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PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

HANDBOOK

Under the General Editorship
of Iryna Matiash



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The handbook deals with the basic theoretical and practical aspects of public diplomacy; covers Ukrainian and foreign historiography of studies in this field; presents information on the historical origins of public diplomacy in Ukraine and the institutions fulfilling its tasks, the Public Diplomacy Strategy of the MFA of Ukraine and its directions: cultural diplomacy, expert diplomacy, economic diplomacy, culinary diplomacy, digital diplomacy, science and educational diplomacy, sports diplomacy; examines practical issues facing Ukraine's overseas diplomatic missions in the sphere of public diplomacy. The handbook is the result of discussions on key problems of public diplomacy within the framework of the project European Values and Cultural Diplomacy: Youth Meetings, which has been carried out by the Scientific Society of History of Diplomacy and International Relations with support from the Hanns Seidel Foundation and the MFA of Ukraine since 2019.

Since its advent in mid-1960s, public diplomacy as “a system of measures whereby the state communicates with the public of other states and influences the formation of public opinion in other countries to promote its national interests and foreign policy goals” has gained increasing currency globally as an inalienable part of strategic communications of states. In March 2021, the MFA of Ukraine adopted its Public Diplomacy Strategy for 2021–25, which identified strategic objectives and priorities in its major areas.

The structure of the *Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, which sheds light on theoretical and practical issues of public diplomacy, correlates with these areas. Its paragraphs address the basic concepts and main directions of science, expert, economic, cultural, sports, digital and culinary diplomacy; history of the origins, international experience and the latest trends in various fields of public diplomacy; features of the formation of these areas in Ukraine. The manual continues the series of educational publications on cultural and public diplomacy, initiated by the Scientific Society of History of Diplomacy and International Relations and the Institute of International Relations of Taras Shevchenko National University with support from the Hanns Seidel Foundation in Ukraine. It corresponds to the training course Public and Cultural Diplomacy, developed at the Institute of International Relations of Taras Shevchenko National University in 2015 as a component of a master's degree under the educational and professional program Diplomacy and International Cooperation and later introduced at other universities in Ukraine. The content of the training course is focused on the development of professional competencies inherent in employees engaged in the diplomatic service, civil servants dealing with international cooperation and relevant specialists at international organizations and public institutions.

The professionalism of diplomatic personnel is the key to the success of national diplomacy. The methods of diplomacy are not reduced to the traditional set of standard rules applicable to all situations of life; rather, they result from the long-term development of diplomatic activities and are

always applied creatively, adjusted to specific changes in the international environment, geopolitical and geoeconomic shifts and surroundings. They are largely dependent on strategic priorities in the development of countries, foreign policy deriving from them and, as an exclusive component, the way of thinking, acting and behaving of the people who apply them. The effectiveness of their application hinges on the professional training of diplomats tasked with promoting Ukraine's national interests and maintaining its international image.

The purpose of the textbook is to foster students' ability to use diplomatic means to defend the national interests of the state, protect the rights and interests of compatriots abroad and use the methods of cultural and public diplomacy to form and maintain a positive image of Ukraine in the international arena. The publication is designed to supplement the relevant normative textbooks and promote scientific support for the teaching of such educational components as Public Diplomacy, Diplomatic and Consular Service, Strategic Communications, International Relations Theory, Information and Analytical Support of Diplomatic Activities, Digital Diplomacy, etc.

Each paragraph is accompanied by self-assessment questionnaires. The list of recommended reading will provide an opportunity to learn more about the world's best practices in public diplomacy.

The textbook is intended for teachers, post-graduates and students of higher educational establishments majoring in International Relations, Public Communications and Regional Studies, Journalism, Political Science, etc., as well as for diplomats, public authorities of various levels, non-governmental organizations and anyone interested in issues related to public diplomacy.

Chapter 1

Theoretical and Institutional Aspects of Public Diplomacy



Iryna Matiash

Public Diplomacy: Terminology and Historiography



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Public Diplomacy: Terminology and Historiography by Iryna Matiash	9
Public Diplomacy Activities of the MFA. Public Diplomacy Strategy-2021 by Iryna Borovets	29
Essentials of Ukraine’s Image-Making Abroad: Strategy and Tactic by Vasyl Kyrlych	41
Public and Cultural Diplomacy Issues in Activities of the Embassy of Ukraine in Czechia by Yevhen Perebyinis	49
Continuity of Diplomatic Traditions: Information Component of Ukraine’s Image-Making in Bulgaria by Anna Tertychna	68
Public Diplomacy of Foreign Ukrainians: A Display of Diaspora Diplomacy by Alla Atamanenko and Nataliia Matviichuk	80

The concept “*public diplomacy*” appeared in Ukrainian historiography in the 21st century. In foreign historiography, its introduction into scientific parlance is associated with the mid-20th century. The authorship of the term is credited to American diplomat Edmund A. Gullion (1913–98), Dean of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University in Medford (Massachusetts). He began working on this problem in connection with the establishment of the Edward R. Murrow Center for Public Diplomacy (named after the former director of the US Information Agency). The center’s mission was to encompass “*dimensions of international relations beyond traditional diplomacy; the cultivation by governments of public opinion in other countries; the interaction of private groups and interests in one country with those of another... and the transnational flow of information and ideas*”.¹ E. Gullion coined a new term in 1965 as a synonym for the term “*propaganda*,” which was actively used during the Cold War to promote ideas and values in an aggressive form, in the form of a monolog, and had a predominantly negative connotation. The researcher underlined that public diplomacy deals with the influence of the public on the execution of foreign policies and requires dialogue. E. Gullion referred to such forms of communication as “*dialogue on the most significant issues of international relations between representatives of the expert circles and civil society of different countries*,” ensuring the interaction of rep-

¹ The White House (2009). *National framework for strategic communication. Report of the Federal government*. [in English].

representatives of private groups of one country those of another, intercultural communication and regular communication between diplomats and media representatives of the receiving countries as the main tools and simultaneously the tasks of public diplomacy.² The author of the term considered it a means of ensuring the influence of governments, private groups and individuals on the perception of the policy of one country by the public of another, the formation of public opinion on one country in foreign countries.³



Edmund Gullion

The official documents of the American government, however, had already used this term before. In particular, the CIA memorandum *The Current Soviet Position on Disarmament* dated February 20, 1957 stated that “during the past two years, the USSR has also publicized its own unilateral disarmament measures, evidently with the objective of increasing the pressure of public opinion on Western governments to cut armament expenditures in the absence of an international agreement. Its public diplomacy and propaganda for a formal agreement...”⁴ There are also earlier references

to the use of the term in an article dedicated to the activities of US President F. Pierce in the British newspaper *Times* in 1856, in which public diplomacy was defined as the responsibility of statesmen for the impression they seek to make on a foreign audience (“they have also to set an example for their own people, and there are few examples so catching as those of public diplomacy”).⁵ Still, it was E. Gullion’s work that began to form a separate research area in this field, joined by scientists and diplomats.

The new concept was applied in the United States during the Cold War and gradually evolved. To reduce misunderstandings in relations between countries, diplomat and scholar Hans N. Tuch defined public diplomacy as

2 Cull, N.J. (2009). Public Diplomacy before Gullion: The Evolution of a Phrase [online]. Available at: http://uscpublicdiplomacy.com/index.php/newsroom/pdblogdetail/060418_public_%20diplomacy_before_gullion_the_evolution_of_a_phrase [in English].

3 Snow, N., Taylor, P. M. (eds). (2009). *Handbook of Public Diplomacy*. Abingdon: Routledge, p. 19. [in English].

4 See: Dubov, D. (2020). *Publiczna dyplomatiia SSHA v dobu Kholodnoi viiny. Yak SSHA zavoiovuvaly “sertsia i rozum liudei” (u dzerkali rozsekrechenykh dokumentiv TsRU): analit. dop.* [US Public Diplomacy during the Cold War. How the US Won “the Hearts and Minds of the People” (in the Reflection of Declassified CIA Documents): Analytical Report]. Kyiv: NISS, p. 11. [in Ukrainian].

5 Ibid.

“the government’s process of communicating with foreign publics in an attempt to bring about understanding for its nation’s ideas and ideals, its institutions and culture, as well as national goals and policies.”⁶ Michael Lee emphasized the activity of the public in promoting a positive image of the state and viewed the task of public diplomacy as “holding events / campaigns aimed at creating among the peoples of other countries a positive attitude / commitment to the country that finances these measures.”⁷ These and other definitions had a common principle, later outlined by the author of the *soft power* theory, Harvard Professor Joseph S. Nye⁸ – the transition from a monolog characteristic of propaganda to a two-way dialogue; informing the civil society of another country, influencing its emotions and stepping up activity in order to defend national interests and solve foreign policy issues.⁹ J. Nye considered political values (ideology) along with culture as a set of values significant for society and diplomacy in the broad sense of the word to be the tools for strengthening the position of the state in the international arena, which enable the formation of its positive image, ensuring improved relations with other countries. The relevance of rethinking the tasks of public diplomacy was caused then by the end of the Cold War and the decrease in the severity of ideological confrontation in the world. The scientist later called *smart power* the most advantageous strategy for the state to achieve its goals, containing a balanced combination of *soft power*, which allows achieving the expected results on a voluntary basis, without coercion and threats, and *hard power*, based on the military and economic power of the state.¹⁰

Issues of public diplomacy were also addressed by other American diplomats, statesmen and scholars, namely Kenneth L. Adelman, Anthony J. Blinken, James R. Critchlow, Suzanne Nossel, William A Rugh, Nancy E. Snow, Hans N. (Tom) Tuch, Paul Sharp, Kathy R. Fitzpatrick, Kennon H. Nakamura and others. In the 1990s, John Arquilla and David Ronfeldt, the experts from the US administration’s RAND Corporation, put forward their concept

6 Tuch, H. N. (1990). *Communicating with the World: U.S. Public Diplomacy Overseas*. New York: St. Martin’s Press. [in English].

7 Lee, M. (1991). The Projection of Australia Overseas: The Origins of the Council for Australia Abroad. *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, no. 50, pp. 38–46. [in English].

8 Nye, J. (2004). *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. New York: Public Affairs; Nye, J. S. (2008). Public Diplomacy and Soft Power. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 616, pp. 101–102. [in English].

9 Snow, N., Taylor, P. M. op.cit., p. 8.

10 Nye J. S. (2005). *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. New York: Public Affairs, p. 63. [in English].

of *noopolitik*, whose essence was an approach to public administration based on the concepts of cyberspace and information sphere interwoven in a single *noosphere*, giving a new meaning to the concept proposed by French scientist Édouard Le Roy and developed by his contemporaries Pierre Teilhard de Chardin and Volodymyr Vernadskyi. The experts also mentioned the emergence of the so-called *netwar* based on *soft power*: information warfare capable of purposefully, quickly and secretly influencing the enemy's information systems in order to undermine its politics, economy and combat capability.¹¹ In their 1999 monograph, they noted that information must be a separate part of a broader strategy for *noopolitik* to be effective.

In a 2004 analytical report, Charles Wolf and Brian Rosen outlined the distinctions between public diplomacy and official diplomacy, pointing to such features of public diplomacy as transparency and wide dissemination, the transmission of issues related to public relations and behavior from the government to the public, whereas official diplomacy is confidential, not intended for wide dissemination, used in intergovernmental communication and related to the behavior and policy of the state.¹² Kathy R. Fitzpatrick outlined the goal of US public diplomacy as to “*develop and maintain positive relations between the United States and the foreign citizens.*”¹³

Eytan Gilboa, Director of the Center for International Communication at Bar-Ilan University, considers public diplomacy to be a direct communication of the state with foreign citizens in order to influence their thinking; a way of government communication aimed at forming an understanding of national ideas and goals, values, culture; activities in the field of information, education and culture to ensure the impact on foreign governments through the citizens of a certain country.¹⁴ The scientist identifies three models of public diplomacy on the basis of such variables as the main actors, initiators, purpose, types of media, means and technologies. The first *Cold War model* is based on the use of public diplomacy as a means of superpowers' struggle to achieve the long-term goals of a particular state to reduce another state's negative propaganda and persuade foreign audiences to exert pressure on their

11 Arquilla, J., Ronfeldt, D. (1999). *The Emergence of Noopolitik: Towards an American Information Strategy*. Washington: RAND. [in English].

12 Wolf Jr, C., Rosen, B. (2004). *Public diplomacy. How to think about and improve it*. Santa Monica: RAND. [in English].

13 Fitzpatrick, K. R. (2004). U. S. Public Diplomacy telling America's story. *Vital Speeches of the Day*, vol. 70 (13), pp. 412–417. [in English].

14 Gilboa, E. (2008). Searching for a theory of public diplomacy. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 616 (55), p. 57. [in English].

governments to alter attitudes towards the hostile state. The second model – *Non-state Transnational* – involves the activity of non-government organisations, groups, individuals, as well as exploiting global networks and media. The third is the *Domestic PR model*, focused on examining public opinion and attracting PR firms and lobbyists in the target country.¹⁵

Taking into account the growing role of the media as an instrument of foreign policy and international negotiations, E. Gilboa distinguishes a model of public diplomacy within which state and non-state actors use the media and other channels of communication to influence public opinion in foreign societies; media diplomacy, where officials use the media to communicate with actors and foster conflict resolution; and media-broker diplomacy, where journalists temporarily assume the role of diplomats and serve as mediators in international negotiations.¹⁶

In 2008, James Kenneth Glassman, US Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, outlined a new direction in public diplomacy entitled “*Public Diplomacy 2.0*,” seeing it as a way of communicative influence on a foreign audience via Web 2.0, i.e., by using social networks, blogs, mobile gaming applications to attain US foreign policy goals (primarily in the fight against terrorism).¹⁷ Against the backdrop of the decline in traditional media's popularity, the possibilities of the global network were emphasized not only for shaping a state's positive image but also for discrediting geopolitical competitors in the international arena or articulating one's own position on topical issues in the context of the information war. The new sphere of public diplomacy received several names later (digital diplomacy, cyber diplomacy), all with the same essence: exerting influence on foreign audiences by posting radio and TV programs on the Internet, monitoring discussions in the blogosphere, creating personalized pages of members of the US government in social networks.¹⁸ In 2010, Michael Egner



Eytan Gilboa

15 Ibid., pp. 59–60.

16 Gilboa, E. (2001). Diplomacy in the media age: Three models of uses and effects. *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, vol. 12 (2). [online]. Available at: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09592290108406201> [in English].

17 Glassman, J. K. (2008). *Public Diplomacy 2.0: A New Approach to Global Engagement* [online]. Available at: <https://2001-2009.state.gov/r/us/2008/112605.htm> [in English].

18 Gilboa, E. (2001). Diplomacy in the media age: Three models of uses and effects.

dedicated his PhD dissertation to the history of the development of the concept of public diplomacy.¹⁹ US scientists and diplomats have been almost the most active in research into the theoretical and practical aspects of public diplomacy, thereby spreading interest in this social phenomenon in other countries.

A significant contribution to the theory of public diplomacy has been made by British researchers Nicholas Cull, Philip M. Taylor, Brian Hocking, Philip Fiske de Gouveia, Hester Plumridge. The question of the role of different actors in the execution of foreign policy and the interpretation of the expansion of these actors' circle as evidence of the disappearance of a single state system has caused a discussion in foreign historiography. Consequently, research on public diplomacy has deepened and new directions have emerged. In particular, to determine the interaction of different actors in an increasingly complex international environment for the optimal achievement of their political goals, the concept "*catalytic diplomacy*" was coined, whose essence was interpreted as the existence of a larger number of state and non-state actors in diplomatic practice, as well as the expansion of the role of individual key figures (politicians or businessmen) in advancing national interests.²⁰

That said, the report *Futures for Diplomacy: Integrative Diplomacy in the 21st Century*, prepared by B. Hocking, J. Melissen, S. Riordan and P. Sharp for the government of Finland, argued that diplomats would remain the most significant players in international relations but would increasingly have to adapt to sharing the stage with a broad range of government and non-government actors. Concurring with most experts on the problem of agency in public diplomacy, the authors identify among actors the state, state institutions, international government organizations and international non-governmental organizations implementing public diplomacy through general or specially created structures in cooperation with independent participants in international communication. They assigned the leading role in national diplomatic systems to the ministries of foreign affairs, which will manage diplomatic networks, ensuring that international communication strategies are at the center of foreign policy making.

N. Cull pointed out strengthening the role of public diplomacy as a method used by governments and non-state actors to defend their interests in

19 Egner, M. (2010). Between Slogans and Solutions. A Frame-Based Assessment Methodology for Public Diplomacy [online]. Available at: https://www.rand.org/pubs/rgs_dissertations/RGSD255.html [in English].

20 Hocking, B. (1999). "Catalytic diplomacy: beyond 'newness' and 'decline'", in Melissen, J. (ed.). *Innovation in diplomatic practice*. London: Macmillan, pp. 19–42. [in English].

international politics interacting with the societies of other countries²¹. He comprehensively analyzed the references to the concept "*public diplomacy*" during 1856–1928 and concluded that its introduction into scientific circulation was determined not by the desire to designate a new essence of information activity but by the requirement for greater openness of classic diplomacy.²² The researcher singled out such elements in public diplomacy as *listening* (collecting and collating of relevant information as the basis of public diplomacy strategy); *advocacy* (promotion of values, explanation of political steps, other information work as a tool for correcting public opinion); *cultural diplomacy* (arousing interest in language, literature and art as a way to mutual understanding); *exchange diplomacy* (establishing educational and scientific ties through foreign students or specialists and demonstrating the life of the country from the inside); *international broadcasting* (television and radio programs for foreign audiences as an important source of information about the country); *psychological warfare* (an additional element intended for use in crisis situations).²³ N. Cull draws attention to the aspiration inherent in the new public diplomacy not only to improve the image of the country but to create a brand; to develop interaction not only vertically (government-to-citizen) but also horizontally between representatives of societies; build relations based on dialogue.



Nicholas Cull

The term "*branding*," taken from marketing, is considered to be coined by Simon Anholt, an English scientist and independent political advisor on developing a national brand image of the state. He first used the phrases "*place branding*" and "*national branding*" in the journal *Brand Management* in 2002; the following year, he published his work *Brand New Justice*, dedicated to the type of brands in economic development. S. Anholt has advanced an integrated approach to place branding as opposed to that which specialized and focused on some particular aspects (for example, tourism). He regards tourism, politics, export brands, business and investments, culture and people (immigration) as versatile elements of the modern place

21 Cull, J. N. (2009). *Public Diplomacy before Gullion. The Evolution of a Phrase* in Taylor, P., Snow N. (eds.) *The Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*. New York: Routledge. [in English].

22 Ibid.

23 Cull, J. N. (2009). *Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the Past*. Los Angeles: Figueroa press [online]. Available at : <http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/publications/perspectives> [in English].

brand. His thesis that the reputation of the state cannot be created but only deserved by a successful legitimate policy, seems important. At the same time, a good reputation allows looking decent even in a complicated situation, whereas a dubious image forces one to perceive even the right actions with distrust. S. Anholt's branding theory has been further developed in his practical activities. The *Anholt-GfK Nation Brands Index* is an annual survey that tracks global reputation in 50 countries based on the perceptions of states and peoples in six areas: exports, governance, culture, people, tourism and immigration/investment.

Mark Leonard, Catherine Stead and Conrad Smewing, the authors of a professional British handbook of public diplomacy, viewed the key task of public diplomacy as “*getting companies to invest, publics to back our positions or politicians to turn to us as a favoured partner.*”²⁴ They see the “*premise that the image and reputation of a country are public goods which can create either an enabling or a disabling environment for individual transactions*” as an important component and suggest that the reverse effect of work on the image should not be forgotten – positive or negative.²⁵ Mark Leonard identifies three dimensions of public diplomacy: *reacting* (responding to events, clarifying policies, commenting on political moves), *proactive* (shaping public opinion by conveying certain messages) and *building relationships* (communicating with foreign audiences, seeking mutually beneficial solutions and establishing closer relations), as well as two forms of public diplomacy: *competitive* (aimed at improving the image, sometimes by discrediting the opponent) and *cooperative* (aimed at developing mutually beneficial relations).²⁶ Based on what actor fulfills the tasks of public diplomacy, he also identifies NGO diplomacy, diaspora diplomacy, political party diplomacy, brand diplomacy, business diplomacy.²⁷ Given the goal of new public diplomacy, which is not only to convey information but also to forge long-term relations based on dialogue, brand building has become a key task along with maintaining the image of a country. In similar vein, horizontal communication at the level “*population-to-population,*” “*population-to-another state*” acquired priority under new conditions. The issues of new public diplomacy, particularly the use of social

24 Leonard, M. et al (eds) (2002). *Public Diplomacy*. London: The Foreign Policy Center, p. 16. [in English].

25 Ibid., p.16.

26 Ibid., pp. 10-11.

27 Gilboa, E. (2008) Searching for a theory of public diplomacy. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 616, no. 55. p. 74. [in English].

networks to promote a positive image of the state and its branding, are examined and incorporated into public diplomacy strategies in China, Finland, Germany, Sweden, the UK, Poland²⁸ and other countries.

Broader problems of public diplomacy are also studied by Dutch scholar Jan Melissen,²⁹ Swiss scholar and diplomat Dietrich Kappeler, German scholars Claudia Auer and Alise Srugies, Japanese student of humanities and social sciences of Tsukuba University Kyoungtaek Lee, etc. In particular, J. Melissen, a leading researcher at the Netherlands Institute of International Relations, defines public diplomacy as a process of promoting interests and disseminating values in a foreign state by establishing direct contacts with its population.³⁰ Crocker Snow Jr., a former director of the Edward Murrow Center, notes that a new trend in the development of public diplomacy, whose essence traditionally consisted in activities of governments to ensure influence on foreign audiences, is the involvement of the media, transnational corporations, non-governmental organizations and other active participants of international relations.³¹ Thus, he outlines the specifics of “*new public diplomacy*” consisting in the active involvement of non-state actors in the execution of foreign policy and the reduction of the role of the state.

Japanese researcher K. Lee has analyzed the development of the “*public diplomacy*” concept in Japan. The scientist substantiated its advent in vigorous scientific and professional circulation in *Diplomatic Bluebook 2004*³² through the need to “*clarify the relationship*” between propaganda and politics and its transformation with the growth of civil society's activity and the deepening of the role of the public in the execution of foreign policy. According to the author, the basis for the development of public diplomacy in Japan is the establishment of the Japan Foundation in 1972 by the government as a symbol of transformation and the formation of full-fledged relations with the public in foreign coun-

28 Hülse, R. (2009). The Catwalk Power: Germany's New Foreign Image Policy. *Journal of International Relations and Development*, vol. 12, pp. 293–316. [in English]; Ociepka, B. (2013). *Miękka siła i dyplomacja publiczna Polski* [Soft Power and Poland's Public Diplomacy]. Warsaw: Scholar. [in Polish].

29 Melissen, J. (2005). “The New Public Diplomacy: Between Theory and Practice,” in Melissen, J. (ed). *The New Public Diplomacy. Studies in Diplomacy and International Relations*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 3–27. [in English].

30 Melissen, J. (2005). *The New Public Diplomacy. Soft Power in International Relations*. Palgrave Macmillan, p. 5. [in English].

31 The Edward Murrow Center (n.d.). *Definitions of public diplomacy* [online]. Available at: <http://fletcher.tufts.edu/Murrow/Diplomacy/Definitions> [in English].

32 Lee, K. (2015). The “New” Public Diplomacy in Japan with a Focus on its Rise and Collapse. *Journal of International and Advanced Japanese Studies*, vol. 7, pp. 153–165 [online]. Available at: <http://japan.tsukuba.ac.jp/research> [in Japanese].

tries. Since then, the terms “*cultural exchange*” and “*public relations abroad*” have been used predominantly by the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. K. Lee calls the years 2009 and 2012 the key dates in the adaptation of the concept of public diplomacy in the professional environment, when the promotion of public diplomacy became a political challenge for the Democratic Party of Japan. In 2012, the Noda Cabinet held a conference at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, which resulted in the official promotion of public diplomacy by the Democratic Party with the focus on deepening government-to-citizen relations, expanding cultural exchanges, reviving Japanese brands, popularizing famous Japanese landmarks, etc. In the context of these measures, the need to explain to foreigners the peculiarities of Japanese culture and values as a tool of cultural diplomacy to create a stable economic environment for Japanese companies gained new salience. According to K. Lee, the peculiarity of “*new public diplomacy*” lies in a significant increase in the non-state actors’ influence on the achievement of foreign policy goals of states.

The history of the formation of the concept of public diplomacy and its essence in Germany has been considered by Claudia Auer and Alise Srugies in their joint work *Public Diplomacy in Germany*.³³ The researchers emphasize that public diplomacy should be based on honesty and self-critical reflection, since the concealment of negative facts and the distortion of information broadcast to target audiences may have a negative impact instead of the expected one. They refer to state bodies, public organizations and private groups in the politico-military, social, cultural, economic, educational and scientific systems as public diplomacy actors, expanding the public diplomacy concept with the approaches of communication science and sociology, taking into account the behavior of various actors in a decentralized system, their interests, institutional structures, constellations and social subsystems.³⁴

Perhaps the most popular foreign handbook on public diplomacy was the *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, compiled by Philip M. Taylor (mentor of N. Cull), Professor at the University of Leeds, and Nancy Snow in 2009. The task of the editors was to comprehend the phenomenon of public diplomacy. In six parts (29 chapters) of the handbook, which has gone through several editions, the authors have analyzed the general trends in the development of the concept of “public diplomacy before Gullion,”

33 Auer, C., Srugies, A. (2013). *Public Diplomacy in Germany. CPD Perspectives on Public Diplomacy*, paper 5. [in English].

34 Ibid., pp. 12–15.

demonstrated the growing role of the information sphere in this segment, the role of public diplomacy in resolving international conflicts, examined public diplomacy practices in different countries and the ethics of public diplomacy, the key element of which is the aspiration of government officials to listen and change, whilst also interacting with the foreign public at the communication and political levels. The content of public diplomacy was interpreted by P. Taylor as actions aimed at maintaining long-term relations, ensuring the implementation of the country’s foreign policy goals and a better understanding of the values and institutions of one’s state abroad. Special attention was paid to the tasks of cultural diplomacy, the importance of international broadcasting and exchange programs, the logic of communication of global public diplomacy, the connection between US public diplomacy and citizens, practical prospects of country branding and implications of nation branding for public diplomacy, as well as practical issues of social influence tactics in international conflicts, features of public diplomacy of the UN and UNESCO, cultural issues in the European Union Global Strategy, tasks of culinary diplomacy, specifics of public diplomacy of the diaspora and different states (Australia, Brazil, China, Japan, Korea, Russia, the United States, African countries and Latin America), prospects of public diplomacy (ethical and social issues, digital public diplomacy, corporate diplomacy), etc. N. Cull together with N. Snow prepared the second edition of *Rethinking Public Diplomacy* (2020) after the premature death of his teacher.

The evolution of the concept and the formation of public diplomacy tools in different countries is expedited by its institutionalization. In 1993–98, the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva had a Diplomatic Studies Program led by the renowned lawyer, diplomat and scholar, Professor Dietrich Kappeler, who was involved in the founding of the International Relations Institute of Cameroon (1971) and the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies of the University of Nairobi (1973). The Public Diplomacy research program at the Foreign Policy Center in London was led by journalist, speechwriter and scholar Philip Fiske de Gouveia, who wrote, in particular, the political report *European Infopolitik: Developing EU Public Diplomacy Strategy*. The Centre for International and European Studies was opened at Coventry University in the UK under the leadership of Professor B. Hocking. At the Annenberg School for Communication and Journalism at the University of Southern California, the Center on Public Diplomacy

and the master's program in Public Diplomacy were introduced, whose director was Professor Nicholas J. Cull, with Professor Nancy Snow as Senior Research Fellow. The Center of Public Diplomacy Research and Training operates at the Institute of Media and Communication Science of the Ilmenau University (Germany), represented in professional foreign historiography, in particular, by the works of Claudia Auer and Alise Srugies. In 2020, Professor Beata Ociepka initiated the establishment of the Public Diplomacy Lab at the Institute of International Studies of the University of Wrocław.

Strategies and programs of public diplomacy have been developed in foreign ministries of many countries since the early 21st century, and the staff lists of foreign diplomatic institutions provide for relevant specialists and even special units. The concept “*public diplomacy*” is actively used in professional vocabulary and is included in the rhetoric of politicians and diplomats. Foreign policy institutions of many states have special departments, strategies and programs of public diplomacy (in Germany, foreign cultural and political activities based on the Concept 2000 provided for the promotion of German cultural and educational political interests abroad, establishing and maintaining a positive modern image of Germany abroad, further European integration, conflict prevention through dialogue, which formed the basis of German public diplomacy strategy; in 2010, the *Public Diplomacy: Strengthening U.S. Engagement with the World*³⁵ program was launched), as well as relevant specialists at diplomatic missions. In June 2016, High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy F. Mogherini presented the EU strategy for international cultural relations with partner countries and pointed to the practical aspect of the problem, noting the growing role of culture in “*relationship with today's world*”³⁶ and the indispensable role of cultural diplomacy in foreign policy. Thus, the European official confirmed the notion of cultural diplomacy as an integral part of public diplomacy.

As is known, the term “*cultural diplomacy*” began to be used in Europe to refer to such a multifaceted phenomenon as a mutual understanding of peoples by means of culture in the latter half of the 20th century. It is believed that in the 1960s, the author of the term “*cultural diplomacy*,” American re-

35 Office of the Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs (2010). *Public Diplomacy: Strengthening U.S. Engagement with the World. A Strategic Approach for the 21st Century* [online]. Available at: http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/pdfs/PD_US_World_Engagement.pdf [in English].

36 Website der Europäischen Kommission (2016). *EU legt Strategie zur Kulturdiplomatie vor* [online]. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/germany/news/eu-legt-strategie-zur-kulturdiplomatie-vor_de [in German].

searcher Frederick S. Barghoorn, correlated it with the propaganda policy of the USSR and understood it as “*manipulation of cultural materials and personnel for propaganda purposes*.”³⁷ American political scientist Milton K. Cummings considered “*cultural diplomacy*” as the exchange of ideas, information, values, traditions and other aspects of culture that can contribute to better understanding between peoples.³⁸ The attention of the researchers of international relations almost all over the world is drawn to the tools of cultural diplomacy, which allow using soft influence methods through cultural and educational activities to form the perception of the image of one country by politicians and the public of another country.

In the early 2000s, foreign historiography experienced a renewed interest in economic diplomacy, regarded as a set of tools that ensure the economic interests of the state abroad. French economist and diplomat Guy Carron de la Carrière considers economic diplomacy to be the only efficient method of influencing economic relations between states, in contrast to unreliable political levers of influence on the economy.³⁹ He proves the effectiveness of the influence of economics and economic diplomacy on politics and interstate relations by the fact that strong economic positions traditionally provide political dominance and the ability to dictate one's terms concerning the world order to other countries; in addition, a high standard of living, provided by economic leadership, guarantees people's support for foreign policy and the corresponding foreign economic course of the state. The works of P. van Bergeijk and S. Moons are dedicated to the issues of the role of economic diplomacy in the system of economic security of the state.⁴⁰ Economic diplomacy as a science, its role and place in modern international relations are studied in the fundamental work of professors of the London School of Economics and Political Science N. Bayne and S. Woolcock; information about economic diplomacy is contained in the *Oxford Handbook of Modern Diplomacy*, etc.⁴¹

37 Barghoorn, F. C. (1960). *The Soviet Cultural Offensive: The Role of Cultural Diplomacy in Soviet Foreign Policy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. [in English].

38 Center for Arts and Culture (2004). *Cultural Diplomacy: Recommendations & Research*, July [online]. Available at: <http://www.interarts.net/descargas/interarts687.pdf> [in English].

39 Carron de la Carrière, G. (1998). *La diplomatie économique: Le diplomate et le marché*. Paris: Economica. [in French].

40 Bergeijk van, P., Moons, A. G., Selwyn J. V. (2013). *Economic Diplomacy Works: A meta-analysis of its effect on international economic flows* [online]. Available at: http://www2.gre.ac.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0015/822_102/Selwyn-J.V.-Moons-and-Peter-A.G.-van-Bergeijk_Economic-Diplomacy-Works-a-meta-analysis-of-its-effect-on-international-economic-flows.pdf [in English].

41 Bayne, N., Woolcock, S. (2002). *The New Economic Diplomacy: Decision Making and Negotiation in International Economic Relations*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing; Cooper, A. F. et al (eds) (2015). *The*

“Aid diplomacy” is considered to be a direction of economic diplomacy aimed at providing financial assistance to poor countries, testifying to the economic power of the donor state (hard power). Its appearance is associated with the events of September 11, 2001 and a new perspective on activities of the US Agency for International Development (USAID). In particular, the conclusions of the commission investigating the tragedy noted that some recipient countries of American aid were still opposed to the United States, so financial aid alone did not have the expected effect on the recipients. Aid diplomacy was introduced as an instrument of state diplomacy increasing soft power. The “*number of minds won*” was suggested as a criterion for its evaluation.⁴²

Since the early 2000s, culinary diplomacy has been elaborated as an area of public diplomacy. The term “*gastrodiplomacy*” came into being on the pages of *The Economist* in 2002, which dealt with the global distribution program of the international chain of Thai food restaurants Thai Kitchen of the World. The exact definition of this term as “*the utilization of food and cuisine to create cross-cultural understandings to cooperation in international public interactions*” was formulated by American researcher, writer and culinary diplomat Sam Chapple-Sokol. P. Rockower does not see the terms “*culinary diplomacy*” and “*gastrodiplomacy*” as synonyms, considering that *gastrodiplomacy* refers to the tools of public diplomacy, whereas *culinary diplomacy* is “*a means of further development of the diplomatic protocol through cuisine*.” At the same time, S. Chapple-Sokol believes that both terms belong to the broad category of “*culinary diplomacy*” and distinguishes between public and private culinary diplomacy.⁴³ Former White House chef Walter Scheib considers gastronomy and treats to be an effective tool for influencing diplomatic contacts. He has identified three types of such “*diplomatic influence*”: *food as satisfaction* when the dish is chosen based on the politician’s preferences – such a technique would certainly contribute to diplomatic success; *food as punishment*, when a dish that a person does not like is deliberately served on the table – this will certainly lead to a diplomatic failure; *alcohol impact*.⁴⁴ Swedish researcher Alessandra Roversi views culinary diplomacy as the art of negotiation during formal dinners. There is also a definition of culinary diplomacy as the creation of a positive reputa-

Oxford Handbook of Modern Diplomacy. Oxford: OUP Oxford. [in English].

42 Cull, J. N. (2009). *Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the Past*.

43 Ibid.

44 Kuprii, T., Tarnavska, A. (2018). *Hastronomiia iak zasib politychnoho vplyvu* [Gastronomy as mean of political influence]. *Hileia: Scientific Bulletin*, Issue 136, p. 250. [in Ukrainian].

tion of the state through the promotion of national cuisine. Theoretical and applied aspects of culinary diplomacy are becoming increasingly popular, simultaneously giving rise to numerous terminological discussions.

In the early 2000s, the Russian historiography started to study public diplomacy as a system of interaction with the foreign public of governmental and non-governmental organizations. It included such areas of public diplomacy as “*people’s diplomacy*”,⁴⁵ as the activity of non-governmental organizations in the formation of a positive image of the state; *cultural diplomacy* as a system of activities of governmental and non-governmental organizations in order to achieve certain foreign policy objectives by holding conferences, exhibitions, festivals, thematic weeks dedicated to Russian culture, literature, cinematography etc.⁴⁶; *digital diplomacy*, as the use of social networks and the possibilities of the Internet in diplomatic practice to assist state bodies in matters related to foreign policy⁴⁷; *panda diplomacy* as a way to establish a state dialogue with China through granting a foreign state the national symbol of the country – a living panda. Russian scientists also study the issues of economic diplomacy⁴⁸. In general, they construe public diplomacy as a system of dialog with the foreign public that is not identical with the understanding of propaganda, while in practice this non-identity is absent and has aggressive nature.

A significant contribution to the world historiography of public diplomacy belongs to Polish scientists. Professor Beata Ociepka is a distinguished specialist in public diplomacy. Under the editorship of the scientist, the first Polish special edition in this field was published in 2008. In subsequent years, the priorities of public diplomacy both in the activities of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland and in Polish historiography included such areas as economic, cultural, and historical diplomacy; development cooperation, Eastern Partnership. Publications devoted to the public diplomacy of the European Union, sports diplomacy and cultural diplomacy have been published⁴⁹.

45 Zonova, T. (2003). *Sovremennaya model diplomatii: istoki stanovleniya i perspektivy razvitiya* [The Modern Model of Diplomacy: Origins and Development Prospects]. Moscow, p. 129. [in Russian].

46 Muhametov, R. (2014). *Spetsifika obshchestvennoy diplomatii kak instrumenta vneshney politiki gosudarstva* [Peculiarity of public diplomacy as an instrument of state foreign policy]. *Izvestiya Uralskogo federalnogo universiteta*, vol. 9, no. 2, p. 87. [in Russian].

47 Surma, I. (2015). *Tsifrovaya diplomatiya v mirovoy politike. Gosudarstvennoe upravlenie* [Digital diplomacy in world politics. State management]. *Elektronnyy vestnik*, no. 49, p. 222. [in Russian].

48 Savoyskiy, A. (2011). *Ekonomicheskaya diplomatna sovremennoy Rossii v otnoshenii SShA na mezhdunarodnoy arene* [Economic Diplomacy of Modern Russia towards the US in the International Arena]. Moscow: RIA-KMV, p. 72. [in Russian].

49 Ociepka, B. (2012). *Nowa dyplomacja publiczna. Perspektywa teorii stosunków międzynarodowych i komunikowania politycznego* [New public diplomacy. The prospects of theory of international

In Ukrainian historiography, interest in theoretical and applied issues of public diplomacy is most actively manifested in political science, theory and practice of international relations and cultural studies. These issues are at the stage of reflection, so most authors highlight and analyze the views of foreign authors, focusing on the historiographic aspects of the problem. Therefore, original studies of certain practical issues of public diplomacy are of particular interest. Questions of public diplomacy are addressed by modern Ukrainian researchers I. Havrylenko,⁵⁰ H. Hrachevska,⁵¹ S. Hutsal,⁵² H. Pocheptsov,⁵³ P. Sukhorylskyi and I. Misiuk,⁵⁴ T. Syvak,⁵⁵ M. Protsiuk,⁵⁶ M. Trofymenko,⁵⁷ V. Tsivatyi⁵⁸ and others. The policy of soft power is

relations and political communication]. *Przegląd Strategiczny*, no. 1, pp. 129–139; Ryniejska-Kieldanowicz, M. (2020). *Dyplomacja publiczna Unii Europejskiej* [Public Diplomacy of European Union]. Warsaw: Scholar. [in Polish].

- 50 Havrylenko, I. (2014). Heopolitychnyi vymir publichnoi dyplomatii SshA [The Geopolitical Dimension of US Public Diplomacy]. *Mizhnarodni vidnosyny. Seriya "Politychni nauky"*, no.3. [online]. Available at: http://journals.iir.kiev.ua/index.php/pol_n/article/view/2240 [in Ukrainian].
- 51 Hrachevska, H. (2014). Paradyplomatiia yak skladnyk protsesiv rehionalizatsii na suchasnomu etapi [Paradiplomacy as a Component of Regionalisation Processes at the Present Stage]. *Politohiia*, no. 12 (116), pp. 77–82. [in Ukrainian].
- 52 Hutsal, S. (2010). Publichna dyplomatiia yak suchasnyi priorytet zovnishnoi polityky derzhavy [Public Diplomacy as a Modern Priority of State Foreign Policy]. *Strategic Priorities*, no. 3 (16), pp. 106–113. [in Ukrainian].
- 53 Pocheptsov, H. (2008). *Stratehichni komunikatsii: stratehichni komunikatsii v politytsii, biznesi ta derzhavnomu upravlinni: navch. posibn. dlia studentiv i aspirantiv* [Strategic Communications: Strategic Communications in Politics, Business and Public Administration: Handbook for Students and Postgraduates]. Kyiv: Alterpress. [in Ukrainian].
- 54 Sukhorylskyi, P., Misiuk, I. (2011). Poniattia ta sutnist hromadskoi dyplomatii [The Concept and Essence of Public Diplomacy]. *Political Science*, no. 1 (75), pp. 178–180. [in Ukrainian].
- 55 Syvak, T. (2019). Publichna dyplomatiia yak intehratsiyni komponent stratehichnykh komunikatsii u publichnomu upravlinni [Public Diplomacy as an Integration Component of Strategic Communications in Public Administration]. *Law and Public Administration*, no. 3 (36), vol. 2, pp. 84–93. [in Ukrainian].
- 56 Protsiuk, M. (2016). Publichna i kulturna dyplomatiia tak zasib "miakoi syly" Ukrainy: zapozycheni modeli, realni kroky ta stratehichni priorytety [Public and Cultural Diplomacy as a Means of Ukraine's "Soft Power": Borrowed Models, Real Steps, and Strategic Priorities]. *Collected Works of the Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine*, Issue 23 (2), pp. 21–28. [in Ukrainian].
- 57 Balabanov, K., Trofymenko, M. (2013). "Publichna dyplomatiia" yak vidpovid na vyklyky suchasnosti [Public Diplomacy as a Response to Modern Challenges]. *Diplomatic Ukraine*, Issue 14, pp. 989–1021; Trofymenko, M. (2015). Publichna dyplomatiia FRN [Public Diplomacy of the FRG]. *Bulletin of Mariupol State University. Series: History. Political Studies*, Issue 13–14, pp. 310–321; Trofymenko, M. (2016). Publichna dyplomatiia malykh derzhav [Public Diplomacy of Small States]. *Bulletin of Mariupol State University. Series: History. Political Studies*, Issue 16, pp. 329–336. [in Ukrainian].
- 58 Tsivatyi, V. (2014). Publichna dyplomatiia: tradytsii, trendy ta vyklyky (dosvid i priorytety dlia Ukrainy) [Public Diplomacy: Traditions, Trends, and Challenges (Experience and Priorities for Ukraine)]. *Foreign Affairs*, Issue 6, pp. 32–36. [in Ukrainian].

studied by N. Tsiurupa,⁵⁹ I. Slisarenko,⁶⁰ O. Tyshchenko-Tyshkovets,⁶¹ O. Semchenko,⁶² A. Lutsenko,⁶³ N. Bielousova⁶⁴; the legal framework for the modern Ukrainian public diplomacy is studied by Ya. Haponova⁶⁵; theoretical foundations for the application of new information and communication technology are examined by V. Rudnieva.⁶⁶ H. Lutsyshyn and A. Honcharuk have looked into the features of Ukrainian cultural diplomacy at the present stage and the process of the institutionalization of Ukrainian cultural diplomacy through the consolidation of the work of state structures and civic initiatives. The authors have pointed out to the creation of a state institution with the functions of cultural diplomacy – the Ukrainian Institute – in 2015 and outlined the priorities of the modern Ukrainian diplomatic service.⁶⁷

A distinct area of Ukrainian historiography in this sphere is historical research. The issues of information activities of Ukrainian diplomatic mis-

- 59 Tsiurupa, M. (2007). Poniattia "miakoi syly" derzhavy ta osoblyvosti ii zastosuvannia v suchasni svtovii politytsii [The Concept of 'Soft Power' of the State and the Features of its Application in Modern World Politics]. *Scientific notes of Kuras Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies of the NAS of Ukraine*, Issue 36, pp. 47–59. [in Ukrainian].
- 60 Slisarenko, I. (2008). Teoriia i praktyka "miakoi syly" v mizhnarodnykh vidnosynakh [Theory and Practice of Soft Power in International Relations]. *Osvita rehionu*, no. 1–2 [online]. Available at: <https://social-science.uu.edu.ua/article/24> [in Ukrainian].
- 61 Tyshchenko-Tyshkovets, O. (2009). Transformatsiia publichnoi dyplomatii Spoluchenykh Shtativ Ameryki: vid lehitymizatsii "zhorstkoii syly" do pobudovy dialohu zi svitom [Transformation of Public Diplomacy of the United States of America: From the Legitimation of 'Hard Power' to Building a Dialogue with the World]. *Bulletin of the National Technical University of Ukraine "Kyiv Polytechnic Institute": Political Science. Sociology. Law*, no. 4, pp. 28–32. [in Ukrainian].
- 62 Semchenko, O. (2014). *Imidzheva polityka Ukrainy* [Image Policy of Ukraine]. Kyiv: Akademiia; Semchenko, O. (2012). "Miaka syla" derzhavy yak potentsial dlia imidzhu krainy ['Soft Power' of the state as the Prospect for the Country's Image]. *Politychni menedzhment*, no. 4–5, pp. 265–272. [in Ukrainian].
- 63 Lutsenko, A., Piskorska, H. (2011). "Miaka syla" v suchasni heopolitytsii ["Soft Power" in Modern Geopolitics]. Kyiv. [in Ukrainian].
- 64 Bielousova, N. (2012). "Miaka" syla yak potentsial zovnishnopolitychnoho vplyvu derzhavy [Soft Power as the Potential of Foreign Policy Influence of the State]. *Actual Problems of International Relations*, Issue 107, Part 1, pp. 148–151. [in Ukrainian].
- 65 Haponova, Ya. (2017). Ukrainaska publichna dyplomatiia: normatyvno-pravova baza [Ukrainian Public Diplomacy: Legal Framework]. *Politicus*, Issue 3, pp. 137–140. [in Ukrainian].
- 66 Rudnieva, V. (2012). Publichna dyplomatiia: teoretychni osnovy zastosuvannia novoi informatsiino-komunikatsiinoi tekhnologii v derzhavnomu upravlinni [Public Diplomacy: Theoretical Bases for the Introduction of New Information and Communication Technology in Public Administration]. *Bulletin of the National Academy of Public Administration under the President of Ukraine*, Issue 1, pp. 147–153. [in Ukrainian].
- 67 Lytsyshyn, H., Honcharuk, A. (2017). Osoblyvosti rozvytku kulturnoi dyplomatii Ukrainy v suchasnykh umovakh [Peculiarities of the Development of Ukrainian Cultural Diplomacy in Modern Conditions]. *Humanitarian vision*, vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 25–30. [in Ukrainian].

sions are covered in the works of D. Viedienieiev⁶⁸, who argues that diplomatic efforts at that time in the field of culture were focused on popularizing the Ukrainian idea abroad through demonstrating works of art and literature as well as establishing contacts with the intelligentsia and the political elite in the country, which contributed to the improvement of Ukraine's international image.⁶⁹ In joint research with D. Budkov,⁷⁰ D. Viedienieiev singles out the tasks of international information, whose implementation testified to the formation of the practical foundations of public diplomacy. The activities of the Embassy of the UPR in Germany in the field of culture and international information were covered by N. Kryvets,⁷¹ that of the UPR Embassy in Bulgaria and the UPR Extraordinary Diplomatic Mission in Czechoslovakia were examined by A. Tertychna⁷² and I. Kanevska,⁷³ respectively. The peculiarities of cultural and information projects of the Embassy in Bulgaria, the EDM of the UPR in Greece and of the Consulate in Munich are indicated in the works of I. Matiash.⁷⁴ Ukrainian scientists see

68 Viedienieiev, D. (2019). Stanovlennia kulturnoi dyplomatii Ukrainskoi Narodnoi Respubliki periodu Dyrektorii (1918–1920 rr.) [Development of the Ukrainian People's Republic's cultural diplomacy during the Directorate period (1918–20)]. *National Academy of Managerial Staff of Culture and Arts Herald*, Issue 2, p. 18. [in Ukrainian].

69 Viedienieiev, D. (2009). *Mizhnarodno-informatsiina diialnist Ukrainskoi Derzhavy 1917–1923 rr.* [International information activities of the Ukrainian state in 1917–1923]. Kyiv: Nauk.-vydav. viddil NA SB Ukrainy. [in Ukrainian].

70 Budkov, D., Viedienieiev, D. (1993). Orhanizatsiia zovnishnopolitychnoho informuvannia za doby Dyrektorii Ukrainskoi Narodnoi Respubliki [Organisation of Foreign Policy Information during the Period of the Directorate of the Ukrainian People's Republic]. *Mizhnarodni zviazky Ukrainy: naukovi poshuky i znakhidky*, Issue 4, pp. 12–20 [in Ukrainian]; Budkov, D., Viedienieiev, D. (2004). *Slovo pravdy pro Ukrainu. Mizhnarodna informatsiina diialnist Ukrainskoi derzhavy 1917–1923 rr.* [The Word of Truth about Ukraine. International Information Activity of the Ukrainian State in 1917–1923]. Kyiv: K.I.S. [in Ukrainian].

71 Kryvets, N. (2008). *Ukrainsko-nimetski vidnosyny: polityka, dyplomatiia, ekonomika. 1918–1933 rr.* [Ukrainian-German relations: politics, diplomacy, economics. 1918–1933]. Kyiv: Institute of History of Ukraine of the NAS of Ukraine, pp. 206–219. [in Ukrainian].

