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# Assassinations & Cyberwarfare

Ukraine finds itself at the epicenter of global cyberattack

BY OLENA GONCHAROVA,  
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On the June 27 eve of Ukrainian Constitution Day, Deputy Ukrainian Prime Minister Pavlo Rozenko sat down at his desk and started up his computer.

But instead of the familiar booting up routine, his computer suddenly restarted. Then his monitor showed a black screen with a warning that there were problems with his operating system.

"At first, I couldn't understand what was going on," Rozenko told the Kyiv Post.

But when Rozenko found out that all of his colleagues' computers had been affected in the same way, he realized that they had been infected with a virus.

They turned off their computers, but the virus had already spread through government computer systems, encrypting information on them, and not just in Rozenko's office.

His computer was only one of some 12,500 machines across Ukraine attacked by the NotPetya virus, which initially appeared to be ransomware, malware that encrypts vital data and demands

more **Cyberattack** on page 17



Ukrainian law enforcement officers examine a car after a blast in Kyiv on June 27 that killed military intelligence chief Maksym Shapoval. (AFP)

## Car bombs claim more targets, including a top military leader

BY WILL PONOMARENKO  
PONOMARENKO@KYIVPOST.COM

On the same day that Ukraine faced the biggest cyberattack in the nation's history, two of the country's senior intelligence officers were killed on June 27 in separate car bombings.

The officers, both veterans of Russia's war on Ukraine in the

Donbas, were assassinated less than 12 hours apart — one in Kyiv, and the other in a village near the city of Kostyantynivka in the country's east.

The first killing occurred in Kyiv at 8:14 a.m., when a black Mercedes-Benz exploded at a crossroads near Solomyanska Street in the southeastern district of the city. The car's

driver, Maksym Shapoval, was killed instantly, while two passersby suffered minor injuries. The deadly blast was caused by a remotely triggered car bomb, Kyiv Police Chief Andriy Kryschenko said at the scene.

The incident was a terrorist attack, police spokesman Artem Shevchenko

more **Bomb** on page 16



Maksym Shapoval

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**CURRENCY WATCH**  
**Hr 26.2 to \$1**  
June 29 market rate



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# Hranitne, a frontline village, uses poetry to cope with trauma of war

BY OKSANA GRYTSENKO  
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**HRANITNE, Ukraine** — In 2015, Iryna Zlochynska planted apricot trees in shell craters, and started writing poems to cope with Russia's war.

As a nurse, Zlochynska, 53, has seen blood and destruction in her Donetsk Oblast village of Hranitne, located 720 kilometers southeast of Kyiv.

Eight adults and three children were killed by shelling in 2014–2015, and almost half of the houses have been damaged in fighting in the Russian-instigated war.

Four people were killed on Zlochynska's own street, which is separated from the rest of the village by the Kalmius River. The area is now considered to be out of the government's control.

The sound of shelling can still be heard regularly in the village of about 3,000 people.

Zlochynska daily crosses a small makeshift bridge across the river (the main bridge was destroyed in earlier fighting), and passes through the final checkpoint of the Ukrainian army to get to her workplace at a hospital. There, she treats dozens of distressed patients, mostly elderly people.

And sometimes she reads her poetry to them in a quiet, shy voice: "If you knew how scary it is to be at gunpoint and see a squinted eye.

If you knew how scary it is when Grads and cannons plow the ground with shrapnel.

If you knew how scary it is when you see cartridges and grenades, not toys, in the hands of little boys.

If you knew how scary it is when a young mother, not an old woman, is burying her child.

If you knew how scary it is when there's a hole instead of a house, and the ruins silently stare at you.

That's what hell is."

Zlochynska is one of several residents of Hranitne who started writing poems during the war. She said it helps her to forget about the grim reality around her.

She never fled and, over time, noted how the picturesque valley around her village became dotted with craters from shells. Once she spotted two dead, dry trees, and wrote the following poem:

"There are two dead trees amid a wounded steppe.

This summer doesn't smell of flowers.

There's a smell of ashes and blood

where children once played, night-



Pensioner Hanna Zaika stands inside the public library in the village of Hranitne in Donetsk Oblast. Zaika is one of several residents of the embattled village who recently started writing poetry about Russia's war against Ukraine. (Anastasia Vlasova)

ingales sang

and couples kissed at sunrise

Don't go out today, don't go out!"

Psychologist Olena Pylayeva said that some people start writing poetry when they are facing deep emotional pressure. "The poetry helps them overcome the horrors related to war and loss of the feeling of security," she said.

Pylayeva, who travels to Hranitne and other war zone villages with a mobile clinic run by Doctors Without Borders, said she noticed that the locals often start using the arts to cope with stress.

Pensioner Valentyna Tymashova, 72, worked as a teacher of chemistry and biology for 47 years. She had never showed any interest in poetry until 2015, when she had to hide for many days from shells in a cold basement.

When Tamashova reads her verses, her voice and hands tremble:

"All the streets are empty in Hranitne.

A shell breaks the silence.

They are hitting us every night.

Tell me please, for how long will this last?

The nights are dark, long and scary.

Mortar shells are whistling,

Grads are rattling and bombs are exploding.

We are all saying goodbye to our lives.

Our nerves are strained to the limit."

Tamashova said she often starts crying when reading her poems. But then she starts feeling better. She reads them to other residents, and has already got some fans.

Sofia Baraban, 64, a former accountant, started quoting Tamashova's poem from memory. "She gave me the poem and I copied and memorized it," Baraban said.

Baraban has learned several poems about the Donbas war by heart. She showed a large scar on her arm — the result of a shrapnel wound in 2016. She had to travel some 50 kilometers to a hospital in Volnovakha for treatment.

Before the war, Hranitne was a part of a district centered on the town of Boikivske (formerly Telmanove), which is just 20 kilometers away. But now Boikivske is controlled by Russian-backed forces.

Since the road to Volnovakha is long and bumpy, and a bus goes there just twice a week, the villagers feel isolated, which also makes them feel depressed.

Hranitne's hospital is located in an old building damaged by war and bad weather. The local doctor lives in

another village and can't come daily.

The village lived through fierce fighting in the autumn of 2014 until the spring of 2015. At least nine Ukrainian soldiers were killed there.

Pensioner Hanna Zaika, 69, a former medical orderly, memorialized one battle with the following poem:

"In a meadow by the valley black poppies have blossomed  
Three brothers from Zakarpattia  
have fallen at Hranitne.

They fought, and took prisoners of war.

They gave their lives for their beloved Ukraine.

Oh girl, don't cry, don't mourn, dear.  
Just bow low to the red poppies  
growing over the river."

Unlike other residents, Zaika wrote her poem in Ukrainian, not Russian. She was born in Lviv Oblast. She said that she had contact with her relatives in western Ukraine because of the war. They now think she is pro-Russian.

Zaika has developed heart problems and gets free treatment from Doctors Without Borders.

Pylayeva said most of the residents in the war-torn villages are people in their 50s to 70s, who were brought up in Soviet times, and are wary of psychologists. But they are slowly changing their attitudes.

Pensioner Yury Topolov, 72, a former driver, started going to Pylayeva six months ago and says she has helped reduce his stress. Topolov likes poetry but doesn't write it. He, instead, plays the accordion and sings his favorite songs to stay calm.

"For mental health, the arts are always a way to get help, to find new inner resources," said Monika Bregy, a mental health activity manager with Doctors Without Borders.

The organization is now considering setting up a psychological therapy group in the village. ■

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**George H.W. Bush and Leonid Kravchuk**

*U.S. President George H.W. Bush greets Chairman Leonid Kravchuk in Kyiv.  
August 1, 1991. Source: novakraina.org*



**Leonid Kuchma and Bill Clinton**

*Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma and U.S. President Bill Clinton share smiles during  
their Oval Office meeting in the White House.  
December 8, 1999. Photo Associated Press/UNIAN*



**Petro Poroshenko and Donald Trump**

*Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko meets with U.S. President Donald J. Trump in the Oval Office.  
June 20, 2017. Photo by Lazarenko Mykola/POOL/UNIAN*



**George Bush and Viktor Yushchenko**

*U.S. President George W. Bush and Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko stroll during  
a ceremony near the Presidential Administration in Kyiv.  
April 1, 2008. Photo Oleksandr Baran/UNIAN*



**Viktor Yanukovich and Barack Obama**

*Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich and U.S. President Barack Obama embrace  
on the sidelines of the Nuclear Security Summit in Seoul, South Korea.  
March 27, 2012. Photo Andriy Mosienko/POOL/UNIAN*

celebrate Ukraine's 26 years of Independence and the  
strong friendship between the  
United States and Ukraine



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Editorial

# Western naivete

It's clear that even with new leaders, the nations of the West have run out of ideas about how to force Russia to call off its war against Ukraine and return the Crimean peninsula, let alone combat the Kremlin's attempts to menace the free world, including, it seems, with cyberwarfare attacks and assassinations abroad.

Western leaders don't want to impose the tough, painful economic sanctions that will be needed to make the Kremlin change tack. Consequently, dangers will keep rising.

Germany and others, in fact, are continuing to promote cooperation with Russia, including via the Nord Stream 2 gas pipeline between Russia and Germany. The main aim of the Kremlin-pushed project is to bypass Ukraine as a transit country, saving Russia, and denying Ukraine, up to \$4 billion in transit fees a year.

Far from being treated as the leader of a rogue state, Putin continues to have a seat at the table with Western powers, who still desperately cling to the 2015 Minsk peace agreement and the four-nation Normandy format, even though the Kremlin dictator disregards both.

Meanwhile, the United States, the United Kingdom and the European Union cough up hundreds of millions of dollars in annual assistance to Ukraine — not with a particularly smart and coordinated strategy. In the U.S. and U.K. cases, it seems the money spent serves to assuage their guilt over their empty assurances of the 1994 Budapest Memorandum.

Russia violated that landmark agreement, under which Ukraine surrendered its Soviet-era nuclear weapons, and the implications are dire for the world if Ukraine does not regain its territory and peace.

As Dan Coats, the director of U.S. national intelligence, put it, Ukraine's situation is a signal to nations with nuclear weapons that they should never give them up, and it is an equally powerful signal to nations without nuclear weapons that they should acquire them. So much for nuclear non-proliferation.

There is still time to save the situation, but the West needs to move with greater urgency, commitment and toughness. If the new dividing line in the world is free vs. unfree nations, so be it. Ukrainians want to be with the free nations. They deserve support.

Yet in helping Ukraine, the West shows naivety and a lack of imagination. Many Western governments have frittered away money on ineffective rule-of-law and other programs, leaving the situation no better than it was before: an unreformed Interior Ministry, Security Service of Ukraine, General Prosecutor's Office and court system. To put it bluntly, Ukraine's leaders have been playing the West's leaders for fools.

Collectively, the Western nations and their ambassadors are far too indulgent of President Petro Poroshenko and Ukraine's obstructionist domestic interests, including the oligarchs. They choose to ignore the fact that Poroshenko has been foot-dragging on the reform agenda for much of his three years in office.

This has got to stop. Ukraine deserves financial aid, even in greater amounts, but it must come with the strictest of conditions.

To get aid from the West, Ukrainian authorities must, at least: create an independent anti-corruption court; ensure greater staffing, independence and resources for anti-corruption institutions, from police to prosecutors; create a truly qualified and independent Supreme Court; sell off or close most of the 3,500 state-owned enterprises and lift the ban on farmland sales.

This, however, would just be a start to all the changes that are required to join the ranks of prosperous democracies.

We think Ukraine must go further. After more than three years of crimes going unpunished, Western leaders and civil society must join forces with the Ukrainian people to create a fast-track, anti-corruption judicial system to take on the biggest crimes and toughest financial fraud.

Considering this nation has been fleeced to the tune of tens of billions of dollars in the last three years alone, outside oversight is long overdue. There is no more time to wait for new institutions to take hold as the same old corrupt ones wield the power and resources.

The West rarely uses its leverage properly or strongly enough with Ukraine. The Ukrainian people want more help in this area because they see vested interests having success in blocking their aspirations.

If Ukrainians are to see any progress, it means the West will have to get tough on their obstructionist leaders. No progress, no aid. Simple as that. Otherwise, the money and people will continue to flow in one direction — out of Ukraine.



**NEWS ITEM:** When a school teacher from the Russian-occupied Crimean city of Sevastopol asked Russian President Vladimir Putin about funding roads at a meeting with school teachers on June 21, Putin said that Russia could be sending three times more money to Sevastopol, but it would make no sense, because the city "can't put the money to use without stealing it."



**NEWS ITEM:** Many in Ukraine were outraged when Russian President Vladimir Putin called Anne of Kyiv, the 11th century queen of France, "Russian" during his press briefing with French President Emmanuel Macron on May 29. But a month later, Macron reclaimed the French queen for Ukraine, calling her a symbol of the long history of Ukrainian-French relations during a meeting with Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko on June 26.



**NEWS ITEM:** On June 21, Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko requested that parliament strip five lawmakers of legal immunity from prosecution in connection with ongoing investigations against them. Shortly afterwards, the parliament went on a two-week break.



**NEWS ITEM:** The former Central Gastronom, the oldest building on Khreshchatyk Street, which has been closed for reconstruction for 10 years, was heavily damaged by fire on June 20. The company that owns the building planned to reconstruct it as an office center.

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## Reformer of the week

## Oksana Syroid

Samopomich party lawmaker Oksana Syroid on June 20 started a hunger strike to protest what she sees as President Petro Poroshenko's efforts to discredit and obstruct Samopomich and its leader, Lviv Mayor Andriy Sadovy.

Syroid, a deputy speaker of parliament, went on hunger strike in front of the Presidential Administration together with Oleh Berezyuk, leader of Samopomich's parliamentary faction, and was hospitalized on June 24.

Poroshenko's critics accuse the president of banning all other regions from helping Lviv to dispose of its garbage, while he denies the accusations. Garbage has been accumulating in the city since a court ordered the closure of Lviv Oblast's main garbage disposal facility in 2016 after a fire. Central authorities have also been reluctant to re-open the existing garbage disposal site or allocate a land plot for a new one.

Samopomich believes the "garbage blockade" of Lviv to be a ploy by the president to discredit and influence Sadovy, who could be a major competitor of Poroshenko in the 2019 presidential election.

Syroid and her fellow Samopomich lawmakers have authored many reformist initiatives, including bills to create an independent anti-corruption court and to bring the prosecution service and the judiciary in line with European standards.

— Oleg Sukhov



(Anastasia Vlasova)

## Anti-reformer of the week

## Serhiy Kozyakov

Serhiy Kozyakov, head of the High Qualification Commission, deserves the title of "Judicial Reform's Gravedigger" for running roughshod over the Public Integrity Council, the judiciary's civil society watchdog.

The commission has so far overridden 75 percent of the Public Integrity Council's vetoes on 64 candidates for Supreme Court jobs deemed to be corrupt or dishonest.

Mikhail Slobodin, a judge at the Kharkiv Commercial Court of Appeal, said on June 22 that by rejecting the civic watchdog's vetoes, the commission had destroyed society's trust in the ongoing Supreme Court competition.

"Francis Fukuyama said that society's trust in the institutions of liberal democracy was a necessary condition of these institutions' existence," he said.

Roman Brehei, a judge at the Kirovohrad District Administrative Court, has asked law enforcement bodies to investigate the High Qualification Commission over what he sees as a blatantly illegal decision to let 299 candidates with insufficient scores run in the competition.

