

**Analytical Centers in Ukraine**

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## Preface

The research for the paper was conducted between March and June 1999. The information was obtained primarily through interviews in Kyiv, Ukraine with representatives of various think tanks and governmental officials;

The goal of this research was not to produce a complete list of all existing analytical structures in Ukraine, but rather to focus on the think tanks working in the area of foreign policy and security. This report studies the relationship between think tanks and decision-making structures of Ukraine such as Presidential Administration, the Rada (parliament), and Cabinet of Ministers. The report provides basic information about think tanks, including the organizational structure, main areas of research, conferences and courses offered by the centers, as well as details of their publications, libraries, membership and funding sources. E-mail addresses and web-site locations are given where known. The attachment contains an updated list (as of May 1999) of governmental and non-governmental research organizations and Ukrainian think tanks in alphabetical order with contact information.

While the author has made every possible effort to ensure the correctness of information, complete accuracy cannot be guaranteed. The analytical institutions review and revise their priorities, fields of research, and geographic focus, so information is subject to change. This paper will be updated annually. The author already has an agreement with the National Institute for Strategic Studies of Ukraine to produce a new version by next year in both Ukrainian and English.

There is vast literature about Russian analytical centers. For example, we could mention Oksana Antonenko's paper, "The New Analytical Centers And Their Role In Political Decision-Making,"<sup>1</sup> Maxim Meyer's articles, "Analytical centers in the Russian Democratic System,"<sup>2</sup> and "Guide of Russian Analytical Centers."<sup>3</sup> The Russian centers are also described in *Think Tanks Across The Nations: A Comparative Approach* written by Diane Stone.<sup>4</sup> Some information about Ukrainian centers could be found only in *Who is Who in Ukrainian Social Sciences*<sup>5</sup> and *Non-Governmental Research Organization Of Central And Eastern Europe*.<sup>6</sup> Information about three Ukrainian think tanks was found in *The World Directory of Strategic Studies Centers 1998* recently published by International Institute for Strategic Studies. Another book that describes four Ukrainian centers is *International Studies in Russia and CIS*. Publication is anticipated this summer in Moscow. Unfortunately, it is difficult to find accurate and current information since the directories of analytical centers and research departments are frequently out of date by the time of publication. It is particularly difficult to obtain

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<sup>1</sup> Oksana Antonenko, "The New Analytical Centers And Their Role In Political Decision-Making," February 1996, Harvard University, Kennedy School of Government, Cambridge, MA.

<sup>2</sup> See more: [www.russ.ru/antolog/predely/1/econen.htm](http://www.russ.ru/antolog/predely/1/econen.htm).

<sup>3</sup> See more: [www.russ.ru/antolog/predely/1/econen.htm](http://www.russ.ru/antolog/predely/1/econen.htm).

<sup>4</sup> Diane Stone, *Think Tanks Across The Nations: A Comparative Approach*, (Manchester University Press: New York and Manchester, 1998).

<sup>5</sup> *Who is Who in Ukrainian Social Sciences: Research Organizations, Experts and Projects* (K.I.S.: Kyiv, 1998).

<sup>6</sup> *Non-Governmental Research Organization Of Central And Eastern Europe* (Kyiv, 1998).

are frequently out of date by the time of publication. It is particularly difficult to obtain information about funding sources since many centers don't make such data publicly available. The Ukrainian analytical centers are still in the making. Every year several organizations appear; at the same time a similar number of analytical structures disappear or just become "paper structures".

The definition "analytical center," which roughly corresponds to "think tank" in the West, appeared in Ukraine not long ago. In this report both definitions are used as synonyms. During the Soviet era and in the first years of the Independence, such centers were called "informational centers." Their role was to gather information, which was very scarce, to get clearer pictures of general situations in the country or in specific industries. Historically, information-analytical departments existed in the Academy of Science and different governmental agencies. The analytical activity began to play more important role later when it became necessary to understand new society and new government in Ukraine.

Traditionally such departments were part of Communist party institutions and KGB apparatus. KGB employed not only its own structures of operative analysis but also used special departments of academic institutions. Both the party and KGB were parts of a huge ideological machinery that did not need accurate and updated analysis but rather confirmation of correctness of its own decisions. However, the experts in such departments used methodology more or less similar to those of modern think tanks. Many of those experts later formed the basis of the contemporary research environment.

After 1991 academic institutions became a nutritive environment for new analytical structures. Usually, these were informal or semi-formal centers of laboratories that studied narrow problems. With the decrease of governmental contracts many scientists and researches were forced to look for new forms of non-governmental organization that specialized not only in information gathering but also in deeper analysis.

Some political parties and governmental agencies (i.e. Ministry of Foreign Affairs) are presently trying to establish informal ties with think tanks that started to be regarded as symbols of intellectual authorities. In many countries think tanks "can be used to legitimize and bolster prior policy positions,"<sup>7</sup> however Ukrainian interest groups mostly use individual experts and analysts instead of organizations. "Only few centers can be sure they will exist in a year," comments Olexander Potekhin of the Center for Peace, Conversion and Foreign Policy of Ukraine. "It's logical that no serious decision-making entity will seek an alliance with a partner without clear future. It is much easier to hire a well-known analyst who would provide better credibility."<sup>8</sup>

The research herein was written for the Robert and Renée Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University.

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<sup>7</sup> Diane Stone, *Think Tanks Across The Nations*, p. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Olexander Potekhin (15 May, 1999), Interview at Center for Peace, Conversion and Foreign Policy of Ukraine.

## Introduction

After independence in 1991 Ukraine started to build its own institutions. Some new governmental bodies were built on the already existing structures inherited from the Soviet Union, while others had to be built from scratch. Obviously, all new Ukrainian state bodies could not rely on the old Soviet system of analytical support, managed completely from Moscow. "After the separation from Russia it would be unthinkable to use Russian information. The Russian research institutions were strongly connected to the political elite and could not imagine Ukraine as an independent state,"<sup>1</sup> says Hryhoriy Perepelitsa, a senior analyst from National Institute for Strategic Studies of Ukraine.

After the breakdown of the Soviet Union the Russian analytical services quickly occupied all the existing institutional structures'. They also monopolized all relations with Western foundations, think tanks, and research centers. The first problem that Ukrainian analytical services faced was a lack of international contacts. The Western institutions involved in research on Eastern Europe mainly worked with Moscow-based analytical centers. Moscow started to represent all the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States, providing information and analytical materials on all areas of research. Usually, if a Western institution wanted to get information on Ukraine, in early 90s, they would contact one of the Russian-based analytical centers. The Russian centers would provide their Western counterparts with an analytical product that would reflect biased Russian views of Ukraine. This also was true with respect to other independent states of the former Soviet Union. Even the Western media was getting information about former Soviet countries only from Moscow sources. Of course, they would get Moscow's interpretation of events in the so-called "near abroad." In essence, Russia had a monopoly not only on information but also on the analytical sphere in post-Soviet space. The same was happening with international conferences, workshops and roundtables.

Western foundations sometimes paid their Russian colleagues to provide them with analytical analysis of countries in the former Soviet Union and received biased opinions. Those Western foundations trying to assist non-Russian independent states could not achieve their goals using Moscow mediators. Hryhoriy Perepelitsa gives an example of a foundation, "Alert," which provided financing for research on conflicts in post-Soviet countries. This foundation gave grants to the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of the Russian Academy of Science, which was studying conflicts in the Caucasus on behalf of the Federal Security Service of Russia. Hence, in that particular case, Western money was used to provide sensitive information to Russian governmental bodies instead of going to international research institutions.

According to Hryhoriy Perepelitsa, during the tense period of 1991-93 between Kiev and Simferopol, the capitol of Russian-speaking Crimea, Russians used "Alert" funds to set up a branch office in Crimea. This branch's task was to gather information about the Crimean situation and separatist movements. Such "monitor points" were established in many "hot zones" in the former Soviet Union. Russia was using this information to gain influence in post communist countries. "Alert" money was also

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<sup>1</sup> Hryhoriy Perepelitsa (19 May, 1999) Interview at National Institute for Strategic Studies of Ukraine.

used to organize conferences and publish articles about conflict situation, which reflected only Moscow's position. Needless to say, Ukraine did not always share those Russian opinions and views, especially in the first years of independence.

Analytical centers in Ukraine are remarkably diverse groups of organizations but many also share similar characteristics. To some extent, these are the same features common in think tanks in Russia and other new independent states due to similarity of conditions. In her research Oksana Antonenko describes the main characteristics of new Russian analytical centers as having small permanent staff, broad areas of research, and orientation mostly to the business community.<sup>2</sup> Ukrainian think tanks definitely share the first two features. Due to the lack of economic reforms, Ukraine does not have businesses (i.e. industrial giants as GASPROM or private banks) that are strong enough to use independent centers as advisers. "There are plenty of private and governmental organizations that need accurate and unbiased analytical materials but only a few of them are able to pay for it," says Olexander Dergachov, editor of "Political Thought"<sup>3</sup>

"Most of the independent analytical centers live on short-term grants", says Taras Kuzio, Honorary Research Fellow at the Ukraine Center of the University of North London. "They have small offices, usually employ three-four people and hire experts when they have to implement specific projects. When the money runs out, the experts are going to find short-term jobs at other centers."<sup>4</sup> The dependence on Western foundations causes many Ukrainian think tanks to pursue a very broad range of studies to compete for grants. According to Valentina Telychenko, Director for Institutional Development of Pylyp Orlyk Institute for Democracy, many experts working in governmental agencies are always looking for opportunities to write articles or to work in projects to make money. The same experts rotate among different centers. Some centers "lend" their researchers to their counterparts. "The rules are like these," says Valentina Telychenko, "If we have a grant you can work for us, if you have a grant we can work for you."<sup>5</sup>

Dmitry Kublitskiy, an expert from the International Center for Policy Studies, thinks that only self-sustainable centers can produce quality analysis. Only then can they attract the best experts and produce unbiased materials. The grants from Western agencies usually are not used for operational expenses but for specific projects. "If a center wants to do research on subjects that are not of interest for a Western funding agency, they would better look for money somewhere else,"<sup>6</sup> says Dmitry Kublitskiy.

"There is a lack of analytical structure or environment that allows independent centers to function," says Olexander Dergachov. "There are centers that work with academic institutions but don't get support from those institutions. They must look for money outside or try to find clients anywhere. They usually have part-time experts for specific projects. Very often such centers change the topics of study according the

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<sup>2</sup> Oksana Antonenko, "The New Analytical Centers And Their Role In Political Decision-Making," pp. 1-2.

