



FOREIGN POLICY
OF THE UNITED STATES
TOWARDS UKRAINE

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I S S U E S & S O L U T I O N S

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INTRODUCTION

In the current chaos of international politics, it is essential to create a strict and efficient framework for the relations between two countries that includes different approaches and tools crafted or found by the political experts. In that case, we have a special and crucial relationship between Ukraine and the United States.

These relations proved themselves as the essential alliance that shaped the Ukrainian reality for recent years. We can already see the impact and visible results of that symbiosis. The American government pays a lot of attention to contemporary Ukrainian issues, especially during the Ukrainian battle against the Russian influence. However, some things may be improved. The actual improvement of Ukrainian-American relations is the primary goal of that policy paper.

All recommended steps here are divided into four levels. This framework is a basis for the foreign policy analysis in American research and educational institutions. As this paper is mainly targeted at the Americans, we decided to do this in this fashion with some adjustments:

1. **The level of global cooperation;**
2. **The level of regional cooperation** – this level is mainly focused on the American involvement in the main problems of Ukraine on the regional scale: the Donbas conflict and Crimea annexation;
3. **The level of direct bilateral cooperation** – this track includes policies on the security and energy cooperation of Ukraine and the U.S.;
4. **The level of public diplomacy** – this level is divided into policies, targeted at the connection between the political establishment, leaders, diplomats, consulate workers, media institutions, businesses, NGOs, and Ukrainian and American nations.

This framework makes this paper more structured, easier and includes all the complexity of American-Ukrainian relations with many of its stakeholders, their interests, and goals. Also, this paper does not have the initiatives and ideas that are already in the implementation or presentation stages unless they are crucial for the relations.

The recommendations set is created for the American policymakers who impact the relations of the United States with Ukraine. It will help them develop better policies with the Ukrainian interests, people, and their issues in mind, together with the American interests and opportunities in the paper. It will be sent to the American diplomats, experts, and politicians to ensure that the main messages and ideas of that document are heard. The policy brief is created with the American interests of democracy promotion and democratic transformation globally, and it gives an opportunity to use the document in any

case needed. It will also be helpful for the Ukrainian political and diplomatic bodies to fully understand the American interest in Ukraine and the region as a whole with the Ukrainian interests in mind. Such mutual understanding and resonance with the global context will definitely positively impact Ukrainian-American relations.

It is important to remember that the Ukrainian government also needs to put a lot of effort into most of the described processes in this document. It is time to stop seeing the United States as a 'messiah' and start doing things independently. The United States is here to help the Ukrainian policymakers, but it does not have a right or motive to replace the government of Ukraine in terms of the implementation of the reforms. The ideas of that document take that into account and have to be analyzed with that vision in mind.

Also, it is essential to clarify that this is just a policy brief, and it is impossible to implement all the ideas expressed here at once. This document is created for a long-term perspective and embodies the concept of *a la carte* approach – the readers of this policy brief may pick the best ideas out of this pile and put them into practice. Even if only one idea out of this paper were used in the policy-making process by the responsible entities, it would be incredible and improve the general pattern of relations. This paper includes the best ideas, thoughts, and initiatives by the industry's best minds that take into account all the needs of both American and Ukrainian nations because, in the end, it is all about the people. We hope this paper will give fresh air to the relations and a few breakthrough approaches that will be implemented in the future and make Ukrainian-American relations as strong as never before.

THE LEVEL OF GLOBAL COOPERATION

Global cooperation is also vital for both the U.S. and Ukraine, especially in battling current global issues, such as climate change, human rights protection, equality, etc. The gap between these two states is visible in such things, but none of these states is perfect, and true cooperation in that field can genuinely make the world a better place and strengthen Ukrainian–American relations.

1. Active cooperation in the international organizations functioning.

The international organizations may seem inefficient enough to tackle the current global issues, but Ukraine and the United States can improve the situation in cooperation. By battling the global problems, such as world hunger, poverty, human rights protection, wealth gap, discrimination, etc. not only in the large international organizations but also in the local ones and profile ones, Ukraine and the U.S. can strengthen their relations and make the world a better place. Furthermore, the U.S. Foreign Policy concept and functioning are magnetized to the world governments with policies that resonate with the global context. If Ukraine picks that pattern, its relations with the United States can be vastly improved.

