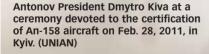


Unable To Take Flight





BY OLENA GONCHAROVA AND ALYONA ZHUK GONCHAROVA@KYIVPOST.COM

AND ZHUK@KYIVPOST.COM

While Ukrainians and Russians speculated on reasons for Russan President Vladimir Putin's disappearance from the public spotlight for nearly a week, Western analysts concentrated on what to expect next in Russia's war against Ukraine.

Several reports released by Western organizations predicted a further escalation of the conflict, pumping out scenarios that only diverged in degree of Kremlininflicted destruction.

"Putin's main goal is not Debaltseve, Donetsk airport or even Mariupol. They would like to destroy Ukraine from the inside using military, economic and political pressure on the Ukrainian gov- $\rightarrow 10$

Kolomoisky makes stark confessions of bribery as privatization debate heats up

BY ILYA TIMTCHENKO

Ukraine's privatization has never been short of twisted plots worthy of a novel. But never has it looked more like a thriller, with self-confessed villains picking public fights and making shocking revelations about their murky past.

BY OLEG SUKHOV

Visitors of state-owned aircraft maker Antonov are greeted by the statue of Vladimir Lenin that overlooks the factory premises in Kyiv. Apple trees and greenhouses for growing cabbages are another relic from the Soviet era here.

So is the man effectively in charge of the giant aircraft maker, Dmytro Kiva, who has worked at the company since 1964. He has held several jobs here since the early 1980s. He was Antonov's chief designer in 1987-1991, and after a break got the same job back in 2006, before getting appointed the company's president two years later.

Despite accusations of corruption and failure to modernize the aircraft maker, Kiva, 72, has resisted attempts to remove him as head of the company. His staying power is not for the lack of government effort in trying to plough through the cumbersome procedure to remove him.

Kiva said all accusations against him are "lies."

"Ruslan International and Ruslan SALIS have been audited by Ernst & Young," Kiva said. "These are just accusations made by people who have gotten used to stealing themselves."

Antonov is Ukraine's largest aircraft producer and also has airline and airport service units. That doesn't mean it is terribly successful – it produced just two aircraft last year, three in 2013 and eight in 2012.

In 2013, its net profit fell 0.71 percent to Hr 39.05 million (\$1.5 million), while its net revenue dropped 1.47 percent to Hr 3.27 billion – or \$130 million a year at an exchange rate of Hr 25/\$1.

To its critics, Antonov stands as a monument to Ukraine's Soviet-era graft, low production and inefficiency If Antonov were properly man- $\rightarrow 11$ On March 5, billionaire and Dnipropetrovsk Governor Igor Kolomoisky turned up at the hearing of the parliamentary committee on privatization, evidently to confess that he was one of the beneficiaries of the dirty privatization of the late 1990s-early 2000s that made many of Ukraine's oligarchs rich.

He admitted, for example, \rightarrow **7**



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Desperation, destruction in wake of Ukraine's Debaltseve retreat

March 13, 2015

BY STEFAN HUIJBOOM

2 News

DEBALTSEVE. Ukraine - "Hell is over there," said a Kremlin-backed fighter at a checkpoint, pointing to the ruined city of Debalteve, captured from Ukraine by Russian forces and their proxies on Feb. 18.

The soldier's name is Pavel Kuzorev. He is only 22 and a student of the Donetsk Polytechnic University before he joined the Novorossiva Armed Forces, part of the Russian-led forces that killed at least 66 Ukrainian soldiers during the attack to reclaim the strategic railway hub in Donetsk Oblast. The separatists claim to have killed more than 100 Ukrainian soldiers in the operation.

The only good thing this week about Debaltseve, with a pre-war population of 25,000 people, is the spring weather.

The road to Debaltseve is severely damaged, but not empty, as a convoy of green Ural trucks head to the city. Kuzorev said the trucks are loaded with humanitarian aid for the civilians left behind after the intense battle.

"We are providing them with essential aid," Kuzorev said proudly. "It's something the Ukrainians didn't do while they controlled it."

The Russians worked hard to regain control of Debaltseve. They launched a fierce offensive in mid-January, forcing the Ukrainian military to help evacuate civilians. The Russian army and their proxies, however, continued the offensive through the evacuation, with shells hitting buses filled with escaping civilians.

Despite the agreed Feb. 15 ceasefire, loud explosions are still heard.

"We are only repelling attacks," Kuzorev said. "Those Ukrainian bastards keep shelling us.'

The Ukrainian military deny ceasefire violations.

Both sides, however, confirm that heavy weaponry has been largely withdrawn from the war front. But nobody knows if this is just a pause in what could be a renewed offensive by the Russian forces this spring.

It seems that not a single building has been left undamaged in Debaltseve. Mortars and shells that struck the city are spread out everywhere. Despite the ruins, the separatists see their con-



trol of the city as a major victory.

"In time this city will be glad to be part of Novorossiya," according to a Russia-backed fighter, Grigor, who refused to give his last name to the Kyiv Post out of fear for reprisals.

The Kyiv Post was not allowed though to move freely through Debaltseve. Grigor and another Kremlin-backed fighter Maksim, who also didn't give his last name, guided the Kyiv Post through the ruins.

The train station of Debaltseve looks intact, at least from a distance, but some damage becomes clearer upon closer view.

The Russians view the Debaltseve railway station as important in connecting the separatist strongholds in Donetsk Oblast and Lugansk Oblast by rail. "Factories and businesses will eventually benefit that we took control of Debaltseve," Grigor said.

The National Security and Defense Council of Ukraine accuses the separatists of using the railway as a hub to rearm their fighters with artillery and other heavy weapons, presumably coming from Russia.

Grigor refused comment. "I can only

say that there is still military equipment in Debaltseve. Just look around. But I can't say if more weapons have come in at the railway station. I'm just an ordinary soldier," he explained.

The Russians in Debaltseve have seized Ukrainian weapons as "trophies" meaning they were taken from Ukrainian soldiers they killed.

"Weapons come from everywhere," Grigor vaguely explained.

Ukrainian authorities consider the civilians who stayed behind in Debaltseve as Russian supporters.

But mostly they seem to be just hungry. A woman stands waiting near the railway station with her two young sons, asking eparatist fighters: "When will the next convoy of aid come?"

Her name is Anna, a 28-vear-old woman who said her husband abandoned her for another woman. "You never know what to expect here," she said in refusing to give her last name.

"We will provide as many aid as possible," one Kremlin-backed fighter replied to Anna. "I'd recommend you to come to Donetsk as more stores and supermarkets have opened."

"I would have done that already,

if only I would get my money!" Anna velled back.

www.kyivpost.com

It remains difficult for civilians in Debaltseve to enter Ukrainian-held territory because of the need for a special permit issued by local authorities on Ukrainian territory.

"I was living here under the Ukrainian regime. They didn't care about us. We didn't get as much aid as our liberators now give us. I have two sons to feed. Can you imagine how hard it is to live under Ukrainian authorities that treat you like garbage? The city was full of civilians that needed aid, but little was done. Yes, they evacuated them. Yes, our houses were completely damaged. And yes, both sides are to blame for it. I only care about my two sons for now."

Life in Debaltseve has slowed down significantly. It looks more like an apocalypse than an important industrial railway hub.

And yet, the shelling continues on the outskirts of Debaltseve, even though there is not much left to ruin, except more lives.

Kyiv Post contributor Stefan Huijboom is a Dutch journalist.





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4 Opinion

Editorials

Putin's aims

The war front is relatively quiet at the moment. Ukraine is getting a \$5 billion tranche soon from the International Monetary Fund to stave off financial collapse. And spring is working its magic on moods with longer and warmer days.

But Russian President Vladimir Putin's aims against Ukraine haven't changed at all. He remains committed to trying to destroy Ukraine's statehood with 1,000 cuts - to bleed it slowly to death or into submission. Putin will play out his tools - military, economic and political pressure - until he wins or is defeated.

This is why nobody should be fooled, yet so many are.

The West likes to tout its unified response to Russia's war, which is a myth in all of its components, starting with the its delusional insistence at not calling this a war. They are aided in this fiction by President Petro Poroshenko's rose-colored characterization of the war as an anti-terrorist operation and failure to mobilize the nation sufficiently for victory.

The West is also not unified. Many nations in the European Union are pushing the other way - to forgive Putin's war against Ukraine and seizure of Crimea. The weak links are growing in number, with the Czech Republic, Spain, Italy, Greece and Hungary standing out in the appeasement pool. Hooking the West's response to absolute unity among 28 EU nations, as U.S. President Barack Obama insists, guarantees that no meaningful response will come.

A better policy would be unified military aid and tougher economic sanctions among the nations most willing and able to confront Putin - the United States, Great Britain, the Baltics, Poland, and hopefully Germany and most of the rest of the EU nations.

Much is at stake on the collective ability of the West to dislodge Putin from Crimea and get him to call off the war against Ukraine, including the future of nuclear disarmament. It is the world's misfortune that America is led by a president who, while a decent man with many achievements, nonetheless has little interest in foreign affairs - especially in this part of the world. It has become clear in the last week, through U.S. Senate hearings and other events, that many of Obama's advisers and possibly a bipartisan majority in Congress, favor a more robust policy to stop Putin.

The cause for arming Ukraine, which Obama has opposed, got stronger with the release of a British Royal United Services Institute report showing that Russia's military resources are stretched and strained by a year of war. "It is obvious that there are insufficient resources - military and financial - under the Kremlin's command to sustain military operations at the current level for over a year," wrote the report's author, Igor Sutyagin.

While we are far from military experts, it seems that this conclusion proves that defending one's own nation is easier than invading another nation. Russia may be only the latest country to learn this lesson. The West should recognize that weapons and training given to Ukraine are deserved and would be purely defensive, in the sense that Ukraine has no imperial ambitions to attack any other nation, only a desire to repel its attackers.

