

NON-RECOGNITION POLICY: STRATEGIES TO COUNTERACT INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF TEMPORARILY OCCUPIED TERRITORIES OF UKRAINE

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The purpose is to analyze possible ways of counteracting Russia's attempts to institutionalize the temporarily occupied of Ukraine; develop appropriate recommendations for Ukraine to promote the policy of non-recognition among the international community.

The task is to provide **proposals for asymmetric counteraction to Russia's attempts to institutionalize the TOT of Ukraine**, which should include political and diplomatic (non-lethal) methods of influence and ways to consolidate the efforts of Ukraine and partners to put pressure on Russian Federation.

The analytical report considers the policy of non-recognition as a strategy to counter the institutionalization of the temporarily occupied by Russia territories of Ukraine. The international experience of working with unrecognized territories is considered and ways to counter Russia's attempts to legitimize the occupation are proposed.

The review focuses on international cooperation, monitoring and exposing human rights violations in the temporarily occupied, as well as countering the economic integration of these territories with Russia. The importance of cyber diplomacy, educational initiatives and religious influence in countering Russian propaganda is emphasized.

The report also examines the issues of weaponization of culture and sports, as well as environmental problems associated with the occupation. Specific recommendations relate to the formulation of non-recognition policies and their promotion at the international level, including the use of existing international mechanisms and communication tools.

An integrated approach to countering the institutionalization of the temporarily occupied consists of an overview of ten key areas of activity that may be important and relevant for foreign policy work, combining political, diplomatic, economic and information tools.

Analysis of the problem

The international practice of diplomatic work formats around the issues of unrecognized territories has a fairly long history and a wide range of already applied tools.

Here is a list of some territories that are not recognized by the international community and remain controversial:

Abkhazia and South Ossetia: After the collapse of the USSR in 1991, as a result of military conflicts in 1992-1993 and 2008, the territories acquired an uncertain status due to the aggression of the Russian Federation. These territories are recognized by Russia, Venezuela, Nicaragua, Nauru. Most countries in the world, including all EU countries and the United States, do not recognize these territories. The discussion continues regarding autonomy within Georgia and the potential use of peacekeeping efforts.

Transnistria: After the collapse of the Soviet Union declared independence from Moldova in 1992. Not recognized by any UN member state. Negotiations are being held with the participation of the OSCE and the autonomous status within Moldova is being discussed.

Nagorno-Karabakh: As a result of the military conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan, it acquired an uncertain status. No member state of the UN recognized this territory until the forceful resolution of the issue, when in September 2023 the Azerbaijani armed forces gained control of the disputed territory, and the head of the unrecognized NKR signed a decree on the termination of the existence of the republic from January 1, 2024.

Kosovo: Declared independence from Serbia in 2008. Most EU countries, the United States, Canada, Australia and others have recognized Kosovo's independence. Serbia, Russia, China, Spain, India, Brazil, South Africa and a number of other states – did not recognize the independence of Kosovo. The theme of Kosovo is used by Vladimir Putin in his speeches as an example of the fact that the UN member states have demonstrated the practice of recognizing the independence of the territory, which has shown the will to separate from the state and declare independence, or another political choice. This is what Putin explains the legitimacy of the Kremlin's actions in organizing fake referendums in the temporarily occupied and their accession to the Russian Federation.

Taiwan: Proclaimed after the civil war in China in 1949, when the Republic of China retreated to the island of Taiwan. Recognize only a few countries (St. Lucia, Palau, Nauru and other small countries). Most countries in the world do not recognize, including the United States (formally), since they recognize the People's Republic of China. The "One China" policy with special administrative rights for Taiwan is being actively discussed.

Northern Cyprus: Declared independence in 1983 after the Turkish military invasion of Cyprus in 1974. Only Türkiye recognizes it. All UN member states, including Greece and Cyprus, do not recognize it. The issue of uniting the island on a federal basis is being discussed.

Western Sahara: Created after the departure of Spain in 1975 as a result of the conflict between Morocco and the Polisario Front. Since the signing of a United Nations-backed ceasefire in 1991, two-thirds of the region, including most of the Atlantic coast, has been under Moroccan government control with the tacit support of France and the United States. Most countries in the world, including the US and EU countries, do not recognize the territory. A referendum on self-determination under the auspices of the UN is proposed.

