

**PUBLIC COUNCIL AT  
THE MINISTRY  
OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
OF UKRAINE**



**Razumkov**  
centre

**Hanns  
Seidel  
Stiftung**

# **UKRAINE'S FOREIGN POLICY: ACHIEVEMENTS, CHALLENGES, PRIORITIES**

Experts' opinions and assessments

November 2024



# UKRAINE'S FOREIGN POLICY: ACHIEVEMENTS, CHALLENGES, PRIORITIES

(Experts' opinions and assessments)

Outlining the events and trends of 2024, Ukraine's foreign policy can be credited with a series of successful events, active promotion of national interests on global platforms, and closer cooperation with partner countries across the world. Meanwhile, it should be borne in mind that national diplomacy has to act amidst large-scale Russian invasion, focusing on the accumulation of external military, financial and economic assistance to ensure resistance to the aggressor. All these efforts are facing many challenges and threats, unfavourable trends and phenomena of a regional and global nature. So, what are the peculiarities, trends and problems of Kyiv's foreign policy?

In November 2024, the Razumkov Centre and the Public Council at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, with the support of the Hanns Seidel Stiftung, conducted a regular expert survey on Ukraine's foreign policy.<sup>1</sup> The survey focused on the accomplishments and challenges of national diplomacy in 2024, as well as the priorities and tasks on the country's foreign policy agenda.

Members of the expert community also assessed the significance of recent foreign policy events for Ukraine. Experts described the state and peculiarities of Ukraine's foreign policy in times of war, as well as external and internal factors affecting the government's performance on the global stage.

Furthermore, the respondents weighted the significance of Kyiv's certain foreign policy measures and initiatives for the country. Quite interesting are the experts' opinions on the priorities of Ukrainian diplomacy.

In general, findings of the expert survey suggest the following generalisations and conclusions.

## **SPECIFICS AND PECULIARITIES OF FOREIGN POLICY IN TIMES OF WAR**

National diplomacy operates under the influence and against the background of dynamic external events and multidirectional global and regional processes presenting both opportunities and challenges for Ukraine. These include the confrontation of global players, further dangerous polarisation of the world community, conflicts around the world, the devaluation of global and regional security structures. Obviously, foreign policy must adapt to new geopolitical realities and crisis phenomena, recognising the allies' positions and interests.

It is interesting to see how members of the expert community assess Ukraine's foreign policy. Thus, most respondents (65%) describe Kyiv's actions on the world stage as positive or rather positive, while 26% of respondents are critical, and 8% were reluctant to answer. But it is clear that the effectiveness and quality of Ukraine's actions globally should be assessed over time, in particular in the context of changes during the war. This reveals the qualitative differences between «pre-war» and «war» diplomacy.<sup>2</sup>

The war accelerated the evolution of foreign policy, affected its goals and objectives, and improved the content, nature and tools

<sup>1</sup> The expert survey was conducted on 11-15 November 2024 within the project «Expert and analytical support to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine in the context of developing public diplomacy and promoting the dialogue between government and society», supported by the Hanns Seidel Stiftung. A total of 69 experts from different regions of Ukraine and Kyiv were interviewed, including MPs, representatives of ministries, regional authorities, governmental and non-governmental think tanks, university professors, independent experts, and scholars.

<sup>2</sup> For more detail, see Ukraine's Foreign Policy in Times of War: Features and Priorities. Analytical report (May 2023), Razumkov centre, p.9-14. <https://razumkov.org.ua/images/2023/06/30/2023-MATRA-I-KVARTAL-6-ENGL.pdf>.

of Ukrainian diplomacy. These transformations acquired a new quality and scale during the Russian intervention. In this context, the following important factors should be highlighted.

**First**, foreign policy has become more active and proactive. Ukrainian diplomacy has gradually become both offensive and preventive. In the war, the speed of external processes and events has increased, requiring prompt responses. Official Kyiv initiated various important international actions and events that were supported by the international community.

**Second**, the level and intensity of international contacts has been unmatched in the history of Ukrainian diplomacy. A new political and diplomatic situation has emerged where high-level contacts with leading countries and reputable international institutions have become an everyday practice.

**Third**, new instruments of public diplomacy have been introduced. Direct public addresses of Ukrainian leaders to the general public around the world have become an effective innovation. The targeting of such speeches to different foreign audiences is crucial, and Ukrainian diplomacy used this tool quite actively.

**Fourth**, Kyiv's political and diplomatic presence in «problematic» regions has begun to expand and improve. In 2022, the MFA began developing and implementing new African, Latin American, and Asian strategies.

In general, it is safe to say that during the large-scale aggression, Ukrainian diplomacy demonstrated initiative, innovative approaches, and active pursuit of national interests. Strategic achievements included the opening of EU membership negotiations and conclusion of agreements on long-term security cooperation with partner countries. On the other hand, being involved into a long and exhausting confrontation accumulates «political and economic fatigue» from the Ukraine war, changes the geopolitical landscape, exacerbates old threats and produces new ones. These and other reasons have led to ambiguous expert

assessments of certain features of the country's foreign policy.

When describing Ukraine's foreign policy, half of experts (51%) believe that it is more or less consistent and balanced, while many (46%) have doubts about this. Furthermore, 51% also believe that the government's activities in the global arena are effective, but a significant share of respondents disagree (the overall assessment is broken down by specific areas in the next question). Respondents are uncertain whether Ukraine's foreign policy is understandable for partner countries: 48% agree with this statement, while 45% disagree.

When assessing other features of foreign policy, experts are mostly critical of the government's actions on the global stage, which are understandable to the public, transparent, open and have a clear strategy.

How to interpret such opinions? Criticism can be explained by multiple challenges of wartime and complicated internal and external trends that reduce the effectiveness of political and diplomatic activities. On the other hand, it can be caused by the public demand for a more successful foreign policy given the ongoing war of attrition, which increases demands on the authorities.

