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**FOREIGN POLICY OF UKRAINE UNDER CURRENT CHALLENGES OF GLOBAL AND REGIONAL SECURITY**

**Abstract**

Foreign policy as one of the key areas for the functioning of sovereign states is designed to protect their national interests and promote maintenance of the welfare of the population. For Ukraine, such vectors of foreign policy as European, Euro-Atlantic, Eurasian, Middle Eastern, and Asian are traditionally important. One of the main vectors of Ukraine's foreign policy at the current stage is integration into the European Union. At the same time, an extremely important task for Ukrainian diplomacy is countering Russian aggression, protection of the population in the East of the state and in the Crimea and the soonest possible resolution of the conflict in the Donbas region.

Consequently, this topic is of considerable interest, and it is worth examining in detail the current state of Ukraine's foreign policy, in particular, in view of the current challenges of global and regional security. Analysis of foreign and Ukrainian sources on this topic indicates the interest of researchers in matters of foreign policy of Ukraine, as well as international conflicts and their settlement.

The purpose of this article is to study the current state of Ukraine's foreign policy in the context of the current challenges of global and regional security.

Based on the analysis, it was determined that at the current stage there is sufficient potential for further development of Ukraine's foreign policy, in particular in view of the current challenges of global and regional security. On the basis of the analysis, one can arrive at conclusions that among the successes of Ukraine's foreign policy in recent years one can mention withstanding Russian aggression, introduction of a visa-free regime with the European Union, further deepening of cooperation within the framework of the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement and deepening of Euro-Atlantic integration. At the same time, it is necessary to strengthen the effective use of the foreign policy resource to efficiently respond to the challenges of global and regional security. There are further prospects for research related to the effective resolution of international conflicts at the current stage.

**Keywords:** international security, conflict resolution, Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), European Union (EU), North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), foreign policy

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## **ЗОВНІШНЯ ПОЛІТИКА УКРАЇНИ В УМОВАХ СУЧАСНИХ ВИКЛИКІВ ГЛОБАЛЬНОЇ І РЕГІОНАЛЬНОЇ БЕЗПЕКИ**

### **Резюме**

У статті досліджено актуальне питання нинішнього стану зовнішньої політики України в умовах сучасних викликів міжнародної безпеки. Метою є дослідження нинішнього стану зовнішньої політики України в умовах сучасних викликів глобальної і регіональної безпеки. Дослідження проведено на основі порівняльного, історичного методів, а також методу контент-аналізу. У результатах дослідження зазначається, що на нинішньому етапі існує достатній потенціал для подальшого розвитку зовнішньої політики України, зокрема з огляду на сучасні виклики глобальної і регіональної безпеки. Отже, можна зробити висновок, що серед успіхів зовнішньої політики України протягом останніх років можна виокремити протистояння російській агресії, впровадження безвізового режиму з Європейським Союзом та подальше поглиблення співпраці у рамках Угоди про асоціацію Україна-ЄС, поглиблена євроатлантична інтеграція. Водночас необхідно посилити ефективне використання зовнішньополітичного ресурсу для відповіді на виклики міжнародної безпеки.

**Ключові слова:** міжнародна безпека, врегулювання конфліктів, Організація з безпеки і співробітництва у Європі (ОБСЄ), Європейський Союз (ЄС), Організація північноатлантичного договору (НАТО), зовнішня політика

### **1. Introduction**

Foreign policy as one of the key areas for the functioning of sovereign states is designed to protect their national interests and promote maintenance of the welfare of the population. For Ukraine, such vectors of foreign policy as European, Euro-Atlantic, Eurasian, Middle Eastern and Asian are traditionally important. One of the main vectors of Ukraine's foreign policy at the present stage is integration into the structures of the European Union. At the same time, an extremely important task for Ukrainian diplomacy is confronting Russian aggression, protection of the population in the East of the country and in the Crimea, as well as the soonest possible resolution of the conflict in the Donbas region.

