

PEACE AND SECURITY

# FOREIGN POLICY CONCEPT OF UKRAINE

Expert recommendations

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Promoting Ukraine's economic and trade interests abroad requires both political and diplomatic support. It is important to search for new partners and widen the representation of Ukraine in the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.



New instruments of public diplomacy, promotion of the country's modern brand with the help of Ukrainian diaspora and business will provide for a positive image of Ukraine in the world.



Rapid development of cutting-edge technologies requires studying modern developments in the spheres of artificial intelligence, biological and technological threats, which can be an element of hybrid warfare with a higher efficiency than that of conventional arms.

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# 1

## INTRODUCTION

This publication is a result of the two-year project «Foreign Policy Concept of Ukraine», which has been carried out by the Hennadii Udoenko Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with the support of the Representation of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation in Ukraine and in collaboration with UA: Ukraine Analytica.

The purpose of the project is to conduct an analysis on the main geographical and thematic areas of Ukraine's foreign policy and to provide recommendations which would contribute to the further development of Ukraine's foreign policy strategy and its priorities for the midterm horizon until 2030.

The project has brought together experts from the leading Ukrainian think-tanks and universities specializing in the areas of foreign policy and security. The work on the Concept lasted during 2019-2020.

At the first stage (2019), the analysis was focused on the main regional areas of Ukraine's foreign policy, bilateral relations with the United States, the Russian Federation and China, as well as Ukraine's place in Euro-Atlantic security structures.

The second stage (2020) was devoted to the thematic areas (economy, energy, public diplomacy, security issues, etc.), as well as to the preparation of the final recommendations.

All analytical materials were presented during 2019-2020 at a series of public discussions with international experts, academicians and economists, representatives of think-tanks, NGOs, universities, journalists, incumbent and former diplomats, representatives of government agencies.

The final document was presented to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, Committee on Foreign Policy and Inter-Parliamentary Cooperation of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine and to the general public at the end of 2020.

The materials of this project are currently used by the working group of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs preparing the Strategy of Foreign Policy of Ukraine and the Asian Strategy of Foreign Policy of Ukraine. They will also be used as reading materials for diplomats, civil servants who are in charge of Ukraine's foreign relations and members of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, as part of educational programs delivered by the Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine.

The proposed document is an executive summary of the original analytical materials, which outlines the main trends, conclusions and expert recommendations developed within the project "Foreign Policy Concept of Ukraine".

## 2

## UKRAINE ON THE WORLD MAP

The prioritization of the foreign policy goals and defining the ways of approaching them are important in order to effectively promote and protect Ukraine's national interests on the international arena. It requires a clear understanding of Ukraine's place in the world, as well as its perception by other states. A comprehensive analysis of the current world trends, challenges and perspectives for the midterm future are also of a paramount importance.

Taking into account that for a long time there have been no clearly outlined and articulated priorities of Ukraine's foreign policy, apart from its European and Euro-Atlantic integration, it is seen as necessary to define them in a systematic and comprehensive manner: to identify what are the key countries and issues to deal with, and what are the challenges that require a particular attention of the state and decision-makers responsible for policy development and implementation.

According to the IMF classification Ukraine belongs to a group of "Emerging and Developing Europe", which includes 16 countries in total, among others members of the EU and Eastern Partnership countries. The GDP of Ukraine in 2019 was 150 billion US dollars, which comprises 0,3% of the global GDP. Ranked as the 32d country in the world by total population and 47th by total area, rich in natural resources, Ukraine occupies only 55th position in world trade, which according to international organizations and financial institutions signals the inefficient use of the country's potential and resources. Ukraine's GDP is the second lowest among the European states. Ukraine has also to bear additional costs caused by the Russian aggression, which is another aggravating factor to its economy. The positive factors include high level of education and high indicators of access to the Internet (29th position in the world).

At the same time, Ukraine is a responsible member of international organizations and for a long time has been among the most important contributors to the peace-keeping operations in the world. It has a leading position among the world exporters of grain, metallurgical and aerospace production, defence cooperation and arms trade. Ukraine's expertise gained during the years of the Russian-Ukrainian war, especially the experience of countering new challenges such as hybrid threats and

cyber-attacks, is an important factor contributing to the development of its political and defence cooperation with other countries.

Ukraine develops its foreign policy under the complex transformation of the world liberal order which emerged after the World War II. First of all, this transformation implies reconsidering and re-formulating the priorities and conceptual framing of the relations between the state actors by leading countries of the world; finalizing steps of the transformation from a bipolar to a multipolar world in terms of economic globalization; growing insecurity caused by mounting problems of terrorism, extremism, and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. In addition to this, it is important to understand those global trends, processes and crises which define the current state of international affairs and will most probably impact the foreign policy of Ukraine in the mid-term perspective.

These include but are not limited to the following:

### Trends:

- Total loss of mutual trust: voters do not trust political parties and governments, states do not trust each other, the government and non-government actors of the world politics do not trust international organizations. As a result, the nationalistic, right-wing and left-wing populist movements are on the rise even in the countries with long democratic traditions. At the international level, international institutions often prove their inefficiency in dealing with new and traditional challenges, and the respect for the norms and rules of international law has been on decline.
- Disregard of the principles of international law, violating international commitments and terms of the international agreements which leads to the transformation of the whole system of international law, particularly in the context of existing security guarantees.
- Crisis of global leadership. Competition for the regional leadership, which takes place in various parts of the globe; and the diminishing level of trust to the United States and other global actors.
- Unprecedented increase of the income inequality, both within societies and among countries and regions, which often paves the way to mass protests and violent resistance resulting in regime changes.

- New stage of resource competition (especially, in Africa and Arctic) with China, US, Russia, and Turkey being among the key players.
- Technological development, which enables transition to a new industrial stage on the one hand, but creates a new space for aggressive actions, on the other. Regarding the societal aspect, it also virtualizes the life of individuals, societies and countries.

