



UKRAINE'S FOREIGN POLICY AUDIT

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR UKRAINE'S FOREIGN POLICY STRATEGY





institute
of world
policy



B | S | T The Black Sea Trust
for Regional Cooperation
A PROJECT OF THE GERMAN MARSHALL FUND

UKRAINE'S FOREIGN POLICY AUDIT

RECOMMENDATIONS
FOR UKRAINE'S FOREIGN POLICY STRATEGY

Kyiv
2016



This report was conducted within the project of the Institute of World Policy “Ukraine’s Foreign Policy Audit”. This project is implemented with the support of the Black Sea Trust for Regional Cooperation of German Marshall Fund of the USA, and the “Think Tank Support Initiative” implemented by the International Renaissance Foundation (IRF) in partnership with Think Tank Fund (TTF) with the financial support of the Embassy of Sweden in Ukraine.

The contents are those of the Institute of World Policy and do not necessarily reflect the views of the German Marshall Fund of the USA, the Swedish Government, the International Renaissance Foundation, Think Tank Fund. No part of this research may be reproduced or transferred in any form or by any means, graphic, electronic, or including photocopying or by any information storage retrieval system, without the proper reference to the original source.

Idea developer and project leader: Alyona Getmanchuk

Editor and project coordinator: Kateryna Zarembo

Project authors (alphabetically): Olena Betliy, Mykola Bielieskov, Cyrille Bret, Daria Gaidai, Alyona Getmanchuk, Yevheniya Hobova, Andriy Honcharuk, Bence Kapcos, Viktor Kiktenko, Olexiy Koval, Sergiy Koshovyy, Leonid Litra, Olga Lymar, Yaroslav Lytvynenko, Ivan Medynskyy, Florent Parmentier, Yauheni Preiherman, Ileana Racheru, Yana Saienko, Anastasiya Shapochkina, Sergiy Solodkyy, Maryna Vorotnyuk, Olesya Yahno, Kateryna Zarembo

The photos used in the publication belong to the Presidential Administration, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Institute of World Policy

TABLE OF CONTENTS



5 INTRODUCTION

What should Ukraine's foreign policy be?
EXPERT ASSESSMENT:
VIEWS FROM UKRAINE AND FROM ABROAD

7



21 UKRAINE'S AMBASSADORS TALK: WHAT SHOULD BE CHANGED IN UKRAINE'S FOREIGN POLICY?

PUBLIC OPINION:
ECONOMY MUST COME FIRST

31



37 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR UKRAINE'S FOREIGN POLICY STRATEGY

APPENDIX

51





"Ukraine-EU Forum", Institute of World Policy, 20 May 2016. Featured: Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine Pavlo Klimkin (right), Minister of Foreign Affairs of Sweden Carl Bildt (2004-2014), Director of the Institute of World Policy Alyona Getmanchuk

INTRODUCTION

At the time of the 25th anniversary since the independence of the Ukrainian state and after almost three years of military conflict with Russia, Ukraine is still implementing its foreign policy under the principle of ad hoc diplomacy. At present, the strategy of foreign policy to guide all relevant public institutions and officials in advocating Ukraine's national interests is still missing.¹

Meanwhile, the world is entering a turbulence zone. The growing popularity of populist and right-wing forces in the EU and the United States, the protracted conflict in the East of Ukraine, the weakening of the EU as a union and its focus on internal processes, the information war waged by Russia – the list of challenges that Ukraine must be ready to face is far from exhaustive.

Moreover, foreign experts interviewed by the Institute of World Policy have warned that Ukraine cannot count on the West's unconditional support. Today, Ukraine is already no longer a natural partner for many political forces in the West. As for other world regions, in these 25 years they never came into the focus of Ukraine's concerted policy. Ukraine would have to learn to work with many states, from scratch – with some of them, or anew – with the others.

Thus, as of 2017, the existence of Ukraine's foreign policy strategy and its proactive implementation are key to its survival as a state, while 'Nobody but us!' – the slogan of the 2014–2016 volunteer movement in Ukraine – acquires quite an international, rather than local, sense.

¹ *The Law of Ukraine 'On Principles of Domestic and Foreign Policy', signed by Viktor Yanukovich in 2010 (as amended in 2014), remains almost a single document that determines Ukraine's foreign policy legislatively. Provisions of this Law, which dedicates one article to the foreign policy principles, are inadequate both in terms of wartime conditions and geopolitical and value transformations occurring in the world today.*

Ukraine's Foreign Policy Audit, a project by the Institute of World Policy, is perhaps the most ambitious analytical attempt to fill in this strategic gap over the past two and a half decades. It is primarily distinguished by its complexity and inclusiveness: the project covers not only the reviews of bilateral relations, but also a number of interviews taken with key stakeholders. Thus, the Institute of World Policy invited those who conduct professional research of Ukraine's foreign policy – Ukrainian and foreign experts; those who directly implement it – Ukrainian top diplomats; as well as those whose interests it is intended to represent – Ukrainian citizens – to share their vision. The overall number of those who contributed to the survey as an author, reviewer, interviewee, participant of the expert and diplomatic surveys as well as public opinion survey exceeds 1300 people.

In particular, the following activities were carried out under the project:

- Analysis of Ukraine's relations with key Western powers (USA and Germany), influential EU partners (France, Italy, Austria, Lithuania), all its neighbours (Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, Moldova, Romania, Belarus, the Russian Federation), the Black Sea region countries (Georgia and Turkey), and key partners in the Asia-Pacific Region (China and Japan) – a total of 17 studies of bilateral relations;
- A survey among Ukrainian and foreign experts on the issues, achievements and challenges in Ukraine's foreign policy;
- A survey among Ukrainian ambassadors abroad;
- A public opinion poll carried out by TNS Ukraine at the request of the Institute of World Policy.

When developing recommendations, in addition to the results of the analysis and advice by experts and diplomats, we also looked into the successful practices of foreign policy ministries in other countries (Americas – USA and Canada; Europe – UK, Germany, France, Austria, Poland; the Far East – Japan; as well as countries with post-Soviet legacy, such as Lithuania and Georgia).

The results and recommendations contained in this publication are certainly not exhaustive. The Institute of World Policy will continue its work under the Ukraine's Foreign Policy Audit project by including into its continuing analysis additional regional and multilateral aspects of Ukraine's foreign policy. Meanwhile, even intermediate results allow for the most poignant problems of Ukrainian foreign policy to be identified and the ways for overcoming them to be suggested as well.

Thanking everyone who contributed to this research as authors, consultants, reviewers, or speakers at the project events would require an additional section. We express our gratitude to everyone who helped this project realize and hope that its results and recommendations would become a valuable contribution to the implementation of a successful and proactive foreign policy by Ukraine.



ALYONA GETMANCHUK
Director, Institute of World Policy



WHAT SHOULD UKRAINE'S FOREIGN POLICY BE?

EXPERT ASSESSMENT: VIEWS FROM UKRAINE AND FROM ABROAD



Ukraine's Foreign Policy Vision?

Foreign policy success is born at home



ARKADY MOSHES,
Programme Director
of the EU's Eastern
Neighbourhood and
Russia Research
Programme,
Finnish Institute of
International Affairs

The Institute of World Policy conducted a survey among international affairs experts from around the globe regarding their vision of Ukraine's foreign policy. A total of 102 experts (69 foreign and 33 Ukrainian) from 30 countries (including Ukraine) participated in the survey conducted from August to December 2016. We aimed not only to collect expert opinions, but also to compare how Ukraine's foreign policy looks both on the inside and the outside.

WE PUT FIVE OPEN QUESTIONS:

- 1 IN YOUR OPINION, WHAT ARE THE KEY PROBLEMS IN UKRAINE'S FOREIGN POLICY?**
- 2 WHAT ARE THE KEY ACHIEVEMENTS IN UKRAINE'S FOREIGN POLICY, IF ANY?**
- 3 WHICH GLOBAL TRENDS (POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, ENVIRONMENTAL) MIGHT HAVE THE GREATEST IMPACT ON UKRAINE IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE?**
- 4 WHERE COULD UKRAINE CONTRIBUTE THE MOST TO ADDRESSING GLOBAL/ REGIONAL CHALLENGES?**
- 5 MANY STATES BASE THEIR FOREIGN POLICY ON A CERTAIN DOCTRINE. WHAT COULD BE THE VISION OF UKRAINE'S FOREIGN POLICY? WE ARE INTERESTED IN CREATIVE AND CONCISE IDEAS THAT MIGHT PROVIDE THE BASIS FOR UKRAINE'S FOREIGN POLICY STRATEGY.**

SUMMARY:

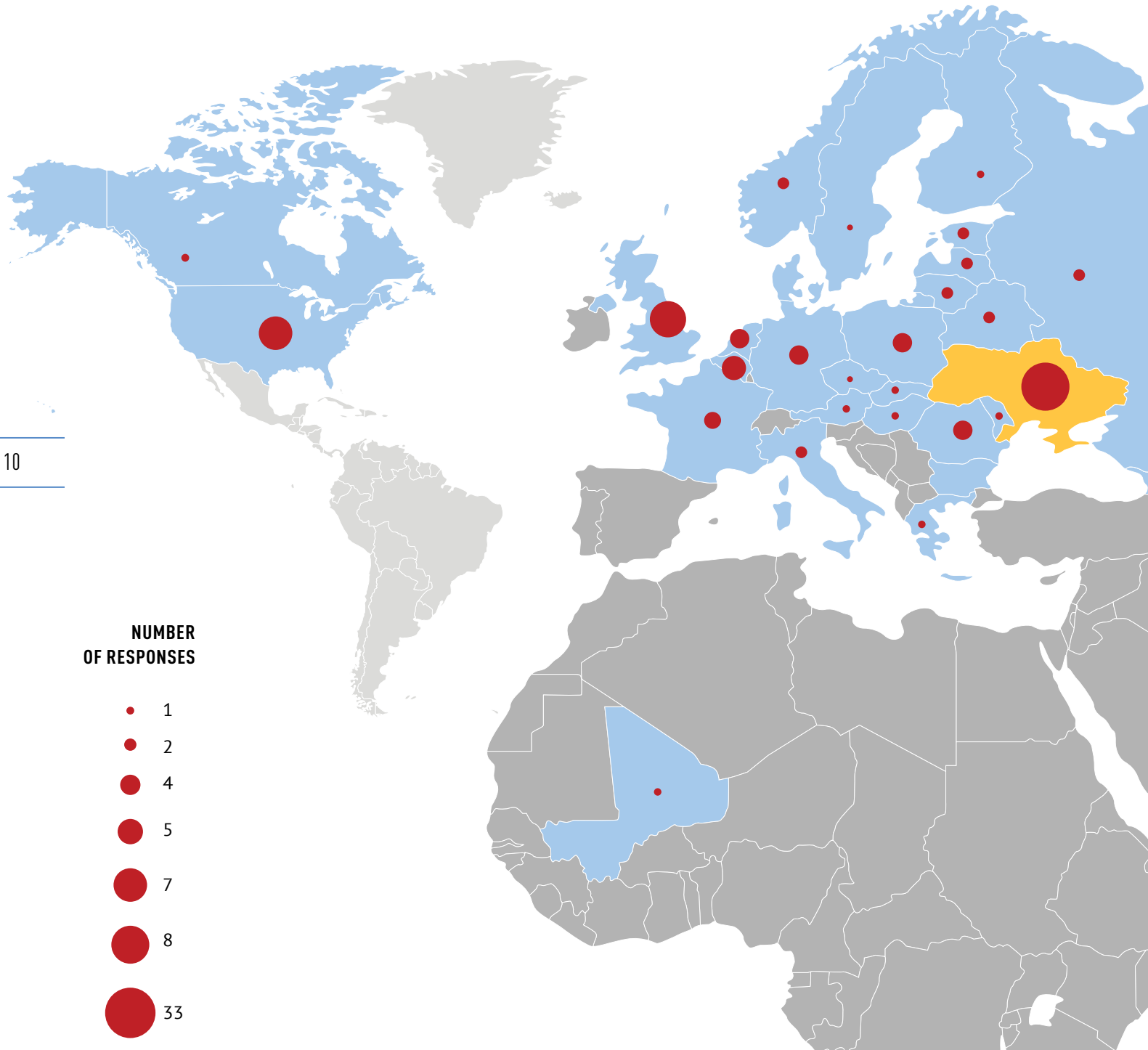
The key problems of Ukraine's foreign policy: Generally, both foreign and Ukrainian experts share the same opinion that the lack of strategy and Russia's aggression against Ukraine are among the key foreign policy challenges. At the same time, in the foreigners' eyes, internal problems, foot-dragging on reforms and corruption inside the country remain the key challenges for the foreign policy as well. Ukrainians, meanwhile, rank the weak diplomatic corps and the lack of ambassadors in key countries among the top three problems of Ukraine's foreign policy.

