

Programme of the 13th Annual Meeting of the Valdai Discussion Club

October 24-27, 2016, Sochi

The Future in Progress: Shaping the World of Tomorrow

Monday, October 24

15:00-17:00

Special session. What if... the Soviet Union had not collapsed?

The dissolution of the Soviet Union 25 years ago caught almost everyone by surprise. Although today it appears to have been inevitable, it was – like all major historical upheavals – the result of a combination of objective principles and subjective factors. Were it not for the latter, events might have unfolded differently. What would the world be like today if “the greatest geopolitical disaster of the 20th century” had never happened? Could it have been avoided?

Panelists:

- **Daniel Drezner**, Professor of International Politics at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University
- **Mikhail Pogrebinsky**, Director of Kiev Center of Political Studies and Conflictology
- **Alexander Prokhanov**, Editor-in-chief, *Zavtra* newspaper; Chairman, Izborsky Club
- **Sheng Shiliang**, Research fellow, Global Issues Research Center of Xinhua News Agency

Moderator: **Yuri Slezkine**, Professor at the University of California, Berkeley, Member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences

19:00-22:30

Gala Ceremony of the Establishment of the Valdai Discussion Club Award

Tuesday, October 25

09:30-09:40

Opening of the 13th Annual Meeting of the Valdai Discussion Club

Opening remarks: **Andrey Bystritskiy**, Chairman of the Board, Foundation for Development and Support of the Valdai Discussion Club

09:40-11:30

Session 1. World order: *quo vadis*?

Not a century has passed that has not seen radical changes to the political map of the world. The 21st century is already no exception. Borders continue to move, institutions of global governance transform, alliances change and global centers of power shift. How to ensure that these processes follow an evolutionary path? How to overcome the tensions that naturally result between the major powers and preserve the peace?

Panelists:

- **Fu Ying**, Chairperson, Foreign Affairs Committee of the National People`s Congress of the People`s Republic of China
- **Sergey Karaganov**, Dean of the School of International Economics and Foreign Affairs of the National Research University Higher School of Economics; Honorary Chairman of the Presidium of the Council on Foreign and Defense Policy
- **John Mearsheimer**, Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago
- **C. Raja Mohan**, Director, Carnegie India
- **Kevin Rudd**, Prime Minister of Australia (2007-2010, 2013); President, Asia Society Policy Institute (ASPI)

Moderator: **Fyodor Lukyanov**, Research Director of the Foundation for Development and Support of the Valdai Discussion Club; Editor-in-Chief of Russia in Global Affairs

12:00-13:00

Meeting with a high-ranking Russian official

14:30-16:30

Session 2. Democracy 2.0: how is popular rule changing?

Former British Prime Minister Winston Churchill once said: “Democracy is the worst form of government, except for all those other forms that have been tried from time to time.” Humanity is witnessing the spread of democracy on an unprecedented scale, while classic authoritarianism and dictatorship are definitely “going out of style.” At the same time, observers are increasingly speaking of a crisis of democratic procedures, of the inability of democratic systems to keep pace with today’s rapid changes or to provide for the demands of development and national security in an increasingly globalized world. How to preserve popular rule in the 21st century without sacrificing the ability to make needed decisions quickly? What role and powers should political leaders have?

Panelists:

- **Alexander Filippov**, Chief of the Centre for Fundamental Sociology at the National Research University Higher School of Economics; Editor-in-Chief of Russian Sociological Review
- **Boris Kapustin**, Professor, National Research University Higher School of Economics
- **Ella Pamfilova**, the Chairperson of the Central Election Commission of the Russian Federation
- **Daniel Treisman**, Professor of political science at the University of California

Moderator: **Flemming Rose**, Writer and journalist

17:00-19:00

Session 3. From the Middle East to Central Eurasia: an arc of instability or a space for joint action?

The Syrian crisis has morphed into a global-scale “Great Game”. It is at the same time an arena of proxy conflict of the most influential powers, a zone of their close cooperation, and a space where the prototype of a new world agenda is forming. The risk of instability and the creeping terrorist threat are critical for the whole of Eurasia, especially for Central Asia where political transformation has been rekindled. The future of this enormous region, and, perhaps, of the whole world, depends on the progress of the leading actors in facilitating mutual understanding, at least on the most fundamental issues.