72 Tertychna, A. (2019). Activities of the Embassy of the Ukrainian People's Republic to Bulgaria: Origins of Public Diplomacy in the Course of Establishing Diplomatic Relations. *Intercultural communications*, № 32, pp. 138–145 [in English]; Tertychna, A. (2019). Publichna dyplomatiia v istorii ukrainsko-bolharskykh vidnosyn. Informatsiina skladova: vytoky ta perspektyvy [Public Diplomacy in the History of Ukrainian-Bulgarian Relations. Information Component: Origins and Prospects], *Zovnishni spravy*, no. 6–7, pp. 49–53 [in Ukrainian]; Tertychna, A. (2019). The Ukrainko-Bulgarski Pregled (Ukrainian-Bulgarian Review) as a Tool of Cultural Diplomacy in the Relations between Ukraine and Bulgaria (1919–1920). *Bulgarian Historical Review – Revue Bulgare d'histoire*, no. 3–4, pp. 233–242. [in English].

73 Kanevska, I. (n.d.). *Olherd Ipolyt Bochkovskiy – atashe Nadzvychainoi dyplomatychnoi misii UNR u Prazi* [online]. Available at: <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/14051295.pdf> [in Ukrainian].

74 Matiash, I. (2020). The first Ukrainian diplomatic representation in Bulgaria: till the beginnings of the institutional history of Ukrainian-Bulgarian relations. *Bulgarian Historical Review*, no. 3–4, pp.

the sprouts of ideas represented later in the concepts “cultural diplomacy” and “public diplomacy” in the works of V. Lypynskyi and S. Tomashivskyi.⁷⁵

The study of the formation of tools of cultural diplomacy in 1919–20 as a direction of public diplomacy is mainly concentrated around the tour of the Republican Cappella, conducted by O. Koshyts. S. Narizhnyi has comprehensively covered the journey of the cappella as a state institution for the first time, pointing out its importance for the representation of Ukrainian culture in Europe.⁷⁶ M. Holovashchenko⁷⁷ has devoted numerous publications to this problem; a thorough monograph on the figure of an outstanding artist has been prepared by N. Kalutska and L. Parkhomenko.⁷⁸ T. Peresunko studies the tour of the cappella in the context of the institutionalization of Ukrainian cultural diplomacy, considering this activity as a historical model of cultural diplomacy.⁷⁹ Still, Ukraine's history of the institutionalization of “cultural diplomacy” and “public diplomacy” needs to be studied in more detail. In recent years, Ukrainian historiography has begun to form a direction of research on economic diplomacy. The publications of A. Flissak, N. Tatarenko, V. Baranovska, N. Hrushchynska,

237–257 [in English]; Matiash, I. (2020). Diialnist Nadzvychainoi dyplomatychnoi misii UNR u Hretsii v konteksti rozvytku ukrainsko-hretskykh vidnosyn u 1917–1920 rokakh: instytutsiina istoriia ta znakovi postati [Activities of the Consulate of Greece in Kyiv and the Extraordinary Diplomatic Mission of the Ukrainian People's Republic in Greece in 1917–1920: a Role in the Establishment of Ukrainian-Greek Relations]. *International Relations of Ukraine: Scientific Searches and Findings*, Issue 29, pp. 10–35. [in Ukrainian].

75 Kudriachenko, A. (2011). Dyplomatychna diialnist i pohliady na zovnishniu polityku V. Lypynskoho [V. Lypynskyi's Diplomatic Activities and Views on the Foreign Policy]. *Studia Politologica Ucraino-Polona*, Issue 1, pp. 100–108; Vodotyka, T., Mahda, Ye. (2016). *Ihry vidobrazhen. Yakoiu bachyt Ukrainu svit* [Games of Reflections. How the World Sees Ukraine]. Kharkiv: Vivat, p. 94. [in Ukrainian].

76 Narizhnyi, S. (2008). *Ukrainska emihratsiia. Kulturna pratsia ukrainskoi emihratsii mizh dvoma svitovymy viinamy* [Ukrainian Emigration. Cultural Activities of Ukrainian Emigration between Two World Wars]. Part 1, 2nd ed. Lviv; Kent; Ostroh, pp. 18–32. [in Ukrainian].

77 Holovashchenko, M. (ed.). (1998). *Koshyts O.A. (1875–1945). Z pisnieiu cherez svit: (Podorozh Ukrainskoi respublikanskoi kapely)* [Koshyts, O.A. (1875–1945). With the Song across the World (Tour of Ukrainian Republican Choir)]. Kyiv: Rada. [in Ukrainian].

78 Kalutska, N., Parkhomenko, L. (2012). *Oleksandr Koshyts: mystetska diialnist u konteksti muzyky XX storichchia* [Oleksandr Koshyts: Artistic Activity in the Context of the Music of the 20th Century]. Kyiv: Fenix. [in Ukrainian].

79 Peresunko, T. (2017). Instytutsionalizatsiia kulturnoi dyplomatii v Ukraini: do problemy istorychnoi tiahlosti [Institutionalisation of Cultural Diplomacy in Ukraine: to the Problem of Historical Continuity]. *Kulturolohizhnyi almanakh*, Issue 5, pp. 103–107; Peresunko, T. (2019). *Kulturna dyplomatiia Symona Petliury: “Shchedryk” proty “russkoho mira.” Misiia kapely Oleksandra Koshytsia (1919–1924)* [Cultural Diplomacy of Symon Petliura: Shchedryk against the Russian World. Mission of the Choir of Oleksandr Koshyts (1919–1924)]. Kyiv: ArtEk. [in Ukrainian].

A. Sharov⁸⁰ are dedicated to these issues, study manuals have also been prepared.⁸¹ Given the growing attention to gastrodiplo- macy, the book *Diplomatic Cuisine*⁸² by career diplomat, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary O. Slipchenko, dedicated specifically to its role in practical diplomacy, has become a bestseller. Based on historical ex- amples, O. Slipchenko shows the ways to solve international problems through culinary art.

Adopted on March 25, 2021 by the MFA of Ukraine, the Public Diplo- macy Strategy for 2021–25 contains the formulation of its components – seven areas of activity to promote a positive image of the state, includ- ing cultural, expert, economic, culinary, digital, science, educational and sports *diplomacy*. Projects of each direction are envisaged to be imple- mented by the efforts of diplomats, representatives of civil society and foreign Ukrainians.

In general, theoretical and applied issues of public diplomacy constitute a separate area of Ukrainian historiography, which, in turn, is a segment of the world historiography of this issue.

Self-Assessment Questionnaire:

- Who is believed to have coined the term “public diplomacy”?
- When and in what sense did the term “public diplomacy” begin to be used in foreign and Ukrainian historiography?
- Describe the concepts “smart power,” “soft power,” “hard power.”
- Name public diplomacy theorists. Highlight their writings and visions of public diplomacy.
- What areas of public diplomacy do you know?

80 Flissak, K. (2016). *Ekonomichna dyplomatiia u systemi zabezpechennia natsionalnykh interesiv Ukrainy* [Economic Diplomacy in the System of Ensuring the National Interests of Ukraine]. Ternopil: Novyi kolir; Tatarenko, N. (2015). *Ekonomichna dyplomatiia: svitovyi dosvid ta ukrainski zdobutky (politykoekonomichnyi aspekt)* [Economic Diplomacy: World Experience and Ukrainian Achievements (Political and Economic Aspect)]. *Collected Works of the Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine*, Issue 22 (2), pp. 4–9; Baranovska, V. (2012). *Rol ekonomichnoi dyplomatii u zovnishnoekonomichnii diialnosti krainy* [The Role of Economic Diplomacy in the Foreign Economic Activity of the Country]. *Ekonomika ta derzhava*, no. 2, pp. 24–26; Hrushchynska, N. (2016). *Ekonomichna dyplomatiia yak potuzhnyi instrument podolannia konfliktohenosti krain* [Economic Diplomacy as a Powerful Tool for Overcoming the Conflict Potential of Countries]. *Ekonomichnyi nobelivskiy visnyk*, no. 1, pp. 85–90. [in Ukrainian].

81 Verhun, V. (2010). *Ekonomichna dyplomatiia: navchalnyi posibnyk* [Handbook of Economic Diplomacy]. Kyiv: Kyivskiy Universytet Publishing Centre. [in Ukrainian].

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Iryna Borovets

Public Diplomacy Activities of the MFA of Ukraine. Public Diplomacy Strategy of the MFA of Ukraine for 2021–25



Iryna Borovets – Acting Director-General of the Directorate for Public Diplomacy and Communications of the MFA of Ukraine

In times of hybrid wars, a country’s reputation and positive recognition become the keystone of its security. Therefore, in 2015, the MFA of Ukraine adopted such an instrument as public diplomacy, gradually building up its institutional capacity in this area. Over the next few years, public diplomacy has been rooted and institutionalized in the work of the MFA of Ukraine, and the essential regulatory framework has been elaborated. Meanwhile, new formats of project work of Ukraine’s foreign diplomatic missions have been introduced, which since 2017 have been able to channel budget funds for the implementation of projects to form and maintain a positive image of Ukraine abroad.

The vision of how the MFA’s public diplomacy should develop was finally formed in 2020, when this direction, together with the sphere of communications inextricably linked to it, was for the first time identified and assigned to the competence of a single department.

In 2021, a separate structural unit is responsible for this area of the ministry’s activity, the Directorate of Public Diplomacy and Communications, which is the center of communication expertise at the MFA of Ukraine. In addition to public diplomacy, it coordinates key areas, such as strategic communications, digital diplomacy and the press service.

The MFA of Ukraine systematically approaches the promotion of Ukraine in the world, as this is one of the minis-

try's key priorities. In modern international politics or economy, a country's image plays a no less important role than natural resources or scientific and technological potential. The image of the state has an impact on its ability to stimulate other countries' interest in it, its international status and, consequently, political and economic opportunities. It is in this context that the concept "nation branding," or the perception of a nation in the world, has been formed and, accordingly, so did the concept "rebranding," i.e., overcoming the gap which exists between external, often stereotypical, ideas and what the country really is, what it is able to attract with and what can inspire confidence in it as a promising partner. The brand of Ukraine should be clear to people, unique and reflective of our values. It should demonstrate what Ukraine can offer to the world, what it is ready to contribute and what it is already making for the sake of world progress and prosperity. The formation of a national brand requires a thorough state approach. The creation of an efficient positive brand, in turn, is closely linked to building an external image through public diplomacy.

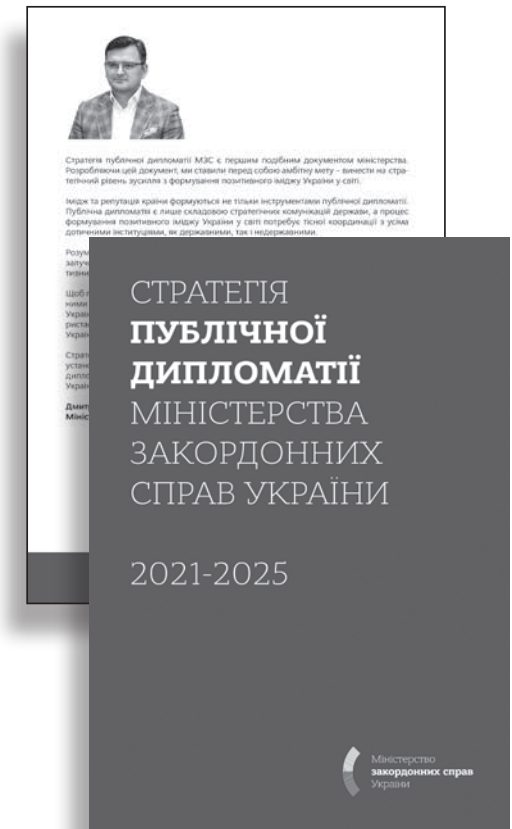
Promoting a positive perception of Ukraine abroad, as well as countering disinformation attacks against the interests and image of our country, is identified as one of the priorities of Ukraine's Foreign Policy Strategy, first developed and approved in 2021.

The Public Diplomacy Strategy of the MFA of Ukraine for 2021–25, approved in March 2021, became the first strategic document of the ministry in this area. While formulating the Strategy, its authors focused on where the state wants and can move and how the Ukrainian nation sees itself in the future. The elaboration of the Strategy was based on the awareness that the brand of Ukraine should be regarded in the world through the lens of its tourism potential, as well as rich and diverse cultural heritage, not limited to traditional folk art; that Ukraine should be associated with innovations and inventions, as well as with celebrities from all fields, including sports, creative industries, business and science. It is this brand or external image that is able to attract investment and tourists, create conditions for the growth of exports and trade, help draw talents and labor force and strengthen Ukraine's cultural presence in the world. At the same time, the developers of the Strategy proceeded from what resources should be used to achieve our goals, inasmuch as for the success of Ukraine's rebranding process not only the foreign ministry and state bodies but also the general public, civil society and business circles must take part in it. Without the

involvement of all the relevant representatives of both governmental and non-governmental sectors, this endeavor will not be efficient, as it should be based on the development of interpersonal contacts. In particular, public diplomacy should establish a state-to-human dialogue, taking into account the diversity of national and global audiences, and promote people-to-people contacts. What was also considered is that although soft power has long played an important role in international politics, global changes and the realities of today necessitate even more modern approaches to accomplish foreign policy goals, including rebranding a country, which requires rethinking traditional instruments and funds. At a time of limited human contacts – the basis of public diplomacy – due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the task of the developers of the Strategy was to adapt it to hybrid formats. Digitalization and virtualization have played a supportive role in forming a positive image of countries in the world; digital platforms have opened up opportunities for new interactions, new participants and new ideas for promoting states globally.

Therefore, the task of forming the Public Diplomacy Strategy for the upcoming five years was to move from non-systemic measures to permanent institutional cooperation of all stakeholders in the realm of public diplomacy, modernize approaches and jointly form the unique "Ukrainian brand" in order to eliminate the shadow of Soviet heritage and related stereotypes and effectively counter Russia's anti-Ukrainian information policy.

The Public Diplomacy Strategy of the MFA for 2021–25 prioritizes positive narrativization of Ukraine abroad, since the favorable perception of our country overseas should incentivize the development of tourism, investment, export, along with the scientific and educational potential of our country. Moreover, the systematic promotion of the country's own positive



content will help it become more visible in the global public space. This will strengthen Ukraine's presence in social networks, other digital platforms and the leading traditional media, which will have a lasting and wide-ranging positive effect.

In this regard, the Public Diplomacy Strategy defines three clear strategic goals and tasks within each of them for the next five years, namely:

- to better acquaint the world with Ukraine (the level of its recognition and understanding by foreign audiences is on the rise);
- to promote the perception of Ukraine as a democratic European country, moving towards full membership in the EU and NATO in the face of external aggression;
- to ensure that Ukraine relies in its foreign policy on an efficient system of countering pernicious narratives directed against it and actively promotes its own identity (by means of positive narrativization).

To achieve the best results in all of these areas, the Strategy aims at strengthening synergies, partnerships and cooperation with key governmental and non-governmental bodies and institutions operating in the field of public diplomacy. This could be achieved, in particular, jointly with the Ukrainian Institute, the pivotal state institution in the sphere of cultural diplomacy established on the initiative of the MFA of Ukraine, as well as the Ministry of Culture and Information Policy (MCIP), The State Agency of Art and Artistic Education, the State Film Agency, the State Agency for Tourism Development (SATD), the Ukrainian Book Institute (UBI), the Ukrainian Cultural Foundation (UCF), the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory (UINM) and other cultural institutions, non-governmental organizations and associations of foreign Ukrainians.

In order to ensure efficient communication between Ukraine and its external audience, the principle of “common voice” has been introduced, whereby capabilities of each Ukrainian stakeholder in public diplomacy complement and strengthen each other, thus making it possible to achieve the desired result in a faster and professional way.

In addition, the Strategy is based on the national brand UkraineNow, approved by the government in 2018. The key idea of the Now communication message is that everything important is happening right now, and all of these are opportunities that should not be postponed. This brand is a tool of public diplomacy to represent the state in the international arena, which

is intended to be used by government agencies and local self-government bodies, as well as businesses and individuals.

The MFA of Ukraine systematically relies on UkraineNow in all external communications and makes efforts to ensure that this brand is constantly evolving. As far as this is an umbrella brand, it can be developed and used for campaigns in various thematic areas. In particular, the Strategy provides for the execution of public diplomacy in the following areas: culture, economy, expert community, cuisine, science and education, sports and digital field.

The document also outlines geographical priorities based on Ukraine's foreign policy priorities in various areas of activity and advice from key government agencies, including the Ukrainian Institute, the State Agency for Tourism Development of Ukraine, the Investment Promotion Office (UkraineInvest), the State Center for International Education, etc.

The strategy sets out five principles of work in the field of public diplomacy: project management, innovation, respect for cultural diversity, human-centeredness and responsibility. In order to complete the defined tasks successfully, the document includes a system of monitoring and evaluation, which is premised on measurable indicators and efficiency parameters of events.

According to a survey on public perception of Ukraine conducted abroad, the lack of sufficient information about our country is the most common problem. To overcome it and achieve the primary goal of public diplomacy at this stage, which is to ensure greater recognition of Ukraine in the world, the work of the MFA in this area pragmatically focuses on the following main tasks: ensuring systematic participation of Ukraine in key cultural, economic, scientific, educational, expert and world sporting events; representing Ukraine on the largest international digital platforms; organizing topical and modern events to promote Ukraine in the world. In this context, guided by current approaches and global trends, the MFA of Ukraine is as scrupulous as possible in selecting projects to be implemented abroad, giving preference to those using digital technologies and potentially having a wide publicity.

Specifically, 140 key international events have been identified where a regular and worthy representation of Ukraine is advisable, since they attract



major attention of the public, experts and the media, making it much easier to provide the maximum possible information coverage of our state's participation. This list includes leading international music and film festivals, book, art and design exhibitions, sporting events, innovation, scientific and educational forums, tourism, agricultural and industrial exhibitions, etc. With the support of the MFA of Ukraine, our country is decently represented at key international political, security and economic forums, including Halifax and Davos, as well as at leading international cultural venues.

Starting from 2019, Ukraine has regularly participated in the prestigious Book Fair in Paris, and since 2017, in the Frankfurt Book Fair and Cannes Film Festival, where the Ukrainian image-making event organized by the Embassy of Ukraine in France is already a tradition.

Furthermore, Ukraine has already featured in dozens of other well-known international film festivals on almost all continents, including the Berlinale, the Europe on Screen Film Festival in Indonesia, the EU Film Festival in Singapore, and the TIFF International Film Festival in Toronto and the Durban International Film Festival in South Africa, as well as the international platform for the presentation of Central and Eastern European cinema named LET'S CEE Film Festival (Austria).

Foreign diplomatic missions of Ukraine have initiated and regularly hold such events to promote Ukrainian cinema abroad as the Days of Ukrainian Cinema in Austria, Italy, the Czech Republic, Poland, Brazil, Great Britain, Belgium and many other countries. International campaigns to promote Ukrainian patriotic cinema have been implemented, including the films named *Cyborgs*, *Red*, *War for Peace*, and *MYTH*.

Equally, efforts are being made around the world to ensure support for Ukrainian book publishing and facilitate the representation of Ukrainian book publishers at the new markets. In addition to the already mentioned book fairs in Frankfurt and Paris, it is worth noting international book fairs in Buenos Aires and Warsaw, the Prague International Book Fair, the International Book Fair in Serbia, the Buch Wien Book Fair (Austria), the Montreal Book Fair and the Beirut International Book Forum.

Hundreds of image publications about Ukraine have been prepared and published in foreign media, as well as printed and audiovisual information and image materials have been developed.

Under the auspices of First Lady of Ukraine Olena Zelenska, a project is being implemented to introduce Ukrainian-language audio guides in the

world's leading museums and popular tourist routes to spread the Ukrainian language and increase Ukraine's international prestige.

The practice of holding cultural and educational events to promote our country for the diplomatic corps accredited in Ukraine has also come to the fore.

In 2018, expert diplomacy was launched as a separate area of work of the MFA in the field of public diplomacy. Over this time, more than 100 Ukrainian experts took part in the events abroad. Meanwhile, foreign experts also visited Ukraine on study tours, including the one to the environmental protection zone. Some of the most successful examples are the participation of former political prisoners, journalist Roman Sushchenko and director Oleh Sentsov, in the international political and security forums in Slovakia, France and Poland; support for Ukrainian participants of the Invictus Games; a press tour to Ukraine of Hungarian journalist Ildikó Eperjesi to prepare the publication titled *Donbas. Excerpts from the War*; a press tour to Ukraine of a Turkish film crew to shoot a documentary about our country; the participation of representatives of the Mejlis of the Crimean Tatar People in the 12th session of the Expert Mechanism on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples of the UN Human Rights Council; the participation of representatives of Ukraine in annual public events dedicated to the militarization and human rights violations in the Crimea, held at the Chatham House, London.



At the 2021 Cannes Film Festival

The MFA's wide range of instruments to counter Russian aggression includes information campaigns aimed at a wide foreign audience, such as #LetMyPeopleGo, which seeks to draw more international attention to the problem of the illegal detention and imprisonment of Ukrainian citizens in Russia and in the temporarily occupied territories of Ukraine. The Izolyatsya: Must Speak information campaign was dedicated to the existence of illegal prisons in the occupied territories of Donetsk and Luhansk regions. Together with Stanislav Asieiev, a former political prisoner of the most odious illegal prison named Isolation, and the Isolation International Charitable Foundation, the MFA holds presentations of his book *The Bright Way: The History of a Concentration Camp* abroad and ensures Mr Asieiev's participation in UN thematic events. It is also planned to create and distribute videos abroad about the transformation of the Isolation from a cultural hub into an illegal prison. As part of a large-scale information campaign on the persecution of Crimean Tatars named Loyalty to Oneself is not a Crime, the MFA has launched another information project titled Unbreakable, which consists of a series of social media publications featuring letters from Ukrainian political prisoners written from prisons. What also should be noted is the successful campaign #Correct UA on the correct Latin spelling of the name of the capital of Ukraine and other Ukrainian cities. According to its results, the correct transliteration of Ukrainian toponyms is used by more than 65 international airports and foreign airlines namely WizzAir, Ryanair and Air France, 16 foreign media, including such media holdings as *The Guardian*, *Associated Press*, eight international organizations (including the EU, IAEA), the US Board on Geographic Names, UNESCO, CTBTO, IATA) and other structures.

In 2020, the online campaign #MadeInUkraine was launched, which tells about the entry of Ukrainian goods into new foreign markets, as well as innovative approaches and competitive advantages of Ukrainian products. In 2021, the MFA together with the MCIP and the State Agency for Tourism Development presented a new communication strategy to promote the tourism brand of Ukraine, developed by the Projector Creative & Tech Online Institute. The document defines the formats, channels and practical steps to form a sustainable tourist image of Ukraine and systematically attract foreign tourists through communication and public diplomacy – and rightfully so, since Ukraine has a considerably untapped tourist potential, namely its representation to foreigners. An active request to visit Ukraine

will not appear by itself. We need to promote tourism, which will qualitatively change the perception of our country, its culture and the opportunities available here. To this end, it is necessary to focus on the expansion of tourist destinations (outside traditional places like Kyiv or Lviv). Therefore, in the summer of 2021, the MFA launched for the first time an international information campaign titled Visit Ukraine – Summer in Ukraine, which aims to promote summer holidays in Ukraine among foreigners and includes a promotional video, social network campaigns in foreign languages and the thematic page Visit Ukraine on the official foreign language website of Ukraine ukraine.ua.

Besides, in 2021, gastronomy and wine diplomacy were launched, aimed, among other things, at promoting Ukraine as a tourist destination. The Club of Chef Diplomats has already been established as a platform bringing together Ukraine's best chefs in order to implement, jointly with the MFA, projects to promote Ukrainian cuisine in the world, participate in festivals and fairs and carry out various gastronomic activities.

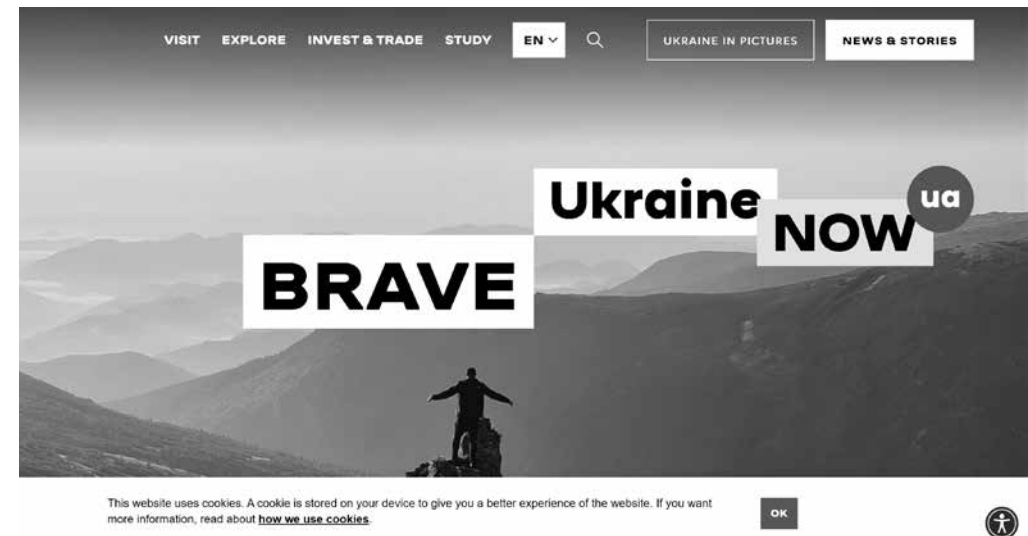
There are plans to launch a Study in Ukraine campaign and use the potential of young people in public diplomacy projects in science, education and other areas. Beyond doubt, active communication on the progress of reforms in Ukraine and improvement of the business climate should also play a key role.

In 2021, in partnership with the Ukrainian IT company Sigma Software, the first UK-Ukraine FinTech Summit was organized, which became a powerful toolkit for spreading the narrative of innovative Ukraine, and will be continued by means of organizing similar Ukrainian events in other countries. Within the framework of digital diplomacy, the MFA of Ukraine has been implementing a large-scale online project ukraine.ua recounting foreigners about Ukraine as a modern, dynamic, creative and innovative country, which exceeds expectations and makes one fall in love with it at first glance or visit. The project consists of three official communication channels: the website of Ukraine ukraine.ua, the Facebook page @Ukraine UA, and the Instagram page @ukraine.ua. The pages are targeted at the international audience, so the social networks are in English, and the website is already available in German, French, Spanish, Chinese and Arabic. Since the launch of the portal, users from 178 countries have visited it. The main foreign traffic is from Germany, Poland, the US, France, Canada, the UK, Italy, Spain, Albania, Tunisia and Morocco. The website is the most complete

source of information about Ukraine. It enables one to learn about Ukraine and Ukrainians, popular tourist destinations, cultural events and festivals, creative projects, innovative startups, opportunities for learning, doing business and trade. The website also has a photo bank, which has collected works by talented photographers from different parts of Ukraine, as well as shots provided by state, educational, cultural institutions and Ukrainian companies. Since the inception of the photo bank, the number of photos has increased threefold. All of them can be freely used for non-commercial purposes to promote Ukraine abroad, indicating the author of the photo and a link to the photo bank.

Positive news about Ukraine and success stories of Ukrainians are spread via Facebook page @UkraineUA. In particular, on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of our country's independence, a large-scale information campaign named Ukraine Inspires was held there and on the pages of all our foreign diplomatic missions, prepared for this date by the MFA of Ukraine. Its global goal was defined in strict accordance with the Public Diplomacy Strategy: to promote a change in the way Ukraine is perceived abroad, to strengthen positive narrative and to improve its international image. The project's publications show that Ukraine is a modern, innovative and creative state, which is dynamically developing; freedom and diversity are highly valued here; Ukraine is a country of opportunities, with high potential, able to make a positive impression and inspire. Many famous Ukrainian personalities took part in this project along with foreigners who had lived and worked successfully in Ukraine for many years and shared their experiences and impressions with the external audience. The main element of the campaign was an English-language online marathon aimed at foreign audiences, which was broadcast for 24 hours on August 24, 2021 in all time zones. In total, the project reached an audience of 3.5 million people worldwide. During the Eurovision Song Contest 2021, with the assistance of the Public Broadcasting Company of Ukraine Suspilne and jointly with foreign diplomatic missions of Ukraine a campaign has been launched on the Facebook page @UkraineUA to support our band Go-A, which reached 2.2 million people on social media.

Together with the Ukrainian startup Reface, the MFA supported Ukrainian athletes at the Tokyo Olympics. To this end, a campaign of short videos with athletes transforming into superheroes from famous movies was launched on Facebook @UkraineUA and social media pages of foreign



diplomatic missions in Ukraine. This project also won great acclaim, reinforcing the fact that the popularization of sports achievements of Ukrainians can and should become an important element of the public promotion of our state.

In total, the @UkraineUA Facebook page has 41,000 followers. Currently, the most active users are from Poland, Germany, Italy, France, the USA, Spain and the United Kingdom. Since the beginning of this year, the audience has grown by more than 213 per cent, and the average coverage of the page has tripled.

Ukraine's official Instagram account has been running since July 2021, and in the first two weeks, more than 100,000 people subscribed to it. The fact that it will become an efficient instrument for raising positive awareness of Ukraine, in particular, among young people, is irrefutable.

An important task of the MFA of Ukraine in the field of public diplomacy is to concentrate efforts on the most active implementation of new approaches and opportunities to promote the state in the modern world. In order to successfully rebrand the country, we need to talk more about high-flying Ukrainian startups and IT sector, local designers and inventors, as well as promote our contemporary, internationally relevant art, with positive agenda and an emphasis on multiculturalism. This will help shape Ukraine's image as a modern, vibrant, creative and innovative state. Promoting diversity, tolerance and the spirit of freedom inherent in Ukraine and Ukrainians, especially for implementing their ideas and plans, will

complete the image of a liberal country, which respects human rights, democratic values and freedom of expression and where interfaith peace prevails. Cultural diversity is also one of our strengths in the context of world cultural heritage. Its promotion will facilitate the achievement of the goals of public diplomacy by finding points of convergence with different peoples and contribute to the expansion of international interest in Ukraine.

Self-Assessment Questionnaire:

- Which structural subdivision of the MFA of Ukraine is responsible for public diplomacy?
- What is the task of the MFA of Ukraine to form a positive perception of Ukraine in the world?
- What are the priorities of the Foreign Policy Strategy of Ukraine, first developed and approved in 2021?
- What are the goals of the Public Diplomacy Strategy of the MFA for 2021-25?
- What areas of public diplomacy are determined by the Public Diplomacy Strategy of the MFA for 2021-25? Describe each of them.

Vasyl Kyrlych

Essentials of Ukraine's Image-Making Abroad. Strategy and Tactic



Vasyl Kyrlych –
PhD in Political Science, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to Croatia

For centuries, the world has been interested in Ukraine. Travelers roamed hundreds of kilometers across Ukrainian land, ambassadors arrived to its rulers with gifts and scientists studied the phenomenon of Ukrainians, their talent, generosity and loftiness of spirit. Politicians made an ever-increasing number of combinations of their interests in the chessboard of Ukraine. Everyone nurtured their own understanding of Ukraine and its people, which arose from observations of the daily life of Ukrainian families, the grace of the gifts of Ukrainian chornozems, the melodiousness of the language and the steadfastness of Ukrainians in their advance to freedom.

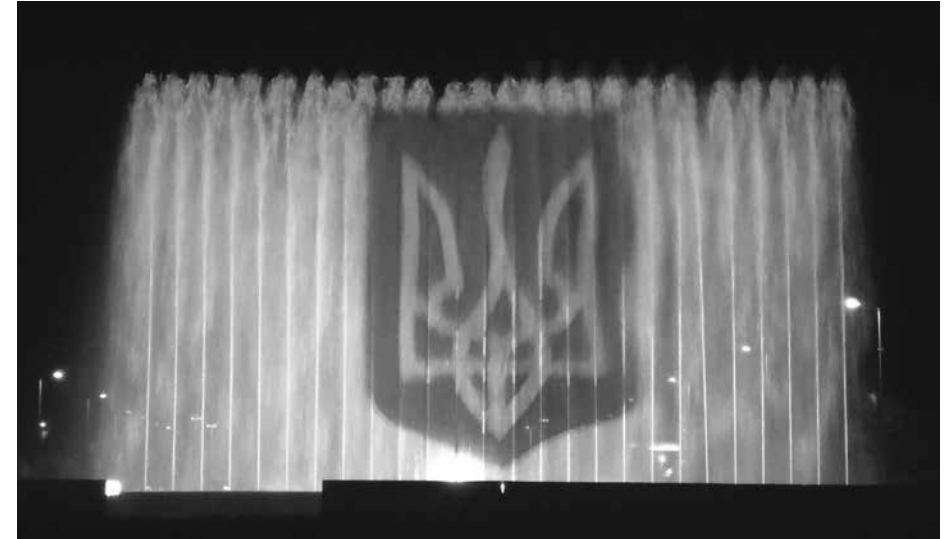
In the imagination of foreigners, Ukraine appears as “the real Promised Land,” “the country with one of the world’s most fertile soils,” “beyond doubt, one of the best countries in Europe,” a country that “will inevitably become the world’s most prominent mainland states,” “truly one of the world’s breadbaskets,” whose “large, highly educated population, abundant natural resources and important geographical location make it a partner of strategic importance to the European Union.” The world sees Ukrainians as generous, eager for education, highly cultured, not claiming what’s not theirs but also committed to defending their own with all their might, unbreakable in spirit and ready to sacrifice their lives for freedom.

These and similar micro-images of Ukraine should become the basis of its holistic objective image in the world

instead of subjectively stereotypical reflections, which are often singled out as dominant ones in the perception of our state abroad. Ukraine's global recognizability consists in a set of its natural and human characteristics, which distinguish the country and Ukrainians from other nations. Consider some examples: "Italy is the country of love," "Spain is the country of dances and wine," "Great Britain is the Foggy Albion," "the United States is the country of freedom and open-mindedness," "Japan is the country of rising sun," "Korea is the country of the morning calm," "France is gallant," "Russia is incomprehensible." In a similar fashion, Ukraine is bread-giving and songful. Ukraine as a granary, its songful, generous, unbowed and freedom-loving people could form the core of Ukraine's image, which would reflect the genotype of Ukrainians over the centuries. These features, characteristic of Ukraine and Ukrainians, distinguish it from other countries and ethnic groups. According to researchers of Ukraine's perception in the world, namely Volodymyr Sichynskyi, Dmytro Doroshenko, Dmytro Nalyvaiko, Petro Bochan, Petro Brytskyi, Yevhen Luniak, Oleksa Vintoniak¹ and others, foreigners were repeatedly astonished at the wealth of the Ukrainian land, its generous and highly cultured people, who are as unbowed as the unburnt bush in their struggle for freedom.

A country's positive image is created by strong individuals and everyone; their achievements in public life, their actions either in the service of the state or in private affairs. Everyone is the personification of their country – its spirit, culture and morals, and is responsible for its representation in the world. Formed over the centuries, Ukraine's global image as rich in natural and human resources and indomitable in the struggle for freedom is a platform for elaborating strategic goals for the representation of our state abroad. It is

¹ Sichynskyi, V. (2011). *Chuzhyntsi pro Ukraine* [Foreigners on Ukraine]. Kyiv: Yaroslaviv Val. [in Ukrainian], Nalyvaiko, D. (1969). *Ukraina u frantsuzkii literaturi XVII st.* [Ukraine in French Literature of the 17th Century]. *Radianske literaturoznavstvo*, no. 4, pp. 40–52. [in Ukrainian], Bochan, P., Brytskyi, P. (2003). *Vidomosti nimetskykh mandrivnykiv i posliv – vazhlyve dzherelo istorii ukrainskoho narodu* [Data collected by German travelers and ambassadors – an important source of the history of the Ukrainian people]. *Pamiat stolit*, no. 6, pp. 4–10. [in Ukrainian], Bochan, P., Brytskyi, P. (2011). *Nimtsi, frantsuzy i anhliitsi pro Ukrainu ta ukrainskyi narod u XVII–XIX st.* [Germans, French and English on Ukraine and the Ukrainian people in the 17th–19th centuries]. Chernivtsi: Tekhnodruk. [in Ukrainian], Luniak, Ye. (2010). *Anna Ruska – koroleva Frantsii u svitli istorychnykh dzherel* [Anne de Kyiv – a queen of France in the light of historical sources]. Kyiv: Milanik. [in Ukrainian], Luniak, Ye. (2012). *Kozatska Ukraina 16–18 st. u frantsuzkykh istorychnykh doslidzhenniakh* [Cossack Ukraine of the 16th–18th centuries in French historical studies]. Kyiv: Lysenko, M.M. [in Ukrainian], Vintoniak, O. (1995). *Ukraina v opysakh zakhidnoevropeiskykh podorozhnykiv druhoi polovyny XVIII st.* [Ukraine in descriptions of Western European travelers of the second half of the 18th century]. Lviv: Dniprova khvyliya. [in Ukrainian].



Ukraine's coat of arms against the background of Zagreb fountain. 2021

important what people say about the country, and what they think about it matters even more. The ideas about us (the government, the country and the people) arise from the past and are deeply rooted in human consciousness.

The image of the land cannot be changed in one, two or five years, regardless of the amount of investments in advertising. For it to change, it



Introduced by the Embassy of Ukraine in the Republic of Croatia, the Croatian-language information resource about the creative legacy of Evhenii Pashchenko (<https://jevgenij-paschenko.com/>) as an opportunity for a deeper knowledge of Ukraine

is necessary to set up systems, structures and strategies for producing an incessant flow of overwhelming evidence that the country deserves the reputation it aspires to and that it reflects its true essence.

The image of the state is created not by a dozen or two projects but by daily work, which proves that the country is interesting to others and is a value that the rest of the world may lose if it does not become acquainted with its potential, culture and traditions. According to Simon Anholt, a British government advisor on nation branding, there are six factors, which create a country's prestige: public administration, exports, culture, people, tourism, migration and investment.² Each or some of these factors was fundamental in shaping the image of individual countries. Japan's reputation



Ukraine on the pages of the leading Croatian travel magazine PLACE2GO

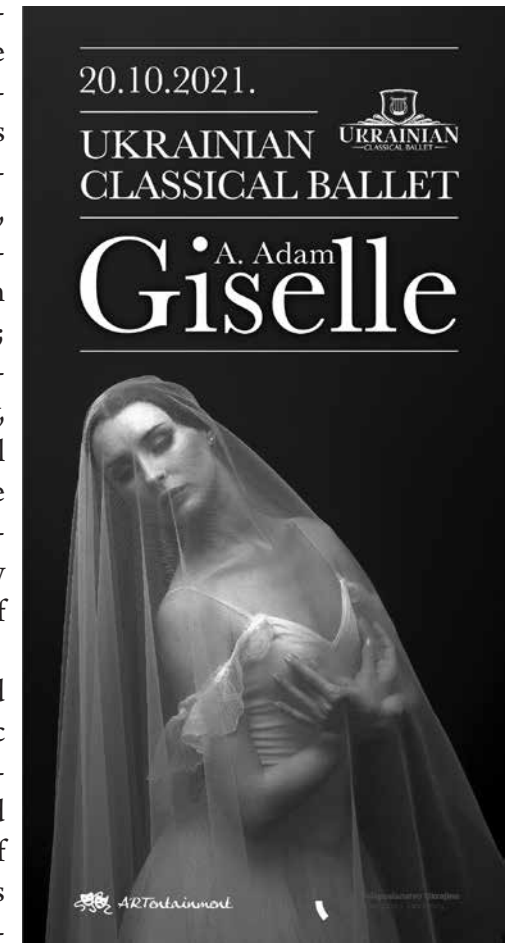
can be traced back to the high quality of its exports; the purity of government laid the foundations for the image of the Scandinavian countries; the ancient culture of Egypt or India were the basis for creating their image. Everyone who visits Ukraine is enriched by what they see, experience and discover. Every Ukrainian who meets a foreign guest should live up to his or her best expectations.

2 Anholt, A. (2008). Place branding: Is it marketing, or isn't it? *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, vol. 4, pp. 1-6. [in English].

In today's world, the work on creating a positive international image of a state focuses on constructing a system of ideas, images and stereotypes associated with the country, acceptable to its people and government and rooted in the collective consciousness of the outside community. The content and form of positioning, emphasis and technological parameters of messages may vary depending on the target audience (whether it be citizens of European countries, business or financial circles, athletes, artistic elite, political leadership of states or international organizations) and specific tasks (political decisions, investment or other projects).

Nonetheless, any image-making campaign should be guided by the basic, generalizing image of a country, which is concise, clear and positive, already formed in the minds of the world community. For instance, Ukraine could use the image of the granary of Europe combined with the generosity of Ukrainians and their devotion to the ideals of freedom. Apart from the core of the image, the main associated instrumental components of the international perception of a country include investment climate; tourist potential and infrastructure; social indicators (quality of life, security, freedom and human rights); spiritual heritage; symbols of a country (unique architectural monuments and historical places, popular brands; stars of show business and sports); and the image of state leadership.

The construction of the image should coincide with the stereotypes of public views and behavior, whilst also reflecting public expectations, national and cultural peculiarities and the level of education. The formation of a country's international prestige should be strategic and long-term, and this process can yield results in just a few years if all pub-



Ukrainian classical ballet on the main stage of Croatia – Vatroslav Lisinski Concert Hall, Zagreb



Vukovar Tower (a symbol of the Croatian struggle for independence) in the colors of the Ukrainian national flag, Vukovar. 2021



Consecration of the icon of Baptism of Rus-Ukraine in the diocesan church in Križevci, Croatia

lic authorities effectively implement a common goal-oriented strategy. Such a strategy is determined depending on the vector of development of a country, its investment and regional policy and the general development strategy.

The world experience in the formation of countries' images reveals that the following algorithm of actions is the most acceptable for the realization of this goal:

1. The roadmap for the formation of a country's international image is a state strategy, which is the product of a broad nationwide discussion of experts from government and academia, the public and the media.

2. The management and coordination of the execution of the strategy to form a country's international image is carried out by a single center, which, according to world practice, is a foreign ministry.

3. Image is politics. The formation of an international image is a mandatory element of planning the activities of each ministry, state institutions and regional self-government bodies.

4. The main tool for implementing an international image-making strategy is a special state institution (such as cultural and educational centers of France Alliance Française, the Polish Institute and the Cervantes Institute). In Ukraine, this role is played by the Ukrainian Institute.

5. Non-governmental organizations serve as ancillary (for example, the French Institute) or leading (for instance, the Goethe-Institut) tools in promoting a country abroad.

6. The source of funding is the state budget or attracted extrabudgetary funds.

7. The accompanying institution in image creation is often a specialized charitable fund(s), whose contributions are directed to the implementation of projects.

Based on the outlined set of actions, the most acceptable strategy for a country to form its international image is developed, bearing in mind the institutional and financial capacity of the government, available tools of NGOs and their experience in promoting a country or a region abroad. Strategic image management involves a continuous study of what kind of prestige is formed in the minds of different audiences, as well as the segmentation and identification of target audiences, positioning – visual symbols, events and characters – to maintain the desired prestige.

The path to creating a true image of Ukraine in the world is arduous but feasible, since the race is got by running. Running systematically, consistently and continuously. This way could be paved with the following components:

1. Proactive systematic work of foreign diplomatic missions of Ukraine on analyzing the perception of Ukraine and Ukrainians by the public and elites of host countries and modelling a set of mutually reinforcing actions / events to correct or form an objective image of Ukraine.

2. Formation of teams for the implementation of image projects, which are not one-time performances but consistent and meaningfully interrelated events reflecting Ukraine as it is.

Among such teams there could and should be diplomats employed at foreign diplomatic missions, proactive representatives of the Ukrainian community in host countries, a group of friends of Ukraine, a press pool, representatives of business circles cooperating with Ukraine, graduates of Ukrainian universities (if any in the host country) and fans of Ukrainian culture.

3. Establishment of a Ukrainian information space protection group in host countries to monitor the media and social networks from the perspective of Ukrainian issues and serve as a proactive source of true stories about Ukraine.

The information space protection group could consist of representatives of the Ukrainian community and citizens of a foreign country (host country) – sympathizers of Ukraine, who would constantly monitor the Ukrai-

nian topic in the host country on a regular basis within the particular media space – television, radio, Internet resources, social networks; and in case of disinformation material, would comment or post publications based on facts and objective sources. The GPISU also proactively publishes objective information materials about Ukraine in the local media. The advantages of this approach are that the reader / listener is more confident in the information provided by non-governmental organizations.

Reactivity is out of date and forced, proactivity should be more efficient. The experience of the Ukrainian information space protection group in Croatia makes a convincing case for the importance of this form of work on forming a positive image of our country.

4. Directing the work of the proactive well-structured part of the Ukrainian community in host countries to the implementation of projects to represent Ukraine as a strong European state with deep-seated traditions and the heart of the formation of European civilizations. Ukraine is a partner of architects of regional and European security, not a seeker of peace.

5. Formation of a group of speakers on the Ukrainian topic from among reputable citizens of a foreign country, who would periodically and publicly comment on important issues in an objective way. The argument in favor of the significance of this component in forming Ukraine's positive image worldwide is the practice of involving Croatian spokesmen on Ukrainian issues to present to the local public an objective account of events in and around Ukraine.

Forming a country's image abroad is a lasting and consistent process, which requires systematic and coordinated management of all actors and their actions. This is dedicated work, almost messianism, since, as Marva Collins famously said, "success does not come to you – you go to it."

Self-Assessment Questionnaire:

- What is the peculiarity of the perception of Ukraine by travellers, politicians, scientists and journalists?
- How do micro-images of a country influence its image abroad?
- What micro-images of Ukraine would you suggest as a basis for shaping the image of our state abroad?
- Name the components of creating a positive image of Ukraine worldwide.
- What are the directions for the formation of a positive image of Ukraine proposed by the Ukrainian information space protection group in Croatia?

Yevhen Perebyinis

Public and Cultural Diplomacy Issues in Activities of the Embassy of Ukraine in Czechia



Yevhen Perebyinis –
Ambassador Extraordinary and
Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to
Czechia

An excursion into history. “Ukrainians came and won”

The history of Ukrainian cultural diplomacy on Czech lands can be traced back to May 11, 1919. It was then that the National Theater in Prague hosted the performance of the Ukrainian Republican Capella conducted by Oleksandr Koshyts and prudently called Symon Petliura's "cultural army." The organization of the concert and the accommodation of the singers fell completely on the shoulders of Maksym Slavynskyi, the first UPR Ambassador to Czechoslovakia. "There were 80 of them, and we had to provide them with decent conditions. Make arrangements for performances. The singers introduced Czechoslovakia to Ukrainian songs and folk art. The choir was sent by the Directory for propaganda purposes," M. Slavynskyi recalled.¹

The goal of the Directory's propaganda was achieved: Ukrainian songs and carols opened the eyes of Czech leaders to the Ukrainian issue. Jaroslav Křička, the conductor of the oldest and most famous Czech choir *Hlahol*, noted after attending the concert: "The Ukrainians came and won. I think that we knew little about them and sorely offended when

¹ Peresunko, T. (2019). *Kulturna dyplomatiia Symona Petliury: "Shchedryk" proty "russkoho mira". Misiia kapely Oleksandra Koshytsia (1919–1924)* [Cultural Diplomacy of Symon Petliura: Shchedryk against the Russian World. Mission of the Choir of Oleksandr Koshyts (1919–1924)]. Kyiv: ArtEk, p. 74. [in Ukrainian].



Ukrainian Republican Capella in Prague. 1919



A photo from the performance

unconsciously and without information, we were conflating them with the people of Moscow against their will. Our wish for 'great and indivisible Russia' alone is a weak argument against the nature of the whole Ukrainian people, for whom independence is everything, as it has been for us."²

The Extraordinary Diplomatic Mission of the UPR in Prague continued its activities for several more years, but its cultural and awareness-raising

events were no longer so successful as the concert of the choir. A hundred years later, in May 2019, the artistic director and conductor of the NOW Credo Ukrainian Republican Choir Bohdan Plish reproduced the concert of the choir of O. Koshyts with precision in the Žofín Palace in Prague.

Culture without diplomacy

After the defeat of the Ukrainian liberation struggle of 1917–21, several thousand migrants from Ukraine settled in Czechoslovakia, including interned soldiers of the Ukrainian Galician Army (UGA). Czechoslovak President Tomáš Masaryk did not sympathize with the Bolsheviks; therefore, emigrants from the former Russian Empire, including Ukrainians, received significant financial assistance from the Czechoslovak authorities to organize cultural and educational activities. Even though many Ukrainian organizations were established, Ukrainian-language schools, academies and even a university were operating and books were published, one cannot speak of public diplomacy on the scale of the performance of O. Koshyts's choir. Most events and institutions were designed for the Ukrainian audience without the ability to influence the local population's attitude to events in Ukraine.

