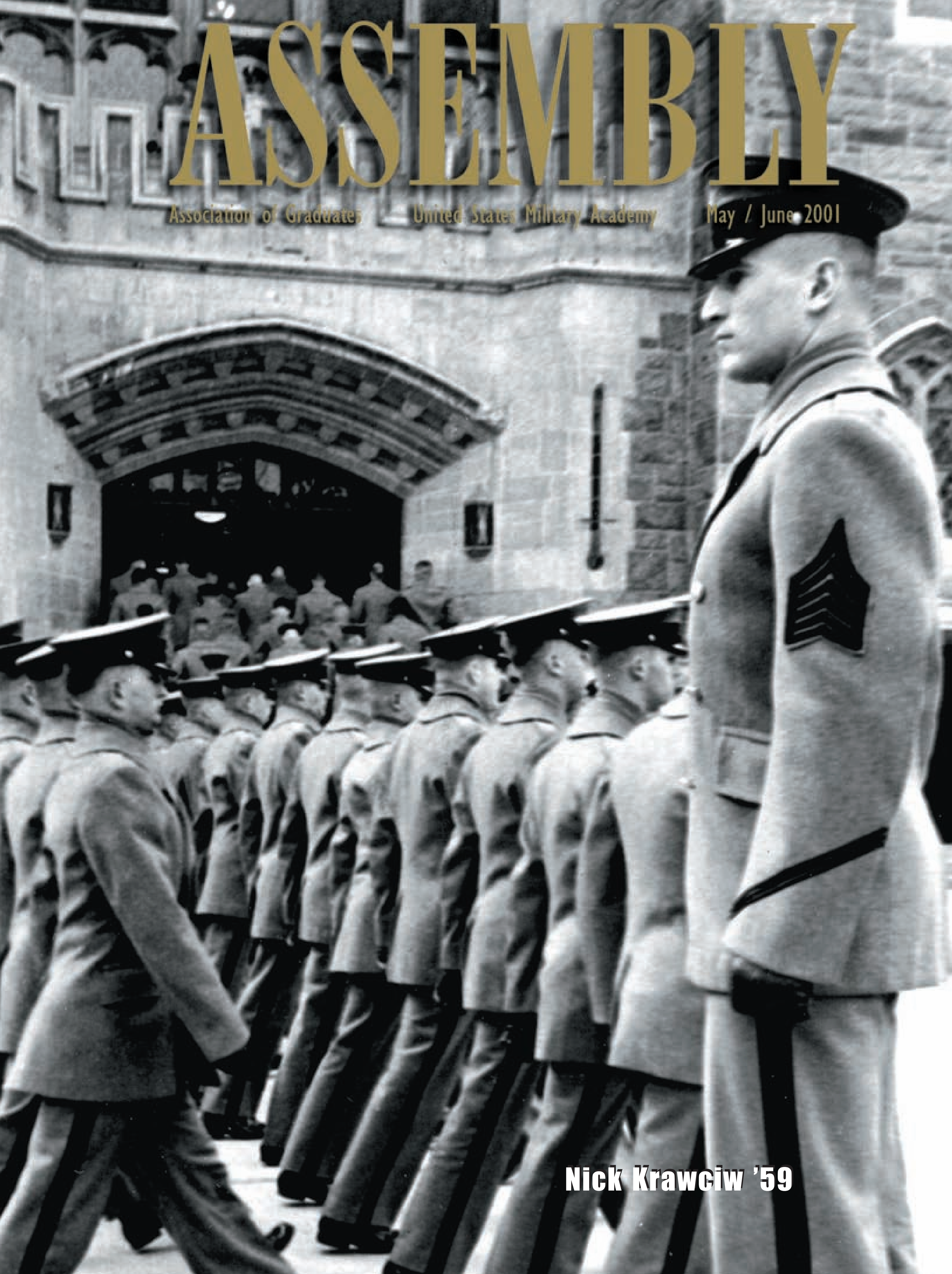

ASSEMBLY

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Nick Krawciw '59

Only in America.

An Interview By Dr. Tom Carhart '66 with Nicholas Stephen Krawciw '59

Tom Carhart: *So your first language was not English?*

Nick Krawciw: No. As a matter of fact, it was Ukrainian. I was born in Lviv, Ukraine, in 1935. I had to learn to speak German because I went to school in Germany during WWII. After the war, I was in a displaced persons camp in Germany and spoke Ukrainian in a special school there. Finally, my family came to the United States in 1949, and I learned to speak English in an American school.

