April 12-13 **2018** 

KYIV SECURITY FORUM

11th

# KYIV SECURITY FORUM

THE reGENERATION PLAN FOR SECURE FUTURE

DIGEST

# **Platform for European security**



# **DIGEST**

11th KYIV SECURITY FORUM

# THE reGENERATION PLAN FOR SECURE FUTURE

April 12-13, 2018 Kyiv, Ukraine





## CONTENT

The opinions expressed in the summary report do not necessarily reflect the positions of the Open Ukraine Foundation or its partners and donor organizations. The speakers' reported remarks have been edited for clarity and may slightly differ from what was actually delivered.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS
DAYI
Prime Ministerial Session.  REGIONAL COOPERATION:  UNITED BY COMMON GOALS
Session I.  SENSITIVE EASTERN EUROPE AND BURNING BLACK SEA REGION: CONFLICTS TO RESOLVE
Session II. INFORMATION SECURITY: HACKING AND CRACKING THE LIES
DAY II
Special Event.  EVERYTHING INTERCONNECTED:  EASTERN EUROPE AND MIDDLE EAST
Session III.  UKRAINE AND ALLIES: SECURITY IN THE FOG OF PEACE AND WAR
Session IV. THREATS TO EUROPEAN DEMOCRACY AND STABILITY. EASTERN FUROPEAN CRISES 41





Special Panel.	
EUROPEAN SOLIDARITY,	
DEVELOPMENT AND ENERGY SECURITY	47
Ministerial Talk.	
MODERN UKRAINE WE BUILD.	
HUMAN SECURITY DIMENSION	50
Snap-Session.	
HOBSON'S CHOICE:	
RUSSIAN "ELECTIONS" AFTERMATH	53
Session VI.	
CULTURE AND PHILOSOPHY	
OF FUTURE MINDS	57
CONCLUDING REMARKS	62

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

The Arseniy Yatsenyuk Open Ukraine Foundation would like to sincerely thank all the institutions and individuals, who contributed to the success of the 11th Kyiv Security Forum.

We would like to express our appreciation to the partners of the 11th Kyiv Security Forum – Chatham House (United Kingdom), the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, The Brookings Institution (U. S.) – for support and cooperation.

We would like also to express our deep gratitude to our financial partners:

- Victor Pinchuk Foundation an international, private, non-partisan philanthropic foundation based in Ukraine – for its key financial support,
- The Black Sea Trust for Regional Cooperation, which is a project of the German Marshall Fund of the United States of America – for its financial support and the many years of fruitful cooperation in organizing Kyiv Security Forums,
- NATO Information and Documentation Centre in Ukraine for its support of the Kyiv Security Forum project and its youth initiatives.

We would like also to acknowledge gratefully the valuable deliberations and comments of our moderator David Eades, as well as all the speakers and participants in this event.

We are furthermore extending our gratitude to our media partners – the Ukrainian information agencies "Liga.net", "Interfax", online-media "European Pravda", "CENSOR.NET", magazines "Focus", "IPG Journal", newspaper "Day" to our TV partners – TV channel "Прямий", program "Faktor Bezpeky", and to our main media-partner – TV channel "Espreso-TV" – for their information and media support.

We also would like to recognize the support of Hilton Kyiv









Arseniv YATSENYUK

Founder of the Open Ukraine Foundation, Prime Minister of Ukraine (2014-2016)

Kyiv Security Forum takes place to form a vision for our common future and to find answers to the challenges now facing ukraine and the whole world.

For the past eleven consecutive years, the Kyiv Security Forum has proven to be a platform where strategies are born not only for states, but also for the world. This year the Forum became a meeting point for the Prime Ministers of Lithuania and Moldova, a special representative of the Government of Turkey, representatives of the United States of America, Romania and other foreign delegations, which is an evident sign of interest and support of Ukraine.

The 11th Kyiv Security Forum celebrates a milestone in the history of Ukraine – 100 years of Ukrainian statehood. A century ago, the Ukrainian nation declared Independence. In their new state Ukrainians finally acquired the right to a future of their own. History, though, arranged a different path, a path where we Ukrainians were not able to remain independent. However, history tends to be fair to those who fight, and we have returned to ourselves the status of being an independent state.

However, the challenges that Ukraine faced one hundred years ago, remain relevant. The loss of Independence had dramatic consequences for Ukraine. Repressions, the Holodomor, Bolshevism, Communism, Stalinism – all these meant the destruction of the Ukrainian state. Restoring Independence is not just chance, it is a victory for Ukrainian freedom. Ukraine must be strong. What does it mean for Ukraine to be strong? It means to fight against Russian aggression, fight for its independence, become a member of the European Union and NATO.

Every meeting makes it possible to listen to each other and not just discuss problems that we face, but also return to our nations' capitals with specific solutions. Most importantly, unity in actions must be above all.



8 11th Kyiv Security Forum 11th Kyiv Security Forum



## **OPENING STATEMENT**











#### **Petro POROSHENKO**

#### **President of Ukraine**

This year's Kyiv Security Forum takes place in a particularly alarming time. The world stands on the verge of making very fatal decisions by the key players in global politics. These decisions ought to bring back the sense of reality to those who lost this sense of reality.

Now we can state that the world finds itself on the edge of an extremely dangerous abyss, and our common future of the world depends on how appropriate our response to the situation will be.

I am convinced that Russia's "Achilles heel" is exactly Russia's aggression against Ukraine. Neither the Kremlin nor Putin, definitely, expected such a result. The path to victory in this war against the Moscow aggressor certainly runs through our victory in Ukraine.

If we stand, we will save the world from the Kremlin hybrid war, which, unfortunately, at any moment can turn into a hot war, because I want to tell you that there is no frozen conflict in the East of Ukraine. We have the military aggression of the Russian Federation against the sovereign, free and independent state of Ukraine, where Ukraine defends not only its territorial integrity and its sovereignty, but it defends the freedom and democracy of the entire Europe and the whole world.





# PRIME MINISTERIAL SESSION. REGIONAL COOPERATION: UNITED BY COMMON GOALS



Volodymyr GROYSMAN

Prime Minister of Ukraine

Today, the civilized democratic world has not yet adequately responded to the threats we face. The most dramatic country today in the world, where the killings are taking place, is Ukraine. Today, the key question for which an answer is sought by all panels is the adequacy of the response of the democratic world.

It's time to open eyes, not to shut them, and not to turn them away from problems. The time has come for totally clear and quality actions that will stop the aggression. These actions will allow us, people of the civilized world, to establish peace, not only on the European continent, but also continue extending our values around the world.