Consequently, this topic is of considerable interest, and it is worth examining in detail the current state of Ukraine's foreign policy, in particular, in view of the current challenges of global and regional security. Analysis of foreign and Ukrainian sources on this topic indicates the interest of researchers in matters of foreign policy of Ukraine, as well as international conflicts and their settlement. In particular, these questions were investigated by S. Shergin, G. Maksak, S. Korsunsky, M. Kulinich, G. Rudenko, S. Tolstov, L. Coser, G. Simmel, K. Boulding, I. Zhovkva, S. Kara, B. Markovska, O. Mikhailovskaya, V. Rybak, A. Rotfeld, V. Somov, A. Varenyk. Thus, the goal of this article is to study the current state of Ukraine's foreign policy in the context of the current challenges of global and regional security.

### **2. Methods**

The research was conducted with the help of comparative and historical methods, as well as the method of content analysis. The comparative method allowed to see differences and similarities among various phenomena related to foreign policy and international security aspects. The historical method

allowed to trace the development of Ukraine's foreign policy and international security processes in order to better understand its current state. Content analysis was instrumental in defining values implied behind political texts and statements.

### 3. Results

According to the Law of Ukraine «On the Principles of Domestic and Foreign Policy» (2010, No. 40, item 527, as amended in accordance with the Laws No. 1170–VII of March 27, 2014, No. 22, Articles 816 and 35–VIII of 23.12.2014, 2015, No. 4, Article 13), the foreign policy of Ukraine is based on the following principles:

- Sovereign equality of states;
- Refraining from threat of force or its use against the territorial integrity or political independence of any foreign state;
- Respect for the territorial integrity of foreign states and the inviolability of state borders;
- Resolving international disputes by peaceful means;
- Respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms;
- Non-interference in the internal affairs of states;
- Mutually beneficial cooperation among states;
- Faithful fulfillment of the international obligations;
- Priority of generally accepted norms and principles of international law over the norms and principles of national law;
- Use of the Armed Forces of Ukraine only in cases of acts of armed aggression against Ukraine;
- Usage of international sanctions, countermeasures and measures of diplomatic protection in accordance with international law in cases of international unlawful acts that cause damage to Ukraine, its citizens and legal entities;
- Timeliness and adequacy of measures to protect national interests against real and potential threats to Ukraine, its citizens and legal entities [6, p. 1].

A special component of foreign policy is foreign policy planning, which determines the foreign policy strategy and the choice of optimal, most effective ways to achieve the goal in the interests of the state [3, p. 53]. V. Markovska, among foreign policy and economy threats, mentions the dependence on imports of fuel and energy resources, as well as materials or equipment related to this area, critical dependence of imports or exports on the conditions of transportation, discriminatory measures of certain countries (by virtue of the monopoly position of suppliers of natural resources many countries introduce certain mechanisms, both for the defensive and aggressive stance, to avoid the impact of possible negative trends) [4, p. 155].

In this regards O. Mikhailovska comments: «The world economic system approaches the limits of natural resources utilization. Therefore, the simultaneous increase in the consumption of natural resources by all centers of economic development (attractors), as it was before the end of the twentieth century, became impossible. In the twenty-first century, the development of one attractor will only take place if a certain amount of natural resources is «taken away» from another attractor. Thus, in order to maintain world competitiveness, those attractors that have lost in a competitive struggle, are forced to resort either to a strategy of more efficient consumption of natural resources or they will not be able to progress quickly enough» [5, p. 163].

Regarding regional cooperation V. Somov and A. Varenyk note that Ukraine's integration with the European Union has been a priority of our country's foreign policy since gaining independence, but the transition to a new level of international economic relations requires a significant change in economic situation. Ukraine's relations with the countries of the Black Sea region are an important economic and political precedent in restructuring of the regional system of security and cooperation [9, p. 248]. S. Shergin states that the European integration idea in its original sense is based on overcoming nationalism as a cause of conflict in Europe. Subsequently, it was transformed into a guarantee of socio-economic growth and well-being [11, p. 176].

Analyst I. Zhovkva points out that it is rather difficult to classify Ukraine's relations of strategic partnership; however two main categories of existing strategic partners of Ukraine can be distinguished. The first one is the category of partners, relations with which were enshrined in politically and legally binding bilateral documents (declarations, statements, contracts). Nominally, this category includes six states (Poland, Russia, Uzbekistan, Bulgaria, Azerbaijan, the USA, Turkey, Brazil) [1, p. 39].

At the same time, it should be noted that the current relations with the Russian Federation are extremely complicated due to territorial and socio-economic contradictions. The second category of partners includes the countries whose relations were proclaimed in oral statements during bilateral visits. During certain periods there have been up to twenty such partnerships [1, p. 39].