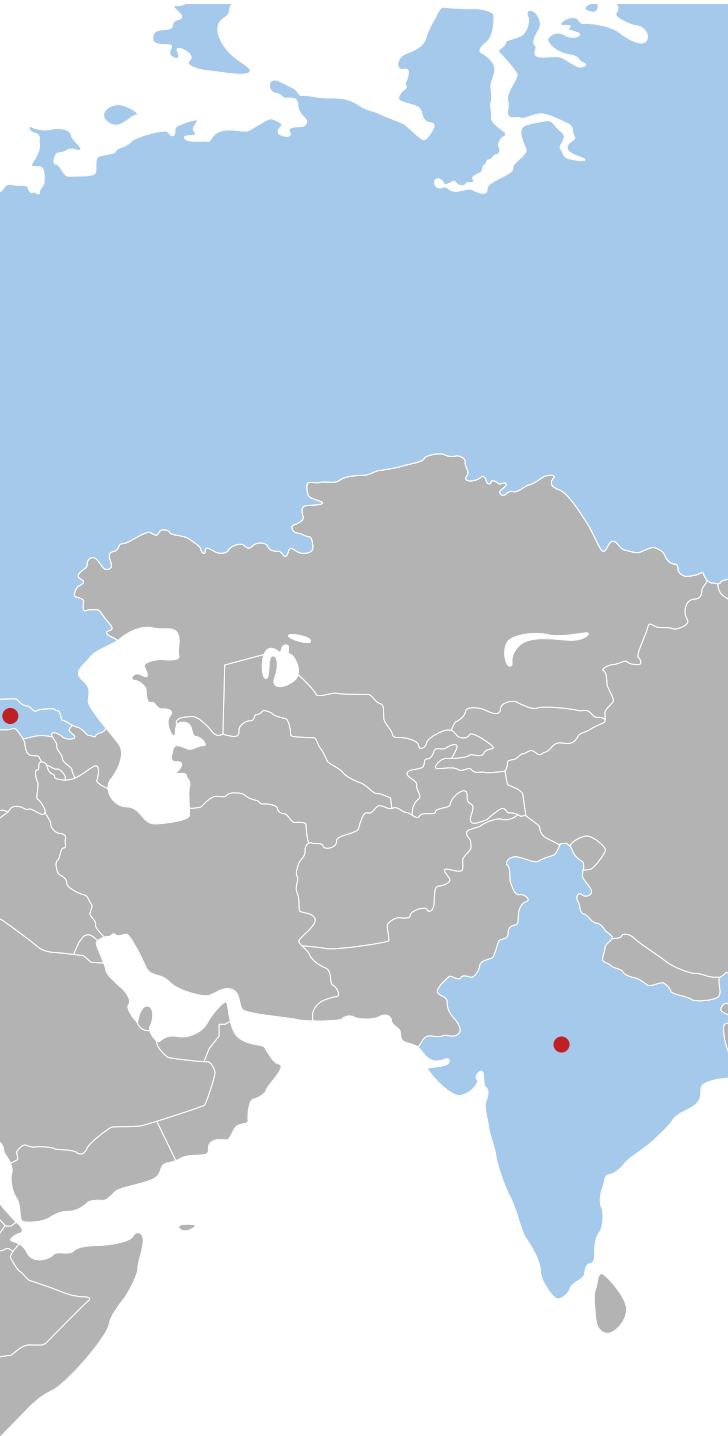
Key achievements in Ukraine's foreign policy: Both Ukrainian and foreign experts regard the West's solidarity in supporting Ukraine, acknowledgement of the annexation by Russia, as well as signing of the Ukraine–European Union Association Agreement as Ukraine's principal achievements. As a success, a clear course towards European integration was highlighted by the foreigners, and maintaining sanctions against Russia – by the Ukrainians.

Trends that will have an impact on Ukraine: Both the Ukrainian and foreign experts continue to agree in their understanding of the trends that will have impact on Ukraine: the outcome of the U.S. presidential elections, as well as weakened consolidation within the EU and the spread of Euroscepticism.

The greatest contribution to addressing global/regional challenges: The largest divergence between the results of the survey of foreign and Ukrainian experts was found in the understanding of Ukraine's added value. For the foreigners, it is Ukraine itself, first and foremost, as a model of positive transformation: implementation of reforms and the fight against corruption. The Ukrainians are mostly inclined to think that, for the world, the key benefit from Ukraine lies in curbing the aggression by Russia, including on a global level.

COUNTRIES COVERED BY THE SURVEY





A VIEW FROM ABROAD: RESPONSES FROM FOREIGN EXPERTS



KEY PROBLEMS IN UKRAINE'S FOREIGN POLICY

In the foreign experts' view, the top three problems in Ukraine's foreign policy include:

- 1 internal policy**, i.e. implementing reforms and overcoming corruption (in the opinion of 42% of foreign experts);
- 2 conflict with Russia (the answer provided by the 30% of those surveyed)**;
- 3 the lack of foreign policy strategy**, constant ambiguity in the relations with the EU and NATO (this answer was given by 18% of the respondents).

Bad image, bad communications and public diplomacy also ranked among the most important problems in the Ukrainian foreign policy. This was pointed out by 15% and 13% of the respondents. Today, Ukraine is mostly associated with corruption and war.² The survey showed that certain experts even believe in the myths spread by the Russian propaganda about Ukraine: some of them seriously regard the growing popularity of right-wing forces in Ukraine as a problem.³ Furthermore, according to the surveyed experts, Ukrainian diplomats are not

always able to state clearly their position on Crimea and the conflict in East Ukraine.

Other Ukraine's weaknesses in foreign policy include:

- dependence on support from the West,
- problems in communicating clearly with the West (in particular, as regards Crimea or the Minsk process),
- fatigue from Ukraine,
- the need to establish bilateral relations with neighbours and partners,
- insufficient number of skilled diplomatic personnel,
- the need to counter Russian propaganda,
- and the stalemate in the Minsk process.



Ukraine is right now the battleground against Kremlin revisionism. This is a very important role, and costly and painful for Ukraine. Sadly, many people in the West do not realize this because they do not see Putin's designs as dangerous. But Ukraine has acquired experience that could help NATO prepare for a confrontation with Moscow



JOHN HERBST,
U.S. Ambassador to
Ukraine (2003-2006);
Director of the Atlantic
Council's Dinu Patriciu
Eurasia Center (USA)

² *Why Ukraine is just like your country: the post-Euromaidan perspective*, Euromaidan Press 21.11.2016, <http://euromaidanpress.com/2016/11/21/ukraine-revolution-euromaidan-international-connection-similarities-world/>

³ *Following the 2014 parliamentary elections in Ukraine, the Right Sector, a right-wing radical party, got 1.8 per cent of the votes and was not elected to the Verkhovna Rada.*

A VIEW FROM UKRAINE: RESPONSES FROM UKRAINIAN EXPERTS



KEY PROBLEMS IN UKRAINE'S FOREIGN POLICY

The key problem of Ukraine's foreign policy, according to half of the Ukrainian experts, is the

1 **lack of consistency, strategy and priorities.**

This opinion is shared by half of the respondents. In addition, every tenth also referred to reactivity instead of proactivity, and seven per cent – to the fact that Ukraine lacks subjectivity in international relations.

2 The main problems also include **a weak diplomatic corps, and particularly the lack of ambassadors in key countries** (43% of respondents gave this answer, and another 7% – the overall lack of professionalism).

3 The third place was also taken by **Russia's aggression against Ukraine** and the issue of security (23%).

In this respect, the opinion of the Ukrainians partially coincided with that of the foreign respondents who also regard the lack of strategy and the conflict in East Ukraine as one of the principal problems.

There is a radical difference in the way the link between domestic reforms and successes in foreign policy is viewed. For foreigners, corruption and delays with reforms constitute the problem number one, while only one Ukrainian respondent gave a similar answer.

However, one in ten believes that the problem lies in the differences between the interests of the state leaders, political elites and civil society. Some also noted the institutional weakness.

One tenth of respondents links problems in Ukraine's foreign policy to finances, citing lack of financial resources and the need to attract foreign investments and aid. According to the Ukrainian experts, incomplete ratification of the EU Association Agreement and slow implementation also affect the foreign policy of Ukraine.

One important reason cited by every tenth respondent was the lack of strategic communications (both within the country and with international audience), the inability to get a message across, as well as the inability to combine own interests and interests of others/to take into account the development of the world and the region.

A VIEW FROM ABROAD: RESPONSES FROM FOREIGN EXPERTS



KEY ACHIEVEMENTS IN UKRAINE'S FOREIGN POLICY

Experts attribute the greatest achievements in Ukraine's foreign policy to cooperation with the West, particularly to the

1 **solidarity on behalf of the European countries/ the West in supporting Ukraine and acknowledgement of the Russian annexation of a part of its territory** (35% of the respondents),

2 signing of the **Ukraine-European Union Association Agreement** (18%), and a

3 **clear focus on European integration** (11%). All these achievements are associated with the events of the last three years.

Despite the fact that many experts regard the conflict with Russia as the main problem, they also believe that Ukraine has demonstrated certain achievements in this area. In particular, 10% of the respondents regard sanctions against Russia, 10% – the Normandy/Minsk negotiation process, 8% – preservation of the state, and 7% – a stop to Russia's aggression as an achievement.

As regards cooperation with the North Atlantic Alliance, only 4% of the respondents regard clear orientation on integration into NATO, and another 6% – good relations with the Organisation as an achievement.

Some respondents named relations with the partners, such as Germany, Poland, Romania, Baltic countries, the USA, preservation of the West's interest in Ukraine, including prior to the war in the Donbas (this response was given by 6 to 7% of the experts), as well as relations with the World Trade Organisation as an achievement.

Some of them also ranked support by Japan, Canada, and Sweden among the achievements.

It is significant that some experts referred to the recognition of Ukraine's independence by the international community (including this idea taking root in the mental maps of other states) as an achievement. Indeed, it would be hard to argue against this point: only 25 years ago the independence of Ukraine was not that obvious.



Ukraine's foreign policy has its achievements. To these belong the formation of a positive perception of Ukraine in the West and active containment of Moscow's initiatives on the international scene



LILIA SHEVTSOVA,
associate fellow of the
Russia and Eurasia
programm, Chatham
House (the United
Kingdom / Russia)

A VIEW FROM UKRAINE: RESPONSES FROM UKRAINIAN EXPERTS



KEY ACHIEVEMENTS IN UKRAINE'S FOREIGN POLICY

The Ukrainian experts almost entirely agree with the foreign ones in assessing Ukraine's main achievements in the international arena: 43% of the respondents referred to the

- 1 **preservation of international support and solidarity with Ukraine in countering Russia's aggression** (by comparison, this opinion is shared by 35% of the foreign respondents).
- 2 The second key achievement, in the opinion of the Ukrainian experts, is **sanctions against Russia** – 27%,
- 3 while **signing of the Association Agreement** took the third place (17% of the Ukrainians and almost as many foreigners). However, unlike the foreigners, the Ukrainians almost disregarded the preservation of the state and containment of the Russian aggression by Ukraine as an achievement.

A significant proportion of the respondents positively assesses the support and cooperation with NATO (13%), strengthening of the European and Euro-Atlantic integration, as well as intensified military cooperation with Ukraine's neighbours (particularly in the Baltic-Black Sea region), its presence in the international arena, participation in international organisations. One out of ten noted the attainment by Ukraine of a certain level of subjectivity, particularly in the Normandy and Minsk negotiation processes, relations with the EU and NATO.



In fact, we need a very clear and concrete program of Ukraine's transformation. Under any slogan, if only it is realistic and implementable



VOLODYMYR OHRYZKO,
Head of the Centre for the
Russian Studies, Minister
of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine
(2007-2009)

A VIEW FROM ABROAD: RESPONSES FROM FOREIGN EXPERTS



GLOBAL TRENDS THAT MIGHT HAVE THE GREATEST IMPACT ON UKRAINE IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE

According to the foreign experts, the main trends that will have the greatest impact on Ukraine are associated with the EU, USA and Russia:

1 a third believe that this has to do with the **U.S. presidential elections/election of Donald Trump as President of the United States**,

2 the same number of respondents think that this has to do with the **EU disintegration/Brexit**, and the **unpredictability or regime change in Russia**, a quarter of respondents think that Ukraine will be affected by the spread of populism (which is also associated with Brexit and Trump being elected),

3 and 13% – by the growing popularity of nationalism, ultra-right parties and Putin-understanders. 8% noted the impact of changes in the oil and natural gas prices.

The conflict in the Middle East, as well as waning attention to Ukraine, which is associated with it, is among the top five trends that will affect this state (almost every fifth respondent believes so). 7% also stressed that Ukraine will be affected by the refugee crisis, and another seven per cent – by terrorism.

On the other hand,

few of the respondents believe that elections in France and Germany, a potential rapprochement between the West and Russia, economic problems in the EU or China's development would have a significant impact on Ukraine.

Ukraine's Foreign Policy Vision?



'Security for Ukraine, stability for Europe.'

JAMES SHERR,

member of the Supervisory Board, Institute of World Policy, associate fellow of the Russia and Eurasia programme at Chatham House (UK)

A VIEW FROM UKRAINE: RESPONSES FROM UKRAINIAN EXPERTS



GLOBAL TRENDS THAT MIGHT HAVE THE GREATEST IMPACT ON UKRAINE IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE

- 1 **Elections in the United States, election of Donald Trump as President,⁴** as well as
- 2 **Euroscepticism and weakened consolidation in the European Union** are the key trends that, in the Ukrainian experts' opinion, would affect Ukraine in the nearest time. Every other Ukrainian respondent provided this answer, which agrees with the foreign experts' opinion.
- 3 However, unlike the latter, only 13% of the Ukrainian **experts believe that any changes in Russia**, in particular, increasing totalitarianism, would have any impact on Ukraine.

A quarter of the Ukrainian respondents share the opinion that the spread of populism, and a fifth of them – that nationalism and right-wing movements – will affect Ukraine.

Ukraine's development, according to the survey, is linked to other processes in the region, such as regional transformations in the security system, conflict-generating power along the East–West line, changes in the ruling elites across the key EU countries. Purely economic reasons include the instability of global commodity markets (metal industry, agriculture, etc.), which cannot but affect Ukraine whose economy is based primarily on the sale of raw materials. As opposed to the Ukrainian ones, the foreign experts draw almost no connection between changes in Ukraine and variations in the oil and natural gas prices.



Ukraine underestimates its potential in the process of democratising Russia and other republics of the former USSR. Like Poland, which once helped to democratise Ukraine, Ukraine today needs to prove to its neighbours on a daily basis the advantages of democracy over authoritarianism



KATERYNA SMAGLIY,
director, Kennan
Institute's Kyiv Office

Conflicts in the territories of other states, instability in the Middle East and Asia as a whole may distract attention from the Ukrainian issue, in the opinion of a tenth of the respondents. Also, one in five shares the view that the immigration crisis would affect Ukraine.

