

**PUBLIC DIPLOMACY OF UKRAINE UNDER MARTIAL LAW
ПУБЛІЧНА ДИПЛОМАТІЯ УКРАЇНИ В УМОВАХ ВОЄННОГО СТАНУ**

Pipchenko N.

Doctor of Political Sciences, Professor, Professor of International Information Chair, Educational and Scientific Institute of International Relations, Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv,

e-mail: nataliyapo@gmail.com

ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3759-7085>

Darnytskyi A.

Master of the Education Program 'International Communications', Educational and Scientific Institute of International Relations, Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv,

e-mail: mk22m.darnytskyi@clouds.iir.ua

ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0009-0005-1569-6201>

Піпченко Н.

Доктор політичних наук, професор, професор кафедри міжнародної інформації Навчально-наукового інституту міжнародних відносин Київського національного університету імені Тараса Шевченка,

e-mail: nataliyapo@gmail.com

ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3759-7085>

Дарницький А.

Магістр освітньої програми «Міжнародні комунікації» Навчально-наукового інституту міжнародних відносин Київського національного університету імені Тараса Шевченка,

e-mail: mk22m.darnytskyi@clouds.iir.ua

ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0009-0005-1569-6201>

Abstract. *The article describes the political-diplomatic, economic-investment, cultural-artistic and educational, as well as public and media instruments used by the state and civic institutions of Ukraine in public diplomacy during 2022-2023. It was established that the instruments made it possible to ensure the refutation of false information about Ukraine and relevant events, as well as encourage the unification of international efforts to provide comprehensive assistance to the state and its citizens. The strengthening of the economic, cultural, and educational component of foreign policy activity, which will be implemented both under the ongoing state of war and post-war peacebuilding, can become promising directions of Ukraine's public diplomacy. At the same time, Ukraine's trauma-informed public diplomacy will focus on disseminating information about the nation's achievements and spiritual values, restoring cultural stability, overcoming existential anxieties, and providing assistance to other countries.*

Key words: *public diplomacy, martial law, Ukraine.*

Анотація. *У статті охарактеризовано політико-дипломатичні, економічно-інвестиційні, культурно-мистецькі і просвітницькі, а також громадські та медійні інструменти, що використовувалися державними і громадськими інституціями України у сфері публічної дипломатії упродовж 2022-2023 рр. Встановлено, що інструменти, залучені для публічного інформування, дозволили забезпечити спростування неправдивої інформації про Україну і дотичні події, а також спонукати до об'єднання міжнародних зусиль для надання різнобічної допомоги державі та її громадянам. Перспективними напрямками публічної дипломатії України може стати посилення економічної, культурної та просвітницької складової зовнішньополітичної роботи, що буде реалізовуватись як ще в умовах триваючого воєнного*

стану, так післявоєнного миробудівництва. При цьому травмо-інформована публічна дипломатія України буде зосереджуватись на поширенні інформації про досягнення та духовні цінності нації, відновлення культурної стійкості, подолання екзистенціальних тривог, а також надання допомоги іншим країнам.

Ключові слова: публічна дипломатія, воєнний стан, Україна.

Introduction. The practical implementation of projects in the field of international promotion of Ukraine took place in several stages, starting from 1991: the first stage until 2005 was carried out through informational and educational projects, which were characterized by inconsistency due to the lack of national image programs; the second stage until 2010 was marked by the appearance of state image and tourism projects aimed at changing the perception of Ukraine in the world and integration into the European and Euro-Atlantic community; the third stage until 2013 was characterized by the development of the 'Ukraine' brand book and the implementation of image-investment, sports and cultural projects [Pipchenko, Ryzhkov: 2019]; the fourth stage from 2014 to the beginning of 2022 focused on updating the national approach to Ukraine's promotion in the international arena and using social media to support the national interests of the state, as well as the introduction of the Public Diplomacy Strategy of Ukraine and the Communication Strategy of Ukraine; the fifth stage from 2022 was marked by a full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine and the expansion of the state's international public positioning instruments to protect its national interests.

The purpose of the study is to determine the direction of public diplomacy of Ukraine under the Russian war against Ukraine and outline the prospects for improving the instruments of public diplomacy.

