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March 20, 2015

# Kremlin's Warriors Ready To Kill

## 'Bureaucratic hell' cages Ukrainians in war zone

BY ALYONA ZHUK  
[ZHUK@KYIVPOST.COM](mailto:ZHUK@KYIVPOST.COM)

Valentina Romanova wants to take her two underage sons away from Russia's war against Ukraine. But she has been stuck in separatist-controlled Donetsk for more than a month as she waits for permission to enter Ukrainian-held territory.

Romanova, who lives in a bomb shelter and relies on humanitarian aid, said Ukrainian officials promised her that the process would only take 10 days.

Ukrainian authorities have made it difficult for people to leave the separatist-held areas, raising an Iron Curtain between these areas and the rest of Ukraine. →11

## Russians in war zone do not like questions

BY STEFAN HUIJBOOM

**DONETSK, Ukraine** – His Adidas sneakers betrayed him. His camouflage clothes differed from the usual dark green ones that Kremlin-backed fighters wear in separatist-held territory.

His name is Yuriy, a Russian claiming to be a volunteer. He has just arrived in Donetsk, the separatist-controlled provincial capital, on a bus from Rostov-on-Don in Russia.

He reacts angrily to questions about why he is in Ukraine fighting.

"That is none of your business!" he yelled.

"One ticket to Telmanove," he strictly demanded from the ticket lady.

The Ukrainian city Telmanove is close to the front line. He wanted to pay in Russian rubles, but another separatist fighter picked up the charge.

The bus driving Yuriy and other Kremlin-backed fighters to →16



Margarita Maimur, Irina Zarubina and Dasha Savich (from left to right), fighters of the Sparta battalion of Russian-backed militants, patrolling Donetsk (Cosimo Attanasio).

BY DANILO ELIA

**DONETSK, Ukraine** - Ryzhik, Gaika and Dasha are three friends who, until recently, dressed like other young women. Now they no longer choose their clothes: They just don military uniforms, pick up their Kalashnikovs and put in another day of work with the Russian-backed Sparta Battalion in Donetsk.

The battalion is headed by Russian citizen Arseniy Pavlov, a famous separatist leader better known as Motorola.

Sparta's female soldiers and their friends have outlandish plans to march on Lviv and they even joke about conquering European coun-

tries. They claim to be defenders of their homeland, although their pro-Ukrainian acquaintances say they are merely helping the Russian aggressors. A feeling of sadness is evident when they speak about their friends who chose to be on Ukraine's side in the war.

Irina Zarubina is the youngest of the three. She is only 17, and her nom-de-guerre is "Ryzhik" (Red). "My family is now in Horlivka," she says, adjusting her machine gun at the shoulder strap. "But I prefer to stay here in Donetsk. With my fellow soldiers. Now my life is here, together with my husband."

Dasha Savich, 19, married a soldier during the war, too. She is a doctor.

She was on duty at the airport in Donetsk in January, but only for a short time. "It was very dangerous," she says. "I was afraid, of course. It's better to stay here safe."

Margarita Maimur is the oldest of the three. She is 20. Her nom-de-guerre is "Gaika" (Gadget Hackwrench, as in Disney character). And she too got married during the war with a soldier.

They talked in a central Donetsk cafe popular among Kremlin-backed militants. Camouflage uniforms and AK-47 assault rifles look eerie next to families sitting at tables with TVs showing music videos.

The barracks of their battalion are right around the corner. In the court-

yard, tanks and armored personnel carriers are parked and repaired, while many other weapons are stocked inside. It is not rare that, while sipping tea, the teapot trembles as tanks drive by.

"We're like a big family, and that's our big house," says Zarubina. "Our husbands are there, and also our new friends. Even Motorola, our commander, is like a family member. We call him Dad."

Zarubina and Maimur have medals pinned to their chests.

"We were awarded these for defending the city of Sloviansk," Maimur says, referring to its siege by Ukrainian troops in April-July 2014. "I'm →2

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# Female fighters dance to separatists' tune

→ **1** from Sloviansk as well. I was there before enlisting in the Sparta Battalion. We controlled the city for three months. Three months in peace, before the Ukrainians bombed us."

Sloviansk was initially seized by Russian mercenaries and local insurgents in April 2014. Russian citizen Igor Strelkov, who has been identified by Ukraine's Security Service as an ex-officer of Russia's Main Intelligence Directorate, led the operation and said last year that he "pulled the trigger" of the war in eastern Ukraine and takes responsibility for starting it.

Ryzhik, Gaika and Dasha agreed to be joined on a patrol of the northern outskirts of Donetsk, riding in a car with Kalashnikovs and grenade launchers.

Vladimir, Dasha's husband, is behind the wheel.

"We are winning this war, you know?" he says, speeding through the empty streets of the Kyivsky district. "We will first take the whole of Donbas, and then we will get to Poland."

"But we first have to take Lviv," Dasha corrects him.

"Yes, Lviv, then Warsaw, and then we will even come to you, in Italy," Vladimir adds.

Now that the ceasefire is in place and shells do not hit the city every day, the destroyed Donetsk airport is not such a risky place to be.

An unexploded Grad missile is stuck in the asphalt of Kyivsky Prospect and must be detonated.

Gaika shakes her head. "There, you see why I decided to enroll?" she says. "I wanted to do something for us, for our people. It is not right to bomb the city and its inhabitants. When children die, when your relatives die, you know that it's time to fight. And I want to fight."

The Kremlin narrative is that the separatists are defending their hometowns from Ukrainian troops. Pro-Kyiv Ukrainians dismiss the claims as a facade to mask Russia's direct aggression and de facto occupation.

Old billboards dangle in the wind, with an ominous creak, on nearly deserted streets with damaged buildings all around.



A separatist fighter instructs Margarita Maimur (L) and Irina Zarubina on how to use a rocket-propelled grenade launcher in Donetsk. (Cosimo Attanasio)

On patrol, several checkpoints exist on the way to the former airport. Someone fires a warning shot from a Kalashnikov. Journalists are not welcome. Gaika calms them down, saying that everything is under control and that their positions will not be photographed.

"These are tanks taken from the Ukrainians. They do not want them to be published," she says.

The ruins of the Donetsk Airport are a few hundred yards away. Despite the Feb. 15 truce, mortars continue to hit the area occasionally.

Here the Sparta Battalion fought one of the most symbolic battles of the war. The takeover of the Donetsk airport by the Kremlin-backed militants in January was a blow to the morale of Ukrainian troops who defended it for months.

"I was here in January," Dasha says. "You know, for me it all started in a hospital at the beginning of the war. I worked there for three weeks, but every day I had the feeling I wasn't doing enough. So I went to Motorola and I enrolled in the Sparta Battalion.

There was Ryzhik—she immediately accepted me—and then I also met Gaika and we became good friends as well as fellow soldiers."

"You know, in Sloviansk I still have a lot of friends who support Ukraine. Well, I used to... Because since I came to fight here in Donetsk they don't want to hear from me anymore. They say they that I'm a separatist, that I've become a terrorist, that I fight against my homeland. But my homeland is this one, Donbass, Novorossia."

A car approaches. Two gunmen get out and stare grimly at us. No one here has their ranks on their insignia and you never know who is the highest in the hierarchy. "If you want to stay here, those are not enough," says one of the soldiers, pointing at the Kalashnikovs. The other one pulls a couple of bazookas out of the car trunk and passes them to the women.

"Do you know how to use this?" he asks Gaika. She shakes her head no. "Well, remove the safety catch, this way. Then put it on your shoulder, raise the viewfinder, point, pull the trigger

and ... hasta la vista."

All of them laugh out loud.

The road that runs from the airport to the northern side of the station is a desolate landscape of fallen trees and bombed buildings. Asphalt is marked with tank treads. Vladimir drives, avoiding the fallen logs and grenade craters.

The route takes the group past the heavily damaged train station and the suburb of Kuybishevsky, where those who could not flee elsewhere continue to live, despite the shelling. Gaika, Ryzhik and Dasha's words about victory and peace are not consistent with the destruction and devastation around.

Back at base, a tank passes at high speed and disappears behind the high gate. They say Motorola was on board, back from the war front. The women are in a hurry to return. Before they, too, disappear behind the gate, Ryzhik requests: "Please, when you write, say that we are not terrorists. Maybe our friends on the other side will read it."

*Damilo Elia is an Italian freelance journalist.*

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# STATEMENT BY THE CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE AND BUSINESS ASSOCIATIONS OF UKRAINE ON THE NEED FOR POLITICAL RISK INSURANCE FOR UKRAINIAN INVESTMENTS

We, the chambers of commerce and business associations listed below, representing the business community in Ukraine, wish to express our concern over the general absence of readily available political risk insurance for investments in Ukraine, and the increasing fragility of the Ukrainian economy, due in part to the absence of foreign and domestic investment. Despite the promises made in the Budapest Memorandum, in return for which treaty Ukraine gave up the world's third largest nuclear arsenal, Ukraine's territorial integrity is not being respected, and investors in Ukraine are threatened with further military and economic coercion that place their investments at risk. This business and investment risk needs to be covered by suitable political risk insurance, so that investments into Ukraine may generally proceed.

We request that foreign embassies in Ukraine ask their national governments to urgently consider this problem in order for their countries to work together to support the creation of a suitable multilateral polit-

ical risk insurance program (as previously suggested by George Soros), based on:

1. standby guarantees to support the World Bank's Multilateral Insurance Guarantee Agency (MIGA) to make suitable political risk insurance available for foreign (cross-border) investors in Ukraine; and
2. the creation by the World Bank of a trust fund program, to be managed by MIGA (as was done for the West Bank and Gaza to get around limitations on MIGA's authority to issue policies), to insure domestic and certain types of existing investments in Ukraine.

Such insurance should be readily available at nominal cost for all bona fide investments in Ukraine (excluding the occupied Ukrainian territories) to cover the risks ordinarily covered by MIGA political risk insurance, including from war, conflict and civil disturbance. This insurance cover should be granted irrespective of the difficult credit and risk considerations presently associated with Ukraine due to the current

situation, so that Ukraine's economy can continue and, with suitable legal reform and anti-corruption measures, develop irrespective of any political risks for investors in Ukraine.

