



# 10<sup>TH</sup> YALTA ANNUAL MEETING CHANGING UKRAINE IN A CHANGING WORLD: FACTORS OF SUCCESS

LIVADIA PALACE, YALTA, UKRAINE, SEPTEMBER 19 — 22, 2013

A stylized map of Europe is shown in a light blue color, overlaid with a complex network of white lines representing architectural drawings and technical plans. The map includes major landmasses like the British Isles, Scandinavia, and the Mediterranean region.

CONFERENCE REPORT

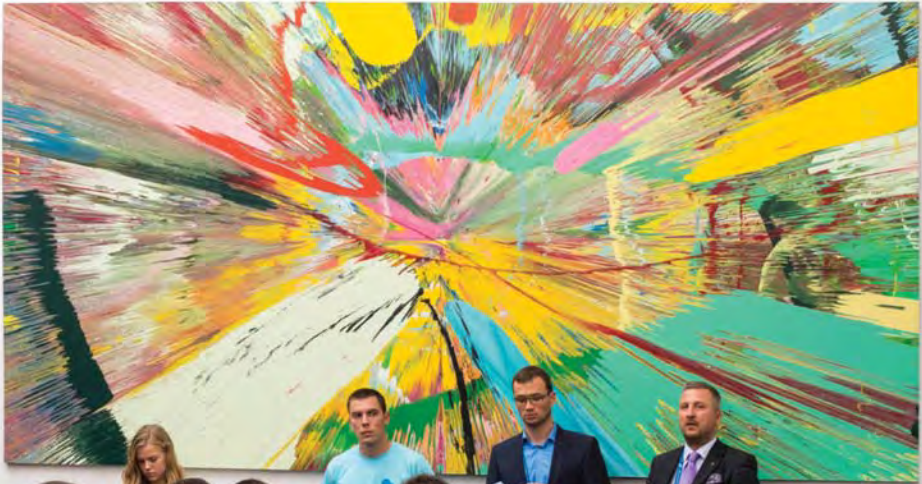
Dear Friends,

I'm happy and proud to welcome you at the opening of the 10th Yalta Annual Meeting. It would be strange for me as a businessman to talk about politics in the presence of two Presidents. So, I prefer to address you as an art collector. In the picture by Damien Hirst 'Beautiful Romance in the Age of Uncertainty', we see an explosion. Hopefully, it is not the explosion of a chemical weapon, but an outburst of something new - a new Europe, new economy, new generation. In this picture, yellow and blue stand for the creation of a new Ukraine, and I believe that it will be a success story.

I'm really glad and honoured that our friends from all previous ten years of the Yalta Annual Meeting are here with us. What we have managed to achieve together is admirable. So, today and tomorrow, we will think again about creating success for a new Ukraine.

**Victor Pinchuk**

*Founder and Member of the Board, Yalta European Strategy*



10<sup>TH</sup> YALTA ANNUAL MEETING

SEPTEMBER 19 — 22, 2013

LIVADIA PALACE, YALTA, UKRAINE

## CHANGING UKRAINE IN A CHANGING WORLD: FACTORS OF SUCCESS

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 19

20:30

Welcome Reception and Speeches

## WELCOMING REMARKS

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

## DINNER REMARKS

**Carl Bildt**, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Sweden  
**Štefan Füle**, Commissioner for Enlargement and European  
Neighbourhood Policy, European Commission

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 20

Moderator:

**Chrystia Freeland**, Fellow, Martin Prosperity Institute  
at the University of Toronto; Editor of Consumer News,  
Thomson Reuters (2013)

10:00 – 10:10

Conference Opening  
WELCOMING REMARKS

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

10:10 – 11:15

Opening Speeches, Conversation and Q&A  
CREATING SYNERGIES – A PERSPECTIVE  
FOR WIDER EUROPE

**Viktor Yanukovich**, President of Ukraine  
**Dalia Grybauskaitė**, President of the Republic of Lithuania

11:50 – 12:50

ECONOMY:   AUSTERITY  STIMULUS  NOT SURE

**Andrei Kostin**, President and Chairman of the Management Board,  
VTB Bank

**Dominique Strauss-Kahn**, Managing Director, International  
Monetary Fund (2007 – 2011)

**Lawrence H. Summers**, Charles W. Eliot University Professor, Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government

**Martin Wolf**, Chief Economics Commentator, Financial Times

**Robert Zoellick**, President, World Bank (2007 – 2012)

12:50 – 14:30

Working Lunch

### NEXT GENERATION + EDUCATION + INNOVATION = CHANGE

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**Jack Andraka**, Inventor, Scientist and Cancer Researcher, Intel ISEF Grand Award Winner (2012)

**Michio Kaku**, Chair and Professor in Theoretical Physics, The City College of New York

**Daphne Koller**, Co-Founder, Co-CEO, Coursera

**Khadija Niazi**, Student, Lahore College of Arts and Sciences

**Anton Stepanov**, Inventor, Student, ITstep Academy, Ukraine

*Remarks:*

**Robert Fogel**, Principal Education Architect, Intel Corporation

14:30 – 15:30

### ENERGY: THREATS, SOLUTIONS, REVOLUTIONS

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**Yuriy Boyko**, Vice Prime Minister of Ukraine

**Leonid Kuchma**, President of Ukraine (1994 – 2005)

**Gen. David H. Petraeus** (US Army, Retired), Director, Central Intelligence Agency (2011 – 2012)

**Bill Richardson**, 30<sup>th</sup> Governor of New Mexico (2003–2011); 9<sup>th</sup> United States Secretary of Energy (1998 – 2001); 21<sup>st</sup> United States Ambassador of the United Nations (1997 – 1998)

**Graham Tiley**, Vice-President, Country Chair, Shell Ukraine

**Maxim Timchenko**, Chief Executive Officer, Chairman of the Management Board, DTEK

15:45 – 16:45

### SHOCKS AHEAD: BAD NEWS AND GOOD NEWS

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**Michio Kaku**, Chair and Professor in Theoretical Physics, The City College of New York

**Ronald Noble**, Secretary General, Interpol

**Gen. David H. Petraeus**, (US Army, Retired), Director, Central Intelligence Agency (2011 – 2012)

**Lawrence H. Summers**, Charles W. Eliot University Professor, Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government

**Lamberto Zannier**, Secretary General, OSCE

*Remarks:* **Judith Miller**, Contributor, Fox News

17:15 – 18:15

**THE WORLD OF TOMORROW:  
DESIGNS BY VISIONARY LEADERS**

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**Tony Blair**, Patron, Tony Blair Faith Foundation; Prime Minister of the United Kingdom (1997 – 2007)

**Bill Clinton**, Founder, Clinton Foundation; 42<sup>nd</sup> President of the United States (1993 – 2001)

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 21

Moderator:

**Stephen Sackur**, Journalist, Host, HARDtalk, BBC

9:45-10:15

Opening Remarks and Q&A:  
**MAKING UKRAINE A SUCCESSFUL ECONOMY –  
BETWEEN EAST AND WEST**

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**Mykola Azarov**, Prime Minister of Ukraine

