

15TH YALTA EUROPEAN STRATEGY
ANNUAL MEETING

THE NEXT GENERATION
OF **EVERYTHING**

KYIV, SEPTEMBER 13-15, 2018

CONFERENCE REPORT

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 13**19:00** Opening Reception**20:00** Welcoming Remarks**ALEKSANDER KWAŚNIEWSKI** President of Poland (1995-2005); Chairman of the YES Board**VITALI KLITSCHKO** Mayor of Kyiv**FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 14****09:30** Opening Remarks**VICTOR PINCHUK** Founder, EastOne Group, YES, Victor Pinchuk Foundation**09:35** Opening Speech and Q&A**PETRO POROSHENKO** President of Ukraine**MODERATOR:****RICHARD HAASS** President, Council on Foreign Relations**11:15** The Next Generation of Everything. I. A Historian's View**NIALL FERGUSON** Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University**MODERATOR:****RICHARD HAASS** President, Council on Foreign Relations**11:50** The Next Generation of Everything. II. An Investor's View**BILL FORD** Chief Executive Officer, General Atlantic**MODERATOR:****GILLIAN TETT** U.S. Managing Editor, Financial Times**12:20** The Next Generation of Everything. III. A Futurologist's View**RAY KURZWEIL** Inventor, Author, Futurist**MODERATOR:****GILLIAN TETT** U.S. Managing Editor, Financial Times**12:45** Transatlantic Lunch**13:30** The Future of NATO**ALEJANDRO ALVARGONZÁLEZ** Assistant Secretary General for Political Affairs and Security Policy, NATO**MODERATOR:****STEPHEN SACKUR** Presenter, HARDtalk, BBC World News**13:30** The Future of the United States**CONDOLEEZZA RICE** 66th U.S. Secretary of State (2005-2009)**MICHAEL MCFaul** U.S. Ambassador to the Russian Federation (2012-2014); Stanford Professor and Hoover Institution Senior Fellow**LARRY SUMMERS** Charles W. Eliot University Professor, Harvard University**NIALL FERGUSON** Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University**MODERATOR:****STEPHEN SACKUR** Presenter, HARDtalk, BBC World News**14:45** Future Global Economy – Trade Wars, US vs. EU vs. China vs. Russia vs. ...**VALDIS DOMBROVSKIS** Vice-President for the Euro and Social Dialogue, also in charge of Financial Stability, Financial Services and Capital Markets Union, European Commission**LARRY SUMMERS** Charles W. Eliot University Professor, Harvard University**HERNANDO DE SOTO** Chairman, Institute for Liberty and Democracy**MODERATOR:****RICHARD HAASS** President, Council on Foreign Relations**15:40** Will Blockchain Change the World?**VITALIK BUTERIN** Co-founder, Ethereum**MODERATOR:****FAREED ZAKARIA** Host, Fareed Zakaria GPS, CNN**16:40** "Who killed Ms. Truth?"**BERNARD-HENRI LÉVY** Philosopher and Writer**16:45** Election Meddling and Disinformation – the Future of Democracy in Ukraine and in the West**CONDOLEEZZA RICE** 66th U.S. Secretary of State (2005-2009)**JARED COHEN** Founder and CEO, Jigsaw**PAVLO KLIMKIN** Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine**KURT VOLKER** U.S. Special Representative for Ukraine Negotiations, U.S. Department of State**MODERATOR:****FAREED ZAKARIA** Host, Fareed Zakaria GPS, CNN**17:45** Demonstrations – "Hacking the online conversation"**YASMIN GREEN** Director of research and development, Jigsaw**17:55** How to Combat Election Meddling?**ANDERS FOGH RASMUSSEN** Founder of Rasmussen Global; Secretary General of NATO (2009-2014); Prime Minister of Denmark (2001-2009)**18:05** Artificial Intelligence and Deep Fake**JOHN GIBSON** Director, ASI Data Science**18:15** Dinner with Dinner Presentations**19:00** The Future of Europe**VALDIS DOMBROVSKIS** Vice-President for the Euro and Social Dialogue, also in charge of Financial Stability, Financial Services and Capital Markets Union, European Commission**FRANCO FRATTINI** President of SIOI; Special Representative of the OSCE Chairperson-in-Office for the Transnistrian Settlement Process; Minister of Foreign Affairs of Italy (2008-2011)**19:00****MANUEL VALLS** Prime Minister of the French Republic (2014-2016)**REMARKS:****TONY BLAIR** Executive Chairman of the Tony Blair Institute and former UK Prime Minister**CARL BILD** Minister for Foreign Affairs of Sweden (2006-2014); Prime Minister of Sweden (1991-1994)**MODERATOR:****GILLIAN TETT** U.S. Managing Editor, Financial Times**20:25** Digital Society and the State of the Future**KERSTI KALJULAID** President of Estonia**MODERATOR:****TONY BLAIR** Executive Chairman of the Tony Blair Institute and former UK Prime Minister**20:55** 3-D Mapping - A Short Movie on Ukraine**21:30** Night Caps

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 15

09:30 Ukraine's Future - through the eyes of Ukrainian politicians and social leaders

YULIA TYMOSHENKO Member of Parliament of Ukraine, Chairwoman, The Batkivshchyna Party

ANATOLIY GRYTSENKO Leader of the Civic Position party, Minister of Defense of Ukraine (2005-2007)

SLAVA VAKARCHUK Social activist, Musician, CES co-founder, Leader of Okean Elzy

MODERATOR:

STEPHEN SACKUR Presenter, HARDtalk, BBC World News

11:15 The Future of Ukraine and Eastern Europe – Beyond Spheres of Influence and Zones of Conflict (Co-Hosted with the Munich Security Conference)

KURT VOLKER U.S. Special Representative for Ukraine Negotiations, U.S. Department of State

RICHARD HAASS President, Council on Foreign Relations

MICHAEL GAHLER Special Rapporteur on Ukraine, European Parliament

PAVLO KLIMKIN Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine

MODERATOR:

WOLFGANG ISCHINGER Ambassador, Chairman of the Munich Security Conference; Senior Professor, Hertie School of Governance; Member of the YES Board

12:00 Where Are We Heading?

RICHARD HAASS President, Council on Foreign Relations

STEPHEN SACKUR Presenter, HARDtalk, BBC World News

GILLIAN TETT U.S. Managing Editor, Financial Times

FAREED ZAKARIA Host, Fareed Zakaria GPS, CNN

MODERATOR:

VICTOR PINCHUK Founder, EastOne Group, YES, Victor Pinchuk Foundation

12:50 Russia after Putin – What Future?

JOHN TEFFT Ambassador, Senior Fellow, RAND Corporation

MICHAEL MCFAUL U.S. Ambassador to the Russian Federation (2012-2014); Stanford Professor and Hoover Institution Senior Fellow

ANDREI ILLARIONOV Senior Fellow, Cato Institute

MODERATOR:

FAREED ZAKARIA Host, Fareed Zakaria GPS, CNN

13:35 Rule of Law and Fight Against Corruption

YURI LUTSENKO Prosecutor General of Ukraine

MODERATOR:

STEPHEN SACKUR Presenter, HARDtalk, BBC World News

13:55 Ukrainian Lunch. Ukraine – Key Challenges

14:25 Ukraine's Democracy – Did the New Generation Fail?

SERHIY LESHCHENKO Member of Parliament of Ukraine

SVITLANA ZALISHCHUK Member of Parliament of Ukraine

MUSTAFA NAYYEM Member of Parliament of Ukraine

NATALIE JARESKO Executive Director, Financial Oversight & Management Board for Puerto Rico

MODERATOR:

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

15:45 NordStream 2 and Ukraine's and Europe's Interests

ANDRIY KOBOLYEV CEO, Naftogaz of Ukraine

OLENA ZERKAL Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine

MODERATOR:

PAT COX President of the European Parliament (2002-2004); Member of the YES Board

16:05 Special Presentation. Special Guest – Bono

16:25 Next Generation of Business: Can Impact Investment Overcome Poverty?

BILL MCGLASHAN Founder & CEO, TPG Growth & The Rise Fund

MODERATOR:

FAREED ZAKARIA Host, Fareed Zakaria GPS, CNN

17:25 Future Ukraine

VOLODYMYR GROYSMAN Prime Minister of Ukraine

MODERATOR:

STEPHEN SACKUR Presenter, HARDtalk, BBC World News

18:10 Closing remarks

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

18:20 Dinner

20:40 Concert

OPENING RECEPTION

ALEKSANDER KWAŚNIEWSKI

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

The changes around us have gained unprecedented pace and scale, and it is important to find time to realize and take note of this.