#### **Processes:**

- Withdrawal of the United States, a global player which stands for the ideals of freedom and human rights, from its world leadership role.
- Immense growth of China's influence, which for the last thirty years has carried out a revolutionary transformation: from the Third World country to the second-largest economy in the world by its nominal GDP, and now poses a challenge to the US domination in the world in terms of economy, military and political power.
- Increased number of the aggressive Russian actions in various parts of the world, in fact, demonstrating its imperial ambition to compete for the status of a global power.
- The diminishing role of the multilateral institutions including UN, WTO and OSCE. Withdrawal of the United States from the Paris Agreement on climate change, and the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA), also known as the "Iran nuclear deal". Withdrawal of the US and Russia from the INF Treaty, and the last Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War etc.
- The increased level of instability in the countries of Latin America. Particularly in Mexico, Bolivia, Chili, Cuba, Ecuador, Venezuela, Brazil.

#### **Crises:**

- Apart from a new global economic crisis, which can emerge similar to the 2008 crisis as a result of the trade disputes between the US and China, and between the US and EU, the crisis of inequality is unfolding, when the absolute minority of the world's population possesses the absolute majority of the economic benefits.
- Crisis of the European Union, which is caused by the problem of refugees, Brexit, the growing influence of populist movements and right-wing nationalist political powers, divergent positions of the members regarding the EU enlargement and further prospects of developing cooperation inside the European Union itself.
- Security crisis in the Middle East, including Syria, Libya, Yemen, confrontation between the Sunni Gulf monarchies and Iran, the continuation of the Arab-Israeli confrontation.
- Escalation of the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh and worsening of the security environment in Caucasus.
- Security crisis around the North Korea and its nuclear program.
- Crisis around the Iranian nuclear program, the return of the US to the sanction regime against Iran, the restart of the uranium enrichment process in Iran.
- Crisis in Hong Kong and new security threats in South-China Sea as a result of China's policies in the region.
- Political crisis in Belarus in the aftermath of the 2020 presidential elections.
- Crisis in the Eastern Mediterranean and the escalation of confrontation between Greece and Turkey.
- Crisis of critical infrastructure in global and national healthcare systems.
- Economic crisis as a result of the outbreak of COVID-19 and global lockdown.

## 3

## FOREIGN POLICY PRIORITIES BY COUNTRIES AND REGIONS

### THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

The foreign policy of Ukraine on the Russian track largely depends on the prospects of ending the ongoing war in the mid-term perspective, as well as a search for the possible formats of co-existence in the long-term future. The main priorities in this direction include countering Russian aggression in the eastern regions of Ukraine, liberating the occupied territories of Crimea, Donetsk and Luhansk regions, restoring Ukrainian sovereignty over its borders and reintegrating the temporarily occupied territories. Bringing Russia to responsibility for its military aggression, occupation of Crimea, atrocities in the Donetsk and Luhansk regions, human rights violations and war crimes, both through the international legal instruments and sanction regime on the bilateral and multilateral levels, are among the most important tasks.

In this regard, the efforts of Ukrainian diplomacy should be focused on the following goals:

1. To ensure by political and diplomatic means (within the frameworks of the Normandy format, the Trilateral Contact Group and other international platforms) the cessation of hostilities in the eastern Ukraine and the establishment of a sustainable and long-term cease-fire.
2. To ensure withdrawal of troops at certain “pilot” points and further along the line of contact; to maintain effective control in the “grey zone”;
3. To intensify political and diplomatic dialogue with Russia with the participation of international mediators;
4. To adopt a state strategy of reintegration of certain districts of Donetsk and Luhansk regions;
5. To promote the “internationalization” of the conflict resolution process, to use international mechanisms and platforms, to involve various international players in the peace process. In particular, to ensure the on-the-ground presence of the UN, OSCE, PACE missions, the Red Cross, Reporters Without Borders, international human rights and humanitarian organizations;
6. To continue the process of prisoners’ exchange; to negotiate simplification of the exchange procedures.
7. To initiate at the negotiating platforms (primarily in the Normandy format) a plan for the implementation of the UN military-civilian peacekeeping mission throughout the occupied territories of Donetsk and Luhansk regions.

8. To expand the circle of countries that support the sovereignty and independence of Ukraine, to consolidate Ukraine’s support group at the UN.
9. To strengthen Ukraine’s resilience to hybrid threats by deepening cooperation with NATO partners in the framework of Annual National Programs, Comprehensive Assistance Package and Enhanced Capabilities Program, intensifying bilateral military-technical cooperation with the US, Canada, other NATO member states, expanding cooperation with EU defence and security structures (European Defence Agency, Hybrid Threat Centres, PESCO).
10. To contribute to maintaining and strengthening of the Western sanctions against Russia.
11. To ensure coordination with partner countries to effectively resist Russia’s attempts to impose its own agenda, ease sanctions, and restore the Kremlin’s relations with Western countries in a “business as usual” format.

### EURO-ATLANTIC SECURITY STRUCTURES

Ukraine’s NATO membership is widely recognized as a key security factor, especially given the ongoing Russian aggression and other regional threats. It has been officially declared a priority of the Ukrainian state (now also embedded in the Constitution of Ukraine) and finds support among the majority of Ukrainian citizens. There is no alternative of Ukraine’s foreign policy regarding its Euro-Atlantic vector of integration. Since 2014, when Ukraine became a victim of Russian aggression, the implementation of the Euro-Atlantic integration goals has become a matter of existential importance for Kyiv.

The practical mechanism of Ukraine’s preparation to its NATO membership is the Annual National Programme (ANP), which plays a role of the key strategic document in the country’s reform process, its compatibility with European and Euro-Atlantic standards. ANP cannot, though, replace the Membership Action Plan (MAP), granting of which to Ukraine would become an important political signal to Russia.

In addition to the main task – gaining full-fledged NATO membership – Ukraine should also:

1. Develop cooperation on maritime security in the Black Sea region; draw attention to the current status of

- the Kerch Strait, and the de facto annexation of the Sea of Azov by Russia.
2. Invite NATO to consider developing the Alliance's Strategy in the Black Sea region.
  3. Develop cooperation between think-tanks, governmental and non-governmental institutions dealing with armed conflicts and new threats such as hybrid warfare, in particular in the context of developing an early warning system and neutralizing certain destabilizing trends in regions that could become next victims of Russian hybrid aggression.
  4. Initiate an increase in the number of exercises of the Navy with the support of NATO with scenarios of joint patrols of the coastal zone, training of anti-aircraft and landing operations.
  5. Consider the possibility of using the experience of NATO member countries (including the Baltic States, Poland) in creating a national system of territorial defence. Invite NATO advisers, instructors to develop the legal framework in order to establish cooperation between the territorial defence forces and the National Guard and the Armed Forces of Ukraine.

## THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

In bilateral relations with the US the main goal for Ukraine remains to maintain the US role as a key security provider, both in terms of arms supplies to Ukraine and formal security guarantees. Formal guarantees would include granting Ukraine the status of a Major Non-NATO Ally (MNNA), which has already been under discussion in Ukraine for several years. It creates significant opportunities for cooperation with the Ministry of Defence, arms procurements, military technical cooperation etc. In general, the US has been continuously supporting Ukraine over the years, the pro-Ukrainian sentiments in the US have often been much stronger than in many European countries.

The main recommendations include:

1. To build a balanced, consistent policy towards the United States, which will be based on a proactive position; to identify clear priorities on the American track and focus on realistic goals: systematic arms supplies, diplomatic and financial support, and cooperation on a wide range of issues, from energy security to deterring Russia.
2. To coordinate the work of various bodies and agencies, with a leading role of the MFA. The decision-making process should also involve seasoned experts and experienced diplomats.
3. To build direct relations with the legislative branch of the US government, which is influential on the "Ukrainian track", has a pro-Ukrainian consensus and serves as a guarantee of consistent support for Ukraine by the United States.
4. To promote unbiased and reliable information about Ukraine in the United States. To make efforts to preserve the mostly positive image of Ukraine in the United States, to count the spread of anti-Ukrainian narratives, fakes and disinformation.
5. To pay attention to the Ukrainian public diplomacy campaigns in the US. In particular, to promptly talk about important steps in reforming Ukraine; to promote success stories and switch from continuous negativity in the media coverage of Ukraine to a positive agenda.
6. To intensify cooperation with the United States in the energy sector. US sanctions on the Nord Stream-2 and Turkish Stream pipelines remain important.
7. To intensify efforts to improve the investment climate in Ukraine, in particular to attract American business and capital.
8. To develop cooperation in the military sphere, which has already gained significant momentum since the beginning of the Russian aggression in 2014, including the continuation of US military visits to Ukraine on a rotating but regular basis, increasing the US presence in the Black Sea, intensifying joint exercises, expanding their scenarios, etc.
9. To introduce a permanent mechanism of consultations with the United States on the situation in the Black Sea, Sea of Azov and the Kerch Strait given that the possibility of Russia's blockade of the Black Sea coasts remains a serious challenge for Ukraine.

## CANADA

Ukraine and Canada have been close partners in the humanitarian and political spheres for a long time, however, the potential of their trade-economic cooperation has remained largely untapped. Thus, for the last 30 years the trade turnover has increased only slightly, without any substantial change in terms of goods.

In the political sphere, the relations have been actively developing. The large and active Ukrainian diaspora remains one of the main reasons behind a particularly close cooperation between the countries. The Ukrainian Canadians are united by an active position in foreign and security policy, and often hold high positions in political and business circles of Canada. Elected to the national and provincial parliaments, they usually have a strong common stance on the issues related to Ukraine. They also play an active role in countering Russian imperial politics and its aggression against Ukraine. One of the most vivid examples of this can be Chrystia Freeland, a Ukrainian Canadian who became a Minister of Foreign Affairs in 2016, and a Vice-Prime Minister of Canada in 2019.

Currently, Ukraine needs to reinvigorate its cooperation with Canada in the military production sphere, with particular interest in building up Ukraine's naval capabilities; to maintain regular contacts with the organizational structures of Ukrainian diaspora in Canada; to intensify the negotiations on the extension of the FTA with Canada in order to include the services part into it; to create conditions for attracting Canadian investors to take part in the privatization processes in Ukraine; to develop cooperation in the field of high technologies and ICT; to intensify negotiations on Canada's visa liberalization policy for Ukrainian citizens.



## LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN COUNTRIES

The region is largely perceived as being one of the most underestimated directions of Ukraine's foreign policy. Relations between Ukraine and the countries of the region have developed rather slowly, in part due to the geographical distance, in part due to various barriers for expanding trade and economic cooperation.

However, unless it takes a more active stance, Ukraine may lose both large markets for its high-tech products in the short-term and countries' political support in countering Russian aggression in the framework of international organizations in the mid-term perspective.

Ukraine's main partner in the LAC region is Brazil. In addition to trade and economic cooperation, states are trying to develop joint projects in the scientific and technological sector.

Currently, Ukraine should make a thorough analysis of the region's markets in order to expand the range of exported products and attract innovative scientific and technical products and services with high added value to Ukraine.

It also needs to expand the participation of Ukrainian enterprises in industrial, scientific, educational exhibitions in the countries of the region; to facilitate the establishment of contacts between the leading banks of Ukraine and LAC countries; to significantly strengthen the media presence of Ukraine in the region; and to organize mutual visits of the high-level official delegations in order to establish mutual trust and political dialogue with the key countries of the region.

In particular, Ukraine should focus on deepening its relations with the following countries and regional actors: a). the most powerful and influential countries in the region (Brazil, Mexico, Argentina, Colombia, Chile); b). partner states and allies of the United States (Brazil, Argentina, Colombia, Peru); c). states with a large Ukrainian diaspora (Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay, Chile); d). regional forums (the OAS, where Ukraine is currently an observer, CELAC), subregional integrational structures (primarily, Mercosur, the Pacific Alliance, CARICOM), regional parliaments (Latin American Parliament).

## EUROPE

Ukraine's foreign policy priorities regarding the European countries have been analysed within the framework of six subregions.

The Mediterranean subregion (Portugal, Spain, France, Italy, Greece, Malta, Cyprus) with France and Italy having the highest potential for developing cooperation among the countries of the subregion. Ukraine is viewed mainly through the prism of its relations with Russian Federation and main interests lie primarily in the economic sphere.

The key recommendations include intensifying the development of humanitarian cooperation; strengthening public diplomacy activities and strategic communications, especially those covering Russian aggression; ensuring product diversification in trade and economic sphere.

In the Balkan subregion (Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia, Albania, Bulgaria) Ukraine should take into account two factors: the religious factor and the attitude towards NATO. At present, Ukraine's political interest here focuses mainly on countering Russian aggression and promoting the European and Euro-Atlantic agenda. Currently, the Balkan states and Ukraine have quite limited cooperation in the economic sphere.