In addition to the above-mentioned territories, there are also countries that are not recognized by at least one member of the UN. Israel is not recognized by the 28 members of the UN and the Palestinian State. 13 members of the UN and the Vatican did not recognize the PRC and consider the Republic of China the only legitimate government of China. North Korea is unrecognized by 7 UN members, as well as the Republic of China and the Vatican. Armenia is not recognized by Pakistan. Cyprus is not recognized by Türkiye. South Korea is not recognized by North Korea.

At the moment, the territory of the Russian Federation includes (annexed) the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, Donetsk region, Lugansk region, Kherson region and Zaporizhzhia region, which are recognized as subjects of the Russian Federation with the corresponding administrative content in the form of appointing officials, deploying authorities, conducting forced passportization and re-registration of all legal entities in accordance with Russian law.

In fact, violations of international law can be recorded in every sphere of human activity in the temporarily occupied. The same applies to the weaponization of all spheres, which consists in using any direction of human activity in the temporarily occupied to the detriment of the national interests of Ukraine.

However, fixing all violations of international law will create a huge amount of work for the state authorities of Ukraine, given a vague understanding of the results of this work and the possibilities of achieving them.

For example, the number of deported children from the temporarily occupied of Ukraine can vary from 19.5 thousand people (according to the Ukrainian side) to 700 thousand people (according to the Ombudsman of the Russian Federation Maria Lvova-Belova, as she wrote about in her telegram channel). The number of criminal proceedings of the Office of the Prosecutor General of Ukraine is from 80 thousand to 120 thousand proceedings regarding the commission of war crimes at the moment.

These figures indicate that the human potential of Ukrainian state bodies is not enough to adequately respond to events. Therefore, it is critically necessary to choose a specific measurable and understandable goal and strategy of the policy of non-recognition and counteraction to the institutionalization of the temporarily occupied territories of Ukraine for an indefinite time.

The goals and expected results of the non-recognition policy are enshrined in the following main strategic documents:

1. Peace Formula of the President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy (PF), in terms of paragraphs 5 and 6 on the restoration of the territorial integrity of Ukraine, the withdrawal of Russian troops and the cessation of hostilities¹.
2. The Peace Formula of Volodymyr Zelenskyy (PF) is based on the adopted resolutions of the UN General Assembly, among which the following should be noted:
 - a. Resolution 68/262 "Territorial Integrity of Ukraine". Adopted on March 27, 2014 at the 68th session of the UN General Assembly. 100 countries voted in favor, 11 voted against, 58 voted abstained. This resolution does not recognize Russia's annexation of Crimea and calls for respect for Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity within its internationally recognized borders.
 - b. Resolution ES-11/1 "Aggression against Ukraine" (March 2, 2022). Expresses deep regret over Russia's invasion of Ukraine and condemns this aggression. Demands immediate, complete and unconditional withdrawal of Russian troops from the territory of Ukraine. Calls for a peaceful settlement of the conflict through diplomatic negotiations. Adopted by 141 votes in favor, 5 against, 35 abstained.
 - c. Resolution ES-11/2 "Humanitarian consequences of the aggression against Ukraine" (April 7, 2022). Expresses deep concern about the humanitarian crisis in Ukraine. Calls for immediate, full and unhindered access of humanitarian

¹ https://www.president.gov.ua/storage/j-files-storage/01/19/45/a0284f6fdc92f8e4bd595d4026734bba_1691475944.pdf

- organizations to all areas of Ukraine affected by the conflict. Calls on all states to provide immediate humanitarian assistance to Ukraine. Adopted by 181 votes in favor, 6 against, 3 abstained.
- d. Resolution ES-11/3 "Suspension of the rights of membership of the Russian Federation in the Human Rights Council" (May 24, 2022). Calls for the collection and storage of evidence of possible war crimes and crimes against humanity committed in connection with Russia's aggression against Ukraine. Supports the establishment of an international mechanism to investigate and prosecute these crimes. Adopted by 104 votes in favor, 14 against, 66 abstained.
 - e. Resolution ES-11/4 "Territorial integrity of Ukraine: defending the principles of the Charter of the United Nations". Adopted on 12 October 2022 at the 11th emergency special session of the UN General Assembly. 143 countries voted in favor, 5 voted against, 35 abstained. This resolution condemns illegal pseudo-referendums and attempts by Russia to annex the Donetsk, Luhansk, Zaporizhzhya and Kherson regions of Ukraine. It also demands that Russia immediately and unconditionally withdraw its troops from the entire territory of Ukraine within its internationally recognized borders.
 - f. Resolution ES-11/6 "Principles of the Charter of the United Nations underlying a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in Ukraine" (23 February 2023). Reaffirms its commitment to the principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity, peaceful settlement of disputes and non-interference in the internal affairs of the states that underlie the UN Charter. Stresses the importance of achieving a comprehensive, just and sustainable peace in Ukraine in accordance with the principles of the UN Charter. Calls for respect for international humanitarian law and human rights in Ukraine. Adopted by 141 votes in favor, 7 against, 32 abstained.