Quite interesting are experts' assessments of foreign policy effectiveness in specific areas. In particular, experts are generally positive about Ukraine's efforts to secure external support for resisting Russian aggression (3.6 points).<sup>3</sup> It should be noted that the top priority of Kyiv's war diplomacy is to accumulate external military, financial and economic assistance. At the same time, there are some important problematic factors, such as metered and slow deliveries of weapons to the Ukrainian Armed Forces (AFU); a lasting ban on the use of Western long-range weapons against the aggressor (the situation is now changing for the better); refusal to help destroy Russian missiles and drones over western Ukraine; Hungary's blocking of military and financial support to Ukraine under the European Peace Facility; and the still unresolved issue of confiscation

<sup>3</sup> Policy effectiveness was assessed on a five-point scale from 1 to 5, where «1» means that the policy is totally ineffective, and «5» means that it is very effective.

of Russian frozen assets. The reasons for that may be the allies' fear of getting involved in a conflict with an unpredictable and aggressive nuclear empire, illusions about the possibility of pacifying the aggressor, fatigue from the long war, to name the few.

Experts are also positive about the effectiveness of Ukraine's integration into the EU (3.5 points). In recent years, the country has taken a number of important steps towards Europe, including the adaptation of national legislation to European norms, the development of sectoral partnerships with the EU, and the effective implementation of the European Commission's recommendations. Membership talks were officially launched in June 2024. The screening of current legislation within the negotiating clusters is underway, along with the elaboration of roadmaps for public administration and rule of law reform. The prospects for the opening of practical accession negotiations in early 2025 look quite realistic.

Promoting Ukrainian initiatives on international platforms scored 3.3 points. It is worth recalling that during the large-scale aggression, Ukraine came up with a number of political and diplomatic initiatives that gained wide international acclaim and were included in the global agenda. These include organising and holding a major inaugural Peace Summit based on the Ukrainian Peace Formula, promoting a comprehensive Victory Plan, and concluding long-term security cooperation agreements with partners. Furthermore, Kyiv's efforts helped to create an international alliance for the return of Ukrainian children, introduce a humanitarian «grain initiative», and hold the already traditional Crimea Platform forum. An international team to investigate Russia's environmental crimes on the territory of Ukraine has also been set up, and the International Defence Industries Forum 2024 was recently held in Kyiv.

Experts gave 3.3 points to the strengthening of relations with countries and international organisations. Despite the intensification of contacts with partner countries and efforts to step up political and diplomatic presence around the world, the effectiveness of Ukraine's actions in these important areas is limited by a number of negative factors. On the one hand, Ukraine has limited financial and human resources to promote its interests globally.

On the other hand, the massive expansion of the so-called «Russian world» by the aggressor continues. In these settings, one should not forget about the growing escalation of the global confrontation between the collective West and the alliance of authoritarian countries (China-Russia-Iran-North Korea), with the Global South and other countries of the world being at the centre of this confrontation.

Other experts' assessments of Ukraine's foreign policy performance cover the following areas: expanding the pool of allied countries that support Ukraine in its fight against Russian aggression (3.2 points); improving Ukraine's international image and its authority in the world (3.2 points); spreading objective information about the war in Ukraine (3.1 points). These scores can be explained by both internal factors, including the above problems with resources, and a set of unfavourable factors and trends at the global and regional levels.

The Euro-Atlantic track deserves special attention (2.9 points). The key point of Kyiv's Victory Plan is to invite Ukraine to join NATO. This would be a political signal rather than an immediate accession to the Alliance, but there is currently no consensus in NATO on this issue, with the United States, Germany, Hungary, and Slovakia refraining from taking this step. Amidst the Russian aggression, the key thesis of the NATO leadership was «preventing the war from spreading beyond Ukraine». Therefore, it is not a matter of weakness of Ukraine's Euro-Atlantic policy, but rather a lack of determination on the part of the Alliance's leaders.

## UKRAINIAN DIPLOMACY: FACTORS OF INFLUENCE

Speaking about the peculiarities of Ukrainian diplomacy, it is important to keep in mind that the foreign policy effectiveness is highly dependent on many factors, such as the internal situation and global processes. So, which external and internal factors have the largest impact on the diplomacy's effectiveness? When answering this question, experts focus primarily on external negative factors.

Failure of global and regional security structures to stop Russian aggression (4.4 points)<sup>4</sup> tops this list. Alas, it must be admitted that

<sup>4</sup> Negative influence was assessed on a five-point scale from 1 to 5, where «1» means that there is no impact, and «5» means very strong impact.

the Ukraine war has proved the global and regional institutions' inability to tackle modern conflicts in the world, and more specifically, to adequately respond to Russian aggression.<sup>5</sup> The activities of the main security structure – the UN Security Council – on the Ukrainian direction are effectively blocked by the aggressor. Russia has turned the UNSC into a platform for manipulation, fakes and outright lies. The OSCE is also in crisis. Just like the UNSC, its efforts to stop the war on the continent are paralysed, as Russia uses its OSCE membership to carry out information sabotage, justify aggression, and destroy the organisation from within. The overall assessment of the system of international institutions has shown that in the context of large-scale wars, escalating crises around the world, growing confrontation between the democratic world and authoritarian countries, the consensus-based decision-making mechanism has proven to be dysfunctional not only within the UNSC and the OSCE, but also within the EU and NATO.

Russia's hybrid aggression in the world, information expansion in different regions, and discrediting Ukraine and its foreign policy is the second worst factor (4.3 points). It is obvious that aggressive foreign policy of the totalitarian Russian empire is now the main strategic threat to Europe and the world. In particular, the Kremlin is pursuing hybrid expansion in Europe that includes justification of its aggression in Ukraine; interference in domestic political processes, including elections; massive cyberattacks; support for right-wing radical movements; espionage, sabotage and subversion, etc.

The third factor is the lack of determination and political will of some allies (4.2 points), including on military assistance to Ukraine and its accession to NATO. This continuing indecision cost Ukraine huge losses at the frontline and among civilians. Unfortunately, even today, the reluctance of these countries to intervene in the conflict with Russia has negative implications on the pace and volume of military assistance to Ukraine.

The next negative factor identified by experts is the growing military and political integration of authoritarian states (4.1 points).

In particular, the 16<sup>th</sup> BRICS summit on 22-24 October 2024 showed the consolidation of aggressive autocracies, namely China, Russia, North Korea and Iran, their growing expansion in different regions and increased activity on the world stage. This is further underscored by North Korea's involvement in the Ukraine war and its armed provocations on the South Korean border, China's increasingly militaristic rhetoric, the Joint Sword-2024B military exercises near Taiwan, the planned «comprehensive» partnership agreement between Russia and Iran, etc. Against this intensification of the authoritarian camp's aggressive policy, the collective West, weakened by internal problems and contradictions, has exposed its vulnerability.