<sup>3</sup> Olexander Dergachov (17 May, 1999), Interview in Kyiv.

<sup>4</sup> Taras Kuzio (17 May, 1999), Interview in Kyiv.

<sup>5</sup> Valentina Telychenko (12 February, 1999), Interview at Pylyp Orlyk Institute for Democracy.

<sup>6</sup> Dmitry Kublitskiy (13 February, 1999), Interview at International Center for Policy Studies.

situation and demand." <sup>7</sup> Other types of centers are official structures that belong to governmental agencies, but they also look for "outside jobs" that may provide them additional financing. Classic examples are those centers created by the Security Service. Sooner or later they start to drift from their primary goals when they get more outside contacts. In many instances they are used as intermediaries to organize conferences or seminars for Western partners. "Some centers do not produce any analytical materials since they became 'travel agencies.'" says Hryhoriy Nemiria,<sup>8</sup> Chairman of the Executive Board of the International Renaissance Foundation. The analytical centers and other organizations have a considerable degree of overlap in society. Accordingly, it is frequently difficult to establish a precise, clear-cut boundary between analytical centers and other organizations. For example, some observers regard think tanks as "more intellectual variants of presser groups."<sup>9</sup> One of the organizations that fits this profile is "Ukrainian Perspectives", which used to produce good analytical materials on current political situation in Ukraine but now "they are clearly trying to lobby interests of certain political forces"<sup>10</sup>

Dimity Vydryn, one of the authors of the Ukrainian National Security Concept, thinks that Ukrainian analytical centers still do not perform their main goal of influencing the ruling elite. "The effectiveness of think tanks is still very low, " says Vydryn. "They still are looking for their niche in civil society." One of the weakest points is lack of systematical support from the West. "They get only occasional grants from time to time. They are not integrated in the world's intellectual system. Nobody does analysis of situations in Africa, Asia or Latin America."<sup>11</sup>

As to the characteristic of losing one-party political orientation, mentioned by Oksana Antonenko, this is almost inapplicable to Ukraine since the political parties are much weaker and traditionally continue to get advice from affiliated researchers instead of risking independent opinion. An exception to this rule is the Institute of Politics headed by a bright analyst, Mykola Tomenko. "He [Tomenko] never hides his sympathy for 'Reform and Order' party but he works publicly without any party bias. He publishes very accurate information and his analytical reports reflect political situation without any favoritism", says Olexander Dergachov. "However, some experts [have contracts with different parties. Their work mainly consists in writing speeches and preparing analytical reports for candidates who are running for an office." <sup>12</sup>

Another common feature of the Ukrainian analytical centers is that nearly all the strongest and influential centers are located in Kyiv. Those funding organizations rarely are interested in regional politics. Western experts prefer to spend more time in Kyiv with national policy makers. "There is no surprise that post-Soviet studies tend to have more focus on Russia ... there are tons of books and analytical reports on Russian regions but only few books are written on Ukrainian regions,"<sup>13</sup> says Taras Kuzio. One of the most visible think tanks is the Center of International Studies of Mechnikov Odessa

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<sup>7</sup> Olexander Dergachov (17 May, 1999), Interview in Kyiv.

<sup>8</sup> Hryhoriy Nemiria (18 May, 1999), Interview at Center for European and International Studies.

<sup>9</sup> Diane Stone, *Think Tanks Across The Nations* p. 4.

<sup>10</sup> Taras Kuzio (17 May, 1999), Interview in Kyiv.

<sup>11</sup> Dmitry Vydryn (8 February, 1999), Interview at European Institute for Integration and Development.

<sup>12</sup> Olexander Dergachov (17 May, 1999), Interview in Kyiv.

<sup>13</sup> Taras Kuzio (16 May, 1999), Interview in Kyiv.

State University. Another influential center is located in Donetsk at the history department of Donetsk State University. The National Institute for Strategic Studies (NISS) has branches in Dnepropetrovsk and Kharkov. "We are planning to open more branches in different region", says Victor Bondarenko, Deputy Director of NISS. "There are many talented analysts and researchers. We need to use their intellectual potential." <sup>14</sup>

Affiliation with academic institutions gives analytical centers an opportunity to have a friendly environment and interaction with students, and also helps them to minimize their operational expenses. "Kyiv-Mohyla Academy provides me with an office and a phone line," says Olexei Haran, Director of the Center for National Security Studies. "If we don't have grants for specific projects at least we don't worry where to get money to pay the rent."<sup>15</sup> Hryhoriy Nemiria shares this opinion. Recently he opened the Center for European and International Studies at Kyiv Institute for International Relations.

One common problem for almost all the Ukrainian think tanks is poor translation of their publications into English. "They [centers] have no money to hire professional translators. That is why their materials are usually poorly translated into English,"<sup>16</sup> says Taras Kuzio. Olexander Potekhin from the Center for Peace, Conversion and Foreign Policy, hires students to translate his numerous publications into English. "I know that the quality sometimes is not very high but my budget has no money for professionals," says Potekhin.

The use of the Internet by analytical centers in Ukraine is very low. Only a few centers regularly post their publications on-line. Among them are NISS, Center for Peace, Conversion and Foreign Policy, International Center for Policy Studies, and Ukrainian Center for Independent Political Research. Internet as an affordable mean of access could be a very useful vehicle, especially for regional centers but due to the lack of financing it remains undiscovered.

### **Presidential Administration:**

Ukraine had to gain contacts with Western organizations in order to provide them with informational and analytical materials produced by Ukrainians. The analytical centers in Ukraine started to appear along with new state institutions being built by Ukraine in 1991. The structures of the presidential administration were the strongest. Since all the decision making was made in the presidential administration, it had to have strong structures to provide analytical support. The first structure was the National Institute for Strategic Studies (NISS) under the auspices of the Ukrainian National Security and Defense Council (UNSDC) in the President's Administration. Its main mission was to provide direct analytical support to the President of Ukraine. Later, the Informational Analytical Department was created in the National Security and Defense Council. This department was created within the structure of the Presidential Administration. The

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<sup>14</sup> Victor Bondarenko (7 February, 1999), Interview at National Institute for Strategic Studies.

<sup>15</sup> Olexei Haran (17 May, 1999), Interview at Center for National Security Studies.

<sup>16</sup> Taras Kuzio (17 May, 1999), Interview in Kyiv.

Center of Strategic Planning and Analysis (CSPA) was established later. General Ihor Smeshko, former Ukrainian attaché to the U.S., headed this organization.

According to the Ukrainian law on National Security and Defense Council, both NITS and CSPA are scientific and analytical bodies of National Security and Defense Council. NIIS works mostly in general research of a broad array of security issues, developing long-term strategies. CSPA is mainly involved in mid-term forecast strategies and the evaluation of the current situation. The analytical production of this center is not for public use. The Analytical Service was created when Olexander Razumkov came to UNSDC in June 1997. He had previously established the Center of Independent Political and Economic Studies, which was used as a semi-official think tank. This center was receiving its financing mostly from the Adenauer Foundation and was doing policy research. This center never advertised itself broadly and was working mostly for a very close circle of clients. When Olexander Razumkov started to work for the UNSDC he needed more solid analytical structure. He helped to establish the new Analytical Service of UNSDC, created by presidential decree in September 1997.

The main purpose of this division is to provide policy analysis, national security threat analysis, policy recommendations, and participation in review of different drafts prepared by government agencies such as laws or state programs. It also provides analysis of current events and information. The Analytical Service constantly monitors informational sources such as mass media and information from the governmental agencies. The analysts systemize this information, analyze the character and possibility of the current threats to Ukraine and provide their analytical reports to the President of Ukraine in his role as Head of UNSDC, Secretary of UNSDC, and Deputy Secretaries of UNSDC. The Analytical Service also prepares opinion papers, background papers, and briefs. The Analytical Service is financed exclusively from state budget. Colonel Anatoliy Grytsenko, a graduate from a US military school (Air War College), heads the service.

According to Anatoliy Grytsenko, the Service employs military and civilian experts. All analysts have Ph.D. degrees from different fields: economy, politics, military, sociology, history, international relations, energy, and information. Most of them speak several languages and have studied and/or worked abroad.<sup>17</sup>

### **The Government:**

The Cabinet of Ministries has its own expert service. Each ministry and agency uses its own informational and analytical department suited to its particular needs. The reports created are exclusively for their internal needs and are not circulated publicly.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs also cooperates with independent centers such as the Center for Peace, Conversion and Foreign Policy, which publishes a quarterly monitoring of Ukraine foreign and security policy. The recently created Ukrainian Foreign Policy Association provides an informal clearinghouse for policy-makers.

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<sup>17</sup> Anatoliy Grytsenko (8 February, 1999), Interview at National Security and Defense Council of Ukraine.

The Ministry of Defense has a well-structured system of scientific and analytical centers. The analytical materials are usually not for public use. However, last year the Ministry of Defense started a quarterly publication, *Science and Defense*, wherein military analysts discuss general issues of defense and state security. The Military Scientific Department of General Staff of Armed Forces of Ukraine coordinates activities of the following analytical and research institutions: Central Scientific and Research Institute of Ukrainian Armed Forces, National Scientific and Research Center for Military Technologies and Military Security of Ukraine and Central Scientific and Research Institute of Armament and Military Equipment.

"We have more contacts with our Western counterparts," says General Vasil Telelim, head of Central Scientific and Research Institute. "Our experts have established strong ties with leading international institutions working in area of security, conflict-resolution and peace-keeping."<sup>18</sup>

A directive of the Council of Ministers of Ukraine established the National Research Center in May 1997. It is the leading research and development military institution of Ukraine in the areas of military security, conceptual planning and operational aspects of peacekeeping, armed forces development, international military cooperation, civil-military relations, and defense.

