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**INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY:  
WORLD AND UKRAINIAN EXPERIENCE**

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The article analyzes the concept of public diplomacy, clarifies the previous forms of implementation of the “soft power” concept in world politics and in Ukraine. The practical implementation’s peculiarities of the diplomacy new forms in the period of hybrid conflicts are pointed out. The experience of the world’s leading players in the field of political propaganda and its modernized forms of communication is considered. World history knows many examples of departure from normalized diplomatic relations, namely by influencing the society of another state in order to achieve its goals. The role of cultural diplomacy as a component of public diplomacy and its tools in popularizing Ukraine and promoting the national interests of the state is substantiated. The examples of the work of new institutional structures formed on the basis of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Culture and Information Policy, whose task is to develop public and cultural diplomacy, show their particularly important role in external aggression and negative propaganda

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against Ukraine. The need to promote socio-cultural projects both inside and outside the country is indicated, and the strengthening of the project component in the external communication sphere is especially effective. The active steps of the Ukrainian authorities to form a positive image of Ukraine among the world community are noted. The purpose of this study is to determine the context of the formation and development of public diplomacy, to outline its institutionalization in the world and in Ukraine. To find out the successes and challenges of the declared political sphere at the present stage. To reveal the most successful forms of its realization.

**Key words:** public diplomacy; cultural diplomacy; “soft power”; foreign policy activities; strategic communications; Ukraine.

### **Introduction**

Traditional diplomacy – diplomacy between states, carried out by governments and its institutions with the help of official representatives – has its own established traditions. Among its important aspects are certain written and unwritten rules related to ensuring conditions for the work of diplomats (diplomatic immunity), protocol norms, the possibility of negotiations and contacts at a secret or non-public level, the availability of official and secure channels of communication. International legal norms for the implementation of such diplomacy are determined by the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, adopted in 1961 and Vienna Convention on Consular Relations, 1963.

Nevertheless, times are changing, so are the forms of diplomacy. Along with traditional, that is, intergovernmental diplomacy, others are developing, such as public diplomacy, cultural, scientific, youth, twin-city diplomacy, celebrity diplomacy, and public diplomacy.

Now, for many countries, public diplomacy, along with economic, has moved to the forefront of all diplomatic activity. This is primarily due to the change in the nature of modern international relations, the growing role of public opinion in the development and implementation of foreign policy, the scale of dissemination of information at the global level, a significant increase in the influence of information technology, media and social networks on political, social and economic processes in the world. In this publication, we will focus on public diplomacy.

### **Analysis of the previous publications and researches**

The concept of communications (strategic, public, etc.) was studied at the time rather in terms of practical application in the field of marketing, management and public relations (PR). The study of the public diplomacy phenomenon has a different history, and a corresponding circle of researchers. At various times, the problems of the formation of the phenomenon of public diplomacy were studied by J. Nye,

E. Gullion, J. Duffey, K. L. Adelman, P. Sharp, Ph. Taylor, J. Melissen, and others. In Ukraine there is an active work on the formation of the methodology of public diplomacy, the formation of lexical and conceptual base, the world experience of institution building is being studied (V. Krutko, O. Rozumna, V. Tsivatyi, S. Hutsal) (Hutsal, 2015).

The term “public diplomacy” was introduced into scientific usage by former diplomat and dean of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University (USA) Edmund Gallion in 1970's. It has gained widespread popularity among scholars and practitioners (Nicholas, 2006).

Public diplomacy is diplomacy carried out by the government of one country in relation to the population of another country. In a broad sense, public diplomacy is understood as the process of communication with the foreign public by the forces of state and non-state players with the aim of indirectly influencing public opinion and political decision-making processes in a partner country (Tuch, 1990).

In Ukraine, strategic research in the field of public diplomacy is connected, first of all, by the developers of this strategy, which include the current Minister of Foreign Affairs Dmytro Kuleba, Danylo Lubkivsky, Iryna Borovets, director of the Ukrainian Institute Tetyana Filevska, Volodymyr Sheiko, Oksana Rozumna, Kateryna Smaglyi and many practitioners and researchers who are currently looking for new forms of communication between states and society in the state itself. In the apt words of Dmytro Kuleba: “Where official diplomacy is forced to speak behind closed doors, public diplomacy speaks openly – in conference halls, galleries, apartments, concert halls, squares and streets. Where official diplomacy does not open its doors, public diplomacy will be hospitably invited to enter” (Bureiko, 2020).

