukraine has been clouded by allegations of vote-buying, fears of Russian interference, threats, raids, investigations, and corruption scandals.

Now fears of violence on Election Day has been added to the list after a far-right organization, registered as election observers, clashed with police at protests targeting President Petro Poroshenko just weeks before the March 31 election.

Even more worrying, the campaign appears to have made rivals of the state's various law enforcement agencies. They have been accused of acting against, or in the interests of, certain candidates.

## Ultrationalists

Over the past few weeks, ultrationalists have held a number of protests demanding the trial of suspects in a large-scale embezzlement scheme in the Ukrainian defense sector uncovered by journalists of Nashi Groshi investigative outlet in late February. The scheme allegedly involved the son of a top ally of Poroshenko — the now-sacked deputy secretary of the National Defense and Security Council, Oleh Hladkovskiy.

The journalistic investigation infuriated many in Ukraine, but especially members of National Corps, a political movement born from the Azov Regiment, a military unit with links to the far-right and neo-Nazis, created to fight against Russia in the Donbas.

On March 9, National Corps party and its vigilante unit, National Militia, rallied in central Kyiv, demanding prosecution of Hladkovskiy's son and his cronies.

The rally ended in a dramatic skirmish in front of the Presidential Administration as the protesters tried to force their way through a police cordon. Young men wearing balaclavas and medical masks shoved and violently kicked police officers and struck them on heads and faces. Both sides sprayed tear gas at each other.

After that, the ultrationalists rolled out an ultimatum to Poroshenko.

"We give Poroshenko a week to use the last effective law in Ukraine: Take a phone and tell his lackeys — judges and prosecutors — to get their act together and arrest those scumbags," National Corps leaders said on March 11.

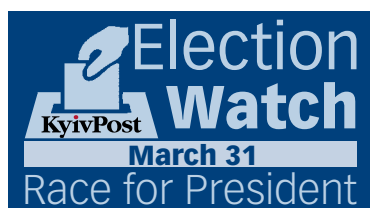
They promised to hold mass pro-



Members of the National Militia, a paramilitary group linked to a nationalist party, the National Corps, and the police officers spray tear gas at each other in a violent clash during a protest in front of the presidential administration in Kyiv on March 9, 2019. (Kostyantyn Chernichkin)

tests every week until their demands for justice are met.

National Corps leader Andriy Biletskiy, the founder of Azov, blamed the clashes of March 9 on the "failure of the Presidential Administration to talk with the protesters." As the ultrationalists protested, Poroshenko was almost 200 kilometers away, speaking to voters in Cherkasy, a city of 280,000 people in central Ukraine.



The ultrationalists found him there, too.

Members of National Corps branch in Cherkasy Oblast burst into the rally. As they fought with police, Poroshenko stopped his speech and hastily drove away in his motorcade. The National Police reported 22 officers were injured. Two members of National Corps, Dmytro Kukharchuk and Anton Bratko, remain in custody. "Nothing would have happened in Cherkasy had someone from the Presidential Administration come out to us and listened to our demands," Biletskiy said.

Two days later, on March 11, the ultrationalists showed up at a Poroshenko campaign event in Zhytomyr, chanting "shame" as the president talked about his achievements and promises for a second term.

The Bloc of Petro Poroshenko — with 135 seats in parliament — condemned the attacks, saying they were orchestrated by "pro-Russian revanchists and fugitive oligarchs."

Interior Minister Arsen Avakov, who is in charge of the National Police and connected to National Corps through the Azov Regiment, which is under the ministry's control, hurried to denounce the violence. He said that the ultrationalists had

crossed the line.

"Even if you are right and go out with anti-corruption slogans, you can't talk about one crime while committing another," he said in a television interview following the events in Cherkasy.

## Election observers

The incidents have raised fears over possible violence on Election Day, as National Militia has been authorized as a civic organization to monitor the election process. Moreover, its leaders threatened to use force if necessary to prevent voting fraud.

"By law, any Ukrainian citizen who witnesses wrongdoing must act against it and notify law enforcement" said Ihor Vdovin, a spokesman for National Militia.

Avakov promised that neither National Corps nor National Militia would have the right to use force during the voting process.

"We're convinced that they won't come into direct conflict with the authorities," he said at a press briefing on March 12. "The authorities have enough resources to ensure the process goes smoothly."

He added that over 134,000 police officers would protect public order on the day of the election on March 31.

Human rights organizations expressed concerns over the fact that a paramilitary formation with a record of intolerance and violence and linked to a "nationalist hate group"—as the U.S. Department of State branded National Corps in its March 13 report on human rights in Ukraine—would be monitoring the election process. In the past, its members have taken videos of themselves destroying a Roma camp, disrupted LGBT events, and thrown green antiseptic into the face of a Russia-friendly opposition presidential candidate.

"Ukraine clearly needs to rethink its rules on who can serve as an official election observer," wrote Matthew Schaaf, project director at Freedom House Ukraine. "By serving

as election observers or helping the police to protect 'Ukrainian order,' these groups could be attempting to normalize both their ideology and their use of violence."

Olga Aivazovska, director of OPORTA Network, an election watchdog, said that "any kind of election has to be protected from interference by persons or organizations that propagate or use violence."

But revoking election observer accreditation from National Militia is impossible at this point, as Ukrainian legislation doesn't have a procedure for it, said Tetiana Slipachuk, head of the Central Election Commission, which registered the ultrationalist organization in the first place.

## Avakov vs. Poroshenko

With Ukraine's SBU security service under the patronage of Poroshenko and the police under the control of Avakov, who appears to favor Batkivshchyna leader and ex-Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko, the lines for conflict between law enforcement agencies have been drawn.

The embezzlement scheme uncovered by Nashi Groshi wasn't the first of its kind in Ukraine's secretive defense budget. It followed a well-known pattern: Worn-out or low-quality military parts and equipment smuggled from Russia or Europe were resold to the Ukrainian army at an inflated cost.

But by erupting during the election campaign, this particular scandal dealt a heavy blow to Poroshenko's support rating. In the most recent poll by the Rating group from March 11, he slid to third place behind his main opponent, Tymoshenko.

Poroshenko and Tymoshenko are competing for a place in the runoff election against actor and comedian Volodymyr Zelenskiy, who leads in the polls by a large margin. The two have accused each other of vote-buying.

Zenon Zawada, a political analyst with the Kyiv-based investment

more Poroshenko on page 17

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# Corruption scandal trips up Poroshenko's campaign, taped call dogs Tymoshenko's

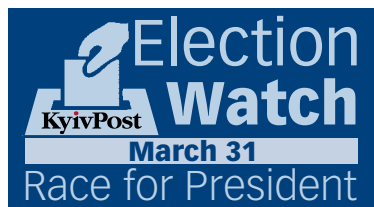
*Editor's Note: Election Watch is a regular update on the state of the presidential race in Ukraine. The country will elect its next president on March 31, 2019, with a possible runoff on April 21. The Election Watch project is supported by the National Endowment for Democracy. The donor doesn't influence the content. Go to [kyivpost.com](http://kyivpost.com) for more election coverage.*

BY OLGA RUDENKO  
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Two weeks before the March 31 elections, it is clear that there won't be a repeat of the 2014 election, when Ukraine elected its president in a one-round vote. None of the candidates have anything close to 50 percent of the votes in the polls, meaning that there will be a runoff with two top candidates on April 21.

And intriguingly, it's still far from clear who will make it into the runoff.

Unlike the previous presidential elections in Ukraine, there are no two clear front-runners in this one. There are three leaders, but none of them is guaranteed the spot in the runoff.



According to the latest poll by the Rating Sociological Group, released on March 11, political satirist and producer Volodymyr Zelenskiy remained in the lead in the race: 24.7 percent of decided voters said they backed him.

Ex-Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko came second, with 18.3 percent supporting her. President Petro Poroshenko polled third, with 16.8 percent support.

Poroshenko and Tymoshenko have been fighting for the second spot for weeks.

Another poll, released on March by the Socis Group, had Poroshenko ahead of the Batkivshchyna leader: he polled 19.6 percent against her 14.8 percent.

But the uncertainty doesn't end with Poroshenko and Tymoshenko. While it might seem that Zelenskiy is guaranteed a spot in the runoff, low turnout might hurt him substantially: his voter base is younger than that of his rivals, and young Ukrainians are less active when it comes to voting.

The three-way race is in contrast to the previous presidential elections, which usually had two clear leaders. In 2010, it was Viktor Yanukovich and Tymoshenko. In 2004, Yanukovich and Victor Yushchenko. Even in 1999, Leonid Kuchma and Communist Party leader Petro Symonenko had a definitive lead, getting 36 and 22 percent in the first round, with the next closest participant, the Socialist Party's Oleksandr Moroz, way behind on 11 percent.

Three months ago, the 2019 election looked set to be the same — a repeat of the 2014 clash between Petro Poroshenko, seeking re-elec-

**Key developments:** Nationalists protest Poroshenko. Campaign gets violent. Defense corruption scandal puts law enforcement agencies on the spot.

tion, and Tymoshenko, trying for a third time to get into the Bankova Street office. But then, just before midnight on Dec. 31, Zelenskiy entered the race and claimed the lead.

## President's rough patch

Poroshenko has been having a rough couple of weeks.

The president has been suffering from the fallout from an investigative journalism team's report, which in late February revealed a long-running corruption scheme to embezzle millions of dollars from state-owned defense enterprises. The son of Poroshenko's top ally Oleh Hladkovskiy was allegedly one of the masterminds of the scheme. Hladkovskiy and his son have both denied wrongdoing.

The report hit Poroshenko hard. The president has made the military one of the three pillars of his conservative re-election campaign slogan — the famous "Army, language, faith" triad.

Back in 2015, Poroshenko appointed his business partner Hladkovskiy, who had no experience in the military or in public service, to the highest defense body: the National Security and Defense Council. And though he fired Hladkovskiy in the wake of the scandal, many thought it wasn't enough.

Among them were the ultranationalist political party National Corps and their associated vigilante organization, the National Militia.

On March 9, activists of the National Corps rallied to demand the prosecution of Hladkovskiy in central Kyiv. The rally descended into violent clashes with the police guarding the building of the Presidential Administration.

Later that day, the activists interrupted a Poroshenko campaign rally in Cherkasy, trying to break through the police cordon to the president. Poroshenko had to break off his speech and leave.

And the nationalist organization says it isn't going to stop there. On March 11, the National Corps presented an ultimatum to Poroshenko: they would keep protesting unless Hladkovskiy is arrested.

The timing of the threat is bad for Poroshenko, who has been vigorously campaigning around the country, and now risks having his events disrupted by violent protesters.

## Oligarch's echo

Tapped phone calls and leaked messages are never in short supply during an election season in Ukraine.

An alleged phone call between Tymoshenko and the notorious oligarch Ihor Kolomoisky was leaked online on March 12. In it, Tymoshenko allegedly calls to wish Kolomoisky a happy birthday. The oligarch, living in self-imposed exile in Israel, indeed celebrated his birthday in February. Tymoshenko's press service neither denied nor confirmed the authenticity of the call.

Tymoshenko's opponents used the alleged phone call recording as evidence that Tymoshenko is backed by the oligarch.

The head of the 135-member Bloc of Petro Poroshenko faction in parliament, lawmaker Artur Gerasymov, played the tape in parliament on March 12.

Kolomoisky's alleged financial sup-



A billboard promoting Batkivshchyna Party leader and presidential candidate Yulia Tymoshenko got blown over by strong winds on March 11, 2019, in Kyiv. (Oleg Petراسиuk)

port for Tymoshenko has been one of the most notorious rumors of this campaign. The oligarch, who is in opposition to Poroshenko, denies supporting Tymoshenko financially but said in an interview in December she was likely to win the presidency.

Kolomoisky is also connected, through his media business, to Zelenskiy — something that the actor's opponents use as one of the main arguments against him.

If the voices on the tape indeed belong to Tymoshenko and Kolomoisky, it does sound like the two are up to something together. The woman sounding like Tymoshenko thanks her interlocutor for "everything you're doing for me."

## Fresh approach

The election campaign can deliver laughs, too.

Poroshenko's campaign took a fresh approach in trying to attract

voters — by persuading them that Poroshenko is the best fit for Ukraine based on his Zodiac sign.

The campaign newspaper distributed in Kharkiv on March 8 had a horoscope section that looked into which Zodiac signs are compatible with Ukraine. The country was assigned the sign of the Virgo, based on the fact that its independence was proclaimed on Aug. 24.

Unsurprisingly, the newspaper said the best match for Ukraine was a ruler born under the sign of Libra. It went on to specify that Poroshenko is a Libra.

The horoscope also explained that the least compatible with Ukraine (a Virgo) are the signs of Aquarius, Scorpio, and Sagittarius. These signs correspond with the birthdates of Poroshenko's top competitors in the race: Zelenskiy, Tymoshenko, and ex-Defense Minister Anatoliy Grytsenko. ■

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Editorials

# Consequences

Ukraine's corrupt elite have shown the nation and its Western friends who is boss: They are, for now. But they don't have the last word. Corruption should have consequences. Ukraine's voters are set to deliver those consequences at the ballot box on March 31.

The good news is that any of the winners will be constrained by Ukraine's need for billions of dollars in loans and investment. The next president will also have to be tough on Russia and follow the people's will to join the European Union and NATO.

But the election will likely turn on who voters believe can best fight corruption. In this area, we feel a strong sentiment for change in the air along with the spring breezes.

The latest crowning blow was the Constitutional Court's Feb. 26 ruling throwing out the illicit enrichment law passed in 2015 that all credible analysts found constitutional. The ruling showed that the court's 18 judges act as a backstop to stop a true corruption fight. Another blow came with the investigative series showing defense sector corruption tied to Oleh Hladkovskiy, a close ally of President Petro Poroshenko. The leaks show the law-enforcement elite know who is corrupt, what the schemes are and how to prove them — but they simply choose not to do so. There is no law enforcement institution, old or new, with credibility. This leaves Ukrainians, civil society and Western friends feeling impotent and frustrated.

If this election does indeed turn on who is best to fight corruption, Poroshenko is likely out. How dismal is his track record? Nearly five years into his presidency, he said this in March: "I guarantee zero tolerance of corruption. I guarantee that those who stole will be held accountable."

Ex-Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko may fare better, among those who recall her role in the 2005 resale of ArcelorMittal Kryvyi Rih. But she's still distrusted.

That leaves voters ready to take on chance on political satirist Volodymyr Zelenskiy. Hope is all they can do since he has no track record and is dogged by ties to reprehensible billionaire oligarch Ihor Kolomoisky. Misplaced hope or not, the polls show that Ukrainians want to give power to a new face.

# Manafort travesty

The pathetic sight of Paul Manafort, sitting in a wheelchair before a judge in a Virginia court to receive his sentence in a fraud case on March 8, was captured skillfully by a court artist.

But lest any think we have any pity for this felon, we should point out that feigning illness when coming before the bench is common practice for top officials in Ukraine, where Manafort did some of his dirtiest work. Manafort is allegedly suffering from gout, which is easily treatable and rarely puts anyone in a wheelchair. His appearance looks like a pathetic ruse — another case of fraud.

Worse was the pathetic sentence Manafort was handed — 47 months — and the judge's comment that Manafort had lived an "otherwise blameless" life and had "earned the admiration of a number of people."

That sounds absurd in Ukraine, where Manafort was instrumental in resurrecting the career of a wannabe dictator — former Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich. Manafort took millions in corrupt payments for his services — money looted from Ukrainians by the Yanukovich kleptocracy.

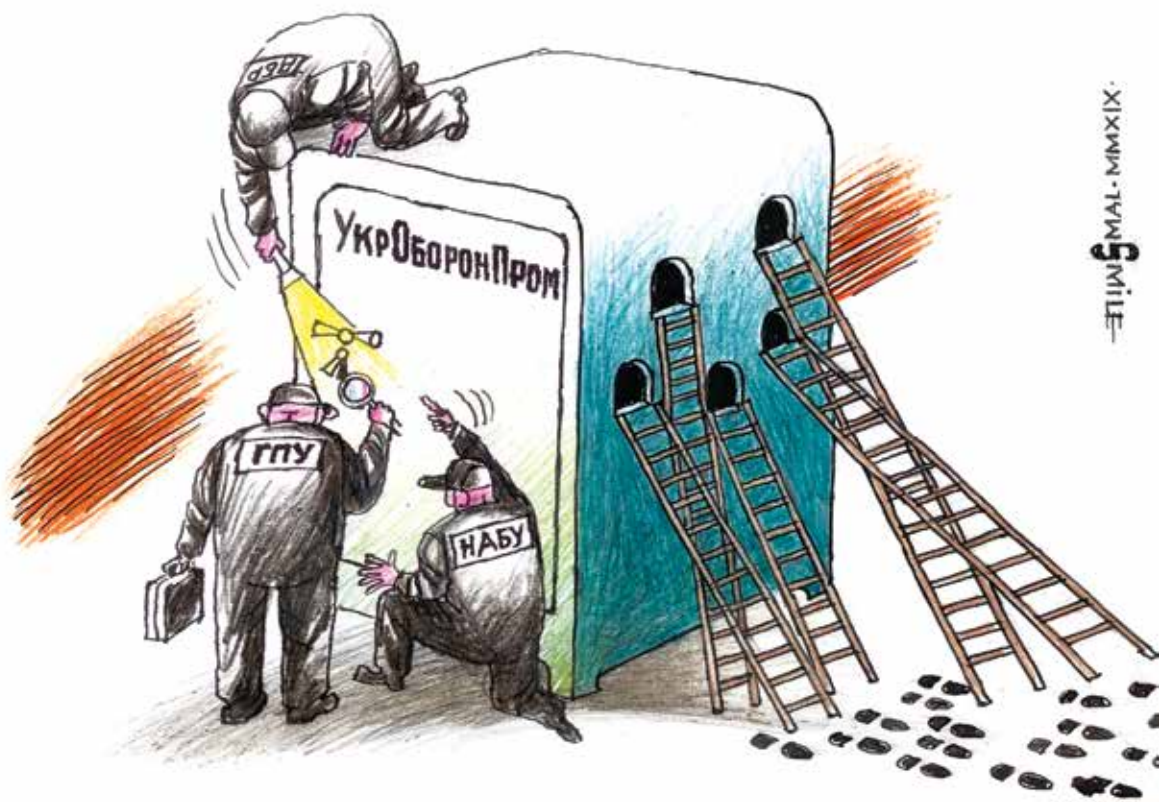
Manafort on March 13 received another light sentence of 43 months for two conspiracy charges he has already pleaded guilty to. He has not even been charged for possible crimes committed in Ukraine.

But for a U.S. judge to describe his life as "otherwise blameless" is a travesty. Manafort worked for the Philippines' Ferdinand Marcos, Zaire's Mobutu Sese Seko, and Angola's Jonas Savimbi. He is linked to Russian dictator Vladimir Putin via Russian oligarch Oleg Deripaska, who hired Manafort in early 2004 to help Ukrainian oligarch Rinat Akhmetov.

Ukraine suffered the consequences of Manafort's malign influence. Ukrainians had hoped the U.S. justice system would deliver justice to Manafort. But, while it's heartening to know he will be stripped of his assets and sit in prison for a few years, the sentences fell short of justice.



NEWS ITEM: In an interview with television channel ICTV on March 11, President Petro Poroshenko promised "zero tolerance for corruption" if he is re-elected for a second term in the March 31 election. He used exactly the same phrase after casting his ballot on March 25, 2014, the day he was elected president. However, anti-graft activists and investigative journalists argue that Poroshenko is in fact spearheading top-level corruption while creating the fake facade of feeble anti-corruption efforts to appease civil society and the West. He denies such accusations. (Cartoon by Oleh Smal)



NEWS ITEM: Almost every law enforcement agency in Ukraine helped cover up corruption in state defense conglomerate UkrOboronProm, according to an investigative journalist report by Bihus.info aired on March 11. The report was the fourth and final part of an investigative series that uncovered alleged corruption in the state defense enterprises. One of the key people in the scheme allegedly was a son of Oleh Hladkovskiy, top ally of President Petro Poroshenko and now former deputy head of Ukraine's National Security and Defense Council. Hladkovskiy and his son denied allegations of corruption, however Hladkovskiy was fired. Authorities said they already have been investigating the participants of the schemes. (Cartoon by Oleh Smal)

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Reformer & Anti-Reformer Of The Week



**Artem Romanyukov**  
Activist says officials condoning defense graft must be suspended



**Gizo Uglava**  
Deputy head of anti-graft bureau accused of covering up for graft

Ukraine's Friend & Foe Of The Week



**Eliot Engel**  
Congressman lends firm support for Ukraine's hopes to join NATO.



**Karin Kneissl**  
Austrian foreign minister accuses Kyiv of trying to censor ORF journalist.

VOX populi:

Has corruption changed in five years? See page 18

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# Sergiy Sergiyenko on how to power real estate sector

BY BRIAN BONNER  
BONNER@KYIVPOST.COM

CBRE Ukraine is doing fine. Ukraine's real estate sector, not so much.

