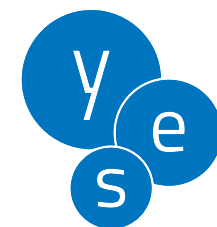


14<sup>TH</sup> YALTA EUROPEAN STRATEGY  
ANNUAL MEETING

# IS THIS A NEW WORLD? AND WHAT DOES IT MEAN FOR UKRAINE?

**CONFERENCE REPORT**

KYIV, SEPTEMBER 14–16, 2017



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

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AND WHAT DOES IT MEAN  
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CONFERENCE REPORT

September 14 – 16, 2017 Kyiv, Ukraine

**14TH YALTA  
EUROPEAN  
STRATEGY  
ANNUAL  
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# IS THIS A NEW WORLD? AND WHAT DOES IT MEAN FOR UKRAINE?

## THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 14

19.30-21.00

### City Market Reception at Bessarabsky Market

#### WELCOMING REMARKS:

[Aleksander Kwaśniewski](#), President of Poland (1995-2005);  
Chairman of the YES Board  
[Vitali Klitschko](#), Mayor of Kyiv

## FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 15

09.30-09.35

### OPENING MOVIE AND REMARKS

[Victor Pinchuk](#), Founder, YES, Victor Pinchuk Foundation,  
EastOne Group

09.35-10.20

### OPENING SPEECH AND Q&A: UKRAINE IN A CHANGING WORLD

Moderator:  
[Richard N. Haass](#), President, Council on Foreign Relations

[Petro Poroshenko](#), President of Ukraine

11.00-11.10

### UKRAINE IN A CHANGING WORLD – A VIEW FROM THE EU

Introduction:  
[Richard N. Haass](#), President, Council on Foreign Relations

[Maroš Šefčovič](#), Vice-President of the European Commission  
in charge of Energy Union

11.10-11.20

### UKRAINE IN A CHANGING WORLD – A VIEW FROM A MULTILATERAL DEVELOPMENT BANK

Introduction:

[Richard N. Haass](#), President, Council on Foreign Relations

[Suma Chakrabarti](#), President, European Bank  
for Reconstruction and Development

11.20-12.10

### IS THIS A NEW WORLD? GLOBAL POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES

Moderator:

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

[John Kerry](#), 68th U.S. Secretary of State (2013-2017)  
[David Cameron](#), Former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom  
(2010-2016)

12:40-13.30

### IS THIS A NEW WORLD? THREE VIEWS

Moderator:

[Stephen Sackur](#), Presenter, HARDtalk, BBC World News

#### I. A PHILOSOPHER'S VIEW

[Bernard-Henri Lévy](#), Philosopher and Writer, Director, La Règle du Jeu

#### II. AN ECONOMIST'S VIEW

[Paul Krugman](#), Professor, City University of New York,  
Winner of the Nobel Prize in Economics (2008)

#### III. AN ARTIST'S VIEW

«And Now WHAT?»

[Marina Abramović](#), Artist

13.30-15.30

### Lunch with Lunch Conversation

#### NEW US – INTERESTS NOT VALUES?

Moderator:

[Stephen Sackur](#), Presenter, HARDtalk, BBC World News

[Paul Krugman](#), Professor, City University of New York,  
Winner of the Nobel Prize in Economics (2008)

[Robert Gates](#), U.S. Secretary of Defense (2006-2011)

[Newt Gingrich](#), 50th Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives

[John R. Bolton](#), Former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations

15.00-16.00

### PUBLIC LECTURE OF JOHN KERRY, 68TH U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE (2013-2017)

- 15.30-16.50 **THREE CRUCIAL CHALLENGES FOR THE WORLD**  
Moderator:  
[Richard N. Haass](#), President, Council on Foreign Relations
- I. HOT SPOTS AND ROGUE STATES**  
[David Cameron](#), Former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom (2010-2016)  
[Robert Gates](#), U.S. Secretary of Defense (2006-2011)  
[Gen. Jack Keane \(U.S. Army, Ret.\)](#), Chairman, Institute for the Study of War
- II. CYBERSECURITY**  
[Gen. Keith Alexander \(U.S. Army, Ret.\)](#), CEO and President, IronNet Cybersecurity; Commander, U.S. Cyber Command (2010-2014) and Director, National Security Agency/Chief, Central Security Service (2005-2014)  
[Rami Efrati](#), Founder and President, Firmitas Cyber Solutions
- III. POPULISM**  
[Fareed Zakaria](#), Host, Fareed Zakaria GPS, CNN
- 17.20-18.20 **THE GEOPOLITICS OF ENERGY**  
Moderator:  
[Fareed Zakaria](#), Host, Fareed Zakaria GPS, CNN
- [Condoleezza Rice](#), 66th U.S. Secretary of State (2005-2009)  
[Maroš Šefčovič](#), Vice-President of the European Commission in charge of Energy Union  
[Andriy Kobolyev](#), CEO, Naftogaz of Ukraine  
[Ian R Taylor](#), President and CEO, Vitol
- 18.20-21.15 **Dinner with Dinner Conversation**  
**UKRAINE'S CHANGEMAKERS: RETREAT OR EN MARCHÉ**  
Moderators:  
[Condoleezza Rice](#), 66th U.S. Secretary of State (2005-2009)  
[Pat Cox](#), President of the European Parliament (2002-2004); Member of the YES Board
- [Aivaras Abromavičius](#), Minister of Economic Development and Trade of Ukraine (2014-2016)  
[Mustafa Nayyem](#), Member of the Parliament of Ukraine  
[Svitlana Zalishchuk](#), Member of the Parliament of Ukraine  
[Victoria Voytsitska](#), Member of the Parliament of Ukraine  
[Valerii Pekar](#), Co-Founder, New Country Civil Platform  
[Pavlo Ryzanenko](#), Member of the Parliament of Ukraine

- 21.15 **SPECIAL PRESENTATION**
- Nightcap discussions in different venues**
- 1. New generation of Ukraine: awakening the engine of change**, hosted by Global Office (in «Sklad» bar)
  - 2. 25 years of the U.S.-Ukraine relations: an outlook into the future**, book presentation by Steven Pifer, «**The Eagle and the Trident**», hosted by the Hennadiy Udovenko Diplomatic Academy
  - 3. «Understanding Trump»**, a book talk by Newt Gingrich (in Mystetskyi Arsenal)
  - 4. Restoring Justice in Crimea and Donbas**, hosted by the International Renaissance Foundation (at ONE LOVE Coffee in the PinchukArtCentre)

## SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 16

- 08.30-09.30 **Early Bird Presentation on EU-Ukraine Customs Union project**  
co-hosted by Rasmussen Global, YES and Victor Pinchuk Foundation
- 10.00-10.45 **OPENING SPEECH AND Q&A: UKRAINE'S REFORMS AND THE EU'S ROLE**  
Moderator:  
[Stephen Sackur](#), Presenter, HARDtalk, BBC World News
- [Volodymyr Groysman](#), Prime Minister of Ukraine
- 10.45-11.15 **EUROPE AND UKRAINE – A VIEW FROM THE UK**  
Moderator:  
[Stephen Sackur](#), Presenter, HARDtalk, BBC World News
- [Sir Alan Duncan MP](#), Minister of State for Europe and Americas, Foreign and Commonwealth Office
- 11.45-12.05 **SHIMON PERES PEACE LECTURE**  
Introduction:  
[Victor Pinchuk](#), Founder, YES, Victor Pinchuk Foundation, EastOne Group
- [Tony Blair](#), Prime Minister of the United Kingdom (1997-2007)

- 12.05-12.55 **SUPPORT AND CRITICISM OF UKRAINE IN THE EU: FACING REALITY**  
 Moderator:  
[Stephen Sackur](#), Presenter, HARDtalk, BBC World News
- [Aleksander Kwaśniewski](#), President of Poland (1995-2005);  
 Chairman of the YES Board  
[Ivanna Klymush-Tsintsadze](#), Vice Prime Minister of Ukraine  
 for European and Euro-Atlantic Integration  
[Natalie Jaresko](#), Executive Director, Financial Oversight &  
 Management Board for Puerto Rico  
[Sergii Leshchenko](#), Member of the Parliament of Ukraine  
[Oleksandr Danylyuk](#), Minister of Finance of Ukraine
- Remarks:  
[Stéphane Fouks](#), Vice President of Havas Group, Executive  
 Co-Chairman of Havas Worldwide, Member of the YES Board
- 12.55-14.45 **Working Lunch**  
**RUSSIA'S FUTURE AND WHAT IT MEANS FOR UKRAINE**  
 Moderator:  
[Fareed Zakaria](#), Host, Fareed Zakaria GPS, CNN
- [Gennady Burbulis](#), Secretary of State of RSFSR/Russian  
 Federation (1991-1992); President of the  
 Baltic-Black Sea Forum  
[Michael McFaul](#), Director and Senior Fellow, Freeman Spogli  
 Institute for International Studies, Stanford University  
[Andrey Kortunov](#), Director General, Russian International  
 Affairs Council  
[Robert Gates](#), U.S. Secretary of Defense (2006-2011)  
[Pavlo Klimkin](#), Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine
- 14.45-15.45 **SECURITY FOR UKRAINE:  
 WHAT ARE THE REALISTIC OPTIONS?**  
 Moderator:  
[Fareed Zakaria](#), Host, Fareed Zakaria GPS, CNN
- [Will Hurd](#), Member of the U.S. House of Representatives  
 from Texas's 23rd District  
[Tacan Ildem](#), Ambassador, Assistant Secretary General for  
 Public Diplomacy, NATO  
[Wolfgang Ischinger](#), Ambassador, Chairman of the Munich