The High Qualification Commission on June 26 overrode the Public Integrity Council's veto on Deputy Prosecutor General Angela Stryzhevskia in what critics saw as an effort to promote a loyalist of the authorities.

Stryzhevskia has a conflict of interest because of her prosecutorial duties and has committed procedural violations as a judge before, the watchdog said. Stryzhevskia and the commission deny accusations of wrongdoing.

— Oleg Sukhov



(Viktsu.gov.ua)

VOX  
populi

WITH ANASTASIA YAROVA



Do you think that the murder of a top intelligence officer in Kyiv and the cyberattack that both took place on June 27 are connected?



Volodymyr Kanivets

IT specialist

"I think these two events are related in the context of the ongoing war with Russia, which all of

these threats come from. Yet, no one can be decisively accused until we have it all figured out. The logic tells me that they will not give us peace and this is not the last threat to the country."



Yulia Ostroushko

photographer

"It's hard to tell as everything is related in some way. But I think that the same people

stand behind the (intelligence officer Maksym Shapovalov's murder and the cyberattack."



Halyna Boiko

student

"It seems that there might be some connection, but it is hard to tell if it was another country's fault, or our country's. In an information war, it is difficult to recognize the truth. The major question for me is whether someone in Ukraine is playing on the (enemy's) side."



Anatolii Basarab

retiree

"The government and banks say that they have been greatly affected by the cyberattack, but I think there wasn't so much of an actual threat, but rather a panic wave to depress and scare the people. I think it was a great lie of the government. But the murder of Maksym Shapoval is another thing. He is not the first officer to be murdered. I do not believe that Kremlin is behind it, I think it is the work of big money."



Natalia Shcherbakova

school teacher

"You can find the connection anywhere. The problem is that all of the

events in Ukraine are so complicated that almost anything can be interpreted as an inside or outside attack on those who work with the government and protect its interests. Although, a cyberattack is a well-planned thing. Who to blame? Well, 'innocent until proven guilty.'"

— Euan MacDonald

## Ukraine's Friend &amp; Foe Of The Week

Editor's Note: This feature separates Ukraine's friends from its enemies. The Order of Yaroslav the Wise has been given since 1995 for distinguished service to the nation. It is named after the Kyivan Rus leader from 1019-1054, when the medieval empire reached its zenith. The Order of Lenin was the highest decoration bestowed by the Soviet Union, whose demise Russian President Vladimir Putin mourns. It is named after Vladimir Lenin, whose corpse still rots on the Kremlin's Red Square, 100 years after the October Revolution he led.



Timothy Snyder

Ohio, wrote to him days later with the simple, and correct prediction: "He will win."

The Ukrainian journalist was right because Ukrainians had experienced "fake news" and post-fact populism for years, Snyder said.

"Americans and Europeans still believe that history is being made in the West and moving eastwards, but it has been the other way around for 10 years," he told Der Tagesspiegel. "The kleptocracy, the manipulation of the media and the cyber war came from the east to the west."

Snyder, who wins the Order of Yaroslav the Wise this week, was spot on. Ukraine has been a testing ground and an objective for competing powers for centuries, and has seen all of their tricks.

Speaking in the Bundestag, the German parliament, on June 20 on Germany's historical responsibility towards Ukraine, Snyder made the point that Adolf Hitler's Operation Barbarossa foresaw the German occupation of only 10 percent of Soviet Russia.

In contrast, 100 percent of Soviet Ukraine was to be occupied, and the country was the key prize of the Third Reich's eastward colonial expansion.

Ukraine's land has also been coveted by the Kremlin for centuries (there can be no Russian Empire without Ukraine) and Josef Stalin used Ukraine as a proving ground for his genocidal social engineering, the Holodomor, in which he starved to death millions of Ukrainians.

The ills afflicting Ukraine and the West have a common source — the Kremlin.

For the health of our societies and democracies, we will have to not only develop resistance, but defeat the enemy.

— Euan MacDonald



Henry Kissinger

After U.S. President Donald J. Trump held his Oval Office meeting with Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov and Russian Ambassador to the United States Sergei Kislyak on May 10, White House pool reporters were invited to what they expected would be a photo opportunity with Lavrov.

The U.S. press had been excluded from the meeting. Only a photographer from Kremlin news

agency TASS had been present. It was only because photographs of a grinning Trump and Kislyak were released by the Russians later that it even became known that Kislyak had attended the meeting.

However, it was not Lavrov whom the press pool found sitting next to Trump in the Oval Office, but Henry Kissinger, the U.S. Secretary of State under former U.S. presidents Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford. Given that Trump had the day before fired F.B.I. Director James Comey, who was investigating the Trump campaign team for its links to Russia, seeing Kissinger sitting next to Trump shocked some reporters.

But Ukrainians, seeing Kissinger

in cahoots with Trump, would have made other associations. The architect of U.S. "realpolitik," including détente with the Soviet Union, Kissinger, who is reported to be giving a speech on June 30 in Moscow on U.S.-Russian relations, has proved over the years to have no allegiance to the principles of the will of the people or even democracy.

He proved it again in December, when he was reported to have advised then President-elect Trump to accept Russia's illegal invasion and annexation, via a sham referendum, of Ukraine's Crimean peninsula. Kissinger thinks he United States should try to mend relations with Russia, damaged badly by the Crimean invasion and Russia's ongoing war in the Donbas.

Journalists later reported that Kissinger had had several meetings with Trump during the November-to-January transitional period. After being out of presidential affairs for the eight years of the Obama presidency, Kissinger again has the ear of the White House.

And in that ear he will no doubt whisper his "realpolitik" — the will of the people of Ukraine,

including Crimeans, can be ignored for the sake of better U.S. relations with Russia.

So Kissinger, who prolonged the Vietnam War and likely scuttled a peace agreement so that his friend Richard Nixon could be elected president in 1967, is a loathsome senior figure. He in no way can be counted as a friend of Ukraine. He aligns with the interests of the dictator in the Kremlin, Ukraine's enemy. Come pick up your Order of Lenin, Henry, I'm sure you and Vladimir Putin can get together soon and have a good cry over the demise of the Soviet Union 26 years ago.

— Euan MacDonald

In late summer 2016, the U.S. presidential election was at its height, and Republican candidate Donald J. Trump was swaying from scandal - for bragging about sexually assaulting women, for his treatment of the family of a slain U.S. soldier, the Khans, and for encouraging Russia to hack into his rival Hillary Clinton's emails. Not many thought he had a good chance of winning the presidency.

He was down in the polls, he seemed to be stumbling from gaffe to gaffe, (Politico published an article in September 2016 listing 37 of them), and a slew of senior figures in the Republican Party, from former presidents to former and current Republican elected officials, were announcing their opposition to his election as president.

But Timothy Snyder, best-selling author and professor of history Yale University, recalled in an interview with German newspaper Der Tagesspiegel on June 28 that a Ukrainian journalist, who had covered a Trump campaign visit to



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# World in Ukraine

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

In partnership with Delta

# North Dakota is star player in Ukraine's agricultural rise

**BY JOSH KOVENSKY AND BERMET TALANT**  
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Out of all of America's 50 states, it turns out that North Dakota is the closest to Ukraine.

With crops like sunflowers, beets and corn, the state mimics Ukraine's farm output, while Fargo — North Dakota's largest city — is home to several large companies that export agricultural equipment to Ukraine. Fargo frequently hosts Ukrainian visitors on business, and sends its own representatives to Ukraine as well.

The mainstays of Ukraine's imports from North Dakota are commodities and machinery. In 2016, the state exported \$4.73 million in seeders and planters alone to Ukraine.

## State Trade Office

Cooperation between Ukraine and North Dakota's state government began in fall 2006, when a 18-member trade mission led by then-Lt. Governor Jack Dalrymple visited the country.

"We've just been keeping this relationship growing," Dean Gorder, executive director of North Dakota Trade Office, told the Kyiv Post.

In 2007, the trade office launched an international visitors program that annually brings farmers from Ukraine, Russia and Kazakhstan to West Fargo, North Dakota, to attend the Big Iron Farm Show, the largest agricultural event in upper Midwest.

Not only can foreign farmers see the latest farm machinery, but they can also network and attend seminars on how to use chemicals and how to



Many Ukrainian agribusinesses favor John Deere equipment, including this combine from the company's advertising brochure, and import much of it from North Dakota. (Courtesy of John Deere)

market their products.

Having hosted hundreds of Ukrainian farmers over the years, Gorder speaks highly of them.

"They are extremely productive and adoptive to new technology such as precision farming techniques, although some smaller farms are lagging," he said.

Precision agriculture uses a GPS controller in tractors that allows them to automatically steer the equipment based on the coordinates of a field. This prevents them from repeating the same piece of land or accidentally skipping another parcel.

Gorder believes that the use of IT in agriculture will transform Ukraine's farming in the next 2-4 years.

## American 'Chernozem'

Fargo's close ties to Ukraine are underwritten by the soil beneath the

city itself.

"When they named the soil here, they said it's just like the great Ukrainian soil chernozem, so our soil scientist said that's what it is," said Howard Dahl, owner of Amity Technology and chairman of the board at Astarta. "Not many Americans know it's a Russian word."

Dahl has been working in Ukraine since the country achieved independence. In fall 1991, Dahl recounted, he came to Ukraine to sell air seeders, a piece of equipment that uses air pressure to insert seeds or fertilizer into the ground.

"It was just a mixture of relationships," Dahl said, describing Ukraine's business environment in the 1990s.

Dahl recounted one story in which he sold a batch of farming equipment to the son of a top official on a 50 percent down payment, with the rest of the amount to be paid after harvest.

But the official's son never paid off the loan. Dahl contemplated suing him over the debt, but his lawyer gave a warning.

"There was a bigger problem: If we brought a case, he's bribed

the judge and threatened to kill the chief witness," Dahl recalled, adding that "it really wasn't until 2000, 2001 that we began working with regular dealers like we would have in the United States."

In the 2000s, Dahl formed a close relationship with Astarta, a Kyiv-



based agroholding that is Ukraine's largest producer of sugar.

According to Astarta Chief Operating Officer Zeljko Erceg, the partnership is partly motivated by similarities in American and Ukrainian approaches to farming.

"If we are talking about approaches to technology in growing crops, our approach and the approach in Ukraine or Russia is much more similar to the American way of agriculture than the European one," Erceg said, adding that European farms are "much smaller than in the United States, especially in comparison with agroholdings in Ukraine."

Dahl added that in terms of climate, many of the same crops that grow in North Dakota also grow in Ukraine.

"Within 100 miles of Fargo, you can watch great production of sugar beets, sunflowers, corn, soybeans, wheat, rapeseed, potatoes," Dahl said. "You can see all the crops that are raised in Ukraine and see them produced in an effective way."

## Farm machinery

Apart from Amity Technology, other Fargo firms export to Ukraine. There are dealerships of Case IH, AGCO, John Deere, Gates Manufacturing, Soyko International, Superior Manufacturing and other American manufacturers of farm machinery.

In 2017, exports from North Dakota to Ukraine have seen growth in sales of no-till seeders and planters (\$1.8 million), tractors (\$1.4 million), and harvesting machinery (\$1.7 million), according to data from the North Dakota trade office.

Exports of parts for machinery have also increased.

Titan Machinery, the largest American dealer of agricultural equipment based in Fargo, has been operating in Ukraine since 2012. It has four service centers in Kyiv, Vinnytsya, Zhytomyr, and Chernihiv.

According to Titan general director Yuriy Alatorstev, they sell around 150 tractors and 40 combines a year.

He said that Ukrainian farmers have recently begun to prefer new equipment over used models, as the sector becomes more profitable. Ukraine's recovery from its economic crisis has also spurred some banks to offer lending programs that allow farmers to lease American equipment — OTP Leasing, Raiffeisen Leasing Aval, and agrobusiness loans from ProCredit Bank all play a role in this.

As the harvesting season kicks off in July, Titan Machinery is renting out a fleet of 25 machines for prices of \$50 per hectare, depending on crops and season.

"We harvest about 50,000 hectares every year. Companies that hire our fleet don't have to worry about equipment and maintenance," said Alatorstev. ■

## 5 American anthems

*Editor's Note: Hundreds of songs extol American life, but on the Fourth of July Independence Day holiday, these five are among the all-time favorite medleys.*

- Star-Spangled Banner
- America The Beautiful
- God Bless America
- My Country Tis of Thee
- This Land Is Your Land

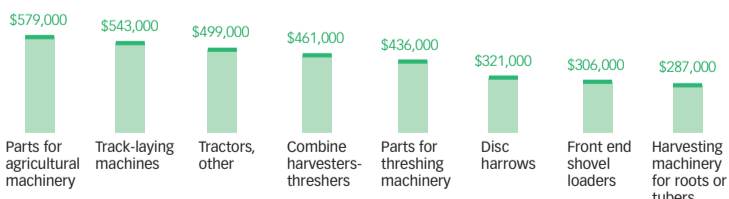
\$4.7 million



\$1.7 million



### Top 10 North Dakota exports to Ukraine in 2016



By Kyiv Post. Source: North Dakota Trade Office

North Dakota's business community is a keystone of Ukraine's agricultural development, selling millions of dollars in equipment to Ukrainian companies.

# State monopolist Ukrzaliznytsia spurns US investment in Ukraine's rail freight market

BY RAHIM RAHEMTULLA AND DENYS KRASNIKOV  
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U.S. company Greenbrier, one of the world's largest producers of railroad freight wagons, has been trying to enter Ukraine with its partner Amsted Rail for more than a year.

Together, they want to build a fleet of cargo wagons which would be available to the public and, in the process, break the power of state monopoly Ukrzaliznytsia to decide who gets to ship what and when.

Many aspects of Ukrzaliznytsia's business are corrupt and compromised by vested interests. Allocation of freight wagons is no exception.

At the same time, poor quality roads and undeveloped riverways mean Ukraine's railways are the dominant mode of transport for both goods and people, with 80 percent of cargo hauled across the country going by train.

The essential role of rail transport is especially pronounced around harvest time in late summer and early autumn, when grain – Ukraine's No. 1 export and a major source of foreign currency – needs to be moved in great quantities.

Greenbrier and Amsted Rail told the Kyiv Post that over the past year their proposals to Ukrzaliznytsia



Freight rail cars park at a depot of state rail monopoly Ukrzaliznytsia in Kyiv on May 30. The state enterprise says massive new investments are in the works to fund buy more cargo wagons needed for commodity transport. Private companies, however, say they could do a better job if they were allowed to enter the market, but so far their joint venture investment proposals have been rejected. (Kostyantyn Chernichkin)

on market liberalization had been rejected.

In a statement released through his press service, however, Ukrzaliznytsia CEO Wojciech Balczun told the Kyiv

Post the state enterprise is "fully open for new projects with leading American companies," adding that in two weeks he will travel to the U.S. for meetings with GE, Greenbrier

and Amsted Rail.

Balczun said whether to liberalize the rail cargo market is a decision which depends on how the government sees "the future market model

for railway transport in Ukraine."

"The position of Ukrzaliznytsia is that liberalization of the freight rail market without solving adjacent problems in the system can lead to catastrophic consequences," the statement reads.

According to Balczun, there's no clear government policy on financing passenger transportation and that's why Ukrzaliznytsia should keep its monopoly position, so that it can continue to use revenue from cargo transport to subsidize passenger travel.

The CEO admits that if the cargo market were to be opened to private companies, the state enterprise would not be able to compete, given the poor condition of its rolling stock.