While Ukraine is not in the worst of times, the best of times would require tough but obvious fixes, said Sergiy Sergiyenko, one of CBRE Ukraine's two managing partners in an interview with the Kyiv Post.

## 'Always something new'

Sergiyenko has been with Ukraine's office since its start in 2008 and stays for two reasons: He's found no better employer, praising CBRE's high ethical standards, and he still finds real estate challenging after 21 years in the sector.

"There's a whole world of real estate everywhere you go," he told the Kyiv Post in an interview. "There's always something new to see."

Sergiyenko, nonetheless, said Ukraine's real estate sector is limited by a feeble property tax system, lack of competition in the construction industry, high interest rates on loans and bad municipal planning.

If he could wave a magic wand, here's what he would change:

## Property taxes

"I would copy/paste the American system, which is extremely efficient. It eliminates frozen construction. It eliminates unused properties. It promotes the highest and best use of properties. It promotes redevelopment when the property becomes obsolete. It's extremely efficient.

"The Ukrainian system is a Soviet/post-Soviet one. We have difficulty imposing taxes because they're extremely unpopular. And even if you impose taxes, then people find ways to go around them. People don't want to pay the government because they know money will be siphoned out. From my limited experience, government's efficiency is about 15 percent. So, if you pay \$100 to the government, realizing that \$85 will be stolen, you are very resistant to paying taxes."

## Lack of competition

"There is a close circle of good old



Sergiy Sergiyenko has been a managing partner of CBRE Ukraine since 2008. (Courtesy)

## About CBRE Ukraine

The Ukrainian office of CBRE was opened in 2008 in Kyiv. It is part of the affiliate network of Los Angeles-based CBRE Group, Inc.

CBRE Ukraine has 300 employees and manages 800,000 square meters of shopping centers and industrial space, as well as 20,000 square meters of corporate real estate.

CBRE Ukraine provides advisory, management, transaction, valuation and other services in the commercial property sector.

The website lists more than 30 clients, including: Arricano, Baker McKenzie, Deloitte, DHL Ukraine, Dragon Capital, Nokia, and numerous banks. The global group is the world's largest commercial real estate services and investment firm, with more than 80,000 employees and 450 offices worldwide, excluding affiliates.

friends that to a large degree influence who can do what. I am not a professional of construction and development. We watch it and here it from the developers themselves. The bigger and the more capital-intensive, the more central location, the narrower circle you have to do with. They have to have a share in the game or it doesn't work. I would prefer it to be more laissez-faire. But unfortunately, it's not."

Asked who he is talking about, he replied: "When I retire, I will name names."

## High interest rates

"In Ukraine, the cost of credit is totally prohibitive," Sergiyenko said. "You cannot develop taking a loan in Ukraine even if it was available."

The absurdity of the lending market, he said, is highlighted by a \$5-million bank loan at a 20 percent annual interest rate that the Arricano real estate development company took out this year to complete construction of the Lukianivka shopping and entertainment center in Kyiv.

As long as Ukraine remains a high-risk county with little investment and low currency reserves, Sergiyenko doesn't expect interest rates to become affordable soon.

The lack of credit creates many distortions in the real estate sector. It means that most who build or buy do so with their own equity or savings. On the commercial side, this favors big and established builders.

Oddly, however, the banking instability is a boon to the housing sector.

"Residential real estate is just a substitute for the normal functioning

of capital markets in the developed countries," Sergiyenko said. "You don't have any stock exchange here, so you put it into real estate. It's a byproduct of a dysfunctional financial system."

## Bad municipal planning

"Most of the people who are responsible for city planning are still Soviet. They change a tweak a little here and there, but there is no wholesale change to the entire planning approach," Sergiyenko said.

This leads to bad situations, including block after block in Kyiv's city center where numerous old buildings are vacant and decaying while high-rise apartments are jammed together on the left bank and other distant districts.

Besides the failure to adopt an American-style property tax system, Ukraine also does not use the powers of eminent domain to force building owners to repair or remove blighted properties. Additionally, many abandoned buildings are legally protected as historic sites, but the owners have no intention of fixing them and let them rot or burn them down.

So what's ahead? Here's Sergiyenko's overview of the commercial sector that he specializes in:

## Office sector

The market is dominated by Kyiv, with Lviv "now becoming the main second city," followed by Odesa, Dnipro and Kharkiv.

The office sector "is coming back," but "it is so small and so tiny compared to where it needs to be. Once there is a little bit of economic devel-

opment, it gets consumed immediately. There is a bottleneck. Prices go up and development begins. But the market is so sensitive to macroeconomic fluctuations. Once things turn for the worse, everybody immediately closes down, reduces, cuts, and there are huge vacancies. Here the fluctuations are very wild and they lead to a lot of bankruptcies."

And so buyers like Dragon Capital find bargains in buying foreclosed properties from banks that "wanted to get rid of them," he said.

"Why isn't Dragon developing properties? Because it's a lot cheaper to buy than to build, which is totally the reverse from a developed market," Sergiyenko said. "When it becomes cheaper to build than to buy, then we will have a development wave."

The rental number to watch in office space is \$25 per square meter, which the market is approaching. "We see active development at \$25," he said.

But overall, the 150,000–200,000 square meters of new office space demanded per year in a growing economy is "not being met with new construction."

## Retail

While e-commerce has killed off countless malls and stores in the West, Ukraine keeps building shopping and entertainment centers, seemingly bucking the trend. Why?

"Retail is the most nationwide network," he said. "Shopping centers are being built because e-commerce is still very undeveloped, even though we have Rozetka here. Another rea-

son is that, because the municipal infrastructure is such shambles, where do you go? There is nowhere to go, so people go indoors to a public place that has been privately developed for the sake of the experience: to hang out, drink coffee, watch a movie. There is no entertainment outside of shopping centers to a large degree."

Also, the purchasing power of Ukrainians is on the rise from the depths of the 2013–2014 recession, so retailers have hope.

## Industrial/warehouse

"Warehouse is completely connected to retail," Sergiyenko said. "Once retail grows, warehouse grows with it. Once it shrinks, it shrinks with it. There is very little vacancy in the warehouse market. At the same time, because of no credit, rental rates have to be extremely high to justify new construction."

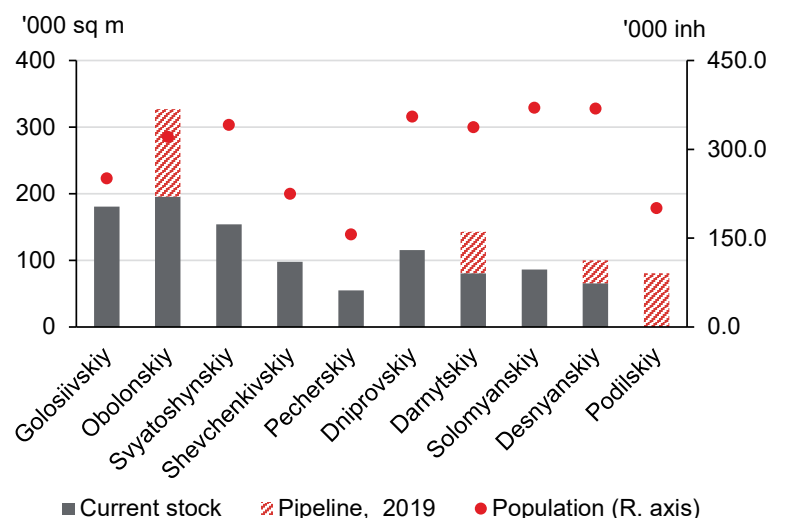
At today's rates, he said, "we are not quite there yet" to justify the building of much new space.

"The construction costs here are higher than in Europe. A lot of materials have to be imported. You don't have reliable contractors."

## 'Bright side to everything'

"There is a bright side to everything. We're growing. Everyone wants to grow. There is development coming from a certain number of established players who understand how to operate in this environment. So we are headed for a bottleneck. The market is not at a standstill, but it's in a slow-motion mode ahead of elections." ■

## Shopping center stock breakdown by district



## Kyiv real estate, by the numbers

<b>Office:</b>	1.8 million square meters
<b>Retail:</b>	1.3 million square meters
<b>Hotels:</b>	Over 110 hotels with a total room stock of 10,800 rooms. Four hotels were added with 794 rooms.
<b>Residential:</b>	1.1 million apartments, 63.5 million square meters; 22 square meters per resident. The average price per square meter in July 2018 was: economy — \$683; comfort — \$1,057; business — \$1,587.

Sources: Ukrainian Trade Guild, Cushman & Wakefield, JLL, CBRE, Colliers International

Kyiv's real estate market has been growing at a slow yet steady pace during the past few years. The retail sector has been on the rise as the purchasing power of Kyivans increases. Holosivskiy, Obolonskiy and Svyatoshynskiy districts are among the more popular districts.



Check out the Kyiv Post's spring Real Estate guide, published on March 15. It is available by order and at these locations: <http://distribution.kyivpost.com/>



# Ukraine's Air Force rebuilds amid war

BY ILLIA PONOMARENKO  
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VASYLKIV and VINNYTSIA, Ukraine — On a chilly morning in early spring, humid mist and low clouds hang over the air base of Vasylikiv, a city of 36,000 people located 30 kilometers southwest of Kyiv. It is home to the Ukrainian Air Force's 40th Tactical Aviation Brigade.

By midday, the sky has cleared, and to the great joy of the brigade's pilots, the base's flight control center gives the go-ahead for a flight session — for the first time in this week of poor weather.

The session starts with meteorological reconnaissance — a silver Mikoyan MiG-29 fighter with blue-and-yellow tridents on its twin tail fins is towed to the runway.

After a half-hour of tinkering, the senior service technician reports that the aircraft is fully fueled and ready to go. The pilot locks the glass dome of his cockpit, and the jet slips in the gray skies, its turbofan engines roaring and spitting trails of hot smoke.

The Ukrainian Air Force or UAF regularly conducts such practice flights these days, but this was not always the case.

During their careers, many Ukrainian pilots were frequently grounded for want of jet fuel, while their warplanes were being scrapped or sold off by the dozen.

But country's rising defense budget, which has been skyrocketing since 2014 to a record-breaking \$8 billion planned for 2019 — almost 6 percent of the nation's gross domestic product — has offered them hope.

Crippled by years of underfunding, drastic post-Soviet cuts, and a rapid loss of skilled personnel, the UAF is trying to rise again as a combat-potent force. The mission is now to prevent Russia, the world's second greatest air power, from encroaching on Ukraine's integrity and independence.

With swarms of Russian warplanes based closer to Ukraine's borders every month, the UAF is now feverishly training more pilots and modernizing their aircraft. But its aging fleet, inherited from Soviet times is drawing close to the end of its operating lifetime.

Within the next decade, the UAF needs a new fleet of modern warplanes capable of conducting a full spectrum of military operations — otherwise, Ukraine's skies will be largely defenseless.

## Fall from grace

In 1991, independent Ukraine emerged as the world's third largest air power, trailing only the United States and Russia.

It inherited an impressive Soviet air fleet of over 2,000 warplanes, including 44 Tu-22 and Tu-160 heavy strategic bombers, divided into four air armies operated by 122,000 military personnel and 27,000 civilian staff.



A service technician walks on a Mikoyan MiG-29 jet fighter's hull during hangar repair works at Ukraine's Air Force's 40th Tactical Aviation Brigade in the city of Vasylikiv on Feb. 14, 2019. (Volodymyr Petrov)

But the following years brought nothing but decay and cuts. In compliance with the 1994 Budapest Memorandum, Ukraine got rid of its nuclear stockpile and disposed of its strategic bombers by 1998, under security assurances from Russia, the United States, and the United Kingdom.

Other aircraft were sold off by the dozen. Between 2007 and 2017 alone, according to figures provided by the State Service of Export Control, Ukraine sold as many as 65 combat jets (Su-27s, Su-25s, and Su-22s, MiG-29s and MiG-21s), 41 L-39 Albatros trainer aircraft, six An-72, An-74, and An-12 military transport aircraft, three Il-78 tankers, 50 Tu-143 reconnaissance drones, 44 Mi-24 and Mi-24 helicopters, and 802 missiles of various types (mainly R-24, R-27 and R-73 air-to-air missiles, and the Kh-59 air-launched cruise missile).

The years of sales brought the state millions of dollars, but since 1991 the UAF has not received a single new aircraft.

## Riding the storm

Worse yet, budgets in all areas — from training to routine servicing — were tiny.

"In the early 2000s, young pilots were graduating the Kharkiv Air Force University with very weak flight experience," Lieutenant Colonel Yuriy Gnat, a UAF spokesman told the Kyiv Post.

"We had to give them support jobs on the ground. There was barely enough fuel for commanders and instructors, far less for the young



Lieutenant Colonel Artur Gaika, a squadron leader with the UAF's 40th Tactical Aviation Brigade.

pilots. We had a situation when senior officers — from squadron leaders to brigade commanders — were the only ones to perform national air defense flights.

"It was just survival. Modernizations and overhauls were completely out of the question."

Severe personnel cuts and the closure of entire air command headquarters continued too. According to the Military Prosecution Office, as many as 19 UAF units were disbanded in 2012–2014 alone. This eventually led to Ukraine's air power being totally paralyzed in the wake of Russia's invasion of Crimea in early 2014.

The surrender in Crimea was a devastating blow to the UAF. It lost its best infrastructure in the peninsula and as many as 126 aircraft. Ukraine later managed to recover only 92 of the planes — the Russians decided to keep the rest.

But worse — the Kremlin's proxy

war in the Donbas — was yet to come.

Despite an obvious lack of practice and modern equipment, Ukrainian air power played an important role in early battles of Slovyansk and Kramatorsk in the spring of 2014, as well as in the bloody fighting for Donetsk Airport and Ilovaik.

The lowest point in the UAF's history came overnight into June 14, 2014, when an Il-76MD military transport plane was downed by Russian-led forces over the Luhansk Airport. All 49 men on board, including 40 paratroopers and 9 crew, were killed in the crash.

The dramatic months of 2014 created modern air force heroes — such as Lieutenant General Vasyl Nikiforov, who early in the war called up a dozen of his old friends, retired veteran pilots, to drill youngsters in fighting the invaders, or Major Vlasdyslav Voloshyn, who survived being shot down behind enemy lines during the battle of Ilovaik.

But the UAF's active involvement in the war effectively ended in early September 2014, when, after the crushing defeat and slaughter of Ukrainian forces by Russian regular troops at Ilovaik, Moscow made a total ban on the use of air power a precondition for the first Minsk peace agreement.

During the war, Ukraine has lost 51 UAF servicemen, including 16 pilots.

## Still going strong

Today, nearly 50,000 personnel serve in the UAF, now based in Vinnytsia, a city of 370,000 people located 200 kilometers southwest of Kyiv.

According to the International Institute for Strategic Studies, a London-based research institute, the UAF now has nearly 125 combat-ready aircraft.

These include approximately 37 MiG-29 and 34 Su-27 fighters, 14 Su-24M attack aircraft, 31 Su-25 close air support aircraft, nine Su-24MR and three Antonov An-30 reconnaissance aircraft, 32 L-39 training planes, and five Ilyushin Il-76 and three An-26 military transport aircraft.

The force also has a pool of 14 Mi-9, 30 Mi-8, and two Mi-2 helicopters. Ukrainian skies are also guarded by 250 S-300P/PS/PT and 72 Buk-M1 surface-to-air missile systems.

While today's UAF is a shadow of what it was in 1992, Ukraine still remains among the few nations operating all principal branches of air power — bombers, fighters, attack aircraft, reconnaissance, transports, and drones, in addition to missile and electronic warfare forces.

Increased spending on air power, reaching a total of Hr 8.3 billion (\$320 million) in 2019, has allowed the gradual resumption of regular practice flights. Ukrainian fighter pilots now get between 40 and 60 flying hours a year, and all airbases hold two or three flight sessions every week.

"That's more or less enough to maintain piloting skills," said Lieutenant Colonel Artur Gaika, a fighter squadron leader with the 40th Tactical Aviation Brigade.



# Lt. Col. Artur Gaika: 'We should make sure Ukrainian kids don't stop dreaming about the sky'

Air Force from page 6

"But we aim for a lot more, especially for the young pilots."

There are no illusions regarding the strong adversary the young pilots will face in the case of all-out war. So the old hands drill them in close-combat tactics, which, they believe, would somewhat negate Russia's technological superiority in combat.

They are trained hard to fly as low as possible to avoid Russian radar detection.

"You should have your jet's belly painted all yellow from sunflowers on the ground," pilots joke.

Like any active air force, the UAF from time to time suffers tragic accidents that take the lives of even its most experienced flyers.

As recently as Oct. 27, 2018, a Su-27 crashed during the Clear Sky 2018 multinational aerial drills near Vinnytsia, killing Colonel Ivan Petrenko and his co-pilot, Lieutenant Colonel Seth "Jethro" Nehring from the U.S. National Guard's 144th Fighter Wing.

### Limit of strength

The overall increase in defense spending due to the war has allowed the UAF to upgrade some of its aircraft.

According to UkrOboronProm, Ukraine's giant state-run defense production concern, the air force received over 50 modernized and repaired aircraft in 2018, with better navigation systems and radars installed on some of the UAF's workhorse jets.

But a more serious and strategic problem is the aging of warplanes that have operated since 1970s and 1980s.

"What we have is generally enough for fulfilling our current tasks as for now," Lieutenant Colonel Gnat said.

"But you can't repair and modern-



Ukrainian Air Force's warplanes take off a runway strip for a practice flight at the 144 Fighter Brigade airfield near Ivano-Frankivsk during the Clear Sky drills on Oct. 14, 2015. (Ministry of Defense of Ukraine)

ize planes endlessly – most of them are now older than their pilots. Their airframes are drawing closer to their operational limits, and their service lives are getting harder and harder to extend."

Soon the UAF could be left with no planes to fly, he added, and the nation needs to start thinking about purchasing new aircraft abroad.

"Ukraine will not be able to design and produce its own new jet fighter in the foreseeable future," the officer said. "To create one would take at least \$10 billion and at least 10 years. But we don't have those billions or those years."

But meanwhile, little progress is being made. Plans to launch the licensed production of Swedish-designed Jas-39 Gripen fighters in Lviv, mulling since 2014, eventually ended in nothing. The only purchase made so far was of 12 Turkish Bayraktar strike drones in late 2018. They have just been delivered, and are not yet in service.

As the UAF's chief aviation engineer Major General Petro Skorenkiy told the Kyiv Post, presently budget funding is insufficient either for foreign purchases or a full modernization of aircraft, and the national

defense industry can provide only 30–35 percent of the work required by the UAF.

"We're modernizing virtually everything we have," the general said. "But we still have big problems with aiming sights. In terms of target acquisition, we're lagging behind both Western militaries and the Russians. But we're working on this."

He said the UAF still has up to two decades of operational life left – but that's the most upbeat assessment.

"We hadn't flown much for years, so even when it comes to the old planes, their operating lives are not exhausted. I believe we can make it to nearly 2040."

"But nonetheless, as early as within the next 10 years, we need to start replacing the whole air fleet, squadron by squadron."

Meanwhile, Russia, which, according to Ukraine's military intelligence, has based nearly 500 tactical jets and 340 strike helicopters close to Ukraine's border and in occupied Crimea, is quickly gaining numerical and technical superiority.

While Ukraine's modernized warhorse fighters, such as the MiG-29 and Su-27, are 4th generation jet fighters, Russia operates the more

advanced 4+ generation Su-30 and Su-33, and the 4++ generation Su-35 warplanes, and is preparing to introduce ultramodern 5th generation Su-57 fighters.