- Security Conference; Senior Professor of Hertie School of  
 Governance; Member of the YES Board  
[Arseniy Yatseniuk](#), Prime Minister of Ukraine (2014-2016)
- 16.00-17.00 PUBLIC LECTURE OF MARINA ABRAMOVICVIĆ, ARTIST**
- 16.15-17.15 **REGAINING UKRAINE'S EAST AND CRIMEA: WAYS FORWARD**  
 Moderator:  
[Richard N. Haass](#), President, Council on Foreign Relations
- [Kurt Volker](#), United States Special Representative for Ukraine  
 Negotiations, United States Department of State  
[Anders Fogh Rasmussen](#), Founder of Rasmussen Global,  
 Secretary General of NATO (2009-2014),  
 Prime Minister of Denmark (2001-2009)  
[Refat Chubarov](#), Chairman, Mejlis of the Crimean Tatar People  
[Leonid Kuchma](#), President of Ukraine (1994-2005)
- 17.45-18.10 **RULE OF LAW IN UKRAINE –  
 WINDOWDRESSING OR ROOT-AND-BRANCH?**  
 Moderator:  
[Stephen Sackur](#), Presenter, HARDtalk, BBC World News
- [Yuriy Lutsenko](#), Prosecutor General of Ukraine
- 18.10-18.25 **SUMMARY – IS THIS A NEW WORLD?**  
 Moderator:  
[Victor Pinchuk](#), Founder and Member of the Board,  
 Yalta European Strategy; Founder, EastOne Group
- [Richard N. Haass](#), President, Council on Foreign Relations  
[Stephen Sackur](#), Presenter, HARDtalk, BBC World News  
[Fareed Zakaria](#), Host, Fareed Zakaria GPS, CNN
- 18.25-18.35 **CLOSING REMARKS**  
[Aleksander Kwaśniewski](#), President of Poland (1995-2005);  
 Chairman of the YES Board



Dear friends,

Really this is a new world and nobody knows its rules. Traditionally, I want to use contemporary art to show vividly how new this world is. Look at this great diptych by one of the most important artists of our days – Andreas Gursky. Andreas made this diptych in 2007, exactly 10 years ago. The title of this piece is Pyongyang II. This is a mass performance at the North Korean stadium with a very simple message – doves and pistols: we are peaceful, but we can protect ourselves.

But today there are no chances for doves and no chances for pistols. If Andreas Gursky tried to make such a piece today, we would see the image of intercontinental ballistic missile with a nuclear warhead. With the benefit of hindsight, we know we needed to solve this problem then. And the solution valid 10 years ago doesn't work today in the new world. What will work for Ukraine in this new world? My answer is Yalta European Strategy.

We created YES in 2004 to connect Ukraine with Europe and the world. I think our name, Yalta European Strategy, contains what Ukraine and Europe need. Ukraine needs a European strategy: how to turn our European commitment into real action and transformation of our country. By the way, Europe also needs European strategy in this new world. Secondly, we need Yalta strategy to reestablish the rule of international law in Europe by reestablishing Ukrainian territorial integrity, by returning Crimea and Donbas.

In the end of the main Jewish holiday Yom Kippur Jews say «next year in Jerusalem». This tradition comes from the time when Jews

did not have their own state and they didn't know when they would return to Jerusalem. But they never lost their faith. And we will keep our name – Yalta European Strategy. I am not sure when Crimea will return to Ukraine, I think it will not happen the next year, but we all hope it will happen soon. And we will hold our conference in Yalta again.

That's why I have a suggestion to the Chairman of our Board, President Aleksander Kwaśniewski. In the closing speech at the end of our conference let's establish our tradition to say «next year in Yalta». And meanwhile let's try to find a pragmatic way to get there in the world as it is.

#### **Victor Pinchuk**

Founder, YES, Victor Pinchuk Foundation, EastOne Group



## WELCOMING REMARKS



# CITY MARKET RECEPTION AT BESSARABSKY MARKET

**Aleksander Kwaśniewski,**  
President of Poland (1995-2005);  
Chairman of the YES Board

**Vitali Klitschko,**  
Mayor of Kyiv



*We have only way forward – that is success. And this is the greatest response to those who do not want to be friendly with us. We need to strengthen our nation and this is the only way to Europe. And this way has no alternative.*

Vitali Klitschko



### Aleksander Kwaśniewski

Our wish, our dream, our will is to see one day sovereign, independent and free Ukraine as a part of free family of the nations of the world.

### Vitali Klitschko

We will overcome all the challenges that Ukraine faces today. I want to do everything to make sure that Ukraine will not become a disappointment.

We are ready to work and we want Kyiv to become a role model for changes which should take place in each region of Ukraine.



## OPENING SPEECH



# UKRAINE IN A CHANGING WORLD

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

Speaker:  
**Petro Poroshenko,**  
President of Ukraine



*Rejection of open door policy would be a big mistake for the European project. This would send a signal to Russia that revenge is still possible. And the EU, by rejecting European aspirations of its neighbor, will send a signal about accepting Russia's so-called special interests in the region.*

*Petro Poroshenko*

Are we already living in a new world? I think we are not yet there. Can we go back to calm and stable world order? No, we can't. If someone thinks that when the war comes finally to an end in Ukraine everything will be as it used to be, he is absolutely wrong. You cannot bring tens of thousands of dead Ukrainians back to life. You cannot stick together the broken contracts. We are facing a new political reality. The future world order depends exclusively on us.

I believe that the newly initiated debate on the future of Europe should not be limited to the current EU member states. The candidate countries and EU associated countries which aspired to share responsibility with the European Union for the new Europe should be invited to the discussion. And this will be a symbolic demonstration of their place in the new Europe.







## DISCUSSION



# UKRAINE IN A CHANGING WORLD – A VIEW FROM THE EU

Introduction:

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

Speaker:

**Maroš Šefčovič**,  
Vice-President of the European Commission  
in charge of Energy Union



*Over the last two years more reforms in Ukraine have been done than in the last twenty years.*

Maroš Šefčovič

There is tremendous potential for Ukraine to become an energy hub, to be exporter of energy if you work together on energy efficiency and use new technologies, and if we use the potential that Ukraine has for transit, gas exploration and trading with the European partners.

Continuation of the important gas transit through Ukraine in the post-2019 period is a top priority for the European Union.

The best response to the situation in the east, the best recipe for success would be to build a strong, democratic and prosperous Ukraine which would serve as a model for the transition, which would prove that the reforms are paying off, which would be a model for its neighbors.



## DISCUSSION



# UKRAINE IN A CHANGING WORLD – A VIEW FROM A MULTILATERAL DEVELOPMENT BANK

Introduction:

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

Speaker:

**Suma Chakrabarti,**  
President, European Bank  
for Reconstruction and Development



*Ukraine does not have the luxury of further delaying required reforms to complete the foundations and build out the structure of the economy.*

*Suma Chakrabarti*

If Ukraine is to enjoy inclusive and sustainable growth, the remaining barriers for investment, whether foreign or domestic, need to be dismantled sooner rather than later. There is still a lot to do to improve and enhance the business climate.

Ukraine needs to do much more to consolidate the rule of law, respect for property rights and everything that advances the fight against corruption. This remains a single largest obstacle to return investment which is going to drive future growth.

Our commitment to Ukraine has never been one of «here today, gone tomorrow». Of course the more tangible the progress on advancing change on the ground is, the more can the rest of us do to invest in Ukraine's future.



## DISCUSSION



# IS THIS A NEW WORLD? GLOBAL POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES

Moderator:

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

Speakers:

**John Kerry**,  
68th U.S. Secretary of State (2013-2017)  
**David Cameron**,  
Former Prime Minister  
of the United Kingdom (2010-2016)



*I don't want to wait 1,5 or 2 years for the new anticorruption court. I want to ask all of you. Could you raise the hand if anticorruption court exists in your countries? No hands.*

*Petro Poroshenko*

*The answer to the president's question what nation has an independent court with respect to corruption is that in our nation every court is anticorruption.*

*John Kerry*

### Carl Bildt

The West was misreading Russia. But Russia was also misreading Ukraine. Because when Russia invaded Crimea and Donbas, it expected Ukraine to collapse. But it did not happen. Ukraine got together instead of dividing.

