



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

**AT RISK:**  
HOW NEW UKRAINE'S  
FATE AFFECTS EUROPE  
AND THE WORLD

KYIV, SEPTEMBER 10 – 12, 2015

CONFERENCE REPORT



12th YALTA EUROPEAN STRATEGY ANNUAL MEETING  
September 10–12, 2015  
Kyiv, Ukraine  
Mystetskyi Arsenal

## AT RISK: HOW NEW UKRAINE'S FATE AFFECTS EUROPE AND THE WORLD

### THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 10

20:00

#### WELCOMING REMARKS

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

#### Dinner Discussion:

#### TIME TO DELIVER! WHAT UKRAINE EXPECTS FROM EUROPE — AND VICE VERSA

#### Moderator:

**Dmytro Shymkiv**, Deputy Head,  
Administration of the President of Ukraine

#### Speakers:

**Jean Asselborn**, Minister of Foreign and European Affairs  
of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg

**Anders Fogh Rasmussen**, Secretary General, NATO (2009–2014);  
Prime Minister of Denmark (2001–2009)

**Radosław Sikorski**, Member of the Parliament of Poland; Speaker,  
Sejm of Poland (2014–2015); Minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland  
(2007–2014)

#### Remarks:

**Bruno Maçães**, Secretary of State for European Affairs,  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Portugal

### FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 11

## HOW NEW UKRAINE'S FATE AFFECTS EUROPE AND THE WORLD

10:00

#### CONFERENCE OPENING

#### WELCOMING REMARKS

**Victor Pinchuk**, Founder and Member of the Supervisory Board,  
Yalta European Strategy; Founder, Victor Pinchuk Foundation and  
EastOne group Ltd.

10:05

#### Opening speech of the President of Ukraine **Petro Poroshenko**: HOW NEW UKRAINE'S FATE AFFECTS EUROPE AND THE WORLD

#### Moderator:

**Gideon Rachman**, Chief Foreign Affairs Columnist, Financial Times

#### Speaker:

**Petro Poroshenko**, President of Ukraine

11:45

#### CONTAINMENT, NEW YALTA, OR WHAT? RESTORING EUROPEAN SECURITY

**Voting:** How to reform existing security structures?

#### Moderator:

**Gideon Rachman**, Chief Foreign Affairs Columnist, Financial Times

#### Speakers:

**James Appathurai**, Deputy Assistant Secretary General for Political  
Affairs and Security Policy, Secretary General's Special Representative  
for the Caucasus and Central Asia, NATO

**Wolfgang Ischinger**, Chairman, Munich Security Conference

**Pavlo Klimkin**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine

**Gen. Stanley McChrystal**, (US Army, Retired), Commander, ISAF  
(2009–2010); Commander, USFOR-A (2009–2010); Co-Founder,  
McChrystal Group

**Strobe Talbott**, President, Brookings Institution; Chair, Foreign Affairs  
Policy Board, U.S. Department of State

**Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga**, President of Latvia (1999–2007)

#### Remarks:

**Ruslan Grinberg**, Director, Institute of Economics, Russian Academy  
of Sciences

**Gen. Rainer Schuwirth** (Retired), Chief of Staff, SHAPE (2004–2007)



12:45

**Working Lunch:**  
**JOINT CHALLENGES, SEPARATE VALUES?**  
**CHANGING DIVIDING LINES IN A VOLATILE WORLD**

**Voting:** What will be the major change in the international system in the coming 5 years?

**Moderator:**  
**Gideon Rachman**, Chief Foreign Affairs Columnist, Financial Times

**Speakers:**  
**Yevgenia Albats**, Editor-in-Chief and CEO, The New Times, Russian Federation  
**Carl Bildt**, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Sweden (2006–2014); Prime Minister of Sweden (1991–1994)  
**Elmar Brok**, Member of the European Parliament, EPP Group; Chair, Committee on Foreign Affairs  
**Ruslan Grinberg**, Director, Institute of Economics, Russian Academy of Sciences  
**Wolfgang Schäussel**, Federal Chancellor of the Republic of Austria (2000–2007)  
**Javier Solana**, President, ESADE Center for Global Economy and Geopolitics; Member of the Supervisory Board, Yalta European Strategy

**Remarks:**  
**Ribal Al-Assad**, Founder and Chairman, The IMAN Foundation  
**Vladislav Inozemtsev**, Director, Centre for Post-Industrial Studies  
**Judith Miller**, Adjunct Fellow, Manhattan Institute; Commentator, Fox News

14:30

**ENERGY — FROM GORDIAN KNOT TO SILVER BULLET?**

**Moderator:**  
**Gideon Rachman**, Chief Foreign Affairs Columnist, Financial Times

**Speakers:**  
**Andriy Kobolyev**, Chief Executive Officer, NaftoGaz of Ukraine  
**Carlos Pascual**, Senior Vice President, IHS; Special Envoy and Coordinator for International Energy Affairs, U.S. Department of State (2011–2014)  
**Radosław Sikorski**, Member of the Parliament of Poland; Speaker, Sejm of Poland (2014–2015); Minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland (2007–2014)  
**Ian R Taylor**, President and CEO, Vitol Group  
**Maxim Timchenko**, CEO, DTEK LLC.

**Remarks:**  
**Viktoriya Voytsitska**, Member of the Parliament of Ukraine; Secretary, Committee on Fuel and Energy Complex, Nuclear Policy and Nuclear Safety

16:00

**RESCUING THE GLOBAL ECONOMY — AND UKRAINE'S?**

**Voting:** What should be the Western strategy vis-à-vis Ukraine's economy?

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

**Speakers:**  
**Ronnie C. Chan**, Chairman, Hang Lung Properties Ltd.  
**Johannes Hahn**, Commissioner for European Neighborhood Policy and Enlargement Negotiations, European Commission  
**Natalie Jaresko**, Minister of Finance of Ukraine  
**Arthur Laffer**, Founder and Chairman, Laffer Associates and Laffer Investments  
**Dominique Strauss-Kahn**, Managing Partner, Parnasse International; Managing Director, International Monetary Fund (2007–2011)  
**Lawrence H. Summers**, President Emeritus and the Charles W. Eliot University Professor, Harvard University

**Remarks:**  
**Philip Bennett**, First Vice President and COO, EBRD

17:30

**GLOBAL CHALLENGES AND THEIR INTERCONNECTION**

**Speakers:**  
**Tony Blair**, Prime Minister, Great Britain and Northern Ireland (1997–2007)  
**Shimon Peres**, The Ninth President of the State of Israel

**Moderator:**  
**Victor Pinchuk**, Founder and Member of the Supervisory Board, Yalta European Strategy; Founder, Victor Pinchuk Foundation and EastOne group Ltd.

**Dinner Conversation:**  
**TRUTH TODAY: INFORMATION, NARRATIVES, MEDIA, PROPAGANDA**

18:30

**Voting:** How to reform existing security structures?

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

**Speakers:**  
**Bernard-Henri Lévy**, Philosopher and Writer; Director, La Règle Du Jeu  
**Peter Pomeranzen**, Senior Fellow to the Transitions Forum, Legatum Institute  
**Oksana Zabuzhko**, Author

20:30 **Special TV link:  
HOW NEW UKRAINE'S FATE AFFECTS EUROPE AND THE WORLD**

**Speaker:**  
**Donald J. Trump**, Chairman and President, The Trump Organization

**SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 12** **HOW NEW UKRAINE'S FATE AFFECTS EUROPE AND THE WORLD**

09:30 **WELCOMING REMARKS**

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

**Speakers:**  
**Arseniy Yatsenyuk**, Prime Minister of Ukraine

10:45 **THE REFORM TEAM — WHAT THEY HAVE AND HAVE NOT ACHIEVED AND WHY?**

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

**Speakers:**  
**Aivaras Abromavičius**, Minister of Economic Development and Trade of Ukraine  
**Anders Åslund**, Senior Fellow, The Atlantic Council  
**Valeriya Gontareva**, Governor, National Bank of Ukraine  
**Ivan Mikloš**, Member of the National Council of the Slovak Republic; Minister of Finance of the Slovak Republic (2002–2006, 2010–2012)  
**Oleksiy Pavlenko**, Minister of Agrarian Policy and Food of Ukraine  
**Andriy Pyvovarsky**, Minister of Infrastructure of Ukraine