That's impressive. Why did you move around Europe so much?

After WWI, Ukraine was partitioned, and the section where I was born was given to Poland. My dad was opposed to the Polish occupation of the Ukraine and got into a lot of trouble for that. He was a newspaperman, but he was also a writer of popular tracts, and he also wrote quite a bit about the famine in Eastern Ukraine in the 1930s, in a part of the Ukraine that was occupied by the Soviets. That was when Stalin murdered many millions by starvation.

So your father would not have been popular in the Soviet Union then, would he?

No, because, when Hitler invaded Poland in 1939, he had made a secret agreement with Stalin, and Soviet troops invaded from the east. When the German forces came into our town, they told us all to stay put, because the Soviets were going to come in within the next few weeks and take over our part of Poland.

And that would have been dangerous for your father?

In class in the winter of 1958–59.

My father knew he would be on all the Soviet lists, so we headed west. We finally got to the river Sian, which we knew would be the border between German and Soviet control. I was four, and I got quite sick with the flu. But my father knew he would be at very great risk when the Russians got there; they would arrest him and probably shoot him. So he crossed the river, and my mother and two-year-old sister stayed with me in a little village on the eastern side. By the time I got well, the first Soviet troops had arrived.

And your father already crossed the river?

Yes, he was waiting for us in Krakow. Then, late one night, a Ukrainian underground fighter came for us, and we slipped down to the riverbank. There were about 20 people waiting to get across, but they let my mother go first with her children. Then the boat was going to come back and ferry the others across. But just as the boat was approaching the far shore, a bright light was shined on us and loud voices ordered us to return to the eastern bank. A Russian patrol had caught the refugees waiting for the boat, and they ordered us to come back too, but the two men rowing ignored the orders and pulled harder. Then the patrol opened up with submachine guns, but by that time, we were in shallow water. My mother jumped out with my sister, but I just froze in the boat, watching all those flashing lights. So my mother had to put my sister behind a mound on the bank and come back to get me. My mother always joked with me later that, the first time I was shot at by Communist soldiers, I froze under fire, which is true enough.

I guess you started your military career young. Did you stay in Poland?

No, my father sent word that he was going into Czechoslovakia, so we went there. We did find my father, but the Germans made us register, and once they found out that we were Ukrainian, they told my mother that she was part of their labor force. They sent

Except for watching huge bomber formations headed for German cities, it was really quite delightful. The farmer to whom my mother was assigned found out she was a school teacher, and he told her that, out of respect for teachers, he couldn't have her doing farm work. So he gave her a little plot of land, and Mom planted vegetables for us. We had a pretty good final year of the war.

Had you been attending a German school until then?

Yes, but after the war, I went to a Ukrainian school in the displaced persons camp. I did fifth, sixth, and seventh grades there, and then eighth grade at Saint Henry's School in Philadelphia. The next year, I started at Northeast Catholic High School.

Balaclava terrain walk, Crimea, Ukraine, July 1999. ASD Ted Warner, Secretary of Defense William Cohen, Ukrainian Minister of Defense Oleksander Kazmrk, Nick Krawciw, U. S. Ambassador to the Ukraine Steve Peifer.

Showing Secretary Cohen and the Ukranian Minister of Defense Kuzmrk maps of the Charge of the Light Brigade.

her to a castle in Austria, where wounded German soldiers from the Balkans were being treated. Meanwhile, my dad was sent to Berlin to publish German propaganda material for the Ukrainians in the forced labor brigades. My mother kept filing petitions to be sent to Berlin. Finally, the Germans let her go in 1941. We joined my dad at a small apartment he had near the city center.

Not a bad set up, I suppose, in the middle of the war. How long did that last?

That's true, but the British bombing of Berlin started that year, and the bombing got pretty heavy by mid 1943. The Germans started sending their wives and kids out to East Prussia, but my mother knew that's where the Russians were heading. So she volunteered to be a farmhand, and they sent her to Bavaria in May of 1944. My dad had to stay behind.

How was life in Bavaria?

When the war was ending, did you see any American troops?

Oh, yes. Part of GEN Patton's XIIth Corps came through our village. I thought it was the entire U.S. Army; their tanks, trucks, and halftracks rolled through town for two days. American GIs gave me chewing gum, chocolate, and rations, and I just thought they were gods. Then the war was over, but we heard nothing from my father. My mother decided she was a widow but in the fall of 1945, my father walked in the door.

How did you get to the United States?