Farcical probe

If it weren't so tragic, the Kremlin's investigation into the Feb. 27 assassination of Russian opposition leader Boris Nemtsov would be comical.

In the beginning, Vladimir Putin's spin machine went into overdrive. spouting all kinds of fantastical conspiracy theories except one obvious one - that the Russian dictator was to blame for the hit to take down a contemporary who dared to walk the streets of Moscow and expose him as a corrupt war criminal

Then came the roundup of Chechens, or the usual suspects, as the fall guys in the Nemtsov murder. It turns out that one of the Chechen suspects was part of an elite government police squad under the control of the pro-Kremlin Chechen boss Ramzan Kadyrov, another in Putin's club of cold-blooded killers. Then came the reported confession of one of the suspects. Zaur Dadaev, obtained by torture, according to human rights activists.

The Russian president for life went on to boost his credentials as chief suspect in the two assassinations by giving awards to his hatchet man, Kadyrov, and Andrey Lugovoy, the main suspect in the 2006 fatal polonium poisoning of Alexander Litvinenko, who accused Putin and the Russian Federal Security Service in the mass murders of nearly 300 Russian residents blown up in their homes in the run-up to Russia's 1999-2000 war against its own Chechen citizens

Putin or his friends fancy murdering political opponents on symbolic days: Nemtsov on the Feb. 27 anniversary of the Russia's invasion of Crimea and journalist Anna Politkovskaya, killed on Putin's Oct. 7 birthday in 2006



To recap, Nemtsov – who likely was under constant surveillance – was shot four times in the back near the Kremlin, which is swarming with police and security cameras. A government snowplow with no snow to plow obstructed the view. Police took 11 minutes to get to the crime scene while the prime suspect, Putin, calls the shots in the investigation.

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NEWS ITEM: On March 5 Ukrainian billionaire and Dnipropetrovsk Oblast Governor Ihor Kolomovskiv attended a meeting of the Verkhovna Rada's Special Committee for Privatization and spoke of the violations in the privatization of state companies in 2004. He admitted paying bribes to Leonid Kuchma. then president, through his son-in-law Victor Pinchuk. "The one who gave a bribe and was the first one to report it doesn't take the blame," Kolomoyskiy said to the committee.



Feel strongly about an issue? Agree or disagree with editorial positions in this newspaper?

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March 13, 2015

Opinion 5

Why the gulags need to be remembered

To this day, my father hates fish.

More than 50 years have passed since his release from a Siberian labor camp but the smell still reminds him of the prison swill called balanda. A thin gruel made of komsa baitfish – not even cleaned – balanda was usually all he got to eat during of his nine years in the gulag. With a revanchist Russia changing the Perm-36 Gulag Museum from a memorial for the victims to a celebration of the jailors, it is worth remembering the decisive role that political prisoners – mostly western Ukrainians but also other ethnic groups – played in bringing the deadly Soviet prison system down after World War II.

My father, Myron Mycio, was one of them. He even plotted to hijack one of Josef Stalin's slave ships.

In January 1948, a Soviet court sentenced him to 15 years of hard labor for the "counterrevolutionary activity" of being in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, known as UPA, and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.

He was 22. His story is a chilling illustration of why it's wrong to close down gulag museums like it happened in Moscow this month. There should be more, not less of them, to remind humanity of the horrors that should never be repeated again.

For a year, they sent him from camp to camp in Russia's northwest Komi region. In Ukhta, he cut trees. In Vorkuta, he built barracks. The stink of balanda followed him everywhere.

For decades, Gulag jailors mixed political prisoners with criminals as a form of intimidation. This worked with the pre-war "politicals," mostly urban intelligentsia who were easily cowed. After the war, the authorities continued the practice, especially targeting Ukrainians – derided as Banderovtsi or Banderites, after OUN leader Stepan Bandera (1909-1959). "Life wasn't worth a cigarette butt," my father recalls.

But the new politicals were different. Many were hardened fighters and underground organizers who started "eye-for-an-eye" warfare with the criminals. The jailors noticed. If the politicals could fight the criminals, they could fight the authorities, too.

In the beginning of 1949, they separated the two groups and sent the "most dangerous" politicals, including my father, to special camps with the harshest conditions. A grueling, several-week train journey took him south to the sprawling Ozerlag prison complex in central Siberia.





People walk inside the Solovetsky Monastery on the Solovetsky Islands, scene of the most notorious Soviet prison camp, later described as the "mother of the gulag" by dissident author Alexander Solzhenitsyn, on July 11, 2008. (AFP)

That May, in Camp 26 near Taishet, my father and three other OUN-UPA veterans secretly formed one of the first cells of what would become known as "Polar OUN" or "OUN North" – the Ukrainian-led self-help organization in the camps. After reciting the OUN pledge – "Achieve a Ukrainian state or die in the fight for it" – they sealed their oaths with blood.

He remembers two of their surnames: Svyshch and Terpelyvets. When Svyshch decided to escape, the rest helped him plan it. In July, during the daily delivery of the detested balanda, Svyshch and three new recruits lured the guards away to seize their weapons and take them prisoner. For two days, they fled through the forests towards the west.

After releasing the guards, they should have separated so that one might make it back to Ukraine. But they didn't and camp security captured them within days. They executed the two men and laid their bodies by the main gate as a warning. The escape's failure meant that the OUN cell in Ozerlag's Camp 26 had no hope of outside help -- outside the gulag, that is. Inside, they found fertile ground for organizing. Using prisoner transfers, truck drivers and chance encounters, they made contact with compatriots in other camps. By 1950, OUN cells appeared all over Ozerlag and they changed their slogan to "freedom for all nations" to attract other ethnic groups That spring, my father transferred east to the notorious Vanino Bay on the Pacific. From there, Stalin's slave ships shuttled tens of thousands of prisoners through a treacherous strait near Japan and on to the Kolyma region in Russia's sub-Arctic northeast. Like Auschwitz in the Nazi concentration camps, Kolyma meant certain death in the Gulag. In a daring attempt to avert it, four Ukrainians including my father and Terpelyvets, a Belarussian Jew named Lyova, a Russian major called Biletsky, and Shablevsky, a Polish naval officer; secretly hatched a plot. When their turn came for the Kolyma voyage, they would capture their ship - the infamous Dzhurma - and steer it to the nearest Japanese island. To prepare, they planted their people among the ships' civilian workers and the prisoners: my father headed the carpenters' brigade. In the first days of July, when the Nogin set out with 2,000 prisoners, they sent agents to collect information. Their conclusion: "Don't do it."

tured and shot but the incident might have tightened security.

Guard boats also accompanied the Dzhurma when it carried the Vanino Bay co-conspirators to Kolyma later that month. My father would spend the next five years in D-2, a secret camp on the Myaundzha River, where winters froze to -40 degrees and giant mosquitoes tormented the prisoners in summer.

But with Polar OUN's help, he survived and helped others to, as well, delivering food and clothing to prisoners held in punishment cells.

After Stalin's death on March 5, 1953, prisoner uprisings rocked the camps in Norilsk, Vorkuta and Kengir. In D-2, OUN launched its own war against the cruelest jailors and informants. "Terror was met with terror," my father says, without many details except that Lyova killed one of the stoolies. The authorities lost more control with every day.

Revolting prisoners made the gulag untenable. The jailors needed too much security to keep it from exploding, raising alarms in Moscow. So, they let the prisoners go. In December 1956, having served nearly nine years of his sentence, my father got on a train to go home, never to eat fish again if he could help it.

Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn wrote with grudging respect for the Ukrainians in the third volume of The Gulag Archipelago. His observations about the pre-



Have you ever thought about leaving Ukraine because of tough economic conditions?



Olesya Piontkovska, retiree "I have never thought about leaving Ukraine. Although my daughter moved abroad

to the United States 12 years ago, I would rather visit her as a guest. All our Skype conversations start with a review of the political situation. So I want to stay here, especially in such a hard time."



Ivan Strutynskyi, retiree "I have no reasons to be somewhere else. I consider myself as a Ukraine defender since

World War II. My granddaughter went for an internship abroad, but she will definitely come back in July. Young people will leave because of money, but it is just rubbish in life."



Yurii Patykevych, student "When I was waiting for university enrollment, I thought about it. The situation in Ukraine

doesn't scare me, but my groupmates are about to hold a master's degree in some prestigious university and then stay there. I blame our government, that they didn't create the appropriate conditions for youth development."



Kateryna Pustovit, political science student "I think that Ukraine has a future, but maybe for my children

This photo of Myron Mycio was taken secretly in 1954 in Camp D-2 after Josef Stalin's death, when prisoners were allowed to receive packages. His family found out he was alive and his sister sent him the embroidered shirt. In 1948, Mycio was sentenced to 15 years of hard labor for "counterrevolutionary activity" -- being part of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. He served nearly nine years in various prison camps. (Courtesy)

Two guard boats -a rarity -had escorted the Nogin for the entire journey. No one knew why, though it could have been because German POW convicts had seized their ship and set course for the United States a few months earlier. They were cap-

war political prisoners' reaction to them particularly resonate today.

The "orthodox Soviet citizens," as he called them, condemned the Ukrainian-led war on informants and their fight for prisoners' rights. "They accepted all forms of repression and extermination if they came from above – as manifestations of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But they saw the same kind of actions from below as banditry and, what's more, the loyalists considered its 'Banderite' form to be bourgeois nationalism."

It sounds, sadly, familiar. Today, Russians – most of them really neo-Soviet – are again calling Ukrainians who refuse to bow to dictatorship "Banderites." But it is a badge of honor. From the EuroMaidan protesters to the soldiers on the front: all are demonstrating the courage and spirit displayed during the audacious Vanino Bay ship plot, when people like my father refused to submit meekly to a dictator's monstrous penal machinery and, eventually, helped to bring the system down.

I am grateful that he has lived to see another generation take up that banner.