Literature review. Studies of public diplomacy of Ukraine, which were carried out until 2022, focused on the development of proposals for improving the country's positioning abroad using cultural, media and investment projects (I. Makarenko, O. Shevchenko, O. Kuchmii, O. Frolova) (*Communication trends in international relations: 2016*). In the course of 2022-2023, the implementation of educational, defence-security, humanitarian and economic projects was observed with the strengthening of international media representation (*Sheiko: 2022, 2023, Walker: 2022*).

Main results of research. Ukraine's public diplomacy under martial law was focused on the use of information and communication tools with the involvement of state and non-state actors to ensure an adequate level of informing the international community about events in the state. The updated and improved information and communication projects of the central apparatus of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine were aimed at protecting the fundamental national values of the country and deepening the dialogue with partner countries regarding the protection and restoration of the territorial integrity of the state in internationally recognized borders.

The need to expand the thematic focus of activities in public diplomacy under martial law prompted Ukrainian diplomats to review the tools of interaction both with the external and internal public, as well as with leaders and political elites of various countries of the world. In particular, political-diplomatic, economic-investment, cultural-artistic and educational, as well as public and media instruments were used for public information, refutation of false information about Ukraine and relevant events, as well as encouragement to combine international efforts to provide multifaceted assistance to the state and its citizens.

The political and diplomatic instruments used at the governmental level were aimed at bringing Russia to international legal responsibility for international crimes committed on the territory of Ukraine; deepening Ukraine's European integration aspirations after obtaining the status of a candidate for EU membership and the start of negotiations on EU membership; attracting the attention of the international community to the violation of human rights in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea; initiating a political and diplomatic dialogue regarding the strengthening of regional recognition of Ukraine in Africa, Asia, and Latin America; increasing the number of international actors who recognized the Holodomor of 1932-33 as genocide of the Ukrainian people.

In order to strengthen the efficiency of political and diplomatic work, relevant information and clarification campaigns were conducted under the hashtags #RussiaWarCrimes #RussiaIsATerroristState, #StandWithUkraine, #GloryToUkraine and #welcomEUkraine. In addition, narrowly themed campaigns were initiated that would draw the public's attention to the events in Ukraine. The project about the renaming streets near the Russian embassy to Ukraine street (uastreet.world) was initiated by Be-it Agency, part of One Philosophy consulting group within the We Are Ukraine platform, and supported by DForce IT company. As a result, nearly 10 European countries have already changed the Russian embassy's address line to Ukrainian. To remind the international community about the illegal occupation of Crimea, the campaigns #PeaceNotAppeasement, #RealPeaceNotAppeasement and #CrimeIsUkraine were initiated in the context of strengthening Russian repressive policy towards the Crimean Tatars and the need to protect their rights. The #WhatWeAreFightingFor campaign (*Ministry of Foreign Affairs: 2023a*) was held on the anniversary of Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine and explained why Ukraine's freedom and territorial integrity can't be negotiated under any circumstances and how Ukrainians have become stronger and are fighting for peace around the world.

Among the economic and investment instruments, it is possible to single out the expansion of sanctions against Russia by EU member states, the USA, the UK, Canada, Switzerland, Australia, Japan, New Zealand, and other partner countries that became one of the effective tools of influencing the aggressor country from the international community. It was also important to initiate and implement opportunities to export agricultural products from Ukraine during 2022-2023 that made it possible to restore the grain corridor despite Russian terrorist actions. In particular, it was possible to export agricultural products worth 21,4 billion dollars in 2022, and 22,9 billion dollars in 2023 (*Ministry of Foreign Affairs: 2023b*). The communication campaigns #GrainFromUkraine and #HungerGames contributed to the dissemination of information about the Grain Deal and the formed Black Sea grain corridor for the export of Ukrainian agricultural products to 45 countries (*Ministry of Foreign Affairs: 2024a*). The creation of the Nazovni platform (nazovni.online) under the auspices of the Department of Exporters Support under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine made it possible to initiate diplomatic maintenance for Ukrainian exporters who wish to work in foreign markets. Drawing international attention to the ecological consequences of the Russian invasion of Ukraine was realized through the #StopEcocideUkraine campaign, which is designed to present the war's impact on nature and highlight the well-known biodiversity objects of Ukraine, which may be or have been affected as a result of the war [*Resilient Ukraine: 2024*].

