

**US UKRAINE**  
**SECURITY**  
**DIALOGUE XVII**

**Taking Measure of Ukraine's  
Defense Capabilities & Needs  
After a Third Year of War**

1135 16th Street, NW,  
Washington, D.C., 20036

February 26, 2025

## STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

US-Ukraine Security Dialogue XVI: Taking Measure of Ukraine's Defense Capabilities & Needs After a Third Year of War is being held at the University Club in Washington DC on February 26, 2025. The event will feature six panel discussions and two highlight focus sessions.

The first five panel discussions will be dedicated to evaluating Ukraine's continued ability to properly engage in war along classical security dimensions: land (regular/territorial); sea/maritime defense; air/air defense; special ops/cyber & information warfare as well as its capacity to adequately maintain (and indeed expand) its military-industrial assets. The sixth and last panel discussion will center on envisioning an acceptable endgame for the Russo-Ukrainian War.

The two highlight focus sessions will give prominence, as tradition would have it, to considering why Ukraine's security matters enough to its neighbors and the world at large to merit serious military assistance in time of need.

## DIALOGUE INVOCATION

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

## STEERING COMMITTEE

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PROGRAM

**US-Ukraine Security Dialogue XVII:  
Taking Measure of Ukraine's Defense Capabilities/Needs  
After a Third Year of War**

**Date: Feb 26, 2025**

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

**8:30 am – 9:00 am – Registration**

**9:00 am – 9:25 am – Dialogue Highlight Focus Session One**

*Theme: Taking Measure of the Situation on the Frontline in the Russian-Ukrainian War*

Speaker: Maj Gen. Borys Kremenetsky [Defense Attache/Embassy of Ukraine in the US]

**9:25 am – 10:30 am – Dialogue Panel Discussion I**

*Theme: Assessing Ukraine's Land Force Capabilities and Needs*

Discussion Leader: Luke Coffey [Senior Fellow/Hudson Institute]

Panelists: Gen. Wesley Clark [SACEUR 1997-2000]

George Barros [RU Team & GEOINT Team Lead/Institute of the Study of War]

Phillips O'Brien [Professor of Strategic Studies/St. Andrew's University]

**10:30 am – 10:35 am – Coffee Break**

**10:35 am – 11:40 pm – Dialogue Panel Discussion II**

*Theme: Assessing Ukraine's Maritime & Coastal Defense Capabilities and Needs*

Discussion Leader: Matthew Boyse [Senior Fellow/Hudson Institute]

Panelists: Adm. Ihor Kabanenko [CO/CS-Ukrainian Navy 2012-2013]

Glen Howard [President/Saratoga Foundation]

Milan Vego [Turner Professor of Operational Art/US Naval War College]

**11:40 am – 12:45 pm – Dialogue Panel Discussion III**

*Theme: Evaluating Ukraine's Air & Air Defense Capabilities and Needs*

Discussion Leader: Amb. William Courtney [A/Senior Fellow/RAND Corporation]

Panelists: Gen. Phillip Breedlove [SACEUR 2013-2016]

Hon. Andriy Zagorodnyuk [Minister of Defense of Ukraine 2019-2020]

Kelly Greico [Senior Fellow/Stimson Center]

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

**1:00 pm – 1:40 pm – Dialogue Highlight Focus Session Two**

*Theme: How Might the West Best Aid Ukraine in Its Present Hour of Need*

Moderator: Tom McDevitt [Chairman of the Board of Directors/Washington Times]

Speakers: HE Ambassador of Ukraine to the United States Oksana Markarova

James Sherr OBE [Fellow/International Centre for Defence & Security]

**1:40 pm – 2:45 pm – Dialogue Panel Discussion IV**

*Theme: Evaluating Ukraine's Special Operations & Cyber-Warfare/Informational Warfare Capabilities & Needs*

Discussion Leader: Janusz Bugajski [Senior Fellow/Jamestown Foundation]

Panelists: R/Adm. Mark Montgomery [Sen. Director/Center for Cyber & Technology Innovation]

Greg Melcher [Chief Ops Officer/Center for the Study of New Generation Warfare]

Marcus Kolga [Analyst/Macdonald-Laurier Institute]

**2:45 pm – 2:50 pm – Coffee Break**

**2:50 pm – 3:55 pm – Dialogue Panel Discussion V**

*Theme: Examining the State of Ukraine's Economy, Energy Resources & Military-Industrial Capacity (Amidst War)*

Discussion Leader: Ariel Cohen [Director/Energy, Growth and Security Program/ITIC]

Panelists: Myron Rabij [Partner/Davidoff Hutcher & Citron LLP]

Margarita Assenova [Senior Fellow/Jamestown Foundation]

Zenovy Wowczuk [CEO/Civilian-Military Innovation Institute]

