

CONTEMPORARY HISTORY

УДК (UDC) 327 (430+477) : 327.82

DOI: [https://doi.org/10.33782/eminak2023.1\(41\).631](https://doi.org/10.33782/eminak2023.1(41).631)

NON-GOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTIONS AS ACTORS OF GERMAN 'SOFT POWER' IN UKRAINE (1992-2022)

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the research paper is to characterize the activity of German non-governmental institutions (organizations) in Ukraine during 1992-2022 through the prism of the concept of 'soft power' by J. Nye, as well as to clarify the forms, aims, priorities, and results of their activity.

The scientific novelty is in the concept of 'soft power' application in the study of the activities of German non-governmental organizations in Ukraine at the time of independence.

The methodology of the research, which is essentially interdisciplinary, is based on the combination of the political science concept of J. Nye and the historical approach. The 'soft power' of Germany is analyzed as a combination of four components: resources (values, language, culture, etc.), actors (subjects of influence who use the attractiveness of the resources to involve target groups of the population), tools (means of influence including public diplomacy and its varieties), results (positive image, implementation of political and cultural values, etc.).

Conclusions. Since the beginning of its independence, Ukraine has become the object of significant interest both on the part of the government agencies of the Federal Republic of Germany and its numerous non-governmental institutions that have been active in our country since 1992.

German non-governmental organizations can be conditionally divided into two groups: 1) political, which primarily include party foundations; 2) cultural, educational, and scientific, among which the Goethe-Institut, the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), the German Wave (Deutsche Welle) and the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation should be singled out.

When implementing the 'soft power' policy, these institutions rest on such resources as democracy and a developed civil society's values, the German language and culture, and the federal system of education and science. The activities of German non-governmental organizations in Ukraine generally correspond to their general goals.

Among the main results of these institutions' activities can be named the formation of a positive image of Germany in Ukraine, as well as the spread of European political values among target groups of the Ukrainian population (mainly young people). The result of the latter has become the formation of civil society in Ukraine and increasing European integration, which has been also facilitated by the activities of other democratic countries' institutions. However, confirmation of the last statement requires separate research. It also seems promising to study the relationship between Germany's 'soft power' (or another Western country) and the emigration of the Ukrainian population during the period of independence.

Keywords: 'soft power', institutions, public diplomacy, cultural diplomacy, Germany, Ukraine

НЕУРЯДОВІ ІНСТИТУЦІЇ ЯК АКТОРИ НІМЕЦЬКОЇ «М'ЯКОЇ СИЛИ» В УКРАЇНІ (1992-2022)

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АНОТАЦІЯ

Мета статті – охарактеризувати діяльність німецьких недержавних інституцій (організацій) в Україні протягом 1992-2022 рр. крізь призму концепції «м'якої сили» («soft power») Дж. Ная, з'ясувати форми, цілі, пріоритети та результати цієї діяльності.

Наукова новизна полягає у застосуванні концепції «м'якої сили» при дослідженні діяльності німецьких недержавних організацій в Україні доби незалежності.

Методологія дослідження, яке по своїй суті є міждисциплінарним, побудована на поєднанні політологічної концепції Дж. Ная та історичного підходу. «М'яка сила» Німеччини розглядається як поєднання чотирьох складових: ресурсів (цінності, мова, культура тощо), акторів (суб'єктів впливу, що використовують привабливість цих ресурсів для залучення цільових груп населення), інструментів (засобів впливу, до яких належить публічна дипломатія та її різновиди), результатів (позитивний імідж, імплементація політичних і культурних цінностей та ін.).

Висновки. З початку незалежності Україна стала об'єктом значного зацікавлення як з боку державних структур ФРН, так і зі сторони її численних неурядових інституцій, що з 1992 р. починають свою активну діяльність у нашій країні.

Німецькі недержавні організації можна умовно розділити на дві групи: 1) політичні, до яких у першу чергу належать партійні фонди; 2) культурно-освітні та наукові, серед яких слід виділити Інститут Гете, Німецьку службу академічних обмінів, «Німецьку хвилю» та Фонд Олександра Гумбольдта.

При реалізації політики «м'якої сили» зазначені інституції спираються на такі ресурси, як цінності демократії та розвиненого громадянського суспільства, німецьку мову та культуру, федеральну систему освіти та науки. Діяльність німецьких недержавних організацій в Україні загалом відповідає їхнім загальним цілям.

Головними результатами діяльності цих інституцій можна вважати формування позитивного іміджу ФРН в Україні, а також поширення європейських політичних цінностей серед цільових груп українського населення (переважно молоді). Наслідком останнього стало становлення громадянського суспільства в Україні та наростаюча євроінтеграція, чому сприяла також діяльність інституцій інших демократичних країн. Втім, підтвердження останньої тези вимагає окремого дослідження. Перспективним також видається з'ясування взаємозв'язку між «м'якою силою» Німеччини (або іншої країни Заходу) та еміграцією українського населення періоду незалежності.

Ключові слова: «м'яка сила», інституції, публічна дипломатія, культурна дипломатія, Німеччина, Україна

INTRODUCTION

'Soft power' has historically played an important role in German foreign policy. After the Second World War, the tools of 'hard power' became unavailable to this country, and the formation of its positive image in the international arena occurred, in particular, thanks to such 'soft' tools as public and cultural diplomacy. The applicability of the use of 'soft power' means increased after German reunification, when

attractiveness and voluntary participation as basic elements of 'soft power' helped the country to become a leader on the European continent. Without officially mentioning 'soft power' (the term 'power' acquired a negative context in Germany after the war), Berlin today actively uses its technologies to popularize the German language and culture, educational and scientific institutions, brands, spread democratic values, etc. According to Portland, a London-based agency, during 2015-2019, the Federal Republic of Germany was among the five most influential states in the 'soft power' rating¹. The world's leading consulting company Brand Finance placed Germany in third place among the top 10 most influential states in the ranking of 'soft power' in 2022². Although Germany is the main actor in the field of 'soft power', the non-state institutions, which have the status of independent non-governmental organizations, are often its direct performers.