Compared to the foreign ones, the Ukrainian experts tend to view the development of China and East Asian region, as well as the New Silk Road – China's economic project, as factors that might have influence on Ukraine (these trends were mentioned by about 20% of the respondents). Moreover, in their opinion, Ukraine will be affected by global warming (17% of the respondents), development of new technologies and alternative energy sources (10%), international terrorism, transition to a new global economy model, globalisation crisis, etc.

⁴ The survey was conducted before and after the U.S. elections.

A VIEW FROM ABROAD: RESPONSES FROM FOREIGN EXPERTS



THE GREATEST CONTRIBUTION TO ADDRESSING GLOBAL/REGIONAL CHALLENGES THAT COULD BE MADE BY UKRAINE

The best thing that Ukraine could do for the world is **to solve its domestic problems, i.e. to carry out reforms** (38% of those surveyed gave this response). Answers given by the experts show that Ukraine is precisely the case where one should start with herself in order to change the world.

A successful Ukraine could have the greatest influence **in the region**, including in the field of security (20% of the respondents), would become an example for Russia (10%) and in the Black Sea region (13%), would contribute to stabilisation of situation in the post-Soviet space (7%) and even be able to have an impact on the more forceful EU and Europe as a whole (15%), and strengthened ties between the countries of the Eastern Partnership (3%).

Every tenth respondent believes that Ukraine's added value consists in **opposition to Russia**, seven per cent – in its participation in the Minsk process and improved relations with Russia, and five per cent – in countering the Russian propaganda.

Some experts think that Ukraine could influence conflict resolution in other states, particularly through peacekeeping missions abroad,⁵ in Transnistria, as well as by a show of respect for international law and solution of conflicts by peaceful means (seven to eight per cent of the respondents gave such answers). The idea of Ukraine as a bridge or a mediator also played its part: seven per cent of the experts believe that the state can contribute to reconciliation between East and West, stabilisation of relations between Russia and the EU.

Ukraine's Foreign Policy Vision?

Stability, reconciliation and development. Ukraine's Foreign Policy should be focused on finding a sustainable political solution for the conflict in the East; reconciliation with its neighbours (creating infrastructure of dialogue and understanding) and promoting Ukraine as a safe and prospective market for foreign investments and business cooperation



**ALEKSANDER
KWAŚNIEWSKI,**

President of Poland
(1995-2005); Head of the
Supervisory Board, Amicus
Europae Foundation
(Poland)

⁵ Even now, Ukraine remains the only NATO partner that participates in all major peacekeeping operations under the aegis of the Alliance. See *Security in Transitional Period. How to Counter Aggression With Limited Resources*. Institute of World Policy, 2016.

A VIEW FROM UKRAINE: RESPONSES FROM UKRAINIAN EXPERTS



THE GREATEST CONTRIBUTION TO ADDRESSING GLOBAL/REGIONAL CHALLENGES THAT COULD BE MADE BY UKRAINE

Opinions of the foreign and Ukrainian experts diverge the most on what benefit Ukraine can bring. While experts from other countries believe that this should primarily include Ukraine itself as the model of positive transformations (as 38% of the foreign experts think), along with internal reforms, the Ukrainians are convinced that this

should be the containment of Russia, incl. from expansion into Europe. This was supported by a third of the respondents, while one in ten believes that Ukraine opposes Russia on a global scale. One fifth are convinced that Ukraine can contribute to stronger regional stability and security.

Also, unlike foreigners, almost

one in five of the Ukrainian respondents share the view that Ukraine could help solve the global food crisis.

Every tenth respondent is inclined to think that Ukraine is instrumental in strengthening security in Europe and the world, has influence on a new security architecture, as well as on counter-terrorism and peacekeeping.

A slightly smaller number of surveyed experts believe that Ukraine can be an example for other post-Soviet countries and have positive impact on the population of the Russian Federation. Similar to the foreign experts, the Ukrainians emphasize Ukraine's positive role in peacekeeping operations abroad.



Ukraine could do its largest contribution, in particular, to building a new European security architecture and reducing tensions in Eastern Europe and the Black Sea region



OLEKSIY SEMENIY,
Director of the
Institute of Global
Transformations





UKRAINE'S AMBASSADORS TALK:
WHAT SHOULD BE CHANGED IN UKRAINE'S FOREIGN POLICY?



Diplomats are those officials who implement the State's foreign policy on a daily basis. However, their voice, unlike top officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, is usually rarely heard, particularly when it comes to such strategic things as the diplomatic service reform and Ukraine's foreign policy strategy. Meanwhile, Ukrainian ambassadors are in a unique situation: as heads of diplomatic missions abroad, they have the opportunity to compare Ukraine's foreign policy and diplomacy with international practice and assess their adequacy against current challenges and opportunities. This is why, as part of the Foreign Policy Audit, the IWP conducted an anonymous survey among the heads of Ukrainian diplomatic missions abroad. On the whole, we sent letters containing a brief questionnaire to 83 Ukrainian ambassadors, of which 34 responded to our request. We put 6 open questions about strengths and weaknesses of the Ukrainian diplomacy, major foreign policy challenges, the diplomatic service reform, potential vision and changes needed in Ukraine's foreign policy.

This survey, like our previous experience, showed that only a fraction of Ukrainian ambassadors are ready and strive for open and constructive discussion of the problems and challenges faced by the Ukrainian foreign policy. Generally, these are the same diplomats whose comments often appear in the Ukrainian and foreign media and social networks.⁶ They also often act as initiators of various projects and activities in their host countries to promote Ukrainian interests. They may be conventionally called the 'pro-reform' camp that advocates modernisation and renovation of Ukrainian diplomacy. It should be noted in this context that our anonymous survey demonstrated not only their consensus on the main problems of Ukraine's foreign policy, but also a common understanding of the way in which they may be overcome.

⁶ We received confirmations of participation in the survey from a number of diplomats, but do not know what answers they provided. The survey was conducted anonymously via the online form between August and November 2016.

The questions put to the diplomats and key findings from their responses are given below.

1 Please name the key obstacles that stand in the way of Ukraine's efficient foreign policy.

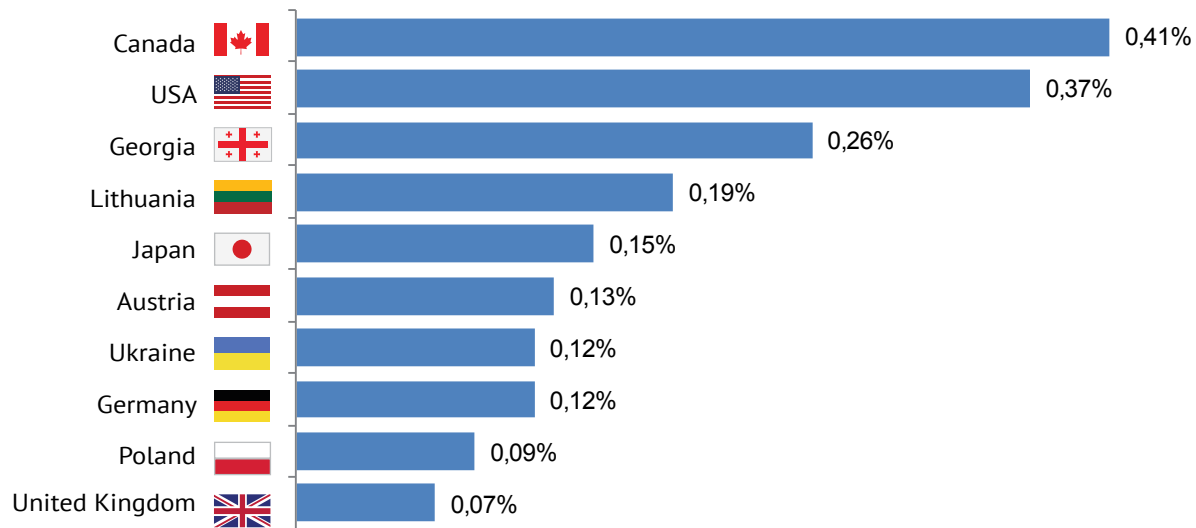
When answering this question, the diplomats predominantly referred to internal factors, such as **the internal policy weakness and limited resources of the diplomatic apparatus**. In other words, the lack of progress in reforms, as well as corruption and political scandals directly affect global perception of Ukraine, thus significantly restricting the Ukrainian diplomats' capability to promote its interests. According to the ambassadors, the entire diplomatic service is affected similarly by the insufficient financial (16 persons), HR (ten persons) and logistics support.

UKRAINE'S AMBASSADORS TALK: WHAT SHOULD BE CHANGED IN UKRAINE'S FOREIGN POLICY?

Table 1. Ukraine's expenses on foreign policy in comparison to other countries⁷

| Country | 2015 Foreign Ministry budget (USD), approx. ⁸ | GDP (2015) |
|----------------|--|------------|
| Georgia | \$36,2 mln | \$14,01 bn |
| Lithuania | \$78.1 mln | \$41,27 bn |
| Ukraine | \$108 mln | \$90,52 bn |
| Poland | \$440 mln | \$474,9 bn |
| Austria | \$505 mln | \$374,1 bn |
| United Kingdom | \$2100 mln | \$2849 bn |
| Germany | \$3950 mln | \$3358 bn |
| Japan | \$6100 mln | \$4123 bn |
| Canada | \$6300 mln | \$1552 bn |
| USA | \$65900 mln | \$17950 bn |

Graph 1. Percentage of MFA budget in relation to GDP



⁷ Data sources: Ukraine's Ministry of Foreign Affairs (<http://mfa.gov.ua/ua/public-info/fininfo>), German Foreign Office (<http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/EN/AAmt/AuswDienst/141126-BM-Haushalt2015.html>), US State Department (<http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/249770.pdf>), Civil.ge (<http://www.civil.ge/rus/article.php?id=27466>), Global Affairs Canada (http://www.international.gc.ca/gac-amc/publications/plans/dpr-rmr/dpr-rmr_1415.aspx?lang=eng), Austrian Ministry of Finance (https://www.bmf.gv.at/budget/das-budget/Budgetbericht_2016.pdf?5i7zdo), correspondence with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland (<https://www.ms.gov.pl/resource/d1d12173-1d3c-4e94-867e-85715c2e1c00:JCR>), UK Parliament (<http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201516/cmselect/cmfa/jf/467/467.pdf>), Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (<http://www.mofa.go.jp/files/000177707.pdf>). USD budget equivalent calculated by the 2015 average exchange rate of the national currencies.

⁸ <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2195.html#up>

The lack of foreign policy strategy with clear priorities, inefficient governance system, bureaucracy and poor coordination between authorities in the implementation of foreign policy objectives were also listed by a number of diplomats among weaknesses of Ukraine's foreign policy. The latter – which is generally very typical of Ukrainian realities – has come under a lot of criticism, given the role of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine as a liaison / coordinator of efforts between various ministries and departments in the sphere of foreign policy, as enshrined in Ukrainian laws. One of the missions, requiring coordinated efforts on behalf of key Ukrainian ministries, is the promotion of Ukrainian exports. Although only one respondent directly complained about the failure by the key ministries to comply with their obligations in respect of Ukrainian exports, we may assume that other ambassadors also primarily meant the 'problem of export' when referring to the lack of interagency coordination. In their recommendations, a number of ambassadors emphasized the need to strengthen the economic component of foreign policy.

Shortage of personnel, felt both in the Ministry's HQ and foreign missions because of non-competitive salaries, exacerbates the lack of a sound mechanism for nurturing and development of personnel. Thus, several ambassadors pointed out the problems associated with

the younger generation, while one respondent recommended that the practice of mentoring, which exists in other countries' foreign policy agencies, be introduced. Weak resource support for foreign policy activities also includes the lack of high-quality analytics, which definitely affects the quality of the proposals and solutions developed by Ukraine's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. To remedy the situation, in the respondents' view, continuous communication with academic circles and think tanks is required. The diplomats admit

that the structure of the Ministry itself currently lacks any powerful analytical department that would be involved in long-term planning, identification of critical objectives and the ways of their attainment.

The issue of unity and consolidation both within the diplomatic corps and between various public authorities, civil society institutions also remains topical. The ambassadors noted the absence of unity in understanding the goals, priorities and ways of promoting the interests of the state. In particular, according to several respondents, the fact that private business interests often prevail over national ones is a major roadblock to the efficient foreign policy.



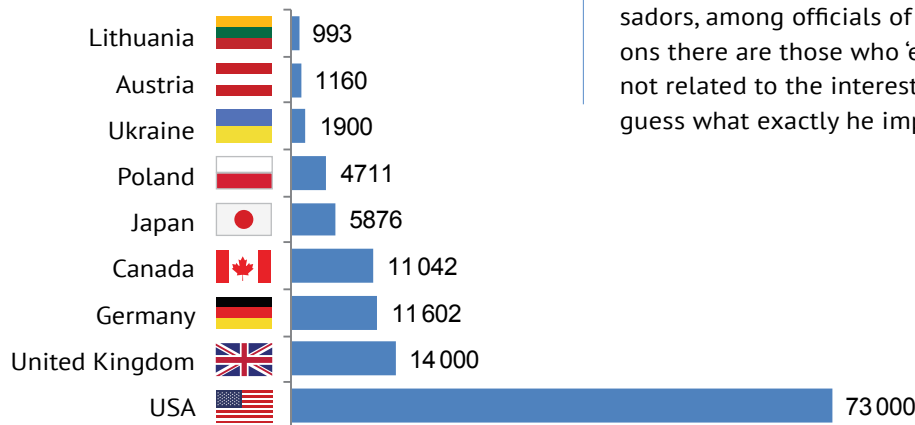
Diplomacy, as the army, cannot be financed residually. Remember what I said about soldiers: a soldier must be well-equipped and forearmed. The same fully refers to diplomats



President of
Ukraine **PETRO
POROSHENKO**,
Address to the Ukraine's
Ambassadors,
24 August 2016

Strange as it may seem, Russia's aggression was at the bottom of the list of obstacles faced by the Ukrainian diplomacy. Nevertheless, Russia's aggressive policy occupied a prominent place among the most important foreign policy challenges that Ukraine will be facing in the next five years. This is an important positive signal because it indicates the awareness by Ukrainian diplomats of internal reasons for the lack of efficiency in Ukraine's foreign policy and their desire to change the situation, in particular, in order to defend the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Ukraine.

