

**For Our Freedom And Yours /
Fighting for NATO**

Annual Kyiv Security Forum

25-26 May 2023

Thursday, 25 May 2023

12:00 *Registration*

13:55 **Guests are requested to take their seats**

14:00 **Opening Ceremony**

National Anthem of Ukraine

Performed by Taras Kompanichenko and “Khoreya Kozatska”

Moderator:

Myroslava BARCHUK

Journalist and TV anchor

14:05 – 14:15 **Welcoming Remarks**

Arseniy YATSENYUK

Founder and Chairman of the Kyiv Security Forum,
Prime Minister of Ukraine in 2014-16

14:15 – 14:20 **Online Address**

Condoleezza RICE

United States Secretary of State in 2005-09

14:20 – 15:20 **KSF Security Council**

Liberation and Recovery of Ukraine

The Kyiv Security Forum was established by the Arseniy Yatsenyuk Open Ukraine Foundation in 2007. Over the years, we have held 15 annual forums and hundreds of special meetings featuring many Ukrainian and international leaders, politicians, diplomats, experts, and journalists.

The Kyiv Security Forum has become Ukraine's and regional leading platform for discussing issues of war and peace.

Despite the full-scale invasion of Russia, the KSF did not leave the capital for a single day and continued its work without any interruption.

This year, within the framework of the Forum, we are launching a new high-level advisory group – the KSF Security Council. Its participants will include well-known international figures whose experience and knowledge will assist Ukraine in attaining victory over the Russian aggressor, guaranteeing our security and long-term peace, and contributing to national reconstruction.

The first panel of the Forum is devoted to the launch of the KSF Security Council, as well as to the discussion of such vital questions:

✓ **How do you envisage the scenario of ending the war?**

✓ **How to advance Ukraine's victory?**

✓ **What Ukraine's victory will mean for the world?**

Special Online Remarks

Dorin RECEAN

Prime Minister of the Republic of Moldova

Boris JOHNSON

Prime Minister of the United Kingdom in 2019-22

Andrius KUBILIUS

Prime Minister of Lithuania in 1999-2000 & 2008-12,
Member of the European Parliament

*

Anthony ABBOTT

Prime Minister of Australia in 2013-15

Natalie JARESKO

Chairperson of the Aspen Institute Kyiv Supervisory Board,
Minister of Finance of Ukraine in 2014-16

Taavi RÕIVAS

Prime Minister of Estonia in 2014-16

Arseniy YATSENYUK

Founder and Chairman of the Kyiv Security Forum,
Prime Minister of Ukraine in 2014-16

Moderator:

Myroslava BARCHUK

Journalist and TV anchor

15:00 – 15:20 **Special Online Intervention**

Amb. Victoria NULAND

United States Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs

15:20 - 15:50 **Online Address / Q&As**

Baiba BRAŽE

NATO Assistant Secretary General for Public Diplomacy

15:50 – 16:00 **Presentation**

Policy Paper of the Kyiv Security Forum

Since its establishment in 2007, the constant priority of the Kyiv Security Forum has been promoting and advancing Ukraine's accession to NATO as an indispensable guarantee of national and pan-European security.

Before the NATO Summit in Vilnius on July 11-12, 2023, the KSF presents a comprehensive Policy Paper "Fighting for NATO" with recommendations for actions aimed at joining the Alliance.

Ukraine should become a member of NATO. No more delays or ambiguity – this is the essence of our document.

Danylo LUBKIVSKY

Director of the Kyiv Security Forum

16:00 – 16:10 **Online Remarks**

Francis FUKUYAMA

Professor at Stanford University

16:15 – 17:15 **Security Panel**

In cooperation with "EuroAtlantic Course"

Fighting For NATO: No More Delays. Ukraine should become a NATO member

In the war against the Russian aggressor, Ukraine is heroically fighting for its freedom and for the freedom of the whole of Europe.

Ukraine is grateful to all its partners for their ironclad support, solidarity, and unity in this struggle.

The cornerstone of Ukraine's victory should be the restoration of our territorial integrity and membership in NATO and the EU.

At this panel, politicians and diplomats will discuss the upcoming decisions of the NATO Summit in Vilnius and joint further actions.

