

UKRAINE'S QUEST *for*
MATURE NATION STATEHOOD

ROUNDTABLE XXIV

**FORGING A STRONG YET FORBEARING
NATIONAL IDENTITY – FUTURE INITIATIVES**

OCTOBER 5, 2023

1135 16TH STREET, NW • THE UNIVERSITY CLUB

WASHINGTON, D.C.

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

This year's Ukraine's Quest for Mature Nation Statehood Roundtable (XXIV) will be held on October 5, 2023 at The University Club of Washington, D.C., and will be titled: *Forging A Strong Yet Forbearing National Identity – Future Initiatives*.

The gathering will be the final in a critically important trilogy of UA Quest Roundtables (2021-23) essentially dedicated to exploring and evaluating Ukraine's efforts to establish a distinctive yet broadminded national identity. It will be tasked to ponder Ukraine's optimal future 'face to the world' – with the nation possessing a well developed self-image, playing a worthy leadership role in the Black Sea region, occupying a valuable place in the Euro-Atlantic community and being a respected presence in global affairs. The proceedings, in the context of the said exploration, will also examine the various DEZINFORM campaigns that have been launched to deform the process, including Putin's recent 'Memory Wars' campaign.

To facilitate the examination, the gathering will run four panel sessions and three focus sessions. Nearly two dozen featured speakers are expected to address the gathering.

Ultimately, in providing the above stated assessment, the forum should help clarify a larger issue to which the Roundtable Series has dedicated its time and resources, namely the pace of Ukraine's endeavor to achieve "mature nation statehood".

SUMMIT INVOCATION

*Oh Lord, Master of Heaven and Earth
You have graced Ukraine with Liberty,
We beseech you to help Her sustain
Your precious gift*

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CONFERENCE PROGRAM

Ukraine's Quest for Mature Nation Statehood Roundtable XXIV: Forging A Strong Yet Forbearing National Identity – Future Initiatives October 05, 2023

**Venue: University Club
1135 16th St NW,
Washington, DC 20036**

9:00 AM - 9:40 AM Registration

9:00 AM - 9:40 AM Morning Highlight Focus Session

Theme: What An Well Established UA National Identity Might Encompass - UA Government Perspective

Chair: Walter Zaryckyj [Executive Director/Center for US-Ukrainian Relations]

Featured Speaker: Ambassador of Ukraine to the United States HE Oksana Markarova

9:40 AM – 11:10 AM Roundtable Plenary Session I

Theme: Molding a Engaging/Inspiring National Historical Narrative

Moderator:

- Roman Popadiuk [President/Diplomacy Center Foundation]

Panelists:

- Serhiy Kvit [President/Kyiv Mohyla Academy National University]
- Adrian Karatnycky [Senior Fellow/Atlantic Council of the United States]
- Steven Nix [Eurasia Regional Director/International Republican Institute]
- David Kramer [Managing Director for Global Policy/G.W. Bush Institute]

Suggested Topics: Ancient/Medieval UA – Modern UA – RU-UA War – Indigenous Peoples of UA

11:10 AM – 11:15 AM Coffee Break

11:15 AM – 12:45 PM Roundtable Plenary Session II

Theme: Establishing a Prominent Role in the Affairs of the Black Sea Region

Moderator:

- John Herbst [Director of the Eurasia Center/Atlantic Council of the United States]

Panelists:

- Eliot Cohen [Robert E. Osgood Professor/Johns Hopkins SAIS/CSIS Senior Adviser]
- Glen Howard [Jamestown Foundation President/2003-2023]
- Luke Coffey [Senior Fellow/Hudson Institute]
- Andriy Zahorodnyuk [UA Minister of Defense 2019-2020/CDS]

Suggested Topics: GUAM – Lublin Triangle – Three Seas Paradigm - BSEC

12:45 PM – 1:00 PM Lunch Break [Press Interviews]