Adopted as of 18 December 2014 by:

*American Chamber of Commerce ("ACC")*  
*Benelux Business Club*  
*British Ukrainian Chamber of Commerce ("BUCC")*  
*Camera di Commercio Italiana per l'Ucraina ("CCIPU")*  
*Canada-Ukraine Chamber of Commerce*  
*EU-Ukraine Business Council ("EUUBC")*  
*Franco-Ukrainian Chamber of Commerce and Industry ("CCIFU")*  
*Swedish-Ukrainian Business Club*  
*Ukrainian Chamber of Commerce and Industry ("UCCI")*  
*U.S.-Ukraine Business Council (USUBC)*

## A Commentary on the Urgent Need for Greatly Increased Political Risk Insurance for Ukraine<sup>1</sup>

**Ukraine urgently needs additional political risk insurance** because of the conflict in eastern Ukraine. Billions of dollars in investment projects previously approved by the boards of foreign companies for Ukraine have been cancelled since October 2013 by companies taking the view that they cannot invest into a country that has a conflict going on, even for investments in Kyiv and Lviv that are far from the current battlefields. The Ukrainian economy is presently in rapid decline, in large part because of this lack of investment.

**Adequate political risk insurance is presently not available for Ukraine.** The Multilateral Insurance Guarantee Agency ("MIGA"), a branch of the World Bank that is the largest international organization providing political risk insurance, presently has a theoretical capacity of approximately 350 million US dollars of unused political risk insurance cover available for Ukraine. However, MIGA has strict criteria for the level of risk that they are willing to accept, and it is understood that MIGA political risk insurance is only available presently for Ukrainian investments in very special, limited circumstances. Obtaining MIGA political risk insurance is also a relatively long and difficult process, and only available for new cross-border investments.

Turning to private insurance, Ukraine is today largely off cover for political/conflict risk, except for very limited short term political risk insurance, which is not suitable for most investment projects. Except for US OPIC and the Canadian EDC, Ukraine is also off-cover for most national political risk insurance programs. Thus, potential investors in Ukraine find themselves with an urgent need for political/conflict risk insurance in order for existing projects to continue and new projects to be developed.

The proposed reform programs to address corruption and other problems are very important for Ukraine,

**but these reforms by themselves will not result in any significant investment, so long as potential investors fear war and conflict destroying their investments. They need this conflict risk to be insured.** Therefore, developing a program for political risk insurance should begin immediately, simultaneously with the proposed reforms. **The provision of adequate political risk insurance by itself should significantly help maintain a level of investment and economic development similar to that in the past, by mitigating the risks from conflict.**

As George Soros has pointed out, all that is needed for such political/conflict risk insurance of foreign investment is a multilateral stand-by guarantee, which could be funded by the G7 and the EU. **Very little actual capital would need to be advanced. Assuming that the conflict in the east stabilizes, then such insurance would never need to be drawn on — so there would be virtually no cost apart from administrative expenses.** These administration expenses could be very small if the existing World Bank MIGA administrative structure and staff are used to provide this expanded political risk insurance.

To best respond to Ukraine's special current situation, **such political/conflict risk insurance should be modified from the traditional MIGA insurance as follows:**

1. **it should be readily available at little or no cost for all genuine investors on a very expedited basis**, in order to provide greater support for the Ukrainian economy — **investors should thus be encouraged to invest on the same basis as if there was no risk from conflict;**
2. **it should be for both foreign and domestic investment; and**
3. **it should possibly even protect all existing investments** — though that might justify some greater premium.

To provide insurance for domestic and certain existing investments in Ukraine, that MIGA cannot put on its books under its Convention, the World Bank should create a special trust fund administered by MIGA to provide such cover for domestic and existing investments, as has been done by the World Bank for the West Bank and Gaza with the support of the European Investment Bank and the Government of Japan by creating the West Bank and Gaza Investment Guarantee Trust Fund.

**Thus, political/conflict risk insurance can be provided to significantly help save the Ukrainian economy from collapse and create the right context for the reform agenda, such as the fight against corruption. With such political risk insurance being made available, law reforms are then much more likely to quickly stimulate inward investment.**

Finally, the US, the UK and the rest of the EU and G7 should help Ukraine with political risk insurance as a fundamental responsibility. The US, the UK and Russia signed the Budapest Memorandum with Ukraine to guarantee Ukraine's territorial integrity and protect Ukraine from military and economic coercion, in return for which Ukraine gave up the world's third largest nuclear arsenal, comprising over 5,000 nuclear weapons, in the world's only successful act of nuclear de-proliferation, a hugely important precedent. This treaty also guaranteed Ukraine protection from economic coercion, for which such political risk insurance is now required. In addition, the EU encouraged Ukraine to sign the Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreement (DCFTA) with the EU, and as Ukraine's partner, the EU should react, consistent with the spirit of this Agreement, to support Ukraine's economy with such needed political risk insurance.

*Bate C. Toms*  
*Chairman of the British Ukrainian Chamber of Commerce ("BUCC")*

<sup>1</sup> — Parts of this Commentary come from Mr. Toms' Speech to the BUCC's Ukrainian Investment Issues Conference at the Kyiv InterContinental Hotel on 3 December 2014.



Editorials

# Putin's big lie

Vladimir Putin's lies are so blatant and frequent that they are easy to tune out. But what he said on March 18 was exceptional, even by the Russian dictator's standards. Speaking at an event to celebrate Russia's annexation of Ukraine's Crimean peninsula, Putin said that Russians and Ukrainians are one people.

Putin should know better than anyone else the extent of this lie. The last year has brought plenty of proof of the vast differences between the two nations. Two years ago they had more in common: both were soaked with corruption and ruled by dictators.

But when Ukrainians revolted and overthrew their president, Russians didn't sympathize. Instead, the polls showed that most Russians considered the EuroMaidan Revolution to be a Western-organized coup. They cannot fathom a successful rebellion against a dictator.

One could argue that Russia's annexation of Crimea and war against eastern Ukraine was the decision of Russia's rulers, not its people.

But the rulers are not driving tanks into Ukraine. Putin's hand did not launch the missiles that hit Mariupol in January, killing 31 Ukrainian civilians. He also wasn't the one hosting fundraisers in Russian cities to support terrorism in eastern Ukraine.

The attacks on Ukraine involve many Russians and their mercenaries. When Ukrainians dared to fight back, they were labeled as fascists.

The divide between the two nations became even wider on March 18, when thousands of Russians showed up for the outdoor concert in Moscow to celebrate the theft of Crimea.

Even before the war, of course, Russians and Ukrainians were different -- and always have been.

Ukrainians were outraged by the billion-dollar palace that Viktor Yanukovich lived in as president. Putin is believed to have effective ownership of 20 palaces, with personal control of billions of dollars, but Russians don't seem bothered by his kleptocracy. Ukrainians protested against an attempt to rig the presidential election in 2004, while Russians swallowed Putin's trick of hiding behind Dmitry Medvedev for one term to evade the two-term limitation.

It is deeply cynical for Putin to call Russians and Ukrainians one people a year after he launched a war against Ukraine.

The war is not even the biggest divide. Ukrainians demand democracy, human rights and fairness -- all lacking in Putin's Russia, which he governs with fear, violence and censorship. From Russia, Ukrainians just want their national territory and sovereignty respected. But Putin won't even give Ukraine that.

If Russians were indeed similar to Ukrainians, there would be no Putin.

# Ukraine's lobbyists

Although they are outgunned and outspent, Ukraine is more actively lobbying its interests abroad. While the Kremlin has more money and people, Ukraine has more truth on its side. We hope it makes a difference in swaying the international community to come down harder on Russia to stop its war.

In the last week alone, President Petro Poroshenko made the rounds in Germany while Finance Minister Natalie Jaresko worked the Washington, D.C., circuit. Some of Ukraine's best friends held a two-day conference in America's capital called "Maidan. Ukraine. Road to Freedom." The Kyiv Post was a media partner to the event put on by Morgan Williams of the U.S.-Ukraine Business Council and Alexa Chopivsky of the American Center for a European Ukraine.

The speakers included some of Ukraine's best advocates: Anders Aslund of the Peterson Institute for International Economics, Daniel Bilak of CMS Cameron McKenna and Steven Fisher of Citi.

The conference was aimed at raising Ukraine's profile, but also drumming up more financial support ahead of a donors' conference in Kyiv scheduled for April. The International Monetary Fund's \$17.5 billion, four-year loan will help stabilize the banking and financial sectors, Jaresko said, but will not be enough for economic growth. "It's not enough from the perspective that what we'd like to see is Ukraine not just stabilized but grow and prosper," Jaresko told National Public Radio in an interview. "And in order to grow and prosper, we also need to attract U.S. investment, U.S. trade. We need to bring the real part of the economy back onto its feet after nine long quarters of recession."

Unfortunately, Ukrainians face an uphill battle. The U.S. and European donors are giving out only part of an estimated \$40 billion needed over the next four years. Ukraine is also facing resistance to tougher sanctions on Russia from European nations as well as continuing opposition by U.S. President Barack Obama to arming and aiding Ukraine more substantially, despite strong bipartisan support in Congress. Regrettably, even those who claim support for Ukraine are doing little to stop Russia. Turkey's leader, President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, who will be in Kyiv on March 20, continues to play nice and make deals with Russia, while China does nothing to thwart Russia's aggression.

The war is not over. It has only paused. Regrettably, it will take more killing by Russia to get the world to do anything more meaningful to help Ukraine.



NEWS ITEM: The Kremlin-backed separatists of the Donetsk People's Republic and Luhansk People's Republic have established the hryvnia, dollar, euro and Russian ruble as currencies for use on the territories they hold at gunpoint.

NEWS ITEM: Russian President Vladimir Putin wasn't seen in public for 10 days in March, triggering an avalanche of gossip about his whereabouts. He showed up on March 16. "It would be boring without gossips," he said, smiling.

