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# Kyiv Post

**23<sup>rd</sup>**  
Year

**What to do in Kyiv**  
See Entertainment Guide on pages 12-13

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**UKRAINE'S GLOBAL VOICE**

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**June 15, 2018**

# #FreeSentsov And 70 others!



See story on page 8

People hold posters with portraits of Oleg Sentsov at the Kyiv's main Maidan Nezalezhnosti Square on June 2 to show their support for the Crimean filmmaker, imprisoned after a Kremlin show trial on terrorism charges. Sentsov, a fierce of Russia's annexation of Crimea, was sentenced to 20 years in prison in 2015. He is now on a hunger strike. (Oleg Petrusiuk)

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**Hr 26.35 to \$1**  
June 14 market rate



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Editorial staff: +380 44 591-3344 [news@kyivpost.com](mailto:news@kyivpost.com)

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**Advertising**

tel. +380 44 591-7788  
fax +380 44 591-3345  
advertising@kyivpost.com

**Editorial staff**

tel. +380 44 591-3344  
fax +380 44 591-3345  
news@kyivpost.com

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# Oleksandr Bogomolov: Syria's Assad is 'a dead man walking'

BY BRIAN BONNER  
BONNER@KYIVPOST.COM

When the subject turns to who in Ukraine knows the most about the Middle East, one name comes up all the time: Oleksandr Bogomolov.

From his second-floor office overlooking Hrushevskoho Street, the director of the Institute of Oriental Studies in Kyiv had a front-row seat to the EuroMaidan Revolution that toppled President Viktor Yanukovich on Feb. 22, 2014. The academic center's windows still have bullet holes from the clashes, it was raided twice by police and served as a makeshift hospital for the wounded.

But there's another revolution happening in which, while not having a front-row seat, Bogomolov has an inside track to understanding what is happening.

He's been studying the Middle East since Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev's time in 1980, learned Arabic fluently and Persian well and has traveled extensively in the region, although, to his regret, not to Syria.

"There's no Syria anymore," Bogomolov said of the situation after more than seven years of a civil war in which many foreign nations are interfering: Russia, Iran, the United States, Turkey, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Israel and others.

While the fighting goes on and Syrians keep fleeing and dying, bringing the estimated population of Syria down to 18 million from 24 million people, Bogomolov finds it hard to be optimistic about the future of a reunited and rebuilt Syria.

Besides the staggering cost of reconstruction, estimated at hundreds of billions of dollars, Syrian refugees living abroad for the most part are unwilling to return to their homeland as long as Assad stays in power.

"The regime is hopeless. It has expired," Bogomolev said. "Assad is a dead man walking."

Bogomolev doubts whether areas claimed to be under the Assad government's control are really secure. He says Assad is being propped up mainly by Russian and Iranian military strength.

"Russians and Iranians are not interested in removing Assad," he said. "Assad is the key to legitimacy of their presence. He is 80 percent puppet and 20 percent hoping to squeeze himself out of this situation. His freedom of maneuver is the fact that he has two different sponsors, not one."

The best that can be hoped for, at this stage, is for the West and



Oleksandr Bogomolov, director of the Institute of Oriental Studies in Kyiv, speaks with the Kyiv Post on June 13. Bogomolov is one of the featured speakers in the Kyiv Post's "Bringing Peace to Syria & Ukraine" conference on June 18. For information on how to obtain a free ticket, go to the Kyiv Post website, [www.kyivpost.com](http://www.kyivpost.com). (Pavlo Podufalov)



For a free ticket to the June 18 Kyiv Post conference "Bringing Peace to Syria & Ukraine," go to the newspaper's website.

NATO, including Turkey, to take strong enough military action to protect parts of Syria, allow refugees to return and persuade Assad to leave power.

It's a long shot.

### Connection with Ukraine

Russian military intervention in both Ukraine and Syria is the obvious common element in both wars. The aims of the military interventions are also similar. So getting Russia out of both places will help.

If Russia is removed from Ukraine, the war goes away. If Russia is removed from Syria, prospects for peace will be brighter, Bogomolov said.

Iran's military intervention in 2013, two years after the 2011 uprising to topple Assad began, helped keep the dictator in power.

But it wasn't enough and the regime was collapsing.

The decisive edge came in 2015, after ex-U.S. President Barack Obama decided not to punish Assad for using chemical weapons — despite declaring a "red line" in 2013 — and instead tried to get an agreement with the Kremlin on removing Syria's chemical arsenal.

Once Russian President Vladimir

Putin knew the U.S. posed no military threat, he decided to intervene with overwhelming strength and massive aerial bombardments to bolster Assad, creating a global refugee crisis that weakened and divided the European Union.

Aside from Russia's tolerance or even support of Assad's use of chemical weapons, "the mass killings occurred when people were bombed by barrel bombs. It's an absolute barbarian, indiscriminate means of killing people," he said.

Given Russia's obstinance, including vetoing United Nations Security Council resolutions that threatened Assad, "how could American diplomacy hope Russia would be cooperative as a guarantor of this process to get rid of the chemical weapons? It was the very big miscalculation of the Obama administration. It looks like they didn't care."

He says the roots of Russia's desire to intervene militarily in Syria lie partly in the EuroMaidan Revolution, which the Kremlin claimed was a Western plot aimed against Russia.

"Things were unfolding in a manner that prompted a negative reaction. It was already in the back of their minds: A Western plot against them. That's how it played out (in the Kremlin's view). So the feeling was growing to repay this, to show their strength by going deep into Syria."

Dating back to Soviet times and Assad's dictator father, Hafez al-Assad, (1930–2000), the relationship between Moscow and Damascus has been strong. So given the military stalemate in eastern Ukraine by 2015, Russia decided to "show its strength" in Syria.

In many ways, the Russian strategy worked, Bogomolov said: Instead of remaining a pariah for its actions in Ukraine, Russia became quickly the indispensable diplomatic force to broker peace since the Kremlin has ties with all parties in the conflict — and are cynical enough to take advantage of regional animosities.

"They are in contact with everyone. This is the single participant in the conflict that has that kind of leverage," Bogomolov said. "This is their strength on the ground. This is a major asset."

### Ignoring Syrians

Bogomolov is dismayed that, while geopolitical rivals battle each other, the interests of Syrians are being ignored.

In Arabic, he said, Syrians consider themselves to be involved in a revolution against Assad. He thinks that Assad's grip is weak even in areas he claims to control.

Assad, meanwhile, has forfeited his ability to unify the nation by dividing Syrians into those who support him and those who must be killed or deported.

"Arabs already talking about second 'nakba' or disaster," equating the Syrians' mass deportations to the mass displacement of Palestinians in the formation of Israel in 1948.

It also appears that Assad is putting into place controversial legislation, such as Land No. 10, to ensure that only regime-loyal Syrians get to return and reclaim land and property.

Just as Palestinians are shunned, "a similar situation is evolving with Syrians: A frustrated population which will never be accepted as equals into the hosting countries," Bogomolov said.

The displacement is more acute in the Arab culture, where generations of families are tied to specific plots of lands and homes, making them reluctant to leave ancestral settlements and unwelcoming of others.

"The true story of Syrian suffering is drowned," Bogomolov said. "The language of the local is not heard at all." Consequently, foreign powers are using Syria for their own reasons that have "nothing to do with the interests of Syrians themselves." ■

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# Assad prepares for more attacks on southern Syria

BY ILLIA PONOMARENKO  
PONOMARENKO@KYIVPOST.COM

After seven years of war, the regime of Syrian President Bashar al-Assad is back on the offensive due to the military intervention of the Kremlin, as well as help given by Iran and the numerous Shia militant groups Tehran backs.

The regime, which was on the brink of defeat in 2015, today claims to control more than half of Syria, while the democratic opposition, cornered in a few isolated enclaves, faces the prospect of defeat.

Seeking to regain control over the whole country, Assad's forces are evidently preparing for new onslaughts on the last rebel strongholds. Another major escalation of this most brutal war is expected in the southwestern province of Deraa, which is still a bastion of the anti-regime resistance.

Severely outgunned by pro-government forces and Russian airpower, the opposition is under immense pressure. However, analysts say the regime itself is still far from its goal of ultimate victory. The devastated country remains deeply fragmented by the multi-sided conflict, with little hope of unification, while Damascus and its allies lack the resources to reconquer and hold rebel territory, let alone stabilize and reconstruct the country.

Meanwhile, the war rages on, having already claimed at least 500,000 lives and uprooted 11 million civilians (nearly half of the country's population). No end to the fighting is expected soon.

## Strategic axis

As of early June, the secular opposition forces — mainly represented by the Free Syrian Army — held approximately 10 percent of Syria's territory. These were primarily in three pockets, in the country's northwest (parts of Idlib and Aleppo provinces), southwest (in Deraa), and in the southeast (in the al-Tanf desert area, where the U.S.-led international coalition has been fighting the forces of the Islamic State).

Besides that, vast swathes of northeastern Syria — nearly 25 percent of its territory — is held by U.S.-backed Kurdish militia forces, including the cities of Raqqa, Haseke, and Deir-ez-Zor. These were previously held by the Islamic State, which, although almost defeated in Iraq, still holds some 7 percent of the Syrian territory, in the eastern and southern deserts.

Nevertheless, with the last rebel enclaves near Damascus and north of Homs being snuffed out over the past weeks, the regime now enjoys full control of up to 56 percent of Syrian territory.

Since the fall of the rebel enclave of Eastern Ghouta near Damascus, which saw another deadly chemical attack that killed at least 44 persons on April 7, pro-government forces are now gearing up to strike to the south, in Deraa, a region bordering Israel and Jordan.

"Deraa is the regime's next target, that's a fact beyond any doubt,"



Syrian government troops gesture as they walk down a destroyed street in the Yakmouk refugee camp south of Damascus shortly after the defeat of a group of Islamic State militants on May 21. (AFP)

Tobias Schneider, a research fellow with the Global Public Policy Institute in Berlin, told the Kyiv Post.

"It will be the next pocket to fall, since it is the last rebel stronghold that is not actively supported by any foreign forces."

"And it's a very important strategic territory for Syria. Prior to the war, one-third of all Syria's Armed Forces were stationed in the south (next to the Israeli-held Golan Heights). So it is a sort of major threat to them."

"Besides, it is also important for the economy — it is a crucial trade route to Jordan and all the way down to the Red Sea. So the Syrian government is very intent on retaking it."

Schneider will be one of the speakers at the Kyiv Post's June 18 conference "Bringing Peace to Syria & Ukraine." The event will highlight Russia's military assaults on both nations, and seek solutions to produce a lasting peace. More information on how to get free tickets for the event can be found online here.

On May 29, news agency Reuters reported, with reference to a pro-regime commander, that the Syrian army had completed its preparations "for an imminent offensive against rebel-held areas in southwestern Syria."

The warning signs increased as the regime's foreign minister, Walid al-Moualeem, said on June 2 that the government is seeking to recapture Deraa and Quneitra. He issued an ultimatum to rebel forces to accept government rule, or leave.

## Threat of escalation

Under the wing of the Kremlin and Iran, Assad seems to have no doubt his forces will win the next battle, and that final victory for his regime is approaching.

During a June 10 interview with

the UK newspaper the Mail on Sunday, he said he expected the war to be over within "less than a year," and also insisted that his aim was to retake "every inch of Syria."

He has reason to be confident, as the Kremlin has already prepared the diplomatic groundwork for the southern offensive: on May 28, Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov said Syria's southern border with Israel and Jordan would soon be under the control of the Syrian army.

Russia's support for regime's attack plans nullifies an agreement

on a "de-escalation zone" in Syria's southwest brokered last year by the Kremlin itself, in cooperation with the United States and Jordan.

On top of that, the new offensive risks drawing the United States into the fighting: Washington is thought to have deployed at least 2,000 special operations troops in the eastern desert area of al-Tanf along Syria's border with Iraq, also close to the territories of America's major regional allies, Israel and Jordan.

"As a guarantor of this de-escalation area with Russia and Jordan, the United States will take

firm and appropriate measures in response to Assad regime violations," U.S. Department of State spokeswoman Heather Nauert said on May 26, following fresh reports of the Syrian army advancing south.

While the rebel enclave in Deraa and Quneitra looks doomed to fall after another bloody battle, international organizations are raising the alarm about another anti-regime holdout — the northwestern provinces of Idlib and Aleppo.

On June 11, United Nations envoy

more Syria on page 5

**World in Ukraine: Canada**

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Editorials

# Fooling friends

Here is what's happening in the fight to create a truly independent anti-corruption court: Ukraine's politicians are clinging to numerous ways to prevent the establishment of a truly independent judicial system. Why? With corruption as pervasive as it is, with billions of dollars stolen from Ukrainians every year with impunity, politicians and their oligarchic backers are afraid to have professional police, prosecutors and courts.

The latest sign of obstruction and obfuscation came when, secretly at the last minute, a lawmaker in the president's dominant 135-seat faction in parliament inserted amendments that effectively grant amnesty to officials currently charged with corruption by letting appeals take place in the discredited current court system.

The problems run deeper: The National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine has limited powers that are continually under attack. Special Anti-Corruption Prosecutor Nazar Kholodnytsky should be fired after wiretaps emerged that he is sabotaging cases. Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko is protecting corruption, not prosecuting it. Arsen Avakov is a political hack and a target of several investigations. He has no business running Ukraine's Interior Ministry. The Security Service of Ukraine remains out of control with excessive powers. And the judges. How many can name a single judge? Few can, because they prefer to remain obscure, all the better to hide the sale of verdicts to the highest bidder or most powerful forces. All these reasons are why there hasn't been a single criminal conviction for corruption of any consequence in Ukraine's history. If ever there was a time for presidential leadership, that time is now, for without IMF and Western financing, Ukraine will again face a serious economic crisis. President Petro Poroshenko: Fix the legislation, start delivering justice and meet the other reasonable conditions demanded by Ukrainians and Ukraine's Western friends.

# Why Syria?

The best and simplest answer to why the Kyiv Post is hosting a conference on June 18 to discuss wars in Ukraine and Syria is this: Russia. The Kremlin's military has dismembered and tried to destroy two nations in this world: Ukraine and Syria.

Yet, as we discovered in organizing the conference at the request of Kyiv Post publisher Adnan Kivan, a Syrian native, there are precious few alliances between Ukraine and Syria.

So our gathering is a great opportunity for Ukraine to become less isolated and examine the suffering that is happening in Syria.

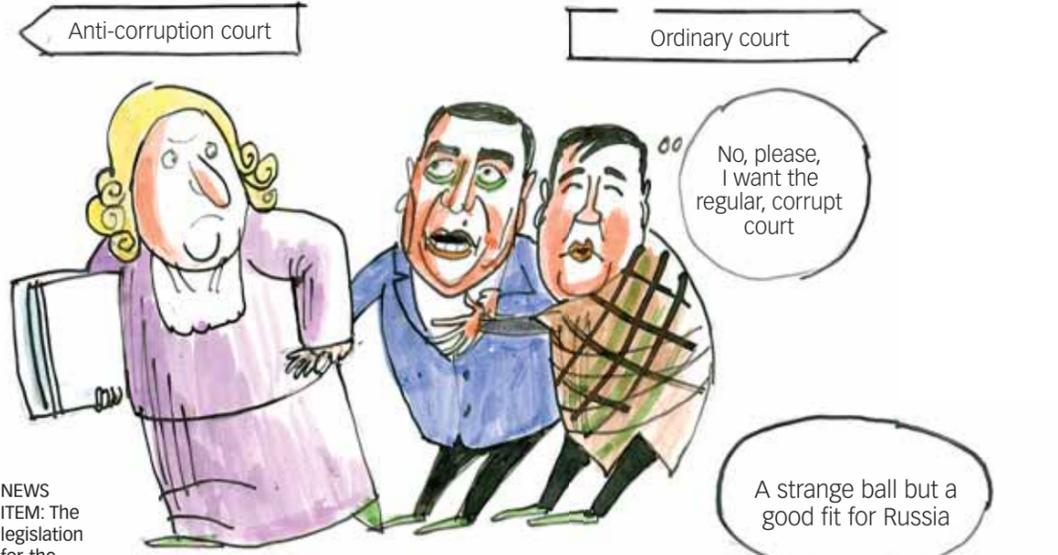
Every person's death diminishes us all. Ukraine has lost 10,300 lives out of 42 million people in the war. But imagine Syria's suffering, after losing 500,000 lives out of 24 million people. Russia's war has displaced 1.5 million Ukrainians, a tragedy. But the exodus of 6 million Syrians, and the internal displacement of another 6 million Syrians, is a global catastrophe.

