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DIGITAL DIPLOMACY OF UKRAINE AS A FOREIGN AFFAIRS INFLUENCE FACTOR

This article is dedicated to the study of the phenomenon of digital diplomacy and its instruments used in the sphere of political communication and image-building of the states on the international scale. The article provides a brief overview of the digital diplomacy tools implemented by Ukraine's governmental and non-governmental bodies on various levels to inform the international audience about the news, major events and political decisions. It also contains an analysis of the effective legal framework in the country regarding diplomatic service in general and digital diplomacy in particular. The purpose of the article is to analyze the digital diplomacy application by Ukraine and to indicate the current achievements, future potential of this sphere for the state, as well as to point the further development to ensure the most efficient implementation of the available tools and methods.

Keywords: digital diplomacy, social media, foreign affairs, Ukraine.

Introduction

Analyzing modern international relations and diplomacy, we encounter various approaches, theories and ideas as they are ever-changing and evolving together with political, economic, social, legal and cultural processes taking place in the world. Out of the tendencies we face nowadays, the following are the major prerequisites to development of digital diplomacy and research thereof.

Digital diplomacy is thoroughly studied and analyzed by scholars internationally. The works of P. Seib, C. Bronk and N. Cull expand on the transformation of politics and diplomacy in the digital era, C. Hayden and R. Zaharna focus on the role of social and new media, F. Hanson and publications of the Oxford Digital Diplomacy Research Group led by C. Bjola offer a comprehensive look on the sphere in general. Ukrainian researchers N. Pipchenko, B. Humenyuk, O. Sahaydak, Y. Turchyn have dedicated their works to the topic of digital diplomacy.

The objective of the article is to indicate the trends in modern international relations and diplomacy that have led to the development of digital diplomacy as a full-fledged phenomenon and branch of research and to analyze the practical aspects of digital diplomacy implementation in Ukraine.

Modern international relations and diplomacy trends

The first tendency is the democratization of international relations and internal political processes. It respectively brings up the necessity of legitimization of political decisions. In the modern world the efficient international and political activity is impossible without gaining wide support of the population, therefore, political leaders, organizations, parties, institutions and other formations, non-state actors and any other subjects of international relations endeavor to establish and maintain their connections with society.¹

Moreover, these connections become more and more interdependent and equal, they necessarily include the ability of receiving quality feedback from both sides continuously as under the modern conditions of impressive development of information and communication technologies and the civil society, those holding the power influence the society as well as the society gradually becomes more empowered and has more effective mechanisms to influence those holding the power. Therefore, conducting a research and studying the information space and channels before or after a major political decision enables a researcher to make a likely prediction of social reaction it will bring as well as some of its consequences. The second trend worth mentioning is the personalization of actors of international relations. The role of personality and personal approach is becoming increasingly important in the international relations recently, partly due to new politicians coming to power, who have built their campaigns around the personality, character, and image of the politician himself, like Emmanuel Macron or

¹ Rasmussen, T. (2006). Political power and the complexity of the public sphere. *Idunn* <<https://www.idunn.no/the-internet-soapbox/chapter-6-political-power-and-the-complexity-of-the-public-sphere>> (2018, червень, 28).

Donald Trump. This has become a significant tendency also due to widespread implementation of social media by international political actors to communicate with their audiences and bringing them closer to the societies they address by the withdrawal of traditional mass media as a mediator between them. The vivid examples of this trend include Donald Trump's Twitter account which has itself become an unprecedented cultural phenomenon and Justin Trudeau's Facebook page.¹

The next tendency we will highlight is the growing digitalization and information counterpart of the international environment. This trend has evolved into a separate research branch and is concerned with permanently increasing role of information and technologies in the modern world, the speed of information dissemination and its progressive growth in volume, availability and free access to it as well as management and manipulation of information resources. The political communication is efficiently carried out not only through traditional channels but also by means of Internet with the increasing role of the latter. In accordance with the Metcalfe's law, which traditionally describes the effect of the telecommunication network, the value of the worldwide web is increasing proportionally to the square of the number of connected users of the system.² Internet in general and the social media, in particular, are transforming into the work politics environment, at the same time playing both roles of a subject in the International politics (for instance, Facebook and Twitter-revolutions) and of an object (for instance, in the case of Cambridge Analytica this year).

Freedom of information and unlimited access to it are among the key features Internet offers to their users. States and international institutions are eager to use this feature and profit from achieving rapid large-scale coverage in order to build their positive image in the online environment. This also implies that they face a requirement to become increasingly transparent in their political communication. Therefore, we notice the following trends in the modern society: the prerequisite of comprehensive political communication in order to ensure the efficient image-building of a state and integrated political communication achieved by implementing various channels and means of disseminating information at the same time.