After the 1948 Czechoslovak communist coup, cultural life in the country was narrowly confined to the so-called *socialist art* from the countries of the Soviet bloc. Over the next forty years, there was an active process of translating the Ukrainian literature of socialist writers into Czech, the concerts of Ukrainian folk songs were held etc. Still, the cultural diplomacy of Ukraine was out of the question. It was rather artificial implantation of an ideologically correct or neutral product created in Ukraine. There were also rare exceptions: For example, the performance of Lesia Ukrainka's *Forest Song* at the Vinohrady Theater in the spring of 1968 could have become a successful Ukrainian project, but all reprises of the play were cancelled due to the occupation of Czechoslovakia in August of the same year.

After the declaration of independence, Ukraine took some time to realize the importance of cultural promotion abroad. In 2017, the government initiated a financial program to support the cultural promotion of Ukraine by foreign diplomatic institutions of Ukraine globally. In 2019, the Ukrainian Institute started its activity, which should become the main image-maker of Ukraine in the world.

² TsDAVO of Ukraine. F. 3965. Op. 1. Spr. 22. Ark. 6. [in Ukrainian].

Well-keeping of Ukrainian graves

The Czech Republic is one of the countries where dozens of military and civilian Ukrainian graves of the early half of the 20th century are located. However, unlike, say, the US, where Ukrainian necropolises were created thanks to the funds and efforts of the Ukrainian community and proper care was provided for them, this was impossible in the Czech Republic during the communist period. Even a visit to Ukrainian graves could be a pretext for repression by the communist system. Some of the graves were destroyed or damaged by the Red Army, while others – by time and a lack of care until the early 21st century.

In 2017, the news of the exhumation of the remains of writer Oleksandr Oles and his wife in Prague sent a shock wave through Ukraine and drew public attention to the urgent problem of the neglect of Ukrainian graves in the world. After that case, systematic work began on the payment for the rental of burial sites and their repair, restoration at the expense of state funds of Ukraine. Since 2017, the embassy, in cooperation with Ukrainian centers in Prague, has systematised information about burial sites in the Czech Republic, which is now available on the website *ukrmemorial.cz*, and has also completed the restoration of over 40 monuments and graves, including several valuable sculptures created by Vasyl Brynskyi and Oksana Liaturynska.³

Can this area of work be called public diplomacy? I am fairly certain that it can. After all, well-kept places of memory are the prerogative of developed cultural communities taking care of their historical memory. Thousands of people annually pass by these places of memory, surely noting both the yellow-blue flowers at the tombstones and their good condition.

The embassy's activities are not limited only to keeping the graves of prominent Ukrainians in order. There is another work underway to commemorate them and mark memorable dates together with Czech partners. With the participation of the embassy, scientific conferences dedicated to Ivan Horbachevskyi and Ivan Puliui have been held. Artistic evenings devoted to Natalena Koroleva are conducted in the city of Mělník. A Czech publication about this outstanding Ukrainian writer is being prepared for printing. Every year, diplomats lay flowers on the graves of the fallen UGA soldiers or UPR diplomats buried in the Czech Republic.

³ Embassy of Ukraine in the Czech Republic (2021). *Ukrainski pokhovannia v Cheskii Respublitsi* [online]. Available at: <https://czechia.mfa.gov.ua/spivrobotnictvo/361-ukrajinci-v-chehiji/ukrayinski-pohovannya-v-cheskij-respublici> [in Ukrainian].

Ukraine's participation in international cultural events in the Czech Republic

Annual art festivals are one of the most effective ways to present Ukraine to a wide professional audience. Firstly, participation in such events raises the country's prestige in the eyes of the general public. Secondly, well-known festivals with a long history usually have good ties with journalists and do not lack for media attention. Thirdly, this is a keystone of a full house with a foreign audience, moreover, interested in the particular kind of art or theme. Last but not least, it ensures close communication and exchange of experience between the Ukrainian participant and colleagues from other countries, which often develops into other equally interesting international events. Participation in international events requires well-coordinated teamwork because it will not be possible to take part in the festival without interest from the organizer, on the one hand, and a high-quality and interesting cultural product from Ukraine, on the other hand. Since 2017, the embassy has been involved in quite different festivals. Let us briefly describe the most successful collaborations.

The *International Sociopolitical Conference Forum 2000* is one of the most important platforms in the Czech Republic for discussing topical issues of our time related to the development of democracy in the world, human rights, the development of civil society, and the strengthening of religious, cultural and ethnic tolerance. Václav Havel, the first president of the Czech Republic, was the co-founder of the conference. For four years (2017–20), the accompanying program for the conference included a Crimean human rights event with invited guests from Ukraine and the presentation of Crimean Tatar cuisine and music. Over the years, the Crimean Evenings have been attended by Refat Chubarov, Oleksandra Dvoretzka, Ilmi Umerov, Anton Naumliuk, Emine Dzhaparova, the Musafir music band and others. In 2019, the guest of the event was Crimean film director Halyna Dzhykaieva, who brought to Prague the theatrical performance *Grass Breaking through the Ground* about tortures in occupied Crimea.⁴

The *Jihlava Documentary Film Festival* is the largest documentary film festival in Central Europe and is held in the city of Jihlava every October. The festival has established cooperation with the Kyiv Docudays Festival, thus

⁴ Ukrinform (2019). "U Prazi pokazaly teatralnu vystavu pro zhyttia v okupovanomu Krymu," 15 October [online]. Available at: <https://www.ukrinform.ua/rubric-crimea/2799304-u-prazi-pokazali-teatralnu-vistavu-pro-zitta-v-okupovanomu-krimu.html> [in Ukrainian].

making Ukrainian films annual attendees in the competition program for some time now. In 2019, thanks to the close cooperation of the Oleksandr Dovzhenko National Center, the Hordii Pshenychnyi Central State Film, the Photo Archive of Ukraine and the Embassy of Ukraine in the Czech Republic, a special program was presented at the festival focusing on Ukrainian experimental documentary filmmaking of the 1960s–1990s, particularly the first footage of Leonid Osyka, Roman Balaian, Mykhailo Illienko and many other classic Ukrainian cinematographers. A separate program within the framework of the film festival was devoted to a retrospective of films by documentary filmmaker Feliks Soboliev.

The *Summer Film School in Uherské Hradiště* is an annual summer film festival organized by the Association of Czech Film Clubs with a focus on art house cinema. In 2019, the embassy, jointly with the Oleksandr Dovzhenko National Center, prepared and presented a special program

entitled *Ukrainian Cinema Avant-garde*. The film *Arrest Warrant* (1928) by Heorhii Tasin was screened with live musical accompaniment by the legendary Vahonovozhati band, and the film *Spring* (1929) by Mykhailo Kaufman was accompanied with a live soundtrack by Oleksandr Kokhanovskiy. A lecture on the All-Ukrainian Photo Cinema Administration (VUFKU, 1922–30) and its international success was delivered by Stanislav Menzelevskiy, Head of the Research and Programming Department of the Dovzhenko Center.

The *Karlovy Vary International Film Festival* is an annual A-list film festival held in the spa town of Karlovy Vary in July and the largest in-

ternational film festival in Central and Eastern Europe. The greatest success in Karlovy Vary has so far been achieved by the Ukrainian-Slovak fiction film *The Line*, for which Peter Bebjak was awarded with the Best Director Award in 2017.⁵ During the festival, a trilateral meeting was held between Deputy Prime Minister of Ukraine Pavlo Rozenko and Minister of Culture Yevhen Nyshchuk with the Ministers of Culture of the Czech Republic and

⁵ Ukrainske Radio (2017). "Fim "Mezha" povernuvsia z Karlovykh Var iz nahorodoiu," July 9 [online]. Available at: <http://nrcu.gov.ua/news.html?newsID=55419> [in Ukrainian].



A poster for the Ukrainian Film Week in Prague

Slovakia – Daniel Herman and Marek Maďarič that became an impetus for strengthening cultural cooperation between the countries and, in particular, for carrying out of the first Ukrainian Film Week festival in Prague by the embassy, which has become an annual event. The success of the Ukrainian-Slovak film increased attention to Ukrainian cinematography; four Ukrainian films were presented at the festival the following year, and the film by Ukrainian director Antonio Lukich, *My Thoughts Are Silent*, received a special jury award in the *East from the West* section in 2019.

The *Book World International Fair* is the largest trade fair taking place every spring in Prague. In cooperation with the Ukrainian Book Institute, the national stand of Ukraine was presented with book products from more than 15 publishing houses at the fair in 2018–19. The accompanying literary program of the event included presentations of Czech translations of Oksana Zabuzhko and Serhii Zhadan's books, the publishing series *Our 20s*



Ambassador of Ukraine Yevhen Perebyinis with his wife at the opening of the national stand of Ukraine at the Book World Fair

by the Tempora publishing house and modern Ukrainian illustrations. Receiving about 50,000 visitors annually, this platform remains unrivaled in terms of promoting Ukrainian literature in the Czech Republic.

The *Literature Night International Literary Festival* is a cultural event providing the general public with an opportunity to get acquainted with works of contemporary European writers at recitations of excerpts from works in unusual and hard-to-reach places. Thanks to the efforts of Ukrain-

ian diplomats and cooperation with the Ukrainian Institute, the work of Ukrainian literature began to be included to the European literary readings in 2018.⁶ O. Zabuzhko's novel *Museum of Abandoned Secrets* was presented in 2019, the novel *Longitude of Days* by V. Rafeienko in 2020, *Difficult* by T. Prokhasko in 2021. Over 200 people come to the recitation of excerpts from works by Ukrainian authors annually.

The *International Watercolor Festival*. The works of 13 Ukrainian watercolor artists were presented at the International Watercolor Festival in Prague in 2018. The artists held several workshops and were able to present their pictures in the Mánes Gallery, one of the most famous galleries in Prague.

The *International Ukrainian Studies Conference* is a scientific conference held at Charles University in Prague. At the initiative of the Embassy, the conference in 2018 was dedicated to the anniversary of the establishment of Czech-Ukrainian diplomatic relations with a focus on the activities of the UPR diplomatic missions in Europe and the life of the Ukrainian emigrants in interwar Czechoslovakia.

Ukrainian artists also take part in other famous festivals; one can recall at least the performances of Dakh Daughters and Brunettes Shoot Blonds at the Colors of Ostrava Festival in 2018 and 2019, performances by Onuka, Dakha Brakha or Odyn v Kanoe in the Central European Region program of the Acropolis Palace music center, the Ukrainian team's participation in the Signal street video installations, the exhibition *Culture and Conflict: IZOLYATSIA in Exile* at the DOX Gallery in Prague and much more. The embassy always provides the said projects with all possible information support and encourages the involvement of Ukrainian artists in the future.

Projects of the embassy

In addition to joint projects with well-known festivals in the Czech Republic, the embassy organizes and carries out numerous independent cultural events. The main directions of the cultural work of the institution can be defined as follows:

- *Disseminating knowledge about Ukraine worldwide.* Unfortunately, even after 30 years since the proclamation of Ukraine's independence, the Czech society knows little about our country. This is mainly

⁶ Radio Svoboda (2019). "Chekhiia: roman Zabuzhko stav pershym ukrainskym tvorom, yakyi chytaly na festyvali 'Nich literatury,'" May 10 [online]. Available at: <https://www.radiosvoboda.org/a/news-zabuzhko-nich-literary/29932022.html> [in Ukrainian].

the news information about various tragic or scandalous events associated with the country. The victory of the Revolution of Dignity led to a keen interest of Western societies in Ukrainian culture, but not for long. The main burden of spreading knowledge about Ukraine in the world falls on the shoulders of the diplomatic institutions and the Ukrainian Institute.

- *Countering Russian aggression and fighting for the release of political prisoners.*
- *Supporting Ukrainian studies in the Czech Republic.*
- *Representing Ukraine as a democratic European country, confidently moving towards EU and NATO integration.*
- The implementation of these tasks requires significant efforts and a variety of approaches, since the attention of the foreign public can be attracted only by an interesting and authentic cultural product.

Ukrainian Film Week and cinema diplomacy

Besides the cooperation with the largest film festivals in the Czech Republic, the embassy is an active initiator of many solitary projects aimed at presenting Ukrainian cinema in the world. The largest project in this di-



Posters

rection is the holding of the annual film festival *Week of Ukrainian Film in Prague*, at which the embassy, in cooperation with the Ukrainian State Film Agency, presents the best films of the current year to the foreign public and professional circles. The films have repeatedly gained post-festival lives in the Czech Republic and were shown at other Czech festivals.

The embassy also makes active use of screenings of individual films for drawing attention to events that are important for Ukraine. For instance, separate screenings of the films about Russian aggression in eastern Ukraine were held, including *Cyborgs* (A. Seitablaiev, 2018), *Donbas* (S. Loznytsia, 2019), *Myth* (L. Kantor, 2018), *Invisible Battalion* (2018), *Atlantis* (V. Vasianovych, 2020).

Art exhibitions (Genesis, Ivan Marchuk, Ukrainian ex libris)

Successful art exhibitions require meticulous curatorial work and, not least, significant funding. Until now, the embassy has mainly supported exhibitions of contemporary artists. In particular, in cooperation with the non-governmental organization Ukrainian Initiative of South Moravia, exhibitions of paintings by Ivan Marchuk were held in Prague and Brno in 2018, and in cooperation with curator V. Stepanets, an exhibition of works by contemporary Ukrainian artists and sculptors titled *Genesis* was held in the famous Dancing House Gallery in Prague in 2019. An interesting experience was the exhibition of works by Ukrainian ex libris makers from different regions of Ukraine in cooperation with the Czech Association of Collectors and Friends of Ex Libris.

The embassy also vigorously cooperates with Ukrainian artists living in Prague. It is not only about holding exhibitions but also preparing a Christmas card, which the embassy sends annually to more than a thousand addressees. The Grand Biennale of Ukrainian Classical Art, however, is still waiting to be held in Prague in the future.

Documentary photography exhibitions

Unlike art exhibitions, which require significant human and financial resources, carrying out photo exhibitions is a fairly common format for the work of diplomatic institutions in image-making policy. Photo exhibitions are conducted both as a separate event and as part of social and political conferences, film screenings, etc. An example of effective tools here is a

street photography exhibition targeting a wide range of viewers, including those who have never been interested in Ukraine.

Among the most successful such projects there are:

The *Winners* project implemented in cooperation with the 1+1 TV channel and the *VIVA!* magazine, telling the story of Ukrainian veterans who lost their body parts during hostilities in eastern Ukraine but found the courage to start a new life. The project was presented in city libraries of Prague and Plzeň.

The exhibition of documentary photographs *Unknown War in the Center of Europe* by journalist of the *Voice of Ukraine* newspaper Oleksandr Klymenko that was held in the premises of the Czech Parliament.

The exhibition of photographs *Euromaidan* by Oleksii Furman that was presented in Prague in the hall of the Institute of International Studies of Charles University and was accompanied by an ambassador's lecture entitled *Ukraine – Five years after Maidan*.

The exhibition *Mothers* that featured photographs of mothers whose sons died in the Russian-Ukrainian war. The exhibition was presented in a cinema hall in Prague during the screening of Valentyn Vasianovych's film *Atlantis*.

In addition, the embassy annually holds 4–5 exhibitions in the premises of the diplomatic institution or on street stands near the embassy. The exposition featured works of both Ukrainian and Czech photographers, particularly the project *The War Is Not Over Yet* by David Těšínský, *Point Zero* by Pavel Nasadil, *Euromaidan* by Eugen Kukla and others.

Street projects

Street exhibition projects have great promotional and educational potential. Due to the pandemic, open-air expositions have gained special relevance. For the first time, the embassy presented such an exhibition in 2019. Then, one of the central parks hosted the exhibition consisting of photographs of Ukrainian stars in authentic folk costumes. The project *Sincere* was warmly received by the Czech public and after was later presented twice more at other venues in Prague, as well as at the airport in Pardubice and at a museum in Chrudim.

On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of Ukraine's independence, the embassy, jointly with the Ukrinform agency, prepared and held the exhibi-



The exhibition

tion *Ukraine – 30 Years of Freedom* in the center of Prague, demonstrating Ukraine's path from declaring independence in 1991 through the formation of its own state, revolutions, war, opening KGB archives and investigating crimes of totalitarian regimes up to highlighting its place on the map of democratic Europe.

In November 2021, another street project began: the exhibition *Ancient Cultures of the New Homeland. The Life Path of the Founders of Czech and Ukrainian Archaeology Ivan Borkovskiy and Vikentii Khvoika*, dedicated to V. Khvoika, born in the Czech Republic, who discovered the archaeological Trypillia culture in Ukraine, and I. Borkovskiy, the native of Ukraine who discovered the oldest Prague ceramic culture. The exhibition was opened in front of the medieval Prague Castle, where I. Borkovskiy worked most of his life.

Ethnographic diplomacy

The Embroidery Parade is one of the main events of the Ukrainian community in the Czech Republic, whose scale goes far beyond the borders of the emigrant community and is held annually in September. Every third Sat-

urday in May, hundreds of Ukrainians in embroidered shirts walk in a long column through the center of Prague, singing Ukrainian songs. This fascinating performance gathers both tourists and locals. Thanks to these and other events, the embroidered shirt has become one of the strongest associations with Ukraine. As a token of support for Ukraine, Czech MPs and municipal politicians, cultural workers and athletes wore embroidered shirts.

One of the largest projects presenting the folk culture of Ukrainians in the Czech Republic was an exhibition initiated by the embassy at the Ethnographic Museum in Prague. Czech amateur ethnographer František Řehoř moved with his parents to western Ukraine in the mid-19th century. Admiring the folk culture, he collected and handed over to the National Museum in Prague samples of Ukrainian folk clothing, tools and household utensils. He made exact replicas of large objects, such as a house or a cart. Later on, he also grew interested in photography and left valuable pictures of the life of Ukrainian peasants. Until 2019, this ethnographic treasure of Ukraine remained buried in museum funds. The exhibition *Ancient Ukraine of František Řehoř*, shown for six months at the Museum of Ethnography, restored the memory of the Czech ethnographer and opened Ukrainian folk culture to the Czech audience.

Support for Ukrainian studies and the popularization of the Ukrainian language

Translators are commonly referred to as *cultural ambassadors* of the countries from which languages they translate. In the Czech Republic, there are three main scientific centers for training Ukrainian scholars and translators of the Ukrainian language: Charles University in Prague, Palacký University Olomouc and Masaryk University in Brno. In addition, the professional *Czech Association of Ukrainian Studies* has operated since 1991. In cooperation with universities and the association since 2017, a Ukrainian-to-Czech Translation Competition has been held for beginner translators, who do not have a single published translation yet. The purpose of the competition is to stimulate interest in learning the Ukrainian language and expand the circle of Ukrainian language translators in the Czech Republic. The translations of the winners are published annually in literary magazines.

Prior to the introduction of the program to support translations from the Ukrainian language of the Ukrainian Book Institute, the embassy also financially supported the publication of individual books; in particular, the pub-

lication of the collection *Zviroslav* by Tania Maliarchuk, the poetic anthology *Voices of two poets. An anthology of poems by Yurii Darahan and Oleksa Stefanovych*, the novel *City* by Valerian Pidmohylnyi, etc. On the initiative of the embassy, the City Library in Prague hosted a Ukrainian shelf, annually replenished with new books for children and adults.

Struggle for historical memory

Under the influence of communist and then Russian propaganda, negative stereotypes about certain episodes from the history of Ukraine have formed in the Czech Republic. Some of the most widespread myths tell that Ukraine was artificially created by Joseph Stalin, unconfirmed stories about the destruction of Czech settlements in Volyn by military units of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, about the Cossacks as Russian troops, etc. To counter these negative narratives, the embassy carries out large-scale educational work in the historical direction. One of the priorities is the recognition by the Czech Parliament of the 1932–33 Holodomor as a genocide against the Ukrainian people. For this purpose, several scientific conferences have been held, with the last one taking place right in the meeting room of the Senate of the Czech Parliament. An information brochure on the



Commemoration of Vasyl Makukh. 2018

Holodomor-Genocide of 1932–33 was published in Czech; information exhibitions and mourning events are held annually.

An important moment was to name one of the pedestrian bridges in Prague after Ukrainian dissident Vasyl Makukh, who committed the act of self-immolation on Khreshchatyk Street in 1968. According to some eyewitnesses, while flaming, V. Makukh shouted slogans against the russification of Ukraine and the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the troops of the Warsaw Pact countries. Near the commemorative plaque of V. Makukh, memorial events are held annually with the participation of Czech politicians and public officials.

Every year, the embassy invites Czech colleagues and friends of Ukraine to commemorate the victims of the Crimean Tatars' deportation of 1944. On such days, visitors attend screenings of thematic films and exhibitions.

The embassy also prepared a Czech-language version of the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory's exhibition *Ukrainian Revolution 1917–1921*, presented at universities in Prague and Olomouc.

One of the interesting ways to talk to a foreign audience about the recent history of Ukraine is the usage of modern technologies. On the occasion of the 5th anniversary of the Revolution of Dignity, a presentation of the *Maidan. Aftermath* virtual reality project took place in Prague. Those in attendance could put on VR glasses and travel from Prague to Independence Square in Kyiv to communicate with direct participants of those events at the places where protesters were being shot.

Ukrainians in the Czech Republic

When developing a public diplomacy strategy abroad, it should also be taken into account that, to a large extent, the country's image is formed by citizens of Ukraine living in another state. This issue remains especially relevant for countries with the highest numbers of labor migrants, such as Portugal, Italy, Poland and, last but not least, the Czech Republic.

The embassy has set out to change the stereotypes about Ukrainians in the Czech Republic as not very cultured and smart construction laborers or cleaners. To this end, the edition *Between you. Ukrainians as you do not know them* was prepared and published, featuring 30 natives of Ukraine who had built successful careers in business, science, medicine, sports or culture in the Czech Republic. Book presentations were held in many cities, copies were sent to all city and regional libraries, politicians and mayors.

A successful project was the preparation of the video guide *Ukrainian places in Prague*, introducing the main points on the city map, where prominent Ukrainians stayed or lived at different times.

In addition, the embassy actively supports projects initiated by local Ukrainians, for instance, workshops on folk art or presentations of Ukrainian cuisine at food festivals, and encourages them to organize their own events. For example, at one of the diplomatic receptions on the occasion of Ukraine's Independence Day, there took place a presentation of a fashionable Ukrainian-style collection by Kyiv designer Natali Ruden, whose products are worn by the entire Prague elite.

Music diplomacy

A popular Czech proverb says: "Every Czech is a musician." The Czech Republic hosts many international music festivals, including the Prague Spring, a festival of classical and orchestral music, and Colours of Ostrava, a festival of contemporary music of different genres. Participation in both events is a prestigious accolade for a musician, but to achieve it, one first needs to go through a thorough selection. Ukrainian performers do so successfully.

Thanks to the large and active Ukrainian community, there is no lack for Ukrainian music concerts in the Czech Republic with the participation of both local amateur groups and invited stars from Ukraine. Ukrainian bandura players have also arrived to the Czech Republic several times to give concerts.

Given the limited capacity of the Ukrainian community to carry out events of such a high level, the embassy's work focuses on the organization of classical music concerts. For instance, the concert of classical music entitled *Ukraine to Czechia* was dedicated to the 100th anniversary of the Ukrainian diplomatic service and the 25th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Ukraine and the Czech Republic. During the program composed of works by Ukrainian, Czech and European composers, guests of the event enjoyed performances by the Academic Symphony Orchestra of Lviv Philharmonic conducted by Volodymyr Syvokhip, soloist of the Lviv Philharmonic Nataliia Dytiuk and Ukrainian soloists of the leading theaters of the Czech Republic Oleksandr Ben and Yevhen Shokalo. The concert of the string chamber Kyiv orchestra Artekhatata conducted by Myroslava Kotorovych took place in the Bethlehem Chapel in Prague on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of

the founding of Czechoslovakia and the 100th anniversary of the adoption of the Fourth Universal of the UPR.

Human rights activities

Human rights activities are becoming an integral part of diplomacy in the context of Russian aggression, while Ukrainians account for more than 100 political prisoners in occupied Crimea and Russia, as well as almost 300 illegally imprisoned in the occupied territories of Donetsk and Luhansk regions. In addition to the said annual Crimean Days within the framework of the Forum 2000 conference, the embassy organized a number of film screenings in support of Oleh Sentsov in various cities – Prague, Plzeň, Karlovy Vary. The film *Trial: The State of Russia against Oleh Sentsov* was even broadcast on Czech public television. Czech politicians, directors, cultural figures spoke out in support of the Ukrainian director. His portraits were demonstrated at almost all cultural events of the institution from arrest to release. In 2019, Sentsov personally took part in the *One World Human Rights Film Festival*. Two of his books have been translated and published in Czech.

Campaigns were held in support of other political prisoners. The embassy hosted exhibitions of Roman Sushchenko's drawings sent from the prison and photographs of children of political prisoners from Crimea. A documentary film about Volodymyr Balukh was screened. At the invitation of the embassy, the NOD Theater hosted the Prague premiere of a play directed by Halyna Dzhykaieva about torture in Crimea. On demand of a Czech TV channel, film director Jaroslav Kratochvíl made a documentary film *(Pen)insular Crimea* about the Crimean political prisoners, which was also presented by the embassy.

The *Prague Maidan* initiative of Czech activists, which was later joined by the Prague Ukrainians, was extremely important. A protest in support of occupied Crimea were began in 2015 by activists in opposition to Czech President Miloš Zeman. A few months later, the campaign evolved from a spontaneous effort into a systematic activity. A tent of the Prague Maidan with posters about Russian aggression in eastern Ukraine, portraits of political prisoners, etc. appeared on the central square of Prague every Sunday. The activists collected financial aid for the Military Hospital in Kharkiv and also carried out awareness-raising work about Russian aggression against Ukraine. The work of the Prague Maidan lasted for five years and ceased due to the pandemic.

Expert diplomacy

An important area of the embassy's work is expert diplomacy, i.e., cooperation with leading experts from various fields. In 2020, with the participation of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Ukraine and the Czech Republic, the first inaugural meeting of the Ukrainian-Czech Expert Forum was held in Prague, bringing together representatives of non-governmental organizations of both countries. Participants of the forum identified the following main areas of cooperation: issues of Euro-Atlantic integration and reforms bringing Ukraine closer to EU and NATO membership; the experience of the Czech Republic on issues of social, economic and political transformation; countering Russian propaganda, fake news, supporting independent media; the situation in the occupied territories, humanitarian aid; cooperation on historical affairs and issues related to decommunization. The second meeting of the forum was held in Kyiv the following year. Hopefully, we will soon be able to present the practical results of the work of experts in the selected areas.

So as to carry out the state's image-making policy, the embassy held a number of meetings in the Václav Havel Library in Prague, including with Ukrainian politicians, journalists and historians Refat Chubarov, Oleksandr Zinchenko, Serhii Zhadan, Mustafa Dzhemiliev. Vitalii Portnikov,⁷ Serhii Plokhii,⁸ Volodymyr Birchak, Oksana Zabuzhko and many others, who were invited to Prague to deliver their lectures. In addition, the embassy organized meetings with Czech experts interested in Ukraine, notably with cyber security expert Tomas Flidr, historian David Swoboda, volunteer Michal Kislicki, photographer Martin Wagner, etc.

Advertising Ukraine's tourist potential (presentation of the magazine *Touristic Ukraine* and the *Ukrainer* project)

Tourism is the most cost-effective industry in terms of promoting Ukraine. Some tourist destinations, like Chornobyl, Lviv or the Carpathian Mountains, require almost no additional advertising in the Czech Republic, since these places are already popular. In order to open other interesting routes for Czech tourists, the embassy has joined in the publication of a special magazine in Czech about Ukraine's tourist attractions. The volunteer project *Ukrainer* has

⁷ Embassy of Ukraine in the Czech Republic (2019). Vitalii Portnikov u Prazi [online]. Available at: <https://czechia.mfa.gov.ua/news/71785-vitalij-portnikov-u-prazi> [in Ukrainian].

⁸ Embassy of Ukraine in the Czech Republic (2018). Druhá mezinárodní konference ukrajinstů v Praze [online]. Available at: <https://czechia.mfa.gov.ua/cs/news/68132-konferencija-ukrajinstiv-u-prazi> [in Czech].



a fairly large audience of fans in the Czech Republic; the creation of its Czech edition was partially funded by the Ukrainian Institute.

Special media project Ukraine – A Different History

The idea of the project Ukraine – A Different History was born within the framework of the Czech-Ukrainian Expert Forum. During 2020–21, Fórum 24 published translations of articles by Ukrainian historians concerning the common Czech-Ukrainian past and moments in the history of Ukraine distorted by communist or Russian propaganda. As part of the project, 11 articles were published and read by almost 100,000 people.

In general, the image-making work of the Embassy of Ukraine in the Czech Republic covers various areas of public and cultural life. We entertain the hope that the efforts made will bring the desired results in the long term.

Self-Assessment Questionnaire:

- What was the significance of the performances of the Ukrainian Republican Capella in the cities of Czechoslovakia for the formation of the Czechs' opinion about Ukrainians?
- Can the well-keeping of Ukrainian graves in the Czech Republic be considered public diplomacy?
- What is the main condition for the participation of the Ukrainian side in international cultural events?
- Name the main areas of work of the Embassy of Ukraine in the Czech Republic in the field of cultural diplomacy.
- Describe the exhibition projects of the Embassy of Ukraine in the Czech Republic as a tool of public diplomacy.



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Continuity of Diplomatic Traditions: Information Component of Ukraine's Image-Making in Bulgaria

Awareness-raising activities are one of the effective tools for shaping Ukraine's image abroad. Activities of the Embassy of Ukraine in the Republic of Bulgaria demonstrate a unique experience of the continuity of traditions in this sphere, initiated by the first Ukrainian diplomatic mission in the Kingdom of Bulgaria during the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people in 1917–21. The embassy carries out the formation of a positive image in the information space of Bulgaria with the simultaneous use of other instruments of public and cultural diplomacy in accordance with modern realities and challenges.

Historical origins

The meeting of ambassadors and heads of diplomatic missions held in Vienna in June 1919 declared the strengthening of outreach activities of diplomatic missions as a means of affirming the Ukrainian idea.¹ In pursuance of the decisions of the meeting, the Embassy of the UPR began information activities in Sofia intending to acquaint Bulgarians

¹ See: Matiash, I. (2005). "Osnovnoiu oriiientatsiieu ... musyt buty oriiientatsiia ukrainska" (Protokoly videnskoj serpnevoi Narady posliv i holiv dyplomatychnykh misii 1920 r. Dzherelo z istorii ukrainskoj dyplomatii) ["The main orientation ... should be the orientation to Ukraine" (Protocols of the meeting of ambassadors and heads of diplomatic missions in 1920. A source on the history of Ukrainian diplomacy)]. *Diplomatic Ukraine*, vol. 6. Kyiv: Directorate-General for Rendering Services to Diplomatic Missions, pp. 102–144. [in Ukrainian].

with Ukrainian history and culture through truthful coverage of the most important pages of Ukrainian history, the political situation of the UPR and relations with Russia, as well as relevant problems of the life of Ukrainians as an independent nation. In order to arouse the interest in the Ukrainian situation, the diplomatic mission in the Kingdom of Bulgaria developed a special program for the dissemination of printed information and the establishment of contacts with representatives of Bulgarian culture, education and science, the draft of which was sent to the UPR government for approval.

Dmytro Sheludko, an official of the UPR Embassy, was the most active in the information direction. He prepared a number of materials on the so-called Ukrainian issue in Bulgarian periodicals, in particular, *Mir chrez sayuzyavane* (*Peace through Alliance*), *Slavyanski Glas* (*Slavic Voice*), *Savremenna Misly* (*Contemporary Thought*), and *Chitaleshten pregled* (*Reading Review*), which introduced readers to the development of the idea of independence and sovereignty of Ukraine, while also being interesting and understandable for the foreign audience. Guided by the need to separate Ukraine from Russia in the minds of the Bulgarians, the UPR diplomats put forth the idea of publishing their own periodical as a means of broader communication with the Bulgarian society. The idea and concept of creating such a magazine are attributed to Ambassador Oleksandr Shulhyn, whose mandate in Sofia lasted only a few months.

The first issue of *Ukrainsko Slovo* (*Ukrainian Word*) was probably published in July 1919. The magazine covered key milestones in Ukrainian history, the relations between the UPR and Russia, as well as topical problems of the life of Ukrainians as an independent nation. Being aware of the Bulgarians' commitment to Slavophilia and taking into account the target audience and the ways of "fighting for sympathy and favor," Ukrainian diplomats selected the content and formulated the titles of the publications to emphasize the Slavic kinship of the Ukrainian and Bulgarian peoples.

For the purposes of the cultural representation of Ukraine, the publications in *Ukrainsko Slovo* contained works of Oleksandr Oles, Ivan Franko and Mykhailo Kotsiubynskyi; information about the life of Ukrainians in Europe, including performances of the Ukrainian Republic Capella of Oleksandr



Dmytro Sheludko

Koshyts in Paris and London in 1919, the release of a new Ukrainian-French bulletin in Paris on January 10, 1920, the presentation of a synopsis of the history of Ukrainian art in Rome on November 22, 1919, the introduction of evening courses in the Ukrainian language in Rome, etc. The Sofia-based Slovo Publishing House was advertised, which distributed collections of selected Ukrainian songs and the work of Serhii Yefremov *Ukrainian Literature*

translated by Dmytro Shyshmanov. Copies of the publication were sent to influential Bulgarian public and cultural figures at that time on the recommendations of D. Shyshmanov, the grandson of Mykhailo Drahomanov.

Subsequently, on the advice of representatives of the Bulgarian intelligentsia sympathizing with Ukraine, the publication was reformatted and diversified by adding materials from local poets, writers and journalists, who contributed to the implementation of the idea of creating a new, this time periodic, journal. The magazine was entitled *Ukrainsko-Bulgarski Pregled (Ukrainian-Bulgarian Review)* and was first published in Bulgarian on October 15, 1919, simultaneously with the last issue of *Ukrainsko Slovo*.

Ukrainsko-Bulgarski Pregled targeted

two categories of readers: the intellectual aristocracy with “academic demands” and readers of “lively and vulnerable temperament” preferring topical political information. Faced with insufficient attention of the Bulgarian media to the Ukrainian issue, the volume of the news block increased, reviews of the latest events in Ukraine and reports of the foreign press about Ukraine were included.

Aspiring to expand the readership, the compilers used pragmatic arguments for a favorable perception of the UPR. In particular, it was noted, “if we do not take into account the narrow coastline at the mouth of the Danube, which belongs to Romania, Ukraine,” is Bulgaria’s closest neighbor, and the development of relations between politically and economically connected neighbors is qualified “as a civic duty for politicians and societies.” The prob-



A page of *Ukrainsko-Bulgarski Pregled*

lem of national minorities in Ukraine also found its place in the information and propaganda work. Considering the factor of the residence of the Bulgarian communities in Odesa region and the attention of the Bulgarian authorities to them, the compilers posted a material on the restoration of the UPR law on personal national autonomy. The editorial board of the magazine argued that only independent Ukraine could establish a real democratic regime, since neither Denikin’s “united and indivisible Russia” nor the Bolshevik Soviet republic would bring order; instead they would only exacerbate the horrors of black reactionism. Thus, Ukrainian diplomats tried to convince that only with the existence of independent Ukraine would ethnic Bulgarians have the necessary guarantees to preserve their self-identity. Accordingly, the Bulgarian political establishment was familiar with the factor of the compact residence of the Bulgarian communities in Odesa region, which had its impact on the recognition of the UPR’s independence by the Kingdom of Bulgaria.

In general, the materials of the magazine embedded among the readers an idea of Ukrainians as a people with rich literature and folklore. It was important to clarify the terms “Rus,” “Little Russia” (Little Rus) and “Ukraine” and the natural connection of Ukraine with the ancient Rus state with the center in Kyiv. The then key brand of the young Ukrainian state in the context of the presentation of Ukrainian-Bulgarian ties was a statement, which is still relevant today: “Kyiv is a conduit of Christianity, Slavic writing and education for the Eastern Slavs.” Apart from Ukrainian diplomats, materials for the magazine were prepared by well-known Bulgarian writers Dimitar Strashimirov, Stiliyan Chilingirov, Hristo Tsankov-Derizhan, professors Stefan Mladenov and Ivan Shishmanov, young writers Dimitar Shishmanov and Nikola Balabanov. This contributed to the increase in the authority of the publication among Bulgarian readers.

Carrying out information and cultural work required financial support, which was sorely lacking and ultimately led to the termination of publications. After the cessation of the UPR diplomatic mission, former counselor of the embassy Vasyl Drahomyretskyi was appointed a diplomatic agent in 1921. He continued his information and outreach activity in Bulgaria until 1925, for which he was repeatedly criticized and discredited by the Russophile part of the Bulgarian press. Later, the role of informing about the Ukrainian idea was assumed by representatives of the UPR in the Kingdom of Bulgaria and leaders of Ukrainian organizations

in exile operating in this country until their complete termination after the Soviet occupation of Bulgaria in 1944.

Continuation of traditions after the restoration of Ukraine's independence

After the resumption of Ukrainian-Bulgarian diplomatic relations in the early 1990s, the Embassy of Ukraine in Bulgaria continued the practice of the

first diplomatic institution of the UPR and in January 1994 began publishing a monthly *Ukraine Newsletter* in Bulgarian aimed at popularizing the newly independent state. The first issues of the bulletin had four pages; over time, the volume increased to 12 pages, the circulation of the publication totalled 1,000 copies sent to the Administration of the President of Bulgaria, the National Assembly, the Government, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the St Cyril and St Methodius National Library, university and regional libraries, educational institutions, influential friends of Ukraine in the political, business, scientific and cultural circles of Bulgaria. The bulletin was also distributed by subscription among regular readers.



A page of *Ukraine Newsletter*

The responsibility for the content of the newsletter lied with Vitalii Moskalenko, working as the First Secretary for culture of the Embassy of Ukraine in Bulgaria from 1993 to 1998 and interacting with the activist of the Ukrainian community and journalist Vasyl Zhukivskyy. Publications of the bulletin shed light on the news from Ukraine at that time, the development of political processes and democratic transformations in the newly independent state, the course of economic transformations; covered the most important milestones in the history of Ukrainian-Bulgarian relations.

The issues of the newsletter reported on the then activities of the Ukrainian Embassy and attempts to initiate a systemic intercultural exchange, particularly the first briefing on the occasion of Independence Day in August 1993; the ambassador's meetings with Bulgarian artists: poet Lyubomir

Levchev, writer Diko Fuchedzhiev, philosopher Mikhail Bychvarov, Slavic scholar Iliya Konev, composer Plamen Dzhurov; cooperation of diplomats with the Ukraine–Bulgaria Society operating within the Slavs Foundation; organization of the meetings and literary evenings with the participation of Bulgarian intellectuals on the occasion of the 180th anniversary of the birth of Taras Shevchenko; negotiations with the Union of Bulgarian Translators on translations of works by Ukrainian authors; assistance to the teaching process of the Ukrainian language, history and ethnography at the Sofia University “St Kliment Ohridski” and South-West University “Neofit Rilski” in Blagoevgrad. At that stage, it was important to transcend the limits of protocol communication and disseminate information about Ukraine in Bulgarian society.

In further issues, the readers got acquainted with art, literature, and the history of the Ukrainian people along with the process of strengthening Ukrainian statehood, the economy of Ukraine, the potential of individual regions. Throughout the entire period, articles were published about Kyiv princes Volodymyr the Great and Yaroslav the Wise, the “builder of Ukrainian state” Bohdan Khmelnytskyi, the spiritual connection between Bulgaria and Ukraine, the Baptism of Kyiv Rus, as well as activities of the Central Council, first president of the UPR Mykhailo Hrushevskyy, about hetmans – fighters for Ukrainian independence, customs and traditions of the Cossack army, the Cossack republic as a symbol of love for freedom, about the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra in Kyiv as a monument of world culture protected by UNESCO, etc.

A separate group of reports consists of materials on conducting the Days of Ukraine in Bulgaria in December 1995 and May 1997, the Days of Ukrainian Book in the St Cyril and St Methodius National Library in October 1995; holding an exhibition of works by Ukrainian sculptor Mykhailo Parashchuk in the premises of the Union of Architects in Bulgaria in October 1995; expanding contacts between the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine and the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences; founding non-government organizations of friendship with Ukraine in Bulgaria, to list a few.

It was on the pages of *Ukraine Newsletter* in 1995 that information about activities of the first UPR Embassy in Sofia in 1918–20 was first published, prepared on the basis of documents from the State Archives of Bulgaria, which were classified during the Soviet period.

Over the four-year period of its existence, the publication of the Ukrainian diplomatic mission turned from the format of the so-called “*information postcard*” into a high-quality printing product with interesting content and was noticeable among Bulgarian politicians, intellectuals and leading journalists of that time. President of Bulgaria Zhelev Zhelev highly appreciated this form of public communication of the Ukrainian diplomatic mission and agreed to publish his addresses to readers of the magazine in August and December 1994. The then head of the Bulgarian state noted the long history of friendly relations between the Ukrainian and Bulgarian peoples and emphasized that his state had been one of the first to recognize the independence of Ukraine. Positive assessments of the Ukrainian-Bulgarian cooperation were also contained in the interviews of heads of the National Assembly of Bulgaria Blagovest Sendov in August 1995 and August 1996, Yordan Sokolov in August 1997, Minister for Education, Science and Technology of Bulgaria Ilcho Dimitrov in August 1996.

An efficient journalistic method of influencing public opinion in Bulgaria was the publication in the newsletter of comments of politicians, scientists, journalists of the leading Bulgarian mass media of that time – television, radio and print media, notably Deputy Prime Minister Valentin Karabashev, members of parliament Filip Bokov, Ivan Kostov (future Prime Minister in 1997–2001), Ivan Palchev, Dimitar Yonchev, Asparuh Panov, Stefan Prodev, Nikolay Slatinski, Ivan Pushkarov, Zahari Zahariev, Elka Konstantinova, Velko Valkanov.

Despite the different structuring and content, most issues of *Newsletter* contained the following thematic blocks: General information about the Ukrainian state, History of Ukraine, History of Ukrainian-Bulgarian cultural relations, Modern Ukrainian-Bulgarian political relations, Culture of the Ukrainian people, Economic potential of Ukraine and Relevant news from Ukraine. In August 1998, on the occasion of Independence Day of Ukraine, the last issue of the newsletter was published, containing an interview with newly arrived Ambassador of Ukraine Viacheslav Pokhvalskyi.

In general, through the publications in *Ukraine Newsletter*, Ukrainian diplomats as compilers tried to convey to the Bulgarian audience the following key groups of information messages: “Ukraine as a young democratic state is establishing in the international arena”; “relations between Ukraine and Bulgaria are traditionally friendly and actively develop”;

“the expansion of the Ukrainian-Bulgarian legal framework testifies to the active development of cooperation”; “Ukraine has a long tradition of state-building from the period of Kyiv Rus, the Cossack state and the existence of the Ukrainian People’s Republic”; “the Ukrainian people have a thousand-year history and rich culture”; “Ukrainian-Bulgarian cultural ties have long-standing traditions”; “Prof. M. Drahomanov and Prof. M. Parashchuk in Bulgaria play an important role in Ukrainian-Bulgarian scientific and cultural relations”; “the Ukrainian state is pursuing a balanced policy towards national minorities,” etc.

Just as diplomats of the UPR in the Kingdom of Bulgaria in their time, the compilers of the mid-1990s *Newsletter* covered the issues of the residence of the Bulgarian national minority in Ukraine – the oldest and largest Bulgarian diaspora. There were published materials on the adoption by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of the Law on National Minorities, which was presented in Bulgaria as one of the most progressive in Europe and one creating opportunities for the Bulgarian national minority for national and cultural development and the revival of identity. In order to obtain more detailed information, the Embassy of Ukraine in Sofia established cooperation with the newly created newspaper of the Bulgarian minority in Odesa entitled *Roden kray (Motherland)* (back then, it was published as the *Voice of Ukraine* supplement), whose materials were reprinted on the pages of *Newsletter*. Thanks to this, Bulgarian readers could obtain information about significant events for Ukrainian ethnic Bulgarians, such as the creation of eight national-cultural societies of Bulgarians in Zaporizhzhia, Kirovohrad, Mykolaiv, Odesa regions, the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and Kyiv; the foundation of the Association of Bulgarian Societies in Ukraine; the introduction of the Bulgarian language courses in the Bolhrad gymnasium; the broadcast of programs in Bulgarian on Odesa TV; the creation of Bulgarian folklore ensembles; the opening of the *Old Bulgarian House* Folklore and Ethnographic Center in the village of Delen in Odesa region; the allocation of funds from the Zaporizhzhia regional budget for the needs of the Bulgarian cultural societies; the organization of a forum of Bulgarians and Drinov readings in Kharkiv. There were published articles about the history of the resettlement of Bulgarians to the Ukrainian lands at the turn of the 18th century, their contribution to the socioeconomic development of the southern regions of Ukraine, as well as the expectations of ethnic Bulgarians about the active policy

of Bulgaria towards its diaspora abroad. To strengthen Ukraine's positive image in the context of the Bessarabian and Tavrian Bulgarians, the current Ukrainian policy regarding the restoration of the rights to preserve national identity was contrasted with the policy of the USSR, unfriendly to national minorities, whose leadership had been dismantling the mechanism for preserving national identities since the 1930s, including among ethnic Bulgarians.

The MFA of Ukraine positively assessed the idea of the Embassy of Ukraine in Bulgaria to distribute its own newsletter; other diplomatic missions abroad were entrusted with preparing similar collections of messages about Ukraine on a monthly basis and sending them to offices of the authorities of the receiving countries and leading media outlets.

Besides the printed publication, an integral part of the expansion of the Ukrainian information presence in Bulgaria was the promotion of the Ukrainian TV product on Bulgarian TV with the support of the Ukrainian diplomatic mission. The first negotiations on the establishment of cooperation between the Bulgarian National Television and the Ukrainian Ros company and on the broadcast of the Week of Ukrainian Fiction Film in Bulgaria were held in May 1994. The next step in strengthening Ukraine's presence in the Bulgarian information space was the signing of a cooperation agreement between the Ukrainian National Television and the Bulgarian National Television in February 1996, as well as the establishment of cooperation between the State Information Agency of Ukraine (DINAU) and the Bulgarian Telegraph Agency BTA, which concluded an agreement to that effect in February 1998.

A qualitative breakthrough in the Bulgarian television market was achieved in January 1999, when the Ukrainian TV channel STB became available to viewers in Sofia, who used the services of the Sofia TV operators of Elkostar and Eurotour SAT TV companies. Subsequently, coverage geography was expanded to Varna, where local TV operators included the STB channel in their package of services on a non-commercial basis. Systemic cooperation between the National Television Company of Ukraine and the Bulgarian National Television continued on a new basis after the signing of an updated agreement in June 2012.

With the advent of the latest modern technologies and the rapid development of the Internet, information activities of the Embassy of Ukraine in Bulgaria continued in digital format. In 2000, a web page of the diplomatic

institution was created: www.ukramb.bol.bg, which succeeded the information and communication function of Newsletter in a new way.

The website of the embassy emerged thanks to the efforts of First Secretary for scientific and technical cooperation Nataliia Zadorozhniuk. The site featured sections on the state structure of Ukraine, the history, nature and spiritual life of Ukrainians, the personnel of the diplomatic mission and consular services. The page was designed by BOL.BG, the leading Bulgarian provider company. This digital information resource existed until 2011 and was turned off after the transfer of all Ukrainian diplomatic missions to a single platform www.mfa.gov.ua/ and the creation of the embassy page www.bulgaria.mfa.gov.ua/. Since 2014, the embassy's Facebook page has become an additional channel for delivering information about activities of the mission, Ukrainian-Bulgarian relations and important events in Ukraine.

Based on the comparison of the structure of the web pages of diplomatic missions of Ukraine abroad, *Ukraine Newsletter* (1994–8) and printed publications of the Embassy of the UPR in Bulgaria, the magazines *Ukrainsko Slovo* (1919), *Ukrainsko-Bulgarski Pregled* (1919–20) can be considered the prototypes of modern forms and methods of disseminating information about Ukraine in the international arena. Within the implementation of image projects, in 2020, the Embassy of Ukraine in Bulgaria published a reprint edition of the magazine *Ukrainsko-Bulgarski Pregled* for the general Bulgarian and Ukrainian readership and academic audience to preserve and popularize the innovative as for the beginning of the 20th century tool for the awareness-raising work of the diplomatic mission.

Over the course of 30 years of Ukrainian-Bulgarian diplomatic relations, three phases can be traced in the evolution of the information sphere in activities of the Embassy of Ukraine in Sofia. The *first phase* coincides with the first decade of bilateral relations, the period of transforming relations between Ukraine and Bulgaria and carrying out awareness-raising work within the implementation of the foreign policy concept inherited from the USSR in the form of the development of cultural and humanitarian cooperation and the formation of a positive image. In the absence of institutional experience, it was fulfilled mainly thanks to the enthusiasm of Ukrainian diplomats, who initiated the publication of the diplomatic mission's *Newsletter* and facilitated contacts between leading news agencies and the national television of both countries. The *second phase* can be associated with



The embassy's publication and magazine cover



Europe-2001 periodical. 2016

the 2000s, the embassy's transition to digital platforms to popularize Ukraine and the establishment of the Information and Cultural Center in Sofia as part of the diplomatic mission in 2006. The *third*, qualitatively new phase began in 2014 with the reform of the MFA of Ukraine and the introduction of a public diplomacy model in response to new challenges related to the outbreak of armed aggression, an information war against Ukraine and the intensification of Russian propaganda imposing an anti-Ukrainian narrative, including the denial of Ukrainian identity, rejection of Ukrainians as a separate nation, denial of Ukraine's right to exist as an independent state, etc.

