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March 7, 2015

Murder Near Kremlin Wounds Ukrainians



Russians carry portraits of Kremlin critic Boris Nemtsov, a former deputy prime minister, during a march in Moscow on March 1, two days after the opposition leader was assassinated near Red Square. He was shot four times. (AFP)

BY OLEG SUKHOV
REAGANX84@GMAIL.COM

Though post-Soviet Russia has a long tradition of political assassinations, opposition leader Boris Nemtsov's cold-blooded murder on Feb. 27 represents an entirely different rank.

Never has such a high-profile politi-

cian been killed in such a high-profile location in such an intimidating and repressive political atmosphere. Some argue that the murder is a watershed in Russia's history.

A new, much darker, era has begun in the 15-year reign of Russian President Vladimir Putin.

The murder of Nemtsov, 55, who

used to be an adviser to former Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko and who was a vehement critic of Russia's war against Ukraine, will have implications for both domestic and foreign policy. While a totalitarian ideology is gaining momentum and all dissent is rooted out in Russia, fears are rising that the Kremlin's foreign

policy may become even more hostile towards the West and that Russia's war against Ukraine may intensify.

The Kremlin was quick to dismiss accusations that Putin or other Russian authorities ordered the assassination. They responded, however, with their usual outlandish conspiracy theories blaming the assassination on

the Russian opposition, the West and Ukraine. Officials argued that the murder was not beneficial for Putin's reputation and argued that Nemtsov was a marginal figure who posed no threat to the regime.

However, the Kremlin does have a lot to gain from Nemtsov's murder; Kremlin critics pointed out. →3

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In Crimea, it's a crime to talk about returning to Ukraine rule

BY OLENA GONCHAROVA
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The life of Iryna Brunova-Kalisetska changed drastically after the Russian military invasion in Crimea in February 2014. A former non-governmental organization worker who spent her life on Ukraine's peninsula, she realized she had to leave the occupied territory.

"The first wave of emigration from Crimea mostly included those people for whom it was dangerous to stay – because of their political or religious views – and those who didn't imagine their lives in annexed Crimea and, most of all, wanted to save their Ukrainian identity," Brunova-Kalisetska explains. An ardent supporter of Ukraine, she came to Kyiv last March to start a new life away from her home in Simferopol.

More than 20,000 residents have left Crimea in the last year, at least half of those are Crimean Tatars, who face persecution along with pro-Ukrainian activists, says Refat Chubarov, the leader of the Crimean Tatar Mejlis.

Recently the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe monitoring mission reported that more than 300 cases of alleged human rights violations were recorded in Crimea during the year of occupation. At least 21 Crimean Tatars have been kidnapped, the organization said.

Crimea is home to more than 2 million people. The takeover by Russian troops without insignia last spring was nearly bloodless, until March 18, when a group of gunmen attacked a Ukrainian army base in Simferopol, killing one officer, Serhiy Kokurin, who became the first victim of Russia's war against Ukraine.

Crimea held an illegal secessionist referendum overseen by gunmen. After the jubilation that followed, Russian President Vladimir Putin formally annexed the territory, prompting many Ukrainian residents to leave or stay and

risk persecution.

Olga Skrypnyk, deputy head of the Crimean Field Mission on Human Rights, says local authorities have teamed up with the so-called Crimean self-defense groups, or armed militants, to intimidate citizens. She also suspects that a crackdown on Internet activists and bloggers is coming.

Crimean Prime Minister Sergei Aksyonov signed a law on Jan. 30 that aims to track the "propaganda" websites, create measures to protect the Internet space of the Crimean Republic from penetration of terrorist and extremist materials.

"It means they will keep an eye on active social media users and civic activists – both pro-Ukrainian and Crimean Tatars," Skrypnyk explains.

The space for freedom has shrunk in Crimea during the last year. Brunova-Kalisetska, who now works for the Kyiv-based Institute of Social and Political Psychology, follows the events in her native Crimea closely. She says a local government even recently banned a pro-Putin rally in Ekaterininsky Park in Sevastopol because the organizers missed a deadline for applying for permission to hold the rally.

"Even the most pro-Russian Crimeans used to express their opinions openly," she explains. "Now they have to drop the habit. One can express only pre-approved opinions."

Despite that, some 82 percent of Crimean citizens support joining Russia, according to a GfK-Ukraine poll released on Feb. 4. At least 21 percent of the respondents aged 18-56, said they are also content with their living standards. But the poll received heavy criticism in mainland Ukraine because it was conducted by phone and people may have been scared to tell the truth.

But Oleksiy Kushnir, a native of Crimea, said that many people who stayed are mostly happy with their lives now. "Yes, there are still lots of political and other problems, but who cares



Kremlin-backed Sergei Aksyonov holds an AK-47 automatic rifle on Feb. 23 in Simferopol. Russia's rulers on the peninsula have cracked down on dissent since seizing the peninsula (AFP)

about it? They just want to live peacefully and quietly," Kushnir, a 19-year-old student of Tavriysky National University from Simferopol, explains. "And well, it's really quiet here."

Kushnir is one of those Ukrainians who tried to adjust their lives to the new circumstances. "People have exchanged the hryvnia for rubles, got new passports, the government offices were renamed and prices have gone up – here's what today's Crimea looks like," Kushnir says. But he says his expectations were not high after Russian annexation. "And the Crimean politicians keep promising citizens mountains of gold," Kushnir explains. He plans to move to Kyiv to continue his studies.

Kushnir has a Russian passport, like other members of his family, but said they have kept their Ukrainian ones as well.

Those who decided to only keep the Ukrainian passports may face trouble finding jobs or getting services in Crimea, Kushnir says. However, he says that no one forces them to surrender

their Ukrainian passports.

Brunova-Kalisetska says the share of people who would like Crimea to reintegrate with Ukraine is growing. Brunova-Kalisetska observes: "The number of people who recall 'the Ukrainian times' is also growing, but they don't believe it would be possible to return to Ukraine soon. And well, now public discussion of such an issue is a criminal offense."

Political analyst Taras Berezovets, also a native of Crimea, believes that Ukraine should become an "attractive state" for Crimeans so they would feel there is a reason to come back. Besides that, the Ukrainian government should be ready to regain Crimea "when there is a chance," but there won't be one in the next five years, Berezovets said.

Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko said on Feb. 23 that the Ukrainian government will regain control over this occupied territory. "It won't be quick and easy. But it will happen for sure and together we will build a new Crimea," Poroshenko said.

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Murder trail leads to Putin

→ **1** Despite his relatively low popularity following endless Kremlin smear campaigns, Nemtsov was one of the most important opposition leaders and one of the most virulent critics of the Kremlin's corruption and authoritarianism. The assassination took place ahead of Nemtsov's planned report on the use of Russian regular troops in Ukraine and a major opposition march on March 1.

Ironically, the killing coincided with the newly-established Day of Special Operations, which effectively marks a year after Russian special forces invaded Crimea in the run-up to the March 2014 Russian annexation of Ukraine's peninsula.

Some argue that pro-Putin thugs indoctrinated by the Kremlin's anti-Western propaganda could have ordered the murder without the Kremlin's consent. Fingers have been pointed at the Anti-Maidan (anti-revolutionary) group, created as a reaction to Ukraine's EuroMaidan Revolution along with Russian-backed insurgents fighting in eastern Ukraine and pro-Kremlin Chechens sent to counter Kremlin critics.

Others, however, point out that the assassination of such an important opposition figure just a stone's throw away from Red Square, in a place tightly monitored by the police and intelligence agencies, could not have been carried out without the Kremlin's blessing. The sophisticated and professional character of the murder and the Kremlin's habit of wiretapping all opposition leaders also lend credence to this theory.

"Organizers should be looked for in Putin's inner circle," Ilya Yashin,

Nemtsov's ally, told the Kyiv Post. "Given that Putin, who was criticized by Nemtsov, benefited the most, investigators should make that version the key one." However, Russian investigators are not even considering this possibility, saying that they are pursuing leads about whether Ukrainian special services, the Russian opposition or Islamic radicals could be behind the murder.

Fears are also high that the murder represents a "point of no return" for Russia.

Previous watersheds were crossed when anti-Kremlin tycoon Mikhail Khodorkovsky and his associates were jailed in 2003, when Russia launched an invasion of Georgia in 2008, when Putin cracked down on the opposition and free media after being elected to a third term in 2012, and when he responded to the pro-Western EuroMaidan Revolution by annexing Crimea and invading Ukraine in 2014.

"We entered a new era — one of the physical liquidation of the regime's political opponents," writer and columnist Yulia Latynina said on Feb. 28. "Nemtsov, a major opposition leader, was killed before a protest march. The message is clear: anyone who attends an opposition march can be killed." Tens of thousands showed up for the rally/wake on March 1, though.

Gleb Pavlovsky, a political consultant who used to work for the Kremlin but has switched sides since then, said that this was a new type of political murder.

"Whoever the killers are, it's a completely new type of terrorism because the victim is not only a popular opposition leader but also a former representative of the ruling elite," he told

the Kyiv Post, referring to the fact that Nemtsov was a deputy prime minister in 1997-1998 and was even tapped to be former President Boris Yeltsin's successor. "This was done in a brazen, in-your-face manner near the Kremlin, which was part of the plan. It was intended to show that everyone should be afraid."

Some have likened Nemtsov's murder to Communist functionary Sergei Kirov's assassination in 1934, though Russia is still much less totalitarian than the Soviet Union at that time.

Josef Stalin blamed the murder on the opposition and used it as a pretext to launch large-scale political repressions, while his critics accused Stalin of killing Kirov.

The murder comes amid a large-scale Kremlin propaganda campaign aimed at demonizing and dehumanizing Putin's political opponents and the ascendancy of a toxic anti-Western and totalitarian ideology.

This propaganda war has been lately focused on fueling hatred towards Ukraine, and some commentators have even interpreted Nemtsov's murder as a spillover from the war in Donbas, calling him "the first victim of Russia's civil war."

It also follows the creation in January of the pro-Putin Anti-Maidan movement, a militant group that has been compared to Adolf Hitler's SA and SS storm troopers and that has repeatedly called for eradicating the "fifth column," or Putin's critics.

"(The murder) formed a new political reality and became a symbol of relations between the government and opposition," Yashin said. "The body of a shot opposition leader with Kremlin

walls in the background is a symbol of the political atmosphere that has emerged in our country — one of hatred, intolerance and aggression against people who disagree with Putin's policy."

The new reality also could lead to further isolation from the West and may herald an intensification of the Kremlin's war against Ukraine.

"(Journalist Anna) Politkovskaya's murder (in 2006) happened when there was dialogue between Russia and the West, and when there was no war," Alexei Makarkin, a deputy

head of Russia's Center for Political Technologies, said by phone. "Now this is happening when relations with the West are at a historic low."

He also said that "those who benefit from this murder are those who want to completely isolate Russia from the West." These are people who say the Kremlin is behaving indecisively in Ukraine and should be more aggressive in its policy, he added.

Oksana Grytsenko contributed to this report.

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Donetsk coal mine explosion kills at least 32

Miners active in the rescue operation take a break outside the mortuary of Donetsk's Kalinina hospital before unloading from a truck the remains of their dead colleagues on March 5. Ukraine observed a day of mourning after 32 miners perished in a blast in the notoriously dangerous mine of Zasyadko just a few kilometers from the war front, where Kyiv is reporting an increase in attacks by Russian forces and their separatist allies. (AFP)

Advertisement



Leaders Talk: We are in "people business"



DR. SAM AGANOV
CEO of Ilaya Family Group

Could you please introduce yourself and provide an overview of your company?

Starting from my academic background, I have a Ph.D. in Clinical Psychology, with a specialization in Neuroscience. After I earned my doctorate — I had been running a healthcare facility in Los Angeles for a few years — I realized that, while I had enough clinical background to run a hospital, I wanted more formal business training. So I went back to school to get an MBA as well. For me, the two degrees really complement each other, because when running our business, I am able to view everything both as a clinician and as a businessperson. So it helps me to keep a good balance between the business and the clinical aspects.

When I first thought of creating a network of family medicine based polyclinics here, in Ukraine, it was a mix of the two disciplines that helped me conceptualize it, because as a clinician I knew how to do it and I wanted to do it, and from the business perspective I had to figure out whether it worked as a business model. So I called up a couple of colleagues — a really strong financial guy and an excellent operational executive — shared with them my vision and we put together a working model. I then met with my old friend and colleague, the founder and CEO of American Medical Centers and we immediately decided to pursue the project — it was too good to pass up! Later on, we approached the CEO of Ilaya clinic. As it happened, he was planning to expand the business by opening a network of polyclinics as well. So there was a lot of synergy there, and we all hit it off well, and decided to do the project together.