1:00 PM – 1:40 PM Afternoon Highlight Focus Session

Theme: Finding Ways to End the Kremlin's Endless Memory Wars with Ukraine

Chair: William Courtney [Senior Fellow/RAND Corporation]

Featured Speaker: Janusz Bugajski [Senior Fellow/Jamestown Foundation]

1:40 PM – 3:10 PM Roundtable Plenary Session III

Theme: Carving Out a Defined & Valued Place in the Euro-Atlantic Community

Moderator:

- Ariel Cohen [Director/Energy, Growth and Security Program/ITIC]

Panelists:

- Wesley Clark [Supreme Allied Commander Europe 1997-2000/WKC-A]
- Stephen Blank [Senior Fellow/Foreign Policy Research Institute]
- Phillip Karber [President/Potomac Foundation]
- Pavlo Zhovnirenko [Chairman/UA Center for Strategic Studies]

Suggested Topics: EU – NATO – Strategic Bilateral Relations US - Strategic Bilateral Relations CA

3:10 PM – 3:20 PM Coffee Break

3:20 PM – 4:50 PM Roundtable Plenary Session IV

Theme: Playing an Important & Respected Role in Global Affairs

Moderator:

- Herman Pirchner [President/American Foreign Policy Council]

Panelists:

- Ostap Kryvydyk [Managing Director/Ukrainian Strategic Initiative]
- Kateryna Shynkaruk [Senior Lecturer/Texas A&M Bush School of Government]
- Philips O'Brien [Professor of Strategic Studies/University of St. Andrews] Scotland]
- Lubomyr Hajda [Senior Scholar/Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute]

Suggested Topics: Relations with UN – Relations with OSCE – Relations with G-7 – Relations with G-20

4:50 PM – 5:30 PM Final Highlight Session Focus Session/Closing Remarks

Theme: What A Well Established UA National Identity Might Encompass - US Government Perspective

Chair: Andriy Dobriansky [Communications Director/Ukrainian Congress Committee of America]

Featured Speaker: US Senate Majority Leader Charles E. Schumer [INVITED]

**6:30 PM – 8:30 PM Post Forum Reception
[Venue: American Foreign Policy Council/509 C Street NE]**

BIOGRAPHIES

Stephen Blank is currently Senior Fellow at the United State Institute of Peace; immediately prior to his present position, he was Senior Researcher at the Foreign Policy Research Institute (2019-2021) and Senior Fellow on Russia at the American Foreign Policy Council (2014-2019). Earlier, Dr. Blank spent 24 years, 1989-2013, as a Professor of National Security Studies at the Strategic Studies Institute of the US Army War College in Carlisle Barracks, PA. His expertise covers the entire Russian and post-Soviet region and he has also written extensively on defense strategy, information warfare, energy issues, US foreign and defense policy, European, and Asian security.

Janusz Bugajski is a Senior Fellow at the Jamestown Foundation in Washington DC and host of television shows broadcast in the Balkans. Bugajski has authored 21 books on Europe, Russia, and trans-Atlantic relations. His recent books include *Failed State: A Guide to Russia's Rupture* (2022), *Eurasian Disunion: Russia's Vulnerable Flanks* (with Margarita Assenova) (2016); and *Conflict Zones: North Caucasus and Western Balkans Compared* (2014). His forthcoming book is titled *Pivotal Poland: Europe's Rising Strategic Player*. He is a contributor to several media outlets in the US and Europe and has testified for US congressional committees, including the Helsinki Commission, Senate Foreign Relations, Senate Armed Services, House Foreign Affairs, and House Defense Appropriations, and has given presentations in the European Parliament.

Wesley Clark, during his 34 years in the U.S. Army, rose to the rank of four-star general and was named director for strategic plans and policy of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. As Supreme Allied Commander and Commander in Chief of the U.S. European Command (1997-2000), he commanded Operation Allied Force, NATO's first major combat action, which saved 1.5 million Albanians from ethnic cleansing in Kosovo. In August 2000, Gen. Clark was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civilian honor. In 2004, the long serving, decorated warrior was a major contender during the Democratic presidential primaries and was considered to be on the short list of the party's vice presidential nominees. In 2014, Gen. Clark and Dr. Phillip Karber made several trips to Ukraine and authored the first authoritative assessments of what they both came to call "the Russo-Ukrainian War" that was unfolding.

