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## **DIFFERENTIATION OF "INTERNATIONAL CULTURAL COOPERATION", "CULTURAL DIPLOMACY" AND "PUBLIC DIPLOMACY" CONCEPTS IN POLITICAL SCIENCE**

### **ВІДМІННОСТІ МІЖ ПОНЯТТЯМИ «МІЖНАРОДНЕ КУЛЬТУРНЕ СПІВРОБІТНИЦТВО», «КУЛЬТУРНА ДИПЛОМАТІЯ» ТА «ПУБЛІЧНА ДИПЛОМАТІЯ» В ПОЛІТОЛОГІЧНІЙ НАУЦІ**

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**Abstract.** The article deals with the *concepts of "international cultural cooperation", "cultural diplomacy" and "public diplomacy" which are not identical. Cultural and public diplomacy are noted to have clearly determined goals, aimed at ensuring national interests. It is emphasized that international cultural cooperation, in contrast to cultural relations, does not arise spontaneously, but as the result of purposeful actions of subjects. The tools of public diplomacy are mentioned to aim at the public in other countries, while cultural diplomacy targets the governments. It was determined that international cultural cooperation can be carried out both on bilateral and multilateral basis. Attention is paid to development of international cultural cooperation to maintain peace, based on understanding of the peculiarities of cultures of other states.*

**Key words:** *international cultural cooperation, cultural diplomacy, public diplomacy, cultural relations, international cooperation, preservation of cultural heritage.*

**Анотація.** В статті доведено, що поняття «міжнародне культурне співробітництво», «культурна дипломатія» та «публічна дипломатія» не є тотожними. Відзначається, що у культурної та публічної дипломатії наявні чітко детерміновані цілі, які полягають у забезпеченні національних інтересів. Наголошується, що міжнародне культурне співробітництво, на відміну від культурних відносин, не виникає органічно, а є результатом цілеспрямованих дій суб'єктів. Відзначається, що інструменти публічної дипломатії направлені на громадськість інших країн, натомість культурна дипломатія таргетує уряди інших країн. Визначено, що міжнародне культурне співробітництво може здійснюватися як на двосторонній, так і на багатосторонній основі. Акцентується увага на необхідності розвивати міжнародне культурне співробітництво для підтримання миру, заснованому на розумінні особливостей культур інших держав.

**Ключові слова:** *міжнародне культурне співробітництво, культурна дипломатія, публічна дипломатія, культурні відносини, міжнародне співробітництво, збереження культурної спадщини.*

**Statement of the problem.** It is worth mentioning that at the present stage of international relations, the use of terms “international cultural cooperation”, “cultural diplomacy” and “public diplomacy” should be corrected and regulated. This problem is becoming more and more topical within the context of implementation of public diplomacy strategy; in particular, the Public Diplomacy Strategy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine (MFA) 2021-2025 stated: “The main directions of public diplomacy are cultural, economic, expert, culinary, scientific and educational, sports and digital diplomacy” [Stratehiia Publichnoi Dyplomatii Ministerstva Zakordonnykh Sprav Ukrainy 2021-2025, 2021]. That is, in the above-mentioned document, cultural diplomacy is defined as a component of public diplomacy.

In December 2015, the Department of Public Diplomacy was established in the MFA of Ukraine, and a special unit was created within the structure of the Department of Public Diplomacy to deal with cultural diplomacy [21], which once again confirms the prevailing understanding of cultural diplomacy as an integral part of public diplomacy. Thus, it can be assumed that due to the lack of understanding of the above-mentioned terms, it is quite likely that the instruments of cultural and public diplomacy are misused.

**The purpose of the article** is to establish the conceptual difference in the meanings of “international cultural cooperation”, “cultural diplomacy” and “public diplomacy”, because in case of the incorrect use of tools of cultural and public diplomacy, international cultural cooperation without differentiation of understanding of these categories may potentially reduce the effectiveness of foreign policy of Ukraine in general.

