



Journal of Geology, Geography and Geoecology

Journal home page: geology-dnu.dp.ua

ISSN 2617-2909 (print)
ISSN 2617-2119 (online)

Journ. Geol. Geograph.
Geology,
32(3), 644-659
[doi:10.15421/112357](https://doi.org/10.15421/112357)

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Journ. Geol. Geograph. Geoecology, 32(3), 644-659

The geography of public diplomacy of President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy during the full-scale Russia-Ukraine war

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Received 25.08.2023;

Received in revised form 05.09.2023;

Accepted 08.09.2023

Abstract. Public diplomacy, as a special form of foreign policy activity aimed at shaping foreign public opinion as a factor in changing the policy of another state, requires the study of the peculiarities of geopolitical and geocultural perceptions of the foreign public. Public diplomacy has become an important channel of international communication between Ukraine and the

civilized world since the beginning of the full-scale Russian offensive on its territory. The role of President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy in transforming public diplomacy into an effective technology of international politics is unprecedented. The uniqueness of V. Zelenskyy's contribution to the development of public diplomacy as an international communication practice lies, first, in the incredible rise in the importance of the head of state as the main actor of such diplomacy, second, in its institutionalization and intensification as a tool for influencing global public opinion, third, in its tangible effectiveness and efficiency, and fourth, in the widespread use of digital online technologies for its implementation. The success of V. Zelenskyy's public diplomacy is not just due to its geographically relevant content, but also to communication technologies based on geographic determinism. His public diplomacy is based on universal values, but adapted to the geocultural characteristics of the foreign public. The Ukrainian president sought to make the Ukrainian position understandable to geoculturally different audiences through a number of persuasive technologies. First of all, he used the technology of joining by appealing to values common to all geographical regions, such as life, security, freedom, children, and family. In addition, the Ukrainian national leader used the technology of engaged communication, which is empathetic, compassionate in nature and based on respect for the values, symbols, ideals, tragedies and losses that make up the geocultural background of the public's worldview in each country. In conducting public diplomacy, the Ukrainian president outlined the geography of danger from the potential Russian threat, including the countries that were part of the USSR and the Soviet bloc. The Ukrainian national leader's use of the technique of linking the geography of the Russian threat to the Soviet past is justified in the light of official and semi-official Russian propaganda. Exposing Russian disinformation has become one of the leading directions of V. Zelenskyy's public diplomacy and the main information weapon against the aggressor. In proving the falsity of Russian propaganda, the Ukrainian national leader appeals to the facts, to the reasons for the distortion of the objective picture of reality and to the special geocultural experience of the foreign public, which is determined by significant historical events in a particular geographical area of the world.

Keywords: public diplomacy, communication, war, foreign policy, Ukraine, national security, geographic determinism, soft power, international relations, diplomatic geography.

Географія публічної дипломатії Президента України Володимира Зеленського під час повномасштабної російсько-української війни

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Анотація. Публічна дипломатія як особлива форма зовнішньополітичної діяльності, що спрямована на формування зарубіжної громадської думки як чинника зміни політики іншої держави, вимагає вивчення особливостей геополітичних та геокультурних уявлень зарубіжної публіки. Публічна дипломатія стала важливим каналом міжнародної комунікації

Україні з цивілізаційним світом з початку повномасштабного російського наступу на її територію. Безпрецедентною є роль Президента України Володимира Зеленського в перетворенні публічної дипломатії на ефективну технологію міжнародної політики. Унікальність внеску В.Зеленського в розвиток публічної дипломатії як міжнародної комунікативної практики полягає, по-перше, в неймовірному піднесенні значущості глави держави як головного актора такої дипломатії, по-друге, в її інституціоналізації та інтенсифікації як інструменту впливу на глобальну громадську думку, по-третє, її відчутної результативності та ефективності, по-четверте, в широкому використанні цифрових онлайн технологій для її здійснення. Успіхам публічної дипломатії В.Зеленського сприяє не просто її географічно релевантний контент, а технології комунікації, засновані на географічному детермінізмі. В основі його публічної дипломатії лежать загальнолюдські цінності, але адаптовані під геокультурні особливості зарубіжної публіки. Український президент прагнув зробити українську позицію зрозумілою для геокультурно різних аудиторій через низку технологій переконання. Насамперед, він використовував технологію приєднання через апеляцію до спільних для всіх географічних регіонів цінностей, таких як життя, безпека, свобода, діти, родина. Крім того, український національний лідер звертався до технології зацікавленої комунікації, яка є емпатичною, співчуваючою за характером та базується на повазі до цінностей, символів, ідеалів, трагедій та втрат, що складають геокультурний бекграунд світогляду громадськості кожної країни. Здійснюючи публічну дипломатію, український президент окреслив географію небезпеки від потенційної російської загрози, включивши до неї країни, що входили до СРСР та до радянського блоку. Застосування українським національним лідером технології зв'язування географії небезпеки російської загрози з радянським минулим є виправданою з огляду на офіційну та напівофіційну російську пропаганду. Викриття російської дезінформації стало одним із провідних напрямів публічної дипломатії В.Зеленського та головною інформаційною зброєю проти агресора. Доводячи брехливість російської пропаганди, український національний лідер апелює до фактів, до причин викривлення об'єктивної картини реальності та до особливого геокультурного досвіду зарубіжної публіки, що обумовлюється знаковими історичними подіями на певній географічній території світу.

Ключові слова: публічна дипломатія, комунікація, війна, зовнішня політика, Україна, національна безпека, географічний детермінізм, м'яка сила, міжнародні відносини, дипломатична географія.