My father's uncle, the Ukrainian Catholic Archbishop in Philadelphia, sponsored us.

Did you just get on a boat and head west?

No, it took a couple of years to reestablish contact, and another few years to get screened by Army counterintelligence. It wasn't until 1949 that we got passage aboard one of the troop ships going to the U.S.

How was your English by that time?

Well, within a year, it was no problem. Because I had to speak English all day, I picked it up very quickly.

Did you have any ideas about the promise America held for you personally?

Yes, I did. When I was a kid in the displaced persons camp in Germany, in 1946–48, one of the corporals in the American Constabulary set up a Boy Scout troop for us. We had no Boy Scout uniforms, but he got us tickets to travel all over Germany. And when we were on these trips, he used to tell us all about the great American leaders, and where they had gone to school—West Point. So I decided that, once I was in Philadelphia, I would try to go to West Point. There was a small military school near Trenton, the Bordentown Military Institute, so one day in the fall of 1951, I got on the bus and rode out there for a quarter. When I got there, I asked to speak to Dr. Harold Morrison Smith, the Headmaster. I told him that I wanted to go

to West Point and needed to get ready by going to his military school. He was intrigued that I had come by myself, and then he asked me how I would pay for the tuition and uniforms and so forth. I told him my parents were war refugees who were working hard and not making much money, but that if he would let me in on credit, I promised I would repay him after I graduated from West Point. He thought that was great. I graduated as the salutatorian from Bordentown, won an appointment to West Point, and graduated in 1959. After graduation, most of my classmates were paying for their cars, but I was paying for my high school education! Let me repeat what I often hear and know to be true— "Only in America!"

When I discussed this article with the editor in chief of ASSEMBLY, who was two years behind you in the Class of '61, I asked him if he knew you. His answer was: "Nick Krawciw. He was our regimental commander my Yearling year, and he was truly a man among boys."

You have to remember that I had a somewhat unusual childhood relative to my classmates. And when I finally got to West Point, it was like a dream come true. So unlike a lot of cadets at West Point, I really loved nearly everything about the place.

Tell us something about being a cadet regimental commander.

Well, that was kind of a surprise to me. I was a company commander in Beast Barracks, and we were "Silent Second," the Second Company, and we won most of the awards. We had very good spirit, we worked as a team, and it was really a great experience.

Why were you called "Silent Second?"

I wouldn't let anyone on the upper-class detail raise their voices. I told them that if they wanted to chew out a plebe, they had to get up close and whisper.

And that obviously had its effect.

As I said, we won almost all of the awards. When I got back from leave, they told me I was the Second Captain.

Now that means that the brigade commander, Pete Dawkins, was the Cadet First Captain, there were only two regiments then, and you were the Regimental Commander of the First Regiment. So, you were the Second Captain?

Right, and Bob Riordan was commander of the Second Regiment. He was Third Captain.

Did you play any sports?

At his retirement ceremony with his mother and Secretary Cheney in June 1990.

In South Viet Nam in BaLong Valley near the DMZwith LTC Tom Carpenter '58, CO of 3rd Squadron, 5th Cavalry, Spring 1969.

On the Golan Heights during the Yom Kippur War, October 1973, next to destroyed Syrian tanks. Isreal's strong points in the background.

I played soccer for Coach Joe Pallone. My senior year, we were 9–1–1, almost as good as the football team, which was undefeated. We beat Navy, and I played the whole game against them.

Where did you serve after graduation?

After Basic Armor, Ranger and Airborne schools, Chris and I joined the 14th Armored Cavalry in the Fulda Gap in Bad Hersfeld, Germany. In fact, that's where our daughter, Maria Alexandra ("Alex)," was born. During that time, in 1961, the Berlin Wall went up, and the Cold War got hotter. We constantly were on the border, but we hadn't been there a full tour when, in February 1962, President Kennedy called for volunteers to serve in Viet Nam. By the summer of 1962, I was on my way.

Working on reform of military education in the Ukrainian armed forces, September 1990.

When did you meet your wife?

I was a counselor for a Ukrainian Boy Scout camp in upstate New York one summer a few years before West Point, and she was a counselor for Ukrainian Brownies. We both were refugees from Ukraine, and meeting her was the most amazing experience in my life. I was 16 and she was 14. I had been formally introduced to her, but we didn't talk much at all. But I remember that there was a light in her eyes, her beautiful blue eyes, I had never seen before. Once, when she had duty in the kitchen, I volunteered to help her. Our first time in the kitchen together was just amazing. She would look at me, blush, and then she would smile. I was really smitten. I had never believed in "love at first sight," but after that summer I did, and I do. She has been my girlfriend, my wife, the mother of our children, but I guess the most important thing she has always been is my best friend. I can make a slight variation on that line we all learned in Beast Barracks and just say, "All I am, and all I ever hope to be, I owe to Christina." Chris is truly the love of my life, and three days after I graduated, we married at the Catholic Chapel at West Point.