Other unfavourable factors include the uncertainty of the newly elected US president's foreign policy, particularly on the Ukrainian direction (4 points), and the escalation of conflicts around the world (4 points). While the «American factor» has been discussed above, today's principal regional conflict is the ongoing war in the Middle East. There is a serious threat of escalation in the region resulting from Iranian missile attacks and Israeli retaliatory strikes. Israel continues to destroy Hezbollah's terrorist infrastructure in Lebanon and the Gaza Strip. Fighting continues on the Israeli-Lebanese front. This prolonged war diverts the attention and resources of the collective West, such as powerful US and EU naval contingents deployed in the Middle East.

Ukraine's foreign policy is further affected by Russia's large-scale aggression, with occupation of certain territories and considerable socio-economic and human losses of Ukraine (3.9 points); growing «war fatigue» in Europe, activation of right-wing forces, etc. (3.9 points); emergence in global discourse of pseudo-peacekeeping plans to end the Ukraine war that do not meet Kyiv's interests (3.7 points).

Experts' opinions about some internal factors that adversely affect the work of Ukrainian diplomacy are also worthy of attention. The respondents above all note general problems in Ukraine, such as insufficient pace of reforms, inadequate fight against

<sup>5</sup> For more detail, see Ukraine's Foreign Policy in the Context of Geopolitical Processes. Analytical report (February 2024), Razumkov centre, p.5-7, <https://razumkov.org.ua/images/2024/04/12/2024-PAKT-5.pdf>.

corruption, etc. (4.1 points).<sup>6</sup> These negative factors have become particularly relevant in times of war, undermining not only the effectiveness of diplomacy, but also the country's overall foreign policy position, including European integration. The problems of personnel policy in the diplomatic sphere and the shortage of professional staff have also scored 4.1 points. In the context of the war and dramatic rise of diplomatic contacts, the traditional Foreign Ministry's problem of qualified personnel has aggravated. Because of the shortage of specialists, ambassadorial positions in a number of important countries were vacant for a long time. It was precisely because of the staff shortage that in March 2023, for the first time in the history of Ukrainian diplomacy, the Foreign Minister announced an open competitive recruitment of ambassadors to 20 countries. Furthermore, some personnel transformations were rather controversial. In September 2024, the Foreign Minister was replaced, and later, when presenting the internal Resilience Plan, President Zelenskyy announced the reboot of the diplomatic service.

Other internal problems include poor coordination of government actions on the world stage (3.9 points) and excessive centralisation of functions and powers in the foreign policy sphere (3.9 points). The nature and specificity of Kyiv's diplomatic practice in times of war suggests that decision-making, initiatives and other processes in foreign policy are largely concentrated in the Presidential Office. However, despite the dominance of the presidential team in this field, one should not ignore the contribution of the Verkhovna Rada. In particular, the role of the Ukrainian parliament will be crucial in the strategic process of adapting national legislation to EU norms, which is decisive for Ukraine's progress towards the EU.

Respondents also mention the limited budgetary funding for foreign policy activities (3.8 points). It is clear that the lion's share of budget is spent on security and defence. At the same time, Ukraine manages to balance its budget thanks to external assistance from partners, primarily the United States and the European Union. Therefore, funding for foreign policy in war is forcedly limited, which

cannot but affect plans to strengthen Ukraine's diplomatic presence around the world. Other problematic factors, noted by experts, include unsatisfactory cooperation between the government and the expert community on foreign policy (3.8 points); limited and weak activities in the field of public diplomacy, information support of Ukraine's foreign policy (3.7 points); and low professionalism and competence of individuals engaged in foreign policy activities (3.6 points).

## **FOREIGN POLICY PRIORITIES AND DIRECTIONS**

The country's foreign policy position has many components, but international image deserves special attention. Therefore, 80% of respondents consider Ukraine's image positive or rather positive. Obviously, such perception is largely due to the fact that, despite enormous losses and suffering, Ukraine is courageously resisting the aggression of the nuclear empire, defending its statehood, national identity and European path of development. This inspires respect and support from countries around the world and international institutions. At the same time, Ukraine is trying to pursue an active policy in the world, to promote own interests, and to influence the global agenda. In general, it is about a positive perception of Ukraine, its reputation, media image, key ideas and political messages that represent the country abroad.

In this context, the experts' opinions on the most important Kyiv's actions and initiatives on the world stage are particularly interesting. Summarising their positions, a significant share of external accomplishments is associated with the progress on the European integration path.

86% of respondents first note the implementation of the European Commission's set of recommendations and the official launch of negotiations on Ukraine's accession to the EU.<sup>7</sup> This is undoubtedly a pivotal event that indicates progress towards the European community. 52% point to the significance of concluding long-term security cooperation agreements with various countries. 49% appreciate the adoption of a reform plan for Ukraine within the Ukraine Facility programme. And the fourth most important event

<sup>6</sup> Negative influence was assessed on a five-point scale from 1 to 5, where «1» means that there is no impact, and «5» means very strong impact.

<sup>7</sup> Experts could select no more than five options from the list.

(44% of experts) is the holding of EU-Ukraine sessions on the official screening of the compliance of Ukrainian legislation with EU law. Other important actions and initiatives of Ukraine include holding the Peace Summit in Switzerland (42%); organising the International Defence Industries Forum in Kyiv (32%); ratifying the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (32%); presenting and promoting the Ukrainian Victory Plan among the allied countries (28%), etc.

This list is largely illustrative, as Ukraine's foreign policy activities in 2024 comprised many different events, initiatives, meetings, actions, etc. Moreover, diplomatic work is quite dynamic, with new measures and projects being introduced all the time. This list, however, primarily highlights events related to advancing European integration, strengthening security, and providing financial and economic support to Ukraine. In general, this is in line with the foreign policy priorities identified by experts.

So, what are Ukraine's main foreign policy tasks? According to vast majority of respondents (83%),<sup>8</sup> Ukrainian diplomacy should first and foremost ensure an effective dialogue with the new US president and maintain solidarity and support from Washington. This task's priority is unquestionable given the importance of American military, political, and financial assistance.