10:30-11:45

**EUROPE: DESTINATION UNKNOWN**

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**Egemen Bağış**, Minister for European Union Affairs and Chief Negotiator of Turkey

**Mario Monti**, 54th Prime Minister of Italy (2011 – 2013)

**Gerhard Schröder**, Chancellor of Germany (1998 – 2005)

**Dominique Strauss-Kahn**, Managing Director, International Monetary Fund (2007 – 2011)

*Remarks:*

**Bret Stephens**, Deputy Editorial Page Editor (International), Foreign Affairs Columnist, The Wall Street Journal

12:15-13:00

**THE VILNIUS SUMMIT – CREATING WIDER EUROPE?**

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**Leonid Kozhara**, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ukraine

**Radosław Sikorski**, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Poland

**Elmar Brok**, MEP, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs; Member of the Bureau, Group of the European People's Party (Christian Democrats)

13:00-14:45

Working Lunch  
**FINALLY AT THE YALTA TABLE – CHINA**

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**Jin Liqun**, Chairman, China International Capital Corporation

**Cui Liru**, Professor, Senior Advisor, President (2005 – 2013),  
China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations

**Niall Ferguson**, Laurence A. Tisch Professor of History,  
Harvard Business School, Harvard University

14:45 – 15:45

### UKReactive: A SUGGESTION ON ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVES

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**Pascal Lamy**, Honorary President, Notre Europe – Jacques Delors  
Institute; Director-General, WTO (2005 – 2013) (*opening remarks*)

**Sergey Glazyev**, Advisor to the President of the Russian Federation

**Petro Poroshenko**, Member of Parliament of Ukraine; Minister  
of Economic Development and Trade of Ukraine (2012)

**Nouriel Roubini**, Professor, Stern School of Business,  
New York University

16:15 – 17:00

### UKRAINE SCENARIOS – CREATE THE FUTURE

Interactive Format With WEF

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**Nouriel Roubini**, Professor, Stern School of Business,  
New York University

**Dominique Strauss-Kahn**, Managing Director, International  
Monetary Fund (2007 – 2011)

**Natalie Jaresko**, Founding Partner and CEO, Horizon Capital

**Pavlo Sheremeta**, President, Kyiv School of Economics

**Dmytro Shymkiv**, General Manager, Microsoft Ukraine

*Wrap-up:*

**Lord Risby**, Member, House of Lords, Parliament of the UK;  
Chairman British-Ukrainian Society

17:30–18:30

### UKRAINE'S MIX FOR SUCCESS

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**Pat Cox**, President of the European Parliament (2002 – 2004)  
(*moderator*)

**Vitali Klitschko**, Member of Parliament of Ukraine, Leader  
of the “UDAR” Party

**Serhiy Tigipko**, Member of Parliament of Ukraine,  
“The Party of Regions”

**Arseniy Yatsenyuk**, Member of Parliament of Ukraine,  
Head of the “Batkivshchyna” Party

18:30– 18:45

### CLOSING SESSION

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

## OPENING DAY 19 September 2013

### Welcoming & Dinner Remarks

Speakers:

- **Alexander Kwaśniewski**  
President of Poland (1995 – 2005); Chairman of the Board,  
Yalta European Strategy
- **Carl Bildt**  
Minister for Foreign Affairs of Sweden
- **Štefan Füle**  
Commissioner for Enlargement and European Neighbourhood Policy,  
European Commission

As is now tradition, Alexander Kwaśniewski opened the 10th Yalta Annual Meeting with an overview of the conference topics and a brief reflection on the challenges of the past decade. The Vilnius summit, the country's domestic politics and troubling global trends became the intriguing agenda for the upcoming conference days.





*The key decisions can only be taken by Ukraine and Ukrainians [...] and in the meantime, we are waiting and keeping the door as open as we can.*

**Carl Bildt**

*The Association Agreement is the most transformative instrument second to enlargement.*

**Štefan Füle**



Carl Bildt and Štefan Füle provided their evaluations of the EU-Ukraine Association process. Minister Bildt presented the EU as a mechanism of collective problem-solving where crisis and competition were the drivers of progress. The Eastern Partnership has gradually developed into a consistent proposal for future EU members, and it has been showing considerable progress recently. In the Minister's view, the simple regulations of the Customs Union have attracted countries like Armenia or Belarus, but Ukraine should make an informed choice for Europe. Mr Bildt suggested that balanced decision-making, the rule of law and democratic governance are Europe's offer to Ukraine. Meanwhile, the country has to take resolute political decisions to use the door of opportunity opened by the EU.

In Commissioner Füle's opinion, the country has progressed remarkably in 2013 over the span of just a few months. Mr Füle emphasized the work on the EU's 11 criteria and the strong efforts by political elites to generate consensus in the Verkhovna Rada, but stressed that this has to be maintained after Vilnius. The Agreement and the DCFTA will help enhance the country's sovereignty, which the Customs Union would be unable to guarantee, claimed the Commissioner. Nevertheless, good relations with Russia will be essential to establish a free trade zone 'from Lisbon to Vladivostok'. According to Mr Füle's prediction, the Vilnius summit will be a 'game changer' for Ukraine, because the country will take up new mechanisms of cooperation. The time for changes, therefore, is now as there will be no more concessions to Ukraine from the EU.



## DAY 1

20 September 2013

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**Opening Speeches, Conversation and Q&A:  
Creating Synergies – a Perspective for Wider Europe**

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Speakers:

- **Viktor Yanukovich**  
President of Ukraine
- **Dalia Grybauskaitė**  
President of the Republic of Lithuania
- **Moderator: Chrystia Freeland**  
Fellow, Martin Prosperity Institute at the University of Toronto;  
Editor of Consumer News, Thomson Reuters (2013)

The conference began with the Presidential session where Viktor Yanukovich and Dalia Grybauskaitė discussed challenges to Ukraine's accession to the EU. President Yanukovich optimistically confirmed the ultimate importance of the Vilnius summit and global economic integration for Ukraine. Mr President assured that governmental reforms for modernization have always been pro-European. Ukraine cannot ignore the fact it is embedded in the global economic system. Relations, therefore, with various international partners – the Customs Union, the CIS Free Trade Zone or the EU – should satisfy both WTO regulations and Ukraine's national interests. President Yanukovich expressed his belief in a common free trade zone 'from Vancouver to Vladivostok' where barriers for business would finally be lifted.

*Ukraine is now moving in its natural way, the way of modernization.*

**Viktor Yanukovich**



*Ukraine has to be an architect of its own future by its own people. Ukraine is too big, too strong, and too important to allow others to decide on its future.*

**Dalia Grybauskaitė**

President Grybauskaitė reassured that Ukraine was important to Europe; the country, however, must accomplish specific tasks to embed Ukraine in the EU. As Ukraine's partner, Europe is open to cooperation, but Ukraine should not wait to be 'pushed' into the EU. No third party should have been allowed to interfere with Ukraine's integration process, Madam President underscored. Instead, the European consensual approach based on trust has to become Ukraine's core understanding of the European system. The political will to protect the state's strategic choice will win Ukraine its independent European future.