### Aviation dreamers

But, aviators say, this technological advantage could be largely nullified in combat by the efforts of well-trained and experienced pilots and technicians.

Yet this is where the UAF still faces big problems, having been ravaged by years of post-Soviet decline.

Very little is being done to motivate either young or experienced personnel to stay in the military – very poor social security and housing drive many skilled, highly trained specialists out of the UAF to seek better prospects for their families.

Even top-gun pilots – the best-paid elite of the armed forces – earn just \$1,000 a month. Many are being head-hunted by civilian airlines looking to hire skilled personnel for wages of tens of thousands of dollars.

"This is really a major issue," Gaika said.

"The health criteria are very demanding, and the profession is a risk that not many can put up with. Even enrollments are down – only 10–15 young pilots graduate the academy annually, of whom only one or two come to (our) brigade."

Even so, the nation should be able to satisfy the UAF's demand for fighter pilots in five or six years, provided that no new air force brigades are created.

But more than that, Ukraine needs to raise a generation of aspiring pilots.

"A true pilot's training starts from primary school age, from the moment a kid sees a beautiful plane roar past," Gaika, the lieutenant colonel, said.

"I believe we need more airplane clubs throughout the country, more aviation design camps in schools.

### Ukraine's Air Force in 2018



Source: International Institute for Strategic Studies

The estimated number of combat-ready warplanes and air defense missile systems available at Ukraine's Air Force as of 2018.

Many young people think about civil or military aviation careers after attending these clubs. In other words, we should make sure Ukrainian kids don't stop dreaming of the sky." ■

# Straight Talk | March 20 6:30 p.m.

## Responsible business: why human rights matter

MODERATOR

Speakers



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Partner at Redcliffe Partners



**Dmytro Shymkiv**  
Chairman of the Board at Darnitsa



**Nataliya Chernyshova**  
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# Poroshenko fights for his political life on March 31

BY OKSANA GRYTSENKO  
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He's a Ukrainian billionaire who promises to swiftly end the war, find ways to work with Russia, defend the Russian language along with Ukrainian, and make "zero tolerance for corruption" Ukraine's national idea.

This is Petro Poroshenko in the spring of 2014, during the campaign race for the presidency, which ended with his first-round victory on May 25 with almost 55 percent of the vote.

Five years later, in the spring of 2019, Poroshenko is seeking re-election. The only similarity to his 2014 campaign, however, is that he's still a billionaire.

Now he speaks less about changes and more about God. He calls Russia the "enemy," vows to defend the



An outdoor advertising worker finishes hanging a huge billboard with the face of President Petro Poroshenko on a building in Kyiv's downtown on March 1. The slogan on the billboard reads: "There are many candidates, but there is only one president." (Volodymyr Petrov)



Ukrainian language and build a "great country."

From a modern "dove of peace," Poroshenko has morphed into a hawkish conservative nationalist. His election slogan changed from "To live in a new way" in 2014 to "Army, language, faith: We are heading our own way" in 2019.

This rebranding has worked well, helping Poroshenko build up support in the Ukrainian-speaking west and south, political analysts say. His rating has been steadily rising and he is neck and neck with former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko for second place in the March 31 election. The runner up in the first round wins a place in the April 21 runoff election, likely against political satirist Volodymyr Zelenskiy, who has been leading the race since January.

Poroshenko "has become the main nationalist, pushing the nationalists

out of their usual electoral territory," political consultant Oleksiy Kovzhun told the Kyiv Post.

But if he reaches the second round, Poroshenko's current patriotic narrative will scare off Russian-speaking voters, risking defeat to a more moderate candidate.

"Army, language, faith" will become his big enemy then," Kovzhun said.

Oleg Medvedev, a spokesman for Poroshenko's campaign and a speech writer for him, sees nothing strange in the changes from 2014 to 2019.

"If you noticed, something has happened in the last five years," he said. "The war happened, Russia attacked Ukraine's economy, there was a reorientation of the markets, a geopolitical reorientation, the creation of the army, the creation of the church, a new society. People now think in a different way."

The Kyiv Post requested an interview with Poroshenko multiple times during his five-year reign, but never got it. Instead of giving individual interviews to Ukrainian media, Poroshenko prefers group TV interviews with representatives of the TV stations loyal to him.

## Then and now

In 2014, Poroshenko received the majority of the vote in all of Ukraine's oblasts.

Some residents of the eastern Donetsk Oblast who supported Poroshenko in 2014 told the Kyiv Post that they were hoping that Russian-speaking Poroshenko, who had a confectionery factory in Russia and knew how to negotiate with Russia's President Vladimir Putin, would quickly stop the war with Russia that started a month-and-a-half before the election. He promised it during his campaign.

Although Poroshenko was 48-years-old and had been a fixture in Ukrainian politics for 16 years when he was elected, he was perceived by many voters as a new face who could rescue the country from crisis and war. He was pro-Western, open to the press, and promising to unite the country.

Poroshenko delivered part of his inauguration speech in June 2014 in Russian, addressing residents of the embattled Donbas. He promised them free use of the Russian language and "not to divide Ukrainians into the right and wrong types."

"Ukraine is diverse, but it is strong in its spirit and united in its spirit," he continued in Ukrainian.

Yet in February 2019, Poroshenko's support in the Ukrainian-speaking west and center of the country was twice as high as in the predominantly Russian-speaking south and east, according to a poll by Rating Sociological Group.

In his annual address to the parliament in September, Poroshenko said: "Army, language and faith is not a slogan. This is the formula of the modern Ukrainian identity."

As critics blamed Poroshenko for failing to undertake fundamental changes, including establishing rule of law and tackling corruption, he switched to the areas that he sees as his main merits. Poroshenko's supporters praise him for rebuilding the army, supporting the Ukrainian language, and helping the Ukrainian Orthodox Church gain independence from Moscow.

Political analyst Volodymyr Fesenko said Poroshenko is now promoting "conservative and fundamentalist values." As a result, Poroshenko's ratings have doubled in western Ukraine and increased

by one-and-a-half times in central Ukraine and in Kyiv since autumn, according to Fesenko.

## Real and imaginary

Poroshenko showed a lot of bravery during the 100-day popular uprising known as the EuroMaidan Revolution that prompted his predecessor, Kremlin-backed Viktor Yanukovych, to flee to Russia on Feb. 23, 2014.

His political emergence started when he climbed onto a bulldozer and tried to placate an angry crowd that was storming the Presidential Administration on Dec. 1, 2013. It was one of the most remarkable days of the EuroMaidan Revolution.

Then, in late February 2014, Poroshenko became the only Ukrainian presidential candidate to dare to visit Crimea, when it was already under invasion by Russian soldiers without insignia. In April 2014, he risked a trip to Luhansk when it was controlled by Russian proxies. After his election, he kept a campaign promise to make his first trip to the war-torn Donbas.

But in 2019, Poroshenko travels around Ukraine almost in secret, without prior public announcements of his trips. Surrounded by dozens of bodyguards, he comes to Soviet-style meetings with local officials and local people who are usually bused in specially.

He almost never talks to the press and comes up to people briefly to shake hands and take selfies. If anyone dares to criticize him, Poroshenko often gets angry.

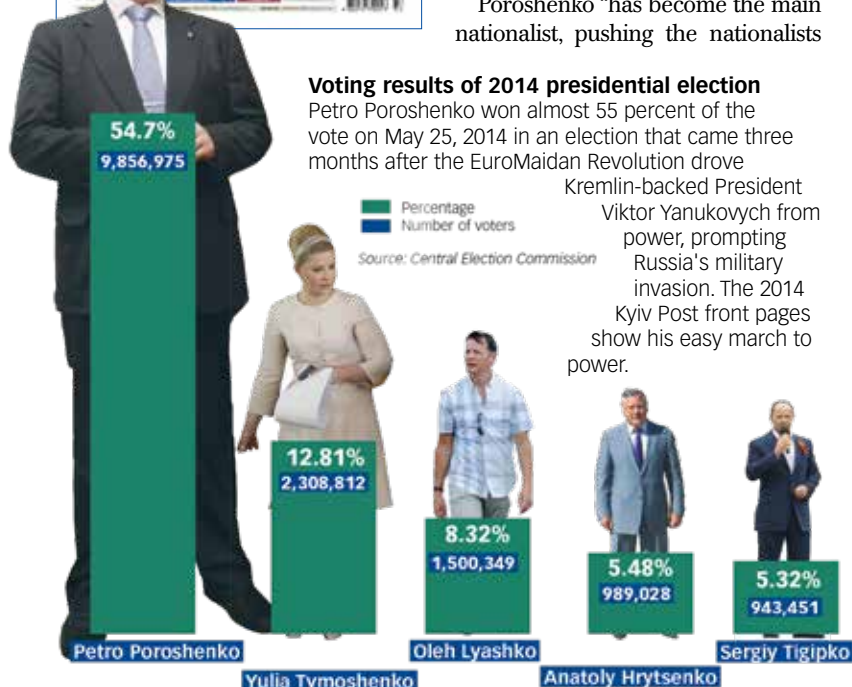
During one of such visits to Zaporizhia in February he grabbed a hat from the head of a woman who had been shouting something at him.

## Voting results of 2014 presidential election

Petro Poroshenko won almost 55 percent of the vote on May 25, 2014 in an election that came three months after the EuroMaidan Revolution drove

Kremlin-backed President Viktor Yanukovych from power, prompting Russia's military invasion. The 2014 Kyiv Post front pages show his easy march to power.

Source: Central Election Commission





# Poroshenko in 2014 and 2019 promises 'zero tolerance for corruption'

Election from page 8

His press service later said he did it by accident, although it doesn't look that way on the video. Later, at the same rally, he tweaked a man's nose.

"Go to church, light a candle, for you are a non-believer. And the Lord will soothe you," he said in January to an activist in Cherkasy Oblast who asked Poroshenko when he was going to fight corruption.

In cases like this, Poroshenko "shows his real side behind the presidential gilded facade," Kovzhun said. "He believes he's the best thing that has happened to this country," Kovzhun added. "But when he sees that his chances are really shaky, he gets angry and irritated with people who don't appreciate him."

## Promises forgotten

Just after coming in power in 2014, Poroshenko promised to sell most of his business and fight corruption, following the example of Singapore.

"Start with putting in prison three of your friends," he told a newly appointed Prosecutor General Vitaliy Yarema in June 2014, quoting the reformist leader of Singapore, Lee Kuan Yew.

But in the next five years neither Yarema's nor Poroshenko's friends and nor any top officials have been put in jail.

Poroshenko didn't sell his main

business, Roshen confectionery company, claiming instead that he had handed it over to a Swiss "blind trust" that he would not control. His confectionery factory in Russia stopped working only in 2017.

His own wealth has been increasing in recent years and reached \$1.1 billion in 2018, according to the ranking of the richest Ukrainians by Novoye Vremya magazine.

Out of all of the unfulfilled promises, Poroshenko has publicly apologized only for his failure to stop the war. He did so in 2018, four years after being elected.

Nevertheless, during Poroshenko's presidency, Ukraine has signed a political and trade association agreement with the European Union, its citizens have received visa-free travel to most of Europe, the country has cut its gas dependence on Russia, and the state has moved forward in decentralization and health reforms.

Poroshenko claims credit for all of these achievements.

But decentralization, for instance, is a result of joint efforts by the president, parliament, government and "huge financial and advisory help from the West," said Valentyna Romanova, local and regional policy expert.

Now Poroshenko promises that, if he is re-elected, Ukraine will apply for EU membership in 2023.

But this promise is also not likely to be fulfilled, said Balaz Jarabik, a nonresident scholar at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

"This does not mean that Ukraine



President Petro Poroshenko poses for a photo with children in Ukrainian national dress in a church in Zhytomyr, where he came on Jan. 17 to display the tomos, a decree granting independence to Ukraine's Orthodox Church. Poroshenko toured the country with the tomos to boost his popularity. (Oleg Petراسиuk)

can't become a member of the EU at some point, but certainly not in this horizon, and not without more structural reforms," he said.

## Copying Russia

Poroshenko's relationship with Ukraine's Orthodox church is another testimony to his metamorphosis.

In 2014, he was a parishioner and sponsor of a branch of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church that was subordinate to Moscow.

But in 2018, he spearheaded the process of establishing the Orthodox Church in Ukraine, which has broken free of Poroshenko's former church. In early 2019, when the presidential campaign officially started, Poroshenko was on billboards all over the country, congratulating Ukrainians on their new church. Next to him on the billboards was Epiphanius, the church's head.

The Holy Synod of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine indirectly endorsed Poroshenko for the presidency on March 5, warning that the new president should be a person who "has already shown" he is able to resist Russia's aggression.

At the forum of his supporters where Poroshenko announced his run for re-election in late January, screens showed Poroshenko standing opposite Putin with the words reading "Either Poroshenko or Putin" — meaning that the victory of any other candidate would be a victory for Russia.

This way Poroshenko's strategists are trying to create for him the "image of the main patriot, the only one who is able to resist Russian aggression," Fesenko said.

But because of this trick, Poroshenko's campaigning style has started resembling that of Putin, Kovzhun said.

"They say if not Poroshenko then who? This is like 'There's no Russia without Putin,' Kovzhun said, referring to a slogan used by Putin's party in the 2016 parliament election in Russia.

Another feature of Poroshenko's 2019 campaign is the abundance of the "Poroshenko trolls," people who massively and often aggressively endorse him on social media, a tactic that resembles that of Russia's paid trolls.

Oleh Medvedev, a spokesman of Poroshenko's campaign, said Poroshenko has many supporters on the internet and that their behavior

is no worse than Poroshenko's critics.

"Do you think that those who criticize Poroshenko are tender and non-aggressive?" he said.

## Slim chances

In May 2014, Poroshenko, the then-presidential candidate, visited the famous Privoz food market in Odesa, a city of 1 million residents located 500 kilometers south of Kyiv. He was accompanied by a local pro-EuroMaidan politician, Eduard Gurwits, who was then campaigning for mayor. He was in the midst of a dense crowd, shaking hands and taking photos.

On March 2, 2019, by contrast, Poroshenko was strolling Odesa's seafront in the company of Odesa Mayor Hennadiy Trukhanov, who opposed the EuroMaidan Revolution, has been under criminal investigation for embezzlement, held Russian citizenship until 2017 and is criticized for his "mob-rule" style of governing the Black Sea port city.

By allying with the mayors of big cities of eastern and southern Ukraine, Poroshenko is trying to compensate for his low personal rating there, regardless of the fact that their pro-Russian reputation may contradict his nationalistic discourse, Kovzhun explained.

"Walking with Trukhanov, a Russian citizen, it may seem disgraceful from my point of view as a citizen," he said. "But then I realize that if I had to advise Poroshenko I would tell him to do exactly the same thing."

But even these efforts may not be enough for Poroshenko.

Fesenko said it will be especially hard for him to defeat Zelenskiy because the majority of Russian-speaking Ukrainians will see Poroshenko as a "representative of the party of war."

"I don't know how Poroshenko can win in the second round in a fair way," Kovzhun said.

Poroshenko's advisers likely understand this problem, trying to shift his campaign in promoting his fight

against poverty, a common problem for the entire country, which is one of the poorest in Europe.

The central and local governments have already started delivering special cash subsidies to people in low-income households, and it has been claimed that Poroshenko's supporters have benefited from this the most.

Ukraine's top cop, Interior Minister Arsen Avakov, who reportedly has a conflict with Poroshenko, described in a recent interview with the ICTV television channel a scheme for bribing voters allegedly run by Poroshenko's campaign workers. He said they had been singling out the president's supporters in order to pay them for their loyalty — Hr 1,000 (\$37) each of special subsidies from local budget funds.

Medvedev, Poroshenko's campaign spokesman, called the allegations of bribing the voters "groundless."

## Deja vu

On March 13, Poroshenko walked along dozens of people shouting "Shame!" at him in Chernihiv. "See, how they meet the president. Shame on you," he shouted back at them in irritation.

Poroshenko has come in for massive criticism after the Nashi Groshi investigative project revealed that his long-term ally and business partner Oleh Hladkovskiy and his son Ihor were allegedly for years profiteering on defense sector, which cost state budget millions of dollars losses.

Poroshenko eventually fired Hladkovskiy. But now, instead of stressing his achievements in development of the army, he has had to answer accusations of robbing it.

And for this he had a tried-and-tested phrase. In interview to ICTV channel on March 11, Poroshenko promised "zero tolerance for corruption."

He used exactly the same phrase after casting his ballot on March 25, 2014, the day he was elected president. ■



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# Constitutional Court judges have controversial pasts

*Editor's Note: The following article is based on research by the Anti-Corruption Action Center in Kyiv.*

BY ANTI-CORRUPTION ACTION CENTER AND KYIV POST

The judges who provided a blanket amnesty for illicit enrichment suspects with a February ruling have controversial backgrounds.

They include those who voted for a constitutional reform that allowed ex-President Viktor Yanukovich, ousted by the EuroMaidan Revolution in 2014, to usurp power; judges appointed by Yanukovich; and ones that have been linked to various corruption scandals. They have denied some of the accusations before, and the Constitutional Court did not respond to a request for comment on the issue.

The Constitutional Court ruled on Feb. 26 that the illicit enrichment law violated the presumption of innocence. However, this legal reasoning has been rejected as flawed and incorrect by numerous Ukrainian and foreign experts who studied the law.

"The decriminalization of illicit enrichment will mean a full amnesty for absolutely all officials with questionable assets, and therefore, will eliminate the whole anti-corruption reform in Ukraine," the Anti-Corruption Action Center and other anti-corruption groups said in a joint statement on Feb. 27. "(The decision) will result in the closure of at least 50 cases of alleged illicit enrichment of top officials which are currently investigated by the National Anti-Corruption. Moreover, all officials who must file electronic asset declarations will receive an indulgence on questionable assets acquired over past two-and-a-half years."

The groups said that the purpose of electronic asset declarations will be nullified.

The hearing on illicit enrichment was closed to the public. Four judges voted against the court's decision: Ihor Slidenko, Viktor Kolisnyk, Vasyl Lemak and Serhiy Holovaty, while 14 voted in favor.

Those in favor include:

#### Stanislav Shevchuk



Elected as chairman of the Constitutional Court in February 2018 with a mandate to reform the

discredited and controversial body. One year later, he appears to have failed in that task.

Shevchuk claimed that the most recent version of the illicit enrichment law was in fact "obliging a defendant to collect evidence to prove his innocence," which violates the Constitution by wrongly shifting the burden of proof away from the accuser and to the accused. "It is a tough decision but it is totally justified because the fight against corruption should be real, not a pretend one," Shevchuk wrote on Facebook.

His brother, Rulav Oddr, owns 70 percent of Ukrainian Maritime Transport Company LLC. According

to journalists from the investigative television program Nashi Groshi, the company has been investigated over alleged theft from state ammonia shipping firm Ukrtranskhimamiak by the Prosecutor General's Office. In 2017, Oddr received dividends of Hr 1.1 million (\$40,000) from this company. Oddr, whose previous name was Denys Shevchuk, was involved in attempts to undermine the EuroMaidan protests, according to Nashi Groshi. Oddr did not respond to a request for comment.

#### Mykhailo Gyultay



Appointed on Sept. 21, 2010. He was one of the judges whose dismissal the Verkhovna

Rada demanded in 2014 for canceling the 2004 constitutional reform and thus allowing Yanukovich to usurp power.

Specifically, the Constitutional Court canceled the 2004 constitutional amendments on expanding the Verkhovna Rada's powers and thus increased Yanukovich's authority.

The court also issued a ruling under which lawmakers could switch from opposition parties to Yanukovich's Party of Regions. Another Constitutional Court decision aimed at usurping power was a ruling authorizing the 2010 judicial reform, as a result of which Yanukovich stripped the Supreme Court of important powers and transferred them to more loyal courts, according to investigators.

According to records in Yanukovich's Party of Regions' alleged off-the-book ledger, judges from the Constitutional Court received \$6 million from the Party of Regions for making rulings that helped Yanukovich usurp power.

Gyultay and other judges of the Constitutional Court have been investigated in the usurpation of power case. However, despite charges having been made against Yanukovich, there are still no formal charges against the Constitutional Court judges accused of helping Yanukovich usurp power. The Prosecutor General's Office has been accused of covering up for the judges for political reasons, which is denied by the office.

The judges under investigation in the case have denied accusations of wrongdoing.