NEWS ITEM: On March 17, Ukraine's Parliament voted to establish the new border with the territories held by separatists in Ukraine's east. Until the very day of the vote, President Petro Poroshenko refused to reveal the new borders. At the same time, separatist leaders knew the boundaries and even commented on them. It is one of the many cases when Ukraine's top officials have refused to reveal information important to the public, or did so slowly and under pressure, undermining their credibility with the public.

For a preview of Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan's March 20 visit to Kyiv, read the opinion headlined 'Erdogan's visit to Ukraine may be substantial milestone in relations between two countries' by Burak Pehlivan, vice president-international of the Turkish Ukrainian Business Association.

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# MADE IN UKRAINE

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March 27

Transport and Logistics

## Ukrainian clothes can be fashionable and cheaper



**OLGA RUDENKO**  
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For those who don't have their salaries fixed in dollars, the declining value of the Ukrainian hryvnia means having to make lifestyle changes. And that means making changes in shopping habits.

After checking out the updated price tags at Zara and other global retailers in Kyiv, I figured it was time to dip into the world of local brands to see if they could go easier on the wallet.

At one time, buying clothes and shoes from one of the few Ukrainian producers was mostly a patriotic gesture and a demonstration of unconventional fashion taste. But now that the number of producers has increased tremendously, made-in-Ukraine garments offer quality at a lower cost than popular Western brands.

Several months ago I got a taste of Ukrainian-made clothing when I've bought a cotton sweatshirt offered by a little-known local brand for just Hr 450. It had small Molotov cock-tails embroidered on it – a unique pattern that can hardly be found in a mass-market brand.



A woman tries on a dress in Okno Vo Dvor concept store on March 18. (Volodymyr Petrov)

The problem with the Ukrainian-made garments is that they are not found in a mall, like their richer competitors. Instead, local brands are sold

online and through dozens of small stores in Kyiv.

First, stop at 482 Store (10 Yaroslaviv Val St.) for some quirky romantic dresses by Dushka brand (Hr 1,300-1,500). While you are at the 482, check out the woolen coats by various brands (Hr 2,500 and more). Don't miss the coat-like long cardigans by Pivnik Studio (Hr 1,200).

For affordable business casual clothes for women and classy dresses, pay a visit to Must Have (14 Yuri Kotsiubynsky St., [www.musthave.ua](http://www.musthave.ua)), a producer that became famous after its dress was worn by the first lady Maryna Poroshenko back in 2014.

To find some fashionable minimalist clothes go to Chrome concept store (9 Lavrska St., [www.xpomshop.com](http://www.xpomshop.com)). Here one finds funky and chic sweat-shirts (Hr 500 – 1,500), as well as black and white dresses (Hr 700-1,900), and designer t-shirts (Hr 300-700).

And be sure to not forget about Okno Vo Dvor (A Window to the Yard, 2 Taras Shevchenko Blvd., office 77), a concept store with a vast choice of women's clothing, bags, and accessories. To get a taste of prices, let's say that a shirt dress here goes for just Hr 620. Make sure to buy or order a cotton pajama by Ukrainian homewear brand Balcony for a joke price of Hr 300.

While in Okno vo Dvor, check out the silver jewellery. A quaint pendant

shaped as birds sitting on a twig, by Anna Yasynska, is Hr 290. Silver earrings by another aspiring jeweller designer Lena Yastreb go for Hr 215-355.

When out of Okno Vo Dvor, walk two blocks to Myakot (29/31 Velyka Vasylkivska St.), a multi-brand boutique shop of a similar concept. Myakot offers a great choice of jewelry with semi-precious stones, like pending earrings with chalcedony (Hr 450-800) and luxurious statement necklaces with druzy stones (Hr 2,450).

A small choice of men's clothing can be found in the Underwood Store (31B Pushkinska St.). The store has a Vkontakte page with a full catalogue.

To complement the new clothes with a bag, go to The Wings (15A Mala Zhytomyrska St.) to order or buy a manly leather backpack (Hr 1,590) or a purse (Hr 890). They also offer, in my taste, the best leather wallets in Kyiv (Hr 350).

Those with a quirky taste will be happy to know that Kyiv has a cheaper alternative to Olympia Le-Tan book clutches. Doob.Vosk makes wooden clutch bags with popular book covers for Hr 1,300 – including titles like Paddington Bear tales, "Moby Dick" and even the Bible. Look for Doob.Vosk on Facebook.

Then walk to Podil to visit the showroom of Kachorovska (35A Borychiv Tik St.), a popular shoemaker that works only with Italian leather. The manufacture is in Zhytonyr, which helps keep the prices down.

Even with the higher post-crisis prices, their shoes are still cheaper than those in the malls.

Kachorovska makes a pair of chic high heels for spring for Hr 1,700-1,800, or summer sandals for Hr 1,300 – try finding leather shoes in mass stores for that price. Boots are up to Hr 3,500. The only flaw is the waiting time – due to the popularity of Kachorovska, the production of the ordered pair will take up to three months, so order in advance or buy one of their ready-to-wear pairs. Men shoes are also available for order.

For more shoes, check out Alyabyeva and Chameleon Studio. Both brands sell at 482 Store and on Facebook, and focus on loafers – for both men and women (Hr 1,200 and more). Desert boots are offered for Hr 1,500, a price that can hardly buy a pair of canva espadrilles in Zara.

Check the working hours of the mentioned stores on their Facebook pages.

Kyiv Post lifestyle editor Olga Rudenko can be reached at [rudenko@kyivpost.com](mailto:rudenko@kyivpost.com).

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# Executives To Watch

**Editor's Note:** In 2015, the Kyiv Post will offer more coverage of the leaders who run Ukraine's biggest and best companies. Look for our regular series of features: Executives To Watch, CEOs To Watch and Expats To Watch.

## Even in crisis, DHL Express head sees how made-in-Ukraine products can spur recovery

BY BRIAN BONNER  
BRIBONNER@GMAIL.COM

For Vadim Sidoruk, the “made-in-Ukraine” country manager of DHL Express Ukraine, life-shaping events took place during his university years just before the dawn of the Mikhail Gorbachev era in the Soviet Union.

In 1983, the Lviv native started working as a tourist guide, putting him in close contact with hundreds of foreigners over the nearly 10 years he held the job. He grew confident speaking English in front of crowds, traveling widely (at least around the U.S.S.R.) and learning about the outside world from conversations with the visitors.

Sidoruk said the experience has stayed with him his whole life. In his case, it helped him succeed in his career at DHL, the global logistics and shipping giant, which he joined in 1993.

Some of those lessons?

Contrary to the hypocrisy of Soviet politicians and bosses, he learned that managers should communicate with employees honestly and frequently, even when making unpopular decisions.

He prides himself on a low turnover rate, under 10 percent annually. While he describes the pay as only average, the

wages are 100 percent official, transparent and taxed. He thinks that employees should be happy at work, since they are spending as much time with their colleagues as they are with their own families.

“I am in the people business,” Sidoruk said. “Every day has to be the best day.”

Sidoruk's love of travel and meeting people continued after the demise of the Soviet Union in 1991, an event that he confesses that he did not see coming “up to the last day until it collapsed.” Independent Ukraine opened new vistas for him. So far he's visited 80 countries, where he indulges in his hobby of nature photography.

Fast forward to today's challenges in his third year as DHL's country manager. There are plenty of them.

Some 20 percent of the DHL Express business in Ukraine came from the eastern Donbas before Russia launched its war a year ago. After the fighting started, DHL Express offices were looted in Donetsk and nine delivery vans stolen. The company also shut down its operations in Crimea after the Russian annexation in March 2014.

So does this mean that the express delivery service is hurting?

Far from it, says Sidoruk, whose Ukraine operations are a tiny, but bright, sliver of the global giant's business.

Deutsche Post DHL Group's worldwide revenue came in



DHL Express Ukraine workers sort packages in the company's Kyiv headquarters on March 17. Despite Ukraine's recession and war, the division expects to have double-digit growth in revenue, although the global logistics and shipping giant doesn't disclose revenue by country. (Pavlo Podufalov)

at \$60 billion in 2014, some 70 percent of Ukraine's expected gross domestic product of \$85 billion this year. The company that employs 150,000 people globally doesn't give out revenue breakdowns by country, but “you can hardly find a country where DHL is not successful,” he said of the company with the distinctive red-and-yellow logos.

Despite war, revolution and recession, DHL Express Ukraine will “exceed projections” with double-digit sales growth this year, Sidoruk said. That's good news for the 350 employees who work from a giant office-warehouse complex, formerly a steel mill, where they share space with Ukraine's Customs Service. The 9 Lugova St. address is near Karavan Megastore.

Sidoruk said that Crimea never generated a lot of revenue. And, while the war has been disastrous for Donbas business, he estimates that the company lost only half of its customers

there. The other half, he said, migrated to Lviv, Odesa, Mariupol, Kharkiv and other relatively unaffected cities.

Sidoruk sees one big and optimistic trend from his perch. “Export is our driver at the moment,” he said.

While hryvnia devaluation has cut imports, as expected, exports are increasing as domestic companies send out more samples or products all over the world in hopes of landing new contracts. The made-in-Ukraine list is impressive and includes foodstuffs, fast-moving consumer goods and textiles. DHL Express Ukraine sees that shipments to all regions of the world are up, except for trade with Russia, which has dropped sharply.

The developments suggest to Sidoruk that Ukraine's path to a brighter economy is through greater exports. He says he's “amazed by the quality” of Ukrainian-made goods, not just the products but also the packaging, which

Sidoruk says has improved greatly in recent years.

He's seen progress in his 22 years with the company in other areas as well.

Up until a few years ago, Ukraine's Customs Service held up deliveries of even small packages with items worth less than 150 euros. “Everything that came into the country was stopped,” he said with amazement. No longer. But those changes, along with “trying to make things happen without bribes,” took years of lobbying government officials at various levels, he said.

While he doesn't like talking about competitors TNT, Meest, United Parcel Service and Federal Express, Sidoruk touts DHL Express Ukraine's 65 percent market share — practically a monopoly, albeit one with the other big names still doing business.

