

# TWG NEWS



November 1993  
Volume IX Number 5



Monthly newsletter of The Washington Group  
An Association of Ukrainian American Professionals

## 300 Attend Annual Leadership Gathering

# TWG Conference Looks at US-Ukrainian Partnerships

**Brzezinski, Popadiuk, Miller, Experts Share Experience, Insights on Developments, Opportunities in Ukraine**

**B**UILDING Ukraine's future by promoting American-Ukrainian partnerships was the theme of The Washington Group's 7th Annual Leadership Conference, held October 8-10 at the Georgetown University Conference Center in Washington. The event brought together the former and current US ambassadors to Ukraine, Ukraine's ambassador in Washington, Zbigniew Brzezinski, and representatives of major US and international assistance institutions, non-governmental organizations, businesses, media and the arts, and some 300 conference participants.

Mr. Brzezinski, the former White House national security adviser, warned about "dark clouds" gathering north of Ukraine; William Miller, America's new ambassador to Ukraine, said that "with good will and common goals...I think we'll succeed"; and former Ambassador Roman Popadiuk called on the administration to pursue a "more active policy" toward Ukraine.

Conference participants also heard panels of representatives of the World Bank and other major American and international institutions discuss various assistance programs available to help



Amb. Roman Popadiuk calls for a more active US policy toward Ukraine in the Leadership Conference keynote address.

Ukraine; of large and small business organizations describe their experiences in trying to get a foothold in the unstable Ukrainian economic climate; and of the US-Ukraine Foundation and other non-governmental groups helping Ukraine reform its government and economy.

### Speakers from Ukraine

Another panel discussed forming partnerships and expanding Ukraine's cultural contacts with the United States, and a panel of media experts analyzed the state of Ukraine's print and electronic media and recalled their experiences in operating within the Ukrainian media environment.

A number of panelists and speakers

came from Ukraine, among them Parliamentarian Ihor Derkach and Leonid Rubanenko, deputy mayor of Kharkiv.

And at the conference Awards Banquet, TWG presented the 1993 *Friend of Ukraine* award to billionaire philanthropist George Soros for his contributions "in helping establish freedom and democracy in Ukraine."

The conference concluded with a discussion by representatives of eight Ukrainian American business and professional groups on the subject of forming a US federation, similar to the one that now exists in Canada.

*(For detailed reports on Conference panels, speeches, receptions and speech transcripts refer to the table of contents, below.)*

### *Inside This Issue:*

|                               |    |
|-------------------------------|----|
| Notes/New Members .....       | 2  |
| Coming Events .....           | 2  |
| LC Embassy Reception .....    | 3  |
| LC Assistance Panel .....     | 4  |
| LC Business Panel .....       | 5  |
| LC Private Groups Panel ..... | 6  |
| LC Media Panel .....          | 7  |
| LC Keynote Address .....      | 8  |
| LC Luncheon Address .....     | 9  |
| LC Arts Panel .....           | 10 |
| LC Awards Banquet .....       | 11 |
| LC B & P Discussion .....     | 12 |
| LC Transcripts:               |    |
| Popadiuk .....                | 14 |
| Brzezinski .....              | 17 |
| Miller .....                  | 18 |

## New Members



## Notes on Members

- **Dennis DeSantis**, full member, president of Trident Export Management Inc., of Falls Church, VA.
- **Halya Duda**, associate member, president of Achievement Technology, a consulting firm specializing in human resource development and organizational behavior.
- **Frank G. Giordano**, full member, staff auditor with US Consumer Product Safety Commission, of Silver Spring, MD.
- **Susanna Ahaszuk Harris**, full member, CEO and resident of Vatra International Trade, of Littleton, CO.
- **Mark G. Hatalak**, associate member, computer systems analyst with Quotron Systems Inc., of New York, NY.
- **William Hershyn**, associate member, president of ARPES Development Corp., of Felton, CA.
- **Andrei Iatsenia**, full member, consultant with the World Bank, of McLean, VA.
- **Oleg Jerschkowsky**, full member, general director of Bonot Enterprises, of Silver Spring, MD.
- **Motria Krawczeniuk**, associate member, of Marlton, NJ.
- **Catherine Krucylak**, associate member, of Manchester, MO.
- **Peter Krucylak**, associate member, of Manchester, MO.
- **Alexander B. Kytasty Kuzma**, associate member, project coordinator with Children of Chernobyl Relief Fund, of South Orange, NJ.
- **Natalie Luchanko**, associate member, director of the Engineering Development Dept., SEPTA, of Elkins Park, PA.

- **Tanya Chomiak** left on her first assignment as a foreign service officer with the US Information Agency—as information/cultural officer in Almaty, Kazakhstan. Her first major project: handle the press during Vice President Al Gore's visit.
- **Luba Demchuk**, a professional actress from the Washington area, stars in a new film released in Ukraine, *Z Novym Rokom, doktore* (Happy New Year, Doctor), playing the role of an actress who falls in love with the doctor.
- **Halya Duda** (see *New Members*, left), recently returned from a two-week tour in Ukraine, conducting an American-style management training program for the Ukrainian Army.
- **Harry Makar**, a metallurgical engineer with the US Bureau of Mines from Ellicott City, Md., was selected to participate in the Leadership Howard County 1993-94 Program, designed to develop capable leaders for community improvement.

## Special Thanks

For the second year in a row, Dr. Theodore Zalucky, who recently moved from the Washington area to Wilton, Conn., has donated \$1,000 to the TWG Fellowship Fund.

Also, Orysia Pylyshenko and Andrew Webber were inadvertently dropped from the list of Fellowship Fund donors in the last issue of the TWG News.

## Coming Events:

**Dec. 15, Wednesday, 7:30 p.m. and 8:30 p.m.**

**Ukrainian National Choir performs Christmas carols at the Mormon Cathedral Visitors Center. Contact Oksana Palijczuk (410) 828-6922**

**Dec 18, Saturday, 2:00 - 4:00 p.m.**

**Visit from St. Nicholas and Christmas Bazaar, sponsored by Taras Shevchenko School and Plast, at Holy Family Ukr. Cath. National Shrine, 4250 Harewood Rd. NE. Adults \$5 donation. Children free. Zirka Harahatch (301) 916-0978.**

### TWG NEWS

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Natalie Sluzar, photographer

## Brzezinski Sees Critically Difficult Years for Ukraine

by R. L. Chomiak

UKRAINE faces some very serious problems, and the next two to three years will be critically difficult, says Zbigniew Brzezinski.

The task for Ukrainian leadership in Ukraine, he adds, is to mobilize the Ukrainian people, and the task of Ukrainians in the United States is to fashion an image of Ukraine as an active member of the European community.

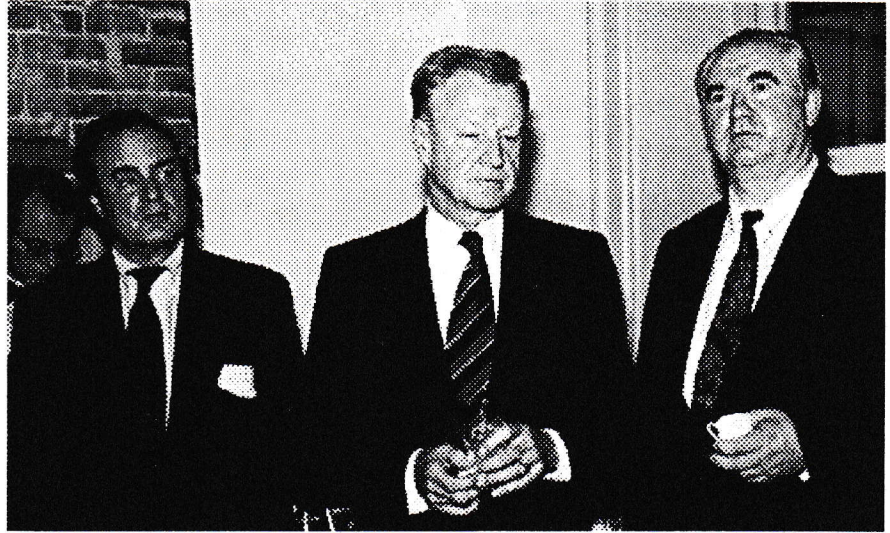
Dr. Brzezinski spoke at the opening reception of this year's Leadership Conference of The Washington Group. The reception was held at the Embassy of Ukraine October 8.

Ukraine's problems, he said, are both internal and external. "The political instability (in Russia), the militarization of Russian foreign policy, the increased pressure to recreate the outer boundaries of the old empire do suggest that dark clouds are gathering, and it will take determined effort, and much commitment, a great deal of unity to safeguard the Ukrainian state."

### Russian pressure

Dr. Brzezinski recalled that while much attention of the world was focused on the clash between the Russian president and parliament on September 21, "something else took place on September 25—the recreation of the economic union of nine former member states of the Soviet Union...which has in it the potential for also becoming a political union."

Ukraine is not a member of that union, though associated with it. "But this process is gathering momentum," he emphasized, "and one has to give serious thought to what is the future of Ukraine; whether it will, in fact, succeed and consolidate itself. It is still an open issue.... It will take the effort of every Ukrainian in Ukraine, and of every Ukrainian living in America...to make sure Ukraine succeeds."



Zbigniew Brzezinski flanked by William Miller, the new US ambassador to Ukraine (left), and Oleh Bilorus, Ukraine's ambassador to the United States. Mr. Brzezinski shared some sobering thoughts about Ukraine's future with those attending the otherwise joyous Leadership Conference reception at the Ukrainian Embassy.