In response to these modern challenges, expert diplomacy was introduced along with traditional forms of cooperation of the Ukrainian diplomatic mission with the editorial offices of the Bulgarian press, television and radio programs, the conduct of briefings and press conferences.

Representative examples of public and image work of Ukrainian diplomats are the thematic issues of the Bulgarian periodical – the magazine *Europe-2001*. Thus, a special issue was devoted to culture and historical and cultural ties in 2004, to the presentation of the investment climate and tourist attractiveness of Ukraine in 2010, to the 200th anniversary of the birth of Taras Shevchenko in 2014, and to the 100th anniversary of Ukrainian-Bulgarian diplomatic relations in 2017.

The establishment of cooperation between the leading analytical centers of the two countries, contacts between the leaders of public opin-

ion in Ukraine and Bulgaria took place. Besides, an information campaign tool was launched devoted to topical themes of the struggle of the Ukrainian people for state sovereignty and territorial integrity, responding to fake messages and anti-Ukrainian information campaigns, information promotion of the initiative for the de-occupation of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, etc.

Activists of the Ukrainian community also vigorously participated in the work in this area by creating their information resources, particularly the digital bilingual periodical *Ukraino-Balgarski vesti* (Ukrayna-pres) (*Ukrainian-Bulgarian News*) www.ukrpressbg.com/, the Bulgarian-language periodical *Ukrayna dnes* (*Ukraine Today*) www.ukrainadnes.com/, portal www.ukr.bg/, covering the causes and consequences of the Russian armed aggression against Ukraine, as well as the most relevant events in Ukraine and news about the development of Ukrainian-Bulgarian cooperation.

Self-Assessment Questionnaire:

- Who should be considered the ideologists of the formation of the UPR's image in the international arena?
- What tools did the Embassy of the UPR in Sofia use to promote Ukraine?
- How did the Embassy of Ukraine in Bulgaria contribute to the popularization of Ukraine in the Bulgarian information space in the 1990s?
- Name three phases in the evolution of information activities of the Embassy of Ukraine in Sofia.
- How has Ukrainian society contributed to the dissemination of information about Ukraine in Bulgaria?



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Public Diplomacy of Foreign Ukrainians: a Display of Diaspora Diplomacy

Diaspora diplomacy: some theoretical remarks

In today's world, the role of diplomacy is increasingly played by non-governmental actors in international relations: NGOs, grassroots, social, religious movements, public opinion leaders, multinational corporations, businesses, think tanks, educational institutions, youth and others. Diasporas are also representatives of the soft power of the country of origin, which has given rise to the term "*diaspora diplomacy*." The term refers to the interaction of diaspora representatives with the elites of the country of origin for joint activity aimed at achieving results in foreign policy through support (economic, information, etc.) for the diaspora on the part of the state and diaspora's influence on the host country.

Diasporas can exert such influence without interaction with the political elites of the homeland, on the basis of institutional and/or individual interaction with the public and its different representatives in the host country, as well as through various means to influence the public of that country to protect and pursue the interests of their country of origin, to fight for the creation or revival of nation-states in the absence or dependence of the territory from which they originate. Therefore, there is an opinion about the need to distinguish between *diplomacy "through diaspora"* and *diaspora diplomacy*. There are cases when

the position of a diaspora and the country of origin on certain foreign policy issues do not coincide, so each international actor pursues its own foreign policy. In addition, a diaspora can not only contribute to the soft power of the country of origin but also direct its activities against the incumbent regime in the country.

The success of diaspora diplomacy depends on many factors, including its economic and political weight in the host country, quantitative indicators, the degree of organization and institutionalization, etc. The ability of a diaspora to engage in public diplomacy in cooperation with the country of origin is also influenced by the nature of the latter's political regime (including understanding the importance of emigration, citizenship laws and organizational capabilities, notably consular infrastructure and funding).¹ Diasporas are especially important for small countries due to the lack of funds that the country can attract for the implementation of its foreign policy, organization of diplomatic missions and so on.² A vivid example is the activities of the Irish, Armenian and Israeli diasporas in the United States, which have an impact on US foreign policy in bilateral relations with the countries of origin.

Diaspora as a phenomenon

There are many definitions of "diaspora." The International Organization for Migration defines a diaspora as *migrants or descendants of migrants whose identity and sense of belonging, either real or symbolic, have been shaped by their migration experience and background. They maintain links with their homelands, and to each other, based on a shared sense of history, identity, or mutual experiences in the destination country.*³ This concept does not presuppose compulsory citizenship of the recipient country and covers the notions of expatriates, temporary migrant workers, foreigners temporarily staying abroad, foreigners with the citizenship of the host country, dual citizenship, as well as second and third generation migrants.⁴

1 Köşer Akçapar, Ş., Bayraktar Aksel, D. (2017). Public Diplomacy through Diaspora Engagement. *Perceptions*. Winter 2017, vol. 22, no. 4, p. 137. [in English].

2 Trofymenko, M. (2019). Diaspora as a public diplomacy object and subject. *Istoryko-politychni problemy suchasnoho svitu: Zb. naukovykh statei*, p. 93. [in Ukrainian].

3 International Organization for Migration (2019). *Glossary of Migration*. Geneva, p. 49. [in English].

4 MIGRECO (2015). *Mizhnarodna terminolohiia u sferi mihratsii. Ukrainsko-anhliiskyi tlumachnyi slovnyk* [International Migration Terminology. Ukrainian-English Explanatory Dictionary]. Kyiv: Blank-Pres, p. 9. [in Ukrainian].



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According to well-known American researcher of diasporas R. Brubaker, diasporas are characterized by three main factors: dispersion; homeland orientation; “border management,” which means preserving one’s identity, counteracting assimilation processes.⁵ The first factor determines the transnational nature of diasporas, and the other two – its involvement in activities to support the interests of the country of origin. Diasporas in the modern world are building their own networked forms of development and manifestation of collective identity, creating a kind of a “transnational social space.”

Diasporas are developing their own organizational structure. In addition to local organizations, they have organizations (or organizational superstructures) that allow them to coordinate activities of their representatives in different countries and interact with government agencies of the country of origin. In addition to interacting with government agencies and the public at the national level, such transnational actors can interact with international organizations in the interests of the donor country. Thus, diasporas are a transnational and intercultural phenomenon, which allows them to serve as a tool for interstate cooperation, related with the efforts of the donor state to attract expatriates to extraterritorial nation-building.

Mechanisms of interaction with the country of origin

The interaction between a diaspora and the country of origin depends on a number of factors and is structured differently in each country. Diaspora diplomacy, if there is existing cooperation, is aimed at helping the country of origin and establishing strong ties with the leadership of the destination country. Involving a diaspora in diplomacy allows the state to fully exercise its soft power. A diaspora, given the right interaction, can act as a mediator between the host country and the country of origin. Attempts to institutionalize this type of diplomacy on the part of individual countries (China, Greece, etc.) testify to the benefits of such activities.

At the same time, in order to engage diasporas in the execution of goals of foreign policy strategies, the state should promote the establishment of close contacts with diaspora representatives, provide information and economic support. An important role in this process belongs to foreign ministries and other government agencies that perform diplomatic functions. Many countries have institutions that cooperate with diasporas by setting

⁵ Brubaker, R. (2005). The ‘diaspora’ diaspora. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 28, no. 1, pp. 5–6. [in English].

up special institutions or departments within government agencies. The relationship between the state of origin and a diaspora depends on the position of the state in the system of international relations, domestic needs of the country and legislation.

Building a clear mechanism of interaction with a diaspora allows the state to maintain ties with expatriates and involve them in public diplomacy. A number of countries around the world today have official strategies for cooperation with their own diasporas.⁶ A well-established system of communication between a diaspora and the country of origin plays an important role. The development of information and communication networks, the use of social networks, media, etc. simplify the communication process and reduce expenses and time spent. Therefore, countries are actively using these resources to establish interactive communication with diasporas. In addition, states implement various programs that allow introducing diasporas, especially youth, to the country of origin of their ancestors, thus creating a positive image of it among younger generations; diaspora coordination activities are carried out (congresses, forums, meetings); state organizations and NGOs are created to establish and develop interactions with the diaspora.

Directions in the realization of diaspora public diplomacy

Diaspora public diplomacy is implemented using various forms and methods pertaining to the promotion of culture and interests of the country. Expatriates are carriers of information about the culture, traditions and values of the homeland and conduct a wide range of activities in the field of cultural and humanitarian cooperation by organizing concerts, performances, exhibitions, creating cultural institutions and media, etc.

Diasporas can be involved in the settlement of security issues: depending on the situation in the homeland, diaspora members can take more active action of “soft influence.” A striking example is the activities of the Azerbaijani and Armenian diasporas, which tried to influence the resolution of the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh (for the Armenian side – Artsakh province) by all available means. This example also illustrates the possible consolidation of all existing diasporas of the country of origin in case of a threat to the homeland and confirms a certain uniqueness of diaspora public diplomacy,

⁶ Government of Ireland (2020). *Global Ireland. Ireland’s Diaspora Strategy 2020–2025* [online]. Available at: <https://www.dfa.ie/media/globalirish/Diaspora-Strategy-2020-English.pdf> [in English].

when matters of identity come to the forefront. Representatives of the indigenous diasporas of Crimea, notably the Crimean Tatar diaspora, are also actively involved in defending Ukraine's interests, particularly in Turkey.

Public diplomacy of the Ukrainian diaspora. Characteristics of worldwide Ukrainians

The Ukrainian diaspora is one of the largest diasporas in the world. According to the International Organization for Migration, the Ukrainian diaspora consisted of about 5.9 million people in 2017.⁷ About 2 million people have officially migrated outside Ukraine, of which 1.3 million in 2020 had a residence permit in the EU. The Ukrainian diaspora is heterogeneous, has different levels of integration into the society of the country of residence, assimilation and self-identification, excellent organizational structure and its own history. Ukrainians have lived in Canada, Brazil and the former Yugoslavia for more than 130 years. In Africa and Southeast Asia, the history of Ukrainians is much shorter. The Ukrainian diaspora consists of representatives of migrants and their descendants, natives of Ukraine's neighbors and labor migrants. Since 1991, Ukrainians have traditionally been divided into the western and eastern (living in post-Soviet countries) diasporas. In a number of countries, Ukrainian labor migrants account for a significant part of the population. In Ukraine's neighbors with a significant modern labor migration, the number of labor migrants sometimes reaches the number of Ukrainian citizens of a recipient country.

In public diplomacy, Ukrainians worldwide have often acted as independent entities without state support. This state of affairs has formed historically when active social, financial, cultural and other associations of Ukrainians in the world spread knowledge about Ukrainian history and culture, thus forming a positive image of the state, and lobbied for certain issues that were important to the country/nation/ethnic group at certain times.

The development of the organizational structure of the Ukrainian diaspora has been taking place during the entire period of its activity. Initially, organizational efforts were associated with the church, the creation of support and credit organizations, the establishment of the first periodicals and schools; today, the organizational structure includes numerous organizations of different directions and organizational superstructures. Since 1967,

⁷ International Organization for Migration (2019). *Ukraine: Migration Snapshot* [online]. Available at: https://iom.org.ua/sites/default/files/migration_infosheet_a4.pdf [in English].

the World Congress of Free Ukrainians (WCFU, today the UWC) has been active in defending the interests of the Ukrainian nation. During its existence, the UWC has done a lot to raise awareness of Ukraine, campaigned in support of the human rights movement in the USSR, and, together with member organizations, helped recognize Ukraine's independence in 1991. Ukraine and democratic reforms, countering Russian aggression in order to restore the territorial integrity of Ukraine. To this end, the UWC works with national governments and international organizations.⁸

The organizational structure of Ukrainians worldwide also includes regional and national organizations, namely the European Congress of Ukrainians, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, the Association of Ukrainians in Poland, the Union of Ukrainian Organizations of Bulgaria "Mother Ukraine," the Association of Ukrainian Organizations in Germany and many others. Among Ukrainian organizations abroad, there are political parties, general organizations (conditionally acting as associations to address various issues and joint activities), women's (WFUWO – the World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organizations, Ukrainian women's organizations in the United States, Canada and other countries), youth (Plast, SKUMO – the World Congress of Ukrainian Youth Organizations, youth "branches" of political parties, sports youth organizations, etc.), professional (medical, library, etc.), sports, educational (Ukrainian schools) and scientific (universities, departments, research centers), cultural (museums, libraries, archives, theaters, etc.), religious organizations and the church. Ukrainians abroad have their own press, radio, and online publications; in addition, they are actively represented on social networks.



Legal and institutional basis of interaction between diaspora and Ukraine in the field of public diplomacy

Relations between Ukraine and the diaspora are regulated by the Constitution of Ukraine and the Law of Ukraine "On Worldwide Ukrainians" (name according to the 2012 amendment). Importantly, the Law unites all

⁸ Ukrainian World Congress (2021). *UWC addresses UN High Commissioner for Human Rights in response to persecutions of ethnic Ukrainian minority in Russia* [online]. Available at: <https://www.ukrainianworldcongress.org/novini/sku-zvernuvsya-do-verhovnogo-komisara-oon-z-prav-lyudynyshhodo-peresliduvan-etnichnoyi-ukrayinskoyi-gromady-u-rosiyi/?lang=uk> [in English].

people of Ukrainian origin, regardless of their ethnicity. In particular, the Decree of the President of Ukraine “On the National Concept of Cooperation with Worldwide Ukrainians” October 13, 2006 No. 875/2006 states that the development of cooperation with Ukrainians living abroad is one of the factors strengthening political, legal, economic, humanitarian and other ties of Ukraine with countries of citizenship and residence of Ukrainians living abroad and that cooperation with foreign Ukrainians is an important factor in establishing a positive international image of Ukraine, developing economic, cultural and other ties with foreign states, ensuring economic, cultural and information presence in regions that are geopolitically important for Ukraine.⁹ To implement the provisions of the *National Concept of Cooperation with Ukrainians Living Abroad*, state programs of cooperation with foreign Ukrainians for a number of periods were developed.

Since the beginning of Russia’s hybrid aggression in 2014, the issue of cooperation with Ukrainians worldwide gained new salience, which has increased the emphasis on these aspects in the 2018 State Program of Cooperation with Ukrainians Living Abroad. In addition, the hybrid confrontation intensified the institutionalization of public and later cultural diplomacy in 2015. Funding was provided for image-making and other projects. In particular, on March 22, 2017, the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine adopted the Resolution No. 165 “On approval of the Procedure of using funds provided in the state budget for financial support of the promotion of the positive international image of Ukraine, facilitation of activity of the Ukrainian Institute and implementing measures to maintain relations with Ukrainians living outside Ukraine.” To regulate the sphere of public diplomacy, relevant documents were adopted, including the Public Diplomacy Strategy of the MFA of Ukraine for 2021–25, approved in March 2021. And although diaspora diplomacy is not mentioned in the Strategy (the actors of public diplomacy in it are, first of all, the apparatus of the MFA, foreign diplomatic missions and the Ukrainian Institute), non-governmental actors of public diplomacy organizations and individual representatives of Ukrainians living abroad can join in the execution of the strategy in all areas. The MFA sees cooperation with Ukrainians living abroad as one of the tools of public diplomacy.

Paragraph 13 of the Foreign Policy Strategy of Ukraine, approved in August 2021, states that Ukraine cares about the preservation of nation-

9 Liga 360 (2006). *Natsionalna kontseptsia spivpratsi iz zakordonnymy ukraintsiamy* [online]. Available at: https://ips.ligazakon.net/document/U875_06?an=57 [in Ukrainian].

al and cultural identity and the protection of rights and lawful interests of Ukrainians living abroad, helps meet their needs and actively interacts with them to promote the state’s interests in the world. A special section of the Strategy is devoted to relations with Ukrainians living abroad and external labor migration, where paragraph 232 sets out the priorities of foreign policy goals that can be realized through public diplomacy of Ukrainians worldwide. First of all, the diaspora’s assistance is needed to restore peace and the territorial integrity of Ukraine, counter anti-Ukrainian disinformation campaigns, step up political and sanctions pressure on the aggressor state, promote a positive image of Ukraine in the world community, develop economic cooperation, attract investment and technology, etc.¹⁰ The document also emphasizes the priority of, in cooperation with Ukrainians living abroad, realizing projects to preserve Ukraine’s cultural heritage overseas, recognize the Holodomor of 1932–33 in Ukraine as a genocide of the Ukrainian people and perpetuate the memory of the Holodomor victims.¹¹ It is important that the Strategy stipulates the adaptation of national legislation and the development of specific mechanisms aimed at asserting the national identity of foreign Ukrainians.

The main institution in charge of cooperation with worldwide Ukrainians is the *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine*, which has the *Department for Ukrainians Worldwide and Humanitarian Cooperation*. The *Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine* and the *Ministry of Culture and Information Policy* are also responsible for certain areas of cooperation. Another organization functioning in Ukraine is the *Ukrainian World Coordination Council (UWCC)*, which unites 382 member organizations and whose supreme body is the Ukrainians World Forum. Since August 1992, six Forums have been held.

The *Institute for Ukrainian Diaspora Studies of the National University of Ostroh Academy* and the *International Institute of Education, Culture and Diaspora Relations of the Lviv Polytechnic National University* play an active role in studying the phenomenon of the Ukrainian diaspora and building contacts with organizations and individual representatives. Apart from the scientific and expert component (scientific conferences, round tables, publications, etc.), the institutions directly communicate with representatives of

10 Office of the President of Ukraine (2021). *Stratehiia zovnishnopolitychnoi diialnosti Ukrainy* [online]. Available at: <https://www.president.gov.ua/documents/4482021-40017> [in English].

11 Ibid.



Exhibition of materials of the Ukrainian Historical Association at the convention of the American Historical Association. December 1990. O. Sydorenko, J. Mace, L. Vynar

the diaspora, its youth, involving the latter in various interactive projects.

The *Scientific Society of History of Diplomacy and International Relations* is of great importance among public organizations in Ukraine that actively cooperate with the Ukrainian diaspora in the field of public and cultural diplomacy, with the active involvement of Ukrainian students and representatives of the MFA. For many years, the society has been organizing meetings, scientific conferences,

flashmobs, etc. Among the events there are the international online marathon Cultural Diplomacy in Ukrainian-German Relations: Trends, Figures, Tools (for the 30th anniversary of the restoration of diplomatic relations), the online marathon Lesia Unites the World for the anniversary of Lesia Ukrainka, etc.

Public diplomacy in the activities of Ukrainians worldwide

Forms of activity of Ukrainians worldwide that aim to form a positive image of Ukraine in the public opinion of recipient countries, transmit spiritual values of Ukrainian society and lobby for Ukrainian interests in international organizations are diverse. Based on the strategic goals and tasks formulated in the Public Diplomacy Strategy of the MFA, we will try to analyze the activities of the Ukrainian diaspora in the field of public diplomacy in the main areas identified in the document.

A notable area is the activity of diaspora Ukrainians in the field of *cultural diplomacy*. For many years, the promotion of Ukrainian culture has been one of the most important activities of Ukrainian communities, which includes the organization of exhibitions, concerts, performances, book presentations, film screenings, art installations, fashion shows; publications in the press and on the Internet, TV and radio programs on the historical context and contemporary Ukrainian art and culture, outstanding artists (including those whose lives and activities are related to the recipient country), artistic achievements, etc. This direction includes the promotion of Ukrainian folklore, traditional (folk) culture and art through the organiza-



Participants of the Anniversary session dedicated to the centenary of the first UPR diplomatic mission in Greece, Athens. 2019

tion and holding of Vyshyvanka Days, participation in interethnic multicultural festivals of various levels and celebrations of traditional Ukrainian holidays. The diaspora is the organizer of film premieres and screenings of Ukrainian cinema, performances by theater and folk groups. Ukrainians from various waves of emigration have established a number of institutions whose activities promote Ukraine in other countries. This activity continues in our time. In 2002, a Ukrainian cultural center was opened in Athens and operates under the auspices of the Ukrainian community of Greece *Ukrainian Land of Storks*. The Athenian Greek Catholic Church of the Holy Trinity joined in the founding of the center, with the Ukrainian Embassy providing organizational assistance. With the beginning of the hybrid aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukraine, Ukrainians living in Bulgaria opened the Ukrainian Information and Cultural Center in Varna in August 2017 with the support of Bulgarian businessman P. Nikolov.

Examples of *museum diplomacy* include contemporary activities of Ukrainian art museums in the United States (the Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art (Chicago), the Ukrainian Museum (New York), the Ukrainian Museum-Archives (Cleveland), etc.), which house important artifacts and exhibitions of contemporary Ukrainian art.

Representatives of the Western diaspora invite and often finance concerts of Ukrainian singers, rock, folk and other bands from Ukraine, as well as performers of classical music. The activity of the Ukrainian Institute of Sweden, whose premises host concerts of leading Ukrainian performers, including of modern Ukrainian classical music, merits special attention. Cul-

tural events take place every month. Examples include a concert of young talented performers as part of the Rethinking Europe Third Music Festival (November 2019), the REX Animation Film Festival (October 2019), participation in the European Day of Languages (September 2019), a lecture by Prof. Volf Moskovych (September 2019), the Nordic Ukrainian Film Festival and others. Being a non-governmental organization, the Institute is a member of the European Union National Institutes for Culture.



Announcements about workshops for making traditional rag dolls, Athens. 2017



Natalia Pasichnyk, Director of the Ukrainian Institute of Sweden

Ukrainian women in Greece have repeatedly organized fashion shows, demonstrating clothing created by Ukrainian fashion designers. The popularization of Ukrainian literature is facilitated by meetings with Ukrainian writers organized by Ukrainians living abroad, monuments to prominent Ukrainian cultural figures erected by the diaspora (sometimes by the combined efforts of the diaspora and the state), the preservation of sites of memory, the maintenance of premises that can become venues for holding events, including in cooperation with Ukrainian diplomats.

Ukrainian civic organizations abroad are actively promoting the Ukrainian language, organizing Days of the Ukrainian language and Shevchenko Days. The Ukrainian Institute of Sweden in cooperation with the National University of Ostroh Academy encourages the Swedish public to participate in a summer school for learning the Ukrainian language. Special attention should be paid to the activities of Ukrainian schools abroad, which, however, often need financial and methodological support from the state, but preserve the Ukrainian language in the diaspora environment and sometimes involve non-Ukrainians in the learning process. Significant methodological assistance in the implemen-

tation of the study of Ukrainian as a foreign language is provided by schools in Canada and other CIUS countries. Recently, such work has become part of activities of the International Institute of Education, Culture and Diaspora Relations. An outstanding achievement of the diaspora in the field of language policy of the host country is the declaration of Ukrainian as the official language of the municipality of Prudentópolis in Parana, Brazil in October 2021. It should be noted that in 2019 Prudentópolis became a sister city of Ternopil. In Romania, thanks to the activities of the new representation of the Ukrainian community, the Chamber of Deputies of the Romanian Parliament on July 4, 2018 passed a bill proclaiming November 9 as Day of the Ukrainian language.

In the field of *economic diplomacy*, the activities of Global Ukraine, consisting of young Ukrainian expatriate intellectuals, are helpful in attracting investment and developing innovations in the field of management, science and technology. Economic diplomacy is manifested in the activities of business structures founded by diaspora representatives, which are expanding their activities in Ukraine. A striking example of this is the Canadian-based Meest Corporation, which also publishes an eponymous newspaper.

At the current stage, scientists of Ukrainian origin employed at universities around the world are involved in *expert diplomacy*. During the 20th – early 21st century and at present, Ukrainian scholars publish works on the history and culture of Ukraine in the languages of host countries. Special attention should be paid to the activities of Ukrainian studies centers at universities of North America (CIUS), the Ukrainian Research Institute at Harvard University (HURI), departments of Ukrainian studies at universities elsewhere in the world, some of which also need the support of Ukraine today, science organizations of the diaspora, namely the Ukrainian Historical Society, Shevchenko Scientific Society, the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences. Scholars of Ukrainian origin are members of national and international professional associations, which also disseminate information



Poster for a charity fashion show in Athens with the works of Oksana Polonets and Maria Antoniak (May 2018), organized by the Club of Ukrainian women in Greece, Borysfen NGO with the support of Melissa Network. Photo from the Facebook page of the Club of Ukrainian Women in Greece

about Ukraine. At the present stage, foreign language monographs, papers in leading international publications authored by researchers of Ukrainian origin (S. Plokhii, O. Motyl, T. Kuzo and others) can influence the formation of expert opinion on current events in Ukraine. Communicating one's position during scientific forums also contributes to influencing the expert community.

Culinary diplomacy is always present in the public diplomacy of the Ukrainian diaspora. Its manifestations include the creation and operation of restaurants of Ukrainian cuisine worldwide, the organization of tastings of Ukrainian cuisine, which are attended by fellow citizens of non-Ukrainian origin, the functioning of shops with Ukrainian food, etc.

In the field of *scientific and educational diplomacy*, the diaspora is involved in organizing student exchanges (examples include exchange programs for students from Ukraine with the University of Rochester, organized and funded by the Ukrainian Federal Credit Union in Rochester, CIUS and HURI grant programs for researchers from Ukraine).

Digital diplomacy is also present in the activities of diaspora organizations. Their representatives create online publications and Internet platforms on which they actively promote Ukraine, thus creating its positive image. A striking example of such work is the Internet portal Ukr-Ayna, which actively acquaints (including in Turkish) the people of Turkey to Ukrainian culture and cuisine, politics and life of Ukrainians in Turkey. At the same time, the Ukrainian-language version of the website talks about the places worth visiting for tourists in Turkey, local holidays, cuisine and life in the country. Other examples are the bilingual information website of the Ukrainian diaspora Stozhary, the portal of the Ukrainian diaspora Brama, the media portal of the Ukrainian diaspora VIDIA, which post information about events in Ukraine and the diaspora community. Journalist of Ukrainian origin V. Zhukivskyy independently developed the bilingual online newspaper *Ukrainian News/Bulgarian News* for many years. There are also groups of Ukrainian communities on social networks (e.g., groups on Facebook UA Diaspora Italia - Ukrainian Diaspora in Italy Page, Ukrainians in Istanbul, Ukrainian Washington, etc.). Some of the information posted on their pages also serves to form a positive image of Ukraine.

Today, *sports diplomacy* in the diaspora is the least researched by scholars. However, Ukrainian sports teams of the diaspora take part in competitions between teams of ethnic groups. Another manifestation is the work of

Ukrainian coaches in other countries (A. Shevchenko – football coach in Italy, O. Matseichuk – coach of the Japanese fencing team, which won medals at the 2020 Olympics in Tokyo, O. Horbachuk – swordsmen coach in Japan, who became champions of the Asian Games in Jakarta 2018, L. Denysenko – equestrian coach working in Japan, etc.). The collaboration of the diaspora with Ukraine in carrying out specific sports projects can also be seen as the manifestation of sports diplomacy. An example thereof was a bicycle race of a group of cyclists from Ukraine to the United States and Canada in 2017, which was made possible thanks to the synergy of efforts of the MFA, athletes and the community and was dedicated to drawing attention to the war in Ukraine.

Besides the areas mentioned in the Public Diplomacy Strategy of the MFA, Ukrainians abroad draw attention to Ukraine, defend the security of the information space, fight against Russian propaganda and fakes and protect the rights of Ukrainians illegally imprisoned by the Russian Federation. An important event called *Korablyky* (Little Boats) was held by the Mother Ukraine Union, when, in support of the Ukrainian sailors detained by the aggressor, the Christmas tree in the center of Sofia was decorated with paper boats. The event was supported by representatives of worldwide Ukrainians in other countries.

The involvement of diaspora representatives in the civil society of the host country, depending on the conditions in each of these countries, allows defending the interests of Ukraine both through direct lobbying and through the organization of outreach and PR campaigns in the media, as well as political events, protests and demonstrations. Lobbying takes place, among other things, through the participation of Ukrainians living abroad in the activities of government agencies and parliaments of host countries. For instance, Ya. Khortiani, a member of the Hungarian Parliament in 2014–18, prepared historical materials about the Holodomor of 1932–33, which the parliament unanimously recognized as a genocide of the Ukrainian people.



Olena Kotseva, Head of the Mother-Ukraine Union of Ukrainian Organizations in Bulgaria, organizer of the *Korablyky* event

Diplomacy of the Ukrainian diaspora is an important component of public diplomacy, whose two models are “government-to-community” and “person-to-person.” Engaging Ukrainians living abroad is an essential element of Ukraine’s foreign policy, which it must use to achieve economic, political and strategic goals. A positive image of the country should be formed through foreign Ukrainians, who play the role of informal “ambassadors.” A mature national identity, patriotism and readiness to serve for the benefit of Ukraine are decisive in the activity of diaspora organizations and should encourage high-quality interaction of the state with the diaspora.

Self-Assessment Questionnaire:

- Explain the meaning of the concept “diaspora diplomacy.”
- Which organization is the coordinating superstructure of world Ukrainians?
- In what aspects does the understanding of the concept “diaspora” differ in the documents of the International Organization for Migration and the Law of Ukraine “On Worldwide Ukrainians”?
- Analyze the particularities of diaspora diplomacy of the Ukrainian community in the world.
- Indicate the main tools of Ukrainians worldwide in the sphere of public diplomacy.

Chapter 2

Areas of Public Diplomacy



Oksana Rozumna



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The Notion of Cultural Diplomacy and Its Features

Cultural Diplomacy by Oksana Rozumna.....	97
Expert Diplomacy by Hennadii Maksak	111
Economic Diplomacy by Natalia Tatarenko.....	123
Culinary Diplomacy by Iryna Matiash and Oleksandr Slipchenko ...	144
Digital Diplomacy by Liubov Korniiichuk and Artem Rybchenko	163
Science Diplomacy by Yevheniia Haber	179
Sports Diplomacy by Iryna Hridina and Mykola Movchan	199

One can in a sense consider cultural diplomacy as a type of public diplomacy if the concept of culture is interpreted as simply as possible. But in the case with cultural diplomacy, such simplifications are not always appropriate. Instead, understanding the peculiarities of the cultural sphere and its multifaceted impact on public life opens up an interesting perspective for research. According to M. Cummings, the term “*cultural diplomacy*” denotes the exchange of ideas, information, works of art and other aspects of culture between states and their peoples to promote mutual understanding. Meanwhile, “*cultural diplomacy*” can be not only a bilateral exchange but also a unilateral act, when a country focuses on promoting its national language, explaining its own policies and views or spreading its own narrative to the rest of the world.¹

The concept of *cultural diplomacy* is used in various contexts: from cultural exchanges between countries or regions of one country to a very narrow interpretation of cultural diplomacy as an instrument of a state’s foreign policy. It is important not to confuse the understanding of cultural diplomacy with just any cultural activity that goes beyond national borders. It should be borne in mind that by “*blurring*” this definition, we risk losing the meaning of the activity it denotes, allowing populist rhetoric and political manipulation to surround it.

¹ Cummings, M. (2009). *Cultural Diplomacy and the United States Government: A Survey. Cultural Diplomacy Research Series*. Washington DC: Americans for the Arts (formerly Center for Arts and Culture), p. 1. [in English].

Cultural diplomacy is primarily about cultural practices that exert directed impact on other countries. To understand the nature of this influence, one should dwell a little on the concept of *culture*. Given its diversity and multiplicity of interpretations, including various social activities, societal values, religious characteristics, educational and scientific institutions, economic and business development, fashion, cuisine, design, urban life, tourism, ecology, etc., “*cultural diplomacy*” can be considered a phenomenon as broad and multifaceted as “*public diplomacy*.”

To understand the nature of the influence of *cultural diplomacy*, a key point is to consider one of the basic features of culture – it is relentless in its development, birth of new ideas and ways of transmitting them, tireless in creating values and justifying new phenomena important to society. Due to these properties, culture is at the center of communication and is in no way limited to one country or nation. Speaking of national culture, we must always point out that there are its origins and intrinsic characteristics, as well as peculiarities related to the influence of other cultures.

This is especially true in today’s world, where borders are becoming more notional, and we are being convinced that every culture contains an international component. It is openness to the “different” and its acceptance through acquaintance and interpretation that determine the development of current culture and make its role in society increasingly visible. Modern cinema, music, literature are, in fact, a dialogue between different social groups, generations, genders, nationalities and representatives of different, sometimes opposing, points of view.

Such features of culture as *dialogicity and communicative openness* explain well why it “*never followed*” state borders and acted as diplomacy long before the emergence of the concepts of *reputation, image, and brand* now used in public diplomacy.

One can find manifestations of cultural diplomacy in various episodes of human history: the spread of the Cyrillic alphabet, the “*wanderings*” of Baroque art, the popularity of French cuisine and the ubiquitous modishness of jazz. It is thanks to the influence of their cultures that the Netherlands, Italy, Portugal, China, India and the United States are immediately recognizable in landscapes, interiors, voices of literary heroes, restaurants and music. Countries with political, economic or military influence in the

world have usually achieved their status not without the help of art and culture in its broadest sense.

Another important quality of cultural diplomacy is that it allows one to look at one’s own culture through the eyes of the “other,” to learn its new facets and possibilities. This optic is very well exposed in projects of modern culture, aimed, again, at conversation with the world as a whole and with individual countries.

The said begs the question: why do certain cultural influences leave their mark on history and make the country and its people attractive to foreigners, while others are sporadic and do not bear fruit? How do cultural projects, names and works form lasting associations with the country of origin and contribute to the desire to learn more about it?

Obviously, talented artists and their work are not the only condition for the success of a culture abroad. First of all, culture should be an authority in one’s own society and should not require advocacy by professional circles before the government and citizens. If culture is one of the priorities of the state policy, it will work quite successfully for this state and its image abroad, thus becoming the foundation of the policy of cultural diplomacy.

Thus, cultural diplomacy implies *a policy aimed at shaping and correcting ideas about a country and its people, employing the potential of the country’s culture, promoting its development by building cultural ties with other countries and peoples. Cultural diplomacy solves the problem of strengthening the country’s national security and improving its image, given the priority of culture in public policy.*

For Ukraine, the issue of developing such a policy was especially acute during the Revolution of Dignity and the occupation of part of the territory by the Russian Federation, when Russian propaganda began to actively distort events in Ukraine. Numerous cultural events around the world were organized in response to the Kremlin’s information aggression. The need to create an institution that would implement the country’s cultural diplomacy became apparent in Kyiv at that time. Thus, in 2017, the Order of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine established the Ukrainian Institute, which has operated since mid-2018.

Institutionalization as a fundamental precondition for the policy of cultural diplomacy

The founding of the Ukrainian Institute was a momentous event in the history of modern Ukraine – a country with an incredibly diverse traditional culture, contemporary art sensitive to current challenges, society open to dialogue and a proactive professional community. At long last, an institution emerged that could conduct Ukraine's dialogue with the world professionally, ensuring the state policy in this area.



A significant part of the development of the policy of cultural diplomacy in Ukraine is the Cultural Diplomacy Forums, which have been held since 2015. The first forums were organized by the Kennan Institute Kyiv Office (director – Kateryna Smahlii) together with Ukraine's MFA. Later, the initiative to hold forums was transferred to the Ukrainian Institute. The international component of the discussion within the platform is important, with the world experts in cultural diplomacy sharing their experience with the Ukrainian expert and political circles.

Referring to the question of whether cultural diplomacy is a form of public diplomacy and how it differs from other types of public diplomacy, let us note that for none of the other components of public diplomacy is the issue of institutionalization so important.

Each country develops and executes a policy of cultural diplomacy in its own way, as each of them has a model of cultural development and foreign policy relations of its own. However, these models work most successfully through institutions, with the British Council, the Goethe Institute and the French Institute being the most famous. Branches of the network of Polish Institutes and Czech Centers are quite successful in Ukraine.

To understand how the institution of cultural diplomacy works, one should highlight the common principles and peculiarities of its functioning.

Such peculiarities include *state support – administrative and financial; affiliation to foreign agencies; research on and popularisation of language as the main component of activity; promotion of European values; compliance with the requirements of the country in which the institution operates; building a productive partnership; support of modern culture and art; network structure.*

Let us take a closer look at these peculiarities. The first condition for the establishment and operation of the institution of cultural diplomacy is the

political will and comprehensive support of the state. The priority of culture, its recognition as a driving force for democratic processes and positive changes in the state and on the international level determines the amount of funding for relevant articles of the state budget. If the state sees the institutions of cultural diplomacy as not only the tools for the realization of its foreign policy interests but recognizes the broader social role of culture, the state support of relevant structures and projects is more extensive. Otherwise, this role of culture has to be reinforced by the general public or the professional community.



The exhibition of works by Johann Georg Pinzel at the Louvre (November 2012 – February 2013) was a project implemented thanks to the synergy of the expert circles and public authorities. The main subjects of this activity were Ukrainian intellectuals and experts (the culturological journal *VI* and its authors initiated the revival of the Pinzel name), the Friends of the Louvre NGO (its representative is the French businessman Jan Doll), Ukrainian museums in the towns of Ivano-Frankivsk, Ternopil, and Lviv regions, the management of the Louvre, the Ministry of Culture of Ukraine, Ukrainian patrons (Serhii Taruta), restorers, director of the Lviv National Gallery Borys Voznytskyi (during preparation process). The exhibition was curated by Guilhem Scherf, chief curator of the sculpture department of the Louvre.

The main source of funding for European cultural institutions is budget expenditures. In addition, they can form their own budget, through conducting language courses and fundraising. For example, the chain of Czech Centers is financed from the state budget, the money is allocated for staffing and property maintenance, as well as specific programs (copyright buyout, exhibition activities). The implementation of other projects involves partners (e.g., for publication of books).

A common feature of the functioning of institutions is affiliation, or subordination to foreign ministries. In other countries, the institution may perform the tasks of the department of culture and science of a diplomatic mission: the Polish Institute is the Department of Culture and Science of the Embassy of the Republic of Poland; the French Institute in Kyiv is part of the Department of Culture and Cooperation of the French Embassy in Ukraine. Meanwhile, such institutions support not only the foreign policy of the represented state but also its culture and economy, representing interests of both governmental organizations and private businesses abroad. For instance, the charter of Czech Centers stipulates that these institutions are called upon to cooperate with state and non-governmental organizations of the Czech Republic

to develop their activities abroad, provided that they are in line with the interests of the state.

Institutions of cultural diplomacy have their own strategy for the dissemination and promotion of the language abroad, where their centers provide services for training: language courses are usually a significant source of funding. Of essential importance is the spread of language as one of the most effective factors of a country's influence abroad. Most cultural institutions commenced their activity from a language component, such as the Goethe Institute in 1951, when its purpose was to teach foreign professors of the German language in Germany. The language element continues to be at the forefront of this institution.

Modern European institutions of cultural diplomacy focus on the promotion of European values. This is an extremely important priority in the work of cultural diplomacy, given its contribution to the development of the common European space and the creation of a favorable climate for the development of cultural ties. Spreading the ideas of equality, openness, tolerance and diversity is a great achievement of modern European institutions. In particular, the British Council has consistently pursued a policy of equal opportunities in all aspects of its work, from the cornerstones of the institution to the content of its projects. The result is the creation of new social values. The big colonial powers, which used to spread their influence primarily through language, are now spreading decolonization narratives and values of the democratic world, including through cultural institutions.

The work of cultural diplomacy institutions meets the demands of countries in which they operate. Understanding the target audience and assessing its needs is one of the conditions for their effective functioning. The most successful projects implemented by European cultural institutions and aimed at the cultural needs of host countries are focused on local cultural practices, values, etc.

Considering that cultural diplomacy institutions are engaged in forging productive partnerships, one of the objectives of their work is to establish long-term relations. First and foremost, it implies going beyond diplomatic events, promoting the development of various areas of culture and art (cinema, theater, visual arts, music, architecture and urbanism, museum business), conducting dialogue on complex topics, finding common experiences and building a common future. Cultural institutions contribute to the establishment of links between institutions and artists of the represented

country and the host country to achieve long-term cooperation. It is these connections that enable the development of culture, whilst also influencing its creativity, social and economic usefulness. It is worth emphasizing the attention paid by institutions of cultural diplomacy to the development of productive partnerships (artistic partnerships, partnerships with institutions, sponsors, the media), which contributes to both strengthening existing ties and establishing new ones. On the one hand, it provides additional opportunities for fundraising and a more successful implementation of projects, and on the other hand, it allows to establish cooperation with specific cultural centres and individual artists. In building partnerships, European cultural institutions emphasize trust and long-term cooperation, which is important and at the same time difficult in the case of countries such as Ukraine, where activities are neither planned nor included in strategies.

Supporting contemporary culture and art is one of the priorities of European cultural institutions, which collectively seek solutions to the most pressing societal challenges. Without their assistance, it would be difficult or even impossible to implement large-scale projects and forums of contemporary art, where collaboration projects are launched. Sometimes, supporting a particular art form is a priority. For example, at one time the Czech Center in Kyiv proclaimed its support for young alternative music as a special area of its activity. The charter of Czech Centers states that their activities are aimed at developing alternative searches and new trends in art. The French Institute in Ukraine and the the British Council are closely engaged in film promotion.

Attention should be paid to the network structure of institutions, allowing them to manage and coordinate the activities of branches, operate based on a joint strategy, set common goals and achieve them with common methods. Identical tools are used in the work of all branches of a certain network, which saves financial and human resources, directs the potential of the centers to the implementation of specific projects and allows achieving high efficiency. Such an organization requires a central office (bureau, headquarters) in the cultural center of the state, not necessarily in the capital (for example, the Goethe Institute is headquartered in Munich).

The Ukrainian Institute, as an institution affiliated to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, created in the first years of its existence an effective program framework, developed a strategy that is being consistently implemented and extends its activity to more and more important partner

countries by fulfilling the mission of “strengthening Ukraine internationally and domestically as a subject using the tools of cultural diplomacy.”²

Cultural diplomacy and the security issue

“... We proposed a new model of cultural diplomacy. We are speaking of it as not just the projection of the sanitised, purely positive image of Ukraine abroad, but as an important factor in national security (including informational). It should be an honest dialogue with the world – not only on the positive, but also on complex topics” (Volodymyr Sheiko)



The Drahomán Prize, founded in 2020 by the Ukrainian Institute, the Ukrainian PEN and the Ukrainian Book Institute, is designed to support and recognize the important and responsible work of translators from the Ukrainian language of the world. The Drahomán Prize is awarded for high translation skills and contribution to the promotion of Ukrainian literature abroad. German translator Claudia Dathe became the first laureate of the award in 2020. She was nominated for translations into German of Serhii Zhadan's poetry collection *Antena* (published by Suhrkamp) and Oleksii Chupa's novel *Tales of My Bomb Shelter* (published by Haymon Verlag). Imadeddin Raef, translator from Ukrainian into Arabic, nominated for the Drahomán Prize by the Embassy of Ukraine in the Republic of Lebanon with the translation of Ahatanhel Krymskyi's *Beirut Stories*, received a special award "for high translation skills and promotion of Ukrainian classical literature".

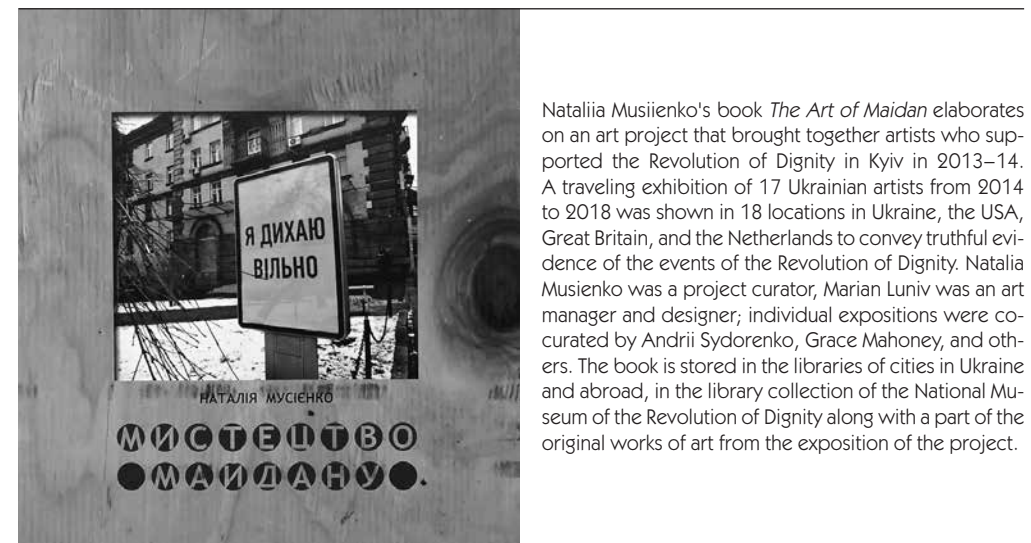
As illustrated in the above examples of the work of European institutions of cultural diplomacy, their activity is aimed primarily at building dialogue and mutual understanding, for which they are ready to give up political ambitions. For Ukraine, a state with young institutions, it is important to focus on this very model, given the danger of political manipulations that put culture at the risk of becoming dependent on political expediency.

The risk of a utilitarian approach to culture, attempts to “harness” the artist’s creative pursuits as a source of unrest and nonconformism in society have always existed in public policy. Representatives of various political or business elites and political regimes have repeatedly tried to adapt art and culture to their own needs, turning it into a service industry. There are sim-

² Website of the Ukrainian Institute <https://ui.org.ua/mission/>

ilar risks with cultural diplomacy: it is seen more as a tool rather than a full-fledged policy, and such a narrow instrumentalist vision leads to the failure of both culture and diplomacy.

The Strategy of the Ukrainian Institute aptly emphasizes that “cultural diplomacy is focused on achieving long-term effects, rather than resolving situational political issues.”³ By investing in the development of their cultures, countries with successful models of cultural diplomacy gain additional benefits in the field of national security. Yet both researchers and the professional community warn about the risks of cultural diplomacy being ab-



Natalia Musienko's book *The Art of Maidan* elaborates on an art project that brought together artists who supported the Revolution of Dignity in Kyiv in 2013–14. A traveling exhibition of 17 Ukrainian artists from 2014 to 2018 was shown in 18 locations in Ukraine, the USA, Great Britain, and the Netherlands to convey truthful evidence of the events of the Revolution of Dignity. Natalia Musienko was a project curator, Marian Luniv was an art manager and designer; individual expositions were co-curated by Andrii Sydorenko, Grace Mahoney, and others. The book is stored in the libraries of cities in Ukraine and abroad, in the library collection of the National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity along with a part of the original works of art from the exposition of the project.

sorbed by propaganda and ideology: “We can hope to witness a more substantial investment in public diplomacy, the public diplomacy that depends more on trust than propaganda.”⁴

The said gives rise to a valid question: how not to harm the policy of cultural diplomacy, not to turn it into an instrument of propaganda to achieve short-term effects? One of the principles for the success of the project of cultural diplomacy policy in the country is the recognition of its resource and competence, investment in the development of cultural institutions and other manifestations of comprehensive trust in culture by the government and society.

³ Strategy of the Ukrainian Institute for 2020-2024 <https://ui.org.ua/strategy2020-2024/>

⁴ Joseph Nye on the Future of Soft Power and Public Diplomacy <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q75uTqz5XS4>

Given that culture, inspiring empathy and trust, works for country's image and reputation on a deeper level than politics, it is clear that a country's reputation and national security are interrelated components of success in the international arena. Moreover, cultural diplomacy, facing the same challenges as diplomacy, works directly or indirectly on security issues in the global sense. After all, positive changes in the world are what modern culture thinks about and has as its mission.

Therefore, cultural diplomacy seeks answers to questions related in some way to security: what a policy should be like for nations to be happier? How to reduce the number of wars and man-made disasters? What is the solution to environmental problems? Is there a chance for a conflict-free future? In Ukraine, the answers to these are sought in a particular context – in a state of hybrid war, when diplomacy must counter the informational influences of the Russian Federation. A good example of such counteract is information campaigns such as the one organized with respect to the Crimea Platform establishment⁵.

From theory to practice: what is behind the curtains?

“A cultural diplomacy official must, above all, have an open mind to manage a partnership well, be sincere in a partnership and open to diversity” (Nicholas J. Cull).

Having understood what is behind the concept of cultural diplomacy and what the types of institutions in this area of public policy are, we can move on to the practical side – its administration. Cultural diplomacy is implemented at various levels, from departments of international communications in state and non-state institutions to civic organizations and private initiatives that systematically work on international projects.

Who are they, actors of cultural diplomacy, who shape better ideas about their country and its people through dialogue with the world? Nicholas J. Cull, Professor of Public Diplomacy and Director of the Master's Program in Public Diplomacy at the University of Southern California, believes that these are individuals open to *“different generations, different regions, religions and philosophies.”*⁶ Together with them work the stakeholders of this policy: managers of international festivals and film and music producers, translators and publishers, businessmen and journalists, representatives of the diaspora and diplomats, scientists and politicians.