12:20 **UKRAINE'S EAST AND CRIMEA: SOLVING THE UNSOLVABLE**

**Voting:** What should Ukraine do about the East and Crimea?

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

**Speakers:**  
**José Manuel Barroso**, President of the European Commission (2004–2014)  
**Refat Chubarov**, Member of the Parliament of Ukraine; Chairman, Mejlis of the Crimean Tatar People  
**Leonid Kuchma**, President of Ukraine (1994–2005)  
**Victoria Nuland**, Assistant Secretary, Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs, U.S. Department of State  
**Gen. David H. Petraeus** (US Army, Retired), Chairman, KKR Global Institute, KKR & Co. L.P.; Director, CIA (2011–2012)  
**Lamberto Zannier**, Secretary General, Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe

**Remarks:**  
**Sevgil Musaieva**, Editor-in-Chief, Ukrayinska Pravda  
**Andrej Plenković**, Member of the European Parliament, EPP Group; Vice-Chair, Committee on Foreign Affairs; Chair, Delegation to the EU-Ukraine Parliamentary Association Committee  
**Vitaly Portnikov**, Anchorman, "Espresso TV"

13:30 **Working Lunch  
TOLERANCE AND HUMAN RIGHTS —  
THE RESPONSIBILITY OF BUSINESS AND SOCIAL LEADERS**

**Moderator:**  
**Victor Pinchuk**, Founder and Member of the Supervisory Board, Yalta European Strategy; Founder, Victor Pinchuk Foundation and EastOne group Ltd.

**Speakers:**  
**John Andrew Henry Forrest**, Chairman, Fortescue Metals Group  
**Sir Elton John**, Founder, Elton John AIDS Foundation



15:00

### RULE OF LAW, DE-OLIGARCHIZATION, FIGHTING CORRUPTION: ANY NEWS?

**Voting:** Who is pushing reforms, who is blocking?

**Moderator:**

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

**Speakers:**

**Serhiy Leshchenko**, Member of the Parliament of Ukraine; Chairperson, Subcommittee on International Cooperation and Implementation of Anti-Corruption Legislation, Committee on Corruption Prevention and Counteraction  
**Thomas O. Melia**, Executive Director, Democracy International  
**Mikheil Saakashvili**, Head, Odessa Regional State Administration  
**Davit Sakvarelidze**, Deputy Prosecutor General of Ukraine  
**Artem Sytnik**, Director, National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine

16:30

### DECENTRALIZATION — PANACEAS AND TROJAN HORSES

**Voting:** Who is pushing reforms, who is blocking?

**Moderator:**

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

**Speakers:**

**Volodymyr Groysman**, Chairman, Parliament of Ukraine  
**Vitali Klitschko**, Mayor of Kyiv  
**Aleksander Kwaśniewski**, President of Poland (1995-2005); Chairman of the Supervisory Board, Yalta European Strategy  
**Sergiy Lyovochkin**, Member of the Parliament of Ukraine, Deputy Head of the Faction, "Opposition Block" Political Party  
**Serhiy Taruta**, Member of the Parliament of Ukraine; Head, Donetsk Regional State Administration (2014)

18:00

### HOW TO REFORM UKRAINE'S ARMY AND SECURITY SECTOR

**Voting:** What should Ukraine do about the East and Crimea?

**Moderator:**

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

**Speakers:**

**Carl Bildt**, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Sweden (2006-2014)  
**Yuriy Lutsenko**, Member of the Parliament of Ukraine; Head of the Faction, Petro Poroshenko Bloc

**Gen. Stanley McChrystal** (US Army, Retired), Commander, ISAF (2009-2010); Commander, USFOR-A (2009-2010); Co-Founder, McChrystal Group  
**Mustafa Nayyem**, Member of the Parliament of Ukraine; Deputy Head of the Faction, Petro Poroshenko Bloc  
**Gen. David H. Petraeus** (US Army, Retired), Chairman, KKR Global Institute, KKR & Co. L.P.; Director, CIA (2011 –2012)  
**Ekaterine Zguladze-Glucksmann**, First Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs of Ukraine

**Remarks:**

**Gen. Rainer Schuwirth** (Retired), Chief of Staff, SHAPE (2004-2007)

18:45

### CLOSING VOTING: WHAT WILL UKRAINE LOOK LIKE IN THREE YEARS?

**Moderator:**

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

18:50

### CLOSING REMARKS

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



Dear friends,

What happens in Ukraine concerns us all. Our world changed. Thousands of innocent people died, and the rules of international order established since 1945 were shaken. This is not just a human tragedy. This is a country in the middle of Europe, where people die for European values. If they lose, it is an invitation to destroy these European values. Ukrainians and foreigners who defend Ukraine also defend these values.

This triptych by Damien Hirst on the wall of our conference room is called 'Doorways to the Kingdom of Heaven.' It symbolizes for me the souls of those, who died defending Ukraine on Euromaidan, at the front and next to the Ukrainian parliament, Verkhovna Rada. They watch us. They expect us to act, so that they did not die in vain.

I hope our group of friends built since 2004 and our tradition of completely open dialog, which we kept through all years, will be a strong asset for a new Ukraine.

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

# WELCOMING REMARKS & DINNER DISCUSSION: TIME TO DELIVER! WHAT UKRAINE EXPECTS FROM EUROPE — AND VICE VERSA

September 10, 2015

## CONFERENCE OPENING:

**ALEKSANDER KWAŚNIEWSKI**, President of Poland (1995–2005); Chairman of the Supervisory Board, Yalta European Strategy

## SPEAKERS:

**JEAN ASSELBORN**, Minister of Foreign and European Affairs of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg

**ANDERS FOGH RASMUSSEN**, Secretary General, NATO (2009–2014); Prime Minister of Denmark (2001–2009)

**RADOSŁAW SIKORSKI**, Member of the Parliament of Poland; Speaker, Sejm of Poland (2014–2015); Minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland (2007–2014)

## MODERATOR:

**DMYTRO SHYMKIV**, Deputy Head, Administration of the President of Ukraine

## REMARKS:

**BRUNO MAÇÃES**, Secretary of State for European Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Portugal



### DMYTRO SHYMKIV

"Preserving the unity of Ukraine is crucial, especially taking into account the permanent threat from the Russian Federation."

### JEAN ASSELBORN

"I remain convinced that the EU, economically and politically, will stay with Ukraine."

### WE HAVE STRONGER SOLIDARITY AND UNITY ON UKRAINE THAN ON THE MIGRANT ISSUE.

President Poroshenko should do everything to make monopolies disappear. Then oligarchy will also disappear."

### ALEKSANDER KWAŚNIEWSKI

"What happens in Ukraine will influence the region, Europe and the world."

### ANDERS FOGH RASMUSSEN

"In less than two years, the government and the President have done more in some areas than had been done in two decades."

To create a broad support for one's reform efforts, one must be clear in defining what the long-term goal is."