2. Joined effort in the U.N. reform.

The United Nations urgently needs the reform of its structure and functioning to fully use the potential of that initiative, bringing law, order, peace, and improvement in the world. Only the unity of world countries can help us combat most of the current issues that we have. The U.N.'s contemporary framework became outdated and needs a massive revamp, especially in handling the global crises and security issues. Ukraine, as one of the U.N. founders, together with the United States, may bring a new life to the organization in a united effort. It may start with the panel discussion of political experts from both countries supported by both the Ukrainian and American governments. They later can use the outcomes of such talks to implement the U.N. reform. It is also another opportunity to prove Ukraine as an American ally.

3. Stronger cooperation in sustainable development.

The Sustainable Development Goals is a framework and concept practical and needed both for Ukraine and the U.S. It includes the most critical issues of the global society and the way to battle them. Different discussions, cooperation between the Ukrainian and American experts, politicians, and public figures with that message will show the power of relations between these two countries and its impact on the whole planet. Furthermore, it is also another occasion to push further the Ukrainian reform process that has to be used by the United States. It will also show Ukraine as an active part of the global community, which is a 'win-win' for both countries, taking into

account the American interests in general. This cooperation has to be mutual and fulfilling for both states – Ukraine helps the U.S., and the U.S. helps Ukraine. That is how the genuine partnership works.

THE LEVEL OF REGIONAL COOPERATION

The contemporary Ukrainian reality is shaped around the two main issues that are shaking up the situation in the whole region: Donbas Conflict and Crimea Annexation. Both of these issues are caused, supported, and escalated by the Russian government.



Map 1. Russia's Military Build-Up near Ukraine's Border, as of April 14, 2021. The source: [RadioFreeEurope, RadioLiberty](#).

The entire pattern of the conflict tells us that Russia wants to battle the Western area of influence that is defined by the shared values and practices. Ukrainian people chose their path to the Western world and mentality by the

democratic procedures. That is why the U.S. has to be more active in the resolution of these two issues, but not in an overwhelming way. Despite that, that participation has to be cautious enough not to escalate the conflicts to the global level, especially in such an intense world of intense relations between the superpowers. The Ukrainian integration to NATO now is also intertwined with the aforementioned issues. That is why these two tracks are the most important for the American presence in the region.

UKRAINIAN MAIN ISSUES IN THE REGION: DONBAS CONFLICT AND CRIMEA ANNEXATION

1. Creation of the position of the U.S. State Department Special Representative for Crimea and Donbas Affairs.

The Crimea annexation, the Donbas conflict, and its consequences require special but also well-balanced attention from the United States for the sake of its' peaceful resolution. Institutionally, the most effortless way to do this is to appoint the Special Representative for Crimea and Donbas affairs from the U.S. State Department. It may bring all sides of the situation to the constructive ways of its' faster resolution, but, most importantly, it will show the American position on the issue more clearly and indicate the readiness of the United States to be an active actor in such case. As a result, the Biden administration may get their 'success story' that may be that victorious historical heritage the United States have been looking for. At first glance, it may seem that the position of the special envoy may do the job better, but in our opinion, the role of the representative for Crimea and Donbas affairs can give a more pragmatic and targeted approach to the issue.

2. Additional sanctions against Russia.

It is crucial to use the sanctions tool accurately, as nowadays it targets not the exact leaders of aggression against Ukraine. Furthermore, it is not enough of these measures that exist, as the Russian political establishment had got time to prepare their resources to avoid the sanctions' fallout fully. Furthermore, according to the [economists](#), the sanctions against some companies, individuals, and the first market of sovereign debt seem to have less impact on the Russian economy than expected. The United States expresses its constant support through the sanctions, and it deserves respect, but considering all the dangers from Russia both in the U.S. and Ukraine, there is another way to turn the sanctions around. If we talk about the economic prism of the sanctions, it is better to target the operations with Russia linked with their resources, as the Russian economy is based on resources and their use. If the foreign countries stop buying Russian resources, if it is possible, the leading Russian companies linked with the government will also be affected, as the top resource companies of Russia are state-owned. The Russian informational impact on the American and Ukrainian domestic issues is undeniable, and it is time to cut it off. Suppose

the United States takes the risk and imposes sanctions against the presence of Russian government propaganda media outlets in the American social media. In that case, it will be a 'win-win' situation for both the U.S. and Ukraine, as the Ukrainians also use American social media. Yes, it has the risk to isolate the 'Runet' (Russian internet) entirely, but especially with the threats for the independent press in Russia, such as the Foundation for the Fight with Corruption led by Alexey Navalny, such actions will bring more good than harm, and show the clarity of the American position on the issue. Furthermore, with the precedents of the pro-Russian organizations in the United States on the domestic situation in the country, the American government must temporarily ban the functioning of the social and political organizations that are led by Russians or any other people linked with the Russian authorities without the completed verification of the safety of such ties. It will help make both the U.S. and Ukraine safer, especially in the modern world of non-kinetic conflicts.