Mary Mycio is a lawyer and writer. Her most recent book is Doing Bizness: A Nuclear Thriller about Ukraine's disarmament in the early 1990s.



opportunity in highly developed country, I will definitely take the offer. I am unsatisfied with the new government policy, for instance, taking off 15 percent more from working retirees."



Iryna Dovzhenko, university professor "I began to think about the idea of living abroad, as here is no impartial justice. I can't

blame government, but I disappointed in the authorities. The youth want to stay here, because they indeed do believe in changes, but I do not."

Landmark law holds bankers responsible for insolvencies

BY OLENA GORDIIENKO GORDIIENKO@KYIVPOST.COM

Bank owners, managers and connected parties can now be held responsible for the insolvency of financial institutions. Apart from personal financial liability, deliberately driving a bank to bankruptcy could be a crime punishable by up to five years in prison, according to a law passed by the Verkhovna Rada on March 2.

The law also adds transparency to the sector by making information on major shareholders public as well as ultimate beneficiaries.

"This legislation aims to challenge the longstanding tradition of opaque banking - when the main purpose of a bank is to collect deposits and finance businesses related to the owners," said Mykhaylo Demkiv, banking sector analyst at ICU investment house.

Speaking in Verkhovna Rada on March 6, National Bank of Ukraine Governor Valeriya Gontareva said adopting the law is a prerequisite for further cooperation with the International Monetary Fund.

"Total losses caused by the illicit actions of banks' shareholders and managers currently amount to Hr 58 billion (\$2.7 billion)," she said. By Feb. 25, depositors of insolvent banks got Hr 18.5 billion (\$860 million) reimbursed by the state.

"If we had had such an instrument (like the new law) before, this sum would have been much smaller," emphasized Gontareva. "Every shareholder or manager planning to divest the assets and attribute it to the crisis would have thought thrice before taking such a decision."

Currently the owners and managers may also be called to account if creditors' charges on the insolvent bank exceed its asset value at liquidation. But the procedure is long and complicated and rarely enforced.

ICU's Demkiv believes the new legislation is set to succeed as similar measures worked well in other countries like Turkey during the banking crisis of 2001. Weak law enforcement in Ukraine is likely to become an obstacle though.

Bankers are also reacting positively to the change.

"This is how it should be," Andriy Onistrat, head of National Credit bank, told the Kyiv Post. "I don't like when our profession is equated to swindlers who do something wrong and then the consequences are born by the rest of the stakeholders."

However, Onistrat believes that not only banks, but all other companies should be obliged to disclose their owners

"Those processes that are ongoing now in the central bank are quite positive. Everything that was long discussed is now being implemented every day, so fast, faster than in all other sectors," he added.

According to Yevhen Pentsak, an expert on finance with Kyiv Mohyla Business School, the new law does not have severe enough punishment to prevent corrupt practices.

"For many years we observe that the National Bank is not able to prevent some banks from money laundering and speculative behavior with foreign currencies. We need definitely more general law on banking regulation which includes best foreign practices," he said.

Oleh Zahnitko, attorney at Gide Loyrette Nouel law firm, said the new law will not necessarily be successful.

"The most controversial point of the law is that banks should act in a good faith, however this is difficult to evaluate." he said.

Kyiv Post staff writer Olena Gordiienko can be reached at gordiienko@kyivpost.com.

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Court partially satisfied the state prosecutors' claim that the Aug. 21, 2013 sale of the 61 percent stake in Donbasenergo to Igor Gumenyuk's Energoinvest Holding was illegitimate.



Donbasenergo's Slovyanska power station suffered substantially from shelling in Russia's war against Ukraine and is not currently operating. (Donbasenergo's Facebook page)

Donbasenergo may join wave of reprivatization

BY IVAN VERSTYUK VERSTYUK@KYIVPOST.COM

Previously state-owned assets sold to private investors may soon become government property again, including Donbasenergo

Donbasenergo runs two coal-fired power stations in war-torn Donetsk Oblast. The government is talking about regaining majority control and then reprivatizing the energy

On Feb. 3 the Higher Administrative

Gumenyuk held the chief executive

company is hidden behind a foundation Stichting Administratiekantoor Whitebridge Resources of unclear country origin.

Energoinvest itself declares Gumenyuk as its beneficiary. However, many doubt that he is the ultimate majority shareholder of the company.

Serhiv Leshchenko, a member of parliament with the Bloc of President Petro Poroshenko, said it's Oleksandr Yanukovych, son of former president Viktor Yanukovych, who controls the company. Mako, Oleksandr Yanukovych's holding that manages his assets, denied this.

Kyiv Post's sources say Kub-Gaz, a gas developer operating in Ukraine, also has a stake in the company, while Kub-Gaz is associated with former energy minister Yuriy Boyko and member of parliament Yukhym Zvyagilsky. Meanwhile, the state has a 25 percent stake in Donbasenergo and 14.2 percent are traded on the Ukrainian Exchange, nation's leading equity trading platform. Share price dropped by 10 percent since the beginning of the year amid the war in the Donbas region. The energy market regulator prohibited Energorynok, a trading monopoly, from paying for power produced on the territory occupied by Russian forces and their proxies. Donbasenergo's Starobeshevska plant is a subject to this ban since it is located in insurgent-held area.

lion in net profit, 12.4 percent up year-on-year.

While re-privatization may seem to be a good idea to some, like Dnipropetrovsk billionaire governor Thor Kolomoisky, others are getting nervous.

Taking away assets sold through auctions threatens a further loss in investor confidence

However, some experts think re-privatization of former government-owned assets acquired at rock-bottom prices will benefit the country. Most of those non-transparent, non-competitive sales took place under the corrupt crony capitalism of ex-President Leonid Kuchma and Yanukovych.

Michael Jager, managing director of the European Economic Senate, a Brussels-based group that lobbies business interests with European Union authorities, said any reprivatizations should be done quickly and transparently. Ukraine's Justice Ministry, in a note on re-privatization, says: "This term is often used by politicians, journalists and experts while discussing the future of privatization process. In the conscience of an ordinary citizen, re-privatization is associated with the forced return of privatized assets to state property.' The most famous re-privatization took place in 2005, when the government of ex-Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko undid the sale of Kryvorizhstal, a steel maker, to Akhmetov and Viktor Pinchuk for \$800 million. Later that year, global steel giant ArcelorMittal bought the plant for \$4.8 billion.

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officer position at ARS, a coal trader founded by billionaire Rinat Akhmetov, a major player on the energy and steel scene.

The sale of the company was not cancelled, but instead returned to a court of lower jurisdiction, while the hearings there could take many more months.

TehNova, Energoinvest Holding's competitor for Donbasenergo, was also suing the privatization auction results in court.

Energoinvest Holding paid only Hr 719 million for a 61 percent stake in the Donbas-based electricity producer. This is the cheapest price in relation to production capacity paid for any power generating company, said Oleksandr Parashchiy, head of analysis at Concorde Capital, an investment house in Kyiv.

Dutch Energoinvest Holding B.V. has majority 92 percent stake in Kyiv-based Energoinvest Holding. The ultimate ownership of the Dutch

Another of the company's power plants, Slovyanska, is not currently working because of shelling from the war. Both plants urgently need modernization, Dragon Capital investment company said in the report.

For the first nine months in 2014, Donbasenergo reported Hr 725 mil-

Kyiv Post associate business editor Ivan Verstuuk can be reached at verstyuk@kyivpost.com.

Kolomoisky claims to pay off Kuchma, Pinchuk as debate heats up over state assets

 \rightarrow **1** that he paid \$5 million per month during an unspecified period of time to fellow billionaire Victor Pinchuk and his father-in-law, ex-President Leonid Kuchma, in order to keep them out of Ukrnafta, an oil and gas extractor in which Kolomoisky has a 43 percent stake.

"We know that the person who gave bribes and who came first to tell about it will not face anything," Kolomoisky said, and laughed.

"This is another vile insinuation of Kolomoisky. It is a part of an ongoing improper campaign to put pressure on Pinchuk to call off his lawsuit against Kolomoisky and (Gennadiy) Bogolyubov in London. As previous attempts, it will not work," Pinchuk's press office told the Kyiv Post.

The issue is sensitive because of an ongoing court dispute in London over the privatization of Kryvyi Rih Iron Ore in 2004. Pinchuk accused Kolomoisky of breach of trust during the privatization process and failure to pass the asset to him. The case is worth up to \$2 billion.

Some in parliament think it is a bad idea to sell state assets in depressed market conditions

Kolomoisky has denied wrongdoing, saying Pinchuk is seeking to get back a bribe. He also told the parliamentary committee that laws were approved in Kuchma's time specially to limit privatization of sweet assets to the select few, including billionaire Rinat Akhmetov, himself and Pinchuk, and pushed for re-privatization of some of those assets.

"This is the year of re-privatization.

From left, business moguls Victor Pinchuk, Sergiy Taruta and Rinat Akhmetov could increase their holdings if the government decides to go ahead with a new round of selloffs of state assets. The three insiders made fortunes in the post-Soviet era when Ukraine sold off government assets in auctions that, as a rule, were not competitive or transparent. (UNIAN)

current government.

The companies that will be viewed for privatization are those owned by oligarchs in opposition, including Akhmentov's business empire. The re-privatization of a company belonging to Kolomoisky, a billionaire friendly to the government, will be out of the picture, Gardus predicts.

Some companies that were privatized earlier, like chemical giant Odessa Portside Plant, iron ore holding Ukrrudprom and telecommunications provider Ukrtelecom, are already under investigation by the Verkhovna Rada's special control commission, said Boris Filatov, the head of the commission, according to Interfax-Ukraine news agency.

The government, however, has no shortage of assets to sell off. Ukraine's public sector includes some 3,300 companies, mostly loss-making. They employ 1 million people, according to Economy Minister Aivaras Abromavicius.