Thus, Ilaya Family Group was created with a goal of opening a network of polyclinics for adults and children according to international standards of treatment quality and service. It is based on a family medicine model, where we offer a wide spectrum of services, with over 20 specialties presented here. Our approach is integrative and we strive to provide preventative care as well as regular medical services. Our main aim is not only to treat people when they are sick, but to keep them healthy. For this, we have created a number of comprehensive health programs for our clients, which will include consultations of various specialists with unlimited access to a family physician or a paediatrician, when appropriate. And the reason we wanted to do that was to communicate to our clients: if you have a question, come and get an answer, don't wait until you get sick, but come and ask how to stay healthy.

Don't wait until you get sick, but come and ask how to stay healthy

We are open 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. I want people to see a light in our windows and know that we are always here to help. As a father, I can say that when my baby is sick, I don't look at the clock, I just need to get the answers, even if the answer is "It's nothing serious, come and see us in the morning."

Are there any ethical concerns that your type of business must deal with?

Yes, I think that in this environment, given everything that has happened over the last year or two in the country, it's very difficult to keep business afloat, and more, make it profitable. However, we are still continuing to provide a very high level of care, because good and responsible health provision is not something that

should be based on profitability or compromising, but on a clinical assessment, so we never have to sacrifice the quality of our healthcare.

The main thing for our business is to make the patient and his or her experience our first priority. So I am a strong believer that we will always provide good and compassionate care by focusing first on what is right for patients.

What innovative methods and modern approaches do you use in your medical practices? What is the main difference from your competitors?

We feel that we offer an approach to caring for one's health that is fundamentally different — comprehensive annual health programs that provide unlimited access to family physicians and are truly affordable. We don't just sell consultations like most clinics; we truly want to be long-term partners in health with our clients and giving them full access is one way to prove our commitment.

Further, when our clients go to see different specialists, we collect the data from them and present it to our patient as part of their comprehensive treatment plan; therefore, patients can see the full picture of their state of health. In other words, we focus on keeping people healthy. We want to encourage them to come to their doctor in order to prevent being sick, not only when they get sick.

What kind of culture exists in your organization?

Our culture is still in the process of being formed, as we have just opened our first of several planned sites. But what I know for sure is that we are in people business — to serve our clients, to do everything we can to ensure their experience is positive and that we provide real value. We want to put together an outstanding team of clinicians, those that truly love what they do — simple as that. When I see a light in their eyes, I know they are the right people. I think that's true for any profession, actually. And I am very fortunate that we have found

physicians and nurses who really love what they do, and consequently, are really good at what they do.

It was also important to create a warm, welcoming and cosy atmosphere, so we spent a lot of time on the clinic's design, to make patients feel as relaxed as possible. But my sense is that the main trait of our company culture here is compassion, professionalism, and the feeling that this is more than a job to us, it is our mission — our life.

What has been the most important management lesson you have learned?

There have been a lot of management lessons in my life and I think the most important thing to remember is that there are more to come. That learning process is perpetual. Most lessons I have learned from people around me. My employees and colleagues inspire me daily. I can come up with good ideas, but great ideas are born in discussions. My job is to create an environment where my team can develop creative ideas. And it pays to remember that negativity can only slow down the process; you have to spot it right away. As Henry Ford said: "Whether you think you can do something, or you think you can't — you are right."

Where do you find your inspiration?

I have lots of hobbies that recharge me. However, I find the most inspiration in spending time with my daughter, seeing the light in her eyes, hearing her laugh—there's a lot of energy there!

I really enjoy reading. Most of the time I am reading 2-3 books at the same time, for instance now there is a really good biography of Chopin on my nightstand. I am reading a book on neuroscience on my iPad, and I am usually listening to fascinating fiction when I am in the car.

I love sports, especially golf and talking to interesting people — that's a huge source of inspiration for me. Finally, teaching: I am teaching at a couple of universities in the States and I am convinced that people who are learners provide tremendous positive energy.

Editorial

Western inaction

We can sympathize with the United States and Europe for their reluctance to take on a lawless and nuclear-armed crazy man in the Kremlin. But the fact remains that the West's collective weakness in confronting the Russian dictator will go down in history as one of the most shameful episodes of appeasement in the 21st century.

Endless attempts to rationalize the inaction have been made to disguise the fear and lack of resolve coming from U.S. President Barack Obama, German Chancellor Angela Merkel and other European Union politicians in need of greater doses of courage. Ukraine simply needs more help militarily and economically; Russia simply needs to be treated as an outlaw nation.

Members of NATO, the great military alliance that is supposed to strike such fear in the tiny heart of Vladimir Putin, is looking more like a paper tiger all the time – lacking in leadership, will and purpose in this confrontation. Most of its members don't come anywhere close to spending two percent of their gross domestic product on defense. Of course, we'll never know NATO's true mettle until Putin gets around to attacking one of its 28 member states – our guess is his first strike, if one happens, will take place in the Baltics.

But it doesn't have to come to this apocalyptic scenario. More outlines of a successful strategy for stopping Putin came from a U.S. Senate subcommittee hearing on March 4 chaired by U.S. Sen. Ron Johnson, a Republican from Wisconsin who knows Ukraine's situation well from his visits to the nation.

The impressive group of witnesses also knows the issues and collectively pitched a smart and hawkish foreign policy that, if enacted, has the best chances of stopping Putin with a combination of tougher economic sanctions and diplomatic pressure on Russia and greater military-economic aid to Ukraine, whose ill-equipped soldiers are fighting on the front lines of democracy.

Those called to testify included former Georgian President Mikheil Saakashvili, former U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Steven Pifer, Damon Wilson of the Atlantic Council, Stephen Blank of the American Foreign Policy Council and Russian opposition leader Garry Kasparov. The entire hearing, a blueprint for stopping Putin, is illuminating.

The biggest obstacle is the indecision and disinterest of Obama. This should not be a partisan issue. The Kyiv Post is led by an American chief editor whose opinion in support of Obama in two elections is part of the public record.

But independent journalists are paid to tell the public what they believe to be true - and we believe that Obama is making a big mistake in thinking that Putin is someone with whom agreements can be made. Obama is also wrong in not treating Ukraine as a top priority for U.S. foreign policy.

Another disappointment is Merkel, the leader by default of the EU's wimpy stance. Kasparov made a compelling argument before Johnson's subcommittee that the U.S. should lead Europe in the fight against Kremlin terrorism and aggression, rather than relying on the chancellor of a coalition government that includes the likes of Foreign Minister Frank Walter-Steinmeier and his fellow traveler, the Putin toady and former Chancellor Gerhard "Gas Bag" Schroeder.

As much as the Kremlin tries to cloud the issues, the situation is cut-and-dried, black-and-white: Ukraine wants to shed its Soviet past and subservience to the Kremlin. Russia invaded and seized territory in a bid to stop Ukraine from becoming a democratic and truly sovereign state, a development that Putin thinks would threaten his kleptocracy. The Kremlin leader will deploy a mix of military, economic and political pressure on Ukraine and other former Soviet republics until he is defeated, once and for all, or until he whips them into political subservience.

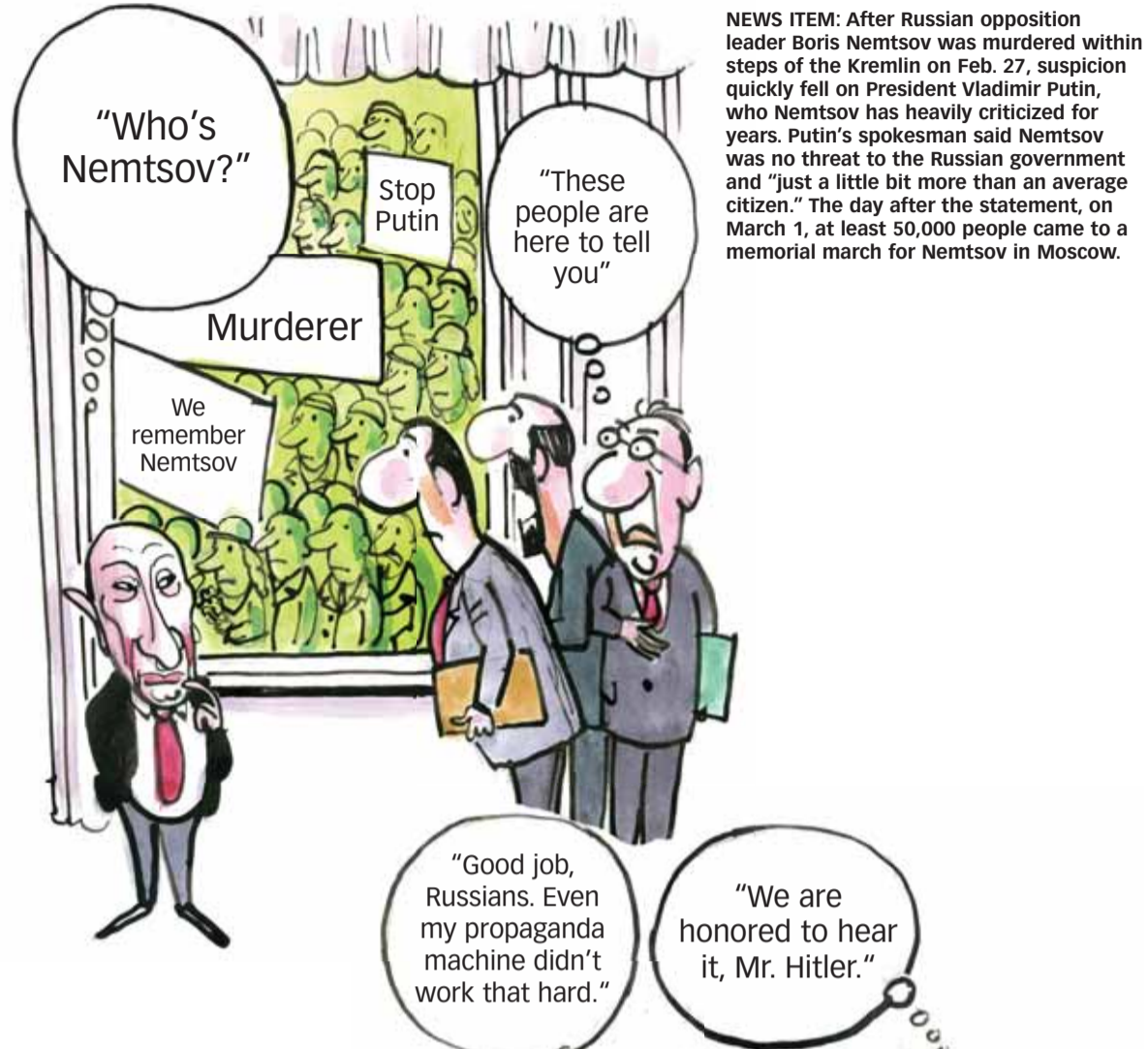
The outcome is not yet known, but Ukrainians will have no chance of victory without Western help, to the tune of tens of billions of dollars in aid in the next four years.

Putin will also continue to persecute and, in our opinion, kill his domestic critics who want change in Russia. Boris Nemtsov's murder on Feb. 27 against the backdrop of the Kremlin's Red Square is the latest in a long line of political assassinations under Putin's watch. The Nemtsov case, like all the others, is unlikely to ever be credibly solved. When Russia's leaders have no place for such charismatic leaders as Nemtsov, the nation is in big trouble.

The West's support for Ukraine should not come without serious qualifications.

We have strong doubts about the commitment of President Petro Poroshenko and Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenyuk to root out corruption and challenge the oligarchs' stranglehold over politics and the economy and other self-interested players.

In fact, Ukraine's political leaders – including those in parliament – will probably only make progress to the extent that the West and Ukrainian public demand it. Anybody who gives Ukraine unconditional aid is a complete fool. But the aid must indeed come because Ukraine's cause is right and 45 million Ukrainians can and will defend their nation and defeat their foes, the real enemies of freedom and world peace. But Ukrainians need the right tools and economic stability to prevail in this epic battle of good vs. evil.



NEWS ITEM: After Russian opposition leader Boris Nemtsov was murdered within steps of the Kremlin on Feb. 27, suspicion quickly fell on President Vladimir Putin, who Nemtsov has heavily criticized for years. Putin's spokesman said Nemtsov was no threat to the Russian government and "just a little bit more than an average citizen." The day after the statement, on March 1, at least 50,000 people came to a memorial march for Nemtsov in Moscow.



NEWS ITEM: On March 2, Russian state-owned TV station Rosssiya 1 released fake news about the Ukrainian nationalist Svoboda Party developing a design of a Hr 1,000 banknote with a portrait of Adolf Hitler. In its previous strikes, the Russian propaganda machine has famously made up news about Ukrainian soldiers crucifying a three-year-old son of a Kremlin-backed separatists and the Kyiv government promising to give each of the soldiers two slaves for good service in Donbas.