At the same time, it is important to note that these resolutions have no legally binding force, although they clearly emphasize international support for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine. There are no ways to implement these decisions. It is recommended to form a policy of non-recognition as realistically as possible, using the adopted international documents as a means of promoting asymmetric actions that require less resources, but can give more results, and do not group on statements of values or other virtual categories.

The implementation of the non-recognition policy can be concentrated on the following areas of work:

- 1. Occupation administration.**
- 2. International position against the occupier.**

3. **Human rights violations.**
4. **Economic institutionalization of the TOT.**
5. **Cyberdiplomacy.**
6. **Education and propaganda.**
7. **Religious influence.**
8. **Weaponized culture.**
9. **Weaponized sport.**
10. **Ecology.**

Forecasts, Prospects and Offers

1. Occupation Administration

The task is to block any initiatives of the Russian Federation, demonstrating its violation of international law on the TOT. Ukraine cannot change the policy of the Russian Federation itself, but international pressure can affect individual officials. An example is the Ombudsman of the Russian Federation, which, after an arrest warrant, intensified the issue of returning children.

In this regard, it would be advisable to set a task for the national security agencies of Ukraine, or to bring to the level of the National Security and Defense Council the issue of maintaining a permanent closed register of persons who volunteer to hold leadership and political positions in the temporarily occupied. So, in 2022, the Russian-speaking opposition media "Project", which is managed by Roman Badanin, created a database of officials who served as the occupation administration in the temporarily occupied. Probably, at the moment, this information is outdated². However, it is possible to supplement or update it, including through non-governmental organizations and investigative journalists.

Among other things, it is advisable to study the experience of China's diplomatic efforts regarding the policy of non-recognition of Taiwan, Russia's experience with Kosovo, or Greece's experience with Northern Cyprus. It is not recommended to take symmetrical steps or "tracing paper" from the foreign policy decisions of these countries. However, it would be better to use their experience to generate new ideas.

For example, China insists on recognizing Taiwan as part of its territory and requires other countries and international organizations to adhere to the "One China" policy, which,

² <https://www.proekt.media/guide/kto-rukovodit-okkupirovannymi-territoriyami-ukrainy/>

obviously, is enshrined both in certain open and closed documents, and circulates in the media space and is recognizable.

Countries that establish diplomatic relations with the PRC cannot have official relations with Taiwan. It is unlikely that Ukraine can afford to break diplomatic relations with countries-satellites of the Russian Federation or its partners. However, steps to express protests about certain actions of Russian officials may have a certain result.

It is recommended to consider the issue of blocking work in international organizations (the UN, the WHO and others) of Russian officials who were involved in the institutionalization of TOT administrations.

In fact, any document concluded by representatives of the legislative, executive or judicial bodies of the occupation administrations is itself a violation and a ground for protest or preparation of a note. However, some decisions and documents are more politically significant than others.

For example, it is best to pay attention to court decisions made by the courts of the occupation administrations against Ukrainian servicemen (combatants) on charges of participation in terrorist organizations. In particular, we are talking about the servicemen of the Azov unit. Blaming and supporting trials of combatants for carrying out legitimate orders of the military leadership is a crime in itself.

It is desirable to qualify such actions in accordance with Ukrainian and international legislation for use in Ukrainian and international courts.

Information about illegal actions of occupation administrations may be included in the texts of resolutions of international organizations at the initiative of Ukraine to confirm non-recognition of disputed territories. At the same time, such resolutions may be indirect or related to the problems of the TOT.