"The current state of main assets of Ukrzaliznytsia, in particular locomotives, does not allow to talk about fair competition between the company and new entrants," he said.

Ukrzaliznytsia claims it is working to improve the rail cargo situation, with Balczun stating in a June 23 post on his Facebook page that it had reached a preliminary \$260 million agreement, to be financed mostly by the European Bank of Reconstruction and Development, to buy thousands more freight wagons by 2021.

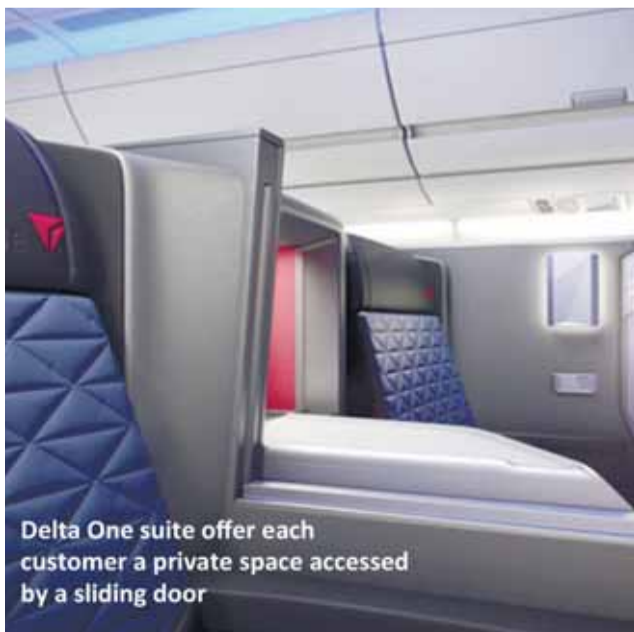
The EBRD said it does not expect

more Ukrzaliznytsia on page 14



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# Ambassador: 'No country' supports Ukraine more than America in defense and reforms

BY BRIAN BONNER  
BONNER@KYIVPOST.COM

As Ukraine and the United States prepare for their summer Independence Day celebrations — July 4 for America, Aug. 24 for Ukraine — both nations have fresh reasons for optimism about the strength of the relationship.

Ever since Donald J. Trump's inauguration on Jan. 20, many Americans have sought to reassure Ukrainians that — contrary to what people read about the U.S. president's close ties to Russia — American policy will remain steadfast in support of Ukraine.

Trump surrogates — ex-House Speaker Newt Gingrich and ex-New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani — have even made trips to Kyiv recently to underscore the point.

But nothing drove the message home like the personal meeting that took place in the Oval Office on June 20 between Trump and President Petro Poroshenko.

The Ukrainian leader also met with five Cabinet members — Vice President Mike Pence, Secretary of State Rex Tillerson, Secretary of Defense James Mattis, Secretary of Energy Rick Perry and Secretary of Commerce Wilbur Ross — among other top administration officials and leaders of Congress.

Attending many of the meetings was U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Marie L. Yovanovitch.

## Trump meeting

In an interview with the Kyiv Post ahead of America's Independence Day celebrations, Yovanovitch discussed the achievements of the two days of Washington D.C., meetings and dispelled a few misconceptions.

Firstly, while described in some news media accounts as a mere Oval Office "drop-in" lasting a few minutes, Yovanovitch said that the session with Trump and Poroshenko — which also involved Ukrainian Foreign Minister Pavlo Klimkin, Ukrainian Ambassador to America Valeriy Chaly and U.S. National Security Adviser H.R. McMaster — lasted at least 30 minutes.

Secondly, contrary to reports that Perry, Tillerson and Mattis will be visiting Kyiv this year, Yovanovitch noted that no official trips have yet been announced despite invitations extended from the Ukrainian side.

Thirdly, while Poroshenko suggested that the U.S. may start supplying Ukraine with lethal weapons to defend itself against Russia's war, Yovanovitch said no decision has been made. "The administration is still reviewing its position," she said. "That kind of decision needs to be reviewed carefully and will take some time."

Nonetheless, Yovanovitch hailed the dialogue as a tremendous success.

"The biggest accomplishment was that the leader of the United States and the leader of Ukraine were able to meet and have a really good conversation about what is happening in Ukraine. So they were able



A full moon rises over the Brooklyn Bridge in New York on Aug. 18, 2016. (AFP)

to establish a relationship, which is always important," Yovanovitch said. "It was a very substantive conversation. President Poroshenko had a real opportunity to talk about what was happening in Ukraine, especially the situation in the east. It was clear to me that President Trump was very interested in that and asked a lot of questions."

As Trump approaches the six-month mark of his presidency, "it's very clear where we are with our policy with regard to Ukraine," she said. "There's robust support for Ukraine."

## No end to war

It does not appear, however, that the United States or its Western allies have any fresh ideas for persuading Russia to call off its war against Ukraine, now in its fourth year with more than 10,000 people killed, or to return the illegally seized Crimean peninsula.

Everyone is sticking with the 2015 Minsk peace agreements, which Russia has ignored, and the four-nation Normandy format in which Germany, France, Ukraine and Russia meet periodically for thus far fruitless peace talks.

Despite movement for tougher sanctions against Russia, most notably coming from the U.S. Senate, consensus for turning the economic screws harder against the Kremlin is lacking.

America and the United Kingdom still come under criticism for not doing more to support Ukraine's sovereignty as part of the 1994 Budapest Memorandum, under which Ukraine surrendered its Soviet-era nuclear

weapons in exchange for security assurances.

But, as the West struggles to find the right formula to get Russian President Vladimir Putin to end the war, Yovanovitch said that America has no reason to apologize.

"We have provided over \$650 million in security assistance since the start of the war," Yovanovitch said.

"The single most important thing we can do is provide that training," Yovanovitch said. "You can see the change in tactics on the front lines. This is a more capable force, first of all because of the bravery of the Ukrainian soldiers, but also because of those countries, including the U.S., that have provided significant assistance."

As for the Budapest Memorandum, while it's an "extremely sensitive topic" in Ukraine, "we believe that the U.S. has lived up to what is agreed to in the Budapest Memorandum. There's only one country that hasn't — that's Russia," Yovanovitch said. "Over the last three years, there has been arguably no country that has been more supportive of Ukraine than the United States, whether assistance on critical reform pieces or security assistance."

## 'Moving forward'

Besides \$650 million in security assistance since 2014, the United States has provided a comparable amount in economic aid and \$3 billion in loan guarantees.

But the United States has had to get tough, on occasion, such as when America pressed Poroshenko to fire Prosecutor General Viktor

Shokin, who had been obstructing justice and blocking anti-corruption investigations.

Poroshenko finally relented in May 2016, but only after ex-U.S. Vice President Joseph Biden reportedly intervened personally and the American government made the issue a public condition of further financial assistance. Ex-U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Geoffrey R. Pyatt detailed the government's stance publicly before his departure to Greece a year ago.

However, as Shokin's replacement, Poroshenko chose political ally Yuriy Lutsenko, a non-lawyer with no prosecutorial experience. Lutsenko has not transformed the prosecutorial service with 18,000 employees, nor has he successfully prosecuted any big anti-corruption cases. He has, instead, kept Shokin loyalists as top lieutenants.

Nearly a year into Yovanovitch's tenure as U.S. ambassador, there's been no public "Shokin moment" as Pyatt had under ex-U.S. President Barack Obama's administration.

But that doesn't mean the Trump administration will go soft on reforms, she said.

"I think that one of the important things that President Poroshenko heard (in Washington, D.C.) is that it's important to keep on moving forward in reform, whether in the judicial sector, fighting against corruption or other areas," Yovanovitch said. "Ukraine needs to keep on going to be where it needs to be economically and from a security point of view."

Economically, Ukraine is only now

starting to recover from losing half of its annual economic output — dropping from \$180 billion in 2013 to only \$90 billion in 2015. But growth remains at a tepid 2–3 percent per year, a source of hardship and growing impatience for Ukrainians.

"It has to be 6 to 8 percent growth," Yovanovitch said. "For that, there has to be privatization. There has to be FDI (foreign direct investment) in Ukraine. I have heard this from the leadership of Ukraine. They understand that is what it's going to take to get the quantum leap forward for the economy. It's important that a level playing field is created so that Ukrainian companies can compete as well as foreign companies in growing the economy so there are more jobs."

## 'As quickly as possible'

American business representatives tell Yovanovitch that they see a lot of investment opportunities in Ukraine, which is at the geographic center of Europe and which has a highly educated workforce. The hot sectors include agriculture, energy and information technology.

But obstacles remain. "Ensuring that judicial reform really take hold is a critical piece," Yovanovitch said, citing the ongoing selection of justices for a new Supreme Court that will hopefully be seated in July. "It's important that not only the most ethical and qualified judges are selected but that people perceive it as a positive, transparent process."



## Yovanovitch: 'We take our responsibility' to US taxpayers, Ukrainian citizens 'very seriously'

Ambassador from page 8

The ambassador said that legal protections for intellectual property rights have been strengthened in recent years, but that more progress must be made.

She also flagged "some of the raider attacks we've seen" on businesses as an ongoing problem that "frightens not just Ukraine companies but that frightens foreign companies as well."

Related to the selection of a new Supreme Court, Yovanovitch also described creation of a new anti-corruption court as "critically important."

She said that Poroshenko, ex-Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenyuk and others "worked hard to create these new anti-corruption institutions," including the National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine and the Special Anti-Prosecutor's Office.

"These are new institutions. You have investigatory institutions, prosecutorial institutions, but (cases are) still going to the same court system," she said. "My understanding is that 60 percent of cases put forward (by the National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine and Special Anti-Prosecutor's Office) have been stymied at the court level. It is important that an anti-corruption court be established as quickly as possible."

### 'Always re-evaluating'

Making her job easier, the ambassador said, is that "U.S. interests and values coincide with what the Ukrainian people want for Ukraine. They are looking to the West and finally and forever becoming a part of the West."

Along with those aspirations, they "want a government that is accountable, that is transparent and they want to see results."

The challenge for U.S. policymakers is to provide effective assistance to advance these goals.

That's why U.S. officials regularly ask "should we be continuing in this area or another area and should we reprogram our money? We have that conversation. We look at things carefully. We take our responsibility both to the U.S. taxpayer and Ukrainian citizens very seriously."

Thus far, Yovanovitch said, the U.S. government has worked collaboratively with the Ukrainian government and Poroshenko, who is widely criticized by Ukrainians for going too slow or obstructing reforms.

She believes, however, Poroshenko is acting in the national interest and attributes his unpopularity to his three-year incumbency.

"I think that now in every country, the longer you are into a presidential term or a prime ministerial term, the lower the numbers go," she said. "It's kind of the laws of politics. People want change and they want change fast. There's the reality of how long things take. I think we need to work with our partners from the Ukrainian government as well as civil society to move our joint agenda forward."

Besides judicial reform, she also cited pension and agricultural land reform as priority areas.

Ukraine spends 12 percent of its GDP on pensions. Despite the money spent, average monthly pensions are only \$70. Ukraine, moreover, gives special benefits to many of its 12 million pensioners and allows men to retire at 60 and women at 58, earlier than in most Western nations.

Additionally, an agricultural land market has to be created, Yovanovitch said.

"There's no advanced economy in the world that doesn't allow individual companies to buy and sell land," she said. "Details do matter, of course, and it's good there's a robust debate. But there's no question this is something Ukraine has to do for Ukraine's sake to grow the economy."

### Political risk insurance

With no end to Russia's war in sight, some in the business community want Western governments to contribute financially to an investment risk insurance pool for Ukraine, along the lines of the U.S. Overseas Private Investment Corporation and the World Bank's Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency.

The thinking, as articulated by American lawyer Bate C. Toms, who is the president of the British Ukrainian Chamber of Commerce, is that billions of dollars of potential investment is sitting on the sidelines because of Russia's war. The ability for private business to be insured affordably against the possibility of total loss of investment would open the floodgates to new money for Ukraine, Toms believes.

If it's a great idea, it is one that is "not on my radar," Yovanovitch said. Likewise, she said, a lot of the private American investments and trade with Ukraine are made on a business-to-business basis with little or no involvement from the U.S. government.

### Visa-free travel

Ukrainians got a huge psychological lift on June 11, when 90-day visa-free travel to most European Union nations began. Ukrainians have set their sights on similar agreements with Canada and the United States.

"Right now, today, probably Ukraine isn't quite ready for that. Let's see how it works with the E.U.," she said. "Anything is possible. I think the U.S. visa regime is about facilitating travel to the United States. That's what we want to see. We want to see Ukrainians come to the United States do business, study there, work there and then return to Ukraine at the end of the visa period."

The U.S. and Canada, while rejecting a quarter or more of visa applicants, do grant 10-year travel visas for those whose applications are accepted.

### Fourth of July

For now, however, Americans in Ukraine are looking forward to cele-



U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Marie L. Yovanovitch speaks with the Kyiv Post on June 26 in the U.S. Embassy in Kyiv. Yovanovitch is America's ninth ambassador to Ukraine, the first woman to hold the post and celebrates her first anniversary on the job in August. (Oleg Petrasuiuk)

brating their nation's 241st birthday.

Festivities include events put on by America House and the American Chamber of Commerce of Ukraine. One of the traditional gatherings is a backyard barbecue hosted by the U.S. ambassador to Ukraine at the official residence, which sits at the base of the Podil neighborhood and has spectacular views of St. Andrew's Church above.

Yovanovitch is America's 9th ambassador to Ukraine and the

first woman to hold the post. She took over in August and also served as the deputy chief of mission in the U.S. Embassy in Kyiv in 2001-2004. She joined the American foreign service in 1986 and has been posted to numerous nations, including serving as ambassador to Armenia (2008-2011) and Kyrgyzstan (2005-2008).

She hails from a small town in Connecticut, where she recalls Fourth of July celebrations fondly

as revolving around parades, kids, bands and hot dogs. "We had a carnival and Ferris wheel. It was a town of 2,000 people that doubles in the summer because of all the summer residents."

"It's a great holiday," she said. "It gives us an opportunity to think about the United States and what that means in the U.S., but also what that means around the world. It's an opportunity for introspection as well." ■

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# How Ukrainian-Americans keep spirit of home alive

*Editor's Note: The following is a Q & A interview by Kyiv Post chief editor Brian Bonner with Luda Anastazievsky, a Ukrainian-American community leader in the U.S. state of Minnesota.*

**Kyiv Post: Where are you from in Ukraine and how did you end up in America?**

**Luda Anastazievsky:** I am from Mariupol in southeastern Ukraine. I came to the United States 27 years ago, in 1990, right before the collapse of the Soviet Union, to work and study. I met my future husband here, got married and became a U.S. citizen.

**KP: Tell me about Ukrainians living in Minnesota.**

**LA:** In Minnesota, home to 10,000 Americans of Ukrainian descent, the life of the Ukrainian diaspora revolves around churches and the Ukrainian American Community Center, a wonderful institution, on the board of which I have an honor to serve. The center was founded in 1964 by Ukrainian immigrants, former displaced persons who fled the horrors of Stalinism and fascism. The center became home to many community groups and organizations, such as the "Cheremosh" Ukrainian Dance Ensemble, Mайдan Minnesota, the Minnesota Ukrainian American Advocacy Committee, Ukrainian American Youth Organization, the Ukrainian Village Band and others. Lovingly called our "domivka," or home, the center's goal is to build an inclusive community, deepen and enrich its connection to Ukrainian culture and traditions while contributing to the cultural diversity of Minnesota. This year our dance ensemble "Cheremosh" will be traveling to Lviv in August to perform at the International Dance and Culture Festival. In May, Ukraine's Ambassador to America Valeriy Chaly, visiting Minnesota for the first time, awarded "Cheremosh" with an honorary diploma for its contribution to the promotion of Ukrainian culture in Minnesota.