President Petro Poroshenko raised the issue of their privatization on March 4, when he asked Abromavicius to move in this direction.

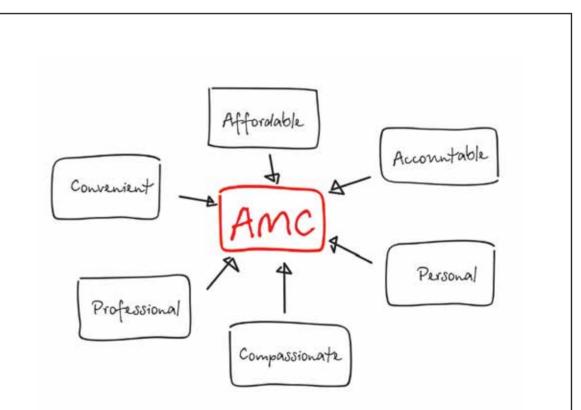
Poroshenko wants to privatize companies that are not likely to bring substantial earnings to the budget, keeping some of the firms deemed strategic. He noted Italian investors are ready to participate in the privatization of energy and telecommunication assets.

Ukraine made about \$30 million off of privatization in 2014. It already made \$4.6 million in January. In line for privatization are such state-owned companies as Centreenergo and Odesa Portside Plan.

But Kolomoisky, during his dramatic appearance in parliament, said the government would be foolish to sell anything at all in the current business environment.

Assets should be privatized to improve their efficiency and never as a way of adding funds to the state budget. Doing so in bad times, at cheap prices, will only put the government on the edge of survival, says Kolomoisky. Oleksandr Paskhaver, an expert on privatization and former parttime adviser to ex-President Viktor Yushchenko, disagrees. He says that every state-owned company has had its own corrupt scheme running since the beginning, which made a few of their managers very rich. He thinks that privatization is necessary and says that it should have been done a long time ago in order to deregulate the old corrupt structures. Parashchiy of Concorde Capital said that a litmus test for determining the right business environment is watching when Poroshenko's giant confectionary business, Roshen, will be sold. "If it's a bad time for a businessman to sell assets, it cannot be a good time for the state to sell either," he concluded.





Today is the time for the buyer, not the seller," said Kolomoisky at the hearing.

Re-privatization means that the government should get back the assets that it previously sold cheaply through auctions that lacked transparency and sell them again at a better price.

Oleksandr Parashchiy, head of research at Concorde Capital, an investment firm, agrees with Kolomoisky that it's a buyer's market right now, but says re-privatization would be disastrous for the country's reputation.

"Risks and uncertainties are very high right now, so it would be hard to sell the assets at an adequate price," said Parashchiy. But re-privatization also carries with it huge reputation risks for the government and is damaging for the investment climate, he said.

Maksim Gardus, an investigative journalist who covered Kolomoisky's privatization deals, thinks that the re-privatization process, if it happens, will be politically biased against certain people who are out of favor with the

Kyiv Post staff writer Ilya Timtchenko can be reached at timtchenko@kyivpost. com.

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Google Ukraine chief wants stability in order to flourish

BY BOZHENA SHEREMETA SHEREMETA@KYIVPOST.COM

Ukraine's rapidly developing tech scene saw global giant Google, mostly known for its popular search engine, establish an office in Kyiv in 2006. Today, Google's country manager for Ukraine, Dmytro Sholomko, says that behemoths like his employer are now looking for stability in Ukraine in order to develop.

Sholomko hopes for support from Ukraine's government to tech businesses. Tax benefits are not needed, he said, but providing discounts on rent or utilities for companies that make innovative products would be helpful.

While many would laugh derisively at the prospect of one of the world's most profitable companies, with \$14.4 billion in net profit last year, seeking government subsidies, Sholomko was deadly serious about how information technology companies should get special treatment.

"I heard a representative of the government addressing IT businesses 'if you don't like our rules, you can get your stuff and leave the country.' I don't think this is the right way to approach IT businesses," Sholomko comments. "They will actually get their stuff and leave the country to pay taxes and contribute to the GDP and effective economy somewhere else.'

Appointed to his position in 2011, Sholomko says raising the quality of the tech education will improve Ukraine's attractiveness. A graduate of the Kyiv Polytechnic Institute, the Google Ukraine manager admits that local universities lack the modern technical base to catch up with the foreign



competitors, while students also should have more freedom.

"If we talk about the quality of Ukrainian programmers, I cannot rate them objectively inside of Google, but they form one of the biggest European diasporas among the Google employees," Sholomko says. "Among European programmers, two nations that are the most numerous in Google globally are Ukrainians and Romanians.

"People who were leaving Ukraine for Google abroad now work as

Google's search engine managers and search engine is the core of Google's business," he adds.

All good startups that evolve on the Ukrainian market eventually leave the country, because it is easier to do business abroad, Sholomko explains. "A developed market, access to money, stability, rule of law and such needed things as a free flow of funds can be also found abroad. We don't have it here.

However, he thinks the Ukrainian

tech market will be growing. Six years ago, there were no Ukrainian companies developing their own products; mainly everyone was just working in the outsourcing sector.

Among the brightest examples of independent companies in Ukraine, Sholomko names MacPaw, a developer of cleaning software for Macs; Grammarly, an online service for checking grammar; and Petcube, maker of devices for playing and watching pets distantly.

While MacPaw still has an office in Ukraine, Grammarly moved to California long time ago and Petcube will likely move to the U.S. too.

Google, whose market capitalization is \$375 billion, helps to foster the Ukrainian startup community development by mentoring startups in promotion, marketing and sales.

The tech giant employs 20 people in Kyiv, which is a tiny fraction of company's 47,000 employers globally.

Google Ukraine can pick startups to a so-called virtual accelerator. The ability to grow and reach popularity on the foreign markets is seen as a crucial criteria. Startups that qualify can receive help from Google, mostly useful connections.

"We can teach them anything, except coding. Coding and product management is something that they already know how to do," Sholomko says.

Many startups, Sholomko admits, think they have a good product that will be selling without any efforts. But this perception is wrong. "For many startups we are helpful since we show them how to promote themselves."

Startups are monitored through the Ukrainian business accelerators and investment funds. "It's enough to speak to people from the tech community couple of times a month to understand what new projects are coming up and whom we can help," Sholomko explains.

Kyiv Post staff writer Bozhena Sheremeta can be reached at sheremeta@ kyivpost.com. The Kyiv Post's IT coverage is sponsored by AVentures Capital, Ciklu m, FISON and SoftServe.

CEO Watch

Editor's Note: In 2015, the Kyiv Post will offer more coverage of the leaders who run Ukraine's biggest and best companies in the CEO Watch feature.

Lenovo Ukraine faces many challenges, but its smartphone business grows

BY ILYA TIMTCHENKO TIMTCHENKO@KYIVPOST.COM

munications and IT consulting firm, the financial details of the Ukrainian the global company has, said Zhou. 4.2 million smart-phones were sold in market.

Ukraine's enormous size of land and population makes the country a tempt-

future.'

ing bet and keeps Lenovo in the mar-

ket. "We really hope the situation in

Ukraine will be stabilized in the near

Ukraine's 60-employee office is still

only a miniscule part of the telecom-

munications giant. Globally, Lenovo's

2014 net revenue was \$38.7 billion

with about 54,000 employees.

For Zhou's ambitions to be realized there should be an enhancing business climate. To achieve it, there should be a fair and transparent policy for every company. A promising business environment will only happen with a people-oriented government. Any government must pay attention to its people's values and hope in order to establish a developed economy, added Zhou.

Weijian Zhou, 33, has been Lenovo Ukraine's general manager since 2008 and plans to stay for another five years. The Ukrainian market has been a challenge for him – but he doesn't see much of a difference from any other country.

Devaluation of the hryvnia, the decreasing purchasing power and stiff competition are the three main stumbling blocks Lenovo Ukraine faces right now. But the challenges are the same for every company, Zhou said.

"The market is quite open and wide so you can get a very good result in a very short term," said Zhou cautioning that the open market does not always work in one's favor because of the strong competition.

GfK Ukraine, a market research firm, notes that the telecommunications sector made up 10 billion hryvnias, or \$633 million, in 2014. Smartphones make up the biggest chunk.

According to IDC Ukraine, a telecom-

Ukraine in 2014, compared to 2013's 3.6 million. The growth, however, did not translate into monetary terms. In 2014 the smart-phone volume was \$76 million, a 20 percent loss compared to \$94 million in 2014.

Lenovo's share of Ukraine's smartphone market was 10.6 percent in 2013 giving in only to two major competitors - HTC and Samsung. In 2014 Lenovo gained 23.3 percent taking over second place after Samsung's 27.2 percent.

But not all of the company's sectors performed as well last year. Lenovo suffered a loss in 2014, said Zhou. It faced a 50 percent decrease in the computer sector compared to 2013. The company doesn't provide

Despite the loss, Ukraine is a very important market even on the global level. "We are going to fight for the share on this market."

> There is reason for Zhou's ambitions. The market share of Lenovo in Ukraine is one of the biggest market shares

Weijian Zhou Age: 33

(Volodymyr Petro

Nationality: China

Job: General manager of Lenovo Ukraine How to succeed in Ukraine: "There's an old Chinese saying: if you come to a new country, you should follow their rules. I came here – I try to behave as the local people. If you want to be successful in business, every foreigner in this country should behave like the local ".eldoed

"I saw what happened in Ukraine. I understand that people want to have something changed in the society, to become more powerful as a country."

So far the appropriate environment is not there. The general manager does not plan to expand Lenovo in Ukraine right now. "Just keep what we have; (We are) looking very carefully at what happens next."