Graph 2. Employees in foreign service⁹



2 In your opinion, what is the strongest feature of Ukraine's foreign policy?

Responding to the question about strengths of the Ukrainian foreign policy, the ambassadors mostly referred to patriotism (13 persons) of the Ukrainian diplomatic corps (boosted particularly by the awareness of the seriousness of the threats and challenges faced by Ukraine). Faced with the absence of sufficient financial support, overcoming numerous bureaucratic and institutional problems, the desire to serve their state becomes almost the only incentive to perform one's duties diligently. Of course, it would be impossible to expect such altruism from everyone, especially for many years. Thus, as admitted by one of the ambassadors, among officials of Ukrainian diplomatic missions there are those who 'engage in activities that are not related to the interests of the state.' We can only guess what exactly he implied. However, given recent

media reports that implicate some embassy employees in smuggling or links to certain political forces and businessmen, it would be logical to assume that some of the embassy staff use their official status to improve their financial one.

Even more disturbing is the fact that, according to the respondents, one can find diplomats with pro-Russian sympathies in Ukrainian embassies. Against the overall institutional and financial weakness of the Ukrainian diplomacy, this factor takes on a threatening meaning, even if this is just a matter of a few people.

⁹ Data source: open sources (Ministries of Foreign Affairs websites, media)

Emphasising the strengths of Ukrainian diplomats, the respondents also mentioned professionalism (five persons), dedication of the staff (5 persons), and team work. The Russian aggression has played a mobilising and consolidating role, forcing Ukrainian diplomats to find creative solutions and to use every opportunity in order to strengthen and protect Ukraine's positions. However, the respondents' answers to the previous questions offer a more realistic picture.

The diplomatic corps remains mixed, and still a lot depends on personal qualities and motivations of certain diplomats.

After all, patriotism and selflessness do not necessarily mean sufficient professionalism to efficiently promote Ukraine globally against all odds, conditions and resistance. Given the lack of strong expert and resource support from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, foreign policy successes will still remain the achievements by individual diplomats, rather than being a characteristic of the system on the whole.

Along with patriotism and professionalism, the respondents also referred to orientation on democratic values and principles, strengthening of peace and security, good neighbourly relations. In other words, against the background of the authoritarian and aggressive policy pursued by the Kremlin, it is important for Ukraine to continue the policy of peace, adhere to democratic principles and international law, since it is precisely these things that ensure its international support. Among the factors that strengthen Ukraine's position in the international arena, the respondents also mentioned predictability and consistency of its foreign policy, existence of reliable allies, powerful (however, not yet realised) potential of Ukraine in many areas, a large diaspora and growing independence from Russia.

3 What should the leaders of the state take into account when reforming the diplomatic service?

The ambassadors were also quite unanimous in their responses about the things that the leaders of the state are to take into account when reforming the diplomatic service. The majority (15 persons) singled out the personnel policy as the basis for a successful and efficient diplomatic service. Diplomats warned against the attempts to turn the diplomatic service into a 'select club', when the dismissal procedure is too complicated, and young professionals either cannot get inside or leave the service due to the lack of adequate remuneration. A few people openly stated that certain 'ballast' exists in the Ministry and its offices abroad, i.e. diplomats who bring no added value. The ambassadors also stressed the need to tighten up professional requirements for diplomatic personnel, especially as regards the knowledge of several foreign languages, experience in other areas, incl. abroad. In other words, this is not about attracting very young professionals (fresh from universities), but rather about hiring professionals from other fields.

A meritocratic approach should eliminate protectionism and nepotism both during employment in the foreign service and subsequent advancement along career ladder. The diplomats emphasised that employees should be judged solely by their professional qualities and efficient performance.

A synergy of experience and professionalism, on the one hand, and youth, on the other, backed by patriotism and consistency – this is the recipe for an efficient diplomatic service from the Ukrainian ambassadors.

A number of diplomats (6 persons) stressed the need to focus on the best practices in European countries, incl.

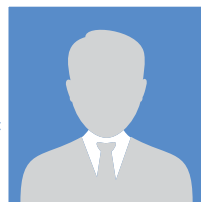
the support provided for the operation of diplomatic services in the countries of Western Europe.

The respondents also pointed out the following:

- the existence of serious opposition to reforms ('the fifth column');
- the need to increase the diplomatic service's autonomy, enhance the role of ambassadors in decision-making concerning particular countries;
- the necessity of the prompt appointment of heads of diplomatic missions;
- the need to cancel the procedure for approval by the Presidential Administration of advisers at foreign diplomatic missions;
- stronger mechanisms for interaction with business and industry.



There can be economically profitable foreign policy but there can be no cheap one



A surveyed ambassador

4 Please name the most important foreign policy challenges for Ukraine in the next five years.

The respondents unanimously referred to Russia's policy, i.e. the Russian aggression and restoration of Ukraine's territorial integrity, as the main short-term (in the next five years) foreign policy challenge. The achievement of tangible progress in the European and Euro-Atlantic integration of Ukraine (12 persons), including through adaptation to the EU and NATO standards, was in the second place. Ukrainian diplomats are particularly concerned with the risk of the weaker EU caused by the rise of right-wing populist forces, growing isolationist sentiments (eight persons).

Several respondents (11 persons) named the preservation of support for Ukraine on behalf of the international community among key foreign policy challenges. Speaking of international support, the respondents emphasised the preservation of the sanctions regime, no return to 'business as usual' in the relations between the West and Russia, as well as keeping Ukrainian issues at the top of international agenda. The ambassadors also stressed the risk of losing effective support from the U.S. and the EU, in particular, as a result of the Western partners' disappointment by Ukraine's ability to implement reforms (two persons).

The idea of the interdependence between foreign and domestic policy stands out throughout the survey.

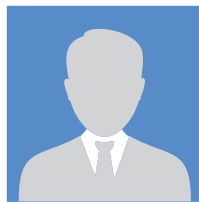
In other words, without international support, Ukraine will not be able to implement the necessary reforms; at the same time, reforms are key to maintaining Ukraine's international positions.

Several ambassadors rank among major challenges the consolidation of Ukraine's economic/political dependence on the West, potential transformation of Ukraine into a commodity provider and collapse of domestic produc-

tion. The rest of their colleagues were less categorical, but also stressed the importance of development of new markets for Ukrainian goods. The search for new partners among non-European countries (Asia, Middle East and Africa) was pointed out as a separate challenge for Ukraine by one in five. In other words, in addition to the 'survival' strategy, i.e. countering the Russian aggression, the Ukrainian diplomacy should invest time and resources into the 'development' strategy. This would require significant expansion to Ukraine's foreign policy agenda, including geographically.



Each country and each region are unique. A desk officer should have the best knowledge of the country/ international organisation



A surveyed ambassador

5 If you could make any changes to Ukraine's foreign policy, what kind of changes these would be?

Answering a question, **what they would like to change in the Ukrainian foreign policy**, the ambassadors focused on the most basic, in their opinion, things. Indeed, despite the diversity of tasks and challenges now facing Ukraine and the internal problems of the diplomatic service, the list of tasks is long enough.

INSTITUTIONAL CHANGES:

- 1 Introduce the practice of strategic planning, identify the short- and medium-term primary goals. As emphasised by one respondent, these missions must be realistic. For example, achievement by Ukraine of the highest level of integration with NATO and the EU. With properly managed activities and concerted efforts, this mission could be accomplished within a few years. Unlike attaining formal membership, the success of practical integration depends primarily on Ukraine itself.
- 2 Reform the structure of Ukraine's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, principles of its operation (focus on results, not on the process), the decision-making system, develop a well-thought-out and systematic personnel policy. These steps would help to strengthen the Ministry's role in the development of foreign policy decisions and to improve the quality of such decisions.
- 3 Increase financial support for the diplomatic service.
- 4 Improve information support for the diplomats' activities, cut on bureaucracy and abandon centralised approach to the implementation of foreign policy in specific areas. In particular, the widespread use of general-purpose circular letters of instructions, which fail to take into account local specifics, attracts a good deal of criticism.

5 Strengthen the economic component of Ukrainian diplomacy: economisation of Ukraine's foreign policy. First and foremost, this involves the establishment of a mechanism that would promote Ukrainian exporters. However, there is no consensus on how it should be implemented. One of the diplomats spoke in favour of placing the embassies' economic sections under the Ministry of Economic Development and setting up new trade and economic missions. Another suggested that the promotion of exports were handled by a special agency that would provide targeted assistance to exporters.

6 Strengthen public diplomacy, in particular, make greater use of cultural diplomacy tools to promote Ukraine abroad. It is also important to engage the potential of people's diplomacy and resources of Ukrainian communities in different countries.

It should be noted that the survey discovered certain differences regarding objectives that should form the basis of Ukraine's foreign policy strategy. A summary of the views expressed by the respondents provides the following two distinct positions:

INTEGRATION VS DIVERSIFICATION

- Ukraine needs to focus on Euro-Atlantic integration, to be a more active partner of the EU and the United States in the international arena. Kyiv must make its practical contribution into the strengthening of security institutions in Europe.
- Ukraine should take steps in order to counterbalance the influence of different actors and to avoid dependence on any country or group of countries. Advocates of this approach stressed the need for the development of relations with various actors on the basis of national priorities and economic feasibility.

OLD FRIENDS VS NEW FRIENDS

- Ukraine's priority should be the development of cooperation with those states that perceive Ukraine's security in the light of the interests of their own national security. The point is the closest rapprochement with Ukraine's partners (e.g. Poland, Baltic states, Romania, Norway, Sweden), including the establishment of politico-economic (or even defensive) alliances.
- Ukraine should focus on expanding the range of its partners (both economic and political). Cooperation should be developed with those states that do not openly support Ukraine or even display pro-Russian sympathies. Proponents of this approach believe that 'new friends', both in the region and beyond, would open new opportunities for Ukraine and strengthen its independence in the international arena.

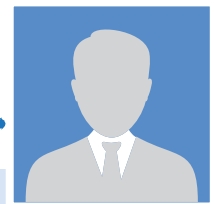
In fact, these positions are not mutually exclusive. Moreover, successful states combine them continuously. However, in Ukraine's case, the severity of security threats and limited resources enforce a choice. The current priority – which is evidenced by this survey – is European and Euro-Atlantic integration, accompanied by strengthened cooperation with the most friendly states. A powerful emphasis is simultaneously made on the need for more active and pragmatic approach to the build-up of relations with countries that may become markets for Ukrainian exports (Asia, Africa) is.

6 What should be the vision of Ukraine's foreign policy in the next five years?

The last question that we put to the diplomats concerned the possible vision (concept) of Ukraine's foreign policy for the next five years. A summary of the responses received shows that the majority believes it necessary to emphasise the importance of strong Ukraine for Europe's security and prosperity. At the same time, the respondents stressed that Ukraine needs to demonstrate that it is a reliable, responsible and strong player, especially in the field of peace and security in the region. **Briefly, this approach may be formulated as 'Strong Ukraine – stable Europe'**. This approach to the positioning of Ukraine is based on the fact that, against the background of external aggression, the main task of foreign policy strategy would be to preserve international support for Ukraine and strengthen its military capacity (**'Development in the West, deterrence in the East'**).

However, the distinctive feature of the Ukrainian situation is that Ukraine can 'survive and win' only subject to the simultaneous and comprehensive inner transformation, integration into the Euro-Atlantic security and economic space, development of new markets and attraction of foreign investments. In this context, achievements in the field of reform and Ukraine's powerful potential should also be highlighted. As an option, one respondent suggested the slogan of **'The Land of a Thousand Opportunities'**.

Ukraine's Foreign Policy Vision?



***Per aspera ad astra
(latin). Through
hardships to the
stars.***

A surveyed
ambassador



PUBLIC OPINION: ECONOMY MUST COME FIRST



The vast majority of citizens of Ukraine believe that Ukraine's foreign policy requires changes. Furthermore, Ukrainians show a pragmatic approach to the priorities of Ukraine's foreign policy and advocate its economization. These are the results of opinion poll conducted by TNS by request of the Institute of World Policy within the project "Ukraine's Foreign Policy Audit."

We asked two questions:

1 What, in your opinion, should be the main priorities of Ukraine's foreign policy?
(the respondents could choose up to three options)

2 As of today, which country's foreign policy should be an example for Ukraine?
(the respondents could choose only one country)

1 What should be the main priorities of Ukraine's foreign policy?

The vast majority of citizens of Ukraine, regardless of their age, gender or region of residence, are convinced that Ukraine's foreign policy requires changes. This statement is not supported by only 0.2% (!) of respondents.

Over half of respondents believe that the main priority of Ukraine's foreign policy should be the search for new markets

54.1%

Moreover, this rate is equally high in all regions of Ukraine among the adult population (over 18 years), both men and women (50% and more).

Second and third places in the list of top foreign policy priorities for Ukraine belong to integration into the EU and integration into NATO, supported by 30.4% and 27.9% of the respondents respectively. As expected, these options had the highest level of support in western regions (48.6% for the EU and 40.9% for the NATO), and the lowest in the East (23.7% and 20% respec-

tively). Attitudes toward European and Euro-Atlantic integration show distinct gender differences: more men favour these policies than women (37.1% and 24.2% in favour of integration into the EU, and 35.2% and 21.1% in favour of Euro-Atlantic integration). The older the respondents are, the more they support Ukraine's European and Euro-Atlantic integration. This is a new trend in Ukraine, as integration into NATO traditionally had the most supporters among the youth.