### John Kerry

To the large measure today the future of Ukraine is going to be defined by Ukrainians, by the leadership and by the willingness to fulfill promises made at the Maidan. I was here in those immediate days afterwards. I remember incredible emotions of those days – tires piled up on the streets, makeshift memorials, the candles, the photographs. This was the profound moment for Ukraine. And it cannot be betrayed by the business as usual which does not move on the issue of corruption.

### David Cameron

Putin expected Ukraine to fall apart but this country, in spite of the fact that it was actually fighting a war, has seen its economy strengthened, has built a more capable military, has taken some steps to deal with corruption (as a lot more needs to be done) and has delivered a lot of the changes that IMF asked for. Ukraine has to be paid credit for taking all these steps.

The Minsk agreement is not working. We need to find ways to restart Minsk process. Fundamental issues of the withdrawal of heavy weapons, regaining control by Ukraine of its Eastern border need to be brought back to the table.

## DISCUSSION



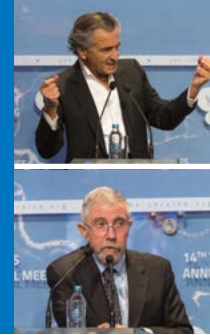
# IS THIS A NEW WORLD? THREE VIEWS

Moderator:

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

Speakers:

**Bernard-Henri Lévy,**  
Philosopher and Writer, Director, La Règle du Jeu  
**Paul Krugman,**  
Professor, City University of New York,  
Winner of the Nobel Prize in Economics (2008)  
**Marina Abramović,**  
Artist



*Out of nothing Ukraine has built a real army that since Debaltsevo never retreated.*

Bernard-Henri Lévy

*We found ourselves in a post-crisis environment that definitely had strong echoes of the 1930s.*

Paul Krugman

**Bernard-Henri Lévy**

The best way to react to the decline of the West would be to attempt a step forward in the direction of the embracement of Ukraine by Europe and of Europe by Ukraine. I believe that the question of the beginning of the process of possible entry of Ukraine into Europe is more urgent than ever.

Goodbye, Turkey, welcome Ukraine! Alas, goodbye UK, welcome Ukraine!

**Paul Krugman**

Are we in a new world? Actually, no. Where we are, in terms of economics, is the world that is different from the recent past. It does not look like the 1970s or 1980s. But it does look a lot like things we've been through before. We found ourselves in a financial crisis that had clear echoes of the 1930s.

If you go back 10 years ago and ask people what they were imagining that would happen over the next 10 years, you would get a vision of a world where old rules no longer apply, a world of rampant globalization, a world that would utterly change with boundaries disappearing. And also there was a vision that





information technologies would transform everything. But what actually happened? We had global financial crisis. And although under surface it had a bunch of new elements, it was an amazingly familiar event. Once it happened, everyone who knew economic history recognized a classic financial panic.

The high degree of income inequality that we are experiencing now we have seen in 1920s and 1930s. And we know how that ended. It did not happen through the invisible hand of the market. It did not happen automatically. It happened because we had policies that changed it. Where did the middle class

society in the United States come from? It actually happened very fast. In 1938 we had very unequal society; in 1946 with the end of the war society became radically more equal, where everyone participated in the economy. And that was achieved through the government policies, designed to limit inequality – progressive taxation, strong unions. So we know how to do this.

**Marina Abramović**

The real thing is here and now. And what we do here and now is only what is important.

What is important for art is a big picture.

*As an artist I see collective emotional change happening in the world. The world has accelerated. And humans have become indifferent and numb.*

*Marina Abramović*

But there are sources of fear that are less monumental and pressing – our daily fears. Fear of not being able to pay rent because technologies will take the job over. Fear that the local factory will move to the other side of the world taking away the source of income. Fear of terror which is more unpredictable than ever before. And eventually the fear of fear itself.

Culture is not luxury, it is a necessity.

Politicians need to have a big picture, but artists need to have even bigger picture because they are oxygen of society. And we are free, we don't discriminate, we don't belong to anybody. We can do whatever we want.

Our collective intelligence has got accustomed to the real possibility of massive destruction. This puts people in a constant state of fear. And horrible things can come from fear.



LUNCH WITH  
LUNCH  
CONVERSATION



## NEW U.S. – INTERESTS NOT VALUES?

Moderator:

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

Speakers:

**Paul Krugman,**  
Professor, City University of New York,  
Winner of the Nobel Prize in Economics (2008)  
**Robert Gates,**  
U.S. Secretary of Defense (2006-2011)  
**Newt Gingrich,**  
50th Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives  
**John R. Bolton,**  
Former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations



*Every president, first and foremost, does what is in the national interest to protect the American people. I think we are receiving this under Trump. What we haven't seen from this administration is the willingness, in our rhetoric and public position, to defend liberty and democracy and support it.*

Robert Gates



*What we do know about Donald Trump is that we have never seen such conflict of interests in the United States when he came to office. And in the end, I think that there is a good chance that this will bring him down one way or another.*

Paul Krugman



**Robert Gates**

I think that President Trump came into office wanting to improve the relationship with Russia. But the actions that Putin has taken and continued to take for the last number of years made that very problematic. And in many respects Trump has reconciled himself to that reality. But I do think it was a mistake to codify sanctions against Russia, because it means the prospect of improving that relationship is now removed to the very distant future.

**Newt Gingrich**

I think that Russians will eventually lose by exhaustion. I think they will lose because they have violated the norms so decisively. My estimate is that you will see more pressure on Russia, more waves of sanctions. And you may see, starting with defensive weapons here in Ukraine, an increasing pressure to

raise the cost for Putin. I think he will lose in Eastern Ukraine first and later in Crimea.

**John Bolton**

Putin said that the collapse of the Soviet Union was the greatest geopolitical catastrophe of the 20th century. That means he wants to reestablish Russian hegemony within the space of the former Soviet Union, not to mention what he can get in the Eastern and Central Europe. Whatever the cost is, he has to continue. And he continues not only because it provides him with domestic political benefits, but because he believes it. Sometimes in politics people act on what they believe. The question is whether the response of the West will be strong enough. So far it has not been strong enough. The key question is whether Trump in the near future will authorize lethal military systems to Ukraine, which I would have done years ago. The next question is whether any significant

European country will do the same. And my guess is that is where it starts to come off the track. Even if the United States will provide lethal military systems to Ukraine, I would be very surprised if it is supported by the Europeans. I would be very delighted, but surprised.

#### Paul Krugman

The idea that America has been sacrificing itself, has been giving stuff away whether on foreign policy or economic policy because of some pursuit of hippy-dippy values, because we have been subsidizing the world and defending it for free, is utterly false.

Everybody who understands the field knows that, except anybody in this American administration. So we do have a bit of a problem. The U.S. is led by people who have fundamentally false and quite stupid view on how the world works.





## DISCUSSION



# THREE CRUCIAL CHALLENGES FOR THE WORLD

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

Speakers:  
**David Cameron**,  
Former Prime Minister of the United  
Kingdom (2010-2016)

**Robert Gates**,  
U.S. Secretary of Defense (2006-2011)

**Gen. Jack Keane (U.S. Army, Ret.)**,  
Chairman, Institute for the Study of War

**Fareed Zakaria**,  
Host, Fareed Zakaria GPS, CNN

**Gen. Keith Alexander  
(U.S. Army, Ret.)**,

CEO and President, IronNet  
Cybersecurity; Commander, U.S. Cyber  
Command (2010-2014) and Director,  
National Security Agency/Chief, Central  
Security Service (2005-2014)

**Rami Efrati**,

Founder and President,  
Firmatas Cyber Solutions



*If somebody takes over an electric company in Ukraine while you have minus 20 degrees in winter time, people can die. So we have to understand that a cyber attack is a critical issue.*

Rami Efrati

## Hot spots and rogue states

### Robert Gates

The larger question is whether artificially constructed countries such as Syria, Lybia and Iraq, which are comprised of historically adversary tribal, ethnic and religious groups, can hold together or whether they will blow up like Yugoslavia. And taking into account that these conflicts go simultaneously, we face the prospect of many years of conflict and instability in the Middle East.

### Gen. Jack Keane (U.S. Army, Ret.)

The post-Cold war era, where the U.S. was the world's only superpower, is over. We are returning to big power competition again with the rise of China and reemergence of Russia. Both of these countries do not agree with certain decades of international order that we all have participated in. Major world wars did not take place because of this international order and they want to take apart all the vehicles that helped to shape it. They see it as their national interest.