Since the beginning of the independence period, Ukraine has become the object of considerable interest both on the part of the state agencies of the Federal Republic of Germany and numerous non-governmental institutions that have been active in this country since 1992. The main task of the latter is the spread of political values and culture – exactly what, according to J. Nye's concept, is the basis of 'soft power'³. Studying the activities of German institutions of 'soft' influence in Ukraine allows for a better understanding of the process of forming Germany's positive image among the Ukrainian population (according to a 2021 survey, Germany ranks third place among the allies of Ukraine⁴), as well as the developing of a civil society that has accepted European political values.

RESEARCH APPROACH

The issue of Germany's 'soft power' in Ukraine remains little studied, although the question of certain German non-governmental organizations' activities is repeatedly raised by Ukrainian scholars. Among the publications, a short paper by V. Rudnieva, devoted to German public diplomacy in Ukraine, can be singled out, in which the author briefly describes the work of such institutions as the German Embassy in Ukraine, the Deutsche Welle information service, and the Konrad Adenauer Foundation⁵. We would also like to mention the research paper by T. Zhykharieva, where the activities of four German political foundations in Ukraine during 1992-2007 are analyzed, the information on the practical implementation of their programs is given, and also the conclusions about their role in the development of democracy and civil society in Ukraine are drawn⁶. V. Soloshenko briefly highlights the activities of several German organizations in Ukraine (H. Seidel, K. Adenauer, F. Ebert, A. Humboldt foundations)⁷.

¹ The Soft Power 30. Overall Ranking by Portland. URL: <https://softpower30.com>

² Global Soft Power Index 2022. *Brand Finance*. URL: <http://bit.ly/3Gcy3QC>

³ *Nye J.* Soft Power. The Means to Success in World Politics. New York: Public Affairs, 2004. P. 11.

⁴ Результати опитування дорослого населення України, проведеного Фондом «Демократичні ініціативи» імені І. Кучеріва спільно з Центром політичної соціології 16-27 лютого 2021 р. *Фонд «Демократичні ініціативи» ім. Льока Кучеріва*. URL: <http://bit.ly/3U1SVQ4>

⁵ *Руднева В.* Публічна дипломатія Німеччини в Україні: практичні аспекти реалізації іміджевої стратегії держави. *Актуальні проблеми державного управління*. 2013. Вип. 4. С. 121-122.

⁶ *Жихарева Т.Л.* Діяльність німецьких політичних фондів в Україні (1992-2007 рр.). *Збірник наукових праць Харківського національного педагогічного університету імені Г.С. Сковороди. Серія: «Історія та географія»*. Харків, 2011. Вип. 40. С. 38-40.

⁷ *Солошенко В.В.* Діяльність німецьких урядових та неурядових організацій в Україні. *Вісник Київського славистичного університету. Серія: Філологія*. 2006. Вип. 9. С. 97-105.

An analytical report prepared by the non-governmental organization The Institute for Economic Research and Policy Consulting deserves special attention, because they made a rather detailed analysis of the area and scope of German organizations' activities in Ukraine, mainly party funds and funds with private capital⁸. The authors of the report note that information on the activities of German party foundations is fragmentary and insufficiently detailed since they do not present information on their international activities in different countries, and the representative offices of these organizations do not publish annual reports⁹.

Thus, the scholars who studied German non-governmental organizations in Ukraine considered them outside the concept of 'soft power'.

The purpose of the research paper is to characterize the activity of German non-governmental institutions in Ukraine through the prism of the 'soft power' concept and to find out the forms, goals, priorities, and results of this activity.

'SOFT POWER' OF GERMANY IN UKRAINE

The system of organizing the 'soft' influence of Germany is rather integrated, coordinated, and open, based on a well-coordinated mechanism of state-private partnership. The central agencies involved in the development and funding of Germany's 'soft power' are government institutions: The Federal Foreign Office, the Federal Ministry of Education and Research, and the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development¹⁰. In addition to the state budget funds, which are the main ones, the 'soft' policy of the state is also financed by revenues from the Länder (federated states), private organizations, proceeds from educational services, contributions of fund members, etc. German non-governmental organizations directly involved in the implementation of the 'soft power' can be conditionally divided into two groups: 1) political, which primarily includes party foundations; 2) cultural, educational, and scientific, among which the Goethe-Institut, the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), the Deutsche Welle and the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation should be singled out. When implementing the 'soft power' policy, these institutions rest on such resources as democracy and a developed civil society's values, the German language and culture, and the federal system of education and science.

One of the most influential actors of German 'soft power' is the unique foundations of political parties, which back in the 1960s – 1970s, were called 'quiet institutions': the foundations of Friedrich Ebert, Konrad Adenauer, Friedrich Naumann, Hanns Seidel, Heinrich Böll, and Rosa Luxemburg. Although all of them are associated with German political parties (members of the corresponding parties are usually on the board of the foundations¹¹), their funding today is mainly performed by means of the federal budget¹². The revenues of political foundations are not subject to taxes and they do not

⁸ Іноземні недержавні фонди в Україні: напрями та масштаби діяльності: аналітична доповідь / І. Бураковський та ін. Київ: ГО «Інститут економічних досліджень та політичних консультацій», 2018. С. 22-37.

⁹ Ibid. С. 28.

¹⁰ Вилінський С.І. Урядові інституції як провідники «м'якої сили» у зовнішній політиці ФРН. *Міжнародні відносини. Серія «Політичні науки»*. 2019. № 20. URL: http://journals.iir.kiev.ua/index.php/pol_n/article/view/4138

¹¹ Іноземні недержавні фонди в Україні... С. 24.

¹² Mohr A. *The German Political Foundations As Actors in Democracy Assistance*. Boca Raton: Universal-Publishers, 2010. P. 20.

have to report their income in detail. Despite this, all of them are open, as it is believed that disseminating information about their activities and expenditures is an obligation that strengthens public trust in their work¹³. When distributing funds among the foundations, the representation of the corresponding parties in the Bundestag, based on the results of the last elections, is considered¹⁴.

