

Nullified claims against forest and coastal carvers. How much did lobbyists spend on advertising the petition for Law 12089?



Iryna Fedoriv, Head of the civic initiative “Holka” (“The Needle”)

On April 7, **Volodymyr Zelenskyy** signed a scandalous law ([12089](#)) that nullified claims against forest and coastal carve-outs that took place during the Yanukovich era and earlier. If a community or the state wants to return its property taken away over the past 10 years to the court, it must provide a deposit from the budget in the amount of the market value of such property.

The President ignored the petition of **Michel Tereshchenko**, a descendant of the Tereshchenko family, which gained more than 25,000 votes in late March, demanding that Law 12089 be vetoed. **This is despite the fact that in the absence of elections in the country, it is extremely important for our citizens and Western partners to see that there are still effective tools for the public to influence the decisions of the authorities.**

In opposition to this petition, dishonest businesses launched their own petition, authored by **Andriy Semydidko**, an associate of businessman **Igor Mazepa**. This petition demanding the signing of the law was launched on March 24 and has not yet received the required number of votes. Telegram channels, which did not pay advertising taxes to the budget during the war, massively shared posts with signs of astroturfing in support of Semydidko’s petition.

On Facebook, they ordered ads for more than 200,000 hryvnias (more than \$5,300) and reached about 4 million people. Speaking of Telegram, the lobbyists received at least 4.1 million views there as of April 2, and this could have cost about half a million hryvnias. Advertising posts could have cost at least hundreds of thousands of hryvnias. Yet, the lobbyists failed to close the petition.

The Holka civic initiative systematized data to demonstrate how lobbyists for unfair business interests invested in this campaign to create an information field for Zelensky to sign the law.

So, on the first day the petition appeared on the Presidential Office's website, the key author, Ihor Fris, called on his Facebook followers, who numbered about 25,000, to sign the petition. He also asked his Telegram followers to sign the petition. The head of Monobank, **Oleg Horokhovsky**, did the same. Still, the votes were not collected.



Ihor Fris ✓

24 березня о 12:42 · 🌐



Нещодавно ВРУ прийнято законопроект 12089 щодо змін до цивільного кодексу про забезпечення прав добросовісного набувача

Закон вирішує питання гарантії права власності для тих хто в законний спосіб купив майно і зареєстрував право власності.

Гарантія не розповсюджується на тих хто купив об'єкти критичної інфраструктури, стратегічні об'єкти державної власності, об'єкти культурної спадщини, об'єкти природно-заповідного фонду або порушено закон при купівлі першим власником (тут кримінал як діяв так і діє).

Також про його підтримку висловилися і просили підтримати: Федерація роботодавців України, Резиденти ДІА сіті, бізнес який входить в Раду підприємців при Президенті України: Аякс, Біофарма, Софтсерв, Нова Пошта, Торгово промислова палата України, Спілка оборонних підприємств та інші.

Бізнесом зареєстровано петицію до Президента про його підтримку та прохання підписати законопроект.

В мене 5000 друзів і більше 24000 підписників.
Якщо довіряєте - буду вдячний за підтримку.

When the business realized that they were losing in comparison to Tereshchenko's petition, which was supported by **Ada Rogovtseva, Taras Topolya, Ihor Kondratiuk, Valerii Pekar, Oleksandra Matviichuk**, and other well-known public figures, they started to shape the information field for money.

