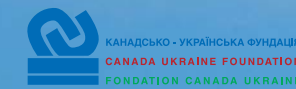


CROSSROADS

UKRAINE AT THE

March 7 - 8, 2012

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Chair of Ukrainian Studies, University of Ottawa
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UKRAINE AT THE CROSSROADS

An International Policy Forum on Democracy, Human Rights,
the Rule of Law, Economic Freedom
and Foreign Policy in Contemporary Ukraine

In co-operation with
Canada Ukraine Chamber of Commerce
US-Ukraine Business Council

Fairmont Château Laurier
Ottawa, Canada
March 7 - 8. 2012



Ukraine at the Crossroads

Conference Program

Wednesday March 7. 2012
Fairmont Château Laurier

6:00 - 7:00 PM Reception

7:00 - 10:00 PM Ukraine at the Crossroads Forum Dinner

Dinner followed by a panel presentation involving speakers representing Ukraine, the European Union, the US State Department and Government of Canada.

Greetings from:

Bob Onychuk, Q.C., Chair, Canada Ukraine Foundation
Honourable Beverley J. Oda - Minister of International Cooperation

Keynote Speakers: "Quo Vadis Ukraine?"

Borys Tarasyuk - Chair VR Committee on European Integration, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine
Thomas O. Melia - Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights & Labor, Washington D.C.
Hon. Marcin Świecicki - Member of the Polish Sejm, former Minister of Foreign Economic Relations, Warsaw
Hon. Peter van Loan - Leader of the Government in the House of Commons, Canada

Moderator: Chrystia Freeland - Editor, *Thompson Reuters Digital*

Followed by a question period involving the experts who are part of the conference programme

8:00 - 8:30 AM

Registration - Coffee & Muffins

8:30 - 8:50 AM

Official Opening

Dr. Dominique Arel - Chair of Ukrainian Studies, University of Ottawa
Eugene Czolij - President, Ukrainian World Congress
Paul Grod - National President, Ukrainian Canadian Congress

8:50 - 9:30 AM

Plenary Presentation I

Opening Speaker:

Oleh Rybachuk - Chairman and co-founder of the NGO "Centre UA," Kyiv
"The State of Democracy in Ukraine"

9:30 - 10:45 AM

Session I
Democratic Governance, Rule of Law, Human Rights and Media Freedom

Moderator:

Andrew Robinson - Former Canadian Ambassador to Ukraine, retired

Speakers:

Mykola Riabchuk - *Krytyka*, Kyiv
Halya Coynash - Kharkiv Human Rights Protection Group, Ukraine
Danylo Bilak - CMS Cameron McKenna, Kyiv

Discussant:

Thomas O. Melia - Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights & Labor, Washington, D.C.

10:45 - 11:00 AM BREAK - Coffee

Thursday March 8. 2012
Fairmont Château Laurier

Conference Program

Conference Program

11:00 - 12:15 PM **Session II**
The New Election Law and the 2012 Parliamentary Elections

Moderator:

Dr. Bohdan Harasymiw - Professor Emeritus, University of Calgary

Speakers:

Alyona Hetmanchuk - Institute of World Policy, Kyiv

Judge Bohdan A. Futey - Federal Judge and Constitutional Expert, Washington, D.C.

Markian Shwec - UCC – CUF Observer Mission

Discussant:

Nico Lange - Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, Kyiv

12:15 - 2:00 PM **Lunch and Plenary Presentation II**

Luncheon Speaker:

James Sherr - Royal Institute of International Affairs; Senior Fellow, Russian and Eurasian Programme, Chatham House, London

“Ukraine and the Russian Question”

Moderator:

Robert Amsterdam - Amsterdam and Peroff, Toronto

Discussant:

Andrei A. Piontkovsky - Russian Academy of Sciences, Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute

2:00 - 3:15 PM

Session III
Economic Issues: Energy, Economic Freedom and Corruption

Moderator:

Morgan Williams - Chair, US Ukraine Business Council

Speakers:

Dr. Anders Åslund - Peterson Institute, Washington, D.C.

Zenon Potoczny - President, Canada Ukraine Chamber of Commerce, Toronto

Discussant:

Dr Serhiy Kudelia – Visiting Scholar, George Washington University

3:15 - 3:30 PM Break

3:30 - 5:00 PM

Session IV
Geopolitics and National Security

Moderator:

Derek Fraser - Former Canadian Ambassador to Ukraine, retired

Speakers:

Valentyn Nalyvaichenko - Past Head Security Service of Ukraine (SBU)

Amanda Paul - European Policy Centre, Brussels

Dr. Ariel Cohen - Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C.