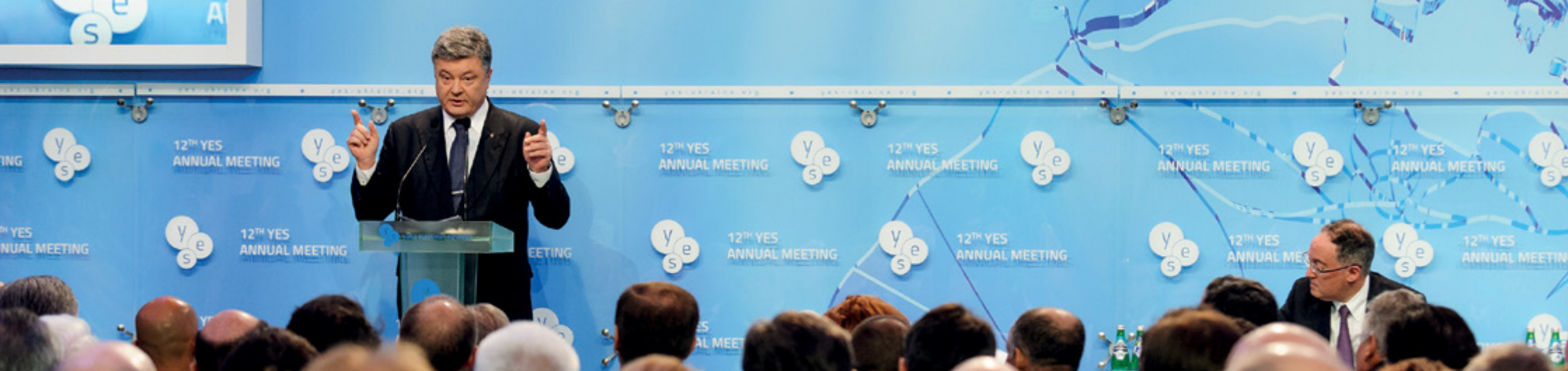
### RADOSŁAW SIKORSKI

"We should put a storage of modern anti-tank weaponry in the vicinity of Ukraine, so that it could be transported to the country on short notice, if Russia escalates the conflict."

Time is not working to the Kremlin's advantage."







## OPENING SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT OF UKRAINE PETRO POROSHENKO: HOW NEW UKRAINE'S FATE AFFECTS EUROPE AND THE WORLD

September 11, 2015

### SPEAKER:

**PETRO POROSHENKO**, President of Ukraine

### MODERATOR:

**GIDEON RACHMAN**, Chief Foreign Affairs Columnist, Financial Times

### PETRO POROSHENKO

“The EU flag was sprinkled with Ukrainian blood.

**RUSSIA, WHICH HAD FAILED TO BECOME AN ATTRACTIVE SOFT POWER, UNLEASHED ITS MILITARY POWER TO RESTRAIN UKRAINE'S QUEST FOR MODERNIZATION AND EUROPEAN INTEGRATION.**

By the aggression against the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Ukraine, Russia has challenged the entire democratic world.

Russian aggression against a new Ukraine has become a test for the Europeans — a test for solidarity, a test for unity, a test for freedom and democracy, adherence to common values and principles.”







**y e s** 12<sup>th</sup> YALTA EUROPEAN STRATEGY ANNUAL MEETING

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# CONTAINMENT, NEW YALTA, OR WHAT? RESTORING EUROPEAN SECURITY

September 11, 2015

## SPEAKERS:

**JAMES APPATHURAI**, Deputy Assistant Secretary General for Political Affairs and Security Policy, Secretary General's Special Representative for the Caucasus and Central Asia, NATO

**WOLFGANG ISCHINGER**, Chairman, Munich Security Conference

**PAVLO KLIMKIN**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine

**GEN. STANLEY MCCHRYSTAL**, (US Army, Retired), Commander, ISAF (2009–2010); Commander, USFOR-A (2009–2010); Co-Founder, McChrystal Group

**STROBE TALBOTT**, President, Brookings Institution; Chair, Foreign Affairs Policy Board, U.S. Department of State

**VAIRA VĪĶE-FREIBERGA**, President of Latvia (1999–2007)

## MODERATOR:

**GIDEON RACHMAN**, Chief Foreign Affairs Columnist, Financial Times

## REMARKS:

**RUSLAN GRINBERG**, Director, Institute of Economics, Russian Academy of Sciences

**GEN. RAINER SCHUWIRTH** (Retired), Chief of Staff, SHAPE (2004–2007)



## PAVLO KLIMKIN

“ So far, we don't have a comprehensive and consistent EU policy towards Russia and the Middle East.

Ukraine needs NATO's assistance in supporting a comprehensive reform of our security and defence sector.”

## JAMES APPATHURAI

“ Russia is putting pressure on many fronts, on the institutions, the rules, the frameworks that we put in place after the Cold War.

**WE CANNOT HAVE ANOTHER YALTA, WITH BIG COUNTRIES DOING A DEAL ON THE BACKS OF SMALLER COUNTRIES.**

## STROBE TALBOTT

“ **RUSSIANS WILL NOT FEEL, PARTICULARLY UNDER THE CURRENT REGIME, THAT RUSSIA IS COMPLETELY SECURE, UNLESS ALL OF ITS NEIGHBOURS ARE INSECURE.**

The motive for this cease-fire is not intended to be a platform for a real and lasting peace, rather it is an attempt to lull the West. [...] So that, when we get to the end of the year, there is less chance for the rollover of the sanctions.”

Ukraine and what is happening here is not an isolated incident. It is a part of the pattern. And it is a symptom, not the cause of instability in Europe.”





**WOLFGANG ISCHINGER**

“ We would be betraying our fundamental principles [...] if we allowed a thinking of spheres of influence, or of lesser sovereignty.”

The most important question is to make Ukraine an effective, growth-based, corruption-free, attractive country. That will make the division within the country disappear.”

**VAIRA VĪĶE-FREIBERGA**

“ The West has not done as badly, as one might fear, but it has not done as well, as one might had hoped.

Just because the Russian Federation is a large country, this does not give them privileges.”

**STANLEY MCCRYSTAL**

“ The political part can change more rapidly than the military part. It always takes longer to build military capacity than to change political opinion.”

**RAINER SCHUWIRTH**

“ We should use the existing institutions more effectively, including NATO-Russia, EU-Russia bilateral programs.”



**RUSLAN GRINBERG**

“ We have to go on living together. We have to restore confidence and trust. There is no alternative to the Minsk agreement and political settlement.

It would be counter-productive to try to encourage Ukraine to accede to NATO. [...] Once our good relations are restored, Ukraine and Russia can together accede to NATO.

There are two reasons for the current ‘Cold War’: the West’s triumphalism after 1991, and Russia’s ‘big brother complex’, which prevents the restoration of good relations.”



# WORKING LUNCH: JOINT CHALLENGES, SEPARATE VALUES? CHANGING DIVIDING LINES IN A VOLATILE WORLD

September 11, 2015

## SPEAKERS:

**YEVGENIA ALBATS**, Editor-in-Chief and CEO, The New Times, Russian Federation

**CARL BILD**T, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Sweden (2006–2014); Prime Minister of Sweden (1991–1994)

**ELMAR BROK**, Member of the European Parliament, EPP Group; Chair, Committee on Foreign Affairs

**RUSLAN GRINBERG**, Director, Institute of Economics, Russian Academy of Sciences

**WOLFGANG SCHÜSSEL**, Federal Chancellor of the Republic of Austria (2000–2007)

**JAVIER SOLANA**, President, ESADE Center for Global Economy and Geopolitics; Member of the Supervisory Board, Yalta European Strategy

## MODERATOR:

**GIDEON RACHMAN**, Chief Foreign Affairs Columnist, Financial Times

## REMARKS:

**RIBAL AL-ASSAD**, Founder and Chairman, The IMAN Foundation

**VLADISLAV INOZEMTSEV**, Director, Centre for Post-Industrial Studies

**JUDITH MILLER**, Adjunct Fellow, Manhattan Institute; Commentator, Fox News Chief of Staff, SHAPE (2004–2007)

## ELMAR BROK

“ THE MIGRATION QUESTION SHOWS THAT THE EU DOES NOT HAVE ENOUGH INSTRUMENTS TO COOPERATE AND ADDRESS LARGE-SCALE PROBLEMS. WE IN EUROPE HAVE FORGOTTEN TO TALK ABOUT OUR VALUES AND MAKE OUR PEOPLE AWARE OF THEM.”



## CARL BILD

“ ALL THE AMBITIONS OF THE EU AS A GLOBAL ACTOR AND A FORCE FOR PEACE WILL BE SEVERELY NEGATIVELY IMPACTED BY A GROWING BURST OF POPULISM.”



## YEVGENIA ALBATS

“ Today, Russians have chosen the idea of territorial expansion over development and modernization.

For Russia today, the way to solve domestic problems is to create problems outside your borders.

The majority of Russians do not know Europe firsthand. This makes them easy targets of Russian propaganda.”