The audience reminded the Presidents of the most notorious issues in the Ukrainian integration process, such as relations with Russia, responsibility for failing in Vilnius and political prosecutions. President Yanukovich, however, reaffirmed his confidence in the government's work in improving business conditions, fighting corruption and drafting the EU-sanctioned legislation. Mr President said that good relations with Russia and the Customs Union would actually ease Ukraine's integration into the EU, because Ukraine could not risk dropping any of its partners. The opposition and the government will share responsibility for Ukraine's success in acceding to the EU. Finally, complicated political issues such as the Tymoshenko case could be legally resolved with the help of Cox-Kwasniewski mission.

President Grybauskaitė reflected on Lithuania's experience in fighting external pressures in the process of its EU integration and encouraged the Ukrainian government to follow the European path coherently. As the Presidents agreed, Ukraine has considerable investment opportunities and Europe stays open to Ukraine.

## DAY 1

### 20 September 2013

#### Economy: Austerity Stimulus Not Sure

##### Speakers:

- **Andrei Kostin**  
President and Chairman of the Management Board, VTB Bank
- **Dominique Strauss-Kahn**  
Managing Director, International Monetary Fund (2007 – 2011)
- **Lawrence H. Summers**  
Charles W. Eliot University Professor,  
Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government
- **Martin Wolf**  
Chief Economics Commentator, Financial Times
- **Robert Zoellick**  
President, World Bank (2007 – 2012)

The leading economic thinkers shared their ideas on the biggest challenges and realistic solutions for Ukraine and the world economy. Counter to common expectations, Andrei Kostin revealed that the financial sector has been growing globally since the 2008 crisis. Moreover, developing countries, not the developed ones, have experienced losses in the post-crisis economic situation, which is clear in the case of China. Mr Kostin concluded that flexible monetary policies would benefit the developed world, while stricter monetary regulations could weaken the developing economies.

*Ukraine is a country with huge potential. But will that lead to stability and open new opportunities, given the levels of rivalry and competition across the globe? I think that with the European Union's assistance these issues could be solved much more easily.*

**Robert Zoellick**





*We have a large shortage of investment opportunities in the world.*

**Martin Wolf**



*We are now living in the time of drafting a new model of the world economy, because none of the existing models seem to be good enough for the present situation.*

**Andrei Kostin**



*The essence of the most modern strategic thought is that it is less about compensating for weakness than it is building on strength.*

**Lawrence H. Summers**

Post-crisis global economies are showing mediocre progress in recovery and continue to ‘fight the war’ of globalization, Dominique Strauss-Kahn observed. Developed economies fail to ensure adequate demand and political consensus, Lawrence Summers argued. At the same time, as Mr Summers asserted, technology and globalization change patterns of economic growth and eliminate the low-skilled routine jobs that have previously been available to young people. Martin Wolf showed concern that the developed world had not controlled the emission of money for the past 15 years. He noted a considerable gap between higher private savings and lower private investments, which inhibited economic growth in the developed world. Finally, Robert Zoellick called for more attention to structural microeconomic changes rather than straightforward stimulus policies to induce growth.

*If each player plays its own game and tries to find a domestic solution to a global problem, there will be no way to find the solution.*

**Dominique Strauss-Kahn**

The key issue for the global economy is to find mechanisms to stimulate long-term economic growth and development. Although investment and innovation are still the main drivers of growth, investment is cheapening globally, so it can no longer balance growing savings. A likely solution to this problem is to support the infrastructure sector and to review institutional regulations, as Mr Summers and Mr Zoellick respectively suggested. A proper level of cooperation internationally with simultaneous efforts to increase domestic consumption is also to be considered, as Mr Strauss-Kahn and Mr Kostin proposed. For Mr Wolf, stimulating household credits on risky terms is an unstable model to improve domestic consumption and has to be changed.

In such conditions, the speakers agreed that the recipe for Ukraine’s economic success is to improve investment opportunities, find a specialization in the international market, and develop an outward approach in the global society. The basic threat to the Ukrainian and global economy is the lack of consistent political will. The successful economy of the future will rely on collective answers and not only on domestic economic decisions.

## DAY 1 20 September 2013

### Working Lunch: Next Generation + Education + Innovation = CHANGE

Speakers:

- **Jack Andraka**  
Inventor, Scientist and Cancer Researcher, Intel ISEF Grand Award Winner (2012)
- **Michio Kaku**  
Chair and Professor in Theoretical Physics, The City College of New York
- **Daphne Koller**  
Co-Founder, Co-CEO, Coursera
- **Khadija Niazi**  
Student, Lahore College of Arts and Sciences
- **Anton Stepanov**  
Inventor, Student, ITstep Academy, Ukraine
- **Remarks: Robert Fogel**  
Principal Education Architect, Intel Corporation

The exciting opportunities that technology provides are often pioneered by youth. The working lunch gathered an eclectic and mind-bending group of young inventors and enthusiasts to present what new discoveries technology has to offer.

*If you provide people with education you can start addressing a whole range of different problems that exist around the world.*

**Daphne Koller**





*The most important skill that we can help our children develop is the skill to learn how to learn.*

**Robert Fogel**

A 13-year-old student from Pakistan, Khadija Niazi, impressed the audience with her passion for programming, mathematics and online education. Jack Andraka, a high-school student who discovered an original way to diagnose pancreatic cancer, revealed his wish to make cancer diagnosis a more effective and affordable practice. Daphne Koller showed how Coursera, a popular free online education initiative by Stanford University, can help address problems around the world and deliver free education globally. Michio Kaku gave an exciting perspective on a future where digital information and science will create a more effective capitalist system, more responsive to human needs in medicine, education and private life. Finally, a Ukrainian inventor, Anton Stepanov, presented a device that transforms gestures into speech; a perfect demonstration of how technology can complement human senses.

The working lunch reflected on the importance of socially-responsible technology. In the future, the world should expect socially-driven information technologies, such as open online education and environmental sensing, but it will demand more responsibility from experts and policy-makers. Michio Kaku suggested that scientists, not writers, should make informed predictions about the future in order to really benefit societies. The future of education should be more than just academic development; as Intel's Robert Fogel stated, it has to be about essential skills and a proper educational environment, which will be possible with governmental support.

## DAY 1 20 September 2013

### Energy: Threats, Solutions, Revolutions

#### Speakers:

- **Yuriy Boyko**  
Vice Prime Minister of Ukraine
- **Leonid Kuchma**  
President of Ukraine (1994 – 2005)
- **David H. Petraeus**  
(US Army, Retired), Director, Central Intelligence Agency (2011 – 2012)
- **Bill Richardson**  
30th Governor of New Mexico (2003 – 2011);  
9th United States Secretary of Energy (1998 – 2001);  
21st United States Ambassador to the United Nations (1997 – 1998)
- **Graham Tiley**  
Vice-President, Country Chair, Shell Ukraine
- **Maxim Timchenko**  
Chief Executive Officer, Chairman of the Management Board, DTEK

Energy security has been a sensitive economic and geopolitical question for Ukraine for decades. A professional review of energy markets at the 10th Yalta Annual Meeting exposed the implications of Ukraine's energy revolution. Yuriy Boyko presented two essential demands for the national strategy in the energy sector – to create a competitive energy market and to balance energy resources. To be precise, Ukraine should diversify its energy supplies, as well as balance its energy resources with renewable sources of energy.