We can either persuade the enemy to stop, or make him stop and return to the borders of his country and become a part of the civilized world. We must fight for the values which are essential for the development of democracy, for improving the quality of life of people in the world.



Saulius SKVFRNFLTS

Prime Minister of the Republic of Lithuania

Many positive changes have taken place in Ukraine. The long expected visa free agreement is coming into force between Ukraine and the European Union, a free trade agreement between EU and Ukraine. Ukraine continues to follow its way of integration into the EU and NATO, and at the same time Ukraine is implementing very important reforms.

Today I came to Kyiv from Avdiivka. I saw with my own eyes the consequences of Russian aggression against Ukraine and Ukrainian citizens. The civilian population, which suffers the most, has learned how to live in these extremely difficult conditions, but it can't be a normal situation, when parents in the evening put their children into bed and they don't know if they all will wake up in the morning, because nobody can guarantee that Russian armaments will not hit your house. At the same time, the whole democratic world can't say that this is a normal situation. We have to support civilian people, support the civilian population.

Now I would like to return to our cooperation, signed agreements and bilateral trade between the EU and Ukraine. This liberalization agreement has yielded very positively. We can learn a lot from the Lithuanian experience and from our mistakes.







Illegal military presence does not lead to a peaceful settlement of conflicts; on the contrary, they freeze conflict situations, they encourage plans for destructive forces to tear off pieces of the country's territory. Unfortunately, we must recognize that economic and energy pressure instruments are used as a political tool in international relations, especially when it comes to relations between neighboring countries, and this is a violation of international law.

Pavel FILIP

Prime Minister of the Republic of Moldova



Süleyman SOYLU

Special Representative of the President and Government of the Republic of Turkey, the Minister of Interior

None of us expected to have such a twenty-first century. We were hoping that we would live in an era of high level of international integration. We thought that we would have a huge level of cooperation against terrorism without looking at the colors, religion and economic interests or some past alliances. We thought that there would be a rise of democracy and rule of law together. We hoped that we would live in a world in which we all could co-exist. However, it did not happen that way. The new world, the new century has brought us into an environment that none of us were expecting. We should all understand that such a picture that we have now could not be drawn by a certain country alone. Moreover, the situation cannot be approved by countries separately improving their security on their own borders. These problems should be resolved with a common sense, with a joint effort and with sincere attitudes.

I believe this forum will be an important step in this direction. Unfortunately, we live in a world with a high level of pessimism and lower levels of optimism. We are defining our future not based on our dreams, but based on our fears; but how did this happen, how did these problems grow so much, why is this solution so far away from us? If we were living in a third world war, the leaders of the world would gather around one table and maybe find the solution. Now we are not even aware who would be around that table, if there was a table. It is clear that global mistakes trigger each other. Terror, drugs, migration, and raising racism in the West – they are all gaining power from each other unfortunately.



#### KYIV SECURITY FORUM

## **SPECIAL ADDRESS**



Andriy PARUBIY

Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine The North Atlantic Alliance was and remains the most effective structure for confronting Russian aggression. I believe that the North Atlantic Alliance today is precisely such a force that is able to and must provide an adequate response to the challenges the world is facing today.

Today, as NATO membership is important for Ukraine, so likewise Ukraine's experience in countering Russia is important for NATO. Ukraine is determined to attain NATO standards, in particular in the matters of national security.











# **SESSION I.**SENSITIVE EASTERN EUROPE AND BURNING BLACK SEA REGION: CONFLICTS TO RESOLVE



Vasyl BODNAR

Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine The whole Eastern Europe and Black sea region has become a front line and even if Russian tanks are in Eastern Ukraine, the fighting is continuing in almost all Eastern European countries. We should determine now how to join our efforts, how to protect ourselves not only by military means but also from the hybrid threats which are now being used widely by Russian proxies and pro-Russian politics, by Russian forces and pro-Russian forces in different countries, increasing tensions between neighboring countries. Secondly, we should talk about the Black Sea Region. Let's fight together on one front against the source of threat and secondly lets work for European unity together, tackling our mutual problems.



Dănuţ Sebastian NECULĂESCU

State Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania I want to say here very clearly, Romania considers the illegal annexation of the Crimean peninsula as a rude act of violation of international law. Our contribution from the region was to increase cooperation with the three partners that are interested in working with us – one of them obviously is Ukraine – for increasing building capacity, increasing resilience. Here I think are the key words that I want to address here, because if we are looking for a solution for the future, at least in the near term, I think it will be a continuation of the NATO measures that we've seen so far, and also increasing resilience in the partner countries.







It is clear that Russia opposes not only the enlargement of NATO and the EU towards its so-called spheres of interests, but also the spread of democracy and western values as well. I must say that the main problem in Georgia, in Ukraine, in Moldova is that Russia does not respect the principle of sovereignty of its neighbors. It is against the spread of democracy, it is against of the freedom of choice of the people of Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia to choose their own political direction.

Teona AKUBARDIA

Deputy Secretary, National Security Council of Georgia



Pawel Robert KOWAL

State Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland (2006-2007), Member of the European Parliament (2009-2014) Russia wants to create a situation in which people in our part of Europe will say: no, we are no longer interested in democracy, we are not interested in freedom of speech, we want a strong hand, we support nationalist regimes, and then such a strong system of managing by an iron hand will be restored. This will enable Russia in some way to restore an imperialist system.

In order not to allow such development, the authorities should answer the question: how to rebuild the trust of society without new revolutions, as well as how to rebuild trust between nations.







Danylo LUBKIVSKY

Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine (2014) Putin's war against all and the difficulties that Western Europe is experiencing today paradoxically has highlighted the peculiarity of our region. Our region, which is often perceived in historical concepts as an annex, as political currency, as a battlefield that can be distributed, is of particular value today. The main signal that Kyiv now sends to its partners, and not only to partners, is that it is a special polyphonic region that can offer to make its own contribution to pan-European, Euro-Atlantic security.

Our region is not only a security client. In my opinion, our region is a contributor to security. This is a region that has the potential, if it is skillfully and wisely used, to give impetus not only to security here, but also to it in a wider European sense.

Ukrainian interests, as well as the interests of all our neighbors, equally contradict the weakening of the international positions of our immediate western neighbors. These are those weaknesses that lie in elemental political egoism, chauvinism, xenophobia, all of which Russia can use so cleverly.

# **DISCUSSION.**FREEDOM WITHOUT SECURITY OR SECURITY WITHOUT FREEDOM. FUTURE DEFINING CHOICES



Tunisia's main challenge is now economic. Actually, since 2011, in this small country, one of the main indicators is a lower GDP. There was about a 71% increase of corruption within the informal economy, political instability with failures of governments. The new challenge now is economic security.

