



13<sup>TH</sup> YALTA EUROPEAN STRATEGY  
ANNUAL MEETING

# THE WORLD, EUROPE AND UKRAINE: STORMS OF CHANGE

Kyiv, September 15 – 17, 2016

## CONFERENCE REPORT

**13<sup>TH</sup> YALTA EUROPEAN STRATEGY ANNUAL MEETING**

SEPTEMBER 15-17, 2016  
 KYIV, UKRAINE  
 VENUE: Mystetskyi Arsenal

**THE WORLD, EUROPE AND UKRAINE: STORMS OF CHANGE****THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 15****19:00 Opening dinner****WELCOMING REMARKS**

Moderator:  
**Aleksander Kwaśniewski**, President of Poland (1995-2005);  
 Chairman of the Board, Yalta European Strategy

**Johannes Hahn**, Commissioner for European Neighbourhood  
 Policy and Enlargement Negotiations  
**Kristian Jensen**, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Denmark

**FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 16****9:30 Conference Opening****WELCOMING REMARKS**

**Victor Pinchuk**, Founder and Member of the Board,  
 Yalta European Strategy; Founder, EastOne

**9:35 OPENING SPEECH AND Q&A**

Moderator:  
**Richard N. Haass**, President, Council on Foreign Relations  
**Petro Poroshenko**, President of Ukraine

**11:30 REFUGEES, POPULISM, BREXIT – IS THE EU COMING APART?**

Moderator:  
**Richard N. Haass**, President, Council on Foreign Relations  
**José Manuel Barroso**, President of the European Commission  
 (2004-2014); Prime Minister of Portugal (2002-2004)

**Pat Cox**, President of the European Parliament (2002-2004);  
 Member of the European Parliament (1989-2004);  
 Member of the Board, Yalta European Strategy  
**Wolfgang Ischinger**, Ambassador, Chairman, Munich Security  
 Conference; Senior Professor, Hertie School of Governance;  
 Member of the Board, Yalta European Strategy  
**Bernard-Henri Lévy**, Philosopher and Writer, Director,  
 La Règle du Jeu

Remarks:  
**Karl Rove**, Senior Advisor to President George W. Bush (2000-2007);  
 Deputy Chief of Staff to President George W. Bush (2004-2007)

**12:20 TURKEY: PROSPECTS AND CHALLENGES**

Moderator:  
**Stephen Sackur**, Presenter, HARDtalk, BBC World News

**Mehmet Şimşek**, Deputy Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey

Remarks:  
**Johannes Hahn**, Commissioner for European Neighbourhood  
 Policy and Enlargement Negotiations, European Commission

**13:00 American Lunch  
 US ELECTIONS: WILD CAMPAIGN – OR SYSTEM CRISIS?  
 AND WHAT IT MEANS FOR US**

Moderator:  
**Stephen Sackur**, Presenter, HARDtalk, BBC World News

**David M. Axelrod**, Director, Institute of Politics, University of Chicago;  
 Chief Strategist and Senior Advisor to President Barack Obama  
 (2009-2011)

**Barney Frank**, Member of the U.S. House of Representatives  
 (1981-2013); Chairman, U.S. House Financial Services Committee  
 (2007-2011)

**Newt Gingrich**, 50th Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives  
 (1995-1999)

**Karl Rove**, Senior Advisor to President George W. Bush (2000-2007);  
 Deputy Chief of Staff to President George W. Bush (2004-2007)



Remarks:

**Natalie A. Jaresko**, Chair of the Board of Trustees,  
Aspen Institute Kyiv; Minister of Finance of Ukraine (2014-2016)

## 15:00 **INEQUALITY AND ANTI-ESTABLISHMENT MOVEMENTS – WILL SOCIETIES BREAK UP?**

Moderator:

**Stephen Sackur**, Presenter, HARDtalk, BBC World News

**Carl Bildt**, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Sweden (2006-2014);  
Prime Minister of Sweden (1991-1994)

**Niall Ferguson**, Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University

**Dominique Strauss-Kahn**, Managing Partner, Parnasse International;  
Managing Director, International Monetary Fund (2007-2011)

**Svyatoslav Vakarchuk**, Co-Founder, Centre for Economic Strategy;  
Social activist; Leader, Okean Elzy

## 16:15 **TERRORISM AND RADICALISM – CAN THEY DESTROY EUROPE AND THE WEST?**

Moderator:

**Richard N. Haass**, President, Council on Foreign Relations

**José Manuel Barroso**, President of the European Commission  
(2004-2014); Prime Minister of Portugal (2002-2004)

**Niall Ferguson**, Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University

**Robert Gates**, 22nd United States Secretary of Defence  
(2006-2011); Director, Central Intelligence Agency (1991-1993)

## 17:45 **UKRAINE - TEST CASE FOR THE WEST**

Moderator:

**Richard N. Haass**, President, Council on Foreign Relations

**Robert Gates**, 22nd United States Secretary of Defense  
(2006-2011), 15th Director of Central Intelligence (1991-1993)

**Valdis Dombrovskis**, Vice-President for the Euro and Social  
Dialogue, also in charge of Financial Stability, Financial Services  
and Capital Markets Union, European Commission;  
Prime Minister of Latvia (2009-2014)

**Ivanna Klympush-Tsintsadze**, Vice Prime Minister of Ukraine  
for European and Euro-Atlantic Integration  
**Arseniy Yatseniuk**, Leader, Narodnyi Front (People's Front)  
Political Party; Prime Minister of Ukraine (2014-2016)

## 20:00 **Dinner Speech by Special Guest - Kevin Spacey**

## SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 17

## 9:30 **UKRAINE'S REFORMS – CAN YOU STILL FEEL A PULSE?**

Moderator:

**Stephen Sackur**, Presenter, HARDtalk, BBC World News

**Volodymyr Groysman**, Prime Minister of Ukraine

## 10:45 **FIGHTING CORRUPTION**

Moderator:

**Stephen Sackur**, Presenter, HARDtalk, BBC World News

**Anders Åslund**, Senior Fellow, The Atlantic Council

**Ryszard Czarnecki**, Vice-President of the European Parliament;  
Vice-Chair, Delegation to the Euronest Parliamentary Assembly;  
Member, Delegation to the EU-Ukraine Parliamentary  
Association Committee

**Sergii Leshchenko**, Member of the Parliament of Ukraine;  
Chairperson, Subcommittee on International Cooperation  
and Implementation of Anti-Corruption Legislation,  
Committee on Corruption Prevention and Counteraction

## 11:30 **BUILDING A NEW ECONOMY**

Moderator:

**Richard N. Haass**, President, Council on Foreign Relations

**Borys Lozhkin**, Secretary, National Investment Council  
of Ukraine; Deputy Head, National Reform Council of Ukraine;  
Non-staff Advisor to the President of Ukraine;  
Head, Administration of the President of Ukraine (2014-2016)  
**Yuriy Ryzhenkov**, Chief Executive Officer, Metinvest Holding, LLC

**12:45**

**Ukrainian Lunch**  
**CHANGING ELITES IN UKRAINE**

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Moderator:  
**Fareed Zakaria**, Host, Fareed Zakaria GPS, CNN