A Beijing native, Zhou has two daughters and listens to Chinese pop music and Ukraine's rock band Okean Elzy

Kyiv Post staff writer Ilya Timtchenko can be reached at timtchenko@kyivpost. com

Expat to Watch

Familiar face in legal community promotes his plan to save Ukraine

BY BRIAN BONNER BRIBONNER@GMAIL.COV

Bate C. Toms started practicing law in Ukraine in 1991 and has seen Ukraine make progress in many areas since then. But now the nation is facing the greatest crisis in his 24 years here, largely because of Russia's war against Ukraine and the West's tepid response.

have ever seen in the country," Toms said. But Toms, an American lawyer who is also the chairman of the British-Ukrainian Chamber of Commerce, is promoting a four-point plan for Ukraine's recovery. He even believes in it so much that he is launching an advertising campaign to publicize the plan. His ideas include:

"This is the hardest situation that I

U.S. President Harry S Truman signs the Marshall Plan into effect on April 3, 1948, in Washington, D.C. the day after Congress passed the Economic Cooperation Act that authorized it. (AFP)

Political risk insurance

"Investment has steeply fallen off," Toms said. "We have seen billions of dollars in potential foreign investment frozen because of fear of conflict... Most companies cannot get insurance today at reasonable prices." He thinks that the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency, the political risk arm of the World Bank, should provide insurance of at least \$2 billion. "Even if the military aggression is contained, the consequences for the economy will be adverse" without insurance, Toms said.

Toms believes that the signatories to the 1994 Budapest Memorandum, which guaranteed Ukraine's territorial integrity and national sovereignty in exchange for the surrender of its nuclear weapons, are morally obligated to help with risk insurance. Those countries include Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States.

Budapest Memorandum

The Budapest Memorandum needs to be respected, Toms said, meaning Russia must return Crimea and stop its war in eastern Ukraine. "The Budapest Memorandum represents the world's first great success in nuclear disarma-ment," Toms said. "If it fails, one can expect the beginning of the end of nuclear non-proliferation. The message to the world would be that nuclear weapons are necessary for defense."

Fighting corruption

One answer to the lack of independence for Ukraine's judges is the creation of a legal ombudsman with the powers to hear cases and issue enforceable rulings to settle disputes, Toms said

"The solution is not more laws or more speeches, the solution is to address the consequences of corruption by creating an independent legal authority," Toms says. He says that the adjudication of cases needs to be speeded up and notes that even arbitration hearings abroad can take years

Bate C. Toms Year of birth: 1949. First arrived in Ukraine: 1991 Nationality: American native of state of Virginia. Position: Manager of B.C. Toms & Co. law firm, chairman of British-Ukrainian Chamber of Commerce

How to succeed in Ukraine: "I have found that hard work and keeping one's word have been the most important factors for success

to settle. By that time, Toms said, even a victory "rarely comes in time to save the business that is affected."

Additionally, Toms said, Ukraine is paying a heavy price for not paying judges properly. "You cannot expect judges and officials to render proper decisions when their salaries are too small to reasonably live on and so small that they encourage corruption." 'Marshall Plan' for Ukraine

Named after U.S. Secretary of State George Marshall, the massive aid program helped rebuild Europe from the devastation of World War II. Ukraine needs a Western-administered aid program of at least \$40 billion to help improve its infrastructure, Toms said. He said that Ukraine's economy needs stimulus public spending on the scale of U.S. President Franklin D Roosevelt's New Deal program during the Great Depression.

"To begin with, if you can spend \$5 billion, it would be a massive boost," Toms said, citing the multilateral donors conference tentatively scheduled for Kyiv in April. "The main thing is speed. Investment in Ukraine has stopped. The infrastructure is withering away.'

Other interests

Toms, as the head of the British Ukrainian Chamber of Commerce since 2008, puts on 30 or events per year and helps to sponsor others, such as the Lviv Jazz Festival and the Odesa



Film Festival. He was called on to help fill seats in the National Opera of Ukraine for the Feb. 24 free performance by French writer Bernard-Henri Levy of his "Hotel Europe" play. The house was packed; guests included President Petro Poroshenko and his family.

"Bernard-Henri Levy should be admired as a man who, despite all of the pressure in the West from Russian-financed lobyists, has stood up for what is right -- the territorial integrity of Ukraine, as guaranteed by the Budapest Memorandum," Toms said.

In other projects, he wants to find sponsors to restart the annual Black Sea Economic Forum and relocated it to Odesa. It was typically held in Crimea.

Because of the devaluation of the hryvnia, Toms also wants to create new studies in Ukrainian law schools as a cheaper alternative to studies abroad. He is, moreover, involved in the BrainBasket Foundation. a project to increase training for programmers.

Whatever the future holds, Toms says he plans to stay in Ukraine, which he says is getting a bad rap in the West. "Ukraine is not a beggar nation," he said. "Ukraine relied on security assurances that have been breached."

Kyiv Post chief editor Brian Bonner can be reached at bribonner@gmail.com.

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March 13, 2015

Online subscriptions matter to Kyiv Post more than ever



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We are moving as fast as we can to change with the times.

But the nation's economy is in trouble, while demands for coverage increase -- especially of Russia's war against Ukraine and about Ukraine's progress in making long-overdue political and economic reforms.

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Kyiv Post's photographer Anastasia Vlasova takes a photo in war-torn Mariupol on Jan. 26. (Evgeniy Maloletka)

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During revolution and war, the Kyiv Post became "Ukraine's Global Voice" to the English-speaking world. Total pageviews? More than 60 million for the entire year, most coming from the United States, Canada and EU. Citations in the Western press: More than any other source of news in Ukraine and just behind one other publication even when Russia is taken into account. International awards: The 2014 Missouri Honor Medal for Distinguished Service in Iournalism.

At a time when Ukraine is being outgunned in the information war by Kremlin propaganda, the Kyiv Post matters more than ever as a source of reliable English-language news.

Building a free press

A vibrant press is essential to any democracy – especially Ukraine's fledgling state and attempts to shed its Soviet past. The Kyiv Post matters as an institution and as a model of ethical journalism and editorial independence, both of which are in short supply in a nation where too many news outlets are still owned by business moguls

who use their holdings as propaganda tools. The Kyiv Post's courageous journalism has led to several threats to its existence - including two failed attempts by oligarchs close to ex-President Viktor Yanukovych to purchase the newspaper; a failed libel lawsuit by billionaire Dmytro Firtash, who is now facing criminal bribery charges that he denies; and a demand by a Yanukovych-era agricultural minister to fire the chief editor for publishing a hard-hitting interview with him.

The Kyiv Post was able to withstand these attacks because of strong community backing.

Train future journalists

Our journalists also appear regularly at Ukraine's journalism schools to offer lectures, training and advice.

Kyiv Post alumni have, meanwhile, gone on to such leading publications as the Wall Street Journal, The Economist, the Financial Times, Mashable, Bloomberg and other respected outlets.

Two of our journalists have won the prestigious Alfred Friendly Fellowship, which places them in American newspapers for six months.

Former Kyiv Post staff writer Vitaly Sych, now the chief editor of the Ukrainian weekly Novoye Vremya, put it this way during an op-ed to mark the Kyiv Post's 20th anniversary: "When people ask me what needs to happen for Ukrainian media to change, I answer that media with international standards need to arrive. They educate hundreds of journalists, introduce new standards and undermine competitors that take bribes or service their owners. They do make a long-lasting difference. The Kyiv Post was the biggest of them."

Ourlongtime motto is "Independence. Community Trust." With your support, we will live up to this way of doing business for another 20 years.

Nataliya Bugayova is the CEO of the Kyiv Post and can be reached at bugayova@kyivpost.com

More guessing over Putin's intentions: Will he wage more war in springtime?

>1 ernment," Pavel Felgenhauer, an independent Russian military analyst, told the Kyiv Post.

Short-term plan

Stratfor, the U.S.-based global intel-

ligence company, says that despite Russia's annexation of Crimea and its military actions in eastern Ukraine, Kviv

seems to be growing even closer to the West, leaving Russia without a subservient buffer in the region.

According to the findings of the British Royal United Services Institute, the Kremlin might try to take advantage of a weakened Ukrainian military that retreated from the city of Debaltseve in Donetsk Oblast on Feb. 18

"Relocation of Russian and rebel forces from the Debaltseve area to concentrations north and east of Mariupol indicate that this option is certainly being considered in the Kremlin," says the report.

The port city of Mariupol is still high on the list of Russian potential targets, the report predicted. After Debaltseve,

one of the first targets for heavy shelling by the separatists was the village of Shyrokine, locat-

ed on the outskirts of Mariupol.

Six long-term options

Stratfor in a series of reports this week also predicted further military action. Its experts suggest six possible scenarios, in which Russia will need from 24,000 to 260,000 ground troops and from six days up to one month to execute a varying set of military operations.

The land-bridge scenario, one of the most frequently discussed options,



One of the most popular theories is that Russia will keep attacking until it forms a land bridge connecting Russia with Kremlin-occupied Crimea.

their proxies will make a push along Ukraine's southeastern coast in order

implies that Russian forces and to link up Crimea with separatist positions in Ukraine' east.

That would give Crimea water sup-

oly from the Dnipro and prevent any future isolation of the peninsula.

A similar scenario considered by Stratfor includes the seizure of the entire southern coast of Ukraine to connect Russia and its security forces in the Moldovan breakaway region of Transnistria to Crimea.

"The logic goes that this would cripple Kyiv by cutting off access to the Black Sea and would secure all of Russia's interests in the region in a continual arc," the report says.

The third scenario is about Russia taking all of Ukraine's east up to the Dnipro River.

When it comes to defending the captured territory, this scenario makes the most sense," Stratfor experts believe, noting that in this case Russian insurgents would be able to use the Dnipro as a defensive front line.

But this plan requires a lot of troops on the ground. Such an intense insurgency "could threaten Russia's ability to occupy the area even if it $\rightarrow 16$

Corruption accusations dog state aircraft maker's chief

 \rightarrow **1** aged, critics say, it could sell billions of hryvnias more in commercial and military aircraft in its niche as a low-cost alternative to Boeing and other global giants.