*We have to thank Russians for what they are doing, for making us think about modern technologies.*

**Leonid Kuchma**





*The world is adding a new city of over a million people every week. This is an unbelievable challenge in terms of how we can deliver energy to meet those people's needs.*

**Graham Tiley**



*Ukraine has strong development potential in the gas domain. However, this potential cannot be unlocked unless three key prerequisites are in place – financial investment, highly skilled experts and technologies.*

**Maxim Timchenko**

*In the next decade, renewables will bring a good atmosphere of competition to traditional energy resources.*

**Yuriy Boyko**



Shale gas technology, shared North American pipe infrastructure and private ownership in the energy sector made the United States' energy revolution possible, David H. Petraeus revealed. He believed that energy independence of the US will only increase in the coming decades. Meanwhile, Bill Richardson complimented Ukraine's policy of energy diversification. The politician noted that shale gas technology could help Ukraine diversify its energy sector by paving the way between natural gas and renewable energy. Graham Tiley proposed two general scenarios for the development of the global energy sector, a 'top-down' and a 'bottom-up' paradigm. The first would welcome more control and better support for significant energy infrastructure, while the second would stimulate more competition and entrepreneurship. As a result, either resource-intensive hydrogen or various parallel alternatives like solar energy could emerge as key energy sources.

Maxim Timchenko suggested that a bigger private share in the energy sector would strengthen energy independence and restore the gas industry of Ukraine. Ukraine can diversify gas supplies from the EU and Russia, Mr Timchenko proposed. Leonid Kuchma likewise called for action and determination in liberating Ukraine from '20 years of gas dependency'. Energy is a matter of basic survival for the country, so Ukraine has to focus on modern technologies like renewables, concluded President Kuchma.



## DAY 1 20 September 2013

### Shocks Ahead: Bad News and Good News

Speakers:

- **Ronald Noble**  
Secretary General, Interpol
- **Lawrence H. Summers**  
Charles W. Eliot University Professor,  
Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government
- **Michio Kaku**  
Chair and Professor in Theoretical Physics, The City College of New York Gen.
- **David H. Petraeus**  
(US Army, Retired), Director, Central Intelligence Agency (2011 – 2012)
- **Lamberto Zannier**  
Secretary General, OSCE

**Remarks:** **Judith Miller**, Contributor, Fox News

Technology and development bring dangers as well as opportunities to global security in the 21st century. Ronald Noble noted that invisible threats were nested inside everyday life with crimes like smuggling, identity theft and terrorism. A historical perspective on the 20th century provided by Lawrence Summers showed that a lack of consistent decision-making may have been as problematic as rapid technological change. Similarly, Michio Kaku stated that while civilization was growing more advanced and democratic, it faced greater challenges to security, as weapons of mass destruction are becoming easier to produce.

*No matter what country it is [...], if societies don't feel safe, then governments will change, democratic or non-democratic.*

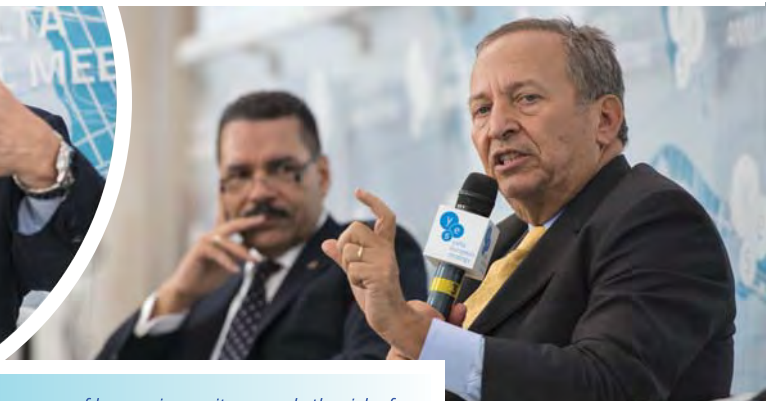
**Ronald Noble**





*Democracy is not the answer. It is a by-product of the fact that information is going to be free, freely available and unstoppable.*

**Michio Kaku**



*The power of human ingenuity exceeds the risk of problems thrown up by new technology.*

**Lawrence H. Summers**



*We should be concerned about high levels of unemployment, economic displacement and the potential of social disruption which is even more realistic than outright revolution.*

**David H. Petraeus**

*Lack of reconciliation [...] is an obstacle to promoting a more stable relationship within any community.*

**Lamberto Zannier**



As a military expert, David Petraeus listed terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction as the lasting global challenges, but also noted that novel developments, such as cyber-capabilities, hi-tech manufacturing and personalized medicine carried with them additional potential disruptions. Finally, Lamberto Zannier called for strategic thinking about security in the international community. Democratic transition is often hampered by unresolved conflicts, a lack of reconciliation and volatile neighbours, such as Afghanistan, who need assistance in keeping peace and stability.

As Judith Miller suggested, political power itself can be perceived as a source of potential danger. Mr Petraeus and Mr Summers reflected that while the leading countries of the world are competing to influence the global agenda and to control military crises, some states are in danger of internal conflicts such as revolutions, which demand constructive political decisions. As all speakers confirmed, there is no universal recipe to fight global problems, other than for political leaders to be realistic and patient. Though democracy is not a universal answer, job opportunities for young people, a basic feeling of safety for societies and personal responsibility can greatly improve governments' capacity to meet global challenges.

## DAY 1

20 September 2013

## The World of Tomorrow: Designs by Visionary Leaders

## Speakers:

■ **Tony Blair**

Patron, Tony Blair Faith Foundation;  
Prime Minister of the United Kingdom (1997 – 2007)

■ **Bill Clinton**

Founder, Clinton Foundation;  
42nd President of the United States (1993 – 2001)

Political visionaries Bill Clinton and Tony Blair shared their ideas on how effective leadership might help developing countries sustain growth and secure democracy in the rapidly changing world. The core threat for the world is a lack of openness and long-term cooperation, which may turn humanity's technological advances against their creator. As both speakers agreed, technological progress and economic growth make the world both more interconnected and chaotic, yet cooperation and consistent global authority should help reduce any negative outcomes. As President Clinton pointed out, technology created a great dispersion of power, which should be complemented by shared decision-making to protect the world from voluntarism. Educating people to be open-minded will benefit the world's sustainable development and security, Mr Blair added. It is the responsibility of open minds to release the potential of technology to fight global warming, resource shortages, biological threats and warfare.

*Most people think that politics is a zero-sum game... Our goal is to make politics a game where everyone wins.*

**Bill Clinton**





*The future of the world lies in educating people for an open mind.*

**Tony Blair**



Ukraine should prioritize institutional development in order to fully realize its potential. Using the example of the 'Arab spring' and 'Arab desert', President Clinton emphasized that it is crucial for governments in the developing world to find the right balance between control, freedom and cooperation in their societies. Mr. Blair supported this statement by stressing that arbitrary actions would not help Ukraine become European, but rather a free society where human rights, freedoms and opportunities were guaranteed.