Slightly fewer Ukrainians (26.7%) favour strengthening cooperation with neighbours in order to counter Russian aggression. This idea is mostly supported in western regions (36.5%) and Kyiv (35.4%). Moreover, every fifth respondent believes that Ukraine should become a regional leader in Eastern Europe (19.4%). Men share this opinion more frequently (25.9%) than women (13.3%).

Every fourth Ukrainian believes that Ukraine should be a neutral state (24.7%). In eastern Ukraine, this opinion is three times more popular (32.9%) than in the western regions (9.9%).

Almost the same percentage of respondents support the multi-vector foreign policy of Ukraine (21.5%). This opinion is mostly shared in northern, central, and southern regions (over 27%) with the lowest support in the western part of Ukraine (10.5%).

Graph 3. What should be the main priorities of Ukraine's foreign policy? (%)

One tenth of the respondents supports a possible return to the pre-conflict level of cooperation with Russia even at the expense of national interests (10.4%). About the same percentage of the respondents believe that Ukraine should become a bridge between the West and Russia (8.6%). Support for these policies has distinct regional differences: the idea of cooperation with Russia is mostly supported by the residents of eastern regions (18.6%), with the lowest rate in western and northern regions. The idea of cooperation with Russia has virtually no support in the western regions of Ukraine (only 1.7%).

In general, the residents of eastern regions traditionally show greater support for neutrality or cooperation with Russia, while the residents of western regions and Kyiv favour the European and Euro-Atlantic integration of Ukraine.

We could assume that many Ukrainians do not favour a military solution to the conflict in eastern Ukraine, given **that only 2.2% of the respondents support declaring war against Russia**. However, every fifth respondent believes that the professional development of Ukrainian diplomats should be a top priority of Ukraine's foreign policy. This figure is virtually the same in all regions of Ukraine and higher among women (25.9%) than among men (17.2%).

Remarkably, the **vast majority of citizens of Ukraine care about foreign policy**: only 1.8% of respondents replied that they never thought about it, and only 4.6% could not answer. Most of those who could not answer the question are women (7.2% compared to 1.9% among male respondents). Such a high interest in foreign policy might be associated with Russian aggression and the need to make a final decision on the relations with strategically important partners.

2 As of today, which country's foreign policy should be an example for Ukraine?

Among the top three countries considered as role models for Ukraine's foreign policy are Switzerland (12.2%), Poland (11.3%), and Germany (11.2%).

These results are likely to be explained primarily by the quality of life and well-being in these countries.

Furthermore, the choice of Switzerland demonstrates support for the neutrality concept among the respondents. The high support for Israel (8%) might indicate a desire to strengthen the state's defence capabilities. Israel has the least support among the residents of northern Ukraine (3.6%), women (4.1% compared to 12.2% among male respondents) and the youth (3.6%).

Favour toward Poland might be explained by the fact that it is a role model of economic development and European and Euro-Atlantic integration for Ukraine. Moreover, the traditional attitude toward Poland as a partner and ally in Europe has played its role. Interestingly, most supporters of Polish foreign policy are residents of Kyiv, and southern and western Ukraine.

Choosing Germany is not surprising, as it is one of the most economically developed states globally and one of the most powerful geopolitical actors in Europe. The reasons for choosing the US or the UK are also obvious: these are two of the most prosperous, militarily powerful, and influential countries in the world.

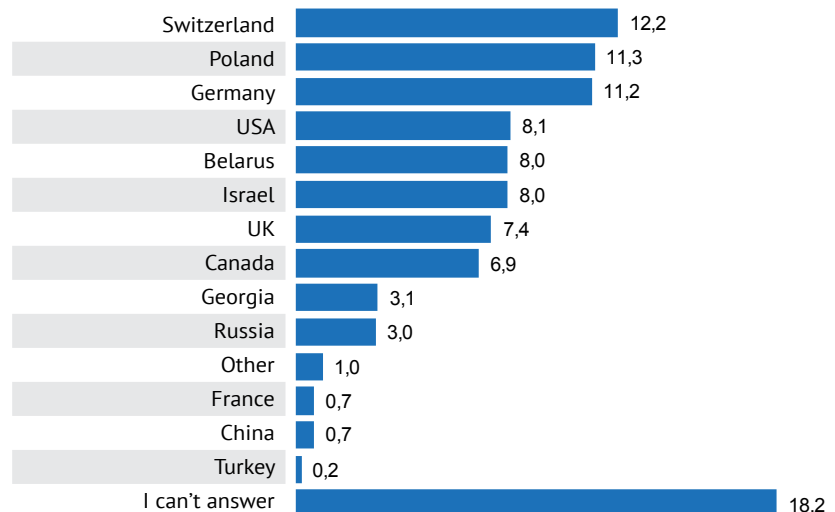
Rather high is the position of Belarus (8%); Ukrainians consider its stability to be a "soft power."

On the other hand, the analysis of all the results shows that the respondents tend to choose members of NATO (45.8% overall) rather than members of other military organizations.

Only 3% of citizens believe that Ukraine should align with Russia in foreign policy matters (although cooperation with Moscow is supported by 10.4% of respondents). Most of the supporters for this option are residents of eastern Ukraine (5.6%). In other regions this option has been chosen by only about 1% of citizens.

However, not all citizens of Ukraine are familiar with international relations; almost one fifth of the respondents could not answer the question.

Graph 4. As of today, which country's foreign policy should be an example for Ukraine? (%)



MAIN FINDINGS:

- The vast majority of citizens of Ukraine (over 90%) believe that Ukraine's foreign policy requires changes;
- Over half of Ukrainians believe that the top priority of Ukraine's foreign policy should be its economization and the search for new markets (54.1%);
- Despite the overwhelming support for the European and Euro-Atlantic integration of Ukraine, there are regional differences regarding foreign policy priorities. In western Ukraine, people mostly support European and Euro-Atlantic integration, while in the eastern Ukraine these policies are the least popular;
- Every fourth Ukrainian supports a neutral status for their country (24.7%). Every fifth Ukrainian finds a role model in the foreign policy of countries that do not belong to any military alliance (Switzerland and Israel);
- One tenth of respondents supports returning to the pre-conflict level of cooperation with Russia. Most supporters of this idea are residents of eastern regions (18.6%); the lowest level of support is observed in western Ukraine (1.7%);
- Switzerland, Poland and Germany are the top three among the countries considered as role models for Ukraine's foreign policy;
- When asked to choose a role model for Ukraine's foreign policy, most respondents choose one of the EU and/or NATO member states.

The poll was conducted by TNS Ukraine within the TNS On-line Track project by request of the IWP from August 16 to 21, 2016 via online survey among urban population aged 18 to 55 throughout Ukraine (excluding Crimea). The poll involved 1,000 respondents (a representative sample, quoted by gender, age, region, and community size and type).

The Institute of World Policy expresses its gratitude to TNS Ukraine for conducting the poll.

HOW TO TURN
SITUATIONAL
PARTNERSHIP
INTO
PRIORITY ONE

DISCUSSION PAPER

USAID UNITED RISE WITHIN THE UNION

Дарін Салдан
«АУДИТ
ЗОВНІШНЬОЇ
ПОЛІТИКИ:
УКРАЇНА-
АВСТРІЯ»

ДИСКУСИЙНА ЗАПІСКА

SWEDEN FUND Renaissance B | S | T The Black Sea Trust for Regional Cooperation A PROJECT OF THE GERMAN MARSHALL FUND

FOREIGN
POLICY AUDIT:

Maryna Vorotnyuk

USAID

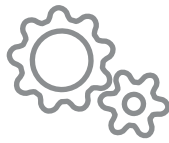
АУ
ЗОВНІШНЬОЇ
ПОЛІТИКИ:
УКРАЇНА-
НІМЕЧЧИНА



RECOMMENDATIONS FOR UKRAINE'S FOREIGN POLICY STRATEGY



Nation-wide public opinion poll



17 studies of Ukraine's bilateral relations with partners



«UKRAINE'S FOREIGN POLICY AUDIT» IN NUMBERS

1500

participants of public debates



136



34

ambassadors of Ukraine took part in the diplomatic survey



interviews carried out within the project

102
experts



from **30** countries took part in the expert survey

2000



media publications

Based on 17 studies of Ukraine's bilateral relations, each of which was discussed at public debates, the results of the expert and diplomatic surveys and nation-wide opinion poll the Institute of World Policy suggests the following recommendations for Ukraine's foreign policy strategy.¹⁰

1 STRATEGIC REVIEW OF UKRAINE'S FOREIGN POLICY. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs should initiate the revision of Ukraine's foreign policy, involving all public institutions involved in its implementation, as well as civil society. This revision should result in the Foreign Policy Strategy For Ukraine (backed by the operational plan and corresponding budget). Not only this document will be a guide in the implementation of Ukraine's national interests in the international arena, but will also facilitate the development and coordination with key partners of joint bilateral relation strategies in the coming five to ten years.

Here, it would be important to involve every willing diplomat, and not only senior officials at the Ministry. Diplomats often have ideas on the foreign policy implementation, but lack the opportunity to be heard by the senior management. Thus, when Germany's foreign policy was revised, the German Foreign Ministry staged the Idea Fair during which diplomats of any rank could present their ideas and prove their feasibility for the updated strategy.

2 FOREIGN POLICY SUCCESSES BORN AT HOME. The research and survey conducted by the Institute of World Policy show that the most valuable thing that Ukraine can offer to the world is a tireless and fruitful work on itself. Simply put, implementation of reforms and an example of positive transformations. Besides, it would be the key to improvements in Ukraine's global image

¹⁰ A full list of recommendations developed under the Ukraine's Foreign Policy Audit project is available in the project's publications at <http://iwp.org.ua/ukr/public/1842.html>



The project «Ukraine's Foreign Policy Audit» became a part of a wider nation-wide discourse about modern post-Maidan and post-traumatic Ukraine. Finally the external dimension in its wider meaning caught the attention of civil society. In the past the debate used to be restricted to the choice between East and West, with the obvious impossibility of a simple answer



ANDRII VESELOVSKYI,
Consul General of
Ukraine in Toronto

that still remains Achilles' heel of the state. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the President of Ukraine must clearly convey to the Ukrainian authorities the idea that everyone is responsible for successful foreign policy. This, moreover, should mean not a collective irresponsibility, but the awareness by every official of his/her personal input in Ukraine's global success.

Fighting corruption would be a particularly demonstrative case in the conduct of reforms and a condition for continued support by influential partners (such as the



FEBRUARY 9

Public discussion «Foreign Policy Audit:
UKRAINE - GERMANY»



U.S. and Germany). The Ukrainian Government could prove the efficiency of its fight against corruption on the basis of the 'three P' (prevent, publicise, punish) formula through transition precisely to the punishment stage. Furthermore, common reform indicators should be developed with key partners and donors in order to avoid different interpretations of the reform success or findings of no changes.

3 SECURITY AS A SUCCESS STORY. Ukraine desperately needs to transform its perception abroad from the 'victim country' to the 'winner country' and contributor to security. The story, in the context of ongoing war, of the contained Russian aggression, the resistance to a hybrid war and the creation of a battle-worthy army virtually from scratch – this is the experience that Ukraine can share with the world. On the other hand, Ukraine, in order to ensure its security, desperately needs intelligent and proactive diplomacy, i.e. a systematic work with all key partners, setting up of the required networks and coalitions, the forestalling actions, promotion of Ukraine's transformation into an important continental hub (attacking which would be too expensive), work with civil elites and businesses in key countries. For this purpose, Ukraine should:¹¹

- place a greater accent on the development of human and institutional capacity in the field of security, rather than focusing on the need to obtain lethal defensive weapons or NATO membership. This means, first and foremost, the preservation and expansion of the list of bilateral and multilateral exercises conducted by Ukraine's Armed Forces and the National Guard. Besides, bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the field of security should be boosted to ensure rapid build-up both of Ukraine's defence capability and that of its partner countries, e.g. cooperation with the U.S. in the development of armaments and joint research and analysis of hybrid war techniques; with Germany – in training of Ukrainian military medics; with Turkey – in counter-terrorism; with Romania – in cybersecurity; with Poland – in setting up territorial defence units, etc.;
- enhance dialogue and seek opportunities to implement joint initiatives with its neighbouring states – Turkey, Romania, and Georgia – in respect of security threats in the Black Sea Area; increase Ukraine's information presence and apply concerted efforts in countering Russian propaganda; establish the Ukraine-Poland-Romania institutional mechanism to coordinate positions in matters of regional security;
- transform joint control over the borders with Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, Romania, and Moldova into the success story in the defence of the European Union's eastern borders;

¹¹ S. Solodky et al. *Security in Transitional Period. How to Counter Aggression With Limited Resources. Institute of World Policy. Kyiv, 2016.*



MARCH 29

Public discussion «Foreign Policy Audit:
UKRAINE - USA»



APRIL 13

Public discussion «Foreign Policy Audit:
UKRAINE - TURKEY»



- the positive experience of military cooperation in setting up the LITPOLUKRBRIG, as well as participation in joint exercises could be used to expand regional cooperation for the purpose of enhancing the security situation in Central Eastern Europe (for example, for the establishment of the Ukrainian-Romanian-Bulgarian brigade);
- participate in regional initiatives, similar to Trilateralism or the Danube Regional Project, or initiate itself the relevant regional projects, such as development of a security strategy for the Black Sea region within the framework of cooperation with NATO members;
- consider the possibility of symbolic involvement by Ukrainian military contingents in operations outside Europe to boost Ukraine's image in the eyes of such actors in the European security system, as France.