To characterize the specific status of the foundations, the term 'affiliated' ('nahestehende') is used, which was assigned to them after the Constitutional Court ruling in 1986, which recognized their independence from parties and their restrictive objectives¹⁵. Thus, foundations are registered non-governmental non-profit organizations that are associated with the relevant political parties (primarily ideologically) but are not dependent on them in their activities (in organizational and financial matters, as well as in the decision-making process)¹⁶.

Immediately after gaining independence, Ukraine became the field of activity for German political foundations. Already in 1992, a permanent representative office of the Hans Seidel Foundation was established in Ukraine, and in 1993 and 1994, representative offices of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation and the Konrad Adenauer Foundation began their activity. At the same time, the work of other organizations was initially coordinated through offices in neighboring countries: The Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom and the Heinrich Böll Foundation worked here through a representative office in Warsaw, and the work of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation was coordinated through an office in Moscow¹⁷. Shortly after the Orange Revolution (Pomarancheva Revoliutsiia), representative offices of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom (2007) and Heinrich Böll Foundation (2008), and in 2016, the office of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation were established. In Ukraine, the offices of German party foundations operate in the status of representative offices of foreign non-governmental organizations¹⁸.

Today, German political foundations in Ukraine have an established partner network, which includes public organizations, think tanks, government agencies, universities, etc. The institutions that have been working in Ukraine since the beginning of the 1990s have managed to implement this best¹⁹. The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's partner network is the least developed, and according to the authors of the analytical report 'Foreign Non-Governmental Foundations in Ukraine...' this is due to the relatively late establishment of the representation in Ukraine and the absence of a powerful left-wing political force in the Ukrainian political field²⁰.

Below, we will dwell in more detail on the specifics of each German political foundation in Ukraine activities.

¹³ Ланьшина Т.А. «Мягкая сила» Германии: культура, образование, наука. *Вестник международных организаций*. 2014. Т. 9. № 2. С. 37.

¹⁴ Іноземні недержавні фонди в Україні... С. 24.

¹⁵ Погорельская С.В. «Мягкая» сила Германии: политические фонды. *Актуальные проблемы Европы*. 2014. № 3. С. 138.

¹⁶ Mohr A. The German Political Foundations... P. 20, 23.

¹⁷ Іноземні недержавні фонди в Україні... С. 27.

¹⁸ Ibidem.

¹⁹ Ibid. С. 31.

²⁰ Ibid. С. 32.

GERMAN POLITICAL FOUNDATIONS

The Hans Seidel Foundation. Guided by the principle of 'help for self-help', the Hans Seidel Foundation promotes the sustainable development of countries based on democratic values and Christian social ideals. Today, the international cooperation of this organization is based on the implementation of more than 100 projects in over 60 countries of the world. The representative office of the Hans Seidel Foundation in Ukraine performs its activities in three main areas: 1) development of civil society (promotion of democratic transformation processes in the country at the social and institutional levels); 2) public administration and decentralization (support for the processes of decentralization and public administration reforming at the central, regional, and local levels; improvement of the civil servants and local self-government officials professional training); 3) internal security (promotion of the processes of law enforcement agencies reforming, professional education and advanced training of police personnel using European experience; support for international cooperation in combating crime). Over 25 years of its activity in Ukraine (1992-2017), the Foundation held about 3.500 events (seminars, training, conferences, panel discussions, expert meetings, etc.), in which over 100 thousand employees of state administration bodies, law enforcement agencies, and representatives of local self-government and public organizations participated. In addition, with the support of the Hans Seidel Foundation, over 60 specialized learner guides and guidance papers were issued during that period²¹.

The Konrad Adenauer Foundation, which implemented more than 500 projects in Ukraine between 1994 and 2018, supports the process of political and economic transformations in the country²². In order to achieve these objectives, it implements projects aimed at building civil society, supporting democratic development, and establishing free mass media. The Foundation supports the democratic political parties of Ukraine and their youth organizations, which made it the object of criticism, in particular, among the scientific community of the Russian Federation. In particular, L. Rustamova drew attention to the fact that the Konrad Adenauer Foundation sponsored the activities of the UDAR party and its leader Vitalii Klytschko, giving him a special award "for his commitment to peace and democracy in Ukraine"²³. The Konrad Adenauer Foundation also supports initiatives related to the European integration of Ukraine. For example, in 2016-2017, the public organization The Ukrainian Center for European Policy (UCEP) received almost UAH 490 thousand from the Foundation, in particular for the project 'Ukraine's Implementation of the EU Association Agreement as of November 1, 2016'²⁴. The Konrad Adenauer Foundation acts as a kind of 'portal' for establishing direct contacts between Ukrainian politicians, Germany, and Europe as a whole. An important component of the organization's work is the support of young politicians and gifted students. The Foundation organizes conferences, roundtables, lectures, and panel discussions with the aim of in-depth discussion and political analysis of socially important issues. As part of the development of political education

²¹ Діяльність Фонду Ганса Зайделя в Україні. Фонд Ганнса Зайделя в Україні. URL: http://hss.kiev.ua/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=21&Itemid=16&lang=uk

²² Іноземні недержавні фонди в Україні... С. 28.

²³ Рустамова Л.Р. Особенности «мягкой силы» во внешней политике ФРГ. Вестник МГИМО-Университета. 2016. № 1 (46). С. 122.

²⁴ Іноземні недержавні фонди в Україні... С. 28.

and advisory services, the Konrad Adenauer Foundation conducts training, seminars, and business games. It also publishes books and a series of publications 'Policy Papers', which present the results of discussions and provide recommendations for action. In Ukraine, the Foundation cooperates with a number of Ukrainian partner institutions, in particular with the Secretariat (Office) of the President, the Verkhovna Rada, local state administrations, political parties, non-governmental organizations, universities, and think tanks²⁵.