VITALI KLITSCHKO

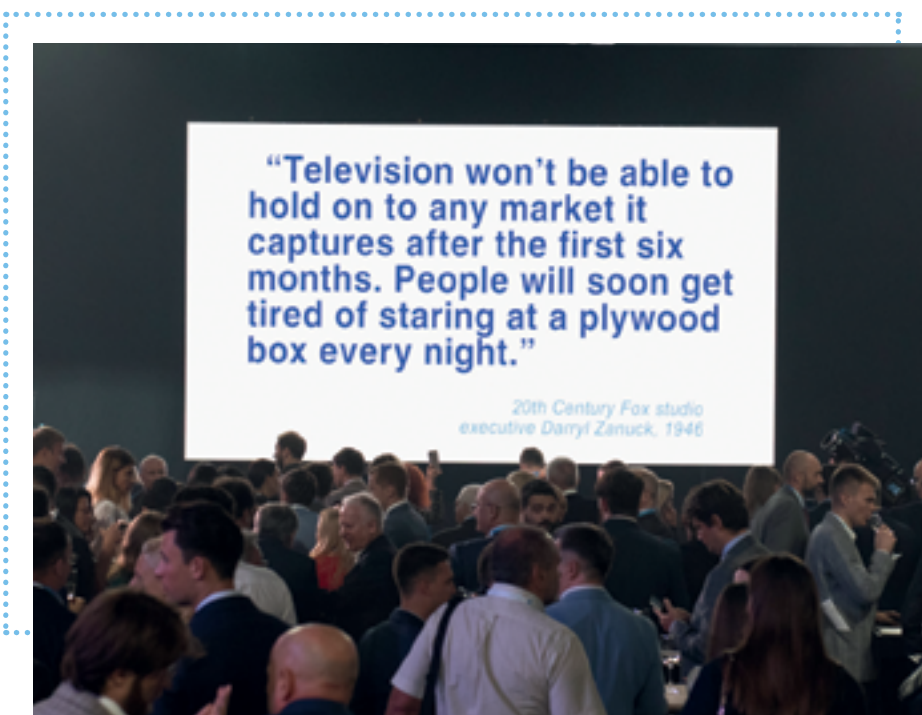
Mayor of Kyiv

I said this many times and would like to repeat it again: our success, the success of Ukraine, is the best answer to our friends as well as enemies.

Ukraine needs to continue moving towards its European democratic future regardless of the elections results.

A lot depends on the next year, on how we will deliver on Ukrainians' huge expectations. After all, we want to see our country wealthy, and see new standards of living... Next year we have presidential and parliamentary elections. Regardless of their results, we hope our European course will remain unchanged.

I have said this many times and would like to repeat it again: our success, the success of Ukraine, is the best answer to our friends as well as enemies.



OPENING SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT OF UKRAINE PETRO POROSHENKO

PETRO POROSHENKO

President of Ukraine

And I want to underscore that we are not heading to NATO empty-handed. For three years we have thanked the world for its solidarity, but we have independently defended every piece of Ukrainian land by restoring our Armed Forces. We de facto offer to this defensive block one of the strongest armies on the continent. And most importantly, we have a unique experience of how to defend ourselves, and I will put aside diplomacy, how to beat Russian aggressor.

We have firmly embarked on the path of European and Euro-Atlantic integration. The leading stars that shine on our road are the stars of the European Union flag, and the compass of Ukraine is the one pictured on NATO's logo. From the Soviet past and Russian folk tales we remember very well how dangerous it is to look back, and by the way, this is also said in the Bible.

Russian meddling in electoral processes is not a purely Ukrainian problem as it was twenty years ago. The Kremlin's crusade against democracy, and against freedom gained the character of world hybrid war. It is very good that we are now coordinating our efforts with Western partners to develop a reliable mechanism for preventing third-party interference in the electoral process. The best way to protect the Free World is to protect Ukraine.

MODERATOR: RICHARD N. HAASS

President, Council on Foreign Relations

The smoke of war is still present over this part of Europe. However, one can distinctly see through it: Ukraine can become and will become a new success story, a new space for European growth. For that to happen, we must be brave and determined.





THE NEXT GENERATION OF EVERYTHING.

I. A HISTORIAN'S VIEW

NIALL FERGUSON

Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution,
Stanford University

I am very struck by how often journalists and politicians resort to a bad analogy when they are trying to understand our time. And that analogy is with the 1930s. I wish I had a Bitcoin for every bad Op-ed I've read in the last ten years saying that it's the 1930s all over again. Ten years ago in the financial crisis any number of economists were predicting a second Great Depression. And every time a populist party does well in an election, we're told that it's the rise of fascism. It's the 1930s all over again. And I think this is a completely unhelpful analogy. First, we didn't rerun the Great Depression in case you hadn't noticed. Secondly, populism is not fascism. And it's a profound category error to confuse the two.

The Internet went from being decentralized to being centralized really quickly. And what very few people foresaw, certainly in the 1990s, was that network platforms beginning with Amazon, then Google and then of course Facebook, would so rapidly centralize the traffic on the Internet. That I think came as a surprise, certainly a shock, to someone like Tim Berners-Lee who designed the World Wide Web in the hope of creating a very decentralized distributed network.

Remember Orwell's "1984". In the "1984" nightmare, the telescreen is on the wall of your apartment, and it sees you and what you do whenever

MODERATOR: RICHARD N. HAASS

President, Council on Foreign Relations

you're there. Now we have a portable telescreen that keeps us under constant surveillance and we volunteer our personal data to this telescreen.

I think future historians will say that Brexit is just a footnote to the wider problem of European disintegration. Now, this is not something that people here will want to hear, but my sense is that Europe's problems are bigger than most Europeans want to realize. Number one, Europe failed to manage the financial crisis. Number two, it made a mess of the Arab revolutions. And number three, it has made an epic mess of the migration crisis of 2015-16.



I am certainly of the view that historians have a vital role to play in helping us understand the present and the possible futures that we face, because there is only one past, but multiple futures. And our job, collectively, is to choose the right future.



THE NEXT GENERATION OF EVERYTHING. II. AN INVESTOR'S VIEW

**BILL
FORD**

Chief Executive Officer, General Atlantic

**MODERATOR:
GILLIAN
TETT**

U.S. Managing Editor, Financial Times

I think generally if the ascendancy of China is peaceful and managed well by us, the U.S. and Europe, we can have a very prosperous future with good economic growth and great investment opportunities. If it's managed poorly, we'll have a less prosperous world.

I think tech and consumer [technologies] will be good opportunities in Ukraine.

You see a lot of global companies wanting to diversify away from India as a primary source for IT services. And a lot of it has been shifting towards Europe, because of the technical talent and the time zone advantage. Some of the countries that seem to be winning are Romania, Ukraine and also Estonia. I think Ukraine can really compete to occupy that position.

THE NEXT GENERATION OF EVERYTHING. III. A FUTUROLOGIST'S

RAY KURZWEIL

Inventor, Author, Futurist

The digital world is quite remarkable and it seems to have its own economic rules, but you can't wear information technology, you can't eat it, you can't live in it and it is all going to change. Traditionally physical products are going to become information technologies. We are going to grow food and vertical agriculture controlled by AI. We are going to print out clothing.

Another example of predictable exponential miniaturization: by the 2030s we will have devices inside our blood cells that will go inside our body. There are precursors of these, but we're not really there yet in terms of price performance, but in the 2030s we will have intelligent devices travelling in our bloodstream. They will augment the immune system in our bloodstream keeping us healthier, and they will extend our neocortex by connecting the top layers of our neocortex to the cloud.

War has become less destructive, because it is more targeted. Just remember carpet bombing in Vietnam and the tremendous destruction of World War II with 60 million deaths in the European theater. We get upset now at wars that caused thousands of deaths. Rightfully so, but even though we have the most powerful technology and the most powerful military technology, this is the most peaceful time in human history.

MODERATOR: GILLIAN TETT

U.S. Managing Editor, Financial Times

When a teenager in Africa or any emerging country buys a smartphone for \$75, it counts as \$75 of economic activity despite the fact that it's literally billions of dollars of computation and communication since 1970.





THE FUTURE OF NATO

ALEJANDRO ALVARGONZÁLEZ

Assistant Secretary General for Political Affairs and Security Policy, NATO

**MODERATOR:
STEPHEN SACKUR**

Presenter, HARDtalk, BBC World News

Russia has this idea that it can not only interfere, but it can judge the situation and the future in international relations of any of its neighbors. And this we reject.

So, I think that even though there are times of uncertainty, times of difficulties, the engagement of the allies in NATO has been proven already in this last summit in Brussels last July.

THE FUTURE OF THE UNITED STATES

MICHAEL MCFAUL

U.S. Ambassador to the Russian Federation (2012-2014); Stanford Professor and Hoover Institution Senior Fellow

MODERATOR: STEPHEN SACKUR

Presenter, HARDtalk, BBC World News

I'm not sure the people, that Donald Trump claims to represent, understand whether or not he's actually serving their interests. And that's on the Democrats to explain. We need some democratic populist to talk about these things in a way that says no, blowing up NAFTA or blowing up NATO is not, Mr. Coal Miner in West Virginia, in your national interest.



Do not overemphasize the significance of one election in America. Let's be very careful about generalizing what's going to happen for the next 50 years based on the fact that Donald Trump won with 78,000 votes in three states that Barack Obama won twice. So, if you say this a brand-new thing, explain to me how Barack Obama won those two places too.

CONDOLEEZZA RICE

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

For a while now, there's been a sense of play to the sense of weariness rather than to the sense of promise. So what I really would like to see from whomever is president is more playing to the sense of promise and possibility. That's what Ronald Reagan was so good at doing. Ronald Reagan didn't love multinational institutions, but he was very good at saying "Americans, you have a larger calling in the world." - And that's what we've been missing, and we've been missing it for a while.