Not surprisingly, DHL Express is highly automated, modern and runs like clockwork: A Boeing 737 or Boeing 757 jet flies up to 15 tons of cargo into the country at 9 a.m., mainly from Leipzig, Germany. The same plane takes outbound shipments at 9 p.m. Shipments in Ukraine are processed at the Kyiv warehouse for local delivery about 2 p.m., which is the same time that customers need to drop off their packages to ensure that they will make the evening flight. DHL Express has 35 service centers throughout the nation and a fleet of more than 100 vehicles.

Aside from the business he runs, Sidoruk believes that his homeland is “just breaking away from the Soviet Union and Soviet mentality,” a prospect he welcomes.

But the nation can't do it alone.

“The West has to help Ukraine,” he said. “Financial help is important and also with the know-how. For me what is connected to the West is not just financial, it's a set of values that are close to Ukraine.”

Kyiv Post chief editor Brian Bonner can be reached at [bribonner@gmail.com](mailto:bribonner@gmail.com)



### Vadim Sidoruk

**Title:** Country Manager, DHL Express

**Nationality:** Ukrainian (born in Lviv)

**Birth:** 1962.

**How to succeed in Ukraine:**

“Patience and focus.”

(Pavlo Podufalov)

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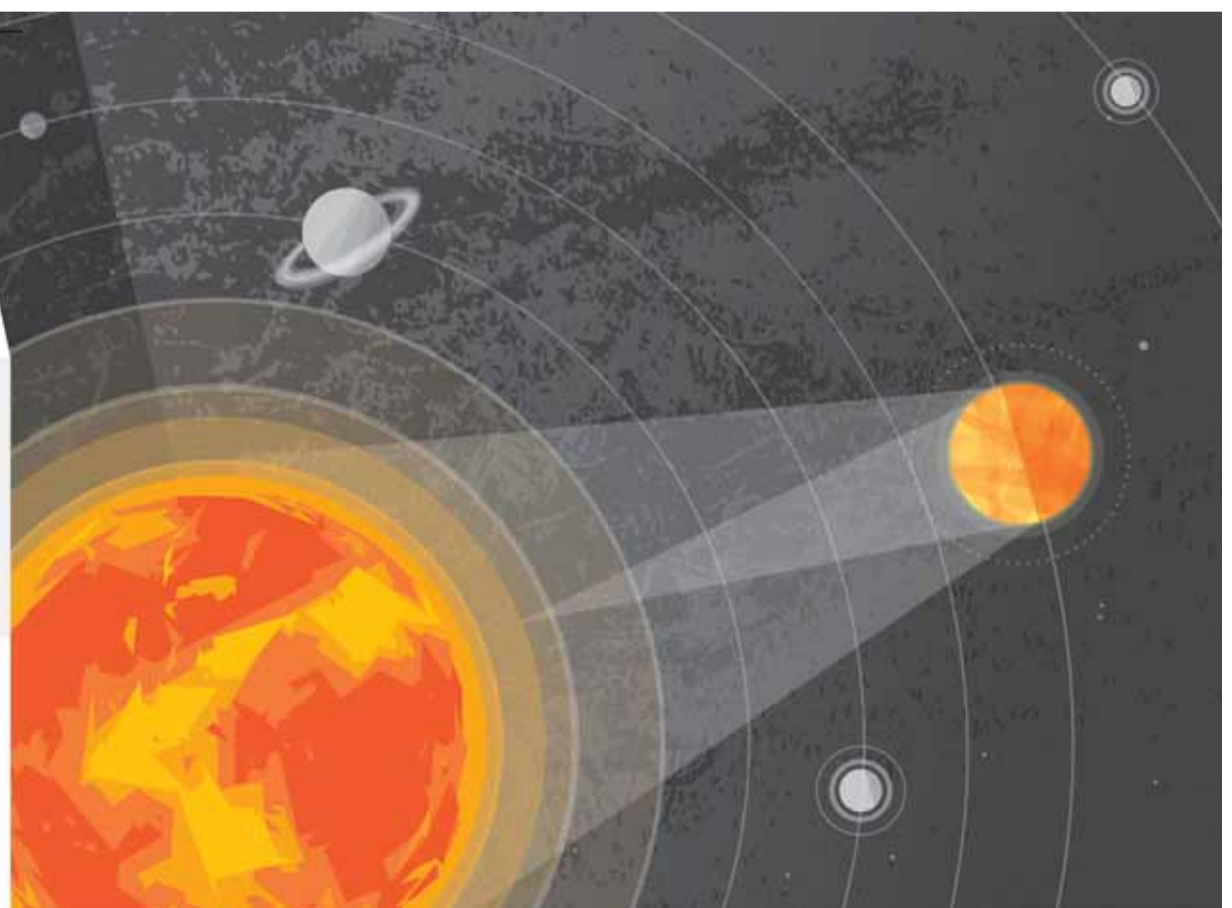
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## World in Ukraine

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

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# Georgians play key roles in pushing Ukraine's reforms

BY OLEG SUKHOV  
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A popular joke in Ukraine goes that when Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenyuk says "Good morning" to his Cabinet, what he hears back is "Gamarjoba genatsvale," a traditional Georgian greeting loosely translated as "hello friend." The reason for the joke is because Georgians have become the second most prevalent nationality in Ukraine's government.

Currently, at least five representatives of this nation of 4.5 million people are working in top jobs in various agencies, and at least eight are working as experts.

Many of them held senior positions in the Georgian government in 2004-2013 during the presidency of Mikheil Saakashvili. The former president now oversees Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko's advisory council on reforms.

The new appointees hope to repeat in Ukraine their success of creating a liberal economy and introducing the rule of law in Georgia. They expect that Ukraine's reforms will be less radical, more prolonged and hopefully more sustainable in the long run.

Giya Getsadze, who was appointed deputy justice minister in February, told the Kyiv Post that Georgian reforms achieved results quickly. But he said that Ukrainian reforms "may be better from the standpoint of public control and democracy."

Getsadze, who was a Georgian deputy justice minister in 2004 and a deputy interior minister in 2005, is tasked with simplifying the state service for regis-



Deputy Interior Minister Eka Zguladze (R) reacts during a Feb. 2 meeting. (Volodymyr Petrov)

tration of vital records, property and business, devolving the ministry's registration functions to notaries and banks, switching to an electronic document system and introducing private-sector bailiffs to cut bureaucracy and corruption at the Justice Ministry.

Getsadze joins three other Georgians at the Justice Ministry who are currently working as experts and waiting to get officially appointed. They are former Georgian Deputy Justice

Minister Dzhaba Ebaonidze, former official of Georgia's state registration service Georgiy Tsiklauri and former top official of Georgia's bailiff service Khatia Shelia, who will upgrade the same agency in Ukraine.

Some of the Georgians have already been around for three months.

Eka Zguladze-Glucksmann, who was appointed deputy interior minister in December, is working on a pilot project to create an entirely new traffic police force staffed with new people. Candidates for the new road patrols in the city of Kyiv are being vetted and expected to hit the streets in June. Several other big cities will be getting their own patrol forces by the end of the year.

Health Minister Alexander Kvitashvili, also appointed in December, wants legislation to secure purchases of pharmaceuticals through the United Nations Children's Fund and the World Health Organization. The change is an effort to bypass corrupt Ukrainian government procurement schemes.

He has also drafted bills to ease the registration of pharmaceuticals certified in the European Union and the United States and switch from funding based on the number of beds to financing based on the amount of services provided.

Kvitashvili created a health care system almost from scratch in Georgia, where most hospitals are private. In Ukraine, he will set up a mix of state-owned, non-profit and private hospitals.

Another Georgian official, David Sakvarelidze, was appointed a deputy prosecutor general of Ukraine in February to over-

see the reform of the prosecutor's office.

Although many praise the appointment of Georgians as evidence of upcoming change, others are not happy. Some nationalists like Right Sector leader Dmytro Yarosh, for example, have wondered why no worthy Ukrainians had been found for the jobs.

Georgia's incumbent authorities, who replaced Saakashvili's administration in 2012, have also criticized the new appointees. Two of them, Saakashvili and Zurab Adeishvili, a former Georgian prosecutor general who is helping Ukraine to draft anti-corruption laws, are wanted by Georgia in what Saakashvili says is a political witch hunt.

The Georgian reformers stay in touch, Getsadze said. They are like-minded people who share free-market ideas and Western values.

Many of the Georgians supported the EuroMaidan Revolution that last year forced ex-President Viktor Yanukovich out of power. "I rented an apartment

Mikhailivska Vulitsa because it was close to Maidan Nezalezhnosti," Getsadze said, adding that he was helping demonstrators.

The Georgians say the revolution was just the beginning of difficult changes. But they say that while Georgia's changes came from the top down, Ukraine's civil society is stronger and will lead the way. "Business is ready, and people are ready," Getsadze said. "Here the non-government sector and civil society know exactly what they want."

The Justice Ministry's Shelia, former head of the legal department of Georgia's bailiff service in 2010-2014, says that she came to Ukraine two months ago because she wanted to share her experience.

"What was done in Georgia was done well but this basis should be improved," Shelia said. "The Ukrainian model can be done better because we already have that experience."

The Georgians are also lending a hand in revamping Ukraine's army.

David Makishvili, a Georgian who trains Ukrainian troops, said the military should adopt NATO standards.

Similarly to Ukraine, Georgia faced Russian military aggression in 2008 when its northern neighbor invaded the country and recognized Georgia's breakaway South Ossetia and Abkhazia as independent countries.

Ukraine's military should focus on better training and creating small mobile groups instead of large, clumsy units, Makishvili said.

Another Georgian volunteer, Brigade General Giorgi Kalanadze, told the Kyiv Post that he is also training Ukrainian army units in the Donbas. He was the commander of Georgia's fourth brigade, which fought in South Ossetia in 2008 and also headed Georgia's army in 2010-2012.

Saakashvili will oversee all reforms. In February he was appointed a presidential adviser and head of Ukraine's Advisory International Council for Reforms.

Ukrainian reforms will not succeed without concerted efforts to drastically change different areas simultaneously, Getsadze said, adding that these changes should necessarily include tax cuts, better tax administration and large-scale privatization.