#### WOLFGANG SCHÜSSEL

“ The key factor for Ukraine is no longer the military situation, it is economic success. It can become a shining example for Belarus, Moldova, Russia and the Caucasus. ”

#### VLADISLAV INOZEMTSEV

“ When Russia will make another attempt to normalize itself, the West should help and have a profound program of what to do with post-Putin Russia.

You will never defeat Putin on question of values, because ‘values’ is a very speculative concept. If you want to win the souls of Russians, you should not oppose values to values, but norms and rules to demagogical ideas. ”

#### JAVIER SOLANA

“ **THE MOST IMPORTANT VALUE TODAY FOR EVERY COUNTRY IS TO BE ABLE TO COOPERATE IN A CONSTRUCTIVE MANNER TO SOLVE GLOBAL PROBLEMS. NOBODY CAN DO IT ALONE.** ”

#### JUDITH MILLER

“ Why has Putin stopped the shelling in the East — is he distracted by Iran and Syria, or has it been the Ukrainian army’s stepped up response? The future of this country may hinge on the answer to this question. ”





# ENERGY — FROM GORDIAN KNOT TO SILVER BULLET?

September 11, 2015

## SPEAKERS:

**ANDRIY KOBOLYEV**, Chief Executive Officer, NaftoGaz of Ukraine

**CARLOS PASCUAL**, Senior Vice President, IHS;  
Special Envoy and Coordinator for International Energy Affairs,  
U.S. Department of State (2011–2014)

**RADOSŁAW SIKORSKI**, Member of the Parliament of Poland; Speaker, Sejm of Poland (2014–2015);  
Minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland (2007–2014)

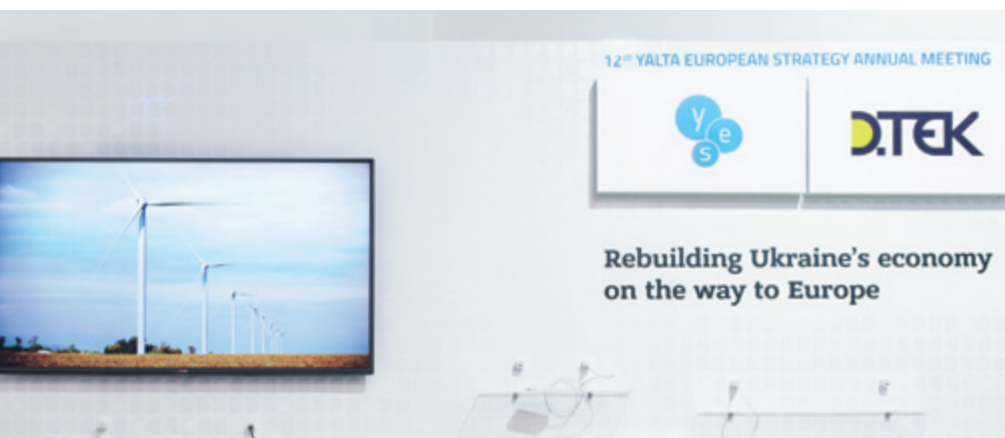
**IAN R TAYLOR**, President and CEO, Vitol Group

**MAXIM TIMCHENKO**, CEO, DTEK LLC

## MODERATOR:

**GIDEON RACHMAN**, Chief Foreign Affairs Columnist, Financial Times

**VIKTORIYA VOYTSITSKA**, Member of the Parliament of Ukraine; Secretary,  
Committee on Fuel and Energy Complex, Nuclear Policy and Nuclear Safety



## IAN R TAYLOR

“ Ukraine has fantastic oil and gas reserves. These are, in fact, the primary factor for energy security. With investment and the right political approach, Ukraine can be self-reliant. ”



## RADOSŁAW SIKORSKI

“ IF UKRAINE BECOMES AS ENERGY EFFICIENT, AS SOME OF THE CENTRAL EUROPEAN COUNTRIES ARE, IF IT CAN DO WITH ITS OWN GAS PRODUCTION VOLUMES, — THEN ITS CURRENT GEOPOLITICAL PROBLEMS WILL DISAPPEAR FROM THE HORIZON. ”



## VIKTORIYA VOYTSITSKA

“ We need to look at the consumption side first. Most of the assets that consume vast amounts of energy have been built in the Soviet era. They have greatly aged. Ukraine is one of the worst in terms of energy efficiency.

We need to make maximum use of domestically available resources and enhance energy efficiency. We need to look at the entire chain from production and energy generation to consumption, addressing all the issues in an action plan. ”





## RESCUING THE GLOBAL ECONOMY — AND UKRAINE’S?

September 11, 2015

### SPEAKERS:

**RONNIE C. CHAN**, Chairman, Hang Lung Properties Ltd.

**JOHANNES HAHN**, Commissioner for European Neighborhood Policy and Enlargement Negotiations, European Commission

**NATALIE JARESKO**, Minister of Finance of Ukraine

**ARTHUR LAFFER**, Founder and Chairman, Laffer Associates and Laffer Investments

**DOMINIQUE STRAUSS-KAHN**, Managing Partner, Parnasse International; Managing Director, International Monetary Fund (2007–2011)

**LAWRENCE H. SUMMERS**, President Emeritus and the Charles W. Eliot University Professor, Harvard University

### MODERATOR:

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

### REMARKS:

**PHILIP BENNETT**, First Vice President and COO, EBRD

#### NATALIE JARESKO

“ We had enough support [from the EU and the US] to stabilize the economy, but not enough to make the next step — reenergize the economy. We will need more support.

We need to take into context where we started in 2014 — 70 years of Communism, 27 years of incomplete reforms, 5 years of kleptocracy, and a revolution.

Restructuring will allow us to rebuild our credit rating, which will open the doors to US and European credit agencies, and re-open the possibility for our manufacturers to start importing. ”

#### LAWRENCE SUMMERS

“ The European governments are not providing half the money they promised.

**THERE COULD BE NO BETTER INVESTMENT IN U.S., EUROPEAN, AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY THAN AN ADDITIONAL \$50 BILLION PER YEAR FOR UKRAINE.**

If something goes wrong with Ukraine, we will lose much more money.

In the past 12 months, Ukraine has fulfilled every request from the United States, the EU and the IMF. ”

#### PHILIP BENNETT

“ There is a difference between peace and security. There is a similar difference between economic activity and economic activity that comes from unleashing private sector investment.

For EBRD, Ukraine presents an opportunity to validate a viable alternative model to what is going on in the region. Our client states — Belarus, Moldova, Armenia — have been stuck in transition. Ukraine has set a bad example for 20 years, but now we have a chance to really reverse that and set a new course. ”

#### JOHANNES HAHN

“ Legislative changes have been introduced, but implementing them will be a real challenge. Stimulating business and the economy would require less corruption and more transparency. ”



# GLOBAL CHALLENGES AND THEIR INTERCONNECTION

September 11, 2015

## SPEAKERS:

**TONY BLAIR**, Prime Minister, Great Britain and Northern Ireland (1997–2007)

**SHIMON PERES**, The Ninth President of the State of Israel

## MODERATOR:

**VICTOR PINCHUK**, Founder and Member of the Supervisory Board, Yalta European Strategy;  
Founder, Victor Pinchuk Foundation and EastOne Group Ltd.

### TONY BLAIR

“ You are carrying on your shoulders the hope not only of your country, but the hope and values of all of Europe. ”

### SHIMON PERES

“ Do not attempt to solve the problems of the past.

**THIS TIME IN HISTORY YOU CAN MAKE YOURSELF BIG WITHOUT NECESSARILY MAKING ANYBODY SMALL. ”**



# SPECIAL TV LINK: HOW NEW UKRAINE'S FATE AFFECTS EUROPE AND THE WORLD

September 11, 2015

## SPEAKERS:

**DONALD J. TRUMP**, Chairman and President, The Trump Organization

## MODERATOR:

**DOUGLAS E. SCHOEN**, Founder, Douglas E. Schoen LLC

### DONALD J. TRUMP

“ I do not think that Ukraine is getting the respect it deserves. I do not think you are getting the support that you need.