Kiva is seen as a living symbol of the obstacles holding Antonov back.

Technically, Kiva was removed in July 2014, but his replacement, Serhiy Merenkov, has been prevented from performing his duties by armed guards.

"For me, Kiva and corruption are synonyms," said Merenkov, who was appointed by the Industrial Policy Ministry as president of Antonov in July 2014.

Kiva disputed Merenkov's appointment in court, arguing that the ministry had no grounds for firing him, and has prevented him from entering Antonov's premises.

In September 2014, the Kyiv District Administrative Court reinstated Kiva as Antonov's president, and the decision was upheld by the Kyiv Court of Appeals in November.

On Feb. 3 Kiva's employment contract with Antonov expired, and the Economic Development and Trade Ministry, the heir to the Industrial Policy Ministry, which oversees Antonov, appointed him as acting president of the company.

The ministry plans to select a new head of Antonov in a competitive hiring process by the end of this year. It is not clear if Kiva will be eligible.

Meanwhile, on Feb. 18, the Supreme Administrative Court ruled that the Industrial Policy Ministry's order to appoint Merenkov was legal. But Kiva told the Kyiv Post that the ruling did not make Merenkov president because it applied only to the Industrial Policy Ministry and did not invalidate the Economic Development and Trade Ministry's order to appoint Kiva.

(The ministry) "de facto recognized that in the period from August 2014 to February 2015 there were two presidents at Antonov, Kiva and me," Merenkov said by phone.

The lengthy saga of Kiva's removal started because of mounting accusa-



tions of crimes against him. Some of them are related to highly profitable business activities by Antonov's subsidiaries outside of Ukraine.

For example, in October the Prosecutor General's Office opened a negligence, abuse of power and embezzlement case against Antonov's management. The company's top executives failed to transfer dividends from cargo airlines Ruslan International and Ruslan SALIS to the budget, the Prosecutor General's Office said.

London-based Ruslan International and Leipzig-based Ruslan SALIS are joint ventures between Antonov and Russia's Volga Dnepr group. Ruslan SALIS has lucrative contracts to deliver cargoes for NATO and E.U. governments. In 2006 the company signed a 600 million euro contract with NATO that was valid until 2012 and was subsequently extended.

The Prosecutor General's Office told the Kyiv Post, in response to an inquiry, that these foreign-registered companies failed to share their income with Ukraine's government, which is effectively a beneficiary owner of the cargo transporters.

The companies kept their incomes in foreign accounts, the prosecutors said, and the government incurred at least Hr 37 million worth of losses. It did not, however, clarify over what period of time the losses occurred. Meanwhile, Ukraine's Military Prosecutor Anatoliy Matios told UNN news agency in October that the state incurred Hr 502 million in losses between 2006-2012 because of ment's alleged misdeeds. According to the prosecutor's office, he is charged with illegally suspending a probe by a government commission into financial violations by Antonov. In February an arrest warrant was issued for Azarov in relation to this case.

Azarov's name is the only one released by the Prosecutor General's Office in relation to abuse of power, negligence and embezzlement cases, but Merenkov says Kiva is also involved. The names of Antonov executives linked to the case have not yet been released because they have not been informed about being suspects as of now.

Merenkov claimed that top officials of the Industrial Policy Ministry used to be "in Kiva's pocket," but the prosecutor's office refused to release details



From left, Antonov President Dmytro Kiva, then-Verkhovna Rada Speaker Oleksandr Turchynov and Interior Minister Arsen Avakov speak during the Arms and Security 2014 exhibition on Sept. 24 in Kyiv. (Volodymyr Petrov)

Antonov's management.

Merenkov, who was appointed president of Antonov but never took over, said that Ruslan International and Ruslan SALIS had cooked their books to hide the profits.

But Antonov denied accusations in a statement on their website in October 2014, saying that it received \$9.4 million in dividends from the two companies for the period of 2006 to 2013, and transferred the funds to the budget.

Ukraine's Military Matios also said in October 2014 that Kiva owned stakes in Ruslan International and Ruslan SALIS, but Kiva denies this.

But the company itself continues to co-own the foreign businesses. The Prosecutor General's Office told the Kyiv Post that it had proposed transferring Antonov's shares in the two companies to the government.

Former Prime Minister Mykola Azarov is also a suspect in one of the cases related to Antonov manage-

about ongoing investigations.

Kiva has also been accused of nepotism because his son, 52-year-old Oleksandr Kiva, has held a number of senior jobs in the state company also. He was appointed vice president and a deputy chief designer before his father became president in 2008, and kept his job after his father was promoted to president.

Kiva Jr. also topped the list of potential successors for the company's top job, compiled by Antonov itself in January 2014.

"When Kiva became the company's head, ethical principles dictated that he should change his son's position," Merenkov said.

But Dmytro Kiva dismissed the accusations, saying that his son is no longer on the list of contenders for the president's job. "Previously dynasties were believed to be a good thing," he added.

*Kyiv Post staff writer Oleg Sukhov can be reached at reaganx*84@gmail.com



Visit our Entertainment Guide www.kyivpost.com/lifestyle for the best St. Patrick's Day events in Kyiv on March 17.

www.kyivpost.com

Archaeological discovery sheds light on ancient Kyiv



Archaeologists from the Kyiv Center of Archaeology dig out a 11th-13th century street on Poshtova Square in Kyiv on March 10. The unique findings show that ancient Kyiv was bigger than historians had presumed. (Anastasia Vlasova)

BY NATALIYA TRACH TRACH@KYIVPOST.CON

When archaeologists performed a routine check on a construction site in central Kviv in late February. they were astonished to discover a medieval street hidden seven meters

The finding generated excitement among archaeologists and the general public

"Podil is very well studied, which is why everyone was very surprised when we first saw the fragments of the 12th century wooden fence and house," says Ivan Zotsenko, one of the archaeologists working on the spot. During the past three weeks, the team of nine archaeologists dug out several wooden fences, the foundation of a wooden house, coins, beads, pots and one amphora – all estimated to

date back to the 11th-13th centuries. "It looks like we dug out a frag-

ment of a densely populated medieval street," says Zotsenko. "These findings demonstrate that people lived on the bank of Dnipro River already during Kyivan Rus times. It means that Kyiv territory was bigger than we used to think. Earlier, historians believed that the borders of ancient Kyiv ended on the modern Borychiv Tik Street, some 500 meters inland from Poshtova Ploshcha. "The main value of this archaeolog-

ical finding is that the medieval Kyiv borders have become more clear," says Zotsenko.

In the 18th-19th centuries, there was a wharf on the modern Poshtova Square, so when the researchers began the check in December, they didn't expect to find anything other than fragments of pavement or household items from that era.



WITH YULIANA ROMANYSHYN ROMANYSHYN@KYIVPOST.COM

'It is like being in a candy store'

Ukrainian women marry and deceive U.S. men in the documentary "Love Me," released in Kyiv on March 11. The U.S. premiere took place in April 2014 and received good reviews.

Its author American director Jonathon Narducci, spent three years shooting real stories of Western men and Ukrainian women as they search for love. Narducci teamed up with Ukrainian field producer Nadiya Parfan to create "Love Me."

Following the U.S. men in their search for brides overseas, the director explores why they want a Ukrainian woman for a wife.

"Western men are searching someone from the 1950s who will be submissive and serve them," the director said at the premiere screening in Kviv on March 11.

In their search of a Ukrainian bride, Westerners usually look for a woman who will put a family, not a career, in the top place in life, according to the documentary.

The movie features four American men, guided by A Foreign Affair marriage agency, coming to Ukrainian cities to meet with the women they selected online.

Looking for much more than just a pretty foreign woman, Robert, Eric, Bobby, and Travis spend thousands dollars to attend a tour, which ends with marriage for two of them.

"It is like being in a candy store," Eric says about his feelings after the tour through Ukraine.

The movie follows Eric to his first meeting with Inna, a long-legged blonde from Poltava. The two are now married and bring up a baby in Texas. Construction foreman Robert ended up marrying Vitalina, who went to the marriage agency looking for "a man with a capital 'M.'

But for Bobby, an avid video game player, the trip was a disaster - the woman with an appearance similar to Angelina Jolie's didn't show up for a date after Bobby wasted \$10,000 corresponding with her through the agency website.

underground.

The remains of the wooden buildings that date back to Kyivan Rus were found at the mall construction site at Poshtova Square in the Podil neighborhood near the Dnipro River.

"Podil is lowland and we are very lucky to find ancient log houses here. The upper city's soil is dry and does not preserve any wooden buildings \rightarrow **14**

All the couples featured in the movie have big age differences usually women in their early 20s and men in their 40s and 50s, usually overweight, with a home.

The movie offers a first-hand explanation of the Eastern European women urge to marry a Westerner. According to Elena Petrova, the owner of the online dating service Elena's Models, who has left Russia to marry a wealthy Australian, Ukrainian and Russian women are exhausted with poverty, lack of career prospects and alcoholism of the local men.

"Love Me" documentary runs in Kyiv Cinema (19 Velyka Vasylkivska St.), Kinopanorama (19 Shota Rustaveli St.) in English with Ukrainian subtitles. The ticket prices vary from Hr 20-70

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Expatriate authors find inspiration in Ukraine

BY VICTORIA PETRENKO

PETRENKO@KYIVPOST.COM

The EuroMaidan Revolution, Russia's war against Ukraine, the fate of Crimean Tatars, borshch and music. These are some of the themes that expatriate authors have focused on in their books about Ukraine. All of them are published in English, except for Mauro Voerzio's book in Italian. Here's a sampling:

Mauro Voerzio

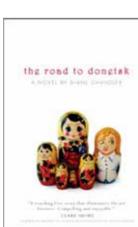
"Angels of Maidan (2014, published in Italian, \$4 for Kindle edition at Amazon) Since 2007, Italian entrepreneur Mauro Voerzio, 47, has been operating a travel agency in Kyiv while

splitting his time between Italy and Ukraine. When the EuroMaidan Revolution began in November 2013, he couldn't stand aside. "We thought that it was the beginning of real changes in the country," he recalls. Voerzio spent two months on Maidan Nezalezhnosti, photographing and making videos. At the end of last year, Voerzio released his first book with the aim of telling Italians the truth about the revolution in Ukraine, "Gli Angeli di Maidan" ("Angels of Maidan," Simplicissimus Book Farm).