NEWS ITEM: Ukrainian lawmakers Oleh Lyashko and Viktor Yermeyev got into a two fistfights during a parliament hearing on March 3. Lyashko accused Yermeyev of buying lawmaker Serhiy Melnychuk, who made it to the parliament on Lyashko's Radical Party list, but defected to join Yermeyev's group People's Will. "This is my tushka," said Lyashko about Melnychuk, calling him an offensive term referring to lawmakers who take bribes to change political allegiances. Tushka literally means a cattle carcass in a butcher shop.



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Boris Nemtsov: 'Putin is a pathological liar'

Editor's Note: This is an English-language translation of Russian opposition leader Boris Nemtsov's final interview with Ekho Moskvy radio station only hours before he was gunned down within 200 meters of the Kremlin's Red Square late on Feb. 27.

"We believe that in order to gain stability in this country and overcome this crisis, important political changes are needed. Namely, it is important to hold an honest election, with opposition parties naturally taking part, and to abolish censorship, in order to stop the propaganda of lies which turns the mentality of the Russian people upside down. The main reason for the crisis is that Vladimir Putin started this insane policy of war with Ukraine, which is aggressive and murderous for our country and for too many of our citizens. The presence of Russian troops in Ukraine is well-documented. Let's just imagine a public debate between me and Putin. I would start with a very simple question. Why are the Russian soldiers being killed while you, Mr. Putin, being the commander-in-chief, disown those soldiers? We see the graves of those soldiers in Kostroma, Pskov, Nizhny Novgorod, where I once was a governor. Why, being the commander-in-chief, do you disown those soldiers? How dare you remain commander-in-chief after that? We need political reform in this country. When all the political power is concentrated in the hands of one person and when that person rules eternally, it all ends with an absolute catastrophe. The main question people ask us is: 'You are inviting us to join the march. If we come, what will change?' I answer: 'If a lot of people come, something will



A woman holds 'Confessions of the Rebel,' a book authored by Boris Nemtsov, as she attends a funeral ceremony for the slain opposition in Moscow on March 3. Nemtsov was assassinated near Red Square on Feb. 27. (AFP)

change.' I don't want to lie. Putin is our expert in lying. He is a pathological liar. I don't want to lie to you. I want to tell you the truth. That march can

sober up the Kremlin. Gradually, not with the help of just a single march. We can change the political course."

Boris Nemtsov: 'This is Vladimir Putin's war'



BORIS NEMTSOV

Editor's Note: The following is the English-language translation of an op-ed by Boris Nemtsov that was originally published on Sept. 1, 2014 in the Kyiv Post. The Russian version of this op-ed appeared in Ukrainska Pravda. The Russian opposition leader was assassinated on Feb. 27 close to the Kremlin's Red Square only two days before he was supposed to lead a March 1 rally in opposition to Russian President Vladimir Putin.

At first glance, and from the point of view of a sane person, the war between Russia and Ukraine is some sort of a nightmare, a madness that only brings grief, conflicts and problems to all.

Half a year ago this scenario seemed unreal. It seems that it would take an enemy of both Russia and Ukraine to make enemies out of two peoples with centuries of common history.

However, current events indicate that the most nightmarish, the most bloody scenario of fratricidal war is already developing. This is not our war, this is not your war, this is not the war of 20-year old paratroopers sent out there. This is Vladimir Putin's war.

Why does he need it? Well, he has openly answered this question himself. "We need to start negotiations about politically organizing a society and statehood in southeastern Ukraine."

He made this statement only now, but the sending of saboteurs-separatists, weapons, and a persistent desire of Putin to force Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko to sit at the negotiation table with pro-Putin militants, many of whom are Russian citizens – all of this betrayed his intentions long before the public confession.

The words of Russian presidential spokesperson Dmitry Peskov, which followed those of Putin, that Putin was misunderstood about the statehood of the east of Ukraine, should not be taken seriously. He talks nonsense all the time. Things like "Putin is married to Russia." So, once again, Putin himself said: "We need to start negotiations about a political organization of the society and statehood in southeast of Ukraine." End of quote.

Until lately the goal of Ukraine's dissection has not been set publicly, but instead replaced with the idea of so-called federalization. Kremlin's hypocrisy lies in its attempt to impose on Ukraine and its people something that actual Russian citizens are deprived of because Russia itself has not had any sort of federal state for a long time, since 2004.

Feeble attempts to advocate for the interests of the regions – primarily for the financial ones – are suppressed in a cruel way.

So, Putin is trying to dissect Ukraine and create in the east of the country a puppet state, Novorossiia, that is full economically and politically controlled by the Kremlin.

It's crucial for his clan to control metallurgy in the east of Ukraine, as well as its military-industrial complex. Moreover, southeastern Ukraine is rich in shale gas which would create real competition for the business of Putin's Gazprom.

Kyiv Post+ provides special coverage of Russia's war against Ukraine and the aftermath of the EuroMaidan Revolution.

A disastrous tourism season in Crimea, with a sharp decline in the number of tourists, unheard of price hikes for goods and services, a shortage of drinking water, is pushing Putin's regime towards the annexation of southeastern Ukraine to create a ground corridor to the peninsula.

To achieve these goals, Putin brought in his troops, including paratroopers and Chechen leader Ramzan Kadyrov's men. This is why he supplies weapons and heavy artillery to the east, and this is why he doomed Russia to isolation and sanctions.

These are the paranoid goals for which Russians and Ukrainians are dying while Russia itself is sinking into lies, violence, obscurantism and imperial hysteria.

It's easy to brush it off by saying that he is insane. Many people occasionally think so, including this author. But there is also another explanation.

Through his bloody actions, though, he is fomenting a fratricidal war; one can see his main goal – preservation of personal power and money at any cost. Before the war his popularity rating was crawling down slowly but surely.

Despite censorship, little by little the society started to understand that those in power are greedy and amoral people whose main goal is personal enrichment.

The Party of Thieves (Editor's Note: This is a

common derogatory reference to Yedinaya Rossiya, the ruling party of Russia) was losing its position and needed a large-scale shakeup, which would reverse the trend and restore popularity and trust.

Ukraine became an example of an anti-criminal revolution, which overthrew a thieving president. Oh so you dared to get out onto the street and throw off a president? Ukraine needs to be punished for it to make sure that no Russian would get these thoughts.

Moreover, Ukraine chose the European way, which implies the rule of law, democracy and change of power. Ukraine's success on this way is a direct threat to Putin's power because he chose the opposite course – a lifetime in power, filled with arbitrariness and corruption.

Now, to make sure he does not end up behind bars for violating the constitution of the Russian Federation because sending troops to a foreign state without the approval of the Federation Council of Russia, as well as the violation of Russia's international obligations on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, Putin does not leave himself any maneuvers except to stay in power until his death.

So his behavior looks like madness, but in fact it's a cold strategy for lifelong despotism.

Often supporters of the idea of 'Russian World' explain Putin's aggression in Ukraine by saying that post-Soviet republics, including Ukraine, is the zone of vital interests for Russia.

Instead of showing the world an example of rule of law, security, development and high quality of life, implanted into the minds of people is the concept of raw force and threats. However, he achieves the opposite result.

Ukraine is already heading for NATO, even though before the war it had a non-aligned status. The actual North Atlantic Treaty has grown stronger, the bond between America and Europe has become more durable than before. Moreover, Putin's aggression consolidated the Ukrainian people, and the fight for independence and territorial integrity became the national idea.

In other words, none of Putin's goals have been achieved. The opposite is happening.

Boris Nemtsov (Oct. 9, 1959-Feb. 27, 2015), was a former deputy prime minister in Russia who became a leading opposition leader to Russian President Vladimir Putin. He was the governor of the Nizhny Novgorod Oblast from 1991 to 1997 deputy prime minister under Russian President Boris Yeltsin in 1997 to 1998.



WITH VICTORIA PETRENKO

What does Boris Nemtsov's murder on Feb. 27 say about Russia and what are the implications for Ukraine?



Dmitry Bezzubov,
law professor
"Nemtsov was the main opposition. Now there is no systemic opposition in Russia."

Nemtsov's colleagues do not have that charm and charisma that he had. Nemtsov was a bridge that connected Russia and Ukraine. Now we do not have this bridge. This case, as (the 1994 murder of TV journalist Vladislav) Listyev, will not be closed."



Tatyana Lysaya,
retiree
"We saw how sharp Nemtsov's speeches were. Especially the last one when

he said: 'Russia and Ukraine - without Putin.' These events will worsen the situation inside Russia. Earlier people there had less information about Ukraine and it was distorted, but after these last events, I think, Russians will know more about events in Ukraine and maybe they will react better."



Anatoly Zykin,
biologist
"Nemtsov was not the main enemy for Vladimir Putin. His killing was not a big interest

for the Russian president. I think he was killed by other enemies of Putin. Ukraine-Russian relations are so bad now that this killing will not have any effect at all."



Marianna Bostan,
interpreter
"Putin went too far. Even this murder doesn't surprise any more. I don't want to associate Putin with all of Russia, but not only he is guilty in this. During (Josef) Stalin's times, so many people were killed and there were also people who contributed to those murders."



Anastasia Pavlenko,
student
"No one will ever know the truth about this killing."

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World in Ukraine

Editor's Note: World in Ukraine takes a look at Ukraine's bilateral relations with different nations. To sponsor this news feature, please contact the Kyiv Post's sales team at advertising@kyivpost.com or call 591-7788.

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Ukraine currency, corruption crimp Swedish businesses

BY ILYA TIMTCHENKO
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A 19 percent decline in Swedish exports to Ukraine in 2014, down to 204 million euros, is another sign of the weakening purchasing ability among Ukrainians. The hryvnia's steep devaluation in the last year and legal obstacles are clearly impediments to Swedish companies who bring paper, machinery and oils to the local market.

By contrast, Ukraine's exports to Sweden in 2014 increased 16 percent, from 45 million euros to 52 million, mostly in machinery and furniture.

Out of the 80 Swedish companies with established offices in Ukraine, some of the big names include Volvo, Kinnarps, Ericsson, Scania, Electrolux and Tetra Pak.

Kinnarps

Devaluation this year "is hitting our company severely," says Vladyslav Mieshkov, 38, chief executive officer of Kinnarps, a furniture producer from Sweden. It decreased the expected revenue in the first two months of 2015 by 41,000 euros. Last year sales reached 534,000 euros.

Mieshkov doesn't see progress in Ukraine's legal system, saying there are even more problems than before the EuroMaidan Revolution. He is not happy with the new 5-10 percent tax on imports that was introduced in February.

"It used to be equal to zero and we were moving closer to Europe," Mieshkov says. New tax order created greater problems at the border control where one of Kinnarps's trucks was delayed for two days causing late delivery to customers.



Tetra Pak, a packages maker, is experiencing a downturn because of Ukraine's economic recession amid currency devaluation and high inflation. (Tetra Pak)

Tetra Pak

Roman Kharytonyuk, key account and sales office manager of Tetra Pak, a food packaging and processing compa-

ny, says that the biggest problem for his company is that Ukrainian consumers are getting poorer.

"Salaries are not growing. Maybe we are growing, but not so quickly as infla-

tion in Ukraine," says Kharytonyuk. Consumer prices rose by 28.5 percent in January year-on-year, according to the National Bank of Ukraine.

Tetra Pak's only factory in Ukraine is

in Kyiv and employs around 250 people. The factory was built during the fall of the Soviet Union and now serves about 25 customers. The top five – PepsiCo, Sandora, Vitmark, LUSDORF, →7

Local production
with Swedish quality

Ambassador: Sweden will help Ukraine on its path to West

BY OLENA GORDIENKO
GORDIENKO@KYIVPOST.COM

Ukraine lost one of its biggest friends in the European Union, ex-Foreign Minister Carl Bildt, when September's parliamentary election in Sweden brought to power a different political coalition. In the Social Democrat/Green Party resurgence, Bildt's seat is now taken by Margot Wallström.

But Ukraine still remains on top of Swedish foreign policy agenda, its ambassador to Ukraine, Andreas von Beckerath, insists.

"One of the first cities our new foreign minister visited was Kyiv," Beckerath told the Kyiv Post during an interview. "And the fact that we have our Prime Minister Stefan Löfven visiting Ukraine less than six months after taking office, I think, is a very strong signal that we are a steadfast supporter of Ukraine."

Löfven is scheduled to visit Kyiv on March 10.

Sweden is taking an active stance in stopping Russia's war against Ukraine, the ambassador explains. With more than 6,000 killed and one million displaced, the "unequivocal responsibility for this European tragedy lies on Russia. That's our starting point," Beckerath says.