What did you do in Viet Nam?

I was an advisor to the 2d Vietnamese Armored Cavalry Regiment that had just been organized in South Viet Nam. They had just received the M-113 armored personnel carriers, and I was a first lieutenant alone with an armored cavalry troop. The senior advisor and my boss was LTC John Vann, and I was going from Saigon down to the tip of the Ca Mau peninsula, where my troop was carrying on counter-guerrilla operations. We were using GRC-3 radios, which had a range of about four or five miles, and I was going about 200 miles away. I'll never forget, as I was about to leave, John Vann came up behind me, slapped me on the shoulder, and said, "Stay in touch, Nick!" I still don't know how Vann expected me to "stay in touch." The only way I could do that was with the occasional South Vietnamese couriers.

So you were "on your own" operationally?

Well, yes and no. On a big operation, there were always some other American advisors around. But on an operation with just my troop, I basically was the only American.

So tell us about some of your more interesting moments.

Well, after working on the Ca Mau Peninsula, we came back to My Tho, south of Saigon, for a while. Then we moved to the Seven Mountains region on the Cambodian border.

Anything happen there?

Yes, as a matter of fact. I survived an ambush on Christmas Day 1962, jumping off an M113 under heavy fire and using up all my "grease gun" ammo in 5 minutes. A week later, the armored cavalry troop I advised was trying to break through a Viet Cong encirclement to rescue a Ranger company, but the Viet Cong had taken some bombs from an American bomber that crash-landed near the Seven Mountains and set up booby traps along the trail we were using. They blew three of these; two did no damage at all, but the third one went off under my right rear road wheel. It killed a South Vietnamese infantry battalion commander whose unit we were supporting and four soldiers aboard my track. I was the only one in the troop compartment who wasn't killed.

Is that where you got that jagged scar on your cheek?

No, actually, that came about 20 minutes later. This was a textbook ambush. The Viet Cong wanted to kill us all before anyone could rescue us, so a heavy storm of small arms fire followed the blast. My grease gun blew away, but I picked up an M-1 and started shooting back. An enemy round went through the base of an antenna guard I was crouching behind and ripped up the side of my cheek.

Were you badly hit?

At first I didn't think so, although my cheek was bleeding pretty heavily. Later, the pain in my right ankle became intense. There were four breaks in it, and the heel was just hanging on by the tendon.

So how did you get out?

Actually, I got out about two hours later by H-34 helicopter. They were setting up the first MASH unit in Cam Ranh Bay, and that's where they took me. Two weeks later, I was evacuated to the Philippines. Then I went to Valley Forge, the hospital closest to my home in Philadelphia, for about three or four months. Then I went to the Career Course at Ft. Knox, where my son Andrew (Andy) was born. After that, I got my troop command with the 1st Squadron, 1st Cavalry, 1st Armored Division at Ft. Hood. That was really a great time, being a troop commander, preparing soldiers for a war, and still being able to come home at night to a wonderful wife and a daughter and son who were at that really cute age. Then I went to West Point, where I was a tactical officer, and that was a wonderful family environment too.

You were a TAC at West Point for three years. Then what?

Then it was back to Viet Nam, in 1968, with the 9th Infantry Division's 3rd Squadron, 5th Cavalry, which was along the DMZ. I was a major, so I came in as the S-3. We were under the operational control of the 1st Cavalry Division and did a lot of fighting in the old "Street Without Joy" area. Then the 101st replaced the 1st Cavalry Division, and we were opcon to the 101st until about January of 1969. Then we were attached to the 3rd Marine Division, trying to move west and open the road to Khe Sanh. We were told to take part of "Leatherneck Square" in Con Thien.

Were you using M-113s then?

We had A-Cavs, and M-48 tanks. We wouldn't take the Sheridan tank, because it was too light to deal with all the mines. We were in frequent heavy combat in Leatherneck Square. The OH-6 helicopter that I flew in was hit a number of times, but I made it home without a scratch. We lost our Squadron XO, and I held both the S-3 and XO jobs for a few months. Our squadron commander was LTC Tom Carpenter '58 (later BG), a friend and a great soldier. Because the North Vietnamese were throwing fresh regiments at us every few weeks, we stayed busy pushing them back across the DMZ.