The Heinrich Böll Foundation. During 2008-2022, the Heinrich Böll Foundation implemented over 500 projects in Ukraine aimed at strengthening 'green democracy' based on such values as equality (in particular, gender), environmental protection, and participatory decision-making at the national and local levels. Today, the Fund works in Ukraine within the framework of the following program areas: 1) promotion of democracy and development of civil society; 2) formation of a tolerant political culture, encouragement to influence decision-making at the local and national levels; 3) gender democracy, women's and LGBT rights: promoting discussion of gender issues in public discourse, support for the study of gender issues in the educational environment; 4) climate change and energy policy: preservation of the environment and climate, support of the environmental social movement, promotion of greenhouse gas emissions reduction and increase of energy efficiency. The Foundation organizes training and educational events, publishing activities, performs analytical and advocacy work, and also supports public initiatives²⁶.

The Friedrich Naumann Foundation. The Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom in Ukraine and Belarus is part of the Eastern and South-Eastern Europe project region. In 2005, the Foundation started its activities in Ukraine, and in 2007 its Kyiv office was opened, which has also been responsible for Belarus since 2009. The goal of the Naumann Foundation's work in Ukraine is to support civil society in its aspirations for self-determination, democracy, and a market economy. The organization cooperates with Ukrainian political parties, public associations, and think tanks, and also promotes the establishment of contacts with political networks around the world²⁷. As part of its efforts to promote the development of intra-party democracy, the Foundation cooperated with the youth wings of 'Batkivshchyna' and 'Nasha Ukraina', as well as the parties 'Reformy ta Poriadok', PORA and 'Syla Liudei'²⁸.

The Friedrich Ebert Foundation. The work of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation in Ukraine focuses on four main areas, which embody the values of social democracy in the Ukrainian social and political context: 1) reduction in social inequality; 2) transition to a sustainable economic policy through equal implementation of economic, environmental, and social goals; 3) strengthening the state governed by the rule of law, in particular by establishing a dialogue between civil society and state agencies; 4) involvement of Ukraine in the idea of the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) of the European Union implementing²⁹. In 2017, the Friedrich Ebert Foundation

²⁵ Фонд Конрада Аденауера. Офіс фонду в Україні. *Фонд Конрада Аденауера*. URL: <https://www.kas.de/uk/web/ukraine>

²⁶ Фонд ім. Гайнріха Бьоля в Україні. Хто ми? *Представництво Фонду імені Гайнріха Бьоля в Україні*. URL: <https://ua.boell.org/uk/khto-my>

²⁷ Представництво «Фонду Фрідріха Науманна за Свободу» в Україні та Білорусі. Про нас. *Фонд Фрідріха Науманна за Свободу*. URL: <https://www.freiheit.org/ukr/ukraine-and-belarus/focus/pro-nas>

²⁸ Іноземні недержавні фонди в Україні... С. 30.

²⁹ Представництво Фонду Еберта в Україні. Теми та сфери діяльності. *Представництво Фонду Еберта в Україні*. URL: <http://fes.kiev.ua/n/cms/47/?L=0>

supported a project to study the attitudes of young people in Ukraine, which was performed together with the 'New Europe Center' and the sociological company 'GfK Ukraine'³⁰.

The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation. The office of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation in Ukraine since 2016 (until that time the Foundation operated in the country through a Russian representative office) has been working in the framework of three areas based on supporting: 1) blue-collar workers, women, Roma, and LGBT+ groups fighting for social rights and self-organization; 2) alternative political models based on social justice and democratization, directed against 'neoliberal hegemony'; 3) development of differentiated and critical historical discourse in the region³¹. Due to a certain pro-Russian position of the left-wing party 'The Left' (Die Linke) (criticism of sanctions against Russia, visiting the Crimea by party deputies, etc.), the Foundation's activities in Ukraine were subject to criticism³².

Based on the data of the official web pages of the foundations³³ and their representative offices in Ukraine (the material presented above), Table 1 provides general summarized information about German political foundations.

Table 1.
German political foundations.

Name of the institution	Year of establishment	Ukrainian representative office (name, year of establishment, location)	Relevant political party	General goals of foundations	Priorities of Ukrainian representative office activities
Hanns Seidel Foundation (Hanns Seidel Stiftung)	1967	1992 (Kyiv)	Christian Social Union (CSU)	Promoting sustainable development of countries based on democracy, peace, and Christian social ideals.	Civil society development; public administration and decentralization; internal security.
Konrad Adenauer Foundation (Konrad Adenauer Stiftung)	1955	1994 (Kyiv), 2017 (Kharkiv)	Christian Democratic Union (CDU)	Developing liberal democracy and social market economy, transatlantic relations, and European	Building civil society; supporting democratic development; promoting independent media.

³⁰ Іноземні недержавні фонди в Україні... С. 29.

³¹ Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung в Україні. Про нас. *Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung в Україні*. URL: <https://rosalux.org.ua/ua/about-us>

³² Іноземні недержавні фонди в Україні... С. 31.

³³ Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung. Über uns. *Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung*. URL: <https://www.hss.de/ueber-uns/>; Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung. Über uns. *Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung*. URL: <https://www.kas.de/de/ueber-uns>; Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. Über die FES. *Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung*. URL: <https://www.fes.de/stiftung/ueber-die-fes>; Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung für die Freiheit. Über die Stiftung. *Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung für die Freiheit*. URL: <https://www.freiheit.org/de/ueber-die-stiftung>; Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung. Wer wir sind. *Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung*. URL: <https://www.boell.de/de/wer-wir-sind>; Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. Mehr über uns. *Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung*. URL: <https://www.rosalux.de/stiftung/mehr-ueber-uns>

				unification.	
Friedrich Ebert Foundation (Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung)	1925	1996 (Kyiv)	Social Democratic Party (SPD)	Implementing the fundamental values of social democracy: freedom, justice, and solidarity; promoting democratization and civil society development.	Reducing social inequality; transitioning to a sustainable economic policy; strengthening the democratic rule of law; involving Ukraine in the implementation of the idea of pan-European security.
Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom Foundation (Friedrich Naumann Stiftung für die Freiheit)	1958	2007 (Kyiv)	Free Democratic Party (FDP)	Promoting liberal ideas of an open society, rule of law, market economy, and universal human rights.	Supporting civil society, democracy, and market economy; promoting internal party democracy; developing local self-government.
Heinrich Böll Foundation (Heinrich Böll Stiftung)	1987-1997	2008 (Kyiv)	Alliance 90/The Greens (Bündnis 90/Die Grünen)	Environmental and climate protection; gender equality and non-discrimination; participatory and inclusive approach.	Democracy and civil society; tolerant political culture; gender democracy; climate change and energy policy.
Rosa Luxemburg Foundation (Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung)	1990	2016 (Kyiv)	The Left (Die Linke)	Building democratic socialism based on social justice and solidarity.	Supporting blue-collar workers, women, Roma, and LGBTQ+ groups; alternative political models based on social justice and democratization; differentiated and critical historical discourse.