"Given the brutal Russian aggression towards Ukraine, given the flagrant violation of international law through

annexing Crimea, we must make sure to maintain the pressure against Russia including sanctions," von Beckerath adds. "If the Russian aggression escalates, our belief is that the European Union needs to be ready to expand the sanctions."

In terms of the security environment in the Baltic Sea there has been incidence giving cause for worry, the ambassador says. Sweden is looking to strengthen cooperation with other countries around the Baltic Sea in response.

"There is no plan to join NATO, we rather look at possibility to strengthen our cooperation with other Nordic and Baltic countries – so far that policy has served us well," he says.

In 2014, Swedish government approved a 175 million-euro financial aid package for Ukrainian reform agenda over a seven-year period. Also last year, Sweden provided Ukraine with five million euros and promises four more in humanitarian aid.

"We firmly believe that the only way Ukraine can move closer to the EU is through the path of reforms," ambassador says. Sweden possesses expertise in energy efficiency, decentralization, gender policy issues and is ready to share it.

Currently, Sweden's Nordic Fund in Ukraine started 16 energy-efficiency projects with schools and hospitals.

Moreover, Sweden is known for hav-



Swedish Ambassador Andreas von Beckerath says Ukraine remains a priority for Sweden. (Volodymyr Petrov)

ing a developed civil society which might also be a valuable experience for Ukraine that undergoes radical reforms. "If there would be an Olympic event for the civil societies, I am sure that Ukraine would win the gold medal," Beckerath said.

"In general, Ukraine hasn't received a credit it deserves for the prog-

ress made during the last year," the ambassador says. "Of course, we would like this progress to be bigger, but one must also be aware of the fact that Ukraine has been a victim of the Russian aggression. Despite the Russian aggression and economic hardships, the chances have never been better than now to make a

fundamental reform of the Ukrainian society."

As Swedish investments to Ukraine have been decreasing, the cumulative investment figure fell to \$390 million as of October. "Big Swedish companies are now holding back on major investments to see whether or not the reforms will actually deliver concrete results," Beckerath says.

The embassy organizes periodic meetings for Swedish businesses to communicate and share their vision on how Ukraine can improve its woeful investment climate.

Being fond of Ukraine, Beckerath regrets he did not manage to study the Ukrainian language and hopes he will have a chance to travel more around the country. Taking a walk in Kyiv's Shevchenko Park with his children is what the ambassador truly enjoys.

"It's about the people you meet here that makes (the country so) special, their dignity and spirits," he says. "Despite hardships, they keep high spirits and a good sense of humor. They are always very respectful and hospitable when meeting foreigners."

Fluent in Russian, von Beckerath follows events through the local news media. Promoting independent journalism is key to fighting the toxic Russian propaganda, he concludes.

Kyiv Post staff writer Olena Gordienko can be reached at gordienko@kyivpost.com.

Swedish exports down because of decline in Ukrainian buying power

→6 Chumak – are 85-90 percent of the company's sales in Ukraine, estimates Kharytonyuk. Tetra Pak doesn't disclose financials on its operations in various countries. Usually, packaging material makes about 10-15 percent of the product price.

Tetra Pak's raw materials are imported from Sweden. Due to the NBU's foreign currency limitations, the company's problems grew as it couldn't buy euros to conduct the necessary purchases.

"All of us maybe expected some good improvement after the (EuroMaidan) revolution," says Kharytonyuk. But Tetra Pak's customers are still complaining about pressure from the government and that previous shadow schemes of doing business have returned. He sees no major improvements in legislation and courts regard-

ing the corruption.

Kharytonyuk hopes that the difficult times will pass and that growth will come back in a little more than a year.

"I don't know how we will finish this year. Maybe a 10 percent decline. Maybe more. It would be nice if not more than 10 (percent)."

In addition to the hryvnia devaluation, Russia's war against Ukraine caused a loss of four wine and juice customers in Crimea and one major dairy company in Donetsk. This led to a decrease of up to six million euros in sales, estimates Kharytonyuk.

He expects an additional 10 million euro hit in 2015 due to the loss of Crimea and the war-torn Donbas region.

Kyiv Post staff writer Ilya Tymchenko can be reached at tymchenko@kyivpost.com.

Sweden at a glance

Total area: 449,964 square kilometers

Population: 9.75 million (2014)

Government type: constitutional monarchy

Head of state: King Carl XVI Gustaf

Head of government: Prime Minister Stefan Löfven

GDP: \$472 billion (2014)

GDP per capita: \$48,670 (2014)

Main exports: Machinery and transport equipment, paper products, chemicals.

Ukrainian-Swedish relations:

Trade turnover: \$436.5 million (2014)

Exports from Sweden to Ukraine: paper and cardboard, nuclear reactors components, electrical machinery, fats and oils.

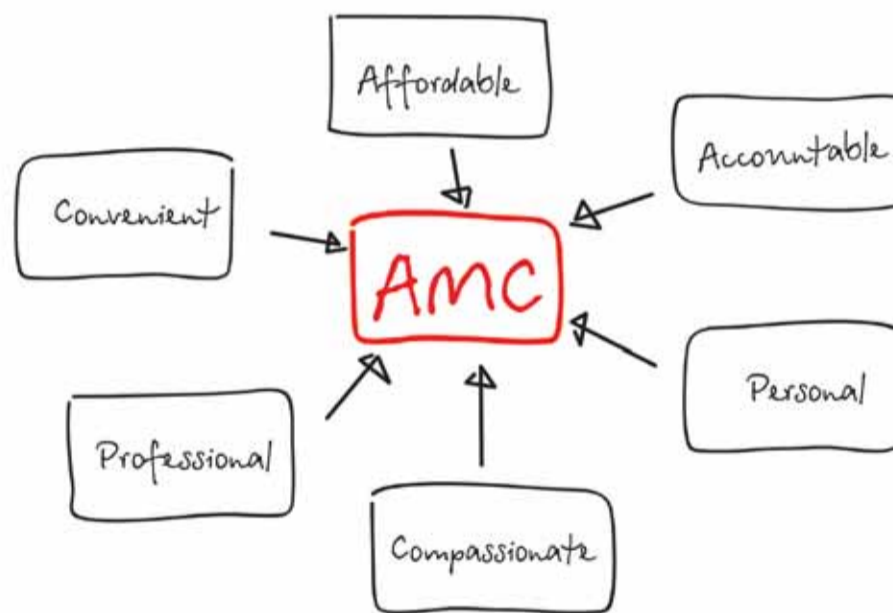
Exports from Ukraine to Sweden: ferrous metals, wood and wood products, furniture, nuclear reactors components.

Swedish investment in Ukraine:

\$0.39 billion (cumulative as of Oct. 2014)

Main investors: Tetra Pak (packaging), Electrolux (electronic devices), Oriflame (cosmetics), SKF (machine components).

Sources: Official Statistics of Sweden, BBC, Ukraine's State Statistics Service, Embassy of Ukraine to Sweden, Embassy of Sweden to Ukraine



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Special news coverage ahead on the following topics in Business Focus:

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Vitrenko talks about challenges in doing business with Gazprom

BY IVAN VERSTYUK
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One of Ukraine's biggest challenges is doing business with Russia's state-controlled Gazprom at a time when the Kremlin wages war against the nation.

Ukraine is highly dependent on Russia for energy sources, including gas and coal. And the pressure exerted by Gazprom on Ukraine has been likened by energy experts to economic blackmail, part of Russian President Vladimir Putin's hybrid war that also includes brute military force and shameless propaganda.

Naftogaz managing director Yuriy Vitrenko, one of the new breed of reformers tasked with stopping the financial bleeding of the state monopoly and making it run as a business, spoke to the Kyiv Post about this and other challenges.

Naftogaz claims that Russia's state-controlled Gazprom is not delivering gas on time and supplying only 40 percent of what Ukraine expects under agreements.

The two monopolies are suing each other in the Stockholm Arbitration Court over the price of gas supplies and use of the Ukrainian gas transportation system. A ruling is expected by the summer of 2016 at the earliest.

"We told Gazprom that we would like to have a price review of the contract. They refused," says Vitrenko.

At this point, Ukraine's energy giant



An engineer during a workday at a gas drilling rig on the biggest Ukrainian gas extraction site near the city of Poltava on June 27. (AFP)

Naftogaz, an employer of 14,000 people, pays Gazprom \$329 per 1,000 cubic meters of gas, while at the end of the last year it was paying \$378. The discount was made after the EU-facilitated negotiations in Brussels.

Gazprom's branch in Kyiv did not reply to a Kyiv Post inquiry.

Last year, Gazprom was the source of 14 billion cubic meters of gas for Ukraine's energy market, or 33 percent of the nation's needs. Ukraine has tried to diversify its supplies with limited success.

Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenyuk said he's proud that Ukraine now is

buying more gas from companies in the European Union, such as Norway's Statoil and Germany's RWE, than from Russia.

But Russia is resisting very actively. "They've been pressuring all the Eastern European countries not to let us get gas from the West," Vitrenko says. "But we were able to overcome this pressure."

A graduate of Insead business school and the son of anti-West populist politician Natalia Vitrenko, Yuriy Vitrenko is well-positioned to manage this economic war.

He says Ukraine can buy up to 20 billion cubic meters of gas from the West, almost half of the country's annual needs.

Russia's war against the eastern Donbas is, however, taking an economic toll on Naftogaz outside of the gas supplies. Last year, Naftogaz lost about \$700 million due to Russia's military aggression.

"They would ruin some pipeline, we would renew it, we would open a valve – they would close it," Vitrenko says.

As an alternative for importing gas, Naftogaz wants to extract more gas domestically. Last year, it produced some 17.2 billion cubic meters, while the private companies added another 3.3 billion to the overall 20.5 billion cubic meters of domestic extraction. However, some of the government's policies impede the process.

"The only bottleneck for us to increase production significantly is the very low (sale) price set by the

Ukrainian regulator... even though we have rather substantial gas reserves we cannot produce profitably at such a price," says Vitrenko. "People are used to this very dangerous belief that there is cheap Ukrainian gas. The government tells the company to buy at the market price and sell, like, 15 times lower. It's no brainer why we are losing money."

On the bright side, Ukraine's conventional gas reserves-to-production ratio is 52 years, one of the highest in Europe, according to Vitrenko. The country can produce at least an additional 10 billion cubic meters yearly. Together with coal gasification, which is possible with China's \$3.6 billion credit, the Naftogaz executive has visions of Ukraine being a net exporter of gas in the next 3-5 years.

However, this sounds rather optimistic, if not utopian, given the new 70 percent tax on gas production for state-owned companies makes the state giant's financials even more complicated. Previously, the tax rate was 20 percent.

The new tax affects two state companies, including Ukrgezvydobuvannya, a daughter of Naftogaz, and a key national gas extractor. The management of Naftogaz plans to let local private investors buy this unit. Its shares could be placed on the local stock market, the stakes will first be limited to 10-15 percent.

Although given the low price of Ukraine-based assets at the moment, privatization will have to wait until the war is over. Still, better days are ahead, Vitrenko assures.

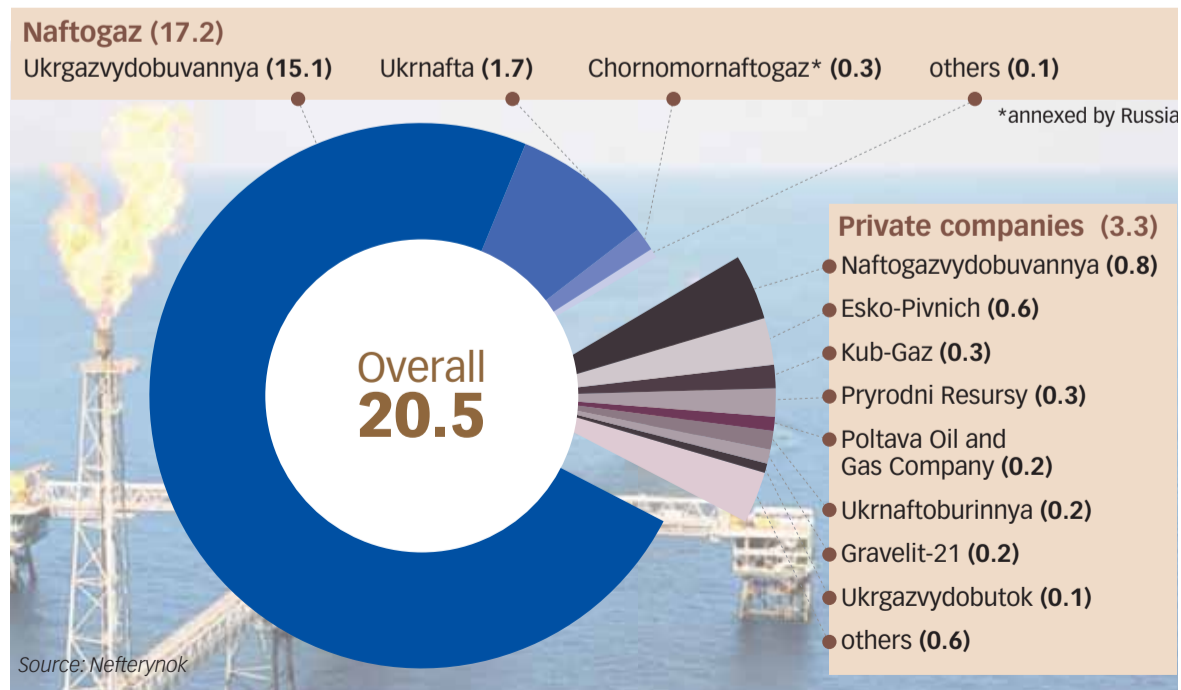


Yuriy Vitrenko of Naftogaz says Gazprom's pricing policy is politically motivated. (naftogaz.com)

"As soon as we see that there is an efficient market there is no need in Naftogaz," says Vitrenko.