Dr. Brzezinski's views were particularly sobering to those conference participants who heard him in 1986, when he addressed the first TWG Leadership Conference. At that time he was completing his book *The Grand Failure*, which predicted the breakup of the Soviet Union, and in his address to that Leadership Conference he made a point that liberalization of the Soviet economy would inevitably lead to a loosening of political bonds.

This year Dr. Brzezinski said he did not think Russia is going to take overtly aggressive actions against Ukraine, "but indirect pressure and destabilization, exploring internal difficulties, is the likely course. And this will require a great deal of stamina and commitment."

### West 'Russocentric'

He blamed the West for being deficient in helping Ukraine. "We have been too Russocentric," although this was now changing, he added. "The (Clinton) administration is paying much more attention to Ukraine.... We are correcting the negligence of the last

several years. The negligence has been massive, and it contributed to the internal difficulties in Ukraine."

But he also said that Ukraine has not fully exploited the last two years since the collapse of the Soviet Union.

### Ukraine lacks policy

"Not enough has been done to initiate a comprehensive program of reform," he contended. "Not enough has been done to launch Ukraine forward... Not enough has been done to fashion a program of change. Not enough has been done to articulate a vision of Ukraine's future which is compelling and unifying to the Ukrainian people."

"It is essential that the Ukrainian leadership project to the Ukrainian people a concept of Ukraine's future that mobilizes the emotions, the support, the commitment and the energy of the Ukrainian people."

Because if it does not do that," he warned, "the economic difficulties, abetted from outside politically, will create divisions and splits, and will produce

(Continued on Page 11)

## Institutions Help Ukraine Develop

by R. L. Chomiak

**I**NTERNATIONAL assistance to Ukraine is broad and varied: from poultry production facilities to university linkages; from small business incubators to airport construction; with Black Sea shipping development and an environmental monitoring facility thrown in.

And this is just a partial list of projects already launched that were mentioned by participants of one panel at this year's Leadership Conference.

### USAID

Gregory Huger of the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) noted that the theory behind foreign assistance is that it should only act as a catalyst, but he also admitted that as far as his agency is concerned, "we could still do more."

In the spring of 1993, he said, USAID decided to support privatization in Ukraine, based on a premise that privatization is one of the central elements of reform.

To correct the impression that foreign advisers tend to come to a country for a short time, do a study and leave behind their own prescriptions that may or may not be accepted, Huger made a point that USAID sent a team to Ukraine to do a work plan for privatization together with the Ukrainian government and that this would be a Ukrainian plan, a plan that is "acceptable to Ukraine." The task is not easy, he admitted, but it is "moving along."

As a Midwesterner, Huger said he was impressed by Ukraine's agricultural potential. On his first trip there, "Ukraine looked like Iowa or Illinois." He called it a potential "gold mine."

At this time, he said, \$38 million has been put into action for Ukraine's agriculture: \$7 million in USAID funds and \$31 million from U.S. agribusiness companies.

One of the projects is something called the "poultry grandparent production facility," which is intended to introduce to

Ukraine high grade chickens in place of the scrawny ones with "degenerated poultry genetics" that have resulted from the Soviet misguided farm management.

Huger also talked of USAID's support for small entrepreneurs in Ukraine by offering business services for them, and also by using its office in Kiev and its databases to introduce small Ukrainian entrepreneurs to one another. USAID field officers have found, he said, that people working in related fields often don't know each other, and it takes an American working in Ukraine to get them together.

### Eurasia Foundation

Jim Cashel from the Eurasia Foundation, a new U.S. Congress-funded operation based on similar foundations for Latin America and Africa, said that the foundation gives "small grants" for development projects—those under \$100,000. The foundation was to open its Kyiv office within a few days after the Leadership Conference.

Cashel suggested that members of The Washington Group and similar American professional organizations could help his foundation with information about the changing developments in Ukraine, with suggestions about who in Ukraine, particularly among the younger people, were meritorious for a grant, and to propose project ideas for new investments in Ukraine.

### US Information Agency

Monica O'Keefe, the US Information Agency's desk officer responsible for Ukraine, said that among the products her agency distributes in Ukraine are a video series on how to start a business, as well as the weekly program broadcast on Ukrainian TV called *Window on America* (see Media Panel story on Page 7).

She also described educational exchanges, visits by Ukrainian parliamentarians to exchange ideas with their American counterparts, visits by Ukrainian industrial conversion people to places like



Leonid Rubanenko, Kharkiv deputy mayor, calls for direct business and aid contacts, bypassing Kyiv bureaucracy.

the Livermore Laboratory and TRW, all of which have been funded by USIA.

USIA arranges linkages between American universities and universities around the world, and there now is such linkage between Lviv University and Wayne State, said Ms. O'Keefe. To set up more such programs, she added, an American university has to submit a proposal for a partnership with a Ukrainian one.

Publishers in Ukraine have signed contracts with USIA to publish Ukrainian translations of American books, Ms. O'Keefe said.

And in the field of entrepreneurship, USIA has given a grant to Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute to set up business incubators in Ukraine, or "secure growing environment for business," which also includes a three-week course for entrepreneurs at Rensselaer, she said.

### World Bank

Serhiy Koulyk, once a diplomat of the Ukrainian SSR Mission to the United Nations, then charge d'affaires of the Embassy of Ukraine in Washington, this time came to a TWG function as assistant executive director of the World Bank.

He recalled how at the beginning of the Bank's existence, the Soviet Union,

(Continued on Page 12)

## 'A Lot of Opportunities, But a Big Challenge'

by Maria Kulczycky

**S**UCCESSFUL business ventures in Ukraine are measured not in terms of concrete results but whether a business can be established in the first place.

Ukraine presents "a lot of opportunity, but a big challenge," summed up one speaker at the Leadership Conference panel discussion on "The business climate—a report from the filed." Speakers on the panel listed some successes but also reiterated a litany of frustrations, the chief one being finding a reliable local joint-venture partner, the first prerequisite for starting a business in Ukraine.

Those who succeeded—in refurbishing and building hotels, in opening a pizza parlor, in selling harvesters or pesticides—also related war stories of corruption, intimidation and poor performance.

Marijka Helbig, president of Scope Travel, a leading Ukrainian tour organizer, was able to open a hotel in Ivano-Frankivsk in a joint venture with an

Austrian firm only, after replacing the original Ukrainian partner with a new one. The first partner sold a portion of his interest to another party, violating the partnership agreement.

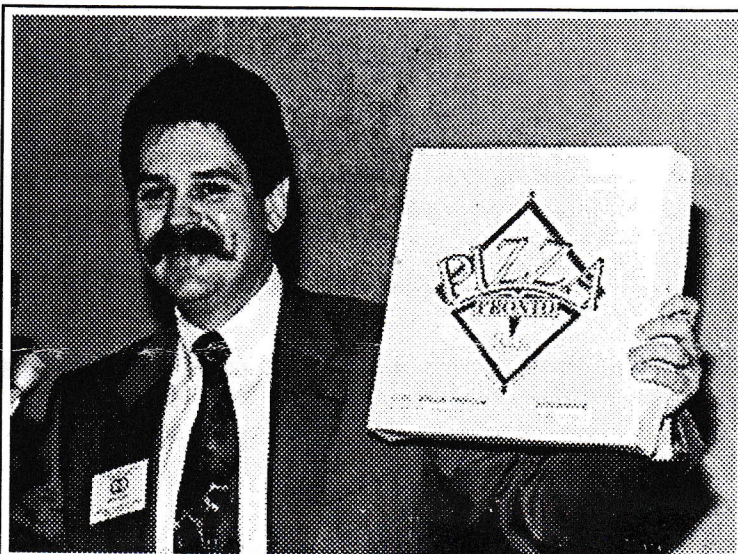
### Hotel project

"He thought my Ukrainian heart was bigger than my Ukrainian brain," Ms. Helbig related. Instead, the American/Austrian partners, who had already invested \$100,000, withdrew from the deal and convinced a subordinate of the Ukrainian partner to go out on his own in a new deal with them.

The key to successful ventures is "strong people-to-people contacts" and the willingness to provide a lot of help, according to James D. Regan, manager

of international strategic development with FMC Corporation of Chicago. FMC was able to sell pesticides to growers of sugar beets and harvesters to tomato growers. Payment by the beet growers was made in molasses. When the customer had problems exporting molasses through Riga, because the product would freeze in the winter, FMC invested in a loading terminal on the Black Sea.

One problem FMC faces is the fact



Orest Jejna of Jemar International describes how he went about opening a pizza parlor in Lviv during the Conference business panel.

that the US Export-Import Bank canceled its credit agreement with the Ukrainian ExIm Bank, Mr. Regan said.

"We are dependent on their credit guarantees and insurance protection," he said. "If that can't be put together, it will put a crimp in our business."

### Selling pizza

Orest Jejna, president of Jemar International, a consulting group advising investors in Ukraine, decided to open a fast-food outlet in Lviv to gain first-hand experience. The local partner is a small sandwich shop.

The store has been open for four months and can't be marketed further because it reaches maximum sales levels each day in peak periods, according to

Mr. Jejna. Still, "each day is a hurdle," he adds. The operation is "not without blood, sweat and tears."

A tremendous negative side is learning about the partner the investor is dealing with, he related. Another challenge is organized street criminals. "We're dealing with this issue as best as we possibly can," Mr. Jejna said.

### Still waiting

Andrew Zwarun, vice president of E-Z-EM Inc., a medical supply firm with \$100 million in revenues, traveled to Ukraine three times in an attempt to set up distributorships, find strategic partners for trade or manufacture, or find sources of high quality, inexpensive medical devices that can be sold around the world. He failed to meet any of his objectives. On the other hand, he reported, he was able to close a deal in Turkmenistan in one visit.