**Pat Cox**, President of the European Parliament (2002–2004);  
Member of the European Parliament (1989–2004);  
Member of the Board, Yalta European Strategy  
**Oleksandr Danyliuk**, Minister of Finance of Ukraine  
**Yuriy Lutsenko**, Prosecutor General of Ukraine  
**Mustafa Nayyem**, Member of the Parliament of Ukraine;  
Deputy Head, Petro Poroshenko Bloc Faction  
**Anders Fogh Rasmussen**, 12th Secretary General, NATO (2009–2014);  
Prime Minister of Denmark (2001–2009)  
**Mikheil Saakashvili**, Head, Odesa Regional State Administration

Remarks:  
**Victoria Voytsitska**, Member of the Parliament of Ukraine  
(Samopomich Party Faction); Secretary, Committee on Fuel  
and Energy Complex, Nuclear Policy and Nuclear Safety

**14:30**

**RUSSIA AND THE WEST –**  
**CONFLICT, CO-EXISTENCE, COOPERATION?**

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Moderator:  
**Fareed Zakaria**, Host, Fareed Zakaria GPS, CNN

**Tacan Ildem**, Ambassador, Assistant Secretary General for  
Public Diplomacy, NATO  
**Pavlo Klimkin**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine (TBC)  
**Leon Panetta**, 23rd United States Secretary of Defence  
(2011–2013); Director, Central Intelligence Agency (2009–2011)

Remarks:  
**Pierre Lellouche**, Member, Foreign Affairs Committee,  
National Assembly of France

**16:00**

**GLOBAL VISION: THREATS, INNOVATIONS, ECONOMY**

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Moderator:  
**Fareed Zakaria**, Host, Fareed Zakaria GPS, CNN

**Mikhail Fridman**, Chairman of the Board, LetterOne Group  
**David M. Rubenstein**, Co-Founder and Co-CEO,  
The Carlyle Group

**17:45**

**SUMMING UP: MAJOR RISKS FOR THE WORLD,**  
**EUROPE, AND UKRAINE**

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Moderator:  
**Victor Pinchuk**, Founder and Member of the Board,  
Yalta European Strategy; Founder, EastOne

**Richard N. Haass**, President, Council on Foreign Relations  
**Stephen Sackur**, Presenter, HARDtalk, BBC World News  
**Fareed Zakaria**, Host, Fareed Zakaria GPS, CNN

**18:00**

**CLOSING REMARKS**

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**Aleksander Kwaśniewski**, President of Poland (1995–2005);  
Chairman of the Board, Yalta European Strategy



Dear friends,

Now we are in the centre of a global storm. There are only two ways out: either we will have global chaos, or we will develop a better new order. We want to inspire you to work hard, so that we can achieve the more optimistic scenario.

Some people in the West want to focus on the West's internal problems and withdraw Ukraine from the shortlist of global challenges to be addressed. Yet, what is happening in Ukraine has global significance. Ukraine has to be on the top of the list of global crises today.

In our conference hall, you see the painting "Velimir Khlebnikov: Fate of the People" by a great German artist Anselm Kiefer. In the context of our conference, for me it signifies the imperfect conditions of the Western civilization to cope with a perfect global storm. It is in our hands whether we will overcome this global storm successfully. But we need to hold together.

For almost 15 years YES has worked to put Ukraine on the global agenda. It has never been as important, as today. Solutions to the crisis in Ukraine should be a priority among global leaders.

Victor Pinchuk  
Founder and Member of the Board, Yalta European Strategy  
Founder, EastOne



## WELCOMING REMARKS

**SPEAKERS:****ALEKSANDER KWAŚNIEWSKI**

President of Poland (1995-2005);  
Chairman of the Board, Yalta European Strategy

**JOHANNES HAHN**

Commissioner for European Neighbourhood Policy  
and Enlargement Negotiations, European Commission

**KRISTIAN JENSEN**

Minister for Foreign Affairs of Denmark

Europe is facing some similar challenges, as Ukraine, but with different headlines. It is another good reason why we have to work together.

JOHANNES HAHN

**KRISTIAN JENSEN**

Ukraine should be on top of the EU agenda despite a great number of conflicts in the world.

Corruption is the most important and difficult reform area and a struggle between new and old Ukraine.

It is time to make a stand between those who are willing to draw Ukraine back into a time when it was dominated by its neighbours, and those who want to pull it forward to a time when Ukraine is able to choose its own path in the future.

**JOHANNES HAHN**

Migration will be the biggest challenge for the world in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

We are able to come out of this crisis and these challenges much stronger than we are currently.



OPENING SPEECH

## PRESIDENT OF UKRAINE PETRO POROSHENKO

**MODERATOR:**

**RICHARD N. HAASS**

President, Council on Foreign Relations

**SPEAKER:**

**PETRO POROSHENKO**

President of Ukraine



The key achievement is that we have stopped deeper penetration of the war into our territory.

No other country will dare to reload fully the high judicial level in short period of time, as Ukraine has done. We will not eliminate corruption in Ukraine till we clean the courts from corrupted judges.



**When European leaders ask what Ukraine expects, my answer is: we need Europe's unity and solidarity with Ukraine.**

We successfully cooperate with the IMF, this is a signal to investors who will come to Ukraine.





**The democratic world  
is losing control over  
its own values.**

PETRO POROSHENKO

**PETRO POROSHENKO**

The Russian propaganda does not only use weak spots of the West. It has sated the West with its paranoid ideas. It transforms the marginal streams into mainstreams.

Russia is turning Crimea into a military stronghold and changing strategic balance in the Black and Mediterranean Seas.

Crimea is emerging into a real concentration camp crafted in line with the "best Soviet standards" of repressions and punitive medicine.

Russia tries to get into the head of the Western civilization. Hundreds of millions of dollars are flowing to the West to support national egoism and integration fatigue, hatred, intolerance.

We demand the introduction of additional sectoral sanctions. It is the only mechanism to keep Putin at the negotiating table. European business complains about enormous losses because of the sanctions against Russia. Yet, those are not losses, but investments in the security of Europe.







# 13<sup>TH</sup> YALTA EUROPEAN STRATEGY ANNUAL MEETING



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## DISCUSSION

## REFUGEES, POPULISM, BREXIT – IS THE EU COMING APART?



▶▶ The two most important families in Europe, socialists, social democrats and the centre-right politicians, have lost political initiative to populists.

JOSÉ MANUEL BARROSO

**MODERATOR:****RICHARD N. HAASS**

President, Council on Foreign Relations

**SPEAKERS:****JOSÉ MANUEL BARROSO**

President of the European Commission (2004-2014);  
Prime Minister of Portugal (2002-2004)

**PAT COX**

President of the European Parliament (2002-2004);  
Member of the European Parliament (1989-2004);  
Member of the Board, Yalta European Strategy

**WOLFGANG ISCHINGER**

Ambassador, Chairman, Munich Security Conference;  
Senior Professor, Hertie School of Governance;  
Member of the Board, Yalta European Strategy

**BERNARD-HENRI LÉVY**

Philosopher and Writer, Director, La Règle du Jeu

**REMARKS:****KARL ROVE**

Senior Advisor to President George W. Bush (2000–2007);  
Deputy Chief of Staff to President George W. Bush  
(2004–2007)

**JOSÉ MANUEL BARROSO**

If you have a political party, in Britain, the Conservative Party, telling lies about the European Union for 30 years, you cannot be surprised when the people you have been lying to vote against the EU.

France is now critically important to Europe. But it has no confidence in itself, and this lack of confidence casts a shadow on all European institutions.