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Ukraine's domestic gas extraction, 2014, billion cubic meters



Ukraine consumed 42 billion meters of gas last year, while the domestic production stood at 20.5 billion. State-owned Naftogaz keeps dominating on the Ukrainian market of gas extraction. (AFP)

Consumer behavior must change to save energy

BY BOZHENA SHEREMETA
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Ukraine is known for its low energy efficiency, a good place for tech startups to bring their expertise. Roman Zinchenko, the co-founder of Greencubator, a promoter of energy efficiency, says there are solutions.

Reducing peak-time consumption and energy-saving equipment – such as special sensors – are key elements that have succeeded in many other nations.

But with Ukraine's government running the energy market so inefficiently, including subsidizing rates, consumers have no incentive to lower costs.

Ecois.me, Ukrainian tech start-up operating in Poland, makes small trackers of energy consumption. They can be connected to a computer or a smartphone and display how much electricity is being consumed, needed for better regulating consumption.

The device is a better sell in Poland, where market-based pricing means consumers can save at least \$10 a month while in inefficient Ukraine the savings are \$2 monthly or less, said Ecois.me chief marketing officer Oleksandr Diatlov.

Poland also has other novelties for Ukraine, such as lower nighttime rates to encourage electricity use in off-peak hours.

Greencubator's Zinchenko predicts



Participants of Tesla Camp test a solar cooker in Oseschyna village near Kyiv on Aug. 30. (Anastasia Vlasova)

that Ukraine will have a competitive market inspired by the smart energy solutions within five years.

uMuni, eCozy, Energy Layer and Yunasko startups are also focused on energy efficiency. uMuni targets Lviv, others are focused on the global market.

Vadym Utkin, head of the Yunasko company that makes energy storage devices, is based in Kyiv with some production in Khmelnytsky. But it has no clients in Ukraine.

"The biggest share of profits comes from China, since they need energy storage devices in many industries,

quite often in hybrid engine cars, electric cars and other machines," says Utkin. "The second biggest target audience is Japan and, finally, Europe."

Ukrainians will start saving energy only when they run out of money and the rates rise to market levels. "Chinese factories work at night to save energy," he emphasizes. "Americans do laundry overnight to save energy. Prices push people to change their behavior."

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Lower tariffs depress green energy market

BY OLENA GORDIENKO
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The alternative energy market is facing turbulent times. The state Commission on Energy and Utilities cut subsidies for solar energy by 55 percent, down to \$0.23-\$0.3 per unit of electricity, on Feb. 27, making it less attractive for producers.

Meanwhile, the rest of the green energy market is also looking at a sharp contraction in a nation that desperately needs more renewable sources of energy to replace its dependence on nuclear power, coal and Russian gas.

Green energy, which encompasses all kinds of electrical power obtained from renewable sources, currently accounts for six percent of Ukraine's annual energy output, estimated at \$3.71 billion. While Ukraine's coal and gas reserves are substantial, they are insufficient to meet the nation's massive and energy-wasting needs.

The alternative energy sector is supported by the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, explains Nataliia Slobodian of International Center for Policy Studies in Kyiv. Slobodian says that the "creation of unfavorable financial conditions for the renewable energy will inevitably lead to the redivision of the market. Small companies will either leave or freeze their development strategies and the wind power giants will win. Then, the giants will get their favorable conditions back."

Energy Minister Volodymyr Demchyshyn told Focus magazine in a Feb. 23 interview that "alternative energy is interesting but expensive. At the moment, Ukraine is not finan-



Wind-based electricity making is a part of Ukraine's \$3.7 billion alternative energy market. Photo taken at Novoazovsky wind park in Donetsk Oblast on July 11, 2011. (PHL)

cially ready to develop such projects." Demchyshyn seems to favor extracting available resources, mostly coal and gas.

Guerman Ainbinder, head of DTEK's subsidiary, Wind Power, believes the recent move of the regulator won't stimulate production enough to reach the target of having 11 percent of energy produced from renewable sources by 2020.

He thinks policymakers are too shortsighted to see the rich prospects of alternative energy.

"We understand that times are hard," comments Igor Tynnyi, owner of Hydroenergoinvest, a hydroelectricity maker. "No one from the state authorities cared enough to talk to the investors who invested some \$3 billion (over the four years). Now we will be forced to (redress) our losses in courts. They will hear us one way or another."

Oleksandr Repkin of Tokmak Solar Energy explains that the fact that the

solar energy market in Ukraine is heavily dominated by companies linked to former top government officials is one of the main reasons for current austerity measures. As the result, the remaining "bona fide" market players are suffering losses, he added.

Maksym Sysoiev, an expert on energy law with Dentons, says lawsuits will follow soon and court rulings will bring serious losses to the budget as the regulator's decision on cutting the tariffs is wrong. Wind Parks of Ukraine, an energy company, has already filed lawsuits against the tariff commission.

Meanwhile, politicians believe that the nation's alternative energy market is a mess. Yuriy Chyzmar, a member of parliament with Oleh Lyashko's Radical Party, says it's corrupt and overseen by poorly qualified staff.

Kyiv Post staff writer Olena Gordienko can be reached at gordienko@kyivpost.com.

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BUSINESS ADVISER

WILL WE HAVE THE PROMISED ALTERNATIVE?

Development of green energy in the Ukrainian style: the latest trends



ANNA SISETSKA
Attorney-at-law, counsellor
of Vasil Kislil & Partners

Despite the sensitive political, economic and financial situation in Ukraine, alternative (renewable) energy is still among the priorities for government reforms and for investments as one of most important factors for reduction of Ukraine's dependence on suppliers of imported traditional energy and for establishing the energy security.

Having set its course towards European integration as a member of the Energy Community, Ukraine has undertaken obligations to implement the respective European regulations in the green energy sector. In compliance with Directive 2009/28/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council as of 23 April 2009 on

the promotion of using the green energy, Ukraine undertook to increase its gross final consumption of energy from renewable sources to 11% of the overall energy balance. According to the expectations stipulated in EU Association Agreement and the draft Energy Strategy of Ukraine until 2035, the above-mentioned figure would be further increased up to 20%. Taking into account that this figure would hardly reach even few percents now, further development of the green energy sector without considerable investments is rather impossible. In these circumstances, it would be reasonable to expect enjoying further deregulation, tax liberalization and other mechanisms of government support for attraction more investments to the green energy sector. However, what do we see instead?

Recently, the green energy sector has faced new challenges increasing fiscal pressure. This is mainly the result of the steps taken by the Ukrainian state.

First, at the turn of the year, the tax exemption preferences for such goods as imported energy-saving materials, equipment and components were cancelled. On 29 December 2014, the Cabinet Ministry of Ukraine (the "CMU") abolished the Regulation of CMU No. 444 as of 14 May 2008 providing for the list of materials whose import was exempt from import duties.

Second, the National Commission for State Energy and Public Utilities Regulation has decreased the "green" tariff, at which the Ukrainian state company "Energoynok" buys the alternative electric energy unsold at contractual prices, already twice during this year. For the first time it was reduced on 31 January 2015 by 20% for solar power stations, and by 10% for other procedures of generating energy from renewable sources. For the second time, it was reduced quite recently, on 27 February 2015, by 55% for solar power stations and by 50% for all other alternative energy generation procedures. Formally, this measure is in line with the CMU Resolution of 14 January 2015 providing for temporary extraordinary measures in the electricity market. However, it would hardly be positively estimated by a business that considers entering the Ukrainian market of alternative energy. Any reduction of the "green" tariff should be substantiated by scientific research and should take into account the specific aspects of individual segments of the alternative energy sector, such as the economic payback period, the value of equipment, the development of technological infrastructure, etc. The above-mentioned does not look like a well-argued measure welcoming new investors.

Third, it is becoming increasingly commonplace to talk about increasing the "local content" providing that the "green" tariff may be set only for those energy generation facilities which are made up of Ukrainian materials and works at 30%-50% depending on the commissioning date of the energy generation facility pursuant to the Law "On Electric Energy". The "local content" requirement is one of the most controversial and criticized issues. The companies often complain that they are not able to comply with the "local content" requirement, as the respective materials and equipment are not produced in Ukraine in a sufficient amount. It also violates the provisions of Directive 2009/28/EC and Article 7 of the Treaty on establishment of the Energy Community prohibiting discriminatory treatment as evidenced by the Opening Letter of the Energy Community Secretariat dated 02 October 2014. In this context, the approach provided by Draft Law No. 2010 "On Amendments to Several Laws of Ukraine to Ensure Competitive Conditions for Electricity Generation from Alternative Energy Sources" dated 03 February 2015, according to which the "local content" requirement shall be cancelled and surcharge to the "green" tariff for facilities constructed with the use of Ukrainian materials shall be established, appears to be more reasonable.

Along with all the above-mentioned things, the general problematic issues related to the procedure for obtaining licenses, for calculating the precise amount of "green" tariff, allotting land plots for construction, obtaining title to land, performing construction works, etc., which considerably affect the green energy sector, still remain unsettled.

To sum up, all this may undermine the reputation of Ukraine, which could be accused of deteriorating its investment climate and failing to comply with its obligations under the Energy Community and the EU Association on increasing the capacity share of renewable energy in the overall energy balance. All this can lead to investors' lawsuits against Ukraine, suspension of further development of alternative energy projects, and, as a consequence, an increase in the energy dependence on traditional energy suppliers. That is why the latest government measures should be reconsidered. The public policy requires a balanced approach toward reform and guarantees of investors' rights in order to increase the investment attractiveness of the alternative energy sector of Ukraine making it profitable for both the state and business.

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BUSINESS ADVISER

POLICY DEVELOPMENTS AND CHALLENGES IN DELIVERING ENERGY EFFICIENCY



VITALIY
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Partner

Policy Developments and Challenges in Delivering Energy Efficiency Reform of the electricity sector and liberalisation of the gas market are well-known key priorities for the Government, while the issues of energy efficiency traditionally lie outside the focus and were rarely mentioned by the officials. For years introduction of energy-saving and energy-efficiency measures have been effectively ignored by the domestic market, however, now Ukraine (as a member of the Energy Community) may no longer ignore this important aspect.

Why be energy efficient?

Improvement of energy efficiency is extremely important for Ukraine. Our country imports up to 60 % of its energy resources and at the same time the Ukrainian economy is in a desperate need of additional low-cost energy sources. In these circumstances the energy efficiency is not an option, but an absolute must for the Ukrainian industry. Currently the energy intensity in Ukraine is almost four times higher than the average energy consumption among the OECD countries. According to the World Energy Council, Ukraine's energy-saving potential could achieve 50 percent of its current energy intensity. Year 2015 is the high time to make reform of the energy efficiency sector one of the cornerstones of Ukraine's energy policy

What has been done?

In the last five years, the energy intensity of Ukraine's economy decreased only by 3.5 percent, which is not significant at all. In 2014 Ukraine's approach to the energy efficiency implied rather reduction of the gas consumption. The Government approved the plan of measures for reduction of the natural gas consumption by 2017. The idea is to create financial instruments that would encourage the gas consumers to substitute the natural gas with the alternative fuel. For example, the budget funds were allocated by the Government for a partial reimbursement of the price for the installed energy-saving and energy-efficient equipment by the population and individual entrepreneurs. The document also simplifies the licensing procedures and administrative regulations. In January 2015, the State Agency on Energy Efficiency and Energy Saving developed a draft roadmap for reduction of gas consumption and substitution of the natural gas, however, it is still not publicly available.

What is being done?

In its recent report the Energy Community notes that our country has "slowed down the process of adopting key legal and strategic documents" in the sphere of the energy efficiency. Ukraine still has not adopted the Action Plan and the main EU Directives on the energy efficiency (including 2006/32/EC on energy end-use efficiency and energy services, 2010/31/EU on the energy performance of buildings) have not been fully transposed, the outdated Law on Energy Conservation of 1994 has not been updated, in addition to additional legal framework.