In both nations, Russia plays a purely destructive role. Ukraine knows the Kremlin's game: To create the impression that Ukraine is in a civil war. It is not. Vladimir Putin doesn't consider Ukraine to be an independent state and, like his Kremlin predecessors before him, wants to crush Ukraine into submission. Heartbreakingly, too much of the world refuses to take severe actions against Russia -- to the contrary, calls to boycott the World Cup games hosted in Russia or adopt tougher boycotts and sanctions are mostly ignored.

In Syria, Russia's military intervention came at an awful time in 2015. Syrian dictator Bashar al-Assad's regime was on the verge of collapse despite Iranian help. Enter Russia with a savage, sustained and inhumane aerial bombardment campaigns. The Kremlin helped Assad kill hundreds of thousands of people, mainly civilians, and created a refugee crisis. He did so not only to prop up Assad, but weaken the European Union and inflict political damage on leaders like German Chancellor Angela Merkel, who accepted nearly 1 million refugees.

Emboldening Assad turned him against any negotiated settlement and prompted him to use chemical weapons on his own citizens.

In such dire times, Ukrainians and Syrians need all the friends they can get. This first-of-its-kind conference is a good place to start building those relationships.



NEWS ITEM: The legislation for the long-awaited anti-corruption court contains an amnesty-like clause for some top officials currently facing trial, like ex-Head of Fiscal Service Roman Nasirov and ex-lawmaker Mykola Martynenko. Appeals against verdicts in current trials will be considered by ordinary courts, not the High Anti-Corruption Court's appeal chamber.



NEWS ITEM: FIFA World Cup 2018, the major football championship, started in Russia on June 14. Many activists and politicians called upon the international community to boycott the championship this year to protest against the aggressor state.



NEWS ITEM: U.S. President Donald Trump met the reclusive North Korea dictator Kim Jong Un at the U.S.-North Korea summit in Singapore on June 12. The much-awaited event marked the first time that a North Korean leader met with a sitting U.S. president.

See these features online at [Kyivpost.com](http://Kyivpost.com)

Reformer & Anti-Reformer Of The Week



**Oleksandr Danylyuk**  
Finance minister fired after accusing presidential allies of graft



**Oleksiy Filatov**  
Presidential ally investigated over alleged unlawful enrichment

Ukraine's Friend & Foe Of The Week



**Rebecca Harms**  
German MEP pushes for boycott of 2018 World Cup in Russia.



**Arron Banks**  
Brexit backer turns out to have deeper links to Russia than suspected.

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# With Russia's help, Assad vows to crush all resistance to him in Syria

Syria from page 3

Panos Moutzidis said up to 2.5 million civilians in Idlib were being displaced "with no place else to go" amid endless airstrikes and fighting. He called on regional powerbrokers to prevent another bloodbath in the besieged enclave.

Just three days before, according to the British-based Syrian Observatory for Human Rights, Russian warplanes conducted another deadly air strike, killing at least 44 people – the highest death toll in a single attack on the rebel-held region in 2018.

### Grim prospects

Even if the Assad regime, Iran, and Russia are successful in defeating the pro-democratic Syrian opposition, they will be left in control of a country completely ruined by the multi-sided war between various Sunni and Shia Islamist groups, Kurdish forces, Turkey, and the Western coalition.

And even though it has saved Assad from defeat, Russia now finds withdrawal from Syria impossible. Without Russian support, the regime would again come under pressure, and the Kremlin would again risk the loss of its prized military bases in Tartus and Khmeimim, as well as its newly gained role as a Middle East powerbroker.

"The Syrian regime is now just a shadow of its former self," Schneider



Government forces head towards jihadi positions in the Hajar al-Aswad district on May 14 on the southern outskirts of Damascus, Syria. (AFP)

says. "It is depleted and poor, it is out of manpower... and its economy has hit rock bottom. It doesn't have the financial or human resources to retake, control and stabilize its territory."

"So it is entirely dependent on outside support."

In a similar fashion, Russia alone

lacks the power to hold and support the whole country. Nevertheless, the Kremlin still has the resources to support Assad in the ongoing war indefinitely.

But the venture still comes with a cost in human lives.

As of early 2018, at least 100 Russian army servicemen had been killed in action in Syria, along with

hundreds of mercenaries from the Kremlin's unofficial private army, the Wagner Group.

According to an investigation by Russia's RBK media outlet, the Russian defense ministry spends around \$2.5 million every day on the war in Syria; but analysts agree that no human and financial losses could force a Russian retreat from Syria.

"For the Kremlin, it's a ridiculously small amount," says Sergey Sukhankin, a fellow with the Jamestown Foundation think tank.

"It is basically half the amount Turkey usually spends every day (on its own military operation against the Kurds in northern Syria)."

"Besides, historically, for Russian society, the death toll, or financial losses, have never been a reason to question the necessity of military operations overseas, as they produce a nice picture of success for the evening news."

"Russia's military presence will continue no matter what the cost is," Sukhankin said.

"In his June 7 appearance on TV, (Russian President Vladimir) Putin confirmed that his troops will stay in Syria as long as necessary to protect Russia's 'national interests.' And I'm afraid this might mean that we should expect not only a new and bloody escalation in Syria, but also elsewhere, in other hotspots in the Middle East and beyond, notably in the Central African Republic, or Somalia, Transnistria, the Donbas, Tajikistan, or even Kazakhstan."

"Putin's whole presidential campaign for 2018 was run on the promise of new foreign policy successes in the years ahead, and I fear that could mean new Kremlin wars," Sukhankin said. ■

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Research Fellow at the  
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and Editor of Syria in Context



**Anna Borshchevskaya**  
Specialist on Russian influence  
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**Salam Kawakibi**  
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Turkish Ambassador  
to Ukraine



# 2 nations, 2 wars: How Russia has dismembered Ukraine and how Kremlin has helped Syrian President Bashar al-Assad crush revolution against him



- ✚ Crash site MH17 (Malaysia Airlines)
-  Territory of Crimea was annexed by the Russian Federation in March 2014  
Russian-occupied Crimea ≈ 27,000 km<sup>2</sup> - 4% of Ukraine
-  Donetsk and Luhansk oblast
-  Territory under Russian control  
Russian-occupied Donbas ≈ 18,000 km<sup>2</sup> - 3% of Ukraine



## Military Control Across Syria

-  Syrian Opposition Forces + Islamist Group  
20706 km<sup>2</sup> (7206 in Desert) 11,2% of Syria
-  Regime Forces + Foreign Militia  
104775 km<sup>2</sup> (45800 in Desert) 56,6% of Syria
-  Kurdish Militia  
47037 km<sup>2</sup> (6540 in Desert) 25,4% of Syria
-  Daesh  
12662 km<sup>2</sup> (11947 in Desert) 6,8% of Syria

# Sentsov's hunger strike gives hope to 71 Ukrainians imprisoned in Russia

BY OKSANA GRYTSENKO  
GRYTSENKO@KYIVPOST.COM

When the World Cup 2018 football championship started in Russia on June 14, Russia's now-famous political prisoner Oleg Sentsov was 32 days into his hunger strike.

Sentsov, the 41-year-old Ukrainian film director and writer, is a political prisoner, sentenced to 20 years in prison in a sham trial, allegedly for terrorism. His real crime: Opposing Russia's invasion and annexation of Crimea in 2014.

Sentsov is determined to draw attention to dozens of Ukrainians, perhaps 71 by the latest best estimate, illegally imprisoned Russia and Russian-annexed Crimea.

The fear is that his convictions and his principles may cost him his life.

Sentsov only drinks boiled water. To keep him alive, prison doctors started intravenously giving him a glucose solution, which should support the functioning of his internal organs and extend his life for a few weeks. They also moved him to a prison ward to monitor his condition. After the 30th day of a hunger strike, the body suffers irreversible effects.

But Askold Kurov, a Russian filmmaker who visited Sentsov on June 4, told the Kyiv Post that Sentsov "was very determined to go by the end."

As the world's eyes are turned to Russia for the World Cup, Sentsov's strike has drawn more attention to the plight of Ukrainian prisoners in the last month than in the last four years.

"This topic was absolutely unnoticed," said Mariya Tomak, coordinator of Media Initiative for Human Rights.

There are also some hopes that Russian President Vladimir Putin, if he cares about improving his image, might find this a good time to free the prisoners. He did so before Russia hosted the Olympic games in Sochi in 2014.

"Sentsov's actions are the extreme way of a peaceful struggle," said Emil Kurbedinov, a lawyer who is defending several Crimean Tatar political prisoners. "And it gives hope to many."

## Worldwide campaign

President Petro Poroshenko on June 8 met for the first time with family members of Sentsov and other Ukrainians jailed in Russia and Crimea.

On the next day, Poroshenko spoke by phone with Putin. They agreed that Ukrainian ombuds-woman Lyudmyla Denisova would visit Ukrainians kept in Russia and Crimea, while Russian ombuds-woman Tatyana Moskalkova would meet with Russian nationals kept in Ukrainian jails.

Putin had previously refused even comment on Sentsov's case, repeatedly calling him a "terrorist." But in late May Putin had to answer questions about Sentsov in talks with French President Emmanuel Macron. On June 8, European Council President Donald Tusk



1. A map of Russia showing the photos and names of Ukrainian political prisoners, with indications of the length of their prison terms and locations where they are being held. 2. A map of Russian-annexed Crimea showing the names and photos of Ukrainian political prisoners being held there. The list of prisoners was compiled by Ukrainian human rights activists. Read more about each of them at the letmypeoplego.org.ua website.



A protestor holds a poster in solidarity with Ukrainian filmmaker Oleg Sentsov outside the Russian Embassy in Kyiv on June 13. Sentsov, who is imprisoned in northern Russia on trumped up terrorism charges, has been on a hunger strike demanding the release of all Ukrainian political prisoners since May 14. (Volodymyr Petrov)

## Number of Ukrainian political prisoners held by the Kremlin continues to grow

Sentsov from page 8

called on the countries of G7 to demand the release of Sentsov.

An international campaign to free Sentsov reached even Russian state TV, where several filmmakers spoke in his support during the award ceremony of Kinotavr, Russia's largest film festival, which was broadcast live on June 11.

### Possible exchange

Lawmaker Iryna Gerashchenko, who represents Ukraine at the peace talks in Minsk, Belarus, said on June 4 in parliament that Ukraine is ready to release 23 Russian nationals convicted in Ukraine in exchange for Sentsov, Olexandr Kolchenko, who was sentenced for 10 years in the same case, as well as Stanislav Klykh and Pavlo Hryb.

Historian and journalist Klykh, sentenced to 20 years in prison for allegedly fighting in first Chechen war in Russia, has serious mental problems which he acquired after torture by Russian law enforcement.

University student Hryb, 19, was abducted from Belarus by the Federal Security Service, the Russian successor to the Soviet KGB. He was accused of terrorist activity and faces up to 10 years in prison. He is suffering health problems. "Pavlo needs a special medical regime and a special diet, which he can't get in prison," his father Igor Hryb said.

Apart from Sentsov, there are at least two other Ukrainian prisoners who currently remain on hunger strike, Tomak said. They are Volodymyr Balukh, a pro-Ukrainian activist, convicted in Crimea and sentenced to for 3 years and 7 months and Olexandr Shumkov, who was convicted in Russia for involvement with the Right Sector, a nationalist Ukrainian organization. Gerashchenko didn't name the 23

Russians kept in Ukrainian prisons. The only name known definitively is Kyrylo Vyshynsky, who worked at the Kyiv office of the Russian propagandist RIA-Novosti news agency. He was arrested by the Security Service of Ukraine, or SBU, on May 15. Ukraine's prosecutors accuse Vyshynsky, who has both Ukrainian and Russian citizenship, of state treason for work for Russian state propaganda.

### More Kremlin prisoners

The number of Ukrainian prisoners is growing every year. Two Crimean Tatar activists were arrested in Bakhchisaray on May 21: Server Mustafayev, who coordinated Crimean Solidarity, the Crimean Tatar civil movement formed in 2016 to support political prisoners and those families, and Edem Smailov, who is a religious leader of a Crimean Tatar community in Bakhchisaray.

They were accused of links to Hizb ut-Tahrir, a pan-Islamist movement banned in Russia, based on secret FSB recordings in a mosque.

"Now they face up to 15 years in jail, which is more than for a murder," said Kurbedinov, a Crimean Tatar lawyer and member of Crimean Solidarity.

The criminalizing of political movements, like Hizb ut-Tahrir or Right Sector, is a common strategy used by Russian law enforcement to persecute the activists or simply to create the image of fighting against terrorism, Tomak said.

"A person may be sentenced for terrorism even if he has never committed or even planned any violent actions," Tomak said, adding that 45 out of 71 Ukrainian political prisoners are held under this pretext.

### Hope for freedom

Putin has released only nine Ukrainian political prisoners since



## Russian nationals arrested or convicted in Ukraine

### War-related cases

Data compiled by human rights activists based on monitoring of court decisions and other open sources.

#### Russian soldiers



**Aleksey Sedikov**  
Platoon commander of 7th brigade of the Russian proxy

forces in Luhansk. Describes himself as a Russian lieutenant. A Ukrainian court sentenced him to 11 years in prison for terrorism. He has some health issues due to the wounds he sustained in fighting.



**Denis Sidorov**  
Reconnaissance soldier of the 3d motorized brigade of the Russian

army. He was arrested in September 2016 when crossing the frontline in Donetsk Oblast.



**Viktor Ageyev**  
Arrested in 2017 in Luhansk Oblast, carrying

the military ID of a Russian soldier. He initially admitted being an active-duty soldier of the Russian army, but retracted his claims after meeting with Russian consul. He was sentenced to 10 years in prison for terrorism.



**Valeriy Gratov**  
Russian army colonel. He was

detained while entering Ukrainian territory from Transnistria, a self-proclaimed republic on Moldovan territory that is supported by Russia. Prosecutors accuse him of terrorism.

#### Russian nationals who fought for Russian-proxy forces in Donbas



**Vasily Kusakin**  
Fighter from the Typhoon battalion of

Russian proxy forces in Donetsk. He was sentenced to eight years in prison for terrorism.



**Sergey Yegorov**  
Fought for a Russian-backed Cossack

unit in Donetsk Oblast. He has been accused of terrorism and illegally crossing Ukraine's border.



**Ruslan Gadzhyyev**  
Tankman of the August unit of the Russian

proxies in Luhansk Oblast. He was arrested in 2015 during fighting for the city of Debaltsevo, convicted, and sentenced to 15 years in prison for terrorism.



**Nikolay Korchagin**  
A fighter for Russian proxies in Donetsk

Oblast, he was arrested in June 2014 and sentenced to eight years in prison for terrorism.



**Larisa Chubarova**  
Fought for Russian proxies in Donetsk under the military call sign Tereza. She was

arrested in April 2015 and sentenced to 11 years for undermining Ukraine's territorial integrity. Her lawyers say that she has some serious health problems and suffered a heart attack in prison.



**Oleg Doronin**  
Fought for a Russian-backed Cossack

unit in Luhansk Oblast. He was arrested in 2015 and sentenced to 13 years for terrorism.



**Igor Kimakovskiy**  
Arrested in 2015 when crossing the frontline in

Donetsk Oblast carrying weapons and an ID of Russian proxy troops in Donetsk. He is accused of terrorism.



**Arkadiy Zhydkikh**  
Fought for the Vostok battalion, a Russian

proxy force, in Donetsk. He was arrested in September 2015 and sentenced to eight years for terrorism.

#### Crimean deserters



**Aleksandr Baranov**  
Former Ukrainian army soldier in Crimea, he defected and joined Russian army after the annexation of the peninsula.

He was arrested in November 2016 on the border with Crimea and was sentenced to 13 years for treason and desertion.



**Maksim Odintsov**  
Former Ukrainian army soldier in Crimea who joined the Russian

army. He was arrested together with Baranov and convicted to 14 years in prison for treason and desertion.

#### Investigated for May 2 Odesa disorder



**Yevheniy Mefiodov**  
Took part in the disorder in Odesa on May 2, 2014 as a member of a local anti-Maidan group. He was

accused by a court of charges of taking part in mass rioting, but later was accused of undermining Ukraine's territorial integrity and arrested again.

#### Accused of spying



**Pavel Chernykh**  
Arrested in April 2015 and accused of

collecting military information on the government-controlled part of Ukraine for Russian proxy forces in Donetsk Oblast.



**Olga Kovalis**  
Arrested together with Chernykh

at a checkpoint near Mariupol and accused of terrorism.



**Aleksandr Valekhdis**  
Arrested by Ukraine's SBU security

service in July 2014 while trying to hand over some secret papers to his curators. He was sentenced in December 2014 to 10 years in prison for spying.