Introduction

Considering the diplomatic activities of states from the perspective of geography is a relatively new fundamental direction of understanding foreign policy practices and international relations in general. Diplomacy is naturally linked to geography, as it unfolds in the global space, connects continents and countries through communication, uses place names to name important international treaties, and shapes and consolidates the political and territorial reality of the world. Diplomacy is a consistent and systematic activity of the country's leadership and authorized state bodies to implement the state's foreign policy by peaceful means and taking into account geopolitical and geocultural considerations. Public diplomacy, as a special form of foreign policy activity aimed at shaping foreign public opinion as a factor in changing the policy of another state, requires the study of the peculiarities of geopolitical and geocultural perceptions of the foreign public. Accordingly, this implies the use of the methodology of geographic determinism, which allows one to study the geographical dimensions of public diplomacy through the differentiation of its target audiences and the depth of its influence on them.

Public diplomacy has become an important channel of international communication between Ukraine and the civilized world since the beginning of the full-scale Russian offensive on its territory. The role of President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy in transforming public diplomacy into an effective tech-

nology of international politics is unprecedented. The uniqueness of V.Zelenskyy's contribution to the development of public diplomacy as an international communication practice lies, first, in the incredible rise in the importance of the head of state as the main actor of such diplomacy, second, in its institutionalization and intensification as a tool for influencing global public opinion, third, in its tangible effectiveness and efficiency, and fourth, in the widespread use of digital online technologies for its implementation. The significance of studying the geography of the Ukrainian president's public diplomacy during a full-scale war is determined by the need to find out how and what geographically determined the successes and failures of this diplomacy, whether these failures had endogenous or exogenous causes.

The aim of the article is to study the geographical dimensions of the public diplomacy of President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy during the full-scale Russia-Ukraine war.

Review of previous research

Researchers of international relations assign a special role to public diplomacy in relations between states (Wiseman, 2019; Snow, 2020; Vysotskyi, & Vysotska, 2020; Nga, & Quang, 2021; Ayoub, 2023; Song, & Fanoulis, 2023). In our opinion, this is due to the ideas of democratization and soft power. The idea of democratization implies the crucial importance of public opinion in determining state policy. Soft power is the ability of an actor to achieve its goals and realize its interests through various forms of ideolog-

ical, cultural, value attraction and persuasion. This includes the idea of freedom as a voluntary choice, the universality and humanity of political ideals, the charm of culture and values, openness, leadership and communication that is not distorted by deception or manipulation, as well as the legitimacy of politics and its moral authority (Nye, 2005, p.5, 77-79; Nye, 2019, p.8; Nye, 2021, p.201-204, 206). An actor of public diplomacy generates soft power if he or she inspires strong long-term trust in himself or herself, his or her words and actions. According to J.S.Nye, this is due to reputation, building a positive image and building long-term relationships that create a favourable environment for interstate dialogue (Nye, 2019, p.12). N.Cull noted the importance of the state's reputation in the successful implementation of public diplomacy (Cull, 2019; 2023).

In 2008, E. Gilboa tried to summarize all the concepts, models, and methodological approaches to the study of public diplomacy (Gilboa, 2008). However, despite the thorough nature of his study, he left out the contribution of the national leader as an important actor of public diplomacy. In addition, E.Gilboa does not mention online meetings diplomacy as a type of public diplomacy, which may be explained by its insufficient prevalence at the time. In our opinion, the Covid-19 pandemic gave a powerful impetus to the development of online meetings diplomacy. In 2023, E.Gilboa already mentions the meetings of national leaders with the foreign public as a landmark for the achievements of public diplomacy (Gilboa, 2023). A little earlier, B.Goldsmith, Y.Horiuchi, & K.Matush considered visits of high-level political leaders to other countries as a tool of public diplomacy (Goldsmith, et al., 2021). These authors confirmed the postulate that public diplomacy by national leaders is an effective tool for increasing a country's soft power resources. In addition, they concluded that public diplomacy of national leaders can have as its political result the building of military coalitions (Goldsmith, et al., 2021, p.1355). This conclusion is significant in the context of our study, as V. Zelenskyy's online conferences to foreign audiences can be seen as virtual visits by the political leader of Ukraine.

An important dimension of our study is the geography of public diplomacy. In this context, the works of F. McConnell (McConnell, 2019), A.K. Henrikson, (Henrikson, 2005), H. van der Wusten, V. Mamadouh (Wusten van der, & Mamadouh, 2020) have become the basis for a better understanding of the diversity of geographical aspects of diplomatic activity. There is a widespread tendency among contemporary researchers to pay attention to national models of public diplo-

macy (Pestana, 2020; Park, 2020; Chitty, 2020; Oga-wa, 2020; Bieniek, & Bayer, 2022). This is a manifestation of geographical determinism. Instead, only a few scholars mention the problem of geographically relevant content in the implementation of public diplomacy in passing (Arceneaux, & Powers, 2020, p.57).

At the same time, publications on individual episodes of President Zelenskyy's public diplomacy during the war are already beginning to appear. One of these works is an article by M. Matsuoka and R. Matsuoka, who studied the Ukrainian leader's speech to the Japanese public (Matsuoka, & Matsuoka, 2022). Of course, the article by the Japanese scholars was one of the important things that inspired us to do this research.

Research methodology

The theories of geographic determinism and geocultural technologies in international relations (Vysotskyi, et al., 2022; Vysotskyi, et al., 2023) outlined the research framework for studying the geographical dimensions of the Ukrainian president's public diplomacy during the full-scale Russia-Ukraine war. These theories allowed us to identify the technologies of geographic determinism and geocultural technologies as important effective tools of V.Zelenskyy's public diplomacy which contributed to its success. The geographical approach underlying these theories provided a study of the Ukrainian leader's public diplomacy in the spatial-territorial and regional-cultural dimensions. The axiological approach focused our research attention on the values that became the basis of the soft power of V.Zelenskyy's public diplomacy. Its application allowed us to conclude that the Ukrainian president's public diplomacy is based on universal values, but adapted to the geocultural characteristics of the foreign public. The communicative approach made it possible to understand V.Zelenskyy's public diplomacy as an effective international communication, successfully determined by the geographical context.