Young leaders will be in high demand globally, but it will take time to develop them. Acquiring multiple sets of skills is crucial for a political long-runner, Prime Minister Blair stressed. For the 42nd President of the USA, understanding diverse mindsets and knowing the world, whilst also having your own beliefs, is the basis for responsible leadership. Watching young people and young governments awaken should be the best motivation for visionary leaders across the world.

## DAY 1

20 September 2013

## Hillary Clinton at the 10th Yalta Annual Meeting

Speaker:

■ **Hillary Rodham Clinton**

United States Secretary of State (2009 - 2013);

US Senator (2001 - 2009); First Lady of the United States (1993 - 2001)

A long-standing supporter of Ukraine, Hillary Clinton gave a dinner speech to motivate Ukrainians for active change in their country. The former US Secretary of State recollected her experience with Ukraine and its people, whom she admires and supports. In times of dramatic global change, it is crucial for Ukraine to choose whether to be changed passively, to be guided by third parties or to find its own perspective of change.

Mrs Clinton assured that the US will continue to be a partner of Ukraine's. From the point of view of the United States, the Association Agreement and European integration is the best way for Ukraine to benefit Europe and the world, for which the country has enormous economic potential and resources. Mrs Clinton welcomed the recent pro-European consensus between political parties and the government of Ukraine that would enable the President to lead the country to Europe. Indeed, Ukraine's struggle for independence has been an empowering example for emerging democracies, and it is time for Ukrainians to grasp their future.

*It is not enough to passively be changed. The challenge for all of us is to influence and manage change.*

**Hillary Clinton**







 10<sup>TH</sup> YALTA ANNUAL MEETING

Conference photo, 20.09.2013

## DAY 2

21 September 2013

## Opening Remarks and Q&A: Making Ukraine a Successful Economy – Between East and West

Speakers:

- **Mykola Azarov**  
Prime Minister of Ukraine
- **Moderator: Stephen Sackur**  
Journalist, Host, HARDtalk, BBC

The next day of the conference was opened by Mykola Azarov who commented on the European dimension of Ukrainian economic policy. Ukraine's integration with the EU does not contradict economic cooperation with the Customs Union, since the latter strives to adapt to European standards as well. Instead, considerations of Ukraine's geopolitical positioning cause dissent in its relations with the Customs Union. The European free trade zone is seen by the Customs Union as a threat, even though WTO regulations are there to prevent trade risks. As a solution, the Prime Minister suggested that the EU, the Russian Federation and Ukraine should have decided on controversial issues in a trilateral format, which would also prevent Ukraine from suffering disproportionate economic losses in its integration.

Ukraine's energy sector has been the biggest point of concern for the Prime Minister. New technologies, such as shale gas, have been introduced only recently and need improvement. Gas imports from Russia have decreased, which is a clear loss for both countries. Moreover, Ukraine's powerful gas system risks being underutilized, as EU countries and Russia seek to diversify their gas transports. Nevertheless, Prime Minister Azarov expressed his confidence that entering the European free trade zone would stimulate the industry to modernize, as entering the WTO had previously done so. As a final remark, Mr Azarov stated that punitive methods are ineffective in combating corruption, unified regulations and transparency being more preferable.

*We need transparent rules of the game that will be controlled by society and industry.*

**Mykola Azarov**







## DAY 2

21 September 2013

## Europe: Destination Unknown

Speakers:

- **Egemen Bağış**  
Minister for European Union Affairs and Chief Negotiator of Turkey
- **Mario Monti**  
54th Prime Minister of Italy (2011 – 2013)
- **Gerhard Schröder**  
Chancellor of Germany (1998 – 2005)
- **Dominique Strauss-Kahn**  
Managing Director, International Monetary Fund (2007 – 2011)
- **Remarks: Bret Stephens**  
Deputy Editorial Page Editor (International), Foreign Affairs Columnist,  
The Wall Street Journal

The 2008 world economic crisis has helped Europe critically assess its goals and resources. The renowned speakers agreed that there has been a demand for consistent political solutions and cooperation in Europe. Gerhard Schröder suggested that a strong currency was impossible without a political union that could interfere with nations' fiscal and financial policies. Mario Monti spoke up for better growth-oriented policies, structural reforms and better control, the latter recently made possible due to better political coordination within the EU. Egemen Bağış praised Europe as the greatest peace project in history that should continue to prosper with the help of new members.

*It is impossible to have a stable common currency and control monetary policy in isolation. We need political consensus about how to control the fiscal domain, the economy and social policy as well.*

**Gerhard Schröder**





*A gigantic political problem [...] is the mounting degree of populism and mutual recrimination between North and South.*

**Mario Monti**



*Europe is not a set of boundaries. Europe is an idea... And to live, this idea needs to be taken and pushed by somebody.*

**Dominique Strauss-Kahn**



*Europe has to go back to what it does best and grow by continuing with enlargement.*

**Egemen Bağış**

Political solutions in Europe are endangered by populism and nationalism, Dominique Strauss-Kahn argued. Bret Stephens agreed by claiming that European centrist politics were challenged by populism, and that there had been difficulties in finding a proper fit between good policies and successful politics. Without exception, the European speakers supported these statements, yet they were sceptical about the available mechanisms of consensus in Europe. Grand coalitions are either disadvantageous for political parties or impossible due to constitutional arrangements, Mr Schröder and Mr Strauss-Kahn suggested.

Europe is able to cope with different speeds of economic growth in its diverse members and candidates, Prime Minister Monti assured. Mr. Schröder, however, noted that perspectives for accession rely heavily on the candidate countries. Turkey has been implementing the European *acquis communautaire* regardless of any perspectives for fast accession, and the country has grown into a dynamic partner for the EU and a model for development in the region, claimed Minister Bağış. European norms have helped improve the country's economic profile, fiscal discipline and social cohesion.

Mr. Strauss-Kahn and Mr. Monti predicted Europe's ultimate goal is to become a disseminator of universal values like peace and democracy in the multipolar world. From Mr Schröder's and Mr Bağış' points of view, the challenge for Europe is to become pragmatic, decisive and action-oriented politically, while also adopting a flexible integration approach to the future member states like Ukraine or Turkey.