**Analysis of recent research and publications.** In Ukrainian scientific discourse, the main attention of scholars is devoted to distinguishing the concepts of “public policy” and “strategic communications”. In particular, the research papers of domestic scientists: O. Domanska [Domanska, 2014], D. Dubov [Dubov, 2017], S. Dubova [Dubov, 2017], S. Kot [Kot, 2014], V. Lytovchenko [Lytovchenko, 2013] and others deal with this problem. Among foreign researchers, the names of I. Wei [Wei, 2015], E. Pajtinka [Pajtinka, 2014], Chahine J. [Chahine, 2010], J. S. Nye [Nye, 2008], T. Riverra [Riverra, 2015] and others should be mentioned. As a rule, the papers were focused on separate studies of cultural diplomacy, public diplomacy and international cultural cooperation.

Slovak researcher E. Pajtinka compared cultural and public diplomacy in his works, but international cultural cooperation was left out of his attention [Pajtinka, 2014]. Ukrainian experts D. Dubov and S. Dubova studied the phenomenon of cultural diplomacy in the context of strategic communications development [Dubov, 2017]. S. Kot’s research paper is devoted to participation of Ukraine in international cultural cooperation concerning prevention of illegal export of cultural values and their return to the countries of origin, while the definition of “international cultural cooperation” is not defined in his article [Kot, 2014]. V. Lytovchenko paid much attention to international cooperation in the field of cultural heritage preservation, but the definition of international cooperation in the field of culture is not given [Lytovchenko, 2013].

**The core of research.** The term “public diplomacy” came into widespread use in the 1960s to describe aspects of international relations that were distinct from traditional diplomacy. While traditional diplomacy is limited to open contacts between governments whether in the form of direct communication between leaders or through official representatives of the administrations involved, public diplomacy, on the contrary, refers to the exchanges that take place between the government of one country and the general public (from leaders’ opinion to mass audience) [Chahine, 2010: 20]. Public diplomacy itself involves exclusively interaction with the public of other countries, while interaction with the governments of other countries is excluded. Public diplomacy can be defined as diplomatic activity when the government is the initiator, the public is the object, and relevant political measures, including foreign policy, are implemented through cultural exchanges, mass media, social networks and other means [Pajtinka, 2014: 74].

The main function of public diplomacy is aimed at changing of behavior of the government of the target country. Public diplomacy is often seen in the context of soft power. Thus, according to

J. S. Nye, public diplomacy is designed to transform general resources into the resources of soft power [Nye, 2008: 101].

Public diplomacy is aimed at the public of a foreign country. It is worth to demonstrate how public diplomacy works: a diplomatic mission organizes an event to which the people of the host country are invited. It can be a photo exhibition, an ethnic festival, etc. Citizens of the host country attend this event, they will get additional knowledge about the country, about the situation in it, which should be converted into supporting actions of the government of the event-organizing country. In case when the government of the host state is not ready to provide necessary assistance to a certain state, the tools of public diplomacy are designed to encourage the population of the host state to put pressure on their governments to transform their foreign policy. For example, in February-March 2022, European states were very cautious about providing military aid to Ukraine, so the President of Ukraine V. O. Zelensky appealed directly to the people of certain countries via video link, often during rallies in support of Ukraine in the central squares of the cities. The President of Ukraine asked the people of these countries for support of Ukrainian people in the fight against the aggressor. It was an instrument of public diplomacy. The use of social networks and media to spread information concerning the current situation also belongs to the tools of public diplomacy.

The concept of public diplomacy cannot be equated with the concept of “cultural diplomacy”. The main content of cultural diplomacy revolves around the concept of “culture”, therefore it is impossible to define the concept of “cultural diplomacy” without revealing the meaning of the “culture” concept. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) defines culture as a complex of special spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional characteristics of a society or social group, which includes not only art and literature, but also a way of life, a way of living together, systems of values, traditions and beliefs [UNESCO Framework For Cultural Statistics, 2009].

The very concept of “cultural diplomacy” does not currently have a universally accepted unified definition. Understanding of this concept depends on the context of the use of the term and the country where this term is used, as well as its national interests and foreign policy priorities.

Two approaches of understanding cultural diplomacy can be distinguished. The realistic paradigm of the study of international relations considers cultural diplomacy to be a tool of foreign policy, which is aimed at realizing national interests and is fully correlated with the general line of the state's foreign policy.