### David Cameron

We need to work harder to try to change the Chinese calculus about North Korea. Up to now they have been thinking internally how difficult it is to have this incredibly unstable and dangerous neighbor on the one hand and how threatening it is to have a change of regime that could lead to increasing the number of U.S. troops in the region.

### Cybersecurity

#### Gen. Keith Alexander (U.S. Army, Ret.)

The rate of change of technology is exponential. The amount of unique data that

will be created this year is more than in the last 5000 years combined. The best in-demand jobs did not exist 10 years ago. One third of some of the greatest technology will be updated next year. So we are seeing a rapid change.

#### Rami Efrati

We consider cyber attack to be equal to the terrorist attack, meaning we are all connected. Our cars are connected, our computers are connected, our weapon systems are connected, our medical devices are connected. If we are not going to take



precautions and make sure that we are fully secured and we know how to act if something happens to us, this is going to change our life.

### Populism

#### Fareed Zakaria

The single best predictor of whether you voted for Donald Trump in the last elections in the United States and whether you voted for Brexit or against it, was whether you had a college degree. The second best predictor was whether you lived in urban area or in rural area. And the third best predictor was if you answered «yes» to the question: «Do you have fears of cultural displacement in your country?» In other words, if you think that the country's culture is changing in a way that scares you.



## DISCUSSION



# THE GEOPOLITICS OF ENERGY

Moderator:

**Fareed Zakaria,**Host, Fareed Zakaria GPS,  
CNN

Speakers:

**Condoleezza Rice,**

66th U.S. Secretary of State (2005-2009)

**Maroš Šefčovič,**Vice-President of the European  
Commission in charge of Energy Union**Andriy Kobolyev,**

CEO, Naftogaz of Ukraine

**Ian R Taylor,**

President and CEO, Vitol



*Don't sit and wait for the international community to isolate Russia forever. It won't happen forever. Russia is too important country.*

*Condoleezza Rice*

*We need to adopt a zero tolerance to corruption policy in all branches of power.*

*Andriy Kobolyev*

**Condoleezza Rice**

Use whatever time there is, whether there is pressure on Russia through sanctions, to get governance in order, increase Ukrainian energy independence from Russia and do what you can in those parts of Eastern Ukraine where you can have a favorable image among the population. In other words, however long the sanctions against Russia are in place, use the time well.

**Maroš Šefčovič**

Let's show Ukrainian people that all these reforms, all the changes are bringing positive results for them. I believe that the best response to the current situation and all the propaganda that we could see on the TV screens would be democratic and prosperous Ukraine.

**Andriy Kobolyev**

We need to make sure that there will always be a market of gas. And if there is transparent one, there will be no room for corruption, which will keep us much safer and allow us to move into the European direction, not into the Russian direction.

Corruption occurs in all countries of the world – from Uganda to Norway. The difference is whether it is tolerated or not. We should stop tolerating corruption.

**Ian R Taylor**

Assume Nord Stream 2 is going to happen. Get your own energy policy sorted out. There is much energy here. You don't need to worry about Nord Stream 2.

## DINNER WITH DINNER DISCUSSION



# UKRAINE'S CHANGEMAKERS: RETREAT OR EN MARCHE?

### Moderators:

**Condoleezza Rice**,  
66th U.S. Secretary of State  
(2005-2009)  
**Pat Cox**,  
President of the European  
Parliament (2002-2004);  
Member of the YES Board

### Speakers:

**Aivaras Abromavičius**,  
Minister of Economic Development and  
Trade of Ukraine (2014 - 2016)  
**Mustafa Nayyem**,  
Member of the Parliament of Ukraine  
**Svitlana Zalishchuk**,  
Member of the Parliament of Ukraine  
**Victoria Voytsitska**,  
Member of the Parliament of Ukraine

### Valerii Pekar,

Co-Founder, New Country Civil Platform  
Commission in charge of Energy Union  
**Pavlo Rizanenko**,  
Member of the Parliament of Ukraine  
**Dmytro Shymkiv**,  
Secretary, National Reforms Council  
to the President of Ukraine; Deputy  
Head, Administration of the President  
of Ukraine



*We have watched the passion of Ukrainian people. We have watched that you are willing to fight for your independence. This country deserves to have a chance. But we cannot do it for you. You have to find a way to find people with whom you can align.*

Condoleezza Rice



*The resources in our country are concentrated in 5 to 7 hands. And those people who are now running the country and, unfortunately, the previous generation, are not willing to share these resources – not in money, not in media, not in government, not in public service.*

Mustafa Nayyem



### Victoria Voytsitska

We have achieved a lot, but we are not on the verge of irreversible change within Ukraine. I would say we were thinking about the challenges of winter coming to Ukraine, but unfortunately we have to say that the winter has come.

### Valerii Pekar

The formula of Ukrainian transformation is something like this: the active minority sets the direction, the passive majority sets the pace. Ukrainian institutions are very weak, because they are very young, they are really post-colonial. That means they don't work. We need to solve a very hard task now. Nothing

is possible to repair. Simply repairing the institutions doesn't work. So we need to create new ones, fill them in with new people and also introduce new processes.

### Aivaras Abromavičius

If in this country we had more females that had never been in politics before, we would be living in a different country.

The bad guys have no problems working for the common goal. Good guys always have problems uniting – who is going to be the first on the stage, who is going to be the first on the list to speak, etc. Therefore, it is clear that we are still in the middle of the crisis of values.

### Mustafa Nayyem

Look at our biggest reforms like police reform. It was done by the young people, aged 22-35. This generation showed that we can be not corrupt. Look at system of Prozorro. It was also done by the young people. And it is not about the age, it is about the values, about the approach. And if you look at those young people, they don't have a chance now to come into politics. The biggest obstacle for them is resources.

### Svitlana Zalishchuk

I think Euromaidan has one problem. Those forces which participated in the revolution did not institutionalize in the end. In fact, we are all invitees in the parliament and in the government. This is still our status. We have to admit that we are trouble-makers rather than decision-makers.

### Pavlo Rizanenko

The Ukrainians are probably the best fighters for freedom and democracy in the world. We have always fought for freedom and democracy through our history. We had three revolutions for the last 26 years of our history. But when it comes to building institutions, we are not that good. And that's our main problem.

Corruption is not just an issue of several people or big businesses or politicians. It is the problem for the whole society. And because of it people do not trust institutions even now. There was a credit for a year or two. There was an attempt and some institutions are very successful. We can give some examples like reorganization and institutional building of the Central Bank, and Anticorruption Bureau, some cleanup in our energy sector. Those are success stories. But they are just bright spots in the big picture.



### Dmytro Shymkiv

We had three revolutions in Ukraine. During the first one we got independence. It was an accident. Our ancestors fought for it and we got it. Orange revolution made us citizens, because we wanted to make our vote secured. The revolution of dignity made us responsible citizens when we took responsibility on ourselves.



## NIGHTCAP DISCUSSIONS

# NEW GENERATION OF UKRAINE: AWAKENING THE ENGINE OF CHANGE

Host:  
**Global Office**

Moderator:  
**Mustafa Nayyem,**  
Member of Parliament of Ukraine

Yalta European Strategy (YES) introduced nightcaps to help participants of the 14th YES Annual Meeting wind down at the end of the first conference day and discuss topics of their choice in an informal atmosphere. The nightcaps were organized in partnership with Global Office, International Renaissance Foundation and Udovenko Diplomatic Academy.



When will the new generation of Ukrainians have the power to change the country? What solutions do these young political leaders have to offer? What are the challenges to the new generation's success in reforming Ukraine? This nightcap brought together some of the most prominent young political leaders and opinion-makers who emerged after Euromaidan to answer these questions.

Participants got firsthand accounts from Ukrainian MPs Mustafa Nayyem, Olena Sotnyk and Svitlana Zalishchuk as well as Max Nefyodov, Deputy Minister of Economic Development and Trade of Ukraine.

## NIGHTCAP DISCUSSIONS

# RESTORING JUSTICE IN CRIMEA AND DONBAS: AN OVERVIEW OF MECHANISMS

Host:  
**The International Renaissance Foundation**

Moderator:  
**Roman Romanov,**  
Human Rights and Justice  
Program Director, IRF



International Renaissance Foundation invited participants of the 14th YES Annual Meeting to this nightcap to have a comprehensive and accessible discussion on legal mechanisms that are available to Ukraine in a pursuit to restore justice in Crimea and Donbas. How should Ukraine provide justice during the armed conflict in Donbas? What are Ukraine's goals and prospects in the ongoing case against Russia in the International Court of Justice? What is the current status and the scope of the preliminary examination of the situation in Ukraine being conducted by the International Criminal Court Office of the Prosecutor? What is essential to establish an effective mechanism of transitional justice in Ukraine?