Najet ZAMMOURI

Vice President, the Tunisian Human Rights League, 2015 Nobel Peace Prize Organization







Ukraine as a representative of Europe and Japan as a representative of Asia – we could work together to share our experience and our ideas. So, this European fight against Russia and our fight against Russia could be more coordinated and we could be more far-sighted.

Kazuyuki HAMADA

Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs of Japan (2011-2012)



Stephen LARRABEE

Distinguished Chair in European Security, Pardee RAND Graduate School The questions the countries of the Eastern Europe are facing, first of all, are of an economic nature, and therefore here first of all one must think about safety. In order to give people of Eastern Europe an opportunity to implement necessary reforms, they must first have the necessary conditions for such activities ... That is why NATO's decision on enlargement was correct. If we did not create security structures, we would have left Eastern Europe at the mercy of Russia, conditional on the Russian Federation. And given the lack of democracy in Russia, this fact would have influenced them too.

Freedom and security are interconnected. If you do not solve both parts of this equation, then you will not be able to produce a good policy. The question of freedom without security does not work.











# SESSION II. INFORMATION SECURITY: HACKING AND CRACKING THE LIES



#### JEFFREY GEDMIN

President, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (2007-2011) I think the day that we put him (Vladimir Putin) on his heels not by answering lies with lies but answering lies with truth by every means necessary, with all the technology available to not advance anything that is untrue, but advance things that are true. He is the leader of a country with a large part apparently following him, but he is also a kleptocrat, who even Russian patriots must know, must be told and educated, if I may put it that way, who will leave their country guided at the end as an empty shell financially, intellectually, spiritually, morally and culturally. That is what Russia will be when Vladimir Putin leaves one day.







Ukraine has helped Singapore to learn. You do not have just military volunteers, but also cyber volunteers. I've met them, very impressive people. Some of them don't really look normal, they are not your typical office workers, but they are motivated by patriotism. This is not what we are able to pick up on in Asia. Ukraine has also helped Singapore in recent parliamentary hearings in Singapore on hybrid warfare.

Shashi JAYAKUMAR

Head, Center of Excellency for National Security, Singapore



Ricardo BARETZKY

President of European Centre for Information Policy & Security (ECIPS) Let me say this to you: the combined risk of cyber threats and military moves from actors, including Russia, North Korea and others can not and must not be underestimated. By doing so we'll make a gross error in the very near future. Don't wait for this to arrive; act, and act now. Critical infrastructure is a key to survival in these endless battles.

#### KYIV SECURITY FORUM

## **CONCLUDING ADDRESS**



Ivanna KLYMPUSH-TSINTSADZE

Vice Prime Minister for European and Euro-Atlantic Integration of Ukraine The world is on the verge of a new global confrontation. This is a confrontation between freedom and non-freedom, between democracy and despotism, between progress and chaos. It seems that this confrontation is inevitable, and it will not be possible to avoid it.

Today's situation and the obvious prospects of its threatening development compel all countries committed to democratic values and seeking to preserve a free world in the future to act, to act immediately and systematically, in cooperation and collaboration. It's time to make democracy strong again. We have to make democracy strong again.











# **DAY II. SPECIAL EVENT.**EVERYTHING INTERCONNECTED: EASTERN EUROPE AND MIDDLE EAST



Russia is testing how determined the West is and if it is resolutely committed to help Ukraine in its situation.

Ukraine and the Middle East "are simply theaters of hostilities, two theaters in larger conflicts". And Russia wants to change the balance of power in the world by resorting to a competitive principle in various dimensions. They will not retreat from this pursuit.

Ariel COHEN

Senior Fellow, Atlantic Council



**Benjamin HADDAD** 

Research Fellow, The Hudson Institute Russia is a country that has a very post-modern understanding of truth and media that constantly uses propaganda, not to promote an alternative vision, an alternative truth, but just to erode the very notion of truth. It creates a broader assault against our way of life, our institutions, and it's very good at understanding and undermining them from within. We need a strategy to push back. What areas do we need to push back on? We need to continue supporting Ukrainian independence and sovereignty. I think one good step that was taken by the administration recently, sale of "Javelins" to Ukraine, which is a decision that should have been made a way before, but, I think, it's a step in the right direction.

It is critical continuing supporting our allies, especially our front line allies like the Baltic States, like Poland, continuing to being committed to the European regional initiatives within NATO. But, it's also about changing the way we organize our own societies. We have been too open to Russian corruption. I think one good step for Europeans is to finally adopt a European wide Magnitsky Act, which is the equivalent to what United States has been doing.





# **SESSION III.**UKRAINE AND ALLIES: SECURITY IN THE FOG OF PEACE AND WAR



Oleksandr TURCHYNOV

Secretary, National Security and Defense Council of Ukraine Unfortunately, Russian aggression against our country is continuing for the fourth consecutive year. During this time, Russia has been using all its available potential of a hybrid war: military, informational, cyber, economic, and much more. It does not shun even sabotage and terrorist acts in the central part of our country. Despite the efforts of the international community to stop Russian aggression, we can not confirm that anything has improved concerning stopping Russia's undeclared war against our country.

I appeal once again to our partners, including those present in this room. Friends, the sanctions are not a gift for Ukraine. These are not concessions to Ukraine. They are our common security. The sanctions are elementary measures in order to deter the aggressor and there is no room for double standards in this regard.

I believe that our partnership with NATO will become a safety lock in Europe, and Ukraine's entry into the Europe's security space is a necessity, not just our wish.



Arsen AVAKOV

Minister of Interior of Ukraine

When the aggression began, in the spring of 2014, we did not have anything. We only had the strength of the spirit of the volunteer battalions, strength of community support through volunteers, and there was a team of state managers who could not make the situation progress toward death. As Golda Meyer once said, "We had our secret weapon: No alternative".

The big countries guaranteed the security and inviolability of our state frontiers for the renunciation of nuclear weapons and de-escalation. After that, I witnessed how the leaders of big countries phoned Turchynov's office in 2014, phoned Yatseniuk's office and said: "Do not provoke Putin! Let's get calmer somehow".

In the next year and a half, Russia's menace for Ukraine may increase significantly as presidential and parliamentary elections are approaching and Putin wants to destabilize the situation in the country in any way.







Rose GOTTEMOELLER

NATO Deputy Secretary General Our emphasis is to talk about fog of peace and war. The fog of war has been clouded, because of Russia's use of hybrid, or as we called it sometimes, symmetric techniques. This has created a fog of neither peace nor war, but of constant crisis and destabilization.