⁵ Crimea Platform. <https://crimea-platform.org/>

⁶ Interview with Prof. Nicholas J. Cull <https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=760407330968041>

Whatever the conditions of this policy may be and whatever the projects of cultural diplomacy are, the following ten statements will be relevant for their practical implementation.

1. The policy of cultural diplomacy *depends on the content* by which the country is represented in the world. It is good if such content is *cultural projects aimed at dialogue, discussion and conversation*. Any presentation event today needs substantial and meaningful content: in today's world, it is not enough to present the “business card” of the country in the form of an exhibition, concert or performance. Both the content and the form of presentation of works of art or educational events presuppose not only stimulating the interest of the audience; rather, they motivate it to continue the conversation through, preferably joint, future

Director of the Polish Institute Ewa Figel and Oksana Rozumna talk within the project Laboratory of Cultural Diplomacy during the 6th International Festival Book Arsenal (April 20–24, 2016). The project aimed to articulate the successful cases and problems of international cultural communications while emphasizing the image of Ukraine in the world, the cultural brands of different countries and features of cultural diplomacy, overcoming stereotypes through art, and establishing cultural communications. Within the project, which was implemented with the assistance of the MFA of Ukraine, four important meetings were held with authoritative persons in cultural and diplomatic circles, directors of institutes: Lucia Rzhigorzhikova (Czech Center in Kyiv), Kateryna Smahlil (Kennan Institute Kyiv Office), Anna Pastore (Italian Cultural Institute in Kyiv) and Ewa Figel (Polish Institute in Kyiv).
© Photo: Oleksii Zakletsnyi.



projects. Such projects are those that highlight the common experience of different peoples, whether it be positive or negative. An important topic can be a concurrent search for solutions to similar problems, the presence of similar “pressure” points in different cultures as a reaction to such problems.

2. Those working in the field of cultural diplomacy are often faced with the question: *should we cover topics stigmatized by society or is it better to avoid them?* Every country in its development faces problems that may to some extent damage its image, but their omission, avoidance in the information field, is usually inappropriate. The way out of this situation will not be to “cover” the existing problems with more positive messages, but a proposal to discuss at the international level ways out of difficult situations that may *resonate* with the similar issues in other countries.

3. *The links between parallel institutions and individual artists, which form a system of links between cultures and societies* even those geographically or politically distant from each other, are a very good ground for changing attitudes towards the country. It is extremely difficult to arouse interest in a little-known country through individual actors in the cultural sphere – it takes years, and sometimes decades of joint efforts of its various representatives, from artists to politicians.

4. At the stage of content preparation, the *target audience of the project* should be considered. Addressing ideas to different target audiences, we must understand from the beginning how their attitude to the country will change after the project. A very effective tool for successful project activities is research of the attitudes to the country and the level of knowledge



In 2016, Olha Zhuk headed the Department of Cultural Diplomacy of the MFA, created to officially launch the state policy of cultural diplomacy of Ukraine. Despite the lack of an appropriate budget, the first projects of cultural diplomacy of modern official Ukraine were embodied under her leadership, and the term "cultural diplomacy" was included in the public and media discourse.

@ Photo: <https://platform.ma/>

about its culture. Since 2020, the Ukrainian Institute has been conducting relevant research in France, Germany, Poland, Hungary, Japan, the United States and Turkey, countries identified as priorities in the institution's activities. The research is carried out by means of "*in-depth expert interviews with representatives of foreign institutions in the field of culture, education, science, civil society, as well as local and central government, diplomatic corps, international organizations, Ukrainian professional community abroad and foreign Ukrainians*"⁷. Studying the perception of the country by a certain target audience will help to understand its values and better formulate the objectives of the project and even name it according to the interests of the audience.

5. In general, limited information about the country or the problem covered by the project in foreign audiences often works against its reception. Therefore, an important task of implementing cultural projects abroad is

⁷ *Research on the perception of Ukraine abroad.* <https://ui.org.ua/ukraine-abroad-research/>

generating interest in local media outlets and encouraging news coverage on the eve of the event.

6. When defining the target audience, it should be understood that not all projects are created for the general public. *Some of them, expert in nature, should focus on opinion leaders in other countries.* The importance of professional audiences in the program activities of the Ukrainian Institute was emphasized by its first director V. Sheiko: "*Our task is not to improve the image of Ukraine for 25 million French people but to strengthen the cultural identity of Ukraine in the world. Which is impossible to do without the cooperation of professional elites. Wide audiences, of course, are also ours, but they are secondary, derived from the primary. It is the professional audience that is the mediator between us and the general public.*"⁸

7. We should also not forget about such an important component of the success of cultural projects as *partnership*. The resources for the project depend on the partners (both material and reputational, if we talk about a well-developed partner network). The value of the projects is raised by the involvement of sponsors interested in its successful implementation and contribution to the life of society and culture in general.

8. As a policy, cultural diplomacy aims not only to use cultural resources but also to replenish them. Therefore, one of the areas of its activity is *the creation of professional opportunities for cultural figures and artists: workshops, residencies, etc.*

9. Priorities in the work of cultural diplomacy managers include *responding to the present time and paying attention to its challenges*. Such priorities include the promotion and sale of national cultural and artistic expertise (heritage, architecture, museum studies, cultural events, archives, libraries, etc.), strengthening the presence of national cultural industries in dynamic and emerging markets, the active use of digital platforms, etc.⁹

10. While assessing the effectiveness of cultural diplomacy projects, one should pay attention to the *possibility of their continuation in subsequent projects in various areas*. A project that is considered successful "*opens the doors*" both "*outside*" – encouraging the discussion of important topics through interaction at the level of artists, institutions, countries, and "*inside*" – deep-

⁸ Volodymyr Sheiko: "*Our task is to change cultural subjectivity of Ukraine in the world*". https://lb.ua/culture/2021/08/18/491885_volodimir_sheyko_nashe_zavdannya.html

⁹ Richard Bonfatto. A brief outlook of the French cultural diplomacy. http://www.culturaldiplomacy.org/academy/content/pdf/participant-papers/2012-12-aaccd/A_brief_outlook_of_the_French_cultural_diplomacy_Richard_Bonfatto.pdf

ening the understanding of culture and creating new values. The project may not be successful in the short term, its target audience does not necessarily have to reach a wide range of people; instead, its long-term perspective, which involves working with elites, is important.

11. When implementing cultural diplomacy projects, remember that it is not just about music, cinema, literature, visual arts, choreography, theatre. It's about being able to interpret them for new audiences.

All of the above has a significant caveat, voiced in one of the speeches of Olha Zhuk, who, after assuming the position of head of the newly created cultural diplomacy unit of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine in 2016, clearly outlined the boundaries of cultural diplomacy: *“Not every activity that contains a cultural component and is carried out abroad automatically belong to the sphere of cultural diplomacy. Similarly, cultural diplomacy is not identical to event management, although it is often a part of it. It works at the level of systematic information and communication support, promotion and creation of additional opportunities for the professional cultural environment that creates quality content, as well as at the level of trust in the expert community, which determines the criteria for evaluating this content. Cultural diplomacy works at the level of strategies, building international programs and partnerships, integration into international networks, and not at the level of organizing individual unsystematic events.”*¹⁰

Self-Assessment Questionnaire

- What is the essence of the concept “cultural diplomacy”? How does cultural diplomacy differ from other types of public diplomacy: science, sports, expert diplomacy, etc.?
- Highlight the main characteristics and features of the functioning of cultural diplomacy.
- Why is the establishment and operation of the Ukrainian Institute important for modern Ukrainian cultural diplomacy?
- What institutions of cultural diplomacy do you know that operate in other countries? Why is their activity important?
- What are the goals of cultural diplomacy institutions?
- What steps should the state take to put its cultural diplomacy into practice?

¹⁰ Olha Zhuk. Cultural diplomacy: how to create opportunities for manifestation of “soft power”? Cultural diplomacy policy: strategic priorities for Ukraine. *Collection of scientific and expert materials*. http://old2.niss.gov.ua/content/articles/files/kult_dyp-cd7f1.pdf

Hennadii Maksak

Expert Diplomacy: Orientation and Toolkit in the Coordinates of Ukraine’s Public Diplomacy



Hennadii Maksak –
Executive Director of the Foreign Policy Council “Ukrainian Prism”

1. Formation of the conceptual field of expert diplomacy

Despite the fact that expert diplomacy as an element of public diplomacy is only starting to gain attention in Ukraine, it is safe to say that cooperation between representatives of classic diplomacy and the expert community has a long and fruitful history. In presenting the definition of expert diplomacy, the Public Diplomacy Strategy relies on the groundwork of Ukrainian researchers¹ and proposes considering it as *one of the areas of public diplomacy, stipulating targeted and systematic work with Ukrainian and foreign expert communities, represented by governmental and non-governmental think tanks, through formal and informal channels within the country and abroad in order to achieve the country’s foreign policy goals.*²

To understand the peculiarities of this element of public diplomacy, it is necessary to decompose the definition into components. First of all, expert diplomacy is a purposeful

¹ Maksak, H. (2017). Ekspertna dyplomatiia yak skladova istorii uspikhu zovnishnoi polityky [online]. Available at: http://prismua.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/expert_diplomacy.pdf [in Ukrainian].

² MFA of Ukraine (2021). Stratehiia publichnoi dyplomatii MZS Ukrainy na 2021–2025 roky [online]. Available at: <https://mfa.gov.ua/storage/app/sites/1/%D0%A1%D1%82%D1%80%D0%B0%D1%82%D0%B5%D0%B3%D1%96%D1%97/public-diplomacy-strategy.pdf> [in Ukrainian].

and systematic work of both the MFA of Ukraine and other state institutions involved in the process of developing and implementing Ukraine's foreign policy. Such activities are united by a common integrated vision of achieving the set task, where the tools of expert diplomacy complement or are used in parallel with the tools of classic diplomacy. The decision-maker that defines a certain foreign policy task is an authorized state body, while cooperation with experts is aimed at shaping optimal ways to implement foreign policy.

This is probably the biggest trap in the perception of expert diplomacy, as it is often regarded as including the independent work of think tanks or individual experts who carry out their organizational program activities regardless of the position or goals of public authorities. Such activities, even if coinciding with national goals and foreign policy interests, cannot be defined as a type of expert diplomacy. This will be a manifestation of the effective work of civil society and representatives of the expert and academic community rather than part of the planned implementation of foreign policy.

Another aspect that can be seen as a feature of expert diplomacy is that cooperation with experts can be *formal* and *informal*. In *formalized* cooperation, public authorities can rely on the creation of platforms for communication or intensification of collaboration and, on the other hand, use or join existing initiatives that are periodic or non-recurrent. An *informal* approach is based on building cooperation with representatives of the expert community without recourse to expert platforms. One example of this can be an informal off-the-record meeting of officials with experts to exchange views.

The definition of expert diplomacy also allows us to identify the characteristics of the community with which various forms of cooperation can be forged. In order to implement the set foreign policy tasks, the authorities may operationalize contacts with both state and non-state expert or analytical institutions, civil associations, educational and academic establishments. Joint activities may also cover the capabilities of individual experts who do not have a permanent affiliation.

In the same context, it should be emphasized that cooperation can take place both with representatives of the *domestic expert community* and with *foreign experts* in accordance with the geographical or functional priority of the foreign policy course. The question may arise: what is the peculiarity of expert diplomacy per se and does it make sense to single it out as a separate area of Ukraine's Public Diplomacy Strategy? Here we can unequivocally agree with the developers of the strategy, who argue that this dimension merits separate attention.

On the one hand, working with the expert community strengthens the understanding of the goals and directions of foreign policy, its social legitimacy, which can be directly translated into the improvement of public sentiment in the target country or region. This bears similarity to the general approaches of public diplomacy. Representatives of the expert community abroad can explain Ukraine's position in a more understandable language and with due regard for regional or local peculiarities.

However, a pronounced characteristic of expert diplomacy is the formation of a position on Ukraine or an important issue of international significance by representatives of foreign governments or international organizations. After all, both pro-government and alternative political forces and groups have their own advisory services or experts, who help them formulate their foreign policy agenda. Through establishing communication and cooperation with them, it is possible to indirectly participate in the formulation or implementation of steps taken by foreign or international decision-makers. Such steps of the foreign side may be better informed and mindful of Ukraine's position. In addition, it should be remembered that the explanation of the foreign policy position is important for Ukrainian society, especially in priority areas of Ukraine's activities in the international arena.

A reverse approach is applicable here as well, when in formulating and implementing their foreign policy steps, the Ukrainian authorities engage external expertise and test their steps, taking into consideration the position of Ukrainian and foreign experts.

This is a difficult process that requires the understanding of the peculiarities of cooperation between foreign political forces and government institutions with experts in each country or region. That said, such an expert vector deserves special attention in the development of the state policy in the field of Ukraine's foreign affairs.

2. Expert diplomacy toolkit

The Public Diplomacy Strategy points to three major forms of expert diplomacy. These include *establishing interaction with the expert community*; *conducting expert activities to promote the goals of the foreign policy agenda*; *working with foreign media in order to objectively cover events in Ukraine*. This list is quite general, which allows filling it with specific examples and areas of practical and potential cooperation with the expert community. In recent years,

Ukraine has made significant progress in creating and using various formats of communication with experts, aimed at achieving foreign policy goals.

2.1. Establishing interaction with the expert community

In the framework of establishing mutually beneficial cooperation with experts, the following activities of decision-makers in the field of foreign policy should be highlighted:

- involvement of specialists in international relations in the formation and discussion of strategic documents in the field of foreign policy of Ukraine;
- formation of coalitions with the expert community to achieve priority goals in the field of foreign policy;
- creation, policy orientation and administration of state grant programs for research and advocacy projects thematically related to strategic foreign policy priorities;
- active support of civil and expert councils at relevant authorities, initiation of joint projects;
- introduction of expert dimensions within the framework of joint international regional initiatives in which Ukraine participates.
- ordering analytical and expert products on foreign policy and international security in priority areas;
- establishment of state institutions of analytical and expert orientation in the field of international relations.

Ukraine's foreign policy has seen such landmark events as the adoption for the first time in the history of independent Ukraine of strategic documents that define the priorities and directions of the state policy in the field of foreign relations. In 2021, the Foreign Policy Strategy of Ukraine and the Public Diplomacy Strategy were approved. The Asian Strategy of the MFA of Ukraine is in the final stages. In addition to their importance in determining the priorities and tools for implementing Ukraine's foreign policy, these documents are a vivid example of the use of expert diplomacy. During the work on each of the strategies, strategic sessions were held with a broad participation of representatives of Ukrainian think tanks and expert institutions. Some expert works were directly included in the texts of official documents. The importance of such an inclusive approach is manifested in improving the quality of each foreign policy document by involving external experts. Besides, the social legitimacy of foreign policy is increas-

ing both inside our country and abroad. As co-authors of the conceptual framework of foreign policy, Ukrainian experts are already advocating certain strategic steps of Ukraine on their own initiative. The MFA of Ukraine is also cooperating with non-government think tanks on joint participation in the preparation of medium-term and annual work plans of the ministry.³

The year of 2021 saw a significant foreign policy event – the launching of the Crimea Platform, an international forum for coordinating efforts to deoccupy Crimea. From the very beginning, at the conceptual level, it was proposed to introduce the expert dimension of the platform as a separate independent element for consolidating international support. The creation of the Crimea Platform Expert Network can be considered a successful example of the use of expert diplomacy tools in the form of coalition-building. The initiative group of representatives of Ukrainian civil organizations has prepared a package of documents that define the principles and approaches to the activities of the Expert Network, as well as areas and types of activities. On August 8, 2021, the Inaugural Forum of the Expert Network of the Crimea Platform was held, where coordinators of seven working groups were approved and thematic priorities were presented. The speech of the authorized representative of the network at the meeting of the Inaugural Summit of the Crimea Platform may indicate the important place of the expert dimension in the system of the platform's activities.⁴

The introduction of expert dimensions in the framework of joint international regional initiatives, in which Ukraine participates, is also a very up-and-coming area for the formation of cooperation channels at the expert level. For instance, in 2021, work commenced on the creation of the Lublin Triangle Youth Council⁵ and the Lublin Expert Forum. These civil and expert initiatives can raise the awareness of the target groups about the international activity of the Lublin Triangle (comprising Ukraine, Lithuania, Poland) and the specific content of the activities by involving external experts.

The MFA of Ukraine pays considerable attention to maintaining constructive relations with the Public Council at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

3 Ukrainian Prism (2021). *Stsenarii i trendy 2021: mizhnarodna polityka* [online]. Available at: <http://prismua.org/2021trends/> [in English].

4 Crimea Platform (2021). *Ekspertna merezha* [online]. Available at: <https://crimea-platform.org/ekspertna-merezha> [in English].

5 MFA of Ukraine (2021). *Ukraina, Latvia ta Polshcha zapochatkuvaly Molodizhnyi Liublinskyi trykutnyk* [online]. Available at: <https://mfa.gov.ua/news/ukrayina-litva-ta-polshcha-zapochatkuvali-molodizhnyj-lyublinskij-trikutnik> [in Ukrainian].

of Ukraine. The establishment and operation of public councils as temporary advisory bodies founded to promote public participation in the formation and implementation of state policies is determined by the Decree of the President of Ukraine of July 31, 2004 No. 854/2004 “On providing conditions for greater public participation in the formation and implementation state policy” and the resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine of November 3, 2010 No. 996 (as amended by the resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on April 24, 2019 No. 353) “On ensuring public participation in the formation and implementation of the state policy.”

The negative experience of forming previous councils dominated by non-core organizations prompted the ministry to focus on strengthening the expert capacity of council members during the organization of the formation process. The Public Council has a much smaller staff compared to the period before 2017, but almost all members have a relevant thematic focus in their public activities and take a proactive stance on many foreign policy issues.⁶ However, the Public Council has not become a center of gravity for many prominent non-governmental foreign policy experts. Ac-



Illustration of the Crimea Platform

ordingly, it forces the ministry’s management to independently search for and communicate with leading foreign policy experts. Institutionally, for example, the Public Council was not involved in the preparation of strategic documents in the field of foreign policy.

⁶ MFA of Ukraine (2019). *Hromadska rada pry MZS Ukrainy* [online]. Available at: <https://mfa.gov.ua/gromadskosti/gromadska-rada-pri-mzs-ukrayini> [in Ukrainian].

Untapped potential is observed in establishing systematic work between decision-makers and experts in the *preparation of analytical materials on important issues of foreign policy and international relations*. In 2016, with the support of international donors and within the framework of expert diplomacy development projects, cooperation was initiated to prepare an independent expertise commissioned by government and parliamentary structures. During this time, up to 200 analytical products were prepared for the Verkhovna Rada, the Government Office for Coordination of European and Euro-Atlantic Cooperation, the MFA of Ukraine, the Ukrainian Institute, etc. However, this activity was initiated by the non-government sector and with the resources of partner organizations, which does not allow presenting it as an achievement of the public sector. There is a need to form and assert the practice of cooperation of decision-makers in the field of foreign policy and the expert community on a planned basis with the use of appropriate domestic resources. For instance, grant programs of foreign ministries of Central European countries are effectively directed to the formation of independent expertise on important issues of the foreign policy agenda.



Photo from the signing of the Lublin Triangle agreement by the youth council

The process of *establishing specialized state research institutes* could provide an additional fillip to the development of expert diplomacy. At the MFA of Ukraine, there are no relevant analytical and expert institutions that would provide information support to the activities of the diplomatic service of Ukraine on a regular basis and promote international expert cooperation. The Center for International Studies, founded in 2016 after the reorganization

of Hennadii Udovenko Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine, has not become a fulcrum for the creation of a full-fledged research institution at the MFA of Ukraine, although this research unit was supposed to fulfill the said tasks. The center's research and international activities had a positive impact on the development of expert diplomacy tools, but it existed for only a few years.

Given its focus on scientific and analytical support of the President of Ukraine and the National Security and Defense Council of Ukraine, the Center for Foreign Policy Studies of the National Institute for Strategic Studies also does not fully meet the requirements of expert diplomacy. Despite modernization that took place in 2019, the institute remains a rather conservative agency.

2.2. Carrying out expert meetings to further foreign policy goals

Even greater diversity can be found in joint activities of analytical and expert institutions aimed at achieving certain foreign policy objectives. It is worth mentioning the following main areas of proactive work with the expert community:

- conducting periodic foreign events, organized jointly with these institutions and experts, dedicated to certain topics of Ukraine's domestic or foreign policy (the so-called road show format);
- initiating and supporting bilateral expert or public forums with target countries of priority interest for Ukraine;
- conducting public or closed (off-the-record) meetings of the management of relevant state institutions for Ukrainian and foreign experts;
- involving Ukrainian high-ranking officials in the work of discussion platforms of renowned foreign research centers;
- organizing joint side events during large-scale international expert meetings.

The International Ukraine Reform Conference, which has been held in one of the foreign capitals of partner countries for four years in a row, is a fairly successful example of *expert diplomacy in the road-show format*. Such international discussions took place in the United Kingdom (2017), Denmark (2018), Canada (2019) and, after a year's break, in Lithuania (2021). The event is prepared annually in close cooperation with government agencies, foreign diplomatic missions, expert and advocacy institutions. The purpose of the conference is to provide complete and objective information on the progress of reforms in Ukraine and garner the support of international partners. The high level of representation, both on the part of

Ukraine and partners, testifies to the effectiveness of this international platform for promoting Ukraine's national interests and foreign policy priorities. The success is also evidenced by the desire of other states to host next meetings, as stated, for example, by representatives of Poland and Turkey.

An almost classic dimension of expert diplomacy is the holding of bilateral expert or public forums, which bring together expert circles and diplomats at the bilateral level to discuss topical issues of the common agenda. This format has been used for decades between countries of Western and Central Europe and helps find answers to sensitive and topical issues of building relations. A vital element of this format is the participation of both experts and representatives of governmental and parliamentary structures in meetings as well as the preparation of resolutions and joint statements where the non-government sector focuses on issues of the bilateral or regional dialogue. Meetings are held annually in one of the two participating countries.

At the initiative of the MFA or non-government partners, bilateral forums have been launched in Ukraine with Belarus, Moldova, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Hungary and Czechia. The bilateral dialogue of Ukrainian experts with Slovak partners is the most stable and long-lasting, as proved by the sixth joint meeting that took place in 2021. Against this background, it is unfortunate that the parties failed to ensure the rhythmic work of the Ukrainian-Polish Partnership Forum, launched by the foreign ministries of the two countries in 2011. Divergencies in approaches to the directions of bilateral discussions resulted in a break in the meetings and the withdrawal of some participants from the forum.

Work on the development of bilateral platforms continues despite the limitations caused by the COVID-2019 pandemic. For instance, the Ukrainian-Czech Civil Society Forum was launched in Prague in 2020 to implement the agreements made by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine and the Czech Republic, and in 2021, its second meeting was held in Kyiv.

The format of closed meetings with high-ranking officials, both Ukrainian and foreign, is especially popular among members of the expert community. For the leadership of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or other heads of government and parliament, meetings with Ukrainian experts provide an opportunity to receive feedback regarding public support for certain foreign policy steps. At the same time, experts who are professionally engaged in certain international issues have the opportunity to obtain additional arguments or details that explain the real causes of events which are

consequential for Ukraine's foreign policy. Separately, such off-the-record meetings, during visits by Ukrainian decision-makers abroad, can provide an additional channel of communication with society and alternative channels of influence on the decision-making process in a foreign country.

As an additional item of the program of staying abroad and as an auxiliary channel of expert diplomacy, there can be identified participation in discussion programs and formats of well-known foreign think tanks. Recently, during foreign visits, Ukrainian representatives have often taken part in panel discussions of such famous centers as the Atlantic Council, Chatham House, the Polish Institute of International Relations and others. This also includes plans to participate in panel discussions of such international forums as the Munich Security Conference, the International Economic Forum in Davos, the Warsaw Security Forum and Globsec. In order to increase the impact, it is also possible, in cooperation with the organizers, to offer additional presentation events in the margins of international discussion platforms. These activities can enhance the content or emotional flow aimed at certain target audiences. The public activity of government officials and members of parliaments should correspond to the course of the implementation of Ukraine's foreign policy, which is chosen by the state, and participation in such international events should complement the arsenal of tools for achieving the set goals.

2.3. Work with foreign media for objective coverage of events in Ukraine

Working with foreign media, though being a distinct type of activity that falls under the purview of relevant departments engaged in working with the media, may also be a separate direction in the field of expert diplomacy. In this case, first of all, we are talking about organizing visits of foreign journalists to Ukraine and publishing interviews in international expert and academic publications. Visits of foreign media include careful preparation of a comprehensive program of meetings with representatives of governmental organizations, the parliament, non-governmental think tanks and civil society institutions, etc. For example, during 2018–21, in cooperation with non-governmental organizations and relevant governmental agencies, with the support of international partners, group visits were made to Ukraine by journalists from Belarus, Moldova, Germany, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Hungary, Czechia, Switzerland and other

countries. Each of the visits included a meeting with representatives of the government, the parliament, the non-governmental sector, as well as a visit to the border with the occupied territories of Donbas and Crimea. Besides increasing the information presence in foreign media as a result of the visit, such initiatives also continued in the form of writing books on the situation in the occupied territories and establishing stable contacts with foreign media outlets.



Special attention should be paid to the purposeful work on the organization of publications of program interviews of the president, the prime minister and members of the government in international or foreign expert publications, which are popular and authoritative in the expert community. Proper selection of an analytical publication, taking into account its ideological or expert orientation, can improve the understanding of the processes in Ukraine, whilst also improving the perception and support for certain steps in both foreign and domestic policy. One example is the article by Foreign Minister D. Kuleba in the *Foreign Affairs* magazine (USA),⁷ which was published in August 2021. In this article, the minister explains Ukraine's path to the European and Euro-Atlantic community and its expectations about the position of partners.

7 Kuleba, D. (2021). Ukraine Is Part of the West: NATO and the EU Should Treat It That Way, *Foreign Affairs*, August 2 [online]. Available at: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/ukraine/2021-08-02/ukraine-part-west> [in English].

3. Conclusions and recommendations

As a direction of public diplomacy, expert diplomacy can significantly strengthen the arsenal of tools for implementing the state policy in the field of foreign relations. This implies, however, that the initiative to use one or more elements should belong to public authorities involved in the formation and implementation of foreign policy. This proactivity should be based on the understanding of the active involvement of the expert community in the decision-making process abroad, as well as the social legitimization of foreign policy steps within Ukraine.

In order to take the greatest possible account of the opportunities of expert diplomacy, in achieving the goals and objectives of the state policy in the field of foreign relations, the Ukrainian authorities should conduct a kind of an inventory of existing formats of cooperation with experts and assess their effectiveness in various areas. The available tools and their potential should be constantly taken into account when analyzing the state policy and developing options for achieving the set goals.

Policies (action plans) of the MFA of Ukraine in certain geographical or functional areas should be complemented by tools of expert diplomacy based on the traditions and peculiarities of forging relations in certain regions or at the level of bilateral agendas. The same work should be done at the level of preparing operational documents and annual action plans for the implementation of the Public Diplomacy Strategy of Ukraine. Lastly, the work on foreign policy formation should also certainly be based on the trends in public sentiment abroad towards Ukraine, individual foreign policy steps or the domestic agenda. This will help adjust the correct selection of tools to achieve the set goals, including in the field of expert diplomacy.

Self-Assessment Questionnaire:

- What is the essence of expert diplomacy?
- Can the independent work of think tanks be considered expert diplomacy?
- Describe the tools of expert diplomacy.
- Give an example of using the tools of expert diplomacy in the form of building coalitions.
- What could give an additional impetus to the development of expert diplomacy in Ukraine?

Nataliia Tatarenko

Economic Diplomacy: Current Challenges and Trends



Nataliia Tatarenko –

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Throughout world history, economic interests have largely determined the policies of countries towards other territories, be it conquering new lands, establishing domination over neighboring states, aimed at appropriating foreign riches, increasing national wealth by gaining new markets and raw materials, expanding the use of capital abroad and as a consequence, strengthening the national economic potential and competitiveness. In turn, this contributed to the development of new industries, jobs for citizens and, ultimately, enhanced social welfare. The economic power and stability of the country's development were the keystone to security and the main argument in the political confrontation.

The unprecedented nature of the modern restructuring processes of the global world, which directly influence all forms and levels of diplomacy, is that all planetary processes – political, cultural, informational and social – are tied to its global economic unification. Occurring simultaneously and mutually reinforcing each other, they beget a synergy effect. Therefore, within the context of the realization of economic interests and goals of the economic and political development of countries, public diplomacy is of great importance as a factor forming a positive economic image of the country and, more precisely, as a factor influencing the perception of the economic policy and economic aspirations of countries by other societies.¹ It was thanks to public diplomacy that a

¹ Snow, N., Taylor, P. (eds). (2009). *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*. New York: Routledge. [in English].

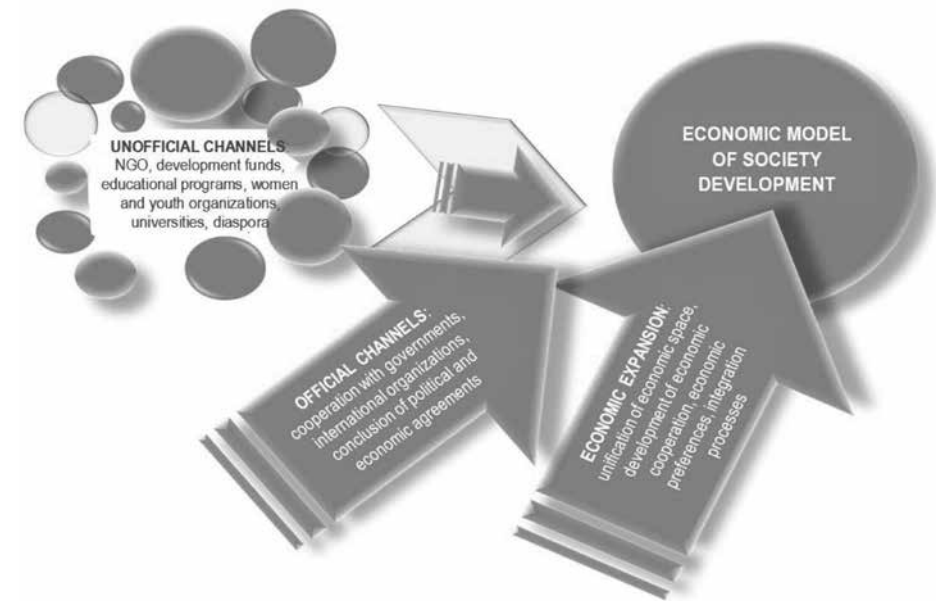
favorable environment for economic expansion was created, trade routes were paved, political and economic agreements were concluded, economic unions were developed and national economies were transformed.

Along with using the enormous potential of new information opportunities, modern public diplomacy applies economic models, which provide it with a transformative impact on other societies. Drawing on the concept of soft influence on other societies through the formation of the attractiveness of their own model of the political and socioeconomic system, it operates a complex set of tools, attitudes and values. In the context of globalization, of all its forms (information wars, religious and cultural expansion, etc.), economic influence has proved to be the most efficient. It is due to the economic successes achieved in the late 20th century that capitalist countries managed to convince socialist countries of the advantages of their socioeconomic system and pave the way for new global transformations.

The changes brought about by globalization have impacted the goals of public diplomacy. Its priorities have altered: it became used not only for political purposes but rather for economic ones, and economic diplomacy is becoming an important component of public diplomacy. Economic diplomacy is premised on the idea of attractiveness, inherent in public diplomacy, whereby its activity makes the opposite side voluntarily and consciously choose a new path of economic development, which it considers more effective.²

The most successful example of such influence is the change in the socioeconomic structure of Soviet society, beginning with the transformation of the nature of its economic base, the public form of ownership. Under the slogan of creating conditions for people's equal access to former state ownership of the means of production and social infrastructure and ensuring equal opportunities for all types of business, free movement of labor and equal access to all goods, a market society was formed in its territory, ensuring the homogeneity of the global economy, facilitating access to national productive resources and capital and eroding the sovereign desire of newly emerging countries to pursue their national economic interests. Economic diplomacy became an official and unofficial instrument, which ensured the influence of public diplomacy on the formation of a new economic quality of states (see picture 1).

² Woolcock, S., Bayne, N. (2011). *The New Economic Diplomacy: Decision-Making and Negotiating in International Economic Relations*. 3rd edition. New York: Routledge. [in English].



Pic. 1. Channels of influence of public diplomacy on economic sphere of societies

A classic figure of economic diplomacy, French economist and diplomat G. de Carrière argued that economic diplomacy is an efficient method of influencing economic relations between states.³ Analyzing the impact of economy and economic diplomacy on politics and relations between states, he stressed that it is strong economic positions that traditionally provide political dominance and the opportunity to dictate one's own terms concerning world affairs to other countries; it is economic leadership that provides a high standard of living, and thus guarantees people's support for the foreign policy and the resulting economic course of their own state.

Modern economic diplomacy and public diplomacy share a common ultimate goal, which is the state's economic well-being. However, some countries use the opportunities of economic diplomacy to put pressure on other countries to solve political problems or as an instrument to "punish" the opponent. For instance, sanctions, widely used in modern international relations, on the one hand, help countries to which they are applied implement the model of "economic nationalism" that directly contradicts the requirements of globalization and international agreements, particularly

³ Carron de la Carriere, G. (2004). *Ekonomicheskaya diplomatiya. Diplomat i rynek* [Economic diplomacy. Diplomat and market]. (O. I. Pichugina, Trans). Moscow: Rossiyskaya politicheskaya entsiklopediya (ROSSPEN). [in Russian].

within the WTO, and, on the other hand, destructively affect the system of diplomatic relations in all spheres and at all levels, the traditional system of economic diplomacy and international politics, whilst also contradicting the principles of public diplomacy, such as convictions and non-violent forms of achieving goals.

The traditional realm of diplomatic activity is interstate political relations. The main task of diplomacy in this area, both national and multilateral, is to ensure peace and international security. Whereas the term “*diplomacy*” means “*official activities of heads of state, government and special foreign relations institutions (bodies) to implement the goals and objectives of foreign policy and advocacy of state interests abroad*” and “*a set of means, techniques and methods of achieving foreign policy goals,*” *economic diplomacy* can be interpreted as an official activity to implement the foreign economic policy of the state and fulfill its economic tasks.⁴ Thus, *official economic diplomacy is an element of the state’s foreign policy, which comprises diplomatic activities focused on protecting economic interests and security at the international level* with respect to, for instance, expanding the resource base and economic markets, increasing exports, attracting foreign investment, preventing (or weakening) economic expansion and providing full participation in the work of international economic organizations, etc. It operates a set of organizational and legal instruments, methods and actions in external economic relations, used only in the context of national interests. This set is multilateral and bilateral by nature and is aimed at creating favorable conditions for international activities of national economic actors.

Public diplomacy in the economic sphere expands the horizons of economic diplomacy. In order to form a positive image of the state and its international economic activities, it uses the opportunities of both formal and informal actors, and utilizes the potential of various spheres of public life. It is characterized by such features of diplomacy as the belief in the expediency of a certain form of international economic relations and the impact on the perception of their own state by other states.

In the face of globalization, when the economic problems of countries have changed and acquired special significance, so have the tasks of (new) public and economic diplomacy. The traditional discussion on the rela-

⁴ Wayne, T. (2019). *What is economic diplomacy and how does it work?* [online]. Available at: <https://afsa.org/what-economic-diplomacy-and-how-does-it-work>. [in English].

tionship between public, political and economic instruments, their quality and quantity has been supplemented by considerations on new forms of interaction among states in general and between business and the state in particular. Consequently, the approaches to building economic diplomacy have changed, not only is official dimension, but also with regard to the restrictions that governed it, since new economic diplomacy does not refute any channels and methods of promoting national economic interests. Economic diplomacy has come to mean the achievement of economic goals by all means, including public diplomacy (formal and informal), regardless of whether it uses economic levers to achieve the desired result or a different toolkit of diplomatic influence.

The efficient international economic cooperation and competitiveness of the national economy in the modern global economic environment, the resolution of key problems in the economic and social progress of the country determine the forms and methods of diplomatic efforts in all possible directions. In these terms, public diplomacy is also a guide and a channel of the state’s foreign economic policy, while economic opportunities and actors of international economic activity are its instruments and mechanisms (see picture 2).

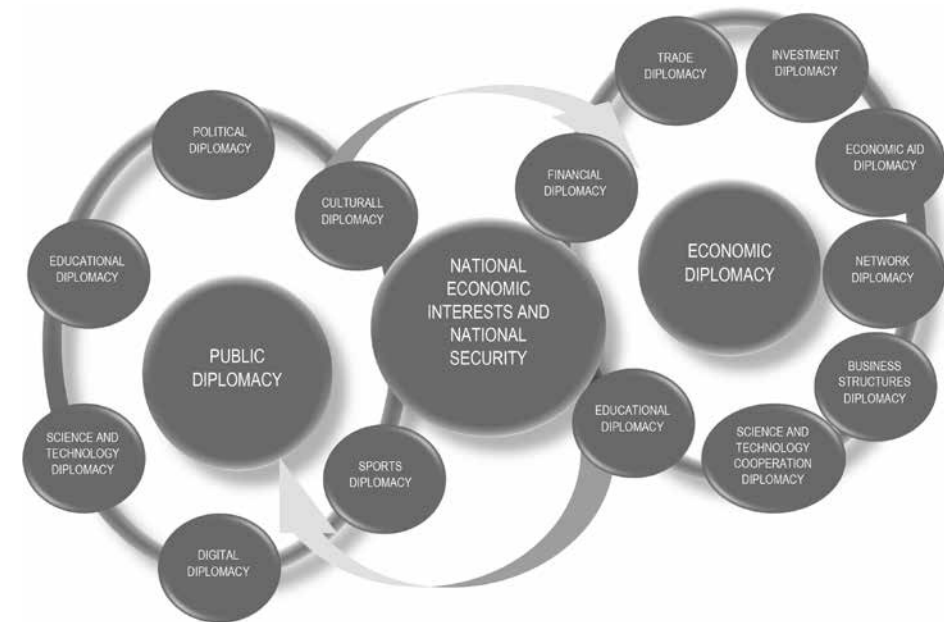


Fig. 2. Public and economic diplomacy synergy targeted the increase of economic well-being and security of society



Pic. 3. Subjectivity and multiplicity of spheres and levels of economic diplomacy

Economic diplomacy has gone far beyond official trade and commercial boundaries. There have emerged entire areas of international economic relations (see picture 3), which require diplomatic intervention, protection and security, ranging from monetary and financial measures to the so-called economic assistance; from scientific and innovation cooperation and joint economic projects to the transnationalization of economies; from the formation of network structures to multilateral diplomacy and the law of treaties, etc. The present stage of its transformation features the merger and intertwining of objects, interaction (competition and synergy) of actors and diversification of spheres and levels of diplomatic activity. Its purpose, however, remains unchanged: the ultimate indicators of the efficiency of diplomatic activities in the economic context are the country's positioning in the global economic environment, namely high

ratings of investment attractiveness and investment inflows; the level of stability of international economic cooperation and participation in the international division of labor; stable monetary and financial positions; intensity of trade and increase in exports (i.e., the scaling up of presence in foreign markets), etc.

The goals of economic diplomacy are to serve the needs of the national economy: it should serve as an effective conduit of foreign economic policy, which, in turn, is an expression of national economic interests; influence the adoption and implementation by the state of management decisions on the forms and mechanisms of international economic cooperation; promote the development of international cooperation in the global economic

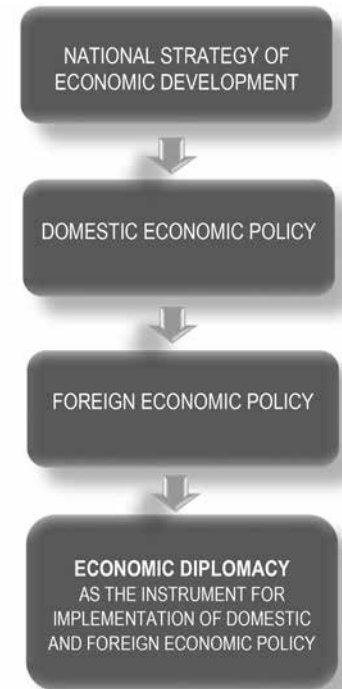
market environment; and ensure equitable terms of the country's international presence in world markets.

However, given that the goals of foreign economic policy are not limited to solving local economic problems, it can be argued that the *ultimate goal of economic diplomacy is to develop the state and harmonize the world political and economic environment.*

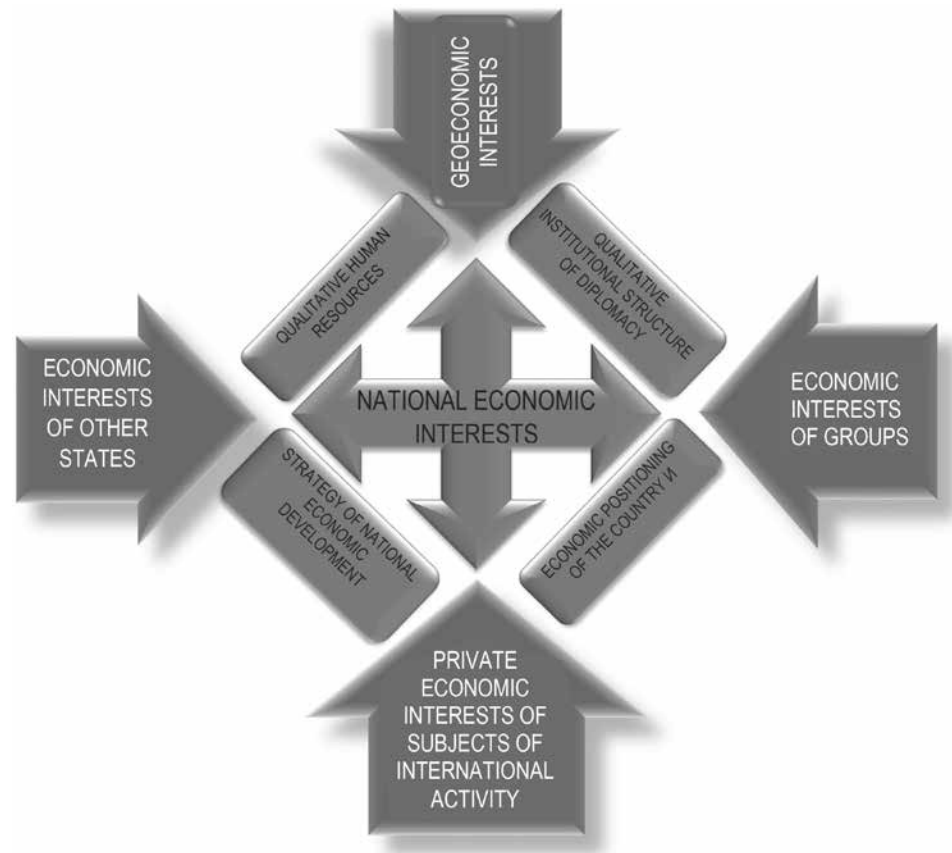
Regarding the development of the state, which aims to improve the welfare and economic security of society, in the context of economic diplomacy, the universal principles on which diplomatic activity is based and those that determine its national objectives are rooted in the country's Economic Development Strategy (see picture 4). A precise and clear strategy is the conceptual basis and the core of domestic and foreign economic policy stemming from it.

Globalization and global economic shifts in the 21st century have significantly changed the principles of national economic development strategies. Today they are mono-determined and universal for all countries and are based on the principles of the liberalization of national economies, negating the state's influence on economic processes within its territory and on the foreign economic activity of national actors. This means that social efficiency in the country must give way to the economic one; national economic interests should be subordinated to the private interests of economic entities; official economic diplomacy, as an expression of the power of the state and its plenipotentiary, must gradually narrow the horizons of its activities, subordinating itself to private interests, serving them and becoming their conduit; ultimately, states should rid themselves of their agency, first economic and then, in due time, political.

In the meantime, international practice indicates that economically and politically powerful states, whose development seems to be closely linked to the liberal concept, do not follow this path. In their foreign economic activity, they do not detach themselves from the main requirement – the realization of national economic interests, whose protection in the external environment is entrusted to a powerful diplomatic corps. Among the fac-



Pic.4. The origins of foreign economic policy and economic diplomacy



Pic. 5. The environment and performance conditions for national economic diplomacy

tors contributing to the success of diplomacy in these sovereign countries there are the high quality of foreign economic policy based on a strategy reflecting national economic interests; the high level of the professional training of diplomats, who have exceptional professional qualities and comply with the requirements of diplomatic law and the rules of international relations; the high-quality institutional structure of public diplomacy; a strong economic basis, which is reflected in the international economic position of the country and makes its policy convincing (see picture 5).

With the growing interdependence of countries caused by the deepening of the international division of labor, the progress of scientific technology, the convergence and merging of national economies, the transnationalization of economic activity and regionalization, the conditions of coexistence have radically changed. This is evidenced by heightened vulnerability to external factors, including destructive processes in other

countries such as global economic, financial and energy crises, the manipulation and malpractices of major economic actors in world economy. Thus, the OPEC's policy on oil production and exports has led to a sharp plunge in prices and has affected countries where production costs are higher or exports are lower. The situation with gas market prices in Europe is the result of the efforts of the EU's collective approach to economic diplomacy (*the Third Energy Package*) and has posed new threats to national and international security, which cannot be controlled or reduced by one state or group of states. Therefore, national interests are gaining priority in international politics, which confirms the proposition about the benefits of economic sovereignty and the need to strengthen the role of national economic diplomacy.⁵

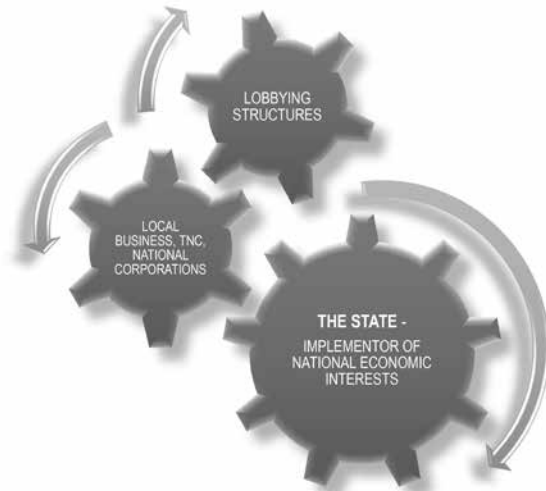
The economic factor is increasingly influencing the foreign policy of countries and the development of international relations at the global and regional levels. Within the context of globalization, which requires the formation of a single market space and its unification on a liberal basis, the foreign economic policy of states, and hence the tasks of economic diplomacy, are changing. As for requirements for formal and informal economic diplomacy, these are the realization of national economic interests, which is achieved through political, cultural, social, religious, codified and uncoded, verbal and non-verbal, occasionally undignified and inhumane methods and techniques.

Formerly, the abandonment of the military path to economic and thus political domination was ensured by joint political efforts and the development of international economic cooperation, which contributed to the emergence of new methods, toolkit, institutions and organizations and allowed multilateral economic agreements to achieve vibrant development and leveling effect. It was a kind of a "soft power" that was not limited to the belief in expediency but also included a number of other means of multilateral economic diplomacy used by many actors sharing common commitments.

Following the collapse of the bipolar world, economic competition in the global dimension has intensified; restricting the field of diplomatic cooperation among international economic actors with the official framework only has become impossible and impractical, as economic diplo-

⁵ Van Bergeijk, P.A.G., Moons, S. (2009). *Economic Diplomacy and Economic Security*. Netherlands: Erasmus University Rotterdam, pp. 1–18. [in English].

macy performed in such a way is inflexible and insufficiently diversified. Strengthening the public nature of economic diplomacy has become an urgent need due to its rapidly expanding agency through the inclusion of new players; the objects of its influence have multiplied by expanding the scope of its operation. In this regard, the strengthening of the role of public diplomacy has also become objectively determined.



Pic. 6. The subjects of economic diplomacy

The central issue of modern economic diplomacy is to harmonize and coordinate private, national and supranational economic interests in the external economic environment. Under market conditions, an important principle of economic diplomacy is the coordinated interaction of state and non-state structures in order to ensure the sustainable and progressive development of the country and guarantee its economic security in the context of globalization (see picture 6). In international activities, however, the development of princi-

ples and norms of economic diplomacy does not affect the principles of foreign economic policy. Put otherwise, it is based on the proposition that foreign policy itself cannot acquire a market character and always stands sentinel over state interests. The central task of official economic diplomacy is to ensure its efficient interaction with businesses, which is to subordinate private economic interests to the national ones. Therefore, solving a number of two-level tasks falls within the competence of modern economic diplomacy services.

Priorities include the protection of national interests and safeguarding national security in such a way as to guarantee the solution of national problems and not allow market interests and priorities to impose their will on society. In order to solve the social problems impeding the country's development, economic diplomacy should be aimed at providing conditions for the introduction of advanced socioeconomic standards, whose efficiency has been proved by the world economic practice and which cannot be achieved solely by means of natural market forces. It should focus on

socioeconomic and human development issues, the formation of the intellectual component of national wealth, which is closely entwined with the development of science, culture, education, sports, health, etc. The international potential of commercial structures and their business interests can and should be used to achieve this goal.