**Kyrylo Vyshynsky**  
Manager of the Kyiv office of a Russian propaganda outlet, the

RIA-Novosti news agency. He was arrested in May on charges of treason. In 2015 he also received Russian citizenship but asked to give up his Ukrainian citizenship only after his arrest. He is now being kept in a detention center in Kherson.

The names, photos and brief information on 19 Russian nationals who are now being held in Ukrainian prisons and who could potentially be exchanged for Ukrainian political prisoners held by Russia. The list of names was compiled by the Media Initiative for Human Rights.

Russia launched its war against Ukraine in 2014.

The Ukrainian government secured the freedom of Nadiya Savchenko, Hennadiy Afanasiyev and Yuriy Soloshenko. Turkey intervened to secure the release of Crimean Tatars Akhmet Chygoz and Ilmi Umerov. Yuriy Yatsenko was released from Russian prison thanks to the efforts of his lawyer. Yuriy Ilchenko managed to escape home arrest in Crimea and reach mainland

Ukraine. Khaizer Dzhemilev, the son of Crimean Tatar leader Mustafa Dzhemilev, and Redvan Suleimanov were released after serving their prison terms.

However the Sentsov saga turns out, he is already providing powerful inspiration and hope to families of Ukrainian political prisoners.

One of them is Yevhen Panov, a former volunteer fighter in eastern Ukraine who was captured while entering Crimea. He was there to

help evacuate one family to the mainland.

FSB officers tortured Panov for four days and charges him with planning terrorist attacks in Crimea. Panov is jailed in Simferopol and faces up to 20 years in prison.

Panov's brother Igor Kotelianets believes the Russian FSB made up the case.

"We will do all possible to make him free through the prisoner exchange," he said. ■



Parishioners conduct Easter prayers at the Church of the Holy Mother on April 9 at the Pyrohovo outdoor folk museum outside Kyiv. (Oleg Petراسиuk)

## Honest History. Episode 9 – Ukraine’s Orthodox Church

# Ukraine’s Orthodox Church battles for independence

*Editor’s Note: This is the ninth story in the Kyiv Post’s Honest History series that aims to debunk myths about Ukrainian history. The series is supported by the Black Sea Trust, a project of the German Marshall Fund of the United States. Opinions expressed do not necessarily represent those of the Black Sea Trust, the German Marshall Fund or its partners.*

BY OLENA GONCHAROVA  
GONCHAROVA@KYIVPOST.COM

For Archpriest Serhiy Dmytriiev it was a question of dignity, more than faith. In the summer of 2014, Dmytriiev and the congregation of St. Barbara Church in Kherson, a city of 293,000 people 547 kilometers south of Kyiv, switched allegiance to the Kyiv Patriarchate.

It wasn’t a spontaneous decision.

During his numerous trips to the war-torn Donbas, where Dmytriiev served mass and gave communion to Ukrainian soldiers, he often heard one question: “Father, you are not from the Moscow (Patriarchate) church, are you?”

“And it was painful to realize that as a Ukrainian, I am in contradiction with my patriotic views,” Dmytriiev explains. Before Russia launched its war in early 2014, the church Dmytriiev helped to build in 2002 was pledged to the Russian Orthodox Church and its primate, Patriarch Kirill of Moscow.



“I’ve noticed that the Moscow Patriarchate churches were often not free in their decision-making and couldn’t clearly determine their position on important issues that concerned the church community and me as a clergyman,” he said.

That’s why Dmytriiev decided to unite with the Kyiv-based Ukrainian Orthodox Church. “We did it mostly because of the anti-Ukrainian stand of many hierarchs and priests of the Moscow Patriarchate,” he says.

Many other Ukrainians are going the same way – or want to do so.

Some 28.7 percent of Ukrainians associated themselves with the churches of the Kyiv Patriarchate in 2018, compared to 15.1 percent



Russian President Vladimir Putin (R) and Russian Orthodox Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia Kirill attend Orthodox Easter celebrations at the Christ the Savior Cathedral in Moscow early on May 1, 2016. (AFP)

in 2010, according to a recent poll conducted by the Razumkov Center, a think tank. At the same time, 12.8 percent of the faithful associated themselves with the Orthodox Church of Moscow Patriarchate.

This, however, doesn’t include the data from Crimea and the Russian-occupied territories in eastern Ukraine, where the Russian church is still popular.

Before Russia’s war in the Donbas,

which has so far cost 10,300 lives and uprooted 1.5 million people, most Ukrainians didn’t pay much attention to internal church disputes

more **Church** on page 11

# Who is Moscow Patriarchate serving? God or Vladimir Putin

Church from page 10

or which bishop was loyal to which patriarch.

For example, music journalist Phill Pukharev recalls visiting the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Moscow Patriarchate) when he moved from his native Chernivtsi, in far southwestern Ukraine, to Kyiv in 2008. It became one of his go-to places.

"I always felt a sacred atmosphere there," Pukharev says.

Things changed dramatically after Russian President Vladimir Putin justified his seizure of Crimea from Ukraine on religious grounds, citing a disputed historical claim that the peninsula was the cradle of Russia's millennium-old Christianity, and the war that followed.

"At that time, Lavra voiced its position on war in Ukraine that was in contradiction with mine. So now I'm going to St. Volodymyr Church of Kyiv Patriarchate," Pukharev explains.

Many Orthodox parishioners in Ukraine like Pukharev are distancing themselves from the Russian-backed church, whose hierarchs are key supporters of Putin's policies.

## Complicated relations

The fate of the Orthodox churches in Ukraine involves complex issues of authority and autonomy.

It has been one of the most difficult arguments between the patriarchs of Moscow and Constantinople. While the first has had official sovereignty over Ukraine's churches for more than three centuries, the latter — also known as first among equals in the Orthodox hierarchy — is often seen to be sympathetic to Kyiv's claims.

In Ukraine, where, according to the Pew Research Center at least 35 million identify themselves as Orthodox, and the 20 percent for whom religion is "very important," loyalties are divided.

The problem goes back to the late 17th century, when the Moscow Patriarchate began governing Orthodox Church affairs in Ukraine. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate has been the largest denomination in Ukraine and the only church recognized by the other branches of Eastern Orthodoxy.

There are approximately 17,000 Orthodox parishes in Ukraine, some 40 percent of which are controlled by the Moscow Patriarchate, according to official Ukrainian data. It is governed by Russian Patriarch Kirill, seen as obedient to Putin.

But almost 5,000 of those parishes now belong to the Kyiv Patriarchate, which announced its ecclesiastical independence from Moscow in 1992. But neither this nor a smaller denomination, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, have yet received an official recognition in the global Orthodox community.

This, however, could change, as

Ukraine's President Petro Poroshenko recently stepped up efforts to create an independent national church ahead of looming 2019 presidential elections.

The move aims to bring religious and social unity to the country, subjected to Russia's war.

"This question goes far beyond the ecclesiastical. It is about us finally acquiring independence from Moscow," Poroshenko was quoted as saying in the Verkhovna Rada, Ukraine's parliament, in April.

Back in 2015, the London-based Foreign Policy Center found the situation between Ukraine and Russia has provided a great opportunity for expansion of the Kyiv Patriarchate. The church has gained the trust of Ukrainians with its patriotic approach and backing of the Ukrainian war effort, thus claiming the mantle of a national church.

## High hopes

The attempt to renew the ancient Kyivan Metropolia as an autocephalous church is now 100 years old, since the controversial All-Ukrainian Orthodox Church Council met in 1918.

Through the efforts of the council, the Ukrainian Orthodox church declared itself autocephalous on May 5, 1920, in Kyiv.

In 1921 a sobor — a formal meeting of bishops and church officials — was summoned, and established the hierarchy of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. According to historical data, the council was active up until the forced dissolution of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in 1930. By 1937, none of the church's 2,000 parishes were left.



Filaret, the Patriarch of Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Kyiv, conducts a service at St. Volodymyr Cathedral marking the 1029th anniversary of Kyivan Rus Christianization. The service was held by the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Kyiv Patriarchate on July 28, 2017 in Kyiv. (Oleg Petrasuiuk)

Almost all of the council's members and staff, as well as the bishops and clergy, died in Soviet concentration camps.

Nicholas Denysenko, a professor of theology at Valparaiso University and an ordained deacon of the Orthodox Church in America, believes the religious world is now witnessing a historic reconfiguration of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine.

"Throughout the Soviet and post-Soviet period, autocephalous Ukrainian churches have existed, both in Ukraine and outside of it," Denysenko explained in written comments to the Kyiv Post.

"While these churches had not yet received formal recognition from their sister Orthodox churches throughout the world, their existence through Soviet persecution and the Cold War demonstrates the Ukrainian determination to renew the Kyivan Metropolia as an autocephalous church."

According to Denysenko, it is most important for this Church to receive formal recognition in the form of a canonical Tomos, or a document recognizing its autocephaly, from the Mother Church of Constantinople.

However, he suggests taking this news with a grain of salt, and doesn't expect the Moscow Patriarchate to recognize the legitimacy of the reconfigured autocephalous Church immediately.

The mechanism for granting autocephaly is "a canonical issue" which was on the agenda of the Holy and Great Council in Crete of 2016, but which was not taken up by the churches that participated in the council, Denysenko explained.

"We must be realistic about the position of the Moscow Patriarchate," Denysenko explains. "For Ukrainians, peace is possible only if they are recognized as equals in Christ with the Russian Orthodox Church, not as subordinates, just as St. Paul taught in Galatians 3:27-28. The history of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine for the last 100 years demonstrates overwhelmingly that this equality can be achieved only through canonical autocephaly, and it seems that the path to achieving this through a Tomos from the Ecumenical Patriarchate is now clear."

Poroshenko formally requested the issuing of a Tomos, which would be presented publicly on the occa-

sion of the 1030th anniversary of the Baptism of Kyivan Rus' in July.

The Verkhovna Rada voted to voice its support for the appeal for the Tomos, and the synods of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church-Kyivan Patriarchate and Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church issued letters supporting the idea.

However, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Moscow Patriarchate, claims that the actions of the President and parliament violate Ukrainian law, since offices of the state are interfering in Church affairs.

According to Archbishop Kliment, spokesman for the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Moscow Patriarchate, there were neither official statements from the representatives of the Constantinople Patriarchate about the prospects of Tomos, nor talks about specific dates.

His counterpart Archbishop Yevstraty Yorya, a spokesman for Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Kyiv Patriarchate is more hopeful.

"Today, we have assurances on many channels that the decision on Tomos will be taken in the near future," he said. ■



Ukrainian Orthodox nuns attend a religious procession organized by the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate on July 27, 2017, in Kyiv. (Oleg Petrasuiuk)

(Black Rebel Motorcycle Club)



June 15

## Black Rebel Motorcycle Club

Some true heirs of rock'n'roll, Black Rebel Motorcycle Club, are coming to Kyiv to rock the stage of local music hall Bel Étage. Playing a mix of garage rock and post-punk revival, the band will present their latest release, "Wrong Creatures," which came out in January. Apart from that, Black Rebel Motorcycle Club will perform their hottest hits - "Beat The Devil's Tattoo," "Whatever Happened to My Rock 'N' Roll" and "Spread Your Love."

**Black Rebel Motorcycle Club. Bel Étage (16A Shota Rustaveli St.) June 15. 8 p.m. Hr 1,499-2,499**

### Friday, June 15

#### Classical music

**Mayuko Kamio and Academic Symphony Orchestra of the National Philharmonic of Ukraine.** Playing Brahms, Mozart. National Philharmonic. 7 p.m. Hr 80-490

**50 Shades of Classics.** Playing music by French composers. Chocolate House. 7 p.m. Hr 300

#### Live music

**Improvisations on World Hits.** Playing Albinoni, Schubert, Bechet and others. Tauvers Gallery. 7 p.m. Hr 200

**Blues on the Beach - Mr. No Money Band.** UBK. 8 p.m. Hr 250-350

**Jazz Under the Stars.** Kyiv Planetarium. 7:30 p.m. Hr 200-400

**Jazz for Adults With Alexey Kogan.** Caribbean Club. 8 p.m. Hr 180-850

**Jazz on the Roof.** Ruslan Egorov Quartet playing. Tsum. 7 p.m. Hr 450

#### Clubs

**Groove party: Andy Panayi** (electronic DJ sets). Lesnoy Prichal. 11:55 p.m.

**Sladkaya Vata.** Green Theater. 11 p.m. Hr 150. Visitors must be over 18

**East Kultur: w/ Thomas Von Party** (electronic DJ set). L8 Park. 11 p.m. Hr 199-250

**Dog Days** (various dancing music). Khvylovyi. 10 p.m. Free

#### Miscellaneous

**Christina Soiman** (photo exhibition by Romanian artist Christina Soiman). Art 14. 12-7 p.m. Free

**Anders Petersen. Café Lehmitz** (photo series documenting the life of a Hamburg red-light district bar called Café Lehmitz). Mystetsky Arsenal. 12-8 p.m. Free

**Where the Rivers Come Together** (exhibition of photographs documenting Mykolaiv's diversity). America House. 12-9 p.m. Free. Bring ID

**Oleh Denysenko. Feelings** (graphic art exploring people's feelings). Nebo Art Gallery. 10 a.m. - 6 p.m. Free

**Notebook Without One Page** (multimedia project featuring a notebook with sketches of future cities by Pavlo Makov). Izone. 10 a.m. - 8 p.m. Free

**Mykola Malyshko. Familiar and Simple** (sculptures exploring global senses through details - familiar and simple things). Ya Gallery. 10 a.m. - 7 p.m. Free

**White Nights** (two-day dancing festival). Platforma Art Factory. 8 p.m. One-day pass - Hr 450, two days - Hr 650

**The World of Giants** (flower exhibition). Spivoche Pole. 12-9 p.m. Hr 25 for kids, 50 for adults

#### Movies

**Die Göttliche Ordnung** (comedy, drama in Swiss German). Kyiv Cinema. 7 p.m. Hr 80

#### Shows

**Glager and Special Guests: Grupa Kosty, Uliss** (rock). Mezzanine. 8 p.m. Hr 150-300

**Black Rebel Motorcycle Club** (garage rock). Bel Étage. 8 p.m. Hr 1,499-2,499

**Motorrolla** (pop rock). Docker Pub. 10 p.m. Hr 125-250

#### Theater

**Eugene Onegin** (opera in Russian). National Opera. 7 p.m. Hr 20-400

### Saturday, June 16

#### Classical music

**Dazzling Youth of Classics** (anniversary concert of the theater). National Opera. 7 p.m. Hr 20-500

#### Live music

**Saturday Jazz Time.** Big Band of National Presidential Orchestra playing classic and alternative jazz. National Philharmonic. 7 p.m. Hr 70-350

**Botanica Jazz - Ray Charles.** Gryshko Botanical Garden. 8 p.m. Hr 250-450

**Banderas Blues Band.** Docker's ABC. 10 p.m. Hr 100-750

#### Clubs

**Dorian Paic, Roustam** (electronic DJ sets). Lesnoy Prichal. 11:55 p.m. Hr 250-330. Visitors must be over 21

#### Miscellaneous

**Christina Soiman** (photo exhibition by Romanian artist Christina Soiman). Art 14. 12-7 p.m. Free

**Anders Petersen. Café Lehmitz** (photo series documenting the life of a Hamburg red-light district bar called Café Lehmitz). Mystetsky Arsenal. 12-8 p.m. Free

**Where the Rivers Come Together** (exhibition of photographs documenting Mykolaiv's diversity). America House. 10 a.m. - 6 p.m. Free. Bring ID

**Notebook Without One Page** (multimedia project featuring a notebook with sketches of future cities by Pavlo Makov). Izone. 10 a.m. - 8 p.m. Free

**Mykola Malyshko. Familiar and Simple** (sculptures exploring global senses through details - familiar and simple things). Ya Gallery. 10 a.m. - 7 p.m. Free