When you came back, where did you go?

I went to the Naval War College Command and General Staff School, where John Shalikashvili and I were carpool mates. They used to refer to us as "the two Irishmen." After that, I went to the Pentagon. GEN Richard Stilwell '38 was the DCSOPS, and he wanted me in the NATO Branch of the Politico-Military Division. Then things started to heat up in the Middle East, so they pulled me to support the Middle-Eastern branch, and I got to travel around the Mediterranean with GEN Bruce Palmer '36, the Vice Chief of Staff. We visited Spain, Italy, Greece, and Turkey, but the real problems were in Israel and in the Palestinian uprising in Jordan, so GEN Stilwell sent me to be the Chief Operations Officer in the UN Truce Supervision Organization, which has been in Jerusalem and around Israel since 1949. After arriving in March 1972, I first served as an observer along the Golan Heights, the Suez Canal and in Southern Lebanon. In May of that year, I was promoted to lieutenant colonel and assumed my new duties. We had observers on all the ceasefire lines around Israel, on the Golan Heights, along the Canal, and in southern Lebanon. When the Yom Kippur War broke out in October of 1973, we had about 100 men deployed and about 200 back in the reserve. The Arabs attacked across the Suez Canal and into the Golan Heights. The Egyptians placed my boss, Finnish MG Ensio Siilasvuo, in house arrest in Cairo, and I ended up running the UNTSO mission until he returned some six days later. After reporting this major cease-fire violation, I went to the Golan Heights to rescue some of our observers caught between the lines. Later, I went down to the canal and followed GEN Adan's division. Three of our observers were killed and quite a few wounded or captured.

Krawciw and his wife, Christina (top), at his retirement ceremony in 1990. Their children (bottom photo) Andy, Alexandra, and Paul at Alexandra's wedding.

Didn't you wear those sky blue helmets?

We didn't have helmets; we just wore berets. As observers, we were unarmed, so it was pretty dangerous. When the war ended, we had to mark the forward locations of opposing forces and help them find all their wounded and missing in action. Also, GEN Abrams '36, the Chief of Staff of the Army, had me come to Washington to brief the Army staff on all the tank battles. I went back to Jerusalem to finish my tour and then was assigned to battalion command. In May 1974, I assumed command of the 1st Squadron, 2d Cavalry Regiment in Bayreuth, which was not far from the village where I had lived as a kid. I went back to visit the family of Mr. Poehlmann, the farmer who took care of us during WWII. He and his wife had died, but his son Georg, whom I remembered as a wounded Wehrmacht soldier, was running the farm.

How was squadron command?

It was quite a challenge because the Army was trying to turn around from the doldrums it had been in because of Viet Nam, so we were trying to rebuild the Army. In my squadron,

Bill Crouch (later VCSA) was my XO, and the troop commanders were guys who later commanded their own squadrons like Jim Noles, Tommy Molino, and Dave Byrd. After my command, I went to Headquarters, USAREUR, in Heidelberg, commanded at that time by GEN Blanchard, but about a week after I arrived at the Training Division, my name came out on the War College list, so it was clear I would only be there for about five months. GEN Blanchard gave me two tasks to perform. The first was to prepare a decision paper that would create the Seventh Army Training Center (7th ATC), combine all the schools, and put a general officer in command. In my coordination, I had to talk to COL Tom Lynch, who was the commander of the Grafenwoehr Training Area, and to all of USAREUR's subordinate commands. In about two months the action was approved, COL Lynch was promoted to brigadier general and, as the first commander of 7th ATC, began to transform Grafenwoehr and Vilseck into what they are today. The second task was to accompany LTG Hollingsworth on a two-month inspection of all elements of USAREUR. That inspection resulted in some 50 U.S. Army recommendations to the Office of the Secretary of Defense for organizational and technical improvements. Needless to say, I learned a lot in those two months.

In May 1974, I assumed command of the 1st Squadron, 2d Cavalry Regiment in Bayreuth, which was not far from the village where I had lived as a kid.

After that, you went to the War College?