**BERNARD-HENRI LÉVY**

EU could fall apart with migration, Brexit and revival of populism.

**KARL ROVE**

An average American thinks that Europe will take care of itself.



**My reply to Brexit:**  
if a country with great history as Ukraine expresses the wish to join the EU, this is not a burden, but a contribution of spirit.

BERNARD-HENRI LÉVY

**PAT COX**

The EU should address its imperfections as a more urgent issue than to seek more deepening of the institutional and constitutional space.

We should not give in to pessimism just because we have problems. If the pessimism takes over, the negative outcomes that have always been possible hypothetically might become reality.



**WOLFGANG ISCHINGER**

It is unfortunate that the EU did not manage to build the self-confidence and the willingness to act as a global player.

The EU is not falling apart, because it is indispensable. But we need a not just more EU, but a better and more resilient structure that focuses on strategic questions that a nation cannot handle itself.



**Voters wish the EU to be a more effective provider of domestic and external security.**

WOLFGANG ISCHINGER



## DISCUSSION

# TURKEY: PROSPECTS AND CHALLENGES

**MODERATOR:****STEPHEN SACKUR**

Presenter, HARDtalk, BBC World News

**SPEAKER:****MEHMET ŞİMŞEK**

Deputy Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey

**REMARKS:****JOHANNES HAHN**

Commissioner for European Neighbourhood Policy and Enlargement Negotiations, European Commission

**MEHMET ŞİMŞEK**

We have not given up on Europe. It is for us an inspiration, a source of better standards of democracy, rule of law, better human rights and freedoms, a success story.

Turkey signed the Articles of Association Agreement in 1963. We have been sitting in the waiting hall for half a century, and our patience is running thin.

For us, Europe is not about 50 years, but a few hundred years of Association. We are not looking for money, we are not looking for help: we just want be firmly anchored to Europe.

What can be better than Christians and Muslims who can co-exist, be tolerant, prosperous and peaceful? Erdoğan has accelerated this process in Turkey.

Europe cannot afford giving up on Turkey.

MEHMET ŞİMŞEK

**JOHANNES HAHN**

The best leverage on Turkey can be achieved when we are in negotiations, rather than abstaining from them.

Turkey has had a difficult time, and it is important for the EU that Turkey is strong.

We need to focus more on further strengthening the economy in Turkey and stabilising the country and our relationship.



AMERICAN LUNCH

# US ELECTIONS: WILD CAMPAIGN – OR SYSTEM CRISIS? AND WHAT IT MEANS FOR US



**Trump has the capacity to be successful. The question is whom he is surrounded by in his cabinet, and which Trump shows up – the one who supports Ukraine, as last year, or the one who praises Putin as this year.**

KARL ROVE

**KARL ROVE**

Anyone thinking that Trump cannot win may be just as wrong, as somebody having thought that he could not be nominated. Trump is an underdog, but it will be a close race.

People were promised a lot, and they are unhappy about the results, looking for a strong leader and thinking that U.S. is moving in the wrong direction. Trump says 'I'm change'. Clinton is seen as continuity, and that is why they are so close.



**MODERATOR:**

**STEPHEN SACKUR**  
Presenter, HARDtalk, BBC World News

**SPEAKERS:**

**DAVID M. AXELROD**  
Chief Strategist and Senior Advisor to President Barack Obama (2009-2011)

**BARNEY FRANK**  
Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (1981-2013); Chairman, U.S. House Financial Services Committee (2007-2011)

**NEWT GINGRICH**  
50th Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives (1995-1999)

**KARL ROVE**  
Senior Advisor to President George W. Bush (2000-2007); Deputy Chief of Staff to President George W. Bush (2004-2007)

**REMARKS:**

**NATALIE A. JARESKO**  
Chair of the Board of Trustees, Aspen Institute Kyiv; Minister of Finance of Ukraine (2014-2016)

**DAVID M. AXELROD**

Trump and Clinton are the two least popular candidates in the history of the U.S.

**NATALIE A. JARESKO**

The cost of the U.S. engagement pursuing liberal order is lower than the cost of abandoning this mission.





**DAVID M. AXELROD**

Trump’s plan is to maximize the number of white voters and he is doing very well with non-college-educated white voters.

This is not a convenient year for Hillary Clinton to run for President, as she has been in public life for a long time, and there is an accumulated weight of politics she had to carry into this fight.

When you talk to people, the first they mention about Hillary is that she represents the establishment.

Clinton’s disadvantage is that she is not a great political performer, and she is coming after a President who is.

If Trump passes a minimal level of fluency and competence, that will already help him overcome the major objections, such as failure to master the details that you need to know if you are running for the President of the U.S.

**BARNEY FRANK**

Donald has quite successfully built on unhappiness of voters about perceived unfairness of distribution of economic growth and excessive inequality, to the extent that only the wealthiest have benefited. There is a contradiction in his very successful articulation of that and total lack of anything he would do about it.

Trump’s praise for Putin, which is inexplicable in logical terms, independent of any need to answer to economical uncertainty, is the license for Putin to be even more aggressive to his neighbours.

Hillary Clinton is one of the few world figures with a substantial record of having been responsible and who is still standing.

**NEWT GINGRICH**

As potential running mates, me and Trump are psychologically pirates, we are willing to be bold and outside the norm. Two pirates on the same ticket would be a bit too much. A pirate and a normal guy would do better. Mike Pence is exactly what he needed to balance the ticket and reach out to traditional Republicans and be comforting.

An average American would probably not find Syria on the map and does not care about this. All you have to do as a U.S. President is to keep America safe. To know were Aleppo is you hire a Secretary of State.



**The entire Western world is drifting towards a pivot. Donald Trump shows up as a part of a wave of distrust to establishment.**

**NEWT GINGRICH**



DISCUSSION

# INEQUALITY AND ANTI-ESTABLISHMENT MOVEMENTS - WILL SOCIETIES BREAK UP?

**MODERATOR:**

**STEPHEN SACKUR**

Presenter, HARDtalk, BBC World News

**SPEAKERS:**

**CARL BILD**

Minister for Foreign Affairs of Sweden (2006-2014);  
Prime Minister of Sweden (1991-1994)

**NIALL FERGUSON**

Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University

**DOMINIQUE STRAUSS-KAHN**

Managing Partner, Parnasse International;  
Managing Director, International Monetary Fund (2007-2011)

**SVYATOSLAV VAKARCHUK**

Co-Founder, Centre for Economic Strategy;  
Social activist; Leader, Okean Elzy



Politics of ideology is gone, and we now have politics of identity that is largely based on fear and protection against the others. People are vulnerable to fear, because their hopes are gone.

CARL BILD

**CARL BILD**

The decline of the centre left is obvious, as their narrative has gone.

Inequality is driving politics to a lesser extent than it is driving debates.

There are people who were 'left behind' by globalization. And they are afraid of globalization, for example, in terms of immigrants and sexual rights.

The big issue we have is integration. If do not handle this, we will unravel our political systems.





**We need to resolve the paradox that the world can simultaneously become more equal, but that inequality can substantially increase within countries.**

**NIALL FERGUSON**

**DOMINIQUE STRAUSS-KAHN**

In emerging countries, between the rich and the poor, inequality has increased. Before, people in Asia were poor, but they largely did not sense that. With globalization, satellite dishes have done more for social revolution than Karl Marx.