Ihor Kozak - Former Canadian and NATO military officer/ diplomat

Discussant:

James Sherr - RIIA, Senior Fellow, Chatham House

5:00 - 5:15 PM

Conference Summary
Dr. Walter Zaryckyj - Center for US-Ukrainian Relations

5:15 - 5:30 PM

Official Closing Remarks
Dr. Dominique Arel - University of Ottawa
Bob Onyschuk, Q.C. - President, Canada Ukraine Foundation

5:30 - 7:00 PM

Post-Conference Reception and Cash Bar

Speakers Gallery



Robert Amsterdam (Toronto) is the co-founder of the Toronto-based law firm Amsterdam & Peroff, established in 1980, and now manages the firm's London office. He has worked on every continent of the globe, and while his practise has historically been business oriented, he specializes in politically sensitive cases. Since 2003 he has been the legal spokesperson for former Yukos CEO Mikhail Khodorkovsky, whose controversial trial and imprisonment have been one of the most high profile cases in modern Russian history. Besides speaking regularly on global legal and political issues, his expert commentary is featured frequently in periodicals such as the *Washington Post*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Financial Times*, *Guardian*, *Die Presse*, *Tagesspiegel* and *Le Monde*. He has published extensively and blogs at www.robertamsterdam.com and www.corporateforeignpolicy.com.



Dr. Dominique Arel (Ottawa) is Associate Professor of Political Science and the Chair of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Ottawa. He is a Member of the Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies and holds a Ph.D., Political Science, University of Illinois, M.A., Political Science, McGill University, and a B.A., History, Université de Montréal. Dominique co-edited *Rebounding Identities, The Politics of Identity in Russia and Ukraine* (2006).



Dr. Anders Åslund (Washington) has been a senior fellow at the Peterson Institute since 2006 and is an adjunct professor at Georgetown University. He is a leading specialist on East European economies with more than 35 years of experience in the field. Dr. Åslund has worked as an economic adviser to the Russian, Ukrainian, and Kyrgyz governments. Previously, Dr. Åslund was the Director of the Russian and Eurasian Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He was the founding director of the Stockholm Institute of Transition Economics and professor at the Stockholm School of Economics. He has authored or coauthored 12 books and served as economic adviser to the governments of Russia, Ukraine and Kyrgyzstan.



Jars Balan (Edmonton) is the Co-Director of the Kule Ukrainian Canadian Studies Centre at the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (CIUS) in Edmonton. A freelance writer, editor, literary translator and former broadcaster, he is the author of *Salt and Braided Bread: Ukrainian Life in Canada* and has numerous published articles on many different aspects of the history of Ukrainians in Canada. He has travelled extensively in Ukraine since 1968, and is the representative of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance Association of Canada on the board of directors of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress (UCC), and the UCC representative on the Canada Ukraine Foundation.



Danylo Bilak (Kyiv) is on the board of directors of the Canada Ukraine Foundation and a partner with the London-based international law firm, CMS Cameron McKenna, in the firm's Kyiv office. Having worked in the private and public sectors in Ukraine since 1991, Dan served for over ten years as a United Nations sponsored senior governance adviser on rule of law, anti-corruption and public administration issues to the Ukrainian Government, including the President, Prime Minister, Minister of Justice, and Cabinet secretariat. Dan has also advised the governments of Bulgaria and Lithuania with respect to the transformation of their respective systems of administrative justice.

Dr. Ariel Cohen (Washington) is a Senior Research Fellow for Russian and Eurasian Studies and International Energy Policy, The Kathryn and Shelby Cullom Davis Institute for International Studies, at the Heritage Foundation. A member of the Council of Foreign Relations, International Institute of Strategic Studies in London, and Association for the Study of Nationalities, he holds a doctorate from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University in Massachusetts.

Halya Coynash (Kharkiv) is a representative of the Kharkiv Human Rights Protection Group (KHPG) in Kharkiv, Ukraine, one of the oldest, most active and respected Ukrainian human rights organizations. She has worked with many other human rights groups in Ukraine, including the Helsinki Human Rights Union, and writes for the journal *Telekritika*.