GERMAN AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION GMBH (DEUTSCHE GESELLSCHAFT FÜR INTERNATIONALE ZUSAMMENARBEIT (GIZ) GMBH)

Among other institutions that advocate political views, we can single out the German Agency for International Cooperation GmbH (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH), which promotes the sustainable development of the world based on German and European values. The organization has over 50 years of experience in such areas as economy and employment promotion, energy and environment, peace and security. The relevant political party of the Agency is the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development of Germany. Today,

24.977 GIZ employees work in 120 countries. Almost 70 percent of them are national employees³⁴.

GIZ has been working in Ukraine since 1993 and supports the Ukrainian government in the processes of public administration reform. Other main areas of activity are sustainable economic development, public administration and democracy, energy efficiency, security, and reconstruction (eastern regions), as well as climate protection³⁵. Since 2009, the German Agency for International Cooperation has had a representative office in Kyiv (GIZ Office Ukraine). As of the end of 2019, GIZ was represented in Ukraine by 352 national and 52 foreign experts, as well as 6 development advisors. In addition, 7 integrated experts worked directly in Ukrainian government agencies, Chambers of Commerce and Industry, non-governmental organizations, and universities. On behalf of the Federal Government of Germany, GIZ provides support to the Ministry of Finance of Ukraine in initiating and implementing reforms to create an effective, transparent, and accountable public finance system. With the support of the Agency, three Internet platforms were created: ProZorro, ProZorro.Sale, and E-Data, the use of which has a positive effect on the transparency of the state's financial system. In 2018, Ukraine was recognized by the Institute of International Finance as a state with a transition economy that had made the most progress in ensuring transparency of public data and relations with investors³⁶. By the end of 2022, about 20 GIZ programs and projects were being implemented in Ukraine³⁷.

After February 24, 2022, the GIZ network ensures that the necessary assistance (power generators, water tanks, tents, mini-excavators, etc.) is delivered to Ukraine. Based on the needs of Ukrainian electricity suppliers, the Agency also organizes the purchase and transportation of necessary goods (power transformers, emergency generators, and materials for repairing power lines) from Germany to Ukraine. GIZ also advises communities on how to act properly under martial law: during 2022, about 1,200 local communities had already benefited from its consulting services³⁸.

CULTURAL, EDUCATIONAL, AND SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTIONS

The activity of German cultural, educational, and scientific institutions is a component of the foreign cultural policy (die Auswärtige Kulturpolitik) as one of the integral basics of the foreign policy of the Federal Republic of Germany. It is also called the 'third pillar' of foreign policy, alongside traditional diplomacy, and foreign economic activity. Foreign cultural policy is based on the 'expanded concept of culture', which includes not only culture and art in the narrow sense but also education and science³⁹.

The Goethe-Institut. Among the cultural and educational institutions, first of all, the Goethe-Institut is worth mentioning, since its activities are aimed at promoting the study of the German language, developing international cooperation in the field of culture, and spreading information about the cultural, social, and political life of

³⁴ Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ). Ukraine. *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit*. URL: <https://www.giz.de/en/worldwide/32413.html>

³⁵ Ibidem.

³⁶ Німецьке товариство міжнародного співробітництва (GIZ). *Міністерство фінансів України*. URL: <https://mof.gov.ua/uk/nimecke-tovaristvo-mizhnarodnogo-spivrobotnictva-giz>

³⁷ Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ). Ukraine...

³⁸ Ibidem.

³⁹ Auswärtige Kulturpolitik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Wissenschaftliche Dienste des Deutschen Bundestages. 2007. S. 3. URL: <https://bit.ly/3nyXxB7>

Germany. The Federal Foreign Office supports the work of the institution, but at the same time, it is politically and legally independent. About a third of the Goethe-Institut's budget are the revenues from language courses and exams. In addition, the Institute is financed by federal ministries (in particular the aforementioned Federal Foreign Office), the European Union, as well as foundations and companies in Germany and abroad⁴⁰. Today, 158 institutes in 98 countries of the world⁴¹, together with numerous partner institutions, form a global network.

The Goethe-Institut has been operating in Ukraine since 1993. The institution is represented by a large institute in Kyiv, from which it coordinates an extensive network which includes three cultural societies (the Nuremberg House in Kharkiv, the Bavarian House, Odesa, and the Gedankendach Center in Chernivtsi), 15 German language learning centers, and 17 partner libraries or reading rooms. Until February 24, 2022, 115 employees worked at the Goethe-Institut in Kyiv. Till that moment, the German language was taught in over 5.000 schools, most of which used the services of the Goethe-Institut. In addition, about 4.000 language course students attended the Institute per year⁴².

The Goethe-Institut in Ukraine has set itself the following objectives: 1) act as a mediator and co-participant in the German-Ukrainian dialogue in the cultural and educational spheres; 2) promote the height and keeping of sympathy and interest in Germany; 3) provide information about Germany; 4) promote the study of the German language in Ukraine; 5) support the dialogue between Europe and Eastern European cultures⁴³. The main areas of the Institute's activity are the presentation of contemporary German culture, meetings of Ukrainian and German artists and intellectuals, the organization of language courses (from elementary to advanced level), educational events for teachers, the provision of information on relevant aspects of the cultural, social, and political life of Germany, etc⁴⁴.