According to its Director, Volodymyr Sharyi, "[the] Center participates in activities regarding coordination, expertise and scientific management of different National, State, branch and other programs and focuses of scientific work for the Ministry of Defense, Ministry of Science and Technology, other ministries and institutions of Ukraine. The Center's experts participate in different events within "Partnership for Peace" and "Science for Peace" NATO cooperation programs. The Center is expanding its scientific cooperation and is establishing direct contacts with leading world institutions, that conduct research in areas of security problems and crisis management."<sup>19</sup>

### **Supreme Rada:**

The Supreme Rada of Ukraine gets its analytical support through the Committees, which, in turn receive information and analytical research from the correspondent government structures. For instance, the Committee of the National Security and Defense requests information from Ministry of Defense and NIIS, or other agencies from UNSDC or Ministry of Defense. The Committees also work directly with independent centers. The Ukrainian Center for International Security Studies works closely with many Committees of the Supreme Rada, providing them with occasional reports. However, according to Hryhoriy Perepelitsa, the parliamentarians do not use this information efficiently because their committees are stuck to their party political programs and tend to rely on their own analysts. "The Committee on National Security and Defense is headed by a representative of Communist party. They do not need the

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<sup>18</sup> Vasil Telelim (17 May, 1999), Interview at Central Scientific and Research Institute.

<sup>19</sup> Volodymyr Sharyi (8 February, 1999), Interview at National Research Center.

non-partisan information, which goes against their ideology. That's why they use only analytical materials that correspond to the their views."<sup>20</sup>

The Rada has its own Institute of Legislation, which can not be called an analytical center. It mainly provides expertise on existing legislation and drafts. The Supreme Rada also has a scientific and analytical department as well as a scientific and expert department which are not involved in analytical activities. "Rada has no defined structures that could provide analytical materials for deputies. There are departments that gather documents but they do not study them and do not produce any analytical materials,"<sup>21</sup> says Olexander Dergachov. James Sherr, fellow at the Conflict Studies Research Center of the Royal Military Academy in United Kingdom, thinks that "much of the analytical work in the Rada is done by the Secretariats of Permanent Committees. For instance, Borys Basilevskiy, Head of the Secretariat of the Foreign Affairs Committee, is a serious thinker and he does some serious analytical work for the Committee."<sup>22</sup>

Since 1994, USAID has funded the Parliamentary Development Project (PDP), a joint initiative of the Indiana University School of Public and Environmental Affairs and the U.S.-Ukraine Foundation, to provide long-term technical assistance to members the Rada. Over the past several years, the Project has been a primary source of comparative information for deputies of the Rada and other opinion leaders within and outside the national government.

Since July 1995 the United States Association of Former Members of Congress has run a program that places outstanding young Ukrainian students into internships in the Rada. The program assigns interns to committees, legislative support offices and leadership offices for one-year internships. Interns research and analyze draft legislation, prepare draft legislation and amendments to the draft legislation, translate information from foreign countries, and generally support the work of the office or committee to which they are assigned.

## **Conclusion**

It is not easy to classify Ukrainian analytical centers by their areas of interest because they are still in the process of finding their niche of specification. Nevertheless, their analysis and research usually focus on the three broad fields of macroeconomics, sociology, and security. The major problems that independent think tanks currently face in Ukraine are lack of self-sustainability and weak relationships with governmental structures. The dependence on individual decision-makers currently in power, instead of strong institutional links, prevents non-governmental centers from defining their own status. Many centers that were created to do research and analysis in sociology and macroeconomics have had to narrow their activities to provide confidential information for individual clients such as political groups and private businesses.

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<sup>20</sup> Hryhoriy Perepelitsa (19 May, 1999) Interview at National Institute for Strategic Studies of Ukraine.

<sup>21</sup> Olexander Dergachov (17 May, 1999), Interview in Kyiv.

<sup>22</sup> James Sherr, Letter to author, 10 May 1999.

The weakness of civil society in Ukraine does not provide an environment in which independent think tanks can become an influential group. From another side, the ruling bureaucratic elite in Ukraine is too self-centered to allow influence from nongovernmental organizations. Interaction with governmental bodies is usually initiated by centers with invitations to workshops, or by sending them their analytical products. Aware of the inability of state bodies to pay for research and analysis, the independent centers are trying to cultivate relationships with Western grant-making agencies and charitable foundations. The competition for Western donors is fierce since it is almost the only source of financing and Western funding becomes scarcer every year. That is a negative factor that prevents "intellectual cooperation" between independent analytical centers.

As in Russia, the main means of influencing decision-makers is mass media. Major Ukrainian newspapers, because of the objective analysis done by this center, frequently quote the Institute of Politics. Vyacheslav Pihovshek has its own television program. *Zerkalo Nediely* (Weekly Mirror), an intellectual newspaper, invites well-known analysts to give their opinion. However, the media in Ukraine cannot be called independent because many of the newspapers are "owned" by political parties and special interest groups. In choosing the analytical information to publish such newspapers usually tend to give their space only to their supporters.

Despite the negative factors, the Ukrainian analytical centers have become a functioning system, which tries to fill the gap between science and practice. During six years of independence Ukrainian analysts and experts have created a new social group. They contribute to the development of social sciences and economies. Their influence in political decision-making grows with every year.

## **PART 1: FOREIGN POLICY AND SECURITY**

### **National Institute for Strategic Studies**

The National Institute for Strategic Studies (NISS) is a governmental institution for research, analytical prognoses, strategic planning, and information to assist the Council of National Security and the President of Ukraine. According to Ukrainian and Western observers, the Institute is the strongest and most influential analytical agency in Ukraine. Despite its dependence on state financing, NISS actively seeks cooperation with nongovernmental think tanks and Western research institutes.

NISS was established by a Decree of the President of Ukraine dated March 4, 1992. From December 30, 1994, NISS was re-subordinated to the Council of National Security under the President of Ukraine to provide policy-relevant research and analysis on a wide range of political, economic, defense, and social issues related to national security in the strategic context. Olexander Belov, Director of the Institute, holds the position of Deputy Secretary of UNSDC. NISS is a research institution with diverse and comprehensive programs of studies. It undertakes studies on policies, programs and projects as directed by UNSDC. Moreover, through its activity, the institute supports policy- and decision-making processes.

According to the Institute's brochure, it formulates options and recommendations for the development of policy in all major areas of national security; analyzes main threats to Ukraine's national interests and their dynamics; and produces expert assessment of national policies, legislative acts and legal documents.

Since its creation the Institute has seen its goals as:

- fostering strategic thinking in all governmental structures;
- promoting the development of democratic processes and market reforms;
- developing and disseminating independent, unbiased views on Ukraine's development.

Guided by these principles NISS is committed to bringing the results of its research to the attention of a wide audience through reports, conferences and publications.

The Institute holds regular seminars where members discuss major research projects, with participating outside experts and scholars. The Institute's specialists have been invited to work in special governmental working groups and commissions involved in elaborating policy-relevant documents. These have included the Constitution of Ukraine, the Concept of national Security, Ukraine's Military Doctrine, the Concept and Program of Ukraine's Economic Security, and the Program of Economic Cooperation with the Russian Federation.

Lately, the NISS has been increasing its role as a forum for interaction with society. A series of round-tables is being conducted to promote new thought and reasoned debate on current issues of Ukraine's domestic and foreign policy. Regular workshops are held on national security strategy, security on economic transformation and informational security.

The Center for Regional Economic development was founded under NISS in 1997 with the aim of strengthening the investment image of Ukraine's regions and producing relevant research-based recommendations for them. Since 1998 the Institute has been establishing its own regional information and analytical centers in Simferopol, Donetsk, Uzhgorod, Lviv and Odesa. Those branches set up a relationship with local governments and non-governmental institutions. The centers have their own programs of research aimed at elaborating regional development strategies.

The Institute has scholarly contacts with various institutions and individual researchers both in Ukraine and throughout the world. Good working relations and regular contacts are maintained with governmental bodies and international research institutions.

The NISS has several departments. Its core staff numbers 70 researchers in Kyiv and 30 in its Dnepropetrovsk and Kharkiv branches. For specific projects, the Institute invites external scholars, experts and governmental officials on a part-time basis.

The NISS library holds about 5,000 books and subscribes to dozens of professional journals dealing with international affairs, political and economic development. It also receives numerous Ukrainian governmental reports, minutes of international conferences and publications of foreign research centers and international organizations.

The major source of funding is the state budget. The NISS also undertakes specific research projects that are financed by public and private foundations, including foreign ones.

The results of NISS studies are published as research papers and monographs. Since its creation the Institute has published about 100 works that cover the following areas: national security, international security and foreign policy, national defense policy, economic strategies, informational security and many others. The Institute's publications are distributed to more than 200 organizations and individuals that include officials of Presidential Administration, the Parliament, UNSDC, the Cabinet of Ministers, central and local governmental bodies and international organizations. In addition, special studies and analytical reports are prepared for restricted circulation.

Since 1998 the Institute, jointly with the national Institute of Ukrainian-Russian Relations, has been publishing the quarterly. *Strategic Panorama*, which is devoted to trends and tendencies of Ukraine's national and international security and to the strategies of its development.

## National Institute of Ukrainian-Russian Relations

The National Institute of Ukrainian-Russian Relations (NIURR) is a governmental institution for scientific research. The Institute was established in 1997 under the Council for Security and Defense of Ukraine as the informational and analytical part of the system, to deal with solutions to governmental issues. The Institute provides fundamental researches and applied elaboration in political, economic, military, military-technical and other directions of collaboration with the Russian Federation. The Institute is directed by Serhiy Pyrozhkov, a former director of the National Institute for Strategic Studies (until 1997).

The Institute structure includes the following departments: Ukrainian and Russian relations research methodology; relations in information sphere; political relations; analysis of internal processes in the Russian Federation; economic relations; regional relations; humanitarian relations; and military and war technical relations.

Main tasks of the NIURR include:

- scientific development of conceptual base for relations between Ukraine and Russian Federation in context of Ukraine foreign policy strategy in Europe;
- comparative analysis and prediction tendencies of geopolitical, economic, social and military development of the Ukraine and Russian Federation;
- monitoring of foreign and domestic policies of the Russian Federation;
- recommendations for executive power bodies in the area of Ukrainian-Russian relations;
- examination of draft legal documents;
- and publication of scientific research.

The priority areas of research for the NIURR include Ukrainian-Russian relations research methodology; political relations; analysis of internal processes in the Russian Federation; economic relations; regional relations; military and military-technical relations; relations in information sphere; and editorial and publishing activity.

The main forms of scientific activity of the Institute are:

- Coordination of scientific institutions and research centers activity related to Ukrainian-Russian relations;
- Organization of scientific conferences, meetings, seminars concerning the major issues of Ukrainian-Russian relations; and
- Scientific research and scientific projects examination on the terms of contracts.