Material

From the very beginning of Russia's full-scale attack on the territory of Ukraine, all public diplomacy of the Ukrainian president was subordinated to the central strategic goal, which was to unite as many powerful states as possible in a defense coalition to counter Russian aggression and minimize its consequences. All other tasks and directions of public diplomacy were subordinated to this global goal. The

public diplomacy of the Ukrainian national leader has become a very powerful and well-thought-out strategic instrument of Ukraine's foreign policy. During the year and a half of full-scale war, V.Zelenskyy made more than two hundred speeches to foreign audiences on five continents (Fig. 1). This is unprecedented. The Ukrainian national leader delivered speeches to the general public in crowded squares in Italy, Georgia, Poland, and Denmark. He spoke to student audiences in the United States, Canada, Chile, Australia, France, Ireland, Germany, and Argentina. V.Zelenskyy addressed members of parliaments in the United Kingdom, Poland, Canada, the United States, Germany, Denmark, Norway, Australia, the Netherlands,

Belgium, Romania, Spain, Greece, Cyprus, Finland, the Republic of Korea, Estonia, Portugal, Albania, Iceland, Slovakia, Latvia, Luxembourg, the Czech Republic, Japan, Slovenia, New Zealand, Lithuania, Austria, Chile, Mexico, and Switzerland. He spoke to representatives of powerful international organizations such as the UN, UNESCO, NATO, EU, OECD, OSCE, Arab League, African Union, Organization of American States, and the Caribbean Community (CARICOM). The Ukrainian President delivered speeches to participants of national and international professional, artistic, charitable associations and festivals, including such reputable ones as the Cannes, Berlin and Venice International Film Festivals.



Fig. 1. The geography of V. Zelenskyy's public diplomacy in the world (compiled by O.Vysotskyi)

Results

The scale and wide geographical coverage of the Ukrainian president's public diplomacy was explained not only by the ambitiousness of its strategic goal, but also by the possibilities of online meetings of diplomacy. Such diplomacy has an almost fifty-year history. As early as October 1963, the International Telecommunication Union organized the first online conference via satellite, enabling the Secretary-General of the United Nations U Thant to speak in Geneva from New York via Telstar (Opening of the Conference...1963, p.334).

The effectiveness of the Ukrainian president's public diplomacy was facilitated by his clear under-

standing of its mechanisms, focus, target audiences, success criteria, tasks, implementation technologies, and expected results. According to V.Zelenskyy, the main condition for the success of public diplomacy is the clarity of Ukraine's position, and the criterion for the efficiency of any diplomatic activity is the amount of assistance from partner countries. The Ukrainian president expressed this idea in words: «The world helps those whom it understands» (Zelenskyy. Your task..., 2023, August 2).

V.Zelenskyy sought to make Ukraine's position understandable to geoculturally diverse audiences through a number of persuasive technologies. First of all, he used the technology of connection by appealing to values common to all geographical regions,

such as life, security, freedom, children, and family. In addition, the Ukrainian president used the technology of engaged communication, which is empathetic, compassionate in nature and based on respect for the values, symbols, ideals, tragedies and losses that make up the geocultural background of the public's worldview in each country. The purpose of engaged communication is mutual understanding, emotional and intellectual unity, mutual empathy and effective compassion in response, and social and political solidarity in difficult times.

An important role in V.Zelenskyy's public diplomacy is played by the technology of building the reputation of the Russian Federation as an aggressor state dangerous for the entire civilized world, which violates international law, commits genocide and ecocide, threatens the world with nuclear weapons and a nuclear power plant disaster, and spreads disinformation to justify its crimes.

Knowledge of the geocultural characteristics of each nation's development is the key to mutual understanding and solidarity between this nation and Ukraine. V.Zelenskyy has made demonstrating such knowledge one of the principles of his public diplomacy. This has inspired confidence in him as a person interested in the history, culture, and traditions of the foreign public to whom he addresses.

Overall, the geographical determinism of the Ukrainian president's public diplomacy was one of the factors behind its success. It also manifested itself in the comparison of destroyed Ukrainian cities with the foreign audience's hometowns during his speeches. For example, in his speech to the Assembly of the Republic of Portugal, the Ukrainian president compared Mariupol to Lisbon in terms of geographical features such as location near a large body of water, size and population. «You have all heard about Mariupol. Before the war, it was a city comparable in size to Lisbon. It was a half-million seaside city. Now it is completely destroyed» (Speech by President..., 2022, 21 Apr.). Of course, this built an emotional bridge between the two geographically distant cities.

The long-standing connection between Ukrainian and foreign geocultures was emphasized in V. Zelenskyy's speech to the Icelandic Parliament, where he said: «Ukraine and Iceland actually have very close ties. Our cultures have been well acquainted with each other for over a thousand years. Our ancestors easily found a common language, and this can be traced now in both our and your language» (Speech by President..., 2022, 6 May). As we can see, the Ukrainian president here used the technology of geocultural linking through the similarity of language elements.

In his speech to the deputies of the Czech Republic, V.Zelenskyy used the technology of appealing to the geocultural background of the foreign public's worldview and the technology of connecting on the basis of similar experiences in the struggle for freedom. He referred to the events of August 1968 in Prague through the slogan of Czech radio at the time: «We are with you, be with us!» (Address by the President..., 2022, 15 June). In addition, the Ukrainian president outlined the geography of the danger from the potential Russian threat, including the countries that were part of the USSR and the Soviet bloc: «as in the past, the Russian invasion of Ukraine is only the first step that the Russian leadership needs to open the way to other countries, to the conquest of other nations» (Address by the President..., 2022, 15 June). The technology of linking the geography of the Russian threat to the Soviet past is justified in view of the official and semi-official propaganda of the Russian Federation.