4 FROM ECONOMY TO POLITICS. The public opinion poll conducted as part of the Ukraine's Foreign Policy Audit project has shown that the top priority in Ukraine's foreign policy should become its economisation, i.e. the search for new markets. In the experience of other countries (e.g. Austria, Italy, France), this approach to the development of bilateral relations can always work in the instances where common interests in other areas are scarce, and may also guarantee productive relationships in any political situation. Effective economisation of foreign policy would require:



APRIL 20

Public discussion «Foreign Policy Audit:
UKRAINE - HUNGARY»



- bolstering the Ukrainian diplomatic missions abroad with trade and economic missions; in a low-resource context, these may comprise offices without diplomatic status, established under the auspices of the Ministry of Economic Development and Trade with the support of Ukrainian business (that is actually interested in its own advancement in the partner country). This, however, does not eliminate the need for better coordination between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Economic Development and Trade. To this purpose, developing a Joint Strategic Action Plan for the MFA and the MEDT would be advisable. The MFA and MEDT should jointly assess the progress under this Plan or revise it;
- informing Ukrainian businesses of the opportunities to enter other markets (USA, Japan, China), offered by Ukraine's inclusion into the Generalised System of Preferences, or the EU market upon the FTA execution;
- inclusion of representatives from Ukrainian businesses into delegations on presidential and parliamentary visits abroad, including (or especially) to those regions of the world where Ukraine is present to a smaller extent compared to the West, or is not present at all. A good example of this approach would be the President's visit to Indonesia and Malaysia in August 2016. Inquiries from Ukrainian businesses regarding cooperation with Indonesia reached record numbers in the aftermath of the visit;



APRIL 28

Public discussion «Foreign Policy Audit:
UKRAINE - AUSTRIA»



- establishment of business clubs and platforms similar to the Italian House Association to promote reciprocal business interests of Ukraine, as well as promoting the idea of multilateral business forums in Ukraine;
- attracting investments is also part of foreign policy. That is why introduction and implementation of the 'zero barriers for investors' principle, together with the mechanism of state guarantees for investments and easier visa renewal process, is needed. This, in particular, would require changes to Ukrainian laws in order to allow repatriation of dividends by foreign companies and elimination of the VAT refunding practice.

5 DIFFERENTIATION. Ukraine's cooperation with its partners should be based on the understanding that each country requires an individual approach to work, advocacy, partnership building with key stakeholders (along with identification of such stakeholders), etc. First of all, as noted by the respondents, Ukraine needs to be aware of the interests and expectations that its partners may have regarding it, and should shape its agenda in relations with them according to not only what it can gain, but also to what it can offer.

PROMOTING THE ECONOMIC INTERESTS OF THE STATE: BEST GLOBAL PRACTICES

International experience suggests three possible models of economic diplomacy: when economic diplomacy is coordinated by the MFA, involving all relevant Ministries and stakeholders; an alliance between the Ministry of Economy and the MFA; or establishment of an additional coordinating body between these Ministries. The second and third options are currently regarded as impossible, given the political complexity of implementing such process, the established operating culture of central executive authorities, and institutional weakness of Ukrainian ministries.

With regard to the fact that the embassies' economic sections have failed to prove themselves as an efficient mechanism for the introduction of economic diplomacy, the role of the economic diplomacy coordinator should be left with the MFA, while the Ministry of Economy should be charged with its implementation. It would be advisable to replace gradually the trade and economic sections under the MFA auspices with trade and economic missions under the MEDT auspices. It is important that a legal framework be developed as soon as possible to avoid the previous negative experience of their operation, caused by confusion over their responsibilities and powers. It would also be desirable to take into account the experience of France that appoints special representatives abroad to promote specific sectors of the economy, who already have relevant contacts and are recognised in each particular country. Such representatives enjoy full support of respective embassies. Under this structure, the MFA would retain the functions of economic diplomacy facilitator, logistics support for trade and economic missions, and protection of business interests abroad.



JUNE 8

Public discussion «Foreign Policy Audit:
UKRAINE - BELARUS»



JUNE 14

Public discussion «Foreign Policy Audit:
UKRAINE - FRANCE»



This recommendation especially applies to the structure of the Ukrainian diplomatic missions. Their structure should be reviewed and strengthened by the personnel with the expertise specifically required by the environment of the host country: depending on the context, this could be a specialist in communications, security, economy, etc. Georgian experience could serve as an example, with it having revised its embassies staff after the war with Russia.

6 INTER-PARLIAMENTARY COOPERATION. Today, Ukraine strategically underperforms in the parliamentary aspect of its foreign policy, whereas it is exactly the parliaments that are responsible for a number of decisions that directly affect Ukraine (e.g. the vote to ratify the Ukraine – European Union Association Agreement in The Netherlands, or to adopt the laws concerning the interpretation of historical issues in Poland, etc.). The Verkhovna Rada Of Ukraine should:

- step up the activities by groups of deputies in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine in the field of inter-parliamentary relations. Each aspect of a bilateral inter-parliamentary cooperation with key countries must be supervised by a group of motivated parliamentarians, for whom ties with the respective country should be a personal priority and a focus of ongoing work;
- develop inter-parliamentary relations not only with Ukraine's traditional political partners, but also look

for partners among those influential representatives of other countries' political spectrum, with whom cooperation has been less intensive or never occurred (including Eurosceptic and conservative camps). This is especially true for France, Italy, Austria, Hungary, Slovakia, The Netherlands;

- take proactive steps to establish inter-parliamentary relations and communication, i.e. to initiate bilateral and multilateral meetings and visits;
- work routinely with the office personnel of parliamentarians from foreign countries, who is responsible for drafting the bills concerning Ukraine;
- initiate the holding of the Days of Ukraine (events about Ukraine's reform progress) in the parliaments of the key partners.

7 DECENTRALISATION OF FOREIGN POLICY. As a rule, Ukraine's foreign policy is implemented centrally, i.e. between Kyiv and other capital. This hinders Ukraine's potential for bilateral and multilateral cooperation at the regional level, which particularly affects relations with those states where regions exert large influence on the development of the state's policy, e.g. Germany or Italy. A good example of inter-regional contacts, cited by the Ambassador of Ukraine to Austria, is the visit by the mayor of Mariupol to Linz (Austria). The initiative came from the Ukrainian side and



JUNE 23

Public discussion «Foreign Policy Audit:
UKRAINE - ROMANIA»



JUNE 30

Public discussion «Foreign Policy Audit:
UKRAINE - ITALY»



was aimed at sharing experience in the field of local government. To stimulate inter-regional contacts, representatives not only from the capital, but also from regional authorities should be included in parliamentary delegations.

8 STAFFING SUPPORT. In the context of personnel shortage felt in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it is important to support quantitative and qualitative composition of Ukrainian diplomatic missions abroad, at least in key countries. For example, soon after the Russian aggression, a special Ukraine Task Force of ten people was set up at the German Foreign Ministry, whereas the political section of the Embassy of Ukraine in Germany, designed to provide political dialogue at the level of parliaments, governments, political forces and regions, numbers only two (sic) persons. It would be advisable to consider the creation of the positions of Commissioners for Germany and the USA at Ukraine's MFA, who would coordinate and promptly respond to all initiatives in these countries at different departmental levels, and also to expand embassy personnel in key countries.

Where shortage of personnel does not allow for professionals from the MFA to be attracted to positions in embassies, a possibility of engaging outside professionals with relevant expertise (in the field of economy, culture, etc.) should be considered.



JULY 11

Public discussion «Foreign Policy Audit:
UKRAINE - SLOVAKIA»



9 REGIONAL RESPONSIBILITY. As an outpost that contains Russian aggression and preserves its pro-European foreign policy, Ukraine – even more than before – is becoming the centre of attraction for the states in the region. This is especially true of Moldova and Georgia, united with Ukraine not only by European integration, but also by security issues, i.e. the territories occupied by the Russian Federation. Ukraine's ability to resist Russian aggression, the scenario of the conflict settlement in the Donbas, along with the democratic transformation of Ukraine, are likely to be decisive for the development of these two states as well.

At least equal is Ukraine's responsibility for the security of the EU's eastern border, development of common border with its neighbours – the Schengen Area Member States – and energy security in the region. At the end of the day, Ukraine's policy towards Belarus and Russia can also have a lasting impact on these countries – only if Ukraine has the objective and the vision how to achieve it.

UNDER SUCH CONDITIONS, UKRAINE SHOULD:

- create the post of a special presidential representative for conflict resolution in the post-Soviet space, who would be responsible for coordination of security dialogue between Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia;



SEPTEMBER 14

Presentation of the results of the public survey
«WHAT SHOULD BE UKRAINE'S FOREIGN POLICY?»

- establish communication and coordination with Moldova and Georgia on European integration. This would send a strong signal to the European Union that such states attach particular importance to this process and are learning. The Visegrad Four's successful experience could serve as model for this so-called 'Black Sea Three'. Besides, it would be easier and cheaper to hold information and advocacy events for all three of them;
- establish tripartite platforms for the Ukrainian-Romanian-Moldovan dialogue (e.g. joint business forums, cultural events, etc.).
- come forward, together with Moldova, Georgia, Poland, and Romania, with proposals for updating and strengthening the EU's Eastern Partnership policy;
- complete the process of border demarcation with Belarus, continuing the development of measures to combat violations of border crossing rules;
- work on the implementation of mutually beneficial projects in the field of natural gas supplies to Ukraine from alternative sources. In the relations with Turkey, the focus should be on resolution of all conflicts associated with the passage of LNG tankers to Ukraine through the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles; whereas in the relations with Hungary, Slovakia and Poland it should be made on the increased potential of reverse natural gas supplies

and examining Romania's capabilities concerning such supplies;

- use the transit potential of Georgia and Central and Eastern European countries to access the 16+1 format (in fact, to transform it into the 17+1 format) under China's 'One Belt, One Road' strategy. It is important to note that China makes the Central and Eastern European countries' consent and interest a precondition for Ukraine's participation in the project.

10 STRATEGY TOWARDS RUSSIA. Against the background of the Russian-Ukrainian war, Ukraine lacks strategic vision of cooperation with Russia after the restoration of peace. Ukraine also underestimates its own capacity to exert influence on the Russian Federation. Today, at least the following is required:

- formulation of a vision of future relations with Russia in a post-war/ final peace period, after Russia returns to the logic of international law.
- comprehensive studies of the range of problems associated with the Russian Federation;
- adoption of a Declaration on democracy support in Russia;
- keeping touch with the Russian public and the public in other CIS countries in order to develop a stratum of those who would subsequently be able



SEPTEMBER 28

Public discussion «Foreign Policy Audit:
UKRAINE - RUSSIA»



OCTOBER 5

Public discussion «Foreign Policy Audit:
UKRAINE - GEORGIA»



to maintain and facilitate neighbourly relations between Ukraine and the Russian Federation. For example, it would be advisable to introduce scholarships at Ukrainian universities for citizens of the Russian Federation, Belarus, Moldova, Georgia and other countries in the post-Soviet space.

11 COMMUNICATIONS AND PUBLIC DIPLOMACY.

Studies and surveys conducted by the Institute of World Politics have shown that Ukraine is very often misunderstood, and its efforts in the field of public diplomacy and communications are either not always efficient or are altogether absent. In this connection, the following steps should be taken:

- **Ambassadors to the key countries should be appointed urgently.** No effective communications on behalf of the Embassy are possible, unless it is guided by its top officer. The absence of the ambassador sends a negative political signal, creates the impression of disinterest in the country, and affects dynamics of the relations. According to the MFA's website, ambassadors are currently absent in such important countries as Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Romania, Czech Republic, Denmark. Since June 2015, the position of the head of Mission of Ukraine to NATO remains vacant.
- Ukrainian embassies in foreign states must become efficient communicators and promoters of national interests in collaboration with local elites and



OCTOBER 12

Public discussion «Foreign Policy Audit:
UKRAINE - CHINA»



population. First of all, this **work should be concentrated on the promotion of Ukraine's vision of the solution to the conflict in East Ukraine, provision of information about the progress of the conflict, the situation in Crimea and the state of reforms in Ukraine.** Following Japan's example, it would be advisable to create a separate page, in recipients' key languages, at the top of the MFA website, containing photo and video evidence of the Russian aggression against Ukraine and clarifications concerning the legal status of the occupied territories. Links to this page should also be added to the section describing Ukraine's regions, and such practice should be extended to the web-pages of Ukrainian embassies;

- To attract foreign capital, **communications platforms, similar to the Vienna Circle in Austria, should be set up or expanded** in order to provide, on a regular basis, the information on Kyiv's achievements in the reform process;
- **Web-pages of Ukraine's diplomatic missions abroad**, whose content is often unstructured, and updates – irregular, **have to be modified.** Some of them lack both the English version and a page in the language of the host country. For example, web-pages of the Embassies of Ukraine in Finland, Sweden, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Egypt, India, the UAE have only Ukrainian and English versions. The embassies' web-pages in Belarus, Moldova, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, meanwhile, are only available in Ukrainian and Russian.