The Institute publishes a quarterly journal, *Strategic Panorama* and monthly monitoring publication, *Ukraine-Russian: analytical review*. Other products of the Institute include monographs, articles, brochures, analytical reviews and expert evaluation of Ukrainian and Russian legislation. Among the latest publications are the following monographs: *Military-Industrial complexes of Ukraine and Russia*, *Ukrainian-Russian Relations: Humanitarian Dimension*, and *Export Potential of Ukraine: Russian Vector*.

The Institute maintains contacts and cooperates with foreign institutions and scholars that work with issues of Ukrainian-Russian relations and participates in an exchange of

specialists and scientific research results. The Institute takes part in international conferences and meetings. Among the last international conferences held by NIURR are: "Ukrainian-Russian Cultures: Dialogue in Ukraine" (1998) and "Ukraine and Security Problems of Transportation Corridors in Caspian and Black Sea Region" (1999).

The Institute activity is funded mainly from the state budget of Ukraine. The Institute also implements projects financed by public, private and state institutions of Ukraine.

## Atlantic Council of Ukraine

The Atlantic Council of Ukraine (ACU) is a registered non-profit, non-partisan, nongovernmental public policy organization. It was established in January 1995 and became an associated member of the Atlantic Treaty Association the same year. The Council is directed by General (ret.) Vadim Grechaninov; the Vice-President of the Council is Oleg Kokoshinskiy.

The ACU was established to support the process of democracy in Ukraine by stimulating research and debate on matters of foreign policy and security in Ukraine, and by involving a broad range of civilian and military experts, policy-makers, journalists and students in the field of international relations.

ACU provides a forum through which academics, professionals, students, and the interested public from Ukraine exchange ideas and concerns relative to NATO, and more generally to Ukraine's involvement in international political and security issues. To this end the Council sponsors conferences, seminars, and lectures. Additionally, members are able to express their views in the Council's Informational Newsletter that is circulated to the general membership as well as to affiliated organizations. Members of the Council also make frequent appearances in the Ukrainian and Russian media, and are often called upon to make presentations to government concerning Ukraine's relations with NATO. Vadim Grechaninov is adviser to the Committee on National Security and Defense at the Supreme Rada.

According to its Charter, the main goals of ACU are:

- to promote debate on matters of national and regional security;
- to study current processes of political, economic and military situation in Ukraine and Europe;
- to establish a network of national, regional and international experts and researchers;
- to create a reliable source of information about security issues for public awareness.

Recently the Atlantic Council of Ukraine established the Euro-Atlantic Club, an informal clearinghouse for a wide spectrum of official, public and foreign participants interested in the field of international issues.

ACU has strong working relations with the Euroclub Regional Division in Zaporizhzhia; "United Europe" Center in Volyn; Crimean Center for Humanitarian Studies; Donetsk Politological Studies Center; and the Odesa Foreign Policy Concepts Research Center. ACU has developed working cooperation with NATO Information and Documentation Center in Kyiv. In April of 1998 ACU together with NATO Center organized the conference "Ukraine and Russia in the New Architecture of Security: Regional and Transatlantic Dimensions."

ACU products include reports, strategic and policy papers based on the findings of its conferences, seminars and other research projects. The Council also publishes *Information Newsletter* (in Ukrainian) featuring information about the Council's activities and regular contributions from a variety of sources, and the *Euro-Atlantic*

*Herald* (in Ukrainian, Russian and English). They also publish occasional informational sheets, booklets and fact-files.

In May 1999 ACU organized a conference entitled "Ukraine, Europe and U.S. in the Formation of a new Euro-Atlantic security Architecture". This event was organized together with the Center for European Integration Studies and the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies.

## Ukrainian Center for International Security Studies

The Ukrainian Center for International Security Studies (UCISS) is an independent, non-government research institute. UCISS was formed in 1991 to study and analyze national, regional, and global security issues. It brings together experts working in multiple disciplines. Leonid Belousov heads the center and Executive Director Olexander Parfionov oversees the day to day operation. The center has seven full-time workers. In order to carry out research projects on the request of Ukrainian governmental structures and foreign partners, the Center recruits leading Ukrainian analysts for individual and collective studies on the contract basis.

UCISS focuses on the following main research areas:

- Ukrainian security policy: threats perception; concept development, geo-political orientation, and correlation with foreign and internal development.
- Ukrainian-Russian relations.
- Security policy of the USA, Canada, European and the CIS states; their impact on global and regional stability and international security.
- Euro-Atlantic, European and Eurasian integration and security co-operation.
- Prospects of a new European security architecture.
- International peacekeeping activity: early warning, conflict prevention and conflict management.
- Middle East peace process and its impact on international security.
- On a contract basis UCISS carries out projects on economic issues, conversion, military reform, and political system of Ukraine.

UCISS publishes some of the research works in "Occasional Papers".

UCISS arranges conferences, seminars and individual research tours for persons and organizations interested in areas of UCISS research activity. In October 1997 the Center organized a conference, "International Relations in Crimea: External Factors of Risk".

UCISS is a co-founder of the *Political Thought* journal (English, Russian, Ukrainian), the Association of Middle East Studies (AMES) and the Atlantic Council of Ukraine (ACU).

The main financing comes from donor organizations, particularly from International Renaissance Foundation and Fridrich Ebert Stiftung.

## **Center for National Security Studies of the National University of the Kyiv Mohyla Academy**

Olexei Haran established the center in 1997 under auspices of the newspaper, *Den* (the Day). Initially the Center was publishing analytical reviews in the newspaper. Due to the changes in the newspaper's management and its politicization, the center moved to the National University of the Kyiv Mohyla Academy. The center is an independent structure at the Academy and gets its financing from Fridrich Ebert Stiftung and the International Renaissance Foundation.

The main goal of the center is to conduct systematic analysis of internal and external threats to the national security of Ukraine. In 1997 the Center published a book, *Establishment of Power Structures in Ukraine in 1991-96*. Currently the Center works on projects called "Left Forces In Ukraine: Perspective Of Moving To Social Democracy" and "Different Types Of Nationalism In Ukraine: Problems For Internal And External Security". The Center is planning a September 1999 conference to discuss the evolution of ideology of left forces in Ukraine with the participation of representatives of Communist parties and Socialist parties of Ukraine.

Many of the researchers of the Center publish their articles abroad. For instance, O. Haran works with BIOst (Federal Institute for East European and International Studies) in Cologne; he has publications in the series *Aktuelle Analysen* (Oleksij Haran', "Tkačenko--ein ukrainischer Lukašenko? Ein politisches Porträt des Speakers des ukrainischen Parlaments," *Aktuelle Analysen*, No. 9, 15 March 1999. The authors currently are working on material about the position of Ukraine regarding the Kosovo crisis.

The Center has developed working cooperation with Ukrainian research and academic institutions. As for government structures, the Center sends its publications to the Cabinet of Ministers, the Administration of the President, and the Supreme Rada of Ukraine. "The representatives of the President's Administration and the Council of National Security and Defense of Ukraine were present at our conference," says O. Haran. "We can get information from them but unofficially using our personal contacts. The representatives of government declare the wish to cooperate with independent centers but it is still a one- way street."<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Olexei Haran (17 May, 1999), Interview at Center for National Security Studies.

## Center for Peace, Conversion and Foreign Policy of Ukraine

This center is a non-governmental nonpartisan research organization. It was established in 1992 as the Ukrainian Center for Peace, Conversion and Conflict Resolution Studies (UCPCCRS). Many Ukrainian and Western experts agree that it is the most influential independent think tank in the areas of foreign policy and national security.

According to its Director Olexander Potekhin,<sup>24</sup> the Center was created as a standard reaction of non-satisfied intellectuals to their opportunities to realize themselves in old circumstances and as a vehicle to use new conditions in independent Ukraine. On the other hand, its creation was in reaction to the overwhelming wave of non-professionalism in the sphere of expert estimations and advice to government in the new nongovernmental organizations. Unqualified expertise appeared then in the sphere of national security of Ukraine and international security every week. The decision to start the Center resulted from three months' work by Olexander Potekhin as a visiting researcher in the Institute for International Policy, Ebenhausen, Germany in 1992, and from his work as Head of the USA and Canada Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine in 1993-1994. The other principal founder of the Center was Professor Helena Kotova (died in October 1998). The cooperative effort of these two founders made possible the publication of the Center's first Analytical Report in 1994. It combined a broad general humanitarian approach to understanding security matters with addressing the need of practical workers, including officials, for reliable information.

The Center's main purposes are:

- the completion of research projects,
- investigation of current problems of international relations,
- security and foreign policy of Ukraine,
- disarmament, conversion,
- political and social development of Ukraine achieving integration into the European and World community of nations.

The Center's experts have published a number of analytical reports presented to the executive and legislative bodies, political leaders, and the public in Ukraine and abroad. Among the Center's partners are the National Security and Defense Council of Ukraine, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, and a number of Ukrainian and foreign think tanks and embassies.

Among the latest analytical reports are the following: "Ukraine Between the East and the West: Ukrainian View," "Socio-economic Condition of Population and Potential of Conflicts in Ukraine," "Problems of the Armed Forces and the Military-Industrial Complex of Ukraine and Civil Control over Their Activities," "Ukraine in Contemporary World: Ukrainian View," "Ruling Elite of Contemporary Ukraine," and "Ukraine in Architectonics of European Security." Publications of the Center are regularly sent to governmental bodies and officials are invited to participate in its seminars and discussions. Among the main consumers of the Center's analytical information are Ukrainian and foreign experts in the field of international security and foreign policy of

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<sup>24</sup> Olexander Potekhin, letter to the author, 4 May 1999.

Ukraine, as well as lecturers and students of related courses. Unfortunately, most of the specialists are not ready to pay or cannot pay for the information. Contacts are established via the Center's web page, personal meetings, and distribution of hard publications.

The Center has held many international conferences. Among them: the international seminar "Problems of Non-proliferation of Weapon of Mass Destruction" (10-13 October, 1992), in cooperation with the Monterey Institute of International Studies; USA; international seminar "Nuclear Weapons and Security of Ukraine" (26-28 October, 1993), together with the Olof Palme International Center, Sweden, and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Germany; seminar "Ukrainian Prospects of MIC Conversion" with the Institute of Society Transformation, Ukraine (February, 1996); international seminar "Conversion, Civil Society and Democracy in Ukraine" in cooperation with The Olof Palme International Center, Sweden (24-26 May, 1997); international seminar "International Integration: Experience of the Republic of Belarus" in cooperation with The Olof Palme International Center (13-15 March, 1998); and international seminar "Trilateral Relations: Belarus-Russia-Ukraine" in cooperation with The Olof Palme International Center (23-25 April, 1999).