### **Specifying the purpose of the research**

The purpose of this study is to determine the context of the formation and development of public diplomacy; to outline its institutionalization in the world and in Ukraine; to find out the successes and challenges of the declared political sphere at the present stage; to show the most successful forms of its implementation.

### **Presentation of the main research material**

Public diplomacy is an important part of a state's foreign policy, aimed at clarifying its goals and values for the general public, at creating a positive image of the country and promoting its interests in the international arena, as well as at improving relations between peoples. In the context of a sharp increase in international competition in politics, economics, education, science, technology,

trade, attracting investments and tourists, the country's image, its reputation is turning into an important tool for ensuring its interests.

The main means of public diplomacy is communication with the target audience. However, its character in public diplomacy differs significantly from traditional propaganda. The concept of "propaganda" has a certain negative connotation, and few people are inclined to believe the propaganda. In propaganda, the goal justifies the means, and the propaganda machine can use deceit and manipulation to achieve its goals. In contrast, for public diplomacy, it is important not only to speak, but also to listen. The dialogue is important for it. It is necessary to involve a foreign audience in conversation, public actions carried out by state and non-state organizations of the country. Specialists involved in public diplomacy try to understand what they are saying and why exactly this is what different sections of the foreign public are saying about their country. They are not afraid of criticism and are interested in understanding the reason for the critical attitude. For dialogue with a foreign audience, public diplomacy can use prominent public and cultural figures, well-known organizations, including non-governmental organizations, and people from various spheres. This often gives a much greater effect than visits and meetings of official delegations. Now only Elon Musk is doing more for the international image of the United States than the work of many government agencies and officials of this country.

Public diplomacy expands the country's international influence. However, in order for such diplomacy to be effective, it is necessary to train the appropriate personnel, specialists of a new type. Modern, often unconventional knowledge and skills are required of diplomats involved in public diplomacy. They must show leadership qualities, speak freely in public, participate in discussions, be able to establish contacts with foreign audiences, skilfully work with the media and journalists, and be qualified in working on social networks. In short, they must be effective in dealing with the public. For traditional diplomacy, this was not entirely typical: in it, diplomats, with the exception of individual representatives, were much less public (Rasmussen, 2012).

The times when all world affairs were decided only in a narrow circle and in secret are over. Now ordinary people from all over the world can directly observe the most important world events, international diplomatic life through the media, the Internet and social networks, as well as influence the political decision-making processes. And the statesmen and diplomats themselves, participating in international conferences or taking action on the world stage, try to take into account the opinion and possible reactions of both the population of their countries and the foreign public (<http://publicdiplomacymagazine.org>).

Entering wide information spaces and acquainting the foreign public with the history and culture of his country, a modern diplomat deals with the strategic tasks of his state. Now, weapons alone, the political or economic might of a state is not enough to fight modern challenges successfully, including the occupation of independent territories, terrorism, and human trafficking. Time demands from diplomats not only to fulfil their traditional functions, but also the ability to influence the minds and hearts of the wide international community.

Public diplomacy has now become a priority for foreign ministries in many countries. Various international organizations and ministries of foreign affairs have set up public diplomacy departments in an effort to develop their "soft power", and train staff in this skill. China, for example, is one of the countries that has managed to make a significant progress in the international arena through the promotion of historical traditions, a healthy lifestyle, while avoiding ideological priorities. Supporting developing countries financially, advertising cheap goods, traditional cuisine, family traditions and more.

The US experience in the field of public diplomacy is significant; this country allocates significant financial and scientific resources to form its own positive image. In 2017, the US State Department's base budget for public diplomacy alone was \$1.1 bln. The US public diplomacy includes more than 80 academic, professional, youth, and sports exchange programs, support for some 180 diplomatic missions around the world, and 72 international language services (<http://dipmission.com.ua/ua/osvita-i-nauka/>).