LARRY SUMMERS

Charles W. Eliot University Professor, Harvard University

I have no idea what the Mueller report will reveal. I can't predict when the economy will turn down. I can't predict which of the president's abuses will strike a particularly strong chord. However, I do think the odds that he will not make it to the end, which are generally discounted by the conventional wisdom, may not be 50/50, but they're considerably greater than the conventional wisdom has it.



NIALL FERGUSON

Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University

(in response to Summers) - comments

It seems to me the odds are 0%... Even if you're right, and I think you probably are, that the Democrats win back the House and maybe even make a fight of it for the Senate. There's no conceivable way that impeachment could be successful, because they certainly won't have a supermajority in the Senate. An impeachment seems only likely to get off the ground if there's a real erosion to Trump's popularity that was really what sealed Nixon's fate more than anything that happened on Congress.



FUTURE GLOBAL ECONOMY – TRADE WARS, US VS. EU VS. CHINA VS. RUSSIA VS. ...

**MODERATOR:
RICHARD
HAASS**

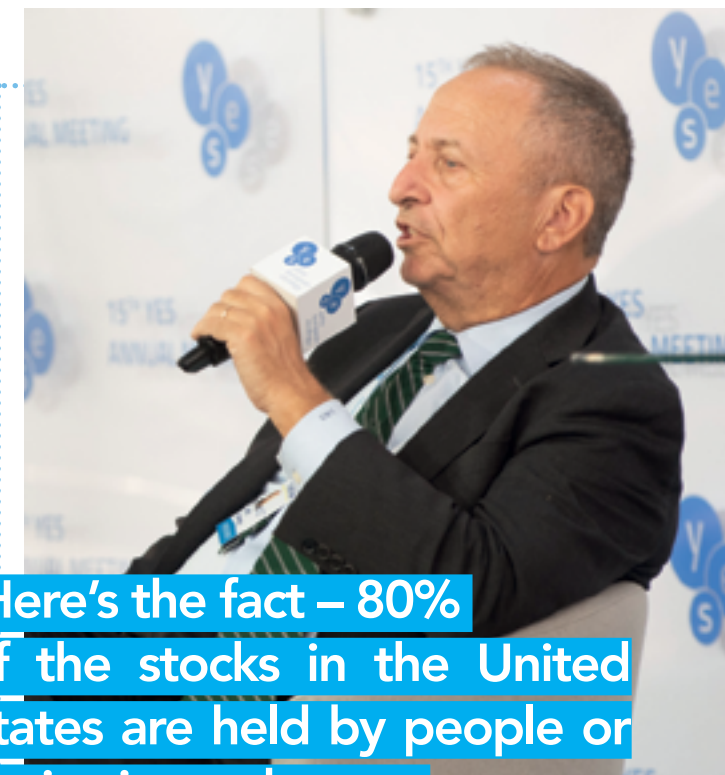
President, Council on Foreign Relations

LARRY SUMMERS

Charles W. Eliot University Professor,
Harvard University

I don't think it's wildly unreasonable for there to be some element of reciprocity in trade. If country X does not allow our firms to invest it should have some influence on whether country X's firms can invest in our country.

I think the right area of investment focus and the problem the world ought to solve ... in an era of unprecedented data and information technology is how to make sure that global corporations are taxed globally in some way and can't be located nowhere and so not pay any taxes. So, I think the priority in this area should be on finding some kind of global tax cooperation regime that prevents the avoidance of taxes and controls the dynamic of tax competition which reduces all the taxation on capital and inevitably therefore means more taxes on working people everywhere.



Here's the fact – 80% of the stocks in the United States are held by people or institutions who pay no individual taxes. So, we're talking about the complete non-taxation of corporate income.

VALDIS DOMBROVSKIS

Vice-President for the Euro and Social Dialogue, also in charge of Financial Stability, Financial Services and Capital Markets Union, European Commission

We think that it's important that there is an international rule-based system in trade and from the EU side we are willing to defend it.

It was agreed to stop an escalation on tariffs (between the US and the EU - auth.), and when it comes to trade liberalization we are discussing mutual trade liberalization that is not one-sided and that the commitments are taken by both the EU and the United States.

HERNANDO DE SOTO

Chairman, Institute for Liberty and Democracy

The way the rule of law organizes the world trade order has actually left behind five billion people. And if we don't concentrate to let bring them in, we are going to have trouble with investments everywhere and the result is not going to be just discrimination whether the world economy grew but how much are you going to be involved in wars that are costing you so far sixteen trillion dollars. And I think they could be resolved through trade measures that are inclusive.

WILL BLOCKCHAIN CHANGE THE WORLD?

VITALIK BUTERIN

Co-founder, Ethereum

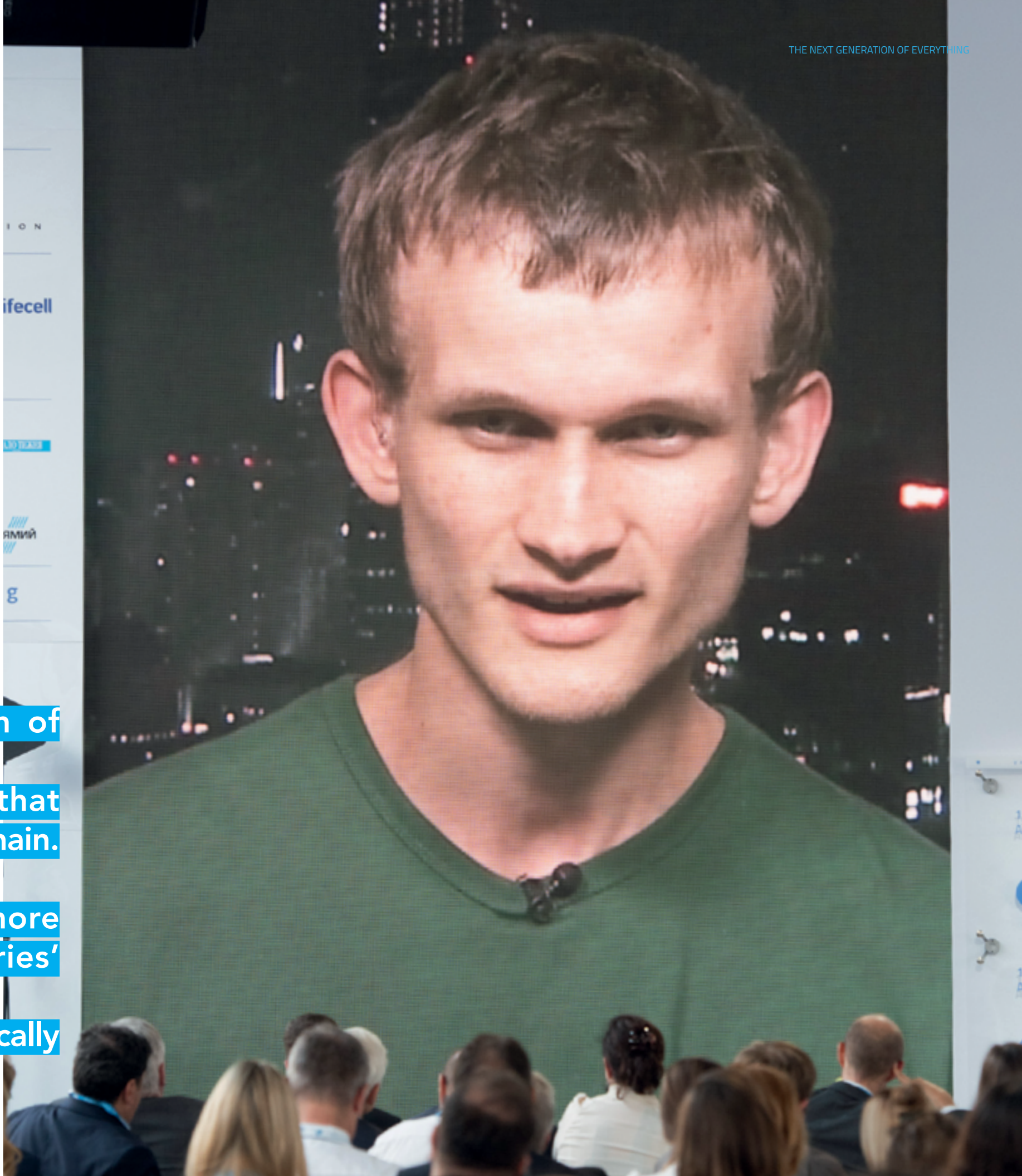
MODERATOR: FAREED ZAKARIA

Host, Fareed Zakaria GPS, CNN

If you look at the General Data Protection Regulation that was passed and implemented in the EU recently, it has basically made it considerably more annoying to create a website or service that maintains and manages a centralized data store with many people's data. With blockchain, you actually can create a system that does what you want without any centralized data collection where everything is kept much more on the edges. Your identity by default stays on your computer. You would provide information to other party only when you need to perform some particular service. Instead of everything being with them by default, it is with you by default.

We'll see smart contracts being used to experiment with different kinds of economic institutions, different ways to allow people to cooperate with each other around specific projects, possibly replacing the need for corporations in a few cases.

As a best-case scenario we'll have a combination of cryptocurrencies and traditional fiat currencies that are available on the blockchain. And the people around the world will have much more access to different countries' financial systems, the ability to interact economically with everyone else.





WHO KILLED MS. TRUTH?