According to Gyultay's electronic asset declaration, he bought a luxury Lexus RX350 car for only \$6,300 in 2015. In December 2013, he bought a four-room apartment with a total area of 175.4 square meters.

#### Mykhailo Zaporozhets



Appointed to the court on Sept. 21, 2010. He was one of the judges whose dismissal the Verkhovna Rada

demand in 2014 for allowing Yanukovich to usurp power.

Media have reported that he has



Serhiy Holovaty and Vasyl Lemak take oaths as newly-appointed Constitutional Court judges on March 2, 2018. They voted against the cancellation of the illicit enrichment law on Feb. 26, unlike most of their colleagues. (UNIAN)

privatized an apartment with a total area of 105 square meters.

#### Natalya Shaptala



Appointed on Sept. 21, 2010. She was also one of the judges whose dismissal the Verkhovna

Rada demanded for voting down the 2004 constitutional reform.

Her son Yevhen Shaptala is a judge of the Kyiv Economic Court of Appeal and a suspect in a corruption case. Her common-law husband Yuriy Shaptal bought an apartment worth Hr 2.6 million (around \$105,000) in 2017. He is also a co-owner of Zakhid Aquatrade LLC. According to online anti-corruption website Youcontrol, the company has not made any profit for the last two years.

#### Oleksandr Tupytskyi



Appointed on May 15, 2013 by Yanukovich.

He worked as a judge of the Kuyibyshevskiy District Court in Donetsk for 17 years, heading the court for seven years. From 2010, Tupytskyi worked as a judge of the Donetsk Economic Court of Appeal, and then as the head of courts in Lviv and Dnipro. However, during that time he issued no rulings, decrees or orders. His wife Olena Tupytska in the period from 2012 to 2014 was an assistant to a Party of Regions lawmaker who now collaborates with the Russian occupation forces in the Donbas.

#### Oleksandr Kasminin



Appointed on Sept. 19, 2013 by Yanukovich. He was the subject of a journalistic investigation by the Schemi

(Schemes) television program regard-

ing his failure to declare a land plot with an unfinished construction.

His wife received the land plot – one of several allocated by Poltava City Council. The state received no money for the land plots, which had an estimated market value of about \$20,000 each.

His family own an apartment with a total area of 150 square meters in Kyiv, valued at more than Hr 5 million (around \$180,000). It had been a state-owned apartment but it was later privatized. Kasminin expressed a dissenting opinion regarding the unconstitutionality of draft amendments to the Constitution on Ukraine's membership of the European Union and the NATO (all judges in the court, except for Kasminin, recognized it as constitutional).

#### Iryna Zavgorodnya



Appointed by parliament in 2018, in violation of competitive selection rules. Her husband

Serhiy Zavgorodny reportedly has Russian citizenship. Zavgorodnya has not reported his income in her declarations since 2015. In 2012 they obtained a house worth more than Hr 1 million (\$125,000). Zavgorodny has owned a BMW X4 worth Hr 997,000 (around \$75,000) since October 2014. Zavgorodny's income amounted to Hr 941,859 in 2014, but it is unknown whether he had savings at that moment.

#### Oleksandr Lytvyn



Appointed on May 15, 2013. In 2014, he sold a vehicle for Hr 149,900 (around \$11,000) and bought a BMW

Mini Cooper for Hr 370,000 (around \$28,000), while the total declared income of his family amounted to Hr 440,000 (around \$34,000).

His wife has not had income since

2014. But in 2015, she reported owning \$25,000 in cash in her asset declaration. The judge also said he had \$20,000 in cash himself. On Nov. 29, 2017, Lytvyn's wife bought an apartment with a total area of 66.6 square meters for Hr 2 million (around \$80,000). They spent all of their cash and received a loan of Hr 1.1 million (around \$44,000) from Dmytro Yamkovyi.

#### Mykola Melnyk



Appointed by parliament in 2014. In 2012-2014 he was an adviser on legal issues at the Razumkov Center, an

opinion polling agency.

His wife, Ulyana Melnyk, is the owner of an apartment with a total area over 159 square meters valued at more than Hr 1 million (around \$200,000) in 2006. His wife reported in her asset declaration her use of an unfinished building with a total area of 316 square meters. (the owner is the National Academy of Sciences). The vehicle used by the judge since 2013 is registered in the name of a relative, Oksana Melnyk.

#### Oleg Pervomayiskiy



Appointed by parliament in 2018 in violation of competitive selection rules. He owns an apartment with a total area of 108 square

meters.

#### Serhiy Sas



Appointed by parliament in 2014. In 2012, he was elected to the Verkhovna Rada as a representative of the Batkivshchyna Party.

After his appointment, he resigned as a lawmaker. From 2007 to 2012 he was a member of the Group for Inter-Parliamentary Relations with the Russian Federation. ■



# Naftogaz CEO Andriy Kobolyev outlines plan to boost production, eliminate intermediaries

BY BRIAN BONNER  
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On the strength of a public relations campaign, tangible achievements and a willingness to compromise, it looks increasingly likely that Ukraine will have Andriy Kobolyev around as CEO of state-owned Naftogaz for another year at least – either to praise as a courageous reformer or to kick around as an overpaid and underperforming fat-cat executive.

His fate now rests with Prime Minister Volodymyr Groysman, who has repeatedly and publicly blasted Kobolyev and the Naftogaz executive team for their multimillion-dollar compensation packages – including salaries and a round of \$46 million bonuses – as undeserved.

Groysman has noted that while the top Naftogaz leader rake in millions of dollars, they have failed at what they're supposed to be doing: increasing Ukraine's natural gas production from where it has been stuck for 28 years – at roughly 20 billion cubic meters yearly, 12 billion cubic meters below last year's consumption.

But now it looks like a compromise is in the works in which the six-member independent supervisory board of Naftogaz has unanimously proposed to Groysman that Kobolyev be allowed to stay for a 50 percent base salary reduction (still at least \$450,000 a year) and no bonuses unless approved by the government. He would have two main tasks: unbundling the vast gas transmission network, meant to stimulate a competitive market that attracts foreign investment, and increasing gas production.

The offer was made on March 12, six days after Groysman said he wanted to start a search for a new Naftogaz CEO the day after Kobolyev's contract expires on March 22.

In response to the supervisory board's letter, Groysman sounded conciliatory. He said on March 14 that it contained "new conditions which are quite close to what I have requested. This is one of the first reasonable offers received by the government."

In an interview with the Kyiv Post on March 14, Kobolyev said the decision is out of his hands.

"The shareholder received the proposal. I don't know what their decision will be. I have no interest in discussing salary. All the conditions they ask for, I accept," Kobolyev said. "The discussion will happen between the supervisory board and shareholder. I am waiting and hoping they will reach a compromise."

He has talked to Groysman about their differences, but said: "I can't comment on our one-to-one discussions."

If he stays as the Naftogaz CEO, Kobolyev said, he has a strategy for eliminating useless yet money-sucking intermediaries and increasing gas production to boost Naftogaz revenues and help the nation become energy independent.



Andriy Kobolyev, CEO of state-owned Naftogaz, speaks with journalists at briefing on Jan. 18, 2019, in Kyiv. (UNIAN)

## Dodgy intermediaries

Naftogaz loses a lot of money – billions of dollars – because of a legal requirement to sell gas at subsidized rates to households through a chain of 43 intermediary companies controlled or owned by exiled billionaire oligarch Dmytro Firtash and others linked to ex-President Viktor Yanukovich, overthrown by the EuroMaidan Revolution in 2014.

Firtash is in Austrian exile fighting extradition to the United States on corruption charges that he denies. But his business interests in Ukraine are remarkably unscathed, owing, some believe, to the 2014 "Vienna Agreement" – the name given after Petro Poroshenko and Vitali Klitschko flew to meet with Firtash in Austria and secure his support for their election, respectively, as president and Kyiv mayor in 2014. Poroshenko and Klitschko have denied that any such agreement took place.

## Firtash's role

In any case, Firtash owns about 70 percent of the nation's "oblgazes," or oblast gas distribution companies, which collectively owe Naftogaz \$2.2 billion for unpaid supplies. Moreover, Firtash and others have a strong hand in selling subsidized gas to households through opaque arrangements that deprive Naftogaz of even more money. The widespread suspicion is that the gas earmarked for households is sold at a much higher market rate to business customers, but Naftogaz still doesn't have legal access to the database of customers to prove its case.

The market price of gas is currently tumbling, Kobolyev said, making this an opportune time for the government to issue a decree to cancel the public service obligation to sell to households at subsidized rates and to eliminate monopolistic intermediaries and open the household gas supply market to competition.

"Based on current pricing, house-

holds will get lower prices than what is regulated," Kobolyev told the Kyiv Post. "In order for us not to be robbed and not to lose our money on gas, now is the best time to remove the public service obligation (to sell subsidized gas to intermediaries) and then it can be done."

Kobolyev refused to comment on whether Firtash should be allowed to own "oblgazes," but said that eliminating schemes in which Firtash profited at the expense of Ukrainians is the major reason why Naftogaz was able to go from losing \$8 billion in 2014 to becoming profitable and contributing 15 percent of tax revenue to the nation's \$40 annual billion budget.

"The fight with corruption was the major precondition" for success, Kobolyev said, along with diversifying sources of natural gas imports and taking Russia's Gazprom to Stockholm's arbitration court, ending in a \$2.1 billion net ruling in favor of Naftogaz.

"We would have never succeeded without removing corruption on major fronts: on gas imports, for example, on procurement. A huge amount of money was not lost but accumulated mostly in the pockets of Mr. Firtash before 2014. The billions he made came from this company. Not only RosUrKEnergo (which Firtash owned). Those billions went there (to Firtash). Now those billions go to the state budget of Ukraine."

And he suggested that Firtash has every reason to want a CEO at Naftogaz that is more receptive to his financial interests. "I definitely know that Mr. Firtash would like to go back in time when Naftogaz was loyal to his requests," Kobolyev said.

## Boosting production

Recovering the money lost to useless intermediaries is a necessary step to increasing gas production, but not

the only one, he said. "But do to this, we need access to two things: money, we are currently selling gas to intermediaries who keep most of the money to themselves; and secondly, we need licenses."

With his job on the line, Kobolyev started complaining publicly that the Naftogaz gas production subsidiary, UkrGazVydobuvannya, doesn't have access to state-issued exploratory licenses that are controlled primarily by 11 people, including oligarchs and those close to Poroshenko.

But Kobolyev told the Kyiv Post that Naftogaz was complaining all along, "even through the court system, without much success. Complaining doesn't give you licenses."

He cited the recent auctions of three exploration licenses – to billionaire oligarch Rinat Akhmetov, ex-Ecology Minister Mykola Zlochevsky (whose ministry issued licenses), and Naftogaz.

But to attract major energy companies, Kobolyev said that the state must open up tracks of land at least 10 times larger than those recently auctioned through electronic tender.

"Western names, big names are looking for big pieces," Kobolyev said. "If big pieces exist, there is a

the only one, he said.

"We are prepared to discuss what prevents us from (increasing produc-

more Kobolyev on page 15

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## Penelope Isles

A young new band from the British seaside town of Brighton will bring some beach vibes to Kyiv. Penelope Isles creates a mix of psychedelic indie rock and dream pop using three-piece harmonies entwined with sonic dynamics and melodic pop hooks. There is a lot of fuzz noise guitar thrown in the mix played by the lead singer Jack Wolter and idiosyncratic piano played by his sister Lily. The live performances of the four-piece band are described as “hypnotic, captivating and moving.” Penelope Isles are putting the finishing touches on their first album and will perform songs from it at their first concert in Ukraine.

**Penelope Isles. Closer (37-41 Sichovyykh Striltsiv St.) March 23. 8 p.m. Hr 299**

### Friday, March 15

#### Live music

**Quique Gómez — Sinatra** (jazz music show dedicated to Frank Sinatra). Architect's House. 8 p.m. Hr 275-500

**Urban Gypsy. Jazz in Paris** (tribute to Django Reinhardt). MK Music Space. 8 p.m. Hr 250

**Scorpions Tribute** (by Beast Band). Docker-G Pub. 9 p.m. Hr 100-125

#### Clubs

**Vyriy** (dance music party). Khvylovyi. 8 p.m. Free

**Optic Nerve Live aka Keith Tucker** (electronic music). Closer. 11:55 p.m. Price to be announced

#### Miscellaneous

**Fearless** (photographs and installations about the history of feminism and female activists in Ukraine). Creative Women Space. 10 a.m. - 6 p.m. Free

**The Ukrainian Canadians** (documents, photographs, publications of Ukrainian diaspora in Canada). Museum of Ukrainian Diaspora. 10 a.m. - 6 p.m. Hr 25-50

**Dialogues** (paintings by Ksenia Datsiuk and Anton Tarasyuk depicting their shared personal and artistic lives). Triptych. 11 a.m. - 7 p.m. Free

**Alabaster Atlas** (paintings by Ksenia Hnylytska dedicated to Soviet architectural modernism). The Naked Room. 11 a.m. - 8 p.m. Free

**Amazing Stories of Crimea** (artworks about the history of Crimea and its citizens). Mystetskyi Arsenal. 11 a.m. - 8 p.m. Hr 80. Hr 40 for retirees, school and university students. Free for children under 12, people with disabilities of the 1st, 2nd group, veterans and any museum employees

**The Day of People In Love** (paintings dedicated to love by Ukrainian artist Oleksandr Roitburd). Shcherbenko Art Center. 11 a.m. - 8 p.m. Free

**Chloé Couture** (retrospective exhibition of clothing by French brand Chloé). NAMU. 12-8 p.m. Hr 10-40

**Future Generation Art Prize** (various artworks by 21 nominees for the prize). Pinchuk Art Center. 12-9 p.m. Free

**Unseen America: The Southwest** (photo exhibition by U.S. artist Mario Montoya). America House. 12-9 p.m. Free. Bring ID

**Wooden Churches of the Carpathians** (photographs by French artist Jean-Pierre Durand). Art 14. 1-7 p.m. Free

**Ash** (paintings by Rustam Mirzoev exploring the feeling of loneliness). Tsekh. 2-8 p.m. Free

**Chinese Lantern Festival** (huge light installations symbolizing ancient Chinese fairy tales and legends). Spivoche Pole. 5-11 p.m. Mon-Fri. Adult - Hr 160, children from 5 to 16 - Hr 130. Sat-Sun. Adult - Hr 200, children - Hr 160. Free for children under 5

#### Movies

**Beautiful Boy** (biography, drama). Zhovten. 3:10 p.m. Hr 80

3:10 p.m. Hr 80

**Madonna and the Breakfast Club** (documentary, drama). Zhovten. 3:20 p.m. Hr 80

**Green Book** (biography, comedy, drama). Zhovten. 5:10 p.m. Hr 90

**Erin Brockovich** (biography, drama). America House. 6:30 p.m. Free. Bring ID

**Vice** (biography, comedy, drama). Planeta Kino. 7:30 p.m. Hr 90-150

#### Shows

**TseSho** (social cabaret, rave, jazz). Atlas. 7 p.m. Hr 290-490

**Zapaska** (alternative, indie pop). Mezzanine. 7:30 p.m. Hr 250

**Natalia Sorokina Quintet Feat. Bogdan Gumenyuk** (jazz). 32 Jazz Club. 8 p.m. Hr 400

**Mad Heads UA** (ska, folk, rock). Docker Pub. 10 p.m. Hr 125-1,400

#### Theater

**The Children of the Night** (ballet). National Opera. 7 p.m. Hr 150-2,900

**La Traviata** (opera in Italian, recording). Planeta Kino. 7 p.m. Hr 230

### Saturday, March 16

#### Classical music

**Valerii Sokolov, Kyiv Chamber Orchestra** (Schreker, Haas, Hartmann). National Philharmonic. 7 p.m. Hr 70-300

#### Live music

**Magic Music from Magic Movies** (soundtracks from “The Grand Budapest Hotel,” “The Illusionist,” “1+1” and others). Cinema House. 8 p.m. Hr 175-425

**KinoJazz** (film soundtracks in jazz arrangement). Architect's House. 8 p.m. Hr 275-500

**St Patrick's Day With Fram Band** (Celtic, original music, rock hits). Docker Pub. 9 p.m. Hr 125-1,400

**Funk Avenue — Good Times** (funk). 32 Jazz Club. 8 p.m. Hr 400

**Star Sounds - Cinematic Symphony** (classical music, movie soundtracks). Kyiv Planetarium. 7:30 p.m. Hr 250-500

#### Clubs

**Love Museum, Peshka** (electronic music). Dom. 10 p.m. Hr 200

**Materia x Plivka with Volruptus** (electronic DJ sets). Otel'. 11 p.m. Hr 200-300

**TC80 Cabaret, Sequalog** (electronic music). River Port. 11 p.m. Hr 200-250. Visitors must be over 21

**Residents Night** (electronic music). Closer. 11:55 p.m. Price to be announced

#### Miscellaneous

**The Ukrainian Canadians** (documents, photographs, publications of Ukrainian diaspora in Canada). Museum of Ukrainian Diaspora. 10 a.m. - 6 p.m. Hr 25-50

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#### Movies

**Landfill Harmonic** (documentary, biography, drama). America House. 2 p.m. Free. Bring ID

**Beautiful Boy** (biography, drama). Zhovten. 3:10 p.m. Hr 100

**Madonna and the Breakfast Club** (documentary, drama). Zhovten. 3:20 p.m. Hr 90

**Green Book** (biography, comedy, drama). Zhovten. 5:10 p.m. Hr 110

**Vice** (biography, comedy, drama). Planeta Kino. 7:30 p.m. Hr 90-150

#### Shows

**The Jossers** (post punk). Mezzanine. 7 p.m. Hr 150

**On-The-Go** (indie pop). Caribbean Club. 7 p.m. Hr 350-750

**Usein Bekirov Quartet** (folk, jazz, funk). Ukrainian Radio Recording House. 7 p.m. Hr 80-250

#### Theater

**Giselle** (ballet). National Opera. 7 p.m. Hr 200-3,500

### Sunday, March 17

#### Classical music

**Classics About Love** (Mozart, Brahms, Schubert and others). Cinema House. 8 p.m. Hr 175-425

#### Live music

**Sunday Music Show** (piano concert for children). Scientists' House. 12 p.m. Hr 50

**The Bohemians. A Night of Queen** (rock, tribute to Queen). Caribbean Club. 7 p.m. Hr 400-1,900

**Jimi Hendrix Tribute** (by Max Tovstyi's Blues Band). Docker's ABC. 9 p.m. Free

#### Clubs

**Dub Conference** (DJ Hopecliff, DubMasta, 4MI, Bassotky and others). Mezzanine. 6 p.m. Hr 100

#### Miscellaneous

**Chloé Couture** (retrospective exhibition of clothing by French brand Chloé). NAMU. 10 a.m. - 6 p.m. Hr 10-40

**The Ukrainian Canadians** (documents, photographs, publications of Ukrainian diaspora in Canada). Museum of Ukrainian Diaspora. 10 a.m. - 6 p.m. Hr 25-50

**Dialogues** (paintings by Ksenia Datsiuk and Anton Tarasyuk depicting their shared personal and artistic lives). Triptych. 11 a.m. - 7 p.m. Free

**Alabaster Atlas** (paintings by Ksenia Hnylytska dedicated to Soviet architectural modernism). The Naked Room. 11 a.m. - 8 p.m. Free

**Amazing Stories of Crimea** (artworks about the history of Crimea and its citizens). Mystetskyi Arsenal. 11 a.m. - 8 p.m. Hr 80. Hr 40 for retirees, school and university students. Free for children under 12, people with disabilities of the 1st, 2nd group, veterans and any museum employees

**Future Generation Art Prize** (various art-

works by 21 nominees for the prize). Pinchuk Art Center. 12-9 p.m. Free

**Chinese Lantern Festival** (huge light installations symbolizing ancient Chinese fairy tales and legends). Spivoche Pole. 5-11 p.m. Mon-Fri. Adult - Hr 160, children from 5 to 16 - Hr 130. Sat-Sun. Adult - Hr 200, children - Hr 160. Free for children under 5