The Center actively cooperates with a number of research centers; including the International Renaissance Foundation; Atlantic Council of Ukraine; SOCIS-Gallup; Democratic Initiatives Foundation; Ukrainian political science journal Political Thought; Ukrainian Center for Independent Political Research; Kiev Center of Political Studies and Conflictology; Center for European Security Studies (c/o University of Groningen); the Olof Palme International Center; Stiftung Wissenschaft and Politik (SWP); Institut d'Etudes Europeennes; Universite Libre de Bruxelles; Center for Security Studies and Conflict Research at the ETH Zurich; NATO Information and Documentation Center in Ukraine; Institute for East European Research of the Free University of Berlin; Institute, for Security Studies of the Western European Union; German Society for Foreign Affairs; etc. CPCFPU is member of the International Relations and Security Network (ISN) and co-founder of the PfP Consortium of Defense Academies and Research Centers.

Ukrainian policymakers use publications of the Center regularly and extensively. The Center's researchers give advice and information to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, primarily to the Department of Political Analysis and Planning; Ukrainian embassies abroad; the National Security and Defense Council of Ukraine; Administration of the President of Ukraine; and the Department of Foreign Policy. The following are just two examples of the use of such materials: 1) At the biannual ambassadorial meeting held in Kyiv in July, 1997, Ukraine Foreign Minister Hennady Udoenko grounded his estimation of the efficiency of Ukrainian diplomacy (regional directions) on expert estimations of the Center; and 2) according to an official letter to the Center from Vadym Tyutyunyk, the Head of Department of Military Policy of the UNSDC, a great many questions discussed by the Council are based mainly on the independent estimations and analytical reports prepared by the Center. The high level of efficiency of the Center's activities was recognized by the invitation of Olexander Potekhin, Director of CPCFPU, to participate in a Harvard Seminar on Ukraine's security held in December 1998.

## **Center for the International Studies at Mechnikov Odessa State University**

The Center for the International Studies (CIS) was established in June 1992 as a specialized scholarly and analytic subdivision of Odessa State University. The Center was based in the Department of Modern and Contemporary History of Foreign Countries (from 1996-Department of International Relations), where, under the leadership of Professor Semyen Appatov, the School of Historical and Political Analysis of International Relations and Foreign Policy was formed. As the Center's brochure explains, "the scientific, political and practical urgency in creating the Center was called forth by Ukraine's entering the international arena as an independent state, by the stirring-up of Ukrainian foreign policy studies within the country and abroad, and by the necessity of effective scientific assistance to foreign policy, external economic and military institutions of Ukraine in decision-making processes."<sup>25</sup>

The main directions of Center's work are:

- Study of Ukraine's place and role in the modern system of international relations, national security issues;
- Analysis of "Ukrainian Directions" in foreign policy of other countries at different stages of its formation and of conceptual bases of this policy;
- Study of ethno-political relations and migration processes in Ukraine and their influence on national security;
- Study of regional aspects in Ukraine's foreign policy, the place and role of the Southern region of Ukraine in foreign policy and external economic activities of the country;
- Provision of ongoing scientific, methodological and organizational assistance to the School of International Relations of Odessa State University;
- Assistance in training of specialists in international affairs (students, trainees, postgraduate students, scientists, diplomatic and consular employees) for Ukraine and foreign countries.

The Center prepares materials on foreign policy, external economic and ethno-political problems for interested parties and firms. It compiles annotated bibliographies on requested topics for scientists, university lecturers, diplomatic workers and other interested organizations and offices; develops study curricula, special courses and seminars; and applies the results of scientific researchers in teaching, organizing of scientific symposia, conferences and "round table talks" on topical issues in international relations.

The Center is comprised of seven full-time Research Fellows, including one Doctor of Historical Science, six Candidates of Historical and Political Science and doctoral candidates, as well as a group of post-graduate and senior students. The Center's founder and director is Semyen Appatov, a Full Member of the Ukrainian Academy of Political Sciences, Director of History, Distinguished Professor of Ukraine, and Chairman of the International Relations Department of Odessa State University. All employees of the Center-historians, political scientists and economists-have considerable research experience in the field of international relations. They are authors for numerous scientific

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<sup>25</sup> Information Newsletter № 1, Mechnikov Odessa State University, 1998/99.

associations, act as political columnists for newspapers, radio and television, constantly participate in national and international conferences, symposia, and international scientific projects.

The Center's team is currently developing a complex scientific program, "Ukraine in the System of Contemporary International Relations: Analysis of Domestic and Foreign political Science Concepts and Historiography," in the following directions: Conceptual foundations and priorities of Ukraine's foreign policy; Ukrainian-Russian Relations; Ukraine and the Countries of Central and Eastern Europe; Ukraine and the Countries of Black and Mediterranean Sea Region; Ukraine and Arabic Countries of the Middle East and North Africa; Ethno-political and Conflict Studies in International Relations; and Ukraine and the USA.

Since 1998 the Center has published a quarterly *Information Newsletter*.

The Center possesses an infrastructure of scholarly connections with domestic and foreign research centers and universities in the USA, Russia, Central and Eastern Europe, Turkey, Japan, Korea and Israel. The CIS collaborates with the Institute of International Relations of Taras Shevchenko National University; Institute of World Economics and International Relations of National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine; Institute of Market Issues, Economic and Ecological Research of National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Atlantic Council of Ukraine; Institute of Europe of the Russian Academy of Sciences; Institute of the USA and Canada of the Russian Academy of Sciences; Institute of International Political and Economic Research of the Russian Academy of Sciences; Indiana and Old Dominion Universities(USA); and Silezsky University(Poland).

## **International Institute of Global and Regional Security**

The International Institute of Global and Regional Security (IIGRS) was founded in Kiev and registered with the ministry of Justice of Ukraine in 1992 as a non-governmental and nonprofit public research and consultative institution. The Center was formed by Dmitry Vydryn, and currently is headed by Leonid Toupchienko.

The purpose of IIGRS is to conduct scholarly research, provide independent expertise, develop prognoses and promote cooperation with other international research institutions that work in the field of global and regional security as it relates to Ukraine and other states interacting within the same geopolitical environment.

The main objective of IIGRS activity is to operate an open interdisciplinary structure for conducting research, assess potential threats facing Ukraine, elaborate scenarios and methodologies for forecasting those threats, and develop methodological and organizational programs in the area of national and regional security.

The main priorities of IIGRS include:

- Investigating and assessing the potential threat of restoring the totalitarian-authoritarian system in Ukraine; based on experiences in other countries, analyzing and developing generalizations on ways to prevent these processes;
- Assessing the level and seriousness of threats and searching for mechanisms for countering anti-constitutional or illegal activities of public groups;
- Assessing the level and character of threats in the area of inter-ethnic, inter-confessional conflicts which may lay groundwork for civil unrest and searching for effective mechanisms for preventing such events;
- Assessing the probability of threats in the area of interstate relations of Ukraine and determining reliable measures to prevent or resolve such situations.

The Institute's researchers took part in the elaboration of the Concept of National Defense of Ukraine. On the initiative of the Institute, a permanent working conference of experts of Ukraine and Russia was formed to deal with Ukrainian-Russian relations.

In 1996 the Institute received a grant from the W. Alton Jones Foundation to support a project on ecological consequences of nuclear disarmament in Ukraine.

The Institute has currently suspended its activities due to lack of financing.

## **The Europe XXI Foundation**

The Europe XXI Foundation is a non-profit, non-partisan, non-governmental Ukrainian think tank, founded in December 1998. Its mission is to promote intellectual support to the processes of Ukraine's integration into the European Union as the means of securing the country's development as a European democracy. The organization is co-founded by Ukrainian and British professionals, who share several years of NGO leadership, project management and fund-raising experience.

Considering European and Euro-Atlantic integration as a primarily domestic issue for Ukraine, the main foci of the Europe XXI Foundation's activities lay in political, economic, social, cultural and educational spheres. The activities are carried out by conducting research, organization and co-organization of various public events, and participation in working out programs in the relevant fields.

The Europe XXI Foundation gives an unconditional priority for promoting public awareness of the European Union and the European integration among the Ukrainian population, taking into account a serious lack of knowledge about the mentioned issues in the country.

The Europe XXI Foundation has stated its intention to actively and openly cooperate with the Ukrainian Government, the Parliament, and the regional bodies of power in order to assist working out effective integration policies on the national and regional levels in Ukraine and, concurrently, to make a targeted impact on the population by informing and involving it in Ukraine's European integration processes.

The primary goal of the Europe XXI Foundation is to establish an effective functioning think tank that will possess its place in the Ukrainian politics providing reliable analyses on the broad spectrum of issues relating to Ukraine's European integration, including:

- Ukraine's foreign policy;
- Economic reform process;
- Strengthening democracy and development of the civil society in Ukraine;
- Ukraine's emerging political elite and its role in the society.

One of the foundation's recent projects is called "Defining Ukraine's Future." The project's goal is to create a broad forum by means of policy-oriented workshops, seminars and conferences, where issues of Ukrainian integration with the EU and NATO will be discussed.

The foundation plans to launch a bi-monthly publication *Our Europe*. This magazine will focus on: monitoring and analysis of the processes of Ukraine's integration into the European Union; promoting awareness about the European Union among the Ukrainian population; and assisting the European Union to work out effective policies, towards Ukraine through the active Ukrainian-European multi-level dialogue.

## **Ukrainian Foreign Policy Association**

The Ukrainian Foreign Policy Association is a non-governmental organization that aims to improve the effectiveness of Ukrainian foreign policy and thus, to contribute to realization of its national interests as well as strengthening Ukraine's position at the international arena. Respecting the achievements of Ukrainian diplomacy and aiming at improving professional skills of the diplomats, a group of experts has initiated the establishment of the Ukrainian Foreign Policy Association. This idea was supported by the majority of participants of the international conference entitled "Geopolitical Future For Ukraine," which took place March 19-20, 1998 in Kyiv. The association was established in 1999 by initiative of Yuri Kochubey, former Ambassador of Ukraine to France.

According to its Executive Secretary, Dmitry Koublitsky, "for many years nongovernmental organizations played a significant role in improving policy dialogue among governmental agencies, political movements and the public in the sphere of foreign relations. Such organizations that involve bright researchers and influential politicians as well as other people who have experience dealing with internal and foreign policy issues, international law and economy improve dialogue between the Government and the public and are essential element of any democratic state."<sup>26</sup>

The association has developed its Charter, which provides for individual and collective membership of Ukrainian and foreign citizens and institutions based on free will, equal rights and collective cooperation. The Charter defines spheres of analytical research, information and consultation activities as well as procedures of submitting relevant recommendations to the government.