Cultural, artistic, and educational instruments for the protection of Ukrainian national heritage and its promotion in the international community have been improved at the level of the Ukrainian Institute at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. In particular, the representative offices of the Institute were opened in Germany and France in 2023, which contribute to the activation of bilateral and multilateral artistic contacts and the deepening of knowledge about the country, society, culture, and history. The launch of the interactive platform Insight UA by the Ukrainian Institute for the Independence Day of Ukraine allowed us to discover Ukrainian culture, personalities, and awe-inspiring events and cover various cultural topics, from music and literature to analytical reports. The online platform (insight.ui.org.ua) permitted the interested audience to get to know the culture of Ukraine, get acquainted with the history of Crimea and the Crimean Tatars, immerse themselves in modern Ukrainian music, and understand the latest developments in Ukrainian cinematography. Digitalisation of the cultural heritage of Ukraine facilitates preserving cultural objects for future generations because during the Russian war against Ukraine, according to the Ministry of Culture and Information Policy of Ukraine, 872 cultural heritage sites have been destroyed or damaged. Among them, 120 are of national importance, 682 are of local importance, and 70 are newly discovered sites (*Ministry of Culture and Information Policy: 2024*).

Separately, we can note the implementation of the idea of adding Christmas traditions to the National List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Ukraine and holding Christmas events in diplomatic

missions of Ukraine in 2023 to popularize Ukrainian traditions (*Ukrainian Center for Cultural Research: 2024*). The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine also initiated the inclusion of ‘Schedryk’ (Carol of the Bells) in the UNESCO List of Intangible Cultural Heritage. Among the enlightenment tools, the #BoycottRussianSport campaign can also be highlighted, which is aimed at preventing Russian and Belarusian athletes from participating in international sports competitions considering the full-scale invasion of Russia into the territory of Ukraine.

The Ukrainian Cultural Fund and Ukrainian Book Institute have also contributed to enhancing the cultural and artistic component of Ukraine's public diplomacy during martial law. The Ukrainian Cultural Fund (ucf.in.ua), in particular, aids in the renewal of the contemporary cultural landscape and the establishment of cross-sectoral alliances based on a common set of values. The Ukrainian Book Institute promotes the translation of Ukrainian literature into foreign languages and the activation of international exhibition activities in book publishing. In 2022, the Ukrainian Book Institute, operating under the Ministry of Culture and Information Policy of Ukraine, contributed to the implementation of such international projects as the ‘Suitcase with Books’, within which 574 cities in Germany and 13 libraries in other countries received 20,000 books from more than 20 Ukrainian publishing houses; the ‘Better Time Stories’ project, aimed at distributing sets of five bilingual books in the Dutch, German, and Ukrainian languages in five EU countries and implemented under the patronage of the first ladies of Ukraine, Germany, Austria, and the princess of the Netherlands; the ‘Ukrainian bookshelf’ project, which is designed to equip foreign libraries with books for Ukrainian refugees and replenish the funds of national libraries with the best Ukrainian publications (*Ukrainian Book Institute: 2022*).

Among the important public tools, we note the intensification of activities aimed at protecting the rights of children under martial law and their illegal removal outside Ukraine, which prompted the creation in December 2023 of the Council on Human Rights, Gender Equality and Diversity at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. The priorities of the Council's work became the protection of fundamental human rights in all territories of Ukraine temporarily occupied by Russia; the protection of the rights of Ukrainian children illegally deported and forcibly relocated to the territory of Russia, as well as the return of civilian hostages and prisoners of war (*Ministry of Foreign Affairs: 2024b*).