As to the analysis of specific principles of implementation of Ukraine's foreign policy, one should mention the study «Ukrainian Prism: Foreign Policy 2016», conducted by the non-governmental organization «The Council of Foreign Policy: Ukrainian Prism» with the support of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation. For this evaluation in 2016, 45 directions of Ukraine's foreign policy were selected and divided into themes:

- Cooperation with the G-7 countries (the U.S., Canada, Japan, UK, Germany, France, Italy);
- European integration (cooperation with the EU, Eastern Partnership, Visegrad Four, European Energy Community);
- Euro-Atlantic integration;
- Bilateral relations (Russian Federation, People's Republic of China, Poland, Romania, Turkey, Georgia, Moldova, Iran, Belarus, Israel, Hungary, Lithuania, Slovakia);
- Regional cooperation (Black Sea Region, Asia-Pacific, Middle East, Baltic States, Nordic Countries, Central Asia, Latin America, Sub-Saharan Africa, Western Balkans, South Asia);
- International organizations (UN, Council of Europe, OSCE);
- Multilateral initiatives (international security, non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, climate change, protection of human rights);
- Economic diplomacy;
- Public diplomacy;
- Gaining and consolidating international support for counteraction to Russian aggression [10, p. 8].

For the indicator «Political Interest / Involvement», the basis for analysis were the programs of political parties represented in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, election programs of parliamentary parties, if the elections are held during the year of assessment, statements of factions, statements of political party leaders, the Coalition agreement, the Analytical report for the annual Address of the President of Ukraine to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, statements of the Head of Government, interviews of faction leaders, Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada, the President of Ukraine, presidential election programs, if elections take place during the year of assessment, Agenda of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine and available parliamentary hearings on the subject, hearings of relevant committees of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine [10, p. 8].

For the indicator «Institutional Cooperation», the basis for analysis were the statements and decisions of the Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, heads of parliamentary committees, faction leaders, decisions of the President of Ukraine, the National Security and Defense Council of Ukraine, the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, and other ministries in case of involvement in a particular direction, press releases on the results of development or implementation of joint initiatives [10, p. 9].

For the «Strategic Vision» indicator, the basis for analysis was as follows: the Law of Ukraine «On Fundamentals of Domestic and Foreign Policy», the National Security Strategy of Ukraine, the Military Doctrine of Ukraine, Strategy Ukraine-2020, Energy Strategy 2035, bilateral strategic agreements, action plans and corresponding operational plans, other concepts and strategies that can be adopted [10, p. 10].

For the «Results» indicator, the basis for the analysis was as follows: international agreements and memoranda concluded under relevant foreign policy direction, information on the activity of the

Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, the Presidential Administration of Ukraine, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, and other relevant ministries and departments, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, statistical data on economic and trade relations, informational and analytical materials on the results of meetings, hearings etc. [10, p. 11].

In 2016 major political actors' interest in foreign policy was mainly focused on issues related to consolidation of international support for counteracting Russian aggression, certain aspects of international trade and foreign economic activity, the implementation of the Association Agreement between Ukraine and the EU, the implementation of the requirements of visa-free dialogue, cooperation with NATO and key foreign powers [10, p. 15]. As before, the main document defining the stance of the President of Ukraine on foreign policy development remains The President's Annual Address to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine. Last year the main points of the message were supplemented by the speech of the President during the XIIth Meeting of the Heads of Foreign Diplomatic Missions of Ukraine in August 2016 [10, p. 15]. In particular, President P. Poroshenko in both cases noted the following important directions of Ukraine's foreign policy implementation: cooperation with NATO countries, consolidation of international efforts to counter Russian aggression in Ukraine, strengthening of the sanctions against Russia, liberation of Ukrainian political prisoners in Russia and the occupied Crimea, as well as cooperation with the EU, visa-free dialogue, support for reforms [10, p. 15].

However, according to the authors of the study, it is necessary to note some selectivity in matters of Ukraine's foreign policy from the side of the main political actors. No political force at the level of official declarations or programs offered a systematic approach to foreign policy, formal affirmation of strategic priorities, strategies for certain areas of foreign policy [10, p. 16]. It was mainly focused on current urgent issues involving crisis management.