**White Nights** (two-day dancing festival). Platforma Art Factory. 8 p.m. One-day pass - Hr 450, two days - Hr 650

**Odesa Chic** (clothing, shoes and accessories market). D12 Gallery. 10 a.m. - 8 p.m. Free

**The World of Giants** (flower exhibition). Spivoche Pole. 9 a.m. - 9 p.m. Hr 25 for kids,

50 for adults

#### Movies

**Hyde Park on Hudson** (biography, comedy, drama). Kinopanorama. 3 p.m. Hr 50

**Journal de Ma Tête** (drama in Swiss German). Kyiv Cinema. 7 p.m. Hr 80

**Ocean's 8** (action, comedy, crime). Multiplex (SkyMall). 5 p.m. Multiplex (Lavina Mall). 5:45 p.m. Hr 85-145

#### Shows

**The Cancel x Band** (rap, hip-hop). Green Theater. 8 p.m. Hr 250-650

**Leo Mantis** (blues, rock, indie). MK Music Space. 8 p.m. Hr 250

#### Theater

**Natalka Poltavka** (opera in Ukrainian). National Opera. 7 p.m. Hr 20-400

**Blondi** (play in English). ProEnglish Theater. 7 p.m. Hr 150

**Julius Caesar** (play on screen). Multiplex (Lavina Mall). 3 p.m. Hr 190-240

### Sunday, June 17

#### Classical music

**Kyiv Chamber Orchestra.** Playing Mahler,

Webern and Schubert. National Philharmonic. 7 p.m. Hr 70-350

#### Live music

**Jazz in the Garden.** Ruslan Yegorov Quartet. Gryshko Botanical Garden. 8 p.m. Hr 350

**Jimi Hendrix Tribute Show.** Docker's ABC. 9 p.m. Free

#### Clubs

**THP Birthday** (electronic music sets). Closer. 4:20 p.m. - 8 a.m. Price to be announced

#### Miscellaneous

**Anders Petersen. Café Lehmitz** (photo series documenting the life of a Hamburg red-light district bar called Café Lehmitz). Mystetsky Arsenal. 12-8 p.m. Free

**Oleh Denysenko. Feelings** (graphic art exploring people's feelings). Nebo Art Gallery. 10 a.m. - 6 p.m. Free

**Notebook Without One Page** (multimedia project featuring a notebook with sketches of future cities by Pavlo Makov). Izone. 10 a.m. - 8 p.m. Free

**Odesa Chic** (clothing, shoes and accessories market). D12 Gallery. 10 a.m. - 8 p.m. Free

**The World of Giants** (flower exhibition). Spivoche Pole. 9 a.m. - 9 p.m. Hr 25 for kids, 50 for adults

#### Movies

**Hyde Park on Hudson** (biography, comedy, drama). Kinopanorama. 3 p.m. Hr 50

**The Impressionists** (exhibition on screen). Kyiv Cinema. 3 p.m. Hr 150

**7 Giorni** (drama in Italian). Kyiv Cinema. 7 p.m. Hr 80

#### Shows

**J. Bernardt** (indie pop). Green Theater. 8 p.m. Hr 499-1,290

**The Epoch of Jazz** (music and dance retro show). Caribbean Club. 7 p.m. Hr 180-550

#### Theater

**The House of Yes** (play in English). ProEnglish Theater. 7 p.m. Hr 150

### Monday, June 18

#### Miscellaneous

**Oleh Denysenko. Feelings** (graphic art exploring people's feelings). Nebo Art Gallery. 10 a.m. - 6 p.m. Free

**Notebook Without One Page** (multimedia project featuring a notebook with sketches of future cities by Pavlo Makov). Izone. 10 a.m. - 8 p.m. Free

**Mykola Malyshko. Familiar and Simple** (sculptures exploring global senses through details - familiar and simple things). Ya Gallery. 10 a.m. - 7 p.m. Free

**The World of Giants** (flower exhibition). Spivoche Pole. 9 a.m. - 9 p.m. Hr 25 for kids, 50 for adults

#### Movies

**Bébé Tigre** (drama in French). Kyiv Cinema. 7 p.m. Hr 40

**Autour de Luisa** (drama in French). Kyiv Cinema. 7 p.m. Hr 80

### Tuesday, June 19

#### Classical music

**Music From The Far North** (symphony concert). Playing Koch, Peterson-Berger, Stenhammar and others. National Philharmonic. 7 p.m. Hr 70-300

#### Live music

**Jazz on the Beach - the Greatest Hits.** UBK. 8 p.m. Hr 300-400

**Pavel Ignatyev and Katiko Purtseladze** (jazz). Freedom. 8 p.m. Hr 150-500

#### Miscellaneous

**Christina Soiman** (photo exhibition by Romanian artist Christina Soiman). Art 14. 12-7 p.m. Free

**Anders Petersen. Café Lehmitz** (photo series documenting the life of a Hamburg red-light district bar called Café Lehmitz). Mystetsky Arsenal. 12-8 p.m. Free

**Where the Rivers Come Together** (exhibition of photographs documenting Mykolaiv's diversity). America House. 12-9 p.m. Free. Bring ID

**Oleh Denysenko. Feelings** (graphic art exploring people's feelings). Nebo Art Gallery. 10 a.m. - 6 p.m. Free

**Notebook Without One Page** (multimedia project featuring a notebook with sketches of future cities by Pavlo Makov). Izone. 10 a.m. - 8 p.m. Free

**Mykola Malyshko. Familiar and Simple** (sculptures exploring global senses through details - familiar and simple things). Ya Gallery. 10 a.m. - 7 p.m. Free

**Nature vs. Architecture** (multimedia exhibition exploring the role of nature and technologies in people's lives). America House. 6:30 p.m. Free. Bring ID

**The World of Giants** (flower exhibition). Spivoche Pole. 9 a.m. - 9 p.m. Hr 25 for kids, 50 for adults

#### Theater

**Madama Butterfly (Cio-Cio-San).** Opera in Italian. National Opera. 7 p.m. Hr 20-400

**Cat on a Hot Tin Roof** (British Theater Live). Kyiv Cinema. 7 p.m. Hr 190

### Wednesday, June 20

#### Classical music

**Vacation in Italy.** Chamber ensemble Kyiv Soloists playing Respighi, Rota, Sollima and Tchaikovsky. National Philharmonic. 7 p.m. Hr 70-300

#### Miscellaneous

**Christina Soiman** (photo exhibition by Romanian artist Christina Soiman). Art 14. 12-7 p.m. Free

**Anders Petersen. Café Lehmitz** (photo series documenting the life of a Hamburg red-light district bar called Café Lehmitz). Mystetsky Arsenal. 12-8 p.m. Free

**Where the Rivers Come Together** (exhibition of photographs documenting Mykolaiv's diversity). America House. 12-9 p.m. Free. Bring ID

**Notebook Without One Page** (multimedia project featuring a notebook with sketches of future cities by Pavlo Makov). Izone. 10 a.m. -

June 16



## Ocean's 8

Sandra Bullock, Helena Bonham Carter, Cate Blanchett, Anne Hathaway, Rihanna, Mindy Kaling, Sarah Paulson and Awkwafina - that's not even the full list of the celebrity cast of the new action comedy "Ocean's 8" hitting Kyiv screens this week. The film is a spin-off of the famous Ocean's trilogy - it focuses on yet another robbery plan, however, this time it's a group of women, not men who put it into action. Gathered and headed by Debbie Ocean, the sister of Danny Ocean, who was the leader of the Ocean's trilogy, the female gang will try to rob the Met Gala, an annual fundraising gala that attracts celebrities from all over the world.

**Ocean's 8. Multiplex (SkyMall, 2T Heneral Vatutina Ave.) June 16. 5 p.m. Multiplex (Lavina Mall, 6D Berkovetska St.) June 16. 5:45 p.m. Hr 85-145**

8 p.m. Free

**Mykola Malyshko. Familiar and Simple** (sculptures exploring global senses through details - familiar and simple things). Ya Gallery. 10 a.m. - 7 p.m. Free

**Nature vs. Architecture** (multimedia exhibition exploring the role of nature and technologies in people's lives). America House. 12-9 p.m. Free. Bring ID

**The World of Giants** (flower exhibition). Spivochy Pole. 9 a.m. - 9 p.m. Hr 25 for kids, 50 for adults

**Movies**

**Matisse** (exhibition on screen). Multiplex (SkyMall). 7:30 p.m. Hr 150

**Vincent van Gogh: Of Wheat Fields and Clouded Skies** (documentary). Kyiv Cinema. 7 p.m. Hr 150

**Shows**

**Sian Evans** (trip hop, drum and bass). Docker Pub. 8 p.m. Hr 175-2,450

**Theater**

**Julius Caesar** (Italian ballet). National Opera. 7 p.m. Hr 20-500

**Thursday, June 21**

**Classical music**

**National Symphony Orchestra of Ukraine and Nazarii Pylatiuk** (violin). Playing Wagner, Shostakovich and Beethoven. National Philharmonic. 7 p.m. Hr 70-300

**Live music**

**Jazz on the Beach - Bossa Nova**. UBK. 8 p.m. Hr 300-400

**Miscellaneous**

**Christina Soiman** (photo exhibition by Romanian artist Christina Soiman). Art 14. 12-7 p.m. Free

**Anders Petersen. Café Lehmitz** (photo series documenting the life of a Hamburg red-light district bar called Café Lehmitz). Mystetsky Arsenal. 12-8 p.m. Free

**Where the Rivers Come Together** (exhibition of photographs documenting Mykolaiv's diversity). America House. 12-9 p.m. Free. Bring ID

**Notebook Without One Page** (multimedia project featuring a notebook with sketches of future cities by Pavlo Makov). Izone. 10 a.m. - 8 p.m. Free

**Mykola Malyshko. Familiar and Simple** (sculptures exploring global senses through details - familiar and simple things). Ya Gallery.

10 a.m. - 7 p.m. Free

**Nature vs. Architecture** (multimedia exhibition exploring the role of nature and technologies in people's lives). America House. 12-9 p.m. Free. Bring ID

**The World of Giants** (flower exhibition). Spivochy Pole. 9 a.m. - 9 p.m. Hr 25 for kids, 50 for adults

**Shows**

**BeLive** (music and entertainment festival). Olympic Stadium. 3 p.m. - 12 a.m. Four-day pass - Hr 1,550-1,750. One day - Hr 999-1,199

**Folknerly on the Mezzanine Balcony** (folk concert). Mezzanine. 7:30 p.m. Hr 150

**MniShek** (acoustic concert). Scientists' House. 8 p.m. Hr 130

**Friday, June 22**

**Live music**

**The Best of Hanz Zimmer** (National Academic Brass Band of Ukraine.) National Philharmonic. 7 p.m. Hr 140-400

**Music From Romantic Movies in the Garden**. Gryshko Botanical Garden. 8 p.m. Hr 350

**Jazz Arsenal - Laura Marti & Jazz Kolo**. Mystetsky Arsenal. 8 p.m. Hr 200-350

**Organ Show Interstellar**. Kyiv Planetarium. 7:30 p.m. Hr 150-400

**Clubs**

**Low: Justin Strauss** (electronic DJ set). Closer. 11:55 p.m. Visitors must be over 21

**Apparat and Telefon Tel Aviv** (electronic DJ set). Platforma Art Factory. 10 p.m. Hr 650-950

**Miscellaneous**

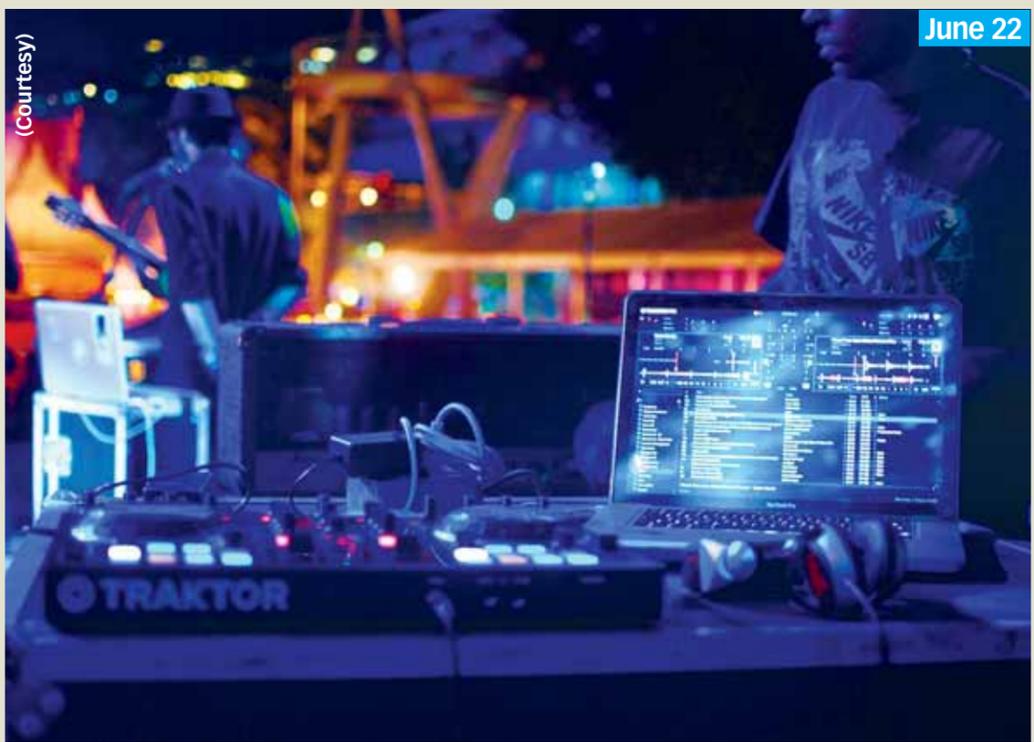
**Christina Soiman** (photo exhibition by Romanian artist Christina Soiman). Art 14. 12-7 p.m. Free

**Anders Petersen. Café Lehmitz** (photo series documenting the life of a Hamburg red-light district bar called Café Lehmitz). Mystetsky Arsenal. 12-8 p.m. Free

**Where the Rivers Come Together** (exhibition of photographs documenting Mykolaiv's diversity). America House. 12-9 p.m. Free. Bring ID

**Notebook Without One Page** (multimedia project featuring a notebook with sketches of future cities by Pavlo Makov). Izone. 10 a.m. - 8 p.m. Free

**Mykola Malyshko. Familiar and Simple**



**Apparat and Telefon Tel Aviv**

A bit of Berlin's electronic scene will come to Kyiv on June 22 for a visual and musical show. After mixing for years as Moderat with the German DJ duet Modeselektor, Apparat will be performing in Ukraine for one of his few performances of the summer. He will mix refreshing electronic music with the American DJ duet Telefon Tel Aviv. This show is the first of the series of conceptual parties called Promin organized by the H2D agency and the Ukrainian DJ Smallov.

**Apparat and Telefon Tel Aviv. Platforma Art Factory (5 Bilomorska St.) June 22. 10 p.m. Hr 650-950**

(sculptures exploring global senses through details - familiar and simple things). Ya Gallery. 10 a.m. - 7 p.m. Free

**Nature vs. Architecture** (multimedia exhibition exploring the role of nature and technologies in people's lives). America House. 12-9 p.m. Free. Bring ID

**The World of Giants** (flower exhibition). Spivochy Pole. 9 a.m. - 9 p.m. Hr 25 for kids, 50 for adults

**Shows**

**Ai Laika Summer Reunion Show** (pop-rock). Mezzanine. 7 p.m. Hr 100

**Theater**

**When the Fern Blooms** (opera in Ukrainian). National Opera. 7 p.m. Hr 80-1,000

**Saturday, June 23**

**Live music**

**Sax and Orchestra in the Garden** (jazz). Gryshko Botanical Garden. 8 p.m. Hr 350

**Kyiv Tango Project**. Caribbean Club. 7 p.m. Hr 150-790

**Eric Clapton Tribute Show**. Docker's ABC. 10 p.m. Free

**Clubs**

**Propaganda Night** (electronic DJ sets). Lesnoy Prichal. 11:55 p.m. Hr 250-330. Visitors must be over 21

**Logic: Stenny & Andrea, Ilian Tape** (techno party). Mezzanine 11:55 p.m. Hr 200

**Concrete Bass** (electronic music). Green Theater. 11 p.m. Hr 200-500

**Mesivo** (electronic DJ sets). Plivka. 11:30 p.m. Hr 300-400. Visitors must be over 18

**Miscellaneous**

**Christina Soiman** (photo exhibition by Romanian artist Christina Soiman). Art 14. 12-7 p.m. Free

**Anders Petersen. Café Lehmitz** (photo series documenting the life of a Hamburg red-light district bar called Café Lehmitz). Mystetsky Arsenal. 12-8 p.m. Free

**Where the Rivers Come Together** (exhibition of photographs documenting Mykolaiv's diversity). America House. 10 a.m. - 6 p.m. Free. Bring ID

**Notebook Without One Page** (multimedia project featuring a notebook with sketches of future cities by Pavlo Makov). Izone. 10 a.m. - 8 p.m. Free

**Mykola Malyshko. Familiar and Simple** (sculptures exploring global senses through details - familiar and simple things). Ya Gallery. 10 a.m. - 7 p.m. Free

**Nature vs. Architecture** (multimedia exhibition exploring the role of nature and technologies in people's lives). America House. 10 a.m. - 6 p.m. Free. Bring ID

**Ethno** (Vsi Svoi home decor market). D12 Gallery. 10 a.m. - 8 p.m. Free

**Kurazh Bazar Flower Power** (boho clothing charity market). Platforma Art Factory. 11 a.m. - 11 p.m. Hr 150. Free for pregnant, children under 12, retirees and people with disabilities

**The World of Giants** (flower exhibition). Spivochy Pole. 9 a.m. - 9 p.m. Hr 25 for kids, 50 for adults

**Shows**

**Worn Pop: Sean Nicholas Savage / Stepan i Meduza / Bichkraft** (rock and new wave). Closer. 8:00 p.m. Hr 350

**Theater**

**When the Fern Blooms** (opera in Ukrainian). National Opera. 7 p.m. Hr 80-1,000

**The House of Yes** (play in English). ProEnglish Theater. 7 p.m. Hr 150

**Sunday, June 24**

**Classical music**

**Opera Arias in the Garden**. Gryshko Botanical Garden. 8 p.m. Hr 400

**Miscellaneous**

**Anders Petersen. Café Lehmitz** (photo series documenting the life of a Hamburg red-light district bar called Café Lehmitz). Mystetsky Arsenal. 12-8 p.m. Free

**Notebook Without One Page** (multimedia project featuring a notebook with sketches of future cities by Pavlo Makov). Izone. 10 a.m. - 8 p.m. Free

**Ethno** (Vsi Svoi home decor market). D12 Gallery. 10 a.m. - 8 p.m. Free

**Kurazh Bazar Flower Power** (boho clothing charity market). Platforma Art Factory. 11 a.m. - 11 p.m. Hr 150. Free for pregnant, children under 12, retirees and people with disabilities

**The World of Giants** (flower exhibition). Spivochy Pole. 9 a.m. - 9 p.m. Hr 25 for kids, 50 for adults

**Movies**

**Goya: Visions of Flesh and Blood** (exhibition on screen). Kyiv Cinema. 3 p.m. Hr 150

**Shows**

**Michael Abene and Jazzworkshop Orchestra**. Closer. 8 p.m. Hr 300

**Theater**

**La Bayadère** (ballet). National Opera. 7 p.m. Hr 50-2,000



**J. Bernardt**

After taking a break from his band Balthazar, the singer and guitarist Jinte Deprez started a new career under the name of J. Bernardt. The Belgian musician will introduce his debut solo album "Running Days" to Kyiv's audience on a single show at the Green Theater. Similar to musicians like James Blake, J. Bernardt will perform his rhythmic electro songs.