"If there is no teamwork, reforms won't succeed in separate spheres," he added.

Deputy Justice Minister Giya Getsadze plans to cut red tape, switch to an electronic document system and introduce private-sector bailiffs. (Volodymyr Petrov)



A woman passes near Georgian restaurant Chachapuri on March 16 in Kyiv. (Volodymyr Petrov)

### Georgian restaurants popular in Kyiv

<b>Georgia</b> 23 Industrialny Alley Hours: 11 a.m. to 11 p.m. +38 044 351-1828	<b>Odzhahuri</b> 6 Frunze St. Hours: 11 a.m. to 11 p.m. +38 044 425-5275	<b>Bagrationi</b> 14 Bazhana St. Hours: 12 p.m. to 11 p.m. +38 044 501-8681
<b>Mimino</b> 10A Spaska St. Hours: 11 a.m. to 11 p.m. +38 044 417-3545	<b>Kazbek</b> 30A Lesi Ukrainky St. Hours: 11 a.m. to 12 a.m. +38 044 285-4805	<b>Kuvshyn</b> 10 I. Fedorova St. Hours: 11 a.m. to 12 a.m. +38 044 592-6363
<b>Chachapuri</b> 36A Shevchenko Boulevard Hours: 11 a.m. - 11 p.m. +38 044 235-5546	<b>Alazani</b> 1G Saksahanskoho St. Opening hours: 12 p.m. to the last client +38 044 205 44 73	<b>Hinkali</b> 4 Shota Rustaveli St. Hours: 11 a.m. to 11 a.m. +38 044 234-0692



# Kvitashvili pledges to clean up health sector, end corrupt drug purchases, revamp budget

BY ANASTASIA FORINA  
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Ukrainian Health Minister Alexander Kvitashvili has had three months in office, enough time to pinpoint what he wants to do. He says he wants to create a health care model in Ukraine that is similar to many found in Europe.

"The government must be the main player in the health care system," he said. "But there is no single model that can be copied in Ukraine. We should build our own system."

Kvitashvili, 44, was Georgia's health care, labor and social affairs minister in 2008-2010 and became Ukraine's health care minister in December.

His home country's health care system is similar to the U.S. model in some ways. For example, most of the hospitals in Georgia were privatized early on. But he says such an idea is premature in Ukraine.

"It's too early to talk about privatization," Kvitashvili told the Kyiv Post in a recent interview. "I wouldn't recommend investing in (Ukrainian clinics and hospitals). They are old, decrepit buildings."

Before that happens, the hospital system should be "cleaned up" to make it more attractive for investors, he added. One way to do it is to change the way hospitals are financed.

## Revising finances

Ukraine's health care sector receives substantial state financing but it's not used wisely, Kvitashvili says. The nation spends over 4 percent of its gross domestic product on health care, according to World Bank data. It's close to what Israel and Poland spend.

In absolute terms, the Health Ministry pays out Hr 46 billion (\$2.1 billion) in transfers and subsidies. But the problem is that the cash is carved up based on the number of beds in hospitals, which is highly inefficient.

There are some 400,000 beds in state hospitals but only 30 percent of



Health Minister Alexander Kvitashvili will carry out a reform that envisages changing the funding mechanism for hospitals, procuring drugs through international organizations and switching to electronic procurement. (Anastasia Vlasova)

them are used, Kvitashvili says.

"This is why state funding chronically runs short," he says. He wants to introduce a new funding mechanism based on the number of medical services provided.

## Pilot projects

The idea is not new. The first pilot projects of health care system reform were launched under former President Viktor Yanukovich in 2011 in Vinnytsia, Dnipropetrovsk and Donetsk oblasts, as well as the city of Kyiv.

Kvitashvili's ministry produced a new bill to extend the pilot project to Kharkiv, Lviv, Volyn, Zakarpattia, Zaporizhzhya and Poltava oblasts.

This year the World Bank is providing an 18-year loan of \$215 million

to support health sector reform. The funds will be used to implement the new funding mechanism at hospitals, improve service delivery and develop necessary medical infrastructure, as well as to enhance primary and secondary prevention.

"The major idea of this reform is to enable all citizens of Ukraine to receive high-quality medical care at any geographic location," he says.

This month the ministry also plans to submit a package of bills to the parliament required by the International Monetary Fund, including regulations that will make hospitals' revenues more transparent, according to Kvitashvili.

## Transparent purchases

One of the first initiatives Kvitashvili

started in his new job as a minister was to change the notoriously corrupt drug procurement system. He wants international organizations to handle all purchases of medication that are currently being done by his ministry. This would prevent corruption and ensure timely deliveries of medications, Kvitashvili believes.

The ministry has drafted a bill to procure vaccines against tuberculosis and HIV through the United Nations Children's Fund and the World Health Organization. It has been approved by parliament, and Kvitashvili hopes this process may start in April.

"This is a litmus test that will show us if legislative authorities are ready to support the process of reforms," he says. "It's the first step that gives us an

opportunity to turn away from standard procurement schemes that existed in Ukraine in recent years. We want to engage the organizations which are helping many other countries to make timely purchases of high-quality medications," he says. Moreover, everybody will be able to monitor these tenders online, according to him.

Several competing bills were registered in parliament on procurement, making anti-corruption watchdogs ring alarm bells in fear that this is an attempt by the pharma lobby to derail change. But Kvitashvili dismissed this criticism, saying that the differences between these bills were very minor.

Meanwhile, the parliament's health care committee on March 12 gave the green light to the bill drafted by the ministry. It will now be added to the parliament's agenda.

## Electronic procurement

The ministry also plans to switch to electronic procurement tenders. A pilot system for electronic tenders is already operating in Ukraine but it allows for bids on supplies up to Hr 100,000 (\$4,545), which is below the amount that the ministry usually spends, according to Kvitashvili. Right now only the Economic Development Ministry is using the new system and if the ceiling is raised, the Health Ministry will also do purchases through the electronic system, he says.

Georgia switched to electronic procurement in 2009, while Ukraine plans to make the full switch this year. Online auctions will be introduced to remove the human factor from the procurement process.

"This will not give you a 100 percent guarantee that all corrupt schemes will disappear but this gives us an opportunity to monitor the tender process from the very beginning to the very end," Kvitashvili says.

Kyiv Post staff writer Anastasia Forina can be reached at forina@kyivpost.com and Oleg Sukhov can be reached at reaganx84@gmail.com.




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# Georgian ambassador: Russia's wars are civilizational conflict

BY OLENA GORDIENKO  
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Georgia's Ambassador to Ukraine Mikheil Ukleba said that the West's weak response to Russia's war against Georgia in 2008 emboldened the Kremlin to continue its aggression today against Ukraine.

Russia's military intervention in 2008 took away 20 percent of Georgia's territory – Abkhazia and South Ossetia. The global response was timid and temporary, with some short-term sanctions put in place. The Kremlin's invasion and annexation of Crimea took away 5 percent of Ukraine's territory and people, while Russian President Vladimir Putin has been chipping away at another 7 percent of the territory in the eastern Donbas for the last year.

The West and much of the rest of the world, meanwhile, has done little to stop Putin.

"If this connivance continues, the further unraveling of the plot could be very bad, not only for Ukraine," Ukleba said.

Ukleba considers Russia's war in the Donbas, its seizure of Crimea and the war to take control of Georgia's Abkhazia and South Ossetia provinces as part of a civilizational conflict. Russia cemented its ties with the Georgian territories on March 18 with an integration treaty.

"The entire democratic community understands that a permanent member of the United Nations Security

Georgian Ambassador to Ukraine Mikheil Ukleba is sure both countries will succeed on their way to European community. (Volodymyr Petrov)



Council (Russia), in front of the whole world, occupies, annexes and conducts warfare with neighboring countries," Ukleba said. "This means total chaos in international law."

Despite efforts of the European Union, UN and two Minsk peace agreements, soldiers and civilians are still

getting killed in Ukraine every day.

Ukraine, he said, will have to fight on several fronts – the military war against Russia's invasion and the domestic one against corruption so that it can better defend itself.

"Many things depend on you, on your will," he said. "And the will is there

– will of Maidan, will of the people," he said, referring to the EuroMaidan Revolution that drove ex-President Viktor Yanukovich from power.

Ukleba, a former minister of state property, believes the privatization of state assets is a crucial step for Ukraine. "The less the hand of the state

is the better. Badly managed objects should be sold," he said.

Ukleba said big strategic entities should be privatized carefully, with help from reputable investment banks. The process might take up to 15 months, but would help ensure transparency and success, he said.

Georgia will help, he said. "Ukraine is not only Georgia's good friend but also one of the most important strategic partners," Ukleba said. "We sincerely wish our friend Ukraine peace, stability and bright European future."

A visa-free regime between the countries was among the factors for a 13.5 percent rise in the number of Ukrainian tourists in Georgia in 2014, up to 143,000, while 50,000 residents of Georgia visited Ukraine last year. Ukraine still ranks fifth on Georgia's international trade list with \$686 million bilateral trade turnover, helped by the Odesa-Batumi ferry.

Ukleba, ambassador to Bulgaria during its EU integration, said joining the 28-nation bloc will not solve all of a country's problems.

"But it means totally different values, possibilities and economic environment, which is why Ukraine and Georgia should be striving for it," the ambassador said. "I am sure that we will definitely become the full-pledged members of European community. The way is thorny and difficult – but we deserve it."

Kyiv Post staff writer Olena Gordienko can be reached at [gordienko@kyivpost.com](mailto:gordienko@kyivpost.com).

# Georgians know how to do business amid war in Ukraine

BY ILYA TIMTCHENKO  
TIMTCHENKO@KYIVPOST.COM

While Ukraine is facing a business downturn with many of its economic partners, Georgia is showing resiliency to Ukraine's economic flu.

## Ukrainian-Georgian relations:

**Trade turnover:** \$686 million (2014).

**Exports from Georgia to Ukraine:**

spirits, wine, mineral water, ferrous metals, train locomotives.

**Exports from Ukraine to Georgia:**

agricultural products, cigarettes, metal and steelwork.