The idealistic paradigm of the study of international relations considers cultural diplomacy to be an instrument for seeking mutual understanding between states in order to build peace. Constructivists agree with idealists regarding the main goal of cultural diplomacy, but at the same time they do not completely exclude the possibility of using it for realization of national interests, as despite the fact that the tools of cultural diplomacy can contribute to finding mutual understanding between countries by spreading knowledge about the cultural features of the state, cultural diplomacy acts as a continuation of foreign policy, which is primarily aimed at implementation of national interests.

The next feature of cultural diplomacy is purposefulness of actions, that is, cultural diplomacy does not emerge by itself, it needs a strategy, defined goals, mechanisms and tools for its implementation. Cultural diplomacy is aimed at the governments of other states, its goal is to establish cooperation in the cultural sphere with the government of another state, and then, basing on these achievements, to develop bilateral relations in the political, economic and other spheres.

The key elements of activities within the framework of cultural diplomacy are promotion and assistance to cultural subjects of the accreditation state in spreading its national culture and cultural identity in the host state, which may be expressed in the provision of logistical, technical, organizational or other assistance to representatives of culture, sports, cultural institutions, to relevant non-governmental organizations by the state of accreditation in the host state.

The level and nature of assistance depend on the goals of cultural diplomacy in the corresponding state, the conditions of the host state. In those states where the level of cultural

infrastructure development is relatively low, diplomatic missions are more actively involved in the organization of tours or other cultural events, in some cases diplomatic missions take over the functions of event organizations. In addition, permanent diplomatic representations can independently organize various cultural events, such as exhibitions, classical music concerts, etc. In most cases, such cultural events are timed to commemorative or festive days in the country of accreditation and can take place in the premises of the diplomatic mission.

The topic of events for cultural activities is determined by the diplomatic representation of the state of accreditation, which must be related to the defined goals of its foreign policy. For instance, during February – September 2022, all cultural events organized by the Embassy of Ukraine in France were concentrated on dissemination of information concerning the RF aggression against Ukraine [20].

Common features of both cultural and public diplomacy are that they are initiated by governments and carried out mainly by diplomatic representatives. However, at the same time, governments can use other subjects of international relations as their instruments, for example, non-governmental state organizations or international non-governmental organizations. Bright example of such a situation is the activities of the British Council and Goethe Institute, which are not formal parts of the state apparatus, but fully act as instruments of cultural and public diplomacy and are in close interaction with national governments. Thus, the British Council regularly reports to the British Parliament on its activities and is partially financed from the budget of the United Kingdom [Rivera, 2015: 32].

Not all activities that fall within the scope of cultural diplomacy are carried out referring to the public abroad and, therefore, cannot be considered as part of public diplomacy. For example, negotiations on international treaties regulating cultural relations between states are undoubtedly an important part of cultural diplomacy. At the same time, it is carried out by diplomats of one state in relation to their colleagues (and not to the public) in another state, and therefore cannot be considered as part of public diplomacy. Another reason why cultural diplomacy cannot be equated with public diplomacy, is the fact that public diplomacy can include not only activities carried out within the framework of cultural diplomacy, but also in other areas of diplomacy. For example, a public presentation conducted by an economic attache in the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of the host country, aimed at investments or trade promotion, is an integral part of economic diplomacy (since the economic interests of the state are at stake here, first of all), but, at the same time, it can obviously be considered as a part of public diplomacy (due to the socially oriented nature of this type of activities).

The concepts of cultural diplomacy and cultural relations are not identical. R. Arndt divides the concept of “cultural diplomacy” and “cultural relations” basing on the criterion of the government’s role. “Cultural relations” means literally the relations between national cultures, those aspects of mental activities and education which are embedded in any society and which tend to cross borders and interact with foreign institutions. Natural and organic development of cultural relations is going on without government intervention. Cultural diplomacy can be spoken of only when official diplomats working for national governments try to shape and direct this natural flow of relations to advance national interests [Arndt R., 2005: 20].

Cultural diplomacy is fundamentally different from international cultural cooperation. In order to define the concept of “international cultural cooperation”, it is necessary to define what “international cooperation” is.