During his speech to the Sejm of the Republic of Poland, the Ukrainian president used the technique of linking the geography of the Russian threat to the relatively recent history of the Russian Federation's attack on Georgia and the words of Polish President Lech Kaczyński, who spoke in Tbilisi in 2008: «We know very well: today - Georgia, tomorrow - Ukraine, the day after tomorrow - the Baltic countries and then, perhaps, the time will come for my country – Poland» (Speech by President..., 2022, 11 Mar.). Referring to Kaczyński's prophecy, V.Zelenskyy symbolically linked Ukraine and Poland («there are 90 million of us together») by the need to fulfill the historic mission of saving Europe from the Russian threat (Speech by President..., 2022, 11 Mar.). He further reinforced the importance for Poles of fighting this threat by mentioning the Russian silence on the circumstances of the 2010 plane crash near Smolensk, which killed Polish President L.Kaczyński and other Polish politicians (Speech by President..., 2022, 11 Mar.).

While conducting public diplomacy, V.Zelenskyy did not forget about such an important element of the foreign public as the diaspora. Thus, speaking in the Parliament of Canada, he separately addressed all Ukrainians in Canada: «It is at this historic moment that we need your effective help. And you must prove with your steps that you are a part of the history of Ukraine, the living history of Ukraine» (Speech by President..., 2022, 15 Mar.). The national leader of Ukraine also addressed the Ukrainian diaspora in his speech to the US Congress (We stand, we fight and we will win..., 2022, 22 Dec.).

From the very beginning of the large-scale war, President Zelenskyy's public diplomacy had several

priority tasks, which had a certain impact on the geography of his speeches. At the beginning of the large-scale invasion, the main and primary tasks of the Ukrainian president's public diplomacy (and Ukrainian diplomacy in general) were three. These were: 1) ensuring the supply of weapons; 2) initiating the imposition of sanctions on the aggressor by Western democratic states; and 3) financial assistance to Ukraine. These fundamental priority goals of Ukrainian diplomacy during the war allowed us to call it «trident diplomacy» after the official Ukrainian state emblem. Here, we can note the implementation of a kind of symbolic technology that became a tool for mobilizing Ukrainian national consciousness, connecting it to the symbolic contour of reality, because the trident is a thousand-year witness of Ukrainian freedom.

In addition to the fundamental priorities of public diplomacy, the Ukrainian president also worked on other tasks that were important for the survival of the Ukrainian people and the preservation of state sovereignty. These include establishing international humanitarian aid for the army, refugees and war victims, easing economic barriers, including the removal of duties on the export of goods to the EU («visa-free regime»), ensuring unimpeded exports (including the conclusion and implementation of the «grain export initiative»), mobilizing international support for the restoration of cities destroyed by the aggressor, institutionalizing international assistance for the post-war recovery of the Ukrainian economy, forming an international legal and political position on the aggressor's liability for damage caused by the attack on Ukraine and the occupation of its territories, and determining the prospects for attracting investment in the post-war Ukrainian economy.

A special area of the Ukrainian president's public diplomacy has been communication with the foreign public on Ukraine's accession to the EU and NATO, which certainly relates to the political geography of the world, in particular the geography of interstate integration and the expansion of international intergovernmental organizations in the world.

We will focus only on some of these tasks of V. Zelenskyy's public diplomacy and try to identify their geographical aspects. First of all, it should be noted that the Ukrainian president views the entire planet as a battlefield against Russian tyranny, where all aspects of its implementation are important and concern every geographic region and people. Thus, in his speech to the U.S. Congress, the Ukrainian president said: «From the United States to China, from Europe to Latin America, and from Africa to Australia – the world is too interconnected and interdependent to al-

low someone to stay aside – and at the same time – to feel safe when such a battle continues» (We stand, we fight and we will win..., 2022).

Ensuring the supply of weapons. The problem of weapons for Ukraine, which fell victim to aggression from a powerful enemy with large stocks of various weapons in numerous Soviet-era warehouses, was of vital importance for the country's defense and sovereignty. In his speeches to the foreign public of various countries, V.Zelenskyy linked Ukraine's obtaining a sufficient number of weapons to the cessation of Russian aggression (Zelenskyy. No one will..., 2022, 11 Aug.). For the first time, the Ukrainian national leader publicly appealed to the Western public to provide Ukraine with weapons on the eve of the aggressor's large-scale invasion at the 58th Munich Security Conference on 19 February, 2022 (Zelenskyy. Speech by... 2022, 19 Feb.). In his speech to the G7 summit, V.Zelenskyy pointed to the solidarity of all democratic countries to support Ukraine with weapons to avoid the danger of Russian aggression for Georgia, Moldova, the Baltic States, Poland, and Central Asia (Address by President... 2022, 24 Mar.). The following month, the first diplomatic meeting of defense ministers from 43 countries took place in the German city of Ramstein-Miesenbach to synchronize and accelerate the provision of military weapons to Ukraine to counter a full-scale Russian invasion. In addition to NATO countries, the meeting was attended by key Pacific partners of the United States: Japan, South Korea, New Zealand, and Australia, representatives of the Middle East – Qatar, Jordan, and Israel, four African countries – Kenya, Liberia, Morocco, and Tunisia, as well as Finland, Sweden, and Ukraine itself. In fact, on 26 April, 2022, an international defense coalition was established in Ramstein to coordinate urgent assistance to Ukraine, known as the Ukraine Defense Contact Group (UDCG) or the Ramstein group. To date, 14 meetings have been held in Ramstein, and the number of participating countries has increased to 54 (Garamone, 2023).

It is worth noting that the United States has become the country on which V.Zelenskyy's public diplomacy has been most focused. Since February 2022, he has delivered speeches to various audiences at more than 30 events in the United States. This has had a noticeable impact. According to a recent poll among the American public, V.Zelenskyy is in second place in terms of favourability, with half of Republicans favouring him, but he is even more popular among Democrats (75%) (Kight, & Solender, 2023). It is no coincidence that the United States has provided Ukraine with the most security assistance in abso-

lute terms compared to other states since the beginning of the full-scale Russian invasion, amounting to more than \$43 billion (Clark, 2023). The second largest country in terms of military assistance to Ukraine in absolute terms was Germany, whose military commitments amounted to €7.5 billion (≈\$8.17 billion) (A Database of Military..., 2023). The United Kingdom was in third place with €6.58 billion (≈\$7.17 billion) of military assistance to Ukraine (Trebesch, et al., 2023).