I was selected for the Army War College but also was given the option of going to an Ivy League college or to the Hoover Institution at Stanford as a fellow, so I chose the Hoover Institution. When they asked me why, I said I wanted to learn about combat developments and force structuring and could do that at the Army Combat Developments Experimentation Command at Ft. Ord. Also, GEN Gorman had just written this famous letter saying that we needed a National Training Center and should look at Ft. Irwin. So, I went to Hoover, and while most of the others were working on their Ph.D.s, I was working on an assessment of how the National Training Center could be instrumented. I had to look at how they were doing it at the Combat Developments Command at Ft. Ord, at Ft. Hood where they had an organization that already was testing some battalions for GEN Bill DePuy, the commander of TRADOC, and at Nellis AF Base, where the Air Force was monitoring simulated combat known as "Red Flag." At the same time, I had a wonderful year at Stanford. And at 3:15 every weekday that I was in town, I could meet people like Professors Ed Teller and Milton Friedman and some of the other great scholars of America.

So after a year off in academia, you went back to the Army. What was next?

I was on the list to be promoted to colonel, so I went to TRADOC at Ft. Monroe as the director of concepts and doctrine in combat developments. Even though GEN DePuy had asked for me, GEN Donn Starry '48 came in as the new CG and started doing some exciting things. In 1977, we started working on the "Division 86" project, and we were looking eight, nine years out. It was exciting for me, because I could put to work what I had learned about combat developments. Our Division 86 team, under the leadership of BG Jack Woodmansee '56, outlined deep battle concepts that later became known as the "Air-Land Battle." Most importantly, at Ft. Monroe, our younger son Paul was born. Because Chris and I were older, we appreciated him more. After two years there, I took command of the largest combat brigade in Europe, the 1st Brigade of the 3rd Armored Division, which had five battalions, three of tanks and two of Mechanized Infantry.

How was the Army doing during this timeframe?

It was steadily improving; you could see that everywhere you looked. I was running my brigade like an Armored Cavalry regiment, and we had a lot of esprit. After a year and a half of command, I was selected by GEN Willard Scott '48, V Corps Commander, to be his G-3, but the Chief of Staff of the Army, GEN Shy Meyer '51, nominated me to attend the Senior Seminar at the State Department, as a senior fellow. Well, it turned out to be a great experience. There were only about 25 people in the seminar, about 15 of them from State, and some of these became ambassadors right afterward. During the seminar year, we traveled all around the United States. One month, I would find myself living on a corn and dairy farm in Minnesota, getting up to do the milking before the crack of dawn. The next month, I would be with the police in different precincts in Chicago. The concept was that you had to really know your country before you could represent it abroad, and it turned out to be an enormously rewarding experience, one of the genuine high points of my life. We went up to the Pacific Northwest with Weyerhauser, the big lumber company, and watched them clean up after the Mt. St. Helen's eruption. Then we went down to Puerto Rico, as guests of the governor, and spoke with him and others about the different options before them: remaining a commonwealth, seeking statehood, or going their own way as an independent country. It really was fascinating. Then we went down to Florida to work with the Coast Guard and DEA.

After that year at State, what happened?

I came back to the Pentagon as Executive Officer for the Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations, at that time GEN Bill Richardson '51. After six months, GEN Meyer sent me to be Military Assistant to the Deputy Secretary of Defense. Mr. Frank Carlucci was leaving, and Paul Thayer was coming in, and I met Grant Green, who now works with Colin Powell in the new administration. Powell was a major general at that time and Military Assistant to Secretary of Defense Casper Weinberger. I was deeply impressed by our civilian leaders during that period. I was promoted to brigadier general while there and left almost immediately to become Assistant Division Commander in the 3rd Infantry Division (Mechanized) in Europe. At that time, that division already was equipped with the M-1 Abrams tank and the Bradley Infantry Fighting Vehicle. The Marne Division's "dogfaced soldiers" trained hard to master all this new equipment and help develop fighting doctrine. I next worked as executive officer to GEN Bernie Rogers Jun '43, Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, and Commander in Chief of the European Command. Under

his leadership, the U.S. forces in Europe reached their professional zenith. When I was promoted to two-star rank, I was assigned to command the 3rd Infantry Division. That was fortunate, because many of the people in the 3rd Division had been there when I was the ADC. Many of our German hosts I already knew, so it was a little bit of "old home week" when I got back. I was the commander of a very powerful Marne Division for two years, and it was really exciting, because we got even newer M-1 tanks—the M1A1s, newer Bradleys, and other modernized equipment, as had been envisioned in the "Division 86" process. We trained to be a counterattack force in case of all-out war. And like my days as a squadron commander, my division command was blessed with another superior team of subordinate leaders like COLs Rick Shinseki '65 (now CSA), Larry Ellis (now DCSOPS), Mike Davison '64, and Bob Foley '63 (later LTGs).