Accordingly, international cooperation reflects such a process of interaction between two or more actors, in which the use of armed violence is excluded and joint search for realization of common interests is dominating [Derriennic, 1977: 76]. International cooperation cannot be contrasted with conflict, but international cooperation can be considered as a means of preventing extreme, crisis forms of a conflict. Two actors are in a state of cooperation when each of them can be satisfied only when the other actor is satisfied. Thus, the result of such relations can be two options: when both actors achieve this goal or both are simultaneously dissatisfied [Derriennic, 1977: 110].

International cooperation assumes the presence of three elements: common goals of partners, their expectations of benefits resulted from the interaction, the mutual nature of these benefits [Milner, 1992: 468].

In essence, cooperation should lead to gaining certain bonuses, benefits, preferences by all participants of this cooperation, that is, all its participants should benefit from cooperation [Keohane, 1984: 18]. If, in their relations, any states try to reduce the benefits of the other side from this interaction or prevent other parties from receiving benefits, then such actions cannot be attributed to the kinds of international cooperation, on the contrary, they can be characterized as competitive behavior or a conflict [Milner, 1992: 467].

It is not so easy to achieve resultative international cooperation in world politics, as a joint government was never created to ensure compliance with the rules, the UN cannot claim the role of an international government. However, sometimes states still manage to achieve cooperation. In addition, there is a practice of states achieving national interests while establishing international cooperation.

The level of cooperation between certain states varies depending on the subject of cooperation and may be different in different periods of time [Milner, 1992]. International cooperation covers interaction between different types of sides (subjects) (i.e., not only interstate, but also transnational ones), and at different scales (bilateral and multilateral, regional, global ones, etc.).

Accordingly, international cultural cooperation is the cooperation of two or more international actors in the field of culture. All cultural events require a process of cooperation between people and groups. Creativity, although perceived as an individual process, has previous and subsequent phases of cooperation that affect its results. Processes of education and gaining skills of expression and creativity are actions that take place before cultural manifestation, since we can consider education to be a wide process of cooperation. On the other hand, cultural creative works require cooperation for the processes related to their exhibition, sale, promotion, maintenance, etc. Thus, culture requires cooperation at many levels.

International cultural cooperation can be bilateral or multilateral. Multilateral international cultural cooperation can be carried out within the framework of international and non-governmental organizations.

International cooperation intensified after the end of the Second World War, because it was with the end of this global conflict that the then leaders of the largest world states came to realization that it is impossible to establish a strong and long-lasting peace between states without close cooperation in the field of culture and pursuing an effective intercultural dialogue that would contribute to the development of understanding between peoples. This concept was embodied with the creation of the United Nations and its specialized United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) [Lewis, 1971: 6].

International cultural cooperation covers participation of all social agents: state authorities, private sector and civil society. The functions of the government include promotion, stimulation and encouragement of international cultural cooperation. However, international cultural cooperation is not the exclusive prerogative of the government; for example, the international cooperation of the P. Virsky Ukrainian National Folk Dance Ensemble and the world famous Georgian National Ballet "Sukhishvili" also belongs to international cultural cooperation. Another example of international cultural cooperation is the creation of joint movies. Thus, the creation of the joint Ukrainian-Polish "With Fire and Sword" movie (1999) made a significant contribution into the development of cooperation between Ukraine and Poland in the cultural sphere, in rethinking over joint historical events, and the search for reconciliation and understanding.

The concept of international cultural cooperation is based on the belief that every culture possesses its own unique value, and regarding this, the important tasks of all mankind are to respect the principle of respect for each culture and the preservation of the culture of each people.

Despite the fact that a huge amount of interactions within the framework of international cultural cooperation takes place at the level of collectives, cultural and artistic figures, the government support for cultural and social projects can give impetus to cooperation entering a new stage, which will certainly lead to general acceleration in the development of the field.

Responsibility for the development of the own culture rests with the state, and international cultural cooperation should create favorable conditions for the simultaneous and synchronous development of all fields of culture in order to prevent a significant gap between scientific and technical progress and the moral and intellectual progress of mankind [Declaration of the Principles of International Cultural Co-operation, 1966].