**Georgian investment in Ukraine:**

\$17.2 million (cumulative as of October 2014).

## Georgia at a glance

**Total area:** 69,700 square kilometers.

**Population:** 4.5 million (2014).

**Government type:** Republic

**Head of state:** President Giorgi Margvelashvili.

**GDP, PPP:** \$32.1 billion (2013).

**GDP per capita, PPP:** \$7,176 (2013)

Main exports: scrap metal, wine, fruit.

Sources: National Statistics Office

of Georgia, BBC News country profile, Embassy of Georgia to Ukraine,

Ukrainian State Statistics Service,

World Bank

Business between Georgia and Ukraine remains hopeful, says Alexander Kipiani, the senior counselor at the Embassy of Georgia to Ukraine. Despite Ukraine's bad economic situation, bilateral trade is "still quite a good number," says Kipiani.

Ukraine's trade turnover with Georgia in 2014 was \$686 million, down 13 percent from 2013.

## Teliani Valley

Shota Khobelia, the 38-year-old CEO of Teliani Valley, says that his wine business is doing OK, although last year was not as good as 2013.

In 2013, the company sold 1.25 million bottles in Ukraine for about \$7 million, or 20 percent of total sales. Ukraine ranks after Poland and Georgia, respectively, among the 25 countries which Teliani Valley exports to.

The wine company entered the Ukrainian market in 2008. It has three offices around Ukraine, with 100 employees altogether.

Russia's war against Georgia in 2008 enabled the company to be more resilient. "We know how to manage business in crisis situations," says Khobelia.

## CAP School

Khatia Dekanoidze, former minister of education and science of Georgia and the former head of the Georgian police academy, is eager to be in Ukraine.



CAP School students are conversing during the school's opening ceremony on Feb. 6. (Courtesy by CAP School)

Dekanoidze just launched the CAP School in mid-December. The school's aim is to create leaders for a democratic and liberal future for Ukraine.

CAP has 45 students and expects to grow.

The school's lecturers include former Georgian ministers, the ex-deputy foreign affairs minister Sergi Kapanadze.

CAP students are of various career

backgrounds, but all want to participate in the development of Ukraine, says Dekanoidze. Several of CAP's students are already working with various reform groups in Ukraine's government.

"Everything we Georgians are doing in Ukraine is really affecting Georgia too," he says.

Georgia's dependence on Ukraine

can be noticed in the heavy trade imbalance. Ukraine's \$603 million in exports are four times more than its imports from Georgia. Ukraine's main exports to Georgia are tobacco and agricultural products such as meat, oils and juice, while it imports wine, mineral water, ferrous metals and train locomotives.

But Georgia's worth for Ukraine is not only measured in trade numbers. Georgia is a role model for Ukraine in its free market and law enforcement reforms. It gained eighth place in the Doing Business ranking in 2014.

Dekanoidze advises Ukraine to learn from other countries besides Georgia. "The role models are free economies with no monopolized structures, with liberation of taxation etc."

Ukraine's investments in Georgia are tiny. Out of the \$1.27 billion investment inflow to Georgia in 2014, Ukraine had only tens of millions.

But these ties are growing. The number of Ukrainians visiting Georgia is steadily increasing – from 76,000 in 2012, to 126,000 in 2013 and 143,000 in 2014.

"We hope that our economic relations will go up," says counselor Kipiani. "These relations are positive, progressing and developing."

Kyiv Post staff writer Ilya Timtchenko can be reached at [timtchenko@kyivpost.com](mailto:timtchenko@kyivpost.com).



# Ukraine's east moves behind an Iron Curtain

→1 In January, the Security Service of Ukraine forbid movement without special permission between Ukrainian-held territory and the Kremlin-backed separatist areas.

A Ukrainian seeking to get out must go to a special station and submit many documents. But the stations are located on Ukrainian territories, a situation that forces them into a bureaucratic catch 22.

There are some loopholes. Some Donbas residents have been sending their papers to Ukrainian-based relatives or friends to apply on their behalf. Others managed to sneak out on their own. Others tried to give documents to Ukrainian officials, but said that bribes are required.

Donetsk-based entrepreneur Vitaliy, too afraid to have his name published, said he isn't even trying to get permission to leave because most of his friends have been rejected.

Enrique Menendez, an activist from Donetsk-based volunteer group Responsible Citizens, said that the procedure is not so difficult, but the implementation is bad — a typical situation for anything involving Ukraine's government.

"The process turns into a bureaucratic hell for people," Menendez said.

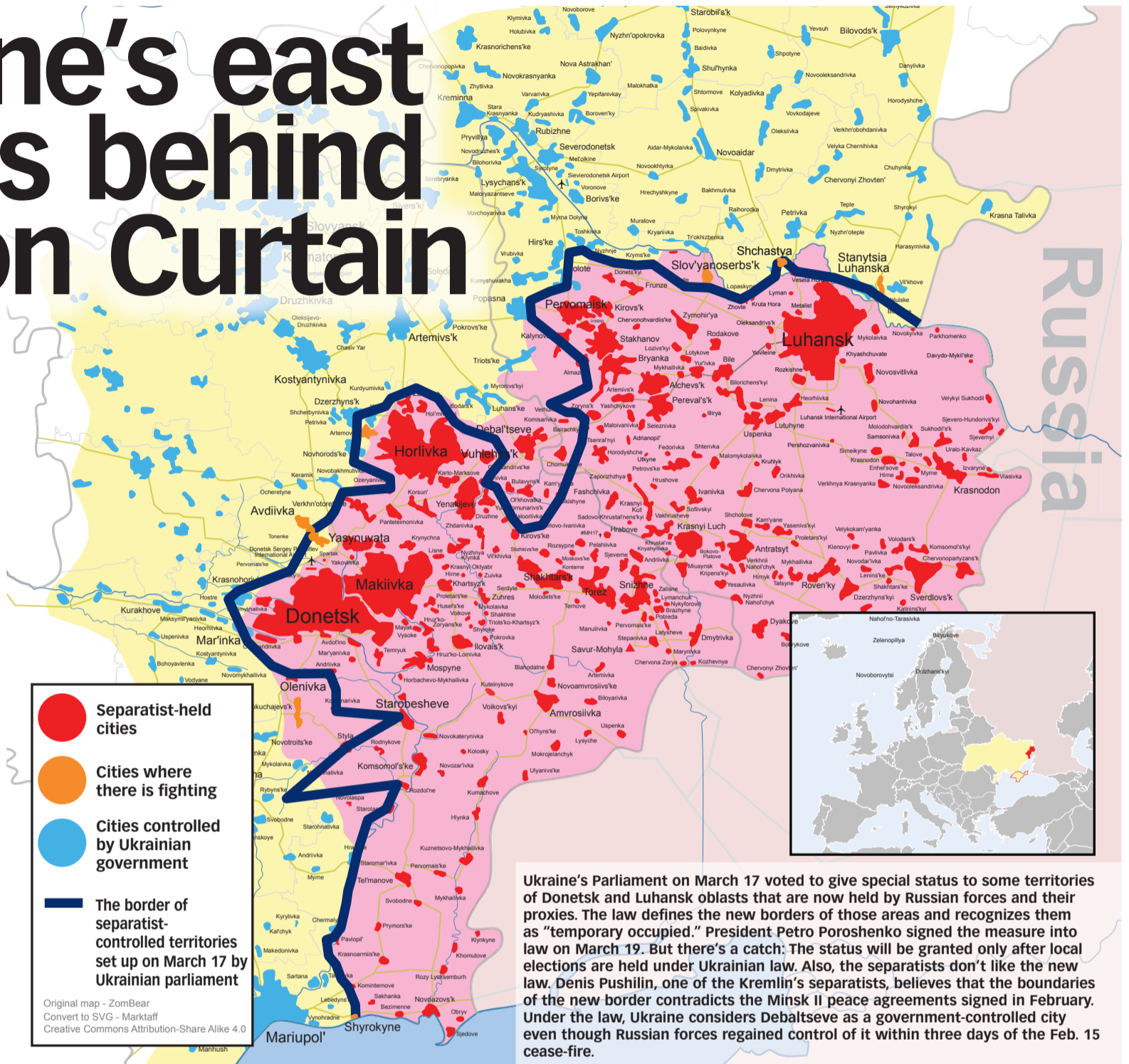
Diana Makarova, head of a foundation that helps people displaced by the war, said tight controls are necessary to stop "subversive groups" from going to the rest of Ukraine.

"It is now impossible to leave territories for hospital patients, invalids, people with little kids, people in completely impoverished small towns. It's difficult for them even to make a photocopy," Makarova said.

Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko also criticized the difficulties for receiving permission, saying the process should be done electronically.

"There should be no papers that cost from Hr 500 to Hr 2,000 in bribes," he said.

According to Markian Lubkivskyi, a



senior adviser with the Security Service of Ukraine, an electronic permit system will be in place by the end of March.

"We are ready to launch it in test mode," he told the Kyiv Post. "People will feel the result really quickly."

Lubkivskyi also said that those who have already applied will not be forced to reapply. But he didn't say when the current backlog would be removed nor how people who are homeless and without computers would apply.

"We will reveal all the information

in a day or two," he said.

Vitaliy, Donetsk businessman who didn't want to be identified, said life is increasingly difficult in separatist territory. Supermarket shelves are emptying, so are people's pockets.

"Those, who have money on bank cards can't withdraw it, as the ATM machines don't work," he says.

Prices are also higher than in Ukrainian territories.

The permit system has slowed commerce and humanitarian supplies to

the separatist zones.

"These are double standards. On one hand, the government says these territories are ours, on the other hand distances itself," says Menendez.

Ukraine's Parliament granted special status to some parts of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts and defined the new borders on March 17. Poroshenko signed the measures into law on March 19. First, however, clean and transparent elections must be held under Ukrainian law.

A solution doesn't appear to be in sight.

"I think that government doesn't know how to solve the problem of these territories," Menendez says. "Everyone understands that it is impossible to retake them, especially quickly, so they try to freeze the conflict. It looks like a blockade attempt."