OCTOBER 24

Public discussion «Audit of Ukraine's **FOREIGN POLICY. INDEX OF RELATIONS»**

- Ukraine has to invest not only in communications at the intergovernmental/parliamentary level, but also at the level of experts, opinion-makers and mass media of foreign countries. When communicating with a wider audience in key foreign countries, more reliance should be made on well-known and influential Ukrainian public figures, artists and experts, rather than politicians. On the other hand, it is important to engage foreign experts and analytical centres, via joint platforms and public events, in the process of reform development and assessment. **Specific features of a partner country should also be taken into account when developing a communications strategy towards it.** For example, a lobbying structure would be needed in the U.S. to promote Ukraine's interests; for the Italians, a persuasive message would be voiced by a popular athlete (e.g. Andriy Shevchenko); while the Germans put more trust in the German-speaking representatives of Ukraine, such as Serhiy Zhadan or Katia Petrovska, rather than in politicians. Street outreach events work in some countries, while in others a formal approval would be required to achieve the most efficient promotion of messages. It is important to realise that any disregard of country specifics in the course of communications events would significantly undermine the chances to be heard;
- **Engage social media as a communications tool more aggressively.** Ukraine's MFA and Minister Pavlo Klimkin set an example here: their Twitter-accounts boast 73,3 i 236 thousand followers



OCTOBER 28

Public discussion «Foreign Policy Audit:
UKRAINE - MOLDOVA»

respectively (by way of comparison, the Twitter account of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs has 24.6 thousand followers). However, not all Ukrainian diplomatic missions and diplomats can boast the same popularity: Twitter pages of the Embassies of Ukraine in Canada and France have little more than a thousand subscribers. Diplomatic missions abroad should also actively use popular social media in the host country, which would allow not only a better awareness of the facts on the ground, but also for a feedback from the population to be established. The experience of the United Kingdom and Canada demonstrates the success of such practice (for example, one of Canada's greatest success stories in this field is associated with the use of Sina Weibo, a Twitter-like Chinese microblog, which helped to attract considerable attention from the Chinese audience);

- **The recommendation in respect of the need to open Ukrainian cultural centres, despite its lack of originality, remains relevant.** Given the overall limited budget of the MFA, the lack of financing for cultural projects is obvious, therefore, in the foreseeable future, attention should be given to active representatives of the diaspora – volunteers who can be engaged in the implementation of Ukraine's cultural diplomacy in their countries of residence. The Ukrainian Institute of Sweden, inaugurated in 2014 on the initiative of Natalya Pasichnyk, the world-famous Ukrainian-Swedish pianist, is an example of successful activities by the local



NOVEMBER 11

Public discussion «Foreign Policy Audit:
UKRAINE - POLAND»

community. However, the problem that Ukrainian communities abroad encounter most often is the lack of premises for holding public events, rather than the lack of initiative. The state has the duty to find appropriate resources, at least in the key countries;¹²

- **Develop the program to support Ukrainian communities abroad.** Here, the experience of Poland may come useful, which has a well-defined Plan of Cooperation with the Polish Diaspora until 2020,¹³ organises educational projects, camps, competitions for representatives of the diaspora on an annual basis,¹⁴ as well as projects to involve Polish emigrants into the political process in Poland.

12 REFORMING THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE. The role of Ukraine's Foreign Ministry is crucial in the effective conduct of foreign policy, while its weaknesses are acknowledged by the top diplomats surveyed as part of the project. Undoubtedly, any qualitative reform of the

¹² Кльонова А. Культурна дипломатія: як це працює у Швеції і не працює в Україні // Українська правда, <http://life.pravda.com.ua/columns/2015/10/12/201718/>

¹³ The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland, http://www.mfa.gov.pl/en/news/they_wrote_about_us/government_backs_plan_to_strengthen_co_operation_with_polish_diaspora_encourages_return_of_poles_living_abroad_pap_dispatch_from_18_august_2015;jsessionid=4C9B7FC40B5E9D696D127185483DFA2E.cmsap2p

¹⁴ The General Consulate of the Republic of Poland in New York, http://newyork.mfa.gov.pl/en/news/fifty_three_million_zlotys_for_cooperation_with_polish_diaspora_and_poles_abroad_in_2015



NOVEMBER 16

Presentation of the recommendations from «UKRAINE'S FOREIGN POLICY AUDIT» at the meeting of the Parliament's subcommittee on Euro-Atlantic cooperation and European integration

Ministry of Foreign Affairs would require both the political will and resources. We attempted to offer not only expensive, but cost-effective solutions that, nevertheless, could bring about an immediate positive effect. However, Ukraine must realise that, without proper resources allocated to operations at least in the key countries, there can be no victory on the diplomatic front.

AS REGARDS DEVELOPMENT AND APPROVAL OF DECISIONS:

- **Set up a department or division in charge of strategic policy planning.** Without strategic vision and prompt response to the risks and threats currently faced by Ukraine, it would be hard to implement efficient, consistent and successful diplomacy.
- **Decentralise decision-making.** Ukraine should abandon the practice of decision-making solely at the level of Minister and his/her deputies. Officials must take responsibility for making decisions within their powers. At present, the idleness of lower and mid-level officials results in their passivity and inability to respond to the existing challenges independently. The need for introduction of more functional and flexible management structure is also evidenced by foreign experience. The British Foreign Office maintains a steady practice of handling issues at the lowest level. Top political leaders are involved



DECEMBER 7

Presentation of the recommendations from «UKRAINE'S FOREIGN POLICY AUDIT» at the parliamentary hearings «Current Issues of Ukraine's Foreign Policy»

in addressing issues of national importance, in particular those concerning national security.

- **Create a consultative platform comprising former diplomats.** When responding to the survey conducted by the Institute of World Policy, some diplomats highlighted the communication loss between the current and previous generations of Ukrainian diplomats, as well as the weak institutional memory. Setting up such a platform could address this problem. As a model, the British Locarno Group could be used, which consists of former senior Foreign Office employees, meets at least once a year and acts as an additional source of recommendations for the Foreign Minister on foreign policy issues.¹⁵ Launching

such a platform would not require significant funds, but will expand the MFA's strategic vision and provide an additional consultative mechanism through the involvement of experienced diplomats into finding solutions to topical foreign policy issues.

AS TO THE PERSONNEL POLICY:

- **Conduct recertification of the diplomatic staff of the FMA employees,** similar to the one performed in the Ministry of Defence. The aim of the recertification was to identify 'agents of change' and those who slow down or openly torpedo such changes. With the assistance from international HR agencies, a system of testing was developed, which covered all the MOD employees.

THE MFA STRATEGIC PLANNING DIVISION: FOREIGN EXPERIENCE

All leading diplomatic services comprise similar structural units. Thus, in Germany's Federal Foreign Office, the Policy Planning Staff (whose main task is to develop conceptual issues of foreign policy) and the Crisis Response Centre (operates 24 hours a day to keep the Minister and top officials informed of current developments, provide crisis management; is also responsible for coordinating cooperation with other ministries and international partners, advises foreign diplomatic missions and other German institutions like Goethe Institut, chambers of commerce) and reports directly to the Minister. Within the structure of the U.S. State Department the Policy Planning Staff also exists, which serves as a source of independent policy analysis and advice for the Secretary of State, taking a longer term, strategic view of global trends and framing recommendations for the Secretary of State to advance U.S. interests and American values. In addition, the Council on Foreign Relations operates in an advisory function by providing the Secretary of State, Deputy Secretaries, and Director of the Office of Policy Planning with independent, substantiated recommendations and opinions on the U.S. foreign policy issues.

¹⁵ *The Foreign and Commonwealth Office of the United Kingdom, <http://www.gov.uk/government/news/foreign-secretary-announces-first-meeting-of-locarno-group>*



DECEMBER 13

Public discussion «Foreign Policy Audit: **UKRAINE - LITHUANIA**»



DECEMBER 16

Public discussion «Foreign Policy Audit: **UKRAINE – JAPAN**»



DECEMBER 21

FOREIGN POLICY FORUM

Heads of departments also had to take a polygraph test. Following this testing, almost 200 employees were dismissed or relocated. Conducting a similar test in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs would help to identify not only those who oppose reforms, but also the diplomats loyal to the interests of other states.

- **Introduce the practice of additional incentives for employees.** Decent pay should be a key motivating factor. Georgia's experience in this area may come useful. In 2004-2005, recognising that higher salaries were necessary to recruit capable civil servants, to contain bribery and to improve morale and motivation, the Georgian Government raised salaries of civil servants. It was joined by international donors – the Open Society Institute (OSI) and the UNDP – who noted the success of Georgian reforms.¹⁶ In addition, according to Georgian civil servants, the practice of paying bonuses to motivate Georgian officials even more was introduced in the country. Thus, the Minister of Economy and Development of Georgia received significant bonuses for an increase in direct foreign investments or in the number of tourists visiting the country.¹⁷

Dynamic and professional employees could be additionally motivated through alternative events similar to the 'Coffee With the Minister', where the Minister or his/her Deputy would meet with such diplomats for informal talk over coffee, while employees could reciprocate by sharing with the Minister their views on Ukraine's foreign policy.

- **The FMA's staff could be strengthened by employing young professionals with specific expertise in the diplomatic service.** New personnel for the FMA must be selected solely through transparent competition

¹⁶ Richard Bennet, *Delivering on the Hope of the Rose Revolution: Public Sector Reform in Georgia, 2004-2009. Innovations for Successful Societies, Princeton University*, http://successfulsocieties.princeton.edu/sites/successfulsocieties/files/Policy_Note_ID183.pdf


¹⁷ *How to Get rid of Post-Sovietness, the Institute of World Policy, 2012*, http://iwp.org.ua/img/postsov_all_eng.pdf


that would include knowledge tests, interviews and conversations to identify applicants' personal qualities (communication, management skills, psychological stability, etc.). The experience of the U.S. State Department, where applicants choose the area of work (economic, public diplomacy, consular) and hold interviews with the employees engaged in these areas, may also be of interest.


- **Introduce the practice of mentoring of young diplomats by senior ones.** Mentoring would improve the professional level and training of new personnel. For example, such practice exists in the United States. Interestingly, applicants may choose mentors according to their expectations and focus. In addition, the state Department's mentoring program offers several options: long-term mentoring for new personnel and junior staff, as well as situational mentoring, where situational mentors help their co-workers (mostly mid-ranking) to address individual issues.¹⁸
- **Maintain feedback from the embassies.** It is important that circular letters are forwarded to the embassies promptly, not only in respect of the events in Ukraine, but also on Ukraine's position on topical international policy issues. Also, informing the diplomats of the results of their work (e.g. of the way in which analytical papers prepared by them were used) could improve the team spirit and would serve as an additional incentive for them.


¹⁸ *Diversity in Diplomacy: The Mentoring Dimension. American Foreign Service Association*, <http://www.afsa.org/diversity-diplomacy-mentoring-dimension/> <https://www.opm.gov/wiki/training/mentoring-and-coaching.ashx>


LIST OF PUBLICATIONS


ALYONA GETMANCHUK, SERGIY SOLODKYY
Foreign Policy Audit: Ukraine-Germany
 <http://iwp.org.ua/eng/public/1918.html>

ALYONA GETMANCHUK
Foreign Policy Audit: Ukraine-USA
 <http://iwp.org.ua/ukr/public/1982.html>


MARYNA VOROTNYUK
Foreign Policy Audit: Ukraine-Turkey
 <http://iwp.org.ua/eng/public/2010.html>


IVAN MEDINSKYY, BENS KAPCHOS
Foreign Policy Audit: Ukraine-Hungary
 <http://iwp.org.ua/eng/public/2040.html>


DARIA GAIDAI
Foreign Policy Audit: Ukraine-Austria
 <http://iwp.org.ua/ukr/public/2045.html>


OLENA BETLIY, YAUHENI PREIHERMAN
Foreign Policy Audit: Ukraine-Belarus
 <http://iwp.org.ua/eng/public/2064.html>


LEONID LITRA, FLORENT PARMENTIER, KIRILL BRET,
ANASTASIYA SHAPOCHKINA
Foreign Policy Audit: Ukraine-France
 <http://iwp.org.ua/eng/public/2068.html>


SERHIY SOLODKYY, ILYANA RAKERU
Foreign Policy Audit: Ukraine-Romania
 <http://iwp.org.ua/eng/public/2081.html>


KATERYNA ZAREMBO
Foreign Policy Audit: Ukraine-Italy
 <http://iwp.org.ua/eng/public/2084.html>


MARYNA VOROTNYUK
Foreign Policy Audit: Ukraine-Slovakia
 <http://iwp.org.ua/eng/public/2092.html>


OLESYA YAHNO
Foreign Policy Audit: Ukraine-Russia
 <http://iwp.org.ua/eng/public/2127.html>


DARIA GAIDAI
Foreign Policy Audit: Ukraine-Georgia
 <http://iwp.org.ua/eng/public/2136.html>


ANDRIY GONCHARUK, YEVHENIA HOBOVA, VIKTOR
KIKTENKO, OLEKSIY KOVAL, SERHIY KOSHOVIY
Foreign Policy Audit: Ukraine-China
 <http://iwp.org.ua/eng/public/2144.html>


OLENA BETLIY
Foreign Policy Audit: Ukraine-Moldova
 <http://iwp.org.ua/eng/public/2160.html>

KATERYNA ZAREMBO
Foreign Policy Audit: Ukraine-Poland
 <http://iwp.org.ua/eng/public/2175.html>

OLENA BETLIY
Foreign Policy Audit: Ukraine-Lithuania
 <http://iwp.org.ua/eng/public/2210.html>

MYKOLA BIELIESKOV
Foreign Policy Audit: Ukraine-Japan
 <http://iwp.org.ua/eng/public/2213.html>

ALYONA GETMANCHUK, SERGIY SOLODKYY, LEONID LITRA,
ANDRIY GONCHARUK, DARIA GAIDAI
Ukraine's Foreign Policy Audit. Index of Relations
 <http://iwp.org.ua/eng/public/2158.html>

What Do Ukrainians Think about their Country's Foreign
Policy?
 <http://iwp.org.ua/eng/public/2115.html>