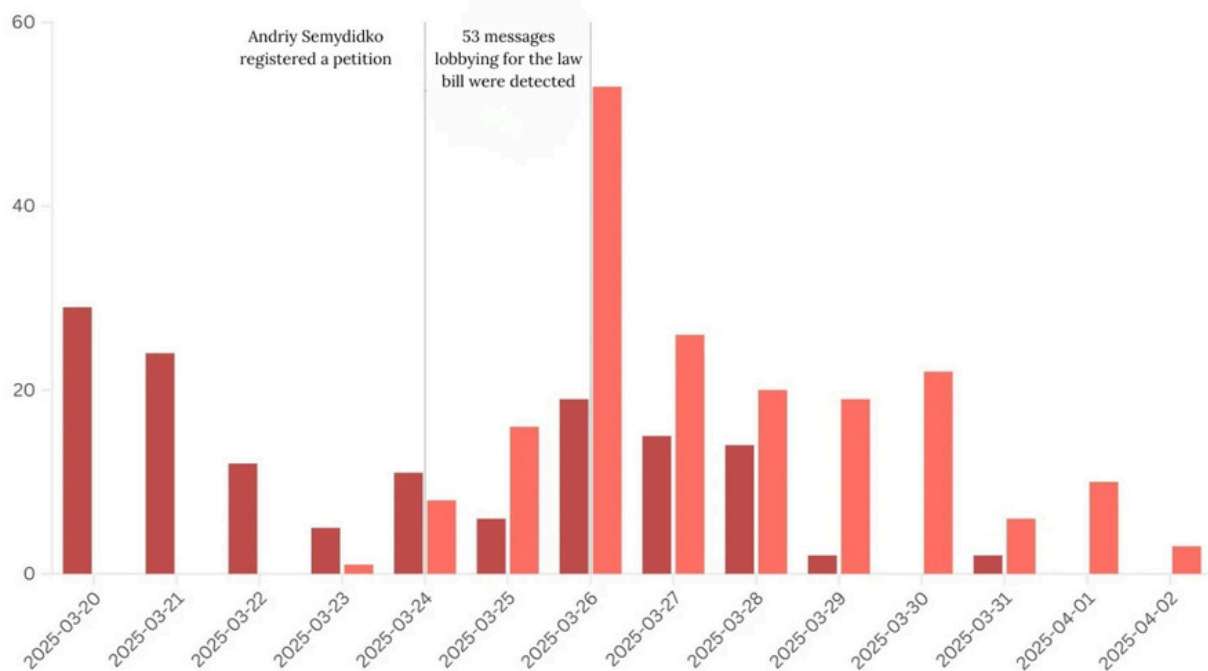
More than fifty posts appeared on Telegram, and they started a large-scale information laundering campaign around the 12089 project.

Assessment of the Law Bill 12089 on the Telegram channels



Number of messages where the attitude is

■ - Negative ■ - Positive



Telegram data. Period of study: from 20 March to 2 April 2025

It is worth noting that MP and key author of the project Fris accused the activists of advertising Tereshchenko's petition for money. And he provided his audience with a cropped screenshot from the page not of the activists but of Ihor Fris's colleague, MP **Yulia Ovchynnikova** (Servant of the People), who supported Tereshchenko's petition.



Igor Fris

22 березня о 09:33

Коли зовсім «не палено» виглядають потуги ветувати законопроект про гарантії права власності для українців.

Це вже нові гранди чи ще старі від тих хто не бажає розвитку держави?

Реклама · Оплачено:
рекламодавець з України...

Друзі, сьогодні... Показати більше



Screenshot from the Facebook page of Igor Fris

The petition was also advertised on the page of Ihor Levchenko's party, Narodovladstvo. But these are isolated (!) cases.

Importantly, the public sector appealed to everyone in public, especially politicians, not to advertise Tereshchenko's petition.

Interestingly, MP Ihor Fris did not make a single post against the Facebook advertisement for Semydidko's petition and did not ask where the funds came from. According to a study by the Holka civic initiative, at least \$5,300 was spent on it. Most of the advertising was done through the pages "Protection of Property" and "Anti-Raider Union."



A screenshot from the "Property Protection" page, from which more than \$2,000 was spent in total

This is despite the fact that the monitoring period was until April 4, and the ads appeared after that date. Therefore, the amount businesses spend on Facebook is not final.

Moreover, in the last few days of the collection, Tereshchenko's petition was siphoning off votes by advertising the petition of Ihor Levchenko of the Narodovladstvo party. Therefore, some of the signatories may have made a mistake.

Kateryna Ivanchenko, head of the Center for Innovations Development, which introduced the petition tool in Ukraine, notes:

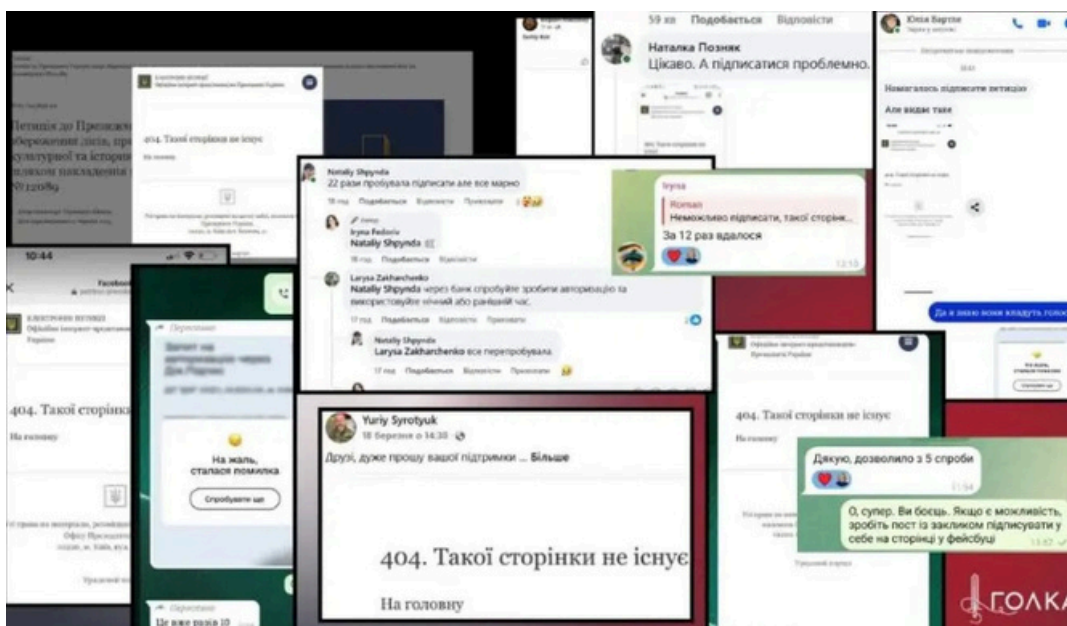


Kateryna Ivanchenko
Head of the [Center for Innovation Development](#)

The fact is that there were as many as 4 petitions demanding to veto the project from the very beginning. This caused such a resonance in society. The next day, the authors of the petitions reached an agreement to collect votes under Michel Tereshchenko's petition. Accordingly, when we saw Levchenko's petition advertised on Facebook recently, we realized that the developers were trying to pull our votes away. Why? The time frame for vetoing is limited. It is 15 calendar days. So, every day was worth its weight in gold. And so, those citizens who supported Levchenko's petition might have thought that they had already vetoed project 12089. The fact that the advertisement was simply removed when Tereshchenko's petition gained votes supports the theory that the votes were delayed. We were in time, and our opponents are still collecting votes for their petition.

The vote delay was scheduled for March 26-29. The advertisement featured 3 posts on the pages [“Kyiv is our capital”](#), [“Real Kharkiv”](#) (inactive since 2022), and [“Real Lviv”](#) (only 2 posts per page in 2023-2025). Together, these three ads were shown to the audience more than 28 thousand times.

The technology of delayed voting worked in parallel with another one – voting blocking. Throughout the 10 days of signature collection for Michel Tereshchenko’s petition, citizens complained en masse that they received a 404 error. Some tried to vote several dozen times.



At the same time, the Office of the President informed the Holka civic initiative that there were no problems with collecting votes for the petition.

How were the votes on the Telegram collected?

Activists also turned to Telegram channels to spread their petition, but it was a native partner network. As for Semydidko's petition, its lobbyists used a combined approach. Some of their channels worked natively, without advertising. A significant number of channels were likely to provide content for money — and a lot of it.

Campaigns to support the petitions

Number of messages calling for signing the petition by authorship:



Telegram data. Period of study: from 20 March to 2 April 2025

As for Semydidko's petition, Trukha, Times of Ukraine, and other million-dollar channels were involved.

The screenshot displays three advertisement cards from a Telegram ad aggregator. Each card includes a logo, channel name, description, price, and a 'Замовити' (Order) button.

- Times of Ukraine:** Logo with 'TU' in blue and yellow. Description: 'Всеукраїнський Код товару: 1 804 238'. Price: 77 800 грн. Button: 'Замовити'. Additional info: 'Кількість підписників - 1 804 238'.
- Україна Online:** Logo with a hand giving a thumbs up. Description: 'Охоплення - 213 356 ERR - 19.2%'. Price: 88 320 грн. Button: 'Замовити'.
- Труха Україна:** Logo with 'ТРУХА' in black on a yellow background. Description: 'Всеукраїнський Код товару: 2 595 301'. Price: 78 000 грн. Additional info: 'Додаткове розміщення Реклама бізнесу'. Button: 'Замовити'.
- Київ INFO:** Logo with 'КИЇВ INFO' in black on a red background. Description: 'Київ Код товару: 835 249'. Price: 45 000 грн. Button: 'Замовити'. Additional info: 'Кількість підписників - 835 249 Вартість показу 1 відвідувачу - 0.15 грн. (вартість поста/охоплення)'.