Among the goals of international cultural cooperation, defined in the Declaration of the Principles of International Cultural Co-operation, adopted by the UNESCO General Conference at its fourteenth session, Paris, 4 November 1966, the spread of knowledge, promotion of the enrichment of different cultures are distinguished; development of peaceful relations and friendship between peoples and promotion of a better understanding of the way of life of each people; promoting the implementation of the principles proclaimed in UN declarations; providing every person with access to knowledge and the opportunity to enjoy the art and literature of all nations, to participate in the progress of science in the world, to contribute to the enrichment of cultural life; improvement of material and spiritual conditions of human life in all corners of the world, are distinguished [Declaration of the Principles of International Cultural Co-operation, 1966].

The above-mentioned Document stipulates that cultural cooperation should reveal ideas and values that can contribute to the establishment of peace and friendship between countries, it should prevent hostility in relations [Declaration of the Principles of International Cultural Co-operation, 1966]. However, we must state the fact that despite the long-term cooperation between Ukraine and Russia in the cultural sphere, the Russian Federation carried out the armed aggression against Ukraine.

Among the main directions of international cultural cooperation, support for creative activities can be highlighted; as well as training and internship of cultural workers; joint creation and exchange of cultural values and cultural goods, for example, joint movie production; restoration of unique monuments of history and culture; research to establish the unique cultural value of the object; creation and introduction of new technologies, technical means, equipment for cultural activities, for example, new methods of finding out the age of cultural objects, cooperation between libraries, archives and other cultural institutions; popularization of artistic and cultural values of other countries; holding conferences, scientific meetings and symposia on cultural topics; organization of youth leisure; exchange of specialists in the field of culture; mutual business trips and internships of scientists specializing in art, architecture, etc.; creation of new cultural values; introduction of measures to preserve historical and cultural monuments; joint production of printed products; implementation of direct contacts between cultural workers; mutual tours of cultural workers; holding festivals of creativity; organizing and holding competitions and contests in the field of arts, for example, the International Delphi Games, etc.

The distinguished feature of international cultural cooperation is its mutual benefit, that is, it takes place only when there are mutual benefits for all parties. If one side receives significantly greater benefits from this interaction, then such interactions cannot be attributed to international cultural cooperation.

International cultural cooperation, unlike cultural relations, is characterized by purposefulness of actions and clear intention, since cultural relations emerge organically [Rivera, 2015: 10]. The situation that developed after the discovery of America by the Europeans in the 15th - 16th centuries may be given as an example to demonstrate differences between the considered concepts. Thus, after the first ships of Europeans reached new lands, communication arose between the colonizers and the local population, when representatives of different peoples learned about the cultural characteristics of other peoples, thus cultural relations between the peoples of America and Europeans emerged. As a result of these cultural relations, Europe learnt about new types of vegetables: corns, potatoes, eggplants. Accordingly, Europeans tried to introduce their culture – this

is how the missionary movement was initiated, which aimed to spread knowledge about religion and God among other peoples. Missionary activities can be also called public diplomacy, because these actions were directed specifically at the public of new countries. Such a hypothetical situation could have been called international cooperation if tribal leaders had agreed with representatives of other governments on mutual exchange of cultural values or land cultivation technologies. Cultural diplomacy was then a purposeful policy of the Spanish government to spread information about the culture and religion of Spain among the leaders of the newly opened lands.

**Conclusions.** Culture is an important element in establishment strong mechanisms of international cooperation that meets the requirements of the current situation.

Cultural and public diplomacy is the exclusive prerogative of the government, instead, international cultural cooperation can be carried out by both governments and other subjects: from international governmental organizations to creative collectives.

The instruments of cultural diplomacy are aimed at the governments of other states, whereas public diplomacy targets exclusively the foreign public. International cultural cooperation can take place both in a multilateral and bilateral formats, while cultural and public diplomacy involve interactions between representatives of the two countries.

International cultural cooperation should be carried out in compliance with the principle of reciprocity, all parties of the interaction should receive relatively equal benefits, while public and cultural diplomacy are aimed exclusively at realization of the national interests of the state.

In international cultural cooperation, states by definition must pursue the goals of achieving mutual understanding between peoples, exchange of cultural achievements for the sake of establishing peace, therefore, when conducting cultural and public diplomacy, states first of all try to influence the governments of other states in the context of conducting their foreign policy.

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