"Why not in Ukraine?" he asked.

Zwarun cited several instances of agreements reached with Ukrainian parties that have yet to see any action by the Ukrainians.

"We're still waiting," he related.

He believes that "we haven't hit the right partner or the right approach."

A critical tool for foreign investors would be a "means to check out our partner, a way to get information" if the partner is legitimate, he suggested.

George Chopivsky Jr., founder of a joint venture established to develop a hotel in Kyiv, described the problems his firm encountered in the renovation of a 19th century hotel on Andriyivsky Uzviz, the capital's artists' quarter. Problems with construction crews and street access to the hotel have stalled completion of the project. □

## Private Foundations, Groups Respond to Ukraine's Needs

by Yaro Bihun

**W**HILE Ukrainians themselves carry the responsibility of developing their country politically and economically, a number of American private organizations, which receive public and private funding, have helped Ukrainians set the direction and pace of their development.

A number of such "non-governmental organizations" (NGOs) have gained a lot of experience in a relatively short time, according to Orest Deychakiwsky, the US Helsinki Commission staff member who moderated the Leadership Conference panel of four such NGOs.

The panelists were Nadia Diuk, regional director of the National Endowment for Democracy; Orysia Pylyshenko, program director of the National Forum Foundation; Nadia Komarnycky-McConnell, president of the US-Ukraine Foundation; and Alex Kuzma, project coordinator of the Children of Chernobyl Relief Fund.

### **Endowment for Democracy**

Ms. Diuk pointed out that communism had effectively destroyed all normal civic organizational structures between the individual and the state. In order to bring democracy to such an environment, a viable civil society must be rebuilt, she said, and the private sector is much better at transferring such know-how and funds for that purpose.

The National Endowment for Democracy (NED) was established by Congress in 1987 to be such a vehicle for providing assistance to emerging democratic movements around the world. It channels funds to private groups in Ukraine and elsewhere through private American organizations, two of which were represented on the panel—the National Forum Foundation and the US-Ukraine Foundation. The recipients are groups and individuals working for democracy and private enterprise in their countries, among them publishing houses, trade unions, lawyers

groups, political parties.

The diaspora has an important role to play in identifying such groups and individuals in Ukraine and helping pass on the necessary skills and material assistance to them, Ms. Diuk said. Ukrainian Americans must also fight the isolationist mood that is overtaking Washington and convince the government of the need to remain engaged in Eastern Europe and the newly independent states of the former Soviet Union. She pointed to proposed budget cuts at Radio Liberty and the proposed complete elimination of NED as examples of the negative trend.

Another private organization helping train new leaders in Ukraine and other newly independent states is the National

***Among the many problems volunteers encounter is the lack of understanding by their Ukrainian counterparts of such notions as "volunteerism" and "conflict of interest."***

Forum Foundation, which since 1992 has been bringing mid-level professionals to the United States for 3-month fellowships in journalism, the democratic political process, economic reform and related fields. Of these fellows, 11 so far have been from Ukraine, Orysia Pylyshenko pointed out.

The Foundation also conducts the American Volunteers for International Development (AVID) program, which sends American professionals to Ukraine and other countries to assist their government and private institutions. These volunteers stay for up to a year and live as their host colleagues do and not as

"wealthy Western experts," she said.

In addition to passing on their knowledge and skills, AVID volunteers acquaint their Ukrainian colleagues with high professional standards and an American work ethic. And when they return home, Ms. Pylyshenko said, they form a strong cadre of Americans knowledgeable about Ukraine.

Among the many problems these volunteers encounter is the lack of understanding on the part of their Ukrainian counterparts of such notions as "volunteerism" and "conflict of interest."

### **US-Ukraine Foundation**

Nadia Komarnycky-McConnell said she got the idea of creating the US-Ukraine Foundation after hearing Volodymyr Yavorivsky speak at the 1989 TWG Leadership Conference. She realized then that a number of democrats who would get elected to parliament had no experience in governing.

With funding from the US Information Agency, the foundation brought over its first group of parliamentarians to the US to learn the American way of governance in April 1991. Since then, other delegations have followed, specializing in government, economic development and defense conversion.

The Foundation established a presence in Kyiv in the form of the Pylyp Orlyk Institute for Democracy, which promulgates through its activities and publications the principles of a democratic system of government and a free market economy. It also maintains a "Democracy Hotline," a daily electronic mail hook-up which provides Ukrainian officials with the latest information on policy issues in Washington.

One of the secrets of the Foundation's success thus far has been establishing and maintaining an excellent reputation of an "honest broker" not tied to any political group in Ukraine, Ms. Komarnycky McConnell said. She

(Continued on Page 9)

## Media Panel

# Ukrainian Media Enjoy New Freedom, But Can't Compete with Russian Media

by Marta Zielyk

THE last of Saturday's sessions concerned an area which, said moderator and VOA broadcaster Adrian Karmazyn, has seen perhaps the most dramatic changes—the media. Whereas a few years ago Western broadcasts were being jammed by the Soviet authorities, now the Ukrainian government is leasing transmitters and airtime to the Voice of America, Radio Liberty and the BBC. Ukrainian programming has also changed, from being hostile to the West to a situation in which the average Ukrainian citizen can watch *Hill Street Blues*, the *CBS Evening News with Dan Rather* and even the *Joan Rivers Show* translated into Ukrainian. Ukraine finally has freedom of the press, said Mr. Karmazyn, although that freedom is seriously inhibited by, among other things, a lack of paper.

The panel consisted of Peter Fedynsky, Vasyl Zorya, Ihor Slisarenko and Roman Melnyk, all of whom have participated in cooperative media projects between the US and Ukraine.

### "Professional brain damage"

Vasyl Zorya is the deputy editor-in-chief of the Ukrainian news agency UNIAN, one of the first independent news agencies in that country. He was visiting the United States on a fellowship from the Center for Foreign Journalists, working in Madison, Wisconsin, on the Wisconsin State Journal.

Mr. Zorya said the Ukrainian press was and still is "provincial," which means that the professional journalistic constraints on Ukrainian journalists were always tighter than those on their Moscow colleagues. As a result, said Mr. Zorya, many of his fellow journalists are suffering from "professional brain damage." Many of the best and brightest Ukrainian journalists were enticed to Moscow, where they now hold top positions in Russian newspapers and journals. Nowadays, he said, young, aspiring journalists still do



**Ihor Slisarenko, popular Ukrainian TV personality, blames government for two years of inaction on TV reform.**

not look to the Ukrainian press to make their mark; they would rather work for foreign news agencies or radio stations, where the pay is in hard currency.

Ukrainian media—be it radio, television, daily newspapers or periodical journals—are still overshadowed by the Russian media and cannot compete with its northern neighbor, he said.

It would not be an overstatement, noted Mr. Zorya, to say the national press in Ukraine is perishing. He cited statistics about daily newspapers which now come out once or twice a week and about papers whose circulation dropped in recent months from 700,000 to 90,000.

### *Window on America*

Focusing on the broadcast media, Adrian Karmazyn introduced Peter Fedynsky, who is the host of the new US Information Agency WorldNet television program *Window on America*, which has been broadcasting half-hour weekly programs on Ukrainian television since January. The program, which Mr. Fedynsky says reaches approximately 50 million citizens of Ukraine, begins with a news round-up, then goes on to cover

business, arts and entertainment, some Americana, and includes a weekly rotating feature package on agriculture, ecology, medicine and education.

Ukrainian officials, noted Mr. Fedynsky, say that *Window on America* serves to dispel two stereotypes that still exist in Ukraine. One stereotype, prevalent among older Ukrainians, is that the US is riddled with class warfare, poverty, unemployment and homelessness; the other is prevalent in the younger generation, which feels that America can do no wrong and that "its streets are paved with gold."

Talking about Ukrainian television, Mr. Fedynsky mentioned a few problem areas, among them: the lack of a Ukrainian television correspondent working in Washington or elsewhere in the United States (who would satisfy the seemingly unsatiable hunger of Ukrainians for "Ukrainian" news from America); the lack of foreign television journalists in Ukraine, who could provide an accurate picture of life and politics in that country; the dominance of the Russian language; piracy of US motion pictures; no sense of promptness on Ukrainian TV, which often results in the *Window on America* program being broadcast at 8:10 or 8:30 p.m. instead of at 8:00 as scheduled.

### Broadcasting system

Roman Melnyk, until recently a major figure in the Canadian Broadcast Corporation, commented on the immense task facing Ukraine in restructuring an entire national broadcasting system virtually overnight. Mr. Melnyk described his experiences in Ukraine after he was approached by the Karl Popper Foundation and George Soros to look into the possibility of establishing an alternative, independent television station in Ukraine. This was proposed by a consortium of Ukrainians headed by the preeminent film maker Yuri Illienko.

Examining the situation, Mr. Melnyk ran into numerous problems, such as the lack of any underlying legislation on broadcasting, no mechanism for licensing new operations, no distribution system and no copyright laws, which are essential

(Continued on Page 12)

## Russian Pressure, West's Neglect Add to Ukraine's Problems

by Yaro Bihun

AMERICA'S first ambassador to Ukraine, Roman Popadiuk, says Washington should initiate "a more active policy toward Ukraine, aimed at assisting its economic development and security," and a "coherent policy approach which attaches to Ukraine the importance it warrants."

"The shortcomings in our approach toward Ukraine has led to skepticism on the part of Kiev toward the United States," Mr. Popadiuk said in the keynote address to the TWG Leadership Conference October 9. And among these mistakes, he noted, "the administration's refusal to invite former Prime Minister Kuchma in April, over the recommendation of the Embassy, only served to solidify the skepticism toward the United States."