People feel that they do not have an identity anymore because of the collapse of social inclusion process, inability to feel that they are a part of society.

Our politicians can restore social inclusion, but only if they provide leadership.

The problem of the parties is to find the right answers to the questions people are asking, but they will still work as way to organize democracy.

**NIALL FERGUSON**

This is not a time of unprecedented turmoil. We are not even close today to the levels of violence we saw in the 60s.

The generation that grew up after the Cold War ended had the illusion that everybody will live in peace and harmony.

Life has not become tougher for the majority of people worldwide. Yet, it's a global phenomenon, losers of globalization up in arms demanding some kind of recompense for twenty lousy years.

Trump completely disintermediated the Republican party and created a direct marketed type of relationship with the U.S. voters.

Politics and entertainment today are fused. The left do not understand that, as they do not have the sense of humour.

Social media have created the illusion that everybody is equal. We feel that we are equal because we are users. But at the same time, owners of technology companies accumulate enormous wealth. They are the great capitalists of our time.



**SVYATOSLAV VAKARCHUK**

The narrative outside the Western part of the world is more about hope and plans for the future.

We should talk about balance of freedom and equality.

The biggest threats come from both from the new openness of society with the Internet, which makes us less profound and responsible as leaders, and the fact that the closer developing countries are moving to the Western consumption standards, the more tension it produces within a society.

Ukrainians are lucky to live in a society that is yet to be built as a political nation.

We do not have real ideological parties in Ukraine. When the Ukrainian society is divided, it is not divided by economic ideology, but by geography, more about identity and the past, than by the future.



## DISCUSSION

# TERRORISM AND RADICALISM – CAN THEY DESTROY EUROPE AND THE WEST?

**MODERATOR:****RICHARD N. HAASS**

President, Council on Foreign Relations

**SPEAKERS:****JOSÉ MANUEL BARROSO**President of the European Commission (2004-2014);  
Prime Minister of Portugal (2002-2004)**NIALL FERGUSON**

Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University

**ROBERT GATES**22nd United States Secretary of Defence (2006-2011);  
Director, Central Intelligence Agency (1991-1993)**ROBERT GATES**

Terrorism is not an existential threat, it would have to be capable of destroying a nation so completely that it can only restore in decades. Cold War and the Soviet Union were of this kind. Countries that have nuclear weapons and means to deliver them are existential threats. Terrorist networks that acquire weapons of mass destruction, nuclear or cyber, would be an existential threat.

It has been a mistake to declare war on terrorism. Terrorism is a tactic that has been with us for a long time, a lot in the 19th century. We should not exaggerate and create a problem.

**Terrorists claim to act on behalf of Islam. With immigration, European societies equate Islam and Islamic terrorism. This stimulates the rise of populism and xenophobic parties, which is an existential threat.**

**JOSÉ MANUEL BARROSO**





**JOSÉ MANUEL BARROSO**

East European nations, which are extremely nationalistic now, had no experience integrating immigrants as a result of Marxist-Leninist ideology. The countries with such an experience are former imperial powers, like Great Britain, Portugal and France, used to receiving people from other cultures.

We need stronger external borders in Europe. Internal borders growing even more would not improve security.

Islamic states should be the first to condemn all demonstrations of terrorism, because growing mistrust in the European states feeds xenophobia.



**NIALL FERGUSON**

The terrorists in the 19th century Russia eventually came to power and created an existential threat called the Soviet Union. We should be concerned about capabilities and aims of terrorists.

Islamism is an ideology dressed up as a religion, using the cover of religious institutions and penetrating religious communities. We are poorly equipped to defeat it in the cultural battlefield, which we effectively managed during the Cold War with the Soviet Union.

The U.S. Muslim population is growing faster than Muslim population in any European country.

Education is essential for counter-terrorism.



Europeans are very poor at saying “this is what to be a European means.”  
NIALL FERGUSON





DISCUSSION

# UKRAINE - TEST CASE FOR THE WEST

**MODERATOR:**

**RICHARD N. HAASS**

President, Council on Foreign Relations

**SPEAKERS:**

**VALDIS DOMBROVSKIS**

Vice-President for the Euro and Social Dialogue, also in charge of Financial Stability, Financial Services and Capital Markets Union, European Commission; Prime Minister of Latvia (2009-2014)

**ROBERT GATES**

22nd United States Secretary of Defence (2006-2011); Director, Central Intelligence Agency (1991-1993)

**IVANNA KLYMPUSH-TSINTSADZE**

Vice Prime Minister of Ukraine for European and Euro-Atlantic Integration

**ARSENIY YATSENYUK**

Leader, Narodnyi Front (People's Front) Political Party; Prime Minister of Ukraine (2014-2016)

**ARSENIY YATSENYUK**

Russia should be addressed with hard diplomacy, strong military potential and a united voice of the EU members, Washington and all NATO members. It is a threat to the free world.

We represent the free world as a liberated nation.

**ROBERT GATES**

The U.S. policy has fallen short in persuading the political leaders that an integral, prosperous and democratic Ukraine is essential to the stability and security of Europe itself.

In the current presidential race, neither candidate has addressed the issue of Ukraine's territorial integrity at all.



The U.S. and EU politicians face a challenge to blunt Putin's aggressive manoeuvres and, at the same time, recognize Russia's place at the table in dealing with international problems. This is the test we have not passed.

ROBERT GATES





**ARSENIY YATSENYUK**

Ukraine has passed its test for the West with revolution, fight for our freedom, incredibly complex reforms that are very hard to explain to people, and our self-determination.

It is important that the West passes the test for its own values.

We should not support appeasement policy, which once brought the Second World War.



**VALDIS DOMBROVSKIS**

Ukraine is a test for European unity.

Ukraine should not become a forgotten conflict. The West cannot afford it.

Ukraine has implemented more reforms this year than any other country, but challenges are still on the way.

Stronger anti-corruption agencies will guarantee economic recovery. It is important to restore the trust of the Ukrainian people in their own government, as well as the trust of the international community.

The EU economic support is conditional to Ukraine's own efforts.

We cannot live with the assumption that reforms are possible only if there is financial aid for that.

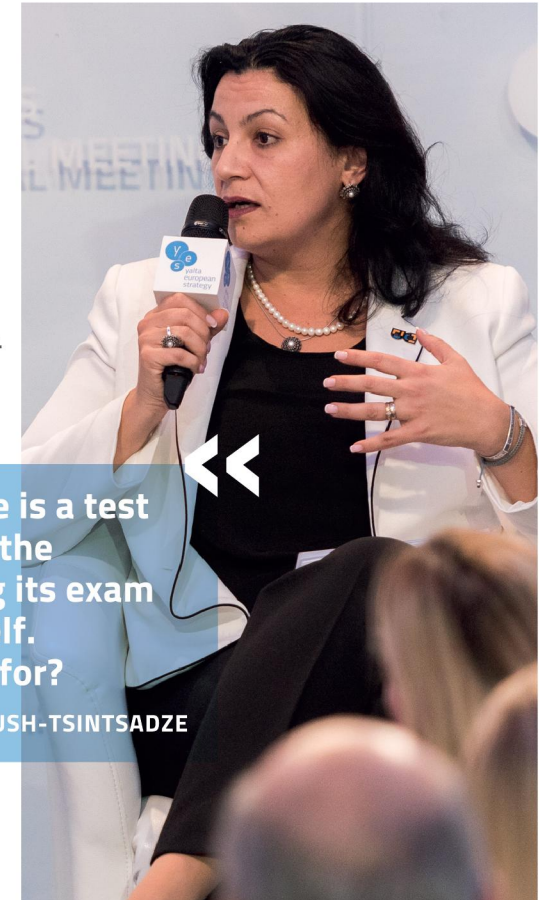
**IVANNA KLYMPUSH-TSINTSADZE**

A lot of people would like to see us moving faster, but this does not mean that we are not moving in the right direction.