#### Movies

**Beautiful Boy** (biography, drama). Zhovten. 3:10 p.m. Hr 100

**Madonna and the Breakfast Club** (documentary, drama). Zhovten. 3:20 p.m. Hr 90

**Green Book** (biography, comedy, drama). Zhovten. 5:10 p.m. Hr 110

**The Curious World of Hieronymus Bosch** (exhibition on screen). Kyiv Cinema. 7 p.m. Hr 150

**Vice** (biography, comedy, drama). Planeta Kino. 7:30 p.m. Hr 90-150

#### Shows

**O'Hamsters** (Celtic, folk, punk). Docker Pub. 8 p.m. Hr 150-1,750

**P.O.D.** (Christian metal, rapcore). Stereo Plaza. 8 p.m. Hr 1,111-2,200

**Liloviy** (pop). Docker-G Pub. 9 p.m. Hr 100-125

#### Theater

**Nabucco** (opera in Italian). National Opera. 7 p.m. Hr 50-600

### Monday, March 18

#### Live music

**Kyiv Accordion Fest** (classical music, movie soundtracks performed on accordion). National Philharmonic. 7 p.m. Hr 70-300

**Live Jazz Monday - Ivonika** (tribute to Sam Cook, Etta James, Otis Redding, Amy Winehouse). Caribbean Club. 8 p.m. Hr 150-350

#### Miscellaneous

**Fearless** (photographs and installations about the history of feminism and female activists in Ukraine). Creative Women Space. 10 a.m. - 6 p.m. Free

**Dialogues** (paintings by Ksenia Datsiuk and Anton Tarasyuk depicting their shared personal and artistic lives). Triptych. 11 a.m. - 7 p.m. Free

**Alabaster Atlas** (paintings by Ksenia Hnylytska dedicated to Soviet architectural modernism). The Naked Room. 11 a.m. - 8 p.m. Free

**Chinese Lantern Festival** (huge light installations symbolizing ancient Chinese fairy tales and legends). Spivoche Pole. 5-11 p.m. Mon-Fri. Adult - Hr 160, children from 5 to 16 - Hr 130. Sat-Sun. Adult - Hr 200, children - Hr 160. Free for children under 5

#### Movies

**Beautiful Boy** (biography, drama). Zhovten. 3:10 p.m. Hr 80

**Madonna and the Breakfast Club** (documentary, drama). Zhovten. 3:20 p.m. Hr 80

**Green Book** (biography, comedy, drama). Zhovten. 5:10 p.m. Hr 80

**Vice** (biography, comedy, drama). Planeta Kino. 7:30 p.m. Hr 90-150

### Tuesday, March 19

#### Live music

**Brahms, Dvořák, Shymko** (Solomiia Ivakhiv - violin). National Philharmonic. 7 p.m. Hr 70-300

#### Miscellaneous

**Fearless** (photographs and installations

about the history of feminism and female activists in Ukraine). Creative Women Space. 10 a.m. - 6 p.m. Free

**The Ukrainian Canadians** (documents, photographs, publications of Ukrainian diaspora in Canada). Museum of Ukrainian Diaspora. 10 a.m. - 6 p.m. Hr 25-50

**Dialogues** (paintings by Ksenia Datsiuk and Anton Tarasyuk depicting their shared personal and artistic lives). Triptych. 11 a.m. - 7 p.m. Free

**Alabaster Atlas** (paintings by Ksenia Hnylytska dedicated to Soviet architectural modernism). The Naked Room. 11 a.m. - 8 p.m. Free

**Amazing Stories of Crimea** (artworks about the history of Crimea and its citizens). Mystetskyi Arsenal. 11 a.m. - 8 p.m. Hr 80. Hr 40 for retirees, school and university students. Free for children under 12, people with disabilities of the 1st, 2nd group, veterans and any museum employees

**Future Generation Art Prize** (various artworks by 21 nominees for the prize). Pinchuk Art Center. 12-9 p.m. Free

**Unseen America: The Southwest** (photo exhibition by U.S. artist Mario Montoya). America House. 12-9 p.m. Free. Bring ID

**Ash** (paintings by Rustam Mirzoev exploring the feeling of loneliness). Tsekh. 2-8 p.m. Free

**Chinese Lantern Festival** (huge light installations symbolizing ancient Chinese fairy tales and legends). Spivoche Pole. 5-11 p.m. Mon-Fri. Adult - Hr 160, children from 5 to 16 - Hr 130. Sat-Sun. Adult - Hr 200, children - Hr 160. Free for children under 5

#### Movies

**Madonna and the Breakfast Club** (documentary, drama). Zhovten. 3:20 p.m. Hr 80

**Green Book** (biography, comedy, drama). Zhovten. 5:10 p.m. Hr 80

**Beautiful Boy** (biography, drama). Multiplex (Atmosphere, Komod, Lavina Mall, Prospekt, Sky Mall). 7 p.m. Hr 90-250. Zhovten. 7:10 p.m. Hr 100

**Vice** (biography, comedy, drama). Planeta Kino. 7:30 p.m. Hr 90-150

#### Shows

**Madchild** (hip hop, hardcore rap). Monterey Live Stage. 8 p.m. Hr 590-1,190

#### Theater

**I'm Not Running** (British National Theater recording, drama). Kyiv Cinema. 7 p.m. Hr 190

**Quartet-a-Tete, Two on the Swing, Non-Breakers** (Kyiv Modern Ballet). Kyiv Opera and Ballet Theater. 7 p.m. Hr 70-500

**Spartacus** (ballet). National Opera. 7 p.m. Hr 50-600

### Wednesday, March 20

#### Classical music

**Spring Dreams** (piano concert, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert). Kosenko Museum. 7 p.m. Hr 100

#### Live music

**Blues Matters With Bloom Band**. Docker-G Pub. 9 p.m. Free

**Anti-Chello Show** (rock performed on cello). Kyiv Planetarium. 7:30 p.m. Hr 250-400

#### Miscellaneous

**Chloé Couture** (retrospective exhibition of clothing by French brand Chloé). NAMU. 10 a.m. - 6 p.m. Hr 10-40

**Fearless** (photographs and installations about the history of feminism and female

## 'Beautiful Boy'

Drug addiction can set the closest people apart but not if one of them tries really hard to stop it. “Beautiful Boy” is an intimate story of the relationship between a teenager who became a methamphetamine addict, and his father, who is desperately

trying to get his son off the drug. The drama is based on the memoirs of U.S. writer David Sheff and his son Nic masterfully played by U.S. actors Steve Carell and Timothée Chalamet. Tragic life events mixed with scenic shots of California, all directed by Belgian filmmaker Felix Van Groeningen, earned critical acclaim with the nominations from the Golden Globes, BAFTA Awards and more. The screenings will be in English.

**“Beautiful Boy.” Check screenings in our full Entertainment Guide on pages 12-13.**





activists in Ukraine). Creative Women Space. 10 a.m. - 6 p.m. Free

**The Ukrainian Canadians** (documents, photographs, publications of Ukrainian diaspora in Canada). Museum of Ukrainian Diaspora. 10 a.m. - 6 p.m. Hr 25-50

**Dialogues** (paintings by Ksenia Datsiuk and Anton Tarasyuk depicting their shared personal and artistic lives). Triptych. 11 a.m. - 7 p.m. Free

**Alabaster Atlas** (paintings by Ksenia Hnylytska dedicated to Soviet architectural modernism). The Naked Room. 11 a.m. - 8 p.m. Free

**Amazing Stories of Crimea** (artworks about the history of Crimea and its citizens). Mystetskyi Arsenal. 11 a.m. - 8 p.m. Hr 80. Hr 40 for retirees, school and university students. Free for children under 12, people with disabilities of the 1st, 2nd group, veterans and any museum employees

**Future Generation Art Prize** (various artworks by 21 nominees for the prize). Pinchuk Art Center. 12-9 p.m. Free

**Unseen America: The Southwest** (photo exhibition by U.S. artist Mario Montoya). America House. 12-9 p.m. Free. Bring ID

**Wooden Churches of the Carpathians** (photographs by French artist Jean-Piere Durand). Art 14. 1-7 p.m. Free

**Ash** (paintings by Rustam Mirzoev exploring the feeling of loneliness). Tsekh. 2-8 p.m. Free

**Chinese Lantern Festival** (huge light installations symbolizing ancient Chinese fairy tales and legends). Spiwoche Pole. 5-11 p.m. Mon-Fri. Adult - Hr 160, children from 5 to 16 - Hr 130. Sat-Sun. Adult - Hr 200, children - Hr 160. Free for children under 5

**Movies**

**Madonna and the Breakfast Club** (documentary, drama). Zhovten. 3:20 p.m. Hr 80

**The Stepford Wives** (comedy, horror, sci-fi). American Library. 4 p.m. Free

**Green Book** (biography, comedy, drama). Zhovten. 5:10 p.m. Hr 80

**Beautiful Boy** (biography, drama). Zhovten. 7:10 p.m. Hr 100

**Vice** (biography, comedy, drama). Planeta Kino. 7:30 p.m. Hr 90-150

**Theater**

**Faust** (opera in French). National Opera. 7 p.m. Hr 50-600

**Othello** (Globe Theater recording, tragedy). Multiplex (Sky Mall). 7:30 p.m. Hr 190

**Thursday, March 21**

**Live music**

**Arthur Mine** (neoclassical music). Cinema House. 8 p.m. Hr 50-200

**Karo Orchestra** (electronic, ethno music performed on duduk). Kyiv Planetarium. 7:30 p.m. Hr 250-400

**Miscellaneous**

**Chloé Couture** (retrospective exhibition of clothing by French brand Chloé). NAMU. 10 a.m. - 6 p.m. Hr 10-40

**Fearless** (photographs and installations about the history of feminism and female activists in Ukraine). Creative Women Space. 10 a.m. - 6 p.m. Free

**The Ukrainian Canadians** (documents, photographs, publications of Ukrainian diaspora in Canada). Museum of Ukrainian Diaspora. 10 a.m. - 6 p.m. Hr 25-50

**Alabaster Atlas** (paintings by Ksenia Hnylytska dedicated to Soviet architectural modernism). The Naked Room. 11 a.m. - 8 p.m. Free

**Amazing Stories of Crimea** (artworks about the history of Crimea and its citizens). Mystetskyi Arsenal. 11 a.m. - 8 p.m. Hr 80. Hr 40 for retirees, school and university students.

Free for children under 12, people with disabilities of the 1st, 2nd group, veterans and any museum employees

**I Touch** (graphics, photos, videos by Daria Koltsova). Scherbenko Art Center. 11 a.m. - 8 p.m. Free

**Future Generation Art Prize** (various artworks by 21 nominees for the prize). Pinchuk Art Center. 12-9 p.m. Free

**Unseen America: The Southwest** (photo exhibition by U.S. artist Mario Montoya). America House. 12-9 p.m. Free. Bring ID

**Wooden Churches of the Carpathians** (photographs by French artist Jean-Piere Durand). Art 14. 1-7 p.m. Free

**Ash** (paintings by Rustam Mirzoev exploring the feeling of loneliness). Tsekh. 2-8 p.m. Free

**Chinese Lantern Festival** (huge light installations symbolizing ancient Chinese fairy tales and legends). Spiwoche Pole. 5-11 p.m. Mon-Fri. Adult - Hr 160, children from 5 to 16 - Hr 130. Sat-Sun. Adult - Hr 200, children - Hr 160. Free for children under 5

**Movies**

**Beautiful Boy** (biography, drama). Zhovten. 3:10 p.m. Hr 80

**Madonna and the Breakfast Club** (documentary, drama). Zhovten. 3:20 p.m. Hr 80

**Green Book** (biography, comedy, drama). Zhovten. 5:10 p.m. Hr 80

**Captain Marvel** (action, adventure, sci-fi). Zhovten. 6:40 p.m. Hr 120

**Shows**

**Night Lovell** (rap, hip hop, trap). Atlas. 8 p.m. Hr 690-1,399

**Tik Tu** (indie pop, electronic). Monterey Live Stage. 8 p.m. Hr 250-450

**International Project - Soul** (jazz, funk, fusion). 32 Jazz Club. 8 p.m. Hr 500

**Theater**

**La Dame aux Camélias** (ballet). National Opera. 7 p.m. Hr 50-600

**Friday, March 22**

**Clubs**

**Thp Session: Niff, TripPsy, Püoro** (electronic, techno). Closer. 11:59 p.m. Price to be announced

**Toy. Experimental** (electronic, hard-core-punk music party). Otel'. 10:22 p.m. Hr 200

**Dots Black Edition** (electronic Dj set). River Port. 11 p.m. Hr 200-250

**Miscellaneous**

**Fearless** (photographs and installations about the history of feminism and female activists in Ukraine). Creative Women Space. 10 a.m. - 6 p.m. Free

**The Ukrainian Canadians** (documents, photographs, publications of Ukrainian diaspora in Canada). Museum of Ukrainian Diaspora. 10 a.m. - 6 p.m. Hr 25-50

**Alabaster Atlas** (paintings by Ksenia Hnylytska dedicated to Soviet architectural modernism). The Naked Room. 11 a.m. - 8 p.m. Free

**Amazing Stories of Crimea** (artworks about the history of Crimea and its citizens). Mystetskyi Arsenal. 11 a.m. - 8 p.m. Hr 80. Hr 40 for retirees, school and university students.

Free for children under 12, people with disabilities of the 1st, 2nd group, veterans and any museum employees

**I Touch** (graphics, photos, videos by Daria Koltsova). Scherbenko Art Center. 11 a.m. - 8 p.m. Free

**Chloé Couture** (retrospective exhibition of clothing by French brand Chloé). NAMU. 12-8 p.m. Hr 10-40

**Future Generation Art Prize** (various artworks by 21 nominees for the prize). Pinchuk Art Center. 12-9 p.m. Free

Art Center. 12-9 p.m. Free

**Unseen America: The Southwest** (photo exhibition by U.S. artist Mario Montoya). America House. 12-9 p.m. Free. Bring ID

**Wooden Churches of the Carpathians** (photographs by French artist Jean-Piere Durand). Art 14. 1-7 p.m. Free

**Ash** (paintings by Rustam Mirzoev exploring the feeling of loneliness). Tsekh. 2-8 p.m. Free

**Chinese Lantern Festival** (huge light installations symbolizing ancient Chinese fairy tales and legends). Spiwoche Pole. 5-11 p.m. Mon-Fri. Adult - Hr 160, children from 5 to 16 - Hr 130. Sat-Sun. Adult - Hr 200, children - Hr 160. Free for children under 5

**Saturday, March 23**

**Classical music**

**Antonio Vivaldi Concert** (Kyiv Virtuosi Orchestra). Cinema House. 8 p.m. Hr 175-425

**Live music**

**Shevchenko 13** (Taras Shevchenko's poems accompanied by cello, piano music). Maria Zankovetska Museum. 3 p.m. Hr 100

**Stanislaw Moniuszko, Yelyzaveta Lipitiuk** (arias from operas). National Philharmonic. 7 p.m. Hr 70-300

**Jazz for Children**. Cinema House. 11 a.m. Hr 175-425

**Clubs**

**Closer: Wordless with Dj Nobu** (electronic Dj set). Closer. 11:55 p.m. Price to be announced

**UA Electro** (electronic Dj set). Otel'. 10 p.m. Price to be announced

**Miscellaneous**

**The Ukrainian Canadians** (documents, photographs, publications of Ukrainian diaspora in Canada). Museum of Ukrainian Diaspora. 10 a.m. - 6 p.m. Hr 25-50

**Clothes for Spring** (clothes, shoes, accessories, toys, furniture and decor for children by Ukrainian brands). Vsi Svoi D12. 10 a.m. - 8 p.m. Free

**Chloé Couture** (retrospective exhibition of clothing by French brand Chloé). NAMU. 11 a.m. - 7 p.m. Hr 10-40

**Alabaster Atlas** (paintings by Ksenia Hnylytska dedicated to Soviet architectural modernism). The Naked Room. 11 a.m. - 8 p.m. Free

**Amazing Stories of Crimea** (artworks about the history of Crimea and its citizens). Mystetskyi Arsenal. 11 a.m. - 8 p.m. Hr 80. Hr 40 for retirees, school and university students.

Free for children under 12, people with disabilities of the 1st, 2nd group, veterans and any museum employees

**I Touch** (graphics, photos, videos by Daria Koltsova). Scherbenko Art Center. 11 a.m. - 8 p.m. Free

**Spring Kurazh Bazar** (charity market of various goods, food court, entertainment). VDNH. 11 a.m. - 11 p.m. Hr 100. Free for pregnant women, children under 12, retirees and people with disabilities

**Future Generation Art Prize** (various artworks by 21 nominees for the prize). Pinchuk Art Center. 12-9 p.m. Free

**Unseen America: The Southwest** (photo exhibition by U.S. artist Mario Montoya). America House. 10 a.m. - 6 p.m. Free. Bring ID

**Wooden Churches of the Carpathians** (photographs by French artist Jean-Piere Durand). Art 14. 1-7 p.m. Free

**Ash** (paintings by Rustam Mirzoev exploring the feeling of loneliness). Tsekh. 2-8 p.m. Free

**Chinese Lantern Festival** (huge light installations symbolizing ancient Chinese fairy



(Courtesy)

**'Captain Marvel'**

The latest blockbuster in the cinematic universe where Iron Man, Captain America and other Avengers continuously try to save the world, "Captain Marvel" tells the origin story of Carol Danvers, who comes from a distant galaxy to Earth in the 1990s and struggles to recover her past and identity linking her to the planet. The film is a kind of a résumé for the newest member of the big-budget superhero team that is destined to undo the mess caused when other superheroes fail to save the world. It's only the second film fronted by a woman in the male-infested universe of Marvel – and the actress Brie Larson, critics say, does a great job playing the most powerful superhero of them all.

**"Captain Marvel." Check screenings in our full Entertainment Guide on pages 12-13.**

tales and legends). Spiwoche Pole. 5-11 p.m. Mon-Fri. Adult - Hr 160, children from 5 to 16 - Hr 130. Sat-Sun. Adult - Hr 200, children - Hr 160. Free for children under 5

**Shows**

**Andrey Chmut Band** (smooth jazz, funk, fusion). Freedom Hall. 7 p.m. Hr 250-550

**Night Lovell** (rap, hip hop). Atlas. 7 p.m. Hr 700-1,500

**Penelope Isles** (alternative, indie). Closer. 8 p.m. Hr 299

**Theater**

**Got to Be Free** (rock musical about EuroMaidan Revolution). Theater on Podil. 6 p.m. Hr 200-900

**Sunday, March 24**

**Live music**

**The Best of Hans Zimmer** (music from "Pirates of the Caribbean," "King Arthur," "Rain Man" and other movies by National Academic Symphonic Band of Ukraine). National Philharmonic. 7 p.m. Hr 350-700

**Miscellaneous**

**Chloé Couture** (retrospective exhibition of clothing by French brand Chloé). NAMU. 10 a.m. - 6 p.m. Hr 10-40

**Clothes for Spring** (clothes, shoes, accessories, toys, furniture and decor for children by Ukrainian brands). Vsi Svoi D12. 10 a.m. - 8 p.m. Free

**Alabaster Atlas** (paintings by Ksenia Hnylytska dedicated to Soviet architectural modernism). The Naked Room. 11 a.m. - 8 p.m. Free

**Amazing Stories of Crimea** (artworks about the history of Crimea and its citizens). Mystetskyi Arsenal. 11 a.m. - 8 p.m. Hr 80. Hr 40 for retirees, school and university students.