In this subregion, Ukraine needs to find segments for establishing joint industrial production, to complete negotiations on the establishment of free trade zones with Serbia and Albania. It is also important to continue promoting Ukraine's European integration policy, to engage in the development of security cooperation formats and regional cooperation initiatives, to participate in the energy infrastructure and energy supply projects, to strengthen Ukraine's information presence in the region.

The main formats of cooperation between Ukraine and the countries of the Central and Eastern Europe (Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Romania) remain the format of bilateral relations as well as regional forums, like the Visegrad Group. Matters of mutual interest for the countries include: security cooperation, exchange of experience in combating hybrid threats and aggressive policy of the Russian Federation; strengthening energy independence; maritime security in the Black Sea and the sea of Azov. The strategic task is to transform the EU-Ukrainian border into a platform for cross-border cooperation. In order to increase the effectiveness of foreign policy in the region, it is necessary to focus on: the integrated development of border areas by using financial opportunities of the European programs; strengthening Ukraine's presence in the region by supporting Ukrainian diaspora; expanding media presence in order to convey objective information about Ukraine.

Ukraine has traditionally good relations with the Baltic States (Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia), where the Russian threat plays a major role as a key consolidating factor influencing the level of cooperation in the military, economic and energy sectors.

As a key recommendation, experts unanimously suggest that Ukraine should focus on formulating strategic long-term tasks in developing regional cooperation. The areas of primary interests include: mutual capacity-building in the defence sphere and strengthening safety and security measures to protect the critical infrastructure in the region; cooperation and gaining experience in the

field of digitalization and IT technologies; promoting energy security. In order to achieve the desired level of cooperation, it is important to use the capabilities of the NATO Enhanced Capabilities Program to strengthen the interoperability; to coordinate actions in combating information and communication threats; to strengthen sectoral cooperation, in particular in such areas as strengthening the rule of law and trust in democratic institutions.

The countries of the Western and Northern Europe (Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Iceland, Luxembourg, Norway, the Netherlands, Germany, the Republic of Ireland, Finland, Switzerland, Sweden) support the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Ukraine, condemning Russian aggression. Ukraine has a high political interest in the region. The countries of the region play an important role in terms of consolidating sanctions regime against Russia, military-technical assistance, assistance to reforms, foreign investments and energy security.

In relations with the countries of the region Ukraine needs to focus on: promoting a positive image by means of public and parliamentary diplomacy, developing the practice of information exchange on hybrid threats, and strengthening energy independence. The top priorities are: projects in the agro-industrial sector, mechanical engineering, energy, digital infrastructure development, IT projects. It is also deemed necessary to continue working on reforms to gain the support of these countries for Ukraine's integration process into EU and NATO.

The Black Sea region (Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia, Moldova, Bulgaria, Romania, Turkey) is placed high on the list of Ukraine's foreign policy priorities. The main recommendation concerns limiting Russia's role as a leading factor in shaping Ukraine's Black Sea policy. Although a neighbour and, most probably, a major threat in the mid-term run, Ukraine should not confine its regional agenda to countering Russian aggression at the expense of disregarding existing opportunities for cooperation on both bilateral and regional levels. Currently, Ukraine is a member of several regional organizations (e.g., GUAM, BSEC), but fails to use these formats as a platform to promote its own ambitions as a regional leader.

In the future, Ukraine's strategic focus should shift from playing a passive role in the region to promoting its own agenda and rediscovering its potential as a maritime state. Given Russia's ongoing aggression against Ukraine, it is also important to focus on developing bilateral relations with Romania, Turkey and Georgia, in the context of strengthening NATO's presence in the Black Sea basin; and with Georgia and Azerbaijan, with the prospect of developing Ukraine's transit potential and implementation of regional energy and transport projects. At the same time, there is a need to increase Ukraine's media presence and present a clear vision of Ukraine's interests in trade and economic sphere in all countries of the region.

## ASIA-PACIFIC

The Asia-Pacific region is currently the most vibrant and commercially influential region in the world. However, its potential remains largely untapped for Ukraine and requires special attention from both Ukrainian diplomats and national business associations.

In this document, the Asia-Pacific region is analysed in the frameworks of three regional groupings (Central Asia; South and East Asia; ASEAN), while some countries (China, Iran, Afghanistan, Australia and New Zealand) are considered separately given their specifics.

With the countries of the Central Asia (CA) (Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan), Ukraine has long-term diplomatic relations, a broad bilateral legal framework, a high-level dialogue, and joint intergovernmental cooperation commissions focused on developing sectoral cooperation. For Ukraine, CA is not on the list of foreign policy priorities, whereas Ukraine is not a priority for the CA countries. None of the Central Asian countries to be found on the list of Top-20 partner countries identified in the Export Strategy of Ukraine. Nevertheless, Ukraine's interests in this region lie primarily in the economic sphere. In the political sphere, the lack of constant support for UN resolutions on Crimea and Russian aggression remains an obstacle to the development of closer political relations.

The foreign policy recommendations of the experts on the CA region include: to present Ukrainian enterprises on the CA markets; to focus on developing economic relations with Kazakhstan as the major CA market; to consider Ukraine's accession to the Asia-Europe Forum (ASEM); to develop cultural cooperation and to promote a positive image of the state. Another possible area of cooperation could also be cyber-security and hybrid warfare, where Ukraine has significant experience and expertise, which it could share with the CA countries.

## CHINA

Although Beijing does not recognize Russia's illegal annexation of Crimea, mostly takes a neutral stance in the UN Security Council on the Russia-related resolutions and refrains from condemning Russian aggressive moves in Ukraine. Politically, bilateral dialogue remains stable though not very intensive, while the main focus of relations is placed on deepening trade and economic cooperation, and participation in the regional infrastructural projects.

