

# TWO YEARS AFTER EUROMAIDAN: SUCCESS AND FAILURES

International Conference organized under the auspices of Karel Schwarzenberg, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the Chamber of Deputies of the Parliament of the Czech Republic by the Association for International Affairs (AMO) in cooperation with the Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung in Prague, the U.S. Embassy Prague, the Representation of the European Commission in the Czech Republic and the NATO Public Diplomacy Division

**Monday, December 7, 2015**

Státní akta, Chamber of Deputies of the Parliament of the Czech Republic

Sněmovní 4, Prague, Czech Republic

Suggested hashtag: [#AMO\\_Ukraine](#)



**Asociace  
pro mezinárodní  
otázky**  
Association  
for International  
Affairs



Representation in the Czech Republic



# Conference Synopsis

It has been already two years since the events on Maidan Square commenced the Ukrainian Revolution of Dignity. Ukraine has faced the most complicated period since gaining independence in 1991. Part of its territory is occupied and it is under a constant pressure from Russia. On the other hand, Ukraine is moving forward in many aspects. It struggles for far-reaching socioeconomic reforms and has signed the Association Agreement with the EU. Ukraine also held several elections, in which people confirmed their support for the pro-reform and pro-Western path. Last but not least, empowered civil society plays its watchdog role and Ukrainian society itself becomes more self-confident.

Ukraine is changing. However, there are burdens which will take years to overcome. The institutions have to be reconstructed and economy restarted. Apart from that, constitutional reforms stipulated under the Minsk II Accords have to be implemented and the Kremlin's pressure will not restrain.

**“The EU has to remember that Ukrainians may perhaps overcome the hardships alone though it would much better for the West, if they succeed with its help.”**

Ukrainian struggle for independence and dignity has taught the West something as well. Firstly, the EU had to react to the fact that the values it represents comprise a pull factor for societies in its neighbourhood. That is not anything new, as the EU's enlargement has been driven by this precondition for last 40 years, yet Europeans still seem to be surprised by its attractiveness and have to re-think the instruments they have in hands. Secondly, Kremlins' behaviour in an unprecedented way undermined the fundamentals of European security order and has brought the EU to the decision to introduce sanctions vis-à-vis Putin's clique and Russia. Last but not least, EU had to use its own diplomatic effort to halt the conflict in its neighbourhood and jointly face Russia.

EU has been able to stand this test. Though, it simultaneously deals with other pressing issues – the Eurozone crisis, unprecedented migrant and refugee inflow and the conflict in the Middle East. The new crises get more attention in many capitals and Ukraine is put aside of the agenda. Nevertheless, the EU has to remember that Ukrainians may perhaps do it alone though it would much better for the West, if they succeed with its help.

The conference “Two Years after Euromaidan: Success and Failures” brings together eminent personalities from politics, expert community and NGOs to discuss not only past events but also the future prospects of Ukraine. Firstly, the participants will deal with internal challenges involving the reform struggle. Secondly, they will discuss the current position of Ukraine on the global geopolitical chessboard.

We would like to thank all those whose help and cooperation have made this event possible and hope you will enjoy our conference programme.



*Vít Dostál, Director of the Research Center, AMO*

# Programme

Monday, December 7, 2015

Státní akta, Chamber of Deputies of the Parliament of the Czech Republic

09:30 – 10:00      **Registration and Coffee**

10:00 – 10:10      **Opening Remarks**

*Vladka Votavová*, Director, AMO, Prague

*Jan Michal*, Head, Representation of the European Commission in the Czech Republic

10:10 – 11:00      **Key Note Address: Future of the Eastern Partnership**

*Radosław Sikorski*, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland

*Štefan Füle*, Former European Commissioner for Enlargement and ENP

Chaired by *Henry Foy*, Central Europe Correspondent, Financial Times, Warsaw

11:00 – 12:30      **Panel #1: Ukraine's Challenges: Where to Begin?**

Ukrainian government is incrementally implementing much needed reforms. The state administration is under the pressure of the self-confident civil society and impatient society. The scenario which followed the Orange Revolution reminds us that the reform course of the government must get enough stimulus form the country as well as from the international environment.