Luke Coffey is a senior fellow at Hudson Institute. His work at Hudson analyzes national security and foreign policy, with a focus on Europe, Eurasia, NATO, and transatlantic relations. Mr. Coffey was previously director of the Allison Center for Foreign Policy Studies at the Heritage Foundation from 2015 to 2022, in which role he oversaw and managed a team covering most of Heritage's foreign policy and international affairs work. From 2012 to 2015, he was the Margaret Thatcher fellow at Heritage, focusing on relations between the United States and the United Kingdom and on the role of NATO and the European Union in transatlantic and Eurasian security. Before joining Heritage, Mr. Coffey served at the UK Ministry of Defence as senior special adviser to then-British Defence Secretary Liam Fox. His work in British politics followed his service to the United States as a commissioned officer in the Army. He spent his entire time on active duty overseas and was stationed in Italy with the Army's Southern European Task Force. In 2005, Mr. Coffey deployed to Afghanistan for a year and was awarded the Bronze Star.

Ariel Cohen, LLB & PhD, is a recognized authority in political risk, international energy, and security. He is the Founding Principal of International Market Analysis Ltd, a boutique consulting firm dealing with geo-economic, geostrategic, energy, and natural resources (www.IMAStrategy.com). Dr. Cohen is also an internationally recognized expert on Russia/Eurasia, Eastern Europe, and the Middle East. He is currently Senior Fellow with the non-profit International Tax and Investment Center (ITIC) and Director of Energy, Growth, and Security Program (EGS) at the said institution; he concurrently holds a non-resident Senior Fellowship at the Eurasian Studies Center at the Atlantic Council with a regional focus on Russia/Eurasia, Eastern Europe, and the Middle East. For over 20 years, Dr. Cohen served as a Senior Research Fellow in Russian and Eurasian Studies and International Energy Policy at the Sarah and Douglas Allison Center at the Heritage Foundation.

Eliot A. Cohen is the Arleigh Burke Chair in Strategy at the Center for International Studies and Robert E. Osgood Professor at Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, where he also served as the school's 9th Dean. His books include *The Big Stick* (2017), *Conquered into Liberty* (2011), and *Supreme Command* (2002). In addition to public service in the Department of Defense he served as Counselor of the Department of State in 2007-2009. He writes frequently for major news organizations and journals, appears frequently on television, and is a contributing writer at *The Atlantic*.

William Courtney is an adjunct senior fellow at the RAND Corporation and executive director of the RAND Business Leaders Forum. In 2014 he retired from Computer Sciences Corporation as senior principal for federal policy strategy. From 1972 through 1999, he was a foreign service officer in the U.S. Department of State. Dr. Courtney co-chaired the U.S. delegation to the review conference that prepared for the 1999 Istanbul Summit of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and advised in the reorganization of U.S. foreign affairs agencies, mandated by the Foreign Affairs Reform Act of 1999. Earlier he served as special assistant to the President for Russia, Ukraine, and Eurasia and as Ambassador to Georgia, Kazakhstan, and the U.S.-Soviet commission that implemented the Threshold Test Ban Treaty.

Andriy Dobriansky, Director of Communications for the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, is often referred to as the most visible face of the Ukrainian American community. With a history of appearances on The Daily Show with Jon Stewart, MSNBC, PBS, NPR, Voice of America and other outlets, he assists Ukraine and its worldwide diaspora in getting its message out. At the United Nations, he is the Chair of UN Affairs Committee for the Ukrainian World Congress, the international assembly of all public organizations in the Ukrainian diaspora of over 20 million people.