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<sup>26</sup> Dmitry Koublitsky (13 February, 1999), Interview at Ukrainian Foreign Policy Association.



## **PART 2: MACRO AND MICROECONOMIC RESEARCH**

### **International Center for Policy Studies**

The International Center for Policy Studies (ICPS) was established in 1993 to support the development of a democratic society and market economy in Ukraine. The Center is an independent non-profit research organization with the objectives of improving Ukrainian policy research and dialogue, public participation in the formulation of policy, and monitoring of reforms. These are achieved by increasing the know-how of key government officials for policy choices, formulation, and debate, and the awareness of the public-at-large of the benefits of the policy. ICPS focuses on key programs of importance for the reform efforts of the government.

The two main directions of the Center's activity are the improvement of the decision-making in Ukraine and the establishment of a network of government representatives, non-government organizations, enterprises and international organizations. This is one of the biggest Centers in Ukraine and it has 45 staff members. The board of directors is headed by Boris Hawrylysyn, among the members are A. Aslund, from The Carnegie Foundation, Seghiy Tihipko, Vice Prime Minister of Ukraine, and Victor Yushchenko, head of the National Bank of Ukraine. The Center is considered one of the most influential analytical centers in the area of economic development and is headed by Vera Nanivska.

The priority areas of research for the Center include analysis of the Ukrainian economy, economic forecast and evaluation of possible risks. The Center holds discussions and round tables on issues of budget and fiscal policies, and prepares program documents for the government on key economic issues. Based on the regular poll of 300 enterprises of Ukraine the Center performs a quarterly monitoring of the Ukrainian economy on microeconomic level. The Center provides support to the government in defining the strategies of reform implementation and creation of mechanisms for effective deregulation at central and local levels. The Center's activity helps to increase the confidence level of civil society towards authorities and strengthen the influence of non-governmental organizations in the decision-making process. Another area of research focuses on elaboration of effective policy of European integration of Ukraine.

ICPS executes its mission through the dedicated application of the following projects:

- Project "Independent Policy Voice" concentrates on the design and implementation of research projects that satisfy the need for an independent policy voice in key areas of influence for Ukraine.
- Project "Technical Assistance" focuses on the concept and design of technical assistance programs for the government that build an institutional capacity for sound, sustainable and judicious policy making.
- Project "Public Participation in the Policy Process" implements reforms aimed at producing a more effective, transparent and accountable government by providing channels for public input into legislative frameworks.

In 1999, the ICPS Publishing Program included five products: a weekly, monthly, bimonthly, and two quarterly publications. All editions are printed in Ukrainian and English except *Transition*.

The ICPS Newsletter was launched in January 1999. This two-page product is primarily oriented to mass media, central government and ICPS partners. It also is useful for a wide range of ICPS customers. Thus, it includes one or two brief analytical notes, is focused on current events and issues of public interest, which are discussed at ICPS' conferences and seminars. Also, the Newsletter presents the schedule of ICPS forthcoming events.

*Quarterly Predictions* was launched in September 1997. It is a quarterly 90-100-page overview and a set of near-term forecasts of the Ukrainian economy based on similar regular publications by independent commentators in Western countries.

*Business Opinion Review* is a quarterly bulletin, launched in June 1998. Its objective is to provide a quarterly evaluation of the prevailing trends in the economy as well as tracking expectations for the coming year.

*Policy Studies* is a monthly publication, launched in January 1999. It presents research papers written mostly by ICPS staff or ICPS partners.

The World Bank's Russian edition of *Transition* started in July 1998. It is a newsletter about reforming economies. Over the last seven years, *Transition* has become a successful publication of the Bank, a major vehicle in disseminating ideas, as well as a generator wide range of discussions about economic and social development in Eastern Europe, Central Asia, China and Vietnam, covering both analytical and practical issues.

The Center receives grants for its activities from USIA, the World Bank, British Know-How Fund, EU TACIS program, the Eurasia Foundation and the Embassy of Netherlands. The Center also receives payments from government structures on a contract basis. The budget for 1997 was \$1,200,000.

## **Public Center for Economic Research**

The Public Center for Economic Research is a non-governmental and independent organization. It was established in April 1995. Yuri Nechayev heads the Center. It has three full time researchers and eight experts who work for specific projects on the temporarily basis.

Its main directions of activities are:

- Economic policy with analysis of finances, investments, agrarian policy, and restructuring
- Analysis of Ukrainian markets by industry and by region
- Seminars, publication of materials in mass media.

The Center's main objective is to provide assistance to democratic transformations in the economic life and other spheres of Ukrainian society.

The Center is actively involved in drafting programs in economic area for the government, political parties, and unions of entrepreneurs. The Center also plays a very active role in drafting the national strategy of technical assistance to Ukraine. It is also doing an analysis of the Ukrainian banking system and financial markets. Currently the center is involved a project called "Activation of investment activity of Ukrainian banks. Analysis of the state financial system of Ukraine and the reforms in the sector."

Another area of the Center's activity is providing analysis of foreign trade with European countries. Its experts also are providing an analysis of the main trends of the development of Ukraine's agro-industrial market. They provide advice on regional economic policy and also monitor individual industries. The center has published several publications in this field, including "Analysis of Economic Policy in the agrarian sector" and "Ukrainian market, regions and industries."

Half of the Center's budget comes from the Eurasia Foundation grant, the rest comes from Ukrainian enterprises.

## **The Reform Support Foundation**

The Reform Support Foundation was established in 1993 under the direction of Victor Pinzenik, who also served at that time as Vice Prime Minister of Economy and Finance of the Ukrainian government. The board of directors includes such Ukrainian politicians as Sergei Teriokhin (a researcher of the Harvard University in 1995) and Igor Grinyov.

The Foundation employs 15 full time researchers and experts and occasionally engages up to 20 outside experts for individual projects.

According to the Foundation prospectus the main directions are:

- Monitoring and analysis of macro-economic trends in Ukraine
- Political education of the young generation
- Analysis of social-political trends in Central and Eastern Europe
- Geopolitical analysis

The main task of the Foundation is to provide assistance to the development of economy to ensure the real independence of Ukraine. The Foundation is conducting research and providing advice to democratic parties and unions. It is also involved in drafting the programs and policy papers on the development of an open market economy in Ukraine. The Foundation's researchers also draft normative acts for legislative and executive powers of Ukraine. The Foundation prepares proposals to the president of Ukraine, Supreme Rada and other governmental institutions, and provides advice for political decision-making.

The main research of the institution lies in the field of monetary and financial policy of Ukraine. Its researchers are involved in developing the mechanisms of monetary stabilization. The Foundation also provides forecasts of social reactions to changes in implementation of macro-economic reforms.

The researchers provide analysis of the current situation of the state financial system. They also provide advice and recommendation in the fields of budget and privatization. Within its research the Foundation tries to place Ukraine in the international division of labor. It also provides the forecast of trade balance. Its researchers are frequently involved in analysis of international financial treaties and projects.

The Foundation actively cooperates with international research centers and financial and economic institutions. It maintains relations with political and economic leaders of the country. Regional authorities, enterprises and banks often invite the Foundation to provide normative support and consultations.

The main publications include: a monthly report, "Macro-economic review of Ukraine", in Ukrainian and English languages and the quarterly, *Ukrainian Variants*. Last year the Foundation held two conferences, "The School of Political Skills" and "Local Self-government of Ukraine."

The main financial sources of the Foundation are the International Renaissance Foundation and USAID.

## **Association of Entrepreneurs "Infobusiness"**

The Association of Entrepreneurs "Infobusiness" (AEI) was formed and registered in February 1993 as a non-governmental, national association. The Association's main task is the creation of an organization which will raise the level of entrepreneurial activity and assist in overcoming barriers to foreign investment in Ukraine, as well as assisting Ukrainian enterprises in finding domestic and foreign partners. The Association currently has 18 regional offices with total 2,000 member companies. The Association's headquarter office in Kiev works with its regional offices on a contractual basis. Additional regional offices are added when needed. Bohdan Rybak heads the Association.

A key objective of the Association of Entrepreneurs "Infobusiness" is to build private Ukrainian institutions that provide entrepreneurs with access to the information and assistance they need in order to find qualified business partners, start new businesses, track pertinent legislation and acquire state owned enterprises through privatization.

AEI is funded, in part, by the Center for International Private Enterprise (CIPE) an affiliate of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, located in Washington, D.C. CIPE was established in 1983 to promote private enterprise and market-oriented reform worldwide. As a principal participant in the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), CIPE supports strategies and techniques that address market-based democratic development.

The Association understands its tactical goal in the creation of the All-Ukrainian Network for the Promotion of Private Entrepreneurship. This network will be able to provide a full scope of highly skilled informational and consulting services to established private businesses as well as for beginning businesses.

The consumers of the Association's expertise and its regional representative services are from small and medium business, and open stock companies founded after the state enterprises became privatized. The system of informational and consulting services created by the Association's experts will allow any representative of private business in Ukraine, regardless of the enterprise's financial state and geographical remoteness, to receive timely, highly skilled consulting assistance.

The Association engages in macro and micro economic research of the economy's branches most attractive for investment. Its experts possess a fundamental economic background, being the holders of Masters degrees in various economic specialization such as "International economic relations and law," and "Banking and Financial Management." Many experts participated in programs of the Institute of Economic Development under the aegis of the World Bank, British Know-How, and the International Finance Corporation.

The researchers continuously issue analyses of economic branches for the purpose of informing enterprises about existing conditions. The Association has a specialized database on former state enterprises being privatized into opened stock companies.

Another database on enterprises attractive for investment and looking to cooperate with foreign investors was created and is constantly updated.

The organization has an opportunity to represent the interests of small and medium business by means of membership in Council on Post-Privatization Support under the State Property Fund of Ukraine; and Council on Social Accordance under the Ukrainian President.

The Association actively cooperates with Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, the sector "Development of Entrepreneurship," Ministry of Economy of Ukraine, the department "Assistance in Entrepreneurship's Development," and the Interstate Commission of Kuchma-Gore, "Ukraine-U.S. Program To Promote Sustainable Development." The Association has active cooperative relationships with other associations of entrepreneurs on questions of realization of programs assisting in development of private entrepreneurship in Ukraine, in particular, small and medium business.