What are the main achievements of the current government? Do they tackle the major challenges? What is to be done next? What is the role for the civil society? How can the EU help in the reform efforts and how is the Association Agreement's implementation progressing?

*Olena Halushka*, International Relations Manager, Reanimation Package of Reforms, Kiev

*Bruce P. Jackson*, Founder and President, Project on Transitional Democracies, Washington D.C.

*Balázs Jarábik*, Nonresident Scholar, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Brussels

Chaired by *Štefan Füle*, Former European Commissioner for Enlargement and ENP

12:30 – 13:30            **Lunch**

13:30 – 15:00            **Panel #2: Ukraine's Security on the Post-Paris Geopolitical Chessboard**

The West is gradually losing attention to Ukraine. The migration crisis, Russia's engagement in Syria and most recently the terror in Paris have pushed Ukraine out of agenda. However, the situation on the ground is far from resolved, as there are still Russian forces on Ukrainian territory and the Minsk II Accords have not been implemented. On the other hand, many argue that the West and Russia should join forces in the Middle East to fight the ISIS, and stop haggling about Ukraine. The pressure on abandoning or softening of the EU sanctions may rise in coming weeks.

Is the new opening in relations between the West and Russia plausible after the Paris attacks and what would it mean for Ukraine? Is there enough political will to keep EU sanctions on Russia? Would the Minsk II Accords provide a solution for Donbas? What does the new European Commission's ENP Review, which underlines stability, tell us about the Europe's determination to secure Ukraine's territorial integrity?

*Yevhen Fedchenko*, Co-Founder and Director, StopFake.org, Kiev

*Rebecca Harms*, MEP, Greens/European Free Alliance, Brussels

*Petr Luňák*, Deputy Head of Engagement Section, NATO Public Diplomacy Division, Brussels

*Róbert Ondrejcsák*, Director, Centre for European and North Atlantic Affairs (CENAA), Bratislava

Chaired by *Bruce P. Jackson*, Founder and President, Project on Transitional Democracies, Washington D.C.

15:00                      **Glass of Wine**

# Side Events

Tuesday, December 8, 2015

08:30 – 10:00      **Media Briefing**

14:00 – 15:30      **Panel Debate: Road to Warsaw – The Future of NATO**  
American Center Prague, Tržiště 13, Prague

NATO Warsaw Summit scheduled on July 2016 seems to be more important than any other NATO gathering in the last decade. NATO members are facing unprecedented security challenges. Russian aggressive behaviour in Eastern Europe as well as recent developments in the Middle East together with more and more sophisticated cyber threats have shaken security of NATO members. The Warsaw Summit has to bring comprehensive solutions to newly emerged threats and credible commitments of all Alliance members. It may re-shape the foundations on which has NATO operated since the end of the Cold War.

*H.E. Douglas E. Lute*, Ambassador of the United States to the NATO, Brussels  
*Alexandr Vondra*, Director of the Prague Centre for Transatlantic Relations, Prague

17:00 – 18:30      **Panel Debate: Shaken Security in Europe –  
Ukraine and Beyond**  
Jiří Mahen Library in Brno, Koblížná 4, Brno

*Štefan Füle*, Former European Commissioner for Enlargement and ENP  
*Olena Halushka*, International Relations Manager, Reanimation Package of Reforms,  
Kiev  
*Bruce P. Jackson*, Founder and President, Project on Transitional Democracies,  
Washington D.C.  
*Jan Michal*, Head, Representation of the European Commission in the Czech Republic

# Conference Speakers

## Radosław Sikorski

*Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland*



**Radosław (Radek) Sikorski** is Senior Fellow at the Center of European Studies, Harvard University. He was formerly Poland's minister of defence (2005-2007), foreign minister (2007-2014) and speaker of Parliament (2014-2015). Born and raised in Bydgoszcz, Poland, Mr. Sikorski led a student strike committee there in 1981 as part of the Solidarity movement. Afterward, he fled Poland and was granted political asylum in Great Britain, where he graduated from Oxford University with a B.A. and an M.A. in Politics, Philosophy and Economics (PPE). He then served as a war reporter in Afghanistan and Angola. In 1988, he was awarded the World Press Photo. Mr. Sikorski returned to his home country in 1989. Together with Carl Bildt, he launched EU's Eastern Partnership. He proposed and helped to set up the European Endowment for Democracy. He negotiated and signed the Poland-Russia regional visa-free regime, Poland-US missile defense agreement and – together with foreign ministers of Germany and France, the accord between the pro-EU opposition and Ukrainian President Yanukovich, in 2013. In 2012, Foreign Policy named him one of its 100 global thinkers for “telling the truth even when it's not diplomatic”.