A core question for us to discuss is what we can do to deter and defend against hybrid or a symmetric threats. The core answer lies in this direction – we must be more aware and alert, we must be resilient to attacks, and we must be ready to respond asymmetrically. Another area where we can continue to work successfully together is crisismanagement.



Raimundas KAROBLIS

Minister of National
Defense of the Republic
of Lithuania

Our countries have paid a price for their desire to be independent, and to become part of the European and euroatlantic community of nations. It took some time, and some truly shocking revelations for the Western community to realize the seriousness of challenges posed by Putin's Russia.

Western societies are becoming increasingly away off and resilient to the Russian propaganda and disinformation. There still a lot to be done to develop our resilience as nations of military alliance, but there is clearly a movement in the right directions, both internally, within NATO and the European Union, but also with our partners. It is also very important that Western countries increase substantially their support to the Ukrainian military. Europe can and has to do more, as we all look forward to a political solution of the conflict.







Sir Malcolm RIFKIND

**Secretary of State** of Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, United Kingdom (1995-1997)

We are often told that what Russia wants is respect from the international community. And Russia, as a country and as a nation, is entitled to respect, as every country is. But Russia has indeed a particular justification for respect as a country. We are all rapidly losing respect, if we have not already done that, for the President of Russia and the people around him, and the policies they are pursuing. You cannot expect to be accepted as a responsible and civilized government when you are simultaneously acting rather like a bunch of gangsters in the way you pursue your foreign policy.

When Hitler invaded the Soviet Union and Stalin needed to unite the Russian people, he appealed to their sense of patriotism and they responded, and the country was united. Well, in the same way Ukraine has become united, despite its internal divisions, because of the threat of external attack.

## **SPECIAL ADDRESS**



Robert **KAREM** 

of Defense for **International Security Affairs** 

The revisionist aggression of Putin's Russia poses a clear and present danger to the United States, to Europe, to the rules based on international order, to the global economy and the fundamental principle of national sovereignty. Russia has invested heavily and sophisticatedly to get entire access to an area of denied weapons and has deployed them to key locations that threaten Europe. When the Kremlin is using its UN Security Council veto to deny international consensus in confronting proliferators and states sponsoring terrorism, like Iran, it is failing to enforce the UN Security Council resolutions to which it has agreed. The challenge posed by Russian aggression is not for America alone to solve. All of these, who believe in national **U.S. Assistant Secretary** sovereignty and territorial integrity, have a stake in detouring Russia and other revisionists powers from undermining the foundations of rule-based order that has allowed for this unprecedented period of global peace and prosperity.

> Due to this, the United States remain committed to rebuilding the defense capabilities of Ukraine's forces and enhancing interoperability with NATO. Since 2014, we have committed almost a billion dollars in security assistance to Ukraine.

38 39 11th Kyiv Security Forum 11th Kyiv Security Forum











# **SESSION IV.**THREATS TO EUROPEAN DEMOCRACY AND STABILITY. EASTERN EUROPEAN CRISES



Karel SCHWARZENBERG

Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic (2007-2009; 2010-2013) We see in Europe a decay of the traditional parties, because over the last fifty years they didn't have a good new ruling idea. If you get offered your favorite breakfast place and a tea which was done from a tea bag which was already used for several cups of tea, you wouldn't like to drink it. Neither, of course does Europe. And the winner of the situation is the populists and extremists.

Lamentably, the great populist parties and the extremist parties were a success. Why? First of all, they were not boring – Ms. Thatcher, Helmut Kohl, Mitterrand were interesting and amusing people. Most present leaders are rather grey and boring, with no appeal. And that speaks in favor of the extremist and populist.







Finally, at least one sane person has turned up in the current government: the Secretary of the National Security and Defense Council. Turchynov has acknowledged that the nuclear disarmament of Ukraine was a mistake. I have spoken about it dozens of times: this is our strategic mistake that we repay with blood and territories today. We must be able not only to recognize mistakes, but also to correct them, and Ukraine has all the possibilities for that, provided only that political will and understanding of national interests are there.

Oleh LYASHKO

Member of Parliament of Ukraine, leader of the Radical Party



Peter BALAZS

Director, Center for European Neighborhood Studies at Central European University, European Commissioner for Regional Policy (2004), Hungary There will be no peace until there are actors on the international scene who disagree with the status quo and want to change it, as well as borders, countries, territories, balance of power, agreements.

Commenting on the statement by Ms. Rose Gottemoeller, NATO Deputy Secretary General, I note that there is now a situation in the world in which there is no peace nor war.

The situation when everyday shots are heard and people are killed is not called "peace" for sure.







For us, the principle of "more for more" and "less for less" is in force. The EU understands itself as a community of values, where democracy and the rule of law, independence from corruption are central elements. If they are ensured, then we will fully comply with our commitments in relation to economic development and social development in Ukraine.

Joachim SCHUSTER

Member of European Parliament, Germany



Bogdan KLICH

Minority Leader of Senate, Minister of Defense of the Republic of Poland (2007-2011) Among general tendencies and trends going through Europe and Asia, the first one is nationalism, another one is populism. The last one is the major threat for our democratic systems, because the current populism has a variety of faces, a variety of images filling the idea of the common good. There are more consolidated authoritarian systems than consolidated democracies in Central, Eastern Europe, as well as in Eurasia.

Since 2000, the number of populist parties in Europe has doubled from 33 to 63. They have routes in the assessment that current establishments don't represent the real will of the nations. They try to introduce, in their societies, the clear distinction between "us" and "them". "Us" means those parties and those movements, representing the common good against various kinds of minorities: sexual, religious, ethnic, migrant minorities or former establishment. And what is the most dangerous? These parties can reinforce Russian destructive influence in Europe for a long time.











# **SPECIAL PANEL.**EUROPEAN SOLIDARITY, DEVELOPMENT AND ENERGY SECURITY



The Nord Stream 2 project is a new threat to the European Union. It seems to me that the magnitude of this threat is measured in direct proportion to the length of the stream, how far it penetrates the EU. I emphasize that this is not going to be an economic measure. Losses will be measured not in euros, but in loss of independence and commitment to the basic values of democracy.

Ostap SEMERAK

Minister of Ecology and Natural Resources of Ukraine







Andrius KUBILIUS

Member of Seimas of Lithuania, Prime Minister of the Republic of Lithuania (1999-2000; 2008-2012) In addition to strengthening military capabilities, an effective strategy to combat the aggressive policy of Putin's Russia should be the creation of a belt of successful countries around Russia that will make ordinary Russians think. It was for this purpose that the "Marshall Plan for Ukraine" initiative appeared.