Lubomyr Hajda recently retired as Senior Advisor to Director of the Ukrainian Research Institute at Harvard University; he remains affiliated with the institution in the role of a HURI Scholar. For more than two decades, Dr. Hajda was HURI's Associate Director; from 1978 to 1992, he held the position of Academic Coordinator of Harvard's Master's program in Soviet studies. Many key players in the foreign policy arena (particularly with regard to Ukraine & Russia) in Washington DC were fortunate enough to be taught/mentored by Dr. Hajda. Among his publications are the entry on Ukrainian history in the Encyclopaedia Britannica (15th ed.); The Nationalities Factor in Soviet Politics and Society (with Mark Beissinger), and Ukraine in the World: Studies in the International Relations and Security Structure of a Newly Independent State.

John Herbst is former United States Ambassador to Ukraine and presently Director for Eurasia at the Atlantic Council of the United States; immediately prior to the current posting, he served as Director of the National Defense University Center for Complex Operations. Amb. Herbst has worked as a political counselor at the US embassies in Tel Aviv, Israel, Moscow, Russia, and Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, as the Director of Regional Affairs in the Near East Bureau of the US State Department, as Director of the Office of Independent States and Commonwealth Affairs and as Principal Deputy to the Ambassador-at-large for the Newly Independent States. He was appointed Ambassador to Uzbekistan in 2000 before assuming the post of US envoy to Ukraine in 2003.

Glen E. Howard is the former President of The Jamestown Foundation. Mr. Howard oversaw the research and analysis activities of Jamestown for 20 years and extensively dealt with Russia and Eurasia in his capacity as Jamestown President, working with the regional leaders and national strategists across Eurasia from the Baltic to Central Asia. An expert on Eurasia and Russia, Mr. Howard is the co-editor with Matthew Czekaj of the book Russia's Military Strategy and Doctrine (2019), a collection of writings on Russian military strategy and doctrine by some of the world's leading defense experts. Mr. Howard is also the editor of the book Volatile Borderland: Russia and the North Caucasus (2011), and other works. He has published articles in the Wall Street Journal, Real Clear Defense, the Hill, and other prominent publications.

Adrian Karatnycky is Senior Fellow at the Atlantic Council, where in 2007 he founded the Council's Ukraine in Europe program. He is co-director of the Ukrainian Jewish Encounter; Senior Advisor to KARV Communications, a New York-based public and government relations firm; and Managing Partner of Myrmidon Group LLC. From 1994 to 2005 he was Executive Director and later President at Freedom House, where he headed the annual Survey of Freedom in World and launched and headed the ongoing annual Nations in Transit study of political rights, economic reform, and civil liberties in the former Soviet bloc. The co-author of three books, and the editor of over twenty, his Battleground Ukraine: From Independence to the Russian War will be published by Yale University Press in the fall of 2023.

Phillip Karber is President of the Potomac Foundation and Professor of Strategy & Praxis at Georgetown Universities Machiavelli Seminar in Florence. He also has post-doc certificates from Harvard and Wharton Business Schools. In Government, Dr. Karber has held influential national security positions with the US Congress, the National Security Council, was a member of the US Army Science Board and served as Strategy Advisory to the Secretary of Defense and Chairman of the Joint Chief of Staff. Toward the end of the Cold War he served as an advisor to British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and the Secretary General of NATO. In the spring of 2014, he and General Wesley Clark (former NATO Commander) were invited by the new Ukrainian Government to assess the situation there, and their reports to Congress were the first to argue for increased US Military Assistance and Lethal Weapons.

David J. Kramer serves as the Bradford M. Freeman Managing Director for Global Policy at the George W. Bush Institute. Prior to joining the Institute, he taught at Florida International University's Steven J. Green School of International and Public Affairs, where he also Director for European and Eurasian Affairs. Before moving to Miami, Mr. Kramer worked in Washington, DC for 24 years, including as Senior Director for Human Rights and Democracy with The McCain Institute for International Leadership; President of Freedom House; and Senior Transatlantic Fellow at the German Marshall Fund of the United States. He also served in the U.S. Department of State during the George W. Bush administration, including as Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor and as Dep. Assistant Secretary of State for European & Eurasian Affairs.