The participants of the nightcap got answers from experts who specialize in international and Ukrainian law: Olena Zerkal, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine for European Integration, Anna Coulouris, Head of the Institute for International Criminal Investigations, Eric Witte, Senior Project Manager at Open Society Justice Initiative,

OSF, Anton Korynevych, Ukrainian lawyer and researcher, and Roman Kuybida, Deputy Head, Centre for Policy and Legal Reform. The event was moderated by Roman Romanov who leads the Human Rights and Justice Program at IRF.



## NIGHTCAP DISCUSSIONS

# 25 YEARS OF THE U.S.-UKRAINE RELATIONS: AN OUTLOOK INTO THE FUTURE, BOOK PRESENTATION BY STEVEN PIFER, «THE EAGLE AND THE TRIDENT»

Host:  
**The Hennadiy Udovenko  
Diplomatic Academy**

Moderator:  
**John Herbst,**  
Director, Dinu Patriciu Eurasian Center,  
The Atlantic Council

Steven Pifer, Senior Fellow with the Center on the U.S. and Europe at the Brookings Institution and Former U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine, presented his recent book, *The Eagle and the Trident*, a comprehensive account of the development of U.S. diplomatic relations with independent Ukraine. John Herbst, Director, Dinu Patriciu Eurasian Center,

The Atlantic Council, moderated the discussion with Steven Pifer. The participants received a copy of the book signed by the author.



## NIGHTCAP DISCUSSIONS

# UNDERSTANDING TRUMP: A VISION BY NEWT GINGRICH

Host:  
**Yalta European Strategy**

Moderator:  
**Judith Miller,**  
Adjunct Fellow, Manhattan Institute

Newt Gingrich, the 50th Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, shared unique insights on his two years in Donald Trump's electoral campaign and the first months of his presidency. His 2017 book, *«Understanding Trump»*, analyzes President Trump's style of governance and decodes his thinking process, philosophy and political agenda. The book

proposes a detailed discussion of Trump-style policy solutions and political forces supporting and opposing him.

Judith Miller, Adjunct Fellow, Manhattan Institute and winner of the Pulitzer Prize, moderated the discussion.





**WORKING  
BREAKFAST**

# AN EU CUSTOMS UNION FOR UKRAINE?

Host:  
**Rasmussen Global**

Moderator:  
**Pat Cox,**  
President of the European Parliament  
(2002-2004), Member of the European  
Parliament (1989-2004)



Rasmussen Global, in cooperation with Victor Pinchuk Foundation and Yalta European Strategy, presented a study on the prospects and impact of Ukraine joining a Customs Union (CU) with the EU. The author of the study Michael Emerson, Senior Fellow at Centre for European Policy Studies, shared his views on how long Ukraine's accession to the CU could take and what that would entail. Participants also discussed the issue of whether a Customs Union is preferable to the current Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreement (DCFTA), and what a CU could mean for Ukraine's broader integration with Europe. The panelists also included

Aleksander Kwaśniewski, President of the Republic of Poland (1995-2005), Katarinā Mathernová, Deputy Director-General for Neighborhood Policy and Enlargement Negotiations at European Commission, Anders Fogh Rasmussen, Foreign Policy Advisor to President of Ukraine, and former Secretary General of NATO, and Dmytro Shymkiv, Deputy Head, Presidential Administration of Ukraine.



## OPENING SPEECH



# UKRAINE'S REFORMS AND THE EU'S ROLE

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

Speaker:  
**Volodymyr Groysman,**  
Prime Minister of Ukraine



*I believe that we have to finish this fight against corruption by establishing independent courts. Otherwise the work that our specialized agencies are doing will be in vain.*

*Volodymyr Groysman*

### Volodymyr Groysman

We have the infrastructure to bring corruption down in Ukraine. We have laws which allow effective performance. The only weakness is the Ukrainian courts. I believe that we must quickly set up an instrument that enables the prosecution of corrupt officials. Whatever we name it – the Anticorruption Chamber or Anticorruption Court – is not important. What is important is to quickly set up a body which will be completely independent.

The last 10 years are the ones of lost opportunities. When the economy was rising in 2004-2005, it was necessary to make structural and institutional changes. In that case we would have had a different situation today. And I think that we have to ensure irreversible change.

I emphasize that we managed to stop economic decline and start economic upturn. We have been living for more than 600 days without a drop of Russian gas. We have started to establish in Ukraine energy market, which has never existed. We started to extract more gas. And this year we will extract plus 600-700 cubic meters of gas. I think that for Ukraine this is an impressive figure.

We have one weak point in fighting corruption – Ukrainian courts. There are about 3000 cases on corruption in Ukrainian courts where there have been no decisions yet. This is a huge problem.



## DISCUSSION



# EUROPE AND UKRAINE – A VIEW FROM THE UK

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

Speaker:  
**Sir Alan Duncan MP,**  
Minister of State for Europe and Americas,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office



*Ukraine has huge potential to be a role model for democratization and good governance in this region and become a hub for economic growth and prosperity.*

*Sir Alan Duncan MP*

We intend as a country not to be diminished by Brexit, but to be reempowered by it. It is going to be very difficult, but we want to maintain our defense and security interests across the world and remain as global Britain. It means taking interests in the regions such as this, and we will remain UN permanent member of the Security Council, part of the G7 and G20, NATO, the Commonwealth, we'll be spending 0.7% on development, 2% on defense. And we are the only country doing all of those things. Closer association with the EU can only be good for Ukraine. It will help to unlock the

reforms and promote the prosperity, stability and good governance that Ukrainians so deserve.

Recent entry into force of the Association Agreement was a huge achievement. And that should be seen not as the end of the road, but as the next phase in Ukraine's relationship with the EU and the next step in Ukraine's reform process.



## LECTURE



# SHIMON PERES PEACE LECTURE

Introduction:

**Victor Pinchuk,**  
Founder, YES, Victor Pinchuk  
Foundation, EastOne Group

Speaker:

**Tony Blair,**  
Prime Minister of the United Kingdom  
(1997-2007)



*You can only make peace with willing partners, with people for whom the negotiation is not a gambit to deceive or buy time for the next stage of the conflict, but a willing partner with a genuine desire for reconciliation.*

Tony Blair



### Tony Blair

For three decades he [Shimon Peres] was known as someone who was defending his country and no less for peace than for the conflicts he had to be engaged in. And then for the next three decades he became, of course, known for the Oslo peace process and as a man of peace. And for him there was no contradiction between these two parts of his career, because he understood that peace will only endure if it comes from strength, but not from weakness.

Politicians can make peace, they can make peace agreements, but ultimately reconciliation is not just between political leaders, it is between peoples. And if those people are not prepared for peace and aren't willing to find the basis for reconciliation, it will never happen.



## DISCUSSION



# SUPPORT AND CRITICISM OF UKRAINE IN THE EU: FACING REALITY

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

Speakers:  
**Aleksander Kwaśniewski**,  
President of Poland (1995-2005);  
Chairman of the YES Board  
**Ivanna Klympush-Tsintsadze**,  
Vice Prime Minister of Ukraine for  
European and Euro-Atlantic Integration  
**Natalie Jaresko**,  
Executive Director, Financial Oversight  
& Management Board for Puerto Rico

**Sergii Leshchenko**,  
Member of the Parliament of Ukraine  
**Oleksandr Danylyuk**,  
Minister of Finance of Ukraine

Remarks:  
**Stéphane Fouks**,  
Vice President of Havas Group,  
Executive Co-Chairman of Havas  
Worldwide, Member of the YES Board



*48% of the EU citizens support EU membership of Ukraine and 58% of EU citizens support membership of Ukraine in NATO. My take from these results is that the bureaucracy of the EU and its leadership do not really follow the advice of their people.*

*Ivanna Klympush-Tsintsadze*

*Our prospect of membership is a plus for Europe. And we will prove this as we do these reforms and as this country proves its values to itself.*

*Natalie Jaresko*

### **Oleksandr Danylyuk**

We cannot change Europe, we can only focus on ourselves and that should be our agenda for the foreseeable future.

### **Ivanna Klympush-Tsintsadze**

Ukraine sees that some EU member states are trying to shy away from something that has been ratified by all the parliaments of EU member states. And that is the acknowledgement of the European perspective and the European choice of Ukraine. This is something that we cannot accept, because it is under article 49 of the European Treaty and it is up to Ukrainian people to decide when to submit membership application. And then it is up to EU countries to decide on it.



### Sergij Leshchenko

The problem for Ukraine is that it spent so much time balancing between the West and Russia. Ukraine wasted its time and, unfortunately, it lost dynamics. But European Union is looking for fresh blood. Maybe not now, maybe in 5-10 years EU will ask to join, but at that time Ukraine has to be ready economically and in sense of poverty and anticorruption action.