Among AEI's products are several databases created on the economic and business environment of Ukraine and other CIS countries, export and import information, investment strategies, an extensive legal database of all Ukrainian laws, Presidential decrees, and regulations since 1990.

## **PART 3: DEMOCRATIZATION AND POLITICAL RESEARCH**

### **Ukrainian Center for Independent Political Research**

The Ukrainian Center for Independent Political Research (UCIPR) was established in 1991 by a group of young analysts in order to observe and study various aspects of the political situation in Ukraine. Since then, the UCIPR has developed into a leading nonpartisan independent think tank. Politically independent due to its policy to decline any funding either from the state or from any political parties, the UCIPR maintains the most renowned independent research institution of its kind in Ukraine. Sensing a need for independent research of Ukraine's foreign and domestic policies, a group of young, dedicated journalists and political analysts established this interdisciplinary, policy-oriented research institution outside the traditional university system and not under state control-albeit with close ties to both academic and political communities. Vyacheslav Pikhovshek heads the center. There are 17 full-time experts and 12 part-time experts.

Founders of the UCIPR and the Democracy Fund were members of the opposition students' movement that began in Kyiv in 1989 with the establishment of the Hromada [Community] democratic youth organization and the Ukrainian Student Union. Some members of the UCIPR took part in the student hunger strike in October 1990 in Kyiv.

In December 1989, the UCIPR began its first publication, *Sposterihach* [Observer], a newsletter printed at the Sajudis print shop in Vilnius, Lithuania.

During the failed coup d'etat in Moscow in August 1991, the UCIPR cooperated with democratic groups in Russia in disseminating updated information about the coup. Later, these efforts were described in the *Guardian* and the *Chronicle of Resistance*, a book published by Ukrainian writer and politician Les Taniuk. In September 1991, with the support of the European Foundation for Culture and Education, the UCIPR organized its first conference, "Ukraine: Strategic Dimension". Before the first presidential elections in Ukraine, in October 1991, the UCIPR held a conference on "Free Elections in the West and Ukraine," attended by leading Ukrainian politicians, academics, and representatives of American political parties. In May 1992, the UCIPR, in cooperation with the National Institute for Strategic Studies of the National Defense University (USA), organized a conference on "New Perspectives on Ukrainian Security," later covered by the *Washington Times* in June 1992. In October 1993, the UCIPR and NATO Office of Information and Press organized a conference "Ukraine and European Security: Defense Dimension, sponsored by NATO and the International Renaissance Foundation. In subsequent years, the UCIPR organized conferences on the situation in the Crimea and Ukraine's national security agenda in cooperation with the American Association for the Advancement of Science and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

In 1994, the year of parliamentary and presidential elections in Ukraine, being aware of the importance of elections for the democratic transition and the responsibility of journalists and analysts, the UCIPR launched its own information service with field offices in Moscow and Minsk. The Vybir (Choice), produced a series of television programs "Debates '94", and established the Equal Access Committee. The Vybir information service aimed to provide Ukrainian voters with relevant information to assist them in making a favorable choice in support of democratic forces. Since the 1994

elections, the Vybir project has continued with the support of the National Endowment for Democracy and the Freedom House.

After Leonid Kuchma's presidential victory, the UCIPR focused on the study of the dynamics of the Ukrainian political elite. In 1995, the UCIPR started the "Fifth Comer," an analytical TV program, broadcast weekly by the Ukrainian TV Channel 1 to offer perspectives on leading Ukrainian politicians and society activists.

The UCIPR publishes books and research papers on Ukraine's domestic and foreign policy issues, economy in transition, security doctrine, relations with neighbor states, the Crimean dilemma, interethnic relations and media freedom, etc. Its researchers maintain close contacts with Ukrainian and Western journalists; in recent years, *The Washington Post*, the *Wall Street Journal* and the *New York Times* published over a dozen articles quoting the UCIPR research results.

In November 1995, the UCIPR launched its weekly "Research Update", a collection of analytical briefs disseminated to politicians, journalists and researchers in Ukrainian and English. The "Politics and Politicians" series now includes Ukrainian and English editions of the book *Dnipropetrovsk vs Security Services* and the forthcoming publications on the Ukrainian political elite and analysis of the new Ukrainian Constitution from the perspective of international law. Other forthcoming books include *The President and His Advisers* and *How We Adopted the Constitution of Ukraine*. Another UCIPR-published book, *Dynamics of Elite*, discusses whether the transfer of power occurred in Ukraine at all.

Another series of the UCIPR publications, "Ukraine and Its Neighbors," focuses on key issues of Ukraine's relations with other states. Beginning with the book *A Russia That We...*, the series will offer new publications on Ukrainian-Belarusian and Ukrainian-Turkish relations.

In November 1995, a group of the UCIPR analysts launched the "Personalities" project, supported by the Freedom House and USAID. The "Personalities," concise collections of biographies of prominent Ukrainian policy-makers, opened with books about leaders and activists of Ukraine's major national democratic political parties, the Ukrainian People's Movement Rukh and the Republican Party of Ukraine. The "Personalities" new book, *The Dnipropetrovsk Family*, focuses on top-ranking representatives of the political elite that currently rules Ukraine.

Recent publications of this series include "Ukrainian Trade Union Leaders", a reference book containing biographies of 167 leaders and activists of major Ukrainian trade unions.

Among the latest UCIPR conferences are: "National Security and Political Opinion" (February 1998), "European Enlargement and Ukrainian Security" (May 1998), and "Democratic Elections and Post-Soviet Reality" (September 1998).

With the support of Freedom House and the US Agency for International Development (USAID), UCIPR has established regional offices in the Crimea, Kharkiv, Poltava, Donetsk, Odesa, Dnipropetrovsk, Chernivtsi, Lviv, and Mykolaiv that give UCIPR access to objective information regarding events in Crimea and other key regions of Ukraine.

The Center is also working to expand the network of offices throughout Ukraine. Through these offices UCIPR will create a nationwide database that will provide information on Ukrainian politicians, political parties, public movements, enterprises, and major events occurring in Ukraine since 1991. It also plans to establish a national NGO network.

The UCIPR is supported by the National Endowment for Democracy (USA), Freedom House/USAID, the Westminster Foundation for Democracy (UK), and the Democratic Initiatives Foundation.

## **Crimean Center of Independent Political Researchers and Journalists**

The Crimean Center of Independent Political Researches and Journalists (CCIPRJ) was created in March 1995 by a group of democratically-oriented Crimean journalists, political scientists and civil activists. CCIPRJ was established as the Crimean branch of the Ukrainian Center of Political Researches (headed by Vyacheslav Pikhovshek). Today it is an independent non-governmental research organization that sees its mission as supporting Crimean open civil society as a compound autonomous part of Ukraine as well as supporting Crimean integration into Ukraine. Volodymyr Pritula heads CCIPRJ. The Center employs three full-time workers and three part-time experts.

The main goals of CCIPRJ are:

- organization of scientific, social and educational charity programs and projects;
- investigations in the field of political science and sociology; journalistic investigations;
- organization and management of scientific conferences, seminars and round tables;
- publication in the field of political science, sociology, and journalism.

CCIPRJ is actively involved in political research of Crimean society as a part of common Ukrainian society. CCIPRJ publishes and distributes analytical materials about social political situation in autonomous republic of Crimea, about connections of Crimea with others regions of Ukraine as well as with Russia and other neighbors.

Among the latest conferences organized by CCIPRJ are: "Problems Of National Communities Branches in Crimea Authorities" (June 1995); "Political Reality & Future of Crimea" (September 1995); "Elections to the Chief Council of Ukraine" (November 1995); "The Crimean Ukrainians: Main Nation or National Minority: The Problems of Ukrainian Population In The Autonomous Republic of Crimea" (February 1996); "Freedom of Printing and State's Interests in The Conditions Of Conflict Society" (May 1996); "New Ukrainian Constitution & Constitutional Process in the ARC" (October 1996); "National Press in the Crimea" (May 1996); and "Relations of Press and Authorities in The Conditions of Changing Society" (November 1996). In cooperation with the Association of Free Journalists, CCIPRJ organized several seminars including "Press and Society: Aspects Of Interaction"(September 1997 ), and "Role of Crimean Press in the Process of Deported Crimean Tartars Integration into Ukrainian Society" (May 1998). Together with the Crimean Press-Center IREX-ProMedia; the Center organized a round table "Ethnic Press in the Crimea: Problems & Perspectives of Existence" (December 1998). Together with the Ukrainian Independent Center of Political Researches the Center organized a conference "The Crimean Tartars & Ukrainian Society: Problems of Political & Social Integration" (November 1998).

CCIPRJ publishes an analytical bi-monthly bulletin "The Crimean's Tartars Question" that addresses the problems of the Crimean Tartars deported from Crimea during the Soviet regime and their integration into modern Ukrainian.

Since October 1997 CCIPRJ has published a monthly "Crimean Press Monitoring" with support from International Renaissance Foundation and Freedom House.

CCIPRJ has developed working relations with the Crimean Association of Free Journalists, Ukrainian Independent Center of Political Researches, the Crimean Press-Center IREX-ProMedia, the Crimean Branch of Helsinki Citizens' Assembly, the Crimean Center of Human Rights, "Maarifchi" Association, and the Crimean Revival Fund.

## **Pylyp Orlyk Institute for Democracy**

The Pylyp Orlyk Institute for Democracy (POID) is an independent public policy research institute, which seeks to promote the principles of democracy, free market economy, rule of law, and national security reform among policy-makers and the general public. POID prepares analyses of pending legislation for Ukrainian legislators and issues a variety of publications. The Institute was founded in 1992 with assistance from the U.S.-Ukraine Foundation. The Institute has 20 full time staff members and 28 part-time researchers. Markiyany Belinsky heads the Institute

POID provides information and independent consultations to individuals and organizations-governmental bodies of all levels, educational institutions, and mass media. One of its main activities is the translation of books, articles, and analytical materials from Western sources. The Institute has a "Hot Line for Democracy" which provides electronic connections with American experts to exchange information and provide American politicians updated information about Ukraine. The Institute organizes conferences, round tables, and workshops for Ukrainian politicians. One of the latest conferences was "The situation and trends of local self-government of Ukraine."

The Institute's main fields of research include:

- Public administration and local self- government;
- civil society;
- national security;
- Human rights and national minorities;
- environmental protection.