In February 2008, Germany's Federal Foreign Office, in cooperation with the Goethe-Institut, the Central Agency for Schools Abroad (ZfA), the DAAD, and the Educational Exchange Service (PAD), launched the initiative 'Schools: Partners for the Future' (PASCH). That initiative, which united over 2,000 schools in different countries of the world into a single network, was supposed to awaken in young people a permanent interest in modern Germany, admiration for it, its society, and the German language. PASCH educational projects, contests, language courses in Germany, and multinational summer schools contribute to the development of language skills and intercultural communication. Within the framework of the initiative, they support the graduates in the transition from school to university and provide scholarships for studying in Germany⁴⁵. The Goethe-Institut helps the over 600 PASCH schools in the national education systems of over 100 countries, including Ukraine, where 17 schools in different cities get special support from the Institute as part of the initiative. It offers

⁴⁰ Goethe-Institut. Wer wir sind. *Goethe-Institut*. URL: <https://www.goethe.de/de/uun/org.html>

⁴¹ Geschichte des Goethe-Instituts. *Goethe-Institut*. URL: <https://www.goethe.de/de/uun/org/ges.html>

⁴² Reaktion auf den russischen Angriff auf die Ukraine. Solidarität mit der Ukraine. *Goethe-Institut*. URL: <https://www.goethe.de/de/uun/pub/akt/22755103.html#i7623088>

⁴³ Goethe-Institut в Україні: завдання і цілі. *Goethe-Institut*. URL: <https://www.goethe.de/ins/ua/uk/ueb/auf.html>

⁴⁴ Ibidem.

⁴⁵ Initiative «Schulen: Partner der Zukunft». Über die PASCH-Initiative. *Initiative «Schulen: Partner der Zukunft» (PASCH)*. URL: <https://www.pasch-net.de/de/pasch-initiative/ueber-die-initiative.html>

methodological and didactic professional development and language courses for teachers, various motivating projects, events, and activities for students, and equips schools with modern multimedia practical materials for teaching and learning. The main requirement for participation was the willingness of schools to promote actively the development and teaching of the German language⁴⁶.

In 2013, the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine and the Goethe-Institut in Ukraine signed a Memorandum of Cooperation to support the German language in Ukraine. Among other things, an agreement was reached on the following goals of cooperation: support for reforming the Ukrainian education system in the field of teaching foreign languages; participation in improving the system of postgraduate pedagogical education of German language teachers; support for the quality of German language teaching in Ukrainian educational institutions. The Goethe-Institut and the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine jointly implemented a project 'Exams at Schools', within the framework of which it is possible to take exams for German language proficiency (A1 – B2) and get appropriate certificates⁴⁷.

The Goethe-Institut in Ukraine became the coordinator of the year of Ukrainian-German languages in Ukraine (2017/2018) project, which was initiated by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of two countries with the support of the German Embassy in Kyiv and the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine. The events of the year of Ukrainian-German languages (street festivals, educational congresses, etc.) were aimed at deepening mutual trust and friendship between Germany and Ukraine, as well as strengthening and developing cooperation in the cultural and educational spheres⁴⁸.

After February 24, 2022, the Goethe-Institut has fully stood in solidarity with the Ukrainian people and its partners. Secretary General Johannes Ebert said on March 8, 2022: "We are appalled by the breach of international law by the Russian government and the escalation of violence in Ukraine driven by it. We support the measures adopted by the German government and the European Commission. Our greatest attention at the moment is on our staff and partners in culture and education, to support them as much as is currently possible"⁴⁹. In the annual report of the Goethe-Institut for 2021-2022, the word 'Ukraine' is mentioned 186 times, mostly in the context of the mentioned events⁵⁰.

The German Academic Exchange Service (Deutscher Akademischer Austausch Dienst, the DAAD) is actively involved in shaping Germany's educational and cultural foreign policy on an advisory basis and also develops ties in the field of higher education with other countries through international academic exchange of students and researchers, support for German studies, studying German language and literature in foreign higher education institutions, consulting foreign universities, etc. Since its foundation in 1925, the DAAD has supported about 2.8 million researchers in Germany and abroad (just in

⁴⁶ Ініціатива «Школи: партнери майбутнього» (PASCH). *Goethe-Institut*. URL: <https://www.goethe.de/ins/ua/uk/spr/eng/pas.html>

⁴⁷ Goethe-Institut в Україні: співпраця з Міністерством освіти і науки України. *Міністерство освіти і науки України*. URL: <http://bit.ly/3zqxyzCl>

⁴⁸ Українсько-німецький рік мов. Про проект. *Goethe-Institut*. URL: <https://www.goethe.de/ins/ua/uk/kul/sup/dus/prb.html>

⁴⁹ Stellungnahme von Johannes Ebert, Generalsekretär des Goethe-Instituts. *Goethe-Institut*. URL: <https://www.goethe.de/de/uun/pub/akt/22775554.html>

⁵⁰ Das Goethe-Institut: Jahrbuch 2021/2022. *Goethe-Institut*. URL: https://www.goethe.de/resources/files/pdf270/jahrbuch-2021_2022.pdf

2021 – about 135 thousand people). The organization's budget is formed mainly from federal funds of various ministries, primarily the Federal Foreign Office and the Federal Ministry of Education and Research, as well as funds from the European Union, companies, organizations, and foreign governments. The DAAD global network includes 19 branch offices, 47 information centers and information points, and 20 centers for German and European studies⁵¹.

In 1998, the 'Memorandum of Cooperation between the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine and the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD)' was signed in Kyiv, which involved the establishment of the DAAD representation in Kyiv. The tasks of the information center, located on the territory of the National Technical University of Ukraine 'Igor Sikorsky Kyiv Polytechnic Institute', include: informing and consulting about the system of higher education in the Federal Republic of Germany, the possibilities of getting the education and scholarship in this country; organizing and conducting competitions for the DAAD scholarships; maintaining contacts with the DAAD alumni; consultations of the representatives of German universities studying or conducting research in Ukraine; maintaining contacts with German and Ukrainian higher education institutions; cooperation with the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine and the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany; cooperation with other representatives of German educational organizations (in particular, the Goethe-Institut); cooperation with lecturers DAAD working in Ukraine⁵².