The US has been supportive, but more verbally than anything else.

I am very much concerned for Ukraine, I am concerned about that region and what is going on there.

I believe that people from different corners of the world should help Ukraine. ”



# DINNER CONVERSATION: TRUTH TODAY. INFORMATION, NARRATIVES, MEDIA, PROPAGANDA

September 11, 2015

## SPEAKERS:

**BERNARD-HENRI LÉVY**, Philosopher and Writer; Director, La Règle Du Jeu

**PETER POMERANZEV**, Senior Fellow to the Transitions Forum, Legatum Institute

**OKSANA ZABUZHKO**, Author

## MODERATOR:

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

## OKSANA ZABUZHKO

“The cliché of Ukraine as “a country split into the East and the West” is a Russian propaganda trick. It forms a distorted picture of our country. It is the first stage of the war.

What we see in the 21st century is a grand “Potemkin village” created by a wonderful synthesis of Lubyanka and Hollywood to produce fictional stories.”



## BERNARD-HENRI LÉVY

“In every battle, the question of truth and lies is a part of the battlefield. In the battle “Kremlin vs. Ukraine”, the referee is the public opinion in the West.

Building a proper public space is an eternal task. Not only in Ukraine, but also in countries which were supposed to be already more mature in terms of democratic values.”



## PETER POMERANZEV

“RUSSIA TODAY HAS COMPLETELY DESTROYED THE LINE BETWEEN TRUTH AND LIE. THAT IS THE GOAL WHICH GUIDES THE RUSSIAN PROPAGANDA.

When there is an abundance of information, the reaction is not to believe anyone, but to go after emotional stories. There is no truth, and emotional concepts are more vital.”





# UKRAINE'S REFORM PROGRAM

September 12, 2015

## SPEAKER:

**ARSENIY YATSENYUK**, Prime Minister of Ukraine

## MODERATOR:

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



## ARSENIY YATSENYUK

“Fragility of the political coalition is a big block on our reform agenda.

Sanctions could be lifted only in one case: if the Minsk Agreement is fully implemented, and Donetsk, Luhansk and Crimea are back.

The strongest ally the government has is the Ukrainian people.

**I CAN SAY ONE THING WITH REGARD TO THE EU AND THE U.S.: UKRAINE SHOULD BE ON THEIR RADAR.”**





## THE REFORM TEAM — WHAT THEY HAVE AND HAVE NOT ACHIEVED AND WHY

September 12, 2015

### SPEAKERS:

**AIVARAS ABROMAVIČIUS**, Minister of Economic Development and Trade of Ukraine

**ANDERS ÅSLUND**, Senior Fellow, hhe Atlantic Council

**VALERIYA GONTAREVA**, Governor, National Bank of Ukraine

**IVAN MIKLOŠ**, Member of the National Council of the Slovak Republic; Minister of Finance of the Slovak Republic (2002–2006, 2010–2012)

**OLEKSIY PAVLENKO**, Minister of Agrarian Policy and Food of Ukraine

**ANDRIY PYVOVARSKY**, Minister of Infrastructure of Ukraine

### MODERATOR:

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

### ANDERS ÅSLUND

“ The main thing that you need is the complete lustration both on prosecutors and on judges. Otherwise, you can’t have rule of law in Ukraine.

The longer Ministers sit, the closer they get to vested interests. Let them move.

In the Baltics and Poland, 2 years after reforms have started, you had the worst populism. ”

### ANDRIY PYVOVARSKY

“ When we analyze, we understand that we cannot reform a certain area. We need to kill it completely and start a new thing from scratch.

Despite the fact that I call myself a technocrat, I am a politician. No matter how good the reform is, it should be properly communicated to MPs and the community.

The old bureaucracy is extremely wealthy. They created schemes that take cash flow from state-owned companies and the budget and make them multimillionaires.

**THE GREATEST CONCERN RIGHT NOW IS FAIR COMPENSATION FOR NEW CIVIL SERVANTS. WE CANNOT CREATE A NEW SYSTEM WITHOUT THIS. ”**







**IVAN MIKLOŠ**

**“ THE WORST ENEMY OF REFORMS IS POPULISM, AND IT HAS BEEN ON THE RISE. ANTI-POPULIST EFFORTS ARE IMPOSSIBLE WITHOUT DAILY COMMUNICATION AND DAILY EXPLAINING.**

Ukraine’s current problems, including raise of the tariffs and devaluation, are not because of reforms, but because of their absence.

We have to deal with the legacy of more than 70 years of the Communist rule and two decades of a dysfunctional state.

Leadership, ownership and communication are the three conditions of successful reforms. Leaders must be passionate about the reforms to convince people. ”



**OLEKSIY PAVLENKO**

“ For us and our teams, work in the government is to some extent an equivalent of volunteering for the army. We left our beautiful lives and joined the government in difficult times.

With proper regulations, Ukraine can be one of the most important countries for providing global food security. ”



**AIVARAS ABROMAVIČIUS**

“ We are losing the communications war to populists.

We got a lot of negative publicity in the media about things that we do, because some of the people we target end up owning some of the media.

Fighting corruption means putting people behind bars, at all levels. ”





# UKRAINE'S EAST AND CRIMEA: SOLVING THE UNSOLVABLE

September 12, 2015

## SPEAKERS:

**JOSÉ MANUEL BARROSO**, President of the European Commission (2004–2014)

**REFAT CHUBAROV**, Member of the Parliament of Ukraine;  
Chairman, Mejlis of the Crimean Tatar People

**LEONID KUCHMA**, President of Ukraine (1994–2005)

**VICTORIA NULAND**, Assistant Secretary, Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs,  
U.S. Department of State

**GEN. DAVID H. PETRAEUS** (US ARMY, RETIRED), Chairman,  
KKR Global Institute, KKR & Co. L.P.; Director, CIA (2011–2012)

**LAMBERTO ZANNIER**, Secretary General, OSCE

## MODERATOR:

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

## REMARKS:

**ANDREJ PLENKOVIĆ**, Member of the European Parliament, EPP Group;  
Vice-Chair, Committee on Foreign Affairs; Chair, Delegation to the EU-Ukraine  
Parliamentary Association Committee

**VITALY PORTNIKOV**, Anchorman, "Espresso TV"



### LAMBERTO ZANNIER

" This is a time, when there is a good chance for a political solution, [...] but we should also try in every possible way to avoid the scenario of a frozen conflict. "

### VICTORIA NULAND

" When crisis is acute, when struggle is new, the fight is fuelled by passion. But later, as you struggle for progress, people get cynical. That's exactly when Ukraine has to say again; "Yes, we can", to get the European future you deserve. "

### INFIGHTING IN UKRAINE WILL ONLY LEAD TO MUTUALLY ASSURED DESTRUCTION.

There must be zero tolerance for oligarchs, who don't pay their taxes, zero tolerance for bribery, for graft, for corruption, and zero tolerance for anyone, who would use violence to achieve political means in this country. "

### LEONID KUCHMA

" We should look for every diplomatic channel and other means to stop the fighting in Donbas. "

We cannot allow to forget what is happening in Ukraine, and we see that there is such a desire to forget.

The frozen conflict in Ukraine is in the interest of Russia. A means to prevent it would be the UN peacekeeping mission. "







#### VITALY PORTNIKOV

“What is going to happen after the currently occupied territories of Donbas and Crimea will return to Ukraine? They will return due to inevitable collapse of the Russian political regime. By then, the industry will be ruined by the Russian occupation and the population demoralized, and we will have to return them to a peaceful and productive life.

**A STABLE UKRAINE IS A PRECONDITION TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS OF AN UNSTABLE RUSSIA.”**



#### REFAT CHUBAROV

“An entire European nation was taken hostage in Crimea, the Crimean Tatars, who have in an organized way protested against the annexation. If you return in 15 years, you may not find these people there.”

#### DAVID H. PETRAEUS

“There is a military context in which the diplomatic arrangements will be reached and that context should be as favourable, as possible, for Ukraine.

What Putin would like to do is to re-establish the Russian empire. And as of Ukraine, he is afraid to see a democratic country with free market economy further to the West.