PUBLIC EVENTS UNDERTAKEN DURING THE PROJECT

| | | | |
|-----------------------|---|----------------------|---|
| FEBRUARY 9 / | Public discussion «Foreign Policy Audit: Ukraine - Germany» | OCTOBER 12 / | Public discussion «Foreign Policy Audit: Ukraine - China» |
| MARCH 29 / | Public discussion «Foreign Policy Audit: Ukraine - USA» | OCTOBER 24 / | Public discussion «Audit of Ukraine's Foreign Policy. Index of Relations» |
| APRIL 13 / | Public discussion «Foreign Policy Audit: Ukraine - Turkey» | OCTOBER 28 / | Public discussion «Foreign Policy Audit: Ukraine - Moldova» |
| APRIL 20 / | Public discussion «Foreign Policy Audit: Ukraine - Hungary» | NOVEMBER 11 / | Public discussion «Foreign Policy Audit: Ukraine - Poland» |
| APRIL 28 / | Public discussion «Foreign Policy Audit: Ukraine - Austria» | NOVEMBER 16 / | Presentation of the recommendations from «Ukraine's Foreign Policy Audit» at the meeting of the Parliament's subcommittee on Euro-Atlantic cooperation and European integration |
| JUNE 8 / | Public discussion «Foreign Policy Audit: Ukraine - Belarus» | DECEMBER 7 / | Presentation of the recommendations from «Ukraine's Foreign Policy Audit» at the parliamentary hearings «Current issues of Ukraine's Foreign Policy» |
| JUNE 14 / | Public discussion «Foreign Policy Audit: Ukraine - France» | DECEMBER 13 / | Public discussion «Foreign Policy Audit: Ukraine - Lithuania» |
| JUNE 23 / | Public discussion «Foreign Policy Audit: Ukraine - Romania» | DECEMBER 16 / | Public discussion «Foreign Policy Audit: Ukraine – Japan» |
| JUNE 30 / | Public discussion «Foreign Policy Audit: Ukraine - Italy» | DECEMBER 21 / | Foreign Policy Forum |
| JULY 11 / | Public discussion «Foreign Policy Audit: Ukraine - Slovakia» | | |
| SEPTEMBER 14 / | Presentation of the results of the public survey «What Should be Ukraine's Foreign Policy?» | | |
| SEPTEMBER 28 / | Public discussion «Foreign Policy Audit: Ukraine - Russia» | | |
| OCTOBER 5 / | Public discussion «Foreign Policy Audit: Ukraine - Georgia» | | |

UKRAINIAN EXPERTS WHO TOOK PART IN THE SURVEY

IRYNA BEKESHKINA, Director, Ilko Kucheriv Democratic Initiative Foundation

NATALYA BELITSER, Senior Researcher, Pylyp Orlyk Institute for Democracy

ROMAN BEZSMERTNYI, Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of Ukraine

VOLODYMYR DUBOVYK, Associate Professor, Odessa Mechnikov University

ROSTYSLAV DZUNDZA, Chairman of the Board, Bureau of Social and Political Developments

SERGIY FEDUNYAK, Professor, Department of International Relations, Yuriy Fed'kovych Chernivtsi National University

VOLODYMYR FESENKO, Chief Executive Officer, Chairman of the Board, Center for political studies «Penta»

ALYONA GETMANCHUK, Director, Institute of World Policy

MYKHAILO GONCHAR, President, Centre for Global Studies 'Strategy XXI'

ANDRIY GONCHARUK, Senior Research Fellow, National Institute for Strategic Studies

OLEXIY HARAN, Professor of Politics, Kyiv Mohyla Academy; Academic Director, Democratic Initiatives Foundation

VOLODYMYR KHANDOGIY, President, Ukrainian Foreign Policy Association

ALEXANDER KHARA, Director, Department of Multilateral Relations, Maidan of Foreign Affairs

MAKSYM KHYLKO, Chairman of the Board, East European Security Research Initiative Foundation

SERGII KOSHOVYI, Chief Specialist, Department of Foreign Policy and International Security, The National Institute for Strategic Studies

OLEKSII KOVAL, Journalist, Dzerkalo Tyzhnia. Ukraine Newspaper

OLEKSANDR KUCHYK, Associate Professor, Ivan Franko National University of Lviv

VITALII MARTYNIUK, Analyst on Foreign and Security Policy, Ukrainian Center for Independent Political Research

OLEKSIY MELNYK, Co-Director, Foreign Relations and International Security Programmes, Razumkov Center

MYKHAILO MINAKOV, Associate Professor, National University of «Kyiv-Mohyla Academy»

VOLODYMYR OGRYSKO, Chief Executive Officer, Centre for Russian Studies; Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine (2007 – 2009)

OLEKSIY SEMENIY, Director, Institute for Global Transformations

MYKOLA SIRUK, Head of International Section, Newspaper «The Day»

KATERYNA SMAGLIY, Director, Kennan Institute Kyiv Office

IRYNA SOLONENKO, DAAD/OSF Scholar, European University Viadrina (Germany/Ukraine)

OLEKSANDR SUSHKO, Research Director, Institute for Euro-Atlantic Cooperation

SERGIY SYDORENKO, Editor, European Pravda

IHOR TODOROV, Professor of the Department of International Studies and Social Communication, Uzhhorod National University; Center for International Security and Euro-Atlantic integration of Uzhhorod National University

VADYM TRIUKHAN, Chairman of the Board, Public organization «European Movement Ukraine»

MARYNA VOROTNYUK, Visiting Lecturer, Comenius University (**Bratislava, Slovak Republic**)

VOLODYMYR ZABLITSKY, Expert, Defense Express

MYKOLA ZAMIKULA, Expert, Centre for International Security

KATERYNA ZAREMBO, Deputy Director, Institute of World Policy

FOREIGN EXPERTS WHO TOOK PART IN THE SURVEY

ŁUKASZ ADAMSKI, Deputy Director, Centre for Polish-Russian Dialogue and Understanding (**Poland**)

IAN ANTHONY, Director of the European Security Programme, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (**Sweden**)

PAVEL K. BAEV, Research Professor, Peace Research Institute Oslo (**Norway**)

ANTON BENDARZSEVSZKIJ, Director, Geopolitical Institute of Russia and Central Asia of the Pallas Athéné Geopolitical Foundation (**Hungary**)

JOHN BESEMERES, Visiting Fellow, Australian National University (**Australia**)

STEVEN BLOCKMANS, Senior Research Fellow, Head, «EU foreign policy» and politics and institutions units, Center for European Policy Studies (**Belgium**)

JOS BOONSTRA, Head of Programme, EU-Central Asia Monitoring (**the Netherlands/ Belgium**)

MATHIEU BOULEGUE, Eurasia Project Manager, AESMA Group (**France**)

IAN BRZEZINSKI, Resident Senior Fellow, Brent Scowcroft Center on International Security, Atlantic Council (**the USA**)

ILVIJA BRUGE, Researcher/ Project manager, Latvian Institute of International Affairs (**Latvia**)

TOR BUKKVOLL, Senior Research Fellow, Norwegian Defence Research Establishment (**Norway**)

IANNIS CARRAS, Assistant Professor of History, Freiburg University; Visiting Lecturer, International Hellenic University Thessaloniki (**Greece**)

SERGIU CELAC, Member of the Scientific Board, New Strategy Center (**Romania**)

VICTOR CHIRILA, Executive Director, Foreign Policy Association (**Moldova**)

VANO CHKHIKVADZE, EU Integration Program Manager, Open Society Georgia Foundation (**Georgia**)

WILLIAM COURTNEY, Executive Director, RAND Business Leaders Forum; Adjunct Senior Fellow, RAND Corporation (**the USA**)

RENE CUPERUS, Expert, Think Tank Dutch Social Democracy (**the Netherlands**)

VIKTOR DENISENKO, Researcher, Journalist, Political Analyst, Specialist of Communication, Vilnius University (**Lithuania**)

CHRISTINE DUGOIN-CLÉMENT, Analyst, The Center for the Analysis of Foreign Policy (**France**)

PIRET EHIN, Senior Researcher, Institute of Government and Politics, University of Tartu (**Estonia**)

HANS-JOACHIM FALENSKI, Foreign Policy Advisor of the Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union Parliamentary Party Group (**Germany**)

ROLAND FREUDENSTEIN, Deputy Director, Head of Research, Wilfried Martens Centre for European Studies (**Belgium**)

TSUYOSHI GOROKU, Researcher, EU Studies Institute in Tokyo (**Japan**)

GEORGI GOTEV, Senior Editor, EurActiv.com (**Belgium**)

GUSTAV GRESSEL, Senior Policy Fellow, Wider Europe Programme, European Council on Foreign Relations (Berlin office, Germany)

EMMANUEL GRYNZSPAN, Journalist, Moscow Correspondent, La Tribune, Le Figaro, Le Temps newspapers (France)

JOHN HERBST, Ambassador of the USA to Ukraine (2003-2006); Director, Director, Dinu Patriciu Eurasia Center, the Atlantic Council (the USA)

SORIN IONITA, Expert in Public Administration Reform, Development and Local Affairs, Expert Forum (Romania)

LUIGI IPPOLITO, Managing Editor, Corriere Della Sera (Italy)

PAUL IVAN, Senior Policy Analyst, European Policy Centre (Belgium)

BALAZS JARABIK, Nonresident Scholar, Russia and Eurasia program, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (USA/Belarus)

TIM JUDAH, journalist, author of the book «In Wartime. Stories from Ukraine» (the United Kingdom)

KORNELY KAKACHIA, Founder and Executive Director, Georgian Institute of Politics (Georgia)

LUCIAN KIM, Editor, the Berlin Policy Journal (Germany)

DAISUKE KITADE, Analyst, Mitsui Global Strategic Studies Institute (Japan)

PETR KOLÁŘ, Chairman, European Values Initiative (Czech Republic)

DINOJ KUMAR UPADHYAY, Research Fellow, Indian Council of World Affairs (India)

ALEKSANDER KWAŚNIEWSKI, President of Poland (1995-2005); Head of the Supervisory Board, Amicus Europae Foundation (Poland)

AINIUS LAŠAS, Lecturer in European politics, University of Bath (the United Kingdom)

SARAH LAIN, Research Fellow, The Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security Studies (the United Kingdom)

MARCO DI LIDDO, Senior Analyst, Centre for International Studies (Italy)

MARTIN MALEK, Senior Researcher, Institute for Peace Support and Conflict Management of the National Defense Academy of Austria (Austria)

ANDREY MAKARYCHEV, Guest Professor, Institute of Government and Politics, University of Tartu (Estonia)

BRIAN MEFFORD, Business and Political Consultant (the USA)

GRIGORIJ MESEŽNIKOV, President, Institute for Public Affairs (Slovakia)

ALEXANDER MOTYL, Professor, Rutgers University (the USA)

ARKADY MOSHES, Programme Director of the EU's Eastern Neighbourhood and Russia Research Programme, Finnish Institute of International Affairs (Finland)

DJIRE MOUSSA, Vice Rector, Université Des Sciences Juridiques Et Politiques De Bamako (Mali)

BOGDAN NEDEA, Independent Analyst (**Romania**)

JAMES NIXEY, Head, Russia and Eurasia Program, Chatham House (**the United Kingdom**)

STEVEN PIFER, Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution (**the USA**)

GEMMA PÖRZGEN, freelance journalist, publicist (**Germany**)

DIANA POTJOMKINA, Research Fellow, Latvian Institute of International Affairs (**Latvia**)

LASZLO PÓTI, Senior Research Fellow, Institute for Foreign Affairs and Trade (**Hungary**)

YAUHENI PREIHERMAN, Foreign Policy and Security Analyst, Head, Minsk Dialogue Track-II Initiative, Chairman of Board, Discussion and Analytical Society Liberal Club (**Belarus**)

ILEANA RACHERU, Researcher, Romanian Diplomatic Institute (**Romania**)

KRISTI RAIK, Senior Research Fellow, The European Union Research Programme, Finnish Institute of International Affairs (**Finland**)

LADA ROSLYCKY, Strategic Communications Consultant (**Canada/Ukraine**)

STANISLAV SECRIERU, Senior Research Fellow, The Polish Institute of International Affairs (**Poland**)

JAMES SHERR, Associate Fellow, Russia and Eurasia Programme, Chatham House (**the United Kingdom**)

LILIA SHEVTSOVA, Associate Fellow, Russia and Eurasia Program, Chatham House (**the United Kingdom / Russia**)

STEPHAN DE SPIEGELEIRE, Senior Analyst, Hague Center for Strategic Studies (**the Netherlands**)

DANIEL SZELIGOWSKI, Analyst, The Polish Institute of International Affairs (**Poland**)

INDRANI TALUKDAR, Research Fellow, Indian Council of World Affairs (**India**)

TONY VAN DER TOGT, Senior Research Fellow, Clingendael Institute (**the Netherlands**)

SERGEY UTKIN, Head of Strategic Assessment Section, Institute of World Economy and International Relations, (**IMEMO**), Russian Academy of Sciences (**Russia**)

RAMUNAS VILPISAUSKAS, Director of the Institute of International Relations and Political Science, Vilnius University (**Lithuania**)

ANDREW WOOD, Associate Fellow, Russia and Eurasia Programme, Chatham House (**the United Kingdom**)

STEFAN WOLFF, Professor of International Security, University of Birmingham (**the United Kingdom**)

OUR PARTNERS:



Embassy of Sweden
in Ukraine



The Think Tank
Foundation (TTF)



The International
Renaissance Foundation
(IRF)



The Black Sea Trust for
Regional Cooperation of
the German Marshall Fund
(BST of GMF)



US Agency of International
Development (USAID)



The Ukraine National
Initiatives to Enhance
Reforms (UNITER)



PACT



The Ministry of Foreign
Affairs of Lithuania



Ministry of
Foreign Affairs
of Ukraine

The Ministry of Foreign
Affairs of Ukraine



UKRAINE CRISIS
media center

Ukraine Crisis Media
Centre



Information-Analytical
Agency «Glavcom»



The Yevropeiska Pravda
(European Truth) online
newspaper



Euromaidan Press online
newspaper



Daily Ukrainian newspaper
«The Day»



TNS Global market
research company

Office 1, Str. Esplanadna 32 V, Kyiv, 01001, Ukraine
Tel. +38 044 374 03 11
e-mail: info@iwp.org.ua

 www.facebook.com/pages/Institute-of-World-Policy

 vk.com/public68498423

 twitter.com/IWP_Ukraine

Printed by



wealwaysthinkoutsidethebox.com.ua



Institute of World Policy

Office 1, Str. Esplanadna 32 V, Kyiv, 01001, Ukraine

<http://iwp.org.ua/>

e-mail: info@iwp.org.ua

Tel. +38 044 374 03 11