The expert recommendations regarding the Ukrainian-Chinese relations include:

1. To minimize trade imbalances in trade turnover with China;

2. To engage in joint production with China, develop investment, technological and scientific cooperation;
3. To assess the benefits and risks of cooperation in electricity, oil and gas industry, infrastructure development, civil aviation, telecommunications, and military industrial complex.
4. To avoid participation in projects that might trigger negative reactions of Ukraine's strategic partners in the West, i.e., US and EU.
5. Given the dynamics of development in the agro-industrial sector of China, to hold consultations with representatives of the Ukrainian-Chinese Council for Trade and Economic Development to ensure the interests of the Ukrainian agricultural sector in relations with China.
6. To establish a high-level dialogue at the level of heads of state in order to ensure China's support to Ukraine in the framework of international organizations, at least to a certain extent.
7. To cooperate with China on global issues, on which Beijing's positions coincide with those of the EU or the United States: non-proliferation, ratification of the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT), combating climate change and developing mutually acceptable economic rules.
8. To adhere to strategic flexibility and pragmatic analysis of possible benefits and risks when assessing the prospects of participation in such Chinese geo-economic projects as "One Belt - One Road Initiative" and "17+1".
9. To explore the possibility of joining the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), which, alongside the Silk Road Fund, is the main financial instrument under the "One Belt - One Road" Initiative.

## EAST ASIA and ASEAN

### **Japan, the Republic of Korea, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Mongolia, Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Myanmar, Brunei, the Philippines**

Ukraine has limited diplomatic representation in the East Asia and the Asia-Pacific region. Japan and South Korea are the priority countries for cooperation. Japan is a partner country in countering Russian aggression, as well as a financial donor. Regular dialogue at the highest political level contributes to the deepening of political and economic cooperation. Japan is included in the list of Top 20 markets that are potentially attractive to most of the sectors of the Ukrainian economy and serves as a regional hub for further export development. Areas for strengthening cooperation with Japan include introducing mechanism for regular political consultations (at the level of foreign and defence ministers); attracting Japanese investments; establishment of direct flights between Kyiv and Tokyo; liberalization of a visa regime; scientific and technical cooperation; academic exchange programs; cooperation of think-tanks; cultural diplomacy.

Ukraine's interests in cooperation with the Republic of Korea (RK) are focused on the development of trade and economic relations as well as boosting investment in Ukraine. Regular political dialogue to be maintained as a sign of the high status of bilateral relations.

Indonesia, Thailand, and the Philippines have been identified as promising markets in the list of Top 20 Export Strategies of Ukraine for 2017-2021.

As for the ASEAN countries, it is seen necessary to analyse the prospects of creating a free trade zone with Vietnam and Singapore. The FTA can serve as a link between Ukrainian exporters and other ASEAN markets, where Singapore would play a role of a regional trade hub. In order to strengthen its position in the ASEAN markets, Ukraine should consider the opportunity of joining the Asia-Europe Forum (ASEM) as an observer.

## SOUTH ASIA

### **India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Nepal, Sri Lanka**

Ukraine's cooperation with the two largest countries in the region (India, Pakistan) should be aimed at developing mutually beneficial relations in a range of areas - military industry, agro- industry, science and education, tourism and sports. Relations with Pakistan are important for maintaining Ukraine's balanced presence in the South Asia. The level of people-to-people contacts is seen as insufficient to ensure public awareness about Ukraine in the region. It is, thus, important to strengthen public diplomacy and information policy in the region, develop cooperation in the scientific sphere, and intensify political dialogue.

## IRAN AND AFGHANISTAN

These two states fall out of the general regional context due to a special place in the current security environment, which has considerable impacts for the national interests of the United States, Russia, and the EU. Both countries play an important role in matters related to proliferation of conventional and non-conventional weapons, drugs trafficking and terrorism.

During the years of independence, Ukraine has built quite close relations with Iran, which seeks to use cooperation with Kyiv as a source of military resources, including nuclear and missile technologies. Ukraine used to have active contacts with Afghanistan during the Soviet era, but in recent years there have been practically no contacts. Ukraine should closely monitor the situation in both countries and the processes in the relevant ethnic diasporas in Ukraine. In case of change of the political situation in Afghanistan or in Iran, Ukraine can get an opportunity for developing trade and economic cooperation in a wide range of areas.

## AFRICAN COUNTRIES

### Sub-Saharan Africa

Ukraine remains outside of many processes that have taken place in Africa over the last decade. Hence, it is not seen as an influential actor in the region. There has been no presidential visit to the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa since Ukraine's proclamation of independence in 1991.

Ukraine's weak economic presence in a growing African market, underdevelopment of political and humanitarian ties clearly signal urgent need to develop a comprehensive approach to cooperation with the African countries, where the focus should be on political, diplomatic, trade, and humanitarian areas.

Experts suggest that Ukraine should take efforts to strengthen its political presence in at least 5 largest economies of Sub-Saharan Africa; to ensure the participation of high-level representatives of Ukraine in the annual summit of the African Union (as an observer state); to develop Ukraine's strategy for sub-Saharan Africa; to intensify the process of establishing the network of diplomatic missions in the region, and to facilitate the establishment of contacts between the leading banking institutions of Ukraine and regional countries.

### North Africa (Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Sudan and Tunisia)

In Ukrainian foreign policy, countries of North Africa traditionally occupy a prominent place as consumers of export goods and services with a constant positive balance, as well as providers of tourist services (Egypt, Tunisia). Despite their common historical legacy, important unifying religious, cultural and linguistic factors, the countries of North Africa differ significantly, which has to be taken into account while developing a tailor-made approach to each of them.

In this region, Ukraine needs to strengthen coordination between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry for Development of Economy, Trade and Agriculture, the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Ukraine, industrial associations, large state-owned companies in order to take a comprehensive approach to developing cooperation in the region, and to strengthen trade and economic ties. A significant interest for the region lies in the spheres of Ukrainian higher education, primarily in medicine, engineering, food technology, metallurgy, mechanical engineering, as well as in the computer field. Given the significant influence of terrorist and extremist organizations in the region and the likelihood of their penetration into Ukraine, it is important to constantly monitor political and social processes in the region, which is seen as a matter of national security. The Ukrainian diplomatic missions need to be empowered and professionally strengthened in order to be institutionally capable to actively develop relations with potential markets and intensify bilateral political dialogue. Military-technical cooperation and military training can become an attractive sphere for the future cooperation.