Our main questions are:

✓ **How do you envisage the scenario of ending the war?**

✓ **When will Ukraine enter through the NATO *open doors*?**

✓ **What do we expect from the NATO Summit in Vilnius?**

Online Address

Joelle GARRIAUD-MAYLAM

President of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly

*

Oleksiy DANILOV

Secretary of the National Security and Defense Council of Ukraine

Ivanna KLYMPUSH-TSINTSADZE

Vice Prime Minister for European and Euro-Atlantic Integration of Ukraine in 2016-19, Chair of the Verkhovna Rada Committee on Integration of Ukraine to the EU

Rasa JUKNEVIČIENĖ

Member of the European Parliament, Vice Chair of the Group of the European People's Party in the European Parliament

Lt. Gen. Douglas LUTE

United States Permanent Representative to NATO in 2013-17

Online Interventions

Anna FOTYGA

Member of the European Parliament, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland in 2006-07

Nils SCHMID

Member of the German Bundestag,

SPD Parliamentary Group's spokesperson for foreign affairs

Michał SZCZERBA

Vice President of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly,
Deputy Head of the Permanent Delegation of Poland
to the NATO Parliamentary Assembly

Hans WALLMARK

Head of the Permanent Delegation of Sweden
to the NATO Parliamentary Assembly,
Chair of the Riksdag Committee on European Union Affairs

Moderator:

Myroslava BARCHUK

Journalist and TV anchor

17:15 – 17:45 *Coffee break*

17:45 – 18:00 **Honorary Address**

Anthony ABBOTT

Prime Minister of Australia in 2013-15

18:00 – 19:00 **Atlantic Panel**

In cooperation with The Atlantic Council

**For Our Freedom And Yours: About Joint Victory, The Vision
Of Peace, And Collective Defense**

Unity is one of the main keys to our victory over the Russian aggressor. All efforts should be clearly aimed at strengthening unity within Ukraine, Europe, and between Europe and the United States.

The Kyiv Security Forum has invited leading American diplomats and experts. Together with our long-term partners, we will discuss the following topics:

- ✓ **What does “as long as necessary” mean? For how long does the United States stand actually ready to support Ukraine and whether the attitude of Americans to such support is changing over time?**
- ✓ **How will the development of Russia’s war against Ukraine affect the elections of the United States President in 2024? What is there to expect?**
- ✓ **How strong is the unity between the United States and Europe in the face of the Russian threat and other global challenges?**
- ✓ **How do you envisage the scenario of ending the war?**

Amb. John HERBST

Director of Eurasia Center, Atlantic Council,
United States Ambassador to Ukraine in 2003-06

Amb. Paula DOBRIANSKY

Vice Chair, Scowcroft Center for Strategy and Security,
United States Under Secretary of State
for Global Affairs in 2001-09

Gen. Wesley CLARK (*online*)

Supreme Allied Commander Europe of NATO in 1997-2000

Fabrice POTHIER

CEO at Rasmussen Global

Amb. Stephen SESTANOVICH

Professor at Columbia University,
Ambassador-at-large at the U.S. State Department in 1997-2001

Amb. Marie YOVANOVITCH

United States Ambassador to Ukraine in 2016-19

Philip ZELIKOW

Professor at the University of Virginia,
Counselor of the Department of State in 2005-07

Moderator

Myroslava GONGADZE

Eastern Europe Chief at the Voice of America

Friday, 26 May 2023

10:00 – 11:00 **Democratic Panel**

In cooperation with the National Democratic Institute

Be Free. Thinking About Democracy And Victory

The victory of Ukraine means the preservation and development of our democratic standards and the protection of national and civil liberties.

Together with our partners from the National Democratic Institute, the Kyiv Security Forum invites politicians and public activists to answer the following questions:

- ✓ **How to protect democracy from the war flames and the dangers of authoritarianism?**
- ✓ **How to ensure a balance between individual freedom and collective solidarity against the enemy under war conditions?**
- ✓ **How should the national political and civic life develop under war conditions and in the post-war time?**

Online Address

Derek MITCHELL

President of the National Democratic Institute

*

Petro POROSHENKO

President of Ukraine in 2014-19,
Leader of the European Solidarity Party

Caroline BAYLON

Director of All-Party Parliamentary Group
for Future Generations (United Kingdom)

Hanna HOPKO

Chair of the Board
of the National Interest Advocacy Network “ANTS”

Oleksandr KORNIYENKO

First Deputy Speaker
of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine

Serhiy PRYTULA

Founder of the Serhiy Prytula Charitable Foundation

Moderator

Marcin WALECKI

Senior Resident Country Director for the NDI in Ukraine

11:00 – 12:00 **Humanitarian Panel**

In cooperation with Ukrainian Women’s Congress

Be Strong. Overcoming The Trauma of War

Russia’s war against Ukraine is genocide. This war caused unimaginable grief, pain, and losses to Ukraine. It aims to destroy our nation and statehood.