Free for children under 12, people with disabilities of the 1st, 2nd group, veterans and any museum employees

**I Touch** (graphics, photos, videos by Daria Koltsova). Scherbenko Art Center. 11 a.m. - 8 p.m. Free

**Spring Kurazh Bazar** (charity market of various goods, food court, entertainment). VDNH. 11 a.m. - 11 p.m. Hr 100. Free for pregnant women, children under 12, retirees and people with disabilities

**Future Generation Art Prize** (various artworks by 21 nominees for the prize). Pinchuk Art Center. 12-9 p.m. Free

**Unseen America: The Southwest** (photo exhibition by U.S. artist Mario Montoya). America House. 10 a.m. - 6 p.m. Free. Bring ID

**Wooden Churches of the Carpathians** (photographs by French artist Jean-Piere Durand). Art 14. 1-7 p.m. Free

**Ash** (paintings by Rustam Mirzoev exploring the feeling of loneliness). Tsekh. 2-8 p.m. Free

**Chinese Lantern Festival** (huge light installations symbolizing ancient Chinese fairy

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**Venues**

**Classical Music**

● National Philharmonic of Ukraine (2 Volodymyrskyi Uzviz St.) +38044 278 6291

● Architect's House (7 Borysa Hrinchenka St.) +38050 386 7410

● Kosenko Museum (9 Kotsiubynskoho St.) +38044 234 0314

**Live Music**

● Caribbean Club (4 Petliury St.) +38067 224 4111

● Dockert Pub (25 Bohatyrska St.) +38050 358 5513

● Dockert-G Pub (13/5 Ihorivska St.) +38095 280 8340

Velyka Vasylykivska St.) +38044 338 1991

● Scientist's House (45 Volodymyrska St.) +38044 234 4236

● Maria Zankovetska Museum (121 Velyka Vasylykivska St.) +38044 529 5732

**Clubs**

● Closer (31 Nyzhnoiurkivska St.) +38067 250 0308

● Dom Music Bar (10/5A Petra Sahaidachnoho St.) +38096 011 0515

● Khvylovyi Bar (18 Verkhniy Val St.) +38063 443 0925

● Otel' (31 Nyzhnoiurkivska St.) +38063 618 0145

**Miscellaneous**

● America House (6 Mykolya Pymonenka St.) +38063 343 0119

com/thenakedroom

● Pinchuk Art Center (1/3-2 Velyka Vasylykivska St.) +38044 590 0858

● Spiwoche Pole (33 Lavrska St.) 0800 309 994

● Shcherbenko Art Center (22V Mykhailivska St.) +38096 801 2041

● Museum of Ukrainian Diaspora (40B Moskovska St.) +38044 280 6418

● Vsi Svoi D12 (12 Desiatynna St.) www.facebook.com/vsi.svoi

● Mystetskyi Arsenal (10-12 Lavrska St.) +38044 288 5225

● Art 14 Gallery (14 Mykhailivskyi Ln.) +38044 461 9055

● Creative Women Space (9B Mykhailivskyi Ln.) +38063 158 2008

● National Art Museum of Ukraine (6 Mykhaila Hrushevskoho St.) +38044 279 6462

● Triptych Global Arts Workshop (34 Andriivskyi Uzviz St.) +38044 279 0759

● VDNH (1 Akademika Hlushkova Ave.) +38067 824 1631

**Movies**

● American Library Kyiv (8/5 Voloska St.) +38044 462 5674

● Kyiv Cinema (19 Velyka Vasylykivska St.) +38044 234 7381

● Multiplex Cinema (Atmosfera, 103 Stolychne Hwy.) 0800 505 333

● Multiplex Cinema (Komod, 4A Sheptytskoho St.) 0800 505 333

● Multiplex Cinema (Lavina Mall, 6D Berkovetska St.) 0800 505 333

● Multiplex Cinema (Prospekt, 1V Hnata Khotkevycha St.) 0800 505 333

Vozdvyzhenska St.) +38068 411 1972

● Atlas (37-41 Sichovykh Striltsiv St.) +38067 155 2255

● Freedom Hall (134 Kyrylivska St.) +38067 239 8461

● Mezzanine (31 Nyzhnoiurkivska St.) +38063 873 7306

● Monterey Live Stage (8 Prorizna St.) +38093 323 0644

● Stereo Plaza (119 Lobanovskiy Ave.) +38044 222 8040

● Ukrainian Radio Recording House (5B Leonida Pervomaiskoho St.) +38044 279 3344

**Theater**

● Kyiv Opera and Ballet Theater (2 Mezhyhirska St.) +38044 425 4280

● National Opera of Ukraine (50 Volodymyrska St.) +38044 234 7165

● Planeta Kino Cinema (34 Stepana Bandery Ave.) 0800 300 600

● Theater on Podil (20A, Andriivskyi Uzviz St.) +38044 332 2217



# Investigation finds massive coverup of defense theft

BY OLEKSIY SOROKIN  
SOROKIN@KYIVPOST.COM

Almost every law enforcement agency in Ukraine helped cover up corruption in state defense conglomerate UkrOboronProm, according to a new investigative journalist report by Bihus.info aired on March 11.

The report is the fourth and final part of an investigative series by the Ukrainian investigative team Bihus.info, which uncovered alleged corruption schemes in the state defense enterprises.

The investigation has caused an uproar since its first part aired in late February because of its connections to top officials: one of the key people in the scheme was allegedly a son of Oleh Hladkovskiy, a top ally of President Petro Poroshenko and the now former deputy head of Ukraine's National Security and Defense Council.

Hladkovskiy and his son have denied the allegations of corruption. However, Hladkovskiy was fired on March 4.

The journalists alleged that a small group of well-connected young men headed by Hladkovskiy's son were smuggling used parts for military equipment from Russia and selling them to Ukrainian defense companies at inflated prices, with Hladkovskiy himself getting a cut.

The scheme has allegedly been operating since 2015, the year when Poroshenko appointed his business partner Hladkovskiy to the National Security and Defense Council, and is estimated to have brought at least Hr 250 million (\$9.3 million) to its perpetrators.

The final part of the investigation reveals that the State Fiscal Service, Security Service, the Military Prosecution, and even the National Anti-Corruption Bureau, allegedly helped cover up the group's dealings.

## Cover-up circle

According to the journalists from Bihus.info, every law enforcement agency at some point opened a case against the key firm in the scheme, OptimumSpetsdetal, but later closed those cases — allegedly for bribes.

The journalists obtained what they say are leaked messages and emails of the three people in the center of the scheme: Ihor Hladkovskiy, his former classmate Vitaliy Zhukov, and his business partner Andriy Rogoza. Using the messages, they illustrated how the three were allegedly bribing law enforcement agencies.

The three couldn't be reached for comment. Hladkovskiy earlier denied all allegations of wrongdoing, while Rogoza and Zhukov have not spoken to journalists and didn't respond to requests for comment sent to them on social media.

Their company's trouble began in 2016 with Ukraine's Fiscal Service, which started investigating it for tax evasion, suspecting that the company was cashing out its profits through proxies.

However, that case soon fell apart.

The Bihus.info journalists say the three men paid the Fiscal Service \$8,000 to shut down the



Artem Sytnyk, head of Ukraine's National Anti-Corruption Bureau, answers questions from journalists after the parliament's anticorruption committee meeting in Kyiv, on Oct. 3, 2018. His bureau became one of the main targets in a recent investigation by journalists. (UNIAN)

investigation. The Fiscal Service dodged direct questions concerning the service's connections with OptimumSpetsdetal.

Next in line to open a case was Ukraine's SBU security service, which in late 2016 became suspicious about OptimumSpetsdetal's contracts with state-owned defense companies, according to Bihus.info.

But that led nowhere, too.

According to Bihus.info, a man named Dmytro Moskalenko, an investigator at the Kyiv office of the SBU, helped close the cases against OptimumSpetsdetal, allegedly receiving a BMW from Rogoza.

In 2015–2017, Ukrainian journalists released several investigations showing the lavish lifestyle of SBU employees that didn't correspond with their official income. The SBU officers' taste for luxurious cars was often the focus of the investigations.

The SBU issued an official statement, saying Moskalenko has been under criminal investigation for fraud since 2016, and hasn't been working since then. His case is in court, according to the SBU. However, the messages cited by the journalists allege Moskalenko was still helping the trio in early 2017.

The Military Prosecutor's Office also looked into the scheme. It opened cases against OptimumSpetsdetal back in 2015, when the prosecution alleged that the company didn't pay taxes from an Hr 5 million (\$185,000) deal. The case was transferred to the Fiscal Service, where it eventually died.

A second case was opened by the Military Prosecutor's Office in 2017, according to Bihus.info. The office opened an investigation into a suspected case of fraud at the company worth Hr 300 million (\$11 million). However, the case was allegedly closed for a \$20,000 bribe, paid to unnamed officials in the Military Prosecutor's Office.

The Military Prosecutors Office has allegedly opened cases against

OptimumSpetsdetal at least three times, even conducting searches. However, all of the cases eventually fell apart. Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko on March 12 denied wrongdoing on his office's part.

## NABU's role

Last but not least, the National Anti-Corruption Bureau, or NABU for short, had multiple encounters with OptimumSpetsdetal, between 2015–2018.

The appearance of NABU in the investigative report was a surprise to many: the bureau, created after the EuroMaidan Revolution of 2013–2014, is an independent body supposed to investigate top-level corruption.

In late 2016, NABU added OptimumSpetsdetal to the list of untrustworthy companies that must be banned from doing business with UkrOboronProm. A month later, the bureau put out an updated list — but this time it didn't include the company connected to Hladkovskiy's son.

According to Bihus.info, one of the businessmen in the scheme, Rogoza, had a connection with NABU through Yevhen Shevchenko, an undercover NABU agent. Rogoza allegedly paid Shevchenko to get his company removed from the NABU blacklist.

NABU opened new investigations against OptimumSpetsdetal in 2017–2018, but these were again closed without any results.

The investigative report showed messages, allegedly sent by Zhukov and Rogoza, in which the two mention that closing cases in NABU costs more than in the Fiscal Service.

In an interview with Bihus.info, Shevchenko said he was an "investor" in the company of Rogoza and Zhukov, and made \$300,000 from it. At the same time, he claimed he was only participating in it as part of a NABU special operation that aimed to investigate corruption in defense sector.

Artem Sytnyk, the head of

the NABU, said on March 12 his bureau had active investigations into OptimumSpetsdetal, and said Shevchenko had nothing to do with them, mentioning also that the agency doesn't assemble lists of untrustworthy companies, even though journalists showed the list written by Sytnyk's deputy Gizo Uglava.

"The journalists came to wrong conclusions," Sytnyk added.

Still, Sytnyk added that the NABU has started an internal investigation to look into the allegations of corruption within the agency.

Facing criticism, NABU on March 14 said it temporarily terminated the employment of two detectives mentioned in the Bihus.info report.

The reaction from anti-corruption activists has been relatively calm. However, most cited the need for a fair internal investigation and pointed out that those directly involved need to be dismissed, including Uglava, the agency's deputy head.

Roman Maselko, an activist and a member of NABU's Civic Oversight Council, said that NABU's reaction to the scandal had been disappointing.

"Sytnyk's explanation doesn't explain anything," Maselko said in a Facebook post.

The least satisfactory part was the lack of explanation about the role of the deputy head of the NABU, Uglava. The leaked messages received by journalists mention Uglava as the person who will remove OptimumSpetsdetal from the blacklist.

When asked by the Kyiv Post about it, Uglava didn't respond, instead sending a link to Sytnyk's statement, which didn't mention him at all.

Vitaliy Shabunin, head of the Anti-Corruption Action Center watchdog and a longstanding supporter of the NABU, told the Kyiv Post that while he supports a fair investigation, the case shouldn't overshadow the NABU's previous successes.

"NABU detectives have proved their professional and independent

stance by bringing to justice several heads of defense plants, Deputy Defense Minister (Ihor Pavlovskiy), Head of the State Fiscal Service Roman Nasirov, former head of the parliamentary committee Mykola Martynenko, and many others previously untouched," Shabunin said in a Facebook post on March 13.

## Dodging responsibility

The scandal has also demonstrated the way state agencies can smoothly shift blame from one to another.

Prosecutor General Lutsenko, during an interview with the Censor.net news website on March 9, said his office had already been investigating the participants of the scheme — although not Hladkovskiy — and saying that setbacks in the case were mostly the fault of the NABU.

Lutsenko said that his office had access to the phones of the scheme's participants, from which the messages were allegedly leaked to the Bihus.info journalists. However, he said that some of the messages cited in the report weren't found on those phones, hinting they could have been faked.

Chief Anti-Corruption Prosecutor Nazar Kholodnytsky, who himself is facing allegations of helping corrupt officials dodge responsibility and was urged by the U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Marie Yovanovitch to leave his post, also blamed the NABU for losing part of the materials in the case.

Kholodnytsky claimed that the Military Prosecutor's Office in 2016 passed to NABU 87 sheets of correspondence between the scheme's participants. The correspondence allegedly mentioned both Hladkovskiy — father and son. Speaking at the meeting of the parliament's defense committee on March 13, Kholodnytsky claimed that these sheets had disappeared from the case files. Sytnyk responded that the NABU had never received such correspondence.

## Patriotic smuggling

When the first part of the Bihus.info investigation aired in February, many were surprised to learn that Ukraine's defense industry uses parts smuggled from Russia. They are often pre-used and of poor quality.

This contradicted the earlier statements from Poroshenko and other officials, who bragged that Ukraine's defense enterprises stopped using Russian supplies in 2015, substituting them with domestically made ones and imports from other countries.

But after the report aired, top officials defended the practice of smuggling defense supplies from Russia, saying that in some cases there was no alternative.

However, on March 13, Lutsenko claimed that since the corruption scandal broke in late February, the Russian state security service, the FSB, had stopped the smuggling of defense supplies from Russia into Ukraine.

Lutsenko presented it as a negative outcome of the investigation, claiming that "all the mid-range missiles built in Ukraine use parts smuggled from Russia." ■



# Kobolyev: 'Give the big guys big licenses and see what happens' to boost natural gas output

Kobolyev from page 11

very important role that Naftogaz might play in this set-up. Any big name, what they are afraid of is ineffective and problematic supply chains... Naftogaz has built a supply chain that is the most transparent and the least corrupt. We can offer them our supply chain. We will not drill ourselves, but we will be a platform in bringing others. Because of us, in hydrofracking, the price dropped three times the last several years."

In short, he said: "Give the big guys big licenses and see what happens."

## To sell or not to sell

Many Naftogaz critics argue that the state behemoth, with revenue of \$10 billion equaling 8 percent of gross domestic product, is too large and needs to be broken up and sold off, piece by piece.

Kobolyev disagrees.

"The value of the whole will be

more than the value of the pieces," Kobolyev said. The choice for the state is to either keep the company or "sell the whole thing."

## Kobolyev's reputation

While his supporters hail him as brave and honest reformer, his critics point to a less savory past and his questionable current associations.

He is a veteran of Naftogaz, working there during its most corrupt period. From 2006 to 2007, he was director of the corporate finance and price policy department and from 2008 to 2010 he was an adviser to the chairman.

His top deputy, Sergei Pereloma, is deeply implicated in financial corruption scandals that he denies, allegedly involving the Odesa Portside Plant and robbing the state through the sale of uranium at inflated prices. He's tied to ex-member of parliament Mykola Martynenko, a suspect in multimillion-dollar embezzlement from the state, accusations that he denies.



Mark Rollins, CEO of Ukraine's largest oil producer, Ukrnafta, speaks with the Kyiv Post on May 26, 2016, in his office in Kyiv. Rollins will be fired at the end of April for undisclosed reasons. (Kostyantyn Chernichkin)

Kobolyev said he's fine with Pereloma staying, but claims it's not his decision.

"We need a government decision" to change the executive board of Naftogaz, he said. Regarding accusations of corruption against Pereloma, Kobolyev said: "The allegations are in the court. The papers I saw didn't convince me of anything he's accused of."

But "again, not my choice," he said. "It is the decision that is not within my authority. Now that is the discussion that our supervisory board is

having with the government, whether they could remove the executive board."

## Ukrnafta and UGV

A housecleaning is under way within Naftogaz and its subsidiaries. Mark Rollins, a British citizen, is being removed as CEO of Ukrnafta, the state oil-production company owned partly by billionaire oligarch Ihor Kolomoisky. For years, Kolomoisky and favored customers profited by the legal requirement of Ukrnafta to sell oil to them at subsidized rates

that they then resold at market prices for hefty profits.

Kobolyev was mum on the reasons for Rollins' departure just as he was equally mum on the reasons why Oleg Prokhorenko was let go as CEO of Ukrgazvydobuvannya, the state gas-production arm.

Kobolyev has said that Urganvydobuvannya will be restructured and, regarding Ukrnafta, he has a plan to erase the Hr 30 billion (\$1.1 billion) in tax debts to the state that is holding back the company's ability to produce more oil. ■



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# Foreign fathers face frustrating fight for access to their Ukrainian children

BY IGOR KOSSOV  
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It has been two years since Anatol Jung last saw his children.

In 2013, the German native's Ukrainian wife took their first son on a trip to Ukraine. She never returned. At the time, she was pregnant with their second son.

Jung has spent over six years fighting to have a relationship with his children. Under the best conditions, he was allowed to see them for six hours per month in his ex-wife's presence. Under the worst, he went years without seeing them.

"No one ever accused me of being a bad father," Jung told the Kyiv Post. However, "she denies me access, she denies my (child) support, and she has quiet support from the Soviet-minded authorities."

Jung is far from alone. In Ukraine, thousands of fathers say that their former partners have prevented them from being part of their children's lives, according to lawyers who have represented such disputes. The fathers find themselves tangled up years of court hearings.

But while Ukraine's confusing legal system and byzantine bureaucracy are perplexing for anyone, they are especially mystifying for foreign fathers who often don't know the language.

Even when courts rule in their favor, it hardly helps. Legal experts say Ukraine has a longstanding problem with failing to enforce court decisions — particularly in custody battles, child abduction cases, and cases that blur the line between the two. The culprits are the country's weak judiciary, ineffective police, and biased local government committees.

The Kyiv Post tried to contact mothers who allegedly kept their kids from their dads, but only one responded and consented to an interview. Jung's ex-wife refused to answer her door, despite being home when the Kyiv Post came to ask for her comment, and didn't answer requests for comment sent via Facebook.

## Love gone wrong

Jung met his future wife, Iryna Jung, while hiking in Crimea in 2010. They were married in Kyiv and had their first son, Emil, there. The couple then moved to Munich County in Germany, where Jung worked as a safety engineer.

But after giving birth, Jung said that his wife became increasingly paranoid.

"She thought everybody would steal the boy," said Jung. "I was so shocked."

In late May 2013 — with another boy, Elias, on the way — Iryna Jung said she wanted to visit Ukraine with Emil for six weeks. Those six weeks passed, but she never returned.

After failing to convince her to come back with their son, in 2013 Jung filed an official child return claim with Ukraine's Ministry of Justice through Germany's Federal



Anatol Jung on an outing with his son Emil in Germany in 2013, before Emil was permanently taken back to Ukraine by his mother. (Courtesy of Anatol Jung)

Justice Agency, pursuant to the Hague Convention on International Child Abduction. Both countries are signatories to this international treaty, which mandates a child's immediate return to his or her "country of habitual residence."

Emil is a German citizen as well as Ukrainian. However, Ukraine does not recognize foreign citizenship status for Ukrainian citizens.

Ukrainian authorities didn't respond to Jung's claim for over a year. Eventually, the Pechersk District Court ordered Emil's immediate return in 2014, but no one enforced it. Then, the Kyiv Court of Appeals scrapped the repatriation order, saying that Emil and Elias — who never lived in Germany — belong with their mother.

"My elder son is very undeveloped. He needs medical treatment. He has private German healthcare, but he can't get it," said Jung.

Jung tried to appeal to every legal and state agency he could find. Since Iryna lived in Kyiv's Solomyansky District, the local Child Affairs Service conducted a hearing without Jung's input and recommended allowing Jung to visit the boys for six hours each month. He flew in from Germany each month to do so, but says Iryna was unhappy with this arrangement.

A phone video taken by Jung during one visit shows Iryna snatching one of the boys away from him while complaining that Jung paid no child support.

But Jung says he switched to paying through his lawyer, which required Iryna to sign for it. But he says she refused to sign any documents, fearing deception. Lawyer Yevhen Pronin, who worked with Jung, confirmed this information.

Iryna refused to speak with the Kyiv Post but was once cornered by

a television crew from the Ukrainian Channel 1+1. She told the 1+1 journalist that Jung is a Nazi sympathizer, doesn't want the children, and just "wants revenge for Germany's defeat in World War II." Jung denied these allegations.

Eventually, she stopped allowing Jung to visit, either leaving the apartment or locking the door before he came. Jung says he has complained to local authorities 42 times about it. Police documents confirm his complaints, but the authorities told him that it would be impossible to enforce his visitation rights. The Solomyansky District Court wasn't any more helpful.

A flurry of court cases, letters to the Ukrainian president and prime minister, and appeals to the German government and international bodies also bore no results, Jung said.

## Local problem

There are tens of thousands of similar cases in the country, only the vast majority don't involve foreign fathers, according to legal experts.

One problem is Ukraine's ongoing court reform, says Jung's lawyer Pronin. Almost all cases are delayed for years as they move from judge to judge.