The activities of the Council were supported by the previously launched public projects #FreeUkrainians and Prisoner's Voice from the Center for Civil Liberties, aimed at the implementation of measures to release all Ukrainian political prisoners in Russia, Crimea and Donbas, as well as civilian prisoners because of the large-scale Russian war against of Ukraine (*Center for Civil Liberties: 2024*). The Bring Kids Back platform (bringkidsback.org.ua), implemented at the initiative of the Ukrainian government, partner countries and international organizations, is also intended to draw the public attention to the issue of the return of Ukrainian children who were forcibly deported from Ukraine. Within the DECIDE initiative, in partnership with the Office of the Commissioner of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine for Human Rights, the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine, the Ministry of Development of Communities, Territories and Infrastructure of Ukraine, the implementation of the initiative ‘We are becoming stronger together!’ (together.decide.in.ua), aimed at assisting children affected by the war. The project provides advisory support to teachers, communities, and children with special educational needs under martial law, raising awareness among educators and children in the field of human rights, creating a safe educational space in educational institutions, as well as forming the skills of first psychological aid.

Considering the deep public support for Ukraine's international promotion measures, in 2023 there was an award from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the contribution of Ukrainian diplomacy to those citizens of Ukraine and foreigners who made a significant political, economic and cultural impact on the formation of a positive international image of Ukraine; contributed to wide positive publicity about Ukraine; caused noticeable changes in the attitude towards the state and influenced decision-making in favour of Ukraine; contributed to the protection of the rights of Ukrainian citizens and the national interests of Ukraine; significantly helped to build the state's capacity in public diplomacy (*Ministry of*

Foreign Affairs: 2023c). Consequently, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs acknowledged the exceptional assistance rendered by both Ukrainian citizens and foreigners, who collaborated with the Ministry on innovative and security initiatives, as well as crafted communication materials.

Separately, it is necessary to note the activity of the Media Center of the State Enterprise ‘Directorate-General for Rendering Services to Diplomatic Missions’ (gdip.com.ua) aimed at the exchange of experience and the formation of networking during 2022-2023 in public diplomacy. The Media Center became a platform for consolidating the efforts of state employees, public and educational institutions to spread awareness about Ukraine among the domestic and foreign public, necessary for the implementation of public diplomacy projects and deepening knowledge about the peculiarities of the country’s European integration progress.

Under martial law, media tools have also become an integral part of Ukraine's diplomatic efforts. In particular, Ukrainian government accounts have become the multilingual media agencies that cover not only news, but also national defence strategies, visits by high-ranking officials, and bilateral and multilateral support for Ukraine at both the official and public levels. Starting from May 2022, the official fundraising platform United24 (u24.gov.ua) was launched in cooperation with charitable foundations, partners, donors, and public people who wish to support Ukraine in defence, humanitarian, medical, educational, and scientific areas, as well as allocate funds for the demining of territories or the reconstruction of Ukraine. More than 600 million dollars were collected in January 2024, mostly used to purchase medical gear, automobiles, or the repair of damaged infrastructure.

In June 2023, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the WhiteBIT crypto exchange launched a chatbot to enhance consular work, processing more than 26,000 inquiries from Ukrainians from 72 countries for the first six months. Thus, obtaining the necessary data was made easier for Ukrainian citizens who were compelled to leave the country due to the war. Several topics, such as consular services for Ukrainians who are abroad or planning a trip, entry rules and assistance to temporarily displaced citizens of Ukraine, as well as registration of temporary protection and social security, became popular (*Ministry of Foreign Affairs: 2023d*). Drawing attention to the Russian war against Ukraine also took place through the holding of the longest charitable marathon organized by Nova Poshta to support those who protected, rescued, healed, and brought victory to Ukraine, or the performance of the national anthem of Ukraine by the Minister of Foreign Affairs D. Kuleba together with foreign colleagues in the microblog X.