**KP: How would you compare living in Ukraine with living in the U.S.A.?**

**LA:** One of the biggest differences



The Ukrainian Dance Ensemble "Cheremosh" performs in Minnesota, but also abroad. The group will perform in August in Lviv at the International Dance and Culture Festival. (Courtesy)

is the amount of walking people do daily. In Ukraine you walk all the time, everywhere, in the USA, you have to drive everywhere.

Another way in which the U.S. is very different from Ukraine is in its diversity. Americans come from all parts of the globe, and people of all countries can become Americans. This fact has not always been an easy one for Americans, and some have difficulty welcoming the newest immigrants. But it is worth remembering that 100 years ago it was Eastern Europeans, including Ukrainian immigrants, who were not always welcome. And today, Ukrainian-Americans are an integral part of American society.

**KP: How much does what happens in Ukraine still matter?**

**LA:** To those who are interested and engaged, what happens in Ukraine matters a lot, because they love Ukraine, value and honor its history and want happiness and justice for its people. Through my involvement with several organiza-

tions, I contribute my time, efforts, and finances to various causes. Last year, I co-organized the Minnesota Ukrainian American Advocacy Committee. Our committee has been meeting with members of Minnesota's congressional delegation and their staff to inform them about the situation in Ukraine and ask for their support of legislation pertinent to Ukraine. In February, our committee with the Ukrainian Center and Mайдan Minnesota held a town hall meeting with U.S. Senator Amy Klobuchar at which the U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Marie L. Yovanovitch joined in via Skype. The senator briefed our community on her recent trip to Ukraine with Senators John McCain and Lindsey Graham. In April, as a member of Mайдan MN, a local volunteer organization, I helped support a campaign of a week-long AzBookA Book Marathon in my native Mariupol, which was initiated by a Ukrainian non-profit "Do Not Be Indifferent." As a result, about 10,000 Ukrainian language comic books, textbooks, photography books, literary fiction and nonfiction books found their way to thousands of schoolchildren, students, orphans and soldiers in Mariupol and surrounding villages. Mайдan MN also sends medical supplies donated by the U.S. non-profit Matter to the medics on the frontlines.

**KP: What would you like to change most about Ukraine and what do you miss the most?**

**LA:** I would like to see a change in the Ukrainian judicial system, so that Ukrainian citizens could live in a country governed by the rule of law. I would like to see much tougher measures on corruption.

Most of all I miss Ukrainian food and soulful conversations with my friends.



Luda Anastazievsky, a native of Mariupol, Ukraine, moved to America in 1990. She is on the board of directors of the Ukrainian American Community Center in Minneapolis, Minnesota. (Courtesy)

**KP: How does the diaspora keep the spirit of Ukraine alive in America?**

**LA:** Organizing concerts, lectures, picnics, movie nights and "zabavy," dance parties. At local Ukrainian churches, children learn Ukrainian language, history and traditions, and the making of pysanky. Our Minnesota Ukrainian diaspora is lucky to have a community center, located near downtown Minneapolis right on the Mississippi River, where popular annual events such as Ukrainian

Heritage Festival, International Holiday Festival and Easter Bazaar are held. The Ukrainian Heritage Festival has always been the highlight of Ukrainian cultural life in the Twin Cities. A visit to the festival feels like a visit to Ukraine, with its smells and tastes of kovbasa, or sausage, varenyky, or potato dumplings, and bright colors of vyshyvanky, the sound of Ukrainian music by our popular Ukrainian Village Band, performances of talented singers and Ukrainian folk dancers. ■



U.S. Sen. Amy Klobuchar (Democrat of Minnesota) poses with Ukrainian-American children after a February town hall meeting in which she discussed her New Year's Eve trip to the war front in Ukraine. (Courtesy)

# FLEX celebrates 25th year of exchanges in Ukraine

BY WILL COHEN

When she got the call, Liliya Makhynko had already given up hope of being accepted to FLEX, the Future Leaders Exchange Program.

She had been checking her phone throughout the day with an increasing sense of resignation.

"By evening, I had given up," she said. "I was disappointed and was eating dinner and didn't even look at the screen when they called. I assumed it was my mom and said 'Hi, mom.' Then the person on the phone said, 'It's not your mom, it's FLEX.' I couldn't believe it and started screaming."

This year marks the 25th anniversary of FLEX, which since its inception has sent 6,635 high school students from Ukraine – and nearly 20,000 more from other Eurasian countries – to the U.S. for a year on a full scholarship.

The program was created by ex-U.S. Senator Bill Bradley to foster mutual understanding. It is funded by the U.S. State Department and administered by American Councils for International Education, a non-profit organization based in Washington, D.C.

The program seeks participants



Ukrainian high school students in 2016 return from a year of studies in the U.S. under the FLEX, or Future Leaders Exchange Program. (Photo courtesy of American Councils for International Education)

who demonstrate potential to help their home countries.

"We want them to see as much as they can, to try as much as they can and to bring that knowledge back to Ukraine and to use it in their local

communities," said Joseph Bilz, who manages FLEX operations in Kyiv.

Prominent alumni include Ukraine's ambassador to Canada, Andriy Shevchenko.

## Highly competitive

Each fall, program staff travels to 33 test centers across Ukraine to conduct testing and admissions interviews. Successful candidates must make it through a three-stage selec-

tion process.

First is a short English test. Those who make the cut then return the next day to write essays. Those who pass on to the third round are called back for yet more testing and essays, an admissions interview and an activity to assess how they work in groups.

Although basic English proficiency is required, it is not the primary factor.

"We're looking for applicants who are eager to learn about new things, who are outgoing and flexible and excited to try as much as they can during their year in the U.S." Bilz said.

The program is extremely competitive. This year just 248 out of 11,104 applicants made it, a lower acceptance rate than even American Ivy League universities.

Still, the prospect of an all-expenses paid year in the U.S. draws massive crowds of applicants, well over 500 in some cities, to the first round of testing.

To show there is no bias, applicants are assigned a random number rather than being identified by their actual names.

more FLEX on page 14

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# What Ukraine must do to prosper



MORGAN WILLIAMS

them – railways and agricultural land – Ukraine can be flooded with new long-term capital investment, world-class companies and the modern technology needed to lift the nation's economy.

## Railways

Ukraine must demonopolize to achieve rapid growth and prosperity. Two places to start with are the railways and agricultural land. The government of Ukraine holds far too many critical monopoly positions in state businesses and other state-controlled operations through ownership, outdated laws, endless regulations and political influence.

Regarding the railways, I'm not talking about privatizing Ukraine's state-owned railways monopoly, Ukrzalyznytisia. This No. 1 monopoly needs to be opened up. It's huge, faces tightly controlled old corruption schemes and needs massive modernization.

This monopolization breeds massive inefficiency, stagnation, lack of private investment incentives, slow job growth, low wages, high levels of corruption and low levels of living for millions of Ukrainians.

There are 10,000 ways that money is being sucked out by corruption from this behemoth that employs a quarter of a million people and that manages thousands of service and commodity contracts.

A few new top executives placed in state corporations and agencies cannot change them fast enough or deep enough by themselves. They need stronger support of high state officials, updated laws from the Rada, and state anti-corruption officials to break up the many schemes that corrupt part of almost every dollar that goes through the state monopolies. High officials need to stop quietly issuing orders to leave big corrupt schemes in place.

The new leadership at Ukrzalyznytisia has worked hard during the past year to make the needed changes. But so much more still needs to be done.

By allowing the private sector to fully work and invest in both of

Most of what Ukrainian Railways does can be done better and cheaper by cooperating with the private sector through opening up the operations and purchases to allow private participation as well as open and transparent tenders.

The railways have turned away large private investment offers because the state seems to want to keep its monopoly hold on the enterprise. As long as Ukrzalyznytisia



A farmer works his fields on May 31 in Kyiv Oblast. (Volodymyr Petrov)

insists on purchasing and controlling all the rolling stock, economic growth will be impeded. New railcars can be built quickly inside Ukraine. If the state railways would allow.

Ukraine has a critical shortage of modern commodity cars, especially during harvest. The state does not have enough money or capacity to build or buy the thousands that are needed now. Many existing cars are in such poor condition they need to be discarded. Farmers suffer huge losses when commodities cannot reach the ports on time. Locomotive engines need to be made available

for use by private companies.

## Agricultural land

There is no reason, other than populist mythology, why Ukraine's 42 million hectares of arable land should not be treated like any other commodity that is bought and sold. Land needs to be productive. The best way to ensure productivity is through private ownership.

The moratorium on buying and selling agricultural land is holding back the economy.

In 1995, I heard a speech by Oleksandr Moroz, a Socialist Party

leader and ex-speaker of Ukraine's parliament. He was pounding the table at a meeting, saying there will never be private land in Ukraine. The land, he said, belongs to all the people, is rather sacred and no price can be put on it.

The reality is that the private sector has been the major force holding the food system together. I remember in 2000 when farms were falling apart because they had no working capital, no clear ownership or leadership. The government put on a

more Williams on page 16

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## Trump allies reassure Ukraine

*Editor's Note: The Victor Pinchuk Foundation invited Newt Gingrich, the ex-speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, to speak in Kyiv on May 16 and ex-New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani to speak on June 7. Here are some excerpts:*



Newt Gingrich

"We have a very deep interest in a safe, free and prosperous Ukraine. It is

a function of Ukraine continuing with your anti-corruption campaign. We know the amount of investment you get around the world is, in part, a function of whether you feel safe in investing...Money is very timid. If money feels scared, it runs away. This whole argument over the anti-corruption court is of some importance to us. But we think for your prosperity, for your investors, for your job creation, it's more important to you."

"Nothing will help us move Moscow towards stability and the rule of law and an acceptable free

society than a successful Ukraine. To the degree your country is prosperous and to the degree you have freedom of expression, the freedom to vote and genuine rule of law, you become the standard by which everyday Russians measure their future. They're going to say, if Ukraine has all those things, why can't we? Nothing from the American perspective is more important than finding a way to help Ukraine become really successful."



Rudolph Giuliani

"There's no question you have a long-lasting friend and ally in the United States.

I know I can speak for President (Donald J.) Trump because he told me to say that to your president, prime minister and anybody else I encounter here...

"Ukraine has an unbelievable future, great natural assets, hard-working people and now you have freedom. What's holding you back is corruption. It's got to be

rooted out of your society." One idea for Ukraine is to create "a special anti-corruption group of prosecutors and judges that just concentrate on the corruption and root it out and keep it into existence until corruption is down to a realistic level."

Russia took over Ukraine's Crimean peninsula "unfortunately because the U.S. didn't respond the way it should when they acted. We should have encouraged harsh sanctions at the very beginning... (maybe we could have) reversed it and Russian wouldn't have gone into the eastern Donbas. I believe that eastern Ukraine has to be returned to Ukraine. That has to be an objective of Western foreign policy" with economic sanctions strengthened against Russia if necessary. "We should never tolerate one country invading another country and taking their territory." Reunification of Ukraine "should be the goal. We shouldn't compromise on that goal."

"We need to increase the amount of business we do together. For example, we have an excess of natural gas. It would be much better for us to be supplying you with natural gas than Russia." ■

# Will Ukraine see sustainable investment breakthrough?

## Timothy Ash's rebuttal



*Editor's Note: Timothy Ash, a London-based senior emerging markets sovereign strategist for Bluebay Asset Management Company, wrote this rebuttal in response to Atlantic Council senior fellow Anders Aslund's op-ed.*

I would perhaps couch it a little differently in that some of the preconditions for takeoff have been established in terms of macroeconomic stability. But structural reforms Required for real takeoff are still incomplete and not sufficient yet to create the good mood story that will sell with foreign investors. There have been big structural wins around state-owned Naftogaz reform, the ProZorro online public procurement system, National Bank of Ukraine reform – closing banks and nationalizing PrivatBank. But on banks, reforms have only pulled the sector off life support, without creating the conditions for the banking sector to be an asset to the economy. Structural reform is a work in progress. The next reform steps, including land, health care, pension, the anti-corruption fight, privatization, corporate governance, et al., have yet to be rolled out. I sense still lots of vested interest opposition, with President Petro Poroshenko's political capital ebbing as we get closer to elections and Poroshenko's priorities lying elsewhere.

In Kyiv, I don't sense that the Verkhovna Rada will address land and pension reform before summer vacation. The International Monetary Fund-related reforms look set to drag to autumn or later. This has a feel of 2012, where the market is forgiving and Ukraine drifts on the reform front, with a focus on 2019 elections. In the near term, revision to the agenda involving Russia's war in Ukraine's east might take priority for Verkhovna Rada deputies, with the focus on political and security related assassinations and cyberattacks.



ANDERS ASLUND

I first came to Ukraine in 1985, when I attended an economic forum where speakers preached conservative Marxism-Lenin. Still, I liked Ukraine and continued to come.

I served as an economic adviser to ex-President Leonid Kuchma in the 1990s and wrote a couple of books about the Ukrainian economy, the most recent of which is "Ukraine: What Went Wrong And How To Fix It?"

We have seen three big waves of reform in the last 26 years for Ukraine.

In 1994–1996, Ukraine achieved macroeconomic stabilization.

In 2000, Ukraine achieved such deregulation that it had sufficient freedom for high economic growth of an average of 7.5 percent a year for eight years.

But from 2014–2017, the last three years, we really have had a reform wave that brought about far greater changes than we've ever seen before.

Is it sustainable?

Is it the real breakthrough?

I don't think we can answer these questions yet.

### Still on agenda

Let me run down some big achievements and the four big issues on the reform agenda – pension, land, privatization and judicial reform. And I'll add some possible kickers.

Ukraine has not only seen massive financial adjustment. It has seen big structural reforms that cut down on corruption but have not been fully appreciated.

Public expenditures in Ukraine were far too high. But they've been



A Ukrainian citizen has his biometric passport checked at Kyiv Boryspil International Airport on June 11, the first day of visa-free travel to most European nations. (Kostyantyn Chernichkin)

cut from 53 percent of gross domestic product in 2014 to 40 percent of GDP today. This is a massive cut. What has been cut? The big cut is energy price subsidies that used to be 8 percent of GDP – three-fourths of this went to a few gas trading oligarchs.

The state budget deficit has been cut from from 10 percent of GDP in 2014 to 2 percent in GDP in 2015. This is the great achievement of ex-Finance Minister Natalie Jaresko, who left office on April 14, 2016.

We have seen a lot of harmful

subsidies, subsidies that went straight to corruption and amounted to theft from the state budget, closed down.

The payroll tax has been cut from 45 percent to 22 percent, which was absolutely necessary to legalize the payment of salaries, half of which were paid in envelopes.

The central bank has seen great achievements. Half the banks have been closed. The best way to rob a bank in Ukraine used to be to own a bank. But depositors and the central bank – essentially the same in one way or another – paid a high price

for this robbery of \$20 billion, an astounding figure that amounts to 20 percent of GDP.

Also, Ukraine instituted a floating exchange rate. It makes people poorer during devaluation but it was unfortunately necessary to balance the current account.