### Aleksander Kwaśniewski

The quality of political life in Ukraine is not good enough to encourage Europeans to think about Ukraine in a better way.

We have now in Europe a wave of nationalism

which is quite visible. And I am very much afraid that because of very complicated and dramatic history and the past between Poland and Ukraine and the lack of real exchange of opinions at all levels, we can have such a situation when the mainstream of Polish-Ukrainian relationship can be absolutely created by nationalists. That is the real danger. And I think it is something that is easy to stop. More active reaction from the governments, more debates and discussions are needed.

### Natalie Jaresko

The reforms that are going, the reforms that need to be sped up and the reforms that have not yet happened are the most important part



of convincing the European countries that we are not a poor country, we will not be a poor country and we are prepared to join when they are prepared to accept our joining. We will be a plus to their economies.

I think that has to be one thing that we can do.

We have to change our country. And the results will change the minds of those in Europe who fear they made a mistake. Clearly we think they would not make a mistake.

### Stéphane Fouks

What we see today is that support from the European population to the immediate accession of Ukraine to Europe has diminished by one third for ten years.

This is negative direction. It is negative, first, because there is a European fatigue, but also because of three reasons which we identified in the polls about the immediate accession of Ukraine to Europe – the cost of this accession, the corruption and the war in Ukraine. And these three reasons together freeze the possibility to open up in the short term negotiations on accession.



## WORKING LUNCH

# RUSSIA'S FUTURE AND WHAT IT MEANS FOR UKRAINE



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

Speakers:  
**Gennady Burbulis,**  
Secretary of State of RSFSR/Russian  
Federation (1991–1992);  
President of the Baltic-Black Sea Forum  
**Michael McFaul,**  
Director and Senior Fellow, Freeman  
Spogli Institute for International Studies,  
Stanford University

**Andrey Kortunov,**  
Director General, Russian International  
Affairs Council  
**Robert Gates,**  
U.S. Secretary of Defense (2006–2011)  
**Pavlo Klimkin,**  
Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine



*Putin is trying to do everything he can to delegitimize and undermine Western institutions. The weaker the West is, the stronger Russia is.*

Robert Gates



*Russia is a status quo power which is desperately trying to protect what it believes to be its legitimate interests.*

Andrey Kortunov

### Robert Gates

I think that Putin has two basic objectives. The first one is to restore Russia to international stage as a great power in a sense that without its presence no major international issue can be addressed or resolved. The second objective is to create on the periphery of Russia a buffer of either friendly states or frozen conflicts. Those are two fundamental strategies that have motivated Putin for quite some time. I think that the third one has come on to the stage in recent time. He believes that the United States tried to interfere in Russia's elections in 2012 and that the West was instrumental in each of the color revolutions. Now he is determined to retaliate.

### Michael McFaul

You need to push back on revisionism. Thankfully because of the sacrifice of Ukrainians there was a pushback on a much bigger revisionist agenda. Thankfully because of leadership of Chancellor Merkel and Barack Obama there was a pushback on what Russia was doing. That's why Russian aggression stopped in my view.

### Gennady Burbulis

The time for empires has passed. All the talks about traumatized Russian nationhood and its need to assert its place in the world order have another nature. This is not an attempt to restore an empire which is impossible, not even imperial ambitions as usually people say incorrectly. This is deep imperial syndrome. This is very hard systemic disease which can show itself in many different ways.

### Andrey Kortunov

I think that Russia is not definitely a revisionist power in the classical sense, because revisionism is the feature of extending powers which are not satisfied with their place in the world.



**Pavlo Klimkin**

There are different ways on how to manage diverse countries in a sense of religion and nationalities. Fundamentally, you can try it with democracy and you can try to do it top down. The only problem is that sooner or later such system is going to collapse. In what way - it is a different question. And don't get me wrong. I do not say that it is Russia which is going to collapse as a country. But the system of top down control in such a way is going to collapse.

**Fareed Zakaria**

When I look at Russia strategically, I see that it has one third of its border tied up in China. It is a rising power that is essentially pressing up against Russia, almost literally invading Russia every day as Chinese go into the vacant parts of Siberia and buy land, acquire enterprises. So Russia is facing almost virtual Chinese invasion. On Russia's southern border it faces hostile Islamic invasion. So it has only one border left, which is with the West. It would seem that strategically Russia has an enormous advantage if it could make that border benign, quiet, friendly. Instead, it created enormous complication on that border.





## DISCUSSION



# SECURITY FOR UKRAINE: WHAT ARE THE REALISTIC OPTIONS?

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

Speakers:  
**Will Hurd**,  
Member of the U.S. House  
of Representatives from  
Texas's 23rd District  
**Tacan Ildem**,  
Ambassador, Assistant Secretary General  
for Public Diplomacy, NATO

**Wolfgang Ischinger**,  
Ambassador, Chairman of the Munich  
Security Conference; Senior Professor  
of Hertie School of Governance; Member  
of the YES Board  
**Arseny Yatseniuk**,  
Prime Minister of Ukraine (2014-2016)



*We are defending the borders of the European Union and the borders of the alliance against Russian aggression.*

Arseny Yatseniuk

*A stable, sovereign and independent Ukraine is key to Euro-Atlantic security.*

Tacan Ildem

### Arseny Yatseniuk

We are ready to make our union and our alliance stronger, better and more efficient. It is in our common interest.

### Will Hurd

The first thing that the U.S. administration can do is to sell lethal weapons to the Ukrainians.

One of the things that I learned from my travels through Eastern Europe: the closer you are to Russia, the less you are likely to believe their nonsense. But the converse of this rule is true as well: the further away you are, the more likely you are to be susceptible to their disinformation. And I think that the United States has a lot to learn from our partners here in Ukraine in countering this disinformation.

What is happening in Eastern Ukraine and Crimea is not a separatist activity, it is an invasion of a sovereign nation by the Russians.

### Tacan Ildem

Open door policy of NATO is still valid. Montenegro has become the 29th member of NATO in July, so it means that we don't have any enlargement fatigue.

### Wolfgang Ischinger

There is no chance among the current members of NATO to agree on Ukraine's membership. And you would need all members to agree. There is no chance for this as there is actually shooting going on in your country.

## DISCUSSION



# REGAINING UKRAINE'S EAST AND CRIMEA: WAYS FORWARD

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

Speakers:  
**Kurt Volker**,  
United States Special Representative  
for Ukraine Negotiations, United States  
Department of State  
**Anders Fogh Rasmussen**,  
Founder of Rasmussen Global, Secretary  
General of NATO (2009-2014), Prime Minister  
of Denmark (2001-2009)

**Refat Chubarov**,  
Chairman, Mejlis of the  
Crimean Tatar People  
**Leonid Kuchma**,  
President of Ukraine (1994-2005)



*I can't see that delivery of anti-tank weapons to Ukraine, better capability within intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance can be offensive in any way. It can only be considered offensive by potential aggressors.*

Anders Fogh Rasmussen

*One of the greatest tools that Ukraine has in recovering its territory is the strength of Ukraine's own success as a country.*

Kurt Volker

## Anders Fogh Rasmussen

We should never recognize the illegal annexation of Crimea into the Russian Federation.

I think that we have clear responsibility to live up to the principles of the Budapest Memorandum and make Ukrainian army, which has significantly improved its capacity during the last 2-3 years, even more capable to defend itself and defend Ukraine.

## Leonid Kuchma

How does the world have to treat those countries which have voluntarily gave up their nuclear weapons and were promised everything, but were given nothing?

There must be a UN mission on the border between Ukraine and Russia. It must prevent anything unnecessary from entering Ukraine. Only in this case we can talk about solutions of other problems, including elections.

## Refat Chubarov

Any configuration where someone wants to negotiate with Putin, putting the Crimean problem on the back burner or renting out Crimea, is losing position and it cannot be possible.

## Kurt Volker

What is happening in Ukraine is not indigenous uprisings, some kind of ethnic frustration, a civil war. What's happening here is that you have external power which is using some indigenous people as a cover in order to create a situation on the ground.

It is democracy, reforms, fighting corruption, attracting foreign investment, creating economic growth, integrating into Europe, visa-free travel, modernization – all these things will strengthen Ukraine and will make it a point of attraction for everyone in the neighborhood. And I think this is an important tool to be maximized from the perspective of Kyiv.

## DISCUSSION



# RULE OF LAW IN UKRAINE – WINDOWDRESSING OR ROOT-AND-BRANCH?

Moderator:

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

Speakers:

**Yuriy Lutsenko,**  
Prosecutor General of Ukraine



*As long as I am the Prosecutor General of Ukraine, no official, who was involved in criminal activity on which we have valid proof, will hide on any position, in any party or under any other circumstances. Crime has no party affiliation, nationality or place of birth.*

Yuri Lutsenko

## Yuriy Lutsenko

Today we find ourselves in a country where the former president Victor Yanukovich is being judged for the treason against the state. And this is the signal not for Yanukovich and his team. This is the signal for all the presidents and all high-ranking officials today and tomorrow. I am sure that this is the biggest achievement.