## MIDDLE EAST

### Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Palestinian National Authority, State of Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Bahrain, UAE, Yemen, Israel

Middle East (ME) is an export market for Ukraine. The main trading partners here are Saudi Arabia, Israel, Iraq and the UAE. ME countries are potential recipients of Ukrainian military-industrial production. Ukraine can also offer higher and professional education opportunities. Diplomatic efforts should be focused on promoting trade, economic, humanitarian and military-technical cooperation. The State of Israel plays a special role in the region. The public discourse in Israel is still often dominated by stereotypes about a special "Ukrainian anti-Semitism", despite the fact that this myth is being debunked by politicians and historians. It is yet important to overcome these stereotypes. The idea to establish a special partnership with one of the ME countries as a showcase of Ukraine's expanding presence in the region deserves further development.

Other recommendations include entering "crisis-independent" sectors: military-technical cooperation and arms supply, IT, health, education, construction. Ukraine's participation in local defence and arms exhibitions needs to be strengthened. Besides, Ukraine is increasingly seen as a place of recreational and health tourism, which is a potentially beneficial area to be promoted more actively.

## 4

## FOREIGN POLICY PRIORITIES BY THEMES

### ECONOMIC DIPLOMACY: PRIORITIES OF UKRAINE'S FOREIGN ECONOMIC RELATIONS

Ukraine needs to effectively represent and protect its interests in the foreign markets, as its national economy and own resource base do not meet the needs of the industrial complex and public demand. International economic cooperation is an important factor in Ukraine's socio-economic development, hence the interest to continue the liberalization of international economic exchange, to comply with relevant international rules and norms of economic cooperation, and develop effective mechanisms for resolving international trade disputes.

As the domestic economy of Ukraine is primarily oriented to meet the demands of external markets, it makes it excessively dependent on the volatile situation on the world commodity markets. To make an economic breakthrough, Ukraine needs to conduct profound institutional and structural changes that will strengthen its global competitiveness in the world economy. To this end, Ukraine must utilize the opportunities of globalization, minimize relevant risks and integrate effectively into international supply and logistical chains.

The priority of national policy in this sphere should be the integration into international flows of goods, services, capital, labour, information and knowledge, which would be impossible without effective coordination of the efforts of public authorities in this area. To this end, at the international level, Ukraine needs to promote the development of transport infrastructure in the broadest sense of the term (improving physical condition of transport routes, revising pricing policy for rail transport, etc.); to conduct a constant analysis of the processes occurring in the world economy (migration, new regional and global trade initiatives, etc.) in order to effectively implement the priorities of foreign economic relations; to simplify trade procedures and reduce non-tariff barriers according to the international trade trends.

### ENERGY DIPLOMACY: EXTERNAL FACTORS OF UKRAINE'S ENERGY SECURITY

#### Electricity

The priority for Ukraine's foreign policy is to promote investment in the development of new energy infrastructure

and development of a program of social adaptation of employees when closing obsolete industries.

In terms of foreign policy interests it is important to focus on: electricity trade between Ukraine and the EU, preventing the introduction of new additional payments for exports; coordination efforts with the European Commission of the adjustment of the National Emission Reduction Plan from large incineration plants; creation of a financial mechanism to attract investment for technological modernization of thermal power stations (which will continue to operate until 2035) in order to achieve EU environmental standards; organizational assistance to continue the implementation of nuclear fuel diversification programs at Nuclear Power Plants by increasing the supply of nuclear fuel produced by Westinghouse.

#### Gas and oil

Ukraine's foreign policy should focus on the efforts to maintain the US sanctions regime against the completion of the Nord Stream 2 gas pipeline. It is also important to increase political pressure on this project through cooperation with the EU countries that strongly oppose it, namely Poland, Lithuania, Estonia and Slovakia.

Deep strategic partnership with US companies which supply liquefied natural gas (LNG) through long-term agreements that would provide mutually beneficial competitive prices is also among the top priorities.

Ukraine should seek to decrease the level of dependence of the oil products market on a single source of revenue and reduce foreign exchange costs.

#### Liquefied gas

The European Union is Ukraine's main partner in regard to the clean energy sector. In order to proceed with the European integration, as well as to learn best practices in the RES industry, Ukraine needs to continue its reforms process and to adapt its energy policies in compliance with the EU legislation.

The way to overcome the risk of losing transit status is to deepen the strategic partnership with US companies which supply liquefied natural gas, to participate in the construction of the Ukrainian-Polish interconnector, to



demonopolize the energy sector and to create strategic reserves of raw materials.

A priority in the implementation of Ukraine's energy policy should be the task of improving energy security and creating favourable legal and diplomatic frameworks to attract the necessary investment to ensure the energy transition in accordance with the Green Deal.

To attract hydrogen technologies to the energy sector of Ukraine's economy is considered to be a promising perspective.

To implement these goals, it is recommended to: intensify negotiations with the United States and Poland on LNG imports to Ukraine; complete negotiations between Ukraine and the United States on the creation of a gas hub for American LNG on the basis of Ukrainian underground storage facilities; intensify negotiations with partners on the establishment of the Eastern European Energy Hub and strengthen infrastructure links between the countries of Central and Eastern Europe (in this context, Ukraine's participation in the Three Seas Project is important); strengthen Ukraine's participation in international hydrogen research projects under the European Hydrogen Europe Association in the framework of the EU's Horizon 2020 program.

## **PUBLIC DIPLOMACY: PROMOTION OF UKRAINE'S INTERESTS IN THE INTERNATIONAL AREA**

Public diplomacy is an important domain of Ukraine's foreign policy in terms of ensuring Ukraine's national interests abroad. It is an effective instrument for promoting a positive image of Ukraine as a reliable partner, portraying its role as an outpost for protection of liberal values in Europe. This is especially relevant in the face of the Russian aggression and hybrid threats.

For Ukraine, the sphere of public diplomacy is relatively new. It is possible to talk about its institutionalization and emerging political interest to this sphere since 2015. The process of conceptualization of the term of public diplomacy is still ongoing and the Ukrainian public discourse still considers some uncertainty about it, as well as the correspondence between the two terms: public diplomacy and cultural diplomacy.

The strategic vision of this domain is still under development - there is still no strategy of public diplomacy adopted on a national level. References to public diplomacy are encountered in several documents, where public diplomacy refers rather to the preferred communication capabilities of the state (in the Military Doctrines and Doctrine of Information Security of Ukraine, Concept of Ukraine's popularization in the world and promotion of Ukraine's interests in the global information space).