3. Addition to the Normandy Format or helping in its' total transformation.

The Normandy Format is very unbalanced, and it does not speed the resolution of the Donbas conflict because of that. To make it more efficient and finally working, it has to be more balanced and include different sides of the conflict. The United States has to be the core figure because it can be shaped with the proper balance to resolve this conflict compared with the Crimean platform. If the United States does not consider it, it may offer some other states to contribute to the format or help implement the new format in terms of organizational tasks. There is a doubt that Russia may ban such actions, but it all depends on the talks process and the diplomatic efforts.

4. Push for the Crimean issue to the higher importance level in a framework of US-Russian relations.

The recent events that shape the further direction of the relations between the United States and the Russian Federation show that the U.S. is ready to hold Russia accountable for its actions. The Crimea annexation is a clear and unconditional act that breaks international law, and the Russian government has to be punished for that by the global community. In that direction, actions of the United States have to be careful not to cause explosive tension in the region, but they have to be direct and strict enough to show the clarity in the United States' position on the issue.

5. Help in the total transformation of the Minsk talks format.

The Minsk format is also biased and unbalanced, and it stops the whole conflict from its fast resolution. Yes, it is clear that Russia will not agree to many transformations that will lean the talks to the Ukrainian side. However,

if the interests of all the parties of the conflict are taken into account during the work on a new updated format, it is possible to shape it in a manageable way. That said, Belarus has to be pushed out of this format, and while the Minsk treaties may not be replaced at the moment, the layout of the talks definitely has to be changed. Ukraine does not have to leave it, but the whole structure of it has to become more balanced. The U.S. may help in that transformation by suggesting the members of a panel, being an observer of the format, or helping with the organizational tasks. It is also essential to keep in mind that without Russian approval, it will be impossible to reshape the format, and the United States might be the best helping hand for Ukraine in that case.

UKRAINIAN INTEGRATION TO NATO

1. Push forward for the need for Membership Action Plan (MAP) for Ukraine.

Considering the recent escalation performed by Russia near the Ukrainian borders, NATO has to give Ukraine the Membership Action Plan for the sake of security guarantees. Yes, it is understandable that the relations between NATO and Russia have a particular pattern shaped by broken promises and avoidance for further escalation. But games with Russia are not worth the security of the whole region, especially if Russia broke the international law. That is why the Ukrainian path to NATO membership has to speed up.

2. Push the Ukrainian military for the needed reforms.

The Ukrainian military service is full of outdated and non-efficient practices that are not fitting the mold of the NATO functioning, despite its recent dramatic improvement. However, such issues may be the reason why Ukraine is not a NATO member yet. The United States has to play a key role in transforming the Ukrainian army into the modern and efficient tool that puts human life to the highest priority and mixes efficient management, troubleshooting, and humane practices.



Scheme 1. Main current issues in the Ukrainian army, according to the politicians, soldiers, and experts in the field. Based on the info from [BBC News Ukraine](#).

THE LEVEL OF BILATERAL COOPERATION

This chapter is dedicated to the tracks representing the core of the political cooperation between Ukraine and the United States. The exceptional circumstances shaped this level in two main directions: security cooperation and energy cooperation. Ukraine needs the American experience and knowledge in these two fields mostly. We put the Crimean issue out of the security track in this chapter to the next one because that issue needs a separate and more detailed analysis.

SECURITY TRACK

1. A broader amount of finances, weaponry, and military technology given to Ukraine due to the special conditions.

Ukrainian armed forces need further improvement and resources for future NATO membership and rational response to security threats from Russia, especially in the Donbas conflict. If the United States sees itself as the guard of Eastern Europe, they have to pay more attention to the security of states that are not NATO members yet, especially during such an escalation near the Ukrainian borders. Especially it is needed for the security in the Black Sea – a more significant amount of sea weaponry will be convenient in cases of security threats, especially near the Crimea.