*Kyiv Post staff writer Alyona Zhuk can be reached at zhuk@kyivpost.com. Freelancer Stefan Huijboom contributed reporting for this story.*

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## It's time for YUNA and DJ Pasha again

BY OLGA RUDENKO  
RUDENKO@KYIVPOST.COM

Ukraine will know the names of the top achievers in the music industry at the fourth annual YUNA Music Awards. While the award was founded by and receives financial support from Kyiv Post publisher Mohammad Zahoor, the mastermind behind it is Pavlo Shylko.

Shylko, 37, is better known as DJ Pasha, a nickname he picked up when he started working in radio two decades ago. He was 18 then, and didn't have time to come up with a creative nickname before going on air, so went with the simplest one that came to mind.

He is still known by this name, especially in Kyiv's expatriate community. A Ukrainian who speaks fluent English, Shylko has been hosting expatriate or other events with multilingual audiences for many years, keeping the show moving briskly and the audience entertained.

The Kyiv Post caught up with Shylko in his office a week before the YUNA ceremony. He was late because Svitlana Loboda, a Ukrainian pop star, showed up to discuss her upcoming performance.

Many of Shylko's friends among stars in the Ukrainian music scene believe he influences who is selected as contest winners. In reality, Shylko doesn't even know the results until the moment that an envelope with a winner's name is opened on stage.

"It gives me a hard time when it comes to planning the show," he says. "But this is the right way to do it."

The idea to start a Ukrainian music award came to Shylko on a plane in February 2011. He brought the idea to Zahoor, the British citizen and Pakistani native who owns the ISTIL Group. In March 2012, the first YUNA recognized the achievements of 20 years of Ukrainian music.

That's when the two established the rules that YUNA's objectivity is based on. The voting is overseen by independent accounting firm Deloitte, the same firm that works the Grammy Awards.

To avoid speculation, it was decided that Zahoor's wife, pop performer Kamaliya, can never be nominated for YUNA.

Although being a producer and host of YUNA takes a lot of Shylko's time, it is only one of his many occupations. Until recently he's been the president and a host at Gala Radio, the same station where he started. The radio was sold to a Dutch investor in January and is changing its name to Radio Yes. He held several jobs as TV host and sports commentator.

To Kyiv expats, Shylko is mostly known as the city's most popular host. His gigs include hosting the Lions Club's annual charitable Burns Night, the → 13



Pavlo Shylko, better known as DJ Pasha, speaks on stage of YUNA, the Yearly Ukrainian Music Awards, on March 15, 2012. Shylko is among the most popular emcees in Ukraine. (Courtesy)

## City Life

WITH NATALIYA TRACH  
TRACH@KYIVPOST.COM

### These Ukrainians help build clean, strong nation

It only took a half-year for Kyivan Olena Kuleba, 33, and her friends to turn an abandoned dump in Kyiv's center into a green zone with fruit trees, rose bushes, a playground and even a small outdoor art gallery. Now it is one of the coziest areas in town.

Kuleba's activity is just one example of how many young Ukrainians strive to make a difference in their country, including cleaning rubbish. They've got lots of work ahead.

There are some 36 billion tons of garbage accumulated in various dumps in Ukraine, analysts say. It sprawls over 42 thousand square kilometers. "Every year nearly 450 tons of new garbage is produced in the country and only three percent of it is recycled, while the rest is disposed at landfills," says Tetyana Tymochko, head of the public institution All-Ukrainian Environmental League.

Public activist Mariya Nasedkina, 29, cringed every time she saw garbage on the streets of Ukrainian cities when she returned from her trips to Europe. "One day when I was returning home after studying in Europe, I decided to act," Nasedkina recalls. She found like-minded people and set up a non-profit public organization called Dyvovyzhni (Amazing) in 2013.

Nasedkina and her friends have since painted benches in public parks at their own expense, repaired front doors and elevators in apartment buildings in Kyiv, cleaned several parks and public gardens. "We create a better environment by making small but concrete steps," she says.

Volodymyr Harkusha, a 32-year-old information technology developer in Kyiv, received an email from a female stranger, inviting him to join cleanup of a Kyiv park. "I came to the meeting and it was the first time when I realized the importance of changing people's attitude towards the environment," Harkusha recalls.

In 2009, he organized garbage pickup on the banks of the Lake Sribne in Kyiv's Osokorky district on the left bank. The following year he founded a non-profit environmental organization "Let's Do it Ukraine."

Now Harkusha organizes nationwide cleanups. "We started in 2009 with around 40 volunteers cleaning parks in Kyiv. In 2014, we already had 170,000 volunteers cleaning more than 1,000 settlements all over Ukraine," he says. Last year, his volunteers collected 18,000 cubic meters of garbage. "The more people join us, the more noticeable results → 14

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# Donetsk artist wins fans with 'Soviet nostalgia'

BY VICTORIA PETRENKO  
PETRENKO@KYIVPOST.COM

Anzhela Djerih's works are not only viral online, they have become part of private collections around the world. Djerih paints in a style often described as "Soviet nostalgia," which features old-style buses, plump ladies and men who look like they came straight from 1970s cartoons.

"The Soviet theme warms me up, probably because it was quiet and comfortable, as in Papa Carlo's room with a picture of a fireplace," the artist admits.

Papa Carlo is the reference to the Soviet version of Pinnocchio's dad, called Buratino. Even her references smack of nostalgia.

Djerih was born in 1965 in Donetsk, but she had to flee her home city when the war started last year. She paints to escape reality.

"I painted in order to live happier in my imagined world. There you can travel where you wish, there are no barriers, or time, or space," she says.

Djerih is one of the estimated 1 million displaced people from the war. "You listen to the bombings and try to determine by the sound: is it still far or is it time to take off?" she remembers.

Her last piece painted in Donetsk was called "One soldier in a field." She moved to Crimea and now feels guilty for leaving others behind when she



A 2012 painting "Condensed Milk" by Donetsk artist Anzhela Djerih. (Courtesy)

fled. She also left many of her paintings, which fetch upwards of several hundred euros each.

"We could take nothing with us, except for two small works and a bag with belongings. If only to get to the

train, if only the bomb would not hit us! What pictures!" she sighs.

She found some consolation in Soviet nostalgia themes in Crimea. Although there are plenty of sights and people who have inspired her new

works, it was the sea that brought her there.

"In Yalta I can see the sea through the window, while in Donetsk there were slag heaps. Big cities depress and scare me," she says.

Her works have become viral on the Internet. Fans pay from \$600 to \$2,160, and pictures are shipped anywhere. Djerih doesn't like to talk how much she makes. She admits that her most treasured picture is "The Azov Sea."

"The work is small, but I love it very much. It's one happy day of my childhood there, when I run to the balcony, and see the sea. I decided to share this moment of happiness," she says.

When buyers get a picture, they oftentimes get two. Djerih frequently paints on top of the old painting, preserving just a photographic image of the old one. Sometimes it's difficult to understand whether the artist paints the old Soviet past or modern-day Ukraine.

One of her recent paintings of a bride with a cigarette leaning out of a window, with a Volga car in the background decorated with ribbons and wedding rings. "The bride does not have a real prototype, she is just an active woman in a search. An ordinary story. Her dream is to go far lands with the prince in a white Volga," Djerih says.

Sometimes Djerih paints her friends. Now the war has scattered them, but they continue to communicate, support each other and look forward to meeting in a peaceful life.

Kyiv Post staff writer Victoria Petrenko can be reached at petrenko@kyivpost.com.

## Yearly Ukrainian National Awards set to honor top musicians on March 25

→ 12 Eurovision contest in Kyiv in 2005, various Euro 2012 events and other gatherings.

His debut as an English-language host took place at the wedding of expat businessman Robert Koenig in 1999. Almost two decades later, it is easier for him to host an event in English than in Ukrainian.

He vividly remembers his most complicated job - hosting a presentation of the new soccer ball by Adidas for Euro 2012 at Olympic Stadium. It turned out that the interpreters of the executives from Poland and Spain didn't understand English, so Shylko faced the need to host the event in English, Polish and Spanish simultaneously.

Not that it's too hard for him. Shylko has an extraordinary talent for languages. He studied Spanish in college, and learned Polish from his deputy at Gala Radio, a Pole. He also speaks Italian.

As for his English, he learned most of it in school in Zaporizhzhya, where he lived before entering a university in Kyiv. In his college years he was already giving private English lessons and charged two dollars, making some \$25 a month - a substantial supplement to a student's budget in the early 1990s in Kyiv.

He even has a history of authoring



Ukrainian singer Jamala performs at YUNA, the Yearly Ukrainian Music Awards, on March 25. (Kostyantyn Chernichkin)

English songs. He wrote the lyrics for "Show Me Your Love," the hit song that brought Tina Karol seventh place at the Eurovision contest in 2006.

Now that his nearly 20-year affair with Gala Radio station has ended, Shylko plans to go back to TV production. He scripted two music TV shows that he wants to sell to Ukrainian TV and abroad. Although the Ukrainian television, he says, is occupied by the TV shows bought from abroad and

localized, he is optimistic about selling his shows.

"Someone is making all these shows. Why not becoming that someone?" he says energetically.

It is impossible to not believe in him.

YUNA ceremony will take place on March 25 at 7 p.m. in Palace Ukraine (103 Velyka Vasylkivska St.). Tickets are Hr 100 - 1,400.