**J. Bernardt. Green Theater (2 Parkova Rd.) June 17. 8 p.m. Hr 499-1,290**

**Venues**

**Classical Music**

1 National Philharmonic of Ukraine (2 Volodymyrsky Descent) +38044 278 1697

2 Gryshko National Botanical Garden (1 Tymirazievskaya St.) +38044 285 4105

3 Chocolate House (17/2 Shovkovychyna St.) +38044 253 0521

**Live Music**

4 Caribbean Club (4 Petliury St.)

+38067 224 4111

5 Kyiv Planetarium (57/3 Velyka Vasylkivska St.) +38044 338 1991

6 MK Music Space (57B Bohdana Khmelnytskoho St.) +38095 179 3834

7 Tauvers Gallery (6 Olhynska St.) +38044 220 0692

8 Tsum (38 Khreshchatyky St.) 0800 600 202

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

**Clubs**

10 Mezzanine (31 Nyzhnoiurkivska St.)

+38063 873 7306

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

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

13 Lesnoy Prichal (31 Nyzhnoiurkivska St.)

14 Green Theater (2 Parkova Rd.) +38067 155 2255

15 UBK Club (Trukhaniv Island, 300 meters right of Pedestrian Bridge) +38097 771 3143

16 L8 Park (16A Parkova Rd.) +38095

349 6105

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

18 Plivka (1 Vasylkivska St.)

**Miscellaneous**

19 D12 Gallery (12 Desiatynna St.) vsi.svoi.markets@gmail.com

20 America House (6 Mykoly Pymonenka St.) +38063 343 0119

21 Art 14 Gallery (14 Mykhailivskiy Ln.) +38044 461 9055

22 Platforma Art Factory (5 Bilomorska St.) +38044 461 8810

23 Mystetsky Arsenal (10-12 Lavrska St.) +38044 288 5225

24 Ya Gallery (49B Khoryva St.) +38044 492 9203

25 Nebo Art Gallery (14 Drahomyrova St.) +38099 964 7396

26 Izone (8 Naberezhno-Luhova St.) +38067 622 8794

27 Spivochy Pole (33 Lavrska St.) 0800 309 994

**Movies**

28 Kinoparorama Cinema (19 Shota Rustaveli St.) +38044 287 3041

29 Kyiv Cinema (19 Velyka Vasylkivska St.) +38044 234 7381

30 Zhovten Cinema (26 Kostiantynivska St.) +38044 428 5757

31 Multiplex Cinema (SkyMall, 2T Henerala Vatutina Ave.) 0800 505 333

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

**Shows**

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

34 Bel Etage Music Hall (16A Shota Rustaveli St.) +38066 971 2666

35 Docker's ABC (15 Khreshchatyky St.) +38050 440 1525

36 Olympic Stadium (55 Velyka Vasylkivska St.) +38044 590 6774

37 Scientists' House (45 Volodymyrska St.) +38044 234 4236

38 Docker Pub (25 Bohatyrskaya St.) +38050 358 5513

**Theater**

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

40 ProEnglish Theater (3 Smolenska St.) +38098 709 3668

# Danylyuk's firing leaves fewer reformers in power

BY JOSH KOVENSKY  
KOVENSKY@KYIVPOST.COM

Fired on June 7 from his job as finance minister since 2016, Oleksandr Danylyuk has lots to say.

"Since my first day in office, I was never thinking about the security of my job."

And going by the endless series of battles with shady financial interests that Danylyuk engaged in during his two-year tenure, that's not surprising.

His enemies didn't pull their punches either. From the start, he was falsely accused of having offshore accounts in the Panama Papers scandal. He spent the next two years fighting off phony accusations about undeclared London apartments and falsified chat transcripts alleging sexual harassment.

But Danylyuk has a pugnacious bent. He called for Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko's resignation for thwarting investigations into the \$6 billion bank fraud at PrivatBank under billionaire Igor Kolomoisky — a bill and a bank that taxpayers are now stuck with.

Most explosively — and perhaps most usefully to his enemies — Danylyuk sent a letter in May to the G7 ambassadors claiming that Prime Minister Volodymyr Groysman was sabotaging his attempts to rein in the State Fiscal Service by blocking key appointments to oversee the tax collector.

The G7 letter is said to have infuriated Groysman, who demanded Danylyuk's departure. But Danylyuk, in an interview at Kyiv's hip Podil East India Company cafe, said he had no regrets. "Look, that's a true letter. It describes what's happening," Danylyuk said.

## More work ahead

As finance minister, Danylyuk pushed to modernize the country's value-added tax refund system, a longtime boon for graft and coercion. He created a public VAT refund registry, and attempted to build an automatic VAT fraud detector.

The ministry also managed to submit two relatively transparent state budgets to parliament on time. A proposal to implement a three-year budgeting system failed amid a lack of support from parliament, but Danylyuk was able to funnel more state funds to ministries that he deemed to be undertaking reforms in the public interest.

More controversial was his proposal to set strict spending limits in advance of next year's elections.

"I think it's a big relief now for many people that I'm not in the position anymore, that they kind



Former Finance Minister Oleksandr Danylyuk speaks in Kyiv on June 11. Danylyuk argues that he was pushed out of the government over his refusal to allow state funds to be siphoned off in exchange for parliamentary votes. (Volodymyr Petrov)

of avoided that," he said with a grimace.

Other reform efforts focused on tax and customs. After former State Fiscal Service Chief Roman Nasirov was booted from office on graft charges in March 2017, the ministry found itself with more leeway to go after abuses.

But Danylyuk claimed that he was blocked from making serious changes by an incapable judiciary system and by Lutsenko, who failed to investigate wrongdoing in the tax agency.

"I cannot just sit and watch and agree with overall communications that everything is so wonderful, that the State Fiscal Service is reformed, that business is happy — it's not true," he said.

Danylyuk claims that the real reason for his dismissal was his refusal to approve a program that would divert scarce funds from the state budget to "social-economic development of the regions."

The former minister claims that the money is intended to buy votes for members of parliament seeking re-election in certain majoritarian districts.

"If we think about future elections, everybody usually says they have to be free and fair. Well, they're not 'free,'" he quipped.

A copy of the Cabinet of Ministers' June 13 schedule seen by the Kyiv Post showed a resolution on the social-economic payments scheduled under Acting Finance Minister

Oksana Markarova, after Danylyuk's departure.

Markarova will be tasked with protecting accomplishments in VAT refunds and transparent budgeting, while attempting to maintain the ministry's independence.

"She's not in an easy position," Danylyuk said of Markarova's independence. "If she cannot do it, that will be very scary."

## Cash or crash

Danylyuk was removed at a critical moment for Ukraine's finances.

The country received the last tranche of its \$17.5 billion IMF assistance program in April 2017. The IMF has loaned Ukraine a total of \$8.4 billion under the program, which is scheduled to expire in March 2019.

Analysts note that Ukraine has \$1.6 billion in loan repayments coming due in September, which would draw down the country's foreign cash reserves to a dangerously low level. The problem could be slowed by severe austerity policies, but that is an unlikely prospect in advance of the March 2019 elections. Moreover, Ukraine's budget deficit already exceeds the IMF-mandated 2.5 percent.

The former minister argued that an additional IMF tranche would be the key to unlocking foreign capital markets for more eurobond issuances.

"If consultations continue into 2019, there will be no 2019," he said, implying Ukraine would suffer severe economic turmoil.

However, Ukraine's commitment to meeting the IMF's three demands for the next tranche — raising household gas prices to market rates, establishing an independent, specialized anti-corruption court, and reining in the budget deficit, remain in deep doubt.



Acting Finance Minister Oksana Markarova

Danylyuk was fired the same day that parliament passed a bill establishing an anti-corruption court, making it appear as if his position was being traded for the creation of an anti-corruption court.

"It was a very clear message," Danylyuk said, later calling the relationship between the Ukrainian government and the IMF "a game of nerves."

"With the anti-corruption court, it is a similar game of nerves," he said. "And if the law is fully compliant with the IMF, it's clear who won the game."

He added that many Ukrainian members of parliament had no idea what they were voting for when the anti-corruption court legislation went up for a vote.

"There was no feedback from the IMF communicated to them," he said. "It was a trap for many people."

Danylyuk suggested that Groysman lacks the will to raise gas prices, arguing that "politically it's a killer for him."

Billionaire oligarch Dmytro Firtash, exiled in Vienna, is accused

of earning billions of dollars off of various schemes surrounding the deflated gas prices — money that could have gone to subsidies for struggling Ukrainians.

"If the government had done it a year ago, it would have had some time...to protect people...by now there would be no price arbitrage, no opportunity for corruption," he said. "Maybe the question of Firtash would have never arisen."

## PrivatBank scandal

Danylyuk helped keep the country's financial system from collapsing once already — during the December 2016 nationalization of PrivatBank.

The lender was facing collapse after an elaborate insider lending scheme by its former owners Kolomoisky and Gennadiy Boholyubov left \$6 billion in losses.

The bank's successful nationalization earned Ukraine an IMF tranche, but also spawned scores of lawsuits around the world.

Under the Finance Ministry's control, PrivatBank sued its former owners in London, alleging mass embezzlement, leading a court to freeze \$2.5 billion in assets of Kolomoisky and Bogolyubov.

In a May interview with Deutsche Welle, Kolomoisky said that his strategy to defeat the London lawsuit consisted in regaining control of PrivatBank via the Ukrainian courts.

"The whole London process would end, since I can't sue myself," he said.

Danylyuk, who accused Lutsenko in December of working with Kolomoisky to halt the London litigation, said that such an outcome could only occur if "everyone is helping."

"It's a nuclear bomb exploding in the middle of Kyiv destroying all trust in everything, in all government institutions, in all politicians, for years to come," he said.

## Successor

Acting Finance Minister Oksana Markarova is a holdover from the tenure of former Finance Minister Natalie Jaresko.

Kyiv politicians have suggested that member of parliament Nina Yuzhanina, close to Poroshenko, is being eyed as a permanent replacement for Danylyuk. She is a former accountant for Poroshenko businesses, the Roshen candy company and Channel 5.

Danylyuk said "clearly not" when asked whether Yuzhanina was a suitable candidate for his old job.

"The minister of finance of a modern country in a modern world needs to have a global understanding," he said. "It's not manipulation, it's not being an accountant for a TV channel, as she used to be — it's much more complex."

When asked whether Yuzhanina was spearheading fraud schemes that Danylyuk had fought while in office, he replied that "this is a question for the anti-corruption court," noting he had "initiated a couple of investigations into people in this circle." ■

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# Anti-corruption court law may have fatal weakness

BY OLEG SUKHOV  
SUKHOV@KYIVPOST.COM

The passage of the law on the creation of an anti-corruption court by the Verkhovna Rada on June 7 may not be the victory it appeared to be at first glance.

When the text of the law was published on June 13, doubts emerged as Ukrainian authorities had inserted an amendment that critics say would effectively give amnesty to suspects in top-level graft cases. The amendment, which many lawmakers said they knew nothing about, keeps the discredited current court system in charge of hearing appeals in ongoing corruption trials.

The amendment threatens further International Monetary Fund loans — money that Kyiv desperately needs to meet upcoming debt repayments.

The European Commission for Democracy through Law, also known as the Venice Commission, said it had not approved of the amendment in question.

President Petro Poroshenko and company "falsified one article of the law on the anti-corruption court that we adopted," Samopomich party lawmaker Igor Soboliev said on Facebook on June 13. ... "This falsification shows how much top corrupt officials are afraid of the anti-corruption court."

The Verkhovna Rada's legal policy and justice committee denied the accusations of wrongdoing, while the Presidential Administration did not respond to requests for comment.

The law was signed by Poroshenko on June 11.

Moreover, concerns remain that the law does not provide sufficient safeguards to ensure that the anti-corruption court will be independent. Critics say Poroshenko will be able to stack it with loyalists and create a puppet court, although he denies any intention to do so.

The IMF still has not said whether the law complies with its conditions.

Poroshenko and his allies claimed that Ukrainian authorities had reached an agreement on the bill with the IMF. But numerous sources, including ex-Finance Minister Oleksandr Danylyuk, lawmaker Sergii Leshchenko and Daria Kaleniuk from the Anti-Corruption Action Center, told the Kyiv Post no final deal was reached with the IMF.

The court's creation is just one of three requirements that Ukraine has to meet for the IMF to agree to disburse another \$2 billion in loans, out of a \$17.5 billion package that expires in March. The other two conditions are raising household gas prices to market levels, and reducing the budget deficit to 2.5 percent of gross domestic product, down from the current 4 percent.

## Appeal courts

One of the bill's clauses is that all corruption cases currently being



President Petro Poroshenko's top ally and lawmaker Ihor Kononenko stands in the center at a meeting of the Verkhovna Rada during the passage of a bill on the anti-corruption court in the second and final reading on June 7. (UNIAN)

considered by ordinary courts will not be transferred to the anti-corruption court and will remain in the old judiciary. Additionally, even appeals against verdicts in graft cases sent to trial before the anti-corruption court's creation will be considered by ordinary courts, not the High Anti-Corruption Court's appeal chamber.

The High Anti-Corruption Court and its appeal chamber will only be able to consider new corruption cases sent to trial by the National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine after the court's creation.

"The scandalous amendment, which will allow suspects in dozens of NABU cases to resort to the services of their friendly corrupt appellate judges, is outright fraud," lawmaker Mustafa Nayyem wrote on Facebook on June 13.

The clause was inserted into the law secretly, according to the Anti-Corruption Action Center, Nayyem, Leshchenko and Soboliev.

It was not discussed at a meeting of parliament's legal policy and justice committee, and it was not read by Ruslan Knyazevych, the head of the committee, in the Verkhovna Rada before the vote, the Anti-Corruption Action Center said. Moreover, the amendment was not published on the Verkhovna Rada's site ahead of the publication of the law.

The graft cases against ex-People's Front lawmaker Mykola Martynenko, ex-State Fiscal Service Chief Roman Nasirov, top

prosecutor Kostyantyn Kulik and State Audit Service Chief Lidiya Havrilova have already been sent to trial. Meanwhile, the graft cases against Odesa Mayor Hennady Trukhanov, Interior Minister Arsen Avakov's son Oleksandr, Central Election Commission chairman Mykhailo Okhendovsky and Deputy Defense Minister Ihor Pavlovsky are likely to be sent to trial before the anti-corruption court's creation.