2. Enhancement the cooperation in cybersecurity, especially in a fight with the Russian cyberthreats.

Russian cyberactivity damaged the Ukrainian and American state of things many times, especially if we talk about financial operations, elections, etc. The American experience and Ukrainian talents may help to battle that issue in joined efforts to stronger American and Ukrainian information security.

3. The trainings for the Ukrainian army with a transparent check system for the outcomes.

The American military forces already provide an enormous amount of training for the Ukrainian army, but these efforts cannot remove all the disadvantages of the Ukrainian armed forces at one click. Furthermore, it cannot help change the mindset of the highest military commanders or demolish the violent hierarchy of the Ukrainian military service. That is why the trainings have to include the transparent check system for its

outcomes. Such a system may consist of public and secret parts for the sake of security. The public part may have the evaluation of different processes in the Ukrainian army and changes in them. These outcomes have to be taken into account during the policy actions regarding the Ukrainian reform process.

4. Support and training to combat international criminal activity on a better level, especially battle drug trafficking, human trafficking, etc.

The mentioned issues have a global scale, and neither Ukraine nor the United States can be an excellent example in battling some of them. However, again, by uniting the efforts and forces, the scale of them can be lowered. It may help prevent dangerous criminal activity in both countries and help improve Ukraine and the United States' security sector.

ENERGY TRACK

1. Higher interest in Ukraine in terms of energy cooperation.

The American-Ukrainian relations can be further improved if the U.S. shows a higher interest in the Ukrainian energy field. It needs a lot of experience and practices from the American side. It may also help enhance the Ukrainian economy, especially if we talk about the workforce and technologies used. Ukraine has incredible potential in that field, and the United States might be the best possible pick to open this potential up.

2. The Ukrainian energy independence as one of the priority tracks of Ukrainian-American relations.

The Ukrainian independence is a key for the security of the country, and the United States may help its further improvement. It is essential for the American and Ukrainian interests to keep the Ukrainian energy as independent from Russia as possible. The following steps may help to achieve that goal.

3. A stronger push for the agenda against the *Nordstream 2* project.

The *Nordstream 2* project is both an energy and security threat for Ukraine and Europe. The Russian government uses the gas transit to further political manipulation on the European Union countries. Of course, many resources were spent on this project, but its further implementation can cause more harm than good. As the foremost defender and stakeholder of the project in Europe, Germany has strong ties with the United States, and it has to be used to make adjustments in

the project. It is either has to be implemented without Russian participation or would be just stopped. Furthermore, there are better alternatives to the *Nordstream 2*. Yes, it seems to be not crucial regarding American interests, but it is essential to understand that the whole country's destiny and future are at stake.

4. **The rounds of talks between the US, Poland, and Ukraine for the liquefied natural gas (LNG) import through the Gdansk (Poland) with the concept of 'LNG Triangle.'**

As the United States wants to become the global flagman in the LNG industry fully, and Ukraine has an offer to make this goal more achievable, the 'LNG Triangle' concept is beneficial for all of its sides. The synergy of cooperation between Ukraine, Poland, and the United States in this field can be implemented in different formats, such as terminals, other infrastructural projects, or initiatives on different levels. The same concept and technology may also be implemented in another LNG triangle between the U.S., Croatia, and Ukraine.

5. **An interest in the use of Ukrainian natural gas storage for storing the American LNG and short-haul.**

Ukraine has an incredible capacity for natural gas storage, and its use will be beneficial both for the United States and Ukraine. Also, the newly created product – short-haul, can be used for that purpose. It allows ordering the gas transit capacity with a discount, and this service has already [proven](#) it to be successful enough. That is why the United States may use it for their benefit.

6. **Push for more effort into the development of the renewable energy environment in Ukraine.**

While the United States is determined to move towards the renewable energy future, Ukraine is not even at the new start point. The American government can help Ukraine make better contacts with the American enterprises of that market, providing the additional funding for the initiatives aimed for the renewable energy development in Ukraine and building the infrastructure needed for that. It can show the U.S. as the promoter of the fundamental environmental changes that go in sync with the new Biden's ecological policy and may help make the Ukrainian energy market more transparent and competitive.