Mr. Popadiuk, who has returned to Washington after 14 months in Kyiv and now serves at the Foreign Service Institute, gave his analysis of the situation in Ukraine and of the US policy toward Ukraine, noting that he was expressing his own views, which did not necessarily reflect of the position of the administration.

"I saw Ukraine in the afterglow if its independence, when hopes were still high, and I saw a country slowly come to grips with the reality of its own shortcomings and the pressures of the world around it," Mr. Popadiuk said. The most prominent of these shortcomings as Ukraine goes into its third year of independence, he said, was "Ukraine's failure to exploit its resources and institute a coherent, rational economic plan."

### External pressures

The failure has resulted from many internal and external pressures. The three main external problems, he explained, have been Ukraine's "economic seesaw relationship" with Russia, especially Moscow's raising of oil prices and cutting back of promised deliveries; the failure of the West to provide adequate assistance; and the dissolution of the Soviet Union which severed many old economic ties.

His embassy's petitions for increased aid to stabilize the Ukrainian economy, Mr. Popadiuk said, were stymied by US domestic economic problems, Ukraine's failure to reach an agreement with the International Monetary Fund, and "Washington's preoccupation with Russia," in the hope that if Russia succeeds politically and economically this would have a positive influence on the former republics as well.

He found fault with the Russia-centered strategy: if the attempts at reform in Russia fail, it may set the stage for a resurgence of authoritarianism and an attempt to reconstitute the empire, and even if Russia "should continue on its

*"Failure to meet the demands of a highly educated society can lead to the type of social turmoil that can be exploited by foreign forces."*

democratic path, there is no guarantee regarding its international behavior." All large countries have their national interests, especially with respect to neighboring states, he said

"By helping establish a viable Ukrainian state, we take a major step in helping prevent the recreation of empire and, in the best scenario, help in shaping a positive international role for Russia itself," Mr. Popadiuk said.

Ukraine's, and other republics' problems are compounded by the historical fact that under the Soviet Union their most talented people were attracted to Moscow—as were Western scholars, businessmen and investors. With the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Ukraine

and the other former republics, "were left with the problems and not the talent," Mr. Popadiuk said.

### Coping with "old guard"

American companies, which had grown in number from 40 to 120 during his stay in Kiev, have had a difficult time coping with the "old guard" cadres, or "red directors," as they are called, who have a vested interest in continuing the old centrally planned economic system. They have to contend with endless bureaucratic roadblocks and a mindset that views the Western investor as a threat.

With its strong industrial and agricultural resources, Ukraine has the potential to become a powerful economic force, which can help support its political security, Mr. Popadiuk said.

"Unfortunately, Ukraine does not appear to appreciate the importance of this dimension of its security. A free market economy attracts foreign investment, which leads to a greater foreign presence and closer ties to the outside world. Economic wealth also helps to satisfy the growing demands of its population for goods and services," he said.

"Ukraine must not forget that security involves not only an external dimension, but an internal one as well. Failure to meet the demands of a highly educated society can lead to the type of social turmoil that can be exploited by foreign forces."

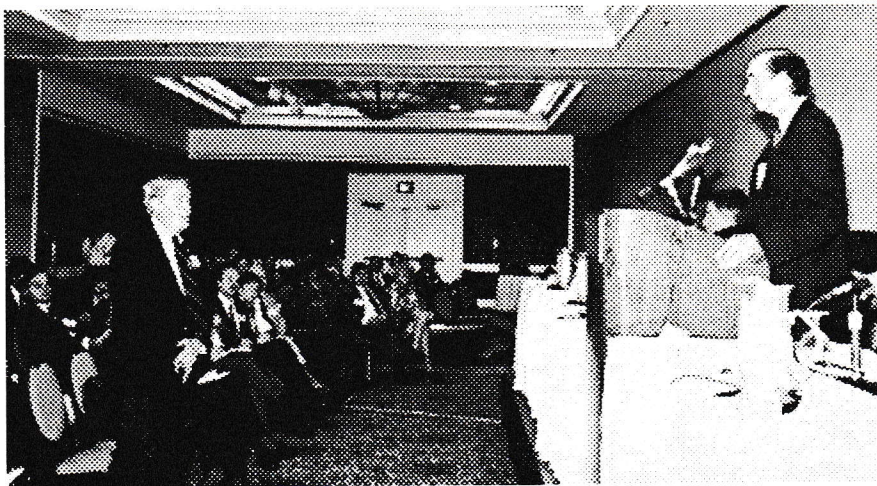
### US assistance

The United States has sought to assist Ukraine in its transition to a market economy, through its various US Agency for International Development programs in agriculture, energy, defense conversion and privatization, Mr. Popadiuk said. Washington has also recognized Ukraine's security concerns with the institution of a military education and training program, including the opportunity to compete for placements at West Point and the Air Force Academy, and the offer \$175 million for nuclear dismantlement.

The former US ambassador to Ukraine

(Continued on next page)





Roman Popadiuk, America's first ambassador to Ukraine, responds to questions following his keynote address during the opening session of the TWG Leadership Conference at Georgetown University's Conference Center.

(Continued from preceding page)

stressed that a viable and independent Ukraine is important to the West.

In establishing a more active policy towards Ukraine, Mr. Popadiuk said, the United States should be guided by the following principles:

- "First, we must not take reform in Moscow for granted and must institute a balanced policy that not only actively seeks to make Moscow successful but the rim states—particularly Ukraine—equally successful.

- "Second, we must take the lead in organizing our Western partners in a con-

certed effort of financial and economic assistance, including an international pledging conference to deal with Ukraine's dismantlement costs and economic assistance.

- "Third, rather than maintaining a wall between the Western and Eastern communities, we must work more actively to bring the East into the Western community, including membership in NATO.

- "Fourth, we need to take the lead in structuring new mechanisms that can manage the separation of the former republics, particularly the separation between Ukraine and Russia." □

## Private...(from Page 6)

also noted that one of the obstacles the foundation had to overcome initially was the source of its effectiveness—the fact that it was founded by Ukrainian Americans. Some providers of funds at first thought that their relationship with Ukraine might be "too close."

As was the case with the US-Ukraine Foundation, the Children of Chernobyl Relief Fund also traced its roots to Mr. Yavorivsky's appearance at the 1989 TWG conference, according to Alex Kuzma. It was followed by a number for fact-finding visits to Ukraine by concerned Ukrainian Americans who saw the medical care being provided Chernobyl victims was "at best, ghastly." There was no lack of talent

there, he said, but for the lack of medical equipment and supplies, the Ukrainian doctors were called on to "work miracles with their bare hands."

What we are seeing now with thyroid cancer (8 times above normal) and other illnesses, Mr. Kuzma said, is only the "tip of the iceberg." Because radiation-related illnesses peak 10 to 20 years after the incident, there will be "a gargantuan task ahead of us" sometime after 1996, he said.

The problems the Relief Fund encountered were similar to those faced by other American organizations and businesses: finding reliable people; getting past the top, do-nothing tier of managers to the competent second tier; being able to accept criticism; and accepting the fact that the world is not perfect. □

## Luncheon address

### Deputy Derkach sees "Great changes" if Democrats can unite

UKRAINIAN Parliamentarian Ihor Derkach says he looks forward to 1994 as "a year of great changes" in Ukraine because of the "first real democratic elections" to Parliament scheduled that year.

Addressing the TWG Leadership Conference luncheon October 9, the deputy for the Sambir district expressed the hope that the democratic forces will be able to unite into a democratic coalition that will prevail in these elections.

On defense issues, speaking as a member of the Committee on National Security and Defense, Mr. Derkach said he is convinced that "the very fact that Ukraine has nuclear weapons guarantees our security."

If Ukraine would rid itself of nuclear weapons, it would become vulnerable to conventional arms attack, he said.

Mr. Derkach said he was not suggesting that Ukraine take part in an arms race, but only that it should reduce its nuclear arms in proportion to reductions by other nuclear powers.

"Ukraine," he said, "should be treated as a truly independent country."

Noting that the US position on this point was changing, but very slowly, Mr. Derkach expressed the hope that the new US ambassador to Ukraine, William Miller, will succeed in removing the issue from the bilateral agenda.

The time spent by the Ukrainian government on national defense issues has kept it from concentrating on important economic issues, he said. Like Poland, Ukraine should move toward privatizing small industries and businesses in order to create an infrastructure for further privatization.

He agreed with Kharkiv Deputy Mayor Leonid Rubanenko, who addressed the conference before him, that investors can be more effective if they bypass the Kyiv bureaucracy and deal directly with local businesses and governments. □

## Fostering US-Ukrainian Cultural Ties

by Daria Stec

SATURDAY afternoon's Leadership Conference panel on the arts explored ways in which US-Ukrainian partnerships could be used to foster a knowledge of and acquaintance with Ukraine's cultural heritage in the US. The panel was moderated by Laryssa Chopivsky, TWG board member, vice president of Commonwealth Broadcasting Company and chairman of the Artistic Direction Committee of the Washington Performing Arts Society.

Dmitro Markov, the Ukrainian Embassy's press and cultural attaché, provided the Ukrainian perspective on the cultural partnerships issue.

### Embassy view

Mr. Markov noted that, because Ukraine's publicity has revolved around the political, economic and nuclear issues, the cultural area has been neglected. He hoped that greater balance could be achieved soon. To this end, the Ukrainian Embassy has participated in numerous cultural events in the 16 months of its existence. It initiated, organized or directly supported 14 cultural exhibits, and has taken part in over 80 cultural events.