**3:55 pm – 5:00 pm – Dialogue Panel Discussion VI**

*Theme: Envisioning an Endgame for the Russo-Ukrainian War: Victory – Freeze/NATO Security Guarantees – Freeze/General Security Guarantees – Other*

Discussion Leader: Adrian Karatnycky [Senior Fellow/Atlantic Council]

Panelists: Ian Brzezinski [Resident Senior Fellow/Atlantic Council of the United States]

Eliot Cohen [Robert E. Osgood Professor - SAIS/Johns Hopkins University]

Stephen Blank [Senior Fellow/Foreign Policy Research Institute]

**6:00 pm – 8:30 PM Patrons' Reception**

[Venue: American Foreign Policy Council/

Center for US Ukrainian Relations DC Bureau

509 C Street NW

## BIOGRAPHIES

Margarita Assenova is a Senior Fellow at The Jamestown Foundation. She is a regular contributor to the Jamestown publication *Eurasia Daily Monitor* on political and energy security developments in the Balkans and Central Asia. Assenova is a recipient of the John Knight Professional Journalism Fellowship at Stanford University for her reporting on nationalism in the Balkans. She has authored book chapters and journal articles on security, energy, and democracy published by CSIS Press, Brasse's, Freedom House, Bertelsmann Publishers, the University of New Haven, and The Jamestown Foundation.

George Barros is the Russia Team & Geospatial Intelligence (GEOINT) Team Lead on the Russia and Ukraine portfolio at the Institute for the Study of War (ISW). His work with the Russia and Ukraine portfolio focuses on Russian information operations, the Kremlin's operational art and campaign design in Ukraine and Belarus, and Ukrainian politics. He has worked on every major effort of the Russia Team since the 2020 Belarus protests. Mr. Barros regularly briefs senior military and political decision-makers and participates in global forums to educate Western allies and partners. His work and interviews have been featured in media outlets such as *The Hill*, the *Washington Post*, *BBC*, *Associated Press*, *Reuters*, *Voice of America*, *Radio Free Europe Radio Liberty*, *Kyiv Post*, and the *Kyiv Independent*.

Stephen Blank is currently Senior Fellow at the Foreign Policy Research Institute; immediately prior to his present position, he was Senior Fellow on Russia at the American Foreign Policy Council. 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, arms control, information warfare, energy issues, US foreign and defense policy, European, and Asian security.

Ian Brzezinski is Senior Fellow in the Atlantic Council's Brent Scowcroft Center on International Security as well as a member of the Council's Strategic Advisors Group. Concurrently, he leads the Brzezinski Group, which provides strategic insight and advice to government and commercial clients. Mr. Brzezinski served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Europe and NATO Policy (2001-2005). His lead responsibilities included NATO expansion, Alliance force planning and transformation and NATO operations in the Balkans, the Mediterranean, Afghanistan and Iraq.

Phil Breedlove is a highly decorated retired General of the United States Air Force reaching the pinnacle of the United States Military as one of six geographic Combatant Commanders and Supreme Allied Commander of NATO. During 39 years of service, Gen. Breedlove held a variety of demanding command and staff positions; he led large-scale operations across two theaters of combat. As the Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR) and the Commander of US European Command, he was able to build consensus and form teams to accomplish complex tasks spanning multiple continents; he answered directly to the North Atlantic Council in his NATO capacity and directly to the President of the United States and Secretary of Defense in his US capacity. He led the most comprehensive strategic structural and policy security changes in NATO's history. His diplomatic skills maintained alliance unity during a dynamic & extremely challenging period (2013-16).

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 presently Senior Fellow at the Hudson Institute. Immediately prior to his current posting, he served as Director of the Allison Center for Foreign Policy Studies at The Heritage Foundation where he was responsible for directing policy research for the Middle East, Africa, Russia and the former Soviet Union, the Western Hemisphere, the Arctic region, and NATO. Earlier, Mr. Coffey was engaged as a special adviser to Britain's Ministry of Defence after having served as an officer in the United States Armed Forces, with deployments in South Europe and Afghanistan.

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 geoeconomic, geostrategic, energy, and natural resources ([www.IMAStrategy.com](http://www.IMAStrategy.com)). Dr. Cohen is also an internationally recognized expert on Russia/Eurasia, Eastern Europe, and the Middle East. He is a 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.

Eliot A. Cohen is the Arleigh Burke Chair in Strategy at the Center for International Studies and emeritus professor at Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, where he was the school's 9th Dean. Dr. Cohen's books include *The Hollow Crown* (2023), *The Big Stick* (2017) and *Supreme Command* (2002). In addition to service in the Defense Department he was Counselor of the Department of State in 2007-2009. He is a contributing writer at *The Atlantic*.