7. **Stronger cooperation in frames of the nuclear energy market.**

The nuclear energy market has the second breath if we talk about its impact on the ecology. If the safety of the Ukrainian atomic plants allows, the United States can help to transform the Ukrainian nuclear energy market in a positive direction. For example, Ukraine can buy American atomic fuel, and the U.S. can push the Ukrainian government to reshape the leading regulatory and supplying bodies in Ukraine linked with atomic energy. It can be made with the help of the restructuration of these bodies. It is a 'win-win' situation for both countries. Ukrainian authorities are ready for such cooperation, and in that case, the United States can make the first step.

THE LEVEL OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

Public diplomacy helps lift other bilateral relations levels to the new highs and fills possible gaps in different elements in the relations between Ukraine and the United States. That level needs better activation and communication between the political establishment and leaders, diplomats, consulate workers, media, and Ukrainian and American nations. The following recommendations touch all of the aforementioned groups and audiences by offering different formats and tools to achieve that goal.

POLITICAL ESTABLISHMENT AND LEADERS

1. Efficient cooperation between Ukrainian M.P.s and American Senators/Congressmen/Congresswomen.

There are friendship groups in both of these parliaments, but they are primarily [active](#) only on paper. Even if they have some activity, it does not give a good payoff. This issue has to be solved because such inefficiency creates a significant layer of unnecessary bureaucracy and gives a feeling that the Ukrainian Parliament is not interested in improving relations between Ukraine and the USA. Yes, their American colleagues seem to be more active in that, thanks to the Ukrainian Caucuses in both the American Parliament's chambers. But without the united feedback from the Ukrainian side, this connection seems to be lost. This problem can be solved in two ways. The first way for America to solve it is to push the Ukrainian M.P.s to a better responsibility for such activities by making a double-check of the results achieved by the Parliamentary Friendship groups. The second one is to refuse to participate in such initiatives. It will possibly force them to close and end by transforming into something more efficient.

2. A more transparent rulebook for grantseekers for the money from the U.S. Government and entities linked with it.

The United States put a lot of money into the grant projects implemented in Ukraine, and it is significant that this effort really pays off. But, unfortunately, some Ukrainian NGOs are not honest with the use of this money, and the American Government, as a result, is an owner of the grant loophole that is used for everything except the primary goals of such activities. That is why the donors, including the Government itself and entities linked with it, have to establish a clear playbook of rules for grant awards and a stricter system with the outcomes of such activities checked. It will help to spend these finances for its primary purpose and push the unprofessionals away from their source of income, but also it will encourage people with the clear and best intentions, best skills, and knowledge to be in the game. It is also a recommendation that is targeted towards the special youth trainings and internship programs promoted by the U.S. (for example, internships in the

Ukrainian political bodies, etc.) The selection process for such activities has to be more transparent to exclude the risk of people who participate in such initiatives using it for harm or only personal praise in the future. Furthermore, it has to be clarified that such resources are not used as a tool for influence but for the sake of fundamental reforms and democratic transformation of the country.

3. The 'more for more' principle for the reform implementation in Ukraine.

The United States plays a massive role in the so-called 'kick-off' for the reforms in Ukraine. The U.S. Government is interested in being the engine of such reforms because it helps enact the idea of 'democracy promotion.' Unfortunately, the contemporary Ukrainian political establishment takes it for granted too much and does not recognize the effort as an opportunity but instead as a loophole. With such a state of things, the United States has to be more active in their role of 'engine.' The 'more for more' principle can improve the situation – the more successful and more profound reform is, the more of the political, economic and other kinds of support the Ukrainian government gets. For example, such a principle may help to fasten the court system, human rights, and anti-corruption reforms if the U.S. really wants to stimulate the democracy promotion process in Ukraine. A special accent here has to be made on the anticorruption reforms.

4. The separation of policy towards Ukraine from the strategy of relations with the CIS countries and creating the 'Ukraine Strategy.'

Ukraine is no longer a part of CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States) for obvious reasons, but as the political establishment, as corporations and business companies of other levels treat Ukraine and its affairs as a part of the CIS pool. Such misconception puts the attention from the critical issues to the less relevant ones, especially in the context of Ukrainian tendencies for the Euro-Atlantic integration. Furthermore, many issues of Ukrainian politics are still being seen through the prism of relations with Russia and its reaction. It shows the lack of strategy in Ukrainian-American relations, as the situational approach to many decisions that fill up these relations. For these reasons, a new separate plan of relations between Ukraine and the U.S. has to be created.