At the beginning of 2021, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine launched the information platform Ukraine.ua, which united official channels on various topics to create a positive image of the state. With the beginning of martial law, the platform is used for spreading the truth about the full-scale invasion of Russia, war crimes and the struggle of the Ukrainian people. The civic organization Brand Ukraine and the Ministry initiated additional media support campaigns for the state’s national aspirations during 2022-2023. In particular, ‘What We Are Fighting For 2.0: Thanksgiving Day Campaign’, ‘What We Are Fighting For’, #FreeTheLeopards, ‘Russia’s Famine Games’, ‘Campaign To Counter Disinformation’, ‘Russia’s War Crimes’, ‘War.Ukraine.Ua’ and ‘Cities of Ukrainian freedom’ are the primary international communication campaigns that show the actual value of aid to Ukraine, tell reasons why Ukrainian continue to fight for freedom and peace, advocate for the supply of weapons, identify the truth about Ukraine’s food supplies in the wartime, discover Ukraine’s fight against disinformation in distant regions, create online archive and website about the war with verified information for foreign audience. Information is available in English, French, Spanish, Arabic, Chinese, Russian, German, and Thai (*Brand Ukraine: 2024*).

The work within the information space in wartime should be done carefully to minimize the negative consequences and ensure maximum results from information and outreach activities as Ukraine, Europe, and the world are in an unbalanced media space that exists in the misinformation era. T Disinformation and incompetent dissemination of information have contributed to the dominance of

permissiveness in the media, which requires not only regular technical assistance for accounts but also strict regulation regarding administrative and criminal responsibility for spreading false information.

Separately, it is possible to highlight the promising technological advancements in the diplomatic field, which will facilitate a more efficient application of public diplomacy tools and AI, as well as bolster the cyber security of Ukraine's vital infrastructure. With this in mind, the National Hackathon on Cyber Security was held in November 2023, organized by the State Special Intelligence Service together with the Center for Strategic Communications with the support of the Government Office for European and Euro-Atlantic Integration, the US Embassy in Ukraine, the Project on knowledge exchange NATO-Ukraine C4 and USAID Cybersecurity for Critical Infrastructure in Ukraine. Future initiatives related to the creation of prototypes of programs and no-code solutions to support and promote human rights, equality, diversity, and tolerance using artificial intelligence. It is planned that promising projects will receive the support of international organizations and the possibility of their implementation at the national and global levels (*Government Portal: 2023a*).

Strengthening the cyber security and civilian cyber potential of Ukraine, as well as supporting the long-term needs of the state in cyber resilience, is planned to be implemented within the Tallinn Cyber Security Mechanism. In particular, the ministries of foreign affairs of Ukraine, the UK, Denmark, Estonia, Canada, the Netherlands, Germany, Poland, the USA, France, and Sweden will coordinate efforts to mobilize additional support for the needs of specialized institutions in cyber security and will closely cooperate with the EU and NATO on increasing own cyber potential and deepening digital development [*Government Portal: 2023b*]. The described initiatives were continued in the draft law of the President of Ukraine on amendments to the law 'On Diplomatic Service', registered in December 2023, which, among other things, talks about improving activities in cyber diplomacy for the promotion and protection of national interests, implementation of Ukraine's foreign policy goals in cyberspace, and the assistance of international cooperation in the field of innovative technologies (*Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine: 2023*).

Reinforcing the economic, cultural, and educational components of foreign policy work, which will be implemented both under the ongoing state of war and post-war peacebuilding, can be a promising direction for Ukraine's public diplomacy. Ukraine's trauma-informed public diplomacy will focus on disseminating information about the nation's achievements and spiritual values, restoring cultural resilience, overcoming existential anxieties, and aiding other countries.

Conclusions. Under martial law, Ukraine's public diplomacy became more active, which manifested in the achievement of Western solidarity regarding the protection of Ukraine and the restoration of the territorial integrity of the state within internationally recognized borders, the start of negotiations on joining the EU, the outline of actions aimed at deepening Euro-Atlantic integration and strengthening sanctions measures. As a result of the approval of the Public Diplomacy Strategy of Ukraine and the Communication Strategy of Ukraine in 2021, it was possible to effectively establish communication with international partners and adapt diplomatic work to current challenges and threats. The augmentation of interaction among state authorities, local self-government, private enterprises, and civic organizations resulted in better coordination of efforts to inform internal and external audiences about the Russian war against Ukraine, countering Russian propaganda and disinformation, and constructing authentic narratives about Ukraine. It has been established that the interest of international actors in Ukraine is determined by the internal and external factors that significantly affect the perception of the Ukrainian state, among them, we could divide political confidence, economic status, and national identity.

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