It is time for Western countries to consider defensive anti-tank systems, which will help Ukraine in defence against advance Russian tanks. It would give Ukrainian soldiers the ability to not give an inch of Ukrainian soil.

The solution to this crisis does not lie on the frontline. It is in Kyiv with continuation of reforms, which are very tough to continue.”

#### JOSÉ MANUEL BARROSO

“War in Ukraine was the most blatant violation of international law and the balance in Europe since the end of the Second World War.

As a matter of principle, we will never recognize the annexation of Crimea.

**INSTEAD OF TRYING TO GUESS WHAT PRESIDENT PUTIN WANTS, WE SHOULD START BY DEFINING OUR OWN STRATEGY AND STICK TO IT.**

Europe has to have a firm position in the matters of principle, but, at the same time, be ready to engage and conduct a dialogue with Russia. This is not giving up, but rather constructive.”

# WORKING LUNCH: TOLERANCE AND HUMAN RIGHTS — THE RESPONSIBILITY OF BUSINESS AND SOCIAL LEADERS

September 12, 2015

## SPEAKERS:

**JOHN ANDREW HENRY FORREST**, Chairman, Fortescue Metals Group

**SIR ELTON JOHN**, Founder, Elton John AIDS Foundation



## SIR ELTON JOHN

“ Being tolerant and inclusive is not only the moral right thing to do. For the new Ukraine, it’s the smart thing to do.

of age, race, gender, ethnicity, and sexual orientation is today the measure of an open, tolerant, and democratic society.

Laws and policies designed to repress LGBT citizens and to keep people in the shadow hinder economic development.

**THERE IS A REVOLUTION OF ACCEPTANCE AND UNDERSTANDING HAPPENING AROUND THE GLOBE. AND FOR ANY COUNTRY WANTING TO BUILD A MORE TOLERANT SOCIETY, YOU HAVE TO BE A PART OF IT. ”**

Basic fairness is an investment in human capital which drives business. Accepting people regardless

## JOHN ANDREW HENRY FORREST

“ We are an educated, enlightened generation, yet we still tolerate the intolerance of societies against sexuality and education of children, we tolerate mutilation.

Slavery is a scourge, but we have the weaponry now to fight it, with communication and with instruments to measure where we stand. We can end it. ”





# RULE OF LAW, DE-OLIGARCHIZATION, FIGHTING CORRUPTION: ANY NEWS?

September 12, 2015

## SPEAKERS:

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

**THOMAS O. MELIA**, Executive Director, Democracy International

**MIKHEIL SAAKASHVILI**, Head, Odessa Regional State Administration

**DAVIT SAKVARELIDZE**, Deputy Prosecutor General of Ukraine

**ARTEM SYTNIK**, Director, National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine

## MODERATOR:

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



## THOMAS O. MELIA

“ This is not just about better governance in Ukraine; this is about the survival of the sovereignty of this independent country.

Things can be done quickly and visibly when the right political will and determination is there.

Radically transforming the system is as crucial, as re-building the Ukrainian military while under fire in the Eastern Ukraine.

As the National Police of Ukraine has been re-invented and re-staffed, maybe, the judiciary should also go through this process. ”

**HAVE TRUST IN REFORMS, BUT VERIFY OFTEN.**



## ARTEM SYTNIK

“ The only issue that holds us back is the absence of an anti-corruption prosecutor.

The crimes that hold back the Ukrainian development are the ones committed by top officials.

**IF WE DO NOTHING WITH CORRUPTION IN 1,5 YEARS, UKRAINE WILL DISAPPEAR, BECAUSE IT IS CORRUPTION THAT IS DESTROYING UKRAINE. ”**







**SERHIY LESHCHENKO**

“ This is the time to do our homework and to demonstrate that we have enough political will to fulfil demand of the Ukrainian citizens.

Journalists are the main institution to combat corruption. Journalists will disclose, and prosecutors then should prosecute corrupt politicians.

Half of the members of Parliament are representatives of oligarchs and are just corrupt. One of the reasons why this can be is parliamentary immunity.

The Prosecutor General has an extremely high influence on how Ukrainians rate their government. People want to see effective prosecution of crimes.”

**MIKHEIL SAAKASHVILI**

“ We need to speed up reform. It’s reform or die, it’s whether Ukraine exists as a modern state or not. In Ukraine, the public is very mature, they push for reforms all the time.

Ukraine is owned liked a joint-stock company by certain oligarchs.

People assess the government according to their own experience. If they don’t see the concrete results for themselves, they get annoyed, frustrated, and civil servants get even less respected.”



**DAVIT SAKVARELIDZE**

“ What is going on now in the Prosecutor’s office now can be called an internal Maidan, which has never happened before. We are trying tear down and build the system at the same time.

We declared and announced an open and transparent recruitment for 700 managerial prosecutor positions all around the country.

**THE COURTS AND THE PROSECUTOR’S OFFICE ARE AT THE MOMENT THE LEAST TRUSTED INSTITUTIONS IN UKRAINE.**

We should try to save money when reforming the civil service. Cheap bureaucracy is always inefficient and corrupted.”







## DECENTRALIZATION — PANACEAS AND TROJAN HORSES

September 12, 2015

### SPEAKERS:

**VOLODYMYR GROYSMAN**, Chairman, Parliament of Ukraine

**VITALI KLITSCHKO**, Mayor of Kyiv

**ALEKSANDER KWAŚNIEWSKI**, President of Poland (1995–2005);  
Chairman of the Supervisory Board, Yalta European Strategy

**SERGIY LYOVOCHKIN**, Member of the Parliament of Ukraine,  
Deputy Head of the Faction, “Opposition Block” Political Party

**SERHIY TARUTA**, Member of the Parliament of Ukraine;  
Head, Donetsk Regional State Administration (2014)

### MODERATOR:

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

#### SERHIY TARUTA

“Decentralization and Donbas in a single discussion is a very explosive mixture.”

#### VITALI KLITSCHKO

“Decentralization is an imperative of our time. We have success stories from such countries, as Poland, Hungary and the Baltics, which have completed decentralization. We see how effective their societies now work.”

#### SERHIY LYOVOCHKIN

“We do not support decentralization as presented in the bill put to vote by the Parliament. It proposes that executive power in the regions is carried out by prefects, appointed by the Cabinet of Ministers and the President of Ukraine. Where is the role of actual local self-government in this?”

#### VOLODYMYR GROYSMAN

“Decentralization will allow Ukraine to become a real European democratic state.

The existing Constitution in Ukraine does not give a full-fledged mandate to local government. People are kept away from decision-making on that level.”



# HOW TO REFORM UKRAINE'S ARMY AND SECURITY SECTOR

September 12, 2015

## SPEAKERS:

**CARL BILD**T, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Sweden (2006–2014); Prime Minister of Sweden (1991–1994)

**YURIY LUTSENKO**, Member of the Parliament of Ukraine; Head of the Faction, Petro Poroshenko Bloc

**GEN. STANLEY MCCHRYS**TAL (US Army, Retired), Commander, ISAF (2009–2010); Commander, USFOR-A (2009–2010); Co-Founder, McChrystal Group

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

**GEN. DAVID H. PETRAE**US (US Army, Retired), Chairman, KKR Global Institute, KKR & Co. L.P.; Director, CIA (2011–2012)

**EKATERINE ZGULADZE-GLUCKSMANN**, First Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs of Ukraine

## MODERATOR:

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

## REMARKS:

**GEN. RAINER SCHUWIR**TH (Retired), Chief of Staff, SHAPE (2004–2007)



## EKATERINE ZGULADZE-GLUCKSMANN

“ We need to create a team that wants change, to multiply these team and create a ‘team of teams’ that leads, inspires and keeps on developing. We are not there yet.

The message we are sending to battalions and war-torn areas is that we are building the state that is going to serve them, is going to help them, and that their interests come first.”



## YURIY LUTSENKO

“ We have to completely reboot the Ukrainian judiciary, and we should do this by suspending all current judges, and hiring — via an open selection process — people who have university degrees in law, but no track record as judges.