Cultural Attaché Dmitro Markov explains Ukrainian Embassy's plans for expanding cultural ties with US.

The most significant exhibits were *Contemporary Art from Ukraine: American Perspective* and *Ukraine: Images from 5000-4000 B.C.* Mr. Markov emphasized that the exhibits were made possible through the efforts and financial support of the Ukrainian-American community.

According to Mr. Markov, Ukraine's critical economic problems, fledgling political structure, and a cultural crisis itself—resulting from physical neglect and the emigration of notable cultural figures—have hindered the renaissance of Ukrainian culture. Nevertheless, a lot more can be done, he said, offering four proposals:

- 1) Establish a Cultural Center of Ukraine as part of the Embassy to promote Ukrainian culture;
- 2) Establish greater non-governmental ties through a US-Ukraine Society, which would promote Ukrainian culture in the US and American culture in Ukraine;
- 3) Establish a cultural foundation connected to a diaspora institution, such as the Ukrainian Institute in New York;
- 4) Create a stronger legislative basis for cooperation—something the American side rejects because there is no governmental coordination of cultural programs in the United States.

Following Mr. Markov's comments, three Ukrainian-American artists shared their experiences in working on cultural ventures in Ukraine.

### Film industry

Slavko Nowytski, an international television broadcaster with the US Information Agency's *Window on America* and film director of such award-winning films as *Sheep in Wood*, *Pysanka* and *Harvest of Despair*, has made some inroads into cooperation with Ukrainian film makers and studios. In 1990 he was a joint sponsor of an international film festival in Ukraine, at which 13 of his films were shown in a dozen Ukrainian cities, and currently he is working on a documentary on Ukraine in World War II and on a film about the Ukrainian icon.



Douglas Wheeler, managing director of the Washington Performing Arts Society, offers his suggestions for planning tours for visiting Ukrainian performers.

Mr. Nowytski noted that Ukraine's greatest problem in the film industry is the state of equipment: it is sparse and old, with some equipment dating back to the 1920s. There is also the problem of financial support, since the arts are no longer state-funded. Despite this, Mr. Nowytski saw some world-class films being made in Ukraine, especially animation and documentary films. He believes that if someone took the risk, these films could be marketed in the United States, at least in the arts and university circuits, which are quite large.

Ukrainian studios also have the potential for being used by Western film companies to make films. Mr. Nowytski believes that a quality feature film could be produced in Ukraine for less than \$1 million, as compared to \$25 million spent on an average Hollywood film. Finally, Mr. Nowytski noted that there were business opportunities in the Ukrainian film industry for setting up a dubbing and subtitling firm, which currently does not exist.

### Opera

Roman Terleckyj, director of the Washington Opera since 1982 and directing assistant to Gian Carlo Menotti, (Continued on Page 13)

## Soros Honored with 1993 *Friend of Ukraine* Award

THE highlight of the annual Leadership Conference Gala Banquet Saturday evening was the presentation of the *Friend of Ukraine* award. This year's recipient was billionaire George Soros, honored for his philanthropic activities in Ukraine through the International Renaissance Foundation, which he launched in 1990.

Presenting the award, TWG President Mykola Babiak read the words inscribed on the plaque: *To George Soros for his outstanding contribution in helping establish freedom and democracy in Ukraine.*

The award was accepted, in Mr. Soros's absence, by Oleh Havrylyshyn, executive director for Ukraine at the International Monetary Fund, who had worked with Mr. Soros

on various projects, including the Council of Advisors to the Parliament of Ukraine. The Hungarian-born philanthropist began helping to build infrastructures and institutions for open societies in 1979 when he founded the Open Society Fund; six years later he founded the Soros Foundation-Hungary; and three years after that, the Soros Foundation-Soviet Union. In 1990 he launched the Renaissance Foundation, designed to support the transformation of Ukraine into a free, pluralistic and independent state, which now has offices in a number of Ukrainian cities.

### 'One in a billion'

Accepting the award for Mr. Soros, Dr. Havrylyshyn said that rather than characterize Mr. Soros as a billionaire, "I would put it a different way. I would say he is one in a billion." He saluted the award recipient for using the fortune he made in the business world for the good of emerging democracies worldwide, and especially in Ukraine.

Among the numerous projects organized, funded or in some way assisted by Mr. Soros's philanthropy in Ukraine are the Council of Advisors to the Presidium of the Parliament of Ukraine, the National Center for the Implementation of Inter-

extensive book translation and publishing program and has awarded some 600 foreign travel grants to Ukrainian artists, educators, lawyers, economists, ecologists and politicians.

Present in the audience during the banquet presentation were a number of prominent guests, among them Edward Milansen, former U.S. ambassador to the SALT talks; David Lewis, former deputy secretary of veterans affairs; Vasily Parfenov, head of the currency and economic development department at the Ukrainian Ministry of Finance; and Mariusz Handzlik, foreign affairs adviser to the prime minister of Poland.

After the presentation, the Gala continued into the night, with entertainment provided by *Fata Morgana*,

the leading pop ensemble in Ukraine.

On the list of TWG Gala sponsors and contributors were: Ksenia Antypiv, Arthur D. Alexander, Laryssa Chopivsky, Yuri A. Deychakiwsky, Daniel Kozak, Truvor and Chrystyna Kuzmowych, George Masiuk, Martha Pereyma, Mary and Michael Waris, the Shevchenko Scientific Society, and the Ukrainian Business Digest. □



TWG President Mykola Babiak (left) presents the 1993 *Friend of Ukraine* award for billionaire philanthropist George Soros to Oleh Havrylyshyn, IMF executive director for Ukraine.

national Technical Assistance to Ukraine, the International Management Institute – Kiev, and an office of the East-West Management Institutes. The Renaissance Foundation administers the Edmund S. Muskie graduate fellowships and the Freedom Support Act graduate program and secondary school exchanges in Ukraine. The Foundation also has an

### Brzezinski... (from Page 3)

among some inhabitants of Ukraine, a predisposition to reconsider even the desirability of independent statehood."

#### New Ambassador

William Miller, the new US ambassador to Ukraine, also said that the coming years will be difficult, "and it will take all of our efforts, official and private, to make things go well."

He said that he was leaving for Kyiv in eight days, and that he was encouraged that "with good will and common goals...I think we'll succeed."

The common U.S.-Ukrainian goals,

Mr. Miller said, are to preserve the integrity and independence of Ukraine, to help it on its path to democratic government, to assist in its efforts at legal reform, and to develop an economy that has a substantial private sector.

Turning to Ukrainian Ambassador Oleh Bilorus, the host of the Leadership Conference reception, Mr. Miller noted that Secretary of State Warren Christopher planned to visit Ukraine later in October, and said that this was "the beginnings of a concerted effort by my country with your country, Mr. Ambassador, in achieving those goals." □

## Assistance...(from Page 4)

and Ukraine with it, had a chance to join the World Bank, which, he said, was even more universal than the United Nations (some countries that were not members of the UN, joined the Bank), but the Soviet Union then "walked away from it." When the USSR fell apart, according to Koulyk, Ukraine was first of the successor states to submit its application for membership.

Koulyk cited some of the Bank's and its sister institutions' programs available to Ukraine and mentioned some that have already been funded, such as the Black Sea shipping project; terminal facilities in Odessa; an environmental center established jointly by Ukraine, Poland and the former Czechoslovakia in the Carpathians; and a poultry project.

He emphasized, however, that Ukraine's government has to move decisively in order to take advantage of what the Bank, the International Monetary Fund, International Finance Corp. and other multilateral institutions could offer.

Finally, the panel on international assistance to Ukraine was rounded off by a recipient from the field—Leonid Rubanenko, deputy mayor of Kharkiv. His advice to potential international investors: Don't waste time standing in line to see bureaucrats in Kyiv. Go directly to local governments.

## Media...(from Page 7)

for cooperation with Western partners. Consequently, Mr. Melnyk was forced to shift the focus from establishing an alternative television station to laying the foundation necessary for the existence of such a system. This project is still ongoing, he said.

Ihor Slisarenko, in the United States on a grant from the National Forum Foundation, works on the popular TV show *Hart*. He blamed the Ukrainian government for having wasted the first two years of independence and not having reformed the Ukrainian television system. He said the president, parliament and government still control television stations, using them as tools for self-promotion.



**TWG Vice President Andrew Bihun, moderator of the International Assistance and Business panels.**

Kharkiv, he said, is an important industrial and educational center with very good rail and highway facilities, but its airport is nothing to brag about. Two and a half years ago, he said, the city decided to change that. Since that time, more than 24 companies from around the world have visited Kharkiv, and now a consortium is working on a world-class airport.

He also said that his city boasts such business people as Andriy Shahan, who over the last three years has become the main coffee distributor in Ukraine. □

Mr. Slisarenko stated that television is close to being part of the "black market," in which all try to profit by any means available. Companies routinely offer "gifts" to news personalities in return for favorable mention on their programs—including news programs. The current economic situation, he said, tends to corrupt people.

As a first step to cleaning up the mess, Mr. Slisarenko proposed the establishment of an independent commission (similar to the Carnegie Commission on Public Broadcasting, established in the US in 1967) which would examine the current situation in Ukrainian broadcasting and present a concept a new national television system. □

## *B & P Session*

# Professional Groups To Form Federation

**T**HE Leadership Conference concluded Sunday afternoon with a session dealing with the possibility of forming a federation of Ukrainian-American professional and business associations.