Among other foreign policy priorities, 78% of respondents note creating conditions for the practical implementation of the EU accession negotiation process. This refers to the opening of several negotiation clusters in early 2025, indicating the start of the final stage of European integration. Another important issue (71%) is strengthening the coalition of countries that support Ukraine in its fight against Russian aggression. This task is truly strategic given the polarisation of the international community and the above-mentioned growing aggressiveness of the alliance of authoritarian countries. In turn, 64% of surveyed experts are convinced that accelerating integration into NATO is among the national diplomacy's top priorities. Ukraine joining the Alliance is one of the pillars of the country's foreign policy and its significance is growing during a large-scale war. In building

the hierarchy of current foreign policy tasks, 44% of experts emphasise the importance of developing economic diplomacy, including stimulating foreign investment and promoting Ukrainian goods on world markets. Other important tasks include attracting external resources for Ukraine's recovery; implementing the Victory Plan; and ensuring that Russia is held accountable for its crimes against Ukraine.

To sum up, experts believe that foreign policy should be focused on preserving and reinforcing partnership with the United States, accelerating European and Euro-Atlantic integration, ensuring consolidation and solidarity of allied countries.

### **SOME CONCLUSIONS AND PROPOSALS<sup>9</sup>**

The survey findings mirror some relevant aspects of the current foreign policy situation. In the meantime, the survey gives an idea of the expert community positions regarding the nature and effectiveness of Ukraine's foreign policy during the war, as well as external factors that adversely affect the government actions globally. These include the inability of global and regional security structures to stop Russian aggression, the impact of Russia's hybrid expansion in the world, the lack of determination and political will of some allies, etc. At the same time, experts point out internal problems in Ukraine, such as insufficient pace of reforms, inadequate fight against corruption, as well as personnel problems in the diplomatic sphere, poor coordination of governmental actions globally, etc.

Speaking of Ukraine's most important events and initiatives in 2024, experts primarily note the opening of the EU membership talks; the conclusion of long-term security cooperation agreements; the adoption of a reform plan under the Ukraine Facility programme; official screening of the compliance of Ukrainian legislation with EU law; the holding of the Peace Summit in Switzerland, etc. This list highlights the weight and priority of the European integration among other Ukrainian foreign policy initiatives and achievements.

Outlining the tasks of Ukrainian diplomacy, members of the expert community note the

<sup>8</sup> Experts could select up to five key tasks from the list.

<sup>9</sup> This subsection uses some of the proposals suggested in the previous material based on the results of the expert survey (October 2024), which remain relevant.

need for arranging an effective dialogue with the new US President, ensuring conditions for the practical opening of the EU accession negotiations, consolidating the coalition of allied countries, and accelerating NATO integration. It is clear that Ukrainian diplomacy's agenda is not limited to these areas. It should also be added that experts are generally positive about Ukraine's international image.

This expert survey cannot cover all foreign policy aspects and areas, but its results provide grounds for some conclusions and recommendations. Taking into account the dynamics of the geopolitical situation, current problems and challenges, Ukrainian diplomacy should focus on the following strategic directions.

Priorities of Ukrainian diplomats include ensuring an effective dialogue with Donald Trump and preserving solidarity and assistance from Washington. The tactical task is to launch a constructive dialogue with the new White House administration at various levels and to convey Ukraine's position on achieving a stable and just peace for Ukraine to Mr Trump's entourage in a convincing and reasoned manner. The period before the inauguration, when the American version of peace for Ukraine is expected to take shape, is critical time for consultations at different levels. It should be a pragmatic dialogue taking into account the Republican leader's psychological qualities and interests. At the same time, it is important for Kyiv to maintain consolidated bipartisan support in Congress and the American establishment in general.

Given the current uncertainty of the US position on the Ukrainian track, the following tasks gain particular importance: a) preserving and building consolidated military and financial support from allies in Europe and elsewhere in the world (Japan, Australia, Argentina, South Korea, etc.); b) scaling up international military-technical and economic cooperation, developing the national defence industry with the help of the coalition of allies, including in the Ramstein Group format; c) seeking to rise the technological level of weapons provided to Ukraine in view of new missile types used by the aggressor.

The agenda of Ukrainian diplomacy is to maximise the unity and solidarity of the collective West in countering threats at various levels, including Russian intervention in Ukraine, the Kremlin's hybrid expansion in Europe and

centrifugal processes in the West. Another challenge is to jointly oppose the military and political integration of aggressive authoritarian regimes that provoke instability around the world. The latter is particularly relevant given the North Korea's direct military involvement in the Russia-Ukraine war on the side of the aggressor.

The strategic direction of the national diplomacy is European and Euro-Atlantic integration. In relations with the EU, the obvious priority is to prepare and launch practical accession negotiations, including the opening of several negotiation clusters – Cluster 1 «Fundamentals of the EU Accession Process», and Cluster 2 «Internal Market». The opening of Cluster 6 «Foreign Relations», which includes Foreign Policy and Foreign, Security and Defence Policy, is particularly relevant for Kyiv.

To this end, it is advisable to:

- ✓ agree on roadmaps for the rule of law and public administration reforms and ensure effective implementation of the National Programme for the Adaptation of Ukrainian Legislation to the EU Law;
- ✓ ensure clear, coordinated work of the established negotiation groups;
- ✓ accelerate reforms in the most «sensitive» areas for the EU, including the activities of anti-corruption bodies, judiciary reform, functioning of democratic institutions, ensuring fundamental rights and freedoms, etc. At the same time, it is necessary to continue implementing the provisions of the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement in the most problematic areas, such as transport, financial cooperation and anti-fraud, consumer protection, etc;
- ✓ ensure institutional and HR improvement of the structures responsible for European integration (in particular, the Office of the Vice Prime Minister for European and Euro-Atlantic Integration, the Government Office for Coordination of European and Euro-Atlantic Integration);
- ✓ engage the public in the negotiation process more broadly, including by intensifying collaboration between state institutions and specialised non-governmental



think tanks dealing with European integration;

- ✓ elaborate a roadmap of possible problems and complications on the part of individual EU countries and their requirements during the negotiation process. Such a map of «negotiation challenges», developed together with European experts, will allow Ukraine to be better prepared for possible problems during the talks;
- ✓ pursue a targeted and flexible regional policy that will minimise and address problems, both existing and potential, in relations with CEE countries (Poland, Hungary, Romania, Slovakia, Bulgaria, etc.), including during the membership talks; continue negotiations on a new agreement with Hungary;
- ✓ introduce transparency and publicity in the negotiation process, including by publishing regular interim government reports;

In the area of Euro-Atlantic integration, Ukraine's political and diplomatic efforts should focus on the following:

*First*, advancing the components of Ukraine's Victory Plan in negotiations with partners, including formalising Ukraine's partnership with NATO.