**BERNARD-HENRI
LÉVY**

Philosopher and Writer

Nobody knows the surprise that the past can reserve for you. Nobody can predict what the past will tell you. This is the situation in which we are with the populist regime. They are reinventing the past.

New technology promoted the great idea, that each of us has an equal right to express him/herself. This is the best idea ever. But it becomes a disastrous idea when you come to the second proposition which is that each voice, each proposition, each expressed word has an equal value under the sky of truth.

ELECTION MEDDLING AND DISINFORMATION – THE FUTURE OF DEMOCRACY IN UKRAINE AND IN THE WEST

JARED COHEN

Founder and CEO, Jigsaw

MODERATOR: FAREED ZAKARIA

Host, Fareed Zakaria GPS, CNN



CONDOLEEZZA RICE

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

We very often assume that cyber warfare is completely new. What is new is the capacity, the weapon itself, the technology itself which makes it possible to do things much more efficiently than the governments have been trying to do for a very long time.

Russia has built fifth columns within countries for a long time where they tried to stir passions of disaffected populations. It was usually pretty clumsy. It was usually completely observable. Now with cyber they're able to do it in a much more efficient way.

In the process of helping Ukraine, we're going to learn about the most recent tactics that are deployed by outside actors to disrupt the democratic process.

What you see when you go out to the Donbas is multidimensional attacks whereby disinformation is deployed months in advance of a physical attack to make it easier to carry out that physical attack. It's then followed by more disinformation that makes it harder to deal with and manage the aftermath of it.

Russia deploys propaganda as a first strike capability in the context of where the fighting is, which is different from when they're just spreading disinformation in a sort of political and an election context.

There is nothing that will be done to the United States or Europe that won't be done to Ukraine first. And the best way to protect the American presidential election and the European parliamentary election is to double down on protecting Ukraine's presidential election.

PAVLO KLIMKIN

Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine

Over the past three weeks, the Russians were able to ban a number of accounts of our journalists on Facebook. The methodology is crazy simple. You take one half of a sentence out of context, use 5000 fake accounts, send it to Facebook and say - it is about extremism. Consequently, you are banned for at least 30 days. It is easy and effective.

Just imagine a kind of blackout in one of the cities for example here in Ukraine, one or two weeks before elections or a sequence of blackouts. You can target a critical infrastructure with just a couple of viruses. In the sense of impact, it could be far more important than all kinds of financial manipulations.





DEMONSTRATIONS – “HACKING THE ONLINE CONVERSATION”

YASMIN GREEN

Director of Research and Development, Jigsaw

I've been working at Google for almost 13 years and I was reflecting that back when I started when Facebook was just a two-year-old and Twitter hadn't yet been born, the outlook was very different. We were busy building search engines and video sharing sites and social networks, not mindful that dictators,

terrorists and criminals were trying to use the same platforms against us. We didn't have the foresight to stop them. But today, the Internet is the newest and most confounding theater of war.

ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE AND DEEP FAKE

JOHN GIBSON

Director, ASI Data Science

If you can synthesize someone's voice, you no longer need actors to make your propaganda. You can do it all from a computer, and this radically democratizes fakery. It means not only could a state agency generate persuasive videos of politicians, but so too could terror groups, so could teenagers in their bedrooms.





HOW TO COMBAT ELECTION MEDDLING?

ANDERS FOGH RASMUSSEN

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

Advances in artificial intelligence and machine learning make it far easier to invent or twist a story and to make it credible by sheer volume of repetition. In short, interfering has become faster, easier and significantly cheaper.

THE FUTURE OF EUROPE

MANUEL VALLS

Prime Minister of the French Republic (2014-2016)

I think that EU is one the biggest successes, one of the most beautiful things that ever happened in modern times. It contributed to reconciling Germany and France, leading to peace and development of western European countries, southern European countries and eastern European countries coming out of the dictatorial past.

FRANCO FRATTINI

President of SIOI; Special Representative of the OSCE Chairperson-in-Office for the Transnistrian Settlement Process; Minister of Foreign Affairs of Italy (2008-2011)

We really need political leadership if you want to see the European Union be more proactive on the global scene.

MODERATOR: GILLIAN TETT

U.S. Managing Editor, Financial Times

If there is no political will inside the EU and togetherness of the new forces for the sake of Europe— an economic development and European values against populism, Europe will be devastated.

NIALL FERGUSON

Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University

Let's consider the record of the European institutions over the past 10 years. Even if you were proponents of the Monetary Union, you could not say that Europe handled the financial crisis brilliantly



well. And even if you are proponents of a common European security policy, you could not say that Europe handled the Arab revolutions terribly well. And even if you are proponents of a common policy on free movements of people, you could not say that Europe handled the great migration crisis very well. And if you want to understand why the United Kingdom has voted to leave the European Union, a large part of the answer lies in those failures which I think ultimately persuaded British voters that the project of European integration was doomed.

TONY BLAIR

Prime Minister of the United Kingdom (1997-2007)

Europe will survive, Europe will prosper, and Britain will regret Brexit if it does it. But I hope it doesn't.

VALDIS DOMBROVSKIS

Vice-President for the Euro and Social Dialogue, also in charge of Financial Stability, Financial Services and Capital Markets Union, European Commission

After having gone through a major crisis, we are having some kind of a populist backlash. And I think that one of the ways to deal with this is to ensure that the benefits of economic growth are actually felt by all European citizens. So, we need to concentrate on policies to reduce income inequality and ensure income growth at all parts of the population.

CARL BILD

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

If you look at opinion polls throughout Europe, there has been a significant rise of public opinion supporting the European Union. Why is that? Is it because people have suddenly fallen in love with Jean-Claude Juncker or Brussels? It is unlikely. I think the reason for that is what I call the PTB effect. The PTB is of course Putin, Trump and Brexit. People understand that we are living in a vastly more complicated world. People are scared of that.



DIGITAL SOCIETY AND THE STATE OF THE FUTURE

**KERSTI
KALJULAI**

President of Estonia

**MODERATOR:
TONY
BLAIR**

Executive Chairman of the Tony Blair Institute
and former UK Prime Minister

Estonian people demanded Scandinavian style public services and couldn't afford them, so we thought we would do it in an efficient way. We thought of something called industry 4.0. - just the automatization of the processes. We didn't realize we were unleashing digital disruption of society.

But the reason we unleashed it was that we did it together with the private sector immediately, because we were so worried that the government would not be able to provide enough services to justify the cost of the system. So, we invited the private sector to use the same platform. And this is how it started.

I think that new technologies will make the situation easier for countries that have problems with inequality in their school system... Technology allows you to teach regardless of where children live or how much their parents earn. Everyone has the right to quality education.

When we created our digital identity, we made it inclusive. We gave a digital ID to everybody in Estonia. From the market viewpoint, this was the mass market of Estonia. Here, public and private interests came together. And of course, then the public and private sectors started to use this mass market. And we did it together. And this is the trick. You have to do it together. If you think you are talking about inclusivity and they have something different which is mass market, then you are mistaken. It's the same thing.

UKRAINE'S FUTURE – THROUGH THE EYES OF UKRAINIAN POLITICIANS AND SOCIAL LEADERS

YULIA TYMOSHENKO

Member of Parliament of Ukraine,
Chairwoman, The Batkivshchyna Party

MODERATOR: STEPHEN SACKUR

Presenter, HARDtalk, BBC World News

The Ukrainian people see their strategy very clearly. They very clearly see the goal, which is independence, peace, our unity, and our future in the Western European civilization.

We need peace, but not at the cost of capitulation of Ukraine.

The fact that today the path to peace is not so smooth should not be the opportunity for us to unite without Crimea and Donbas, at the expense of Ukrainian interests and by means of hybrid peace.

No Ukrainian will ever accept the separation of our territories. Both Crimea and Donbas should be returned as a whole and as full-fledged territories of Ukraine.

A country can become economically successful only if it has strong institutions, if it has a strong, responsible and efficient governance.





UKRAINE'S FUTURE – THROUGH THE EYES OF UKRAINIAN POLITICIANS AND SOCIAL LEADERS

SLAVA VAKARCHUK

Social activist, Musician, CES co-founder,
Leader of Okean Elzy

MODERATOR: STEPHEN SACKUR

Presenter, HARDtalk, BBC World News

When we talk about the path to NATO and the EU, for some reason we do not talk about a much more difficult, but more fundamental path ahead of the EU or NATO which is the rule of law. We have not even really begun to embark on this path, in spite of the things politicians say.

Equality before the law is a main condition for the wealth of the country ... It is a condition for our country to become strong and able to withstand any aggression and make this aggression meaningless ...

If we start playing politics all over again, it doesn't matter who will be there, Slava or somebody else. It's not about the person. It's about principles and also about the ability to get all people on board.

I think that the most important thing for any leader that comes to lead this country is not to persuade Putin or somebody else. You need to persuade your own people.

We need to understand that the key to solving this problem ... is here in Ukraine: in our reforms, in our minds, in our ability to feel that the state is the right place for them, in level of trust to the state. That's what makes us strong and cohesive.

If you are encouraged and inspired that your country is doing great things, you'll be ready to give everything for your country.

