

STRATEGIC TARGETS OF UKRAINIAN FOREIGN POLICY

Throughout this arduous year, all of Ukraine, with its diplomacy, kept on with our struggle to restore territorial integrity and fair peace for Ukraine, fighting the full-scale Russian armed aggression against our state.

The top priority of President Zelenskyy's diplomatic team remains to increase military aid to Ukraine, provide Ukrainian defenders with high-tech weapons and ammunition, and expand the Ukrainian military's land, air, and maritime capabilities.

At the same time, the foreign policy team strives to achieve the strategic goals: enhancement of our standing across all continents, development of lasting partnerships, transformation of the regional and reformation of the global security architecture, etc.

Not only must we win the war, we also need to achieve comprehensive, fair, and sustainable peace. Ukraine has to assume a proper role in the global architecture of international relations given that Ukrainian warriors are now defending freedom and the just international order founded on the principles of the UN Charter. If we don't put forward our own strategy – a Ukrainian vision of regional and global post-war order – others will formulate such a strategy without us.

Ukraine already has its own comprehensive vision, as evidenced by the Peace Formula and the Ukrainian Doctrine of President Volodymyr Zelenskyy. We are already taking diplomatic steps towards fulfilling our vision and consolidating the world around our victory, co-leadership, co-responsibility, and an effective system of international institutions that could ensure the security and sovereignty of states and the dignity and freedom of human beings wherever they may be.

The international institutions the world needs are not those that express concern and lament about the limitations of their mandates but those that immediately *take action* that lasts for hours, a day, or days because people's freedom, lives, and health depend on the swiftness of their response. The path towards this ambitious goal entails the decisive victory of Ukraine, renewed compliance with the principles of the UN Charter, and an overhaul of the United Nations.

Together with the President of Ukraine, his Office, and other ministries, we work around the clock so that Ukraine's interests are considered and

safeguarded in the global arena and that Ukraine can emerge as a confident leader with a unique offer for the international community: a desirable partner that stimulates just, inclusive, and democratic world order.

In early October, the historic meeting of EU foreign ministers in the Ukrainian capital indicated Kyiv's role as a centre of European politics. For the first time in history, a crucial negotiation platform of the 27 European Union member states took place beyond its present border but within its future one.

I am confident that Ukraine can become a model of leadership for the post-war world and a legendary success story. To that end, Ukrainian diplomacy systematically carries out coordinated foreign policy, not only for the sake of Ukraine's victory but also for our state's strategic leadership.

The heroism of our warriors and the fortitude of our citizens have already allowed Ukraine and *Ukrainianness* to shape our global brand of freedom and courage. Our task is to hold on to political positions and capitalise on our real influence, converting it into billions-worth contracts and investments, advanced defence industry and innovation partnerships, security guarantees, and accelerated European and Euro-Atlantic integration.

All these tasks are already in the works, already accumulating tangible benefits for the state, businesses, and citizens. Ukraine's potential resources are incomparable to those of the US and China or the UK and Germany. However, we have our own strengths. The strategy of Ukraine's leadership places a bet on our strong suits: the attractiveness of our national brand around the world, courage and willingness to take responsibility, proactivity and invincibility of the Ukrainian people.

In almost two years of Russian full-scale invasion, we have accumulated unprecedented experience in making a stand against the aggressor in the context of high-intensity conventional warfare; experience of wartime diplomacy, civic consolidation, getting defence industry production up and running under constant missile attacks; experience of resilience and endless crisis management.

This list can go on and on from demining vast expanses of territory to curbing the consequences of the Russian terror strike against the Kakhovka Hydroelectric Power Plant, from protecting Ukrainian nuclear power plants to launching the Black Sea grain corridor. Ukraine's unique experience and advantages in warfare, IT, agriculture, defence industry, intellectual potential, and strategic geographical placement are the key to Ukraine's leadership in the post-war world and the pillar of our resilience amidst a volatile international landscape.

But all of that will stay an unseized opportunity if the world doesn't discover our potential or believe in it; if we fail to form and reinforce partnerships; if the voices of the Russian propaganda and the sceptics ring louder than Ukraine's voice.

Ukrainian diplomacy plays a key role in maximising our strengths in the international arena and seizing the historic chance that no previous generation

of Ukrainians has ever had; we can now not only preserve independence but even make Ukraine a strong international actor and a leader with global potential.

Nowadays, the diplomatic team of the President of Ukraine does everything possible to meet all the critical battlefield and home front needs, attracts investments that will bear fruit in the longer term, and generally works on strengthening stability, security, and welfare for Ukrainians and reinforcing Ukraine's sovereignty and agency.

The first strategic target of Ukraine's foreign policy is strengthening our state's long-term security and enhancing Ukraine's military and political global capabilities. Ukrainian defenders are sacrificing their lives and health so that the war becomes the last war for the current generation of Ukrainians – especially for our children. Therefore, Ukraine needs a robust defence industry cluster, security guarantees, and reliable alliances and partners.