## DAY 2

21 September 2013

## The Vilnius Summit – Creating Wider Europe?

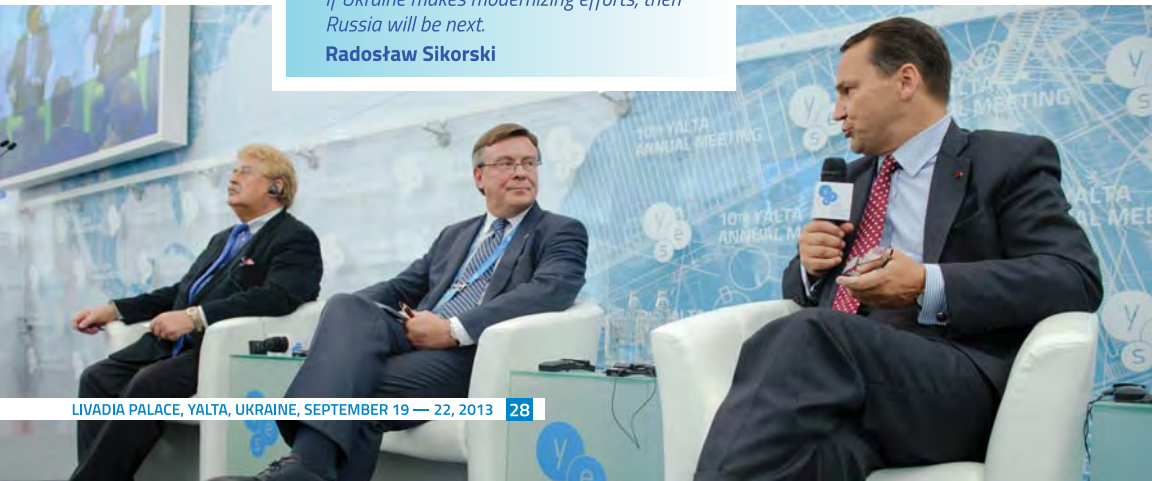
Speakers:

- **Leonid Kozhara**  
Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ukraine
- **Radosław Sikorski**  
Minister for Foreign Affairs of Poland
- **Elmar Brok**  
MEP, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs; Member of the Bureau, Group of the European People's Party (Christian Democrats)

The Vilnius summit has to provide a clear European perspective for the tens of millions of people of Eastern Europe. Radosław Sikorski, a pragmatic supporter of Ukraine's association with the EU, reflected on how joining the EU had helped Poland regain its self-respect, sovereignty and prosperity. Ukraine should understand that its decision on the Association Agreement cannot be dictated by any third party, such as Russia. Poland's relations with Russia improved substantially after the country had joined the EU and NATO. It is crucial to adhere to fundamental values and eliminate any barriers between the EU and its Eastern neighbours, Minister Sikorski claimed. The Association Agreement will establish a free trade zone, as well as multiple political, social and economic ties between Ukraine and the EU. Minister Sikorski emphasized that it is essential to follow Europe's recommendations on reforms and to eliminate selective justice. The signing will be only the first step to Europe, and Ukraine will require patience and consistency in implementing European requirements.

*If Ukraine makes modernizing efforts, then  
Russia will be next.*

**Radosław Sikorski**





*Whether the signature is done in Vilnius or not, should not be decided in Brussels or Moscow. It should be decided in Tbilisi, Chisinau and Kyiv.*

**Elmar Brok**



*Ukraine can become a link in the Eurasian free trade zone, [...] 'from Lisbon to Vladivostok'.*

**Leonid Kozhara**



Leonid Kozhara commented optimistically on Ukraine's prospects and progress on its way to the EU. The Association in Vilnius should not be over-dramatized, because the work has not been finished yet. Minister Kozhara reiterated what Ukraine should expect from the Agreement in the near future; a comprehensive application of the Agreement will stimulate the liberalization of trade and visa regimes. However, as Ukraine does not expect to be a member of the EU soon, the Agreement is first and foremost about the pragmatic DCFTA and political reform. In return, Ukraine can offer its share of natural resources, human capital and transformative potential. Contrary to Minister Kozhara's opinion, Elmar Brok claimed that the EU is not just a free trade area. It is a political union whose value-based demands have to be fulfilled by Ukraine. Timely improvements on selective justice and reform legislation will be one of the core criteria in evaluating Ukraine's success at Vilnius.

## DAY 2

### 21 September 2013

#### Working Lunch: Finally at the Yalta Table – China

Speakers:

- **Jin Liqun**  
Chairman, China International Capital Corporation
- **Cui Liru**  
Professor, Senior Advisor, President (2005 – 2013),  
China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations
- **Niall Ferguson**  
Laurence A. Tisch Professor of History, Harvard Business School,  
Harvard University

A long-awaited dialogue between China and Europe was initiated at the working lunch to reflect on China's unique role in the global economy and politics. Indeed, as Jin Liqun claimed, Europe should be more open to China, because this cooperation can provide the stimulus for growth in Europe and the world. Cui Liru was frank about China's unfinished transition to the market economy, as the country is now managing its political and social problems. However, as Mr Cui mentioned, China is seeking to be part of a multipolar world where it can play a responsible role. In his European perspective on China's geopolitics, Niall Ferguson suggested that any slowdown in China's economic growth should be viewed as a global challenge, because China has become as geopolitically important as the US. To effectively demonstrate this point, contemporary artwork by Shi Xinning («Yalta 2») and Alexey Salomanov ("Eclipse – China") was presented to the panel.





*China's sustainable development would be able to provide impetus for development in Europe.*

**Jin Liqun**



*The process of reform in China is first to learn from other countries, especially from the developed ones... Without this learning process we cannot achieve success.*

**Cui Liru**



*China has power whether it wants it or not.*

**Niall Ferguson**

Forty years of extensive economic growth in China has resulted in multiple social, political and economic problems, such as shadow banking, political corruption, environmental pollution, the aging of the population and a growing income gap. The speakers agreed that it was time for intensification policies and social reforms. Focusing on its young educated population and thriftiness in resources will help China to keep quality of life high, while growth inevitably slows down. China's strategy will be to invest in reliable, advanced economies, such as the US, and Ukraine can follow this path.

Niall Ferguson insisted that global crisis has destabilized the political leadership in China, and this can push the government either to 'neo-Maoism' or towards aggressive foreign policy. However, the Chinese guests to the panel reconfirmed that China was not seeking to become hegemonic. As the experts claimed, internal liberalization is a priority in China, so reforms to redistribute political power in state institutions should be high on the agenda. According to Mr Cui, China has a strong belief that institutional reform will eliminate the corruption, financial instability and growing inequality in Chinese politics and administration.

## DAY 2

21 September 2013

## UKReative: A Suggestion on Economic Perspectives

Speakers:

- **Pascal Lamy**  
Honorary President, Notre Europe – Jacques Delors Institute;  
Director-General, WTO (2005 – 2013) (opening remarks)
- **Sergey Glazyev**  
Advisor to the President of the Russian Federation
- **Petro Poroshenko**  
Member of Parliament of Ukraine;  
Minister of Economic Development and Trade of Ukraine (2012)
- **Nouriel Roubini**  
Professor, Stern School of Business, New York University

Ukraine's economic perspectives depend heavily on the geopolitical situation in the region. The 10th Yalta Annual Meeting challenged an expert line-up to draft reasonable economic options on the eve of Ukraine's association with the EU. Pascal Lamy introduced a global vision of a successful trade strategy and presented two options for Ukraine. The first proposed the country transfer part of its sovereignty to a supranational trade entity, such as the EU or the Customs Union; alternatively, Ukraine could build flexible trade ties across the world. In Mr Lamy's opinion, Ukraine should maximize its participation in various free trade zones because of its unique economic profile and the disadvantageous regulatory contradictions in the region. Ukraine should adjust its domestic economy to new competitive pressures, and a consistent political will should help ensure internal coherence.