5. The more frequent presence of Ukraine in the rhetoric of the American political establishment.

The rhetoric level is also significant for the bilateral relations because every little positive mention of Ukraine in, for example, a joined letter of both parliaments or a speech of the representative of the American political establishment creates a joyous informational blast in Ukraine that helps to change the Ukrainians' attitude to the United States for better. It is essential

in the informative environment shaped by Russian anti-American propaganda from Russia or its allies inside the United States and Ukraine.

DIPLOMATS AND CONSULATE WORKERS

1. The urgent appointment of the U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine.

The absence of the actual head of the diplomatic mission in such an ally country deepens the diplomatic crisis inside the U.S. Department of State and contracts the possible bilateral relations improvement ways. The appointment will show the principal and strategic difference between Trump's and Biden's foreign policy and will be a sign that will prove Ukraine as a strategic ally once again. That is why it has to be made as fast as possible.

2. Further and gradual lift of the visa regime between Ukraine and the United States and more transparent and more accessible consular practices.

The Ukrainians proved themselves as a proud nationality submerged in the 'melting pot' of the American cultures and the nation that wants to use the American practices and experiences for the better future of Ukraine. Some consular practices may put such people under additional stress, and some elements of them have to be transformed in a more accessible direction. The lift of the visa regime for the Ukrainians will also give a whole load of opportunities for Ukrainian families, youngsters, and asylum seekers. It will prove the United States to be an actual center for global talent and show a dramatic shift from Trump's strict immigration policies to Biden's relaxed ones. All of that fully corresponds with American interests, goals, and values.

3. Cooperation between the Ukrainian and American diplomats to build better relations with other countries.

The American diplomats have an incredible toolset in 'building bridges' with the countries needed for the stronger role of Ukraine in the international arena. That kind of cooperation is a 'win-win' situation for both countries: the U.S. will prove itself once more as the primary agent of the international cooperation, and Ukraine will get the essential partnerships for itself. It may also be a good experience for the Ukrainian diplomats that can be implemented in their future work.

4. Exchange of experience between the American and Ukrainian diplomatic and consular workers and the institutions linked with the U.S. State Department and the Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) in any way.

Such valuable experience of the American diplomats and consular workers, especially in the field of public diplomacy, has to be used for the better in

other countries, especially in Ukraine, where the diplomatic service is relatively young. Activities in that framework do not have to step out of the formal code of diplomatic and consular activity. Furthermore, such cooperation may be helpful not only for the U.S. Department of State and the MFA of Ukraine but also for the future diplomats of Ukraine – the educational institutions with the study programs related to the field must have an opportunity for such experience too, even if in the more accessible formats. It improves the connections between the current generation of the diplomatic and consular service and its future.

MEDIA INSTITUTIONS

1. Fight with the anti-American disinformation from Russia in a more substantial fashion.

Pro-Russian media outlets, politicians, and activists spread the anti-American disinformation that is parasitic on the messages of Soviet propaganda. Most of such 'scarecrow' information is about the fear of NATO bases on the Ukrainian territory and the 'exterior governance' made by the U.S. Such claims destroy the American image in the eyes of Ukrainians, and every other move to help is seen as another act of that so-called 'exterior governance.' It destroys the whole pattern of relations, and the U.S. government has to put more effort into the fight with such propaganda. This work is thorough and long-term, but it may bring long-term results for both countries. Furthermore, there has to be some punishment for such disinformation from the American side.

2. Decreasement of the toxicity level towards the Ukrainian affairs in the American media.

After the link of Ukraine with the political drama of Trump's impeachment, Ukraine and its politics are portrayed as a swamp of problems for the American political system, especially on the television networks and other media outlets on the Republicans' side. As a result, instead of turning the helping hand, the Americans try to forget about the Ukrainian issues and put them aside. That is why, when it is possible and reasonable to do so, Ukraine has to be separated from the 'impeachment' narrative immediately. The whole world moves on, and this story does not have to affect the Ukrainian-American relations anymore by damaging them to the level of new lows.

3. Help in the informational campaign on the Ukrainian international image improvement.

American public diplomacy, especially in terms of media communication, is shown to be an example for others to follow. After the previous point, some try to do damage control, but, unfortunately, Ukraine does not have such resources and support in the American media industry to fill the gap made by the heavyweight of associations with the impeachment. Providing help in

creating and launching the informational campaign on the Ukrainian international image improvement is a way to fill that gap and cover the damage.