**I do believe that leaders matter.
I do believe that people matter.
But much more important is
who is standing behind these
people. And I know that people
who are standing behind me,
all of them combined have
courage, power and force which
is unstoppable.**

UKRAINE'S FUTURE – THROUGH THE EYES OF UKRAINIAN POLITICIANS AND SOCIAL LEADERS

ANATOLIY GRYTSENKO

Leader of the Civic Position party, Minister of Defense of Ukraine (2005-2007)

Nowadays our state is not an adult state, unfortunately. It's a child state yet, and the child is spoilt and badly addicted to such things as corruption, populism, paternalism, and irresponsibility.

We do not need a temporary ceasefire, which is being broken from time to time. We need a sustainable peaceful solution for Ukraine.

In the third millennium the whole planet must recognize that no one, especially one of the five most responsible permanent UN Security Council Members, can take by force anyone else's territory or population, which is comparable to several EU or NATO Member States put together. We must live in sustainable peace on the globe as well. This is the objective of the settlement.

MODERATOR: STEPHEN SACKUR

Presenter, HARDtalk, BBC World News

Our country has all the necessary preconditions and will become not one of, but the leader in the Central and Eastern Europe.



THE FUTURE OF UKRAINE AND EASTERN EUROPE – BEYOND SPHERES OF INFLUENCE AND ZONES OF CONFLICT CO-HOSTED WITH MUNICH SECURITY CONFERENCE



There is no such thing as an unresolvable conflict between countries. We have recently had demonstrations that conflicts that seem to be unresolvable are resolvable. We have recently seen that Mr. Tsipras and Mr. Zoran of Macedonia have gotten together and that conflict apparently is now being resolved...

MODERATOR: WOLFGANG ISCHINGER

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

KURT VOLKER

U.S. Special Representative for Ukraine Negotiations, U.S. Department of State

Ukraine has made tremendous progress. In the last four years, Ukraine has found its identity, something that was not clear before that. And Ukraine has become a dynamic European country in that process.

Russia continues to claim a right to determine the affairs of its neighbors, whether it is Ukraine or Georgia or Moldova or others. We in the West believe the opposite. We believe it is for the Ukrainians themselves to decide their future, their country, their direction, their alliances. The same with Georgia, the same with Moldova. And this difference in mentality is fundamentally the issue, and the solution is we need Russia to accept that it will live within its borders as a peaceful neighbor alongside Ukraine, Georgia, Moldova and others.



RICHARD HAASS

President, Council on Foreign Relations

We should have a regular effort to keep an eye on Russia. We should know information about the costs of Putin's foreign policy. What is it costing financially? All the money Russia is spending abroad in places like Ukraine and Georgia. This is the money that could be spent inside Russia to raise the standard of living at home. How many soldiers are dying? We should be putting out regularly detailed statistics of the costs of the foreign policy.

The planning for peacekeeping forces ought to be very specific. Peacekeeping forces are to be large and capable, because I actually do think that Putin's nightmare scenario, would be that Russian forces leave and then there are mass reprisals carried out by vigilant groups or whatever. So again, I think there is an incentive to show that

PAVLO KLIMKIN

Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine

For Russia, Ukraine is existential because any kind of success of Ukraine as a democratic, free and European country is a total negation of the Russian model. So, the whole stuff about Donbas is not about Donbas. Russia does not care about Donbas at all. The whole idea is to use Donbas to try to legitimize their own reality around Donbas, and to push it into Ukraine like a Trojan Horse to enable the Russian narrative of federalization, because it's the only way Russia knows how to do it.



WHERE ARE WE HEADING?

MODERATOR: VICTOR PINCHUK

Founder, YES, Victor Pinchuk Foundation, EastOne Group

FAREED ZAKARIA

Host, Fareed Zakaria GPS, CNN

I think there is a greater danger that the whole sanctions regime against Russia will collapse because the Europeans will start to.

STEPHEN SACKUR

Presenter, HARDtalk, BBC World News

I think that the Russian economy is extraordinarily fragile and brittle. Putin knows it. Putin is desperate in trying to drive wedges between the United States and Europe.

GILLIAN TETT

U.S. Managing Editor, Financial Times

What links Brexit, what links the U.S. political situation, what links relationships between Russia and the U.S. is a growing sense of poison in global affairs.

RICHARD HAASS

President, Council on Foreign Relations

America was and is in many ways politically dysfunctional. And all this has nothing to do with Donald Trump. Washington wasn't working and isn't working now... There is no serious conversation in the country about what to do about new technologies or artificial intelligence, robotics, driverless vehicles that are eliminating or will eliminate millions of existing jobs. Meanwhile, we probably have six or seven million jobs in the United States that are going unfilled because of the enormous gap between what the jobs require and the skills in the workforce. And our public and private education system is unable to close that gap. That's a real crisis that's coming, we are not talking about it.



RUSSIA AFTER PUTIN – WHAT FUTURE?

MODERATOR:
FAREED ZAKARIA

Host, Fareed Zakaria GPS, CNN

MICHAEL MCFAUL

Director and Senior Fellow, Freeman Spogli institute for international studies, Stanford University

The circle around him [Putin], whose property rights are only guaranteed by their relationship to President Putin, requires that he stays in power.

If you compare one-party states to military juntas and to dictatorships built around one person, the last category is the least stable of them all. So compared to other states throughout the world, Putin is ruling in a way that is less stable than those other two.

My hope is that Putin and Russians are different.



The best way to contain and push back on Putin is a democratic Ukraine.

JOHN TEFFT

US Ambassador to Ukraine (2009-2013)

Russia still has to become a modern nation. It still hasn't made the fundamental decisions to determine whether it's going to be a part of the international community or whether it's going to try to be an imperial power and attack its neighbors, and take their land.

ANDREI ILLARIONOV

Senior Fellow, Cato Institute

In the Russian political world what is important are not dates, not schedules, but desire. And desire is stable.

Personal safety cannot be guaranteed outside of political power. It means that he (Putin) cannot leave the post.

Today Russian official propaganda is probably at least at the same level effective as the communist, maybe even more effective than it used to be in the communist times.

This instrument of terror is the most effective instrument that is being used not only against the Russian population and against the Russian opposition, but outside of the country as well.

If we really think about the stability of this regime: with Putin, after Putin, without Putin, we need to think about these three forces that are right now occupying the highest echelon of political power in Russia: a cooperation of officers of political police, organized crime (mafia) and liberals.





RULE OF LAW AND FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION

YURI LUTSENKO

Prosecutor General of Ukraine

MODERATOR: STEPHEN SACKUR

Presenter, HARDtalk, BBC World News

Ukraine is a huge ship, the hold of which after the revolution was completely filled with water, and putting a pump to move this water without filling the gaps in the budget - enormous opportunities for corruption - is a Sisyphean task.

I have something to talk about with my American counterparts, but not from the position of a small mischievous pioneer called to the teacher. We are partners. And we work together for a common result, because corruption of Ukraine is not cut off from everyone. This is a global challenge for all countries, because most of our corrupt officials are using an offshore system that is completely transparent to the United States but yet is very

opaque for all of us. Therefore, my appeal is simple: international cooperation to overcome a common problem.

Ukraine is like a big ship, the inside of which was completely filled with water after the revolution. And just to pump out the water without closing the leaks in the budget and opportunities for corruption – would be an endless job that will give no result.



UKRAINE'S DEMOCRACY – DID THE NEW GENERATION FAIL

MODERATOR:
CARL BILDT

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

MUSTAFA NAYYEM

Member of Parliament of Ukraine

Today old politicians are imitating us. They want to look like us. They want to copy our methods. They want to be a creative class. They want to say that they are the new generation of politicians, which is not true.

Who was standing behind all these changes we had for the last five years? Old politicians? It was done by young politicians, by civil society, by the new generation.



Always when we talk about the young, about the new, people think it's about age. It is not about age. It's about a different mindset.

SERHIY LESHCHENKO

Member of Parliament of Ukraine

It is much more important to build better institutions, than finding the best president... that will protect Ukraine and democracy.

The fight against corruption is mainstream in Ukrainian politics.

After the revolution, we would have produced much more progress if supported at the very top political level. Without such support the process takes much more time.

NATALIE JARESKO

Executive Director, Financial Oversight & Management Board for Puerto Rico

The progress since the revolution has been extraordinary and the fact that there is disappointment is more a sign of the expectations and the desire for progress than a measurement of any failure.

The progress since the revolution has been extraordinary and the fact there is disappointment is more a sign of the expectations and the desire for progress than it is a measurement of any failure

SVITLANA ZALISHCHUK

Member of Parliament of Ukraine

I think that the new generation shifted the boundaries of the democracy in this country and I think this is a historical shift. I also think that the new generation managed to bury the post-Soviet legacy in this country. Yes, it's still emanating radiation, but it's not dangerous for lives anymore.

The failure should be measured by the quantity of those doors that we will manage to open by the next presidential and parliamentary elections; for the newcomers, for the civil society, for people from business, for people from media to enter politics and take the responsibility for further changes.





NORDSTREAM 2 AND UKRAINE'S AND EUROPE'S INTERESTS

ANDRIY KOBOLYEV

CEO, Naftogaz of Ukraine

**MODERATOR:
PAT COX**

President of the European Parliament (2002-2004);
Member of the YES Board



From our perspective, Nordstream 2 is a much wider problem than just gas matters. It's about the security of Ukraine, and I believe I'm not exaggerating if I say that for us it's a matter of survival.