Eugene Zalucky, vice president of the National Council of Ethnic Canadian Business and Professional Associations, spoke about the success of such a Ukrainian federation in Canada, which unites some 1,500-2,000 Ukrainian-Canadian professionals. This gives them strong representation on the national level, he said, and allows them to take on large projects. It also pools together a large data base of professional and business know-how that can be tapped to help in Ukraine's development.

Following his presentation, Bohdan Vitvitsky, the founder and now vice president of the Ukrainian-American Professionals and Businesspersons Association of New York and New Jersey, introduced representatives from eight of the nine Ukrainian professionals group operating in the United States who informed conference participants about their organizations and expressed a willingness to form a federation:

Yarko Stawnychy of the NY-NJ Association, Genia Wolowec of the Ukrainian Professional Society of Philadelphia, Halya Polatajko of the Ukrainian Technological Society of Pittsburgh, Christine Hoshowsky of the Ukrainian American Business and Professional Association of Rochester, Lydia Chopiwsy of The Washington Group, John Dompokewicz of The Buffalo Group, Anna Mostovych of the Chicago Business and Professional Association, and Rosalie Kapustij of the Ukrainian Graduates of Detroit and Windsor.

After their presentations, it was announced that during a meeting that morning, the representatives of these eight groups voted to pursue the formation of a national federation, which would be launched in late February 1994. □

## The Arts...(from Page 10)

recently returned from visits to the Kyiv and Odessa operas. He spoke of the problems he envisioned with US-Ukrainian cooperation in opera.

### Fantastic singers

Ukraine has fantastic singers but cannot support them in the current situation and is in danger of losing them to the West. This is already happening, he said. Moreover, Ukraine does not currently have any technical voice teachers to provide Western-level training. Finally, as a result of financial problems, opera companies often hire artists who may not be the most qualified but who come with financial backing.

Mr. Terleckyj said he welcomed Mr. Markov's commitment to Ukrainian-American exchanges. He suggested that Ukrainian Americans need to integrate themselves into the US arts community, which is the only way that they can influence program and repertoire choices. He suggested that Ukrainian Americans join arts support groups and volunteer organizations, sponsor a Ukrainian American for a board position, and provide technical support for theaters in Ukraine.

### Theater

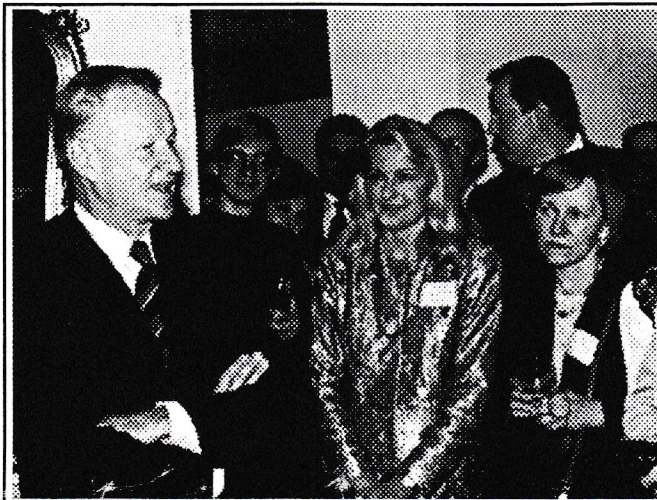
Virlana Tkacz is the founding director of the Yara Arts Group, associated with the La Mama experimental theater in New York City. The Yara Arts Group has already put on two bilingual multi-cultural productions in the US and in Ukraine and is working on a third.

In 1991, Ms. Tkacz staged *Light from the East*, a docu-dream based on the works of Les Kurbas. This first international joint production in Ukrainian theater history received an overwhelming reaction from standing-room-only audiences in Lviv, Kyiv and the Shevchenko Theater in Kharkiv, the home of Les Kurbas's Berezil Theater in the 1920s.

This year, the Yara Arts Group put on *Blind Sight*, a play about a Ukrainian poet

who traveled to Japan in 1914 to write. Again, the show was a resounding success in Kharkiv, Kyiv, and New York, and received rave reviews in both countries. Currently, Ms. Tkacz is developing Lesya Ukrayinka's *Lisova Pisnya*, which will be shown in Ukraine and in the US in May 1994.

Ms. Tkacz related various obstacles that had to be overcome before her plays were successfully completed and shown. These included financial problems, the



Zbigniew Brzezinski gives his analysis of developments in Ukraine before a packed Ukrainian Embassy Leadership Conference reception, as Laryssa Chopivsky, Reception chairperson and Arts Panel moderator (center) looks on.

illness of performers, the 1991 coup in Moscow, the need to direct in two languages, and the seemingly insurmountable everyday problems. The darker side of working in Ukraine, she noted, includes the lack of a work ethic and the fact that most everyone expects payoffs.

### Thriving in chaos

Nevertheless, Ms. Tkacz has had success in her venture. She stressed that one must be willing to learn from the Ukrainians, to make the venture a true cultural exchange with equal participation, to find innovative ways to solve problems, to be flexible and restructure work methods, to work with young people—who tend to have much more initiative and understanding of personal responsibility—and to find partners that one can trust, respect, and work with. Working in Ukraine is like urban camping, she said: "You have to bring everything with you.... You also

have to be able to thrive in chaos, which is actually a time of great creativity."

### Performing arts

The last speaker on the panel was Douglas Wheeler, since 1982 the managing director of the Washington Performing Arts Society, the premiere presenting company in the capital. Mr. Wheeler introduced such international stars as Luciano Pavarotti, Kathleen Battle, James Galway and Frederica von Stade as well as such Ukrainian stars as violinist Oleh

Krysa and pianist Alexander Slobodyanik to Washington's Kennedy Center audiences; he is also known for rescuing the stranded Donetsk Ballet several years ago.

Discussing problems involved in bringing in Ukrainian performing soloists and groups, Mr. Wheeler stressed the need of using agents. If it's done by the Ukrainian-American community without an agent, their performances will most probably be limited to that community. And convincing and agent to take a risk is not easy, he admitted.

Mr. Wheeler emphasized that tours must be planned way

ahead. WPAS, for example, puts together its schedule 1-1/2 years in advance. He also noted that it is very important for Ukrainians to build relationships by developing a cultural infrastructure in Ukraine and becoming part of the international community through attendance at conferences and festivals.

One of the crucial elements in promoting a country's culture, according to Mr. Wheeler, is an extremely strong embassy commitment. The most effective way is to focus on several artists or groups and conduct an all-out blitz, which might include inviting presenters to the country, all expenses paid, to see the artists firsthand. He also emphasized the need to court international attention and the press through annual festivals in Ukraine and invitations to critics for every embassy party, cultural festival and other cultural events. □

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## *Transcript:*

### **Amb. Roman Popadiuk**

*The following is a transcript of the keynote address delivered by Ambassador Roman Popadiuk on October 9, 1993, at the TWG Leadership Conference in Washington:*

It is my great pleasure to address the seventh annual conference of The Washington Group. This year's focus on the US-Ukrainian partnership is a fitting topic, given Ukraine's need for greater external support and the US attempt at redefining its relationship with Ukraine.

Over the past year, I had the privilege of witnessing the historic rebirth of the Ukrainian nation and the beginning steps of our bilateral relationship. I saw Ukraine in the afterglow of its independence, when hopes were still high, and I saw a country slowly come to grips with the reality of its own shortcomings and the pressures of the world around it.

As Ukraine moved towards independence there were visions and, indeed, highly held expectations that Ukraine, a nation of 52 million people, with abundant industrial and agricultural resources and a highly educated population, would quickly take advantage of its potential and blossom politically and economically. But as Ukraine moves into its third year of independence, it has fallen short of that realization. The reality is that Ukraine has many challenges to overcome in its nation-building process. Nowhere is the challenge more evident than in Ukraine's failure to exploit its resources and institute a coherent, rational economic plan. This failure is a result of a number of pressures, both domestic and external, that in microcosm, summarize the overall political, economic and social challenges Ukraine faces.

One of the main problems is Ukraine's economic seesaw relationship with Russia, particularly as regards the oil trade. Over the past two years, Russia had steadily moved its oil towards world market prices. This in itself cannot be a valid complaint for Kiev, for to move towards a market economy is to move towards world prices. But this has been coupled by Russia consistently changing its promised quota of oil deliveries. Political circles in Kiev cannot help but see these efforts as aimed at undermining Ukraine's economic system. The political statements concerning Ukraine's territory which emanated from the now-defunct Russian Parliament only served to reinforce the historic fears of Ukraine that Russia continued to have as its goal the takeover of Ukrainian territory.

The second external factor that has hampered Ukraine's economic development is the failure of the West to provide adequate assistance. During my stay in Kiev I was constantly peppered with requests for economic assistance. The Embassy was at the forefront of petitioning our government for aid to Ukraine in order to help it stabilize economically and to serve as an incentive and a show of support for the reformers in the Ukrainian government.

Our effort met three obstacles:

- Our own economic problems at home limited the resources we had for foreign aid.

- Second, Ukraine itself was part of the problem, due to the failure to arrive at an economic plan with the IMF (International Monetary Fund). An IMF agreement would assist Ukraine in setting targets for its budget and eliminating inflation, thus providing a sound foundation for the development of its economy and for introducing its national currency.

- A third and major problem is Washington's preoccupation with Russia and the belief that the success—both economic and political—of Russia would reverberate and positively influence the former republics.