Finding and promoting the most favorable conditions for the participation of the national economy in the world economy is also a key national-level task facing modern economic diplomacy. The participation of private business in these processes should be considered by economic diplomacy as one of the mechanisms for forming the international potential of the national economy, while also being a channel of influence on the external economic environment.

The task of economic diplomacy on the national level is to participate in solving global economic problems that negatively affect the world and national economies. The private interests of international actors should be subordinated to their resolution, which is usually ensured by the use of methods of encouragement, compromise and, sometimes, diplomatic coercion.

Apart from the tasks of national importance, economic diplomacy has a number of second-level requirements related to the realization of private interests, namely the formation of a system of the protection and promotion of businesses abroad, mainly by providing access to existing and potential resources and markets, since state economic policy is also aimed at increasing them to meet the needs of society. Therefore, the modern world model of economic diplomacy provides for close cooperation of official diplomacy, particularly the country's diplomatic missions, with business, by taking into account the positions of national businesses in developing the principles of foreign economic policy; providing support to domestic business structures abroad and protecting their interests; ensuring equal and non-discriminatory conditions of international trade for national businesses; providing professional business assistance, including advice and analytical information on the political and business environment of the host country; facilitating contacts with key foreign public and private decision-making centers; providing qualified support for participation in international tenders; assisting in the settlement of investment and business disputes and, in case of expropriation, in obtaining prompt and full compensation, etc.

Therefore, the tasks of economic diplomacy are not limited to achieving certain local and specific economic goals, such as increasing the country's international competitiveness, promoting the growth of export potential and narrowing imports, opening new markets, attracting investments and new technologies, building a business network and joining global financial networks. It is a mouthpiece of national and commercial interests, a combination of economic practice and traditional diplomacy; its ultimate goal, however, is the formation of a powerful economy in the country capable of providing a high level of welfare and social standards, as well as the economic positioning of the country in the international arena, which is the most effective argument in international politics and a guarantee of national security. Its main function is to be a means of implementing the state's foreign economic policy at the interstate, interagency, interinstitutional and private levels. The main condition to be adhered to is the priority of national economic and political interests over private ones, i.e., the subordination of private economic interests to national tasks and goals.

Economic diplomacy applies the category of effective reciprocity, based on the protection of national economic interests that are often contrary to the interests of partner countries. Thus, the utilization of the mechanisms of economic diplomacy involves not only seeking to create favorable conditions for cooperation in the world market but also countering the attempts of other countries to put these mechanisms at the service of their interests without considering the interests of partners. At the same time, coordinated work of diplomatic, political and economic departments, experts and other interested parties is expected to strike a balance between the economic and political components of economic diplomacy and achieve the highest efficiency in the development of interstate relations. The effectiveness of economic diplomacy, similar to diplomacy in general, largely depends on an active position in negotiations (except when a different position is dictated by specific circumstances) and on the completeness and quality of the methods used in preparation for negotiations (lobbying, exchange of views, consultations and discussions including informal ones, visits, meetings, etc. using public diplomacy toolkit). In this sense, the established diplomatic contacts are of great importance. One of the most significant features of economic diplomacy is the development of contacts with business entities, including the involvement of private actors of international economic activ-

ity in these processes, whose opinion about the country is formed owing to public diplomacy.

There are three main functions assigned to diplomats in the negotiation process: the generalization of initiatives in the formulation and discussion of issues relevant to the country, the organization of negotiations with established contacts and the use of tools of the art of negotiation; for business entities – working with their contacts and interests. In so doing, diplomats must be competent in the internal economic development strategy of their country and the foundations of its foreign economic policy, which is a mouthpiece of national economic interests.

The non-economic means used by economic diplomacy to support national producers and promote their interests include agreements on the protection and promotion of investments, avoidance of double taxation, expanding the scope of financial services, etc. Meanwhile, strict protective mechanisms associated with the policy of protectionism together with sanctions can be used as an effective tool for influencing the formation of national competitiveness. The synergy of official diplomacy and business diplomacy has proven to be productive. Therefore, in the context of globalization, the involvement of domestic and foreign businesses in cooperation, the utilization of private foreign investment, private technology exchange and the development of tourism have gained new salience. Legislators and the state, in partnership with representatives of national and foreign businesses, are working together to solve global problems including technological development and environmental protection; they are deepening cooperation in the traditional areas of international trade and finance, thus highlighting the growing role and influence of agents of international economic activity on economic interests and innovative processes in diplomatic practice. At the same time, the goals of economic diplomacy are implemented in close contact with political, civic and other segments of diplomatic work.

The economic diplomacy of advanced economies is based on an extensive network of institutions and mechanisms for the implementation of national interests in the world economy, a plethora of complementary tools for achieving goals, well-established coordination and a broad public consensus on the tasks and priorities of foreign economic policy, significant financial, human, information and other resources provided by the state.

At the top of the institutional pyramid that ensures the solution of economic diplomacy problems are national foreign affairs agencies and ministries responsible for the execution of state foreign economic policy, based on an extensive network of foreign missions.

The diplomatic service of Ukraine works drawing on this model. The MFA of Ukraine forms its own strategy for implementing the strategy of foreign economic activities guided by the requirements of the *National Economic Strategy 2030*⁶ and the *Economic Security Strategy of Ukraine 2025*,⁷ which provide a realistic assessment of the state of economic security and identify threats to the main components of foreign economic security, including financial, industrial, investment, innovative and macroeconomic.

In this context, the goal-setting of diplomacy is changing and is now aimed at contributing to the resolution of national economic tasks, which include increasing the competitiveness of the national economy, raising its potential and efficiency and integrating it into the world economic system on the basis of equality. Exceptional importance is attached to the economic component of the work of foreign diplomatic institutions, among the priorities of which are the protection of national economic interests, the formation of the country's investment attractiveness, countering discrimination in foreign markets. At the same time, the tools of economic diplomacy are practically used by businesses that contribute to the implementation of foreign policy and foreign economic tasks aimed at developing the national economy, protecting the national economic interests of the country and ensuring economic security not only by official diplomatic methods developed by state institutions and non-governmental organizations but also due to the development of large private enterprises, small companies and firms already operating within the world market.

Taking into account new trends in the development of world diplomatic practice, the MFA of Ukraine has made significant institutional adjustments to its activities, turning orientation towards the promotion of national economic interests and cooperation with business into important components of its work. In particular, a system and well-tested mechanisms for interaction

6 Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine (2021). *Postanova № 179 vid 3 bereznia 2021 r., iz zminamy, vnesenymy Postanovoiu № 202 Kabinetu Ministriv Ukrainy vid 10 bereznia 2021 r. "Natsionalna ekonomichna stratehiia na period do 2030 roku"* [in Ukrainian].

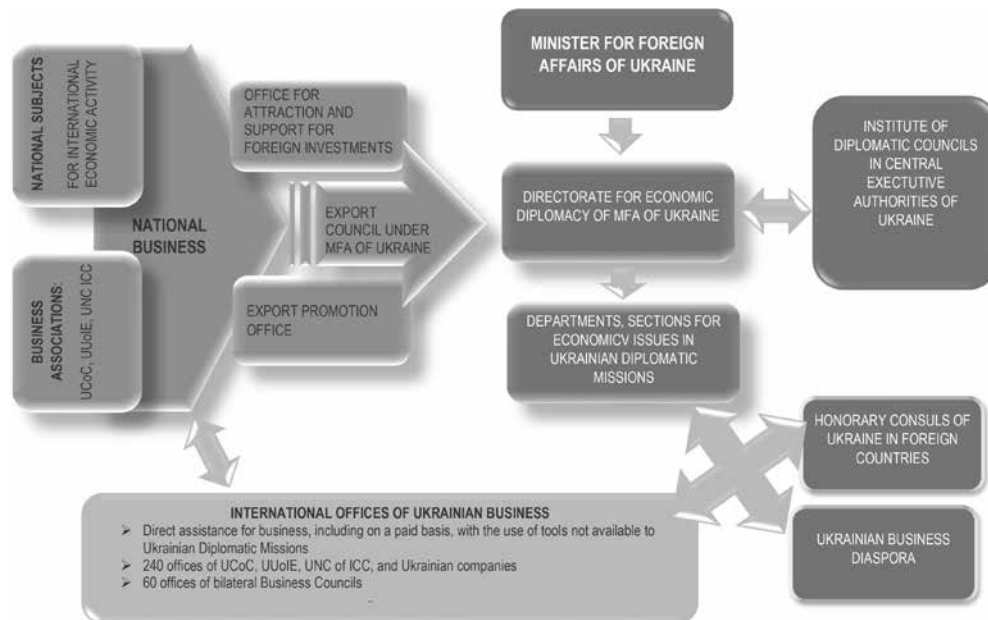
7 Office of the President of Ukraine (2021). *Pro rishennia Rady natsionalnoi bezpeky i oborony Ukrainy vid 11 serpnia 202q roku "Pro Stratehiu ekonomichnoi bezpeky Ukrainy na period do 2025 roku": Ukaz Prezydenta Ukrainy no. 347/2021* [in Ukrainian].

of international economic actors and the MFA of Ukraine have been developed, which envisages the influence of business on the formation of foreign economic priorities through competent structures, such as institutions for lobbying the interests of investors, exporters, importers and various associations professionally dealing with the problems of national business abroad. The coordination of cooperation between the MFA and diplomatic advisers of the central executive authorities has been strengthened. The newly established Directorate for Economic Diplomacy has increased its influence on the work of economic departments of foreign diplomatic institutions and, through them, on cooperation with business representatives abroad, business diaspora and honorary consuls (see picture 7).

All of this testifies that economic diplomacy is acquiring the features of public diplomacy, increasingly relying on demonstrating the unity of interests and efforts of all agents (not only economic) of international relations by attracting an expanding number of actors into its circle and using the techniques, forms and methods inherent in public diplomacy, as well as considering the areas it deals with as objects for the implementation of national economic tasks.

The increased activity of non-state business actors, largely owing to modern scientific and technological achievements, objectively leads to greater transnationalization and opens up new opportunities for external influence. With economic boundaries becoming blurred and permeable, transnational corporations and stronger foreign businesses dictate their terms to national policy, subordinating national businesses to their interests or even completely sidelining it. This influence can distort the structure of the national economy, which ceases to be self-sufficient and perform its main function to be the backbone of sovereignty. As a result, countries are increasingly faced with the problem of national economic security; the issue of economic and political sovereignty is becoming more and more acute and narrows the possibilities for realizing the national economic development strategy in the context of the neoliberal doctrine of the development of the global economic area and in connection with the strengthening of external influence through the channels of private businesses on the societies of other countries.

It is obvious that the authorities in a society that is subject to such influence must resist this pressure, directing foreign businesses in the necessary route set by the national economic development strategy. In



Pic. 7. The cooperation between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine and private business in international economic sphere

response, the authorities face various forms of influence, ranging from propaganda (direct, sometimes harsh and manipulative), pressure and blackmail to the use of soft power, when not only the attractiveness of the proposed actions, images and values come to the fore but also of hidden methods of counteraction.

An example of such confrontation is the conflict that arose around the provisions of the Ukraine-EU Association Agreement,⁸ clearly focused on promoting European businesses in Ukraine and entering into its markets, which until then were almost completely controlled by Russian economic actors. The protective economic security policy of the government was based on the concept of forming a single economic space with the European Union and considered the role and effectiveness of economic diplomacy in the context of its compliance with the perfect image of a solidarity economy of the community. To this end, it was assigned with an extrinsic function – to build and promote the idea of common values, ideology, culture, a system of network institutions, norms and rules, non-hierarchical relations

8 Government Portal (2014). *Uгода pro asotsiatsiiu mizh Ukrainoiu ta Yevropeiskym Soiuzom* [online]. Available at: <https://www.kmu.gov.ua/diyalnist/yevropejska-integraciya/ugoda-pro-asociacyu> [in Ukrainian].

between actors (removal of the state from public administration), uncertainty of interests.⁹ Thus, economic diplomacy was deprived of the opportunity to perform its direct function, which is to protect national interests, the national economy and national businesses in the negotiation process and promote their expansion to foreign markets.

The failure of Ukrainian economic diplomacy to prevent the narrowing – and sometimes complete loss – of resource and sales markets as a result of an ill-conceived state policy does not relieve it of the blame for the curtailing of the international field of activity for the national economy and business; the focus of the government and economic diplomacy on the European direction has led to the fact that the promising markets of the Middle East, Africa and others have faded from view. In addition, economic diplomacy has failed to fulfill a number of functions: the first is the analytical function, because it has not considered possible losses resulting from such mono-orientation; blinded by euphoria, it has not noticed the undercurrents and threats to national economic security in the Association Agreement; the second is the intelligence function, because it has not discovered the true objectives hidden under the draft Agreement; the third is the advisory function, i.e., the function of influencing the formation of foreign economic policy. Following the tasks of foreign economic policy to form a single economic space with the EU, economic diplomacy could fulfill the tasks of ensuring economic security, using the tools developed by countries and guided by the principle of “*the development of cooperation in all directions and in all spheres of public life for the development of the national economy and improving the welfare of the country.*”¹⁰

To participate in the implementation of the tasks of European integration and the expansion of economic presence in the global economic environment, economic diplomacy does not need fundamentally new approaches to organizing interaction with different-levelled agents of international economic activity, since, called to life by fundamental global transformations, the approaches are already at its disposal. It is official economic diplomacy that has great opportunities for combining and using the official and unofficial channels of influence in an integrated manner, since the official channels of economic diplomacy are often perceived as unreliable, as

9 Risse, Th. (2013). “Transnational Actors and World Politics,” in Carsnaes, W. et al (ed.) *Handbook of International Relations*. London: Sage Publishing Ltd, pp. 255–274. [in English].

10 Woolcock, S., Bayne N. (2011). *The New Economic Diplomacy: Decision-Making and Negotiating in International Economic Relations*. 3rd edition. New-York: Routledge, pp. 187–189. [in English].

restricting the freedom of business, whereas the unofficial ones are less subject to regulation and coordination.

Taking as an example the methods of influence of business structures from other countries on the national economy through both state and non-state channels, Ukrainian economic diplomacy applies them and faces the problem of close interaction between the official authorities (official diplomacy) with business and public structures in other countries and their general opposition to economic intervention attempts, which gives grounds for the conclusion about a clear hierarchy of national economic interests of society and business.

Attempts by official diplomacy to establish channels of communication with economic agents in another country – as a rule, opposed to their own government – do not yield the desired results, since they are regarded as an encroachment on national economic security. Meanwhile, non-state actors can be used as channels of both public and economic diplomacy, without the risk of being accused of interference in internal affairs, since here private economic interests come into play.

The growth of the public activity of national businesses can and must contribute to the promotion of the country's economic interests in the context of the requirement for openness, accessibility and mobility; armed with modern information and communication technologies better than the state, national business becomes the major force and carrier of national economic interests, which allows it to easily interact with business circles and the public of other states. At the same time, when interacting with non-state actors of different degrees of proximity to it, the state can make a more subtle use of the official means of economic diplomacy.

To form the positive image of a state grounded on a national economic development strategy, modern economic diplomacy should make greater use of non-governmental lobbying organizations and business entities (as a rule, these are big businesses with a strong and well-established positive image).¹¹ Thanks to such cooperation, for example, mutual claims regarding gas cooperation between Ukraine and Russia have been settled. In compliance with the ruling of the Stockholm Arbitration, Gazprom has transferred \$2.56 billion in compensation with interest to the accounts of Naftogaz of Ukraine. This has also laid the basis for the political support for Ukraine in the use of its transit potential.

11 Gilboa, E. (2001). Diplomacy in the Media Age: Three Models of Uses and Effects. *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, vol. 2, no. 6, pp. 1–28. [in English].

Unlike the state, national business is virtually outside the conflict-prone political sphere, and even if it is involved in conflict-related issues, it is outside the sphere of official economic diplomacy. In this situation, various participants, including NGOs and business structures, usually influence the situation in a complex way, particularly by using the tools of economic and public diplomacy, the capabilities of states and international organizations, as well as structures that can provide funding for activities, and facilitate, for example, the implementation of joint business projects by representatives of the conflicting parties. An example of this was the common projects implemented at one time in the Middle East, which brought together both Palestinians and Israelis. Another example is the joint preparation of infrastructure for an international event, the 2012 UEFA European Football Championship, by Ukraine and Poland, whose national economic interests are at odds with each other.

An important direction on which economic diplomacy should focus on based on the capacity of public diplomacy is the organization of exchanges in the field of education, especially economic, which incentivizes and creates the basis for the formation of a single economic space. Not only can educational programs perform long-term functions of forming certain values and attitudes or create a complementary economic elite adequate to global challenges, but also have a short-term demonstration effect, symbolizing the assistance of the state that develops such programs. This approach is not a unique element of public diplomacy and often stimulates changes at the political and economic level through changes in individual perceptions and attitudes.¹² National economic diplomacy (both official and unofficial) in this area should be supported by the state policy for the development of sectors of professional education. For example, the training of diplomatic personnel for other countries automatically means the formation of a loyal diplomatic corps abroad. The same also applies to other areas of training of specialists who turn into unofficial diplomatic agents of the country in the relevant field.

The development of foreign economic relations and the conclusion of multilateral agreements have led to an increase in the quantity of international economic organizations, proliferation of their membership, a

12 Kelman, H., Cohen, S. (1979). "Reduction of International Conflict: An Interaction Approach," in Austin, W. G., Worchel, S. (eds). *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*. Monterey: Brooks-Cole Publ., pp. 288–303. [in English].

higher level of representation in them and an expansion of their mandate beyond the traditionally discussed issues. Besides, negotiations between official representatives on economic issues have recently been conducted not only within the framework of legally formalized regional and multi-lateral organizations but also at informal forums (the Davos Forum, G7 summits) and meetings of members of the Washington Consensus, the Paris and Rome Clubs, the London Club, high-level advisory groups, etc., which is a direct embodiment of public diplomacy. The economic diplomacy's usage of negotiations in informal organizations has a number of significant advantages; in particular, participants of such negotiations, as a rule, represent countries that occupy key positions and can have a significant impact on the world economy. The agenda of such meetings sometimes also includes issues that are not within the competence of official organizations or cannot be settled by them. In addition, the involvement of highly professional experts allows making well-informed



decisions; it should also be noted that compliance with informal agreements is a *sine qua non* and, as international experience shows, is sometimes more effective than the observance of official agreements.

Thus, economic diplomacy makes it possible to balance the results of world economic development for national economies, groups of states and entire regions, without leading to a crisis in the activities of interstate institutions and regional associations and the escalation of trade and economic conflicts. Taken together, official and unofficial, bilateral and multi-

lateral economic diplomacy, relying on the potential of public diplomacy, creates an effective mechanism for managing global processes both in the interests of particular countries and the world community. It is important to put foreign policy and foreign economic activity at the service of the comprehensive development and modernization of the country, using all economic and non-economic resources, to bring diplomacy closer to the country's daily needs, attracting agents of international economic activity of all levels to cooperation, expanding the scope and network of objects of influence in reliance on the latest achievements in the field of international communication.

Self-Assessment Questionnaire:

- What is the idea behind economic diplomacy?
- How has globalization influenced the tasks of economic diplomacy?
- What tools ensure the success of economic diplomacy?
- What is the role of economic sanctions in international relations?
- Describe the role of economic diplomacy in Ukraine's foreign policy.



Iryna Matiash, Oleksandr Slipchenko

Culinary Diplomacy

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In the professional and public field, the term “*culinary diplomacy*” (gastrodiplomacy, dinner table diplomacy, food diplomacy) emerged in the 21st century and quickly developed both in the sense of content and in the sense of scientific formalization. Its essence as a tool of state branding and formation of a positive image of the country is widely discussed in different countries. Many states have adopted special programs based on the use of national cuisine as a means of communication that may effectively influence the perception of one country by the society of another. The Public Diplomacy Strategy of the MFA of Ukraine for 2021–25 positions culinary diplomacy as “*a vector of public diplomacy aimed at forming a positive image of the country in the world through the promotion of national cuisine, culinary art, and local foodstuffs.*” It is anticipated that culinary diplomacy will stimulate foreign trade, ethno-gastronomic tourism and improve the investment climate. In the environment of fierce competition between countries for the place in the hierarchical system of the globalized world, their culinary attractiveness is an essential component of *soft power* that influences the formation of an external image.

From the history of culinary diplomacy

American science fiction writer Robert Silverberg¹ attributes the organization of the first diplomatic feast in history to *lugal* (a military leader) of the Sumerian town of Uruk – Gilgamesh, the protagonist of one of the oldest literary works of mankind – *The Epic of Gilgamesh (He Who Saw Everything)*

¹ See: *Gilgamesh the King* (1984), *Gilgamesh in the Outback* (1986), *The Fascination of the Abomination* (1987), *Gilgamesh in Uruk* (1988), combined into the novel *To the Land of the Living* (1989).

created in the 22nd century B.C. in ancient Sumer. The epic describes the hero of Gilgamesh’s search for the secret of immortality and meeting with the first man of Utnapishtim, his friendship with the wild man Enkidu, their exploits, and the death of Enkidu. During the journey, Gilgamesh, without having had the magic remedy, realized that the one who does good deeds lives forever in the memory of his descendants. There is no mention of diplomatic receptions in the original records, studied by eminent scientists in various countries and translated into dozens of languages. Nevertheless, in his literary interpretation, R. Silverberg attributed to this oldest diplomat the use of a joint dinner in the negotiations records of the two neighboring cities-states of Mesopotamia: “On the first day of summer, ambassadors from Akka arrived demanding that I pay tribute... I welcomed them warmly and gave a solemn dinner in their honor. We sat long into the night, talked about the past, about banquets in the palace of Akka, about wars against the Elamites, about tricks of fate...” The non-accidental and reason of attributing this story line to the epic hero is understandable, because the ceremonial meal has been an indispensable attribute of the ambassadorial work from time immemorial.

Information about the prince’s banquets, including those related to diplomatic contacts, has been preserved in the chronicles from the time of Rus and the Principality of Halych–Volhynia. *The Tale of Bygone Years*, the first collection compiled by the monk Nestor and other chroniclers in Kyiv in the 11th – early 12th centuries, contains the text of Rus’ literary heritage – *Teachings to the children of Volodymyr Monomakh*. In it, the grandson of Yaroslav the Wise, Prince of Kyiv Volodymyr Monomakh left a universal manual on hospitality and etiquette to his descendants: “Respect your guests wherever they came to you from: the supplicant or the distinguished, or the ambassador; if you do not have a gift to honor them with, get them dishes and beverages, because they will travel further and call you



Monument to Volodymyr Monomakh in the town of Pryluky, Chernihiv region

a kind man or evil man in foreign lands.”² Centuries later, this message has become a part of the essence of culinary diplomacy in the modern sense.

The treatise of Byzantine Emperor Kostiantyn VII Porphyrogenitus *On Ceremonies of the Byzantine Court* makes mention of the solemn reception of the ruler of Rus Princess Olha in the imperial palace. She, saying in modern language, paid a state visit accompanied by a huge retinue of ambassadors, merchants, trusted women-boyars, interpreters, slaves. Emperor Kostiantyn described how he solemnly received the high-level guest. During dinners in her honor, Princess Olha sat at the same table with the empress and her children, and the emperor himself joined them during the dessert.

No less interesting are mentions of the formation of traditions of culinary diplomacy in Ukraine, preserved in the Cossack chronicles and travel records of wanderers. These sources demonstrate that hospitality to foreigners belonged to the customs of Ukrainians at the Cossack times. “Hospitality is so widespread throughout Little Rus,” French diplomat Jean-Benoît Schérer wrote in his *Chronicle of Little Rus*, “that a foreigner never needs to spend on accommodation and meals while traveling across the country. Shelters are always open in Zaporozhian Cossacks. Any traveler or passerby might go in there and eat all the food he/she can find, even if there is no one at home.”³ In the meantime, the customs of honoring guests during the feast were simple at the Zaporozhian Sich. J.-B. Schérer recorded a set of traditional Cossack dishes: “The food was very simple. Lunch consisted of two dishes. The first was called ‘solomakha’, it resembled porridge made with flour, water, and salt. The second was called ‘teteria’ and it was a mixture of flour, groats, and millet. It was not as thick as solomakha, because a lot of low-alcohol beer or fish soup was added to it... These dishes were served in big bowls called ‘vahanky’, but never ate bread.”⁴ Cooks were in each shelter. They also knew how to make *varenyky* (filled dumplings), *syrnyky* (fried quark pancakes), buckwheat *halushky* (a variety of noodles) with garlic, tripe, all kinds of fish, “a pig’s head with a horseradish, then noodles for aperitif,” *mămăligă* (porridge made out of yellow maize flour) with *bryndza* (sheep milk cheese) or *pasterma* (sun-dried lamb), roasted game. They washed down all these with *horilka* (clear distilled alcoholic beverage), honey, beer, *nalyvka* (kind of liqueur)

2 Spadshchyna predkiv (2018). *Povchannia ditiam Volodymyra Monomakha* [online]. Available at: <https://spadok.org.ua/kyivska-rus/povchannya-monomakha-davnoruskyy-poradnyk-dityam> [in Ukrainian].

3 Schérer, J.-B. (1994). *Litopys Malorosii, abo Istoriia kozakiv-zaporozhtsiv...* [Chronicle of Little Rus’ or History of Zaporozhian Cossacks]. Kyiv: Ukr. pysmennyk, p. 67. [in Ukrainian].

4 Ibid., p. 172.

or sometimes with hock. *Varena* was particularly respected. It was a beverage based on horilka and honey, cooked with fresh or dried apple, pears with added raisins, ginger and other spices. In doing so, the emissaries from the Polish king, Russian tsar, Turkish sultan or Crimean khan were received solemnly. In the notes of the ambassadors who were there, they mentioned that gun or rifle salutes and dinners were arranged in their honor. Erich Lassota, Ambassador of the Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II of Habsburg, who arrived in Bazavluk Sich in June 1594 for negotiations on the Cossacks participation in the war against the Ottoman Empire, wrote in his diary that Hetman Bohdan Mikoshynskyi treated him to dinner “and continued regaling me at home.”⁵

Later, feasts in Chyhyryn became more lavish and diplomatic contacts more intense at the time of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi. In its business opportunities and organization of the official protocol, Hetman’s diplomatic service responded fully to the common European standards of that time. Priest, a poet, and diplomat Alberto Vimina da Ceneda, who in 1650 served on a diplomatic mission to Bohdan Khmelnytskyi to examine the information about relations between the Ottomans and Tatars and their weapons, as well as to involve the hetman in the creation of European Anti-Ottoman Coalition, wrote in his communique: “The hetman’s table was rich in great and delicious food and beverage: horilka, beer, honey. The wine was served only in the presence of important foreigners because its stockpiles were limited and people rarely drank it.”⁶ In March 1651, the ‘Gazette de France’ reported that Hetman Khmelnytskyi spent a lot of money on the maintenance of the numerous embassies in his possession. At this time in France, Anne of Austria was regent to her minor son Louis XIV, crowned in 1643, and in fact, Cardinal Jules Mazarin ruled the country. Subsequently, the “Sun King” started to pay special attention to the refreshments of foreign ambassadors during negotiations to get favorable agreements for France, and, in fact, he launched culinary diplomacy in French foreign policy. Court cookery was a powerful means of diplomatic influence. Occasionally, the form and style of table service might affect the outcome of the negotiations. Numerous studies of the emotional atmosphere of negotiations have confirmed that sympathy generated in this way increases the tendency to con-

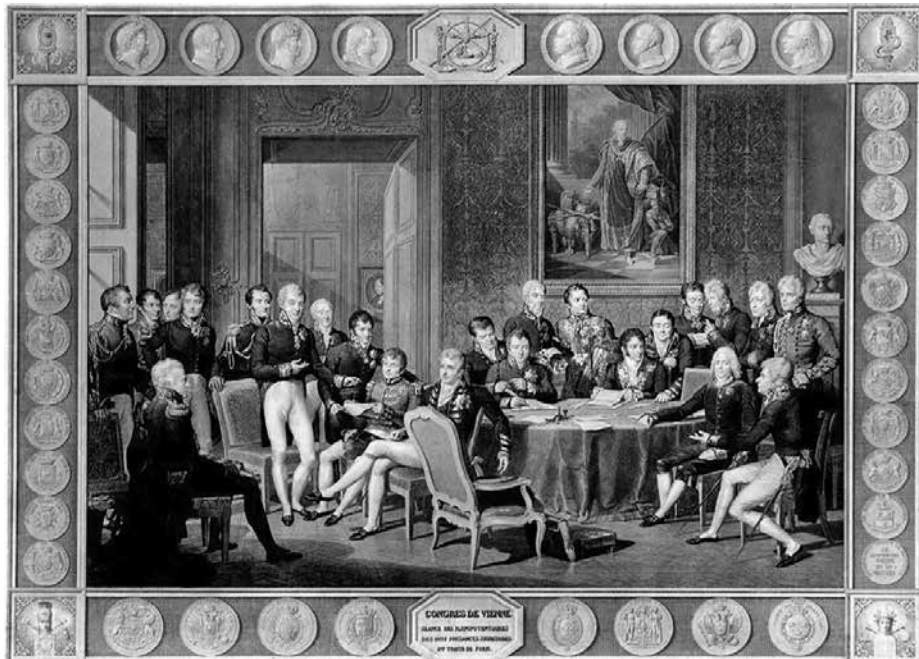
5 Lassota, E. (1984). *Shchodennyk. Zhovten* [Diary. October], no. 10, pp. 97–110. [in Ukrainian].

6 Molchanovskiy, N. (1900). *Doneseniye venetsiantsa Alberto Vimina o kozakakh i B. Khmelnitskom (1656 g.)* [The Report of Venetian Alberto Vimina about the Cossacks and B. Khmelnitskii (1656)]. *Kievskaya starina*, no. 1, p. 74. [in Russian].

cessions, stimulate a creative approach to solving the problems, and set one to the cooperative mood. It was the French court where all these adoptions had acquired a perfect format.

The transformation of gastronomic resources into a powerful weapon of political influence on the partners took place later during the activities of Maurice de Talleyrand as the head of French diplomacy. The Congress of Vienna was the high point of his career, where he could make France, which had just come under crushing defeat, almost the main arbiter of the fate of post-Napoleonic Europe. This was greatly helped by the luxurious dinners, which he gave to many participants of the Congress.

The form, style, and menu of the gala table were significantly more modest in the practice of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi. Nevertheless, they followed the customs of European courts in the main details, and the basis of deli-



Meeting of the Congress of Vienna

cacies was Ukrainian national cuisine and strong beverages that loosened visitors' tongues and allowed the Hetman himself to speak more frankly than at the 'sober' table of diplomatic negotiations.

Hetman Ivan Skoropadskyi earned the nickname "*His Highness, Hetman of Borshch.*" After the Battle of Poltava, Russian Tsar Peter I posted two advisers to him, and then abolished the hetman's independence, founding the

Collegium of Little Rus. The trip to tsar with congratulations on the occasion of the signing of the Treaty of Nystad with Sweden was the last "*diplomatic*" mission of the hetman. He had been living in Saint Petersburg for nearly six months, but failed in his attempts to ease the "regime." However, he is remembered for his culinary masterpieces. Several recipes of his borshch had survived for centuries as "*hetman's*," and the visions of how to organize diplomatic communication, including the gastronomic component, have been enshrined in people's ideas.

In Ukraine, the protocol of diplomatic receptions and etiquette rules of the feast were formed much later, during the existence of the Ukrainian State headed by Hetman Pavlo Skoropadskyi. "As much as I want simplicity," he later recalled, "I had to devise a short ceremonial for the solemn reception of emissaries in such cases."⁷ According to the



Official dinner at the Hetman Pavlo Skoropadskyi. 1918

rules initiated by the hetman, the ceremony of presenting credentials by foreign ambassadors began with a solemn meeting. The procedure took place in the Great Hall of the Hetman's Palace with the inclusion of the Ambassador and his entourage, and the hetman and high-ranking

⁷ Pelenskyi, Y. et al. (eds). (1995). *Skoropadskyi, Pavlo. Spohady. Kynets 1917 – hruden 1918* [Memoirs. Late 1917 – December 1918]. Kyiv, p. 266. [in Ukrainian].

officials of the Hetman's Government. Honor guards, dressed in a ceremonial dress uniform, were along the perimeter of the hall and on the staircase. After the solemn part, there was a formal breakfast or lunch at a table decorated with cut flowers, matched to the national colors of the country.⁸ This way of decorating the table during the official dinner highlighted the solemnity of the occasion. The family coats of arms or initials of honored guests were laid out of flowers on the tables at breakfast or dinner in honor of noble guests. During dinner, glasses were raised for the prosperity of the country, which representatives had been invited. Thus, the diplomatic reception on the occasion of the solemn event became a compulsory part of the celebrations.

For Ukrainian diplomacy, the time of Ukraine's membership in the USSR was associated with the total dependence on the decision of the union leadership, party control, and monitoring of state security agencies. In 1944, the Ukrainian SSR received the right to conduct foreign policy because of Stalin's attempts to strengthen his influence in the United Nations to be established by including the union republics in the list of founding members of the UN. The representative and advocacy work with foreign representatives was one of the tasks of the MFA of the Ukrainian SSR, which main instruments were holding the ceremonial events on significant dates and historical occasions, meetings with the party and Soviet leadership, organizing visits to the enterprises, agriculture facilities, research institutes of the Academy of Sciences of Ukrainian SSR, museums, historical sites, to list a few. Receptions and refreshments were a part of this work. In doing so, the national cuisine became a means of demonstrating one's own identity, peculiarities of the national culture, and traditions of Ukrainians. The menu usually included caviar and salmon (Kremlin standard), borshch with *pampushky* (doughnuts) (a moment to talk about our identity – not Russian cabbage soup *shchi!*), chicken Kyiv (“not some *de volaille!*”), varenky with cherries (almost a national symbol: As T. Shevchenko wrote, “A cherry orchard by the house...”) and *salo* for horilka with pepper (Zaporozhian simplicity and strength of national spirit). Normally, the third or fourth toast was accompanied by a “malcontent joke” – a hint at difficulties in relations with Moscow: unable to utter the phrase “Horilka with pepper” correctly

8 Kievskaya mysl (1918). “Priem henerala Cheryachukina,” September 25(12), no. 169, p. 2. [in Russian].

9 There is also a version that this dish originates from two hundred years earlier in royal France, where it was called *côtelette de volaille*, i.e., “poultry cutlet.”

and having found only two peppers at the bottom of the glass, Russians accused Ukrainians of greed (the preposition “with” in Ukrainian is spelt almost like number 3).

In turn, during the 1967 International and Universal Exposition in Montreal, the progressive Canadian press highlighted the lack of Ukrainian identity in the organization of the USSR pavilion, where there was not even a Ukrainian section and the only mention of the Ukrainian SSR was in the menu of a Soviet restaurant: “Ukrainian borshch, Kyivan varenky and Ukrainian horilka.” The newspaper *Holos Ukrainy (Voice of Ukraine)* stated that “the representation of Ukraine has been reduced to these dishes.”¹⁰ The active position of the Ukrainian diaspora exposed the attempts to use Ukrainian food for creating a positive image of the Soviet Union in Montreal.

Another Ukrainian “*culinary symbol*” received additional publicity in the famous speech of US President George H. W. Bush in Kyiv with the warning against “*suicidal nationalism*,” named “Chicken Kyiv” by the *New York Times* journalist William Safire. He used a pun in this phrase, as chicken also stands for “*coward*.” This is how the speech entered the lexicon of diplomatic terminology as “Chicken Kyiv Speech.” Moreover, guides for tourists who came to the USSR warned that this culinary masterpiece, purportedly invented by a chef of one of Kyiv restaurants in honor of the inclusion of the Ukrainian SSR to the list of UNESCO founding members, should be eaten cautiously, so as not to spoil the clothes with a splash of melted butter. Nevertheless, the speech of President George H. W. Bush, which many politicians recognized as extremely unsuccessful, gave the cutlet a significant international and diplomatic flavor.

Another episode, pretty unpleasant for Ukraine and partly related to the “*chicken*” theme, occurred 17 years later during the visit of the US President to Kyiv. It was George W. Bush who spoke in support of Ukraine's intention to become a candidate for NATO membership. President Viktor Yushchenko, either accidentally or deliberately, treated him to a chicken Kyiv for breakfast and varenky with cherries for dessert. The world press, for some reason, did not pay attention to this menu, possibly because after the meeting both presidents left for Bucharest for the NATO summit, where France and Germany blocked Ukraine's application. Bush spoke in favor but was

10 *Ukrainskyi holos* (19 July, 1967) Borshch, varenky i horilka [Borshch, varenky and horilka]. *Ukrainskyi holos* [Ukrainian Voice], vol. 29.

not very insistent. It is not impossible that the cutlet, which inaptly hinted at his father, still offended him.¹¹

In addition to political cautions in the selection of dishes during the diplomatic feast, organizers have to pay attention to the food taboos due to ethical, religious or cultural beliefs of different peoples. For instance, pork and poultry, which feed on carrion, are prohibited in the Muslim menu; eating beef is not allowed in India. Israeli diplomatic missions follow the requirements to serve kosher (cooked in compliance with the Judaic law) foods during receptions, while the MFA of Israel does not hold receptions of foreign diplomats in catering establishments, which do not have a kosher certificate.

Culinary projects worldwide

Virtually every country uses the tools of culinary diplomacy to promote its gastronomic brand, stimulate trade and tourism and maintain/create its positive image in the world. The *Oktoberfest* in Germany,



Oktoberfest logo La Tomatina logo

La Tomatina in Spain or *National Hot Dog Day* in the USA are well-known festivals. The Netherlands holds *The Herring Festival*, Italy – *The Pizza Fest*, Thailand – *The Pineapple Festival*, China – the traditional one-week *Chengdu Panda Asian Food Festival* to share culinary art experiences and demonstrate the culinary achievements to China, Thailand, Israel, Singapore, Pakistan. Participants and guests from different countries gather for the festivals of halushky in Poltava, *deruny* (potato pancakes) in Korosten, *mlyntsi* (crepes) in Pryluky, *urdā* (whey cheese) in Transcarpathia. For the purposes of Ukraine's "culinary representation," complex gastronomic routes are opened; the first one, *Wine and Taste Route of Ukrainian Bessarabia*, runs through Odesa region; an increasing number of cheese and wine routes are emerging in Transcarpathia.

¹¹ See: Slipchenko, A. (2021) *Diplomaticheskaya kuhnya* [Diplomatic Cuisine]. Kyiv, p. 376. [in Russian].

The effectiveness of culinary diplomacy instruments encourages the emergence of new projects in this sphere. In 2003, several Scandinavian chefs published a manifesto, which presented a new trend in international cooking called *The New Nordic Food*. They called upon their colleagues to give preference to local natural products and use both traditional and state-of-the-art methods of its storage and processing with particular attention to dietary and environmental aspects. This manifesto received the support of the Nordic Council of Ministers, which adopted *The New Nordic Food program* incorporating Iceland, Sweden, Finland, Norway and Denmark with Greenland, the Faroe and Åland Islands. Chefs and restaurateurs taking part in the program base their culinary compositions on simple recipes from fish and seafood, vegetables and herbs locally available, dietary meat and game, traditional grains of barley and rye, dairy products, to list a few – fresh, smoked, dried, fermented, canned, salted and pasteurized. All this has become a feature of Scandinavian diplomatic cuisine since then.

Sweden also launched its concept of creating a national brand. The strategy *Sweden – the new culinary nation* is one of its focuses. The Ministry for Rural Affairs has selected 25 so-called 'food's ambassadors' from among the famous restaurateurs and food businesspersons in the country, which started to promote Swedish cuisine at home and abroad. Well-known national dishes are simple, delicious, homemade rich: meatballs with lingonberry sauce, cinnamon buns, redfish dishes, to list a few – widely advertised through the restaurant chain of the IKEA campaign under the slogan "Get a taste of Sweden." In 2014, Stockholm hosted the main European gastronomic festival of the year *Bocuse d'Or Europe*; Sweden and its capital, Stockholm, were recognized as one of the most popular destinations for gastro-tourism.

The tea ceremony is considered to be a traditional symbol of Japanese national cuisine. In the early 2000s, the Cool Japan initiative was adopted to disseminate information about the Japanese economy, culture, national cuisine; it aimed to intensify the cultural exports of mass and youth subcultures (anime and manga comics, popular Japanese music, video games, fashion, movies), as well as a national cuisine, production of houseware and cooking utensils, traditional martial and visual arts, handicrafts. The decision of the Organising Committee of the international competition *The International Wine Challenge 2007* on the implementation of a new "sake" category has increased the Japanese MFA's activities to hold the seminars for

diplomats on sake and Japanese wine and to encourage diplomats to serve Japanese sake at events at embassies to facilitate greater exports and promote Japanese culture. In 2009, the Cabinet of Ministers of Japan formed the Intellectual Property Strategy Headquarters, which announced a plan for the creation of a 'Japan brand' for the export of products of Japanese fashion and national cuisine. The ambitions of the project in the sphere of culinary diplomacy were to bring Japanese cuisine to the third position in the world after French and Chinese. The owners of the leading restaurants have become a member of the personal composition of the Headquarters, and a special prize of the Prime Minister was founded for the best chef.¹²

In 2009, the Republic of Korea launched the program Korean Cuisine in the World and allocated \$40 million for its implementation. Its aim was to hold foodstuff fairs, promote Korean food, expand the network of Korean restaurants and support food producers. Senior public officials and members of their families, famous politicians, public and political figures were involved in promoting the national cuisine. In 2008, anticipating the official launch of the program, the first Korean female astronaut showed the attitude of Koreans to the country's most popular product, *kimchi*, Korean fermented napa cabbage, as one of the main symbols of the state, taking it with her to the International Space Station. As part of the *Kimchi Diplomacy* project in 2009, First Lady of the Republic of Korea Kim Yoon-ok held an event to demonstrate her country's peace policy, during which she, along with the prime minister and his wife, cooked kimchi and other traditional Korean dishes for American Korean War veterans. "I wanted to show another Korea because the military personnel have a few pleasant memories about food since the war,"¹³ Kim Yoon-ok said, explaining the purpose of the event.

The governments of Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia and other countries have been funding such programs for many years.

In 2012, the US Department of State launched the *Diplomatic Culinary Partnership* project in order to create a team of highly professional chefs who had to cooperate with it in carrying out its diplomatic functions. They created the *American Chef Corps* association (clearly, by analogy with the famous *Peace Corps*), whose members carry out special assignments from

12 Katanova, E. (2009) Yaponiya: pop-diplomatiya i pop-kultura [Japan: pop diplomacy and pop culture]. *Mirovaya ekonomika i mezhdunarodnye otnosheniya* [World Economy and International Relations], no. 2, p. 60. [in Russian].

13 Reynolds, C. (2008) *Diplomatic gastronomy: The convivial nature of the power of prestige, cultural diplomacy and soft power*. Trapido, vol. III-IV, pp. 23-32.

the Department of State to strengthen relations with foreign leaders and promote intercultural exchanges. They travel to various countries, hold culinary showings and educational TV shows there, help the US embassies to hold the receptions, and establish contacts with local counterparts. All this is being done to propagate the American way of life and advertise American products and gastronomic traditions.

France has launched a similar program called *Goût de France*. "There are many links between diplomacy, the search for peaceful solutions, and a good table. There is a tendency to find a peaceful solution rather than a conflict," Foreign Minister Fabius said during the opening of the program. On March 19, 2015, 1,300 restaurants in 150 countries (including three in Ukraine) on five continents received 1,000 visitors who "*had lunch à la française*." It has become an annual tradition.

The importance of using the national culinary traditions in relations between states is reflected in the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003). Ukraine had acceded to the Convention on March 6, 2008; on August 27, 2008, this international act entered into force for our country. The experts from the UNESCO Intergovernmental Committee added to the representative list of 2010 the tradition of French cuisine due to the idea that it is based on "*the important social aspect, as the most significant moments in human and society life in France are inextricably linked to the feasts*" and traditional Mexican cuisine of Michoacán state as an integral system, which includes not only the methods of preparing meals according to ancient recipes but the whole cycle of their cultivation and processing. In 2013, the tradition of cooking and table setting in Japanese cuisine (*washoku*, "harmony of food") were included in the list. In this way, according to the country's Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, Japan sought to preserve the tradition for the next generations and help to ensure that "*people abroad are able to appreciate the benefits of washoku*."¹⁴

Subsequently, the world learned about the gastronomic brand *Mediterranean diet* as the intangible heritage of Italy, Spain, Greece and Morocco; a coffee ceremony in Turkey; the ancient tradition of winemaking in amphora (*kvevri*) in Georgia; Croatian pastries; Korean kimchi¹⁵; the culture of cooking and breaking of flatbread (*lavash*, *katyrma*, *zhupka*, *yufka*), which

14 Available at: <https://life.pravda.com.ua/society/2013/12/5/144110/> (accessed 10 May 2021).

15 Matlai, L. (2015) Kulinarna dyplomatiya yak riznovyd publichnoi dyplomatii: novi pidkhody ta kontseptsii [Culinary diplomacy as a form of public diplomacy: new approaches and concepts]. *Humanitarian Vision*, no. 2, p. 57. [in Ukrainian].

is widespread in Azerbaijan, Iran, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkey; Belgian beer culture, etc.

In 2014, *The Qualtrics 2014* online survey conducted in the USA on public perception of the ratio between national cuisine and the national image showed that national cuisine may change the view about a country. Among states, a large number of respondents described Ethiopia, Turkey, Thailand, China and Lebanon as countries in respect of which there have been changes, expressing an interest in traveling there to get acquainted with national food.¹⁶

At the same time, it should be borne in mind that “*diplomacy through food*” is a serious tool and its use may sometimes lead to certain diplomatic consequences. For instance, the tradition of making kimchi has become the source of dispute between Korea and China. China has registered the technology of preparing a similar product named *pao cai* in the International Organization for Standardization, which provoked a protest from South Korea. In 2010, South Korea released the feature film *Le Grand Chef 2: Kimchi Battle*, whose plot was based on a dispute over the priority in kimchi-making, which seemed to have arisen during the state visit of the President of Korea to Japan. The president announced a competition for its best cooking to prove the national affiliation of this product and present its advantages; the Korean tradition triumphed in the final. However, the disputes did not end. The stories about the technology of fermentation of napa cabbage appeared in the blogs of a popular Chinese culinary expert with the hashtag “Chinese cuisine.” Korean network users have called it a deliberate Chinese expropriation of Korean cultural heritage. In the end, the author lost both popularity and her page on the YouTube channel.

In December 2016, Slovenia had to express its political position through culinary diplomacy – in response to the congratulations of the Embassy of Croatia in Ljubljana to state institutions; the Embassy bought boxes of chocolates with the inscription “*Greetings from Croatia*” and a map of Croatia within the borders of which were the territories that are the subject of a long-standing dispute between these states. The activities of the Croatian side were interpreted as a provocation but the Slovenian MFA decided not

¹⁶ ‘Diplomatic Gastronomy: The Convivial Nature of the Power of Prestige, Cultural Diplomacy and Soft Power’ – Christian Reynolds’ paper for The International Conference on Cultural Diplomacy and the UN ‘Cultural Diplomacy & Soft Power in an Interdependent World: The Opportunities for Global Governance’, NYC & Washington DC, February 21st - 24th, 2012.

to exacerbate the situation and returned the chocolates in bags with the touristic slogan “*I feel Slovenia*.”

In April 2018, a similar culinary diplomacy incident occurred, when a special dessert was included in the dinner menu of the meeting between President of South Korea Moon Jae-in and the leader of North Korea Kim Jong-un; it was mango mousse coated with white chocolate, depicting a map of united Korea including the Dokdo Islands, which have long been the subject of territorial claims of Japan. The Ambassador of South Korea was immediately summoned to the Japanese MFA to express protest against the “*politically indiscreet*” dessert.

Cases of diplomatic battles that arise around the issues of historical priority regarding a dish of national cuisine or a method of its preparation or consumption also exist in Ukrainian practice. In December 2020, the international restaurant rating system of the French company Groupe Michelin issued a press release announcing that its representatives came to Moscow to evaluate local restaurants, and among “*Russian dishes*” there was mentioned borshch. Following an appeal by Ukrainian diplomats, the authors of the publication apologized and corrected the mistake. The Embassy of Ukraine in France invited Groupe Michelin representatives to visit Ukraine to “*settle all questions*” and try authentic Ukrainian borshch. The invitation was received with enthusiasm. Thanks to the efforts of the embassy, work commenced on a “*Michelin*” gastronomic guide to Kyiv restaurants.

Traditionally, Ukrainian national cuisine is associated with Ukrainian hospitality in the world and Ukrainian foreign diplomatic missions have been involved in the promotion of national cuisine from the first day of the restoration of Ukraine’s independence. The recipe collection of Ukrainian dishes in Slovenian was published in Ljubljana with the assistance of the MFA of Ukraine and the Embassy of Ukraine in Slovenia. The Embassy of Ukraine in the USA regularly treats guests to Ukrainian national dishes during Open Houses. With the support of Ukrainian embassies, Ukrainian restaurants have been opened in Tbilisi, Batumi, Budapest, Podgorica, New York, Wrocław, Warsaw and other cities. In particular, with the support of the Embassy of Ukraine in Montenegro, Ukrainian and Crimean Tatar culinary art is being popularized at the *Cetinje* restaurant in Podgorica.