The Institute, together with Indiana University, is in its fourth year of implementing an USAID-sponsored program to assist the Verkhovna Rada in improving its legislative procedures. The USAID-sponsored Community Partnerships for Education and Training program aims to develop community-based approaches to dealing with local problems (in the areas of housing, budgeting, transport, economic development and public participation) in 18 Ukrainian communities by matching them with U.S. partner organizations. The cooperation will comprise instructional courses and exchange visits by experts in those problem areas identified by the partnerships. The program will also establish four regional training centers-Lviv and Donetsk have been chosen to date--one of the principal functions will be to provide instruction in the above mentioned five priority issue areas for non-partnered communities in their respective regions.

The US Information Agency (USIA)-sponsored program on "Integrating the Constitutional Court into Ukraine's Civil Society" aims, through a series of regional seminars, to expose a broad spectrum of officials and non-governmental groups and organizations to the theory and practice of this body with respect to state and society.

The Pylyp Orlyk Institute also has several other projects and has, for over five years, provided services to Ukrainian officials in all branches of government.

## Political Science Center "Geneza"

The Political Science Center "Geneza" was established in 1992 with the aim of developing and implementing new technologies for monitoring political processes in Ukraine. Ihor Markov heads the Center. The Center has 22 researchers and employs 24 part-time experts and journalists.

The main activities of the Center include:

- analysis of political activity in Ukraine;
- research on transition period of post-communist society;
- studies on transformation of confessions in Ukraine.

Two of the main areas of the Center's activity are the development and implementation of new technologies of processing information, and conducting research on democracy building in Ukraine.

The Center helped to implement new political science courses in the school of journalism of Lviv State University. The Center also conducts public opinion polls before and after elections. The Center's experts are actively involved in conferences and workshops on issues of new information technologies, analytical aspects of journalism, and the role of media in the political life of Ukraine.

The most recent conferences organized by "Geneza" include: " The Political Elite Of Galicia: Five Years After Independence," "Mass Media And Analytics In Ukraine," "Perspectives Of Civil Society Development: Evaluation Of Non-Government Civic Organizations," and " Russian-Ukrainian Relations as Factor Of Influence on Geo-Political Situation in Eastern Europe."

The Center produces a series of regular quarterly publications: *Comments for Mass Media*, *The Movement of Subjects of Political Process in Ukraine*, *Religion in Political Context in Modern Society*, *Arms Market As Geo-Political Factor*. It also publishes the monthly *Geneza-Expert*, and the annual publication *Stavropigion*.

The Center obtains most of its financial support from international organizations: the International Renaissance Foundation, The Eurasia Foundation and Freedom House.

## **"Ukrainian Perspective" Foundation**

The "Ukrainian Perspective" Foundation was established in 1994 by Sergei Odarich. It employs ten full time researchers.

Its main activities include:

- political science research;
- analysis and forecast of Ukraine's political situation;
- human rights activities;
- an anti-corruption program.

The Foundation is considered the strongest and the most influential independent center. Another area of research focuses on analysis of political processes that support democracy in Ukraine. The Foundation publishes an analytical bulletin and has its own newspaper, *We*. Using its analytical research the Foundation publishes scientific analyses of the broad spectrum of Ukrainian internal policy, ranging from the functioning of central and municipal bodies to development of new constitutional process of Ukraine.

The Foundation also does research on Ukraine's foreign policy especially in countries within CIS and Central and Eastern Europe. The Foundation is also involved in analysis of legislative and normative documents.

The latest books published by the Foundation include: *Sevastopol Map: Triumph for the Presidents, Tragedy for Ukraine* (1997), *How Head of State became the Judge of Nation* (1997), *People's Deputies of Crimea* (1997), and *Anatomy of Undeclared War* (1997).

The Foundation receives its financing only from Ukrainian organizations and private individuals. It has three branches in Ukraine.

### **Kiev Center of Political Research and Conflictology**

The Kiev Center of Political Research and Conflictology is a non-profit research organization that conducts research on the institutes of civil society and analysis and provides political consulting mainly in the field of Ukrainian internal policy. Mihail Pogrebinsky established the Center in 1993. From 1995 he was also an advisor to the Prime Minister of Ukraine. The Center has eight full time staff members and 50 researchers in its database who are employed for different projects.

The priority areas of research include problems related to the establishment of independent mass media in Ukraine and relations between Ukraine and Russia. Another main area of research is the comparative analysis of political analysis and public opinion. The Center publishes the ratings of the leading politicians of Ukraine. The Center held a series of seminars on Russian-Ukrainian relations and also holds workshops for journalists. It publishes a quarterly, *Ukraine Today: Chronicles, Analysis, Forecast*. In Russian language, it publishes a monthly *Social political situation in Ukraine* and a weekly news digest, *Express*. The Center's donors include the International Renaissance Foundation, The Eurasia Foundation Ministry on issues of family and youth, and the U.S. Embassy in Ukraine.

### **Association of Young Political Scientists and Politicians**

The Association of Young Political Scientists and Politicians is an independent nongovernmental organization established in April 1996 to study the political and economic situation in Ukraine (the Donetsk region in particular). It is one of the most prominent independent analytical centers outside the Ukrainian capital. Since its beginning the association has concentrated on analysis of the political climate before and after the elections. The association has 17 full time experts and up to 50 part-time staff members and researchers. Olexander Klimenko heads the Association.

The products of the Association include the quarterly report, "Monitoring of Mass media of Donetsk region" and book series "Organization of elections," with recommendations for official observers of parliamentary elections.

The association receives financing from the Renaissance Foundation and the Ukrainian Charitable Fund "Ukrainian Informational Foundation." However, more than half of the budget comes from private individuals.

### **Institute of Society Transformation**

The Institute of Society Transformation is an independent non-governmental organization that was established in 1994 by Oleg Soskin, who currently works in the Presidential Administration. The main task of the Institute is to help transform Ukraine into an independent democratic civilized European State. The Institute also radical social-economical and political transformations, and the building of a democratic conception among the Ukrainian population and national elite of Ukraine.

The Institute maintains a staff of 10 full time researchers and more than 50 temporary experts. Seminars and round tables organized by the Institute cover broad issues such as freedom of speech, the establishment of national managerial elite, and the interdependency of governmental and private sectors of Ukraine. The Institute conducts public opinion research regarding the progress of the municipal authorities and private sector development in Ukraine. Other research focuses on human rights activities. The Institute also provides a forecast of political and economic situations, analyzing how they influence both state powers and public opinion.

The Institute's latest conference was "The Partnership of Municipal Social and Private Sectors: the Problem of Establishment and Development (Experience of small cities of Ukraine and Eastern Europe)" in December 1997.

The Institute publishes a quarterly, *Economic Review*. Among its latest books are *How to Export to Ukraine* and *Education and National Security of Ukraine*.

## Equal Access Committee

The Equal Access Committee is an independent non-governmental organization established in 1994 by Olexander Chekmishev, who was also working at that time as a coordinator for the U.S. office of Freedom House and the Ukrainian Independent Center of Political Research. The center has four full time staff members and invites up to 15 part-time and temporarily experts.

The Committee works primarily on issues of mass media: Monitoring of Ukraine's mass media during the elections, analysis of proportional representation in mass media, political leaders, parties and economic conceptions. The Committee also studies the informational field of Ukraine and its transparency and provides analysis of internal policy. The organization's main goal is to support the democratization of centralized and regional mass media. It constantly monitors print media and TV, and publishes its findings weekly in *Ukrainian Monitor* in both Ukrainian and English. The Committee took an active role in the Ukrainian parliamentary and presidential elections. Its experts also monitor elections in local structures of self-government. Among the Committee's publications are the monographs: "The Problems of Establishment of Parliamentarism," " Executive Power," "Security and Armed Forces," "Problems of Region," "International Relations," " Problems of Region," "Functioning of Political Parties and Trade-Unions," "Ethnical Minorities in Ukraine," and "Religious Confessions." The Committee's published books include: *The Fourth Column* (together with the Ukrainian Independent Center of Political Research, 1997 and *Ukraine in Elections: Mass Media in Context of Establishment of Democracy* (1998).

The Committee has regional branches in Mikolayev, Odessa, Chernovtsy, Dnepropetrovsk, Lviv, Poltava, Kharkiv, and Simferopol.

Financing comes via grants from USAID, Freedom House, and Westminster Foundation.

## **Ukraine-Europe Regional Foundation**

The Ukraine-Europe Regional Foundation is an independent non-governmental organization founded in September 1992. It is headed by Igor Grinev, who is also the Deputy of Supreme Rada of Ukraine. The Foundation has four full-time researchers and nine part-time experts.

The Foundation's main mission is to contribute to the establishment of civil society in Ukraine and the integration of Ukraine into Europe. Its main activities and products include research projects, analytical materials about democracy building in Western Ukraine, and analysis of problems of local self-government. The Foundation's experts conducted opinion polls before Rada elections and summarized their findings in two publications, "Elections and Development of Parties in Ukraine," and "Parties organizations in Ukraine." Another area of activity is legislative analysis. The foundation provides all levels of Supreme Rada members with information and analytical materials. The Foundation publishes a magazine called *European Time*. It also published a book, *Ukrainian Variants* (1996).

The foundation has held several conferences. Among them are "Western Ukrainian School of NGO's leaders," "Ukrainian-Belorussian Forum of NGOs," and "XXI Century For Young Civic and Political Leaders."

The foundation has branches in Ivano-Frankivsk, Ternopol, Rivno, Uzgorod, and Lutsk.

The foundation receives financing from the EU PHARE-TACIS Program, the International Renaissance Foundation, the Eurasia Foundation, The Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, and the Fund for Development of Carpathian Euro Region.

## **Youth Alternative Center**

The Youth Alternative Center was established in 1994 to actively involve the youth in the political life of Ukraine. The main program, "Students for the Parliament", provides opportunities for students to get legislative experience through internships with the Supreme Rada of Ukraine and State Committees. The Center has only two full time employees but invites up to 40 part time experts for organizing seminars and round tables.

The products of the Center include a series of brochures: "Economics", "Law", "Economics and Sociology," " Elections 1998," and "Law and International Relations."

The Center has held many conferences such as: "Ukraine and European Union: Problems and Perspectives of Establishment of Democratic Institutions in Ukraine," "Concept of Social Policy in Programs of Ukrainian Political Parties," " Perspectives of Development of Youth Policy in Ukraine."

Financing comes from two donors, the Ukrainian National Union and the National Fund for Support of Democracy.

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