We see the European not as a political project, but as a project that brought peace and prosperity to Europe.

Ukraine could be an appealing example of transformation for the whole Eurasia.

For stability in Ukraine, there should be solidarity with Ukraine in the West.



**It is not whether Ukraine is a test for the West, it is about the West taking and passing its exam in civilization choice itself. What does Europe fight for?**

**IVANNA KLYMPUSH-TSINTSADZE**

The question is whether European leaders are ready to pay with the percentage of their popularity, as they are standing tall for Ukraine.





SPECIAL GUEST OF THE 13<sup>TH</sup> YES ANNUAL MEETING

## KEVIN SPACEY





OPENING SPEECH

# UKRAINE'S REFORMS – CAN YOU STILL FEEL A PULSE?



**There are people of enormous power in this country, the big fish in the sea of cronies and corruption, who need to be taken on. Will you deliver?**

STEPHEN SACKUR

**It is impossible to catch a big fish with a thin fishing rode. The Ukrainian judicial system is the thin fishing rode in fighting corruption.**

VOLODYMYR GROYSMAN

**MODERATOR:**

**STEPHEN SACKUR**

Presenter, HARDtalk, BBC World News

**SPEAKER:**

**VOLODYMYR GROYSMAN**

Prime Minister of Ukraine

**VOLODYMYR GROYSMAN**

We can restore confidence in Government through transparency and efficiency. Only this can persuade Ukrainian society and our international partners that we can be trusted.

**VOLODYMYR GROYSMAN**

We only need to ensure that those, who influence decision-making, do not interfere with making changes that we began, and that we condemn the populism destroying our country from within.

Ukraine has never been a threat. Today, every European country and NATO member should ask themselves the question, 'who is next?'

Before the annexation, the Ukrainian Crimea was a beautiful resort and after the annexation it has become a powerful military base – do you feel the difference?

In 2016, stabilization took place. 2017 will be the year of development.



DISCUSSION

# FIGHTING CORRUPTION

**MODERATOR:**

**STEPHEN SACKUR**

Presenter, HARDtalk, BBC World News

**SPEAKERS:**

**ANDERS ÅSLUND**

Senior Fellow, The Atlantic Council

**RYSZARD CZARNECKI**

Vice-President of the European Parliament;  
Vice-Chair, Delegation to the Euronest Parliamentary Assembly;  
Member, Delegation to the EU-Ukraine Parliamentary Association Committee

**SERGII LESHCHENKO**

Member of the Parliament of Ukraine;  
Chairperson, Subcommittee on International Cooperation and Implementation of Anti-Corruption Legislation, Committee on Corruption Prevention and Counteraction

**REMARKS:**

**ROMAN NASIROV**

Head, State Fiscal Service of Ukraine

**SERGII LESHCHENKO**

Everybody understands that the corrupt schemes in Ukrainian state entities and ministries would be impossible to implement without protection at the top level.



Do like in East Germany, in Estonia and Georgia – sack all the prosecutors and all the judges. There are enough young and honest lawyers in Ukraine to replace all judges and prosecutors.

ANDERS ÅSLUND



**ANDERS ÅSLUND**

Tax police should be abolished. It is the least surveyed institutions, and they can do whatever they want. Taxation should be looked up on more as a service, than as a punitive activity.



**The scale of corruption in Ukraine is very good ammunition for a pro-Russian lobby in Eastern Ukraine.**

**RYSZARD CZARNECKI**



**ROMAN NASIROV**

We have a problem nowadays with petty cash corruption – an officer, who earns one hundred dollars a month is at higher risk of being bribed. It is applicable to police, prosecutors, judges, everyone else. We need a decent minimum salary for civil servants or teachers, because this is where the small corruption starts and then grows to bigger proportions.



**The main problem is the lack of political will to fight against corruption among the Ukrainian leadership.**

**SERGI LESHCHENKO**

**RYSZARD CZARNECKI**

The EU cannot find a solution in Brussels for the corruption problem in Ukraine. But we can support every activity of the Ukrainian government and we can observe positive moves of the Ukrainian government.



DISCUSSION

# BUILDING A NEW ECONOMY



**We lack an inflow into the Ukrainian economy of financial resources – the blood that runs the economy.**

**DMYTRO SHYMKIV**

**IAN R TAYLOR**

Ukraine has to be realistic – all the big energy companies have left Ukraine. Shell and Chevron told me that Ukraine is an incredibly difficult place to operate. It comes down to the enormous amount of regulations. Capital is global and it goes where it can have a return.

There is a tremendous amount of gas and liquids in Ukraine. And one day it can be self-sufficient.

**YURIY RYZHENKOV**

Ukraine has the highest land taxes in the area, subsoil taxes, gas transportation tariffs, ton per kilometer railway tariffs. We need to balance all that.

**LEONID KUCHMA**

First of all, we need to rely on ourselves and, secondly, we need to stop begging the outside world. The potential is there, but nobody believes in it yet.



**Capital is global and it goes where it can have a return.**

**IAN R TAYLOR**

**Ukraine always looks at its past. Capital does not care that Ukraine is better now than it was 5 years ago, but thinks whether to invest in Ukraine or other countries. Ukraine is in competition not with its past, but with other countries' future.**

**FAREED ZAKARIA**

**MODERATOR:**

**FAREED ZAKARIA**

Host, Fareed Zakaria GPS, CNN

**SPEAKERS:**

**BORYS LOZHKIN**

Secretary, National Investment Council of Ukraine; Deputy Head, National Reform Council of Ukraine; Non-staff Advisor to the President of Ukraine; Head, Administration of the President of Ukraine (2014-2016)

**YURIY RYZHENKOV**

Chief Executive Officer, Metinvest Holding, LLC

**DMYTRO SHYMKIV**

Deputy Head, Administration of the President of Ukraine

**IAN R TAYLOR**

President and CEO, Vitol



DISCUSSION

## CHANGING ELITES IN UKRAINE

**MODERATOR:**

**FAREED ZAKARIA**

Host, Fareed Zakaria GPS, CNN

**SPEAKERS:**

**PAT COX**

President of the European Parliament (2002-2004);  
Member of the European Parliament (1989-2004);  
Member of the Board, Yalta European Strategy

**OLEKSANDR DANYLIUK**

Minister of Finance of Ukraine

**YURIY LUTSENKO**

Prosecutor General of Ukraine

**MUSTAFA NAYYEM**

Member of the Parliament of Ukraine;  
Deputy Head, Petro Poroshenko Bloc Faction

**ANDERS FOGH RASMUSSEN**

12th Secretary General, NATO (2009-2014);  
Prime Minister of Denmark (2001-2009)

**MIKHEIL SAAKASHVILI**

Head, Odesa Regional State Administration

**REMARKS:**

**VICTORIA VOYTSITSKA**

Member of the Parliament of Ukraine  
(Samopomich Party Faction);  
Secretary, Committee on Fuel and  
Energy Complex, Nuclear Policy and  
Nuclear Safety

**OLEKSANDR DANYLIUK**

Corruption has been here for years,  
and the elites are responsible for that.  
Policy-making in Ukraine is dominated  
by people who possess economic  
resources. This needs to be changed  
by putting new rules in place.