I have had the opportunity to present our Lithuanian initiative of the Marshall Plan for Ukraine.

Why did we develop the idea of the "Marshall Plan for Ukraine" last year? Because we asked a question, "What is Putin's strategy for Ukraine"? If I were Putin (what horror I am talking about!), then my goal would be not to allow Ukraine to be successful.

That is why European solidarity has to be focused on not letting Putin achieve his goal. Ukraine's success is important for the broader strategy that the world needs in order to manage Putin's strategy. Now, the only effective strategy, besides military capabilities, is the strategy of setting a belt of successful countries around Russia to affect the opinion of ordinary Russians.



Vadym GLAMAZDIN

Special Envoy on government relations, NJSC "Naftogaz of Ukraine" For the whole of 2017, Gazprom maintained contractual pressure for only 45 days. For the rest of time, Gazprom actually short delivered the transit contractual gas which had to be delivered to Europe. During the whole of 2018, more than 100 days passed when the contractual pressure was only for one day. It means, basically, that we are talking about the fact that Gazprom in principle consistently fails to fulfill its contractual obligations.

As soon as Gazprom switches its attention from Ukraine, no European country will be safe from such actions.





# MINISTERIAL TALK. MODERN UKRAINE WE BUILD. HUMAN SECURITY DIMENSION



Viacheslav KYRYLENKO

Vice Prime Minister of Ukraine

Before the beginning of Russian aggression, the question of national identity was considered very narrowly. It was considered as a political or linguistic one, but by no means as an important security issue. From 2014 to the present day, such issues as the Ukrainian language, the policy of national memory, national identity, have become the main points of creating a new model of human security in Ukraine.

Over the past three to four years, the government and Parliament have implemented three key things. First is the Parliament's adoption of the law on decommunization. Secondly, there was the strengthening of the position of the Ukrainian language on television, radio and in schools, and in the educational system. And, thirdly, there was the protection of the Ukrainian information space. This relates to the cinema market, book market, and media market, etc. Here it implies protection from various manifestations of Russian propaganda.



Lilia HRYNEVYCH

Minister of Education and Science of Ukraine

The whole world is in an educational crisis today. Since children have changed, technology has changed, and the whole world thinks about how to make learning more friendly, more interesting and at the same time more productive, because the goals of education have changed.

If domain knowledge was previously important, now, according to research, only 15% of career success depends on professional skills.

Meanwhile as much as 85% of this success comes from what is called "soft skills". Today, in the current education system, we do not form "soft skills" at all. In this regard, a large-scale reform within the Ukrainian education system is getting started.











# **SNAP-SESSION.**HOBSON'S CHOICE: RUSSIAN "ELECTIONS" AFTERMATH



**Volodymyr GORBULIN** 

Director of National Institute for Strategic Studies Today, we have three dimensions of lack of alternatives associated with the election of Putin for the next term of office.

The first is Russia's being doomed to Putin. The second is the doom of Putin's Russia to confront with the West. And the third is an inevitability of Russia's losing in this confrontation.

Russia can not afford democracy or even a debate. Near the Kremlin, you have to walk in whispers and in shoe wrappers, like at the bedside of a dying patient.

The Kremlin can still manipulate its close partners and allies, using their interests, dependence, illusions about Russia's intentions and opportunities. Until recently we by ourselves have been in this state of anxious uncertainty, unsuccessfully trying to understand what Moscow wants and how one should understand its words and actions. The difficult lesson of 2014 has returned our ability back to see things the way they are.







#### Nicolas TENZER

President of the Center for Study and Research for Political Decisions, France Russia creates a sort of alternative discourse to the human rights values that must prevail on international stage. For the first time since the end of the Second World War, you have a member, a permanent member of the UN Security Council, committing obviously, without even hiding itself, war crimes in Syria, or probably, in Ukraine. For the first time, since the invasion in Czechoslovakia by Hitler in 1939, you have an actor changing the borders within Europe, which is subsequently, completely unprecedented.

First of all, we should consider these threats seriously, not try to appease, not try to negotiate, not try to use rational words, rational tactics, or classic diplomacy, to which we are used to. We have to respond as tough as possible.



Steven PIFER

Nonresident Senior Fellow, The Brookings Institution There may be a path to a better relationship with Russia, but it is going to be contingent on Russia's abandoning some of the behaviors, some of the rules breaking, that we have seen in over the last five years. A question that we have in the West is how to make Russia adopt a different approach. There may be two or three ways the West could impose a more tangible cost on Russia.

First of all, Russia takes information, for example, when they got hold of the emails of the democratic international community and make it a weapon. So, maybe there's a need to organize effort to begin to put out some of that information in a way that will make the Kremlin to be uncomfortable.

One of the reasons that Kremlin violates the rules is because those violations have a low cost. So we should begin to target oligarchs that are close to the Kremlin for sanctions, visa sanctions, sanctions that would be declared not only on individuals, but on entities, in order to move Russia back towards playing by the rules of generally accepted international order.









# **SESSION VI.**CULTURE AND PHILOSOPHY OF FUTURE MINDS



Ukraine is in a rather specific situation, given that culture for centuries has been replacing all other institutions – the parliament, school, church.

At the same time, Ukrainians are still "under pressure of the imperial influence that was imposed on us as on tribals".

Mykola RIABCHUK

President, Ukrainian PEN Center







Changing the values of Ukrainians is a mystery to both Europeans and representatives of other ethnic groups. And it is that heroism, rejection of the values of our own health and life, which excites admiration from the Europeans. And for them there is a certain mystery as to how Ukrainians could foster two revolutions.

Alla KOVALENKO

Doctor of Psychology, Professor, Head, Department of Social Psychology, Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv



Denis GURSKY CEO/Founder, The information-driven, digital generation is super practical, multicapable and multimission. These people are also great thinkers. Their motivation is completely different as they think about themselves first. The most interesting thing is that they are very frank with themselves and with each other. They openly talk about their achievements, because they understand that these are achievements they will be judged by.

Social Boost, Ukraine





Human resources are the main treasure of our country. This asset requires support from the country. The country has to support us. When we talk about the future, we always need to communicate what we can do for a new generation, for young people, since without them we won't be able to move anywhere.

Ivanka NEBOR

CEO/Founder, INgenius, Ukraine









## KYIV SECURITY FORUM

## **CONCLUDING REMARKS**



I want to express my deep personal respect for the soldiers who fight, for the military commanders, the political leaders, who, whatever problems may be, refused to bow to a dictator who wishes to take this land, to fulfill his own revisionist project, and to the ordinary Ukrainians, who had to live in the state of chaos and disorder, had to go without heat in the winter.