The Russians have been seen in many parts of Europe as very efficient players who are using instruments to affect political processes.

Gazprom is definitely not in the position, of being fair and equal. They are enjoying a dominant position, and this position has not been tackled by Europe so far.

OLENA ZERKAL

Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine

How can you talk about Russia as a reliable partner when it does not respect any rules, any rulings of any international courts, any rulings of international arbitration, which can break all words and actually all deals?

SPECIAL GUEST OF THE 15TH YES ANNUAL MEETING

BONO

I'm not saying Brussels is romantic, but Europe is a very romantic idea, the idea that everyone can speak a different language and still be understood. How wonderful is that!

I think we have to learn to speak better, we have to dream a little wilder about the things that we've achieved, those great achievements that followed the World Wars. Those things we take for granted like the United Nations for example.

I think what's happened in the last few years is we've sort of woken up, we've realised that these things are not inevitable. And now we have to work towards them. We can't take them for granted and my advice to people is - don't agonize, organize.

The most important word in the English language might turn out to be the word compromise. Compromise is a very under-appreciated word.

Corruption is killing more children than HIV/AIDS or malaria. Corruption kills more kids, but there is a vaccine for corruption. It's called transparency, it's called open government, and the civil societies and the youth.





FUTURE UKRAINE

VOLODYMYR GROYSMAN

Prime Minister of Ukraine

MODERATOR: STEPHEN SACKUR

Presenter, HARDtalk, BBC World News

What does the future consist of? The future consists of the present. The future consists of our vision, how we want to see it, and the future is completely connected with responsibility.

What I lack is to have peace, I lack, among other things, the firm leadership of world powers. The aggressor will go further as long as he is allowed to do so. And the manifestation of this aggression will be so diverse that every year it will be harder and harder for all the countries of the democratic world to fight against the consequences.

What, in my opinion, modern Ukraine lacks today in order to build a high-quality future is responsibility.





CLOSING REMARKS

ALEKSANDER KWAŚNIEWSKI

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

Ladies and Gentlemen, Dear Friends,

We have spent a fascinating two days. This year was a very special one because we decided to focus our attention on the questions of the future, on the next generation of everything. And I am sure, because of the fantastic list of speakers, participants, panelists, specialists, experts, politicians and etc., we have achieved this goal. We have discussed deeply and widely the question of upcoming future in a very complicated time and in a very complicated situation.

I have my own experience with such long-term prognosis. If you allow me, I would like to tell you a story. It was the beginning of my political career. I was only 30. It was communism in Poland and a communist government of course. I was the Minister for Youth and Sport. For my first government, I received about ten kilograms of documents. I tried to read all of them, which was impossible. So, I felt not so good because I didn't know everything about the documents prepared for this meeting. But the main topic of this meeting was "Strategic program of development of Polish telecommunications" presented by the Minister of Telecommunication of Poland, a famous professor who studied in Germany. Of course, he said a lot of important things but what I remember until now (and keep in mind that Poland at that time was at the bottom of the list of developed European countries in the sense of telecommunication) is that he said if we fulfill our telecommunication strategy, Poland would achieve an average level of telecommunication development in the year 2054.

Why I remember this date is because I realized during this meeting that when Poland will have the average level of telecom, I will be 100 years old. And of course, I began to sweat because this information for me was quite dramatic. You know, for the man who is in his thirties and who is a new member of the government to understand that Poland is going to achieve something when he will be hundred years old was a real tragedy. I learned two lessons from this situation. First, it is necessary to be very careful with all kinds of prognoses. It is difficult to predict everything

correctly. Second lesson, which is probably more important, is that everything is growing much faster than we can predict. Everything is changing much quicker than we imagine. Today Poland is way above the average in the level of telecom.

My last point is about Ukraine. I had such impression that this year our conference opened the political season in Ukraine for the next year. Listening to President Poroshenko and possible candidates, I think we understood that the season started. And of course, this is very natural and democratic. I think the best evidence of strong Ukrainian democracy is that really nobody knows who will win the presidential election. This is strong evidence of democratic system. As an advocate of Ukraine, I think it would be great for all of us to continue all these positive things that were done in the last years, especially with European integration, reforms of such sensitive questions as judiciary or fight against corruption.

I have to repeat again and again the most important thing that was also said during this conference - it is your homework. We can say that reforms are much more advanced than before. Many elements of the situation in Ukraine changed in a positive way. I'm sure that when we will meet next time in Yalta (for sure at Yalta European Strategy conference), we will be able to say to leaders of Ukraine that we see the progress and we are ready to support this progress in the upcoming years.

To say that Ukraine will have an interesting time is to say a very banal thing because from the beginning of Ukrainian independence you had only interesting times. But what I would like to add to this interesting time is also good and positive time, solving the problems and uniting people, especially young people around these main strategic goals for Ukraine like development, stability, peace and European integration. That is my wish to you.



FORUM OF UKRAINIAN REGIONAL CIVIL SERVANTS AT THE 15TH YES ANNUAL MEETING

Yalta European Strategy (YES), in partnership with the Ukrainian School of Political Studies (USPS), has held a third mini-conference for 100 Ukrainian civil servants and regional politicians as a part of the 15th YES Annual Meeting.

Regional politicians and civil servants play a crucial role in the implementation of reforms in Ukraine. The Ukrainian Government places strategic priorities on decentralization, 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 to succeed. The Ukrainian Regional Civil Servants Forum helps young regional leaders to expand

their ambitions and energy to transform Ukraine. It provides carefully selected participants with international know-how and practice, strategy and leadership insights. It enables them to build a strong network of like-minded change-makers, nationally and internationally.

Among the speakers of the 2018 conference were Ivanna Klympush-Tsintsadze, Vice Prime Minister of Ukraine for European and Euro-Atlantic Integration; Oleksandr Bohutsky, Director-President, International Commercial TV Company (ICTV Channel); Hennadiy Zubko, Vice Prime Minister, Minister of the Regional Development, Building and Housing and Communal Services of Ukraine; Ray Kurzweil, Inventor, Author, Futurist; Condoleezza Rice, 66th U.S. Secretary of State (2005-2009); Andrey Illarionov, Senior Fellow, Center for Global Liberty and Prosperity, Cato Institute; Alastair McBain, Managing Director, Arawak Energy; Natalia Katser-Buchkovska, MP, Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine; Michael McFaul, U.S. Ambassador to the Russian Federation (2012-2014); Stanford Professor and Hoover Institution Senior Fellow; Manuel Valls, Prime Minister of the French Republic (2014-2016); Anatoliy Grytsenko, Leader of the Civic Position party, Minister of Defense of Ukraine (2005-2007); Pat Cox, President of the European Parliament (2002-2004); Member of the YES Board. The mini-conference was moderated by the former Minister of Economic Development and Trade of Ukraine (2014) Pavlo Sheremeta.



YOUNG LEADERS AT THE 15TH YES ANNUAL MEETING

Since 2008, Yalta European Strategy (YES), in cooperation with the 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 in selecting the young leaders are civic engagement, leadership potential and motivation to improve the country. Over six hundred of the best Ukrainian students and young leaders have participated in the Young Leaders Section since the beginning of the program.

The young generation of Ukrainians who will transform the country have been at the core of the Victor Pinchuk Foundation's work

since its inception in 2006. By creating a young leaders' mini-conference at the YES Annual Meeting, 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 Panel of the 15th YES Annual Meeting were leading Ukrainian and international politicians, opinion-makers and social leaders, such as Carl Bildt, Jared Cohen, Valdis Dombrovskis, Niall Ferguson, Bill Ford, Ray Kurzweil, Aleksander Kwaśniewski, Michael McFaul, Anders Fogh Rasmussen, Condoleezza Rice, Stephen Sackur, Giovanni Salvetti, Hernando de Soto, Dominique Strauss-Kahn Gillian Tett, Yulia Tymoshenko and Ismet Yazici.



NIGHTCAP DISCUSSIONS

US – RUSSIA RELATIONS AND BOOK PRESENTATION OF “FROM COLD WAR TO HOT PEACE” BY MICHAEL MCFAUL

HOST: America House and the U.S. Embassy in Ukraine

VENUE: America House

MICHAEL MCFAUL

U.S. Ambassador to the Russian Federation (2012-2014); Stanford Professor and Hoover Institution Senior Fellow

JOHN TEFFT

U.S. Ambassador to Russia (2014-2017), and also former U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine, Georgia, and Lithuania

ALEXANDER VERSHBOW

U.S. Ambassador to Russia (2001 – 2005), former Deputy Secretary General of NATO, U.S. Ambassador to NATO, U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Korea, and U.S. Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs

MODERATOR:

MARIE YOVANOVITCH

U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine

Ambassador Yovanovitch hosted a discussion with Ambassadors Michael McFaul, John Tefft, and Alexander Vershbow on U.S. – Russia relations. The panelists shared their personal experiences serving as U.S. Ambassador to Russia and their views on U.S. - Russia relations since the Gorbachev era.

CRIMEAN DECLARATION – WHAT’S NEXT?