Ostap Kryvydyk has worked as a journalist, professional party staffer and political expert; concurrently, he has engaged in political activism and civil society work, having served as head of the creative unit for the PORA civic movement (2004) during the Orange Revolution and as International Secretary of Maidan Self-Defense (2013-14) during the Revolution of Dignity. His activity since the Revolution of Dignity has included serving as Special Advisor on foreign policy to Mr Andriy Parubiy in the latter's capacity as the Secretary of the National Defence and Security Council (2014), the First Deputy Speaker of the Parliament (2014-16) and the Speaker of the Parliament (2016-2019) as well as being a Member of Royal College of Defense Studies, London, UK (2018). Presently, Mr. Kryvydyk wears three hats: Chair, Ukrainian Strategic Initiative think tank, Kyiv Mohyla Academy (on leave); Associated Fellow, Ukrainian Catholic University Analytical Center (on leave) and Senior Soldier/Senior Fireman, Anti-Aircraft Missile Forces, Ukrainian Air Force, AFU (mobilized).

Sergiy Kvit is presently the the Rector (President) of the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy; he has returned to a post he held from 2007 until 2014. He occupied the position of the Minister of Education and Science of Ukraine in 2014-2016, when the progressive Laws on Higher Education (2014) and On Science and Research (2015) were adopted. Earlier (2002-07), he was dean of the Kyiv-Mohyla social studies faculty; earlier still (2001), he founded the Kyiv-Mohyla School of Journalism and became president of the Media Reform Centre, set up to initiate open debate and promote more transparent media and government. In 2005-2011, he served as chairman of the Consortium on University Autonomy. Dr Kvit's research focuses on Ukrainian history in the 20th century, educational and media reforms, mass communications, and philosophical hermeneutics; he has published several books and numerous articles.

HE Oksana Serhiyivna Markarova serves as the current Ambassador of Ukraine to the United States since February 2021. Prior to her diplomatic appointment, Ambassador Markarova served as Minister of Finance in the governments of Volodymyr Groysman and Oleksiy Honcharuk. At her initiative, in 2015 the largest open data portal in the public finance sector E-data was created, now it consists of modules spending.gov.ua, openbudget.gov.ua and proifi.gov.ua. Since the beginning of the Russo-Ukrainian War, Amb. Markarova has been the 'Voice of Ukraine' both in US mass media and the halls of Washington.

Steven Nix Esq. is Director of the Eurasian Division at the International Republican Institute. From 1995 to 1997, Mr. Nix served as Outside Legal Counsel for the Ukrainian Parliament's Committee on Legal and Judicial Reform. Upon his return to the U.S., he accepted a position as Senior Democracy Specialist at USAID, where he assisted in the design and implementation of democracy programs in Eastern Europe and the Newly Independent States.

Phillips Payson O'Brien is an American historian and professor of strategic studies at the University of St Andrews, Scotland. He was formerly at the University of Glasgow where he ran the Scottish Centre for War Studies. His books include the revisionist history *How the War Was Won: Air-Sea Power and Allied Victory in World War II* (2015) which concluded that superiority in the air and on the sea on an "Air-Sea Super Battlefield" of thousands of miles, rather than battles on land, determined the outcome of the war. He is also the author of *The Second Most Powerful Man in the World: The Life of Admiral William D. Leahy, Roosevelt's Chief of Staff* (2019) which re-evaluated the life of Leahy and argued that he was far more influential than had previously been recognised.