2. International position of counteracting the occupier

The task is to identify and show the international community the Kremlin's double standards regarding the disputed territories (Kosovo, Taiwan) and the temporarily occupied of Ukraine; record and counteract the participation of representatives of the occupation administrations of the Russian Federation in international delegations; monitor illegal visits to the temporarily occupied by foreigners and Russia's violations of international law.

It is also advisable to consider the construction of Ukraine's international legal position regarding the processes taking place at the TOT, in terms of actualizing the creeping spread of authoritarianism through violent actions used by authoritarian regimes.

In other words, the annexation and manipulative declaration of unrecognized territories with the help of "puppet" subjects of the occupation administration not only violates international law, but is also inherent in authoritarian regimes around the world, and contributes to the spread of authoritarian practices that affect absolutely all spheres of human life. Thus, Taiwan, being an unrecognized territory, still holds free and democratic elections and is guided by democratic principles. At the same time, such territories as Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Transnistria and the TOT of Ukraine can be characterized by common features inherent in authoritarian regimes:

- Lack of political freedoms, restriction of freedom of speech, assembly and association, oppression of the opposition.
- Unfair and non-competitive elections.
- Human rights violations, torture, executions and arbitrary detention, which cannot even be disputed in any way.
- Control over the economy by the Kremlin, restriction of economic freedom for citizens and creation of corruption opportunities. Blocking the development of territories, which leads to the transformation of territories into ghettos, from where people want to escape, which creates additional migration pressure on other regions, including Western countries, due to corruption, inflation and unemployment.
- Concentration of power in the hands of a small group of people, such as appointed Gauleiters or military commanders, without the ability to oppose or criticize.
- Lack of rule of law and compliance with laws, dependence of the judiciary.
- Total control over public opinion through propaganda and oppression, punishment for dissent, suppression of civil society.
- The lack of social humanitarian development, the adoption of humanitarian directions to promote the interests and visions of the occupier.
- Environmental problems and decline of territories due to problems with the environment and natural resources.

It is advisable to move from discussing violations of international law, the injured party in which Ukraine is exclusively, to escalating the discussion and demonstrating evidence that depressive processes are taking place in each territory where the "Russkiy mir" ("the Russian world") comes. This means that covering up annexations and occupations with arguments about the right to self-determination through referendums is not only manipulation. This is an excuse for authoritarian regimes because of the objective deterioration of the living standards of the inhabitants of the occupied regions, which concerns not only Ukraine, but also Georgia (Abkhazia and South Ossetia), Moldova (Transnistria), and to some extent Belarus, which is also actually occupied by Russia.

3. Human rights violations

It is necessary to record and communicate to international partners and international non-governmental human rights organizations regarding violations of international humanitarian law (IHL) committed by Russia in the temporarily occupied:

- a. Violation of human rights on the TOT, including freedom of speech, assembly and religion;
- b. Persecution of political opponents and activists;
- c. Torture and ill-treatment of prisoners;
- d. Export of Ukrainian children to the Russian Federation;
- e. Forced "certification";
- f. Forced "mobilization";
- g. Forced donation;
- h. Erasing the Russian Federation's identification of citizens of Ukraine with our state;
- i. Imposing anti-Ukrainian sentiments on the Russian Federation;
- j. Issues related to gender equality and the protection of the rights of the LGBT community;
- k. Preventing the Russian Federation from delivering humanitarian aid to the TOT;
- l. Use of humanitarian aid for political purposes.

The sensitivity of the international community to human rights issues in unstable regions is gradually decreasing. The participation of state bodies in the communication of issues related to human rights violations is regarded as biased. Among media and human rights organizations, there is a trend of "impartiality" and the idea that human rights violations can be committed by both sides of the conflict. This led to high-profile scandalous processes that led to public condemnation of Amnesty International and discrediting its activities in Ukraine³.

However, at the same time, personnel changes in human rights organizations are used by Russian special services, and if you do not cooperate with powerful international human rights organizations, the Russian agents will freely promote their agenda. That is why parity cooperation with them is extremely important and uncontested in the context of maintaining the content of independent investigative journalists and human rights defenders that meets the national interests and tasks of the department in matters of communication regarding the crimes of the invaders.