[@SikorskiRadek](#)

## Štefan Füle

*Former European Commissioner for Enlargement and European Neighbourhood Policy*



**Štefan Füle** is the former Commissioner for Enlargement and Neighbourhood Policy, former Minister for European Affairs and former Deputy Defense Minister of the Czech Republic. Mr. Füle served as Czech Permanent Representative to NATO, Czech Ambassador to the United Kingdom and to Lithuania. He was Director of the Security Policy Department and the United Nations Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic. Mr. Füle studied at the Faculty of Arts of the Charles University in Prague and at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations.

## Henry Foy

*Central Europe Correspondent of the Financial Times*



**Henry Foy** is the Financial Times Central Europe Correspondent, based in Warsaw. He covers Poland, Slovakia, the Czech Republic and the wider CEE region for the world's most trusted financial newspaper. Mr. Foy writes across the unfolding political, economic and business stories, delivering a global perspective on one of the world's fastest-developing and most interesting regions. Previously the FT's award-winning Motor Industry Correspondent, Mr. Foy joined the paper after three years as a reporter for Reuters in New Delhi and Mumbai, India.

[www.ft.com](http://www.ft.com) | [facebook/financialtimes](https://facebook.com/financialtimes) | [@ft](#) | [@HenryJFoy](#)

## Olena Halushka

*International Relations Manager of the Reanimation Package of Reforms*



**Olena Halushka** has been the International Relations Manager of the Reanimation Package of Reforms, a public initiative created in winter 2014 on Maidan. Reanimation Package of Reforms aims at developing reform bills, seek their approval, and promote approved documents and reform ideas throughout Ukraine among all segments of the population. Previously, Mrs. Halushka served as Deputy Executive Director of the National Scout Organization of Ukraine Plast. She has been appointed a member of Kiev city. She earned her Master's degree in economic theory at the Ivan Franko National University of Lviv (2010) and is the post-graduate student of the Institute of International Relations of Taras Shevchenko National University of Kiev.

[www.rpr.org.ua](http://www.rpr.org.ua) | [facebook/platforma.reform](https://facebook.com/platforma.reform) | [@RPR\\_ua](#) | [@OlenaHalushka](#)

## **Bruce Jackson**

*Founder and President of the Project on Transitional Democracies*



**Bruce Jackson** is the founder and President of the Project on Transitional Democracies (POTD). The Project is a multi-year endeavour aimed at accelerating the pace of reform in post-1989 democracies and advancing the date for the integration of these democracies into the institutions of the Euro-Atlantic. In 1979-1990, Mr. Jackson served in the U.S. Army as a Military Intelligence Officer. From 1986 to 1990, he served in the Office of the Secretary of Defense in a variety of policy positions pertaining to nuclear forces and arms control. In 1990, Mr. Jackson joined Lehman Brothers where he was a strategist in the firm's proprietary trading operations. In 1993-2002, Mr. Jackson was Vice President for Strategy and Planning at Lockheed Martin Corporation. From 1995 until 2003, he was the President of the U.S. Committee on NATO, a non-profit corporation formed in 1996 to promote the expansion of NATO and the strengthening of ties between the United States and Europe. In 2004, Mr. Jackson became a member of the International Commission on the Balkans and the Board of Directors of the "We Remember" Foundation, which is working to bring the officials of the Government of Belarus to justice for the disappearances of political opposition leaders and journalists. He has been recognized for his work on democratic change and European integration by many European governments, including the Czech one. Most recently, Mr. Jackson's work has focused on accelerating the integration of the Western Balkan countries into the EU and NATO and on building closer relationships between European institutions and the democracies within the European Union's Eastern Partnership, particularly Ukraine. He has written extensively about the engagement of Russia and Eastern European democracies by the European Union and the United States, on the new geo-economics of Eastern Europe and the Black Sea region, and on the energy security of Europe.