A screenshot from the Telegram ad aggregator when you try to book ads online for Trukha and Times of Ukraine

To understand, one post on Ukraina Online can cost almost 90,000 UAH, Trukha costs almost 80,000 UAH, and the Times of Ukraine costs almost 80,000 UAH. The state does not receive any taxes from these funds, and I must emphasize this once again. For “virtuous” businesses, such methods of pressure and shaping the information field have become quite acceptable.

Although the post was viewed by more than half a million users, it did not help the lobbyists collect the required number of votes for the petition.


Петиція, яка стосується кожного!

В Україні досі трапляються випадки, коли навіть законно оформлену власність – квартиру, будинок, землю чи бізнес можуть відібрати.

Без суду, без компенсації, через старі рішення, ухвалені багато років тому.

Щоб це змінити, офіцер Сил оборони Андрій Семидідько подав петицію до Президента.

Вона закликає підтримати закон, який захистить право українців на приватну власність.

 Підтримай петицію – це про справедливі правила для всіх:

 <https://petition.president.gov.ua/petition/244294>

Твій голос важливий!

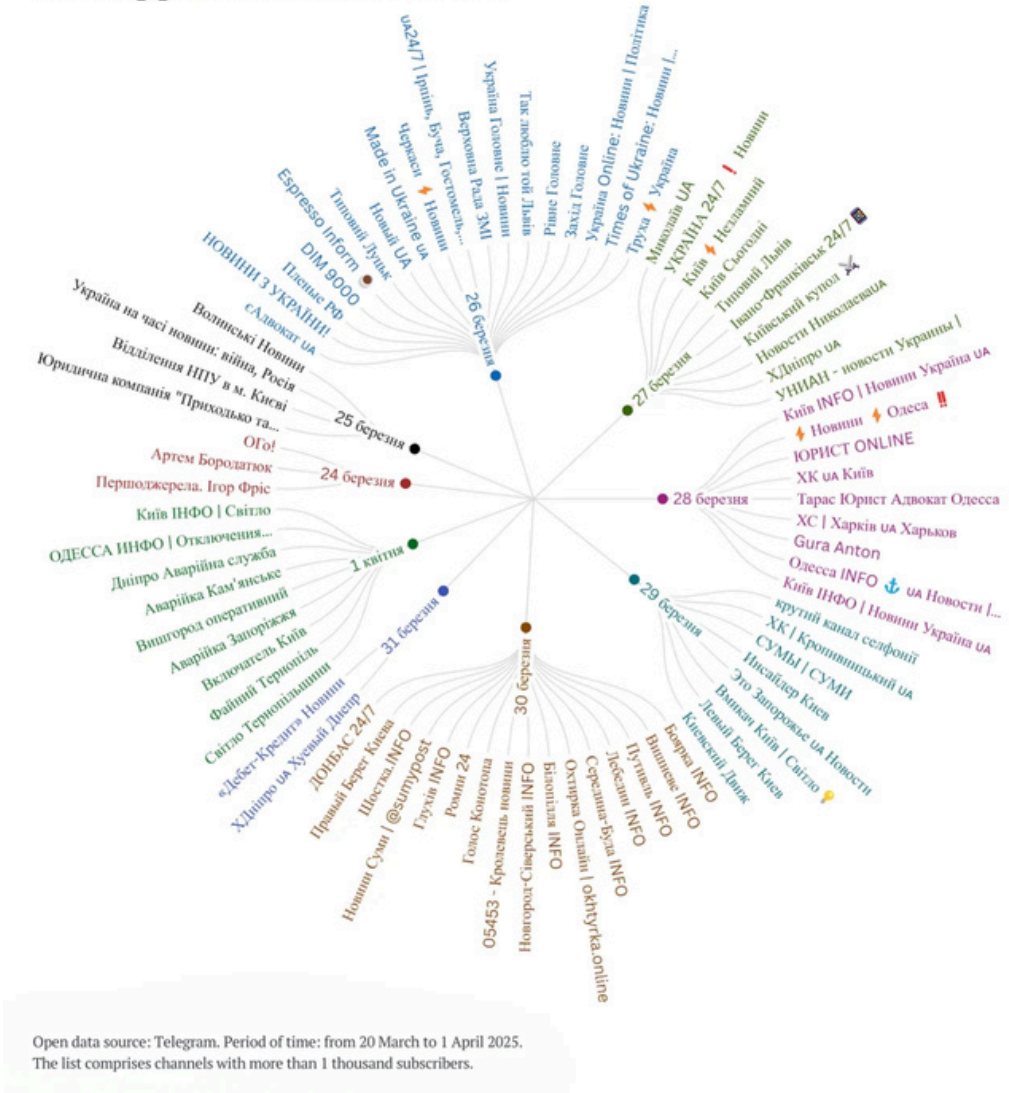
ТРУХА ⚡ Україна | Надіслати новину

t.me/truexanewsua/110158

681.2K 👁 Mar 26 at 14:06

Here is a graphic that shows which channels, from 1,000 to over a million, covered the posts.

The list of Telegram channels that called for the support of Bill No.12089