In 2019, the Embassy of Ukraine in Azerbaijan launched several competitions called #CulinaryDiplomacy #TeawithAmbassador #bepositive, which the Embassy implemented together with the Ukrainian Women’s

Business Club in the Republic of Azerbaijan. The conditions of the competition include the preparation of a presentation (with photos, videos) about dishes from Ukrainian and Azerbaijani cuisine, as well as fascinating facts, stories, traditions, original or ancient recipes of Ukrainian and Azerbaijani nations related to the presented dishes. As part of the Azerbaijani project “*Weeks of National Cuisines*,” which is timed by its organizers and Azeri Home Chef group to coincide with the national days of countries that demonstrate their culinary skills in late August in Baku on the occasion of



Project of the Embassy of Ukraine in Azerbaijan

Ukraine’s Independence Day, the “Week of Ukrainian cuisine” takes place. Ukrainian cuisine is promoted globally by renowned chefs and broadcasters Yurii Kovryzhenko (Ambassador of Ukrainian cuisine in the world, a laureate of the Global Chef Awards 2017 in Singapore for his contribution to gastronomic development, the gold medal winner of the French Association *Best of Gastronomie* in 2020) and Yevhen Klopotenko (the founder of the social project New School Nutrition to change diet culture Cult Food, the initiator of inscribing borshch on UNESCO intangible heritage list). They actively cooperate with the *Culinary Diplomacy* program of the MFA



Yurii Kovryzhenko

of Ukraine and foreign diplomatic missions of Ukraine, conducting workshops in different parts of the world. Yurii Kovryzhenko was the first to introduce Ukrainian cuisine at the Ukrainian Cuisine Week, founded by the Embassy of Ukraine in Singapore. In one of his interviews, he told that the most important message of Ukrainian cuisine is “*that Ukraine exists.*” The Ukrainian embassies in Turkey, Egypt, Austria and Greece continued the initiative to hold Ukrainian Cuisine Days abroad. In 2019, Yurii Kovryzhenko, with the support of the MFA of Ukraine, opened the restaurant *Trypillia* in Seoul.

Yevhen Klopotenko’s culinary and literary show *Eneida* is well received on the UA: Pershyi TV channel. This name is not accidental, because it

was in this poem that Ivan Kotliarevskyi extolled Ukrainian cuisine. In 2020, he participated in the project *European Values and Cultural Diplomacy*, carried out by the Scientific Society of History of Diplomacy and International Relations and the Hanns Seidel Stiftung. In 2021, together with Ihor Mezentsev, he conducted a gastronomic tour for European journalists from Slovenia, Croatia, Italy and Hungary to familiarize them with the gastronomic culture of Kyiv and promote Ukraine in the international gastronomic arena.

In January 2015, Ukraine became the third participant (after Armenia and Israel) of the *Culinary Diplomacy* project organized by the Kadir Has University (Turkey), the *Center for CSR Development* (Ukraine) with the financial support of the Black Sea Trust for Regional Cooperation to ensure dialogue among representatives of civil society and businesses through involving them in a series of lunches and dinners for building various links between states.



Yevhen Klopotenko

In 2018, the Ministry of Information Policy of Ukraine joined in the popularization of national cuisine by initiating the shooting of short films *Smachnoho!* (Bon appétit!) (2019) and *Diakuiiu!* (Thank you!) (2018) by the Best Friends Film Production. The film *Diakuiiu!* took second place in the nomination “Tourist destination – Region” at the 11th International Tourism Film Festival Tourfilm Riga in Riga (Latvia), won in the nomination “Best editing” at the monthly International Festival Short to the Point (Romania) and was decorated with the Special Award at the Zagreb Tourfilm Festival (Zagreb, Croatia). The film *Smachnoho!* was dedicated to the theme of bridging Ukraine and France through national cuisines. After watching the film in Paris, the audience had an opportunity to take part in a workshop on varenyky making and taste salo and dishes that the French-Ukrainian duo cooked in the film.

A bright project in the sphere of culinary diplomacy was implemented by the Ukrainian Institute together with the scientific and educational project on food, history, society and culture *Īzhakultura*, founded by Olena Braichenko, and *Īzhak* publishing house, specializing in books on the history of gastro-

my in Ukraine. The publication in English and Ukrainian offers a perspective on Ukrainian cuisine as an object of intangible cultural heritage. Ihor Lylo and Olena Braichenko tell about tastes, methods of fermentation and typical components of Ukrainian cuisine in the chapter “From the history of Ukrainian cuisine.” Famous writer and scientist Maryna Hrymych describes “Traditions of hospitality in Ukraine” through the peculiarities of inviting guests,



Cover of *Ukraine. Food and History*

menu creation, table decoration styles, seating charts and dining etiquette. Seasonal vegetables, fruits, herbs and dishes are explained in the section “Kitchen of the Seasons,” authored by O. Braichenko. The book includes, in addition to popular science texts on the history of Ukraine’s national cuisine, reviews of the characteristics of regional culinary tradition and recipes of popular Ukrainian dishes. In this way, Ukrainian cuisine comes closer to foreign consumers, opening a new side of Ukraine to the world.

Borshch as an element of culinary diplomacy

As a rule, foreigners associate Ukrainian cuisine with, above all, borshch and varenyky, despite its diversity and authenticity. Ukrainians appreciate their traditions of cooking the main culinary symbol of Ukraine, so festivals of borshch are becoming increasingly popular in different regions of our country. Such festivals combine open competitions-tastings of “amateurs” and professionals of culinary art, a fair of folk craftsmen, thematic competitions of artists and various quizzes. The organizers of the All-Ukrainian *Borshch Festival* see its mission as promoting Ukrainian cuisine and national traditions among the general population in the country and the international community; maintaining the ancient tradition of the Ukrainian people and the foundation of the national pride of Ukrainians in culinary art – borshch; sharing helpful information about the culture of cooking and consumption of all varieties of borshch; promoting the development of Ukrainian culture of family values as the basis of personality development for every Ukrainian citizen, etc.

Since 2014, the International Gastronomic Festival and Adventure Game *Borshch v hlynianomu horshchyku* (Borshch in a Crock) takes place every year on the second Saturday of August in the pottery capital of Ukraine, the village of Opishnia, Zinkiv district, Poltava region, at the manor house *Lialina Svitlytsia*. Olena Shcherban, ethnographer and researcher of the traditions of using pottery in the Ukrainian food culture, initiated the holding of the festival. The preparation in the oven of different types of borshch in pottery – crocks.

On October 6, 2020, the tradition of cooking Ukrainian borshch was included in the National List for Intangible Cultural Heritage of Ukraine on the initiative of Yevhen Klopotenko, Head of the ‘Institute of Culture of Ukraine’ Community organization. Since then, the joint effort of the state and public sector has allowed starting work on including the tradition of cooking Ukrainian borshch in the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, on the recommendation of the Council of Experts at the Ministry of Culture and Information Policy of Ukraine.

In March 2021, a large-scale campaign to present Ukrainian borshch as the country’s main culinary brand and promote the associative expression “*borsch – Ukraine*” was commenced by the Ministry of Culture and Information Policy and the non-governmental organization *Institute of Culture of Ukraine*. Yevhen Klopotenko made several expeditions across the country and collected dozens of family recipes of borshch from different parts of Ukraine, shot a video that was included in the documentary *Borshch. The Secret Ingredient* (2020, directed by Dmytro Kochniev). In April 2021, the Ukrainian chef was included in the influential international list “50 Next” from the international ranking *The World’s 50 Best Restaurants*, featuring gastronomic innovators who change the future of gastronomy to “improve gastronomic culture in Ukraine and promote Ukrainian cuisine in the world.” In addition, the Ukrainian national dish of borshch was included in the CNN’s list *20 of the world’s best soups* along with Spanish *gazpacho*, *gumbo* from America, *harira* from Morocco and others. The inclusion of



Ukrainian borshch

the recipe of Ukrainian borshch in the UNESCO World List of Intangible Heritage will further promote our national heritage.

The active development of the theory and practice of culinary diplomacy shows that food and joint feasts, in all diversity of aspects of those terms in public life, are among the vital tools for overcoming ethnic barriers and social stereotypes, erasing differences between people and weakening interstate conflicts. The practice of culinary diplomacy proves the effectiveness of this public diplomacy tool for shaping and maintaining a positive image of a state, increasing opportunities for understanding among peoples, finding historical parallels and points of convergence in their development, establishing new international traditions, as well as stepping up the intensity of interstate dialogues in the sphere of cultural, social and economic development.

Self-Assessment Questionnaire:

- Name the tools of culinary diplomacy.
- Describe the key aspects from the history of culinary diplomacy.
- Name the world's best-known culinary projects.
- Give an example of expressing one's political position through the means of culinary diplomacy.
- What do you know about borshch as an element of Ukraine's cultural diplomacy?

Liubov Korniichuk, Artem Rybchenko

Digital Diplomacy

The concept of digital diplomacy (e-diplomacy, cyber diplomacy, virtual diplomacy, network diplomacy, Web 2.0 diplomacy, social networking diplomacy, Internet diplomacy) was introduced into scientific parlance in the late 20th century, and in the 21st century has become quite actively used given the global transformation of the world caused by the development of mass communications and the general process of informatization. The Public Diplomacy Strategy of the MFA of Ukraine for 2021–25 defines digital diplomacy *as a direction of public diplomacy that involves the use of digital technologies and platforms, as well as interaction with them to protect the national interests of the country*. According to the Strategy, the dimensions of the work of public diplomacy actors in the field of digital diplomacy are as follows: 1) interaction with international digital platforms to promote a positive image of Ukraine in the world and protect national security; 2) the use of digital tools for the organization of events and projects of public diplomacy; 3) the use of the potential of social networks and interaction with online communities to form a positive image of Ukraine and promote Ukraine's interests in the world. The implementation of this direction provides for close coordination and cooperation of foreign diplomatic missions with the Ministry of Digital Transformation of Ukraine and the use of international digital platforms, including Facebook, Google, Netflix, HBO, etc. to conduct digital projects and campaigns aimed at promoting Ukraine globally.¹



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¹ MFA of Ukraine (2021). *Stratehiia publichnoi dyplomatii MZS Ukrainy na 2021–2025 rr.* [online]. Available at: <https://mfa.gov.ua/storage/app/sites/1/%D0%A1%D1%82%D1%80%D0%B0%D1%82%D0%B5%D0%B3%D1%96%D1%97/public-diplomacy-strategy.pdf> [in English].

Tasks and tools of digital diplomacy

The use of digital tools to achieve foreign policy goals is a well-established practice in various countries. The accelerated virtualization of the world caused by the COVID-19 pandemic has brought a new urgency to the issue of using social networks and international digital platforms to create a positive image of a state, thus forcing diplomacy to adapt to new realities. The usage of video conferencing during the pandemic has led to the spread of the concept of *Zoom diplomacy*. The successful experience of virtual summits of multilateral platforms has shown that such measures are also effective. The use of the Internet has imparted new energy to international relations, and diplomacy as the main element of governance in interstate relations is directly related to new trends, as reflected in new ways of communicating online, dissemination of information, institutional changes and service activities.

Digital diplomacy is an important component of public administration and a link in the general system of Ukraine's transition to European standards of public diplomacy. The world practice of introduction and use of digital technologies by diplomatic missions demonstrates the effectiveness of this mechanism in foreign policy and achieving the goals and interests of countries. The full introduction and usage of technologies based on Internet communication and modern means of communication will enable



A virtual G20 Leaders Summit on November 21–22, 2020

Source: G20 summit, November 21–22, 2020, URL: <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/meetings/international-summit/2020/11/21-22/>

Ukraine not only to strengthen its position in the international arena but also to become a full-fledged member of the European community.

The tasks of digital diplomacy include establishing and maintaining contacts with audiences online, using new means of communication to analyze and attract potential audiences. Therefore, thanks to digital technologies, the representative function of diplomacy can be fulfilled, as all government agencies can present their activities on official websites on the Internet and social networks. Moreover, the Internet enables the representation of a state through virtual embassies and consulates. They can replace traditional diplomatic missions in places that are less important to the state's interests, unstable or dangerous territories or can help solve the problems of diplomatic representation of small or poor states, which can expand their global presence by establishing virtual embassies with less expenses. In 2007, Sweden became the first country to open an embassy in the virtual world Second Life as an information center, where potential tourists could obtain information about Swedish culture, history and attractions, as well as visa procedures. In December 2011, a virtual US embassy was opened in Iran, which is not a formal diplomatic mission, but can operate “as a bridge between the American and Iranian peoples” in the absence of direct contact between the states.² In general, such virtual missions can be an additional tool for traditional diplomacy and contribute to the effective representation of a state before the government and society of the host country.

An important task of digital diplomacy is to ensure security and promote an ideologically friendly world. Its tools include e-mail, teleconferencing or newsgroups, interactive conversations or specialized chat services, guest books, forums, blogs, social bookmarks, social directories, social libraries, professional social networks, geosocial networks, as well as age and gender social networks.³ The use of such tools allows fulfilling the tasks of digital diplomacy by using the advantages of modern information and communication technologies.

History of the development of digital diplomacy in the United States and leading European countries

Digital diplomacy has recently been used more and more actively as a tool for the so-called “soft power” technology. A.-M. Slaughter, a former

² Website of the U.S. Virtual Embassy Iran: <https://ir.usembassy.gov/tehran/>

³ Pipchenko, N. et al. (2019). *Tsyfrova dyplomatiia* [Digital Diplomacy]. Kyiv: VADEKS, pp. 54, 58–60. [in Ukrainian].

director of political planning for the US Department of State (2009–11), who outlined the philosophical foundations of digital diplomacy in her publications, is one of the trailblazers of the digital “soft power” method.⁴ In 1996, the United States Information Agency received a recommendation from the US Advisory Committee on Public Diplomacy to establish a global interactive network for multilingual communication using audio, video, printed information resources and the Internet. In 1999, the *Digital Government* program was developed to transform the activities of US congressional foreign policy departments using Internet technology. In 2001, the state announced the creation of network diplomacy, and in April 2004, the US Department of State presented the Information Technology Strategic Plan for 2006–10, which emphasized the importance of applying information technology for a better positioning of US foreign policy and convincing the international community of its practicality.⁵ Thus, it was the United States where digital diplomacy was first theoretically substantiated and practically implemented in the foreign policy course.

Barack Obama’s election campaign is associated with the emergence of the “Facebook diplomacy” concept in 2008 and with the growing importance of such activities in the fight against terrorism, while “Twitter diplomacy” (“Twiplomacy”) has become an integral feature of President Donald Trump’s communication with the outer world. As noted by L. Litra and O. Kononenko, it “has led to a revolution in diplomatic relations, significantly improving relations around the world and providing diplomats and foreign ministries with tools to build their own electronic communications systems with foreign branches, embassies and consulates.”⁶ The active use of microblogs on Twitter in the development of diplomatic relations has two-sided priorities in the communication process: it is the transmission of information about the daily activities to a growing Internet audience and interactivity, which allows learning about opinions, comments and suggestions of the world community. Besides, this formula of communication gives citizens and journalists direct access to political leaders. Therefore, thanks to social media, the diplomat enters a whole new di-

4 Slaughter A.-M. (2009). America’s Edge: Power in the Networked Century. *Foreign Affairs*. January-February, no. 88 (1), pp. 94–113. [in English].

5 Pipchenko, op. cit., pp. 78–79.

6 Litra, L., Kononenko, Yu. (2013). Twitter-dyplomatiia. Yak novitni tekhnolohii mozhut posylyty mizhnarodni pozytsii Ukrainy? *Institute of World Policy*, no 1. [online]. Available at: http://iwp.org.ua/img/policy_brif_1_01_23_ok.pdf [in Ukrainian].



Justin Trudeau during the G7 meeting on March 17, 2020

Source: Justin Trudeau official Twitter page - @JustinTrudeau

URL: <https://twitter.com/JustinTrudeau/status/1239706072706961409/photo/1>

mension, receiving a channel of access to the outside world both to interact with it and to hear it.⁷

Public Twitter diplomacy is also inherent in European diplomacy. Digital technologies simplify diplomatic negotiations by means of network technologies; blogging on Facebook, where you can reach out to the public of your country and other countries with more extensive texts than in Twitter; the development of media strategies for a country’s own diplomatic missions, consulates and foreign missions; communication with EU citizens through all digital channels; creating newsworthy topics (posting on Facebook with further replication of posts by hundreds of media sources is much easier and cheaper than making a full-scale press conference); conducting communication campaigns to promote European policies and EU projects in various fields; direct communication with citizens of one’s own country residing in other countries; the distribution of official statements and press releases.

Social networks allow rapidly disseminating information on current issues of international relations and world politics to a wide audience, whilst also giving the impression of direct communication with the diplomat. They can also be used to inform the population during crises, form public

7 Kharchenko, I. (2015). Twitter-dyplomatiia: zarubizhnyi dosvid dlia Ukrainy. *Visnyk Lvivskoho universytetu*, Issue 7, pp. 292–293. [in Ukrainian].

opinion, advance national interests of a state through the promotion of its cultural values, combat misinformation, disseminate information on solving global issues and the need to consolidate the world community for this purpose, establish rapid communication within the diplomatic corps, etc. However, threats should also be kept in mind because social networks can be used to spread extremist views, foreign policy propaganda, violation of intellectual property rights and personal data protection. The use of social networks by protesters during the events of the *Arab Spring* has already become a classic example of their significance.

Twiplomacy Study 2020, which has been conducted annually by Burson-Marsteller since 2012, shows that heads of state and government of 163 countries and 132 foreign ministers maintain personal Twitter accounts. As of June 1, 2020, all personal and institutional pages of world leaders on Facebook had a total of more than 620 million subscribers and published 8.7 million tweets since their creation. The US Department of State is the most widely read foreign ministry on Twitter; the top three also include foreign ministries of Saudi Arabia and India.⁸ The fact that the governments of only four countries are not represented in Twitter (Laos, North Korea, São Tomé and Príncipe, Turkmenistan) shows that states attach great importance to the use of social networks as an effective tool of communication.

The usage of social media platforms in foreign policy allows implementing intensive activities aimed at forming an idea about a state, political power, a political leader in social media; publish relevant information for current and future readers; drawing the attention of different target audiences to the discussion on trending issues; providing feedback while communicating with different groups or individuals; increasing the quality traffic volume on the official web portal of state and non-state institutions.⁹

In the United States, digital diplomacy is implemented by the Department of State, which has established the United States Bureau of Information Resource Management. The Digital Diplomacy Office was opened at the Bureau in 2003. A new digital search service for internal databases SearchState (previously known as Enterprise Search) was launched in 2004, and the following year, Communities@State was begun, a corporate platform for blogging (about 70 virtual forums), where co-workers discuss

8 Twiplomacy (2020). *Twiplomacy Study 2020* [online]. Available at: <https://twiplomacy.com/blog/twiplomacy-study-2020/> [in English].

9 Pipchenko, op. cit., p. 67.

issues of administration, policy and the ability to create personal blogs. The *DipNote* blog, created in 2007 by the US Department of State, is a diplomatic platform for communication among employees involving foreigners that facilitates the discussion of public diplomacy in the United States. Part of the philosophy of this portal is the purposeful collection of positive and negative feedback from participants in the discussions and their further analysis in order to assess the attitude of foreign audiences to the United States.¹⁰ Subsequently, the US Department of State adopted a document *21st Century Statecraft*, which transformed the platform into *The Sounding Board*, an open Internet forum, where Department of State officials propose and discuss projects on innovation in diplomatic practice and receive targeted funding from the special *IT Innovation Fund*. In 2011, the corporate social network *Corridor* was launched, with more than 6,800 users and 440 groups registered in the first year. The resource replicates the interface of Facebook and provides the ability to search for an employee and share professional information with them.

A significant contribution to the development of internal awareness of innovation in diplomatic activities is made by the online encyclopedia *Diplopedia*, which is an internal information platform of the US Department of State. The system uses the principle of the well-known Internet portal Wikipedia, when the database is created by users themselves. According to the US Bureau of Diplomatic Security's website, *Diplopedia* is the US Department of State's corporate wiki system that operates on the agency's intranet-network and includes a unique knowledge database on diplomacy, international relations and experience of the Department of State. It is a reference tool for Department of State staff, who seek quick access to useful, timely and up-to-date information on foreign affairs.¹¹ The resource includes more than 15,000 articles covering various aspects of international relations and diplomatic activities and is indispensable in situations that require unorthodox solutions. Active work of employees in such a network allows requesting the necessary information and get quick responses to requests; finding specialists with specific knowledge and experience in a narrow field (e.g., knowledge of rare languages, etc.); exchanging accumulated

10 Tykhonenko, I. (2019). Tsyfrova dyplomatiia yak instrument zovnishnoi polityky SShA u XXI st. [Digital Diplomacy as an Instrument of US Foreign Policy in the 21st Century]. *Politychne zhyttia*, no. 1, p. 87. [in Ukrainian].

11 Website of the U.S. Department of State: <https://www.state.gov/bureaus-offices/under-secretary-for-management/bureau-of-diplomatic-security/>

knowledge, current information and news; getting in touch with like-minded people, strengthening mutual understanding and support through informal online communication.¹²

Special services have been set up in the system of central offices of the Department of State to train and support diplomats in working with digital technologies. Relevant trainings are conducted by the Foreign Service Institute. The Social Media Hub advises employees on social media and resolves problems that they face, such as account hacking. The Office of Audience Research prepares analytics and statistics on the behavior of social media users. A special group – Rapid Response Unit at the Public Relations Bureau – is currently monitoring the international Internet community's response to US foreign policy moves. In order to develop new promising Internet projects, the Department of State holds scientific conferences quarterly in order to discuss ways of improving diplomacy through innovation (Tech @ State program), bringing together diplomats, technicians, public figures, scientists and business people. There are also special programs for attracting both young and seasoned professionals remotely, such as the Virtual Student Foreign Service Program. This program was initiated by the Department of State within the program of technological involvement of proactive youth in the civil service in order to invent new forms of the functioning of the diplomatic system. Students have an opportunity to complete a nine-month virtual internship at the offices of the Department of State without leaving the university. In addition, there is a Virtual Fellows Program, which allows the Department of State to benefit from the professional involvement of competent consultants and scientists in various projects both in the United States and in missions abroad.¹³

Apart from the United States, the undisputed leaders in this area are also European countries: the UK, Germany, France and other EU members. There is a tendency to increase the level of digital diplomatic activity in the Middle East, including Turkey, Saudi Arabia and Qatar. In the UK, the tasks of digital diplomacy are implemented by structural units of the foreign ministry. Since 2012, programs have been developed annually under the general title *Digital Strategy*, which define general priorities and actions for the

12 ZDNet (2010). *eDiplomacy: The US State Department's Global Collaborative Backbone* [online]. Available at: <https://www.zdnet.com/article/ediplomacy-the-us-state-departments-global-collaborative-backbone/> [in English].

13 Hrynychuk, M. (2016). Tsyfrova dyplomatiia SShA [US Digital Diplomacy]. *Hileia: naukovyi visnyk*, Issue 112, p. 335. [in Ukrainian].

	DIPLOMATIC NETWORK REACH	DIPLOMATIC WEIGHT	VOCALITY	MESSAGE EFFICIENCY	GLOBAL COUNTRY VISIBILITY	FORMAT PROFICIENCY	MOMENTUM	DIPLOMATIC CENTRALITY	LANGUAGE DIVERSITY	DIGITAL DIPLOMACY INDEX
1 India	10	8.64	9.48	9.75	9.43	8.83	10	7.13	10	9.05
2 United States	9.36	10	10	8.88	9.01	7.80	9.81	7.74	8.04	9.04
3 France	8.89	8.31	8.94	7.28	9.13	8.59	8.23	10	8.04	8.67
4 United Kingdom	8.47	8.59	9.19	6.44	8.40	7.90	7.62	9.48	7.84	8.32
5 Mexico	8.98	8.51	9.09	7.71	9.02	8.87	8.51	5.32	6.84	8.14

Top 5 of G20 countries' Digital Diplomacy Index (Based on 9 key metrics based on Twitter data and updated daily) Source: Digital Diplomacy Index, URL: <https://digital-diplomacy-index.com/>

implementation of virtual diplomacy and digital governance in the country. The *Digital diplomacy* Internet portal of the Foreign Office advises employees on working with the Internet audience. A valuable core of the resource is a manual on using digital diplomacy tools. It briefly and easily provides instructions for using Twitter, Facebook and other social media. In addition, the portal contains useful tips on working with the website, placement and selection of information, video and audio materials on the network. This service allows diplomats to sign up for online trainings, consult with experts, address questions to experts. The developers of the resource have created a section *Case studies*, which presents the results of successfully implemented projects in the field of digital diplomacy in the UK.¹⁴

Digital diplomacy has been officially declared one of the priority areas of development of the Ministry for Europe and Foreign Affairs of the French Republic. A striking example of the functioning of the mechanisms of French digital diplomacy is the official website of the French Foreign Ministry, which is an extensive information portal through which information is broadcast on numerous social networks. The concept of digital diplomacy belongs both to the scope of activity of the Ministry and to the expansion of traditional diplomacy, through innovations and new practices

14 Official website of the UK Foreign, Commonwealth & Development Office: <https://www.gov.uk/>

created through information and communication technologies. However, digital tools are not only considered a means of transmitting information; they also help transform diplomatic work.

The current state policy of digitalization in France is aimed at reforming legislation, stimulating research in the digital economy and governance, as well as creating an integrated cybersecurity system. On January 16, 1998, France adopted the first government program to build an information society, the PAGSI (Government Action Program for the Information Society), which declared six priorities, namely introducing new information and communication technologies in education; ambitious cultural policy for new networks; using information technologies as a tool for modernization of public services; using information technology as a necessary tool for business; adapting industrial and technological innovations; encouraging the emergence of effective regulation and regulatory structure for new information networks. In November 2002, the Government Plan RE / S02007 *For a Digital Republic in the Information Society* was adopted. It proposed an algorithm for technological development of networks, providing all citizens with an opportunity to use basic Internet and e-government services until 2007, a recommendation on the establishment of the Electronic Administration Development Agency (ADAE), etc. In 2003, the Agency for the Development of Electronic Government (ADAE) was established, which solved two tasks: to simplify and reconcile administrative information systems and implement specific interagency projects. The government program *Electronic Government 2004/2007* (Administration Electronique 2004/2007) became the starting point for the beginning of widespread digitalization in the country.¹⁵

In 2017, an international digital strategy of France was developed, which focuses on maintaining an open international digital environment, promoting universal access to a variety of digital technologies and building trust on the Internet.¹⁶ At the end of 2018, the state introduced the post of digital ambassador at the Foreign Ministry, aimed at promoting of international cyberspace, regulating the dissemination of information on the Internet, promoting human rights, democratic values and the French language in the digital

15 Piskorska, H. et al. (2013). Rozvytok informatsiinoho suspilstva Frantsii [Development of French Information Society]. *Actual problems of international relations*, Issue 117 (part II), pp. 16–19. [in Ukrainian].

16 France's international digital strategy: <https://www.ife.ee/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/strategie-numerique-internationale.pdf> [in French].

space, using French digital applications.¹⁷ According to the above mentioned *Twiplomacy Study 2020*, French President Emmanuel Macron was the EU leader with the largest number of Twitter followers as of June 1, 2020.¹⁸

Digital diplomacy plays an important role in Germany's foreign policy. Its main tasks are to strengthen the authority of the state, convey to foreign audiences the position of Germany on global issues, its specific actions and values. Among the major substantive priorities of Germany there are such prevailing characteristics as democratic, governed by rule-of-law, economically and technically efficient, culturally creative, socially stable, full of environmental responsibility, modern, reliable and competent state. Germany's public diplomacy is the responsibility of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, including the Department for Communications, Public Relations and Media, and German diplomatic missions abroad. There are special information centers at German embassies, the main task of which is to disseminate information based on regional and national peculiarities.¹⁹ In August 2014, the Federal Government adopted the *Digital Agenda*, which covers the following areas: digital infrastructure; digital economy and digital labor; innovation state; understanding of digital changes in society; education, research, science, culture and media; security, protection and trust in society and business; European and international dimension.²⁰

An example of the implementation of the principles of digital diplomacy is establishing a local network for operational communication between the MFA and diplomatic missions abroad; operating thematic websites on bilateral relations; organization of image campaigns in the network; maintaining Twitter accounts of the MFA in accordance with regional and thematic principles; promoting information on the cultural aspects of German diplomacy; launching a podcast on foreign policy (Podcast vom Posten); supporting an interactive dialogue with the audience through various media platforms.²¹

Digital diplomacy tools are commonly used by the European Union. The EU Strategy on Digital Diplomacy in Foreign Policy was approved by the

17 Pipchenko, op. cit., p. 169.

18 Twiplomacy Study 2020: <https://twiplomacy.com/blog/twiplomacy-study-2020/>

19 Hutsal, S. (2010). Publichna dyplomatiia yak suchasnyi priorytet zovnishnoi polityky derzhavy [Public Diplomacy as a Modern Foreign Policy Priority]. *Stratehichni priorytety*, no. 3(16), pp. 110–111. [in English].

20 Federal Ministry for Economic Affairs and Climate Action (n.d.). *Digital Agenda* [online]. Available at: <https://www.bmwi.de/Redaktion/EN/Artikel/Digital-World/digital-agenda.html> [in English].

21 Pipchenko, op. cit., p. 166.

European Parliament in November 2012 and emphasized the importance of implementing information and communication technologies into foreign policy and supporting the development of the information society. In February 2020, the European Commission published the Digital Strategy for 2020–25, which sets out key goals for Europe’s digital transformation, including technologies that work for people; a fair and competitive economy; an open, democratic and sustainable society.²² The EU institutions are represented on social networks, and their activity has increased significantly in recent years.

As a result of the project on the introduction of information and communication technology tools into diplomacy, launched in 1992 at the Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies (Malta), and its reorganization by the governments of Malta and Switzerland in November 2002, an independent non-for-profit organization DiploFoundation headquartered in Malta was established. Among other tasks, the organization is working to improve the role of small and developing countries in global diplomacy by training officials through online courses and seminars; capacity building for Internet management, cybersecurity, data, artificial intelligence and other new technical issues; promoting and developing digital tools for an inclusive and effective governance and policymaking.²³ The organization’s activities foster the exchange of best diplomatic practices and demonstrate the possibilities of using digital diplomacy tools.

The experience of European countries in the implementation of digital diplomacy technologies is quite thorough and diverse. EU Ministries of Foreign Affairs, embassies, consulates and international missions actively make use of digital media to form a positive image of their countries and as mechanisms of indirect influence on the policies of other countries in which they are on a diplomatic mission. Direct access to the public of other countries without the mediating role of national media allows influencing the public opinion of foreign audiences in the implementation of the strategy for achieving foreign policy goals. To avoid international isolation, any country must integrate itself into modern technologies of digital diplomacy, which is especially relevant for our country.

22 European Commission (n.d.). *European Digital Strategy* [online]. Available at: <https://ec.europa.eu/digital-single-market/en/content/european-digital-strategy> [in English].

23 About Diplo: <https://www.diplomacy.edu/aboutus/about-diplo/> [in English].

Digital diplomacy of Ukraine

Legislation in the fields of information science, communication science, general information support, dissemination of information, formation of grounds for information policy and information security, including cyberspace, are all part of the legislative basis for the regulation of digital diplomacy in Ukraine. Among the key ones are the Laws of Ukraine “*On Information*” (1992), “*On Access to Public Information*” (2011), Decrees of the President of Ukraine “*On the Doctrine of Information Security of Ukraine*” (2016), “*On the Cyber Security Strategy of Ukraine*” (2021), the Order of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine “*On Approval of the Strategy for the Development of the Information Society in Ukraine*” (2013).

An important stage in the development of Ukrainian digital diplomacy was the establishment of the Ministry of Information Policy Ukraine on December 2, 2014, which was transformed into the Ministry of Culture and Information Policy later in 2020. Its key tasks include developing an information policy strategy and a state information security concept; coordinating the work of the authorities in matters of communication and dissemination of information; countering information aggression against Ukraine. The development of online cultural projects aimed at forming a positive image of Ukraine in the world falls within the purview of the MFA of Ukraine, particularly the Directorate for Public Diplomacy and Communications. The Ministry of Digital Transformation of Ukraine plays an important role in ensuring the formation and implementation of the state policy in the fields of digitalization, digital development, digital economy, digital innovations and technologies, e-government and e-democracy, information society development, informatization, etc.

The MFA of Ukraine utilizes social media to inform audiences about Ukraine and its foreign policy. K. Hryshchenko, a former Minister for Foreign Affairs, who actively used his Twitter account, was one of the first in Ukraine to actively use social networks in diplomatic discourse. Constant teamwork to strengthen Ukraine’s presence in the international information space and the activity of Ukraine’s foreign policy and diplomatic missions on social networks have allowed conducting a number of powerful online information campaigns (#RussiaInvadedUkraine, #StopFake, #LetMyPeopleGo, #CrimeaIsUkraine, etc.), which have drawn public attention.²⁴ Conducting

24 Seheda, O. (2020). Tsyfrova dyplomatiia Ukrainy yak element novoi publichnoi dyplomatii [Ukraine’s Digital Diplomacy as an Element of New Public Diplomacy]. *Politykus*, no. 3, p. 144. [in Ukrainian].

online image campaigns and intensifying Ukraine's digital diplomacy was caused by the necessity of combating Russian propaganda in a hybrid war. In the summer of 2016, the media project *Ukrainer* (*ukrainer.net*) was started to disseminate interesting cultural and tourist facts about Ukraine and rethink historical events and cultural heritage of different regions.²⁵

Since digital diplomacy should be viewed not only through the prism of “soft power” and “smart power” but also in terms of creating national branding, an important step in this direction was the approval of the brand *Ukraine NOW* by the Ukrainian government in 2018, which was developed by creative company *Banda Agency*. The main goal was to form a positive image of Ukraine in the international community, attract foreign investors and improve tourism potential.²⁶

An essential step for digital diplomacy was made thanks to the establishment of the Ukrainian Institute in 2017, whose mission is to strengthen Ukraine's international and domestic identity through cultural diplomacy;²⁷ the fulfillment of this mission provides, among other things, for the use of digital tools (development, providing content and support for websites, pages, electronic resources and databases, implementation of image campaigns and other online projects, etc.).

Among digital diplomacy tools of the MFA of Ukraine in the consular sphere we can highlight the creation of an online platform *Druh* (Friend) (friend.mfa.gov.ua) for voluntary registration of Ukrainian citizens travelling abroad, which serves as a tool to search for citizens and provide support in case of emergency. Furthermore, the online platform *e-Consul* is designed to provide fast data processing during daily consular work.

The virtual visit of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ukraine D. Kuleba to Germany and talks with Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs Heiko Maas became an unprecedented event in Ukrainian digital diplomacy. The main topics of the visit were the deepening of bilateral relations, including Germany's assistance in implementing reforms, countering Russian aggression and joint efforts on combating the spread of COVID-19. The event was the first virtual visit of the foreign minister in Europe for negotiations with foreign colleagues.²⁸

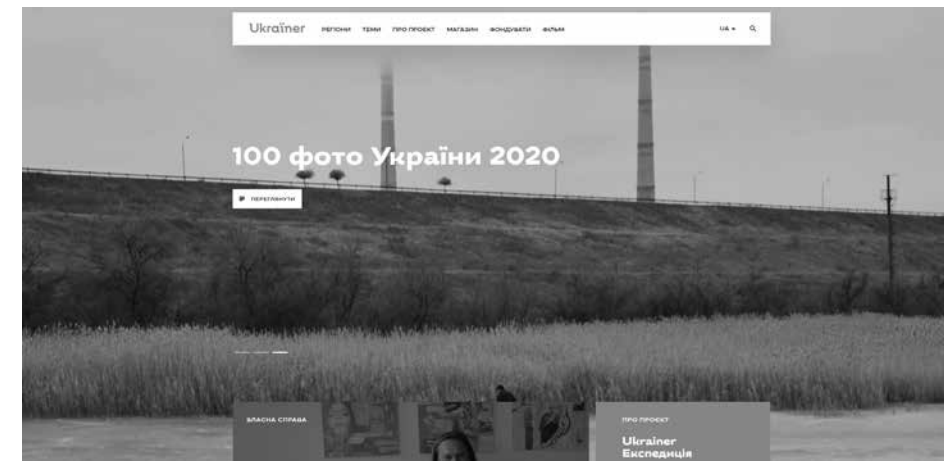
25 Pipchenko, op. cit., p. 278.

26 *Ukraine NOW*. New Branding of Ukraine: <https://banda.agency/ukrainenow/> [in Ukrainian].

27 On the Ukrainian Institute: <https://ui.org.ua/mission/>

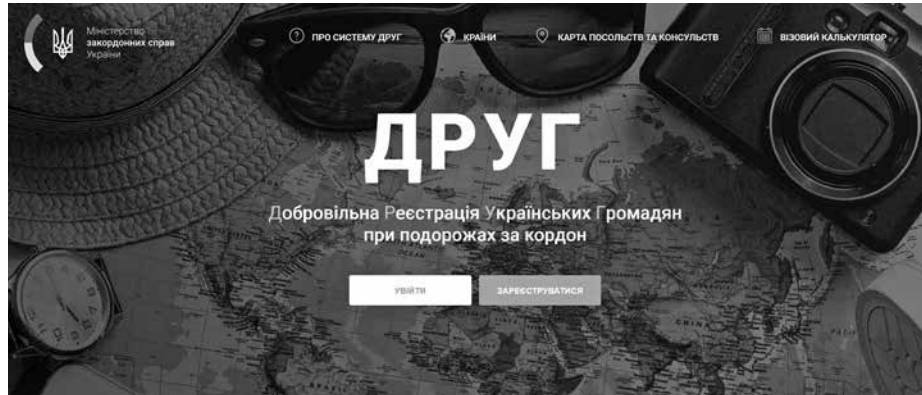
28 Kyiv Diplomatic (n.d.). *Ministr Dmytro Kuleba zdiisnyv virtualnyi vizyt do Nimechchyny* [online]. Available at: <https://kyivdiplomatic.com/ua/news/307> [in Ukrainian].

In general, digital diplomacy is a relevant tool for using the global network and digital technologies to implement the country's foreign policy. The introduction of diplomatic missions' working principles based on this instrument allows launching new forms of communication with both domestic and foreign audiences and is urgently needed for Ukraine's integration into the global information and digital space. This, in turn, opens new opportunities and prospects for international cooperation and a more rapid sharing of the country's position on major issues of national and international significance. The advantages of digital diplomacy arise from establishing contacts with online audiences and forming new communications in the field of foreign relations, as such diplomacy can provide an opportunity



to address the target audience directly with specific messages and allows establishing relations between different states regardless of their development level, which may contribute to partially overcoming the asymmetry of international relations. The processes of globalization and the rapid development of digital technologies have led to the introduction of innovations in the diplomatic sphere. Digital technologies used by the diplomatic service are becoming a tool for rapid communication between different actors in institutional or social structures, thus generating new levels of relations between them, which ultimately facilitates joint action to address multilevel challenges of international politics.

Digital diplomacy is becoming an effective tool of foreign policy, which is facilitated by its openness to mass consumption; availability of new technical means to ensure public contact with an unlimited number of consum-



ers; communicative orientation; smaller amounts of resources needed (be they financial, human, time resources, etc.). As a result, the role of digital diplomacy is constantly growing, and its tools complement and strengthen traditional diplomacy in achieving its goals.

Self-Assessment Questionnaire:

- Explain the meaning of the term “digital diplomacy.”
- Which state initiated the opening of “virtual embassies”?
- Identify the tools of digital diplomacy and describe them.
- Analyze the features of digital diplomacy in the United States and leading European countries.
- Describe the features of digital diplomacy in Ukraine.

Yevheniia Haber

Science Diplomacy



Yevheniia Haber –
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The emergence of science diplomacy as a separate field, which requires targeted research programs and specialized training, is a relatively new phenomenon, although scientists and diplomats have long interacted in the international arena to achieve common goals. The challenges and tasks facing humanity in the 21st century have made this area of international cooperation, perchance, the most foregrounded topic of world politics and public debate. This has led to a radical reassessment of the role of science in diplomacy and diplomacy in science, resulting in the rapid development of science diplomacy. It has become obvious that science diplomacy is not only an element of public diplomacy but also an important tool for promoting national interests, strengthening the state’s position in the international arena, resolving regional conflicts and world problems. Nuclear disarmament and the exploration of the Arctic, cybersecurity and the introduction of 5G technologies, the fight against climate change and pandemics of new viruses are just some examples of today’s global challenges that require close cooperation between diplomats and scientists. From food security and the reduction of social inequality to the realization of the goals of sustainable development of the United Nations and the peaceful development of space – all of these political, economic and social problems of international relations have their own scientific dimension. Understanding the role and functions of science diplomacy in the modern globalized world and the professional training of “science diplomats” to promote Ukraine’s national interests and improve its international image are crucial for their resolution.

Basic concepts and key areas of science diplomacy

In its most general form, science diplomacy can be defined as close co-operation between scientists and diplomats, which aims to unite the efforts of diplomatic and academic communities around the world to overcome global challenges and improve interstate relations. According to Philip Seib, Professor of Journalism, Public Diplomacy and International Relations at the University of Southern California, “*Science diplomacy is a complex combination of science and diplomatic practice that can be a powerful tool for peace, public health and education around the world.*”¹

The first attempts to draw up the categorical apparatus of science diplomacy and systematize knowledge in this area were made in a report by the Royal Society of London for Improving Natural Knowledge and the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) entitled *New Frontiers in Science Diplomacy* (2010),² which became the conceptual basis for further work in this area.

This basic document for the first time identified the three main areas of science diplomacy:

- science in diplomacy;
- science for diplomacy;
- diplomacy for science.
- Science in diplomacy involves the use of scientific expertise in diplomacy, particularly:
 - usage of scientific data, research findings, scientifically rigorous recommendations in the process of political decision-making and the use of innovative technologies as a tool in everyday diplomatic practice. A striking example of science of diplomacy in this manifestation is data diplomacy, a new direction bordering big data analytics, the study of social norms of behavior, strategic communications and public administration and seeking to predict the impact of AI algorithms on the future of diplomacy;
 - involvement of scientists and professional experts in diplomatic negotiations, meetings of international organizations, discussions in relevant committees on highly specialized topics, etc. In addition to gener-

¹ Seib, P. (2016). *The Future of #Diplomacy*. Cambridge: Polity, p. 25. [in English].

² The Royal Society of London for Improving Natural Knowledge, American Association for the Advancement of Science (2010). *New Frontiers in Science Diplomacy* [online]. Available at: <https://bit.ly/3lRQaBm> [in English].

al political or economic issues, diplomats often have to negotiate more complex topics that require academic and technical knowledge, namely peaceful space exploration, climate change, virus control, nuclear waste disposal, the banning of biological weapons, chemical properties of narcotic substances, the protection of the digital sovereignty of the state or mechanisms of operating solid propellant rocket engines. In addition, it is necessary to have command of terminology at a level sufficient for translation from the native to a foreign language and from the scientific language to the political. Since it is extremely difficult for career diplomats to acquire all this specific knowledge in a short time without proper academic education or professional training, scholars who either prepare their professional assessments and recommendations in advance or are directly involved in international negotiations as members of delegations come to the rescue. In such cases, the success of negotiations directly depends on the level of the professional training of diplomats working at the forefront and on their constant communication with scientists who remain behind the scenes. In this respect, the traditional platforms for “science in diplomacy” are international organizations, such as the WTO, IAEA, OPCW, as well as specialized UN agencies: WHO, IMO, ICAO, FAO, UNESCO, etc.

Science for diplomacy means using international research projects to develop people-to-people contacts and employing science diplomacy as Track II diplomacy to maintain informal communication among states and communities (especially in the case of protracted conflicts). This usually includes events like the participation of scholars in joint projects to restore trust and improve diplomatic relations among countries; application of the practice of scientific and academic exchanges; development of humanitarian and scientific contacts in order to bring together conflicting states and societies; establishment of various joint scientific commissions to solve problems of historical memory (conducting research in archives, discovering historical truth), work with sensitive issues of ethnic and religious nature, controversial cultural heritage, etc.

There are examples when science diplomacy remained virtually the only stable channel of communication between representatives of hostile states. For example, throughout the Cold War, scientific organizations regularly took part in informal meetings to discuss nuclear issues between the United States and the Soviet Union, while joint research projects served as impor-

tant platforms for professional communication between scientists on different sides of the Iron Curtain. For example, the 1961 Treaty of Scientific and Technology Cooperation, signed by John F. Kennedy, greatly contributed to the resumption of contacts between Japan and the United States after World War II, and in the 1970s, Henry Kissinger actively used scientific initiatives to normalize US-China relations.

A classic example of science for diplomacy is the so-called Russell-Einstein Manifesto, an anti-war appeal written by Albert Einstein and Bertrand Russell and signed by eleven prominent scholars in 1955. This manifesto marked the beginning of the Pugwash Movement for Peace (named after the town of Pugwash in Canada), which fought against the arms race, the development of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons and the use of nuclear energy for military purposes. The first conference of the movement took place in 1957. To spread the ideas of the members of the Pugwash Movement, periodicals are still published: *Proceedings of the Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs* (annually since 1957), *Pugwash Newsletter* (quarterly since 1963), *Pugwash Occasional Papers* (quarterly since 2000), as well as monographs and reports.

Science continues to play its peacekeeping role by offering alternative channels of interaction between scientists from countries such as Iran and Saudi Arabia, Greece and Turkey, Israel and Palestine. As a rule, science projects for diplomacy involve joint research on problematic issues (for example, the yet to be fulfilled initiative to establish a joint Armenian-Turkish historical commission to study archival documents regarding the events of 1915) or creating conditions for joint efforts to solve common problems in the region, such as, for example, the scarcity of drinking water in the Middle East or Africa, thus forcing scientists on opposing sides of the conflict to sit at the same table.

Among the most well-known modern initiatives of “science for diplomacy” there are the NGO Scientists4Palestine; the Israeli-Palestinian Science Organization, based in Jerusalem (IPSO); the Synchrotron-light for Experimental Science and Applications in the Middle East (SESAME), opened in Jordan in 2017 with the support of CERN and under the auspices of UNESCO, which involves scientists from Bahrain, Egypt, Iran, Israel, Jordan, Cyprus, Pakistan, Palestine and Turkey; a number of projects implemented under the Horizon 2020 program and other scientific and diplomatic initiatives of the EU.

Diplomacy for science is the efforts of diplomats and state leaders aimed at promoting the development of science and scientific cooperation, organ-



"Historical Diplomacy" project was a visit of Ukrainian scientists to Ankara to participate in a conference on the 100th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Ukraine and the Republic of Turkey. 2018

izing and conducting international scientific events, creating opportunities for joint research by scientists from different countries, including:

- signing agreements on scientific and technical cooperation;
- implementing large-scale international research projects;
- providing consular and legal assistance to scholars;
- creating a legal framework for open access to scientific databases;
- providing assistance in obtaining permits for archaeological excavations and research;
- ensuring the transfer of valuable artifacts from abroad to national museums;
- inscribing properties on the UNESCO World Heritage List;
- attracting financial resources and providing any other consular, diplomatic, legal, administrative, logistical assistance by diplomats to ensure maximum assistance for the unimpeded work of scientists.

Here are some success stories of “diplomacy for science”:

- *The Large Hadron Collider, Switzerland*

The world's largest particle accelerator, built between 1998 and 2008 by an international team of scientists at the European Organization for Nuclear Research (CERN) near Geneva. The project was designed and implemented by more than 10,000 scientists and engineers, representatives of various universities and laboratories from more than 100 countries.

- *International Thermonuclear Experimental Reactor (ITER), France*

A pilot project in the field of fusion, which simultaneously involved more than 2,000 specialists from 35 countries, 23,000 tons of scientific equipment and €20 billion in funding in the first phase.

- *The protective arch over the destroyed unit of the Chornobyl Nuclear Power Plant, Ukraine*

The signing of the 2007 Agreement with the EBRD and the French consortium NOVARKA involved the allocation of around € 1.5 billion and the work of more than 10,000 highly qualified engineers to build a new Safe Confinement over the old Shelter, the world's largest mobile ground structure to protect the environment from the spread of radioactive substances.

History of the origins and main stages in the development of science diplomacy

Examples of successful collaboration between scientists and diplomats have been known since time immemorial, and diplomacy has always played a key role in the development of science. Whether it be academic exchanges or fundamental research, technical advances or geographical discoveries, any scientific breakthroughs were based on international contacts, free exchange of information and cross-border movement of people and ideas. For instance, the position of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the Royal Society of London (one of the world's oldest scientific societies, which became the forerunner of modern academies of science) was founded in 1723, almost 60 years before the British government got its first foreign minister.