The problem with this strategy is twofold:

First, if Russia should fail in its democratic and economic reforms, it could set the stage for Moscow to revert to its past authoritarianism and, with it, an attempt to reconstitute its former empire. The events of the past two weeks indicate the fragility of the Russian experiment and the tenuousness of pumping all our assistance into Russia. The success of Yeltsin in putting down the rightist coup should not be interpreted as a definitive victory for Russian democracy. While we applaud this success and will continue to support the democratic forces, we should not forget that Russia still has a long, arduous road ahead. How Yeltsin will govern during the weeks leading up to the December election, the role of the military, and the regions, and the remnants of the Communist forces—all have to be closely followed. And the Ukrainians themselves, while pleased with Yeltsin's success, will continue to define the bilateral relationship on the basis of Russia's attitude towards Ukraine, no matter who is in power in Moscow.

Second, even if Russia should continue on the democratic path, there is no guarantee regarding its international behavior. All large countries—even democracies—have certain national interests, and for Russia that interest will be a sphere of influence and control around its borders. Already Russia is speaking about its desire to be the sole peace keeper in the former republics that are undergoing internal conflicts. By helping establish a viable Ukrainian state, we take a major step in helping prevent the recreation of empire and, in the best scenario, help in shaping a positive international role for Russia itself. It makes eminent sense, therefore, for US policy to concentrate its resources equally on the rim states as well as Russia.

The third external factor affecting Ukraine's lack of economic development has been the dissolution of the Soviet Union itself. The end of the Soviet Union brought Ukraine its cherished freedom and independence, but it also dislocated all economic relations it enjoyed with the former republics. I have already discussed the particular problem that Ukraine faces in regard to Russia, but independence has not simplified the relations with the other former republics. It is difficult to sever all economic ties, but it is also difficult to determine what degree of economic association can be acceptable without affecting one's political independence.

(Continued on next page)

## Popadiuk... (continued)

Indeed, this is one of the dilemmas Ukraine faces, and the internal forces are split along two basic lines: on the one hand, there are those who want to move towards Western economic structures while maintaining some economic links with Russia; and on the other hand, there are those who want to solely strengthen economic and political ties with Moscow. How Ukraine eventually answers this question will not only affect its economic future, but may also determine its very status as an independent nation.

The recent events in Moscow only serve to underscore this basic question. One cannot discern, at least for the short term, any positive influence on Kiev as a result of the aborted Moscow coup. If anything, the events confirm for the Ukrainian government the need to maintain a go-slow policy on economic and political reform lest they unleash a backlash from rightist forces. For the conservative Ukrainian forces, the setback in Moscow will not dissuade them from continuing to strangle the infant reform movement. One must remember that the party structure in Ukraine remained much stronger than in Russia, and Ukraine's leadership has always been drawn from the old Party *aparats*, thus each is having a stake in the other. Also, while Ukraine had an independence revolution, it never had a political catharsis which severed its ties to the past.

Unfortunately, as I previously outlined, the West has not offered sufficient assistance that can act as an incentive and support of Ukrainian reformers in order to break the reflex reaction of those circles in Ukraine who look towards Russia.

Added to these problems are understandable problems associated with building a new nation. Ukraine sorely lacks the cadres for economic nation building. In the days of the Soviet Union, Moscow attracted all the talent from the republics, so that once independence came to Ukraine and the other republics, they were left with the problems and not the talent. In addition, in the days of the Soviet Union, it was Moscow that attracted the world's attention, and it was to Moscow that businessmen, scholars and students journeyed to invest, study and to write.

This is still the case, but it is changing. At the time of my arrival in Kiev, there were approximately 40 US companies operating; 14 months later, when I left, there were approximately 120, and we had organized the first United States Chamber of Commerce in the newly independent states. Over time the cadres will be developed, and knowledge of Ukraine will be broader. In the meantime, the old guard, comprised mainly of state and collective enterprise heads and commonly referred to as the "red directors," continue to have considerable influence. They, obviously, favor the old centrally planned economic system. This is not a criticism, but simply a statement of fact that one has to deal with. As such, there are strong pressures for maintaining state control and for thwarting economic reform.

In these circumstances, a foreign investor is more often viewed as a challenger to a system that is dying but unwilling to admit so. All manner of obstacles are devised by these old cadres, but the

most effort is exerted against privatization. The old cadres are well aware that privatization will undermine their economic control, and hence, their political power. One Ukrainian diplomat complained about the frustration of convincing the old system individuals of permitting foreign investment. He had a number of Western investment deals undermined by old Party cadres, whom he referred to as "fifth-columnists." In addition, for decades, Ukrainians, as part of the old Soviet system, were taught about the evils of capitalism and the threat that the West posed to security. It is difficult to purge this view from the minds of many levels of the bureaucracy. To them, foreign investment is an intrusion, something that will rob the state of its secrets as well as natural resources—all at the expense of the Ukrainian people.

If the individual investor makes it through the above hurdles, he faces the awesome challenge of the Ukrainian bureaucracy. As with any bureaucracy, the Ukrainian one is layered with many decision makers. The added difficulty in the Ukrainian case is the need for any decision to come from the top down. So even simple procedural issues get bogged down, while their resolution is elevated to the highest levels, and decisions are very long drawn out. As a decision need to take place, the ideological forces start to exert their influence, so much so that these seldom appear to be a simple economic decision.

After one has successfully passed all of these hurdles, the final hurdle may be success itself. Once a deal is reached, there is a knee-jerk reaction, based in the ideologically suspicious past, that the willingness of a Western company to sign a contract indicates that the Western partner somehow has taken advantage of his Ukrainian partner. In the past we have seen valid contracts nullified on this assumption and the bidding reopened to see if a better deal could be obtained. The lack of any bona fide legal and judicial structure only complicates this situation.

As a former communist state, Ukraine also possesses an elaborate social safety net, including medicine, education, job security and other features. The population as a whole, irrespective of the influence of the conservative forces, thus has a stake in maintaining the current social and economic structures.

There is, therefore, the political reality of the central government not wanting to move quickly on economic reform for fear it can create social dislocations, which can then threaten the political peace. The economic gridlock that has seized the central government has led our embassy to put an emphasis on working with the local levels of government on privatization, on the American business presence and on our own A.I.D. (US Agency for International Development) programs. On these levels, there is, relatively speaking, greater receptivity to change. Through this local ripple effect it is hoped that the predilection towards reform will spread and will create a sound base which the central government will not be able to ignore or, more importantly, to squelch.

Ukraine has to move more energetically in creating a market economy. Due to its industrial and agricultural resources, Ukraine can become a powerful economic force, which, in turn, can help

(Continued on next page)

## Popadiuk...(continued)

support its political security. Unfortunately, Ukraine does not appear to appreciate the importance of this dimension of its security. A free market economy attracts foreign investment, which leads to a greater foreign presence and closer ties to the outside world. Economic wealth also helps to satisfy the growing demands of its population for goods and services. Ukraine must not forget that security involves not only an external dimension, but an internal one as well. Failure to meet the demands of a highly educated society can lead to the type of social turmoil that can be exploited by foreign forces. The United States has sought to help Ukraine in its transition to a market economy. We have instituted a large A.I.D. mission, which has programs in energy, agriculture, defense conversion, privatization as well as many other sectors.

We have also worked with Ukraine in other areas. We have recognized Ukraine's desire for security assurances and have been working closely with them to arrive at a mutually acceptable solution. We have instituted a military education and training program, under which Ukrainian military officers come to the United States for study and training. In this connection, we have also offered Ukraine the opportunity to compete for placement of cadets at West Point and the Air Force Academy. On dismantlement, we have offered \$175 million to meet Ukraine's costs under the START and NPT (Nuclear Non-Proliferation) treaties; and on the issue of highly enriched uranium, we have made it clear that we will not implement a contract with Russia until Moscow has an agreement with Ukraine on the sharing of proceeds.

In addition to these measures, the United States has moved very strongly over the past year to establish a large, broad-based presence in Ukraine. Our embassy, which was originally scheduled to consist of 16 Americans and 22 Ukrainian personnel, has grown to become the third largest embassy in the region, out-ranked only by our embassies in Moscow and Warsaw. We now have over 50 Americans and over 100 Ukrainians working at the embassy. In addition, we have over 70 Peace Corps volunteers in Ukraine.

Embassy Kiev, indeed, has been at the forefront of numerous programs among the newly independent states. The embassy has been issuing visas since August of 1992, opened the first American House cultural center, hosted the first Peace Corps volunteers to come to the former Soviet Union and has helped open an American school.

As in any relationship, there will be moments of stress and cooperation, but it is through continuous interaction and communication that we can build a strong, enduring friendship. From the US side, there are numerous issues that we still have to resolve, the most important of which is the need for a coherent policy approach which attaches to Ukraine the importance it warrants. And indeed, a viable, independent Ukraine is important to the West for a number of reasons:

- First, Ukraine's industrial and agricultural potential, once

realized, will be a major plus to the economic stability of the region and, thus, can ironically become a key to the success of Russia itself.

- Second, as a multi-ethnic state, Ukraine's success in this area gives it standing and credibility in dealing with Eastern Europe's ethnic problems.

- Third, a strong Ukraine can serve as a regional actor of stability, preventing the return to empire that has threatened the freedom and stability of the region for centuries.

- Fourth, Ukraine can be a positive partner in the international arena for maintaining peace and stability. This is already evident by Ukraine's participation in the Sarajevo peacekeeping mission.

- Fifth, failure of Ukraine to develop peacefully can unleash a tragic series of events that can make the conflict in the former Yugoslavia pale in comparison.

- And finally, it is important to work with Ukraine to help it to live up to its commitments on nuclear weapons.

The shortcomings in our approach towards Ukraine has led to skepticism on the part of Kiev toward the United States. At the time of diplomatic recognition in December 1991, there was an overly optimistic perception in Ukraine that the West, and the United States in particular, would be forthcoming with major assistance, that Ukraine would be treated as an important regional actor, and probably most importantly, that Ukraine would at least be viewed as being separate from Russia.