Jointly with other relevant institutions, Ukrainian diplomacy is actively developing our defence industry.

At the start of this year, our MFA came to a conclusion: if Ukraine's defence forces are to receive steady weapon deliveries, we must take the quality of the global defence industry's work to a new level. That is when I approached the President of Ukraine with this idea and a suggestion to arrange an event that would involve the leading global and Ukrainian defence companies in joint production, maintenance, and repair of the weapons Ukraine needs.

We combined efforts with the Ministry of Strategic Industries and the Ministry of Defence and worked around the clock to pull as many defence companies as possible to Kyiv, encourage the governments of their countries to support joint projects with Ukraine by all means, and involve NATO and the EU in the process. It was one of the major ideas voiced during international meetings of the President of Ukraine, Head of his Office Andrii Yermak, Prime Minister Denys Shmyhal, and Ukrainian ministers.

And we succeeded. 252 companies from more than 30 countries came to Kyiv in late September to participate in the International Forum of Defence Industries. It brought together the world's manufacturers of tanks, artillery, drones and anti-drone systems, and ammunition, developers of innovative software, and owners of unique sophisticated technology. The Forum involved numerous Ukrainian state-owned and private businesses, from branched groups of companies to defence tech start-ups.

During the Forum, Ukrainian and foreign entrepreneurs signed about twenty documents, founding new mutually beneficial partnerships.

The Forum ushered in a new era of the development of the Ukrainian defence industry. We are not simply pulling foreign weapons into Ukraine but integrating the Ukrainian defence industry complex into the NATO defence industry. We are

starting mutually beneficial partnerships and adopting cutting-edge technology so that we can begin manufacturing as many of the most powerful weapons as we need. And then soldiers on the battlefield will have everything they require to protect themselves and destroy the enemy.

Such is the path towards Ukraine's long-term defence independence. After our victory, the weapons co-produced by Ukraine and its partners will be the most competitive in the world. The military force of the free world is being forged in Ukraine now.

Together with NATO member states, we are founding strategic defence industry partnerships and joint weapon and ammunition production for our troops. When combined with the defence industries of allies, the robust Ukrainian defence industry complex doesn't just yield high-tech weapons for the AFU but also seriously advances our profile in the international arena.

Ukraine has everything it takes to become a leading weapons and military technology supplier to different countries and regions after the war. That will undoubtedly propel our international leadership and weight.

Ukrainian diplomats continue working with partners to develop regional alliances and cooperation frameworks, as security, welfare, and stability in Central Europe are our shared responsibility. And despite the occasional struggles arising in the relations due to our neighbours' electoral processes, I'm confident that emotions shall not overpower constructive dialogue. For one simple reason: we are to live together in this region, and we have one common enemy – Russia. Solidarity and cooperation are our only option when it comes to strengthening each other and our entire Europe.

The regional architecture of the alliances Ukraine creates together with its Central European neighbours is a means of collective defence against the Russian aggressor; it is a network for promoting shared interests, an instrument for establishing defensive, economic, and technological partnerships that strengthen all parties involved.

In the last year, Ukrainian diplomats fully unlocked the provision of Western weapons (from anti-tank systems to modern fighter jets), forged the F-16 coalition for the promptest training of Ukrainian pilots and delivery of fighter jets to Ukraine, and secured energy aid to Ukraine amid the Russian missile terror during the winter of 2022–23.

The second strategic target of Ukrainian diplomacy is implementing the Peace Formula to restore global security as well as comprehensive, just, and lasting peace in Ukraine.

Russian full-scale aggression against Ukraine has shown the weakness of international institutions, their incapacity to defend sovereign states from the wickedness of tyrants. Moscow deliberately sabotages the world's energy, nuclear, and food security to fulfil its imperial ambitions.

The Russian war against Ukraine is a global challenge that threatens most countries in one way or the other. Unless Ukraine's territorial integrity is restored and the aggressor is held accountable, no state will be able to feel secure. If Russia escapes punishment – if it holds on to but a small piece of occupied Ukrainian territory – would-be revisionists in other parts of the world will have free reign to attack their neighbours, destroying the security and welfare of entire regions.

Ukraine's objective does not end at restoring territorial integrity within its internationally recognised borders; it also seeks to restore a secure and fair world order for all, preventing future aggression against other countries. That aligns with the pragmatic interests of the entire international community. And that is precisely why the global support for our efforts only grows.

On top of the liberation of our entire territory, the Ukrainian Peace Formula also provides for the improvement of the UN's capacity to protect the fundamental principles of international law. That means prompt crisis response, early prevention of new wars, effective opposition to aggressors, and unconditional observance of the principles of the UN Charter.

Russia has de facto obstructed the work of the UN Security Council and turned it into just another discussion platform offering no specific decisions or influential steps. So long as the terrorist state exercises the veto power to shield aggression and genocide, the UN will steadily approach moral bankruptcy and utter inability to address modern challenges, while the system of international institutions will head towards its final decline.