William Courtney is an adjunct senior fellow at nonprofit, nonpartisan RAND Corporation. He chairs the board of trustees of Eurasia Foundation, which carries out programs abroad to improve governance and strengthen civil society. He co-chairs the international advisory council of the America 250 Foundation, the nonprofit arm of the U.S. Semiquincentennial Commission. It will oversee and encourage commemorations of the 250th anniversary of America's founding in 1776. For 28 years he was a foreign service officer in the Department of State, and 14 years a corporate executive. He served as Ambassador to Kazakhstan, Georgia, and the U.S.-Soviet Commission to implement the Threshold Test Ban Treaty.

Kelly A. Grieco is a Senior Fellow with the Reimagining US Grand Strategy Program at the Stimson Center, where her work focuses on US foreign policy and defense policy, addressing questions about international security, military force structure, military alliances, drone warfare, air operations, and the future of war. She has expertise in U.S. military alliances and the security architectures of the Indo-Pacific and Europe, as well as current and emerging airpower strategies and capabilities. Prior to joining the Stimson Center, Dr. Grieco was a Senior Fellow with the New American Engagement Initiative in the Atlantic Council's Scowcroft Center for Strategy and an Assistant Professor at the Air Command and Staff College, Air University, where she also served as a Course Director for War Theory.

Glen E. Howard currently serves as the President and Chairman of The Saratoga Foundation. Before his time in Saratoga, Mr. Howard was President of the Jamestown Foundation; he shaped the research and analysis activities of the said institution for 20+ years and extensively interacted with prominent leaders, experts, and national strategists from Europe and Eurasia. Earlier, he was an analyst at the Science Applications International Corporation (SAIC) Strategic Assessment Center. His articles have appeared in *The Wall Street Journal*, *the Central Asia-Caucasus Analyst*, and *Jane's Defense Weekly*; he has consulted private sector and governmental agencies, including the U.S. Department of Defense, the National Intelligence Council and oil companies operating in Central Asia and the Middle East.

Ihor Kabanenko is a retired admiral with the Ukrainian Navy. From 1983 to 1990, he served in the Soviet Navy in various assignments; between 1993-2013, he joined and served in the Ukrainian Armed Forces. He was appointed to the positions of Chief of Operations and Chief of Staff of the Ukrainian Navy, the Military Representative of Ukraine to NATO, Chief of Operations of the Ukrainian Armed Forces, and the First Deputy Chief of Defence. Upon retiring from active service, Admiral Kabanenko took on the role of the Ukrainian Deputy Minister of Defense from May to August 2014 and the post of Deputy Minister of Defense of Ukraine for European Integration from August to October 2014. Currently, he is president of UARPA (Ukrainian Advanced Research Project Agency), which focuses on high-tech solutions and products for defense.

Matthew Boyse is a senior fellow with Hudson Institute's Center on Europe and Eurasia specializing in Central Europe. A former senior foreign service officer, Mr. Boyse served in Washington, Europe, Canada, and South Asia during his thirty-plus years with the State Department. His last roles included serving as deputy assistant secretary in the Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs overseeing US policy toward Central Europe and in the Office of the Special Envoy for Holocaust Issues, as well as serving as sherpa for the Three Seas Initiative and chargé d'affaires in Switzerland, Finland, Romania, and the US Mission to NATO.

Adrian Karatnycky serves as senior fellow with the Atlantic Council's Program on Transatlantic Relations, managing partner of Myrmidon Group LLC, a NY-based consultancy that works with investors seeking entry into the complex emerging markets and co-director of the Ukrainian-Jewish Encounter. From 1993 to 2004, he was president and executive director of Freedom House. In late 2004, Mr. Karatnycky played a key role in turning the world's attention to the ongoing Orange Revolution; in 2005, he founded the Orange Circle to help the victors of the Orange Revolution move from effective protest to effective governance. His recently published 'Battleground Ukraine' (Yale Press 2024) is already considered a seminal work on Ukraine's contemporary history.

Marcus Kolga is a documentary filmmaker, journalist, human rights activist and a leading Canadian analyst of foreign disinformation and influence operations. He frequently writes and comments on Russian and Central and Eastern European issues and disinformation in Canadian and international media. He has produced several internationally screened and broadcast documentary films that have focused on international affairs and human rights subjects, including the Soviet Gulag system, NATO's ISAF mission in Afghanistan and the challenges that NATO faces from Vladimir Putin's neo-Soviet imperial ambitions. His films have been broadcast nationally in Canada, Sweden, Estonia, Latvia, Finland and have been screened at festivals in the US, UK, Japan, Australia and Germany.