An important step in this direction is the work of the newly established institutions - the Ukrainian Institute, the Ukrainian Book Institute, the Ukrainian Cultural Foundation, as well as some foreign diplomatic missions, through which Ukrainian culture has been represented at a number of important global cultural events.

The main tasks for Ukraine in this direction are: to complete the development of the Strategy of Public Diplomacy of Ukraine with a clearly defined conceptual terms; to ensure the sustainability of direct funding and diversify funding sources, including by attracting Ukrainian business; to strengthen inter-institutional coordination to ensure the systemic work, also by outlining the institutional component of public diplomacy in its Strategy; to establish closer cooperation between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the diaspora (through the embassies, the World Congress of Ukrainians, etc.), as well as with certain sectors (e.g., IT, business) to ensure higher efficiency of public diplomacy; to increase the scale of coverage of public diplomacy programs in the Eastern Partnership region, where Ukraine is still underutilizing its leadership potential; to spark interest to public diplomacy among diplomats, in particular, through the presentation of effective cases of public diplomacy tools in Ukrainian and world practice.

## **MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY: WORLD INSTITUTIONS, INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND REGIONAL FORMATS**

### **International organizations and world institutions**

Ukraine's participation in international organizations is seen as an opportunity to inform countries, business structures and societies abroad about the challenges Ukraine is facing; to gain better experience in state-building, as well as financial, organizational, political assistance. The benefits of Ukraine's membership in international organizations significantly exceed the expenditures (1/5 of the Ukrainian budget).

In a situation where Ukraine is resisting external aggression and part of its territory is occupied, being a part of and belonging to a wide range of international organizations becomes of crucial importance in terms of gaining diplomatic, political, financial support and humanitarian assistance. Ukraine is involved in the activities of global, pan-European and regional organizations.

The general recommendation would be to move to a model of a "niche diplomacy" - to focus on specific spheres/sectors which can be the most beneficial and advantageous to its goals, and serve as a tool to protect Ukraine's national interests. In particular, UNDP, FAO, UNIDO, WHO and WIPO may be listed among the major priorities.

## European forums

Ukraine's participation in the activities of the Council of Europe, the OSCE and their parliamentary structures are of particular importance for achieving the main goal of Ukraine's foreign policy at this stage - the restoration of territorial integrity and sovereignty. In addition, these organizations are important in terms of ensuring human rights, political stability and democratic norms and values in the member states.

The main foreign policy tasks on this track include maintaining international pressure on Russia, ensuring international support for Ukraine's sovereignty, territorial integrity and its domestic reforms.

## Regional policy of Ukraine

The goals and priorities of Ukraine's regional policy, especially in Central and Eastern Europe, remain unchangeable: maintaining good neighbourhood relations, based on mutually beneficial dialogue and respect; cultivating culture of peace and respect to international law, tolerance to the tragic pages of common history; developing economic and cultural relations.

In this sphere, Ukraine needs to support and strengthen cooperation with such regional groups as the Bucharest Nine, the Three Seas Initiative; obtain observer status in the "17 + 1" initiative; intensify its participation in formats that Ukraine is already a member of, such as The EU Strategy for the Danube Region (EUSDR). It is also necessary to initiate the exclusion of Russia from the membership of the Danube Commission as a country whose activities do not meet the statutory criteria and grossly violate the rules of the international maritime law.

Ukraine should start consultations with the representatives of the Visegrad Group countries regarding regional cooperation, the revision of the EU's Eastern Partnership initiative after 2020, as well as cooperation in a broader format: V4 + "Eastern Partnership" or V4 + signatories of the Association Agreement with the EU.

## ARMS CONTROL REGIME AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

An analysis of the current state of Ukraine's foreign policy in the field of arms control indicates a complete lack of a strategic vision in this area, despite Kyiv's traditionally active involvement in the arms control regime.

Experts stress that Ukraine should clearly define its own strategic vision of international security and of its own national interests in this environment, benefiting from the significant experience in arms control, as well as in the production of missile weapons. This experience should be offered to the international community, along with a clear constructive position on the alignment with international agreements by a state that has lost one of the world's largest nuclear arsenals.

Currently Ukraine is a party to the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, which has been suspended. Together with most countries, Ukraine continues to de facto adhere to its provisions, despite violations by the Russian Federation, which also apply to confidence- and security-building measures implemented in the Vienna Document 2011 and the Open Skies Treaty. Ukraine is also a party to key non-proliferation regimes: the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, the Conventions on the Prohibition of Chemical and Biological Weapons. In support of the nuclear non-proliferation regime, Ukraine joined the Zanger Committee, which coordinates the activities of suppliers of nuclear materials, and signed and ratified the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty. Ukraine demonstrates confidence in the effectiveness of the current Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and ignores the international movement for the entry into force of the new Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons.

As a general recommendation, Ukraine should shape its own interests taking into account the possible consequences of the collapse of the international arms control regime for the European region, and coordinate its position with the position of European partners. In this regard, Ukraine needs to formulate a clear argument and position on the need to maintain strategic stability, and in particular to call on the United States and Russia to extend the START-3 for another five years; to actively monitor the European debate on the revival of the INF Treaty and use the opportunity to provide its own proposals on the issue; take an active position on conventional arms control and the strengthening of security and confidence-building measures; to actively participate in discussions on the status of key non-proliferation regimes, which are based on the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, the Conventions on the Prohibition of Chemical and Biological Weapons.

## 5

## GENERAL CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This document outlines the views of experts on current processes in the world politics and global economy with a special focus on the countries, regions and areas of cooperation which are of a particular importance for the national interests of Ukraine. This analysis provides foreign policy recommendations for the short- and mid-term perspective with a horizon of planning until 2030.

The proposals differ in content and emphasis depending on the region or scope of existing level of diplomatic, political, economic and humanitarian ties. Foreign policy is considered by experts as a living, multi-layered mechanism that is constantly changing, adapting and requires not only the creation of basic strategies, but also their constant revision and adjustment to the changes occurring both domestically in Ukraine, in the region and the world.

All expert recommendations are based on the in-depth study of the current state of affairs in the respective areas, as well as major trends in planning and implementation of the Ukrainian foreign policy on different levels of the state hierarchy, starting with the Office of the President of Ukraine, the National Security and Defence Council, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and foreign diplomatic missions to the role of non-governmental actors, public organizations, international governmental and non-governmental organizations and mass media.