*Second*, adding specific content to the framework agreements on security cooperation that Ukraine has concluded with a number of partners and NATO members. This includes the development and implementation of intergovernmental and interagency agreements, contracts, and joint programmes of military-technical cooperation within the framework of allies' long-term commitments.

*Third*, ensuring effective implementation of the action plan for the sections of the adapted Annual National Programme for 2024, as well as Ukraine's commitments to reform the defence sector contained in the above-mentioned security cooperation agreements. In particular, it is about strengthening democratic civilian control over the security sector, increasing the efficiency and transparency of defence institutions and industry, improving the development of the Armed Forces, etc.

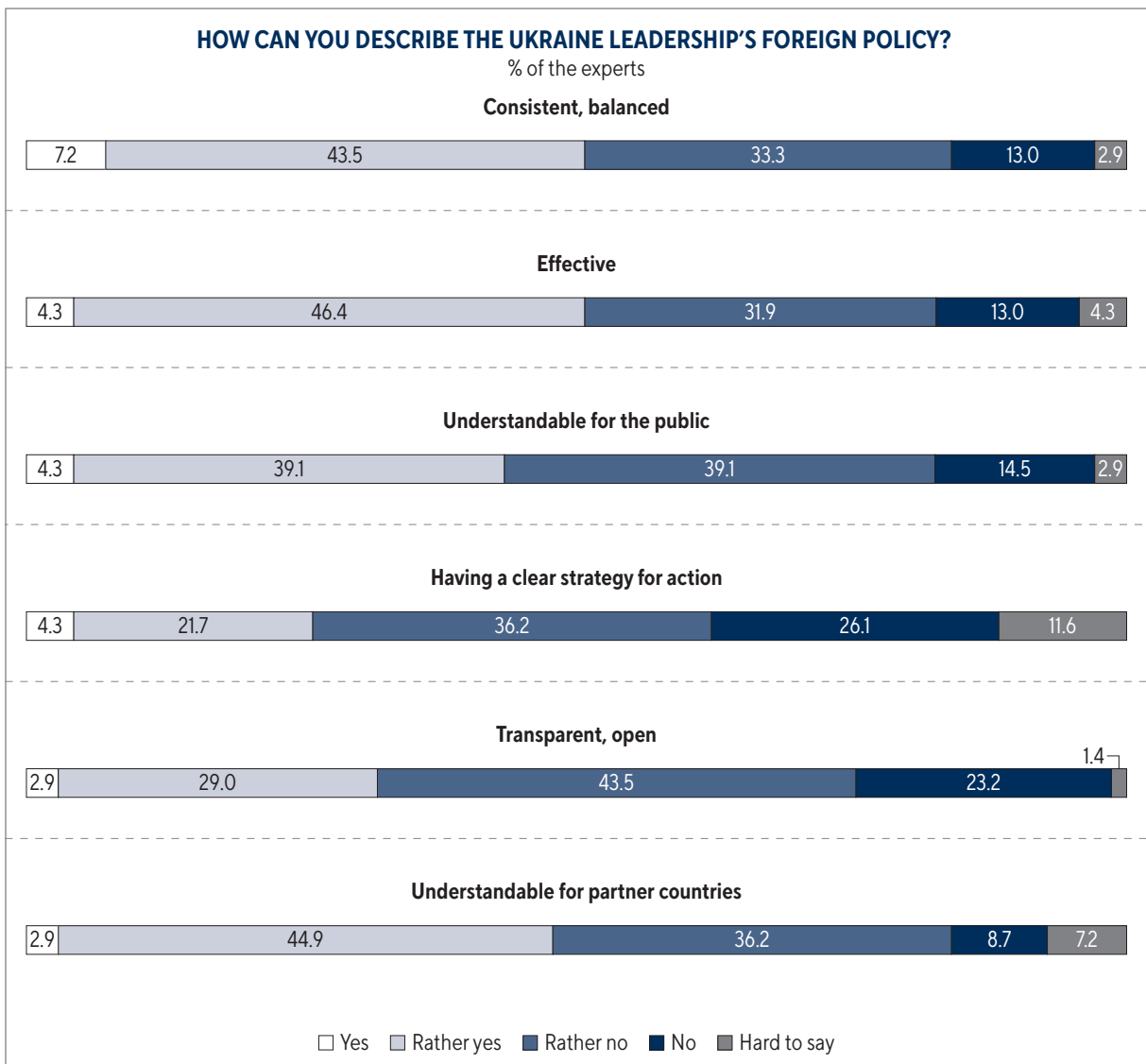
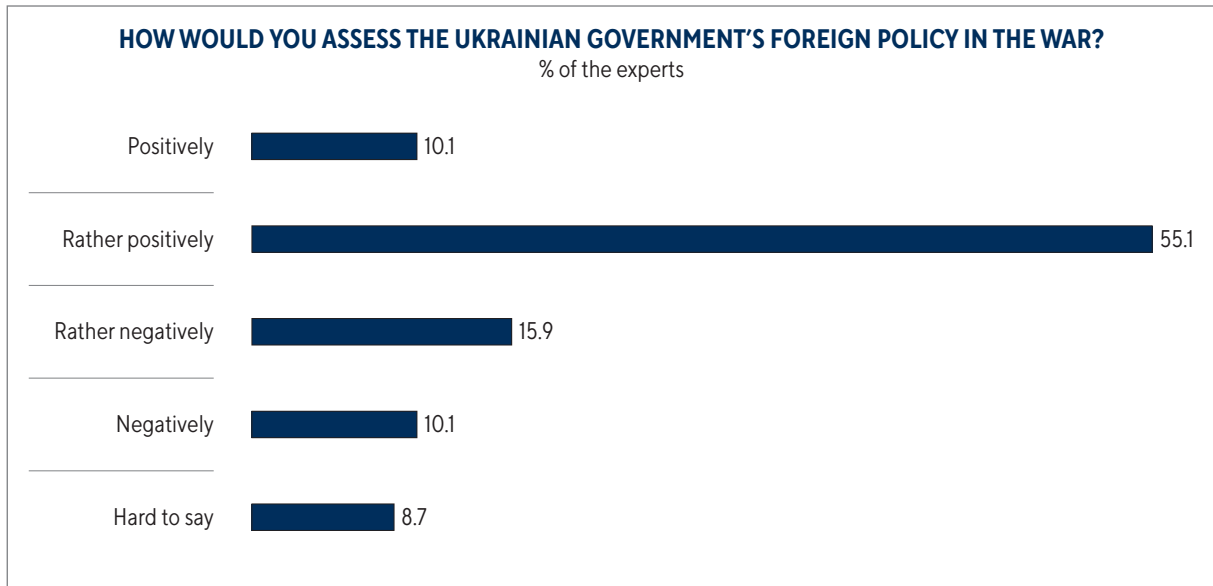
*Fourth*, using the NATO-Ukraine Council mechanisms to coordinate actions on the global stage, identify directions and priorities of internal reforms in Ukraine and jointly monitor the effectiveness of their implementation.