Eugene Czolij (Montreal) has since 2008 been the elected President of the Ukrainian World Congress, having previously served two terms as the President of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress. He is a senior partner at Lavery, de Billy, L.L.P. in Montreal with practice including corporate and commercial litigation, shareholder oppression remedies and banking litigation. He has also been a member of the Board of Directors of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress since 1994 and the Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky Institute Foundation since 2005. He has received several awards, including the Queen Elizabeth II Golden Jubilee Medal, the Order of Merit of Ukraine, and the Shevchenko Medal from the Ukrainian Canadian Congress.

Derek Fraser (Victoria) is a Senior Research Associate at the Centre for Global Studies, Adjunct Professor for Political Science at the University of Victoria and a member of the Board of Directors of the Canada Ukraine Foundation. Derek Fraser had a long career with the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. He is a former ambassador to Ukraine, Greece, and Hungary and has served in Vietnam, Germany, Soviet Union, and Belgium. He is a former member of the Board of Directors of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, now known as the Canadian International Council, and a former President of the organization's Victoria Branch.

Chrystia Freeland (New York) is Global Editor-At-Large of Thomson Reuters Corporation. She is a senior contributor to Reuters.com, where she writes a weekly column that focuses on critical issues taking place at the intersection of business and politics. She previously served in various capacities as an editor for the Financial Times of London, and as its Moscow Bureau Chief from 1995-1999. From 1999-2001 she was deputy editor of the *Globe and Mail*, to which she currently contributes a weekly column. The author of *Sale of the Century: Russia's Wild Ride from Communism to Capitalism* (2000), Chrystia began her career working as a stringer in Ukraine, writing for the *FT*, *The Washington Post* and *The Economist*.

Judge Bohdan A. Futey (Washington) has since 1987 served on the bench of the United States Court of Federal Claims. He teaches Comparative Legal Systems to LLM students at the Law School of the National University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy, and has taught Constitutional Law at the Ukrainian Free University in Munich. He has lectured at Passau University in Germany and at Ukrainian Universities in Kyiv, Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, and Uzhorod. Judge Futey has been actively involved with Democratization and Rule of Law Programs in Ukraine and Eastern Europe since 1990. He is the author of the *Establishing the Rule of Law: Ukraine, 1991-2011*, recently published in a third updated edition.



Speakers Gallery



Paul Grod (Toronto) has served as the National President of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress since October 2007. Paul has been involved in a number of community organizations including the Ukrainian Youth Association, Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union (past President), Canada Ukraine Chamber of Commerce, Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Association and the League of Ukrainian Canadians. Paul is President & CEO of Rodan Energy, a leading provider of energy management and smart grid solutions. Paul was previously a corporate and investment banker with CIBC World Markets and practiced corporate finance and M&A law with Gowling Lafleur Henderson LLP.



Dr. Bohdan Harasymiw (Calgary) is Professor Emeritus of Political Science at the University of Calgary and a Research Scholar at the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Alberta in Edmonton. He has concentrated on political elites in his publications, but has now shifted focus to studying democratic transitions, primarily in Eastern Europe, Russia, and Ukraine. He is the author of two major studies of Soviet political elites, and his most recent book is *Post Communist-Ukraine*.



Alyona Hetmanchuk (Kyiv) is the Director at the Institute of World Policy. She is an experienced journalist, media and NGO manager and foreign policy analyst. She was awarded the designation Honoured Journalist of Ukraine by the past President of Ukraine.



Ihor Kozak (Canada) was born and raised in Ukraine. He graduated from the Royal Military Collage of Canada (Bachelor of Engineering and Master of Business Administration) and as an officer with the Canadian Forces served internationally, participating in numerous diplomatic missions under the auspices of Canada, the US, EU, UN, and NATO. After taking early retirement from the Canadian Forces, he became an international business consultant and is an active member of the Canadian-Ukrainian community. Mr. Kozak is a recipient of the Top 25 Canadian Immigrants of 2011 award.



Dr. Serhiy Kudelia (Washington) is a visiting scholar at George Washington University and a lecturer at Johns Hopkins University/SAIS. Earlier he held teaching and research positions at the University of Toronto and at the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. Dr. Kudelia also worked as an advisor to the Deputy Prime Minister of Ukraine in 2008-2009. He received a PhD in international relations from Johns Hopkins University and an MA in political science from Stanford.

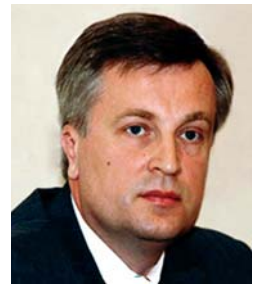
Nico Lange (Kyiv) is the Director of the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung office in Kyiv, Ukraine, a foundation that promotes freedom, liberty, peace and justice. A political scientist by training, Lange was detained by the Ukrainian Security Service (SBU) for writing articles critical of the current Ukrainian government.