Initiating the imposition of sanctions on the aggressor by Western democratic states. Through public diplomacy, the Ukrainian leader tried to convey to the world community the simple idea that sanctions imposed on Russia help limit its ability to continue its war of aggression against Ukraine. The Ukrainian president called one of the main conditions for successful sanctions the speed of their imposition, when the aggressor does not have time to adapt to them, does not have time to find ways to circumvent them (Zelenskyy. The world must show..., 2022, 6 Oct.). V.Zelenskyy also identified the synchronization of the sanctions policy of Ukraine's partners and the closure of all opportunities for the supply of critical components to Russia as other important conditions for sanctions that should limit the aggressor's production potential as much as possible (Zelenskyy. Your task..., 2023, 2 August). It should be noted separately that the Ukrainian president called for the imposition of sanctions on one of Russia's main allies in Asia, Iran, for supplying barrage munitions known as Shahed kamikaze drones. Interestingly, he actually characterized the military alliance between Russia and Iran as terrorist and anti-European, which subtly contrasted Asia and Europe based on the criterion of civilization. For example, V.Zelenskyy noted: «using the examples of Russia and Iran, we can show what awaits any terrorist state if it tries to attack Europeans or any other people like this» (Russian terror must lose..., 2022). In this way, the Ukrainian president exalts Europeans, assigning them a special leadership role as defenders against terrorist Asianism, of which he considers Russia to be the main geocultural embodiment. As early as October 2022, V.Zelenskyy began calling on the European Council to impose sanctions on Iran for supplying combat drones to Russia. His persistence had its first result only in December 2022, when the European Council imposed the first sanctions against Iran for military cooperation with Russia and the supply of drones to it (Iran: EU adopts Council conclusions..., 2022). But until now, the European Council has not stopped strengthening sanctions against Iran for Iran's military support for Russia's aggressive war

against Ukraine (Iran: EU adopts new restrictive measures..., 2023).

The Ukrainian president also called for sanctions against Belarus as a Russian ally, from whose territory missiles and Iranian drones are launched at Ukrainian cities. However, he tried to prevent Belarus from being drawn into a full-scale war against Ukraine (Russian terror must lose..., 2022).

The EU, the United States, Switzerland, New Zealand, Japan, Canada, Australia, South Korea, Singapore, Taiwan, and some other countries are pursuing a policy of coordinated sanctions. On June 23, 2023, the EU adopted the 11th package of sanctions against Russia for its continued illegal war against Ukraine (EU adopts 11th package of sanctions..., 2023). Despite the unprecedented volume of sanctions, the sanctions policy has not yet stopped Russian aggression, although it has weakened Russia.

Financial assistance to Ukraine. Zelenskyy was well aware that without financial assistance from the world, Ukraine would not be able to resist such an economically and resourcefully powerful aggressor as Russia. Moreover, a modern war is primarily a confrontation between economies, especially if the war is protracted. Therefore, communication efforts aimed at convincing the global political and business community to provide financial assistance to Ukraine have become an important area of the Ukrainian president's public diplomacy. He proposed to create a permanent working group, a kind of «financial Ramstein» that would deal with financial support for Ukraine and work quickly at different levels - at the level of international donors and at the level of countries that join the assistance (Our cooperation brings..., 2022). V.Zelenskyy identified three main goals of the world's financial support: 1) to cover the state budget deficit to ensure the basic fundamentals of people's lives; 2) to rebuild critical infrastructure, restore damaged housing, and purchase energy to ensure the stability of the heating season; 3) to develop a mechanism for insuring war risks for new investment projects, which could be a useful tool to support investment for Ukraine, which is necessary to revitalize the economy (Our cooperation brings..., 2022).

States and international organizations have pledged €69.31 billion (≈\$75.32 billion) in financial assistance to Ukraine, much of which has already been disbursed (Trebesch, et al., 2023). The World Bank Group has mobilized \$37.884 billion through its mechanisms, of which almost \$23 billion has been disbursed to Ukraine so far (World Bank Group..., 2023). Therefore, we can argue that V.Zelenskyy's

economic public diplomacy has had a partial result. A permanent working group analogous to Ramstein has not yet been established, but financial assistance to Ukraine is more or less sufficient. Of course, it was not only the economic public diplomacy of the Ukrainian president that ensured the allocation of financial assistance from states and international organizations, but it certainly became an important prerequisite for the world community's willingness to support the victim of aggression.

Mobilizing international support for the implementation of the Ukrainian peace plan - the Peace Formula. The Ukrainian president made one of the first attempts to formulate a formula for peace at the general debate of the 77th session of the UN General Assembly. At the time, this peace formula included only five points, was emotional rather than extremely rational and clearly formulated (Zelenskyy. Speech by the President..., 2022, September 22). Subsequently, V. Zelenskyy's Peace Formula was improved and embodied in 10 points: 1) Radiation and nuclear safety, 2) Food security, 3) Energy security, 4) Release of prisoners and deported persons, 5) Restoration of Ukraine's territorial integrity, 6) Withdrawal of Russian troops and cessation of hostilities, 7) Restoration of justice, 8) Environmental safety, 9) Preventing escalation and repetition of aggression, 10) Confirmation of the end of the war. Zelenskyy's improved Peace Formula was first presented on 15 November, 2022, at the G20 summit (Zelenskyy. Ukraine has..., 2022). The final expanded version of this Formula was called «Ukraine's Peace Formula Philosophy» and was presented for discussion at the Jeddah meeting in Saudi Arabia on 5-6 August, 2023.