Was that when the U.S. Army finally won the Canadian Army Trophy for the first time?

That was earlier. Tank companies from our 3rd Infantry Division won it when I was ADC in 1985. But it wasn't easy.

You had the best tanks; what could have been hard about it?

The Army personnel system was the basic problem. Every unit in the U.S. Army experiences between a 30% and a 60% personnel turnover every year. To have effective tank crews that work together smoothly, nothing can take the place of personal familiarity. The NATO teams we were competing against all were structured on some variation of the regimental system, so they stayed in the same unit, performing the same job, for virtually their entire military careers. In 1984, to win the Canadian Army Trophy the following year, MG Howard Crowell, the division commander, froze the personnel who would be competing for two years. And what do you know? It worked! For the first time, an American unit won the Canadian Army Trophy.

After you finished that command, you seemed destined for the top. Where did you go next?

I came back to be Director of NATO Policy. By that time, I was having another problem. I had a very high cholesterol and triglyceride count, to the point that doctors told me my life was in danger. In fact, I had had elective bypass surgery in 1986, before I took over command of 3rd Infantry Division. After my division command, I went back to the Pentagon in 1990 to work for Secretary Cheney as Director of NATO Policy. We had actions with Spain, trying to help them get ready to join NATO, and I also was working with Norway on some unfinished Cold War business. But then I had a physical, and my triglycerides were up over 2,000, and my cholesterol was in the 500s. So I was advised to retire, and after considerable discussion with doctors and others, that's what I did.

So you retired in the summer of 1990?

Yes. By this time my oldest son, Andy, had graduated from the Air Force Academy, and he flew an A-10 over Northern Iraq during Desert Storm. That also was the year the Ukraine won its freedom. Since I spoke Ukrainian, a lot of people advised me to get involved in helping the Ukraine establish political freedom and a marketplace economy. Undersecretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz was one. Then, I was contacted by two Ukrainian officials and invited to meet them in Switzerland. I cleared that with our government and found great support there. So I went to Switzerland, and these gentlemen asked me to come to Ukraine in January of 1992 to help them set up a nonprofit, non-governmental political science institute. Later that year, I moved to the Ukraine with Chris and Paul to work on that project. While in the Ukraine, I was asked by friends in the Pentagon to assist on another project, as a result of which I traveled often to Germany.

One month, I would find myself living on a corn and dairy farm in Minnesota, getting up to do the milking before the crack of dawn.

What project was that?

In 1992, Paul Wolfowitz and GEN Galvin (SACEUR at that time) thought that it would be a great idea to set up an institute established in the Marshall tradition, like a Marshall Plan, to help Eastern Europe. The idea was to create a center where people from Eastern Europe could come, civilians and military, to learn how to develop civil-military projects, strategy, defense policy, and associated issues. On their behalf, together with Walter Christman, a bright young OSD civilian, and LTC Eric Hammerson, a European Command staff officer, we developed the concept for the Marshall Center for European Security Studies. It was approved by Secretary of Defense Cheney in late 1992, and one of my jobs was to get the Army to go along with this. The final resistance came from the German government. John Shalikashvili, the Supreme Allied Commander, was unable to convince the senior German generals of the importance of the Marshall Center. Just when things looked really glum, I got a call from the Pentagon informing me that the U.S. Ambassador to Germany was none other than Bob Kimmitt '69. I had been his TAC! So I went to see Bob, and we had a great meeting. He went to see the German Minister of Defense, who then agreed to the Marshall Center. Secretary Aspin, the new Secretary of Defense, and the German Minister of Defense were able to open the Marshall Center on 5 May 1993. I brought the Ukrainian Chief of Staff to the opening ceremonies.

What about your work in Ukraine to help those two Ukrainian diplomats you met in Switzerland?

When they invited me to come to Ukraine, as I mentioned earlier, I did so. Then, after I had looked around Kiev a little bit, I got in touch with George Soros, who had done quite a bit of work in this area in Eastern Europe, and he agreed to fund the start of such an institute. At the same time, OSD was looking for a way to get someone into Ukraine, because they were going through a number of temporary attachés. So my wife and I agreed to go over there with our youngest son Paul, who was 14. We lived in Kiev and got to know the military leadership of the Ukraine. We came back to the U.S. in 1993, because they had a fulltime trained attaché in Kiev by then, and the institute I set up was functioning. I continued to work as a consultant to OSD on the Ukraine until 1997, when Secretary Cohen gave me a special title, "Secretary of Defense Senior Military Representative to the Ukraine." That's not a political title; it's a special consultancy appointment.