During his speech at the meeting of the UN Security Council in September 2023, Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy proposed a comprehensive reform of the Organisation based on the Peace Formula, suggesting introducing the mechanism for overriding the veto, expand the number and regional representation of permanent members of the UN Security Council, and establish a system for aggression prevention through early response.

In the past year, the Ukrainian President's foreign policy team ensured strong international support for the Peace Formula. The number of countries joining the discussion on the ways to implement the Ukrainian peace initiative continues to grow. To paraphrase what Josep Borrell, the EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, said the other day in Kyiv, the Peace Formula now remains the formula for ending the war.

Look back at all kinds of peace initiatives proposed as early as the start of 2023, of which most were detrimental to Ukraine. By now, all those voices have faded away. Even the Russian Foreign Minister does nothing but complain about the Peace Formula in his comments to the media. That is a major accomplishment of the diplomatic team: the Ukrainian vision of ending the war has become dominant worldwide. We used to be coerced into making poor

decisions or pushed to take unacceptable steps and have to explain ourselves. We have overcome that tide. Now, it is Russians who are on the information defensive.

The third strategic target is the globalisation of Ukrainian interests. Those interests are not divisible, and thus, our diplomats continue strengthening Ukraine's positions on all continents, increasing our presence and political influence in Africa, Asia, the Middle East, Latin America, and even faraway Oceania.

If Ukraine seeks to preserve its role in the world's processes and its freedom and sovereignty, we must play the global game, strengthening the relations with the new prospective players and actively supporting our entrepreneurs as they enter new markets. Today, Ukrainian diplomacy is rediscovering the world for our citizens, charting a new map of interests and partnerships, and setting up outposts of Ukrainian influence in the world's most remote corners.

In 2023, we are opening an entire cluster of new Ukrainian embassies in Africa for the first time in a long while. In the last 12 months, I paid visits to 11 African states, undertook the first in our history Foreign Minister's visit to Guatemala, and attended a meeting of the Ministerial Council of the Association of Caribbean States.

We bear an unambiguous signal: *Ukraine goes global*. To ensure that Ukraine preserves its agency, our diplomatic team conducts a bold and truly global foreign policy, forging partnerships with African, Asian, and Latin American states, which are becoming ever more influential in the international processes. For a strong Ukraine, this is the only valid path.

Ukrainian diplomats continue developing the Nazovni platform, which helps our entrepreneurs enter new markets and promote Ukrainian goods and services. And it is precisely the Asian, African, and Latin American markets that offer fantastic opportunities for Ukrainian exporters.

We do everything to help Ukrainian exporters reach new markets seamlessly, earn more, create more jobs, and responsibly add more funds to Ukraine's war budget. A strong class of Ukrainian exporters is the foundation for the recovery of Ukraine and the restoration of our people's welfare; it is the driver of the economic leadership of our state both at home and abroad.

Ukraine is a strategic player in the global food market. That only goes to once again underscore our state's global role and potential. Ukraine will always be a reliable and predictable partner to anyone who relies on our food; it will be a confident guardian of global food security. With the support of international partners, President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy launched the Grain from Ukraine – a massive humanitarian initiative to supply Ukrainian grain to countries critically dependent on our food exports.

Today, Ukraine is a proactive player and a driving force of processes, which introduces ambitious initiatives and new formulae for overcoming global challenges,

generating value added for the world. That includes the Grain from Ukraine and the Black Sea grain corridor, the Peace Formula and the UN reform, etc. And that is but a start.

The fourth strategic target is the reform of Ukrainian diplomacy. We are building a brand-new diplomatic service that will not only secure Ukraine's victory on the international front but also adequately handle future challenges, preserving and strengthening Ukraine's positions of leadership. Our foreign counterparts say Ukraine has reinvented diplomacy amidst the full-scale invasion. Indeed, the war and life itself forced us to pursue new methods of overcoming unprecedentedly massive challenges. Today, Ukrainian wartime diplomacy is about doing the impossible to accomplish the impossible.

We wouldn't have delivered such a result had we not revised domestic processes and practices. We have opened the diplomatic service for Ukrainian and foreign professionals, people who are willing and determined to protect Ukrainian interests abroad. We are introducing more incentives and seeking out the best specialists from different areas of expertise to bolster the MFA team and bring in new outlooks and new decisions that can hasten the coming of our victory. We carried out our first-ever open search for ambassadorial candidates. Anyone with skill, qualification, and ambition received an equal chance to join the foreign policy team. We processed hundreds of applications and selected over a dozen professionals to reinforce our top positions.

Ukraine's victory and Russia's defeat will inevitably change the world, accelerating the complete transformation of international order. Thanks to the new defensive capabilities, the implementation of the Peace Formula, the confident presence across all continents, and the reworked diplomatic service, Ukraine will approach that moment strong and ready like never before.