For the last year we have detained 6931 bribetakers in Ukraine. The cases against 3934 of them are now in the courts. This is the figure that the system might be proud of. It includes not only minor officials. It includes a member of High Council of Justice of Ukraine, heads of regional state administrations and officials from ministries and state services. Because each bribe is a broken chain, broken blood vessel of Ukrainian society. We do it every day. Every day we detain three bribetakers and their cases are brought to a court.

We need an anticorruption court. I don't care how it will be called – separate anticorruption court or anticorruption chamber in existing court. I need it tomorrow! Establish whatever court you can.

Corruption in any society is broken by two methods: by the fear for those who have something to be afraid of and by conscience for those who make decisions of behalf of the state. I think that for the last year we have restored necessary part of the fear for those who have something to be afraid of.

Every day this country pays a price in blood for this conflict to be happening on the Eastern border of Ukraine, but not on the Western border of Poland or Baltic countries.

## DISCUSSION



# SUMMARY – IS THIS A NEW WORLD?

Moderator:

**Victor Pinchuk,**  
Founder, YES,  
Victor Pinchuk Foundation,  
EastOne Groop

Speakers:

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



*Russians are going to be fighting with long-term economic misery. And they will have to decide whether they are prepared to put up with it for the nationalist enterprise of staying in Crimea and Eastern Ukraine.*

*Stephen Sackur*

## Richard Haass

British hopes for soft Brexit will not materialize.

I think that all the energy of Europe is now in Paris and Berlin. And I believe that the inclination to allow the British to have their piece of cake will not come to pass. So I think it will be a pretty tough Brexit.

I don't see that anything is changing with Crimea. Mr. Putin will be focused on his electoral situation. I think the one interesting possibility is tabling this issue in some kind of peacekeeping international presence.

## Fareed Zakaria

The biggest luck that you have got now is Donald Trump's incompetence, because Trump has made it impossible for the American president to go soft on Russia. He has totally boxed himself in. If he makes a concession to Russia today, people will assume that it is because Vladimir Putin paid him some money. So the Congress has already passed borderline unconstitutional legislation which basically says the president has no authority

in this area. And as a result of that you have Chancellor Merkel who remains tough, a Congress that remains tough, American public that is very supportive of Ukraine and suspicious of Russia and Trump who is powerless on this issue.

The biggest danger to the international system right now is American incompetence. I mean you have no idea what Donald Trump's foreign policy is going to be any day.

## Stephen Sackur

In Russia the oil price shows no sign of long-term rise. The Russian economy is in a mess. And that is a big problem for Vladimir Putin.

## CLOSING REMARKS



Dear friends,

At the opening speech of our Annual Meeting Victor Pinchuk quoted these famous Hebrew words «next year in Jerusalem». And these words symbolize dreams, determination, hard work and a lot of effort. I would like to use this phrase to conclude this year discussions.

First, next year in the space. I was very much impressed by the speech of Stephen Hawking. Its main message was to show that the driving force of contemporary world is science and technology. And we should be prepared for these changes which are unprecedented. Neither politics, nor economy and demography, but first of all science and technology are changing our world. And two elements will change our world sooner or later – robotization and artificial intelligence. But in fact, we do not know what it means for labor market, for communication, for our life. I think that next year we should include in our program more debates about these new technologies, because they will determine our life much more as we can imagine even now.

Next point is next year in Europe. After elections in Germany Europe will have a new chapter, deeper integration led by two countries – France with Macron and Germany with the new old Chancellor. The idea of Europe with many speeds is irreversible. And I think in this situation the chance for Ukraine is bigger and not smaller. If Ukraine's homework will be enough efficient I think in this new construction of the EU we can easier find the place for your country than in such a conservative concept of the EU that we had before Brexit. It may seem paradoxical, but this is a real chance to find a new position for the UK after Brexit and for Ukraine before full membership.

I support Ukrainian reforms and specifically fight against corruption which is a real problem for this country. It damages the image of Ukraine. That is the brand which you have to change as soon as possible.

The third point, next year in Donetsk. We



cannot expect the change of Russian strategy now. But I see a small window of opportunity. After the reelection, Mr. Putin will have other 6 years. I think that he is pragmatic enough to understand that Russia needs real modernization. This includes not only the modernization of military forces and branches of industry, but the modernization of state, governance, institutions and change of the judiciary system, etc. The nomination of Mr. Kudrin and his team is a signal that he understands necessity of these decisions after the election. And this modernization without cooperation with the West is impossible. But the West has a very clear position on Ukraine and Ukrainian crisis which makes it possible to start a real dialogue and find a solution to Ukraine-Russia conflict.

The last point, next year in Yalta of course will be great. It is still our dream, but one day we will organize this Annual Meeting in Yalta. I am absolutely sure about it.

### **Aleksander Kwaśniewski**

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

## ADDITIONAL FORMATS

# YOUNG LEADERS SECTION AT THE 14TH YES ANNUAL MEETING



Since 2008, Yalta European Strategy (YES), in cooperation with Victor Pinchuk Foundation, has provided Ukrainian young leaders with access to its Annual Meetings. Each year, YES selects 100 Ukrainian students and young professionals to participate in the Young Leaders Section.

The Young Leaders Section is a discussion platform for young people to share ideas, learn from international and local professionals' experience and develop practical solutions to meet modern challenges. The core criteria to select the young leaders are civic engagement, leadership potential and motivation to improve the country. Over four hundred of the best Ukrainian students and young leaders have participated in the Young Leaders Section since its launch.

The young generation of Ukrainians as those who will transform the country has been at the core of Victor Pinchuk Foundation's work since its inception in 2006. By creating

a young leaders' «mini-conference» at YES, the foundation provides this generation of change-makers with the opportunity to learn from world leaders in politics, business and the nonprofit sector.

The speakers at the Young Leaders Section of the 14th YES Annual Meeting included leading Ukrainian and international politicians, opinion-makers and social leaders namely Volodymyr Klitschko, Paul Krugman, John Kerry, Gen. Keith Alexander, Condoleezza Rice, Bridget Brink, David Cameron, Robert Gates, Newt Gingrich, Tacan Ildem, Valerii Pekar, Michael McFaul, Dimitris Tsitsiragos, Rami Efrati, Anna Nemtsova, Natalie Jaresko and Ivanna Klympush-Tsintsadze.

## ADDITIONAL FORMATS

# SECTION OF UKRAINIAN REGIONAL CIVIL SERVANTS AT THE 14TH YES ANNUAL MEETING



Yalta European Strategy (YES), in partnership with the Ukrainian School of Political Studies of the Agency of Legislative Initiatives, held the second mini-conference for 100 Ukrainian civil servants and politicians from the regions as a part of the 14th YES Annual Meeting.

Politicians and civil servants from the regions play a crucial role in the implementation of reforms in Ukraine. The Ukrainian Government places strategic priority on decentralization, which is aimed at strengthening regional and local administrations and communities. Highly motivated young activists and public officials across Ukraine have stepped forward to help these reforms succeed. The mini-conference at the YES Annual Meeting is aimed at helping young regional leaders expand their ambitions and energy to transform Ukraine. It provides carefully selected participants with international know-how and best practices, strategic and leadership insights. It enables them to build a strong network of like-minded change-makers nationally and internationally.

Among the speakers of the second conference in 2017 were Hennadiy Zubko, Vice Prime Minister, Minister of the Regional Development, Building and Housing and

Communal Services of Ukraine; John Bolton, Former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations; Michael McFall, Director and Senior Fellow at the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, Stanford University; John Kerry, 68th U.S. Secretary of State (2013-2017); Condoleezza Rice, 66th U.S. Secretary of State (2005-2009); Robert Gates, U.S. Secretary of Defense (2006-2011); David Cameron, Former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom (2010-2016); Gen. Keith Alexander (U.S. Army, Ret.), CEO and President, IronNet Cybersecurity, Commander, U.S. Cyber Command (2010-2014) and Director, National Security Agency/Chief, Central Security Service (2005-2014); Oleksandr Danyliuk, Minister of Finance of Ukraine; Anders Fogh Rasmussen, Founder of Rasmussen Global, Secretary General of NATO (2009-2014), Prime Minister of Denmark (2001-2009); Tacan Ildem, Ambassador, Assistant Secretary General for Public Diplomacy, NATO and others. The mini-conference was moderated by former Minister of Economic Development and Trade of Ukraine (2014) Pavlo Sheremeta.