Borys Kremenetsky (Maj. General) is the current Defence and Air Attaché, Embassy of Ukraine to the United States. Between 1983 and 2000, Gen. Kremenetsky held various Air Force command, staff and administration positions including time as Military Observer, UN Mission to Tajikistan. Between 2002 and 2006 he was staff officer at the Cooperation and Regional Security Division, NATO International Military Staff after which he became Head, Euro-Atlantic Integration Department, General Staff, Armed Forces of Ukraine. From 2009 till 2014 he was Defence Adviser, Mission of Ukraine to the EU as well as First Deputy Chief, Military Cooperation and Peacekeeping Operations General Directorate, General Staff, Armed Forces of Ukraine. He

followed as Head of the Ukrainian side of the Joint Ceasefire Coordination and Control Centre until taking up his appointment as Defence and Air Attaché, Embassy of Ukraine to the UK, immediately preceding his present posting.

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](http://spending.gov.ua), [openbudget.gov.ua](http://openbudget.gov.ua) and [proifi.gov.ua](http://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.

Thomas McDevitt is Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Washington Times, the iconic ideational flagship and media outlet of American conservatism. Mr. McDevitt recently told a gathering dedicated to seeing Taiwan determine its own destiny that he was organizing "a full strategic communications campaign to reach hundreds of thousands of people" in support of the island. He has reached out to the Ukrainian American community with a similar proposal, a full fledged media campaign to press for restoration of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the embattled homeland of their ancestors.

Greg Melcher is the Chief Operations Officer for the New Generation Warfare Centre. He is also affiliated with the Virginia Tech Applied Research Corporation and Alion Science and Technology. He was a Senior Fellow at The Potomac Foundation and recently graduated from Johns Hopkins University with a Master's in Global Policy. In a prior position, he was a Vice President leading National Security Analysis at the Johns Hopkins University Applied Physics Laboratory where he substantially grew their portfolio in modeling, simulation and analysis for US DOD and Home Land Security clients. He also established and led their efforts to counter China's anti-access area-denial and the Russian Strategic Initiative.

Myron B. Rabij, Esq. is an experienced, multi-lingual, corporate, and mergers & acquisitions (M&A) attorney in Davidoff Hutcher & Citron LLP's New York City Corporate Law practice. Mr. Rabij represents U.S., Canadian, European and other multinational clients in structuring and negotiating joint ventures, acquisitions and exits, corporate and commercial work and related due diligence, corporate governance, company start-up and regulatory issues, project financing, capital raises as well as compliance. He also has deep niche practice experience in energy (oil & gas, LNG and solar) and in various venture tech and blockchain start-ups. Having lived in Kyiv, Ukraine for over 22 years, Myron is fluent in English and Ukrainian and has extensive and varied cross-border transactional experience in Central and Eastern Europe, particularly Ukraine.

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), a classic in the realm of military biographies.

James Sherr OBE is currently Senior Fellow at the Estonian Foreign Policy Institute attached to International Centre for Defence and Security in Tallinn. Immediately prior to his present posting, he was Associate Fellow at the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House), where he headed the Russia and Eurasia programme between 2008 and 2011. Earlier, he served a member of the Social Studies Faculty of Oxford University from 1993 to 2012, a fellow of the Conflict Studies Research Centre of the UK Ministry of Defence from 1995 to 2008 and Director of Studies of the Royal United Services Institute (1983-1985)

Milan Vego is a University Professor and the Admiral R.K. Turner Professor of Operational Art at the Naval War College, in Newport, Rhode Island, since 1991. Obtaining political asylum in the United States in 1976, he served for twelve years as a naval officer and four years as 2nd Officer (Deck) in the Merchant Marine. He holds a PhD in Modern European History from George Washington University (1981). Dr. Vego has published numerous articles and essays in various professional journals and is the author of fourteen books, including *Soviet Naval Tactics (1992)*; *Battle for Leyte, 1944 (2006)*, and *Operational Warfare At Sea (2009, 2017)*. His latest book is *Exercising Control of the Sea (2020)*. The noted academic is also the author of the textbook *Joint Operational Warfare (2007, 2009)*, used at the Naval War College and a number of other service colleges in the United States and overseas.

Zenovy Wowczuk founded the Civil-Military Innovation Institute (CMI2), a non-profit defense innovation organization focusing on rapid development and technology transition to meet the warfighter needs. At CMI2 and its affiliated entities, Dr. Wowczuk leads the overall vision and growth strategies as well as the enterprise program transition activities (military program of record or commercial IP acquisition). During his career, Dr. Wowczuk has published over 25 peer-reviewed technical papers. He is the inventor/co-inventor of multiple patented and protected civil-military technologies, including aerospace systems, automated payload systems, blockchain, and biometric technologies.

Andriy Zagorodnyuk 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, innovative 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. Zagorodnyuk's efforts at the Defense Ministry helped accelerate Ukraine's accession into the NATO Enhanced Partnership program.

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