The promotion and actual holding of the second Peace Summit is another important vector of Ukraine's foreign policy. The internationally agreed provisions of the Peace Formula should be part of a project to end the war in Ukraine and establish a lasting, just peace. The Victory Plan is the «power component» of Ukraine's peace plan, which Kyiv is actively promoting bilaterally and internationally.

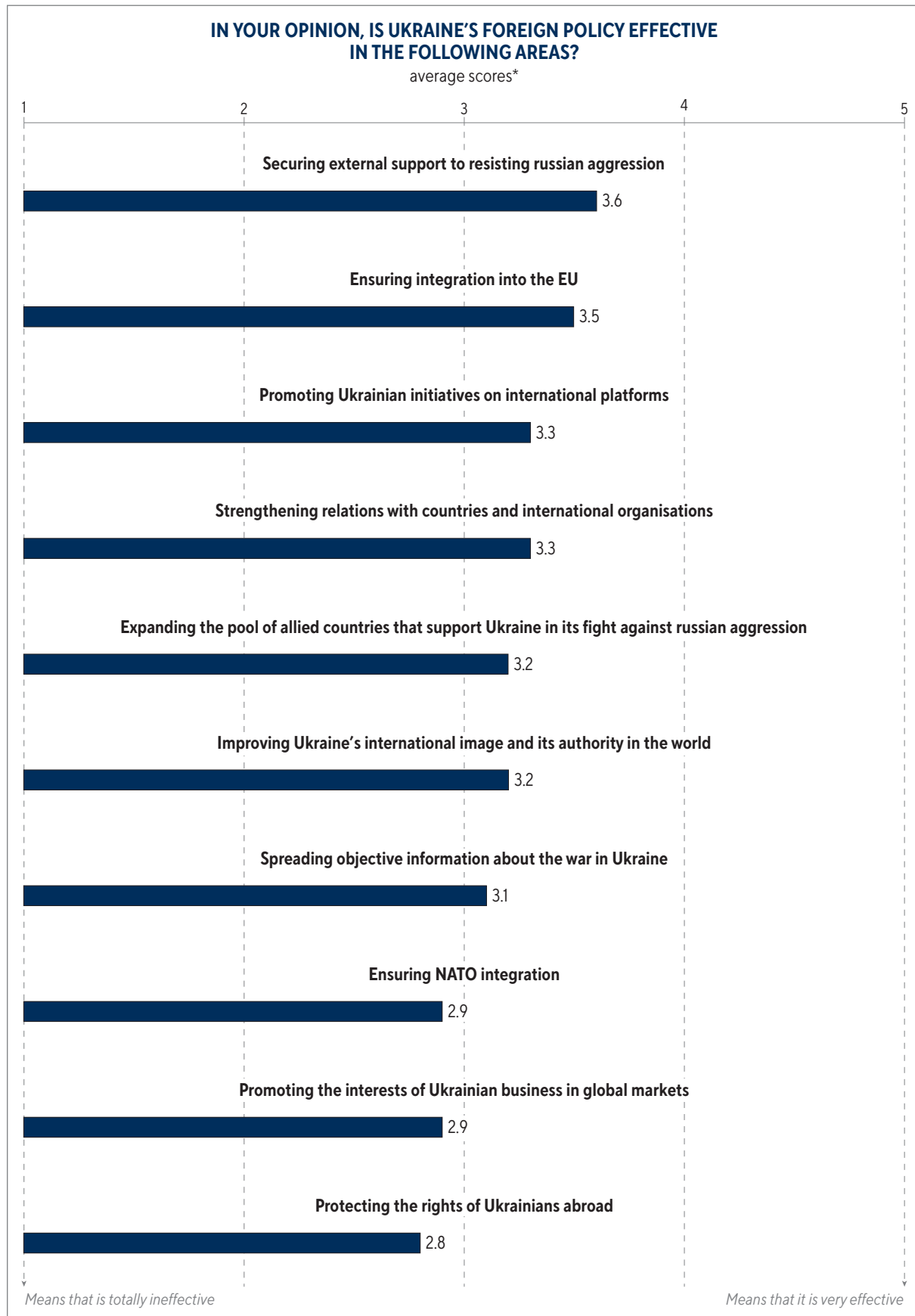
The eighth point of the internal Resilience Plan deserves special attention, given the scale and significance of the problem of Ukrainian refugees, especially in the EU. This includes both the establishment of a separate government body («Ministry of Unity») tasked to deal with the problems of the «new» Ukrainian diaspora, and the development and implementation of systemic state policy. At the same time, the Foreign Ministry should develop a targeted programme aimed at coordinating the activities of Ukraine's diplomatic missions and diaspora organisations and conducting systematic work with Ukrainian refugees.