## **Balázs Jarábik**

*Non-resident Scholar at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*



**Balázs Jarábik** is a nonresident scholar at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, where his research focuses on Ukraine and Eastern Europe. Mr. Jarábik worked with Pact, Inc. in Kiev to build its presence as one of the largest international NGOs in Eastern Europe. He currently serves as a project director for Pact, based in Vilnius. Prior to joining Carnegie, he was an associate fellow at FRIDE in

Madrid. He recently joined the Central European Policy Institute in Bratislava as a fellow. He was a civic activist in Slovakia in the 1990s, and he later co-founded the Bratislava-based Pontis Foundation's international development projects in the Balkans and the CIS.

[www.carnegieendowment.org](http://www.carnegieendowment.org) | [facebook/carnegieendowment](https://facebook.com/carnegieendowment) | [@CarnegieEndow](https://twitter.com/CarnegieEndow) | [@BalazsJarabik](https://twitter.com/BalazsJarabik)

## **Yevhen Fedchenko**

*Co-Founder and Director of the StopFake.org*



**Yevhen Fedchenko**, co-founder of a fact-checking website StopFake.org, is Director of the Mohyla School of Journalism at National University of Kiev-Mohyla Academy, Kiev. He spent almost 20 years with media, he was co-founder of Digital Future of Journalism programme for journalists and Digital Media for Universities Internet journalism curriculum development programme. He teaches courses in international news and factual programming. He contributed his comments to RFE/RL, BBC, NPR, Public Radio International, Radio Canada International, CBC, Mashable, SKY etc. In 2010-2011 Mr. Fedchenko was Fulbright visiting professor at USC Annenberg (Los Angeles).

[www.stopfake.org](http://www.stopfake.org) | [facebook/stopfakeukraine](https://facebook.com/stopfakeukraine) | [@StopFakingNews](https://twitter.com/StopFakingNews) | [@yevhenfedchenko](https://twitter.com/yevhenfedchenko)

## **Rebecca Harms**

*MEP, Greens/European Free Alliance*



**Rebecca Harms** is co-president of the Greens/European Free Alliance Group and a Member of the European Parliament since 2004. Mrs. Harms was one of the cofounders of a citizen's group combating the nuclear waste disposal in Gorleben. In 1984 Mrs. Harms became parliamentary assistant of Undine von Blottnitz. In 1994 she was elected to the regional parliament in Lower Saxony, where she was elected chairperson of the green parliamentary group in 1998. Since 1998 she is a member of the party council of Bündnis 90/Die Grünen. In 2004 Mrs Harms became member of the European Parliament where she is the president of the Greens/EFA since 2009. She is member of the Conference of

Presidents, of the Delegation to the EU-Ukraine Parliamentary Cooperation Committee and of the Delegation to the Euronest Parliamentary Assembly. She is substitute member of the committee of Industry, Research and Energy and of the committee of Foreign Affairs and of the Delegation to the EU-Russia Parliamentary Cooperation Committee.

[www.greens-efa.eu](http://www.greens-efa.eu) | [facebook/greensefa](https://facebook.com/greensefa) | [@GreensEP](https://twitter.com/GreensEP) | [@RebHarms](https://twitter.com/RebHarms)

## **Petr Luňák**

*Deputy Head of the Engagement Section at NATO Public Diplomacy Division*



**Petr Luňák** is currently working as a Deputy Head of the Engagement Section at NATO Public Diplomacy Division where he oversees public diplomacy endeavours of the Alliance. He is a member of the Czech Foreign Service, he was Deputy Head of the Planning Staff of the Foreign Ministry before joining the NATO International Secretariat in 2000. Mr. Luňák holds a Ph.D. from Charles University in Prague where he taught international relations and modern history.