Thanks to the heroism of the Ukrainians, Russia’s plans failed.

However, as a result of the Russian aggression, our people suffered great traumas, the consequences of which to be felt for decades.

The participants of the humanitarian panel will give their answers to the following questions:

- ✓ **Do we realize the scale of pain and suffering that Russia has inflicted on Ukraine? How is it possible to size this tragedy: starting with lives lost and maimed all the way to displaced people, destroyed homes, and mine-polluted lands?**
- ✓ **How to restore people's faith in life after the horrors on the front and trials of war? What does this war mean for our future?**
- ✓ **What should be the national policy to support the veterans, displaced persons, and all those who were directly affected by the war?**

Online Address

Olena KONDRATIUK

Deputy Speaker of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine

*

Denise BROWN

UN Resident Coordinator in Ukraine

Amb. Larisa GALADZA

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary
of Canada to Ukraine

Dmytro LUBINETS

Ukrainian Parliament Commissioner for Human Rights

Masi NAYYEM

Veteran and civil activist

Kseniia VOZNITSYNA

Director

of the Veterans Rehabilitation Center “Lisova Polyana”
of the Ministry of Health of Ukraine

Moderator

Olena REMOVSKA

Journalist and TV Anchor at Suspilne TV

12:00 – 13:30

Regional Panel

From Scandinavia to the Caucasus: Can We Build A Belt Of Security and Peace?

Russia’s war against Ukraine gave impetus to further NATO enlargement. Finland became a member of the Alliance. Sweden is following in its step.

Russia made an audacious attack on the system of collective security throughout the OSCE area. The Kremlin’s strategic plan has failed. Moscow’s insane aggression mobilized all democratic forces to defend civilized international norms, standards, and rules.

At this panel, we will discuss issues that are of strategic importance for the future of our region, Europe, and the world:

- ✓ **How to achieve long-lasting peace in Europe?**
- ✓ **How do we see the new Euro-Atlantic security architecture?**
- ✓ **How to extend collective defense from the Baltic to the Caucasus, defending the East of Europe from current and future threats?**

Online Remarks

Sviatlana TSIKHANOVSKA

Head of the United Transitional Cabinet of Belarus

Amb. Michael CARPENTER

United States Permanent Representative to the OSCE

*

Mika AALTOLA

Director of the Finnish Institute of International Affairs

Teona AKUBARDIA

Deputy Head of Defense and Security Committee
of the Parliament of Georgia

Iulian CHIFU

State Counsellor of the Prime Minister of Romania
for Foreign Relations, Security and Strategic Affairs

Charlotta RODHE

Acting Deputy Centre Director
at the Stockholm Centre for Eastern European Studies

Constanze STELZENMÜLLER

Director of the Center on the United States and Europe
at Brookings Institution

Moderator

Mariana BUDJERYN

Senior Research Fellow
Belfer Center at Harvard Kennedy School

13:30 – 15:00 *Break*

15:00 – 16:00 **Panel on Justice**

Liability of Russia

On March 17, the judges of the International Criminal Court issued an arrest warrant for Vladimir Putin.

Bringing Putin and his regime of war criminals to justice is a fundamental element of the victory of international law over the crime of aggression against Ukraine. The inevitability of their

punishment should serve as a warning to all audacious attempts against the international order in the future.

Still, of no less importance is the task of overcoming the deadly virus of imperialism, which is constantly reviving and regaining its strength in Russia. Is this possible? How is it possible to destroy this threat?

This panel will discuss the following questions:

- ✓ **Is the world ready and able to ensure the inevitability of punishing Putin and his regime?**
- ✓ **Personal and collective involvement: what liability should Russia bear?**
- ✓ **What will our world be like after the war?**

Online Remarks

Oleksandra MATVIICHUK

Head of the Center for Civil Liberties,
Nobel Peace Prize Laureate in 2022

*

James SHERR

Senior Fellow of the Estonian Foreign Policy Institute
at the International Centre for Defence & Security

Nicolas TENZER

Chairman of the Center for Studies and Research
on Political Decision (France),
Non-Resident Senior Fellow
at the Center for European Policy Analysis (CEPA)