The Rada's legal policy and justice committee claimed that the clause complied with recommendations by the Venice Commission and denied having falsified the text of the bill. Thomas Markert, a spokesman for the Venice Commission, rejected the claim, saying that the commission had not demanded such a clause.

The committee also claimed that transferring ongoing NABU trials to the High Anti-Corruption Court's appeal chamber would block its work due because of the large volume of cases.

## Cassation

Meanwhile, all second appeals against old and new NABU cases — called cassation in Ukraine — will be considered by the discredited Supreme Court. Roman Kuybida and Vitaly Tytych, members of the Public Integrity Council, told the Kyiv Post this would allow the authorities to block corruption cases.

more Court on page 17



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# Ukraine loses control of Azov Sea to Russia

BY VERONIKA MELKOZEROVA  
MELKOZEROVA@KYIVPOST.COM

Russia's war against Ukraine, having already killed more than 10,000 on land over the past four years, may soon shift to the sea.

Experts say that Russian President Vladimir Putin's opening of the Crimean Bridge on May 15 marked the Kremlin's assumption of full control over the Kerch Strait. Now Russia is slowly expanding its military presence in the Azov and Black Seas.

In the last few weeks of May, the Kremlin quietly redeployed six military vessels from its Caspian Fleet to the Azov Sea. They were shallow draught gunboats and coastal patrol boats designed for operations in shallow waters like those of the Azov Sea.

In May it also conducted the naval drills very close to the 12-nautical-mile zone of Ukraine's territorial waters in the Azov Sea, closing part of the sea for its military exercises.

According to Paul Goble, an expert from the Jamestown Foundation think tank, this movement of forces is a show of force by Moscow to demonstrate that should Ukraine attempt to liberate any of the Russian-occupied Ukrainian territory on land, the Kremlin can counter with an attack from the sea.

Writing in the Eurasia Daily Monitor on May 31, Goble also said a "darker" interpretation of the redeployment of the warships is that Moscow may be considering a further attack on Ukraine, to establish a land corridor to link the Russian-occupied parts of the Donbas with Russian-occupied Crimea.

That would entail the Kremlin occupying still more of Donetsk Oblast, and at least parts of Zaporizhzhya and Kherson oblasts as well.

Meanwhile, the Kremlin has been causing Ukraine economic losses in the Azov Sea region. Since the end of May naval patrols of Russia's Federal Security Service or FSB have been stopping international cargo vessels going to and from the Ukrainian ports of Mariupol and Berdyansk, searching crews and ships for hours, and causing thousands of dollars of losses to shipping companies and Ukrainian ports.

There are no Ukrainian Naval Forces ships constantly present in the Azov Sea, where Ukraine borders Russia, Boris Babin, the permanent representative of the president of Ukraine on Crimea issues, told the Kyiv Post on June 7.

Only the marine squads of the Ukrainian Border Guard Service patrol Ukraine's territorial waters, but they can do nothing to stop Russia's expansion. That's because the Kremlin isn't actually breaking any laws.

Incredibly, in the fifth year of Kremlin's war in the Donbas and Crimea occupation, there are still agreements in place between Russia and Ukraine that practically erase Ukraine's sea borders with Russia, allowing Russia to send its cargo and military vessels wherever it wants in



Russia's Black Sea Fleet assault craft Azov approaches the Crimean Bridge as it crosses the Kerch Strait on Sept. 7. (most.life)

the Azov Sea.

"Russia is not violating any laws, as formally the Azov Sea is our common national waters," Oleh Slobodyan, the spokesman of the State Border Guard Service of Ukraine told the Kyiv Post on June 7.

## Brotherly nations

In 2003 Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma and Russian President Vladimir Putin signed an agreement between Ukraine and the Russian Federation on cooperation and the shared use of the Azov Sea and Kerch Strait. The agreement was ratified in 2004 and is still in force.

"Ukraine and the Russian Federation, two historically brotherly nations, define the Azov Sea and Kerch Strait as economically important for both countries," the agreement reads.

The Azov Sea agreement also defines the sea as the common territorial waters of Ukraine and Russia, and reads that Ukraine and Russia are to decide where to draw their sea borders. The decision should have been made in 1997, but never was.

"Russia kept blocking all Ukrainian offers. We formally have our border ending on the coast of the Azov Sea," Andrii Klymenko, the chief expert of the Maidan of Foreign Affairs NGO, which monitors all Russian and Ukrainian actions in Crimea and the Black Sea, told the Kyiv Post on June 6.

Ukrainian authorities and military forces have been doing all they can to strengthen Ukraine's presence in the Azov Sea, but these actions remain secret, Babin said.

The government is planning to expand the border guard service squads to Henichesk, a small town in Kherson Oblast on the coast of Azov Sea, immediately to the north of Russian-occupied Crimea.

"But first we need to get 150,000 different approvals. It is ordinary Kyiv bureaucracy. It seems to me that some people in powerful positions don't even remember that

there's war going on in Ukraine," Babin said.

## Economic blockade?

The Azov Sea is the shallowest sea in the world, only about 14 meters deep at most. Ukraine uses some of its deepest parts at the ports of Berdyansk and Mariupol, where depths are from eight to 10 meters. In Russian Azov Sea ports the depths are from three to seven meters. The Kerch Strait, where the Azov Sea meets the Black Sea, is at most some 17 meters deep.

While earlier Ukraine's Mariupol and Berdyansk Ports were able to accept heavy cargo vessels (if they were lightly loaded), the Russians were forced to first load their cargos onto smaller vessels, which would pass through the Kerch Strait and then transfer their loads to bigger ships in the Black Sea.

After the Kremlin invaded Crimea in 2014 and started its occupation of the Ukrainian peninsula, Mariupol and Berdyansk ports started to accept part of the cargo traffic that formerly went to the Crimean ports. International sanctions forbade companies to do business with the ports in Russian-occupied Crimea.

However, after Russia started building the Crimean Bridge in April 2015, cargo transshipment in Mariupol Port in Donetsk Oblast dropped by more than 14 percent. It fell from more than 8.9 million tons of cargo in 2015 to 6.5 million tons in 2017, reads Mariupol port's official website.

In Berdyansk Port in Zaporizhzhia Oblast the situation is even worse. According to its official website, cargo transshipment in Berdyansk dropped by more than 30 percent, from 4.5 million tons of cargo in 2015 to 2.4 million tons in 2017.

Klymenko said that in addition to the low height of the Crimean Bridge, which prevents large, heavy vessels from entering the Azov Sea at the Kerch Strait, Russia's FSB has started stopping cargo vessels

going to the ports of Mariupol and Berdyansk.

"It all started at the end of April. At first they said Ukrainian cargo vessels were being stopped and searched due to the threat of terrorism. They said they were trying to catch Ukrainian saboteurs who were planning to blow up the bridge," Klymenko said.

At first vessels were halted for a maximum of two hours. But in May the Russians started halting and searching vessels for longer periods. Vessels were halted "in accordance with the norms of Russian Federation law," the FSB said.

Klymenko reported that since April FSB has stopped and searched more than 26 Ukrainian and international cargo vessels going from and to Ukrainian ports, without giving any clear reason.

"Vessels were forced to drop anchor for from eight to 10 hours. That's already damaging the business, causing delays and therefore missing deadlines for cargo delivery," Klymenko said.

Ayna Chagir, a Mariupol Port spokesperson, on June 6 confirmed to the Kyiv Post that vessels had been delayed, and said that some cargo vessels had been stopped and searched for more than 20 hours.

"This disturbing situation leads to increasing financial damages, as shipping companies have been losing from \$5,000 to \$15,000 a day because of these unreasonably long delays and stops," Chagir said.

She added that due to the constant halting of vessels in the Kerch Strait and Azov Sea, Mariupol Port was empty from June 2 to June 4, and that also has caused financial losses to the port — one of the biggest contributors to Mariupol's city budget.

"Shipping companies are businesses, and all this mess in the Azov Sea means risk," Klymenko said.

"News spread quickly. Insurance companies are putting their prices up. Sailors don't want to work on

vessels that might be arrested by the unpredictable Russians."

The expert added that more and more shipping companies are reorienting their cargo traffic to other, safer ports in the Black Sea region.

"To me this looks like the start of the economic blockade," Klymenko said. "Ukraine should definitely respond somehow. State Border Guard Service boats must escort and protect cargo vessels going to and from Ukrainian ports."

But Slobodyan said to do that, Ukraine needs better and more powerful military vessels than the armored motor boats of State Border Guard Service.

## New battlefield

The confrontations at sea could also escalate from an economic blockade to a new active battlefield, experts say.

Russia explains its growing presence in the Azov Sea by the need to defend occupied Crimea and the newly erected bridge from Ukraine.

Russian-led forces in the Russian-occupied part of Ukraine's Donetsk Oblast also claim they have their own Azov Sea fleet, based in the Russian-controlled village of Sedove in Donetsk Oblast, which is only about 50 kilometers east of Mariupol.

Goble of the Jamestown Foundation wrote that in 2016 Russian-led forces in Donetsk asked the Kremlin to send ships to the Azov Sea to supplement their own naval forces in order to seize more of the Ukrainian coast, but at that time the request was flatly turned down.

Something has apparently changed in the Kremlin's calculus now, Goble added.

Indeed, when one of the Russian-led forces' leaders, Zakhar Prilepin, told Putin during the president's annual phone-in on June 7 that Ukraine might use the distraction on the 2018 World Cup in Russia to start a military offensive in the Donbas, Putin said: "If it happens, such a move will have serious consequences for Ukraine's sovereignty."

Babin said Ukrainian forces are fully prepared to protect Ukraine's coast from possible attacks from the sea. But Ukraine still needs to strengthen its presence out into sea, and to expand its naval fleet.

Although Babin said that Ukrainian fleet is not present in the Azov Sea, the navy press service wrote on Facebook on June 7 that Ukrainian naval forces have been training in the Azov Sea since 2015, protecting the coast.

To push back against Russia's expanding influence, Ukraine should proclaim its own economic zone in the Azov Sea, and define its territorial waters, Babin said.

Russia will object, Babin said, but Ukraine must do more to protect its borders on land and at sea. Since it started its occupation of Crimea, Russia has been expanding its presence not only in the Azov Sea but

# Critics claim anti-corruption court law has been sabotaged

Court from page 15

Members of the Public Integrity Council, the judiciary's civil-society watchdog, believe the competition for Supreme Court judges was rigged in favor of government loyalists last year by the High Qualification Commission. The commission denies the accusations.

The way to solve this problem would be to create a special anti-corruption chamber recruited under transparent rules at the Supreme Court, Kuybida said.

However, the High Qualification Commission plans to start recruiting about 80 more Supreme Court judges this fall under the old non-transparent assessment rules, in addition to the 115 incumbent judges.

## Foreigners

According to the final version of the bill, at least three members of the six-member Council of International Experts, a foreign advisory body, can initiate a joint meeting of the High Qualification Commission and the Council of International Experts on a candidate for the anti-graft court if there are doubts about his or her professional integrity, source of wealth, or skills.

Then the candidate must be approved by a majority of the joint meeting, given at least three international experts vote for him or her.

It is still not clear from the final text of the bill which foreign organizations will select representatives for the Council of International Experts, and in what manner, Kaleniuk and Kuybida said.

There is a risk that some of the international experts will be biased in favor of the Ukrainian authorities, which may allow top officials to create a puppet court, they argued.

## Other problems

Kuybida and Tytych argued that the law would not prevent the rigging of the competition for anti-corruption judges in favor of government loyalists by the High Qualification Commission. They say that foreign representatives should take part not just in vetoing the worst candidates, but in the selection of the best ones and the assigning of scores.

Moreover, the legislation does not solve the problem of the High Qualification Commission's arbitrary and subjective assessment methodology, Tytych said.

During the Supreme Court competition, 90 points were assigned for anonymous legal knowledge tests, 120 points for anonymous practical tests, and the High Qualification Commission could arbitrarily assign 790 points out of 1,000 points without giving any explicit reasons. To make the competition's criteria objective, 750 points should be assigned for anonymous legal knowl-

edge tests and practical tests, Tytych said.

Another obstacle is that, to launch the anti-corruption court, Poroshenko needs to submit an additional bill on its creation to the Rada, and this may delay and subvert the process even further.

## Conditions

According to the bill's initial version, the anti-corruption court would consider some non-corruption cases and would not hear some graft cases. The final version stipulates that the court will consider most major corruption cases and will not handle non-corruption ones. The bill's final text also eliminated excessive requirements for judges: the initial version made it almost impossible to find candidates.

However, the clause of the law that bans most candidates who have worked at law enforcement agencies over the past 10 years has a negative aspect, Kaleniuk said. She believes it is aimed not at banning corrupt prosecutors and detectives from the competition, but at preventing effective and honest NABU detectives and anti-corruption prosecutors from running.

## Kholodnytsky problem

Moreover, the authorities will be able to decide which cases will be sent to old courts or the anti-corruption court's appeal chamber through Chief Anti Corruption Prosecutor Nazar Kholodnytsky, who has become their pawn, Kaleniuk said. Kholodnytsky denies accusations of being a Poroshenko puppet.

Nevertheless, the work of the NABU and the anti-corruption court could potentially be blocked through Kholodnytsky, because his office must authorize all NABU notices of suspicion and other investigative actions.

In April the NABU released audio recordings that implicate Kholodnytsky in alleged corruption — talking with judges, tampering with witnesses, interfering with prosecutors and negotiating with suspects. But he has not been fired or prosecuted. Kholodnytsky confirmed that the tapes were authentic, but denied any wrongdoing.

## Destroying NABU

Another worry is the independence of NABU, the most effective corruption-fighting agency in Ukraine. NABU Chief Artem Sytnyk, who is seen as independent from Poroshenko, could be fired as a result of a negative conclusion by NABU auditors.

Two NABU auditors linked to the authorities have been appointed already, and a third one is to be selected by Poroshenko. ■



## Relatives of 49 Il-76 military transport victims mourn

Four years ago, in the early hours of June 14, 2014, Russian-led forces in the Donbas shot down a Ukrainian Il-76 military transport aircraft as it neared the embattled Luhansk Airport. All 49 Ukrainian army servicemen on board were killed, the country's heaviest military loss at the time. An official investigation later found Major General Viktor Nazarov, who was in charge of the airborne operation, guilty of criminal negligence. Allegedly, he ignored confirmed intelligence that Russian-led forces in the area were in possession of Igla man-portable anti-aircraft systems, which were used to down the aircraft. The high-ranking officer denied guilt. In March 2017, Nazarov was sentenced to seven years of imprisonment. However, he appealed and was released on bail. The Il-76 case is still ongoing. (Volodymyr Petrov)



## Going viral

A photo posted on Twitter by German government spokesman Steffen Seibert on June 9, taken by the German government photographer Jesco Denzel, shows U.S. President Donald Trump (R) talking with German Chancellor Angela Merkel (C) and surrounded by other G7 leaders during a meeting at the G7 Summit in La Malbaie, Quebec, Canada. The photo went viral, popping up all over social media, sometimes in its original form and sometimes altered for humorous or satirical ends. (AFP)

# Russia can stop trade in Azov Sea through Kerch

Sea from page 15

also in the Black Sea.

Soon after Russia began to occupy Ukraine's Crimea, the Kremlin also seized the oil-derricks of the ChornomorskNeftegaz company, located in the Black Sea, closer to Ochakiv, Odesa Oblast.

In 2017, the Ukrainian Border Guard Service published pictures of armed men, wearing military uniforms, guarding the seized Ukrainian oil-derricks.

In the past, the Kremlin has avoided confirming it has a military presence near the oil derricks.

However, in June the 41st Russian naval rocket vessel brigade officially started guarding the oil-derricks in the Black Sea, Russian newspaper Izvestia reported on June 5.

"As a citizen, I believe in the strength of the Ukrainian Army. But Ukraine must also protect its interests at sea," Babin said.

Unfortunately, Ukrainians are only used to fighting on land, not at sea, Klymenko added.

Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko said in 2016 that after Russia started its occupation of Crimea, Ukraine lost 70 percent of its navy, with only four warships and

several dozen motor boats being saved.

According to the official website of the Ukrainian Navy, Ukraine currently has 66 combat and auxiliary naval units, and more than 11,000 servicemen. In comparison, Russia's Black Sea Fleet has more than 2,800 different vessels, based in Kerch, Sevastopol, Orsk, Yeysk and other Azov and Black seas ports controlled by the Kremlin.

"Ukraine must recognize that it is a maritime country, and protect its interests at sea," Babin said.