Opening the country to the EU creates  
grounds to changing the elites,  
because it dilutes local financial  
powers by bringing new people in  
the country.



The old elites have tremendous capacities and abilities to adapt. They are supported by oligarchs, have access to the media and thrive on populism.

VICTORIA VOYTSITSKA

**ANDERS FOGH RASMUSSEN**

To fight corruption, we have to pursue both evolutionary and revolutionary way. Changing elites will combine both approaches.





**YURIY LUTSENKO**

It is very important not only to prosecute corrupt officials, but also to convict them. The most important in my job is the number of imprisoned criminals. I'm waiting impatiently for the first sign from the courts.

Oligarchs hold back the competition. This Parliament has more than 50% of new members, but nothing has changed in the political culture, because it is still generated by the same old oligarchs.



**MUSTAFA NAYYEM**

The historical mission of President Poroshenko and the teams running the country now was to create strong institutions.

We are called trouble-makers. But we do not want to create trouble. We are simply not satisfied with the efficiency of the government.

Young politicians are still weak, but have transparency, freedom of speech and accountability.

**Old elites in Ukraine have media, money and law-enforcement agencies at their disposal.**

MUSTAFA NAYYEM

**MIKHEIL SAAKASHVILI**

Ukraine is disappointed with its elite because it has not been developing. The Ukrainian elite share the same values as the Russian elite and have little in common with the European or American establishment. They have similar lifestyle, live on rent from commodities, and nothing has changed much for 25 years.

**PAT COX**

The current Ukrainian Parliament has more rules written down than any parliament out there. Yet, they are more often ignored than followed.



**Ukraine needs to bring in the new generation. The first Maidan failed to deliver that. With the second Maidan, Ukraine got young MPs and ministers. They know how a normal government should work.**

MIKHEIL SAAKASHVILI



## DISCUSSION

## RUSSIA AND THE WEST – CONFLICT, CO-EXISTENCE, COOPERATION?



**I do not expect Russia to stop trying to destroy Ukraine. A European and democratic Ukraine is a fundamental challenge for Russia. To make Russia stop, we have to increase the cost it will bear if it continues its aggression.**

PAVLO KLIMKIN

**MODERATOR:****FAREED ZAKARIA**

Host, Fareed Zakaria GPS, CNN

**SPEAKERS:****TACAN ILDEM**

Ambassador, Assistant Secretary General for Public Diplomacy, NATO

**PAVLO KLIMKIN**

Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine

**LEON PANETTA**

23rd United States Secretary of Defence (2011-2013); Director, Central Intelligence Agency (2009-2011)

**REMARKS:****PIERRE LELLOUCHE**

Member, Foreign Affairs Committee, National Assembly of France

**PAVLO KLIMKIN**

I believe in the freedom of choice and freedom of people. And I choose not to give up in front of Russia, in front of their desire to revive old agreement, the Yalta agreements or any other ones.

Crimea is a point of credibility for the whole Western community. Giving it up would mean a point of no return for Western credibility.

**LEON PANETTA**

Putin considers the fall of the Soviet Union the greatest disaster in history for Russia. He is motivated to restore this system.





**LEON PANETTA**

In the U.S. Congress, a large Conservative and Democratic majority support Ukraine and tough steps with regard to Putin. Donald Trump will have a difficult time implementing anything different in the checks and balances system.

You cannot deal with a bully from a position of weakness. You have to deal with the Russians from strength.

**We have to build strong alliances that make very clear to Russia that they are not just dealing with the U.S. or with Ukraine, but they are dealing with a coalition of nations.**

LEON PANETTA

At the moment, Russia sees the opening that allows it not only be aggressive, but to implement new ways, including on the cyber sphere, of trying to influence what happens, for example, in terms of elections.

Ukraine must not only continue to strengthen its economy, and its government, but also strengthen its military. The U.S., obviously, along with NATO, is providing trainers, equipment, and training exercises. But I would take the next step, and provide defensive weapons to Ukraine, to make very clear to Russia that if it tries to do anything militarily, it will have to pay a price.

**PIERRE LELLOUCHE**

The only way Ukraine is going to keep Russia at bay is by succeeding in its economic and political reforms.

Continuing sanctions every six months is not bringing us any closer to free Donbas and Crimea.

**France's priority number one is to fix the Middle East. If you want to fix the Middle East, it can only be done with Russia, not against it.**

PIERRE LELLOUCHE

The problem is not defensive weapons. The problem is Ukraine's internal stability, ability of the government to produce reforms and diplomatic cause, and Ukraine is not capable of doing this.





## DISCUSSION

## GLOBAL VISION: THREATS, INNOVATIONS, ECONOMY

### MODERATOR:

#### FAREED ZAKARIA

Host, Fareed Zakaria GPS, CNN

### SPEAKERS:

#### MIKHAIL FRIDMAN

Chairman of the Board, LetterOne Group

#### DAVID M. RUBENSTEIN

Co-Founder and Co-CEO, The Carlyle Group

#### MIKHAIL FRIDMAN

Natural resources as a source of national wealth are replaced steadily by intellectual capacity and well-managed, balanced sophisticated social and political systems.

India has built a more balanced and free society. In China, with its strong centralized power, independent media, balanced branches of power and an independent legal system are not there yet.

#### FAREED ZAKARIA

Around the world and throughout history, in emerging markets reforms almost always happen when governments are squeezed.

#### DAVID M. RUBENSTEIN

Youth is going to replace the older people in terms of the wealth.

Ukraine has enormous potential. But it has an image issue in the West. Ukraine is undervalued.

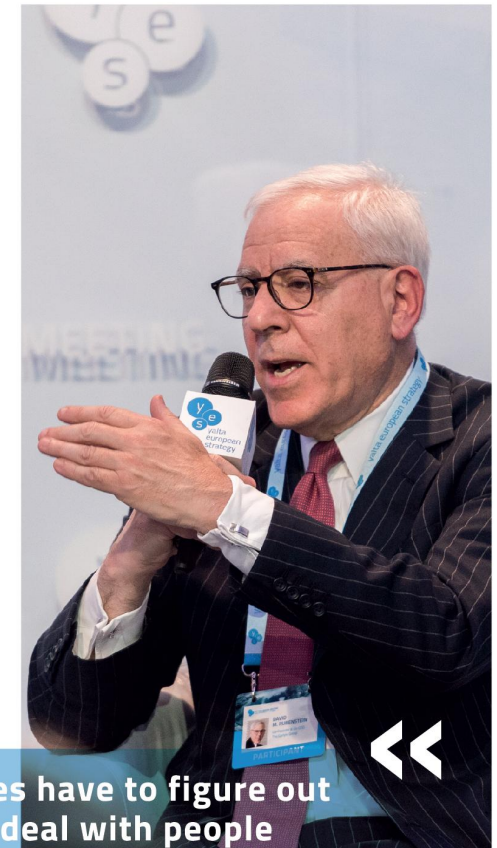
**In this period of uncertainty, it is not surprising if people want a more robust leader, an authoritarian type.**

MIKHAIL FRIDMAN

Over the last fifty years, the concept of globalization and free trade as a good thing for everybody has been generally accepted. Now it is not generally accepted, and this will change Western democracies dramatically.