Currently there is a number of important draft laws waiting in the Parliament for adoption and implementation. On 5 February the Parliament preliminary approved (in the first reading) the draft laws on Energy Service Companies (No 1409 and 1313). ESCOs are the companies that can provide a broad range of comprehensive energy solutions. ESCO usually performs an analysis of the property, develops an energy efficient solution and installs the necessary energy saving equipment. It is also responsible for technical maintenance of the system to ensure energy saving. If the project does not provide returns on the investment, the ESCO may be obliged to pay the difference. If the project is a success, the savings in energy costs may be used to pay ESCOs (as per agreed arrangement). If the mentioned Laws successfully pass the second reading in the Ukrainian Parliament, the public sector in Ukraine will be able to procure energy efficiency works and services within the ESCO framework.

The second priority is implementation of the Law on Energy Efficiency in Buildings. Residential housing sector in Ukraine consumes approximately 25 percent of the country's electricity and 40 percent of its heat energy resources. The country's housing stock is old and inefficient. So far, due to the existing legislation and state-subsidised energy prices the homeowners' associations have very limited incentives to take measures for improvement of this situation. Following recommendations of EU Directives Ukraine has already adopted and put into force a number of technical regulations and standards; however a new all-encompassing legal act is absolutely necessary. In December 2014 the relevant Draft Law No 1566 was registered in the Parliament (currently it is elaborated and updated by the authors). This draft could remove the principal barriers to residential energy efficiency in Ukraine - i.e. the unclear status of homeowner associations, absence of targeted state support and lack of control over energy use.

What should be done?

Ukraine has not yet succeeded in transposition of the energy efficiency acquis and more needs to be done for the full implementation. The first priority for Ukraine is the adoption of the comprehensive set of primary legislation and the adequate Action Plan for the country. The Ukrainian Government should also establish the effective financing mechanism and instruments for effective performance of the Action Plan. In order to achieve the energy savings target, significant financial resources should be mobilised. In addition to public budget financing, it is necessary to further develop models for public private partnerships in the field of energy efficiency (including ESCOs).



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Ways to secure energy future for Ukraine, Europe

BASIL KALYMON
AND ADONIS YATCHEW



In recent days, Russia has once more threatened the security of Europe's gas supplies by announcing that it will refuse to pipe gas through Ukraine and will require that a southern alternative be built through Turkey. The European gas supply system has become a vital issue, given Europe's significant reliance on Russian imports and the conflict arising from Russia's attacks on Ukraine. Europe depends on gas imports from Russia for 30 percent of its requirements, of which about 40 percent are transported through Ukrainian pipelines.

For years, Europe has allowed Gazprom, the monopolistic Russian state gas supplier, to sell in Europe on terms that are highly anticompetitive and inconsistent with market principles. This has let Russia use gas exports as a weapon of intimidation, especially in Central and Eastern Europe.

Europe's leaders should crimp Russia's ability to punish countries politically by outlawing clauses in Gazprom's contracts that forbid the swapping of gas supplies among buyers—a requirement that appears already to be part of the European Union's current set of policies, known as the Third Energy Package. Europe also should press Ukraine to end domestic subsidies of gas prices and to reform its own gas monopoly. These steps would enhance energy security both for Europe and for Ukraine.

Gas as Russian weapon

Russia showed blatant economic aggression in cutting off gas exports to Ukraine last summer. European leaders again recognized the potential for disruption of European supplies and the need to support Ukraine, with which the EU had signed an association agreement. Consequently, the EU permitted a "reverse flow" of gas to Ukraine from EU countries including Slovakia, Poland, Romania and Hungary. (These sales are called "reverse flow" because they include Russian-sourced gas piped westward into Europe, which then is re-exported eastward into Ukraine.)

The approval came despite Gazprom contract clauses which were meant to ban the resale of its exported gas. With such reverse flows, and supplies from Norway and other sources, Ukraine was able to withstand the Russian shutoff and continues to diversify its imports.

Russia's supplies to Europe continued with only minor interruptions and, eventually, Russia backed off and negotiated a resumption of gas exports to Ukraine at somewhat more reasonable terms.

However, reverse flows from EU countries to Ukraine are only a partial solution. They do not help create a fully integrated and competitive gas market as envisioned by the current set of EU policies. As Ukraine has acquiesced to this Third Energy Package, the gas market of the EU should also extend into Ukraine as part of the economic integration envisioned by the association agreement.

End ban on gas swaps

The main deficiency currently is that Gazprom contracts continue to prevent gas swap agreements. This anticompetitive provision forces the unnecessary transportation of Russian gas across Ukraine and then a re-importation by reverse flow. Ukraine thus pays a penalty in its cost of gas, one that its fragile financial position can hardly bear and that does not represent a fair market price.

The introduction of gas swaps are normal to competitive gas markets and would dramatically improve the security of supply for Ukraine and other EU buyers. It would materially inhibit Russia's ability to punish targeted countries with selective cuts in supply. The same result could, in theory, be achieved unilaterally by Ukraine by requiring that transfer of ownership of Russian gas take place at its eastern border.

Together with the creation of a single European gas market that encompasses Ukraine, the EU should require Ukraine to undertake reforms. Most importantly, Ukraine should move immediately to market pricing of gas. Ukraine's current heavy subsidies for residential and heating use encourage excessive consumption, reduce capital for reinvestment in development and increase reliance on imports. The sheer magnitude of these subsidies has heavily drained government budgets, further undermining Ukraine's financial stability.

'Unbundling' Ukraine

Another critical reform that would enhance Europe's energy security is the "unbundling" of Naftogaz, the integrated Ukrainian state monopoly which controls both the bulk of production and the transmission and storage of

gas. It would let independent companies control transmission pipelines and storage on which EU countries depend to import Russian gas.

This would create transparency, flexibility of contractual arrangements and enhanced efficiency. At the same time, these storage facilities could then be brought under improved private management with investments that would enhance performance and reliability. Such investments would be at a very low cost relative to politically motivated and uneconomic attempts to bypass Ukraine such as the now-abandoned South Stream initiative or the proposed pipeline through Turkey. These are extravagant projects that would create redundant pipeline capacity and require uneconomic investments.

A restructuring of Naftogaz also would assist privatization of its gas production subsidiaries, which currently account for roughly 85 percent of all gas produced in Ukraine. Given the severe price restrictions on state-produced gas (which is required to sell at about 15 percent of market prices), these subsidiaries have neither the capital nor the incentives to properly develop the existing potential reserves of gas in Ukraine. Privatization would offer investment opportunities for Western oil and gas companies and increase the domestic production of gas in Ukraine. With increased gas supplies and an integrated EU-Ukraine market, dependence on imports would be reduced. Of course, privatization would require the normalization of rental payments or royalties in Ukraine — currently as high as 55 percent of gross revenues — to levels which would make private investment economic.

The benefits of these changes in EU policy and market reforms in Ukraine can be realized if there is sufficient political will to act. The proposed policy changes cannot be interpreted as artificial penalties against Russia. They simply would require that Gazprom comport with the Third Energy Package, which envisions the creation of a competitive EU gas market with inclusion of Ukraine. Furthermore, the policy does not require massive funding or financial support from the EU. The vision is bold and requires decisiveness and rapid implementation to prevent another confrontation and crisis in gas markets. It provides a long-range and effective solution.

Basil Kalymon is a professor emeritus of the Ivey Business School in London, Ontario, and a member of the Ukraine International Economic Observer Group. Adonis Yatchew is an economics professor at the University of Toronto and editor-in-chief of the quarterly Energy Journal, published by the International Association for Energy Economics.

Bad meat, big money taint Ukraine's food industry

Editor's Note: This investigative project was conducted by the Washington-based Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project, a Kyiv Post partner. Kyiv Post staff writer Vlad Lavrov coordinated this project.

Businesses in Ukraine have been buying meat from companies abroad that have been selling unsafe meat to Eastern Europe. It might be still happening. Assuming consumers don't want to become vegetarians, they can better protect themselves by avoiding processed or frozen meats and buying meat that is fresh, grown in Ukraine and hasn't been frozen.

This story offers a glimpse into practices in the meat-import business, which in 2013 totaled \$629 million in Ukraine. And that's just the number for the "legitimate" meat importers — it doesn't include smuggled meat. An investigation by reporters for the Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project indicates that meat is being trafficked into Ukraine, just like illegal weapons and drugs. Moreover, the investigation found that two meat traders who were close to members of ex-President Viktor Yanukovich's administration still hold governmental positions, one involving veterinarian control over the meat trade.

Read the full story online at www.kyivpost.com

Traumas of soldiers becoming more visible after Debaltseve

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ARTEMIVSK, Ukraine – After thousands of Ukrainian soldiers retreated from the city of Debaltseve, many of them – still looking dirty and exhausted – stormed kiosks and supermarkets to stock up on all the liquor they could get their hands on.

By the evening of Feb. 18, the day of Ukraine's surrender of the railway junction to Russian forces and their separatist allies, many of them were sleeping drunk on tables or terrifying residents by shooting in the air in the restaurants of Artemivsk, some 40 kilometers northwest of Debaltseve.

"We had an entire city full of mixed-up men, who didn't know whether to weep or bellow," said Lena Sorokina, a volunteer of Bakhmut Ukrainian non-government organization, who helps wounded soldiers.

Since then, many shops selling alcohol close down after 6 p.m. in Artemivsk, putting up signs that read "no alcohol sold to soldiers."

But the reaction of soldiers, many of whom saw their comrades killed by Russian forces on their way out of Debaltseve, and felt lucky to have survived themselves, is not unusual. That's one way that post-traumatic stress disorder shows – a condition that affects a majority of people who took part in military action, Sorokina says.

Lilia Brunko, a psychologist, who helps as a volunteer in Artemivsk, says

that after spending 35-40 days in a war zone, all the fighters experience a degree of psychological changes. Their mental health tends to get worse the longer they are at the front.

Brunko said the main symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder include some of the following: an obsessive feeling of danger, problems with concentration, the guilt of survival. These are often accompanied by insomnia, depression or loss of interest in life. In more complex cases, war veterans who suffer from post-traumatic syndrome risk to slide into alcohol and drug addiction, lose families and commit suicide. They can show aggression or become apathetic, they experience recurring flashbacks and react physically to them, and so on.

After spending weeks under constant shelling, many soldiers start to shudder when they hear any loud noise. "The sound of whistles caused by mines' blow stuck in my head so strong that I'll probably start hiding when hear a whistle of a boiling kettle," said Taras Samchuk, a soldier from the 30th brigade.

Some other soldiers, to the contrary, lose any sense of fear and demand to go back to the front lines. Brunko remembers being called to see a wounded soldier at the hospital, who was hysterically demanding to allow him to go back to fight.

Vitaliy, a soldier who evacuated wounded comrades from the bloody battle in the village of Lohvynove on Feb. 12, remembers the reaction of



A bus with Ukrainian soldiers near Artemivsk in Donetsk Oblast on March 3. (Anastasia Vlasova)

those soldiers who had to abandon their dead in the field. He calls it "catastrophic."

"I think some 30-40 percent of our guys will need psychiatric treatment after this campaign," says Vitaliy, who did not give his last name because he is not authorized to talk to the media.

Brunko, the psychologist, agreed that the psychiatric hospitals will receive many new patients in the coming months "even though the sphere of psychiatry is hugely underdeveloped in our country."

Sorokina said that a lot of soldiers smile and behave as if nothing serious happened to them at war. "When they smile it's even worse because it means they keep it all inside," she said.

Worse still many soldiers reveal psychological traumas only when they go back home. Some of them start drinking, others cry non-stop, yet others clam up and don't talk about what happened to them in the battle to avoid hurting feelings of their relatives. But only some of those suffering from post-traumatic conditions seek professional psychological or psychiatric help.

By October, more than 1,500 soldiers received treatment at the psychiatric department of the main Kyiv military hospital, its chief psychiatrist Oleg Druz said in a recent interview to Hromadske TV. Volunteers working at the front line say that it's a fraction of those who needs help. In Debaltseve

alone, up to 7,000 soldiers escaped death in the encirclement.

"Some 40 percent of those, who had this treatment, received sick leave" not being able to go back to the war zone because of their traumas, Druz said.

In most cases soldiers have to turn to regular psychiatric hospitals for help. The Ministry of Social policy got Hr 50 million earmarked in the state budget for psychological rehabilitation of soldiers this year.

But for soldiers, getting treated at regular psychiatric clinics might cause trouble in their future lives, said representatives of Valeria Lutkovska, Ukraine's ombudswoman, who visited soldiers in a psychiatric center in Chernihiv in late February. Some of the problems might include "bans on some types of professions and on receiving a driver's license."