Panelists:

- **Mikhail Bogdanov**, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation
- **Muratbek Imanaliev**, Professor, Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kyrgyz Republic; Minister of Foreign Affairs of Kyrgyzstan (1991-1992, 1997-2002); Secretary General of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (2010-2012)
- **Clifford Kupchan**, Chairman, Eurasia Group
- **Mehdi Sanaei**, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Islamic Republic of Iran to the Russian Federation
- **Yaşar Yakiş**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey (2002-2003)

Moderator: **Alexander Aksenok**, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary; Senior Researcher, Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences; Member of the Russian International Affairs Council

19:30-20:30

Meeting with a high-ranking Russian official

Wednesday, October 26

10:00-12:00

Session 4. The world after the recent major migration

The refugee crisis is a clear manifestation of a long-standing problem – namely, that the world is splitting into zones, some of which offer so few prospects to their residents that they strive to relocate, en masse, to other, more promising territories. The influx of migrants in the developed world sharply aggravates social and cultural problems and, as a consequence, political issue as well. This massive loss of human capital threatens to turn the developing world into a source of violence and instability. Does the ongoing mass migration present new opportunities for global development, or is it essentially a giant time bomb waiting to explode?

Panelists:

- **Yves Daccord**, Director General, International Committee of the Red Cross
- **Soli Ozel**, Senior Lecturer, Kadir Has University in Istanbul
- **Anatoly Vishnevsky**, Director of the Institute of Demography, National Research University Higher School of Economics
- **Raúl Delgado Wise**, Professor and Director of the Doctoral Programme in Development Studies, Autonomous University of Zacatecas, President of the International Network on Migration and Development and UNESCO Chair on Migration, Development and Human Rights

Moderator: **Hans-Joachim Spanger**, Head of Research Department, Peace Research Institute Frankfurt

14:00-16:00

Session 5. The world economy: a new globalization or a new protectionism?

The era has passed in which it seemed that the entire global economy was progressing according to the same rules and would be controlled from a single center. It has given way to new trends – the formation of megablocs united by strict rules and standards. In effect, a new and far more sophisticated form of protectionism has emerged. Although states remain interdependent, are their relations becoming more complex and double-edged? How will the world be organized 10 years from now?

Panelists:

- **Sergey Afontsev**, Director of the Economics Department, Primakov National Research Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO); Professor at Moscow State University of International Relations (MGIMO University)
- **Lee Jae-Young**, Vice President at Korea Institute for International Economic Policy (KIEP)
- **Grigori Marchenko**, First Deputy Prime Minister of the Republic of Kazakhstan (2004), Governor of the National Bank of the Republic of Kazakhstan (1999-2004, 2009-2013)
- **Stanislav Voskresenskiy**, Deputy Minister of Economic Development of the Russian Federation

Moderator: **Evgeny Vinokurov**, Director of the Centre for Integration Studies at the Eurasian Development Bank

17:00-18:00

Meeting with a high-ranking Russian official

19:00-20:30

Special session. Europe – our failed future?

Only a few short years ago, the European Union was considered the prototype of future international relations and proper government. Today, European integration is undergoing a conceptual crisis and the future of the Old World looks increasingly uncertain. What lessons can be learned from the failure of the European project? What role will Europe play in the future? Will it act as an independent world center and the western extremity of “Greater Eurasia,” or one part of the “American world”? How will Russia-EU relations develop further?

Panelists:

- **Andrey Kortunov**, Director General of the Russian International Affairs Council
- **Xiang Lanxin**, Professor, the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva; Director, Center of One Belt One Road and Eurasian Security, Shanghai
- **Wolfgang Schüssel**, Federal Chancellor of the Republic of Austria (2000-2007)
- **James Sherr**, Associate Fellow, Russia and Eurasia Programme, Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House)

Moderator: **Timofey Bordachev**, Programme Director of the Valdai Discussion Club; Director, Centre for Comprehensive European and International Studies, National Research University Higher School of Economics

Thursday, October 27

09:30-11:30

Session 6. Will technology revolutionize the world?

Observers constantly speak of a breakthrough in technology, the advent of a new economic order and a new industrial revolution. Technology dramatically affects human life, creates a new competitive environment and impacts global processes. But does it fundamentally change politics? How do disparities in technological development affect the global balance of power, and what are the potential consequences?

Panelists:

- **Andrei Fursenko**, Aide to the President of the Russian Federation
- **Mikhail Kovalchuk**, President of the National Research Center “Kurchatov Institute”
- **Evgeny Kuznetsov**, Acting CEO of RVC OJSC
- **Ruslan Yunusov**, CEO of the Russian Quantum Centre

Moderator: **Nandan Unnikrishnan**, Vice President and Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, New Delhi

12:00-13:00

Meeting with a high-ranking Russian official

15:00-17:00

Plenary session. A philosophy of international development for the new world