David SAMUELS

The New York Times Magazine

















## **MEDIA FOCUS**



**972** guests



Representatives of 35 countries



**64** speakers



18 acting ministers



**156** Members of Parliaments



163 diplomats



**27** young leaders



**258** accredited journalists

**318** experts

LOADING

5 thousand YouTube live streaming views

LOADING

More than 6 thousand media citations

LOADING

4 million coverages in social networks

More than 90 thousand regional mass media readers

More than 8 million live streaming views on national television (Espresso, Прямий, Channel 5, Channel 112, 1+1)







# Heading for NATO: Saying No to Corruption and the Law on National Security

The 11th Kyiv Security Forum brought together in one place more than four hundred Ukrainian and international politicians, diplomats, public figures and experts from thirty-five countries around the world. The Forum's founder, Arseniy Yatsenyuk, started the conference by thanking the participants for supporting Ukraine in its confrontation with Russia, and called for support to ban the construction of the Nord Stream 2 gas pipeline. The former prime minister also asked for a clear answer about Ukraine's prospects of joining NATO.

NATO says that the door for Ukraine is open. Is this the case or not? There should be only one answer to our European partners: "Yes, we want a strong united Europe, with Ukraine being a member of it".

Furthermore, Petro Poroshenko, the Head of State, also expressed thanks for international support and solidarity with Ukraine. He further reminded the audience of recent US sanctions against Putin's government and announced the next round of restrictions on Russian industry by Ukraine.

Kay Baily Hutchison, Permanent Representative of the United States to the Alliance, reassured that the United States wanted to see Ukraine as a NATO member. Moreover, the U.S. have been impressed by the reforms we are making along this way. According to the diplomat, Ukraine is successfully moving towards joining the Alliance. It is the fight against corruption that the diplomat called as one of the main steps that are expected from Kyiv.



April 12, 2018

#### Arseniy Yatsenyuk: Nord Stream 2 Will Finance the Russian Army

Construction of Nord Stream 2 aims to further increase Europe's dependence on Russian gas, Yatsenyuk asserted.

"Russian military aggression continues to receive support even from some Western partners. The construction of Nord Stream 2, which aims to further increase Europe's dependence on Russian gas and finance the Russian army, must be stopped", – said Arseniy Yatsenyuk, the leader of the People's Front Party, on Thursday, April 12, at the opening of the 11th Kyiv Security Forum. Arseniy Yatsenyuk emphasized that in times of extreme difficulty for the free world: "It is necessary to keep unity. This unity is not only in words, but also in very tough actions. These are sanctions, political dialogue and military force. This is unity, including in the economic policy".

"The construction of Nord Stream 2 must be stopped. It draws billions of dollars from citizens of Ukraine, Poland, Slovakia, violates trade relations between the European Union and the United States of America and is aimed at only one thing – how to make Europe even more dependent on Russian gas and how to finance the Russian army", – he stressed.

"Our unity must be there – not in words, but in actions", – said the leader of the People's Front.







# Ukraine Will Cease Cooperation with the CIS and a Part of the Friendship Treaty with the Russian Federation

President of Ukraine, Petro Poroshenko, will present an initiative in the Parliament to terminate a part of the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Partnership between Ukraine and the Russian Federation and also requests the Government to prepare a proposal to stop membership of Ukraine in the statutory bodies of the CIS.

This was stated by the President of Ukraine, Petro Poroshenko, at the opening of the Kyiv Security Forum.

"My next step will be to submit proposals to the Rada to suspend a part of the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Partnership between Ukraine and Russia", – he said.

According to the President, these are parts that have become an "odious anachronism", in particular those that are incompatible with realization of the right to self-defense, for example, the provisions on strategic partnership, military-technical cooperation, and cooperation with the RF in the protection of Ukraine.

Mr. Poroshenko emphasized that important provisions concerning mutual respect for territorial integrity, inviolability of borders, remain valid.

"Furthermore, I will suggest the government to prepare a proposal to terminate membership in the statutory bodies of the CIS", – Poroshenko said, stressing that Ukraine is not a full member of the CIS, and therefore cannot withdraw from this body.



#### April 12, 2018

The Kremlin "House of Cards" and "No Business as Usual" with Russia. What did Poroshenko say at the Security Forum?

The President spoke at the 11th Kyiv Security Forum.

Key players of global politics have to make momentous decisions, and it is hoped that the worst scenarios will not come true. The President of Ukraine spoke about the issue during the 11th Kyiv Security Forum.

The President noted that more and more countries are convinced that Russia's aggression has no geographical boundaries, and therefore the civilized world must stand together and develop a common strategy for confronting the global threat.







## The President Speaks at the XI Security Forum in Kyiv

President Petro Poroshenko asserted that Ukraine would insist on receiving the program of enhanced capabilities and the NATO Membership Action Plan (MAP). This was stated by the President of Ukraine at the XI Security Forum in Kyiv.

"With regards to NATO, we will insist on the program of enhanced capabilities for Ukraine and on the Membership Action Plan", – Poroshenko said.

Earlier, President Petro Poroshenko announced plans to join NATO's military-political alliance in the next 10 years.

As reported, on January 17 the National Security and Defense Council approved a draft law "On National Security", which provides for the legislative consolidation of Ukraine's plans for NATO and European Union memberships. Experts from NATO, the USA and the EU participated in drafting the bill.



April 12, 2018

# **Ukraine Will Terminate Certain Provisions of the Friendship Treaty with Russia**

The President of Ukraine, Petro Poroshenko, will submit to the Verkhovna Rada a draft law on the immediate unilateral termination of provisions of the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Partnership with Russia. "No business as usual" with Russia. It's time to rethink the legal principles of our relations with Moscow", – the Head of State highlighted at the opening of the 11th Kyiv Security Forum.

The first step on this way was the recent adoption by the members of Parliament of the law on reintegration of Donbas. "The next step will be a submission by me to the Ukrainian parliament of a draft law on the immediate unilateral termination of certain provisions of the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Partnership between Ukraine and Russia in part where operation of this Treaty is incompatible with the national interests of the state and with the exercise of our Ukrainian right to self-defense", – Mr. Poroshenko emphasized.

At the security forum, Petro Poroshenko also stressed the importance of counteracting Russian interference in elections in countries all over the world. Preventing a situation like what occurred in the the US presidential election in 2016 is one of the measures to counter Russia's hybrid threats.