All points of V.Zelenskyy's Peace Formula are based on UN documents. According to the Ukrainian president, the Peace Formula was developed so that each of its points was supported by UN resolutions. So that every leading country in the world can choose the point that it can help implement. After all, all the leading countries of the world have supported and voted for these resolutions over the years (Speech by President Volodymyr Zelenskyy at the working session..., 2023, 21 May).

According to V.Zelenskyy's Peace Formula, the mechanism for achieving peace is based on the global interdependence of the world, which means that peace and security on the planet cannot be achieved without resolving all issues related to Russian aggression. In turn, this implies that Ukraine's security should be «guaranteed by legally binding instruments of international law, strengthened by reliable domes-

tic defense capabilities and integrated into the new international security architecture». (Ukraine's Peace Formula Philosophy, 2023).

According to the Peace Formula mechanism, the end of the Russia-Ukraine war is to be formalized at a special peace conference with the participation of a wide range of states through a comprehensive legally binding international agreement. This agreement should set out the restoration of Ukraine's territorial integrity and sovereignty within its internationally recognized borders, security guarantees through the commitments of guarantor states, clear conditions for post-war settlement and financing of the country's reconstruction (Ukraine's Peace Formula Philosophy, 2023).

Solidarization of international political support. It envisaged coordinated steps by states to condemn Russia's aggression against Ukraine at meetings of influential international organizations, primarily the UN and the EU, and the creation of a coalition of countries to counter such aggression through various forms of support for the struggle for Ukrainian sovereignty. V.Zelenskyy offered the countries to which he addressed the public a leadership role in the struggle for positive values such as life, freedom, security, and peace. The Ukrainian president probably meant the role of a saviour, confronting universal evil in the person of a dangerous, entrenched aggressor who attacked a nation that had never started any wars of aggression (Zelenskyy. We need your support..., 2022, 6 Oct.). Obviously, this is an unobtrusive association with one of the main Christian images.

Ukraine's integration with the European Union and NATO. The geography of V.Zelenskyy's public diplomacy eloquently demonstrates that the unity of Ukraine and Europe is of particular importance to him in the fight against the aggressor (Fig. 2). The vast majority of his speeches have been delivered to European foreign audiences (more than 110 speeches since the beginning of the full-scale Russian invasion). The Ukrainian president interprets the support of European states for Ukraine in the fight against the aggressor as a new history of Europe – «Europe without division», «Europe without «gray» zones», «Europe that is truly united and that knows how to defend itself, its values, its future» (This is the biggest step..., 2022). He defines granting Ukraine the status of a candidate for EU membership as «the biggest step towards strengthening Europe that could be taken right now, in our time and in such difficult conditions, when the Russian war is testing our ability to preserve freedom and unity» (This is the biggest step..., 2022). V.Zelenskyy sees his country's accession to the EU as a

logical result of Ukraine’s fight against the aggressor and the assistance of the European community, as the highest point of solidarity and perfection of Europe. As he noted in one of his speeches to the European public: «Ukrainian courage and your solidarity have given Europe a unity that has never been seen before. The time has come to enshrine this strength of our unity with the decision on Ukraine’s accession to the European Union. You know that Europe is not complete without Ukraine in the European Union» (Zelenskyy. Europe and other parts..., 2023).

While V.Zelenskyy’s diplomatic efforts toward Ukraine’s European integration resulted in the country’s status as a candidate for EU membership, his efforts toward NATO membership culminated in the creation of the NATO-Ukraine Council as a working instrument of integration. In his speeches to foreign audiences, the Ukrainian president tried to rationalize the need to accelerate Ukraine’s integration into NATO as much as possible. He noted that defining the algorithm for joining NATO would motivate Ukrainian soldiers, and the fact of Ukraine’s accession to the Alliance «will become a powerful lock that will keep Russian imperialism in the past forever» (Zelenskyy. Europe and other parts..., 2023). In fact, in each of his speeches on Ukraine’s integration

into NATO, V.Zelenskyy has promoted the idea that Ukraine’s accession to the Alliance will change the geography of European security.

Countering Russian disinformation. Exposing Russian disinformation has become one of the leading areas of V.Zelenskyy’s public diplomacy and the main information weapon against the aggressor. No one wants to be deceived, especially the educated foreign public. That is why one of the important target audiences of the Ukrainian president’s public diplomacy was the student and teaching staff of the world’s leading universities. One of the priority topics of exposing Russian disinformation was to draw attention to the use of the false nomination by official Russian propaganda and extrapolate this obvious manifestation to the entire Russian information policy. The point is that Russian officials do not call the war a war, but prefer to hide behind the definition of «special military operation» (Zelenskyy, We need your support..., 2022, 6 Oct.). Proving the falsity of Russian propaganda, the Ukrainian national leader appeals to the facts, to the reasons for the distortion of the objective picture of reality and to the special geocultural experience of the foreign public, which is determined by significant historical events in a certain geographical area of the world. For example, V.Zelenskyy invited representa-



Fig.2. The geography of V. Zelenskyy’s public diplomacy in Europe (compiled by O.Vysotskyi)

tives of the Organization of American States to look at the Russia-Ukraine war through the lens of the struggle for independence waged by peoples on the American continent, through the ideals of justice of such national heroes as Simon Bolivar, Jose de San Martin, Miguel Hidalgo. Causing an interactive perception of his speech by the audience, he asked them to choose the position of the abovementioned national heroes of the struggle for independence in such a war that Russia has unleashed against Ukraine (Zelenskyy. We need your support..., 2022, 6 Oct.).