**Outlining Ukraine's foreign policy in 2024, one should recognise many significant achievements, effective initiatives and events in the world, and especially in Europe. Ukrainian diplomacy stood out by its active and effective actions in bilateral relations and on international platforms. However, the promotion of national interests internationally was complicated by various global and regional challenges and threats, as well as growing geopolitical instability. In these settings, it is important to boost solidarity and unity among the democratic world, increase political, military and financial support for Ukraine, ensure a sustainable partnership with the United States, and successfully integrate into Europe and the Euro-Atlantic.**

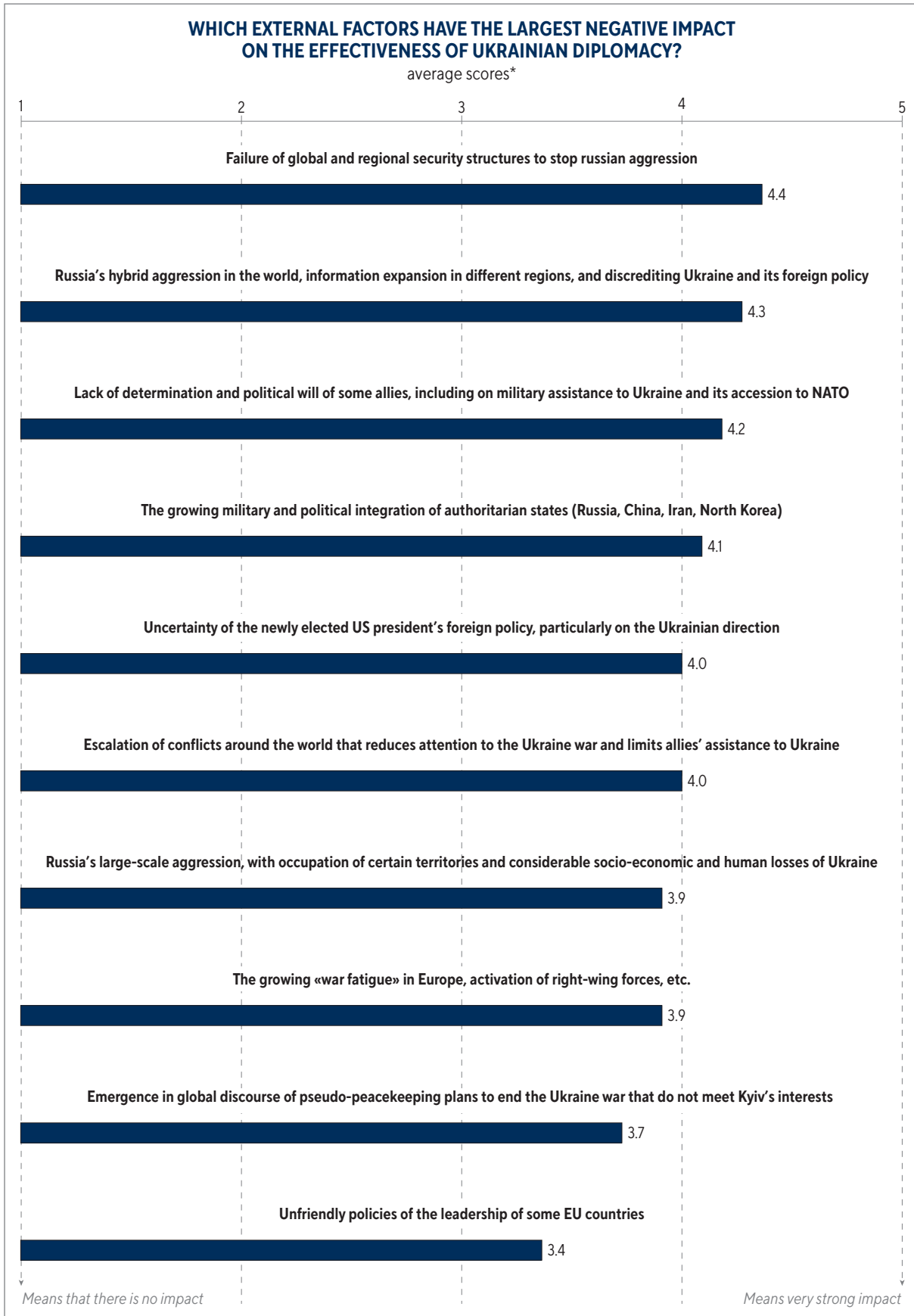
**In the meantime, amidst a prolonged war, it is crucial for the Ukrainian nation to strengthen its unity, enhance the country's defence capability, and actively invest its potential in reforms in various areas. Obviously, the effectiveness of national diplomacy will also depend on the success of internal transformations.**



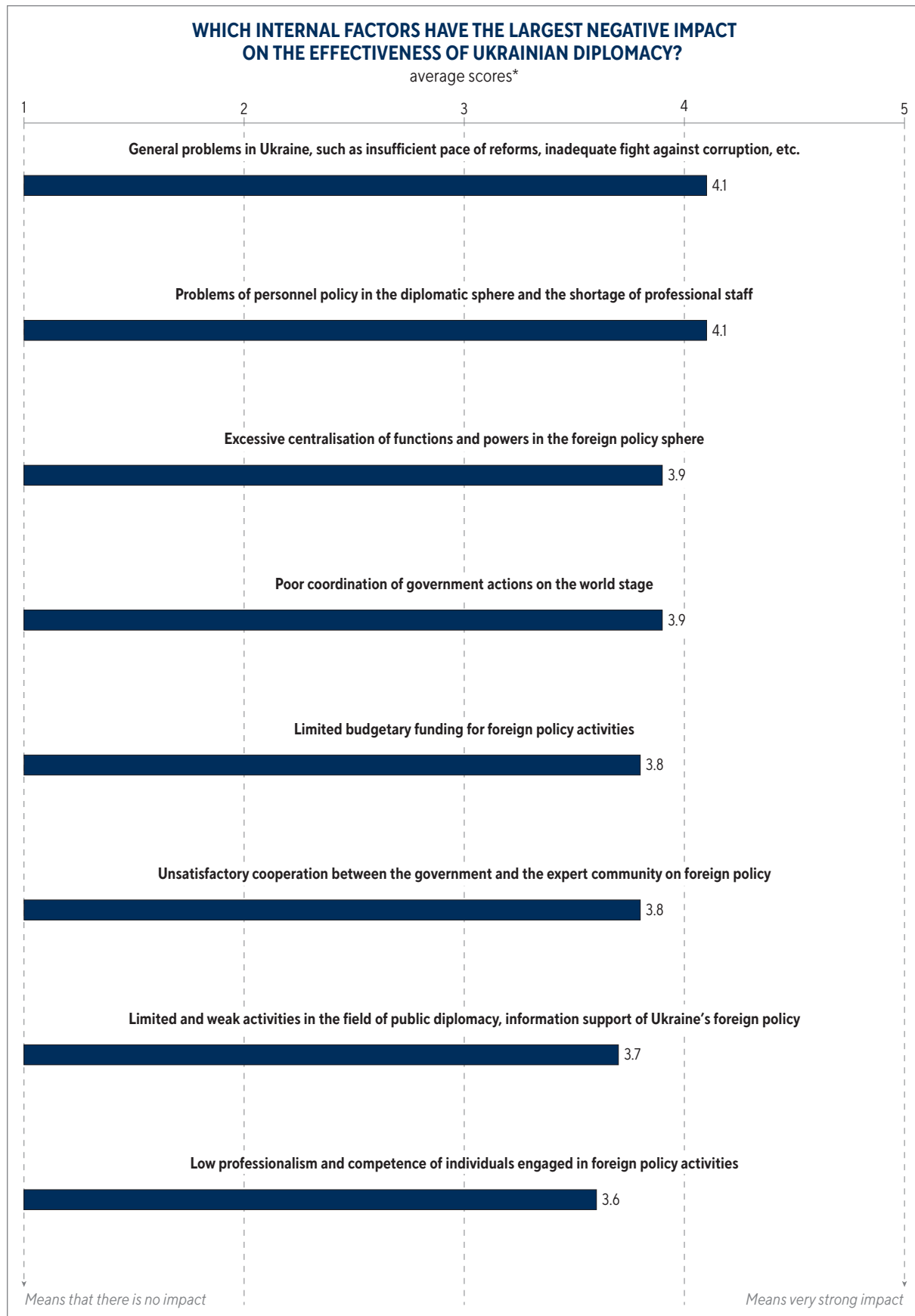
\* One answer for each line.