International reserves went from \$5 billion in February 2015 to the current \$17.6 billion. It's the difference between panic and a reasonably stable exchange rate.

more Aslund on page 14



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## Anders Aslund: Ukraine needs rule of law, justice to get more investment

Aslund from page 13

ProZorro, the online transparent public procurement system, should save 2 percent of GDP by ending inefficient or corrupt public purchases.

But perhaps the greatest of all changes is the electronic declaration of assets, which showed that the average holding of a member of parliament is \$700,000 in foreign cash at home, which is quite an achievement!

And thanks to a free trade agreement and visa-free travel, Ukraine can fully join the European supply chain.

### Courts, rule of law

These are many and great achievements. What does Ukraine still need? It must have courts that function. Absolutely that has to be at the top of the agenda. As a consequence, Ukraine does not have property rights. This is awful – yes. It is also awful in all other post-Soviet countries with the possible exception of Georgia. This has to be fixed.

Ukraine needs a land market reform that can unlock its agricultural potential. If land market reform happens, a lot of money will flow into agriculture. It will lead to foreign investment coming in in all kinds of ways – probably in food processing rather than direct agricultural development.

Ukraine needs to continue decentralization and creating a functional state administration.

### Needing 7% growth

Ukraine needs privatization. The state still owns 3,500 state enterprises. Most of them should be sold off and liquidated. The government should start with the small and worthless ones to get the privatization process going.

Currently, economic growth is 2.4 percent – I think it would be 2 percentage points higher without this silly blockade of trade between Ukraine-controlled and Russia-controlled areas of the Donbas, but it could easily rise substantially. Ukraine should aim for an economic growth of about 7 percent a year.

Investment is growing by 20 percent this year.

Exports are growing by 20 percent this year.

Finally if we get judicial reform, then we will really see growth, because then both foreigners and Ukrainians will dare to invest in quite another way.

We have many reasons to be optimistic about the Ukrainian economy, even if Ukrainians, for good reasons, have developed a strong habit of being very pessimistic. I think we are likely to break that habit.

*Anders Aslund is a senior fellow at the Atlantic Council in Washington, D.C.* ■

## 6,635 Ukrainian students take advantage of FLEX

FLEX from page 11

### American living

Successful applicants go to towns across the U.S., where they study in local schools and live with volunteer host families. Most live in small towns in rural areas, although a lucky few wind up in big cities or exotic locations such as Hawaii.

Although students go through a pre-departure orientation to prepare them for cultural differences, they are in for a shock once they arrive to the U.S.

Alumni said many things were different in the U.S. Most were impressed by the greater diversity and the higher acceptance of different religions, races and sexual orientations. Others mentioned Americans' individualistic attitudes, casual approach to living on credit and their level of political engagement.

"I think Americans are a bit more open," said Kyrilo Korol, who spent the year in Washington D.C. "This has advantages and disadvantages. They want to be friends with everyone, but it means this friendship is not real friendship."

Unfortunately, participants often find Americans are ignorant about Ukraine.

"Many of them didn't think of Ukraine as a country," Korol said. "They thought it was part of Russia and asked questions like 'Is it winter

all year? Are there bears? Do you drink vodka?'"

In part, the program is meant to tackle ignorance on both sides through exposure to people of other countries.

### Diversity in admissions

The program strives to include students with disabilities and those from Russian-occupied territories. "We really want to include students from all parts of Ukraine, including Donetsk and Luhansk Oblasts and Crimea," Bilz said.

Program staff arrange testing sites as close as possible to the war zone and try to accommodate applicants who travel there by, for example, conducting the first two rounds of testing on the same day. All students, including those from Russian-occupied Crimea, travel to the U.S. on their Ukrainian passports.

Yuliya Basarab, who is from Kostyantynivka and spent a year in Iowa, has limited movement in her left arm and leg due to cerebral palsy. Her year abroad showed her that people with disabilities can be better integrated into society. "Americans have more understanding and tolerance toward people with disabilities than we do in Ukraine," she said.

Her host school had accommodations for students with disabili-

ties, brail signs and teachers who accompanied blind students. "There was even one blind student who had a (service) dog at school," she said.

She said her host school was generally more inclusive – both on an institutional and cultural level – than her school at home. "Disabled students were involved in everything at my American school, even sports and drama," she said. "Everyone was nice and always asking if they needed any help."

### Life-changing time

Spending a year abroad as a teenager is a life-changing experience. Beyond becoming fluent in English, participants grow more independent and gain a wider perspective on the world.

"It was a great and unforgettable experience for me," Basarab said.

But there are downsides.

Although there are no precise statistics, many alumni report gaining anywhere from 5 to 20 kilograms during their year in the U.S. Some have before and after photos to prove the point.

"The food portions were enormous," Makhynko said. "At first, I would order a salad and not be able to finish it. But eventually I got used to it."

*Will Cohen is a Kyiv-based freelance journalist.* ■

## US investors say state railway monopoly's resistance to change is harming economy

Ukrzaliznytsia from page 7

the deal to be finalized before the third or fourth quarter of this year.

The CEO noted that the state enterprise has seven financing projects worth a total of \$1 billion and that the total sum of investment in Ukrzaliznytsia will reach \$5 billion by 2021.

According to an audit carried out by Ernst and Young, Ukrzaliznytsia lost \$280 million in 2016, but less than half of the loss of the previous year.

### Great monopoly

But even if new wagons and investments materialize, for Greenbrier and Amsted Rail, this will not solve the problem, because Ukrzaliznytsia will still have monopoly power.

Eric Luhmann, who represents the interests of both U.S. companies in Ukraine, argues that opening up the market to competition would force the state enterprise to operate efficiently, meaning it could still earn enough to subsidize passenger travel even if it loses market share in the cargo business to private companies.

"Ukrzaliznytsia will even tell you, 'We have the wagons we need, they're just not run efficiently,'" Luhmann told the Kyiv Post. "That means there's a problem. Whether that problem can be solved by the

existing authorities, I don't know. We advocate that if there's more private sector involvement in that operation, the assets that you have will definitely be used more effectively."

In theory, opening up the rail cargo sector would put more freight wagons on Ukraine's tracks and lead to a more transparent environment in which Ukrzaliznytsia would have to compete for business on price and quality, just like other market players.

Luhmann said he had been told by Ukrzaliznytsia that the state enterprise believes liberalization is "important" but not part of the immediate future.

The American said he disagrees with this position and would like to see change come faster.

He is not the only one: Ukrainian Infrastructure Minister Volodymyr Omelyan, 38, also believes Ukrzaliznytsia is on the wrong track.

Omelyan said he had big hopes for the state enterprise when Wojciech Balczun took over as CEO in May 2016, but has only been disappointed.

"A month after Balczun was appointed, I was 100-percent sure he would do nothing, and I was right, unfortunately," the minister said in an interview with the Kyiv Post on June 28.

According to Omelyan, launching joint ventures in rail cargo with international companies is just one

of a long list of things that Balczun has failed to deliver on, and which would help rid Ukrzaliznytsia of corruption and turn it into a well-run business.

Omelyan claims that owing to a lack of freight wagons, Ukrainian businesses lost \$200 million last year because they were not able to make deliveries on time.

"The management of Ukrzaliznytsia is surprising everybody," he said. "On the one hand, 90-95 percent of their wagons are dead; on the other, they do nothing to improve the situation."

### With political support

Not everyone has been so critical of Balczun's performance.

Aivaras Abromavicius, Ukraine's former economy minister, points to the fact that the Polish-born CEO continues to enjoy the support of Ukrainian Prime Minister Volodymyr Groysman. Abromavicius has praised Balczun for having "a strategy and a vision."

"Balczun is doing a good job," Abromavicius told the Kyiv Post. "But I think he should communicate better. He's focusing too much on his day-to-day activities."

Abromavicius said the liberalization of Ukraine's railways should be done carefully, taking into account the fact that, in many countries, a state monopoly has been maintained. He believes that a "clean-

up" at Ukrzaliznytsia should take place first before "sector-wide radical changes."

Balczun's one-year probationary period as CEO of Ukrzaliznytsia ended on June 5, but his contract, which runs until 2019, is set to remain in force unless the Cabinet of Ministers says otherwise.

### Source of investment

Amid all the competing arguments and political wrangling, one thing is clear – Ukrzaliznytsia is in need of major investment to update its freight wagon fleet and the locomotives that haul them. If steps are not taken to modernize operations, the entire rail system is threatened with collapse.

Yet arguments over where the money should come from look set to rage on.

The state enterprise's CEO Balczun appears for now to be against opening the door to private investors, saying Ukrzaliznytsia can go it alone.

But others believe that the true potential of Ukraine's 40,000 kilometers of rail track will not be unlocked until the market is liberalized.

"You need to allow for more private sector management of moving wagons from point A to point B, because they will find a way to do that the most efficiently," said Luhmann.

### America at a glance

**Total area:** 9,826,675 square kilometers

**Population:** 321.4 million

**Government type:** Constitutional federal republic

**Head of state:** Donald Trump

**GDP:** \$18.56 trillion (2016)

**GDP per capita:** \$57,300 (2016)

**Main industries:** Petroleum, financial services, telecommunications, electronics, consumer goods, motor vehicles, steel, aerospace, chemicals, food processing, lumber, mining

### Ukrainian-American relations

**Trade:** \$1.65 billion (2016)

**Export from Ukraine to U.S.:** \$578 million

**Exports from Ukraine to the U.S.:** Iron, steel, chemicals, food-stuffs, locomotives, heavy machinery

**Import from U.S. to Ukraine:** \$1.07 billion

**Exports from the U.S. to Ukraine:** Mineral fuels and oils,

nuclear reactors, boilers, machinery, automobiles, seafood, plastics, pharmaceuticals

**American investment in Ukraine (cumulative through 2016):** \$712.6 million

**Main investors:** Cargill, DuPont, Pioneer, Monsanto, Coca-Cola, McDonald's, Bunge, Citigroup

*Sources: U.S. Department of Commerce, Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, U.S. Census Bureau*

"This does not mean Ukrzaliznytsia needs to completely get out of operating wagons or locomotives. But they should be one of the answers to the problem, not the only answer." ■

# American football wins fans, but could use more money

BY TOMA ISTOMINA  
ISTOMINA@KYIVPOST.COM

The oldest American football team in Ukraine, founded almost 30 years ago, is older than independent Ukraine itself.

But more than a quarter of a century after gridiron came to Ukraine, the game is still struggling. While there are now 25 teams nationwide, soccer is still the dominant form of football here.

Fans and players of the game in Ukraine now hope the sport gets a boost with the formation of a Ukrainian national American football team to compete with teams from abroad.

## Ukrainian league

The Ukrainian government officially supports the sport, with the Ministry of Youth and Sports funding the National Federation of American Football in Ukraine.

The federation used to organize annual championships, but last year 24 Ukrainian teams left the federation, which they claimed was ineffective, to form their own organization - the Ukrainian League of American Football.

The league is now trying to attract more sponsors to develop the sport. The championship is financed by advertisers, sponsors, and the teams themselves, which recently paid for an international referee to come to Ukraine to train league referees.

Apart from that, the league works with women's and children's flag football (a contactless version of American football) teams and cheerleaders.

The newly founded league is registered as a public union that includes teams from all over Ukraine, including the Kyiv Bandits and Slavs, the Kharkiv Atlantes and Tigers, the Lviv Lions, the Vinnytsia Wolves, and the Mariupol Azov Dolphins.

Maksym Shylo, the league president, used to play American football and founded the Kyiv Bulldogs team. Now he is focused on developing the sport countrywide, and taking Ukraine to the international level.

In early June, the league became a member of International Federation of American Football, which a Ukrainian national team will be able to take part in international championships. The league plans to hold trials with the players this autumn, see how they play together, and create the Ukrainian team. The first game, a friendly match with Belarus, is already penciled in for October.

The league is also negotiating with military units, including a paratroopers unit in Zhytomyr and the National Guard of Ukraine, about creating their own American football teams. The teams will be semi-professional and will be able to compete in the national championship.

Apart from being useful physical training for the military, the league hopes the formation of military American football teams in Ukraine will open up more chances for to cooperate with the United



American football players from the Odesa Pirates and Lviv Lions teams battle during a Ukrainian championship game at Spartak Stadium in Odesa on May 27. (Courtesy)

States, where the military also has its own teams, competing in their own league.

## The championship

This year's season, the second one held by the league, started in spring and will end in autumn. The teams are divided into three divisions according to their level. Games are held in the cities where the teams are based, at soccer stadiums.

Shylo says that's not a problem, as they don't need specialized fields at this point.

Like soccer, American football is played by two teams of 11 players. But according to Yuriy Hundych, the co-founder and captain of local team the Kyiv Patriots, unlike soccer, the age, height, and weight of players is less restricted in gridiron - there can be a place on the team for all types. For instance, Hundych himself is 36, and he still plays.

The majority of the players are Ukrainians, but some teams have foreigners from Europe and the United States. According to Hundych, foreigners not only play well but also teach less experienced players. There are also currently five U.S. coaches training the teams.

The league teams play by U.S. college rules, which are slightly different from those used by the professional leagues in the United States.

## Sports weekend

As in the United States, an American football game in Ukraine is more than just the game - its family entertainment and a day out with friends or family. Apart from watching the game, spectators can get a burger or a hot dog at the food court, watch cheerleading performances and take part in other events and competi-

tions. A ticket to a game costs Hr 30-50 depending on the hosting city.

The league also invites commentators to explain to those new to the sport what's going on on the field.

"We want spectators to have a good time," Shylo says.


While the game itself involves aggression and is very physical, Shylo says that the sport is family friendly - there are no football hooligans, drunks, or fights at the stadiums during American football games in Ukraine, he says.

"The security guards are bored at our games, and ask why we need them," he adds.

For those who prefer to watch their football from the sofa at home, the Ukrainian League has reached agreements with several TV channels to broadcast Ukrainian games, including Sport 1, Sport 2, Xsport, and Most Video TV.

To check the schedule of the upcoming games, go to [www.ulafua.com/en/kalendar-2.htm](http://www.ulafua.com/en/kalendar-2.htm). The website is in Russian, but the League plans to roll out an English version soon. ■

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 at 9:30 o'clock in the Fore noon of that day, why a decree should not be made in the estate of  
Zoia Lytwynec  
26 Brookdale Park, Rochester, New York 14609 lately domiciled at

in the County of Monroe, New York, granting Letters of Administration upon the estate of  
 the decedent to Frank B. Iacovangelo, Esq., Monroe County Public Administrator  
 or to such other person as may be entitled thereto.

**FILED**

Further relief sought (if any):

JUN - 1 2017

SURROGATE'S COURT  
MONROE COUNTY

Dated, Attested and Sealed,  
June 1, 2017  
 Seal

HON. John M. Owens  
 Surrogate Mark L. Annuzziata  
 Chief Clerk  
Frank B. Iacovangelo, Esq.  
 Print Name of Attorney  
(585) 454-7145  
 Telephone  
180 Canal View Boulevard; Suite 100, Rochester, New York 14623  
 Address

**NOTE:** This citation is served upon you as required by law. You are not required to appear. If you fail to appear it will be assumed you do not object to the relief requested. You have a right to have an attorney-at-law appear for you.

NYSBA's Surrogate's Court Form A-1 (3/06) -1- © 2017 Matthew Bender & Company, Inc., a member of LexisNexis.

# Official: Russia carries out 'double strike' on Ukraine

Bomb from page 1

said. According to Interior Ministry adviser Zoryan Shkiryak, the car bomb had a yield equivalent to around one kilogram of TNT.