Thomas O. Melia (Washington) joined the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor (DRL) in August 2010 as Deputy Assistant Secretary. He has more than 25 years of experience promoting democracy and human rights, and at DRL is responsible for Europe, including Russia, while also overseeing the Bureau's work in the Central Asian republics. Mr. Melia has taught democracy and human rights courses at Georgetown University and Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International studies (SAIS) for more than 10 years. He has published a number of widely read articles on democracy and human rights issues.



Valentyn Nalyvaichenko (Kyiv) is Chairman of the Political Council of "Our Ukraine," founder of the civic organization National Renewal, past Chairman of the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU), former member of the National Security and Defense Council of Ukraine.



Bohdan Onyschuk (Toronto) is Chair of the Canada Ukraine Foundation and a member of the National Board of Directors of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress. Mr. Onyschuk is actively involved in the community through a number of leadership roles, including as immediate Past Chair of the Canadian Urban Institute and the founding Chair and current Vice-President of the Canada-Ukraine Chamber of Commerce. Mr. Onyschuk and his firm have represented the Government of Ukraine in Canada on a number of trade and government matters over the last 20 years. He also served on the Chamber of Independent Experts on Foreign Investment in Ukraine, a body established to advise the President of Ukraine on foreign investment matters. Mr. Onyschuk was awarded the Presidential Order of Merit of Ukraine in 2008 for his work in assisting the young democracy.



Amanda Paul (Brussels) is specialist in geopolitical and foreign policy. She works as a Policy Analyst and Programme Executive at the European Policy Centre, a leading Brussels based think tank where she manages EPC programmes dealing with the EU's Eastern Neighbourhood, Turkey and the Eurasia Region, including energy and conflict resolution. She writes twice-weekly columns for the Turkish daily, *Today's Zaman*, on issues related to Turkey, Russian foreign policy and the Eurasian region. She also contributes to numerous other periodicals, including the *Financial Times*, *EU Observer*, *Kyiv Post*, and *New Europe*, and provides expert commentary on BBC, Al-Jazeera, CNN, CNBC, Deutsche Welle.



Andrei A. Piontkovsky (Moscow) is a well known political analyst and journalist. The Executive Director of the Strategic Studies Center in Moscow, by training he is an applied mathematician who is a senior researcher at the Institute of System Analysis with the Russian Academy of Sciences. He is a member of the United Democratic Party, 'Yabloko,' as well as the Federal Council of Russia, and is the author of several best-selling books on the political career of Vladimir Putin, his most recent book being *Another Look Into Putin's Soul*.



Speakers Gallery



Zenon Potoczny (Toronto) is the President and Chief Executive Officer and Chairman of the Board of Shelton Canada Corporation, listed on the TSX Venture Exchange. Shelton Petroleum is actively engaged in exploration and development projects in Ukraine and Russia. He was Vice President of Marketing for Landford International Ltd., an international trading and real estate development company, responsible for joint venture creation and business development in Ukraine. Zenon Potoczny has been awarded the Order of Merit, Class III, from the President of Ukraine. He was recently re-elected as the President of the Canada Ukraine Chamber of Commerce. He holds a degree in Engineering and an MBA.



Andrew N. Robinson is currently a distinguished Senior Fellow at the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, Carleton University, Ottawa. Mr. Robinson does consulting work related to international relations and stability operations, and is a member of the community of experts of the Pearson Peacekeeping Centre. As Ambassador of Canada in Kyiv during the Orange Revolution, Mr. Robinson led Canada's diplomatic efforts in support of free and fair elections in Ukraine.



Mykola Riabchuk (Kyiv) is a senior research associate at the Ukrainian Centre for Cultural Studies in Kyiv, and a member of the editorial boards of the monthly, *Krytyka*, and the quarterly, *Journal of South Eastern Europe*. He graduated from the Lviv Polytechnic Institute and the Gorky Literary Institute in Moscow. He is the author of eight books and numerous articles on civil society, state/nation building, nationalism, national identity, and the post-communist transition in former Soviet republics, primarily Ukraine. Mr. Riabchuk has held several fellowships and lectured widely in various Canadian, American and Polish universities.



Oleh Rybachuk (Kyiv) is the co-founder and Chairman of the NGO "Centre UA". He served as the chief of staff to President Viktor Yushchenko and was a former Deputy Prime Minister in the government of Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko. He also was the director of international relations for the National Bank of Ukraine (NBU).