The global economy is a tale of two cities - two different economies. One is composed of young entrepreneurial people who are trying to change the world. The other is the economy in older industries, forever stuck with lower incomes - and lower happiness.

Convince young people that they can become wealthy at home, and the government is going to allow and encourage it, and you will have entrepreneurial success.



**Democracies have to figure out the way to deal with people who are not well-educated. Uninformed citizens are a danger for democracy. This will not be the democracy which people fought and died for.**

DAVID M. RUBENSTEIN



DISCUSSION

# SUMMING UP: MAJOR RISKS FOR THE WORLD, EUROPE AND UKRAINE

**MODERATOR:**

**VICTOR PINCHUK**  
Founder and Member of the Board,  
Yalta European Strategy; Founder, EastOne

**SPEAKERS:**

**RICHARD N. HAASS**  
President, Council on Foreign Relations

**STEPHEN SACKUR**  
Presenter, HARDtalk, BBC World News

**FAREED ZAKARIA**  
Host, Fareed Zakaria GPS, CNN

**RICHARD N. HAASS**

Ukraine is not on my list of crises, because status quo is likely to endure - it is likely to be the new normal.

It is not just that Russia is a declining power. Also, the leadership has deinstitutionalized Russia and eliminated checks and balances.

Strategically, the inability of the American political system to pass the transpacific partnership after two generations of support of free trade would be an extraordinarily consequential development.

**FAREED ZAKARIA**

The great problem we face in the international system that there are two great powers that are outside the system – Russia and China. China is a practical power on the rise which is trying to build its power slowly and gain more influence. Russia is a trouble as a great power in decline. Great powers in decline are much more difficult and unpredictable.



**The Western world may turn inward - opposing globalization, free trade, refugee flows.**

**FAREED ZAKARIA**

**Even if Hillary Clinton won, we should not assume that Washington will be functional. There is a point where checks and balances can become a gridlock. Fundamental questions must be asked about America's ability to govern itself.**

**RICHARD N. HAASS**



**STEPHEN SACKUR**

Ukraine's politics is still deeply dysfunctional. The current President is from the oligarchs' generation.

**Ukrainians need to worry about what's happening in Europe and about Europe's commitment to European values.**

**STEPHEN SACKUR**



One of the major risks I view: Lies work! Brexit was based on lies; much of the information that people voted upon was false and driven by fear. For the next year, I fear that lies will work even more effectively.

Election debates in France and Germany are going to be negative. This will have a long-term impact on European politics.





Dear guests,

We live in a time of chaos – old paradigms don't work, new paradigms don't exist. Globalization changed our lives deeply, and it is irreversible. Now we see the last battle of populism and nationalism against globalism. There is an attempt to reverse the process which is irreversible. The times of Cold War are finished, the United States' position as a sole leader is no longer valid. A concept of a world with many centers is coming. But the architecture of this world is still under construction and can lead to many conflicts. In the next ten years, the digital generation will have the majority. This will lead to a crisis of traditional democracy. We need a new concept of communication with new voters.

The world is losing interest in the Ukrainian crisis, so it is important to fight for the unity and support of the EU. But Ukraine's various political parties are not working together for this goal. If this crisis is frozen for years, we will have a problem keeping the European unity and common European approach.

To ensure this doesn't happen, it is important to repeatedly remind our partners what the Ukrainian crisis is about. Ukraine is the test for the West, the test for democratic forces in the world. By showing how much we support Ukraine, we show how much we want to fight for our fundamental values of democracy, sovereignty, independence and civil society.

Aleksander Kwaśniewski,  
 President of Poland (1995-2005)  
 Chairman of the Board,  
 Yalta European Strategy



## YOUNG LEADERS AT THE 13<sup>TH</sup> YES ANNUAL MEETING

Traditionally, 100 Ukrainian students and young leaders were invited for a simultaneous conference at the 13<sup>th</sup> YES Annual Meeting. To inspire Ukraine's brightest and most active youth, YES has since 2012 annually invited 100 students and young professionals, including alumni of the Victor Pinchuk Foundation's scholarship programs Zavtra.UA and WorldWideStudies. 400 best Ukrainian students and young leaders have joined the Young Leaders Panel at the YES Annual Meetings since its initiation.

The YES Young Leaders panel is a platform for young and responsible young people to share ideas and political outlook, exchange international experience and develop practical solutions to solving critical modern challenges.

The core criteria to select the young leaders were active civic and political position, leadership potential, participation in social projects and strong motivation to support initiatives that aim to bring positive changes for the future.

The speakers at the Young Leaders Panel of the 13<sup>th</sup> YES Annual Meeting were the leading Ukrainian and international politicians, opinion-makers and social leaders, such as David M. Axelrod, Frank Barney, Ryszard Czarnecki, Valdis Dombrovskis, Robert Gates, Iryna Gerashchenko, Bernard-Henry Lévy, Tomas O. Melia, Leon Panetta, Vitaly Portnikov, Karl Rove, Mikheil Saakashvili, Dmytro Shymkiv, İldem Tacan and Fareed Zakaria. Special guest of this year's YES meeting Kevin Spacey has also met the young leaders for an inspirational conversation.





## YOUNG REGIONAL CHANGE-MAKERS AT THE 13<sup>TH</sup> YES ANNUAL MEETING

To introduce Ukraine's local change-makers to the international and Ukrainian political change-makers present at YES, over 80 representatives of Ukraine's regional executive authorities, regional council members and civil activists were invited to join a new discussion format created in partnership with the Ukrainian School of Political Studies (USPS).

The initiative aimed to contribute to transforming Ukraine and help its decentralization succeed. Among the speakers were 23<sup>rd</sup> United States Secretary of Defence (2011-2013) and Director of the CIA Leon Panetta, Vice-President of the European Parliament Ryszard Czarnecki, 50<sup>th</sup> Speaker of the United States House of Representatives Newt Gingrich, Assistant Secretary General for Public Diplomacy NATO Tacan Ildem and Assistant Administrator of USAID for



Europe & Eurasia Thomas Melia; Vice Prime Ministers of Ukraine Hennadiy Zubko and Ivanna Klymush-Tsintsadze, Minister of Finance of Ukraine Oleksandr Danyliuk, Head of Odesa State Administration Mikheil Saakashvili, Mayor of Hlukhiv Michel Terestchenko, former Minister of Finance Natalie Jaresko and President of the Centre for Economic Development Oleksandr Paskhaver and others.

The mini-conference was moderated by former Minister of Economic Development and Trade of Ukraine (2014) and currently Director of the UCU School of Public Management, Pavlo Sheremeta.

The mini-conference helped young regional leaders expand their ambition and energy to transform Ukraine, discover fresh motivation to reforms on the ground and build nation-wide networks of reformers to share experience and system-changing know-how.