"If it doesn't, it won't be possible to return Crimea to Ukraine." ■

VOX populi

WITH OLEG SUKHOV



*Editor's Note: Appeals against verdicts in corruption cases sent to trial before the anti-corruption court's creation will be considered by ordinary courts, not the High Anti-Corruption Court's appeal chamber, according to the law on the anti-corruption court published on June 13.*

What do you think of the recent amendments to the text of the law on the anti-corruption court?



**Serhiy Alekseyev**, a deputy head of the Verkhovna Rada's legal policy and justice committee and lawmaker from the pro-presidential Bloc of Petro Poroshenko.

I haven't researched the law, but I know Ruslan Knyazevych (head of the legal policy and justice committee) said verbally that there will be no appeals for corruption cases other than through the anti-corruption court's (appeal chamber). It couldn't be in the text of the law. It could be a misprint. The mechanisms in the law are tailor-made to make sure that this court will be created without any (political) influence.



**Sergii Leshchenko**, a lawmaker from the Bloc of Petro Poroshenko and critic of the president. It's just another attempt to sabotage the

anti-corruption court and another example of how the Presidential Administration is derailing the creation of an independent court.



Eka Tkeshelashvili, head of the European Union's Anti-Corruption Initiative in Ukraine, speaks at the opening of Corruption Park, which was funded by the initiative, in Kyiv's National Botanic Garden on June 1. President Petro Poroshenko signed a law to create an anti-corruption court on June 11. (Volodymyr Petrov)



**Roman Kuybida**, a judicial expert at the Reanimation Package of Reforms and member of the Public Integrity Council, a

civil society watchdog of the judicial system. The current law is better than the initial bill, but it's far from perfect. (Foreigners) will not influence the assigning of scores (to candidates for judges of the court). Those who are afraid of the anti-corruption court will do their best to appoint their loyalists there.



**Markiyan Halabala**, a lawyer who has participated in negotiations with foreign partners on the anti-corruption court.

The fact that these cases were not transferred to the anti-corruption court's appeal chamber was apparently a result of some agreements with suspects in corruption cases.



**Daria Kaleniuk**, executive director of the Anti-Corruption Action Center. (The clause on appeal courts) will bury existing cases of the National

Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine. It is also in the interests of the Presidential Administration to retain Chief Anti-Corruption Prosecutor Nazar Kholodnytsky, and use him to prevent corrupt officials from being prosecuted.



**Mykhailo Zhernakov**, a former judge and member of the Public Integrity Council. Cassation (second appeals in corruption cases) will be

considered by the Supreme Court's criminal chamber, and that's a problem, (as the Supreme Court has been discredited.)

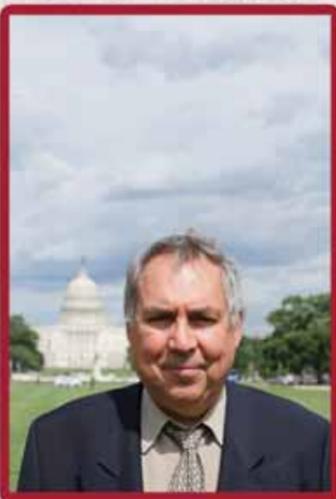
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Olena Goncharova  
Edmonton, Canada

# How to keep the Kremlin and the oligarchs out of the Ukrainian presidential election



ANDERS ASLUND

The other night in Kyiv, one of Ukraine's best political analysts came to see me. He asked me what the United States wants in the next Ukrainian presidential election slated for March 2019. I told him that the United States doesn't have a favorite. Nor will it.

My interlocutor was highly dissatisfied with the answer. But why doesn't the West pick their choice and invest \$150–250 million in its candidate as is required to win an election? Both the Russians and the oligarchs do so. Why aren't the Americans rational? Another expert claimed that a popular candidate can win the presidency with only \$40–50 million, but that is also big money. By comparison, a Swedish parliamentary election campaign costs \$12 million and a German one \$90 million. Those amounts include all the parties.

We went on to discuss Viktor Medvedchuk, a Ukrainian oligarch who is considered Putin's foremost agent in Ukraine. He was one of the first people the United States sanctioned over Russia's occupation of Crimea on March 17, 2014, but he thrives in Ukraine in full freedom. He has allegedly just bought three

television channels in Ukraine—112, NewsOne, and Zik — in apparent preparation for the presidential election. These channels match a populist electorate. Needless to say, nobody thinks that Medvedchuk has bought these television channels with his own money but has been financed by the Kremlin. Ukrainian oligarch Dmytro Firtash still owns the television channel Inter, and we know that he has received his money from Gazprom and Gazprombank.

Next we discussed who stands behind which candidate. A clear pattern can be seen: half a dozen Ukrainian oligarchs are allegedly financing up to eighteen potential presidential candidates. Serious oligarchs have three candidates in the game — one is their favorite, one might win, and one is a spoiler. The picture of a tense game of poker in a smoke-filled room late in the night captures the scene well.

This conversation reflects Ukrainian reality and what is wrong with it. Ideally, Ukraine should carry out three major changes to reduce the danger of its presidential election being purchased outright.

The first goal should be to reduce the president's power by transforming Ukraine into a parliamentary republic. Ukraine's constitution as amended in December 2004 was a hasty patchwork that lacked consistency. The division of power between



A woman places her voting papers in a ballot box during the local elections in Kyiv on Oct. 25, 2016. (Volodymyr Petrov)

the president and prime minister was always illogical. With the exception of France, all European Union countries have parliamentary systems, which are more transparent and contain more checks and balances than presidential systems. Ukrainian oligarchs are prepared to put up so much money for a presidential candidate because the expected returns are so great. If the president had less power, the presidential candidates would attract much less financing.

Second, Ukraine can only become a functioning democracy if political campaign expenditures are effec-

tively capped. At present, only someone supported by one of the major tycoons can be elected. The current laws on election financing are too severe so that everybody recognizes that they cannot be applied, and Ukraine does not apply the rule of law in any case. All European Union countries have imposed strict regulations on campaign finance. In many countries, little but public expenditure is allowed, and these rules have been enforced. The two big campaign costs are television ads and billboards, which Ukrainian non-governmental organizations

have measured well for many years. Such limitations can be enforced, if the rule of law even minimally exists. Hopefully, the novel anticorruption court can make a difference.

A much greater problem is the outright purchase of votes. One of my interlocutors claimed that half the Ukrainian electorate votes for money and that a standard payment for one vote is \$20. Thus, if fifteen million votes are bought, the cost would be \$300 million.

Ultimately, no rules on election financing can be implemented without far-reaching transparency. Ukraine has already advanced far in this direction with all the beneficiary owners of banks having been revealed. The next two steps should be to uncover the actual owners of Ukraine's many television stations and the opening and public audit of election campaigns.

Finally, Ukraine's law enforcement authorities need to impose the country's laws on major Russian agents and sanctioned individuals. They must not be allowed to own television stations and fund presidential election campaigns. How can Medvedchuk and Firtash be allowed in this game? Any receipt of funding from the Kremlin or one of its proxies should disqualify a candidate immediately.

Anders Aslund is a senior fellow at the Atlantic Council and adjunct professor at Georgetown University. ■

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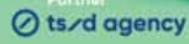
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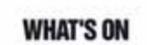












Support equality by joining the Kyiv Pride march on June 17 that will start off at 9 a.m. near the National Opera of Ukraine (50 Volodymyrska St.)



## Kyiv festival uses VR tech to promote academic music



Double bass player Nazar Stets performs at a concert held during the Kyiv Contemporary Music Days at Art Ukraine Gallery in Kyiv on Sept. 10, 2017. (Maria Duka)

**Y TOMA ISTOMINA**  
ISTOMINA@KYIVPOST.COM

For its academic concerts, the New Music Touchpoints festival combines the old with the ultra-new, using musical instruments invented centuries ago in tandem with the latest virtual reality gadgets.

Held in Lisbon, Portugal, on June 11–20, the festival will broadcast its events in Kyiv using 360-degree virtual reality technology.

New Music Touchpoints was founded this year by the team behind Kyiv Contemporary Music Days, another academic music festival, which has been held in Kyiv annually since 2015.

The founder of the festival – pianist and composer Albert Saprykin – says that even though the concerts are being held in Lisbon, the team

didn't want Kyiv citizens to miss out. "Because of how wonderful our favorite audience in Kyiv is, we will organize live streams (broadcast) in 360 (degrees)," Saprykin told the Kyiv Post.

The festival will feature 30 musicians from all over the world, who will play modern academic music and give lectures.

Some of the events will be broadcast live in Kyiv Mohyla Business School starting from June 15. Kyiv fans of classical music, wearing virtual reality headsets, will be able to see every corner of the Lisboa Incomum music hall, where the concerts are to be held, and experience the events as if they were sitting in the audience.

### Moving to Portugal

The festival's history started last

October, when a friend and regular of Kyiv Contemporary Music Days, Portuguese composer and musician Jaime Reis, opened a music venue in Lisbon and proposed that the festival team host their concerts there.

The group, headed by Saprykin, decided to take a risk and arrange a festival in the country in which they had never held an event.

Saprykin says that the audience in Lisbon differs from the one in Kyiv, but that every concert is unpredictable, no matter where it is held.

"You never know how many people will attend a concert," he said.

The festival kicked off on June 11. It will hold a total of 13 concerts and 12 lectures featuring both foreign and Ukrainian artists.

"We bring together musicians that perform in Vienna, Paris, and Graz," Saprykin said.

They will play music by contemporary composers and the classics of the 20th century.

One of the most prominent Ukrainian musicians, pianist Antonii Baryshevskyi, will play music by modern Ukrainian composers Valentyn Sylvestrov, Vitaliy Hodziatsky, Oleksii Retinskyi and Svyatoslav Lunyov.

"Certainly, some of the works of these composers have already been played in Lisbon, but we see some special beauty in the fact that they will be played all together by another Ukrainian composer," Saprykin said.

### Virtual reality

In Kyiv, New Music Touchpoints will hold six VR screenings, two of them live.

Attendees can either wear VR

more **Music** on page **21**

## City Life

WITH CLARA MARCHAUD

### Local guide installs 'secret' sculptures on Kyiv streets

You won't find them in a guidebook. And, no bigger than a soccer ball, they're not so easy to spot on the streets either.

Seven bronze sculptures featuring famous symbols of Kyiv have been installed around the center of the Ukrainian capital as part of the Shukay (meaning "seek!" in Ukrainian) project.

Yulia Bevzenko, a blogger, tourist guide, and the initiator of the project, says she installed the sculptures to prompt Kyiv residents to walk around the city looking for them, to learn the history behind them, and then to take foreign guests on walking tours.

The sculptures are a chicken Kyiv, a Kyiv chestnut, a Kyiv cake, a Kyiv candied fruit, a Kyiv carriage, a Kyiv tram and a Kyiv brick or plinth brick – a type of brick used since ancient times in churches and other old buildings.

All of sculptures have QR codes on their info boards, which can be scanned to get more information about the object in English and Ukrainian.

Kyiv residents and visitors are already on the hunt for the statues.

Tatiana Sakach, an HR manager with a Kyiv-based company, took her friends

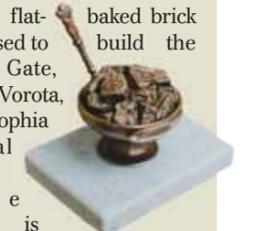
from Spain to look for the statues when they came to Ukraine's capital in late May for the Champions League final match.

"It adds something interactive to the visit because you can talk about the object," Sakach says.

She also attended the opening of the latest sculpture – the plinth brick – on June 8.

Placed on a wall of a building in Kyiv's Podil district, the bronze plinth brick refers to wide and flat-baked brick that was used to build the Golden Gate, or Zoloti Vorota, and St. Sophia Cathedral in Kyiv.

While Bevzenko is



more **Sculptures** on page **22**

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**KyivPost**

# Turkish Embassy celebrates Roksolana, Ukrainian queen of the Ottoman Empire

BY MARIYA KAPINOS  
KAPINOS@GMAIL.COM

A Ukrainian girl is kidnapped from her village at the age of 15, taken as a slave to the Ottoman Empire, but ends up marrying Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent.

The story is 500 years old, and often thought to be no more than a romantic legend, but it still inspires artists, and unites Ukraine and Turkey.

The woman, known as Roksolana, was honored at a concert in the National Philharmonic of Ukraine on June 11 organized by the Turkish Embassy and Ukraine's Culture Ministry.

The concert featured a selection of musical pieces written in different centuries and devoted to the great sultan's wife. Music by Joseph Haydn, Nevit Kodalli, Dmytry Akimov, Yevhen Stankovych and Aytekin Atas was performed by the Ukrainian Radio Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Volodymyr Sheiko.

"It is so surprising that composers from so many different countries dedicated their artworks to this woman," Sheiko said.

Ukrainian actress Olha Sumska, who played Roksolana in a Ukrainian TV-series of the same name, read lines from letters said to have been written by Roksolana to her beloved spouse while he was away on a military expedition.

From the 14th to the early 20th century, the Ottoman Empire controlled much of southeastern Europe, western Asia and North Africa. It reached the peak of its power in the 16th and 17th centuries, during the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent.

Sumska believes Roksolana must have been a really astonishing woman, and Yonet Can Tezel, Turkey's ambassador to Ukraine, agrees.

"We wanted to showcase the heritage that Turkey and Ukraine share," Tezel said.



During a concert on June 11, Ukrainian actress Olga Sumska reads letters written by Roksolana to her husband, Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent. The concert, organized by Turkish Embassy in Ukraine and the Ministry of Culture was held at the National Philharmonic of Ukraine. (Courtesy of Turkish Embassy in Ukraine)

"And Roksolana is the perfect figure for this."

Susanna Chakhoyan, a soloist of National Opera of Ukraine, rated the concert highly.

"It pleases my soul to see official establishments arranging such an entrancing concert," Chakhoyan said. "Also, I know Tezel family, and there is something intriguing in the fact that they were the ones to organize this concert. You know, I would compare Suleiman's deep affection for Roksolana to Yonet's love for (his wife) Ave."

The concerts attracted attendees from Ukraine, Turkey and other countries.

Anamika Bharti, wife of Manoj Bharti, the Indian ambassador to Ukraine, lived in Turkey for a while, and knows the story of Roksolana well.

"I did like the concert," Bharti said. "And I think Roksolana's love story is a fairytale."

## Rise of a slave girl

Despite many novels being written and much research done on Roksolana, known in Turkey as Hurrem Sultan, there is little of factual information about her. Primary sources on Hurrem are her correspondence with Suleiman, the harem salary records, and Suleiman's diaries.

Samuel Twerdovski, who worked in the Polish Embassy to the Ottoman Empire in 1621 and 1622, and Ukrainian orientalist Ahatanhel Krymsky, claim that her birth name was Nastya Lisovska and that she was the daughter of an Orthodox priest from Rohatyn, a small town near western city of Lviv. An old

song from that region tells a story of a girl who was kidnapped by Tatars, Turkic-speaking people who captured and exported slaves to Ottoman Empire. Lisovska was enslaved and sold into the sultan's harem.

Turkish archives say that she probably entered the harem between 1517-1520, when she was around 15. Suleiman was around 25 when he met his wife-to-be.

Some sources say that Roksolana was born in 1503. This theory is also supported by Suleiman's marriage certificate, which states that his wife was 11 years younger than he was. Suleiman was born in 1492.

Not long after Roksolana and Suleiman met, she ousted Gulbenar (in other sources - Mahidevran), the mother of Suleiman's first-born son, from the position of favorite concu-

bine. Roksolana became the one and only woman in the sultan's heart, as Suleiman's love letters and poems to his spouse prove.

To be with Hurrem, Suleiman had to violate many rules. First of all, in 1533 or 1534 he married Hurrem, violating the custom according to which sultans were not to marry their concubines.

The sultan also violated another law: While having a harem with thousands of women in it, he is believed to have become practically monogamous, which was unprecedented in Ottoman history.

Based on information from her personal letters, Roksolana was mother to six children (although sources widely disagree on how many children she had) and this was another violation of the old royal principle. Historically, to prevent a mother having too much influence over the sultan, a concubine was allowed to have only one son.

Throughout the ages, many theories spread to account for Roksolana's influence on Suleiman: her beauty, her joyous spirit, her political genius, and her cleverness.

Many sources, including Venetian reports, claim she wasn't particularly beautiful, but rather small and graceful, and that she laughed a lot.

Her joyous approach to life found reflection even in her name, Hurrem, which means "joyful" or "laughing one." Roksolana was a nickname given by European observers and historians who were referring to the province of Ruthenia in western Ukraine where she was allegedly born.