Herman Pirchner, in 1982, became the founding President of the American Foreign Policy Council (AFPC), a non-profit public policy organization headquartered in Washington, DC. Under his leadership, AFPC has hosted the Washington visits of hundreds of foreign officials, ranging from the Prime Minister of Malta to the Prime Minister of Russia; conducted hundreds of briefings for members of Congress and their staffs; and organized dozens of fact-finding missions abroad for current and former senior American officials. AFPC's publication program includes the sponsorship of numerous articles, monographs and books; in recent years, AFPC authors have appeared in the Washington Post, the New York Times, the Financial Times and the Wall Street Journal among other prominent newspapers and magazines.

Roman Popadiuk, a former U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine and past principal of Morgan-Lewis Consulting, presently serves as President of the Diplomacy Center Foundation and the World Affairs Councils of America's Chairman of the national Board of Directors. A retired member of the career Senior Foreign Service, Dr. Popadiuk brings more than 30 years of experience in the areas of national security, political risk analysis, communications strategy and energy policy, including serving on the National Security Councils of Presidents Ronald Reagan and George Bush. With his vast experience and contacts that span the globe, he brings a unique insight into international political and business matters.

Charles Ellis Schumer serves as the senior United States senator from New York, a seat he has held since 1999. A member of the Democratic Party, he has led the Senate Democratic Caucus since 2017 and has served as Senate Majority Leader since 2021. The dean of New York's congressional delegation, Sen. Schumer is in his fifth Senate term and was the Senate's minority leader from 2017 to 2021. He is the longest-serving senator from New York, having surpassed Daniel Patrick Moynihan and Jacob K. Javits in 2023. Sen. Schumer has a place in every Ukrainian-American's heart because he has been a consistent participant in the Holodomor commemorations that are held every year at St. Patrick's Cathedral in NYC and has always insisted that the Holodomor was a genocide.

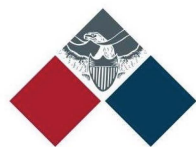
Kateryna Shynkaruk is a Senior Lecturer at the Bush School of Government and Public Service in Washington DC, where she teaches courses in East European Politics, European Security, and in International Relations Theory; concurrently, she is a nonresident scholar at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. She has over 15 years' experience of working in academia, with think tanks and diplomatic missions, with research interests that cover the Eastern European region in global politics, Ukraine's foreign and security policy, and the role of ideas and culture in international relations. Dr. Shynkaruk has over 30 publications on the topics of post-communist transformations in Ukraine and across Eastern Europe.

Andriy Zahorodniuk served as Minister of Defense of Ukraine from August 2019 to March 2020. His tenure was motivated by a strong urge to fast track a well conceived, reform agenda. It reflected his time at two earlier posts. From 2015 to 2017, he headed the Reform Project Office at the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine. On 9 July 2019, newly elected President Zelensky appointed him to serve as a Member of the Supervisory Board at Ukroboronprom. Many believe that Min. Zahorodniuk's efforts at the Defense Ministry helped accelerate Ukraine's accession into the NATO Enhanced Partnership program.

Pavlo Zhovirenko, a distinguished Ukrainian policy analyst, currently serves as Chairman of the Center for Strategic Studies and concurrently serves as Adviser to the Secretary of the National Security and Defense Council of Ukraine. In the 1990's, he held the post of Chairman of the Working Group on International Policy and Security of the US - Ukrainian Advisory Committee. Dr. Zhovirenko is the author of over 80 articles in the Ukrainian, Polish, American and Russian press on: national defense and security, relations in the triangle Ukraine - Europe - Russia, contemporary Kremlinology, democratic political and economic transformation, deoligarchization and mechanisms of civil society influence on state policy.

Walter Zaryckyj is Executive Director of the Center for US-Ukrainian Relations. The Center provides "informational platforms" or venues for senior-level representatives of the political, economic, security, diplomatic and cultural/academic establishments of the United States and Ukraine to exchange views on a wide range of issues of mutual interest, and to showcase what has been referred to as a "burgeoning relationship of notable geopolitical import" between the two nations. Dr. Zaryckyj completed his undergraduate and graduate work at Columbia University; he taught political science at New York University for nearly three decades before moving on in recent years to do postdoctoral research work on Eastern Europe.

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