The country's leadership turned to informal diplomacy after the terrorist attack on the World Trade Centre in New York on September 11, 2001, when it became clear that terrorism and terrorist groups could not be defeated by force alone. At the U.S. Department of State, activities in this area are coordinated by the Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs. Any new employee who joins the State Department takes courses on social media and public speaking. When enrolling in the diplomatic service, young people can choose a career as a public diplomat and work in that capacity, either in the central office of the State Department or in American foreign missions. As in most countries, the United States has a body that determines public policy in the field of public diplomacy: the United States Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy. According to the US State Department, public diplomacy is "government-funded programs aimed at informing or influencing foreign public opinion through publications, films,

cultural, radio and television exchanges” (Strategic Communication Joint Integrating Concept, 2009).

Speaking of the United States, we cannot ignore the Russian Federation. It has traditionally been at the forefront of world propaganda and is now extremely active in rebuilding its propaganda institutions into modern forms of public diplomacy, investing enormous financial and human resources. The cooperation between Russia and Germany is significant; both countries defend their positions on the world stage by all available means of modern diplomacy (Schollgen, 2004).

It is obvious that Germany has consolidated its status as the leader of the European Union, especially after the withdrawal of Great Britain. Germany's economic success and statistics compared to other EU players make it the core of European integration, which demonstrates resilience to all external influences. It is clear that the development of bilateral relations with Germany is one of Russia's foreign policy priorities. First, they form a positive image of each other within the partner country through direct personal contacts of citizens, interaction of public organizations. New programs in the field of education and culture are being launched to strengthen and expand ties between students and ordinary people in order to prevent the emergence of civilizational and cultural divisions between states and peoples. What is worth only one Goethe-Institute with a budget of €500 mln and the translation of information about Germany in 29 languages (Melching, 2013).

A striking example is the Russian-German Public Forum “Petersburg Dialogue”, created on the initiative and patronage of Russian President Vladimir Putin and former German Chancellor G. Schroeder in 2001 (Petersburger Dialog, 2019). Annual conferences within the framework of the Petersburg Dialogue, organized alternately in the Federal Republic of Germany and the Russian Federation, as well as regular meetings of working groups in politics, economics, culture, education, civil society and the media contribute to trust between their participants. Also significant is the activity of the public organization “Berlin Friends of the Peoples of Russia”, which has been a partner of the Russian Cooperation Office in Germany for 25 years and makes a significant contribution to strengthening friendly relations between Moscow and Berlin. The Berlin Friends of the Peoples of Russia is one of the most successful projects in Russian diplomacy. On the German side, German Foundations, in particular the Branch of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation in Russia, support informal diplomacy and cultural cooperation between Russian and German citizens. It was founded on the basis of the Society for Social Development and Civic Education, registered in 1990, which became a national organization of political education, a platform for discussions, as well as a “research centre for progressive social development”. The Foundation is engaged in political and public education, promotes international understanding and cooperation at the level of higher

education institutions and research institutes. All these tools have formed a positive image of countries within each other. Therefore, Germany's support, namely the citizens of the Nord Stream-2 gas pipeline, and lobbying to distance itself from Ukraine's real support in countering Russian aggression are its consequence. This is an example of unfavourable outcome for Ukraine of the policy of public diplomacy (former propaganda), a "soft power" that has fulfilled its mission.

Other countries are also seriously developing their public diplomacy institutions, as a good international reputation is important for both developing and developed countries. Conferences are being held, research centres and scientific journals have been established in this field, and public diplomacy has become a popular subject in universities and diplomatic academies.

Digital diplomacy is becoming increasingly widely used internationally. On the Twiplomacy website you can find interesting information about the use of social networks by world leaders, well-known diplomats and international organizations. Among the most popular politicians who use social networks are former US Presidents Barack Obama (92.5 mln readers on Twitter and 54.8 mln fans on Facebook) and Donald Trump (34.9 mln on Twitter and 22.7 mln – on Facebook), as well as the Prime Minister of India Narendra Modi (32.2 mln – on Twitter and 42.6 mln – on Facebook). The Twitter accounts of the United Nations and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) are followed by 9.2 and 6.2 mln people, respectively, and their Facebook pages by 2.4 and 6.9 mln, respectively.

In Ukraine, the institutions of public diplomacy are also actively developing. This process intensified especially with the beginning of Russia's military aggression in 2015. In Ukraine, 2015 was the year when the state first officially expressed interest in such a policy instrument as cultural diplomacy. In particular, the idea of the need to institutionalize cultural diplomacy was approved by the widest range of government officials and implemented in a few steps.