What is known for sure is that Hurrem reduced the number of Tatar raids on Polish lands. Piotr Opatynski, the Polish ambassador to Suleiman's court in 1533, confirmed that through Roksolana's pleading, the sultan forbade the Tatars to raid the part of Ukraine then under Polish control - the lands from which the sultan's wife had been kidnapped, many years before. ■

## Kyiv festival of academic music moves to Lisbon

Music from page 20

headsets or use their own phones stuck into google cardboard viewers (basically headsets made of cardboard) - the difference is Hr 75 in price.

Saprykin says that this is a technically challenging project, and the festival's team had to attract additional partners that provided equipment and financing.

The founder says that as far as he knows nobody has screened concerts in VR in Ukraine before, and the team is "glad to be the pioneers."

Unlike ordinary screening methods, 360-degree virtual reality can recapture the atmosphere. Such screening, Saprykin says, would have come in handy at one of the concerts of Baryshevskiyi in Kyiv - it has gathered so many attendees that the organizers had to seat them on the window sills and put chairs on the stage.

He says that apart from the obvious reason - to increase the

size of the audience - New Music Touchpoints will use virtual reality to record the concerts, capturing them for posterity.

"We thus want to realize the preservation, continuity in culture," he said. "Some person in 2083 will be able to put on a headset, look around and turn up at a concert that was held far back in 2018, when his parents hadn't even been born yet."

## Academic music boom

Saprykin says that for a while it has been generally thought that modern classical music is merely created by composers and consumed only by the same composers.

"But the situation in Ukraine today is quite different, and in a certain sense it is unique."

The musician says that concerts of modern academic music are very popular in Kyiv, and people of various occupations attend performances.

A chamber concert by a small ensemble or one musician in



German composer Hans Tutshku gives a lecture at the academic music festival New Music Touchpoints in Lisboa Incomum, Lisbon, Portugal on June 11. (Sergey Anishchenko)

Ukraine's capital attracts up to 200 attendees, Saprykin says.

"That is unprecedented for places like Poland, Germany, and Portugal." Saprykin says that foreign

musicians who perform at Kyiv Contemporary Music Days are always amused by the quality and size of the audience, as they listen to the music with a great deal of

enthusiasm.

"This is due to the cultural spirit of Ukrainians that has awakened in the recent years."

Saprykin says that the festival has just started experimenting with virtual reality, and that they have ambitious plans for the technology.

He says that although Kyiv is often called the second Berlin, where many cultural events take place, the situation is not quite as good in other Ukrainian cities.

Therefore, in future, the festival hopes to arrange virtual reality screenings in other regions, so that their citizens can witness contemporary academic music concerts, just as Kyiv residents do.

"We would like more people in the regions to be involved in events that we organize."

*New Music Touchpoints. Lisboa Incomum (Lisbon, 20 General Leman St.) June 11-20. Kyiv Mohyla Business School (Kyiv, 8/5 Voloska St.) June 15-20. Hr 75-150. ■*

# Ukrainian artist makes old-school animations, wins international fame

BY VANSHIKA SINGH

While many filmmakers have embraced the technological wonders of CGI, or computer generated imagery, New York-based Ukrainian animator Sashko Danylenko spends days drawing by hand, cutting out paper figures, moving them around, and photographing them frame-by-frame to turn them into old-school, but cool, animated cartoons.

Danylenko, 29, has used the old-style technique to create music videos for Ukrainian bands TNMK and Dakha Brakha, as well as for the French band Kwoon. His animated films have been presented at multiple film festivals, in Ukraine and abroad.

He has also been selected for the TED Residency, and presented his work on the TED stage in New York in 2016.

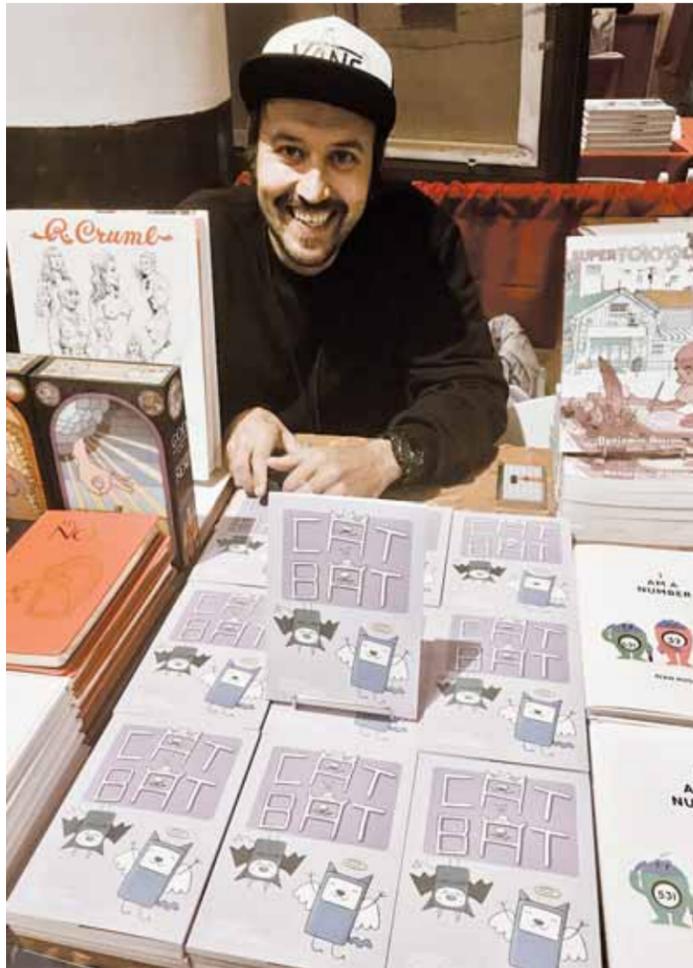
"My passion is to tell stories, and my language is animation," Danylenko says.

## From hobby to job

Danylenko has been drawing since childhood, and never thought of making his hobby into a profession. Never having studied art, he started working on his first commercial art project in 2010. It was the music video for Ukrainian musicians Ocheretyany Kit, featuring Tonya Matvienko, for the song "Ziishla Zorya."

Two years later he created the video for "Carpathian Rap," a song by the Ukrainian famous band Dakha Brakha, which combines Ukrainian folk music with modern musical trends in what has been dubbed the "ethno-chaos" genre.

The band even ended up using



Ukrainian artist Sashko Danylenko presents his "Cat'n'Bat" comic book at the MoCCA Arts Festival in April in New York. (Kasia Zabawka)

However, this success was not enough for building a profitable career in Ukraine, so in 2015 Danylenko and his 29-year-old wife and business partner, Kasia Zabawka decided to move to New York. There, he started getting invitations to participate in film festivals and animation shows.

In 2016 he submitted his work to TED, an international non-profit organization "devoted to spreading ideas," and participated in its four-month residency program, during which he created a short animation movie called "Bike Portraits."

Featuring a combination of hand-drawn animations, videos and pictures, the movie shows how one can tell a lot about any city by looking at the bicycles local residents use.

"From the bright bike decorations of Bohemian Berlin, to the built-for-speed cycles of New York City, a bicycle is a good tool to explore a city," Danylenko says. He presented his artwork at TED's stage in New York.

## Cat and Bat

"My favorite thing in animation is music videos, and I would love to work in music videos, but it is very difficult to make a profit on them," Danylenko says. "That's why you need to find a balance and do other commercial projects at the same time."

Together with Zabawka, Danylenko has spent last 18 months on a comic

book called "Cat'n'Bat," which was released in the United States in April.

It is a series of wordless comic strips that reveal painful but hilarious truths about human nature, Danylenko says. They portray emotions that anyone will be able to understand, no matter where in the world they come from.

"Everything that irritates us and everything that enrages us in modern society — all of that inspired 'Cat'n'Bat,'" the artist says. "Racism, religious fanaticism, expensive education, social injustice, extremism, dirty politicians, insane medical bills and such things."

Cat and Bat are two friends and troublemakers.

"Every day, they watch awful television, get awful ideas, and get into an awful lot of trouble," Danylenko explains. "Actually, it's a bomb of black humour in a kawaii (Japanese for cute) wrapper."

The book was exhibited at the U.S. MoCCA Arts Festival in April.

While Danylenko says he misses Ukraine and plans to promote his work here, he doesn't plan to come back for now.

"I would love to keep working in New York, as it helps me to grow and has blessed me with an opportunity to be surrounded by very creative and intelligent people, and to be a part of their community," Danylenko says. ■

the designs from the music video created by Danylenko to create the costumes they later performed in.

After producing the music video for French band Kwoon's track "Swan," released in 2014 in Paris, Danylenko won international recognition.

Check out Danylenko's art at [www.sashkodanylenko.com](http://www.sashkodanylenko.com).

Order a print copy of "Cat'n'Bat" for \$9.99, or a digital one for \$5.99 at:

[www.idwpublishing.com/product/cat-n-bat/](http://www.idwpublishing.com/product/cat-n-bat/)

or at [www.amazon.com/CatNBat-Sashko-Danylenko/dp/1603094229](http://www.amazon.com/CatNBat-Sashko-Danylenko/dp/1603094229).

Print copies are also available at: <http://www.topshelfcomix.com/catalog/catnbat/975>

"Cat'n'Bat" related accessories are available at <https://society6.com/catnbat>.

## City Life: Look for 'secret' sculptures learn about Kyiv

Sculptures from page 20

the founder and driving force behind the project, all of the sculptures were created by artists from the Gallenko Gallery, a sculpture studio. Each statue was sponsored by a Kyiv-based company related to the subject of the sculpture. For instance, the plinth brick was financed by the construction company UkrBud.

The Kyiv cake sculpture was sponsored by confectionery giant Roshen, which is owned by Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko. Kyiv

cake is not only a traditional Kyiv treat, but also a trademark product of Roshen — the cake's recipe and production method was created in 1956 at the Karl Marx Confectionary Factory, now Roshen.

On the project's website, Bevzenko has created an accompanying "myth" for each statue. For example, those who touch the sculpture of the plinth brick will get a house.

Five more sculptures will be presented by the end of 2018, Bevzenko says, but what these are is still a secret. ■



Yulia Bevzenko (L), a blogger, tourist guide, and the initiator of the Shukay project, poses for a picture on June 8 near the bronze plinth brick sculpture — this type of brick has been used since ancient times in churches and other old buildings. Artist Serhiy Halenko (R) designed the sculpture. (Clara Marchaud)

### Where to find the sculptures:

**Chicken Kyiv** — in the mini-park on Arhitektora Horodetskoho Street, near the Chicken Kyiv restaurant (15/4 Khreshchatyk St.)

**Kyiv Chestnut** — at the building of the Kyiv City State Administration at 36 Khreshchatyk St.

**Kyiv Cake** — near the Roshen store at 29/1 Khreshchatyk St.

**Kyiv Candied Fruit** — near Druzi Café at 2D Andriivskiy Uzviz St.

**Kyiv Carriage** — at 15/4 Khreshchatyk St.

**Kyiv Tram** — near the Gulliver shopping mall at 1 Sportyvna Sq.

**Plinth Brick** — at 6 Dehtiarna St.

For more information on the sculptures, go to [www.managerofkyiv.com/shukay](http://www.managerofkyiv.com/shukay).



The EU Anti-Corruption Initiative (EUACI), ([www.euaci.eu](http://www.euaci.eu)) implemented by Danida, is seeking candidates for the position of:

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**Communications Expert (full-time)**  
Working under the supervision of the Head of the Programme Implementing Unit, the selected candidate will work with the team and the local and national civil society groups as well as media groups and local government to provide specific support to the program.  
For detailed TOR and information please visit <https://euaci.eu/what-we-do/procurement.html>

This program is financed by the European Union and co-financed and implemented by DANIDA



**Assunzione di due impiegati a contratto per i servizi di assistente amministrativo nel settore consolare-visti.**

L'Ambasciata d'Italia a Kiev ha pubblicato sul proprio sito internet l'avviso di assunzione di due impiegati a contratto da adibire ai servizi di assistente amministrativo nel settore consolare-visti. La scadenza per la presentazione delle domande è fissata al 19 giugno 2018. Tutte le informazioni sui requisiti e le modalità di presentazione delle domande sono disponibili sul sito [www.ambkiev.esteri.it](http://www.ambkiev.esteri.it)



**Professionals for Reform Support Mechanism (PRSM)**  
Professionals for Reform Support Mechanism (PRSM) in cooperation with the FORBIZ project in Ukraine, financed by the European Union within the EU4Business initiative, invites qualified and experienced Ukrainian professionals to respond to this call for applications and become national experts of the SME Development Office (SMEDO) to advise the Ministry of Economic Development and Trade of Ukraine (MEDT) on SME development and coordination issues.

**The present Call for Applications is open for the recruitment of 10 experts to fill the following positions:**

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- Advisor SME Support Infrastructure Development;
- Advisor Business Services Development;
- Advisor SME Policy Coordination and Monitoring.

For more detailed information about preferred qualifications and skills, indicative duties and responsibilities, as well as applying procedure, please visit web-site: <https://edge.in.ua/192-call-for-applications-for-sme-development-office-smedo-advisors.html>

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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 eHealth project under the Ministry of Health of Ukraine (MoH):**

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**Global Communities**  
is seeking qualified professionals to fill the following long-term position for the five-year USAID-funded Decentralization Offering Better Results and Efficiency Program (DOBRE):

**GRANTS MANAGER**

The Grants Manager will oversee all DOBRE grant activities including developing budgets and sub-awards, contracts, ensuring full utilization of grant funds, covering programmatic and financial documentation and reporting on activities. Responsibilities will include, but not be limited to:

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- Select subgrantees or contractors through an open and transparent process;
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- Obtain approval from USAID and Global Communities for all subawards;
- Effectively monitor and document subaward activities;
- Build the capacity of DOBRE local partners and Incentive Grants Fund;
- Assist with any other duties as required by Supervisor.

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- Experience with USAID reporting requirements;
- Knowledge of grant application scoring, funding cycles, logic models;
- Demonstrated computer and typing skills;
- Excellent communication and organizational skills;
- Must be able to work in collaboration with both national and international staff;
- Ability to manage staff and workflow to meet deadlines;
- Ability to work independently on multiple tasks.

Full job description is available at:  
**Grants Manager [www.kyivpost.com/classifieds/jobs/grants-manager-6](http://www.kyivpost.com/classifieds/jobs/grants-manager-6)**

Candidates are asked to provide their CVs to [UkraineHR@globalcommunities.org](mailto:UkraineHR@globalcommunities.org) by June 25, 2018, indicating Grants Manager in the subject line.

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



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## International Business Community come together at the Ramazan dinner in Kyiv

The Turkish Business Community gathered together with the International Business community at the traditional Ramazan dinner of the International Turkish Ukrainian Business Association(TUID), which was held at Intercontinental Kyiv on June 6 and honored by the Ambassador of the Republic of Turkey to Ukraine H.E. Yönet Can Tezel. The event was sponsored by Turkish construction giant Onur, renewable energy company Emsolt, law firm Integrities, Turkish construction company Limak and leading Turkish equipment and engineering firm in Ukraine Dalgakıran.

1. Turkish Ambassador H.E. Yönet Can Tezel greets the guests
2. CEO of Terrafood Fortunato Guadilipi, CEO of Lifecell, the largest Turkish investor in Ukraine, İsmet Yazıcı, board member of Emsolt Investment Alper Tuncer and partner of Integrities Vyacheslav Korchev
3. Chairman of TUİD Burak Pehlivan welcomes the guests, "This ramazan dinner gives us the opportunity to come together every year as Turkish Business Community with our Ukrainian and international friends"
4. Turkish Ambassador H.E. Yönet Can Tezel and Chairman of TUİD Burak Pehlivan, together with General Director of Turkish Airlines in Ukraine Dinçer Sayıcı and Deputy Head of Japanese Mission in to Ukraine, Michio Harada.
5. From left to right, president of Ukrainian Austrian Association Alfre P Praus, Japanese diplomat Michio Harada, soprano Susanna Chakhoian, first deputy minister of Justice of Ukraine Nataliya Bernatska, her husband Ruslan Bernatskiy and CEO of Onur Construction Emre Karahameoğlu
6. Former publisher of Kyiv Post Mohammad Zahoor was among the guests.
7. Two friends from same high school, Head of Eurasia Customer Value Management at VEON(Kyivstar) Güçlü Çaştaban and Burak Pehlivan
8. Editor-in-chief of Kyiv Post Brian Bonner together with Kyiv Post's Commercial Director Alyona Nevmerzhytska
9. Vice chairman of TUİD Ali Bulut prays before the iftar time.