Of course, not all of them were advertising. After all, lobbyists have their own Telegram channels, and no one paid for posting here, of course. However, the more than 223,000 views of Horokhovsky’s [post](#) on his own channel did not help him collect votes either. These figures prove that even the audience loyal to businessman Horokhovsky and MP Fris, who would have been enough to sign the petition, did not support [the nullification](#) of claims against the carve-ups.

The messages supporting Semydidko’s petition contained essentially the same thesis: “It’s time to defend your right to land, housing and business. Because tomorrow, all this can be taken away. Without a trial. Without compensation. Without justice” and emphasized that the petition was initiated by an ‘officer of the Defense Forces’.



Sponsored content (without disclosure) in the media and astroturfing



In addition to advertising on Facebook and Telegram channels, several media outlets promoted the petition of the lobbyists of Law 12089.

On March 24, Semydidko's [blog was published](#) on Censor.NET. As a blogger, he posted this text himself without editorial pre-moderation. It is worth noting that the representatives of Censor.NET, **Yuriy Butusov** and **Tetiana Nikolayenko**, supported Tereshchenko's petition, not Semydidko's.

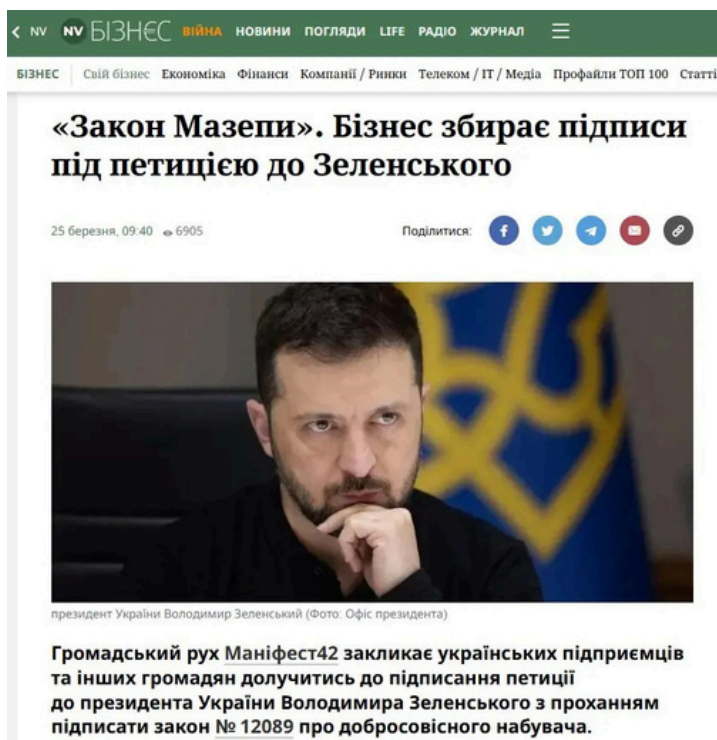
However, after the blog was published, a number of media outlets turned Semydidko's column into news (including [Gordon, TSN, and others](#)). The same headlines and text suggest that these materials may have signs of "jeansa", which is a Ukrainian word for sponsored content without disclosure. It is important to note that none of the materials is labeled as "advertising"