## Special forces

The victim, Shapoval, was an active duty colonel in the Chief Directorate of Intelligence of Ukraine's Ministry of Defense. Russian intelligence agents were quickly fingered as suspects by Ukrainian officials.

Shapoval, 39, had taken part in numerous combat operations in the Donbas. He commanded the first special forces unit to defend the Donetsk Airport in the initial stage of the battle there against Russian-backed forces in 2014, Ukraine's chief military prosecutor, Anatoly Matios, said on June 27 after a meeting at the Presidential Administration.

"He was the first Ukrainian 'cyborg,'" Matios said, using the popular nickname given to the defenders of the airport, which Russian-backed forces overran in January 2015 and which now lies in ruins.

Shapoval was one of Ukraine's best combat officers and an intelligence serviceman with "unique experience," Matios said.

Exact details of his service were



Yuriy Vozniy

classified, he added.

But sources in Ukraine's security services, who asked to remain anonymous because they were not authorized to speak publicly, told the Kyiv Post that Shapoval had commanded the 10th Special Forces Squad, carrying out operations behind enemy lines in the Donbas war zone.

At the time of his death, he headed the Special Reserve Forces Department at the Chief Military Intelligence Directorate in Kyiv. He was married with two children.

The assassination was carried out by top-rank specialists, Matios also said, with Russian agents as chief suspects.

## Killing conspiracy

Just over 11 hours later, as the country was still in the grip of a massive cyberattack that hit banks, energy companies, the country's main airport, the railway company, retail companies and postal services, a second deadly car bombing occurred.

Additionally, a car with three Security Service of Ukraine officers and a local civilian inside exploded at 7 p.m. local time while parked by the side of a road in the village of Illinivka near Kostyantynivka, a frontline Ukrainian-controlled city some 600 kilometers southeast of Kyiv.

One of the officers, later identified as SBU Colonel Yuriy Vozniy, was killed. The other three people were taken to hospital with serious injuries, Deputy Military Prosecutor Vitaliy Vdovichenko said on June 29.

He said that the surviving officers were not able to immediately provide information.

The SBU said 23 of the agencies officers have been killed on duty, but did not specify over which period of time.

As with the morning attack in Kyiv, military prosecutors in the war zone said the deadly blast near Kostyantynivka was a terrorist attack.



Ukrainian police tow a destroyed car away from the site of a car bomb attack in Kyiv on June 27. A senior Ukrainian military intelligence officer, Maksym Shapoval, was killed in the early-morning blast. (Ukrafoto)

## Kremlin blamed

The June 27 blasts are just the latest in a growing number of attacks in recent months on senior Ukrainian servicemen behind the front lines, in government-controlled territory.

On March 31, another SBU counter-espionage colonel, Oleksandr Kharaberush, was killed by a car bomb as he was driving in a busy street in the city of Mariupol in Donetsk Oblast.

According to Ukrainian authorities, Russia is thought to have been behind a failed June 1 attack on Adam Osmaev, a Chechen fighter who fought in the Donbas war, and also the March 23 assassination on a street in central Kyiv of Vadim Voronenkov, a former Russian lawmaker who had defected to Kyiv.

The latest wave of car-bomb killings in Ukraine started with the murder of journalist Pavlo Sheremet in July 2016 in Kyiv — a crime as yet unsolved by law enforcers.

However, Ukraine's top security officials say they have no doubt that the Kremlin is behind the increasingly frequent terror attacks throughout the country.

## Overstretch

Meanwhile, former Security Service of Ukraine Chief Valentyn Nalyvaichenko said the attacks showed more resources should be put into counterintelligence.

"They must complete an investigation into at least one of these murders," ex-Security Service of Ukraine Chief Valentyn Nalyvaichenko said at a news briefing on June 29. "They must find out who made the explosive devices, where the devices came from and who the organizers are."

Nalyvaichenko said that the patterns of recent car explosions targeting Ukrainian security officials were similar. He also said that less than 10 percent of the SBU's employees were now involved in counterintelligence, and that was insufficient. Moreover, in 2015 a bill making counterintelligence and anti-terrorism the SBU's top priorities was submitted to the president but it has not been adopted yet, Nalyvaichenko said.

At the same news briefing, Hennady Druzenko, the head of PDMSH, a volunteer group helping the military, said he thought the secu-

rity services might be overstretched.

"I suspect that, when intelligence and law enforcement agencies are protecting the Presidential Administration and cracking down on Ukrainian businesses and volunteer fighters, they're lacking resources to fulfill their main duty: defending the nation from Russian terrorist attacks in the center of our country," Druzenko said.

## Double strike

Over the past few months, Russia has been systematically escalating its subversive activities in Ukraine as a part of its hybrid war against Ukraine, National Security and Defense Council chairman Oleksandr Turchynov said on June 27.

"The weight of evidence suggests that all these murders were planned and organized with the direct involvement of the Russian special services," Turchynov said during a council meeting following Shapoval's killing.

"This terror attack is aimed at intimidating and destabilizing the country. It's no coincidence that the (car bombing) took place amid a large-scale cyberattack, which had Russian origins as well."

Interior Ministry spokesman Artem Shevchenko also claimed in a post on his Facebook page on June 27 that it was no coincidence that there were two high-profile assassinations and a massive cyberattack in the country on the same day.

The killing of Shapoval on June 27 was immediately followed by an "unprecedentedly large-scale cyberattack," Shevchenko wrote, in the same way as the murder of the Russian defector Voronenkov on March 23 came on the same day as an alleged drone attack on a giant ammunition depot in Balakliya, which caused a massive fire and devastating explosions.

"It's a double strike," Shevchenko said.

Kyiv Post reporter Oleg Sukhov contributed to this report. ■

# Morgan Williams: Keys to success

Williams from page 12

moratorium to stabilize the situation. But to kick the can down the road to 2017 is counterproductive. It is the private business sector that came up with the system of land leases that saved agricultural production.

Recently, I was in Washington, D.C., at a meeting with a deputy ministry of agriculture, who said nothing has changed in Ukraine except that Moroz is out of politics.

What Moroz was really saying is that he wanted Ukraine and its rural people to be poor. He did not want Ukraine to be a global agricultural powerhouse. He did not want Ukraine to be able to feed itself well and export food to help

feed the 9 billion people in the world by 2040.

There's finally momentum in creating a land market, but not enough. The new law must be fair, be phased in and contain many safeguards against fraud and corruption. The new law being proposed by the government is too slow and incremental. A liberal land reform program, implemented over five years, is needed.

## Manipulating hryvnia

Ukraine has to protect money. The hryvnia started at two to the dollar, now it's at 26. Using state resources, fraud and corruption to manipulate the currency has been a great way for the government to

rob its own people. The people who are hurt most by devaluation are those who can least afford it. The largest enemy has been the government. More wealth has been robbed from the people of Ukraine this way than in any other way in the last 25 years.

## Why investors vote no

Business looks at the economy differently than politicians and academics. Business leaders take a logical, practical approach because they are putting their money on the table. They vote with their money and investment funds.

And, thus far, unfortunately, too many, especially international businesses, are today voting NO on

Ukraine. They are not leaving. They have plans to invest more but are just not ready yet with significant new investment.

Ukraine attracted only \$50 billion in foreign investment since statehood and, at most, \$4 billion last year. It's nowhere near enough to move millions of citizens out of poverty.

## Achieving 7% growth

There is no reason to be celebrating 2.5 percent annual economic growth from Ukraine's low gross domestic product of \$100 billion. Ukraine needs growth of at least 7 percent to catch up. A breakthrough is achievable only through massive structural changes — pensions, privatization, health care, judiciary, deoligarchiza-

tion, decentralization, demonopolization, etc.

If Ukraine wants to play to its strengths quickly, it will free up the agricultural sector through the creation of an honest and transparent land market. It will also improve its infrastructure — roads, ports and rivers, but primarily rails — so that the goods can be transported quickly and cheaply abroad.

Civil society and private business are the two major good forces today in Ukraine. They must work together. They must become more powerful and assertive. If these two positive forces achieve success, Ukraine will move forward.

Morgan Williams is the president of the U.S.-Ukraine Business Council. ■



# Huge cyberattack hits computers in Ukrainian banks, energy firms, and retail companies

Cyberattack from page 1

money for the key to decrypt it, in what is now reckoned to be the biggest cyberattack in country's history.

The virus' name derives from the Petya virus, which has been active since spring 2016, but NotPetya uses stronger encryption, which enabled it to seize the systems of high-profile companies, including Danish shipping giant Maersk, U.S. pharmaceutical company Merck and numerous Ukrainian government offices.

## How it started

Shortly after noon on June 27, the virus started to strike Windows-run computers used by Ukrainian telecom companies, banks, postal services, big retailers, and government bodies.

Among those were state-owned savings bank Oschadbank, private bank Ukrzazbank, energy companies Kyivenergo and Ukrenergo, national telecommunications operator Ukrtelecom, mobile carrier Lifecell, postal companies Ukrposhta and Nova Poshta, Kyiv Boryspil International Airport, DIY chain Epicenter, petrol retailers, and several media companies, including Channel 24 and the Korrespondent news website.

The virus took over the computers, encrypted data and demanded a ransom of \$300 in bitcoins, a digital currency used to carry out untraceable transactions. Some people even paid to get their data back — the bitcoin wallet used in the attacks in Ukraine received 45 transactions.

On June 27, U.S. software company Microsoft released a statement saying that it now has evidence that the ransomware was initially spread via Ukrainian-produced tax accounting software called Medoc. The software is widely used by the Ukrainian government. Hackers are thought to have hid the NotPetya virus in a software update the company provided to its many customers at around 10:30 a.m. local time.

Initially thought to be ransomware, NotPetya in fact wipes computers outright, destroying all records from targeted systems.

According to Kaspersky, a Russian antivirus developer, there's currently no solution to help decipher files after the latest ransomware attacks. According to them, the ransomware uses "a standard, solid encryption scheme," and the data can't be accessed unless the hackers have made a mistake in their code.

## Russia suspected

The creators of the virus are yet to be identified.

Costin Raiu, the director of

Global Research & Analysis Team at Kaspersky Lab, said they don't see "any strong indication" that could point to particular authors.

"Our analysis indicates the main purpose of the attack was not financial gain, as is usually the case with ransomware attacks, but widespread destruction," Raiu said in written comments provided to the Kyiv Post.

While Secretary of the National Security and Defense Council Oleksandr Turchynov spoke about the "Russian traces" in the attack, and Minister of Transport Volodymyr Omelyan said that it was apt that



Ransomware notices started to appear on computer screens in Ukraine after noon on June 27. (Courtesy)

the word "virus" ends in "Rus," cyber experts have been more cautious about ascribing blame.

Microsoft said in a statement that while the first infections started in Ukraine, the virus was also recorded in another 64 countries, including Belgium, Brazil, Germany, Russia, and the United States. Microsoft Ukraine would not elaborate on the situation now, saying only that its engineers are investigating the case.

However, the vast majority of the infections occurred in Ukraine.

## Pirate software

Oleksandr Korneiko, the president



Officers of Ukrainian Cyberpolice Department, part of the of the Interior Ministry, work in an office in Kyiv on June 29. (AFP)

of the Ukrainian Academy of Cyber Security, said Ukraine suffered the most because of negligence.

"There's no proof that it won't happen again," Korneiko said. "The biggest problem is that (people) don't use licensed Windows software and don't update their operating systems."

Licensed Windows software, which costs about \$150 per computer, appears to be too expensive for many private and government offices in Ukraine.

Valentyn Nalyvaichenko, the former head of Ukraine's SBU state security service, said he made sure the security service had licensed Windows software back in 2014. "But I'm sure the government and even the Ministry of Defense haven't cleaned the (pirate software) up," he told the Kyiv Post.

Nalyvaichenko added that up to 90 percent of government officials also risk catching such viruses, as they use their office computers for browsing social networks.

"It would also be good if the SBU and the police, instead of raiding IT companies, attracted more Ukrainian developers to urgent cybersecurity projects," Nalyvaichenko said.

Rozenko said while he uses licensed software on his laptop at home, he doesn't know whether his office computer had licensed Windows software.

## Latest attack

This isn't the first time Ukraine has been under cyberattack. In December 2015, power company Prykarpattyablenergo suffered a

major attack that led to blackouts across western Ukraine.

About 230,000 Ukrainians were plunged into darkness for six hours after hackers inserted malware into control systems of part of the oblast grid.

Ukraine blamed Russia for the attack, and the malware used, BlackEnergy, has its origins in Russia, according to experts. However, there is no definitive link between the cyberattack and the Russian government, according to U.S. officials.

The malware was reportedly delivered via spear phishing emails with malicious Microsoft Office attachments.

A year after that, another attack hit an electricity transmission facility outside Kyiv. In a report by tech magazine Wired, cybersecurity firms that have since analyzed the attack said it was executed by a "highly sophisticated, adaptable piece of malware" now known as "CrashOverride," a program coded to be "an automated, grid-killing weapon."

And while nobody really knows how to deal with the computer virus, companies in Ukraine and across the world are still grappling with the effects of a major new ransomware cyberattack that struck their computer systems.

Ukrainian delivery service Nova Poshta were still affected on June 29.

"Our offices, the website and application programming interface works now," Tetyana Potapova, a spokesperson for Nova Poshta told the Kyiv Post. "But some computers are not working yet. And we're also trying to ensure that our clients can use non-cash payments again."

The client services of Kyivenergo, which provides Ukraine's capital with electricity and heat energy, were still limited on June 29 due to the virus attack.

## Who's in charge?

On June 29, Ukraine's SBU security service issued a statement that it, together with the U.S. FBI, the UK's NCA, Europol and other leading cyber security companies and specialists, are currently investigating the spread of the NotPetya virus, trying to identify those behind the attack.

At the same time, Ukrainian authorities together with global tech company Cisco are working on soft-

ware to recover blocked computers.

Cisco spokesperson Yulia Shvedova told the Kyiv Post that such attacks are common, and that they will continue to happen as hackers develop more and more sophisticated techniques.

"Even if you were lucky this time, you should take all possible precautions so as not to be the victim next time," Shvedova said.

Neil Walsh, head of the UN Global Program on Cybercrime, called the current virus more sophisticated than the WannaCry ransomware virus, which wreaked havoc worldwide less than two months ago. Reportedly the work of North Korean hackers, WannaCry affected computers that had failed to install one of the latest updates to Windows.

Among the major victims of that ransomware were the British National Health System, the Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs, and Japanese carmaker Nissan.

Walsh said it still was unclear whether Ukraine was the main target of the NotPetya virus. Cyber security experts were also working to identify the attackers, he said.

"This could be anything from a kid sitting in his basement... to a nation state," he said.

## Prevention methods

While the malware is sophisticated, prevention steps are rather simple.

Andrey Kosovay, head of IT infrastructure at Ciklum, says users simply have to ensure their operating systems are kept up-to-date. They should also have antivirus software installed, and also regularly update it.

Kosovay warns people should not open software and links sent or developed by suspicious sources.

Raiu of Kaspersky also says the companies should install the latest Windows patches, strengthen their security with packages such as Microsoft EMET (Enhanced Mitigation Experience Toolkit), and update all third party software.