In 2016, the most coordinated areas appear to be European and Euro-Atlantic integration, as well as fighting against Russian aggression. Further institutionalization of the European and Euro-Atlantic foreign policy direction was strengthened by creation of the post of Deputy Prime Minister for European and Euro-Atlantic integration and the appointment of I. Klimpush-Tsintsadze to it [10, p. 16]. Among downsides one can note that in mid-2016 the Government Office for European and Euro-Atlantic integration for several months was virtually without guidance due to restructuring and change of management team [10, p. 16].

However, as the authors of the study point out, if one looks at the general systematic coordination of all directions of Ukraine's foreign policy, then the situation in 2016 could be described as less optimistic. Regarding certain areas, mainly concerning the regions and specific directions of bilateral relations, there is no information on interinstitutional cooperation or the level of coordination is insufficient for the efficient protection of Ukrainian interests [10, p. 17].

Priorities defined for actors implementing Ukraine's foreign policy are not properly enshrined in current strategic documents. They are partially articulated in official addresses (the President's Annual Address to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine) and operational documents (Government Priority Action Plan for 2016) [10, p. 18]. At the same time during the research period, positive practice of developing a government action plan for the implementation of the Strategy for Sustainable Development «Ukraine 2020» was discontinued compared to 2015 [10, p. 18].

In the area of European integration, the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement remains the key document (Part on the Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area became effective on January 1, 2016), as well as the Government's relevant action plan for its implementation in 2014–2017 [10, p. 18]. One should note the adoption of the Strategic Defense Bulletin and the State Target Concept Program for reforming and developing the defense industry for the period up to 2020, envisaging adaptation of NATO standards and strengthening cooperation with Allied member states [10, p. 18]. Also, the Concept document of promoting Ukraine in the world and promotion of Ukraine's interests in the world's information space was approved, but the action plan for its implementation was left for 2017 [10, p. 18]. The National Export Strategy was not completed in 2016.

The most tangible result of Ukraine's foreign policy efforts in view of international political context changes was keeping a single transatlantic stance on continuing pressure on the Russian Federation. In particular, during 2016 sanctions were extended and strengthened by the European Union, the United States, Canada, and other countries [10, p. 21]. This can be considered a result of joint efforts of the head of the state, government leaders, parliamentarians, diplomats and the public. But Ukrainian export in most areas continued to fall compared to 2015, with the addition of Russia's embargo on Ukrainian goods, as well as complication of transit through Russian territory to third countries [10, p. 21].

On the other hand, the dominant role of the European Union as the main trading partner has been consolidated, and Ukraine has mainly exported to the neighboring countries of Hungary, Romania and Poland [10, p. 21]. Outside the EU, the largest trading partners in the export of Ukrainian products were Egypt, Turkey, China, India, Belarus, Saudi Arabia [10, p. 21]. According to the study authors, the relations between Ukraine and Russia, the countries of Central Asia, China, Iran, Moldova were the least productive. The Ukrainian party also underperformed on issues related to the European Energy Community and climate change issues, even despite the ratification of the Paris Agreement (Climate Action) [10, p. 21].

Regarding the current socio-political situation in Ukraine and the continuation of the conflict in the East of the country, the former Polish Foreign Minister, A. Rotfeld, points out that attention must be paid to the potential of international organizations and that the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe may become a mediator in the conflict in Ukraine [8, p. 1]. Experts also draw attention to the need for an effective consolidated security policy in Europe among NATO, OSCE, CSTO and, to a lesser extent, GUAM [2, p. 1]. In this regard one should note NATO's cooperation with the European Union on settlement of the migration crisis, in particular, regarding monitoring of illegal migration in the Aegean region [7, p. 2].

#### 4. Conclusions

Thus, it can be noted that at present, there is sufficient potential for further development of Ukraine's foreign policy, in particular, in view of the current challenges of global and regional security. On the basis of the analysis, one can arrive at conclusions that among the successes of Ukraine's foreign policy in recent years one can mention withstanding Russian aggression, introduction of a visa-free regime with the European Union, further deepening of cooperation within the framework of the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement and deepening of Euro-Atlantic integration. At the same time, it is necessary to strengthen the effective use of the foreign policy resource to efficiently respond to the challenges of global and regional security. There are further prospects for research related to the effective resolution of international conflicts at the current period.

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