With these high expectations, Ukraine moved in early 1992 to fulfill its pledge on tactical nuclear weapons and held a highly successful presidential summit in Washington in May of 1992, and ratified the CFE (Conventional Forces in Europe) treaty in June of that year.

However, Ukraine did not receive the economic nor political support it had hoped from the West. Furthermore, as each month goes by, Ukraine feels its destiny is solely its own to control, and this psychological maturation has made it even more skeptical of the West.

The administration's refusal to invite former Prime Minister Kuchma in April, over the recommendation of the Embassy, only served to solidify the skepticism toward the United States. It is these realities that shape Kiev's views of us rather than the good words visiting delegations.

We thus need a more active policy towards Ukraine, aimed at assisting its economic development and security. There are a number of principles that should guide our policy:

- First, we must not take reform in Moscow for granted and must institute a balanced policy that not only actively seeks to make Moscow successful but the rim states—particularly Ukraine—equally successful.

- Second, we must take the lead in organizing our Western partners in a concerted effort of financial and economic assistance, including an international pledging conference to deal with Ukraine's dismantlement costs and economic assistance.

- Third, rather than maintaining a wall between the Western

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and Eastern communities, we must work more actively to bring the East into the Western community, including membership in NATO.

• Fourth, we need to take the lead in structuring new mechanisms that can manage the separation of the former republics, particularly the separation between Ukraine and Russia.

Ukraine has a long way to go before it attains a high level of economic and political well-being. I have enumerated some of the basic challenges Ukraine faces. But Ukraine cannot accomplish its objectives alone; it will require international assistance and understanding.

We cannot hurry the political and economic processes in Ukraine, especially in view of the external threat Ukraine faces and the need to shed over 70 years of a stultifying ideology. Patience will be necessary. But through your efforts, you can help in building a bridge of cooperation and understanding.

I look forward to continuing to work with all of you in furthering US-Ukrainian relations. I wish you success in your conference. □

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### *Transcript:*

## Zbigniew Brzezinski

*The following is a transcript of remarks by Zbigniew Brzezinski made October 8, 1993, at the TWG Leadership Conference Reception at the Ukrainian Embassy in Washington:*

I think you can sense that I share your joy in standing in front of you in this embassy of free Ukraine, right in front of the flag of your country of origin, a country of which you as Americans of Ukrainian origin, must be so very proud. I think I can also sense what must have been going through your hearts over the years, as you have often identified yourselves to many Americans as Americans of Ukrainian origin and then encountered the question, "What? What is that? Is that Russia?" Your now realize that most Americans know that your country of origin—of your forefathers or of your own as Americans of Ukrainian origin—is an important European state, an important presence on the international scene, and that must give you enormous, enormous pride. For Ukraine is a beautiful, large and important country. I believe that its appearance is truly a historically significant event that has already transformed the map of Europe, and if Ukraine succeeds, it will transform Russia, because it will create for the first time in centuries the possibility that Russia will no longer be an empire but will become a national, and thereby also potentially an increasingly democratic state rather than an empire.

Yours is a beautiful country. I am committed to it not only because of my geopolitical views but because simply of personal sentiment. Earlier this summer I took my entire family on a

ten-day holiday to Ukraine, to the mountains south of Lviv—or Lwow—and we spent ten magnificent days, with the help of (Ambassador) Oleh Bilorus, in Yaremche, in Vorokhta, in Kosiv, in Ivano-Frankivsk. And I also went to look for the grave of my great-great-grandfather near Lwow in Zhovkva. We didn't locate the grave but we located the cemetery and some local records, actually—so that there are certain bonds of origin and blood between us.

But I would, I think, be failing you if I did not share with you also some serious thoughts about the prospects for Ukraine. You're not here to hear me tell you how much I care for Ukraine, and how much I value its importance, and how much I share your joy at its appearance and continued existence.

I think Ukraine faces some very, very serious problems—our ambassador to Ukraine (William Miller) has already alluded to them—and these problems are becoming more, rather than less serious; these problems are in part internal, in part external.

Current developments in Russia—the political instability, the militarization of Russian foreign policy, the increased pressure to recreate the outer boundaries of the old empire, do suggest that dark clouds are gathering, and it will take determined effort and much commitment, a great deal of unity to safeguard the Ukrainian state.

The effort to recreate the empire is moving forward. In the last two weeks we have followed the dramatic events in Moscow, inaugurated by the collision initiated on September 21st, and this obscured the fact that something else took place on September 25th—the recreation of an economic union of nine former member states of the Soviet Union, an economic union which has in it the potential for also becoming a political union. Ukraine is not a member of that union, though associated with it, but this process is gathering momentum, and one has to give serious thought to what is the future of Ukraine, whether it will, in fact, succeed in consolidating itself. It is still an open issue; it is not something on which the history book has been closed. It will take the effort of every Ukrainian in Ukraine and of every Ukrainian living in America—every American of Ukrainian origin—to make sure that Ukraine succeeds.

I don't think that Russia is going to undertake overtly aggressive actions against Ukraine, but indirect pressure and destabilization, exploiting internal difficulties, is the likely course of the future, and this will require a great deal of stamina and commitment.

The West, so far, has been deficient in helping Ukraine. In my judgment, we have been too Russocentric. This is now changing; the administration is now paying much more attention to Ukraine, and I fully endorse what the ambassador said on this subject. We are correcting the negligence of the last several years, but this negligence has been massive, and it has contributed to the internal difficulties in Ukraine.

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## Brzezinski...(continued)

But it also has to be said, in all frankness, that Ukraine has not fully exploited the last two years. The last two years when the Soviet Union collapsed, when there was turmoil around Ukraine and an opportunity for the rapid consolidation of the new state, not enough has been done to initiate a comprehensive program of reform, not enough has been done to launch Ukraine forward.

Two years ago Russia and Ukraine were on the same economic level, more or less facing the same kind of economic difficulties. Today the Russians are in a better economic situation, and there is the possibility that the gap will widen, and if it widens, it will have political implications. Not enough has been done to fashion a program of change, and not enough has been done to articulate a vision of Ukraine's future which is compelling and unifying to the Ukrainian people. It is essential that Ukrainian leadership project to the Ukrainian people a concept of Ukraine's future that mobilizes the emotions, the support, the commitment and the energy of the Ukrainian people, because if it doesn't do that, the economic difficulties, affected from outside politically, will create divisions and splits and will produce among some inhabitants of Ukraine a predisposition to reconsider even the desirability of independent statehood.

So a vision is essential, a unifying vision of a Ukraine that's an active, constructive member of the Central European community, of a Ukraine that exploits its historic traditions to be part of the European civilization, that becomes part of the European adventure—economically and politically. This does not exclude cooperation with Russia, economically—Russia and Ukraine are neighbors; they are destined to live as neighbors—but it means the definition of a goal and identity that mobilizes the Ukrainians.

And you, as Americans of Ukrainian origin, can play a very constructive role by insisting on more rapid change on a program that's coherent, that points to a reconstruction of Ukraine through internal sacrifice and commitment, and you can do a great deal to fashion an image of Ukraine which is an active member of the European community, which has an identity of its own, built on its own history but inserts Ukraine firmly into the European community of nations and thereby guarantees Ukraine's survival.

That is the task, because the next two or three years are going to be critically difficult—critically difficult not just economically but politically as well—and, therefore, you face a major challenge, and you should translate the energy which your joy generates into commitment that's programmatic and focused.

I wish you well, and I believe that Ukraine will succeed. □

**Film director Slavko Nowytski has available for sale a short video on the origin of the Carol of the Bells called *Songs for the Sun*. The cost is \$29.95. Call 202-338-7637**

## Transcript:

### Amb. William Miller

*The following is a transcript of remarks by Ambassador William Miller made on October 8, 1993, at the TWG Leadership Conference Reception at the Ukrainian Embassy in Washington:*

It's a great pleasure to be here, in the place where George Washington spent a night. It was clearly a party like this one! And this is the home of the first Ambassador of Ukraine to the United States, and I think both Washington and Kyiv are honored by this coincidence of events.

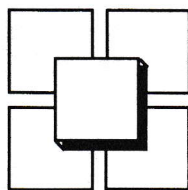
I wish you all success in your endeavors here; you've been a great help to me already.

I want to say to all of you who are here, many who are Ukrainian Americans, that the coming year—the coming several years—are going to be of great difficulty, and it will take all of our best efforts, official and private, to make things go well. I'm encouraged by the fact that Ambassador Bilorus and I have already been able to start work, in just a few days in the White House. We had quite a time there, and I think we began to make progress.

There's so much that needs to be done and that can be done, and with goodwill and common goals—I think we do have common goals—I think we'll succeed. The major issues are clear: to preserve the integrity and independence of Ukraine, to help it on its path to democratic government, to assist in its efforts at legal reform, and certainly to develop an economy that has a substantial private sector. I want to say to you who are here, and to assure the Ambassador here, that I will do everything that I can to further those goals.

I'm leaving in eight days, and I'll arrive just before the visit of the Secretary of State. I think that's the beginnings of a concerted effort by my country to work with your country, Mr. Ambassador, in achieving those goals, so I'm very grateful to you for having me here, I'm very pleased to meet you, and I hope you will all visit me in the embassy in Kyiv—all of you, come. We have a lot to do. Thank you. □

If you are interested in getting in touch with Leadership Conference panelists, speakers or moderators, their addresses and telephone numbers are available on request from TWG.



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To apply for membership, please fill out the form below and mail with a check to:

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