# JH!AH

April 12, 2018

#### The Donbas May Face the Fate of Syria, - the Polish Ambassador

"... Confrontation is becoming tougher, and we are afraid that the Donbas in Eastern Ukraine may become a target", – said the Polish ambassador.

The East of Ukraine can become the same target of Russia, which is now Syria. As the correspondent of UNIAN reports, the diplomat spoke about that during the discussion panel "The Position of the World Community Regarding Aggression Against Ukraine: The Crimea, Donbas and Human Rights" as part of the 11th Kyiv Security Forum.

"Today, we hear some very bad news from Syria ... the confrontation is getting tougher and harder, and we also fear that Donbas and Eastern Ukraine may also be targets", – said Mr. Pieklo.

At the same time, he said, Poland is trying to help Ukraine in various directions, and in particular, in the field of security.

"Because we are neighbors, and we know that the security of a democratic Ukraine is important for European security, for the security of Poland and the security of countries in Europe. This is the most important issue".

"We must think about unity, we must focus on unity, and Russia is interested in using our bilateral issues to Russia's advantage to undermine the unity and create problems", – the Polish diplomat believed.



April 12, 2018

People in NATO Countries are Impressed by the Will of the Ukrainian People, – Kay Bailey Hutchinson, the US Ambassador to NATO.

"We look toward Ukraine to be included in the open door policy during the next NATO summit, an invitation to participate in which Ukraine has already received", – Ivanna Klympush-Tsintsadze, Vice Prime Minister for European and Euro-Atlantic Integration of Ukraine said during a meeting with Kay Bailey Hutchinson, the Permanent Representative of the United States to NATO on the sidelines of the Kyiv Security Forum.

Kay Hutchinson noted that she fully supports the Euro-Atlantic aspirations of Ukraine, and they are also supported by most of the member states. "NATO's doors are open for Ukraine. All that is needed are the standard requirements for candidate countries: strong democracy, a strong judicial system, rule of law, a low level of corruption. Moreover, a successful anti-corruption struggle in Ukraine will contribute to increasing investment attractiveness and growth of Ukraine's economy", – the United States Representative to NATO said. "People in NATO countries are impressed by the will of the Ukrainian people, as demonstrated since the Revolution of Dignity. Your people are committed to having all the achievements of strong democracies, as residents of the member states of the Euro-Atlantic community", – she emphasized.





# Тиждень

#### April 12, 2018

# The Prime Minister of Moldova said that the Russian Federation Should Withdraw its Troops from Transnistria

At the same time, Mr. Filip noted that Chisinau is a reliable partner of Kyiv.

The Prime Minister of Moldova, Pavel Filip, stated that Russia should withdraw its troops from the Transnistrian region, as it contributes to further degradation of the situation and the disintegration of Moldova. He announced this on Thursday, 12th of April, during the 11th Kyiv Security Forum in Kyiv, as reported by the Weekly Correspondent.

"Illegal military presence in the countries does not lead to a peaceful resolution of the conflict. On the contrary, it encourages destructive forces to continue their plans for separation of pieces of the country's territory. That is why we constantly demand and request withdrawal of Russian troops from the territory of Moldova, as well as transformation of current operation in Transnistria into an international civilian mission with an international mandate, being confident that this will create a proper ground for resolving the Transnistria conflict via negotiations", – Filip said.

"The Republic of Moldova has condemned and now denounces the illegal annexation of the Crimea and it supports the efforts of Ukraine to resolve the crisis in the Donbas, as it stipulated by the Minsk Agreements", – Mr. Filip added.

# **УКРІНФОРМ**

#### April 12, 2018

# Ukraine and Turkey Will Intensify Implementation of Cooperative Projects in Energy and Aviation

Ukraine and Turkey are ready to intensify implementation of cooperative projects in the most demanded areas – energy, aviation and military-technical cooperation.

This was stated during the meeting of the Prime Minister of Ukraine, Volodymyr Groysman, with the Minister of Internal Affairs of the Turkish Republic, Suleiman Soylu.

"Our relations are quite active. Turkey is our strategic partner, and strengthening cooperation in the trade and economic sphere is one of the key prerequisites for the successful development of the strategic partnership", – Groysman said.

It is noted that the negotiations took place within the Kyiv Security Forum, which is a major international panel for discussing the most timely issues of development of Ukraine and the entire region.

74 11th Kyiv Security Forum 11th Kyiv Security Forum 7









# The Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine Andriy Parubiy Expects that the Bill on the Anti-corruption Court will be Considered in the Parliament in May this Year

The Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, Andriy Parubiy, in a comment to journalists during the 11th Kyiv Security Forum noted that the bill on the Anticorruption Court would be considered in the first plenary week of May. According to the Chairman of the Parliament, this draft law is still under consideration in the relevant committee. "After adoption in the first reading, 1950 amendments have been made to it. I know that the committee is working very hard to address all the amendments", – said Andriy Parubiy.

Meanwhile, the Chairman of The Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine stated that last week he addressed a letter to the Venice Commission in order to send a representative to Ukraine to assist in preparing a draft law for the second reading.

According to him, theoretically, if by the next plenary session the committee completes the consideration of the draft law, this issue may appear on the agenda next Thursday. "But most likely, it's going to happen in the first plenary week of May, because according to the internal procedures of Parliament, according to the law and following the decision of the committee, the members of parliament are entitled to two weeks to review the table showing proposed amendments", – A. Parubiy said, and he anticipated that the consideration of the issue regarding the anti-corruption court will be held in the first plenary week of May.

#### April 13, 2018

# Avakov Described how the EU Leaders Asked Ukraine not to Provoke Putin

Arsen Avakov, the Minister of Internal Affairs, stated that in 2014 the leaders of "great powers" had called the ex-prime minister, Arseniy Yatsenyuk, and the Secretary of National Security and Defense Council, Oleksandr Turchynov, with the request "not to provoke" Russia.

He said that at the Kyiv Security Forum on 13th of April.

According to him, now is not the time to "sustain the illusions" and pretend that the Budapest memorandum, the observance of which Ukraine had been guaranteed by the "major powers", still remains in operation.

"For renunciation of nuclear weapons, for de-escalation, the major countries guaranteed Ukraine security and inviolability of state borders. After that, I witnessed how the leaders of those major powers phoned Turchynov's office in 2014, phoned Yatsenyuk's office, and said: "Do not provoke Putin! Let's get calmer somehow"", – Avakov said.

"And this "calmer" has proved very costly to our country, by an occupied Crimea and occupied parts of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions. Thus, for us, the discussions and polite conversations with our partners, who really do help and we are grateful for that, are still conversations on the edge of our country's existence", – he added.