Meanwhile, as the world's authorities and cyber security specialists look for ways to recover the data on affected computers, the computer of Deputy Prime Minister Rozenko remains unusable. He and the members of his department have had no option but to bring their own laptops to work. ■



People try to enter a closed branch of Oschadbank on June 27 in Kyiv. Oschadbank had to close its operations on that day due to the virus attack. (AFP)

# Lawyer works to help patients who fall victim to medical malpractice

BY NATALIYA TRACH  
TRACH@KYIVPOST.COM

When in 2000 a client filed a lawsuit against Cabot, a private U.S.-Ukrainian dental clinic, the clinic's young lawyer Serhiy Antonov was soon at his wits' end.

The claimant was making harassing, threatening calls to him. She was demanding Hr 1 million in compensation for what she said was a botched dental treatment that was causing her lots of pain.

Even after an examination of experts showed there were no medical grounds for the client's complaint, Antonov was close to admitting defeat in the case.

Then fate intervened: The client's mother, who was involved in a property dispute with her daughter, testified that the medical complaint was a scam to swindle money out of the dental clinic, and Antonov won the case.

It had been the first case involving medical practice in his career, but far from the last.

Seventeen years on, Antonov, now 43, is a managing partner at the Verdys Law international legal bureau, a successful lawyer specializing in medical litigation, with clients in Ukraine, Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan and the United Kingdom. He has hundreds of medical malpractice and compensation cases under his belt.

## Patients unprotected

According to the World Health Organization, medical errors and malpractice cause at least one death every day and injure approximately 1.3 million people annually in the U.S. alone. Globally the cost associated with medical errors is estimated by the United Nations' World Health Organization at \$42 billion annually.

There are no official statistics on medical errors in Ukraine, but Antonov says there are numerous cases every year. But unlike in the



Serhiy Antonov

**Position:** Managing Partner, Verdys Law international legal bureau

**Key Point:** Compensation for medical malpractice is practically non-existent in Ukraine

U.S. or in Western Europe, where a patient can expect some compensation, patients in Ukraine who have been the victims of medical errors are in most cases on their own, says Antonov.

"In the West, a patient who suffered from a medical error can be offered free treatment or life-long discounts on treatment, but in Ukraine it's hard to even prove that a medical error occurred, not to mention get compensation," Antonov says. "Usually doctors try to cover their tracks — they rewrite their notes on the course of the disease or the treatment procedures."

He gives an example: One of Antonov's toughest cases on behalf of a patient's rights started eight years ago, and is still going on. A disabled man from Zaporizhzhya Oblast had hip-replacement surgery at the Institute of Traumatology and Orthopedics of the Academy of

Medical Sciences of Ukraine. During the operation, the patient contracted two infectious diseases, and Antonov proved this in court. But the case goes on to this day as the hospital is still appealing against the court rulings.

"My client didn't want to punish anybody," Antonov said. "Unlike in many other countries, in Ukraine there is no forensic medical code that clearly specifies when a doctor can be held responsible for a particular error."

He adds that in Ukraine it takes on average three years to prove in a court that a medical error occurred. The main hold up is conducting medical examinations or tests to provide evidence for a case, as this is usually very expensive.

## Lack of lawyers

Around 10 higher educational institutions in Ukraine award diplomas in medical law, however it's difficult to find a lawyer specializing in medical law nowadays, because lawyers don't make a lot of money in this field. Antonov often provides legal assistance pro bono.

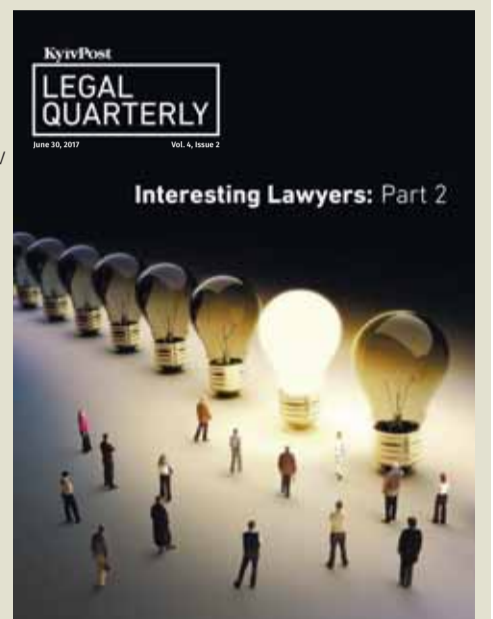
"There are many clients for whom paying Hr 100 for a legal consultation is a lot of money," he says. "That's why a lot of lawyers who start out specializing in medical law move to other spheres."

So it's a problem for patients even to find a professional lawyer. Many of the lawyers who claim to deal with medical errors don't even bother to leave their offices to talk to the doctors, according to Antonov.

"They don't know how medical institutions in Ukraine function and, therefore, can do little to help their clients," Antonov says.

Antonov, who has obtained three degrees in law, medicine, and criminal forensics, says that Ukrainian lawyers specializing in medical law often lack a medical background. Antonov used to work as a surgical assistant at a Kyiv hospital and as the

The Kyiv Post's 14th edition of Legal Quarterly, begun in 2014, hits the streets on June 30. It features profiles of 11 interesting lawyers. Two others — Serhiy Antonov and Peter Teluk — are featured on this page in the June 30 regular print edition of the Kyiv Post.



deputy director of the Lissod private hospital in Kyiv. This experience helps Antonov in his legal work — he knows all the tricks unscrupulous doctors use to conceal information about a patient's treatment.

"If a lawyer knows how the system functions from the inside, he will be able to ask the right questions and make the doctors reveal the truth," he says.

But even having all that experience, Antonov keeps studying. Last year he received a Master's degree in Law from the University of New South Wales in Sydney, Australia. Now he is a student of the Faculty of Medicine of the same college.

## Health reform

While Ukraine's Acting Health Minister Ulana Suprun is plowing forward with sweeping health care reforms, Antonov is skeptical that much will change. The reform is to stipulate a range of medical services that are guaranteed by the state. Primary and urgent medical care will be provided free of charge, while specialized care will be partly funded

by the state and partly by patients.

Antonov says that it contradicts the Ukrainian Constitution, which guarantees free health care for all citizens, and that the state simply won't have the money even to provide partial funding.

"Suprun took the UK healthcare system as a basis," Antonov said. "But Ukraine cannot afford to spend as much (on health care) as Britain does."

Another problem is that the reform does not address the issue of doctors or patients' rights.

"Because there are no clear protocols on how to treat one illness or another ... it would be difficult for a doctor to prove they chose the best treatment option," he said.

As for protection of patients' rights, Antonov believes the best option would be to introduce the institution of the patients' ombudsmen, who would assist patients in solving problems in each particular hospital.

"But there's no such thing mentioned in the Ukrainian medical reform (bill)," he says. ■

# Ukrainian-American lawyer raps slow pace of judicial reform, reducing bureaucracy

BY BERMET TALANT  
BERMET.TALANT@GMAIL.COM

Next year lawyer Peter Teluk will celebrate his 25th anniversary since he settled in Ukraine, the country his parents left for the United States.

He's spent the last 10 years in the Kyiv office of international law firm Squire Patton Boggs. Since 2013, it has been affiliated with Salcom, one of the oldest law firms in Ukraine.

Before that, Teluk led the law department of Philip Morris in Ukraine for more than four years. For the tobacco manufacturer, he handled the legal side of the construction of its \$100 million factory in Kharkiv. The experience as an in-house lawyer, he says, taught him to manage corporate issues and understand the way business operates.

"In-house you realize you don't need a 10-page memo, because you don't have time to read it. You just want information, suggestions," Teluk says.

But most importantly, he adds, it teaches lawyers to see the commercial value of work.

"This is something young lawyers don't appreciate. You ask what the worth of every action is."

When it comes to government procurement of legal services, Teluk is not happy. While it is good that competitive bids are required, he says, the choice is based on lowest cost rather than highest quality.

Teluk has never won a government contract.

As a private lawyer, he mostly handles corporate matters. In the past, he advised private investors

and equity funds on the acquisition of businesses in Ukraine, such as industrial plants and banks worth millions of dollars.

However, recently the mergers & acquisitions market has been quiet, without big investment projects in the pipeline. It's unfortunate, but he hopes for improvement. In his opinion, the breakthrough industries for Ukrainian economy will be finance, infrastructure and technology.

As a person who's been closely watching Ukraine's development for more than two decades, he's unimpressed with the slow progress in judicial reform and decreasing bureaucracy — two things that hinder foreign investment the most.

Despite positive shifts, like the recent abolishment of obligatory company stamps, the amount of

paperwork and complexity of procedures for routine matters remain frustrating.

"Protection of investment means two primary things. First, the government and law enforcement agencies should not attack businesses with excessive bureaucracy or inspections," he says. "Secondly, the judicial system should work but it's still awfully underreformed. There's so much lack of faith in the court system, and it has deserved its bad reputation."

Overall, however, Teluk sees positive changes in corporate law and an ethos of anti-corruption taking hold. It's something he finds new to Ukraine since the EuroMaidan Revolution that drove ex-President Viktor Yanukovich from power on Feb. 22, 2014. ■



Peter Teluk

**Position:** Managing partner at Kyiv office of Squire Patton Boggs

**Key point:** Developments in Ukraine are positive but slow

Don't miss Ivana Kupala, a pagan holiday that many Ukrainians celebrate on July 6-7 to mark summer solstice. Festivities in Kyivan Rus Park will include jumping over the flames of bonfires and various divinations. See schedule at [www.parkkyivrus.com](http://www.parkkyivrus.com)



## Kyiv Post guide to places for summer barbecues

### City Life

WITH ALYONA ZHUK  
ZHUK@KYIVPOST.COM

#### Take sip of Trump, Putin: Lviv brewery sells 'political beer'

**LVIV, Ukraine** — Arguing about politics over a glass of beer has just become much more fun in Ukraine.

Pravda, a brewery from the western Ukrainian city of Lviv, released a new line of political-themed beer. Its new beer flavors are named after German Chancellor Angela Merkel, U.S. President Donald Trump, U.S. ex-President Barack Obama and Russian President Vladimir Putin.

These are the world leaders, who, whether they want it or not, affect Ukraine's life, according to a co-founder of Pravda brewery Yuriy Zastavny.

When it comes to craft beer, people pay attention not only to the taste, but also to its bottle and label design, Zastavny believes.

"Every bottle of beer is like a tiny message," he says.

The four flavors from the "Political Beer" series that are dedicated to four foreign politicians have one thing in common — according to Pravda management, each of them has let Ukrainians down in a way.

#### Political flavors

**Obama Hope** is an American-style stout with chocolate and coffee flavor. On the bottle's label Obama sits in a big leather chair, while U.S. Senator John McCain stands behind him, wearing a *vyshyvanka*, or Ukrainian traditional embroidered shirt.

The idea came to the Pravda's staff when Obama still was the U.S. president and was, according to them, "hesitating to provide real help to Ukrainians" to fight back Russia's aggression.

"He has all the chances to go down in history as the one who has slept through everything," Zastavny said.

This beer received the bronze award at the World Beer Idol competition in 2017.

Obama's successor, who's only been in the president's seat for five months, also got a beer named after him. To mark his "infamous presidency," Pravda brewed an imperial Mexican lager with limes called **Trump**.

"It was a mockery," Zastavny said, referring to the choice of Mexican lager for Trump, whose main promise during the election campaign was to build a wall on the Mexican border to stop illegal immigration.

more **Beer** on page 21



A man blows on charcoal in a brazier as he grills meat in Druzby Narodiv Park in Kyiv on June 20. (Volodymyr Petrov)

BY MARIYA KAPINOS

KAPINOS@KYIVPOST.COM

The barbecue season is here, and the city's many forested areas and parks already smell of wood smoke and grilled meat.

However, not all of Kyiv's parks and green areas allow barbecues, and starting a fire in forbidden areas is punishable by a fine of Hr 340–1,360.

Thankfully, there are places where people can grill legally. The Kyiv Post has put together a list of some of the best places.

#### VDNH Exhibition Center

The VDNH exhibition center has

special barbecuing areas with braziers and tables, and visitors can also rent an arbor with a brazier and buy firewood if they haven't brought it themselves.

The prices differ in various areas. For instance, a cooking area at the Ostrivets recreation zone for 15–20 people costs Hr 500 per day to rent, while a space for 40–50 people costs Hr 1,500 per day.

Those who don't want to grill food can also order it from one of the five local restaurants: Yaseny Café, Kolyba, Ostrivets, Sad, and Polyana.

How to get there: The VDNH exhibition center is at 1 Akademika Hlushkova Ave., a couple of minutes' walk from the Vystavkovyi Tsentr

metro station.

For more details, call +38-066-734-5431 (10 a.m. to 6 p.m.) or go to [www.expocenter.com.ua](http://www.expocenter.com.ua)

#### Obolon Embankment

This green area in the northern part of Kyiv on the right bank of the Dnipro River offers two options for those craving a barbecue: bring your own brazier along and grill right there on the beach, or rent a brazier (or mangal, as they are called in Ukrainian) near the beach together with an arbor.

An arbor with 2–10 seats costs Hr 450 to rent, one with 11–20 seats is Hr 850, and one with 21–30 seats is Hr 1,300 per day.

How to get there: Walk from Obolon or Minska metro stations towards Pokrovskiy Cathedral. There are beach areas along Obolon embankment, and wooded beach areas to the north and east, across the bay. There are also lots of beach areas in the next bay to the north, on the edge of the city.

For more details, call +38-067-368-6513 or go to [besedkiobolon.com.ua](http://besedkiobolon.com.ua)

#### Holosivskiy District

Holosivskiy Park is a picturesque patch of old forest, and the whole

more **Barbecue** on page 21

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# US jazz singer China Moses inspires her Lviv audience

BY MARIYA KAPINOS  
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This is the second Alfa Jazz Fest for U.S. soul and jazz singer China Moses.

Three years ago she came to the festival that is annually held in the western Ukrainian city of Lviv to support her mother, three-time Grammy Award winning jazz singer and Tony Award winning stage actress Dee Dee Bridgewater, who was one of the festival's headliners in 2014.

This year, Moses was a headliner at Alfa Jazz Fest, which took place on June 23–27.

"Everyone is judged for something – all my life I was judged for being a daughter of Dee Dee Bridgewater," Moses said during a June 25 interview after her 90-minute show on the festival's main stage.

"I look like my mother, I sound like her but I am not my mother," she said.

Moses is outgoing and open, singing even as she speaks, and creating a bubble of laughter around her. She shares beer with the press and is not afraid to share her emotions, too.

Being pleasant and gentle does not stop her from being a strong daughter of a strong mother, who knows how to manage her band, show and audience.

"It took me 20 years to become who I am now," she said.

Moses, 39, came to Ukraine alone this year. Leaving the plane, she took a photo of Lviv and sent it to her mother.

"If mother was here, she'd be in the front row, singing along, taking pictures and sending them to her girlfriends. She is a great support and a great example. I've learned a lot from her," Moses said.

Moses hopes to tour with her



U.S. soul and jazz singer China Moses dances and drinks champagne during her 90-minute show on the main stage of Alfa Jazz Fest in Lviv on June 25. (Volodymyr Petrov)

mother next year or in 2019. "Relationships between a daughter and a mother are stronger than just that (family) connection. It is about women. Women need to stand taller and stronger," Moses said.

## Night stories

This year, Moses released her sixth album "Nighttales." The collection's 11 songs recount the imperfections, flaws and vices of human nature. "Hungover" is about the inebriation of love, "Whatever" about the bitter

ending of a romance, and "Nicotine" stands for craving something that is wrong and intoxicating.