The image shows two screenshots of news articles. The top screenshot is from TSN (Tribuna) and the bottom is from Gordon. Both articles feature the same headline: **"Маніфест 42" ініціював петицію із заклик Володимира Зеленського підписати закон добросовісного набувача**. The text below the headline in both is identical: **Виконавчий директор громадського руху "Маніфест 42", офіцер Сил оборони України Андрій Семидідько ініціював петицію до Президента України Володимира Зеленського із закликом підписати закон №12089 про добросовісного набувача.** The TSN screenshot includes a date (11:27, 25.03.25), a category (Гроші), and view/like counts (1662). The Gordon screenshot includes a price (\$41.17, €45.02), a search bar, and a navigation menu with categories like 'В гостях у Гордона', 'Блоги', 'Ексклюзив', and 'Спецпроекти'. It also features a 'ТОП ТЕМИ' section with 'війна Росії' highlighted.

*A collage of screenshots from the TSN and Gordon websites
with the same headlines in the news*

Different media outlets cannot take from Semydidko's blog and make identical news with the same headlines. Therefore, this is a sign that a ready-made text was sent out for posting.

There were media outlets with different headlines that did not refer to Censor.NET. This includes NV. Business.



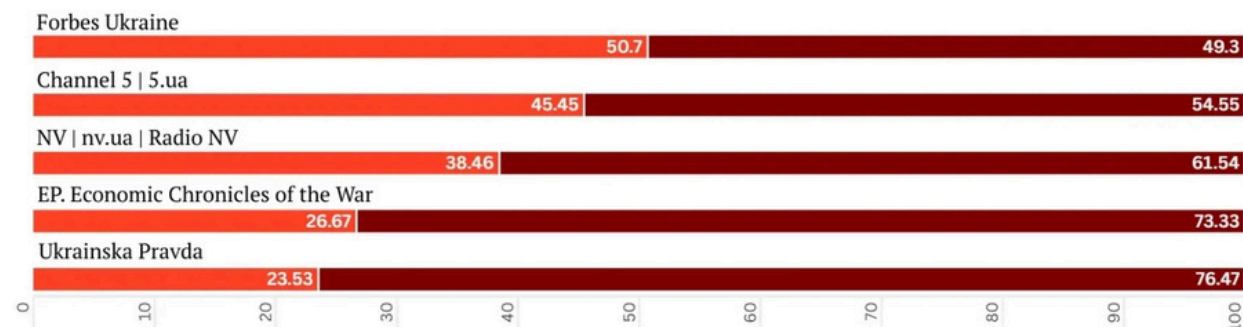
It is worth recalling that in 2024, a number of Telegram channels and media participated in [the whitewashing of Ihor Mazepa](#). Fewer questions arise about anonymous Telegram channels than about the media, which should have a neutral and balanced presentation.

Attitude towards Ihor Mazepa in the media's Telegram channels:



Percent of the news in which the attitude to Mazepa is:

Positive Neutral



The study analyzed the content of 222 Telegram channels for the period from January 1 to December 15, 2024



Despite a massive campaign on Telegram, Facebook, and the media, lobbyists failed to collect votes for Semydidko's petition, but Zelensky signed Law 12089.

Now we should look for 45 MPs who will be ready to appeal to the Constitutional Court and urgently prepare a new bill that will mitigate the effect of legislative initiative 12089. Also, when Parliament and the government fail, the judiciary has repeatedly proved its extremely important role in the country. Therefore, we need to keep an eye on the judicial practice. Here, obviously, the courts should use the Constitution rather than an unconstitutional law.

As a reminder, on March 25, Parliament also passed another scandalous draft law, 9549, which President Volodymyr Zelenskyy vetoed last year. Although MPs did not override the President's veto, Speaker **Ruslan Stefanchuk** signed the document and sent it to Zelensky for his signature.

For reference, the research methodology and data can be found [here](#).



A team that unites representatives of various sectors and participates in the formation of a vision for the development of the state and communities. Anyone can join us. No one will create quality policies for us without us.

+38 098 666 05 63

ngo.holka@gmail.com