4. Better cooperation of Ukrainian and American journalists in special projects.

The exchange of ideas between the Ukrainian and American media institutions can help improve the level of freedom of speech in Ukraine and put the whole industry to a new level. The U.S. government does not have to intervene in the process, but it can encourage it. The talents of Ukrainian creative industries plus American media culture's experience may give us an outcome of high-quality content.

OTHER INTERESTED PARTIES (INCLUDING NGOS, EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS, BUSINESSES, ETC.)

1. Push for the 'expert diplomacy' to a new higher level.

Think tanks in the United States are a well-integrated part of the political life of the country. Their research and analysis impact the further decisions of people responsible for making such decisions on their positions in the governmental institutions. Unfortunately, the situation from Ukraine is far from that, despite the massive progress in that direction. That is why the American think tanks have to be more active in terms of collaboration with similar Ukrainian institutions. Of course, the U.S. government cannot intervene in that process, but it can encourage such activity with the transparent system of grant funding, promotional support, or guarantees of taking the research results into account during the policy-making process. Joint special projects of Ukrainian and American think tanks and similar institutions may bring fresh and needed ideas to the Ukrainian and American foreign policies and focus from the theoretical discussion with no particular result to implementing theory research into practice and action. All of that must have the format of projects that will bring benefit to both states.

2. More educational opportunities in the United States for Ukrainian students and young professionals.

Ukrainians already enjoy such programs as Fulbright, UGRAD, FLEX, etc. They already have a positive impact on current Ukrainian affairs and are the practical tools of American public diplomacy. Compared with some other countries with similar conditions and issues, the Ukrainian context may get lost in the global dimension of these programs. It is not a reason to shut them down, but rather to add the new ones – the exclusive educational exchange programs, available only for Ukrainian students. It will show the unique state of the relationship between the U.S. and Ukraine and have even a better impact on Ukraine itself. Such a segmented approach will help put the Ukrainian issues to the forefront and give the correct tools to solve

them. Furthermore, there are exchange programs for young professionals needed. It would help Ukraine implement the American practices into the Ukrainian businesses, which is very important.

3. Stronger cooperation between Ukrainian and American cultural institutions and other entities related to that.

Ukrainian public diplomacy is recently being put to the new higher level, but there is still a lot of work to compete in such a broad and challenging market. The American experience and support in implementing the new cultural practices and creating new artistic projects is a case when both countries will definitely benefit. For example, new series of co-joined production or concerts of Ukrainian and American artists can spark an interest in the Ukrainian culture. The support for such initiatives may improve Ukrainian public diplomacy. Also, the Ukrainian and American museums, theatres, and other cultural institutions may participate in cultural exchanges of ideas and experiences that may enhance the whole pattern of relations.

4. Help in the promotion of Ukrainian cultural products in the United States.

Ukraine is full of talents in creative industries, and it is proved many times by their work in other European countries and the United States itself. However, because of bureaucracy and lack of knowledge, many of these professionals are left out of the bars of exposure that their art pieces deserve. If it is possible, the American Embassy or other institutions competent in the field may help the Ukrainian artists with the promotion in the United States. If they get a good amount of exposure in the U.S., it may help the whole industry finally benefit for the Ukrainian interests and entirely use their potential. It is not about winning a competition, it is about getting some help and some attention, not covering the American level of success during these times.

5. More attention to the opinion of the Ukrainian diaspora in the United States.

There are organizations created by the Ukrainian diaspora in the U.S. that try to impact both Ukrainian and American politics. However, while some of their representatives may achieve the goal, most of their members' ideas are left behind unnoticed and unimplemented. Ukrainian diaspora members' opinions may help American decision-makers understand the Ukrainian issues and mentality better to enhance the whole policy strategy towards Ukraine. It has to be made regularly, and with the visible results, for example, there can be joined meetings of diaspora members with the future U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine every month with the outcome in a format of a particular policy paper/report.

6. Better representation of the American businesses in Ukraine.

Ukrainian customers widely use American goods and services, and it is the main reason for the big American corporations to open their branches in our country. The branches of Amazon, Microsoft, Apple, and other companies may give the Ukrainian customers the best service possible, build a functional link between the Ukrainian government and the global business community, and motivate the Ukrainian businesses and market. The American government is capable of helping in that. Also, the American Chamber of Commerce has to be visible not only on the level of big business but also on other levels. It will help strengthen the Ukrainian small and middle-class businesses, improving the economy and relations of both states.