How much time did you spend in Ukraine filling that role?

I go to Ukraine almost every month. I attended all the Partnership for Peace exercises, but there are two more rewarding programs in which I have played a role. One is the military education exchange, where they are reforming their military education.

Have they sent anyone to West Point?

Yes, they have. And they also have sent cadets to the Air Force Academy, and to all our other military schools, like the Army War College. But most important, they are reforming their military systems. And they are doing some great things. They have added social science departments to every one of their military schools; they have linked all of their military institutes with civilian universities; and they have added sociology, leadership, and languages to their military curriculum.

They are going through some tough times with their economy right now, correct?

Yes, they are. I think they are committed to a freely elected government and a market economy, but they are not out of the woods just yet. However, there are signs of hope—their GDP growth last year was supposedly 5%. Unfortunately, the president has gotten himself into quite a political mess, but we'll just have to wait and see. Ukraine has been controlled militarily by others since before WWII, but now that they have their freedom as an independent state, they are just beginning to understand all the good things that can happen. For my part, I do my best to teach the Ukrainian military about the concepts that exist in the West. The idea of civilian control of the military is entirely new, but they're trying. They did have one civilian Minister of Defense who, theoretically, was in charge of all the military. Unfortunately, he didn't last too long, but they are introducing a civil service corps into the military. And they have a draft, but they want to convert into an all-volunteer force—something with which I am helping them.

What about their military relationship with Russia? Are they still closely allied?

In some areas, like air defense, yes, they are. But Ukraine has made it clear that it wants to be connected economically to the West.

What about NATO? Do they want to join?

There's somewhat of a split there. I would say that about 30% of Ukrainians would favor joining NATO, about 30% are opposed, and the other 40% don't care one way or the other.

Ukraine is one of the richest agricultural regions in the world. Now that the Soviet Union is gone, why are they not able to produce bumper crops to feed all of Europe?

Their major problem is that they don't have much in the way of energy resources. Their coalfields are about played out and they don't have much natural gas, so they import gas and oil from Russia, Turkmenistan, and other parts of the former Soviet Union. That puts them over a barrel, politically.

The U.S. Ambassador to Germany was none other than Bob Kimmitt '69, and I had been his TAC!

It must be rewarding for you personally, having started there, to be able to go back and be able to bring American thought and energy to bear for their benefit.

Yes, it is. But the other part is when Ukrainians come here. Since we set up that nongovernmental political science institute, which they call the "International Institute of Global and Regional Security," it has borne fruit. The two men who helped me set up that institute have become important Ukrainian figures. One is Dean of their foreign affairs and diplomatic course, and the other is a counselor to the President on various issues. I have sponsored and escorted a number of groups, both military and civilian, all over the United States, and I took those two individuals all over this country, so they have seen what is possible for their homeland.

What do you hope will transpire as a result of your involvement with the Ukrainian military? What is your long-range goal in life?

My long-range goal is for the Ukrainians to transform their military education to the point where their young people catch fire to serve their country. The military has played a dominant role in most of Eastern Europe for most of the 20th Century. But now, with national freedom from Soviet domination for Ukraine, coupled with their economic orientation toward the West, their military is learning and establishing internal rules for control of the military by popularly elected civilian leaders. I hope and believe that this will be a successful experiment in government, and I am going to continue to devote my best efforts to see that these Ukrainian dreams come true. But my personal long-range goals revolve around finding projects for this small military history research institute, The Dupuy Institute, where we are conducting this interview, and spending more time with my children and grandchildren. Alex we see often, because she and her husband, Matt, live in Arlington. She teaches stress reduction at American University and yoga privately. Andy's family is in Tucson, AZ. His wife is a C-130 command pilot, but he is now out of the Air Force and flying for Southwestern Airlines. Paul is finishing Dickinson College and looks forward to working in the Ukrainian branch of OSD Policy this coming summer. Probably the most important thing for Chris and me right now is that we hope to spend lots of time with our three grandsons during their vacations.

Tom Carhart holds two Purple Hearts from his service in Viet Nam, a J.D. from the University of Michigan Law School, and a Ph.D. in American and Military History from Princeton. The author of several military history books, his next will be Virtus: West Point and the Ethical Warrior, *which will be published by Warner Books in March 2002.*