The Ukrainian office of Amnesty International was headed by Veronika Velch⁴, who can bring changes to the activities of the Ukrainian branch of this organization, and therefore it is

³ <https://www.slovovidilo.ua/2022/08/04/novyna/suspilstvo/amnesty-international-zvynu-vatyla-ukrayinu-porushenni-zakoniv-vijny-mzs-ta-opu-vidpovily>

⁴ <https://suspilne.media/732889-uristka-veronika-velc-ocolila-ukrainskij-ofis-amnesty-international/>

important to maintain contacts with such regional representatives and publications as Kyiv Independent, which consistently creates documentaries, investigating war crimes of the Russian invaders^{5 6}. Within the framework of cooperation, one should use the positive practice of demonstrating the Oscar-winning film "20 Days in Mariupol" in embassies. It is better not to invent new content or trends, but to skillfully use the agenda that is already being produced by independent journalistic and human rights organizations. This approach will remove the issue of distrust and prejudice to state representatives of Ukraine in communicating issues of human rights violations in the temporarily occupied.

4. Economic institutionalization of TOT

The task is to block by diplomatic efforts economic activity in the temporarily occupied, integrating them with the Russian Federation (financial sector, "nationalization" of property); apply sanctions against illegal entry of ships into closed ports.

Using the example of trade in Ukrainian grain, which was actually stolen from the temporarily occupied, it becomes clear that sanctions restrictions do not give significant efficiency if third countries are included in transactions and logistics supply chains, such as Türkiye, which condescendingly treated Russia's trade in stolen grain from the temporarily occupied of Ukraine. The same applies to the issues of calls to the ports of Crimea and shipping in the Azov Sea, in particular through the Kerch Strait.

Therefore, the topic of secondary sanctions imposed on legal entities and state entities that facilitate the circumvention of sanctions for the Russian Federation acquires obvious relevance.

In the field of concluding international agreements, it is necessary to include in their texts clauses on the inadmissibility of transactions or any economic cooperation with entities that have direct or indirect contact with enterprises or organizations in the temporarily occupied of Ukraine. It is necessary to prepare concrete proposals of such theses in different versions, which could be added on the initiative of Ukraine to any text of agreements between Ukraine and another state, even regardless of the content and subject matter, to use each loophole in order to fix in international documents a declaration of territorial integrity and to prevent the implementation of any economic ties with entities that are in the temporarily occupied or have a connection with them.

Repeating and honing this practice using different approaches and formulations will keep the policy of non-recognition in the focus of attention not only of Ukraine, but also of

⁵ Документальний фільм-розслідування "Він прийшов знову"
<https://detector.media/infospace/article/228021/2024-06-08-zhumalisty-kyiv-independent-identyfikovaly-dvokh-rosiyskykh-viyskovykh-gvaltivnykiv/>

⁶ Фільм Д. Мокрика "Злочин над злочинами Росії в Україні" <https://youtu.be/c3T8kY40fqY?si=bDbGHRBIG1UPt4Km>

partners. The specifics of the statements are important, since Russia successfully ignores political declarations.

It is necessary to separately highlight the issue of energy. One of the key tasks is to formulate our position for the international community on each of the issues of nuclear energy, coal industry, pipeline transport for hydrocarbons and electricity. The key issue today is Zaporizhzhia NPP and cooperation at the IAEA level, as well as a parallel search for other formats of discussions on ZNPP, since the IAEA demonstrates its inefficiency. The task is to prevent the restart of ZNPP reactors, which the invaders want to do with the passive and ineffective denial of the IAEA.

Separately, attention should be paid to the bizarre intentions of Azerbaijan to supply gas to Europe through Russia and Ukraine – this means that Gazprom will want to launch the functioning of pipeline transport through the Sokhranivka Gas Metering Station, which is not controlled by the Ukrainian regulator OGTSU. Representatives of Hungary, Austria and Slovakia, which are partners of Gazprom, can exert pressure for Russian gas to go to Europe, so we should prepare how to prevent this.

We should not rule out the possibility of transferring business from the temporarily occupied to the territory controlled by the Government of Ukraine. Thus, in the period 2014-2018, some enterprises that were associated with Rinat Akhmetov, while being at the TOT, could afford to simultaneously be registered in the territory controlled by the Ukrainian government, and even made the necessary payments to the budget of Ukraine.

Of course, this is hardly possible now, but instead it is necessary to consider whether it is possible to launch a campaign to relocate individual businesses (if they are not related to land and real estate) from the TOT to the territory controlled by the Ukrainian government. It may even be advisable to consider the possibility of tax preferences for such businesses.