These steps were:

1. The activities of the Reform Council under the Administration of the President of Ukraine in the direction of "Promoting Ukraine's interests in the world", respectively, earned the Program to promote Ukraine's interests in the world. The program brought together the efforts of representatives of state and civil society: the Ukrainian Crisis Media Centre, the Institute of World Politics, the "Reanimation Package of Reforms", the International Renaissance Foundation (<http://neweurope.org.ua/analytics/dosvid-nimechchyny-yak-protydiyaty-rosijskomu-vplyvu-v-yevropi/>).



2. The Forum of Cultural Diplomacy organized by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the establishment of a department of public diplomacy under this authority. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs initiated such an event in order to create a platform for cooperation for all stakeholders to promote Ukrainian cultural products in the world and Ukraine's integration into the world cultural space.

3. Initiative of the Ministry of Culture of Ukraine to establish the Ukrainian Institute and work on documentary support of its activities. In early 2015, the Ministry of Culture of Ukraine announced its intentions, and in 2017 the Ukrainian Institute under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine was officially established. The work on the Concept of the institution took almost five years, it was not easy to combine conservative, traditional ideas about the communication of semi-closed state bodies with civil society, and even a foreign country. Today it is an effective structure with an active creative management team headed by Tatiana Filevska (<https://ui.org.ua/sectors/ukrayinskyj-instytut-ta-ministerstvo-zakordonnyh-sprav-ukrayiny-provely-seriyu-dyskusij-pro-kulturnu-dyplomatiyu-ukrayiny/>).

The introduction of public diplomacy requires a radical change in the system of information foreign policy of the country. This prompted the creation of a separate structural unit in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs – the Office of Public Diplomacy. The principles of the new administration are based on communication and responsibility: proactive interaction with other authorities and the non-governmental sector; focus on project activities with noticeable results; more freedom – more responsibility for employees (the employee is given the freedom to perform the tasks assigned to him, but he is also responsible for achieving the result).

Public diplomacy at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has several main forms: image programs (conferences, round tables, public actions, interaction with experts and civil society in general), cultural diplomacy (reform of Ukraine's cultural representation abroad, implementation of Ukrainian cultural projects abroad, promotion of best foreign cultural practices in Ukraine) and media relations (proactive work with the media, management of the diplomacy system in social networks, management of blogs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, content creation and implementation of online campaigns).

The world has officially recognized that Russia is an aggressor state that has destroyed European and international security. In the conditions of a hybrid war, the “army of the hybrid front” deserves the attention and financial support of the state, as is done in all developed countries. As time has shown, and we have had the war for seven years, public diplomacy is an effective soft weapon with a wide range of action, which helps to find ways to deter the aggressor during the war.



It is through the tools of public diplomacy that the world should be told about who Ukraine is – a European state of freedom, positive change and talented people. Here are some of the latest information projects: dissemination of information about Ukraine, Foreign Ministry-initiated marathon of European countries “Run for Peace”, exhibition “Through Maidan and Beyond” in Vienna, screenings of “Haitarma”, organized by Ukrainian embassies on the anniversary of the deportation of Crimean Tatars. Oleg Sentsov's film “Hamer” in more than 20 cities around the world, visit to Ukraine by Dieter Roelstrate, curator of document 14, Biennial of Contemporary Art “Kyiv School”.

“We set ourselves three specific tasks in the next five years: the first – the world knows more about Ukraine, i.e. increasing the level of its recognition and understanding by wide foreign audiences, the second – Ukraine is perceived as a democratic European country moving towards full EU and NATO membership, despite the Russian aggression, and third, in its foreign policy, Ukraine relies on an effective system of combating harmful narratives aimed at discrediting the Ukrainian nation and actively promotes its own identity,” said Japarova in her speech at the forum Ukraine 30. Image of Ukraine (<https://www.ukrinform.ua/rubric-polytics/3291439-dzaparova-nazvala-tri-zavdanna-publicnoi-diplomatii-na-pat-rokiv.html>).

### **Conclusions**

Thus, we are monitoring the active development of public diplomacy institutions in the world and in Ukraine. The foundations of the strategy of public diplomacy have been laid, the Ukrainian Institute under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine has been established. Its main task is to form a positive image of Ukraine and its recognition in the world.

At the same time, the strategy of public diplomacy should be focused on European practices of cultural policy and cultural promotion, regardless of the fact that its activities will extend to countries in other parts of the world.