"Today's government in Kyiv doesn't care much about propaganda, especially in foreign countries. In Italy our TV channels use materials from Russia Today, Novorossiya TV, ITAR-TASS, and nothing arrives from Ukrainian journalists or official channels," Voerzio says

Diane

Chandler "The Road to Donetsk" (2015) Debut British novelist Diane Chandler



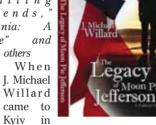
often thinks about what has become of the Ukrainians she knew back in the 1990s

J. Michael Willard

"The Legacy of Moon Pie Jefferson, Killing_" Friends, "Urania: Fable"

Gli Angeli di Maidan

Kyiv in 1994, he



planned to stay a year. Instead, he's now been here for more than two decades, finding inspiration for his writing. Willard has authored 11 books, fiction and non-fiction. The most recent, "The Legacy of Moon Pie Jefferson" (2014, Vidalia House), is a political thriller, a story of the assassination of a U.S. sena-

tor and his adopted daughter, as she embarks on a mission to find her father's killer. The events take place in the U.S. and Ukraine. Willard plans to write a novel about Russia's war against Ukraine. He is also working on two books: a novel called "A Mean Old Man," about a journalist who is nearing retirement and can't understand all the changes in the newspaper world, and an update of the non-fiction "The Flack," to be retitled" The Perception Fallacy."

Raisa Marika Stohyn "Baba's Kitchen:

Ukrainian Soul Food With Stories From the Village' (2014)

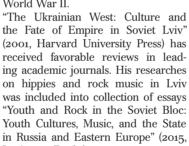


and Slavic curses such as, "May you be kicked by a duck!"

William Jay Risch

"The Ukrainian West: Culture and the Fate of Empire in Soviet Lviv" A professor of history at Georgia College in Milledgeville, U.S., William Jay Risch, first came to Ukraine in 1998 to do dissertation research in Lviv. He staved for two years doing archival research and conducting interviews. And came back again, in 2002, to teach during

t w 0 years the Eastern



Lexington Books). Currently Risch is writing a history of the EuroMaidan Revolution protests and their aftermath in Ukraine, based on 100 interviews and his own

observations. Kat Argo

"The Shadow of the Bear: From Ukrainian Activists to Pro-Russian Separatists"

In 2014, Kat Argo took a break from her career as a government



fairly as she can. Walter Orr Scott "Arise, Ukraine"



as possible, and

show both sides

of the war as

HR

ΪНИ

in October 2011. He lived in

Kyiv for six months, but found

it too busy. Now he resides in

a small town of Zmervnka in

William Jay Rish during the EuroMaidan Revolution demonstrations on

Maidan Nezalezhnosti in Kyiv on Dec. 19, 2013.(Courtesy)

For more than 10 years, Ukraine was the second home for British writer and journalist Lily Hyde, a former Kyiv Post staff writer and current contributor. In 2008 Hyde left Ukraine but came back in 2014, when she found it impossible to watch the events from a distance. Her materials have been published in the international press, including The Times, Newsweek and Foreign Policy. Her first novel, "Riding Icarus" (2008, Walker Books, London), was set in Ukraine. Her most famous book,

becoming a permanent resident "Dream Land" (2008, Walker Books, London), is about Crimean Tatars and is endorsed by Amnesty International as contributing to a better understanding of human rights. Now the author admits she could not imagine that the book will become so relevant again, as the Crimean Tatars suffer from annexation of Crimea.

European history at Lviv National University. As a result of his researches, he published monoа graph about cultural life of Lviv after World War II.

oversaw Ukraine aid programs at the European Commission for several years and spent much time in Ukraine between 1994 and 2000. On

Jan. 1, Chandler has published the novel "The Road to Donetsk" (2015, Blackbird Digital Books, London). It is a fictional love story that takes place in the "wild east" of Ukraine in 1994, "in a world where millions of dollars can either wash away in a moment's corruption, or turn around the lives of the neediest." Chandler was impressed by "incredibly resourceful and intelligent" Ukrainian women, who are the heart of her novel. "The Road to Donetsk" begins with a prologue that touches on Russia's war in the Donbas. The writer is saddened by the conflict and

as Raisa

Stone in North America, spent 50 years collecting life stories and cooking recipes from Ukrainian survivors of Soviet and Nazi terror, including her own family that fled Ukraine in 1940s, escaping the Soviet terror. Stone says in her website that she ate pureed borshch as baby food & cut dough circles

for varenyky as soon as she could reach the table top.

In February 2014, Stone released the second addition of her book "Baba's Kitchen: Ukrainian Soul Food With Stories From the Village" (2014, Createspace, U.S.), which Canada Council for the arts has assigned as both a literary work and a Ukrainian cookbook. On the 384 pages of the "Baba's Kitchen" the reader finds 190 recipes, as well as stories about survival from Soviet and Nazi terror. Raisa's narrator, Baba (Grandma), teaches readers simple folk remedies

during

broke

people.

bread

h

Baba's Kitchen

Ukrainian

Soul Food

'HE SHADOW the very heart of the EuroMaidan protests and thereafter to the war-torned east. Argo saw artillery bombardments,

needed a book to show how everything

was interlinked," Argo explains. The

author claims she tries to be objective

OF THE BEAR

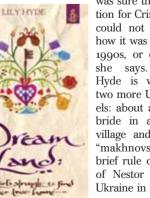
Vinnytsia Oblast, which he calls a good place for writing. In 2013, some of Scott's poetry was published in "Charming Spring Waters," a collection of 54 Ukrainian poets with him with Russian separatists, met foreign being the only foreigner included. In 2014 Scott fighters and visited injured Ukrainian soldiers at the hospital. As a result,

released a poetry book the book "The Shadow of the Bear: "Arise, Ukraine". All the proceeds from distribu-From Ukrainian Activists to Pro-Russian Separatists" (2014, Eat Your tion of the book go to Serial Press, New York) appeared. the Ukrainian servicemen wounded in Donbas. Now Author claims its main goal is to show what effect the war had on ordinary he is working on a historical novel, a three-part "The crisis is complicated, as the trilogy, which covers 2,000 people are involved, and can't be years and takes place covered in a couple thousand words. I mostly in Ukraine.

Lily Hyde

"Dream Land" (2008)

"I never guessed "Dream Land" could become such a topical book. I



was sure that the situation for Crimean Tatars could not go back to how it was in the early 1990s, or even 1944,' she says. Currently Hyde is working on two more Ukraine novels: about a mail-order bride in a Ukrainian village and about the "makhnovschyna," a brief rule of the gangs of Nestor Makhno in Ukraine in 1918.

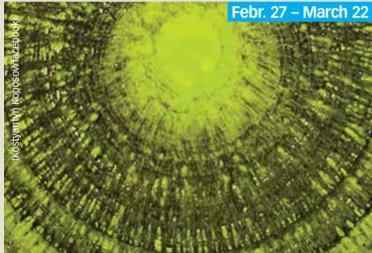
14 Entertainment Guide



Irish Film Festival

Presented by Molodist film festival, the IrishFest arrives in time for the St. Patrick's Day. It features screenings of six new Irish movies - documentaries, comedies, and a thriller - that were successful in the international releases. The movies are screened in English with Ukrainian subtitles.

Irish Film Festival. Kyiv Cinema (19 Velyka Vasylkivska St.). March 12-17. 5 p.m, 7 p.m. Hr 40-50



Febr. 27 – March 22 Music painted on canvas

The "Music Without Sound" exhibition features paintings by young Ukrainian artist Konstantin Koposov created by a "techno painting" machine that he invented. The device responds to sound pulses transmitted by music. The artist translated songs by Elvis Presley, Billy Holiday, The Rolling Stones, The Velvet Underground into paintings.

"Music Without Sound" paintings exhibition. 8bit Gallery (111-113 Velyka Vasylkivska St.). Febr. 27 – March 22. 11 a.m. – 7 p.m. Free



Tenors Bel'canto concert

Tenors Bel'canto, a vibrant Ukrainian quartet, will perform classical and popular romantic repertoire in various languages, including Italian, Ukrainian, French. Founded in 2007, Tenors Bel'canto ("beautiful singing" in Italian) consists of three tenors and one baritone.

Tenors Bel'canto concert. Zhovtnevy Palace (1 Instytutska St.). March 20, 7 p.m. Hr 100-600



Nature and wildlife photography

The exhibition features 30 works of the winners of the Ukrainian photo contest Photonature. The photos capture untouched landscapes of Ukraine and moments of animal life.

"Infinite Moment" photo exhibition. Center of Ukrainian Culture and Arts (19 Khoryva St.). March 10–24. Mon. – Sat. 10 a.m. – 7 p.m. Free



Active Sport Exhibition

Active Sport Exhibition invites guests to try a wide range of physical exercises with professional trainers in bouldering, yoga, jogging, diving, wrestling and more. Sports nutrition and equipment brands will present new products. The program includes an extreme show by bikers and cyclists.

Active Sport Exhibition. International Exhibition Center (15 Brovarskyi Ave.). March 13-15. 10 a.m.-7 p.m. Hr 40



Medieval city found under Kyiv's Podil neighborhood

 \rightarrow **12** of Kyivan Rus times," explains archaeologist Serhiy Taranenko. They plan now to work the whole street to "give us a clear idea of the medieval city planning."