In conducting global public diplomacy, V.Zelenskyy is well aware that the main confrontation with Russian tyranny is taking place at the propaganda level, where «the battle for the minds of the world» is taking place (We stand, we fight and we will win..., 2022). He appeals to objectivity in assessing the sources of war. Thus, the Ukrainian president states: «Any unbiased view will confirm one thing - if war had not been brought from Russia to our peaceful Ukrainian land, there would have been no war. The source of evil and death is outside our borders». On 24 February, 2022, «Russia turned its hybrid aggression against our country into an open full-scale genocidal war» (By supporting Ukraine..., 2023). In his speeches to foreign audiences, the Ukrainian president emphasizes the danger of Russian propaganda, which hides behind the mask of freedom of speech and is already preparing a war against many states inside many countries. He notes that for Russia, NATO states have long been an enemy and «the ideology of Russia is based on this, it is reflected one hundred percent in its propaganda» (Zelenskyy. You have to find..., 2022). V.Zelenskyy clearly demonstrates that the current independent states that emerged from the Soviet past are potential victims of Russian aggression in the future (Zelenskyy. You have to find..., 2022).

Formation of an international position on the legal responsibility of the aggressor for the damage caused. In his speech at the International Conference on holding Russia accountable for crimes in Ukraine, held in the Dutch capital, The Hague, V.Zelenskyy used the technology of geographic linking. He recalled the MH17 plane crash that killed 193 Dutch people, including a member of the Dutch Senate. The Ukrainian president emphasized that this was a Russian crime and linked the MH17 plane crash to the armed aggression against Ukraine that began in 2014 and continues to this day (Zelenskyy, All Russian..., 2022, 14 July). Thus, V.Zelenskyy geographically linked the crime of the aggressive Russia-Ukraine war with the tragedy of the Dutch people.

The central theme of most of the Ukrainian leader's speeches on the legal responsibility of the Russian aggressor was the creation of a Special Tribunal for crime of aggression against Ukraine. V.Zelenskyy compared this tribunal to the Nuremberg Tribunal, linking it to the protection of the world order (Zelenskyy, All Russian..., 2022, 14 July). Some of the Ukrainian president's speeches were specifically devoted to the creation of the Special Tribunal. This was V.Zelenskyy's address to the participants of the public debate «War and Law» in October 2022 (We must create a Special Tribunal..., 2022, 5 Oct.). On 26 January, 2023, the Coalition for the creation of a Special Tribunal for crimes of aggression against Ukraine was formed. At the end of spring 2023, it united 37 states, including all G7 countries, the European Union and a number of countries of the Global South.

The Ukrainian national leader raised the issue of creating a special compensation mechanism for all damages caused by Russian aggression before the international legal community (Zelenskyy, All Russian..., 2022, 14 July). Already on 14 November, 2022, the UN General Assembly adopted the resolution «Furtherance of remedy and reparation for aggression against Ukraine», which introduced legal compensatory means to restore the rule of law. One of the important tools for holding Russia accountable for its aggression against Ukraine is the creation of a mechanism for compensation for damage, loss or injury resulting from internationally wrongful acts of the Russian Federation in or against Ukraine (Furtherance of remedy..., 2022).

V.Zelenskyy's speeches to the international legal community to uphold the rule of international law, create institutions to preserve it and compensate victims of its violators can be defined as a separate form of public diplomacy – legal public diplomacy. In the course of implementing such diplomacy, V.Zelenskyy informed the international legal community about the launch of the «Book of Torturers of the Ukrainian People» project. This project made it possible to collect evidence of war crimes and data on those who committed them on an online platform (Zelenskyy, All Russian..., 2022, 14 July).

Discussion and conclusion

Largely due to the global geography of his public diplomacy, President Zelenskyy has become one of the most well-known and influential national leaders in the world. In December 2022, he was named Person of the Year by Time magazine (Shuster, 2022) and the most powerful person in Europe by the American

media organization Politico (POLITICO 28 - Class of 2023). Undoubtedly, understanding the common and special elements in geocultures of different parts of the world was a factor that contributed to the world's trust in the Ukrainian national leader. But the main thing that made V.Zelenskyy convincing to the public on different continents was his ability to embody the common will, common dream, and common goal of not only the Ukrainian people, but also the majority of the civilized world.

In many of his speeches, he has demonstrated the criminal nature of the Russian regime, which has unleashed an aggressive war, committed genocide, seized the territories of a sovereign state, and is trying to hide behind disinformation. The Ukrainian president, seeking understanding from the world community and political leaders, appeals to them through the values of preserving life, freedom, democracy, good neighborliness, courage, solidarity, and a secure future. However, he has not yet succeeded in addressing certain foreign audiences, and his speeches have not been so convincing that Ukraine has received sufficient support from the governments of these countries in its fight against a powerful aggressor. An illustrative example is the state of Israel, whose audiences the Ukrainian president addressed several times. In our opinion, the hypothesis that explains V.Zelenskyy's apparent failure on the Israeli direction is Israel's inherent proximity to Russia, as this state has been seizing Palestinian territories throughout its history in violation of international law. It is likely that in the symbolic picture of the world of the majority of the Israeli political public, V.Zelenskyy is more likely to take the place of President of the State of Palestine Mahmoud Abbas than Prime Minister Golda Meir. Paradoxically, this did not prevent the Israeli media outlet The Jerusalem Post from putting the Ukrainian president on the first line of the list of the 50 most influential Jews in the world in 2022 (Harkov, 2022). Another example of the failure of the Ukrainian president's public diplomacy is the African direction. Thus, V.Zelenskyy's speech to the leaders of the African Union together with African heads of state was mentioned on the organization's official website in one sentence and only in the context of the visit of the head of the Union, Macky Sall, to Russia to express concern about the food and energy crises on the African continent (The 44th Ordinary Session..., 2022).