This should be done in order to build long-term relationships based on trust and to maximize the capacity of professionals from different fields, combine competition and cooperation to succeed in achieving certain goals.

The result of this process should be the creation of a modern and unexpected image of Ukraine, interesting for potential partners, the production of Ukrainian messages to the world aimed at development and communication, the development of mechanisms for translating Ukrainian values.

Public diplomacy is increasingly becoming a resource of foreign policy, which allows to strengthen dialogue between nations, overcome historical claims and break stereotypes, which should be actively used both at the level of state institutions of Ukraine and in personal communication.

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## ІНСТИТУАЛІЗАЦІЯ ПУБЛІЧНОЇ ДИПЛОМАТІЇ: СВІТОВИЙ ТА УКРАЇНСЬКИЙ ДОСВІД

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У статті проаналізовано концепцію публічної дипломатії, з'ясовано попередні форми втілення концепції «м'якої сили» у світовій політиці та Україні. Вказано на особливості практичної реалізації нових форм дипломатії в період гібридних конфліктів. Розглянуто досвід провідних світових гравців у сфері політичної пропаганди та осучаснених її форм комунікації. Світова історія знає багато прикладів відходу від унормованих дипломатичних відносин, саме шляхом впливу на суспільство (громадян) іншої держави з метою досягнення поставлених завдань. Вказано на такий інструмент публічної дипломатії як особистісний чинник на прикладі активності в соцмережах політиків і державних діячів. Обґрунтовано роль культурної дипломатії як складової публічної та її інструментів у популяризації України, просуванні національних інтересів держави. На прикладах роботи нових інституційних структур, що сформовано на базі Міністерства закордонних справ, Міністерства культури та інформаційної політики, завданням яких є розвивати публічну та культурну дипломатію, показано їх особливо важливу роль в умовах зовнішньої агресії та негативної пропаганди на адресу України.

Вказана необхідність просування соціокультурних проєктів як всередині країни, так і за її межами, особливо дієвим бачиться посилення проєктної складової в зовнішній комунікативній сфері.

Відмічено активні кроки української влади із формування позитивного образу України серед світового товариства. Мета дослідження: визначити контекст становлення і розвитку публічної дипломатії, окреслити її інституційне оформлення в світі та Україні; з'ясувати успіхи та виклики

задекларованої політичної сфери на сучасному етапі; розкрити найбільш вдалі форми її реалізації.

**Ключові слова:** публічна дипломатія; культурна дипломатія; «м'яка сила»; зовнішньополітична діяльність; стратегічні комунікації; Україна.

## ИНСТИТУАЛИЗАЦИЯ ПУБЛИЧНОЙ ДИПЛОМАТИИ: МИРОВОЙ И УКРАИНСКИЙ ОПЫТ

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В статье проанализирована концепция публичной дипломатии, выяснены предварительные формы воплощения концепции «мягкой силы» в мировой политике и Украине. Указаны особенности практической реализации новых форм дипломатии в период гибридных конфликтов. Рассмотрен опыт ведущих мировых игроков в сфере политической пропаганды и осовремененных форм коммуникации. Мировая история знает немало примеров отхода от нормированных дипломатических отношений, именно путем воздействия на общество (граждан) другого государства с целью достижения поставленных задач. Обоснована роль культурной дипломатии и ее инструментов в популяризации Украины и продвижении национальных интересов государства. На примерах работы новых институциональных структур, сформированных на базе Министерства иностранных дел, Министерства культуры и информационной политики, задачей которых является развивать публичную и культурную дипломатию, показана их особенно важная роль в условиях внешней агрессии и негативной пропаганды в адрес Украины. Представлена необходимость продвижения социокультурных проектов как внутри страны, так и за ее пределами, особенно действенным видится усиление проектной составляющей во внешней коммуникативной сфере. Отмечены активные шаги украинских властей по формированию позитивного образа Украины среди мирового общества. Цель исследования: определить контекст становления и развития публичной дипломатии; определить ее институциональное оформление в мире и Украине; выяснить успехи и вызовы задекларированной политической сферы на современном этапе; раскрыть наиболее удачные формы ее реализации.

**Ключевые слова:** публичная дипломатия; культурная дипломатия; «мягкая сила»; внешнеполитическая деятельность; стратегические коммуникации; Украина.