Philip ZELIKOW

Professor at the University of Virginia,
Counselor of the United States Department of State in 2005-07

Online Interventions

Omid NOURIPOUR

Member of the German Bundestag,
Co-Chair of the Political party Alliance '90/The Greens

Amb. William TAYLOR

Vice President of the U.S. Institute of Peace,
United States Ambassador to Ukraine in 2006-09

Moderator

Mariana BUDJERYN

Senior Research Fellow
Belfer Center at Harvard Kennedy School

16:00 – 16:30 **Presentation**

In cooperation with the Foreign Policy Council “Ukrainian Prism” and The Representation of Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in Ukraine

Wartime Diplomacy: Scorecards & Principles

The study, conducted by the Foreign Policy Council “Ukrainian Prism” together with the Representation of Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in Ukraine, assesses the accomplishments of Ukraine’s war-time diplomacy and outlines the foreign policy priorities in 2023-24.

Mykola TOCHYTSKYI

Deputy Foreign Minister of Ukraine

Serhiy GERASYMCHUK

Deputy Executive Director,
Director of the Regional Initiatives and Neighborhood Program
at the Foreign Policy Council “Ukrainian Prism”

16:30 – 16:45 **Special Online Conversation**

Gen. David PETRAEUS

Commander of U.S Central Command in 2008-10,
Director of the United States Central Intelligence Agency in
2011-12

Moderator

Myroslava GONGADZE

Eastern Europe Chief at the Voice of America

16:45 – 18:00

Information Panel

**The War For and Against Ukraine: Conversation About Truth,
Falsehood And Freedom of Speech**

Russia's war against Ukraine is taking place against the background of significant information clashes that affect the fate of all mankind.

The world faces fundamental challenges – from the Kremlin propaganda and information hybrid attacks to the new fight of ideologies and the emergence of a new unpredictable and uncontrollable force – artificial intelligence.

This panel will discuss the following topics:

- ✓ **Who is winning in Russia's information war against Ukraine and the democratic world?**
- ✓ **What does Russia's war tell the world about Ukraine?**
- ✓ **Is humanity ready for the challenges of the new information era?**

Christopher MILLER

Correspondent, Financial Times

Vitaly PORTNIKOV

Journalist and Author

Amb. Stephen SESTANOVICH

Professor at the Columbia University
 Ambassador-at-large at the United States Department
 of State in 1997-2001

Brian WHITMORE

Nonresident Senior Fellow, Atlantic Council Eurasia
 Center

Online Interventions**Andrew MARR**

Journalist and TV Anchor (United Kingdom)

Yevhen FEDCHENKO

Co-Founder and Editor-in-Chief, StopFake.org

Moderator

Myroslava GONGADZE

Eastern Europe Chief at the Voice of America

18:00 – 18:30 *Coffee break*

18:30 – 18:35 **Special Address**

George W. BUSH

43rd President of the United States of America

18:35 – 19:30 **Strategy of Victory**

The Victory of Ukraine and The New World**Order**

Many international leaders declare their intention to do everything possible to establish a just peace for Ukraine. The collective support of the West helped Ukraine defend itself against Russia's unprovoked aggression.

China and other important global actors put forward their peace initiatives.

Russia's war against Ukraine has an impact on the entire planet. The way the war ends will determine the future of global relations.

This panel will discuss the following questions:

- ✓ **How do you envisage the scenario of ending the war?**
- ✓ **The West & the East: can we defend the fundamental international principles?**
- ✓ **How will a new world order look like after the war?**

Amb. Paula DOBRIANSKY

Vice Chair, Scowcroft Center for Strategy and Security,
United States Under Secretary of State
for Global Affairs in 2001-09

Amb. Matti MAASIKAS

Head of the EU Delegation to Ukraine

Amb. Etienne de PONCINS

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary
of France to Ukraine

Dame Melinda SIMMONS

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary
of the United Kingdom to Ukraine

Online Interventions

Bobo LO

Independent expert on international relations,
Nonresident Fellow at the Lowy Institute,
Senior Fellow at the Center for European Policy Analysis (CEPA)

Amb. Michael MCFAUL

Director, Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies
at Stanford University,

United States Ambassador to Russia in 2011-14

Dr. C. Raja MOHAN

Senior Fellow
Asia Society Policy Institute in New Delhi

Amb. Kurt VOLKER

United States Special Representative
for Ukraine Negotiations in 2017-19

Moderator

Myroslava GONGADZE

Eastern Europe Chief at the Voice of America