We have a huge amount of weapons owned illegally by individuals across the country who are not accountable to the state and who are ready to use it based on their own sense of justice.



**THERE IS A HUGE GAP BETWEEN LAW AND ENFORCEMENT OF ADOPTED LAW IN UKRAINE.”**

## MUSTAFA NAYYEM

“ **WHAT WAS DONE FOR THE COUNTRY AFTER MAIDAN WAS DONE BY VOLUNTEERS. VOLUNTEERS ARE ONE OF THE SYMBOLS OF UNITY OF OUR COUNTRY, AND, STILL, A CHALLENGE FOR OUR GOVERNMENT NOW.”**







**GEN. RAINER SCHUWIRTH**

“The political masters expect loyalty from their security forces. But there is also loyalty the other way around, which is the right to receive a clear mission statement, what politicians expect from them, and to get proper resources.

Modern leadership is not to withhold information, but to distribute it, make it available for your subordinates.”

**CARL BILD**

“Ukraine needs public security, non-corrupted police service. This is a priority.

**UKRAINE REQUIRES A NEW COMPREHENSIVE NATIONAL SECURITY CONCEPT DERIVED FROM EXISTING THREATS — SUBVERSIVE ACTIONS, HYBRID WAR, AND CORRUPTION.”**



**GEN. DAVID H. PETRAEUS**

“The Ukrainian military made the Russian separatists and Russian forces pay a very heavy price for every meter of the Ukrainian territory that they have taken.

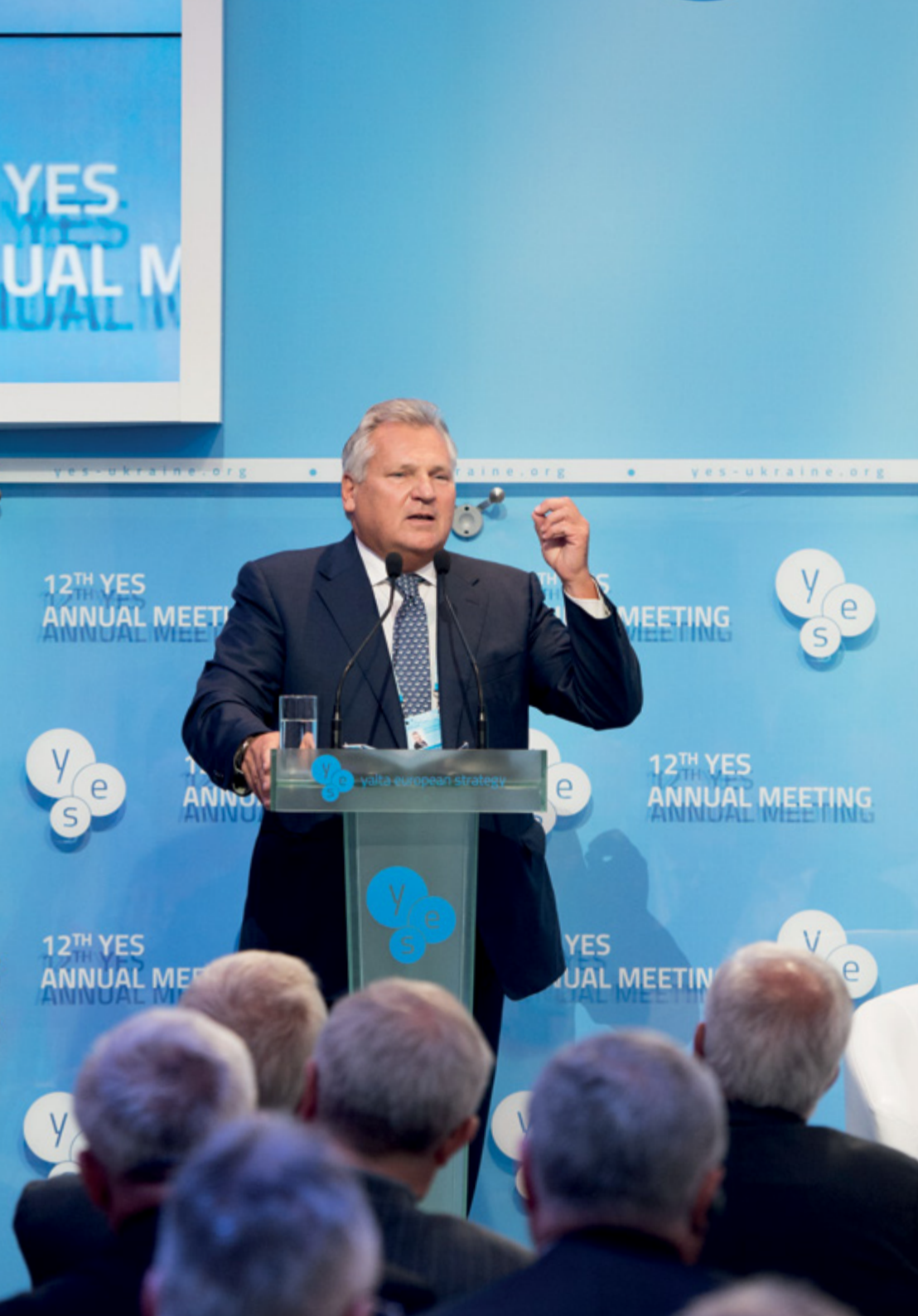
Transformation of the army is especially difficult to do it in a country which is fighting a war. It will take several generations. But it starts now.”

**GEN. STANLEY MCCRYSTAL**

“A country on the rise like Ukraine will really benefit from every young person doing at least one year of national service, whether it is education, healthcare or military.”







Dear friends,

The EU and Ukraine must do their homework: Ukraine has to close the gap between declared changes and their implementation.

It is time to focus on implementation and on the communication of reforms to society.

It is essential for Ukraine to show to its citizens progress, and to the world that it has something to offer.

Ukraine's international friends must show their unity in support of Ukraine.

Realities and challenges will change, but new Ukraine is irreversible.

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





## INTERACTIVE POLLS RESULTS

At the 12th YES Annual Meeting, in several panels the moderator asked the auditorium to record their views on the topic at hand.

The aim was to take the “pulse of the Yalta European Strategy participants” on questions like “How will Ukraine look in three years” or “What should the West do vis-à-vis Ukraine’s economy.”

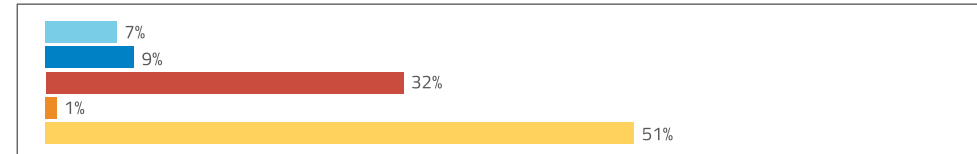
YES participants are leaders from politics, business, expert community and the NGO field. Therefore, the votings provide an insight into the mood among those deeply involved in Ukrainian issues.

Ukrainian and international participants voted separately, so divides in opinion between Ukraine and its international partners could be identified.

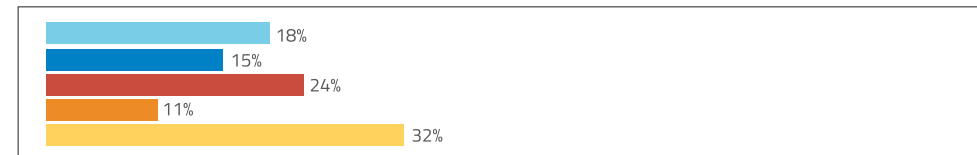
## HOW TO REFORM EXISTING SECURITY STRUCTURES?