HOST: Mejlis of the Crimean Tatar people
Ministry of Information Policy of Ukraine

VENUE: Diplomatic Academy



REFAT CHUBAROV

Chairman, Mejlis of the Crimean Tatar People

CHARLES KUPCHAN

Professor of International Affairs, Georgetown University

SERHII KYSLYTSYA

Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine

SERHII PETUKHOV

Deputy Minister of Justice of Ukraine

BRUNO LETE

Senior Fellow, Security and Defense, The German Marshall Fund

MODERATOR:

EMINE DZHAPAROVA

First Deputy Minister of Information Policy

Crimea Declaration – what is next? What steps can be expected from the world leaders following the United States’ declaration, rejecting Russia’s annexation of the Crimean Peninsula? How can we make sure that the illegal annexation of Crimea stays at the top of the global agenda? In what way shall the US, the UK and others fulfill their commitments under the Budapest Memorandum? How can the Crimean Tatars become game-changers in their fight for the right of self-determination in Crimea? Are there any lessons from history that can be applied to ensure a smooth political, economic, and social reunification of the peninsula?

ANTISEMITISM IN UKRAINE: RUSSIAN DISINFORMATION AND ON-THE-GROUND REALITY

HOST: Ukrainian Jewish Encounter and
The Atlantic Council

VENUE: Mystetskyi Arsenal

RABBI YAAKOV DOV BLEICH

Chief Rabbi of Kiev and Ukraine

VLADYSLAV DAVIDZON

Journalist, Editor of the Odessa Review

JOHN HERBST

Director, Eurasian Center, The Atlantic Council

BERNARD-HENRI LEVY

Philosopher

VYACHESLAV LIKHACHEV

Historian, journalist, political scientist,
and social activist



BEREL RODAL

Board Director, and Chairman of the Advisory
Board, Ukrainian Jewish Encounter

MODERATOR:

ADRIAN KARATNYCKY

Co-Director, Ukrainian Jewish Encounter

The session focused on both antisemitism and the activities of the extreme right in Ukraine. How serious is the threat? How much is an exaggeration? How do Russian propaganda and fake news exploit these phenomena? Is anti-Semitism in Ukraine on the rise? Is the far-right a real threat in Ukraine? How do these problems compare to those in neighboring countries of Eastern Europe and in established Western European countries?

GEORGE SOROS' POLITICAL PHILANTHROPY AND THE CURRENT BATTLES OF IDEAS

HOST: International Renaissance Foundation

VENUE: OneLoveCoffee, PinchukArtCentre



MARIELOUISE BECK

Co-Founder, Director for East-Central and East-
ern Europe, Centre for Liberal Modernity

YEVHEN HLIBOVYTSKY

Founder, Pro.mova, Member, Nestor Group

IVAN KRULKO

Member, Parliament of Ukraine

OLEKSANDR SUSHKO

Executive Director, IRF

LALLY WEYMOUTH

Senior Associate Editor, The Washington Post

MODERATOR:

KATERYNA GORCHINSKA

CEO, Hromadske TV

The current political debate on democracy and authoritarianism, human rights and security, sovereignty and universal values, conflict over minorities, migration, and other dividing topics brings us to revisit the role of international private political philanthropy. Do the formal institutions (political parties, parliaments, governments, etc.) have a monopoly on this debate? What is the role of private institutions, active citizens, and independent NGOs in this public debate? How to separate the promotion of vested interests from the support of genuine civic activism and general good? Why are political opponents sometimes hostile to international networks that support civil society, labeling them as "foreign agents" and a source of "external governance"? What can be done to reduce the growth of illiberal trends in Europe and beyond?

George Soros and his network of the Open Society Foundations, of which the International Renaissance Foundation is a part, have been prominent supporters of civil society in Ukraine for almost three decades. This support is driven by the idea of political philanthropy and the necessity to defend and promote values of the open society as a prerequisite of the harmonic development of states, societies and human beings.

DEVELOPING DEMOCRACY, TRANSPARENCY AND THE RULE OF LAW IN TIME OF NEW THREATS

HOST: YES

VENUE: Delegation conference hall, Mystetskyi Arsenal



KERSTI KALJULAI

President of Estonia

IVANNA KLYMPUSH-TSINTSADZE

Vice Prime Minister for European and Euroatlantic Integration

MODERATOR:

CARL BILDT

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

Four years after the Revolution of Dignity, Ukraine is still fighting corruption and building institutions that will ensure transparency and the rule of law. The Ukrainian Parliament has adopted the law on the High Anti-Corruption Court that was subsequently signed by the President of Ukraine. This was a major step in complying with the requirements of Ukraine's international partners. However, what remains to be done to make this institution function not only on paper but also in the Ukrainian society? What other steps need to be taken to speed up the reform process in Ukraine? What experience can Ukraine draw on from its international partners?

TECHNOLOGY IN A FAST CHANGING WORLD. UKRAINE'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE GROWTH OF THE WORLD TECH ECOSYSTEM.

HOST: Western NIS Enterprise Fund

VENUE: Creative Quarter Gulliver



LENNA KOSZARNY

CEO of Horizon Capital

YURII GOGOTSI

Nano-technology scientist

YAROSLAV AZHNIUK

CEO of Petcube

PAVEL VRZHESCH

Co-Founder of Banda Agency

SERHIY LESCHENKO

Member of the Parliament of Ukraine

MODERATOR:

CHARLES WHITEHEAD

Director of the Law, Technology and Entrepreneurship program at Cornell Tech; Professor of Law, Cornell University

How best to ensure that Ukraine's innovative tech industry continues to grow to the next level? What should be Ukraine's future contributions to expanding the world's tech ecosystem?

This nightcap will bring together some of the most prominent entrepreneurial thought leaders who are building and investing in successful world class companies in Ukraine.

ART AT THE 15TH YES ANNUAL MEETING

Every year, YES and the PinchukArtCentre present contemporary art.

The artworks are here to provoke thought and discussion beyond the usual conference discourse. Each work carries a message about our world today and tomorrow. The subjects specifically pertain to the heart of political debate.

The world's leading artists offer their vision for the future. Their works at the 15th YES Annual Meeting - The Next Generation of Everything - support debate on what lays ahead.

We invite all participants to engage with us in a discussion about the future and how these works play upon it.



Evolution / Mark Quinn

WHENEVER THE RAINBOW APPEARS

OLAFUR ELIASSON

The large painting by Olafur Eliasson called: "Whenever the rainbow appears" is installed as the main visual element for the YES Dining Hall. It is a reminder of the full spectrum of possibilities the future provides. The idea of the rainbow symbolizes hope and triggers our imagination giving capacity to see beyond what is evident and direct. It is a celebration of diversity and creation, a celebration of what is to come: the next generation of everything.

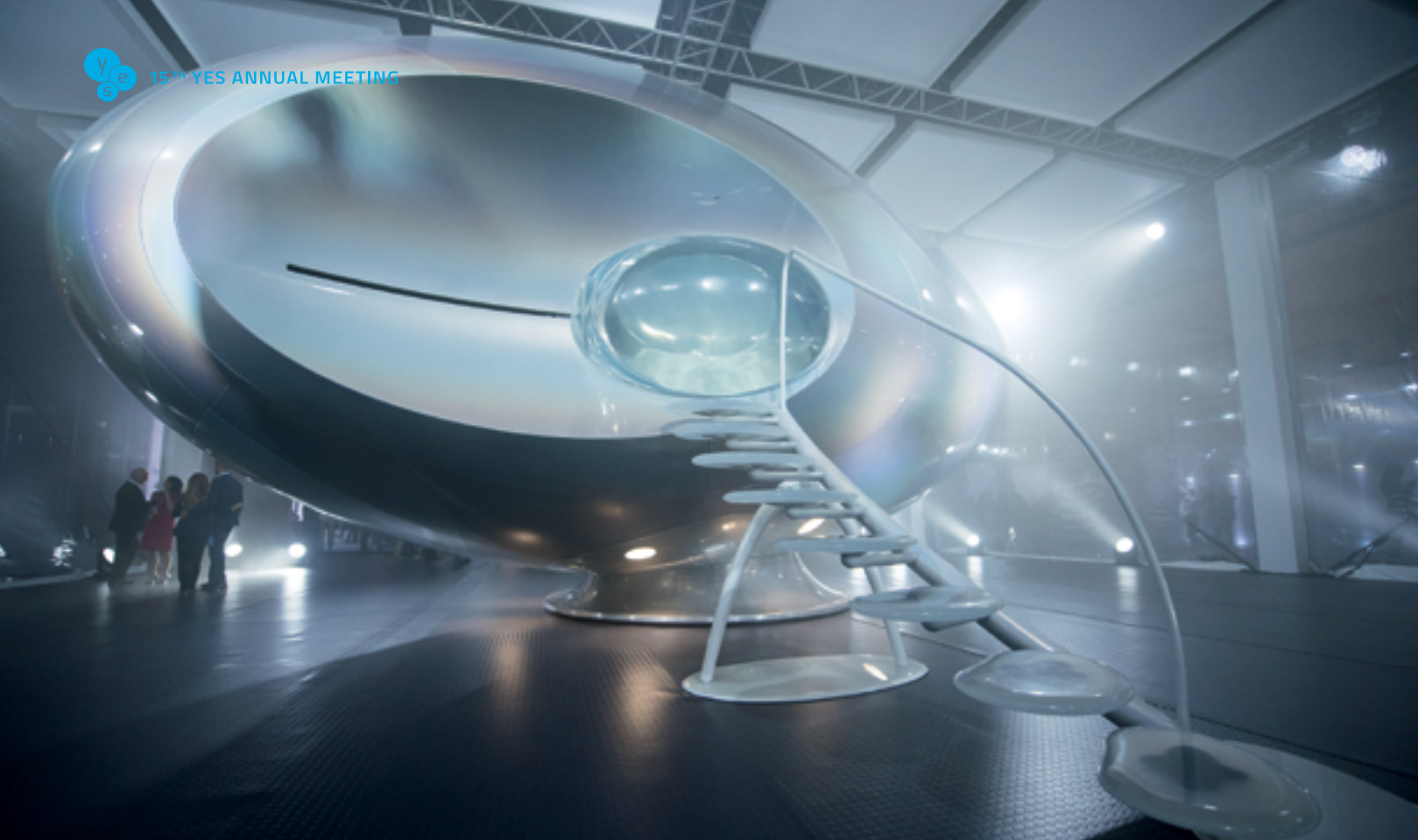
Whenever the Rainbow Appears / Olafur Eliasson



EVOLUTION

MARC QUINN

Evolution by Marc Quinn explores the idea of new life and through this new life an idea of new possibilities, hopes, and a future we have not yet imagined. This installation, comprising nine large sculptural components and one rock of unhewn marble, presents the human embryo throughout the stages of its development. Each sculpture represents one month in its gestation.