Their report said that soldiers would be able to avoid stigma and legal troubles if they were treated in military hospitals. The report also pointed out that psychiatric treatment of soldiers was satisfactory due to frequent visits of relatives, priests and volunteers.

Brunko, the psychologist, says that the role of families is crucial in healing post-war traumas. "There's still low understanding of the need to visit psychologists in our society, especially when we're talking about strong men who fought in the war," she said. "So families, close people may help the most. The letters, which the fighters receive from children, are very important for their morale."

ВІТАННЯ УСІМ УКРАЇНЦЯМ З ТАЙВАНЮ

МИ БАЧИЛИ ЯК ПАЛКО ВИ БОРОЛИСЯ ЗА ДЕМОКРАТІЮ.
МИ ПІДТРИМУЄМО ВАШУ РІШУЧІСТЬ БОРОТИСЯ ПРОТИ ТОТАЛІТАРИЗМУ.
ВАША ІДЕЯ НАДИХНУЛА НАС.
У БЕРЕЗНІ 2014 РОКУ МОНСТР ТОТАЛІТАРИЗМУ ЗАВІХНУВ НА НАШУ ДЕМОКРАТІЮ.
І ДЛЯ ТОГО, ЩОБ ЗАХИСТИТИ НАШУ БАТЬКІВЩИНУ ТАЙВАНСЬКІ СТУДЕНТИ ПІДНЯЛИСЬ НА "РУК СОЛЯШНИКІВ"
ДЯКУЄМО УКРАЇНІ ЗА ДОПОМОГУ В ТОЙ ЧАС, КОЛИ МИ СТРАЖДАЛИ.
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SUN FLOWER STUDENTS MOVEMENT
IN TAIWAN
18.03.2014 - 10.04.2014



House of twins

City Life

WITH OLGA RUDENKO
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What a dollar can buy in Kyiv

Editor's Note: When writing this story, we used an average rate of Hr 25 for a dollar.

Kyiv has always been cheap compared to Western capitals, but with the recent fall of the hryvnia, certain services got even cheaper - that is, for those who get paid in foreign currency. The prices for many services don't climb as fast as the currency falls, leaving a gap that one can benefit from.

Kyiv restaurants have been hesitating to raise prices too much in order to keep customers. As a result, a dinner at a quality restaurant here can cost nearly as much as curry and rice in Southeast Asia.

For example, a baked chicken leg with mashed potatoes goes for \$3 (Hr 75) in the Oliva chain. For a venue with fancy vibe, go to Under Wonder (21 Velyka Vasylkivska St.) for \$4-5 pasta. For extremely cheap yet satisfying lunch stop at Linass Cafe (2 Bessarabska Square) and have a falafel, kebab, or hummus - for around one dollar. Or pick up a \$1.6 (Hr 40) salmon bagel from Chasopy (3 Lva Tolstoho St.).

Don't feel like eating out? Order a Pepperoni pizza at www.dominos.ua or www.papajohn.com.ua for just 4\$ (around Hr 100). Or two sets of sushi rolls for the same price.

Devaluation has made Kyiv bakeries an even more of a heaven for pastry lovers than they ever were. Plain croissants in the Wolkonsky bakeries are exactly one dollar (Hr 25), while the chocolate-filled ones are \$1.6 (Hr 40). And that is the upper price range. In the famously ascetic bakery Yaroslava (15 Yaroslaviv Val) a dollar can buy up to five patties or a couple of freshly-baked large cinnamon buns with heavenly smell. Compliment the bun with a less-than-a-dollar latte from one of the many coffee trucks, and there it is - a delicious 1\$ snack.

Done with eating? Let's find some entertainment. Most of Kyiv museums charge visitors even less than a dollar. Tickets to the National Art Museum (6 Hrushevska St.) are only Hr 20, not to mention many art galleries with free entrance (check our online Going Out Guide for tips). Tickets to the concerts of Organ Music Hall (77 Velyka Vasylkivska St.) and National Philharmonic (2 Volodymyrsky Uzviz) start at Hr 30, slightly more than a dollar.

And the last but not the least: how about a \$1 haircut? It's actually \$1.2 (Hr 30) and is offered in tiny booths next to almost every metro station outside the city center.

Kyiv Post lifestyle editor Olga Rudenko can be reached at rudenko@kyivpost.com.



Simchuk family sits on the couch in their apartment in Ternopil on Feb. 28. Ukrainian servicemen, twin brothers Yaroslav and Volodymyr Simchuk are married to twin sisters Lyubov and Nadiya and live all together in a two-room apartment with their children Artem and Diana. (Nestor Romanyshyn)

BY YULIANA ROMANYSHYN
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When Yaroslav Simchuk volunteered to join the National Guard he had only one condition: his twin brother Volodymyr must be near him at all times. The 32-year-old natives of Ternopil in western Ukraine signed on for the war in October. They've been assigned to the same unit.

The Simchuk twins became local celebrities after Hromadske.tv made a video about the brothers guarding a checkpoint near the city of Shchastya in Luhansk Oblast. The brothers sent wishes to their wives - also a pair of twins.

The Kyiv Post met the unusual family in their home in Ternopil, when the Simchuk brothers were home for leave. Yaroslav and Volodymyr, named in

honor of the medieval Kyivan Rus princes, live in a two-room apartment in Ternopil with their wives, twins Nadiya and Liubov Simchuk, and two children. Soon the family will grow even bigger as both wives are pregnant.

While their husbands serve the country together, their wives work as nurses in local hospitals.

The two couples met on a double date and had a double wedding. The

brothers joke that they distinguish their wives by their breast size.

Before volunteering to defend the nation against Russia's war, the brothers were officers of Sokil, a special police unit fighting organized crime. Before that, they served in the notorious Berkut riot police unit.

They were sent to Luhansk Oblast in December.

"We just wanted to know if it → 13

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Local success stories in clothing brands

BY OKSANA TORHAN
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Ukraine's domestic clothing producers have gone from a marginal market niche to a potent developing industry in recent years. These three made-in-Ukraine brands are among those who have found their place at the crowded clothing market.

A skirt from the Krisstel latest collection is sold for Hr 1,724. (www.krisstel.ua)

Krisstel

Where to buy: www.krisstel.ua, Ocean Plaza mall, Karavan mall, Piramida mall, Prospekt mall.

A showcase window of the Krisstel shop in the Ocean Plaza mall boasts a "Made in Ukraine" sign. It is one of the few Ukrainian clothing brands that can afford a representation in a popular shopping mall.

Founded in 2007 by Kyivan Svitlana Shelephost, Krisstel became a well-known local women's clothing brand with four shops in Kyiv and one in Dnipropetrovsk. It specializes in modern feminine designs and claims to use fine Italian fabrics while keeping the prices moderate.

The brand's popularity breakthrough happened in October of 2014, when Krisstel collaborated with stylist Olga Slon and created a highly-popular capsule collection. It got a boost from Kyiv journalist and PR specialist Yulia Savostina, who reviewed the collection in her popular blog. The capsule collection included 30 designs of dresses, tops, skirts, and coats. Prices ranged Hr 600 to 2,000. The collection sold so well that the brand is about to repeat the collaboration – this time, with

Sweaters were the key to success for the up-and-coming Ukrainian brand Neimovirna. (www.neimovirna.com)



A saleswoman shows some of the latest designs at the Must Have showroom in Kyiv on Jan. 13. (Anastasia Vlasova)

Must Have

Where to buy: www.musthave.ua, 14 Kotsiubynskoho St., office 5.

In four years co-founders Anna Kovalenko and Anastasia Yankovenko went from a tiny store in Berdychiv, a city 200 kilometers from Kyiv, to a big clothing production and showroom in Kyiv.

The co-founders decided to launch their own brand after they discovered that it was hard to find some basic garments in shops. They launched Must Have in their Berdychiv in 2010 and moved it to Kyiv in 2012.

The brand's specification is feminine clothes of basic designs, as opposed to the casual mass market clothes.

Kovalenko says that the customers used to have prejudice about poor quality and outdated design of the Ukrainian-produced clothes is bad and it is an old-fashioned style.

But in 2014 the post-EuroMaidan patriotic vibe has shifted this attitude, bringing Must Have more customers.

One of them was the first lady Maryna

Poroshenko.

She and her two daughters wore the Must Have dresses for the Independence Day celebrations on Aug. 24, 2014.

The popularity didn't protect the brand from being hit by the economic crisis. Must Have had to decrease the production due to the national currency fall that impacted the cost of the imported fabrics and decreased the purchasing power of the customers.

Neimovirna

Where to buy: www.neimovirna.com.ua.

For Iryna Herz, starting doing business in Ukraine was hard. She has been weighing her options for three years before finally deciding to launch her brand Neimovirna, which translates as "an incredible woman." In late 2013 Herz bought a mannequin, fabrics, and took a sewing course.

In summer 2014 the woman launched her first summer collection of dresses. In the autumn, she focused on sweaters with mixed Scandinavian and Ukrainian ornaments. The sweaters, released before New Year, were so popular that Neimovirna with its small team of four people has failed to meet the deadline for the pre-New Year orders. The brand's unique feature was personal approach – a customer is offered to model a sweater, choosing neckline, shape, and ornaments. The brand also started producing sweaters for men and kids.

Neimovirna has no store, selling online only.

"We focus on women who spend a lot of time online," says Herz.

Such a strategy proved successful. The brand finds most of its clients on social networks. Herz's team offers a personal approach: customers can choose design of handiwork.

Kyiv Post staff writer Oksana Torhan can be reached at oksanaukma@gmail.com

A cotton Must Have dress is available for Hr 1,099. (www.musthave.ua)



Poroshenko. She and her two daughters wore the Must Have dresses for the Independence Day celebrations on Aug. 24, 2014.

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"We focus on women who spend a lot of time online," says Herz.

Such a strategy proved successful. The brand finds most of its clients on social networks. Herz's team offers a personal approach: customers can choose design of handiwork.

Kyiv Post staff writer Oksana Torhan can be reached at oksanaukma@gmail.com



Yaroslav and Volodymyr Simchuk guard the checkpoint near town Shchastya in Luhansk Oblast in January of 2015. The ribbons on the guns' barrels help distinguish the brothers. (Courtesy)

Twin soldiers staying safe in Ukraine's war

→ 12 really was like what we see in the news," recalls Volodymyr.

In reality, it was worse. With their law enforcement background, the Simchuks were ready for the hostilities, but were astonished by the behavior and reactions of the local civilians in Luhansk Oblast. One of the local villagers asked them if people in western Ukraine are cannibals.

The men went on a scheduled leave in late January, and now waiting for orders.

The Simchuk wives supported their husbands' decision to go to war, but decided not to tell their children the truth while they were away.

The twins were distinguished by their choice of ribbon colors on their guns: blue for Volodymyr, and yellow for Yaroslav. The brothers like to joke that NATO has taught the Ukrainian military how to clone the soldiers, and they are the first batch.

Kyiv Post staff writer Yuliana Romanyshyn can be reached at romanyshyn@kyivpost.com.

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ЧЕТВЕРТА ЦЕРЕМОНІЯ

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Ukrainian art of 1990s

A joint project by Karas and Soviart galleries, the exhibition shows 20 best works of contemporary Ukrainian artists created in the 1990s. Among them: Oleh Holosiy, Oleksandr Gnylytsky, Marko Geyko, Arsen Savadov, Oleksandr Roitburdt, Anatoliy Kryvolap, and others.

"Igra v klassiki (Hopscotch). Rarities of 90s" art exhibition. Karas Gallery, Soviart Gallery (22A Andriyivsky Uzviz St.). **March 3 – March 17, Mon. – Fr. 11 a.m. – 7 p.m., Sat. 12 p.m. – p.m. Free.**



(Ukrainian art/facebook)

March 3 – March 17

Love songs by Andrey Makarevich

Veteran Russian rock musician and founder of the Mashina Vremeni (Time Machine) legendary band, Andrey Makarevich will perform famous jazz, pop, and rock songs about love in an original interpretation. He brings Russian jazz pianist Evgeny Borets and an a cappella band ExpreSSS for accompaniment. Besides Kyiv, they will also visit Dnipropetrovsk (March 8) and Kharkiv (March 9).



March 6

"L.O.V.E – songs about love" concert by Andrey Makarevich. Zhovtnevy Palace (1 Instytutska St.). **March 6, 7 p.m. Hr 1,790**



March 7-8

Opera weekend: 'Aida 3D' and 'Nabucco'

Two operas of Giuseppe Verdi, "Aida 3D" and "Nabucco," will be performed in Kyiv by Arena di Verona opera theater. Both operas will be screened in Italian. No subtitles will be provided.