Additionally, the parent restricting access to the child often uses various procedural options to intentionally delay judicial proceedings for over a year, according to the Justice Ministry.

Even when the court reaches a decision in favor of the father, the ruling is seldom fulfilled.

The Justice Ministry frequently cannot enforce court decisions because it cannot establish a child's whereabouts, or because one parent is restricting access to government agents, the ministry's press service told the Kyiv Post in a written

response.

Indeed, some fathers had to find their children using journalists or conducting their own investigations.

Several men told the Kyiv Post that when they turned to the police, some officers demanded bribes, while others were sympathetic but still did nothing.

After all these delays, "the child has already become accustomed to its new environment," the Justice Ministry's press service wrote.

Activists condemn both the actions of defendant parents and court inaction as violations of the child's right to grow up knowing both parents.

"If you look at it from the parents' point of view, they definitely have equal rights and responsibilities," said Dmitry Bely, a Ukrainian activist and volunteer who helps dads in family abduction cases. "But it's never seen from the point of view of the child. Regardless of what the mom wants, a child has the right to uninterrupted contact with the father."

Bely and Pronin both said that the problem is compounded by the fact that local childcare committees are staffed almost entirely by women, who they think are inclined to side with mothers.

Bely also lost access to his child, but managed to regain the ability to see her relatively quickly by Ukrainian standards — in just over one year.

"I was lucky," he said. "Many fathers aren't."

## Hard-fought compromise

Uwe also fought his way through Ukrainian bureaucracy. The German citizen asked for his last name to not be used, fearing retribution from the Ukrainian government for speaking against it. After his partner Alla moved back to Ukraine with

their daughter in 2013, Uwe said he tried to convince her to come back. When this failed, he launched a child abduction complaint under the Hague convention, which Ukraine did not follow, he said.

"For the first four years, I couldn't even communicate with my daughter," said Uwe, who told Kyiv Post of combing through the streets of Kyiv and Alla's small hometown in western Ukraine, desperately looking for them. "I can't tell you what goes on in your brain when your child is missing."

Uwe said he filed many police reports, which got him nowhere. Court hearings were sometimes called without him ever being notified or giving him very short notice to fly in from Germany. Courts said he missed deadlines when he didn't. Uwe alleged that Alla's father, an official at a local children affairs service, intervened to impede Uwe's case.

This futile battle took years. The German says he passed through each kind of court twice: trial, appeals, and cassation. He lost his first case, won his appeal, but then cassation sent his case back to first instance. Even after going through all three instances again, he was not able to establish contact with his daughter. Meanwhile, Alla was hiding from him.

Alla met with the Kyiv Post, but refused to provide her last name, saying she would be ashamed in front of her friends and family if her personal struggle was publicized. She said that she found the flurry of courts and paperwork bewildering — the same as it was for Uwe.

She added that she limited contact because she was afraid of the intensity with which Uwe sought his daughter's return, even though he had never treated them badly. Alla said she feared that Uwe would take the girl and not allow her to return — the same thing Uwe accused Alla of doing.

"Sometimes, maybe I think I shouldn't have done that," she said of going into hiding. "I legitimately thought that she would be taken away. My mother's instinct kicked in... We were just emotional. We were both desperate."

A team of German television journalists helped Uwe track down Alla and their daughter to the Kyiv dormitory where they lived in 2017. At that point, Alla gave in and voluntarily made an arrangement with Uwe to let him visit his daughter. He bought a nearby apartment in Kyiv and now visits his daughter, buying her what she needs. She is now seven years old. He hadn't interacted with her for four years of her life.

Uwe was always a good dad and remains one to date, Alla told the Kyiv Post. Uwe confirmed that they are on good terms now but he remains haunted by memories of his battle.

Still, his story ended better than some others. While Bely and Uwe get to see their kids, Jung is still struggling.

"The entire system is broken," Jung said. ■



# Will law enforcers keep their pledge to ensure fair election?

Poroshenko from page 2

company Concorde Capital, claims that the violent protests of ultranationalists are being used by Avakov, who is working in the interests of Tymoshenko in this election campaign, to attack the president.

"The protests had to be violent in order to draw the attention of the mass media and the public," Zawada wrote in an analytical note on March 11. "Indeed the Tymoshenko campaign has worked hard to keep the Russian military parts scandal in the focus of public discussion, staging various media events and protest events to keep it in the news cycle," he said.

Avakov is one of the leaders of the People's Front, the second biggest party in parliament. In a March 12 television interview, he said that during this election his ministry and the National Police were not backing any presidential candidate.

Avakov is often called a patron of National Corps leader Biletskiy. Under Avakov, the Azov Regiment, founded by Biletskiy, was integrated into the National Guard to fight in the Donbas in 2014. But Biletskiy denies that the minister has any influence on him or his political party, National Corps.

Vyacheslav Likhachev, a Kyiv-based researcher on far-right



Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko (L), head of the Security Service of Ukraine Vasyl Hrytsak (R) and Interior Minister Arsen Avakov promise mutual cooperation to ensure a free and fair election during a press briefing on March 12, 2019, in Kyiv. Behind the scenes, however, Lutsenko and Hrytsak appear to be working in the interests of Poroshenko while Avakov is believed to favor Tymoshenko. (Volodymyr Petrov)

groups in Ukraine and Russia, doesn't think that Avakov directly controls Biletskiy but suggests that there is an alliance between the

two for the upcoming parliamentary election.

"It is obvious that in Kyiv and Cherkasy National Militia acted

with the acquiescence of the police," Likhachev said. "Avakov is openly working against the president, and this aligns with Tymoshenko's cam-

paign strategy to ride the wave of the corruption scandal."

The confrontation reached the point when law enforcement agencies began firing salvos of accusations.

Avakov opened a criminal probe into vote-buying by Poroshenko's campaign office in Kyiv Oblast. The police also uncovered a wiretapping device near the campaign office of Zelenskiy; the SBU security service retorted by saying it had been running a special operation that had nothing to do with the leading candidate.

The SBU, which is controlled by the president, raided Tymoshenko's campaign office in Kyiv in February on the pretext of investigating a vote-buying network. Its agents also arrested a former adviser to Avakov in a bribery case.

Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko, openly loyal to Poroshenko, also announced that his office was investigating a bribery case against a Batkivshchyna lawmaker who allegedly tried to pay presidential candidate Yuriy Tymoshenko to withdraw from the race.

In public, however, the warring agencies still present a united front: At a press briefing on March 12, Lutsenko, SBU head Vasyl Hrytsak, and Avakov sat side-by-side, vowing mutual cooperation in the interests of holding fair elections. ■

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# VOX populi

WITH OLEG SUKHOV



## Has corruption increased or decreased in Ukraine over the past five years?

*Editor's note: In an interview with television channel ICTV on March 11, President Petro Poroshenko promised "zero tolerance for corruption" if he is re-elected for a second term in the March 31 election. He used exactly the same phrase after casting his ballot on March 25, 2014, the day he was elected president.*



**Artem Dorofeyev,**  
a staffer at Kyiv Oblast's legislature  
Corruption has increased. Corruption comes from the very top

of the political system. When there's theft at (state defense firm) Ukroboronprom, this is sad not only for the country as a whole, but also for those who are defending the country on the front line. Meanwhile, the president is trying to play with patriotism.



**Yuri Dovgolyuk,**  
unemployed  
Corruption has been legalized, and people are no longer afraid of stealing. I don't know if corruption has increased but it has become the norm.



**Yulia Yuvzhenko,**  
a teacher  
Corruption has stayed the same. At least bribes given for passing exams in colleges have remained the

same.



**Arina Novikova,**  
a student  
Corruption has increased. Nobody is fighting this corruption. Consider the situation with (ex-National Security and

Defense Council Deputy Secretary Oleg) Gladkovsky – nobody is being jailed.



**Liudmyla Belyanovich,**  
a dentist  
Corruption has decreased. I have the quality of being able to look at the world through rose-colored

glasses, and I'm sure everything is changing for the better. For example, we took our children to a new kindergarten, and nobody demanded bribes from us



**Volodymyr Ignatov,**  
a businessman  
Corruption has taken on another form. Previously bribes were taken one way, now it's another. The

pressure from the fire service, prosecutors and other bodies on small businesses has decreased, but only God knows what's happening with top-level corruption.



Chelsea striker Callum Hudson-Odoi (R) beats Dynamo Kyiv defenseman Tomasz Kedziora, scoring his team's fifth and final goal of the game during the second leg of the Europa League's round of 16, the continent's second tier football tournament on March 14 at Olimpiyskiy Stadium in Kyiv. Chelsea crushed Dynamo Kyiv 5-0, eliminating the Ukrainian side from the competition while advancing to the tournament's quarterfinals. (Kostyantyn Chernichkin)

# Twice defeated by Chelsea, Dynamo Kyiv crashes out of European competition

BY OLEKSIY SOROKIN  
SOROKIN@KYIVPOST.COM

Ukrainian Premier League runner-up Dynamo Kyiv crashed out of the Europa League, the continent's second-tier football tournament, after taking a 5:0 beating by English soccer club Chelsea on March 14 in front of a home crowd at Kyiv's Olympiyskiy Stadium.

Dynamo began its 2018-19 European campaign by defeating

Slavia Prague in the Champions League third qualifying round, but the team was knocked out of the most prestigious European club competition by Dutch team Ajax in the play-off qualifying round.

The team went on to win its Europa League group and cruise past Greek team Olympiacos in the round of 32, only to be crushed by Chelsea in the round of 16.

The six-time English title holders had far fewer problems in the two-leg tie, winning the first game against Dynamo Kyiv 3:0 on March 7 at Stamford Bridge in London.

The second leg, played on March 14 at the sold out Olimpiyskiy Stadium

in downtown Kyiv, was much the same, with the 70,000-strong home crowd witnessing yet another defeat.

Chelsea striker Olivier Giroud opened the score on the fifth minute and doubled the score half an hour later. Marcus Alonso then scored a third goal, devastating the home team.

Giroud scored his hat-trick midway through the second half, and 18-year-old English striker Callum Hudson-Odoi had the final say, scoring Chelsea's fifth goal on the 78th minute.

Dynamo Kyiv supporters had little to cheer for: both of the team's goals were deemed offside by German referee Tobias Stieler. ■



Chelsea's Brazilian midfielder Willian (L) and Chelsea's French forward Olivier Giroud celebrate after scoring a goal during the UEFA Europa League round of 16, the second leg football match between FC Dynamo Kyiv and Chelsea Football Club at Olimpiyskiy Stadium in Kyiv on March 14, 2019. (Kostyantyn Chernichkin)



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## Docudays film festival looks at good, bad in digital world

### City Life

WITH DARIA SHULZHENKO  
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Ukrainian brand Re-beau makes accessories from used plastic, promotes recycling

Transforming vinyl records into earrings, plastic shampoo bottles into brooches and bottle caps into pendants – the Kyiv-based brand Re-beau has found the key to make recycling not only good for the environment, but also fashionable.

Launched in April 2018, the brand has already recycled up to 10 kilograms of plastic to create its stylish accessories and has sold nearly 150 of its items to the customers from all over Ukraine. Apart from that, several months after its establishment, Re-beau participated at Ukrainian Fashion Week, presenting its first collection of earrings made from used plastic.

Maria Sorokina, 27, the founder of Re-beau, says that the idea of her brand is not to recycle as much as possible, but to show people why plastic is a danger to the environment, and why people should reduce the amount of it they use in their everyday lives.

"Plastic is alien to the world, as it is an absolutely synthetic material that was invented by humans," Sorokina told the Kyiv Post.

"So the pros and cons of this material are that it is durable, and if it is not recycled or disposed of, it takes a very long time to decompose, therefore contaminating water and soil," she said.

Sorokina says the name of the brand means "responsible beauty" as she believes that the current situation with the environment should push people towards responsible consumption, upcycling and recycling materials.

"It has become possible to follow fashion and, at the same time, to buy goods made by brands that do not pollute the environment, but rather try to make it cleaner," Sorokina says.

Re-beau currently offers nearly eight types of earrings, each of a different shape and color, as well as four types of brooches, and is about to launch the production of pendants and necklaces made from recycled plastic. All of the items are available for pre-order, with prices ranging from Hr 100–300.

Other than that, Sorokina recently announced the establishment of "Wasted Valued," an

more **Recycling** on page 21



The film "Sakawa" will be screened during the Docudays UA International Human Rights Documentary Film Festival in Kyiv as a part of the festival's "Network" program, focusing on the digitalization of modern life. The film depicts the activity of the so-called Sakawa boys, a group of unemployed youths in Ghana who run internet romance scams in order to make a living. (Courtesy)

BY TOMA ISTOMINA  
ISTOMINA@KYIVPOST.COM

"Do you want to allow the following program to make changes in your brain?"

The slogan of this year's Docudays UA International Human Rights Documentary Film Festival reflects on its main focus – the digitalization of people's lives and their so-called digital rights. The festival, as usual, hits one of the hottest buttons of the modern world, collecting together documentary films that explore both the benefits and the dangers of digital developments.

Docudays was founded in 2003 and has been held annually since 2005. It is also a part of the international Human Rights Film Network.

This year, the festival will take place on March 22–30 at 13 locations, and will include workshops, exhibitions, discussions, and, of course, movie screenings.

This year Docudays will screen 29

films, both feature-length and short, in its competition program, as well as 48 non-competition pictures. All the movies will have English subtitles.

A festival pass giving visitors access to all screenings and events costs Hr 900, a one-day pass is Hr 300, and tickets for individual screenings cost Hr 50 or 90. Tickets can be bought online at [www.docuday.ua](http://www.docuday.ua) or at Kyiv, Zhovten, Lira cinemas.

But before getting any tickets, movie goers will have to pick out which films to watch from the festival's large selection. To help them, here are what the Kyiv Post reckons are some of the best pictures to be screened at this year's Docudays.

'Bellingcat: Truth in a Post-Truth World'

This documentary, which focuses on the group of citizen investigative journalists known as Bellingcat, will open the festival this year. In the era of fake news, social media hoaxes and propaganda wars, the online sleuths at Bellingcat publish ground-

breaking investigations based on open-source information, exploring the most complicated and disputed events, including the Syrian war and the crimes of Mexican drug cartels. "Right now they are winning, so we need people fighting against them," the film's trailer says.

Some of Bellingcat's most famous investigations have concerned the downing of Malaysia Airlines Flight MH17 in eastern Ukraine, and the poisoning of Russian spy Sergei Skripal in the United Kingdom. But its journalists not only uncover the stories behind conflicts, wars, and crimes – Bellingcat also shares its techniques, publishing case studies and guides for others to learn from.

Directed by Dutch filmmaker Hans Pool, "Bellingcat: Truth in a Post-Truth World" introduces viewers to the Bellingcat team, explaining what motivates them and how they work. Variety, the U.S. online and print publication covering entertainment business, says that the documentary

"feels like a spy thriller at times."

"Bellingcat: Truth in a Post-Truth World." Zhovten Cinema (26 Kostiantynivska St.) March 23. 11:30 a.m. Hr 50

#### 'Minding the Gap'

This intimate yet universal story of three male friends united by their love of skateboarding is a documentary feature debut for one of them, Bing Liu. "Minding the Gap" was shot for over a decade, tracing the lives of three teenagers growing up in the city of Rockford in Illinois, the United States, as well as their transition to adult life. They face challenges and traumas both as teenagers and adults – hardships with family matters, parenthood, and masculinity. "Life might be moving too fast. We have to fully grow up, and it's gonna suck," one of the friends says in the film. Through conversations featured in the film, "Minding the

more **Docudays** on page 20



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# Modern technology in focus at Docudays movie festival

Docudays from page 19

Gap" offers extraordinary deepness, in what at times reminds one of therapy sessions.

Liu, a debut director, departs from many rules of the classic documentary filmmaking: He appears in his own picture and talks directly to the camera. Such authenticity and unusual approaches won the film critical acclaim, earning it the U.S. Documentary Special Jury Award for Breakthrough Filmmaking at the Sundance Film Festival in 2018. It was also nominated for Best Documentary Feature at the 91st Academy Awards in 2019. The New York Times' A.O. Scott called the picture an "astonishing debut feature" and the Atlantic's Sophie Gilbert defined it as an "extraordinary feat of filmmaking."

"Minding the Gap." Zhovten Cinema (26 Kostiantynivska St.) March 23. 4:10 p.m. Hr 50. Izone (8 Naberezhno-Luhova St.) March 24. 7 p.m. Free. Kyiv Cinema (19 Velyka Vasylkivska St.) March 28. 7 p.m. Hr 90

## 'Death By Design'

This documentary takes an aim at the dark side of digitalization. U.S. director Sue Williams, who has been exploring China's history through documentaries for years, this time, focuses on the modern page of the country's development, its digital devices field in particular. "Death by Design" investigates the production of electronic devices, such as smartphones, laptops, and tablets, revealing the dirty underside of the industry. The film shows how even the smallest devices have a destructive influence on the global environment and living creatures' health, while the digital production industry seems endless with consumers falling for new devices with new, better

functions their makers promise. "We throw it away. My point is: Where is away? Away is here for someone," the movie trailer says.

"Death by Design." Izone (8 Naberezhno-Luhova St.) March 25. 7 p.m. Free. Zhovten Cinema (26 Kostiantynivska St.) March 28. 5 p.m. Hr 50

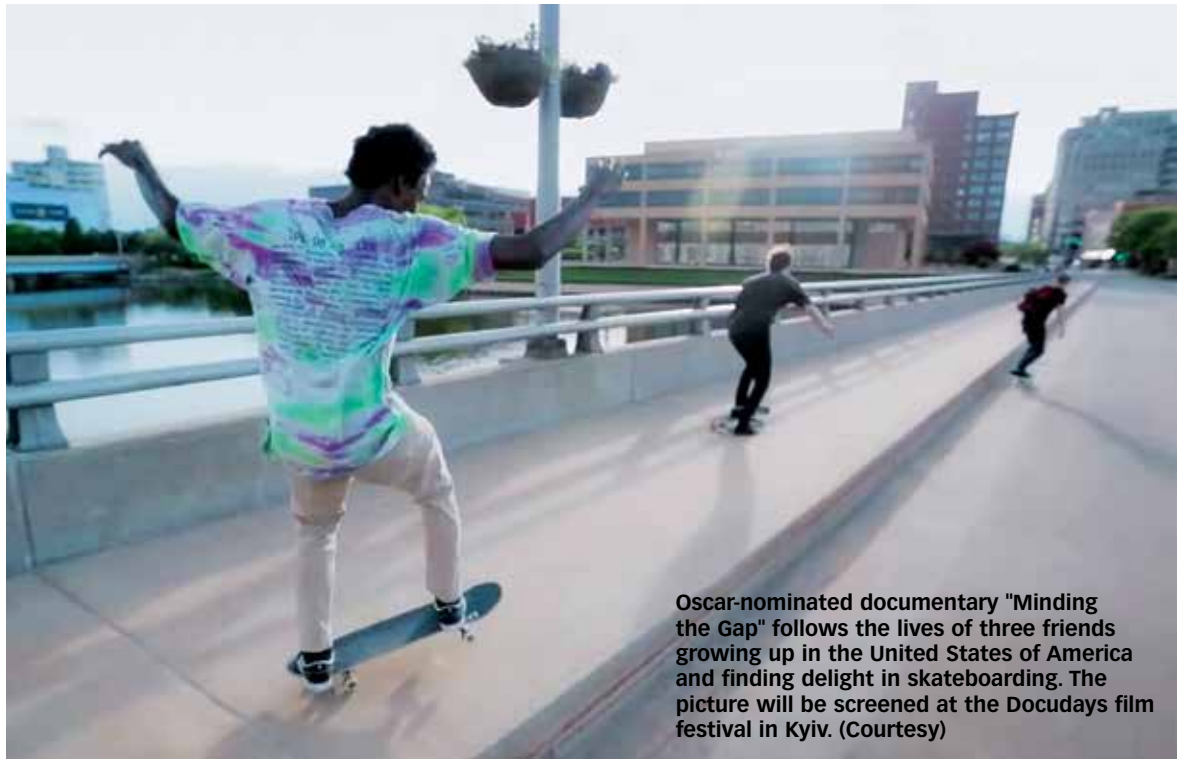
## 'The Cleaners'

The main characters of this documentary are anonymous people who have great power – they censor the internet deciding what is appropriate and what must be deleted. The Variety says that "The Cleaners" is a "thorough record of how our obsessive online culture has sunk to the low point it's at today." The masses of pornography and war-zone images posted every day have an irreparable effect on those who "clean" it. Content moderators look at thousands of questionable harsh posts every day, and "The Cleaners" looks at the impact such experience has on them. Directed by German filmmakers Hans Block and Moritz Riesewieck, the film resembles a horrifying thriller, except it depicts reality, giving even more chills to its viewers. The film will be screened as a part of "The Network" non-competition program featuring films about the main focus of this year's Docudays.