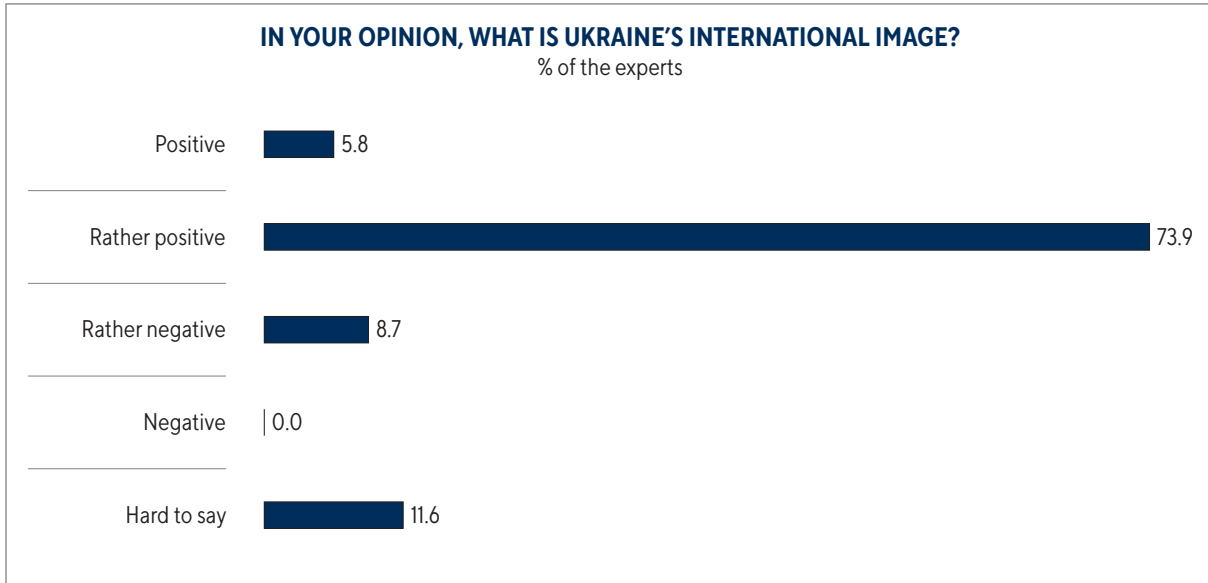
\* Rate each item on a five-point scale from 1 to 5, where «1» means that the policy is totally ineffective, and «5» means that it is very effective.



\* rate each item on a five-point scale from 1 to 5, where «1» means that there is no impact, and «5» means very strong impact.



\* rate each item on a five-point scale from 1 to 5, where «1» means that there is no impact, and «5» means very strong impact.



**WHAT KYIV'S FOREIGN POLICY ACTIONS AND INITIATIVES IN 2024 ARE THE MOST IMPORTANT FOR UKRAINE?\***  
% of the experts

Implementing the European Commission's set of recommendations and the official launch of negotiations on Ukraine's accession to the EU	85.5
Concluding long-term security cooperation agreements with various countries	52.2
Adopting a reform plan for Ukraine within the Ukraine Facility programme for 2024-2027	49.3
Holding of EU-Ukraine sessions on the official screening of the compliance of Ukrainian legislation with EU law	43.5
Organising and holding the inaugural Peace Summit in Switzerland based on the Ukrainian Peace Formula	42.0
Ratifying the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court by the Verkhovna Rada	31.9
Organising the International Defence Industries Forum (DFNC2) in Kyiv	31.9
Presenting and promoting the Ukrainian Victory Plan among the allies	27.5
Holding a Ukraine Recovery Conference in Berlin to secure external financial and economic support for countering Russian aggression	24.6
Organising a series of international conferences to prepare for the second Peace Summit, tentatively scheduled for late 2024	13.0
Holding the 4th Crimea Platform Summit in Kyiv	10.1
Developing and implementing a Strategy for the Development of Relations between Ukraine and Latin America and the Caribbean	7.2
Other	0.0
Hard to say	1.4

\* No more than five options.

<b>IN YOUR OPINION, WHAT ARE THE MOST URGENT TASKS FOR UKRAINIAN DIPLOMACY?*</b>	
% of the experts	
Ensuring an effective dialogue with the new US president and maintaining solidarity and support from Washington	82.6
Creating conditions for the practical implementation of the EU accession negotiation process	78.3
Accelerating integration into NATO	71.0
Strengthening the coalition of countries that support Ukraine in its fight against russian aggression	63.8
Developing economic diplomacy, including stimulating foreign investment and promoting Ukrainian goods on world markets	43.5
Coordinating and implementing the priorities and tasks set out in the Victory Plan together with our allies	36.2
Continuing signing security agreements with partner countries and filling them with practical content	34.8
Attracting external resources for Ukraine’s recovery and reforms	33.3
Promoting international condemnation and prosecution of russia for its crimes against Ukraine	31.9
Holding the second Peace Summit	15.9
Other	1.4
Hard to say	1.4

\* No more than five options.