SHORTSUMMARY

This pile of recommendations is not designed as a demand pack from the United States. We perfectly understand the importance of domestic American problems and appreciate the current Ukrainian–American relations pattern. The U.S. support for Ukraine is priceless and helpful. It truly transforms the country with visible results and impact. However, if these relations have room for improvement, this is the complex but efficient way to do this. The relations between the U.S. and Ukraine may become the role model for other countries of the post-Soviet block to follow and may bring the needed solutions both for Ukrainian and American domestic issues. Furthermore, the international climate may only win from the Ukrainian–American solid partnership.

THE LEVEL OF GLOBAL COOPERATION

1. Active cooperation in the international organizations functioning.
2. Joined effort in the U.N. reform.
3. Stronger cooperation in sustainable development.

THE LEVEL OF REGIONAL COOPERATION

Ukrainian Main Issues in the Region: the Donbas Conflict and Crimea Annexation

1. Creation of the position of the U.S. State Department Special Representative for Crimea and Donbas Affairs.
2. Additional sanctions against Russia.
3. Addition to the Normandy Format or help in its' transformation.
4. Push for the Crimean issue to the higher importance level in a framework of US–Russian relations.
5. Help in the total transformation of the Minsk talks format.

Ukrainian Integration to NATO

1. Push forward for the need for Membership Action Plan (MAP) for Ukraine.
2. Push for the Ukrainian military for the needed reforms.

THE LEVEL OF DIRECT BILATERAL COOPERATION

Security Track

1. A broader amount of finances, weaponry, and military technology given to Ukraine due to the special conditions.
2. Enhancement of the cooperation in cybersecurity, especially in a fight with the Russian cyberthreats.
3. The military trainings with a transparent check system for the outcomes.
4. The support and trainings to combat international criminal activity on a better level, especially battle the drug trafficking, human trafficking, etc.

Energy Track

1. Higher interest in Ukraine in terms of energy cooperation.
2. The Ukrainian energy independence one of the priority tracks of Ukrainian–American relations.
3. A stronger push the agenda against the *Nordstream 2* project.
4. The rounds of talks between the US, Poland, and Ukraine for the liquefied natural gas (LNG) import through the Gdansk (Poland) with the concept of 'LNG Triangle' (the format is also possible between the U.S., Croatia, and Ukraine).
5. An interest in the use of Ukrainian natural gas storage for storing the American LNG and short-haul.
6. Push for more effort into the development of the renewable energy environment in Ukraine.
7. Stronger cooperation in frames of the nuclear energy market.

THE LEVEL OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

Political Establishment and Leaders

1. Efficient cooperation between Ukrainian M.P.s and American Senators/Congressmen/Congresswomen.
2. A more transparent rulebook for grantseekers for the money from the U.S. Government and entities linked with it.
3. The 'more for more' principle for the reform implementation in Ukraine.
4. The separation of policy towards Ukraine from the strategy of relations with the CIS countries and creating the 'Ukraine Strategy.'
5. The more frequent presence of Ukraine in the rhetoric of the American political establishment.

Diplomats and Consulate Workers

1. The urgent appointment of the U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine.
2. Further and gradual lift of the visa regime between Ukraine and the United States and more transparent and more accessible consular practices.
3. Cooperation between the Ukrainian and American diplomats to build better relations with other countries.
4. Exchange of experience between the American and Ukrainian diplomatic and consular workers and the institutions linked with the U.S. State Department and the Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) in any way.

Media Institutions

1. Fight with the anti-American disinformation from Russia in a more substantial fashion.

2. Decreasement of the toxicity level towards the Ukrainian affairs in the American media.
3. Help in the informational campaign on the Ukrainian international image improvement.
4. Better cooperation of Ukrainian and American journalists in special projects.

Other Interested Parties (Including NGOs, educational and cultural institutions, businesses, etc.)

1. Push for the 'expert diplomacy' to a new higher level.
2. More educational opportunities in the United States for Ukrainian students and young professionals.
3. Stronger cooperation between Ukrainian and American cultural institutions and other entities related to that.
4. Help in the promotion of Ukrainian cultural products in the United States.
5. More attention to the opinion of the Ukrainian diaspora in the United States.
6. Better representation of the American businesses in Ukraine.



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