Opera weekend: "Aida 3D" and "Nabucco". March 7-8. **4 p.m. Kyiv Cinema (19 Chervonoarmiyiska St.). Hr 150**

March 14



(onukamusic.com)

ONUKA concert

ONUKA is an up-and-coming Ukrainian band founded by The Maneken frontman Yevhen Filatov and ex-vocalist of the Tomato Jaws band Nata Zhizhchenko. The band debuted in 2013 and was nominated for the Ukrainian music award Yuna in the Discovery of the Year category. In October 2014 their debut album was the most sold record in Ukrainian iTunes.

ONUKA concert. Sentrum (11 Shota Rustaveli St.). **March 14. 7 p.m. Hr 200-600**

'Love me' movie premiere

"Love Me" documentary by American cinematographer Jonathon Narducci premieres in Kyiv this March. It tells a story of Ukrainian women and American men who are looking for their soul mates in the international marriage agencies. The movie participates in the competition of the largest documentary film festival in North America, Hot Docs.

"Love Me" movie. Kyiv cinema (19 Chervonoarmiyiska St.). **March 11, 7.30 p.m. Hr 60 – Hr 70.** Kinopanorama (19 Shota Rustaveli St.), **March 12 – April 1, Hr 20 – Hr 50**



(courtesy)

March 11, 12



April 6

Thirty Seconds to Mars

American rock band Thirty Seconds to Mars returns to Kyiv with the "Love+Lust" show in support of the band's fourth album, "Love, Lust, Faith and Dreams" (2013).

Jared Leto and his band are among the hardest-working touring artists. In 2011 they entered the Guinness World Records after giving 300 live shows in a year. It will be the band's third show in Kyiv.

"Love+Lust" concert by Thirty Seconds to Mars. Palace of Sports (1 Sportyvna Sq.). **April 6, 7 p.m. Hr 650 - Hr 2,500**

Compiled by Victoria Petrenko

Employment



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USAID | MUNICIPAL ENERGY REFORM IN UKRAINE

The USAID Municipal Energy Reform Project in Ukraine is seeking a highly qualified English language editor for a part-time position.

REQUIREMENTS:

- Professional fluency in English (preferably native speaker);
- Bachelor's or master's degree in philology, literature, editing or a related field;
- Expertise in editing, copy editing;
- Good understanding of economic development, energy and communal services sectors;
- Flexible time schedule, ability to work under pressure.

Interested candidates should send their CV to: hr@merp.org.ua by March 20, 2015.

Only shortlisted candidates will be contacted.

For more information about the project, please, visit: www.merp.org.ua



International Organization for Migration (IOM) is seeking a highly qualified and experienced candidate for the position of Canadian Orientation Abroad Project Coordinator and Trainer

More detailed information can be found at <http://iom.org.ua/en/vacancies>

DEADLINE FOR APPLICATION IS 13 March 2015

Send CV (with names and contact information of three referees) and cover letter to iomkiev@iom.int

A Canadian technical assistance project is seeking project officers to deliver a variety of technical assistance initiatives in the following sectors: **governance, economic development, anti-corruption, justice/rule of law, social policy.**

The closing date for applications is March 20, 2015

Please see the website for application procedures and requirements: www.agriteam.ca/employment/job-details/326/

NYC MEDICAL SECRETARY

university degree, 21-29 years old, fluent English, air+visa+housing+\$500/week, resume+letter+pic: dr@ParkAvenueLASEK.com

An ambitious and growing Dutch-owned agricultural enterprise in Ukraine is looking for a:

CHIEF FINANCIAL OFFICER

who will manage the financial organisation of the company including all accounting, statutory reporting, controlling, planning and management reporting; manage annual external audits and reporting to the board and shareholders; manage and develop F&A staff. The Chief Financial Officer will be a member of the management team and reports to the board of the company in The Netherlands.

Responsibilities:

- manage and develop a competent team of F&A professionals
- develop financial strategies and provide financial information, analysis and recommendations
- manage and control financial planning, budget and cash flow
- manage and control statutory reporting, tax planning and compliance
- develop efficient ERP systems and identify cost-saving opportunities
- oversee investments and asset management
- manage annual external IFRS audits
- develop and manage systems for business risk management
- ensure timely and accurate reporting to management, supervisory board and shareholders
- represent the company to financial partners and public officials

Requirements:

- University education
- 12-15 years relevant work experience
- Deep knowledge of local and IFRS accounting principles
- Experience in a similar function in the agricultural sector
- Fluent written and oral English and Ukrainian
- Good communication and management skills
- Entrepreneurial, pro-active and ambitious team player

We offer:

- a challenging position in a fast growing company
- a stimulating, respectful, informal and international working environment
- a competitive salary and package

If you think you are the right candidate for this position, please send your CV to: jkalnitskaya@promarketing.com.ua

FINANCE MANAGER — AMERICAN CENTER IN KYIV

Deadline: March 9, 2015

Eurasia Foundation (EF), a US-based international development organization promoting civil society development, independent media, and good governance, is accepting applications for Finance Manager for the Kyiv American Center Program, funded by the U.S. Embassy.

The American Center in Kyiv will support the foundation of U.S. public diplomacy in Ukraine and contribute to greater mutual understanding between the peoples of the United States and Ukraine.

The Finance Manager will be responsible for the program's finance and administrative systems. The position is contingent upon funding and is based in Ukraine. Ukrainian citizens are strongly encouraged to apply.

Summary of Responsibilities:

- Ensure all relevant EF, U.S. Embassy, and Ukrainian financial practice and reporting requirements are met.
- Ensure financial record-keeping is implemented consistently with established EF policies and procedures.
- Oversee the program budget and meet donor reporting requirements.
- Compile monthly financial reports for submission to EF headquarters and maintain all program financial records.
- Ensure program procurement is in compliance with EF policy, USG regulations and Ukrainian law.
- Ensure all costs incurred under the cooperative agreement are regularly tracked and analyzed.
- Coordinate with EF headquarters and Kyiv finance and administrative staff to ensure compliance with EF and donor policies and procedures.

Summary of Qualifications:

- Bachelor's degree in accounting or business administration from an accredited university required; Master's degree preferred.
- At least 4 years of experience in financial management and/or project administration required; financial management and/or project administration experience with U.S. government-funded programs highly desired.
- Experience compiling and preparing financial and budget reports, analyzing budget trends, and monitoring funding levels.
- Familiarity with Ukrainian compliance agencies' reporting requirements.
- Experience ensuring compliance with donor financial requirements.
- Proficiency with financial management and accounting software; Sun and 1C preferred.
- Excellent interpersonal communication skills.
- Fluency in English and Ukrainian are required.

To Apply

Please email a cover letter and resume to Yelena.Akopian@eurasia.org, with "FMAC" in the subject line.

No calls please.

Deadline: March 9, 2015

AVELLUM PARTNERS

Internationally Ukrainian

Avellum Partners, one of the leading Ukrainian law firms, is looking for a

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The main requirements are:

- Relevant experience in PR/BD (law firm, consulting, B2B)
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Please submit your CV and cover letter to hr@avellum.com with a reference "PR/BD Manager"

More detailed information can be found at www.avellum.com/en/index/careers/



United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) is looking for qualified professionals to fill in the following appointment:

Health & Nutrition Officer (Kyiv)

Under the overall guidance of the Emergency Coordinator, the person will be responsible for professional technical contribution to project development, planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation, and progress reporting for health and nutrition.

Please, submit your applications to recruitment_kiev@unicef.org

More detailed information can be found at www.unicef.org/ukraine/overview_10566.html

Health Consultancy Opportunity

Deloitte is seeking resumes for the below experts to serve on Technical Working Group on integration of HIV and TB into the national Public Health strategy. This work is part of HIV Reform in Action (HIVRIA), a USAID project.

- Public Health experts (2)
- Health Care Legal expert
- M&E Specialist and/or Epidemiologist
- Public Administration/Regional Development expert
- Civil Society Representative/Advocacy expert

For qualifications and job descriptions refer to: www.kyivpost.com/employment/job/135

Deloitte is also seeking resumes of the below position to work with HIV Reform in Action (HIVRIA), a USAID project.

- Health Finance Consultant for Costing

For qualifications and job descriptions refer to: www.kyivpost.com/employment/job/136

Financial Markets International, Inc. (FMI) is seeking a qualified professional to fill the following full-time position for the USAID Financial Management Capacity Development Initiative (FMCDI) Programme

DEPUTY PROGRAMME MANAGER/ACCOUNTING TRAINING EXPERT

The Deputy Programme Manager/Accounting Training Expert will support the Chief of Party to provide technical assistance to qualified local audit firms to enable them to provide quality consulting, audit and other services to local organizations and to USAID. The candidate will be located in Ukraine and must have experience and knowledge of Ukrainian and international accounting and training. S/he must be tri-lingual (English, Russian, Ukrainian) and have strong written and spoken communication skills. S/he must be able to manage an aggressive meeting and training schedule for a small and flexible office.

KEY QUALIFICATIONS:

- University degree in accounting, finance, business administration or related field
- Minimum of 3 years of progressively responsible experience in professional accounting or auditing at the national or international level
- Experience in providing management advisory and training services
- Prior experience working with USAID funded programs is desired

Please visit FMI website <http://fmi-inc.net/about/jobs.html> for more details. Candidates are asked to submit resumes and cover letters to office@fmcdi.kiev.ua indicating the position title in the subject line by March 12, 2015

KyivPost IS LOOKING FOR

• Native English-language business editor

The successful candidate will understand economic issues, be well-sourced in the local business community and be able to write and edit clearly and concisely. Extensive journalism experience is preferred. For consideration, send CV, three writing samples and three story ideas to Kyiv Post chief editor Brian Bonner at bonner@kyivpost.com

• Distribution & Subscription manager

• Digital strategy manager

Fluency in English, experience in the relevant field, ability to work under pressure, motivation and ambition to learn, commitment to Kyiv Post values and standards required.

Please send your resume, indicating the position in the subject, to Kyiv Post chief executive officer Nataliya Bugayova at bugayova@kyivpost.com

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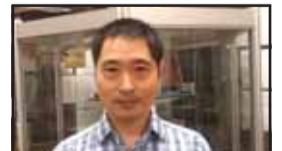
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At least 1,638 soldiers killed in Russia's war against Ukraine



A woman holds flowers on Kyiv's Independence Square to commemorate a member of the Aidar Battalion slain in Russia's war against Ukraine. (Volodymyr Petrov)

BY OLENA GONCHAROVA
GONCHAROVA@KYIVPOST.COM

The number of cease-fire violations in war-torn eastern Ukraine is decreasing, according to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, but that's no consolation to the Ukrainian soldiers who keep getting killed despite the declared Feb. 15 truce. Since that date, nearly 90 Ukrainian soldiers have been killed, according to the Kyiv Post count, based on official reports, unofficial sources and information from relatives.

U.S. officials report Russia is boosting its military presence across

the border with at least 55,000 of Russian regular troops.

Moreover, there are at least 14,400 Russian soldiers in eastern Ukraine and 29,300 Kremlin-backed proxies, according to U.S. expert Stephen Blank. The Russian units are equipped with the latest main battle tanks, armored personnel carriers and hundreds of pieces of rocket artillery.

Ukraine's military officials report the situation remains difficult on the front line in Shchastia, Luhanske, Shyrokyne and other cities.

Read the full story at www.kyivpost.com

Casualties mount in Russia's war against Ukraine (through March 5)

Civilians killed (63 children)	5,807
Civilians wounded	14,735
Soldiers killed	1,638
Soldiers wounded	4,937
Russian/separatist soldiers killed	7,577
Displaced people from Donetsk, Luhansk oblasts and Crimea	1,069,809

Sources: Ukrainian Health Ministry, Defense Ministry Medical Service, Defense Ministry, United Nations, anti-terrorist operation spokesman Andriy Lysenko, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Russian human rights activist Elena Vasileva



Vitaliy Mandryk



Volodymyr Hnatyuk



Oleksandr Batenko



Oleh Storozhenko



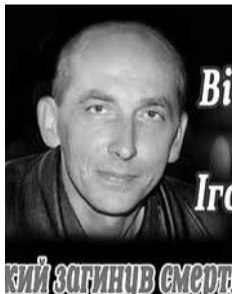
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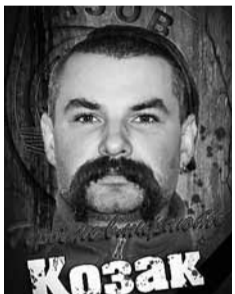
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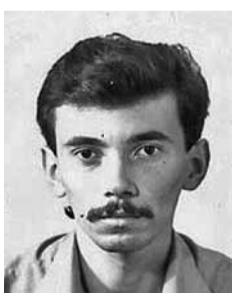
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