The Minister noted that it is not statements of international partners that are important now, but concrete steps.







April 13, 2018

# Ukraine Protects the South-Eastern Flank of NATO and of the Western World, – Karoblis

By fighting off Russia's aggression, Ukraine protects the south-eastern flank of NATO and the Western world. This was stated by Raimundas Karoblis, the Minister of National Defense of the Republic of Lithuania, at the 11th Kyiv Security Forum in Kyiv.

He highlighted the importance of providing practical support to Ukraine, since the country has been hit by the revisionist policy of Russia. "Russia wants to keep Ukraine within its sphere of influence and separate it from the Euro-Atlantic course", – the head of the Lithuanian Defense Ministry said.

The minister stressed that Ukraine is listed high on the list of priorities of Lithuania, and Vilnius also shares Ukraine's opinion on the regime in Moscow.

At the same time, Karoblis added that recently Europe and the United States has begun to wake up, realizing the real threat coming from Russia. "The good news is that at last the West has formed a certain solidarity and unity in relation to Russia".

He stressed that NATO is increasingly aware that "Russia poses a huge threat to European and world security and poses a serious threat to Western countries".



April 13, 2018

#### Discussion with the Kremlin is Impossible, - Gorbulin

Adviser to the President of Ukraine, Volodymyr Gorbulin, says that Russian Federation President, Vladimir Putin, is losing not only to the West, but in all the geopolitical arenas where he plays his game.

He spoke on that topic at the 11th Kyiv Security Forum.

"Russia is doomed to Putin!", – Gorbulin says. "Precisely this is because of the symptom of fear, 76 percent of his support is actually a symptom of fear, and it is not about the fact that the elections are controlled, the source of Russians' fear is inside, not outside, because Putin is a pivotal figure for all Russia".

He also noted that Russia is overtaken by a fear to lose stability, and Russians believe that Putin is himself the stability of the country.

"Discussion and democracy in Russia are impossible. In the Kremlin, you have to walk in shoe wrappers, like at the bedside of a dying patient", – Gorbulin emphasized.

Russia, closed from the world after Putin's electoral victory, is doomed to confront the West. After 2014, not only Ukraine had their eyes opened to Russia, but also had others in the post-Soviet space. The President of the Russian Federation has likely not been left with trusting partners, and according to an adviser to the President of Ukraine, loss in this war is inevitable for the Russian Federation.

Gorbulin believes that the Kremlin is ready for a new Cold War and is trying to win by bargaining from the comfortable conditions within a bunker".

"Moreover, he stressed that recent actions and decisions that are being observed in Washington and London give rise to the hope that the West has an alternative scenario for the future and that Putin's comfortable self-isolation is not being prepared by the world capitals".







#### April 13, 2018

# Ukraine's Membership in NATO is Realistic but Serious Reforms are Needed, said the Alliance Deputy Secretary General

Ukraine's membership in NATO is a realistic goal, but for this to happen it's necessary to undertake serious reforms, says Deputy Secretary General of NATO Rose Gottemoeller.

"It would not be too idealistic for Ukraine to hope to become a member of both NATO and the European Union. It seems to me that this is an important and realistic goal", – she said during the 11th Kyiv Security Forum on Friday.

"But I will not hide there is a need to do a lot, bear a heavy burden, undertake serious reforms", – explained R. Gottemoeller.

She added that reforms in defense structures and security structures are needed to be undertaken.

At the same time, Deputy Secretary General of NATO noted that there is a "vacuum of security" in Eastern Europe.

R. Gottemoeller stressed that NATO is doing a lot to guarantee the security of Eastern and Central Europe, in particular of Ukraine. "This is at the center of our attention", – she added.

# Gazeta.ua

#### April 13, 2018

# It has been Revealed how Russia Prepared Military Aggression against Ukraine

Russia has been preparing military aggression against Ukraine for decades.

This was said during the Kyiv Security Forum by Ariel Cohen, Senior Researcher at the Atlantic Council of the United States.

"The Obama administration's minimalist reaction was aimed at a peaceful settlement of conflicts, but this has led to a situation where Russia tested how resolute the West was. When I was recently in Moscow, I heard from the representatives of the older generation that the situation with Ukraine has been being prepared for the past fifteen years", – Mr. Cohen said.

80 11th Kyiv Security Forum 11th Kyiv Security Forum









April 13, 2018

# British Diplomat: Russia has Lost the Role of Being the Superpower that it was in the USSR during the Cold War

Former Foreign Secretary of Britain, Malcolm Rifkind, stresses that Russia has lost the role of being the superpower that the Soviet Union occupied during the Cold War. He stated that during the Kyiv Security Forum on Friday.

According to him, today's situation is safer than during the Cold War.

"But in one sense, it is much worse. We must not forget that the Cold War was not just a controversy between the USSR and the West. It was an ideological global struggle between communism and capitalism, communism and democracy", – the diplomat asserted.

In his opinion, today Russia has ceased to be a world superpower.

"At that time, the Soviet Union was a world superpower. Now it is not ... Today there is a new superpower – It is China, which has taken the place of Russia. It deserves to be a superpower", – added Rifkind.

At the same time, in his opinion, today the danger lies in the fact that, unlike the USSR, Russia is not afraid to turn the Cold War into a hot one, using its troops.

April 18, 2018

#### **The 11th Kyiv Security Forum: Conclusions for Ukraine**

On 12-13 April, the 11th Kyiv Security Forum, hosted by the Arseniy Yatsenyuk Open Ukraine Foundation, took place in the Hilton Hotel. The annual international event, launched in 2007, is a platform for debates on the most urgent security issues in Europe and the Black Sea region. Its aim is to strengthen security cooperation between the European Union and the Black Sea region, raise awareness of security development among key players, strengthen the role of independent and non-governmental actors in solving security problems in Europe, and so on.

The event was held with the support of the NATO Information and Documentation Centre in Ukraine, the Marshall Fund, the Victor Pinchuk Foundation, the Royal Institute of International Relations "Chatham House" (UK), and the Regional Representative Office of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation in Ukraine.

More than 600 international and Ukrainian experts from more than 100 different institutions, leaders, representatives of political, business and community circles from over 20 countries took part in the Forum. They discussed global security trends and challenges in contemporary international relations and the importance of Ukraine for regional and European security and democracy. Participation in the event was taken by Petro Poroshenko, President of Ukraine, Prime Minister Volodymyr Groysman and Andriy Parubiy, Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine.







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**QUOTES** 



# 11th KYIV SECURITY FORUM

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85





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**ЦЕНЗОР. НЕТ** 













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