The nine archaeologists work from 9 a.m. to 8 p.m. every day, trying to gather all the antiquities as soon as possible. "Fragments of the clay pots are the most valuable findings for us as their earthenware ornaments help identify the precise time when the pottery was made," Zotsenko says. Recently they were given permission to dig a new spot near the Nativity Church on Poshtova Square. "There was an ancient cemetery there. If we dig there I am sure we will find even more items of Kyivan Rus time," Taranenko says.

Initially the Kyiv City Council planned to build a shopping mall on the square. But after the discovery caused a stir, Kyiv Mayor Vitali Klitschko ordered a halt to construction for a possible museum there. Preserving the relics, however, will cost "tens of millions of hryvnias," Pavlo Ryabikin, deputy chairman of the Kyiv City State Administration, estimates. Officials will have to hurry if they want to have something left to save.

"The wood that has been in the ground for the past 10 centuries will get rotten in less than two years without proper preservation," Zotsenko says.

Kyiv Post staff writer Nataliya Trach can be reached at trach@kyivpost.com

DJ Tom Trago

Amsterdam DJ and label owner Tom Trago is about to perform in Kyiv for the first time since his music career started in 2006. Trago has developed a style of music that blends the best of disco, boogie, synth funk, Detroit techno and house. *DJ Tom Trago. Noch (11 Shota Rustaveli St.). March 14. 11:55 p.m. Hr 100–300*

Compiled by Yuliana Romanyshyn

www.kyivpost.com

March 13, 2015

Employment 15

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/

Health Consultancy Opportunity

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

Health Consultant for risk adjustment (or capitation)

For qualifications and job descriptions refer to: www.kyivpost.com/ employment/job/143

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ATTENTION EXPATS

Some years ago, the Kyiv Post lost part of its print archive from 1995–2000. If you have any copies tucked away in an attic or storage, please deliver them to the Kviv Post! We will scan them for our archives and return your copy! Thanks for helping to preserve the history of Ukraine's Englishlanguage newspaper since 1995!

CONTACT: Brian Bonner, chief editor, bonner@kyivpost.com or call +38 044 591 33 44. The Kyiv Post office is at 31a Pushkinska St., Office 600, Kyiv, Ukraine, 01004.

Business Director

International HIV/AIDS Alliance in Ukraine (Alliance Ukraine) is the biggest nongovernmental provider of essential HIV prevention and care services in the region of Eastern Europe and Central Asia (EECA) and one of the leading designers and implementers of focused HIV prevention programs. We have worked in over 30 countries globally sharing our expertise in HIV and Hepatitis C (HCV) response. In order to substantiate its global profile, Alliance Ukraine is establishing Alliance Centre of Practice on HIV and HCV prevention, treatment and care with global operations and is looking for a Business Director to drive the initiative

The functions of the post are:

- Coordinate overall activities of the Practice Centre: • Select the most prospective and trendsetting interventions to offer for global
- customers:
- Develop marketing mix for existing social intervention products;
- Collaborate with PR, design and communications agencies; Contact potential partners: discover and explore opportunities
- Explore potential business deals by analyzing market strategies, evaluating options:
- · Develop and negotiate contracts;
- Assure annual growth of sales and income.

You can access full announcement on our website: www.aidsalliance.org.ua We offer a position equivalent to up to 80% FTE, based preferably in Ukraine. but potentially in other locations (combined with travel to Ukraine) with sufficient connectivity.

Starting date is April-May 2015. Contract duration: December 31st, 2015 with the possibility of extension till December 2017.

How to Apply

Send your CV and a cover letter outlining your motivation, most impressive product launch experience and preferred job arrangement to the address: vacancy@aidsalliance.org.ua under the subject: Business Director. Application deadline: April 10th 2015.



ARE YOU INTERESTED IN DOING SOMETHING COMPLETELY DIFFERENT?

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- Are you a good communicator and even a better listener, decisive, logical, level-headed and convincing? Can you work under pressure?
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- Do you like Kiev and at the same time enjoy travelling? Then we might be for you!!

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If you are looking for a challenge and want to be part of our aggressive expansion then apply immediately and send your CV to hr@pe.com.ua

🖗 World Food Programme

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

United Nations World Food Programme (WFP) is providing food assistance to the most vulnerable population affected by the conflict in eastern Ukraine supporting development and humanitarian assistance. As it scales up its emergency operation, WFP aims to reach about 190,000 people with food assistance. UN WFP seeks interested qualified nationals to fill the following positions:

Deadline for submission of applications: 16 March 2015

- 1. Field Monitor Assistants (in Kramatorsk, Donetsk, Mariupol, Dnepropetrovsk, Severodonetsk)
- 2. Admin/Finance Assistant (in Kramatorsk)
- 3. Programme Officer (in Kramatorsk)
- 4. Programme Officer Monitoring and Evaluation / Vulnerability Analysis and Mapping (in Kyiv)
- 5. Security Assistant (in Kramatorsk)
- 6. Drivers (in Kramatorsk, Donetsk, Mariupol, Dnepropetrovsk, Severodonetsk)

Deadline for submission of application for the below vacancy: 26 March 2015

1. Finance Assistant (in Kyiv)

For Detailed Terms of Reference please visit www.ua.undp.org.

Interested candidates are advised to apply on-line by emailing English version of their CV to HR.Ukraine@wfp.org. Applications received without position title or after the deadlines will not be considered. Hard copies will not be entertained.

We encourage all qualified men and women to apply for vacancies at WFP Ukraine. We value efficiency, competence and integrity, and hire staff with suitable qualifications without distinction as to race, gender, or any other discriminating factor

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USAID | MUNICIPAL ENERGY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE | 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

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

WFF



The nights become shorter and shorter, and we are glad. After the March 8 Women's Day, real spring weather arrived in Kyiv. The sun started to heat and the thermometer started to climb – to 14 degrees above zero and even higher. Depressed by the dark days and bad news, residents of the capital rushed to open the season of biking, picnics, reading on park benches and long walks in parks and gardens. Visitors from other regions also started to flood the streets of Kyiv. Although rain and slight cooling is expected in the next days, the weather forecast promises a quick return to warmth. The biggest boost in sunlight is yet to come – on March 29, when Ukraine sets clocks ahead one hour. The sun will set that night at 7:25 p.m. on its way to the June peak of 16 hours of daylight. 1. A young woman sits in a café and watches a passersby through a window; 2. Children run down the stairs in Taras Shevchenko Park in Kyiv; 3. Young women sit at the fountain in Taras Shevchenko Park in Kyiv; 4. A street musician performs in front of St. Sophia's Cathedral in Kyiv on March 11; and 5. A couple walks in Taras Shevchenko Park in Kviv. (Anastasia Vlasova)

Some believe that Putins' war will end only when West decides to stop him

 \rightarrow **10** deployed all of its ground forces within Ukraine," the report says.

This would also alarm Europe and the United States early on, experts predict.

The rest of the options are variations on these three base cases. For example, Russia could consider taking only the southern half of eastern Ukraine. Such an operation will require less combat power, but will leave the Russians with an exposed flank.

options can meet security or political objectives through limited or reasonable means," they say

Defense expert Valeriy Ryabykh of the Ukrainian Center for Army, Conversion and Disarmament Studies says the land bridge scenario, as well as invasion of the country's east, seem like the most likely options, from the Ukrainian point of view. There is one more possible option that has been missed, he adds. The Russian-led troops can come from Ukraine's north, through the border with Russia's Belgorodska Oblast.

EASTERN UKRAINE SCENARIO



operating in the east of Ukraine. The number of Russian troops stationed in Crimea stands at 26,000-28,000 now, including approximately 13,000 of the Russian Black Sea Fleet. This figure nearly matches that of all of Kyiv's available combat forces, reads the

A small expansion of current separatist lines to the north is one more option. The final scenario involves Russia conducting small temporary incursions along the entirety of Ukrainian-Russian border in an effort to spread Ukraine's combat power as thin as possible.

"It could accomplish some small political and security objectives, such as drawing Ukrainian forces away from the current line of contact, generally distracting Kyiv, or increasing the sense of emergency there, making the Ukrainians believe Russia would launch a full invasion if Kyiv did not comply," the report says.

According to Stratfor experts, all of the options are feasible, but come with strings attached. "Not one of these

Russian forces

The findings of The British Royal United Services Institute shows that Russia has been preparing its Ukraine operation methodically and over a long period of time. In spring 2014, for example, some 28 military units were positioned on the Ukrainian border and within Crimea to generate approximately 90,000 troops available for combat.

Following their increasingly largescale, direct and conventional involvement in combat against Ukrainian troops in the middle of August 2014, Russian troops in Ukraine numbered between 3,500 and 6,000-6,500 by The most radical theory is that Russian President Vladimir Putin wants to launch a full-scale invasion that takes control of all of Ukraine east of the Dnipro River.

the end of August 2014, according to different sources.

The report says that Russian defense ministry had to involve 117 combat and combat-support units that were either stationed at the border, delivering artillery fire against Ukrainian territory from Russia, or directly participating in combat operations in

Ukraine.

Even though there are no official numbers of Russian soldiers involved in Ukraine's conflict, Ukraine estimates the total number of Russian troops and separatists fighters at around 36,000 at the moment.

Western experts say up to 11,000 Russian military personnel are now British Royal United Services Institute report.

Dissent in Russia

Ryabykh of the Ukrainian Center for Army, Conversion and Disarmament Studies says a new escalation will probably start in May-June 2015, and "it all will end only when the international community, Ukrainian and Russian people understand, what is actually happening in Ukraine's east."

"Ând only when they understand that Russia's expansion threatens not only Ukraine, but the entire world," he adds.

There are small indications that protest spirit is starting to rise in Russia at least in bigger cities. According to Russia's pollster Levada, over the past two months, protest moods have jumped back to pre-Crimea level.

Some 44 percent of Moscow's residents now believe that protests will intensify soon, and up to 15 percent say they will take part.