*If the economy of the state wants to be developed, the only engine is competitiveness, but without interference from the state.*

**Petro Poroshenko**







*Whichever trade opening strategy Ukraine will choose, what matters at the end of the day is the domestic capacity to adjust the economy to new competitive pressures*

**Pascal Lamy**



*Joining the EU will imply more competition, but also more productivity.*

**Nouriel Roubini**



*We have to consider creating a framework, a general structure for cooperation between two big integration unions, the EU and the Customs Union. In this case, we could find a proper format for cooperation with Ukraine together.*

**Sergey Glazyev**

Nouriel Roubini exposed some weaknesses in the Ukrainian macroeconomic situation. Most apparently, these are the large account deficit, an overvalued currency, capital flight and extensive energy subsidies. The external economic environment is unfavourable, as Ukrainian exports have become cheaper and more expensive. At the same time, the country's institutional environment remains hostile to business. Mr Roubini, however, was confident that Ukraine's European choice would help integrate the country into the world economy, which would be impossible in the politically unitary Customs Union.

Unlike the previous speakers, Sergey Glazyev expressed his confidence in the political neutrality of the Customs Union and the free trade agreement with Ukraine. At the same time, Mr Glazyev was highly sceptical about the neutrality of the EU, as the latter imposes one-sided regulations on Ukraine. He was particularly anxious about people in Eastern and Southern Ukraine who have sceptical views on European integration. In the advisor's view, Ukraine has no other choice but to enter the Customs Union in order to protect against substantial economic losses.

In defence of Ukraine's European choice, Petro Poroshenko argued that the economic benefits to Ukraine in the Customs Union would be unsubstantial, as the Russian economy has been growing only slowly. It is a sovereign right of Ukraine to decide on its internal and external affairs, be it referendums, shale gas wells or geopolitical vectors. Russia and Ukraine should therefore ensure competitiveness on both sides and choose trade regulations realistically.

ye 10<sup>TH</sup> YALTA ANNUAL MEETING



Conference photo, 21.09.2013

**DAY 2****21 September 2013****Ukraine Scenarios – Create the Future.  
Interactive format with WEF**

Speakers:

- **Nouriel Roubini**  
Professor, Stern School of Business, New York University
- **Dominique Strauss-Kahn**  
Managing Director, International Monetary Fund (2007 – 2011)
- **Natalie Jaresko**  
Founding Partner and CEO, Horizon Capital
- **Pavlo Sheremeta**  
President, Kyiv School of Economics
- **Dmytro Shymkiv**  
General Manager, Microsoft Ukraine
- **Wrap-up: Lord Risby**  
Member, House of Lords, Parliament of the UK;  
Chairman British-Ukrainian Society

The session gathered a group of authoritative experts in business and finance to discuss realistic scenarios of economic transformation for Ukraine. This panel was, in part, dedicated to cooperation with the experts of the World Economic Forum, who worked to locate Ukraine in the global economy; this was brought to the panel by Lord Risby.





*If the environment is not so good for the next two or three years, it really should make the Ukrainian companies modernize, optimize, be more creative [...]. It makes us focus.*

**Pavlo Sheremeta**



*The European economy won't be a trigger for growth for the rest of the world.*

**Dominique Strauss-Kahn**




According to Nouriel Roubini's vision, four important trends will prevail in the global economy in the next five years. Advanced economies, such as the US, will increase their interest rates. Meanwhile, a slow-down in China's economic growth will result in decreasing demand for commodities. Europe's recovery from crisis will be slow with marginal growth rates. Finally, energy prices will remain relatively high due to geopolitical instability. All four factors are highly unfavourable to emerging markets like India, Indonesia, Turkey, Brazil or Ukraine. The emerging markets will face difficult policy options to fight fiscal deficits and capital flight, which may drive them away from market reforms and towards state capitalism, Mr Roubini concluded.

Dominique Strauss-Kahn supported Mr Roubini's prognosis by adding further alarming points. In particular, he predicted a great imbalance in China's internal situation, where the centre of political power is getting weaker. The only recipe for a safer global economy is to look for joint global solutions, Mr Strauss-Khan summarized.

In turn, Ukrainian business leaders offered their perspectives on how the economic environment and institutions in Ukraine should be counterbalanced for the best economic outcomes. As Natalie Jaresko suggested, supportive institutions and a favourable economic context may actually slow down market reforms in Ukraine, so the current global challenges should be welcomed. At the same time, it is essential to ensure competitiveness, good investment infrastructure and social safety.


Dmytro Shymkiv showed how a lack of competency and strategic thinking at all levels of management can hinder innovative development; intellectual resources and innovation are Ukraine's recipe for growth instead. Ensuring transparency and control will dramatically improve the institutional environment for business in Ukraine, he added.

As Pavlo Sheremeta predicted, Ukraine should expect hardships for the next 2-3 years, but this will be a powerful stimulus to modernize the economy and to enter new markets; Ukrainians should work hard and stay united in the meantime. Finally, the audience agreed that the combination of a favourable economic environment and unfavourable institutional environment should be expected for Ukraine in the next five years.




*The era of zero interest rates [in the advanced economies]... is going to be reversed.*

**Nouriel Roubini**



*If you have a supportive macroeconomic context, and you couple that with supportive institutions, there will actually be a difficulty in pushing reforms forward, because there's no pressure from the outside economy.*

**Natalie Jaresko**



*Having a vision is something that Ukraine misses.*

**Dmytro Shymkiv**



## DAY 2

21 September 2013

## Ukraine's Mix for Success

Speakers:

- **Pat Cox**  
President of the European Parliament (2002 – 2004), Moderator
- **Vitali Klitschko**  
Member of Parliament of Ukraine, Chairman of the “UDAR” Party
- **Serhiy Tigipko**  
Member of Parliament of Ukraine, “The Party of Regions”
- **Arseniy Yatsenyuk**  
Member of Parliament of Ukraine, Head of the “Batkivshchyna” Party

The final session of the 10th Yalta Annual Meeting brought together the noted representatives of the Ukrainian Parliament to discuss what kinds of institutions and leadership might boost Ukraine's prosperity. A recent ‘appetite for consensus’ in the Parliament gave hope for a successful signing of the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement, Pat Cox noted. Nevertheless, the major challenge for the near future will be to sustain constructive dialogue and effective cooperation between rival political powers after the signing.

*How do we get the institutional part established to wrap around a new economic dynamic and to release new potential?*

**Pat Cox**





*An external political vector to solve our problems? I think this is a big mistake.*  
**Serhiy Tigipko**



*We, Ukrainians, are Europeans. And Ukraine is Europe. And we, the Ukrainians will prove that*  
**Vitali Klitschko**



*We can achieve a new type of relations between Ukraine and Russia, but Ukraine as a part of a bigger European space.*

**Arseniy Yatsenyuk**



The speakers shared their visions of a more responsible strategic approach to support Ukraine's successful development. Vitali Klitschko expressed his confidence that the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement would help Ukraine overcome the economic crisis. However, it is crucial for the opposition and the government to maintain progress after the signing. Meanwhile, the current authorities have to build adequate and responsible relations with the citizens of Ukraine and guarantee adequate protection, Mr. Klitschko concluded. Serhiy Tigipko outlined that Ukraine had to solve its internal problems by making three changes - ensuring democratic standards, improving market standards and optimizing social expenditures. Arseniy Yatsenyuk insisted on a review of Ukraine's relations with Russia which have to become equal and respectful. In accord with other speakers, he agreed that the Vilnius summit was not an immediate cure to Ukraine's social and economic problems. Rather, good governance, competitiveness in the economy and politics, and rule of law should be prioritized.