Without a doubt, such actions have low prospects for real success. And they can even create additional corruption risks. However, from the point of view of image and international communication with partners who allocate significant amounts of money for financial support and restoration of Ukraine, such a political move can be assessed by partners as a demonstration that the generation of fair income in a democratic country can be a form of resistance to authoritarian regimes.

Another interesting track of work to inform the international community is the disclosure of economic ties between authoritarian regimes that use the temporarily occupied for their financing. At the same time, direct economic ties are often established between different temporarily occupied. Thus, a legal entity formally registered in South Ossetia was used to manage individual enterprises in certain regions of the Donetsk region.

Such ties may include visits to the temporarily occupied of representatives of commercial circles of Iran or North Korea. Countering the laundering of criminally obtained funds and preventing the economic advancement and institutionalization of authoritarian regimes can be key functions of a state that is at the forefront of the fight against authoritarianism. After all, we are talking not only about the interests of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Ukraine, but also about the global threats posed to the international community by the economic cooperation of authoritarian regimes, when the movement of "dirty money" and goods is facilitated by the "authoritarian axis" (another term is "coalition of chaos"), where Iranian drones and missiles can be assembled in the temporarily occupied by North Korean workers at the expense of Chinese or Venezuelan investments.

5. Cyberdiplomacy

This segment of relations is least regulated by the international community and has many gaps. The task is to support issues related to the cyber sphere and information and communication technologies, in particular, the deployment of telecommunication systems by the occupier at the TOT by illegally using the technological infrastructure belonging to Ukrainian legal entities and the state:

- Deployment of unauthorized mobile operators (such as "Phoenix" – illegal telecommunications company providing mobile services in the territory of the occupied part of Donetsk region and controlled by the terrorist organization "DPR") and the introduction of international codes;
- Presence of Russian and other telecommunication service providers on the TOT;
- Actual theft of domains of sites of legitimate Ukrainian authorities;
- Registration of official accounts and pages in social networks to illegitimate institutions of the occupation administrations.

Sensitive is the issue of registration and control of so-called first-level domain names, for example – .crimea. To create and conduct discussions around these issues, it is necessary to generate the presence of a sufficient number of Ukrainian representatives on international platforms, where the process of discussing various topical issues in the field of information and communication technologies is carried out. We are talking, for example, about a non-governmental corporation ICANN or the International Telecommunication Union.

In order to effectively participate in this process, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, in cooperation with the State Service of Special Communications and Information Protection of Ukraine, should develop a list of questions regarding the prevention of the institutionalization of the occupied regions in cyberspace, as well as formulate a Ukrainian position on these key issues for its broadcast on international platforms.

6. Education and propaganda

The task is to document and show the creation of an atmosphere of hatred towards Ukrainians and the West in the temporarily occupied through education and propaganda. Particular attention should be paid to the extreme cases of propaganda concerning the use of weapons of mass destruction; respond to the legitimization of the occupation using cartographic products depicting the occupied regions as part of the Russian Federation; communicate about the facts of dissatisfaction with the occupation authorities by the population, putting pressure on the Russian Federation.

According to the historian and head of the Institute of National Memory Anton Drobovych⁷, Russia carries out "assimilative genocide" on the territory of Ukraine⁸. Among the qualifying features of assimilative genocide, one can emphasize the forced movement of children from one group to another; torture and torture inflicted on the community until it ceases to exist.

As issues that affect the category of assimilative genocide, it is advisable to show the propaganda work that the Russian occupation administrations launched immediately after gaining control over the Ukrainian territories. It includes rewriting history textbooks, reformatting educational programs, deploying educational and non-educational humanitarian measures aimed at imposing a Russian vision of reality, which includes non-acceptance of certain ethnic, cultural and gender issues, and can also lead to incitement to ethnic, ethnic hatred and hatred.

It is considered appropriate to use the concept of assimilative genocide proposed by Drobovych:

- collecting information on the introduction of propaganda and hateful narratives to Ukraine and the West into educational and cultural programs; manipulation of history; laying in the minds of students and listeners a certain picture of the world, which contains enmity and hatred of certain groups and nations;
- holding public events to discuss issues of assimilative genocide and the activities of the occupier that meet the criteria for this crime;
- communication of reasoned positions and evidence of the Ukrainian side regarding assimilative genocide on international platforms and among foreign partners (especially in Africa, the BRICS and the states of the so-called "Global majority").