[www.nato.int](http://www.nato.int) | [facebook /NATO](https://facebook.com/NATO) | [@NATO](https://twitter.com/NATO)

## **Róbert Ondrejcsák**

*Director of the Center for European and North Atlantic Affairs (CENAA)*



**Róbert Ondrejcsák** is the Director of the Bratislava-based Center for European and North Atlantic Affairs. In 2010-2012 he was State Secretary of Ministry of Defence of the Slovak Republic, where he led the process of Strategic Defence Review and preparation of White Book on Defence. Mr. Ondrejcsák was responsible for security policy, NATO and EU issues, as well as international cooperation. In 2007-2010 he was a Director of CENAA and lecturer at the Matej Bel University. Previously he was a Director of the Institute for Security and Defence Studies and he also served as a Counsellor and Deputy Chief of the Mission of the Slovak Embassy to Hungary, as well as Advisor to Vice-Chairman of the Slovak Parliament, advisor of the NATO Department at the Slovak Ministry of Defence and analyst of the Slovak Centre for Strategic Studies.

[www.cenaa.org](http://www.cenaa.org) | [facebook/cenaanf](https://facebook.com/cenaanf) | [@CENAA](https://twitter.com/CENAA) | [@Ondrejcsak](https://twitter.com/Ondrejcsak)

# AMO

AMO – the Association for International Affairs is a preeminent independent think-tank in the Czech Republic in the field of international affairs and foreign policy. Since 1997, the mission of AMO has been to contribute to a deeper understanding of international affairs through a broad range of educational and research activities. Today, AMO represents a unique and transparent platform in which academics, business people, policy makers, diplomats, the media and NGO's can interact in an open and impartial environment.

In order to achieve its goals AMO strives to:

- formulate and publish briefings, research and policy papers;
- arrange international conferences, expert seminars, roundtables, public debates;
- organize educational projects;
- present critical assessment and comments on current events for local and international press;
- create vital conditions for growth of a new expert generation;
- support interest in international relations in the wider public domain;
- cooperate with like-minded local and international institutions.

## AMO Research Center

Founded in October 2003, AMO's Research Center has been dedicated to carrying out research and raising public awareness of international affairs, security and foreign policy. The Research Center strives to identify and analyze issues important to Czech foreign policy and the country's position in the world. To this end, the Research Center produces independent analyses; encourages expert and public debate on international affairs; and suggests solutions to tackle problems in today's world.

## AMO team and volunteers preparing this conference

*Vladka Votavová, Director*

*Vít Dostál, Director of the Research Center*

*Anna Kuznická, Head of PR and Conference Service*

*Václav Líd, Executive Secretary*

*Jan Pivoda, Secretary of the Research Center*

*Lyudmyla Tsyachna, Project Assistant*

*Linda Coufalová, Adam Hykl, Huy Ha Ngoc, Ondřej Novák, Barbora Obračajová, Judita Zelbová*

# Partners

## Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung in Prague

[www.cz.boell.org](http://www.cz.boell.org) | [facebook/HBSPrague](https://facebook.com/HBSPrague)



## U.S. Embassy Prague

[www.czech.prague.usembassy.gov](http://www.czech.prague.usembassy.gov) | [facebook/USEmbassyPrague](https://facebook.com/USEmbassyPrague) | [@USEmbassyPrague](https://twitter.com/USEmbassyPrague)



## Representation of the European Commission in the Czech Republic

[www.ec.europa.eu/ceskarepublika](http://www.ec.europa.eu/ceskarepublika) | [facebook/EvropskacomisevCR](https://facebook.com/EvropskacomisevCR) | [@ZEK\\_Praha](https://twitter.com/ZEK_Praha)



Representation in the Czech Republic

## NATO Public Diplomacy Division

[www.nato.int](http://www.nato.int) | [facebook/NATO](https://facebook.com/NATO) | [@NATO](https://twitter.com/NATO)



## Two Years after Euromaidan: Success and Failures

Association for International Affairs (AMO)

Žitná 608/27

CZ 110 00 Praha 1

Tel +420 224 813 460

[info@amo.cz](mailto:info@amo.cz)

[www.amo.cz](http://www.amo.cz)

[facebook/AMO.cz](https://www.facebook.com/AMO.cz)

[youtube/AMOCz](https://www.youtube.com/AMOCz)

[linkedin/company/amocz](https://www.linkedin.com/company/amocz)

[@AMO\\_cz](https://www.instagram.com/AMO_cz)

© AMO 2015