Markian Shwec (Toronto) is a member of the National Board of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress (UCC) and is the immediate Past President of the UCC, Toronto Branch. He oversaw the initial drive in the community that led to a successful \$1.5 million fundraising effort and the successful mounting of the 500 strong observer mission during the 2004 Presidential elections in Ukraine. He has played an active role in subsequent election observer missions organized by the UCC and has participated in the Canadem observer mission as well. He is a Director of Finance by trade and has served on several community boards, including the Ukrainian Youth Association and the Ukrainian Canadian Business and Professional Association.

James Sherr (London) is a Senior Fellow of the Russian and Eurasia Programme at the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House) in London. He is also a member of the Faculty of Social Studies at Oxford University. In addition to regularly advising the UK, EU and NATO and partner countries on Russia, Ukraine and the Black Sea region, he has had a long-standing relationship with the defence and security community in Ukraine. The author of numerous works on Russia and Ukraine, including *Russia and the West: A Reassessment* and *Mortgaging Ukraine's Independence*, his monograph on *The Ends and Means of Russian Influence* will be published in spring 2012.

Marcin Świącicki (Poland) member of the Polish Sejm who sits on the Joint Parliamentary Assembly, Poland-Ukraine, while serving as the Deputy Chair of the Polish-Ukrainian Inter-Parliamentary Group. He has served as a Minister of Foreign Economic Relations and a Deputy Minister of the Economy in previous Polish governments. A former Mayor of Warsaw (1994-99) and an adviser on economic reforms to the President of Lithuania (2002-05), he was the Director of the EC/UNDP Blue Ribbon Analytical and Advisory Centre in Kyiv from 2007 to 2011. He has authored numerous publications and books on EU issues, economic policy, the Ukrainian economy and territorial self-government.

Borys Tarasyuk (Kyiv) is a member of Ukraine's Parliament, or Verkhovna Rada, and Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada's Committee on Euro-Atlantic Integration. A former ambassador to Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands, as well as Ukraine's representative to NATO, he has twice served as Ukraine's Minister of Foreign Affairs, in 1998-2000 and 2005-2006. He is the founder of the Institute for Euro-Atlantic Cooperation, whose mission it is to promote Ukraine's Euro-Atlantic integration so as to facilitate the democratic development of Ukrainian society.

Peter Van Loan (Ottawa) was first elected to the House of Commons in 2004 and re-elected in 2006, 2008 and 2011. Mr. Van Loan was appointed President of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada, Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs and Minister for Sport in November 2006, and was named Leader of the Government in the House of Commons and Minister for Democratic Reform in January 2007. He was appointed Minister of Public Safety in October 2008 and Minister of International Trade in January 2010. He is currently the Leader of the Government in the House of Commons.

Morgan Williams (Washington) is Director, Government Affairs, Washington, D.C., for the SigmaBleyzer Private Equity Group. Williams also serves as President/CEO and Chairman of the Executive Committee of the U.S.-Ukraine Business Council (USUBC) in Washington, D.C. Williams has worked in international economic development for over 30 years and has been active on Ukrainian business and economic development matters since 1992. Williams is the recipient of three state medals for distinguished service from the government of Ukraine, and has received a service award from the Ukrainian Federation of America. Williams served as a professional staff member of the U.S. Senate Agriculture Committee working for U.S. Senator Bob Dole (R-KS).

Dr. Walter Zaryckyj (New York) is Executive Director of the Center for US-Ukrainian Relations and Program Coordinator for the 'Ukraine's Quest for Mature Nation Statehood' Roundtable Series; he concurrently holds the rank of Adjunct Associate Professor of Social Sciences at New York University. Dr. Zaryckyj completed his undergraduate and graduate work at Columbia University.



Steering Committee

The Organizing Committee of the "Ukraine at the Crossroads" Conference was comprised of the following volunteers:

Jars Balan

Chair, UCC Canada-Ukraine Committee, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies

Dr. Dominique Arel

Professor of Political Science, Chair of Ukrainian Studies, University of Ottawa

Ambassador Derek Fraser (ret.)

University of Victoria

Dr. Bohdan Harasymiw (ret.)

Professor of Political Science, University of Calgary

Bohdan Onyschuk

Chair, Canada Ukraine Foundation

Borys Potapenko

Executive Director, League of Ukrainian Canadians

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Centre for US-Ukrainian Relations, Adjunct Associate Professor, New York University

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