The responsibility of the Parliament and the Government was the major point of concern for the audience. The speakers confirmed the Parliament's will to work together, because corruption, poor business climate and the responsibility of the Government were the shared concern of every political party at the panel. The common cause, real change for the European Ukraine, inspires the politicians to work together, Mr Tigipko assured. And as Mr Klitschko concluded, Ukrainians are ready to prove that they are Europeans.



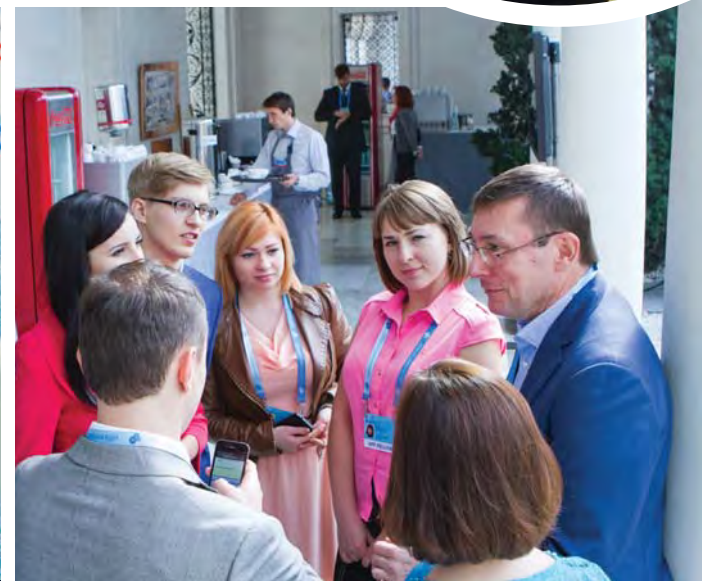
**DAY 2****21 September 2013****Talented students at the 10th Yalta Annual Meeting**

Moderator:

- **Olesya Zhulyns'ka**  
PR-Director, Coca-Cola Company

This year's selection of students from the Zavtra.UA and WorldWideStudies scholarship programmes had a wonderful chance to engage in dialogue with international guests at the 10th Yalta Annual Meeting – Michio Kaku, Cui Liru, David H. Petraeus, Radosław Sikorski, Bret Stephens, Hillary and Bill Clinton, Petro Poroshenko, Jack Andraka, Shimon Peres and the US Ambassador to Ukraine Geoffrey R. Pyatt. Not only had the students a chance to discuss global problems with authoritative experts and politicians, but they also received inspiring advice on personal success, as the speakers shared their life experiences with the young Ukrainian leaders. Success is about living for the future and not the past, being open to new trends and alternative points of view, developing oneself as an expert and cooperating with other people. Finally, the mission for the young educated generation in Ukraine is to become spokespeople for Ukraine to the world, which anyone can do with their profession, be it in science, business or art.





## DAY 2

### 21 September 2013

#### Closing Session

Speaker:

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

With humour and rigour, YES Chairman of the Board Alexander Kwaśniewski concluded the two days of the 10th Yalta Annual Meeting. President Kwaśniewski summarized the core challenges facing the world and Ukraine, which would demand prompt action in a rapidly changing world. Technology and human resources are both the future and the danger for Ukraine, as it has good industry and millions of well-educated and energetic people.

Ukraine has never been so close to Europe, but the main agenda for Ukraine is still to consolidate the political elites and to comply with the requirements of the EU before the Vilnius summit. Alexander Kwaśniewski stressed that not only Ukraine, but also the EU had responsibilities in the process of Ukraine's integration and Europe had been a lot more successful in realizing them. Even though the Cox-Kwaśniewski mission acknowledged Ukraine's progress in applying the EU criteria, there are still some important improvements to be made in selective justice, electoral legislation and judicial reform.



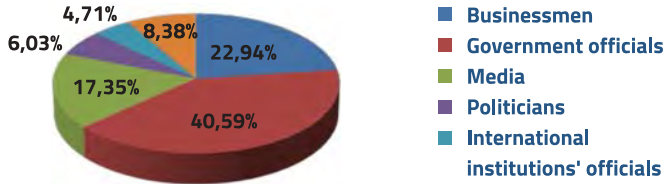


*The EU might not be the best organization in the world. But it is absolutely pragmatic and serious. And when we set the requirements they must be met. No exceptions.*

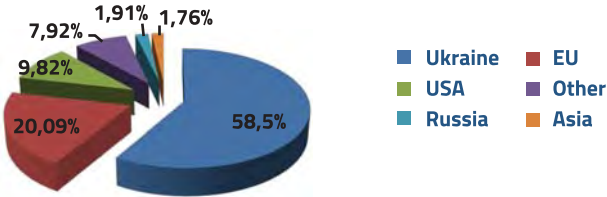
**Alexander Kwaśniewski**

President Kwaśniewski claimed that Europe could provide Ukraine with unified standards, assistance in establishing a well-organized economy and a European success story. He was optimistic about the European Ukraine's relations with Russia, since Ukraine would be able to develop a more demanding and principled partnership with its Eastern neighbour. As a closing message, Alexander Kwaśniewski expressed his confidence that the great work Ukraine has managed to accomplish would have positive outcomes in the near future.

### Who came to Yalta?

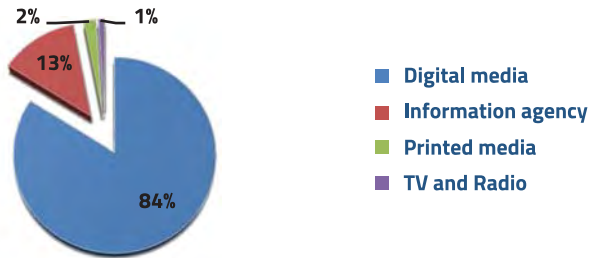


### Participants' geography

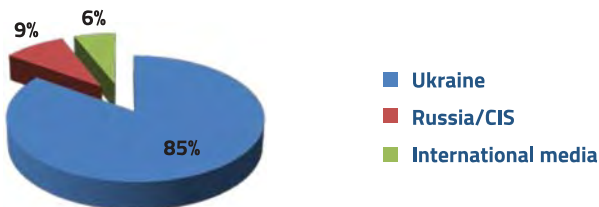


### Media coverage (2013)

Total number of media references is 7468



### Information field geography





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We are grateful to the Victor Pinchuk Foundation for the continuous support and cooperation that has made the 10th Yalta Annual Meeting happen.

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