Wave UFO / Mariko Mori

UKRAINE: WAR & PEACE

TAKASHI MURAKAMI

Murakami paints flowers and skulls on the colors of the Ukrainian flag. One canvas, with skulls, depicts the price Ukraine is paying for the ongoing war and its hard-fought independence. The other canvas, filled with flowers, shows the hope and a bright future for a country that has all the potential to flourish.

The title: "Ukraine: War and Peace" is a reference to both Tolstoy's novel and the reality of Ukraine today.



Ukraine: War & Piece / Takashi Murakami

WAVE UFO

MARIKO MORI

Wave UFO is a symbol for the future. It suggests a world connected beyond its own and people connected with each other. Through the UFO, Mori explores ideas of cosmos through technology and spirituality.

The work is an interactive experience that brings 3 people together. They will see images and hear sounds that are a direct result from their collective brain waves measured during their experience.



LES MEES

ANDREAS GURSKY

Les Mées is an image of a photovoltaic plant near Marseille in France. In this exceptional location, the panels become part of the landscape. It is an image that allows you to see the old world, represented by the mountains, in the background, and the modern world, represented by the plant, up front. Les Mées, like Kamiokande, is looking at the stars, more specifically the sun that feeds the world today and is the source of the future's clean energy, while depicting the impact this potentially has on nature.

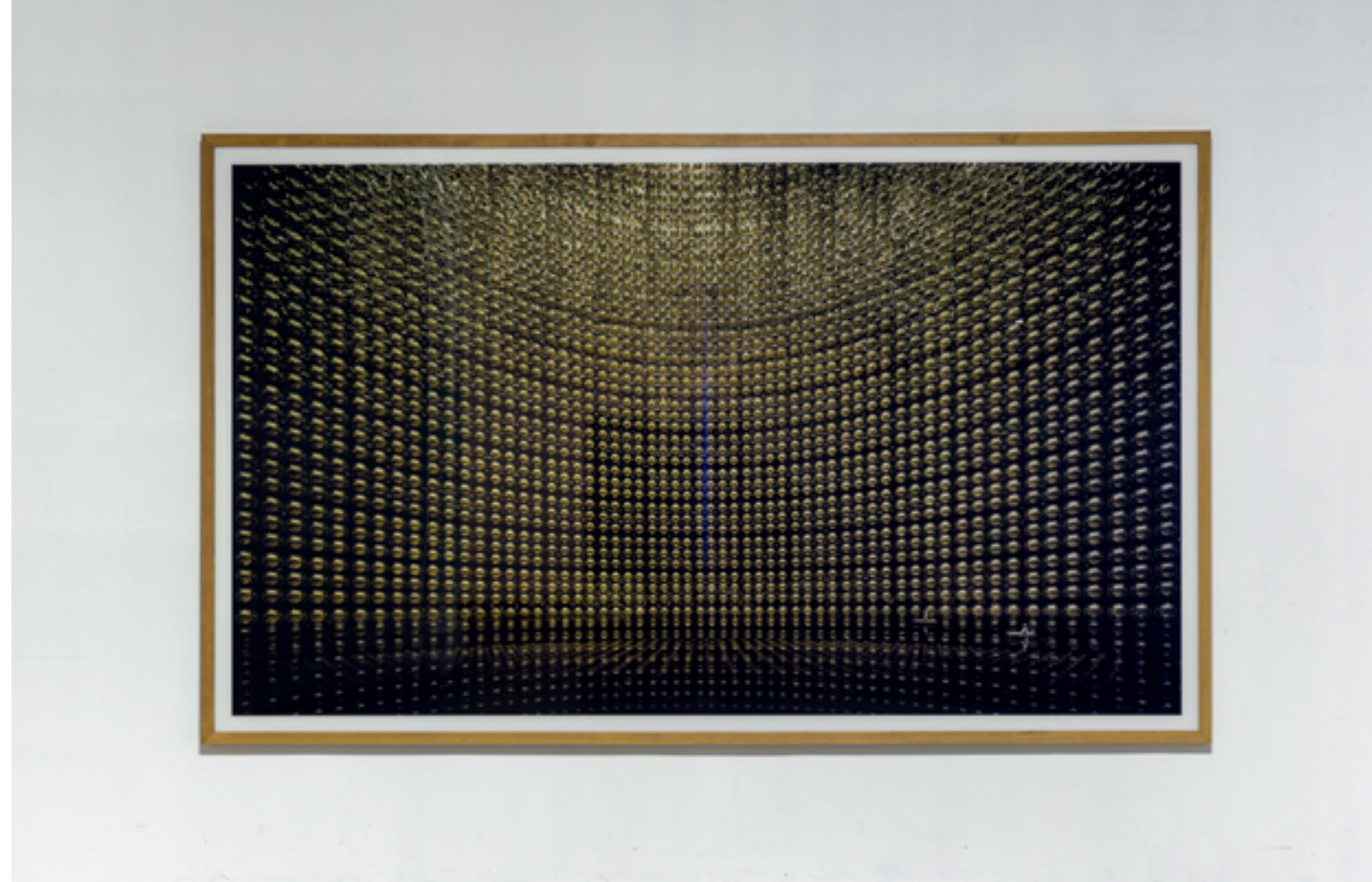
Les Mees, Andreas Gursky

KAMIOKANDE

ANDREAS GURSKY

Kamiokande is an image made inside a neutrino observatory located 1,000 m under Mount Ikeno in Japan. It was designed to detect high-energy neutrinos to search for proton decay, study solar and atmospheric neutrinos, and keep watch for supernovae in the Milky Way Galaxy.

In the context of the conference, the work refers to our search for new technologies and science. Studying space offers us a different understanding of our world and generates potential new ideas that could revolutionize the world as we know it today.



Kamiokande / Andreas Gursky

REFLEXAO #2

RAQUEL KOGAN

Reflexao #2 by Raquel Kogan makes each visitor become a digital entity. Upon entering her immersive work, it seems as though one has entered a digital space and left the real world. The work plays upon the way digital reality has gained real-world rights and relevance and how its deep impact has grown into the way we live our life and develop our skills. A human being, outside of the digital reality, seems like a hard-to-imagine future.

Reflexao #2 / Raquel Kogan



ONENESS

MARIKO MORI

Oneness by Mariko Mori suggests the idea of openness and overcoming fear of unknown. The work is a metaphor of society's attitude towards outcasts and calls to reach out and part from prejudice. In the context of the works in this exhibition, it directs our thoughts to space. To where we will explore the unknown and, with a mixture of joy and curiousness, welcome new ideas and realities.

Oneness, Mariko Mori





Cracked Egg / Jeff Koons

CRACKED EGG

JEFF KOONS

Cracked egg is a meticulous and monumental painting of an open eggshell. The painting suggests the birth of something new. In the context of the forum one can imagine the birth

of new ideas, a new life, a new generation. It suggests we know something is coming but at the moment we can only imagine what it will be. Perhaps the next generation of everything.



Double landing and Weeding / Vasyl Tsagolov

DOUBLE LANDING AND WEEDING

VASYL TSAGOLOV

Double landing and Weeding by Tsagolov are two paintings that introduce the human beings to the landing of Aliens. With a strong sense of humor and irony, rural life gets interrupted and partially taken over by the extraterrestrial lifeforms. Tsagolov depicts the entire scene with a wonderful nativity offering us a sense of balance where the existence of aliens becomes a natural part of our existence.



UNTITLED

MARTIN KOBE

Untitled by Martin Kobe explores how the virtual realm takes over and merges into reality. On the canvas it seems those two worlds collide. Space, architecture, and time transform into one giving a sense of movement and progress. The painting brings our gaze to a near-science fiction world where construction and de-construction are in continuous flux. Where the old is systematically replaced by the new.

Untitled / Martin Kobe

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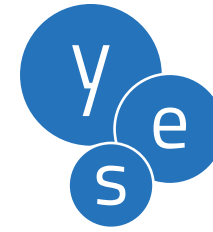
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