The first "science diplomat" in the United States was zoologist Charles Stiles, who in 1898 was appointed science attaché at the US Embassy in Berlin. His example was followed by another American diplomat, who came to London in 1947 to develop scientific cooperation between the two sides of the Atlantic. Since the early 1950s, this practice has become widespread. In 1955, a seminal article by former science attaché Robert Loftness *Why Science Attachés?* saw the light of day, where the author gave,

for the first time, a detailed account of the goals and tasks of scholars in diplomacy, thus defining priorities in the development of science diplomacy for decades to come.



"Literary Diplomacy" project included an international seminar organized for translators and philologists on the translation of Turkish works into the languages of the world under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of Turkey, Antalya. 2017

Political tensions during the Cold War created not so good conditions for the development of international scientific contacts, and those initiatives that were still implemented were limited in nature and mostly performed the function of citizen diplomacy. Perhaps the greatest achievement of science diplomacy against the background of the bipolar confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union was the joint study of Antarctica during 1957–58 during the so-called *International Geophysical Year*. For the first time in history, a common program and methodology were used to conduct comprehensive studies of global geophysical processes in the Earth's crust, atmosphere and oceans, which brought together representatives of 67 countries, including Ukrainian scientists. As a result, the Antarctic Treaty was signed in Washington on December 1, 1959, defining the region's legal regime and addressing a number of important geopolitical issues, such as arms control, deferment of territorial claims, international scientific



Charles Stiles, the US first “science diplomat”
Photo: Science & Diplomacy

and environmental cooperation, etc. The document entered into force after its ratification by the 12 signatory states that took the most active part in Antarctic research (Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Great Britain, New Zealand, Norway, South Africa, USSR, USA, France, Chile, Japan). Since its signing, 54 countries have joined the Treaty, including Ukraine (1992). This has made it possible to conduct fundamental and applied research in the region and ensure the effective functioning of the Ukrainian Antarctic Akademik Vernadsky station.

During the Cold War, scientific research remained an important channel of communication between warring parties. The joint studies on polio,

carried out in the 1950s by a group of scholars from the United States, the Soviet Union and Cuba, led by American immunologist and infectious disease specialist Albert Sabin, were called “*medical diplomacy*” or “*vaccination diplomacy*.” Almost 70 years later, in the context of the “*post-covid*” diplomacy, it is the questions of scientific research, the creation of open scientific databases and the production of vaccines that determine, in large part, the relationship between the key geopolitical players in the world: the US, China, EU and Russia.

That said, neither the scale nor the overall impact of individual international scientific initiatives during the Cold War allow us to consider them as an important factor in world politics. The situation did not change significantly in the following years. Apart from several large-scale projects, such as the construction of a hadron collider or an experimental thermonuclear reactor, “*Europe without borders*” remained divided in science and research.

Janez Potočnik, European Commissioner for Science and Research in 2004–10, was the first to say that “*freedom of knowledge should become the fifth freedom of the European Union*.” However, despite many years of efforts to implement the principles of “open science” and the single European Research Area, real steps in this direction have not been taken until the rapid and unfettered spread of the coronavirus pandemic.

At the Davos Forum in January 2020, President of the European Commission Ursula von der Leyen announced the creation of an open “*cloud*

space” for science and research in the EU, and in April – the launch of a pan-European platform to combat COVID-19. According to the head of the European Commission, at the first stage European scientists will have access to it, but after clear-cut rules for its use are developed, the achievements of European science will be available to international partners.³ At the same time, the issue of scientific espionage, access to sensitive scientific data and their use by unscrupulous members of the world community remains unresolved. All this not only complicates the introduction of a “*scientific visa-free regime*” inside and outside the EU but also poses new challenges for national security.



A postage stamp issued in the United States on the occasion of the International Geophysical Year

Current trends in science diplomacy: new challenges and new ambitious tasks

After 2019, there occurred a radical rethinking of the role of science diplomacy and its complete “reset” due to new global challenges, notably the uncontrolled spread of new viruses, climate change, large-scale natural disasters, the awareness of the importance of reorienting to alternative energy sources, transition to the carbon-free green economy, etc. At the same time, the rapid development of science diplomacy is caused by a new phase of technological revolution, which has opened up new possibilities for the use of algorithms of artificial intelligence and data processing. In a globalized world characterized by increasing economic interdependence and technological complexity, the solution of most issues of the current agenda is impossible without the acquisition of specific knowledge and the involvement of professional experts: scientists, engineers, doctors, IT specialists and so on.

In 2020, NATO’s Science and Technology Organization published a thorough report, *Science and Technology Trends 2020–2040*, which assesses the prospects for the application of the latest technologies in security and defense. According to several thousand analysts and military experts, in the

3 Ukrinform (2020). *Yevropa stvoriuie vidkrytyi “khmarnyi” prostir dlia nauky ta doslidzhen* [online]. Available at: <https://bit.ly/3vBmgVh> [in Ukrainian].



Ukrainian Ambassador and academician Serhii Komisarenko (on the left) and British Minister of State for Europe David Davis while signing a Memorandum on the free transfer of the British Antarctic Faraday Station (now Academician Vernadskyi) to Ukraine. London, Foreign Office, July 20, 1995. Photo from the collection of academician S. Komisarenko



Vernadskyi Antarctic Station (formerly Faraday)

next two decades, artificial intelligence algorithms, big data, robotics, space, quantum, hypersonic and biotechnologies will play a key role in NATO's collective security system.⁴ Oleksii Danylov, Secretary of the National Security and Defense Council of Ukraine, stated during a meeting with American partners that he had no doubt that *"the next wars will take the form of cyber, biological wars and space conflicts."*⁵

4 NATO Science & Technology Organization (2020). Science and Technology Trends 2020-2040. Exploring the S&T Edge [online]. Available at: <https://bit.ly/3jnwHXX> [in English].

5 National Security and Defense Council (2020). Sekretar RNBO O. Danilov proviv zustrich z Tymchasovoiu povirenoi u spravakh SSHA v Ukraini K. Kvin [online]. Available at: <https://bit.ly/2ZkfuYe> [in Ukrainian].

The three basic principles of EU science policy – open innovation, open science, openness to the world – include the creation of the European Innovation Council, the Common European Science Area, open access to scientific publications and information, as well as the expansion of international cooperation.



Earlier on, these predictions may have seemed futuristic scenarios of the distant future, but now this future is already here. For the first time in human history, outer space has become available not only to national space agencies of the world's most powerful nations but also to private companies that have begun active commercial space exploration and even launched space tourism. Not only the traditional circle of participants in international relations is expanding (non-state actors, non-governmental organizations, MNCs, "tourists and terrorists" have joined the sovereign states), but so do possible areas of their interaction.

The focus of global competition is gradually shifting to cyberspace. Hacking attacks on critical infrastructure are becoming no less of a threat to national security than outright military aggression. The world's most powerful countries are competing not for resources and territories but for technological advantages in the field of communications, the introduction of the 5G network and the protection of their (or access to other people's) data. Experts are seriously discussing the need to develop new legislation that would regulate legal relations among states and private companies in the digital field and outer space, set red lines between state sovereignty and the "sovereignty" of Internet platforms in cyberspace and establish responsibility for cross-border crimes and personal data theft.

Diplomacy is forced to adapt to these processes, a significantly new agenda of international relations and new methods of work. The rapid development of technology and the global lockdown of 2020–21 nothing but intensified the trends that had already existed in the international environment.

Another factor that has significantly changed the face of modern diplomacy is the widespread use of artificial intelligence technologies in diplo-

matic practice. New methods of working with big data change the quality of analytical work. AI algorithms made possible political forecasting, computer simulation of negotiation scenarios and the course of conflicts, the ability to predict the behavior of partners and calculate the impact of sanctions on the economy of opponents.

All of this requires a modern diplomat to not only be digitally literate but also to be constantly engaged in the learning process. Each country solves the problem of adapting the diplomatic service to new realities in its own way. For example, the US Department of State introduced a data literacy course a few years ago. Nowadays, this is mostly about basic skills of working with digital tools to visualize content or track the reaction of the target audience to messages on social networks. But experts are already serious about using artificial intelligence and big data algorithms to calculate the consequences of political decisions, improve the training of diplomats for difficult negotiations, predict a political crisis or forecast a humanitarian catastrophe due to drought or earthquake to send consular staff to the disaster-affected area in advance.

The gradual transition from the “*art of words*” to the “*art of numbers*” has already led to a new phenomenon: techno-diplomacy. This concept is increasingly becoming a feature of everyday practice. The first country to appoint a “digital” ambassador to develop relations with technology giants such as Google, Microsoft or Amazon was Denmark. This is hardly surprising, since the annual budget of these corporations exceeds the GDP of most countries, and international relations have long ceased to be purely interstate. Denmark’s example of techno-diplomacy was followed by France and later by Bulgaria, which have also appointed their digital techno-ambassadors.

Estonia, famed for its digital diplomacy and digital citizenship (e-Residency), has long signed international agreements to store backup copies of its citizens’ personal data on secure servers in neighboring countries. Luxembourg replenishes the state treasury with tens of millions of euros annually, leasing its network infrastructure to other countries and passing advanced laws on mineral extraction in space.

Medical diplomacy and the open science movement are actively developing. Amid the coronavirus pandemic and the unprecedented disinformation campaign on both sides of the Atlantic, there is a growing clamor for free access of scientists from around the world to research and scientific

infrastructure to speed up vaccine development and avoid unnecessary manipulation. Whereas previously isolated calls from scholars in support of the Open Science Initiative or the European Research Area (ERA) were deemed only as elements of public diplomacy, they have now become paramount national security issues at the highest political level.

The institutional failure of international organizations, primarily the WHO, and national governments to provide clear recommendations on crisis management in a global pandemic has forced scientists to come together and take responsibility for developing strategies to combat viruses, produce drugs and vaccines and predict and overcome their consequences. After several waves of Ebola, Zika, Middle East Respiratory Syndrome and numerous strains of coronavirus, the creation of common platforms for the exchange of scientific data and research findings has become an essential area of activity for many scientists and politicians.

Obviously, all of these issues will remain on the agenda for a long time, requiring diplomats to significantly expand their vocabulary and specific scientific knowledge. In some countries, this has already forced the MFA to introduce new staff positions for “*science*” and “*medical*” attachés in foreign diplomatic missions. At the same time, new multilateral platforms for the constant interaction of diplomats and scientists are being designed.

International experience: best practices in the development of science diplomacy and multilateral platforms for scientific and educational cooperation

Among the international programs that have played a special role in the formation and development of science diplomacy, several initiatives are worth noting.

- NATO’s *Science for Peace and Security Program (SPS)*⁶ was launched in 2006 and brings together 28 NATO member countries and 44 partner countries; it aims to strengthen Euro-Atlantic and international security by applying the best scientific and technological solutions to counter existing and potential threats; its activities include expert advisory assistance, research grants, publication of thematic materials, exchange of experience between scientists, experts and practitioners

⁶ NATO (2021). *Science for Peace and Security Programme* [online]. Available at: <https://bit.ly/3pqaxrt> [in English].

in the field of security; Ukraine participates in more than 40 research projects within the SPS;

- *EU Horizon 2020 and Horizon Europe* – EU’s largest framework program for science and innovation funding;
- The *Horizon 2020 program* is designed for 2014–20, the total budget is €80 billion; the program covers the following activities: supporting researchers to carry out cutting-edge research through the European Research Council (ERC); maintaining scientific cooperation to find new and promising areas of research through support for *Future and Emerging Technologies* (FET); providing researchers with opportunities for training and career development through the Marie Skłodowska-Curie Actions program; ensuring that all European researchers have access to quality research resources (including electronic resources and databases).
- *Horizon Europe* is designed for 2020–27, with a total budget of €95.5 billion; it is a continuation of the *Horizon 2020* program and is focused on achieving the UN Sustainable Development Goals by 2030; the priority areas are overcoming the new challenges posed by climate change, the beginning of the fourth industrial revolution and overcoming the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic. In 2015, Ukraine became an associate member of the *Horizon 2020* European Union Framework Program for Research and Innovation and ranked seventh among the associated countries in terms of the amount of funds raised (about €40 million as of December 2020) from the general budget of the *Horizon 2020* program. In autumn 2021, Ukraine is expected to join the *Horizon Europe* program, aimed at creating a single European scientific space and an innovation union, and participate in the complementary *Euratom Program*, which aims to promote cooperation in civil science research and technical development in nuclear safety and radiation protection.
- *The EU project Science for Diplomacy, Diplomacy for Science (S4D4C)* was launched in 2018 under the *Horizon 2020* program; it aims to raise awareness and develop science diplomacy by creating a unique network for cooperation between diplomats and scholars, as well as an open database of thematic publications, sources and online courses on science diplomacy on the web portal www.S4D4C.eu; activities include seminars, trainings for scholars and

diplomats, publication of thematic materials, exchange of experience and advocacy of science diplomacy at various levels, including the top political leadership of the EU and dozens of countries on all continents; among the partners of the project there are The World Academy of Sciences (TWAS), the Diplomatic Academy of Vienna, the Center for Social Innovation (ZSI), the Spanish Foundation for Science and Technology (FECYT), the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) and others.

An important achievement on the way to institutionalizing the project and further formalizing science diplomacy into an independent research area was the signing in 2019 of the so-called *Madrid Declaration on Science Diplomacy*, which aims to raise awareness of the need to strengthen science diplomacy strategies and practices to support universal scientific and democratic values around the world, suggests that these strategies should include science and technology as key aspects of foreign policy and international relations at various political levels, pays great attention to common values and professional ethics, whilst also being based on the principles of openness, integrity and inclusiveness.

- *The Center for Science Diplomacy of the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS)* was established in 2008 and is headquartered in Washington; it is engaged in academic research in the field of science diplomacy; the institution has been publishing the online journal *Science & Diplomacy* since 2012; the publication contains scientific articles and comments from practitioners involved in science, education and diplomacy. It is meant for experts, diplomats, politicians, foreign policy analysts, scientists, teachers and students majoring in international relations.

In addition to multilateral platforms of international cooperation and research centers that study science diplomacy in all of its manifestations and aspects, a key role in the practical implementation of the agreements reached at the negotiating table is played by diplomats who directly serve as scientific diplomats at the MFA’s headquarters and diplomatic missions. The level of office, its place in the protocol order and job responsibilities can vary significantly depending on the structure of the diplomatic service, national strategies for the development of science diplomacy (or foreign policy in general), which determine the priority areas of cooperation with international partners, and, ultimately, available funding that determines the staffing schedule.

In diplomatic practice, there are three main models of staffing policy for “science diplomats”:

- Science attaché / adviser as a separate position

In many countries worldwide, the staff of foreign diplomatic missions comprises positions of science attachés or advisers, who take care of the development of scientific and technical cooperation with the host country. In various cases, these positions may be held either by career diplomats with relevant education or training, or by scholars who have “come to diplomacy” from academia and have received basic training in diplomatic academies. In particular, such a system is typical of France, Italy and Russia.

- *Representatives of portfolio ministries or government agencies who work as full-time employees of diplomatic missions or act as part of separate structural units at embassies*

For instance, from the mid-20th century, the US had a practice of appointing scientific attaches. In 1997, these positions were abolished as part of austerity measures. Instead, depending on the agenda of bilateral relations, the relevant government agencies, technical agencies and Departments now have representations at embassies, including the Ministries of Economy, Energy, Health, Social Services; NASA, the National Nuclear Safety Administration, the National Science Foundation, etc. The general issues of scientific cooperation are dealt with by ordinary diplomats without specific scientific training – the so-called ESTH (Environment, Science, Technology and Health) officers.

Also interesting is the tradition of appointing “science ambassadors” – special representatives of the US President on water, medical, nuclear or, say, space diplomacy. They are nominated under a special program of the Office of Scientific and Technical Cooperation of the State Department, and candidates are usually selected from among leading academics, Nobel prize winners and public figures. Their primary mission is not so much to carry out day-to-day diplomatic work as to represent, advise, and “mobilize regional and global networks of scientists” around US science and technology interests.

- *Diplomatic generalists* (employees of the political or economic department of the embassy without special education and training), who deal with issues of scientific and technical cooperation in accordance with the established division of functional responsibilities

Such a system is widespread in many European countries, including Ukraine. In some cases, when scientific and technical cooperation is a

significant part of Ukraine’s bilateral relations with the host country, representatives of relevant ministries may be appointed to diplomatic positions in foreign diplomatic missions.

In Ukraine, the development of scientific and technical cooperation since independence has not yet become a priority of foreign policy. However, Ukrainian scientists and diplomats have managed to implement a number of projects that could become textbook examples in manuals on science diplomacy. These include the construction of the Chernobyl protection arch, educational programs at Ukrainian universities for foreign specialists in the field of nuclear energy, the launch of the American *Antares* rocket with Ukrainian-made components of the *Pivdenne* Construction Bureau and the *Pivdenmash* State Enterprise, high-tech projects in the defense industry and world-renowned Ukrainian startups.

Ukrainian institutes and research centers successfully cooperate with European partners. Associate membership in Horizon 2020 allows Ukraine to participate on the terms of an EU member state and join the work of Program Committees. Ukraine is traditionally one of the ten most successful third countries, annually implementing dozens of projects in such priority areas as environmental protection, climate change, nanotechnology, advanced materials, biotechnology, food industry, agriculture, transport, aeronautics, space. To support the participation of Ukrainian research teams in the *Horizon 2020* program, a network of Ukrainian National Contact Points



The international seminar for scientists and diplomats within the project Science for Diplomacy, Diplomacy for Science, Vienna, 2018

(NACs) was established, which includes leading universities and institutions of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. As of August 2020, there were 39 NCUs and five regional contact points. Ukrainian teams submitted 2,475 proposals, more than 200 applications were selected, with total funding amounting to €36 million.

Examples of research projects in EU-Ukraine cooperation include:

- ANIMA (Aviation Noise Impact Management); the Ukrainian partner of a consortium consisting of 22 institutions from 11 countries – National Aviation University;
- ERA-PLANET (The European Network for Observing Our Changing Planet); the Ukrainian partner – the Institute of Space Research of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine and the State Space Agency of Ukraine;
- AMMODIT (Approximation Methods for Molecular Modelling and Diagnosis Tools – a project in the field of applied mathematics in medicine and life sciences); Ukrainian partners - Institute of Mathematics and Institute of Hydromechanics of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, National Technical University *Kyiv Polytechnic Institute*;
- BLACK SEA HORIZON is a project aimed at strengthening the EU's external relations with the region by supporting regional dialogue in science, technology and innovation. The budget is about €1.5 million, the Ukrainian partner is the Institute of Economics and Forecasting of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine.

In November 2015, Ukraine took a significant step towards the adaptation of national science legislation to EU legislation by approving the Law on *Scientific and Scientific-Technical Activities*. In accordance with this law, in April 2017, the National Council of Ukraine for the Development of Science and Technology was established to coordinate the joint efforts of scientists and the authorities in developing policy in the field of science.⁷

However, the impact of these reforms on the overall state of science infrastructure in Ukraine remains limited, the legislation on technology transfer to integrate Ukrainian networks with EU networks is yet to be approved

⁷ Emerson, M, Movchan, V. (eds). (2021). *Pohlyblennia vidnosyn mizh YeS ta Ukrainoiu: perehliad ta onovlennia na tli Covid-19* [The Deepening of EU-Ukraine Relations: Reviewing and Renewing amid Covid-19]. Kyiv: Center for European Policy Studies, Institute for Economic Research and Political Consulting, pp. 297–300. [in Ukrainian].

In 2017, Jane Lubchenko, an American scientist of Ukrainian descent, Professor at Harvard University, and Head of the US National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, was appointed “science ambassador” for ocean protection and marine ecology in 2009–14.



and public policy in this area is still under discussion. Thus, the lack of a strategy for the development of science diplomacy, excessive bureaucratization of decision-making processes and inter-institutional cooperation, lack of communication between line ministries and institutions and, finally, misunderstandings of real tasks and priorities often nullify years of hard work.

Be it rocket building or joint development of defense technologies, the creation of modern technology parks or the promotion of national IT start-ups, the fight against new viruses or introduction of new technologies, the realization of any of these tasks requires a clear conceptual vision and a unique combination of diplomatic skills and specific scientific knowledge.



A visit to Chornobyl by a group of teachers and students of the Institute of Nuclear Research of Ankara University within the Ukrainian-Turkish Summer School on Atomic Energy, organized by the Embassy of Ukraine in Turkey in cooperation with the Kyiv Polytechnic Institute

So far, developing a strategy for science diplomacy and launching appropriate professional development programs remains the main home assignment for Ukrainian diplomats, scholars and the Ukrainian state as a whole.

Conclusions

Science diplomacy is an important element of the image-making policy of states, public diplomacy and an effective tool for promoting national interests in the international arena. At the same time, it would be an oversimplification to see science in diplomacy as soft power. Science diplomacy not only plays an important role in the development of people-to-people contacts but in many cases is directly related to national security and economic issues. The construction of launching complexes for space rockets, joint training of operators at nuclear power plants or research in the field of military technology are as important tasks of science diplomacy as academic mobility programs. “*Technological wars*” between the United States and China or cyber espionage, the fight against the uncontrolled spread of the coronavirus or the development of vaccines are all issues of national security and scientific diplomacy. And it is in this, security, plane is its main difference from public, expert or educational diplomacy. The new challenges of the 21st century are strengthening the role of science in diplomacy and diplomacy in science, creating for humanity both unparalleled threats and new unique opportunities for development. Science diplomacy is designed to teach how to use these opportunities effectively and neutralize threats.

Self-Assessment Questionnaire:

- What is science diplomacy? Name and describe the main directions of science diplomacy.
- When and under what conditions was the term “science diplomacy” first used? What is the basic document that marked the beginning of the current stage of development of science diplomacy?
- What are the latest trends in the development of science diplomacy in the 21st century? What factors contribute to the growing interest in science diplomacy at the present stage?
- What positions can “science diplomats” hold in foreign diplomatic missions? What functions can they perform in the various national systems of the diplomatic service?
- Give successful examples of Ukrainian “science diplomacy.” What do you see as the main problems and prospects for its further development?

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Sports Diplomacy



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Sports are a phenomenon that can unite people of different ages, nationalities, religions, views and help public institutions pursue their interests in the international arena. As part of human culture, they allow people to communicate without borders. The humanistic principles of the sports movement turn athletes into true ambassadors of peace, and sports competitions – into an important component of international relations (more heads of state gather at the Olympic Games than at the G20 Summit). According to the US Embassy in Ukraine, “*sports diplomacy is an integral part of our efforts to build ever-strengthening relations between Ukraine and the United States. It uses the universal passion for sports to transcend linguistic and sociocultural differences and bring people together. The Bureau of Education and Cultural Affairs’ (ECA) Sports Diplomacy Division taps into sports’ ability to increase dialogue and cultural understanding among people around the world.*”¹ International sports institutions are among the progenitors of collective cooperation to maintain peace (all wars and conflicts ceased during the Olympic Games). With their capabilities, sports are gaining such a significant impact that they can be considered an integral part of culture and international relations, an independent area of diplomatic activity called sports diplomacy.²

Major importance to the development of sports diplomacy is attached, for instance, in the French Republic – a

- 1 US Embassy in Ukraine (2021). *Sports Diplomacy* [online]. Available at: <https://ua.usembassy.gov/uk/education-culture-uk/exchange-programs-uk/sports-diplomacy/> [in English].
- 2 Hridina, I., Kuts, D. (2013). Mistse ta rol sportyvnoi dyplomatii u vnutrishnii ta zovnishnii politytsi suchasnoi derzhavy [The Place and Role of Sports Diplomacy in Domestic and Foreign Policy of the Modern State]. *Istorychni i politolohichni doslidzhennia*, no. 1(51), pp. 261–262. [in Ukrainian].

member of the G7, the UN, UNESCO, the European Union, the Council of Europe, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and many other international organizations. According to its concept, French sports diplomacy is a global diplomacy that focuses on strengthening the impact of economic development, regulating globalization and communication in order to support French sports in the international arena. So as to strengthen the role of sports in economic diplomacy and the influence of France in the international arena, in January 2014, at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the French Foreign Minister Laurent Fabius and Minister of Sports, Youth, Associative Life and Popular Education Valérie Fourneyron presented an action plan, which identified five main objectives: to improve the attractiveness of France by organizing and holding major sporting events; to increase the number of French representatives in international sports organizations; to promote French as the official language of the Olympic movement; to spread France's position on ethics in sports; to strengthen the position of French companies in sports markets abroad. The developers of the priorities stressed the importance of teamwork, a coherent and coordinated approach, so that the diplomatic network is mobilized around sports and that sports become a mainstay for France's diplomatic strategy of influence. In order to coordinate activities and policies in the field of sports diplomacy, the Quai D'Orsay has established the position of sports ambassador, responsible for coordinating and strengthening France's diplomatic influence in the field of sports in the international arena. The structure of bodies called upon to implement the strategy of sports diplomacy includes the Office of International Relations, which is charge of developing bilateral cooperation with relevant ministries and multilateral international organizations (EU, UNESCO, Council of Europe, Francophone organizations) in the field of sports; the French National Olympic and Sports Committee (CNOSF), which promotes French sports internationally, the French presence in international bodies and the use of French as an Olympic language; the Office for Professional Sport and the Economics of Sport, responsible for promoting these areas in France and internationally. An important priority in their work is the integration of sports and sports diplomacy into French economic diplomacy, particularly by helping French companies position themselves in international sports-related markets and in markets where major international and domestic sporting events are planned;

the development and structuring of the offer of French sporting goods at the international level, as well as the development of international technical cooperation.

The Public Diplomacy Strategy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine for 2021–25 defines sports diplomacy as a direction of public diplomacy, which is carried out by organizing, conducting and participating in international sporting events and declares the importance of sports ties to strengthen intercultural dialogue and enhance international prestige. The key tasks of sports diplomacy in the Strategy include fostering the growth of the number of missions of Ukraine in international sports organizations and associations; popularizing sports achievements of Ukrainian athletes; providing assistance in holding joint sports events, training camps, exhibitions, etc.; promoting the state as a venue for international sporting events; popularizing Ukraine as a country with wide investment opportunities in the sports industry; using sports to promote Ukraine's success in gender equality, accessibility, inclusiveness and achieving a healthy lifestyle.³

³ MFA of Ukraine (2021). *Stratehiia publichnoi dyplomatii Ministerstva zakordonnykh sprav Ukrainy na 2021–2025 roky* [online]. Available at: <https://mfa.gov.ua/storage/app/sites/public-diplomacy-strategy.pdf> [in Ukrainian].



Ukrainian Paralympians at the 2020 Olympics in Tokyo. Source: <https://www.nta.ua/dvoye-ukrayinskyh-sportsmeniv-vyboroly-zoloto-na-paralimpiadi-v-tokio/>

The phenomenon of sports diplomacy

As an instrument of diplomacy, sports embody the cause of peace, noble qualities and values. As former US Ambassador to Denmark James P. Cain put it, sports can be a powerful means of building connections, despite cultural and ethnic differences, by transmitting universal values: mutual respect, tolerance, compassion, discipline, equal opportunities and the rule of law.⁴

The essence of the concept “*sports diplomacy*” is understood as formal and informal activities of states, governments and special foreign policy bodies to implement foreign policy objectives, as well as of other participants engaged in sporting activities in a certain way, by organizing, conducting and participating in international sports events among teams, athletes, coaches and their achievements. There are diplomacy of sports competitions, diplomacy of sports organizations and sports as a means of achieving foreign policy goals.

The range of participants (actors) of sports diplomacy is extremely wide and includes states, state structures in the field of sports, international and national sports associations (IOC, NOC, international and national federations of individual kinds of sports), athletes, coaches, media, fans, business structures, etc. The forms of sports diplomacy include the Olympic Games, world and European championships, international, continental, regional championships, cup and friendly matches, sports festivals, congresses, conferences, meetings on sports issues, etc.

Functions of sports diplomacy

Sports diplomacy performs a number of important functions. Its social function is defined by the slogan “*it’s not the winning but the taking part that counts,*” and is realized in the involvement in the international sports movement. In the run-up to the 2020 Olympic Games in Tokyo, the IOC approved a new slogan to replace the previous “*Faster, higher, stronger*”: “*Citius, Altius, Fortius – Communis*” (“*Faster, higher, stronger – together*”), which demonstrates the unifying function of sports diplomacy that contributes to the unity of nations. In Canada, for example, Anglophones and Francophones are united by the same symbols of Canadian sports,⁵ and in South

4 Murray, S. (2011). *Sports-Diplomacy: a hybrid of two halves* [online]. Available at: <http://www.culturaldiplomacy.org/academy/content/pdf/participant-papers/2011-symposium/Sports-Diplomacy-a-hybrid-of-two-halves--Dr-Stuart-Murray.pdf> [in English].

5 See: Coackly, J., Dunning, E. (eds). (2000). *Handbook of Sports Studies*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd, pp. 213–227. [in English].

Africa during the 1995 Rugby World Cup, Nelson Mandela found a way to unite the country by wearing a Springbok T-shirt and a hat, which black citizens of South Africa loathed.

The *value-forming function* of sports diplomacy is promoted by such international organizations as UNESCO and the IOC. UNESCO considers sports to be a powerful tool for social inclusion, gender equality and the empowerment of young people, with benefits felt far beyond stadiums. Values acquired in sports and through sports, such as fair play and team spirit, are very important for the whole society. In today’s world of democratic values, sport / sports diplomacy promote the ideas of tolerance, freedom, human rights, mutual respect and equality.

The idea of promoting sports as peace on Earth (“*Oh, sports, you are peace!*”) is the basis for the UNESCO International Day of Sport for Development and Peace. In August 2013, the UN General Assembly decided to declare April 6 as the International Day of Sport for Development and Peace. In response to the challenges posed by the COVID-19 pandemic and to puts sport at the heart of our societies, UNESCO has developed a new global Fit for Life program. This new framework aims to promote the global understanding of sports practices and accompany national policies on the inclusion of sport in education, youth and health. By engaging all education and government stakeholders, the Fit for Life program will allow them to work together to develop solutions that are effective at the local level and can be applied at other levels. In order for all societies to enjoy the benefits of sports, UNESCO, together with development banks, has set up the Sport for Development Coalition, in which public authorities have been assisted in obtaining the funding needed to develop quality physical education and support sports during and after the crisis.

In 2015, at the initiative of the International University Sports Federation (FISU) at the 38th session of the UNESCO General Conference, the International Day of Student Sports was established. It is celebrated annually on September 20, starting from 2016, in honor of the First Student World Championship, which took place in 1924. By dedicating one day a year to universities and sports for citizens, the International University Sports Federation aims to highlight the key role that universities can and should play in meeting the challenges of today in terms of knowledge acquisition and its transfer, as well as social and economic policies at the local, national and international levels.

By their nature, sports and sports competitions contain a conflictual and competitive component, sports are a rivalry per se. The problem of primacy is solved by peaceful non-violent means; sports competitions are a much safer way to measure strength than military conflict, thus fulfilling a *compensatory function*.

For the population of many sporting countries, athletes are more popular than presidents, heads of state and politicians; therefore, the involvement of political leaders in sports can bring serious bonuses to increase the



Saudi football fans

Source: <https://workingwomanreport.com/saudi-arabia-stadiums-welcome-female-football-fans-first-time/>

authority of the government. Sports historian Richard Crepo argues that sports helps make images of politicians more humane.⁶ Moreover, sporting success of the national team in international competitions can evoke direct associations with the success of the current government: the successful performance of the national team was due to its support, which serves the *function of political support and assistance*.

Amidst the commercialization of sports, sports diplomacy has also received a business dimension, *business and financial functions*. The world market for sporting goods is worth over \$100 billion per year, and the media pay a lot of money for the right to broadcast sports competitions. Players

6 Stevens, M. (2011). "When 'the little ball moved the big ball' four decades ago," *Los Angeles Times*, July 8 [online]. Available at: <https://www.latimes.com/sports/la-xpm-2011-jul-08-la-sp-ping-pong-diplomacy-20110709-story.html> [in English].

can be bought, sold, rented and exchanged.⁷ Given these trends, any state that pursues a sound sports policy can reap many benefits for its budget.

Sports diplomacy can help improve interstate relations. Its *function of overcoming alienation* between nations is demonstrated, in particular, by the ping-pong diplomacy of China and the United States in the 1970s, which became a breakthrough in US-China relations. Thanks to one sporting event, the ice of distrust in relations between Beijing and Washington melted. It is known that a sensational offer came from Beijing: the American table tennis team, which participated in the championship in Japan, was invited to China at the latter's expense. On April 11–17, 1971, members of the American national team played several matches with their Chinese counterparts, visited the Summer Palace and the Great Wall of China and were able to see Chinese life from the inside. This was the first official visit of Americans to China since its foundation in 1949. The results of the event caused a huge resonance around the world. The heads of the two once hostile states directly commented on the achievements of sports diplomacy as follows: Richard M. Nixon called it "a week that changed the world," and Mao Zedong metaphorically stated that "a small ball moved a big ball."⁸ Following this visit, President Nixon sent US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger to China to prepare for an official government visit. Negotiations were successful, and in February 1972, Nixon visited China. Thanks to one sporting event and the entrepreneurship of Prime Minister of the People's Republic of China Zhou Enlai and H. Kissinger, the ice of distrust melted between Beijing and Washington. It is clear, however, that both sides were interested in the normalization of US-China relations, and the basis for rapprochement was their general confrontation with the USSR. Ultimately, ping-pong diplomacy led to key changes in the geopolitical situation in the US-USSR-China "big strategic triangle": it strengthened China and the United States and weakened the Soviet Union, which by the end of the 1970s found itself in international isolation.

Another well-known example of the use of sports diplomacy to overcome antagonism is cricket diplomacy between India and Pakistan. Five years after India and Pakistan gained independence in the wake of inter-ethnic wars and conflicts in Kashmir, the leaders of both countries chose cricket to renew contacts with each other and among people. Although cricket

7 Slack, T. (2004). *The Commercialisation of Sport*. New York: Routledge, p. 335. [in English].

8 Stevens, op. cit.

diplomacy between India and Pakistan has an unambiguous history, experts believe that cricket is the only way to unite ethnic, tribal, linguistic and class diversity in both countries.⁹

During the 2012 UEFA European Football Championship, Ukraine and Poland were given an opportunity to host the final part of the competition. UEFA's decision was largely driven by diplomatic interests and was intended to help countries that had rather strained relations at the time get closer and forge foreign policy ties in the run-up to the championship.¹⁰

In 2015, President Barack H. Obama announced that the United States and Cuba would eventually exchange embassies. In the same year, Cuba was visited by famous players of the professional baseball club *Los Angeles Dodgers* Yasiel Puig, a native of Cuba, Chase Utley and other players in the Major League Baseball (MLB).

In 2018, North Korea joined the Olympics in South Korea in Pyeongchang, and at the opening ceremony of the Winter Olympics, the national teams came under the flag of a "United Korea"; in women's hockey, the two countries were represented by a combined team for the first time.¹¹

The goals and objectives of diplomacy itself as an instrument of foreign policy are directly embodied in the *image-making function* of sports diplomacy. The understanding that sports are most actively involved in creating the image of the state was manifested as early as 20th century, when the United States began to count the team medal spoils at the Olympics and started using sports for self-promotion. Indeed, no athlete stands up for himself, he represents the state, which prepared him for the competition, allocated funds for training, equipment and transportation to the competition venue. Thus, the victory of the athlete is the victory of the country that delegated him; it serves to satisfy national pride and demonstrate national superiority. Strong sports performance is a reflection of the socioeconomic development of countries and their ability to invest in sports. At the same time, the reputation of a successful socioeconomic development of the country in the international audience is formed in absentia, when the country's ath-

9 Gilani, I. (2021). "Checkered history of cricket diplomacy," *Anadolu Agency*, September 23 [online]. Available at: <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/analysis/analysis-checkered-history-of-cricket-diplomacy/2372581> [in English].

10 Filippova, Yu. (2020). Sportyvna dyplomatiia: sutnisne znachennia, vyklyky i perspektyvy dlia Ukrainy [Sports Diplomacy: Essence, Challenges and Prospects for Ukraine]. *Politykus*, no. 3, p. 154. [in Ukrainian].

11 Cheesman, G.-M. (2019). Famous instances of sports diplomacy, *Stacker*, March 25 [online]. Available at: <https://stacker.com/stories/2720/famous-instances-sports-diplomacy> [in English].

letes show high results, which in the eyes of the international community increases its investment attractiveness and, ultimately, buttresses potential economic results.

In the early 1990s, the world learned about independent Ukraine thanks to the victories of its athletes – S. Bubka, A. Shevchenko, the Klychko brothers, L. Podkopaieva. In the context of global information wars, sports diplomacy helps identify one's country, distinguish it from others, declare one's ideals, values and the realities of political life. In view of this, the tools of sports diplomacy, among other things, are used to promote the topic of countering Russian aggression, as was the case during the 2020 European Football Championship, where the national team of Ukraine played in a uniform depicting Ukraine's borders, including Crimea, and the inscription "Glory to Ukraine" and "Glory to the Heroes."

Most countries see the holding of an international tournament in their territory as a political victory, an unconditional success of the country in international life, which brings better image – sometimes even more than winning the tournament. The political elite is interested in fighting for the right to hold international competitions in their country at various levels. By using sports as a tool of foreign policy, the state can change its image in the eyes of the world community, from closed or even hostile to open and positive. Of course, this may be an artificial image (as in the case of Nazi



The uniform of the Ukrainian national football team at the 2021 World Cup

Germany using the Olympics to return to the international arena) or partly “altered” one – as in communist China (2008 Olympics), but the result in this case is growing attention to and trust in the host country.

Similar examples were demonstrated by Japan in 1964, which improved its image of an aggressor country after World War II by opening itself to the world as a new economic and progressive power. In 2021, despite the COVID-19 pandemic, Japan, with the support of the IOC, proved that holding the Olympic Games in a safe way for all participants and the Japanese people is paramount: in this manner, Japan has demonstrated the ability of its people to overcome hardships.

A real economic breakthrough occurred in 1988, when the Olympic Games were held in South Korea, then a small state.¹² A successful holding of a sporting event stimulates the investment attractiveness of the state and, as a result, the growth of its socioeconomic level as a whole. There is even the term “*Olympic effect*.” Researchers from the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco have concluded that in a country hosting a large-scale championship, exports and imports grow by about 30 percent. States are extremely interested in hosting the Olympic Games to promote their national cultural and ideological values among a wide world audience. Obtaining the right to hold competitions of this level is a victory in the competition among contenders, which speaks not only about the level of sports development in the country but also recognizes the stability and attractiveness of its political system, its economic success, developed infrastructure and services. The hosting and holding of such competitions, which have a global scale thanks to media and a huge number of spectators, provides excellent opportunities for further promotion of the country’s image in the international arena.

Sports diplomacy in the protection of state interests in a hybrid war

The seemingly tolerant nature of sports gives it an opportunity to “*break the ice*” in international relations, create a favorable image of states or draw public attention to their problems. Since its inception in ancient Greece, the Olympic Games have had a tradition of “*Olympic Armistice*,” designed to ensure the safe travel and stay of athletes and spectators at the Games during the war. Since then, the tradition of the Olympic Games has been to

12 Brownell, S. (n.d.). *The Olympics’ “civilizing” legacy* [online]. Available at: <https://css.ethz.ch/en/services/digital-library/articles/article.html/88391> [in English].

allow people to forget about disputes and unite in the spirit of international cooperation.

At the same time, in addition to the positive aspects, sports diplomacy has an unattractive and sometimes aggressive side, which has been called “*negative sports diplomacy*,” or sports anti-diplomacy.¹³ In 2018, before the Winter Olympics in South Korea, some Western publications wrote that “*this time Putin may not start a war*.” Such a prediction was made possible by the Kremlin’s sports anti-diplomacy to time military aggression against sovereign neighbors to the Olympic Games. This first happened in August 2008, when Russia launched an aggression against Georgia. According to a study of the Modern War Institute, “*Much of the world were glued to their televisions, but they were watching the Beijing Olympics, not the unfolding war in Georgia*.”¹⁴ This research argues that the Russian-Georgian war was a “training session” before what happened in 2014. Serhiy Haiduk, Vice Admiral, Commander of the Ukrainian Navy in 2014–2016, claimed that the Olympics in Sochi served as a cover for Russia to transfer its additional troops to the Crimea and further capture the peninsula. According to him, it was impossible to force Russian military groups to ferry and deliver to Crimea through the Kerch Strait, which “*would be very overt*.” Therefore, there was a legend: the rotation of the group that provided protection for the Olympic Games in Sochi.¹⁵

During the European Football Championship (Euro 2020), Russia’s *Channel One* did not show the start of matches involving the Ukrainian national team, when its anthem was performed. Similarly, *Channel One* did not show the Ukrainian national team at the opening of the 2020 Olympics in Tokyo; instead, advertising was aired. The TV channel explained this by commercial commitments.

The Russian Olympic Committee prepared a memo-instruction for athletes with ready answers to political questions. The authors of the instruction recommended that athletes, for example, refrain from discussing topics

13 The Warsaw Institute Review (2020). *In Sport, Politicians Can Go Much Further Than In The World Of Politics: An interview about Sport Diplomacy* [online]. Available at: <https://warsawinstitute.review/news-en/in-sport-politicians-can-go-much-further-than-in-the-world-of-politics-an-interview-about-sports-diplomacy/> [in English].

14 Beehner, L. et al. (2018). *Analyzing the Russian Way of War: Evidence from the 2008 Conflict with Georgia*. New York: Modern War Institute. [online]. Available at: <https://mwi.usma.edu/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/Analyzing-the-Russian-Way-of-War.pdf> [in English].

15 Army Inform (2021). *Yak Rosiia vykorystovuiuie sport u hibrydnyii viini: TOP-6 prykladiv* [online]. Available at: <https://armyinform.com.ua/2021/06/yak-rosiya-vykorystovuyeye-sport-u-gibrydnij-vijni-top-6-prykladiv/> [in Ukrainian].

related to the Crimea and Donbas, as “*sports should remain out of politics.*” For the most part, Russian athletes were advised to answer such questions from journalists with the phrase “*no comments.*”¹⁶

Due to Russia’s aggression and the temporary occupation of Crimea and certain territories of Donetsk and Luhansk regions, Ukraine has not implemented ambitious sports projects capable of enhancing the international image of our country. For instance, Ukraine received the right to host the European Basketball Championship among men’s teams in 2015, EuroBasket. This is an international tournament among European men’s basketball teams, which is held biennially under the auspices of FIBA Europe and is one of the three largest sporting events in Europe and five largest sporting events in the world. EuroBasket 2015 was to have taken place in Ukraine in September. It was planned that the tournament bringing together 24 teams in 90 matches would be held in Kyiv, Lviv, Dnipro, Donetsk, Kharkiv and Odessa. It was also planned that from July 24 to August 3, 2014 Donetsk would host the FIBA U18 European Championship – the European basketball championship among national teams for youth under 18 years. Instead, in June 2014, Russian tanks appeared in Donetsk.

Under the conditions of Russian aggression, any international competition of Ukrainian athletes turns into a symbolic defense of sovereignty, a test of national identity.

In the Public Diplomacy Strategy of the MFA of Ukraine for 2021–25, sports diplomacy plays an important role in protecting the national interests of Ukraine in close cooperation with the Ministry of Youth and Sports of Ukraine, sports federations, the National Olympic Committee and international sports organizations. Thus, to support Ukrainians during their performances at the 2020 Olympics in Japan, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine together with the Ukrainian Institute, the Ministry of Youth and Sports of Ukraine, the National Olympic Committee joined the international information campaign initiated by Reface. A series of creative videos with Ukrainian athletes in the form of film heroes has been developed as part of a campaign to unite Ukrainian and foreign audiences in support of the Ukrainian team during the Olympic Games in Japan.¹⁷ “*The Tokyo Olym-*

16 Ukrinform (2021). “*Yikh tam niet*” na Olimpiadi: pershe mistse z polityzatsii sportu [online]. Available at: <https://www.ukrinform.ua/rubric-antifake/3292591-ih-tam-net-na-olimpiadi-pershe-misce-z-politizacii-sportu.html> [in Ukrainian].

17 Refacians: People of Reface (2021). Ukrainian Olympic Team 2020 [online]. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OS7UZ-chCkE&list=PLbxdq3BsZFSxA73JsS7lSbJ_ijTUQyv&index=29 [in English].



pics are a great opportunity to promote Ukraine’s positive image in the world. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has decided to help the team of the world-famous Ukrainian startup Reface achieve this goal creatively and in a non-standard way. The Ministry and foreign diplomatic missions of Ukraine around the world have undertaken to intensify the campaign in support of our Olympic team so that it reaches as large an international audience as possible,” Ukrainian Foreign Minister Dmytro Kuleba said.¹⁸

The uniform of the Ukrainian national team at the 2020 Olympic Games, which was recognized as one of the best by the well-known American publication *PEOPLE*, also attracted the attention of the international community. Thus, the goal of visually promoting Ukraine’s image abroad was achieved. “*The equipment of Ukrainian athletes impressed the publication’s experts during the parade at the opening ceremony of the Japanese Olympics. The most popular American magazine called the main Ukrainian uniform innovative and at the same time convenient and practical,*” the National Olympic Committee of Ukraine reported.¹⁹

18 MFA of Ukraine (2021). *OlympicUA — MZS ta Reface realizuiut kampaniiu na pidtrymku ukrainskoi zbirnoi na Olimpiiskykh ihrakh* [online]. Available at: <https://mfa.gov.ua/news/olympicua-mzs-ta-reface-realizuyut-kampaniyu-na-pidtrimku-ukrayinskoyi-zbirnoyi-na-olimpiiskykh-igrah> [in Ukrainian].

19 Priamyi Channel (2021). “*Olimpiada-2020: formu zbirnoi Ukrainy vyznaly odniieiu z naikrashchykh,*” August 25 [online]. Available at: <https://prm.ua/olimpiada-2020-formu-zbirnoi-ukrainy-vyznaly-odniieiu-z-naykrashchykh/>

Thus, sports diplomacy is one of the important areas of public diplomacy, which is implemented through organizing, conducting and taking part in international sporting events. Faced with Russian hybrid aggression, sports diplomacy performs among other things, an identification function for our state. Based on the experience of the world's leading countries, Ukraine has every chance to introduce and improve modern methods and tools for sports diplomacy in its foreign policy, thus improving its image in the international arena.

Self-Assessment Questionnaire:

- What qualities of international sports enable it to be an instrument of public diplomacy?
- Describe the functions of sports diplomacy.
- Who are the actors of sports diplomacy? Describe the main dimensions of the work of public diplomacy in the field of sports diplomacy.
- What is sports “anti-diplomacy”?
- Describe Ukraine’s experience in sports diplomacy.

Recommended Reading

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Table of Contents

Foreword.....	5
Chapter 1. Theoretical and Institutional Aspects of Public Diplomacy	
Public Diplomacy: Terminology and Historiography by <i>Iryna Matiash</i>	9
Public Diplomacy Activities of the MFA. Public Diplomacy Strategy-2021 by <i>Iryna Borovets</i>	29
Essentials of Ukraine’s Image-Making Abroad: Strategy and Tactic by <i>Vasyl Kyrylych</i>	41
Public and Cultural Diplomacy Issues in Activities of the Embassy of Ukraine in Czechia by <i>Yevhen Perebyinis</i>	49
Continuity of Diplomatic Traditions: Information Component of Ukraine’s Image-Making in Bulgaria by <i>Anna Tertychna</i>	68
Public Diplomacy of Foreign Ukrainians: A Display of Diaspora Diplomacy by <i>Alla Atamanenko and Nataliia Matviichuk</i>	80
Chapter 2. Areas of Public Diplomacy	
Cultural Diplomacy by <i>Oksana Rozumna</i>	97
Expert Diplomacy by <i>Hennadii Maksak</i>	111
Economic Diplomacy by <i>Natalia Tatarenko</i>	123
Culinary Diplomacy by <i>Iryna Matiash and Oleksandr Slipchenko</i> ...	144
Digital Diplomacy by <i>Liubov Korniiichuk and Artem Rybchenko</i>	163
Science Diplomacy by <i>Yevheniia Haber</i>	179
Sports Diplomacy by <i>Iryna Hridina and Mykola Movchan</i>	199
Recommended Reading.....	213

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The handbook deals with the basic theoretical and practical aspects of public diplomacy; covers Ukrainian and foreign historiography of studies in this field; presents information on the historical origins of public diplomacy in Ukraine and the institutions fulfilling its tasks, the Public Diplomacy Strategy of the MFA of Ukraine and its directions: cultural diplomacy, expert diplomacy, economic diplomacy, culinary diplomacy, digital diplomacy, science and educational diplomacy, sports diplomacy; examines practical issues facing Ukraine’s overseas diplomatic missions in the sphere of public diplomacy. The handbook is the result of discussions on key problems of public diplomacy within the framework of the project European Values and Cultural Diplomacy: Youth Meetings, which has been carried out by the Scientific Society of History of Diplomacy and International Relations with support from the Hanns Seidel Foundation and the MFA of Ukraine since 2019.

The handbook is meant for lecturers, post-graduates and students of higher educational establishments, majoring in specialty International Relations, Social Communications and Regional Studies and those interested in issues related to public diplomacy.

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