In the mid-2010s, about 9.000 Ukrainian students studied in Germany annually, of which 1.500-2.000 got the DAAD scholarship. In 2017, the DAAD granted 1.659 scholarships to Ukrainian citizens, which is 2.6% of the total number (19% of the number of scholarships designated for the Eastern Europe, Central Asia, and the Caucasus region)⁵³.

In 2009-2016, the DAAD implemented the program 'Support for Democracy in Ukraine', the target audience of which was defined as students, postgraduate students, and researchers⁵⁴. It included support for educational events (lectures, seminars, conferences, etc.) in Ukraine or Germany, as well as the ability for Ukrainian participants to stay in the Federal Republic of Germany through various exchange mechanisms. In 2016, the 'East-West Dialogue' program was launched, in which 17 Ukrainian higher education institutions participated as of 2018 (projects were aimed at studying memory policy, the phenomenon of populism, legal culture traditions, etc.)⁵⁵. The DAAD co-financed a joint Master's program on German and European studies of the Political Science Department at National University 'Kyiv-Mohyla Academy' and the Department of Political Science at Friedrich Schiller University Jena in Thuringia, as well as teaching Law in German at Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv. Funding of a number of other cooperation projects in German-Ukrainian higher education is performed, in particular, within the framework of DAAD programs

⁵¹ Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst. Wer wir sind. *Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (DAAD)*. URL: <https://www.daad.de/de/der-daad/wer-wir-sind/>

⁵² Німецька служба академічних обмінів. Інформаційний центр у Києві. *Національний технічний університет України «Київський політехнічний інститут імені Ігоря Сікорського»*. URL: <https://kpi.ua/daad-about>

⁵³ Іноземні недержавні фонди в Україні... С. 37.

⁵⁴ Ibidem.

⁵⁵ Ibid. С. 38.

'Eastern Partnerships' (since 1974) and the 'East-West Dialogue' (since 2016)⁵⁶. In April 2022, the DAAD launched the website of the 'National Academic Contact Point Ukraine', which provides information on staying in Germany, as well as studying, researching, and teaching in the country⁵⁷. It offers primary information about the German higher education system to Ukrainian students and researchers so that they can continue their studies or research as quickly as possible.

The Alexander von Humboldt Foundation (Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung) is an organization whose goal is the development of cooperation in the field of science between German and foreign researchers. This organization is mainly funded by the state funds of the Federal Foreign Office and the Federal Ministry of Education and Research, as well as some other federal agencies of Germany. Additional funds come from the EU and private sources. The Foundation sponsors researchers' long-term visits to Germany for the purpose of conducting research in academic institutions and also gives awards for achievements in various fields of science. Today, the organization has created a kind of an interdisciplinary network of over 30,000 Humboldtians including 59 Nobel laureates, in over 140 countries of the world⁵⁸.

In 1999, V.P. Kukhar Institute of Bioorganic Chemistry and Petrochemistry of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine hosted the founding conference of the Humboldt Club in Ukraine, a public organization that unites former and current Ukrainian scholarship holders and laureates of the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation. The main goal of the Club's activity is to establish and further develop scientific contacts between Ukrainian researchers and their German colleagues, to attract young specialists to the implementation of world-class scientific projects, to promote the improvement of the system of organization of fundamental and applied research in Ukraine, based on world experience. Since 1981, when applications for participation began to arrive from Ukraine, the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation has provided support to about 200 researchers from Ukraine, representatives of the natural sciences (approximately 80% of scholarship holders) and the humanities. Interdisciplinary conferences, so-called Humboldt Colleagues, were periodically organized in Ukraine, to which both former scholarship holders and laureates of the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, as well as recognized world-class researchers, were invited. In addition, the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation financially supported the participation of promising young researchers from Ukraine in such conferences⁵⁹.

The Alexander von Humboldt Foundation strongly condemned the Russian government's war in Ukraine in 2022. Researchers who were threatened by the war were offered financial assistance and refuge. Within the framework of the Philipp Schwartz Emergency Fund Initiative, universities and scientific institutions in Germany take in researchers who have fled Ukraine for a period of up to six months. The short-

⁵⁶ Воршех С., Міхель Т., Умланд А. Україно-німецькі відносини після Євромайдану: інституції, особистості, виклики. *Хвиля*. 12.02.2021. URL: <https://hvyly.net/analytics/225036-ukrajino-nimecki-vidnosini-pislya-yevromaydanu-instituciji-osobistosti-vikliki>

⁵⁷ Німецька служба академічних обмінів. Національний академічний контактний центр для України. URL: <https://www.daad-ukraine.org/uk/>

⁵⁸ Humboldt-Stiftung. Über die Humboldt-Stiftung. *Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung: offiziellen Website*. URL: <https://www.humboldt-foundation.de/entdecken/ueber-die-humboldt-stiftung>

⁵⁹ Гумбольд-Клуб Україна. Про нас. *Гумбольд-Клуб Україна: офіційний сайт*. URL: <http://humboldt.org.ua/club/>

term fellowships provided via this fund cover the recipient's living expenses and give them time to initiate longer-term follow-on sponsorships⁶⁰.

Deutsche Welle media outlet. Germany's international broadcaster German Wave (Deutsche Welle, DW), founded in 1953, which combines radio, television, and Internet projects, has a great influence on the spread of German and European values and political views, as well as the German language and culture. DW is the advertising card of Germany, which makes an important contribution to the positioning of this country in the world. The company's activities are regulated by the Deutsche Welle Act of 2005, according to which its products must present Germany as a European cultural nation and a democratic state governed by the rule of law. They should also reflect German and other points of view on important topics, primarily in the areas of politics, culture, and economics, provide a forum with the aim of promoting understanding and the exchange of ideas among different cultures and peoples. In so doing, Deutsche Welle shall, in particular, promote the German language. According to the requirements of the Act, Deutsche Welle programs must not support the position of only one political party or other institution⁶¹.