"The Cleaners." Zhovten Cinema (26 Kostiantynivska St.) March 24. 6:30 p.m. Hr 90. March 25. 5 p.m. Hr 50

## 'Sakawa'

Another documentary from "The Network" program explores digital rights violations through internet fraud, which for poor unemployed young people in Ghana is a rare opportunity to make a living. The film follows the Sakawa boys, a group of fraudsters using internet



Oscar-nominated documentary "Minding the Gap" follows the lives of three friends growing up in the United States of America and finding delight in skateboarding. The picture will be screened at the Docudays film festival in Kyiv. (Courtesy)



Documentary "Death by Design," which is to be screened at Kyiv's Docudays film festival, reveals the risks that electronic device industry poses to the environment and people's health. (Courtesy)



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romance scamming as a way to earn money. They use electronic waste (laptops, keyboards) thrown away by the West in Ghana. The film introduces the newcomers to the group, who join the Sakawa boys for various reasons from providing for their families to dreaming about traveling. Meanwhile, their experienced mentors teach the newbies tricks of scamming. "Sakawa" is a documentary feature debut of Ben Asamoah, a Belgian director with roots from Ghana.

"Sakawa." Zhovten Cinema (26 Kostiantynivska St.) March 25. 6:30 p.m. Hr 90. March 26. 4 p.m. Hr 50

## 'Still Recording'

This film chronicles one of the most tragic wars in the modern history of humanity, the ongoing armed conflict in Syria. It is the story of two Syrian men, Saeed and Milad, who move from Damascus to Douma to join the demonstrations against the Syrian authorities.

"Still Recording" tracks down the dreadful transformation of the city, where Syrian rebels went from liberation and celebration to war, siege, and hunger. As the city is besieged and the camera films, the two friends make an attempt to start a graffiti art project. However, a new obstacle appears in their way: the Syrian Army carries out a chemical attack in the Ghouta region, where the city is located. The film's directors Syrians Ghiath Ayoub and Saeed Al Batal, along with videographers shot 500 hours of footage in Douma to tell a story of their struggling country and provide evidence of horrible crimes. "Still Recording" received acclaim at the 75th Venice International Film Festival in 2018, earning the Sun Film Group Audience Award.

"Still Recording." Kyiv Cinema (19 Velyka Vasylkivska St.) March 24. 7 p.m. Hr 90. Zhovten Cinema (26 Kostiantynivska St.) March 28. 9:40 p.m. Hr 90 ■



City Life

# Young entrepreneur makes business out of old plastic, helps environment

Recycling from page 19

online store, where she plans to sell only recycled and upcycled products, including accessories, home decor and souvenirs.

"I want tourists to be able to bring something fun, beautiful and eco-friendly back from Kyiv," Sorokina says.

### Early steps

Having left her hometown in Donetsk Oblast in 2014 because of Russia's war on Ukraine, Sorokina moved first to Kropyvnytskyi, a city 330 kilometers south of Kyiv, and then to Ukraine's capital, where she started to sort her garbage, and noticed the huge amount of plastic bottles and packaging she put into the trash bin.

"I thought it would be great to show that this material (plastic) can be recycled, and thus used in the economy again," Sorokina says.

Sorokina says she was inspired by the saying "trash is treasure," and a year before establishing her brand, she experimented with melting waste plastic herself, in order to explore the process and how the material reacted.

Eventually, Sorokina found a place she could transform into a workshop, bought all the equipment needed to melt the plastic safely, and created her first eco-friendly accessories — a pair of earrings in the shape of raindrops.

Sorokina says, she picked a raindrop shape for a reason, as she believes that all the small steps people take towards making the environment cleaner are similar to "drops in the ocean."

"But ultimately, the ocean consists of drops, and our every action leads to what this ocean will be in the future," Sorokina says.

Nowadays, the raindrop earrings, which come in different colors, are one of the most popular products

Maria Sorokina, the founder of Kyiv-based brand Re-beau, which makes accessories out of recycled plastic, poses for a photograph in Kyiv on March 13, 2019. Sorokina holds a vinyl record, which she used as a material to create the earrings she is wearing. (Oleg Petrusiuk)



offered by Re-beau. But the brand also offers earrings in the shape of the lightning flashes, semicircles and other geometrical forms, as well as brooches in shapes of unicorns and tree leaves.

Re-beau currently cooperates with three freelancers, who help Sorokina produce the accessories. Sorokina says that the whole process of melting plastic is fast and takes only about two hours. However, she can spend hours looking for the right plastic to recycle, as not all types are completely safe for recycling.

### Responsible beauty

Sorokina says she does not add any colorings to the plastic, as they may contain toxins. Instead, she "hunts" for plastic bottles, caps and vinyl records that match the color she needs.

With the establishment of the "No Waste Ukraine" recycling stations, which accept plastic, metal, wood, glass, clothes and paper, Sorokina's work has become much easier, as she can easily find colorful bottles and other plastic goods there.

Sorokina, who is a strong sup-

porter of a "green lifestyle" emphasizes on the importance of sorting waste, pointing out that Ukraine still does not have an effective waste management.

"In this regard, the mentality of Ukrainians does not really differ from Europeans or Americans. If in European countries there were no conditions and legislation on waste sorting, people wouldn't sort their waste either," Sorokina says.

Sorokina believes that the authorities should increase garbage disposal tariffs or impose fines on those who

fail to sort their garbage, therefore motivating the population to do it.

"Only clear rules, which are set out in the law, can motivate the population to sort their garbage," Sorokina says.

That would make Sorokina's job a lot easier, while helping the environment as well.

And while Re-beau's products only recycle a small part of the city's plastic waste, "the more brands that create goods from recycled materials, the better it becomes for the environment," Sorokina says. ■



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# Kids learn math on social media

BY DARYNA LATIUK  
ALASWOAH@CLOUD.COM

Mariana Uliak, 26, always dreamed of becoming a teacher, but was certain she would end up teaching her favorite subjects of biology and ecology.

But when she came to apply for admittance to the faculty of biology of Vasyl Stefanyk Precarpathian National University in Ivano-Frankivsk, a city of 230,000 people located 450 kilometers west of Kyiv, she saw a huge queue of people waiting to do the same.

While wandering around the building in order to kill some time, Uliak stumbled upon an admissions office for the faculty of mathematics and computer science. She had a spare set of documents, so she decided to apply there on a whim. She was later accepted to the university's math faculty.

She graduated in 2014 and since then has been working as a math teacher at Lyceum No. 10, in Kalush, a town located 25 kilometers to the north-west of Ivano-Frankivsk.

The young teacher believes that nowadays students have little motivation or interest in studying — if they fail at doing something, they give up immediately.

### Bright idea

With this in mind, she set about finding ways to help children learn mathematics in a more interesting and engaging way.



Teacher Mariana Uliak holds a math lesson for 6-year-students at Lyceum No. 10, in Kalush, Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast, in April 2018. Uliak has started her own math course on social medium Instagram. (Courtesy)

She eventually hit on the idea of creating a math course social media account for students in Ukraine.

And she opted to set up a mathematics course on Instagram — one of the most popular social networking services among teens, which, for many, is a huge part of their lives.

Finally, on Jan. 10, Uliak started a Ukrainian-language account named *insta\_math\_help* dedicated to mathematics both to challenge the ste-

reotypical view of this subject being difficult, and to popularize it. It's worth learning about mathematics, she says, because it develops logical thinking and "helps to put your thoughts in order."

On the account, Uliak posts bright and arresting images depicting math tasks, with answer options. She posts the correct answer with an explanation a day later.

Uliak shares an analysis of the

common mistakes in math, and explains mathematical problems and terms, such as quadratic equations or the principles underpinning trigonometry.

### Golden rule

When selecting content for the *insta\_math\_help* account, Uliak draws on official lesson plans for students of different grades. However, her golden rule is to focus first on sharing

the solutions and explanations of problems suggested by her followers.

Although she expected the account would only be of interest to her students, she was pleasantly surprised to find that the children's parents and her colleagues began to follow the account as well.

During the first month of the account's existence, it passed the 3,300 followers mark, and the number is growing daily. As of March 14, it had more than 3,400 followers.

### Easy and useful

Given that children very rarely read up on subjects in textbooks and find it difficult to pick out the key concepts from large texts, Uliak's teaching approach is especially effective because she presents a brief yet clear explanation of each topic.

Several days ago, one of her followers wrote to tell her that he had managed to get an "A" grade on a test just because he saw the Instagram post and learned the topic the night before.

Uliak wants to launch a similar account on YouTube, because, according to her, a video explanation would work even more effectively. Unfortunately, this is still only a dream, as the teacher does not have enough time, working in the lyceum and developing the *insta\_math\_help* account on her own.

"My goal is to show that there is another side to mathematics, and to prove that this subject is easy and useful," Uliak said. ■

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KfW, the German development bank, is recruiting a national Project Coordinator for its infrastructure programs in Ukraine. Within the framework of German-Ukrainian financial cooperation, KfW is consolidating and expanding its portfolio, amongst others, in the areas of municipal energy efficiency and electricity transmission. The Project Coordinator will report to the Director of the KfW office in Kyiv and work closely with the responsible Project Managers at KfW headquarters in Frankfurt am Main, Germany.

**The main responsibilities shall include:**

- To liaise with and advise the national project partners and other stakeholders of financial cooperation activities;
- To discuss with, advise and support the responsible sector teams at KfW HQ in identification, preparation and implementation of financial cooperation projects;
- To monitor and report on relevant developments, policies and donor activities mainly in relation to the energy sector;
- To contribute to the fulfillment of supervisory and reporting requirements;
- To support donor coordination efforts in consultation with the German Embassy;
- To provide organisational support to, and participate in, KfW missions visiting Ukraine.

**The required qualifications are:**

- University degree in engineering, economics or another relevant area;
- At least five years of working experience in one or more of the following sectors: municipal infrastructure, energy efficiency, electricity transmission or transport infrastructure;
- Experience in the initiation, preparation and implementation of public investment projects in Ukraine;
- Excellent oral and written Ukrainian/Russian and English;
- Project management, organization as well as oral and written presentation skills;
- Ability and readiness to travel in- and outside Ukraine.

**The following features will be considered as additional advantages:**

- Additional university degree(s) in relevant areas;
- Longer professional experience;
- Experience in working for international development finance institutions;
- Excellent oral and written German;
- Compelling motivation letter.

Please address your applications in German or English, which must include an up-to-date CV, electronically to [vacancies-kyiv@kfw.de](mailto:vacancies-kyiv@kfw.de) no later than **15th of April 2019**. Only shortlisted candidates will be invited for interviews. Questions should be directed to the email address named above.



**DAI GLOBAL, LLC, implementer of the USAID-funded Financial Sector Transformation Project (FST),** is seeking qualified professionals to fill the following long-term positions:

**Senior Public Confidence/ Communication Specialist**

The successful candidate will lead efforts to strengthen public confidence in the financial sector. Under the supervision of the FST Financial Literacy and Communications Director, he/she will implement the project's activities in financial awareness, financial knowledge, and financial consumer protection.

**Required Qualifications:**

- Master's degree in an appropriate discipline (economics, finance, communications, journalism);
- 10+ years of professional work experience in increasingly senior positions in communications/finance;
- Strong English language skills.

**Assistant Communications Specialist**

The successful candidate will be responsible for providing basic support to the communications department on its public outreach activities and its events, and in support of other functional components of the project.

**Required Qualifications:**

- University degree in an appropriate discipline (communications, business, economics, finance);
- 1 year work experience in an appropriate field (journalism, public relations, communications);
- English language competence.

**Capital and Commodity Markets Senior Expert**

The successful candidate, working together with local and international experts, will support FST efforts to facilitate development of the commodities (primarily, agro and energy) and derivatives markets.

**Required Qualifications:**

- University degree in business, economics, finance, law or related subject area, advanced degree preferred;
- Extensive knowledge of Ukrainian financial sector, minimum ten (10) years' working experience;
- At least five (5) years of work/professional experience in commodities (agro, energy) or capital markets;
- Solid project management skills;
- Fluency in Ukrainian and English.

To see the full job ads please visit: <https://www.kyivpost.com/classifieds>  
Interested candidates shall submit their CV and cover letter in English to [RecruitmentFST@dai.com](mailto:RecruitmentFST@dai.com) no later than **1 April 2019, 6 pm Kyiv time**, indicating the position title in the subject line of their e-mails.

**The applications will be reviewed and interviews will be held on the rolling basis.**

Only shortlisted applicants will be invited to an interview. No telephone inquiries will be accepted.



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

**for the Administrative Service Reform Office under the Ministry of Economic Development and Trade of Ukraine:**

- *Legal Expert in Administrative Services;*

**for the e-Health project under the Ministry of Health of Ukraine:**

- *Chief Technical Officer.*

For more detailed information about preferred qualifications and skills, indicative duties and responsibilities, as well as applying procedure, please visit web-site: [www.edge.in.ua/vacancies/](http://www.edge.in.ua/vacancies/)



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The Delegation of the European Union to Ukraine is currently seeking to recruit for the following position:

- *Project Officer*

For further information about this and other current vacancies at the Delegation of the European Union to Ukraine please consult the website:

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Procurement specialists will assist in administrative, operations, and travel-related procurement, assist in procurement tracking and management systems and ensure that procurement functions are efficient, compliant with internal policies and donor regulations, and well-coordinated and integrated with other teams within their respective regional offices as well as with the procurement.

Application process and full job descriptions are available at <https://www.kyivpost.com/classifieds>  
CVs and Cover Letters should be sent to [UkraineHR@globalcommunities.org](mailto:UkraineHR@globalcommunities.org) by March 29, 2019 indicating position title in the subject line. Interested candidates are encouraged to apply as soon as possible. Interviews will be conducted on a rolling basis.

**CLASSIFIEDS**

**SALE OF NON-RESIDENTIAL PREMISES**  
Kyiv, Ukraine  
Moskovska Street is in the central area of the city of Kyiv.  
The premises is located near Lesi Ukrainky Boulevard – one of the main arterial streets of the city. The building was constructed in 2006 as a special project. It has from 10 to 24 floors. The building type is cast-in-place concrete frame. The asking price – UAH 3,697,744 ONO.  
**General and technical information for the non-residential premises:**  
The property is based on the 2nd floor of a 24-floor building • the premises have fine both internal and external decorations • the total area is 123.6 sq m • the building area consists of 160.68 sq m • the ceiling height is 3.3 sq m • the material of the walls is brick • the dividing walls are plastered, consisting of brick and gypsum board • the premises have timber doors and metal-plastic windows • the floor is made with paving tiles • the interior decoration includes wallpapered walls, whitewashed ceilings, and oil and water mixture painted areas • utility systems include electric power and water supplies, and autonomous heating and sewerage systems.  
*Non-residential premises No 1 - 8, 30% of balcony (group of premises No 144 - in letter A) at 46/2, Moskovska Street*  
tel: +38 044 221 04 54

**SALE OF FOUR-ROOM APARTMENT & PARKING SPOT**  
Kyiv, Ukraine  
Lesi Ukrainky Boulevard belongs to Pecherskyi District in Kyiv (the right bank of the Dnipro River).  
The building was constructed in 2010. It has 29 floors. The construction material of the walls is brick. With regard to infrastructure, the following is located nearby the building: Pecherska and Klovska metro stations • Oleksandrivska Clinical Hospital • Main Military Clinical Hospital.  
The asking price of the apartment and parking spot – UAH 11,130,361 ONO.  
**General and technical information of apartment:**  
The property is based on the 15th-17th floors of 29-floor building • the apartment does not have decoration and is incomplete • the total area is 335.3 sq m • the living area consists of 149.8 sq m • the area of the kitchen is about 97.7 sq m • the area of the terrace is 3.3 sq m.  
**General and technical information of parking lot:**  
The total area of the parking slot is 15.5 sq m • located in basement No. 1 in the underground parking area • the technical condition is incomplete • the footings are piled and reinforced concrete, the walls are concrete panels, the floors are concrete, and the coverings are also reinforced concrete plates.  
*Four-room apartment No. 35 and parking slot No. 65 at 7-B, Lesi Ukrainky Boulevard*  
tel: +38 044 221 04 54

**SALE OF TWO-ROOM APARTMENT**  
Kyiv, Ukraine  
Ivana Franka Street is in Shevchenkivskyi District of Kyiv (on the right bank of the Dnipro River).  
The building was constructed in 1938. It has six floors. The construction material of the walls is brick. With regard to infrastructure, the following is located nearby the building: • Bohdana Khmelnytskogo Street • Yaroslav Val Street • Zolotovoritsky Park • Sofiivska Square and Mykhailivska Square.  
The asking price – UAH 2,561,723 ONO.  
**General and technical information:**  
The property is based on the 1st floor of a six-floor building • the apartment is in a good technical condition • the total area is 69.1 sq m • the living area consists of 42.9 sq m • the area of the kitchen comprises of 12.4 sq m • the ceiling height is 3.3 sq m • no balcony • the materials of the floor are industrial carpet and tile • the apartment has timber doors and metal-plastic windows • the interior decoration consists of wallpapered walls, whitewashed ceilings, and ceramic tiles in the kitchen and bathroom • utility systems include electric power, gas and water supplies, heating and sewerage systems.  
*Two-room apartment No 12 at 9, Ivana Franka Street*  
tel: +38 044 221 04 54

**SALE OF TWO-ROOM APARTMENT**  
Kyiv, Ukraine  
Chervonoarmiyska Street is in Pecherskyi District in Kyiv (on the right bank of the Dnipro River).  
The building was constructed in 1917. It has five floors. The construction material of the walls is brick. With regard to infrastructure, the following is located nearby the building: • Lva Tolstoho Square • Shevchenko Park • Taras Shevchenko Boulevard.  
The asking price – UAH 2,343,632 ONO.  
**General and technical information:**  
The property is based on the 1st floor of a five-floor building • the apartment is in good condition • the total area is 66.4 sq m • the ceiling height is 4.7 sq m • the materials of the floor are laminated flooring and tiles • the apartment has timber doors and metal-plastic windows • the interior decoration consists of wallpapered walls, whitewashed ceilings, and ceramic tiles in the kitchen and bathroom • utility systems include electric power, gas and water supplies, heating and sewerage systems.  
*Two-room apartment, No. 34 at 25, Chervonoarmiyska Street*  
tel: +38 044 221 04 54



# TOP 10 KYIV POST exclusives online this week

1. New poll: Zelenskiy in lead, Tymoshenko overtakes Poroshenko, Grytsenko rises
2. Volodymyr Zelenskiy: Green Light To Presidency?
3. Cabinet: Foreigners won't have to leave Ukraine to get work visas
4. Ukraine braces for Nord Stream 2 fall-out
5. 100 most successful women in Ukraine
6. 3 presidential candidates drop out of race
7. Top US security experts advise how to assist Ukraine as it battles off Russia
8. 22 officers injured after clashes with protesters in Cherkasy as Poroshenko speaks
9. National Corps supporters protest against corruption in Ukraine's defense sector (PHOTOS)
10. Alleged tapped phone call between Tymoshenko, Kolomoisky sparks insults in parliament (VIDEO)



### Cyclists hit ground to demand safe bike lanes

Cyclists lie on the ground in front of Kyiv City Council as they take part in a die-in rally to demand safe and modern roadways and paths for cycling on March 14, 2019. Around 50 cyclists came to the Kyiv City Council to take part in a die-in rally on March 14, demanding of safe and modern infrastructure for cycling. They lay on the ground with their bikes nearby to draw attention to the high risk of cycling in Ukraine's capital. Kyiv has seen a massive increase in the number of private cars on its streets since Ukraine became independent over 27 years ago, but there are few bicycle lanes or paths for cyclists to use. (Volodymyr Petrov)



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