Despite setbacks, the Ukrainian president has demonstrated persistence and determination in convincing his audiences. He offered the foreign public real leadership, which meant saving the world from

the evil of Russian terror and ensuring a safe future for children and grandchildren. V.Zelenskyy called on the world community to find the best qualities in themselves, such as courage, integrity, and the desire for freedom, and to join the battle against evil and tyranny, which the Russian aggressor personified, in order to win together with the Ukrainian people. This can be called the technology of solidarity, which V.Zelenskyy successfully uses to effectively implement public diplomacy. This technology is able to elevate the personality of each person above everyday petty concerns by appealing to higher human ideals and at the same time inspire an ambitious desire to join the heroic victory over global evil. Thus, in his address to both Houses of Parliament of the United Kingdom, the Ukrainian president noted: «You all showed your grit and character... Strong British character. You didn't compromise Ukraine. And thus you didn't compromise your ideals. And thus you didn't compromise the spirit of these great Islands... The United Kingdom is marching with us towards the most important victory of our lifetime. It will be a victory over the very idea of the war. After we win together, any aggressor – big or small – will know what awaits him if he attacks the international order» (Combat aircrafts..., 2023). As we can see, the Ukrainian president appeals to the geocultural essence of the foreign audience, which is expressed here by the symbol «the spirit of great Islands. «This is nothing more than the use of the technology of appealing to the geocultural background of the worldview of the foreign public, which is aimed at solidifying with the audience.

The Japanese authors M.Matsuoka and R.Matsuoka, who mainly focused on V.Zelenskyy's speech in the Japanese Parliament in March 2022 and its impact on the Japanese public, rightly noted that the Ukrainian president successfully manages to establish solidarity and common ground with the foreign public through the soft power of his statements and thus convince them to support Ukraine (Matsuoka, & Matsuoka, 2022, p.113). Comparing V.Zelenskyy's speeches in Japan and Finland, the Japanese authors note that he modifies his speeches to take into account Ukraine's relations with these countries and socio-cultural background (Matsuoka, & Matsuoka, 2022, p. 111). However, we do not entirely agree with this. In seeking solidarity with his foreign audience, the Ukrainian president rather appeals to its geocultural roots and tragic heroic moments of national history, which are associatively consonant with the suffering and struggle of the Ukrainian people against the Russian aggressor. In other words, his public diplomacy

is geographically determined, which is one of the important factors of its success.

Noteworthy is the statement of N.Cull, who compares Zelenskyy to Churchill in shaping a positive image of the country, who, through his public diplomacy, managed to demonstrate Ukraine to the foreign public as understandable, distinctive and different from Russia (Cull, 2023, p.120). In fact, N.Cull suggests that V.Zelenskyy, through his public diplomacy, has strengthened Ukraine's reputational security, which has led to its support from Western countries in the fight against Russian aggression (Cull, 2023, p.120). Indeed, the Ukrainian president managed to increase Ukraine's importance in global imagined geography. Through public diplomacy, V.Zelenskyy offers each nation a special historical role in the current posthistorical time and a special place in global imagined geography, pushing for leadership self-identification in the modern world. The Ukrainian president offers a choice to the foreign public: the pride of joining a nation that is fighting evil for the sake of its existence, freedom, and a secure future world, or indifference, formalism, and narrow national egoism that generates war. Thus, at a meeting of the UN General Assembly, V.Zelenskyy said: «Those who speak of neutrality, when human values and peace are under attack, mean something else. They talk about indifference – everyone for themselves. That's what they say. They pretend to be interested in each other's problems. They take care of each other formally. They sympathize only for protocol. And that is why they pretend to protect someone, but in reality they protect only their vested interests. This is what creates the conditions for war». (Zelenskyy. Speech by the President of Ukraine at the General Debate..., 2022).

Some Western researchers, when assessing Zelenskyy's speeches to the world community, tend to superficially comprehend the public diplomacy of the Ukrainian national leader and underestimate the soft power of his speeches. Thus, I. Manor argues that «(t)he importance of these speeches lies not in their content but in the fact that as long as Zelenskyy tweeted, and spoke to global publics, Ukraine remained unconquered, and Russia could not declare victory» (Manor, 2023, p.267). In fact, Ukraine's unconquered status certainly matters, but from our point of view, the main thing is the soft power of Zelenskyy's statements, the soft power of his public diplomacy, which allowed him to unite the entire civilized world in a coalition to fight the Russian aggressor.

To summarize, it should be noted that the success of V.Zelenskyy's public diplomacy is not only due to

its geographically relevant content, but also to communication technologies based on geographic determinism. His public diplomacy is based on universal values, but adapted to the geocultural characteristics of the foreign public. The Ukrainian president sought to make the Ukrainian position understandable to geoculturally different audiences through a number of persuasive technologies. First of all, he used the technology of joining by appealing to values common to all geographical regions, such as life, security, freedom, children, and family. In addition, the Ukrainian national leader used the technology of engaged communication, which is empathetic, compassionate in nature and based on respect for the values, symbols, ideals, tragedies and losses that make up the geocultural background of the public's worldview in each country. The purpose of engaged communication is mutual understanding, emotional and intellectual unity, mutual empathy and effective compassion in response, social and political solidarity in difficult times. V.Zelenskyy used the technology of appealing to the geocultural background of the foreign public's worldview and the technology of connecting based on similar experiences of fighting for freedom.

In the course of public diplomacy, the Ukrainian president outlined the geography of danger from the potential Russian threat, including the countries that were part of the USSR and the Soviet bloc. The Ukrainian national leader's use of the technique of linking the geography of the Russian threat to the Soviet past is justified in light of official and semi-official Russian propaganda. Exposing Russian disinformation has become one of the leading directions of V.Zelenskyy's public diplomacy and the main information weapon against the aggressor. In proving the falsity of Russian propaganda, the Ukrainian national leader appeals to the facts, to the reasons for the distortion of the objective picture of reality and to the special geocultural experience of the foreign public, which is determined by significant historical events in a particular geographical area of the world. An important role in V.Zelenskyy's public diplomacy is played by the technology of shaping Russia's reputation as an aggressor state dangerous for the entire civilized world, which violates international law, commits genocide and ecocide, threatens the world with nuclear weapons and a nuclear power plant disaster, and spreads disinformation to justify its crimes. The Ukrainian president sees the entire planet as a battlefield against Russian tyranny, where all aspects of this global battle are important and concern every geographic region and people.

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