- Most important: find a format to work with Russia as a partner
- Gradual reforms of OSCE, NATO, UN Security Council
- A new security architecture including new institutions
- Most important: strengthen NATO
- Strengthen and expand NATO

### Ukrainian Participants' Answers:



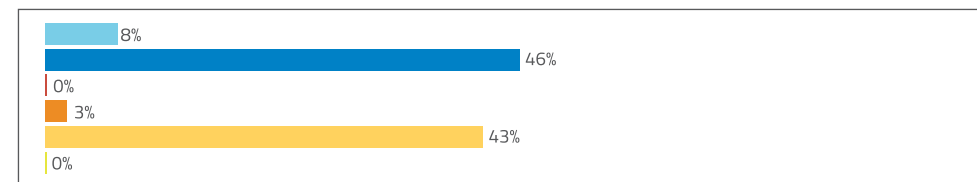
### International Participants' Answers:



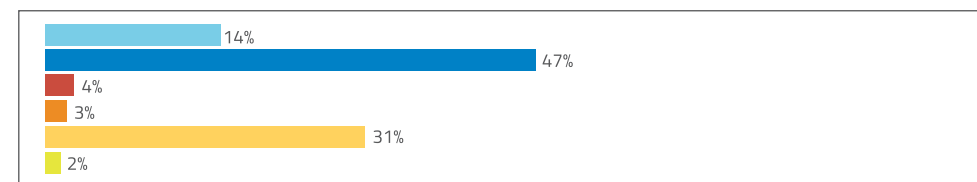
## WHO IS MOST POWERFUL IN PUSHING REFORMS?

- Leadership of the country
- Parliament
- A small number of reformers at various places
- Civil society
- Mid-level bureaucracy
- The majority of ordinary citizens

### Ukrainian Participants' Answers:



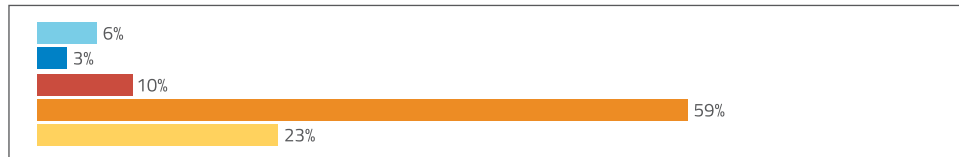
### International Participants' Answers:



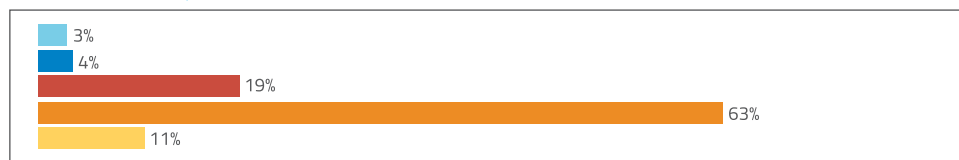
## WHAT SHOULD UKRAINE DO REGARDING CRIMEA AND ITS EAST?

- Give up Crimea and Donbass officially
  - Give up Crimea without saying so, negotiate a solution for Donbass
- Give up Crimea and Donbass without saying so officially
  - Negotiate a solution for Crimea and Donbass
  - Use military means to regain control of lost territories

### Ukrainian Participants' Answers:



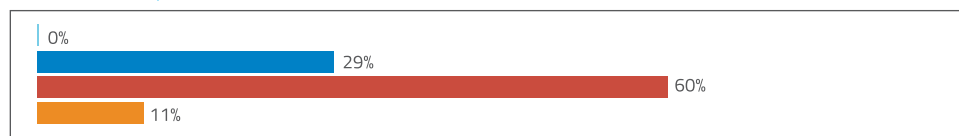
### International Participants' Answers:



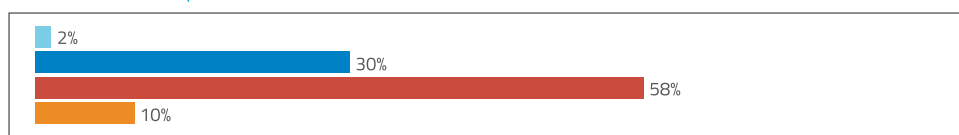
## WHAT SHOULD BE THE WESTERN STRATEGY VIS-À-VIS UKRAINE'S ECONOMY?

- Decrease support because of other urgent challenges
  - Support on current level, conditional on reforms
- "Do what it takes" – more and quicker
  - West must agree a joint approach with Russia

### Ukrainian Participants' Answers:



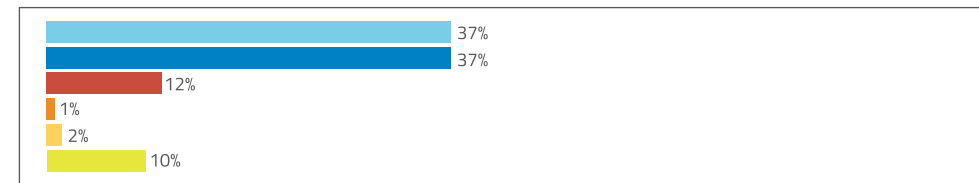
### International Participants' Answers:



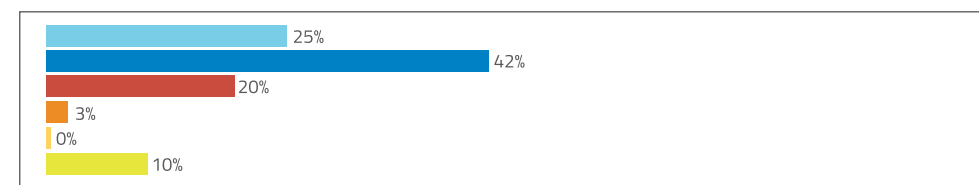
## WHO IS MOST RESPONSIBLE FOR DELAYING AND BLOCKING REFORMS?

- Leadership of the country
  - "Oligarchs" and their representatives in politics
  - Mid-level bureaucracy
- All of the above together – therefore nothing will change
  - The majority of ordinary citizens
  - Parliament

### Ukrainian Participants' Answers:



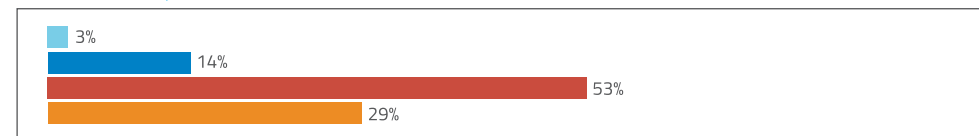
### International Participants' Answers:



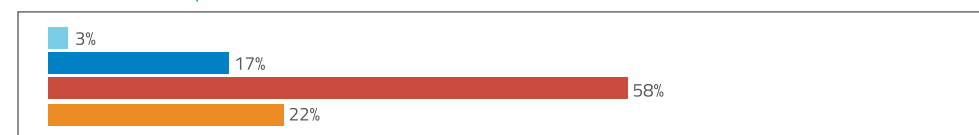
## WHAT WILL UKRAINE LOOK LIKE IN THREE YEARS?

- Economic decline, destabilization, further loss of territory
  - Economic growth, stabilization, "contained" frozen conflict
- Surviving on international support, uneasy ceasefire
  - Economic growth, stabilization, Crimea/East closer to solution

### Ukrainian Participants' Answers:



### International Participants' Answers:







**ALEKSANDER KWASNIEWSKI**  
President of Poland (1995–2005);  
Chairman of the YES Supervisory Board



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



**MARIO DAVID**  
Vice President of the European People's Party;  
Vice President of the Centrist Democrat International



**STEPHANE FOUKS**  
Vice President of Havas Group;  
Executive Co-Chairman of Havas Worldwide



**VICTOR PINCHUK**  
Founder and Member of the Supervisory Board, Yalta European Strategy;  
Founder, Victor Pinchuk Foundation and EastOne group Ltd.



**ALEXANDER RAHR**  
Scientific Director of German-Russian Forum;  
Advisor to the President of the Russian-German Chamber of Commerce;  
Deputy Chairman of the Association of Russian Economy in Germany



**JEAN-PIERRE SALTIEL**  
President of Rothschild Conseil International (1998–2004)



**MAREK SIWIEC**  
Member of the Board of Amicus Europea Kwasniewski Foundation;  
Vice President of the European Parliament (2007–2009), MEP (2004–2014);  
Head of the National Security Bureau of Poland (1997–2004)



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

We are grateful to the Victor Pinchuk Foundation for the continuous support and cooperation that have made the 12th Yalta European Strategy Annual Meeting happen.

V I C T O R  
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