One of her songs, called "Watch Out," is humorous, fast and rhythmical.

"But in reality," Moses shares, "it's a story about a girl being completely depressed, losing herself, looking in the mirror and thinking: 'What am I doing?'"

Moses likes to mix different styles, emotions and moods.

"I love beautiful ballads, but I smoke, drink and I like partying. I find it important that my lyrics respect traditions, but I cannot ignore the fact that I am in 2017. I can't make an album that sounds like it was made in the 50s," Moses said.

Moses says her music reflects and explains emotions and helps people cope.

"We wake up in the morning and by the end of the day we've gone through about 40 different emotions. That's what my music sounds like – all the different emotions you can go through by night," she said.

## Crazy world

Just like three years ago, Moses said she was not scared to come to Ukraine despite Russia's war against the eastern Donbass and its occupation of Crimea since 2014.

"I know what's happening in Ukraine is tough, what's happening in Crimea is f\*cked up, and I know

I should not say that," the singer said. "But music is one of that things that bring people joy."

Moses is proud of being an American, but disagrees with politicians. "The things that are going on in the world are crazy," she said.

## Strong woman

During her show, Moses told jokes, danced, drank champagne and told stories about her songs.

"We musicians, coming to the city, usually don't see the city – we see the people," she said.

Ukrainians, she said, are sincere.

Moses found out only a couple of days before her performance that she is one of the headliners of Alfa Jazz Fest.

"When I found out, I immediately called my mother, and she was very proud. Despite that, the little girl inside me said: 'You shouldn't be here.' But the woman in me disagreed: 'Maybe you should be here – you do have the right to be on this stage.'"

Moses' band is a huge part of her success. The singer doesn't play any musical instruments, so it is important that her band is quick on the uptake.

"It is hard, especially for a woman, to find a band that will trust her. I found one, and I appreciate it very much," she said, referring to Luigi Grasso (saxophone, keyboards), Joe Armon Jones (piano), Neil Charles (bass) and Marijus Aleksa (drums). ■



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AN IHG HOTEL

# City Life: Lviv brewery adds a political flavor to 4 beers

Beer from page 19

"Refreshing, with that beautiful hint of natural lime flavor, this beer will make you build a wall around your own heart," Pravda's website says.

The **Frau Ribbentrop** wheat beer with a citrus aroma and subtle bitterness depicts Merkel wearing a purple suit.

The text on the beer's label calls Merkel "the new Iron Lady of Europe."

"From the very beginning of the war in Donbas, Merkel insists on peaceful conflict resolution and refuses to supply weapons to Ukraine," the label says. "...Germany tries to do impossible — to fight and to continue business with Russia at the same time. Danke Frau Ribbentrop."

The name is a reference to Joachim von Ribbentrop, a foreign minister of Nazi Germany in 1938–1945.

The last "political beer" is a dry-hopped golden ale called Putin Huilo, which means "Putin is a dick-head" in Russian. This chant was invented by the fans of Kharkiv Metallist football club in late March 2014, after Russia's annexation of the Crimea peninsula.

Zastavny admits there is a risk that some of the politicians can be



A man passes by a poster that depicts German Chancellor Angela Merkel wearing a purple suit in Pravda Beer Theater in Lviv on June 25. The poster is dedicated to one of Pravda's beer flavors called Frau Ribbentrop. (Volodymyr Petrov)

displeased and make a move against Pravda brewery, however, this risk is small.

"Not a single clever person will ever feel offended over such things," he said.

Pravda brews 1,500–2,000 liters of beer per day, so not every beer from the political series is available

at all time. Two or three of them are usually in stock, Zastavny said. As of June 24, only Frau Ribbentrop and Putin Huilo were available in Pravda store.

According to Zastavny, Pravda exports its beer to Czech Republic, Poland, Germany, Austria, U.K. and Belarus.

However, many foreign, as well as Ukrainian, tourists don't waste the opportunity to try the political beer in Pravda pubs, located in the very heart of Lviv and Kyiv — on Rynok Square and Khreshchatyk Street respectively.

Users of crowd-sourced review websites Tripadvisor and Foursquare have posted hundreds of reviews about Pravda pubs. Many have posted pictures of "political beer" bottles, praising it for both satire and taste.

"Beer with a taste of humor!" said user Dzyana K from Minsk, Belarus, in early January.

**Pravda Beer Theatre in Kyiv. 46A Khreshchatyk St. Mon-Thu and Sun 12 p.m. – 12 a.m., Fri-Sat 12 p.m. – 2 a.m. +38067-312-0845**

**Pravda Beer Theatre in Lviv. 32 Rynok Sq. 10 p.m. – 2 a.m. +38050-374-4986.**

**One 0.33-liter bottle of political beer costs Hr 34–42, a 0.75-liter bottle is Hr 68–84. ■**

## Kyiv has plenty of places to host barbecues in summer; here's some that we have found

Barbecue from page 19

of this large territory is suitable for having a barbecue. Near one of the park's four lakes, pretty much in the center, there is the Didorovka recreation zone. Here, one can rent a wooden arbor for up to 30 people, rent a brazier, and even go fishing for an extra fee. And if you suffer a barbecue disaster and the food is ruined, it's not a big deal — there are also plenty of restaurants on the park's territory.

At Didorovka Lake, renting an arbor with 10 seats costs Hr 450

per day, one with 20 seats goes for Hr 850, and one with 30 seats costs Hr 1,200.

How to get there: Take minibus No. 1 or No. 3 from Holosiivska metro station and get off near the Svyatopokrovskiy Holosiivskiy Monastery, or take minibus No. 112 from Lybidska metro station and get off at the Silkhozakademia bus stop.

For more details, call +38-097-068-9534 or go to [didorovka.com.ua](http://didorovka.com.ua)

### Druzhby Narodiv Park

Druzhby Narodiv (Peoples' Friendship) Park is a large green

zone surrounded by water. The territory includes sandy beaches, as well as a variety of cafes and restaurants. Visitors can rent boats, do active sports or play mini golf.

To have a barbecue, choose one of the special zones, and make sure to bring along firewood or buy it there. Chopping wood is strictly forbidden here.

Arbors are also available for rent at X-Rhino Park, which is located on the territory of Druzhby Narodiv Park.

Renting an arbor there with 12–14 seats costs Hr 550 per day Monday through Thursday, and Hr 750 on Fridays and weekends.

How to get there: take bus No. 95, No. 100, or No. 101, or trolleybus No. 30 or No. 31 from Petrivka metro station and get off at Druzhby Narodiv Park bus stop.

For more details, call + 38-068-240-5725, +38-068-240-5716 or go to [rhinopark.com.ua](http://rhinopark.com.ua)

### Park of Partisan Glory

This pleasant park with tall pine trees is split into two parts. The first part is an active zone, for riding a bike or jogging, while the second part is well-known as a very pleasant (and legal) place to have a barbecue. These two parts are separated by three picturesque lakes.

There are no arbors here, only braziers and wooden tables. Renting

a table with four seats costs Hr 200 per day, two tables — Hr 350, and three tables — Hr 550.

How to get there: 47 Slavhorodska St., 10 minutes' walk from Chervony Khutir metro station. ■



People relax, have a barbecue in Druzhby Narodiv Park in Kyiv on June 20. (Volodymyr Petrov)



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June 30 – July 2



### Ostriv

Electronic music fans should check out music festival Ostriv that will take place on Trukhaniv Island in Kyiv. The line-up of the festival, which is held for the fifth time, includes renowned international DJs such as German techno artist Ben Klock and Irish Niall Mannion, also known as Mano Le Tough.  
**Ostriv (music festival). June 30 – July 2. 9 p.m. Trukhaniv Island. Hr 590 – 1,390**

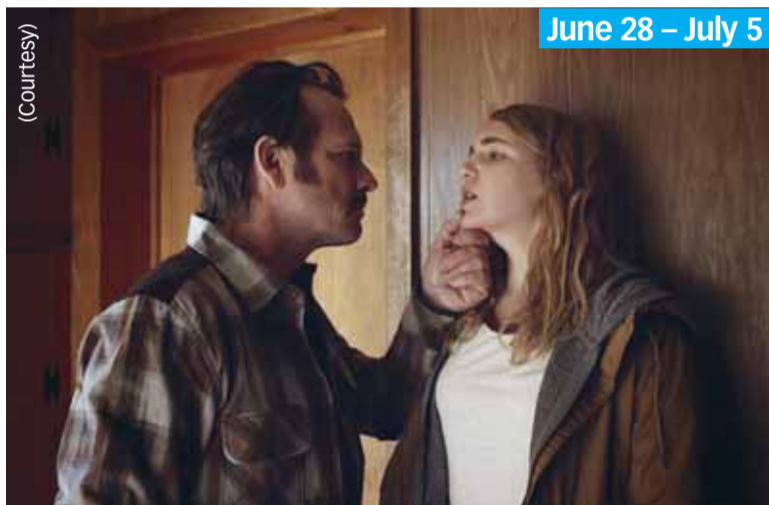
June 28 – July 2



### Atlas Weekend

A perfect opportunity for those who adore music festivals but don't plan to go outside of Kyiv. Atlas Weekend brings together some 200 performers on eight stages at VDNH Exhibition Center. The list of headliners includes British rock band Kasabian and electronic band The Prodigy, soul artist John Newman, Norwegian rock band Røyksopp and electronic duo Example & DJ Wire. Find tickets and schedule at atlasweekend.com.  
**Atlas Weekend (music festival). June 28 – July 2. 2 p.m. – 6 a.m. VDNH (1 Akademika Hlushkova Ave). Hr 800 - 1,800**

June 28 – July 5



### 'Mean Dreams' (movie screening)

Nathan Morlando's thriller tells a story of two 15-year-olds who run away from their abusive families and are wanted by the police and criminals for stealing drug money. The film is screened in English with Ukrainian subtitles.  
**"Mean Dreams" (movie screening). June 28 – July 5. 3 p.m. Kyiv Cinema (19 Velyka Vasylykivska St.) Hr 70**

June 30



### 'Communism in Its Age'

Friedrich Naumann Foundation Ukraine and Belarus will hold an exhibition "Communism in Its Age" that illustrates the rise and fall of Communism in the Soviet Union and other countries with photographs, documents and posters. The concept of the exhibition was developed by German historian and former Communist politician Gerd Koenen. The opening of the exhibition and discussion will take place on June 30 in Inveria Flow Space and then the exhibition will last five days in Taras Shevchenko National Museum.  
**"Communism in its Age" (exhibition). Opening on June 30 at Inveria Flow Space (49A Volodymyrska St.). Exhibition open on July 1-5 at Taras Shevchenko National Museum (12 Tarasa Shevchenko Blvd.) Free**

Compiled by Anna Yakutenko



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July 6-9



### Ivana Kupala celebration

Ukrainians celebrate the pagan holiday Ivana Kupala on July 6-7 to mark summer solstice when nights are the shortest. The traditional rituals held on Kupala Night include jumping over the flames of bonfires to test one's bravery, and practicing various divinations. One of the biggest costume celebrations will be held in Kyivan Rus Park 34 kilometers from Kyiv on the night of July 6-7 and over the weekend on July 8-9. The bus to Kyivan Rus Park will leave from Vydubychy metro station (see schedule at [www.parkkyivrus.com](http://www.parkkyivrus.com)).  
**Ivana Kupala in Kyivan Rus Park. July 6-9. 4 p.m. – 3 a.m. Kyivan Rus Park (Kopachiv village). Hr 150**



**Global Communities**

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

**Administrative and Finance Manager in Dnipro**

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Full job description is available at: <https://www.kyivpost.com/classifieds/jobs/procurementgrants-officer>

Both positions are located in Dnipro.

Candidates are asked to submit resumes and cover letters in English to: [UkraineHR@globalcommunities.org](mailto:UkraineHR@globalcommunities.org) by **July 10, 2017** indicating the position title in the subject line.

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



**Professionals for Reform Support Mechanism (PRSM)** provides human resource support – from managers to technical experts - to critical reform initiatives undertaken by national governmental agencies. PRSM is currently seeking candidates to fill the following expert positions for the Government of Ukraine.

**For the Market Surveillance Project Office under the Ministry of Economic Development and Trade of Ukraine:**

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- IT Project Coordinator;
- Project Lead.

**For the Administrative Service Reform Office:**

- Legal Expert (2 persons).

**For the ProZorro.Sale under the Ministry of Economic Development and Trade of Ukraine:**

- Project Lead;
- Project Manager;
- Legal Advisor;
- IT Project Coordinator.

**For the International Maritime Organization Audit Project Management Office:**

- Risk Assessments Coordinator;
- The Quality management System Coordinator;
- Policy Advisor;
- Legal Coordinator;
- Finance Coordinator;
- Project Manager.

For more detailed information about preferred qualifications and skills, indicative duties and responsibilities, as well as applying procedure, please visit web-site: [www.edge.in.ua/vacancies](http://www.edge.in.ua/vacancies)



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The Embassy of Sweden announces a vacancy for the position of **Policy Advisor for Sida's component of the U-LEAD programme in Ukraine** for a two years period, with possibilities for extension. The closing date for applications is **10 July, 2017**

For more information about the position, application procedures and requirements, please visit [www.swedenabroad.com/en-GB/Embassies/Kyiv/](http://www.swedenabroad.com/en-GB/Embassies/Kyiv/)



The Aspen Institute Kyiv is looking to recruit the **Executive Director** to lead and implement this ambition. The Executive Director will be responsible for the successful leadership and management of the organization according to the strategic direction set by the Board of Trustee of the Aspen Institute Kyiv in accordance with principles and standards of the Aspen Institute USA.

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**Requirements:**

- Not less than 5 years of progressive management experience in a non-profit / educational / voluntary / civil society sector organization / business organization.
- Knowledge of leadership and management principles as they relate to non-profit / educational / voluntary organizations.
- Knowledge of current community challenges and opportunities relating to the mission.
- Proven strategic, team and leadership capabilities.
- Strong interest in promotion of value based leadership and dialogue.
- Ability to translate strategy into tangible implementation plans and hard deliverables.
- Knowledge of financial management and project management
- Fluency in Ukrainian and English.
- Knowledge of financial management and project management
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For more detailed information please visit the Aspen Institute Kyiv web-site: [www.aspeninstitute.kiev.ua](http://www.aspeninstitute.kiev.ua)

Please send your CVs to [Aspen@hudson.ua](mailto:Aspen@hudson.ua)  
 The closing date for applications is **31st of July 2017**



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Please send a CV and motivation letter in English to: [msfch-ukraine-hrco@geneva.msf.org](mailto:msfch-ukraine-hrco@geneva.msf.org) by July 11, 2017 indicating the position title in the subject.

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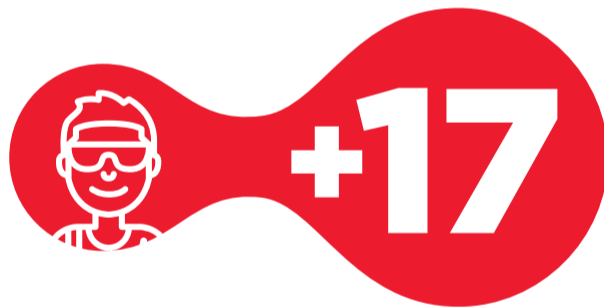


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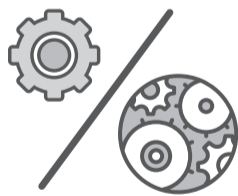


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