As an independent, federally funded public broadcaster, DW today provides journalistic content in 32 languages, attracting 291 million users from around the world every week. The company employs 4.000 people of over 140 nationalities in different countries. DW's strategy of shifting output towards digital is reflected in creating powerful online platforms on Facebook, YouTube, and Instagram. The main topics the company focuses on are freedom and human rights, democracy and good governance, free trade and social justice, health and environmental protection, technology, and innovation⁶².

DW Akademie, which strives to establish long-term cooperation with partners on the ground, is engaged in the training of journalists, information service workers, technical personnel, and mass media managers. Many of its graduates later hold leadership positions in their countries. Akademie's core focus areas are media and information literacy, journalism education, innovation, and digital rights⁶³. DW Akademie, which is a strategic partner of the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, is funded by the Federal Foreign Office and the EU operates in over 70 countries, in particular in Ukraine⁶⁴, where it promotes independent journalism and freedom of the press and provides professional development for Ukrainian journalists.

The Ukrainian DW editorial office was established in March 2000. Until 2011, the Ukrainian audience had the opportunity to listen to radio broadcasts and read DW texts in their native language on the Internet every day. Then the media outlet stopped shortwave radio broadcasting in most program languages, and instead, the Internet came to the fore. During and after the 'Revolution of Dignity' of 2013-2014, DW significantly expanded its activities in Ukraine: it opened a bureau in Kyiv, began

⁶⁰ Hilfe für Forschende aus der Ukraine: Philipp Schwartz-Initiative richtet mit privaten Zustiftungen Notfonds ein. *Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung*. URL: <http://bit.ly/40V5fUJ>

⁶¹ Gesetz über die Rundfunkanstalt des Bundesrechts «Deutsche Welle» (Deutsche-Welle-Gesetz – DWG). *Gesetze im Internet: Website des Bundesministeriums der Justiz und des Bundesamtes für Justiz*. URL: <https://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/dwg/DWG.pdf>

⁶² Deutsche Welle. Über uns. *Deutsche Welle*. URL: <https://corporate.dw.com/de/profil/s-30626>

⁶³ Ibidem.

⁶⁴ DW Akademie. Wer wir sind. *DW Akademie*. URL: <https://akademie.dw.com/de/wer-wir-sind/s-30740>

producing TV programs in Ukrainian, and intensified its presence in the Ukrainian segment of social networks. As of 2018, DW Ukrainian-language communities on Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube totaled over 185,000 followers⁶⁵.

Summary information on German cultural, educational, and scientific institutions, which are represented in Ukraine, is presented in Table 2.

Table 2.
Institutions promoting German culture, education and science.

Name of the institution	Year of establishment	Ukrainian representative office (name, year of establishment, location)	General goals of institutions	Priorities of Ukrainian representative office activities
Goethe-Institut	1951	Goethe-Institut in Ukraine, 1993, Kyiv	Promoting the study of the German language outside of Germany; developing international cooperation in the field of culture; spreading information about the cultural, public, and political life of the Federal Republic of Germany.	Mediating in the German-Ukrainian dialogue in the cultural and educational spheres; promoting the height and keeping of sympathy and interest in Germany; providing information about Germany; promoting the study of the German language in Ukraine.
The German Academic Exchange Service (Deutscher Akademischer Austausch Dienst, the DAAD)	1925	Information centre, 1998, Kyiv	Developing ties in the field of higher education with other countries through international academic exchange of students and researchers, support for German studies, and the study of German language and literature in foreign higher educational institutions.	Informing and advising on opportunities for studying in the Federal Republic of Germany and getting a scholarship; organizing and conducting a competition for DAAD scholarships; maintaining contacts with former DAAD scholarship holders; cooperation with German and Ukrainian higher education institutions.
The Alexander von Humboldt Foundation (Alexander von Humboldt-	1953	Humboldt Club in Ukraine, 1999, Kyiv	Developing cooperation in the field of science between German and foreign researchers; funding long-term visits of researchers to Germany to	Establishing and further developing scientific contacts between Ukrainian researchers and their German colleagues; engaging young professionals in world-

⁶⁵ Штрак К. 65 років DW: 30 мов – одна хвиля. *Deutsche Welle*. 05.06.2018. URL: <http://bit.ly/3Kndza9>

Stiftung)			conduct research in an academic institution; providing awards for achievements in various fields of science.	class research projects; promoting the improvement of the system of organizing basic and applied research in Ukraine based on international experience.
German Wave (Deutsche Welle, DW)	1953	Ukrainian editorial office DW, 2000, Bonn	Promoting German and European values; popularizing the German language and culture; developing independent journalism.	Shaping a positive image of Germany in Ukraine; promoting liberal and democratic views; training Ukrainian journalists in DW Academy.

CONCLUSIONS

Germany's 'soft power' in Ukraine rests on a fairly powerful and extensive institutional base in the form of non-governmental organizations, which are mainly financed by the federal budget of Germany and actively interact with German state agencies.

The activity of German institutions in Ukraine, which is performed through various forms of contact with target population groups, generally corresponds to their overall goals. These are mainly the development of civil society and democratic governance (political foundations, German Agency for International Cooperation GmbH, the Deutsche Welle), as well as the promotion and popularization of the German language, culture, education, and science (the Goethe-Institut, the DAAD, the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, and the Deutsche Welle).

The main results of the activities of these institutions can be considered the formation of a positive image of Germany in Ukraine, as well as the spread of European political values among the target groups of the Ukrainian population (mainly young people). One of the main consequences of the latter has become the formation of civil society in Ukraine and increasing European integration, which has been also facilitated by the activities of other democratic countries' institutions.

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Надійшла до редакції / Received: 20.01.2023

Схвалено до друку / Accepted: 13.03.2023