In addition, one should be careful about terms, since the term "white genocide" is discredited and is considered to have a conspiracy nature. Therefore, in this area of high importance are arguments of academic and legal nature and carefully chosen words.

⁷ <https://www.ukrinform.ua/rubric-society/3837302-drobovic-rosiani-zdijsnuut-sodo-ukrainciv-asimilativnij-genocid.html>

⁸ <https://www.pravda.com.ua/columns/2023/10/10/7423459/>

7. Religious influence

The task is to accompany the issues of spreading the influence of the Russian Orthodox Church (ROC) on the TOT:

- capture parishes,
- putting pressure on representatives of other churches or religions,
- the participation of the clergy of the Russian Orthodox Church in the legitimization and moral support of crimes and calls for inciting hatred and enmity.

The issue of fixing and communicating the activities of representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church (ROC) in the TOT is quite sensitive due to the configuration of the processes that have developed in the information space around the UOC-MP and Vadym Novynskyi's investments in lobbying activities in the United States to allegedly counter the persecution of believers by the Ukrainian government. In Ukraine, the state is separated from the church, so the communication of issues related to religious influence by the foreign ministry can carry risks.

The positive experience of the visit of Pavlo Unguryan and people related to Ukrainian churches to the United States, which allegedly influenced the position of Mike Johnson, can be an example. The Foreign Ministry can actively and effectively promote contacts between foreign partners and representatives of Ukrainian churches at all levels in order to strengthen the voice of the latter. Such a format of work will be able to preserve the extremely limited resources of diplomatic staff, and provide a greater field for strengthening contacts between representatives of Ukrainian society and foreign partners, not excluding the leading role of the foreign ministry in moderating topics and the key adjunct of communication between Ukrainian representatives of churches and their interlocutors. As a specific task, it is considered appropriate to collect information about specific representatives of religious communities in Ukraine who speak English or a foreign language, have communication skills and can work with information on the criminal activities of representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church in the TOT. It is considered appropriate to involve Ukrainian special services and intelligence agencies in this work.

8. Weaponized culture

It is important to support issues of cultural exchange (music, audio-visual products, feature films and documentaries, children's cartoons and books), which can be used to legitimize the temporarily occupied at international events under the slogan "culture beyond politics".

Previous experience of monitoring the information space and promoting films, music and books that are designed to normalize and institutionalize the TOT, as well as the presence of occupation authorities in these territories, suggests that they are mainly intended for the domestic audience of the Russian Federation. However, the most sensitive issues are the

presentation of such content at international competitions, venues and festivals. And, although the activities of the foreign ministry are not directly related to this private activity, from a political point of view it will negatively affect the authority of the diplomatic service due to the indignation of citizens.

Blocking or preventing the dissemination of such content, especially with the involvement of the official position of the foreign ministry, is extremely counterproductive and harmful, and therefore it is not necessary to respond to pressure and demands to "take action". Instead, producing and promoting their own content, which is produced by individuals and also demonstrated and promoted with the assistance of the Foreign Ministry, is the best reasoned answer.

This does not exclude the non-public activity of diplomatic forces to prevent and block the participation of specific persons who may represent occupation administrations or cultural organizations committed to them at international venues, especially of an official nature.

It is necessary to pay attention to the composition of delegations and, if they identify representatives who have a connection with the TOT, to emphasize to international partners and organizers of events about the inadmissibility of such actions.

9. Weaponized sport

Supporting the issues of holding international sports events with the participation of representatives of the TOT, in particular in the context of the Olympic movement or international sports federations, under the slogans "sport beyond politics", is extremely important. But in this case, it is necessary to avoid simple decisions and any prohibitions, including against Ukrainian athletes.

It is necessary to concentrate not on athletes, but on the infrastructure of the relevant federations and sports clubs that create their branches in the temporarily occupied. Their administrators may become objects of sanctions policy and, thus, be disqualified or not be able to participate in international competitions.

However, it is also necessary to consider the possibility of extracting athletes from the temporarily occupied (if any) by creating opportunities for them in the territory controlled by Ukraine. Thus, Ukraine will show that even war-torn may be more attractive to professional athletes than Russia or any other authoritarian regime.