In practical terms, all experts emphasize that the foreign policy-making process in Ukraine needs to become more transparent in order to better understand its goals, principles and logic, both at home and abroad; and more focused, taking into account all available resources. To this end, the reform of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs should be accelerated, having in mind that its structure, human resources and technical support must meet the conditions of the time, the challenges facing Ukraine at this stage and the foreign policy objectives for the future.

The participation of the MPs, representatives of the National Security and Defence Council, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, central and regional government authorities in the public events held on different stages of preparation and presentation of the “Foreign Policy Concept” materials in Kyiv and other regions of Ukraine proves the interest in, and support for, the practical implementation of the expert recommendations after the completion of the project.

### GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

1. Ukraine’s integrated foreign policy should focus on five key areas:
  - defining the principles of relations with the Russian Federation as an aggressor country, with the prospects of changing their modalities in the future;
  - integration into European and Euro-Atlantic structures as a strategic goal;
  - consolidation of international support in countering Russian aggression and illegal annexation of Crimea;
  - establishing new partnerships and expanding Ukraine’s representation in Asia, Africa and Latin America;
  - promoting Ukraine’s economic and trade interests abroad; applying new instruments of public diplomacy to promote positive image of Ukraine in the world; engaging with Ukrainian diaspora, businesses and NGO’s for consolidating advocacy efforts and spreading Ukrainian narratives abroad.
2. Achieving success on a Russian track of Ukrainian foreign policy requires a critical analysis of Ukrainian-Russian relations over the past decades and a profound understanding of the current situation. In the long run, the success on this direction depends not only on ending the Russian-Ukrainian war by fully restoring the Ukrainian sovereignty over the temporarily occupied territories and state borders, but also on finding the new modalities for further co-existence of two neighbouring states and societies. The current relationship with the aggressor should become subject to political and economic audit. Appropriate governmental and legislative decisions should be adopted. The cooperation and synergy of the legislative, the executive, the judicial branches and civil society are of crucial importance in this regard.
3. The European and Euro-Atlantic integration of Ukraine and its endeavours to become part of a common security, economic, social and legal space with other democratic countries is highly supported by the majority of Ukrainian citizens. This European and Euro-Atlantic integration processes will help to expand international support for Ukraine on such issues as countering Russian aggression, accelerating reforms, transforming partnerships into alliances, and upgrading good neighbourhood relations into mutually beneficial cooperation.



4. In order to succeed in the economic sphere Ukraine needs to clearly define the arsenal of its economic and diplomatic instruments and the appropriate sectors for their application. The institute of trade representative of Ukraine plays an important role in these efforts.
5. Ukraine's energy security requires a special attention as a priority area of foreign policy, given its special role in strengthening national independence and sustainable development.
6. Creating a positive image of Ukraine abroad and its positive cultural "rebranding" remain important tools of attaining Ukraine's foreign policy objectives. In this sphere, the main roles are to be played by the MFA and Ukrainian diplomatic missions abroad, the Ukrainian Institute and Ukrainian diaspora.
3. Steps should be taken to fill the format of the Enhanced Opportunities Partnership with NATO with real content, in particular through the creation of new sustainable formats of cooperation, information exchange and Ukraine's representation in the Alliance structures.
4. Ukraine needs to intensify its efforts within the framework of multilateral platforms aimed at consolidation of the international support in the fight against Russian aggression in Ukraine, de-occupation of Crimea and maintaining sanctions regime on Russia. The creation of such Ukrainian platforms as the "Crimean Platform" should attract attention to these topics on a regular basis and keep them high on the international agenda, official and public discourse, which might otherwise be overshadowed by other developments of the global politics.

## KEY RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Ukraine should revise the status of "strategic partnership" with foreign countries, which in some cases bears a purely declarative character and does not reflect the current political and economic processes both in the framework of the bilateral relations, and on a world scale. It is also suggested to introduce a new political project "Strategic Circle", which could provide a new format of relations between Ukraine, Estonia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Moldova, Georgia with a significant security component. It is obvious that confronting the Russian threat is primarily a matter for the countries of the CEE region, the Baltic States and the Black Sea.
2. It is important to develop new tools and to revise and upgrade the existing ones for a better and more effective communication and cooperation with the United States and other key NATO allies, especially in the field of intelligence, special operations, cyber-security and information exchange. Ukraine does not possess the capacity to respond symmetrically to Russia's security threat on its own. However, there are a number of asymmetric measures to be taken, including strengthening Ukraine's resilience to conventional and non-conventional threats, capacity-building in the spheres of national defence and security, and encouraging the interest of NATO countries to engage in closer political and military cooperation with Ukraine.
5. Ukraine should work to strengthen the international legal support of Ukraine's national interests, in particular, in international courts in order to bring the aggressor country and its representatives to justice.
6. There is a need to substantially update Ukraine's relations with China, Japan, Great Britain and other G20 countries. In addition to economic cooperation, it is necessary to seek common political interests.
7. It is necessary to formulate Ukraine's clear position on the current agenda of international relations, in particular, in regard to nuclear non-proliferation and arms race, militarization, sustainable development, climate change, gender aspects of international relations, resolving protracted conflicts, combating pandemics and famine, protection of cultural heritage, etc.
8. The Ukrainian state should review the network of its diplomatic missions abroad, in particular, in Africa and Asia. The MFA should improve its HR policy, financial and logistical support of the diplomatic, trade and economic activities all over the world.
9. At the political analysis and policy planning level, there is a need to strengthen analytical work to ensure effective decisions of state institutions and government agencies. In particular, it is necessary to study the latest trends in domestic policy and foreign policy strategies of Russia, USA, China, as well as current processes in the development of modern technologies, artificial intelligence, biological and technological threats that may become elements of hybrid warfare in the future.

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# FOREIGN POLICY CONCEPT OF UKRAINE



Promoting Ukraine's economic and trade interests abroad requires both political and diplomatic support. It is important to search for new partners and widen the representation of Ukraine in the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.



New instruments of public diplomacy, promotion of the country's modern brand with the help of Ukrainian diaspora and business will provide for a positive image of Ukraine in the world.



Rapid development of cutting-edge technologies requires studying modern developments in the spheres of artificial intelligence, biological and technological threats, which can be an element of hybrid warfare with a higher efficiency than that of conventional arms.