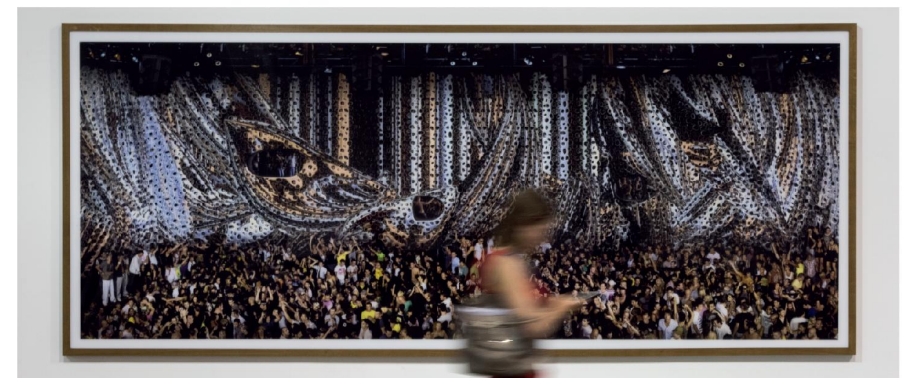


**Anselm Kiefer**  
**Velimir Khlebnikov: Fates of Nations**  
2004  
*Oil, emulsion, acrylic on canvas with lead boat*

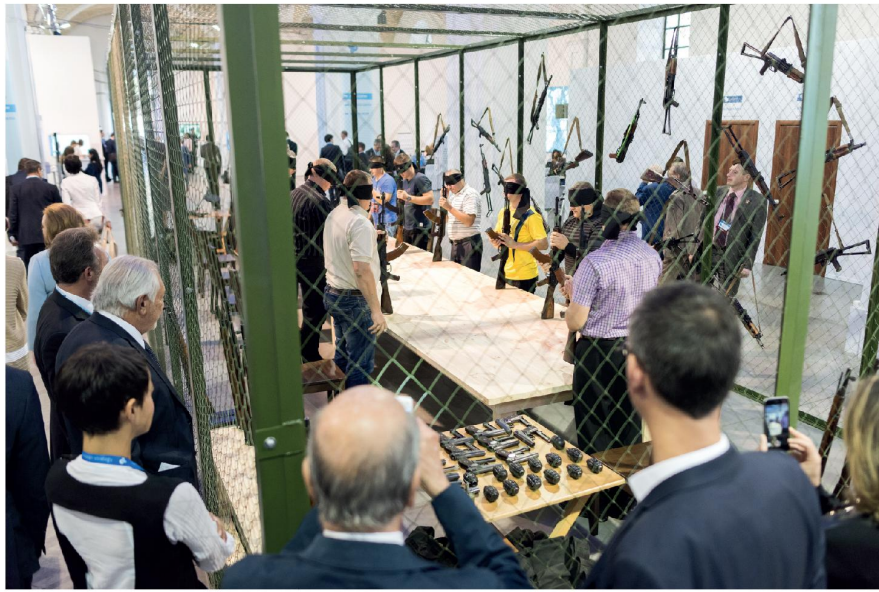


**Damien Hirst**  
**The Incomplete Truth**  
2007, Edition 1/3  
*Glass, aluminium, dove and formaldehyde solution*

**Andreas Gursky**  
**Cocoon I**  
2007, Edition 3/6  
*C-print*

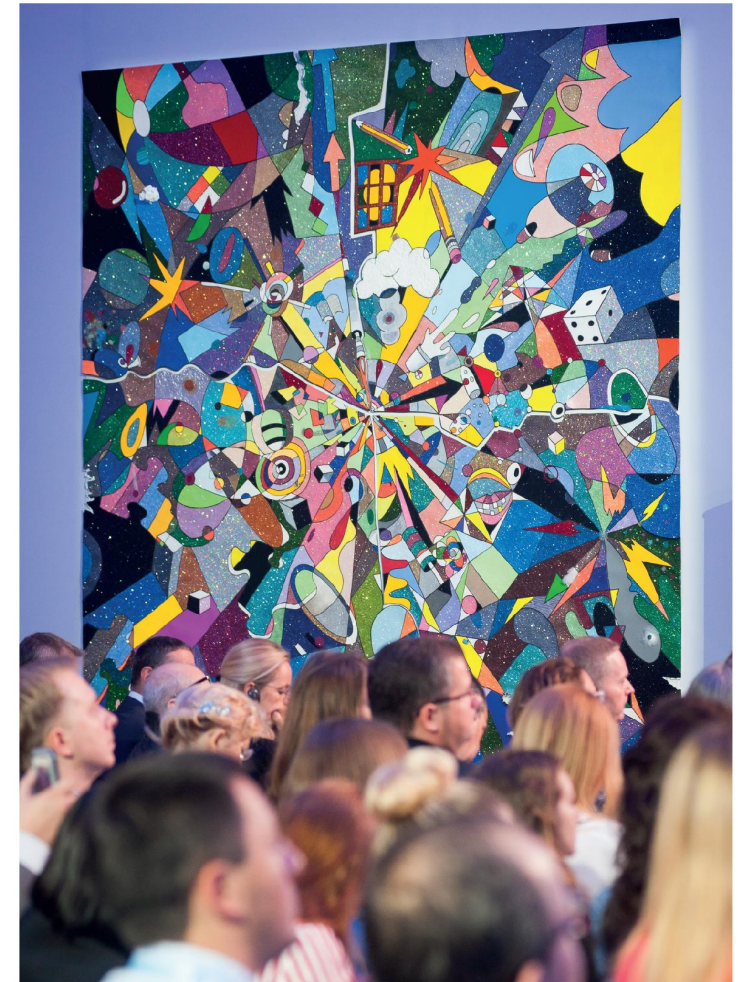
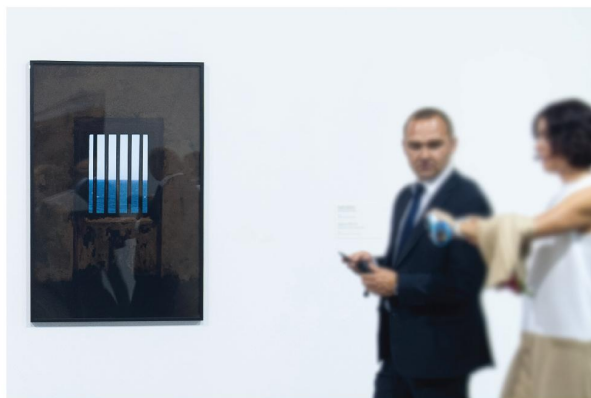






**Sun Yuan & Peng Yu**  
**Seeing Is Not An Option**  
2013  
*Installation/performance*

**Carlos Motta**  
**Colonial Forts Series: San Felipe del Morro #16**  
2013, *Digital chromogenic prints*



**Tom Friedman**  
**Big Bang**  
2008  
*Glitter and mixed media on paper*



## YES BOARD



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President of Poland (1995–2005);  
Chairman of the YES Board



**CARL BILDT**  
Foreign Minister of Sweden (2006–2014);  
Prime Minister of Sweden in (1991–1994)



**PAT COX**  
President of the European Parliament (2002–2004);  
Member of the European Parliament (1989–2004)



**WOLFGANG ISCHINGER**  
Ambassador, Chairman of the Munich Security Conference;  
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**JAVIER SOLANA**  
President, ESADE Center for Global Economy and Geopolitics;  
High Representative for Common Foreign  
and Security Policy of the European Union;  
Secretary General of the Council of the European Union (1999–2009)

We are grateful to the Victor Pinchuk Foundation for the continuous support and cooperation that have made the 13th Yalta European Strategy Annual Meeting happen.

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