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March 28-29



(tophat.it)

### 'Notre Dame de Paris' concert

Seven soloists, a choir of 150 voices, symphony orchestra, and a rhythm team will perform the songs from the famous musical adaptation of Victor Hugo's novel in French.  
 "Notre Dame de Paris" concert. Palace Ukraine (103 Velyka Vasylkivska St.). March 28 – 29. 7 p.m. Hr 450 – 1,750

March 20 – 27



(Courtesy)

### DocuDays UA film festival

Since 2003, International Human Rights Documentary Film Festival DocuDays UA annually shows documentaries and feature films from around the world. Docudays UA is a non-profit festival, so all screenings are free. Visit [www.docudays.org.ua](http://www.docudays.org.ua) for film titles and schedule. The movies run in English with Ukrainian subtitles.  
 DocuDays UA Film Festival. House of Cinema (6 Saksahansko St.), Kyiv Cinema (19 Velyka Vasylkivska St.), Kinopanorama (19 Shota Rustaveli St.). March 20 – 27. Free



(International panic and hysterics/facebook)

March 21

### Panic and Hysterics Festival

After the latest devaluation of the hryvnia, the anti-crisis At The Bottom Festival launched to overcome hysterics and panic in a fun way. The event will include cheap street food, a fair of handmade items and entertainment - all jokingly themed with poverty.  
 At The Bottom 'Panic and Hysterics' Festival. State Aviation Museum (1 Medova St.). March 21. 10 a.m. Hr 23 (\$1)

March 18 – April 15



(Vladislav Shereshevsky)

### 'People' art exhibition

A personal exhibition of paintings by Ukrainian artist Vladislav Shereshevsky goes on display in Kyiv. The exhibition will show the variety of the human nature in ironical manner: from joyful smiling faces to revolting types.  
 "People" art exhibition. Mystetska Zbirka Art Gallery (13 Tereshchenkivska St.). March 18 – April 15. 11 a.m. – 6 p.m. Free

March 19 – 26



(Alexander Glyadyelov)

### 'You See, My Brother' photo exhibition

As part of the Docudays UA film festival, "You See, My Brother" photo exhibition will show nearly 60 pictures representing the EuroMaidan Revolution and the war in eastern Ukraine, shot by Alexander Glyadyelov. The author takes black-and-white photos with manual focus and mechanical shutter system, like it was done a century ago.  
 "You See, My Brother" photo exhibition. Dim Mykoly Gallery (13 Ivana Mazepa St.). March 19 – 26. 10 a.m. – 6 p.m. Free

March 22

### Hudaki Village Band



(hudaki.org)

Hudaki band from Zakarpatska Oblast sings local vivid and melodic music in a language that is a mix of Ukrainian, Hungarian, and Romanian. The band performs abroad, mostly in Austria and Germany, but rarely takes stage in Ukraine.  
 Hudaki Village Band. Atlas (37-41 Artema St.). March 22. 7 p.m. Hr 200 – 250

March 21-22



(tzoom.me)

### Food & Wine Festival

The second Kyiv Food and Wine outdoor festival invites everyone to try homemade and other wine, delectable cheeses and sweets. Musicians and writers will perform on the main stage. The program includes lectures from sommeliers and wine makers.  
 Food & Wine Festival. Lavra Art Gallery (1 Lavrska St.). March 21-22. 10 a.m. – 7 p.m. Hr 40 (includes a free glass of wine)

## Young Ukrainians working to improve country

→ 12 are," Harkusha sums up.  
 Hlib Antonenko, a 23-year-old environmental activist from Kyiv, is a marketing specialist.  
 "Late February I was walking along the Dnipro River and was shocked to see tons of garbage on the river banks," he says. Antonenko blames municipal workers for dumping the trash there. His photo of Obolon district municipal road service workers unloading old truck tires near Lake Redkine in Kyiv's

Obolon district went viral on Facebook, angering many Kyivans. Municipal workers denied the allegations.  
 "It is most likely slander," Mykola Holeha, chief engineer of the Obolon municipal road service told the Kyiv Post in response to accusations. After taking the photo, Antonenko stepped up the effort to fight the problem. He plans to gather friends to do a weekend cleanup here.  
 Nasedkina says that mothers with

small children and young people between 20 and 35 are usually the most motivated for change but older people have also joined the cause. "The EuroMaidan Revolution affected Ukrainian minds significantly. Now people have a sense that they can make changes in the country. And our goal is to sustain this burst of enthusiasm."  
 Kyiv Post staff writer Nataliya Trach can be reached at [trach@kyivpost.com](mailto:trach@kyivpost.com)



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**USAID/OTI Ukraine Confidence Building Initiative**

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Chemonics International, an international development consulting firm, implementing the USAID/OTI Ukraine Confidence Building Initiative (UCBI) Project, seeks a long-term grants manager. UCBI provides fast, flexible, short-term assistance to Ukrainian partners in support of successful, peaceful democratic transition and community cohesion in the wake of the conflict and deepened social tensions in the East. The position will be based in Kharkiv, Ukraine with the expectation for travel (up to, approximately, 25% of the time) in and around Kharkiv oblast and Kyiv, as required for project activities.

The grants manager plays a critical role in ensuring that grants are implemented rapidly and effectively, in full compliance with USAID and Chemonics regulations and policies, and consistently with OTI's operating methodology which emphasizes a hand-in-hand, predominantly in-kind approach to working with local partners.

This is an exciting opportunity for an experienced grants manager to play a key role in program development. Working with a small Kharkiv-based team, the grants manager will be integral to developing and sustaining a network of partners and activities.

**RESPONSIBILITIES:**

- Working in coordination with other staff will ensure compliance with USAID and Chemonics policies and procedures throughout the design, development, and implementation of grants.
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- Reporting to the Regional Program Manager, the Grants Manager works closely with all program staff to evaluate grant concepts and grant agreement/award documents while ensuring adherence to established grants management policies.
- Ensure proper negotiation of final terms and conditions for grants and reviews and analyzes budget estimates for allocability, reasonableness, and consistency. This includes working with grantees and project staff to develop or revise detailed grant budgets so that they are realistic and appropriate to the needs of the activity.
- Review required documentation for grant disbursements, including grant agreements, negotiation memos, grant activity forms, branding and marking plans, and others, ensuring that grant files are complete and maintained as required.
- Responsible for overseeing the close-out of grants within required time frames.

**QUALIFICATIONS:**

- Bachelor's degree required.
- At least two (2) years of progressively responsible grants management work experience on donor-funded projects, such as activity management, financial management, procurement, and/or sub-contracting.
- Demonstrated experience in grants management focused on ensuring that procurement, finance, logistics, and programmatic aspects are being implemented on-time and in accordance with the specifications of the approved activity.
- Demonstrated experience in assessing recipient organizations' grant-worthiness, as well as their financial, administrative and program planning capacities.
- Familiar with USAID contract and grants management policies and procedures is desirable, but experience with other donor funded projects will be accepted.
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Send electronic submissions to [ukrainelocalrecruit@gmail.com](mailto:ukrainelocalrecruit@gmail.com) by April 3, 2015. Please put "Grants Manager-East" in the subject line and include your CV and cover letter. No telephone inquiries, please. Submissions will be reviewed on a rolling basis and only finalists will be contacted.



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1

→ A major exhibition and business conference took place on March 18-19 in Washington, D.C., featuring supporters of Ukraine, members of the U.S. Congress and investors. Called "A Prosperous Ukraine: A Win for the U.S. and Ukraine," the event was organized by the U.S.-Ukraine Business Council and the American Center for a European Ukraine. The crowd (1) cheers at a reception, while (2) U.S. Sen. Ted Cruz (Republican-Texas) speaks. (3) U.S.-Ukraine Business Council president Morgan Williams (L) speaks with Michael Bleyzer of SigmaBleyzer investment fund and others, while (4) attendees view an exhibition of photographs and artifacts from the EuroMaidan Revolution that toppled ex-President Viktor Yanukovich on Feb. 22, 2014. (Vadim Guliuk)

See editorial on Page 4



2



3



4

## Kremlin fighters use intimidation to prevent exposure of Russian involvement in war

→ 1 Telmanove is one of a kind. It is a tour bus that also includes civilians.

When asked what he would do in Telmanove, Yuriy snapped: "Again, that is none of your business!"

Because of his yelling, other Kremlin-backed fighters intervened.

"Can't you just see he doesn't want to say?" asked a separatist-fighter, his arm covered in a bandage. He would not identify himself.

As the bus departed to Telmanove, more pro-Russian separatists gathered to wish some of their comrades good luck. Others were there to prevent the press from talking to the soldiers.

Eventually one Kremlin-backed fighter said it was not a good idea to speak to them.

"They're not from around here. It must be a shock if all of a sudden they get asked so many questions," he said, introducing himself as Roman. He didn't give his last name because he was not authorized to speak to the press.

As the bus to Telmanove departed, a group of Kremlin-backed fighters decided to intimidate the Kyiv Post correspondent.

"If you claim to be a journalist, then why are all Europeans lying about the situation here?" asked one of the fighters, a big and overweight man in his early 40s.

He introduced himself only as Arseniy. He didn't answer the question about whether he is a Russian from Russia.

"That is irrelevant for now," he said. Arseniy took the journalist to a nearby checkpoint. Some 10 other armed Kremlin-backed separatists were present there, some checking cars and some eating hot soup.

"We have found a provocateur," Arseniy laughed as three men marched with their rifles towards the Kyiv Post correspondent.

"We all know that the media say that the Russian army is in our territo-



Russian citizen Arseniy Pavlov, better known as "Motorola," stands inside the destroyed Donetsk airport on Feb. 26. Pavlov leads the Sparta Battalion against Ukrainian forces in the year-old war. (AFP)

ry. But always there has been a denial from our side. None of the international media believe that. So we consider them provocateurs," Arseniy explained.

Questioning people in the separatist-controlled Donbas is seen as a provocation that can get journalists detained.

Arseniy called his bosses.

"We have caught another provoca-

teur!" he kept shouting in his old Nokia phone.

Eventually, a big, black Jeep Grand Cherokee drove up to the checkpoint carrying a few armed men. They brought the Kyiv Post correspondent to the separatist-controlled secret service building in central Donetsk, where Ukrainian prisoners of war are held.

The armed man driving the jeep

introduced himself as Maksim, a young guy in his early 20s.

"Let me explain one thing. Russians are in Donetsk, but they are volunteers!" he yelled.

Inside the separatist-seized security service building, many camouflaged, armed men are present. It is believed that dozens of prisoners are held here.

According to one of the points in the brokered Minsk peace agreement, all

hostages and prisoners of war held in illegal captivity were supposed to have been released long ago.

It took six hours to convince the Kremlin-backed fighters that asking questions is part of a journalist's job, even touchy questions about the abundant evidence of Russia involvement in the war.

Kyiv Post correspondent Stefan Huijboom is a Dutch journalist.