An interesting aspect of diplomatic pressure may be to attract popular athletes (including those of Russian origin) to condemn the occupation.

10. Ecology

The task is to communicate for the international community issues related to the destruction of the environment by the occupation administrations, starting with the threats around Zaporizhzhia NPP and the consequences of the destruction of the Kakhovka Hydroelectric Power Plant, and ending with the issues of industrial facilities and mines in the Donetsk and Lugansk regions. Given the decline in interest in environmental issues in the world, it is advisable to escalate the level of problems from internal Ukrainian tragedies to the global level of threats that should be discussed internationally:

1. The question of the flora and fauna of the Black Sea, as well as the state of ecosystems in the Black and Azov Seas, especially given the well-known information about the hydrogen sulfide layer at the bottom of the Black Sea, the damage of which can destroy the entire fauna. The issue of the marine ecosystem will be important for Romania, Türkiye, Bulgaria and even Georgia, which is in the wake of Russian politics. It is important to use discussions about the fauna, since in some places the extinction of animals for the liberal democratic agenda can weigh more than the extinction of people.
2. Fauna issues in the TOT and the territories where hostilities occur, especially in the context of seasonal migrations of certain species of birds and animals, since migrations and migrations of birds make these individual species of fauna "international". That is, those that are taken care of by different countries, and even allocate funds to support birds or animals.
3. Issues of nuclear threat and environmental pollution with toxic substances. In this case, we are talking about Zaporizhzhia NPP and the presence of a large number of Russian warships in the Black Sea.
4. The issue of monitoring information about the extinction or potential extinction of certain species of animals and plants in connection with Russian aggression. Perhaps in Ukraine there are certain unique species of flora and fauna that are under threat. Such facts can be effectively communicated at the level of international organizations.
5. Separately, we should raise the issue of transportation of Russian hydrocarbons both by pipeline transport and by sea vessels, especially given the fact that the "shadow fleet" of the Russian Federation, which is used to circumvent sanctions, consists of vessels that are more than 30-40 years old and have significant risks of spills or accidents. This is not directly related to the policy of non-recognition of the temporarily occupied, but it can help to block certain activities of the Russian Federation at the international level. Particularly vulnerable in this context may be the Baltic Sea countries.
6. Additionally, a discussion should be held on the issue of trading quotas for greenhouse gas emissions. Since the Russian army has destroyed the entire industrial potential of Mariupol, which at the same time was a source of significant environmental problems

and emissions, the question should be raised that Ukraine no longer carries out such emissions, since it no longer controls enterprises in the temporarily occupied. Consequently, Ukraine can use its quotas from scratch – for example, by selling them and directing funds to improve the environmental context in Ukraine. Since the Ukrainian side no longer controls the sources of emissions in Mariupol, the issue of emissions should be assigned to the occupation administration. The same applies to the Luhansk and Donetsk regions, in particular in terms of the functioning of coal mines and adjacent infrastructure.

Conclusions and Recommendations

1. **Creation of a database of persons involved in the occupation administration.** It is recommended to maintain a permanent closed register of persons holding senior and political positions in the temporarily occupied, with the aim of further pressure and influence on their activities.
2. **Study the experience of other countries.** Studying and using the experience of other countries (for example, China, Russia, Greece) in the field of non-recognition policy to generate new ideas and approaches.
3. **Blocking the work of representatives of the Russian Federation in international organizations.** Active work on blocking the work of Russian officials in international organizations who were involved in the institutionalization of administrations in the temporarily occupied.
4. **Use of international courts.** The use of international courts to confirm Ukraine's territorial claims and condemn actions in the temporarily occupied.
5. **Active cooperation with international human rights organizations and investigative journalists.** Support and dissemination of content exposing human rights violations in the temporarily occupied, created by journalists and human rights organizations.
6. **Formulation of a clear international legal position on the temporarily occupied.** Emphasis on the spread of authoritarianism through the support of unrecognized territories and demonstration of the negative impact on the population, industrial and economic potential, ecology, etc.
7. **The use of an integrated approach** consisting of 10 of the above-mentioned spheres of human activity, which can be used by the occupation administrations to normalize the attitude of the international community to the fact of occupation of Ukrainian territories through attempts to further institutionalize the processes at the TOT.

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