PUBLIC LECTURE

# CAN DIPLOMACY OVERCOME THE CHALLENGES OF A NEW WORLD?

Speaker:  
**John Kerry,**  
68th U.S. Secretary of State (2013-2017)

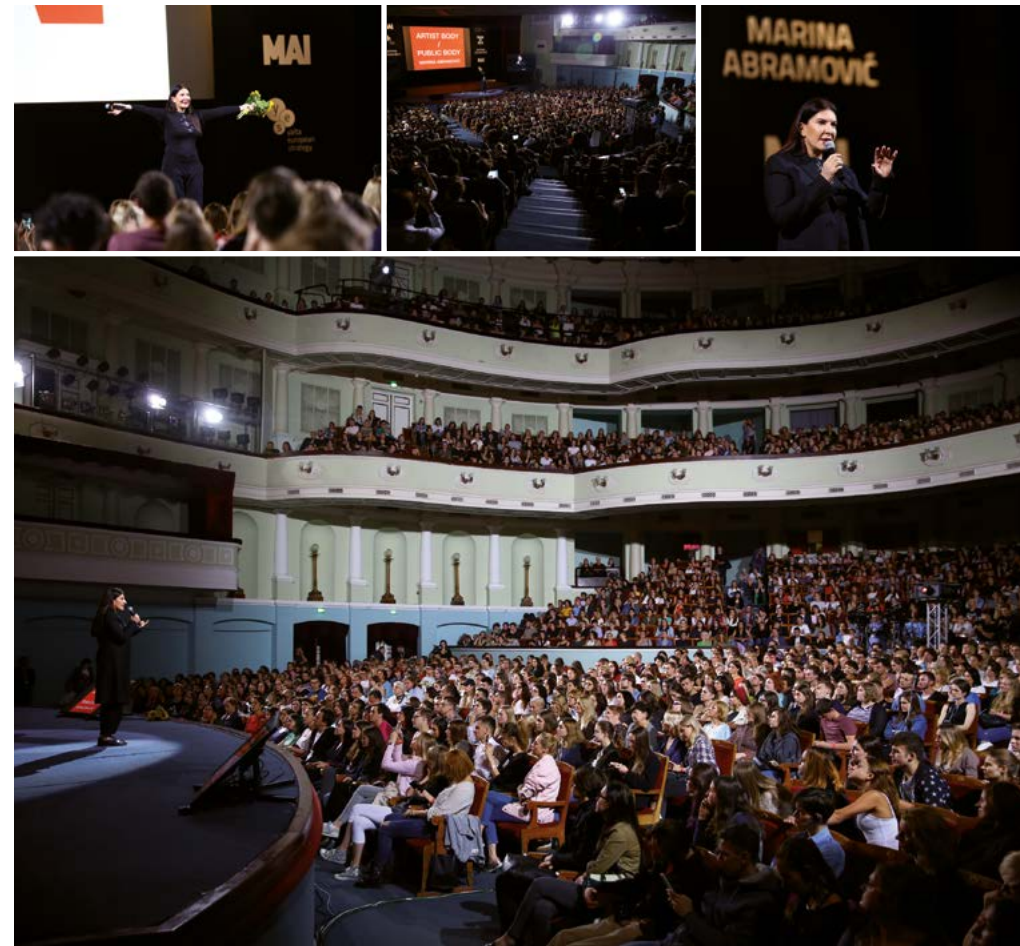


PUBLIC LECTURE



# ARTIST BODY / PUBLIC BODY

Speaker:  
**Marina Abramović,**  
Artist





## ART

# ART AT THE 14TH YES ANNUAL MEETING

Every year, YES and the PinchukArtCentre present contemporary art at the YES Annual Meeting. The artworks found throughout the conference and inside the main conference room are exhibited to provoke thought and discussion.

Each and every work carries a message about our world, and more specifically they talk about subjects that are at the heart of political debate.

Some of the works are created exclusively for the conference and connected directly to important topics in Ukraine; others are already existing works on urgent global issues.



## E.J. HILL

### Rollercoaster, 2017

Performance installation

Inspired by the predecessors of rollercoasters known in seventeenth-century Russia as «Russian Mountains» (and in modern times referred to as «American Mountains»), the work is an elaborate outcome of the artist's research into complicated levels of physical and emotional states, featuring a lone performer who engages in the risky endeavour of crawling for hours in a row over the fragile rollercoaster.

At YES, this living monument represented the dangerous trajectory that Ukraine is on, including the cyclical character of its politics. By extension, it is a metaphor for the movements in global economics and the continuous balancing act within geopolitics.

## DAMIAN ORTEGA

### Moises, 2007

Found tools and wire

Moises presents a few hundred found and used tools hanging in suspense, forming a narrow corridor to walk through. The title, Moises, is the Spanish translation of Moses, the man who, in the Book of Exodus, led the Israelis out of Egypt. Their escape led them to cross the Red Sea that was parted through divine intervention, allowing the Israelis to walk through, and that subsequently closed behind them, blocking the Egyptians pursuit. The Israelis were at that time refugees, fleeing from slavery. Today's refugees face similar

challenges in their escape, often meeting walls and borders that stop them in their tracks. However, like the parting of the sea by Moses, one moment in recent European history reminds us of this singular moment of bravery and belief: Merkel's «Wir schaffen das».

## ANDREAS GURSKY

99 cents II, 2001

C-print

Andreas Gursky's two-part photograph 99 Cent II (2001) shows the display of a discount store, dazzlingly revealing the world as a public marketplace. The work is an investigation of the commercial structures that surround us, with an exceptional sharpness and detail, showing the seductive powers of mass-produced goods and their presentation in the supermarket.

It represents the world as a marketplace with an endless line of production and sales, bringing the same goods to every corner of the earth. It shows us how consumerism has become a force of globalization, both positive and negative.



## ANDREAS GURSKY

Pyongyang II, diptych, 2007

C-print

From the collection of Sir Elton John

In Pyongyang, Gursky photographed the Arirang Festival, or 'mass games'. These are stadium performances involving 50,000 gymnasts and soldiers, back-dropped by an equal number of schoolchildren holding colored panels in the air to form an enormous human video wall. Arirang epitomizes communist culture, with its kitsch militarism and emphasis on group dynamics over individual prowess, while reflecting on its own understanding of globalism.

Pyongyang, the capital of North Korea, has become a threat never seen before. It represents not just a conflict of ideologies, but also the increased sabre-rattling and sharpening of tensions with both China and the USA. The diptych depicts the choice that the world has to make: «war or peace?» This question is relevant both to North Korea and to the ongoing conflict in Ukraine.



## ABDALLA AL OMARI

The Boat, 2017

Acrylic on canvas

«We're in the same boat»: there are few expressions that characterize the underlying meaning of the newly produced painting by Abdalla Al Omari better than that. Al Omari himself is a refugee, having fled the Syrian conflict. Painting world leaders together in a rickety wooden boat as refugees trying to find a better future emphasizes the shared responsibility for the state of the world.

The painting can be viewed as a work in progress, as leadership is passed on and all problems are inherited. One can find the faces of Xi, Trump, Obama, Merkel, Macron, Orban, Assad, May, Trudeau, Kim Jong-un, Cameron, Putin, Modi, King Salman, Ali Khamenei. The leaders are shown in provocative combinations, ironically challenging current relations between them.



## SANTIAGO SIERRA

25,000,000 UAH

Performance

The performance was a ceremonial act of counting 1,000,000 USD in the local currency of Ukraine, representing about 25,000,000 Hryvnia. The performance took 12 hours to complete and was on display throughout the entire first day of the conference. It continued a series of thought-provoking performances where Sierra balanced between what is legal and what is not.

The work reflects on the value of money: counting 1,000,000 USD in cash reminds us of what still rules in the back-chambers of power. In Ukraine, in particular, bribery and corruption did not disappear after Euromaidan in 2014 and have obstructed modernization, reform efforts and the rule of law.



# XINNING SHI

Yalta, 2002

Oil on canvas



# ULAY/ MARINA ABRAMOVIĆ

Rest Energy, 1980

Performance for video, 4 min

ROSC'80, Dublin

© Ulay / Marina Abramović

Courtesy of the Marina Abramović Archives



# ANTONY GORMLEY

Under My Skin VII, 2002

Mild steel 't' bars



# OLEG TISTOL

Restaurant, 2015

Oil, acrylic on canvas

Courtesy of Igor Abramovych Collection



Yalta – 2009

Oil, acrylic on canvas

Courtesy of Igor Abramovych Collection



YES  
BOARD

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President of Poland  
(1995-2005),  
Chairman of the YES Board



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Founder, YES,  
Victor Pinchuk Foundation,  
EastOne Group



### ANDERS FOGH RASMUSSEN

Founder of Rasmussen Global,  
Secretary General of NATO  
(2009-2014),  
Prime Minister of Denmark  
(2001-2009)

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