Taking into account the aforementioned statements, thanks to the network technologies and their ability to synthesize personal, group and mass types of communication, a unique and substantially new model of political communication appears. It is based on the rich variety of its forms and the employment of the cutting-edge information and communication technologies.³ This leads to the increasingly popular use and growing efficiency of Internet as a channel of communication, which respectively results in more widespread appeals of this channel to the state actors. Under such conditions, a new realm of digital diplomacy is inaugurated as a type of the state's diplomatic activities. It is aimed at creating a positive image of a state and strengthening its international reputation, presenting its national interests and the key principles of the foreign policy, promoting the national values and culture by means of information and communication technologies.

Digital diplomacy phenomenon and evolution

As the concept is under development, there are numerous approaches to its linguistic form. There are a couple of the most widely used and largely interchangeable prefixes and terms for the notion: digital diplomacy, cyber diplomacy, net diplomacy, virtual diplomacy and electronic diplomacy. However, although interchangeable, all the terms emphasize a slightly different aspect of the phenomenon.

Cyber diplomacy derives from the word 'cyberspace' coined by William Gibson in 1984 in his science fiction novel «Neuromancer».⁴ After that work was published, the prefix cyber- was largely used to describe the development of the computer technologies and Internet. This has resulted in the establishment of some more related terms like cybercrime, cyberattack, cyberlaw, cyberwarfare, cyberculture and many others. However, nowadays, this prefix has gradually been withdrawn from use, relating now to terminology concerned with security, namely cybersecurity.

¹ Bump, P. (2017). How politicians use of social media is reinforcing a partisan media divide. *Washington Post* <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/politics/wp/2017/12/18/how-politicians-use-of-social-media-is-reinforcing-a-partisan-media-divide/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.5c8735675e85> (2018, червень, 28).

² Shapiro, C. (1999). *Information Rules*. *Harvard Business Press* <https://books.google.com.ua/books?id=aE_J4Iv_PVEC&printsec=frontcover&dq=inauthor:shapiro+inauthor:varian&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false> (2018, червень, 28).

³ Денисюк, С.Г. (2012). *Технологічні виміри політичної комунікації*. Вінниця: ВНТУ, 392.

⁴ Gibson, W. (1984). *Neuromancer*. New York: Ace, 271.

Electronic or e-diplomacy derives from a term 'e-commerce' which was one of the pioneers of proactively developing online spheres. After the commerce moving online and coining of the term 'e-commerce', this prefix was widely in use to describe many other terms connected with Internet. We can find it in international documents such as the European Union's Lisbon Agenda 2000, the World Summit of the Information Society declarations of 2003 in Geneva and of 2005 in Tunisia. The terms used in the WSIS declarations include e-government, e-health, e-science, e-business, e-learning, e-commerce, e-agriculture, and e-employment.¹ However, today this prefix is also gradually disappearing from use when talking about diplomacy. This can be partly explained by withdrawing of this particular phrasing from the European Union's practice allegedly as an initiative aimed at distancing from the failure of the Lisbon Agenda. Virtual diplomacy has been rarely used in the political or legal context from the beginning. This is explained by the linguistic connotation of «virtual» as being intangible in nature and potentially non-existent. Therefore, due to the ambiguity of the meaning, this wording is used in literature, journalism and speeches, but not featured in the policy discussions and international documents, guidelines or strategies.

While 'cyber' is mostly implying to security sector, 'electronic' or 'e-' is used in relation to e-governance as well as commercial and business spheres and virtual is reserved for fiction and media, the term 'digital diplomacy' is now the most widely used and accurate wording for the phenomenon described earlier. Evolving from the technical aspect of Internet, namely two digits at the basics of the computer technologies, 1 showing the positive value and 0 stating the absence of it, the word 'digital' was at first largely heard when discussing the digital divide.

However, nowadays, it has significantly expanded its coverage and is dominating on a large scale in use with respect to the new sphere of diplomatic development. This has been the case since the emphasized use of this phrasing by the President of the European Commission Jean-Claude Juncker presenting his five-year policy plan.² The digital diplomacy wording has also been recently implemented in national development strategies and documents with Great Britain, particularly the UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office, being the leader so far.

Digital diplomacy can be defined as the implementation of the Internet and new information and communication technologies to help achieve the diplomatic objectives.³ Practically the digital diplomacy is outlined by the creation, functioning, maintaining and updating the official websites of state agencies, in particular the foreign office and diplomatic institutions, embassies and consulates on other countries, websites or portals about the state serving as the primary source of information about it and filling in the information space with publications, news, events and other materials, e-mail subscriptions etc.

The United States was the first country to create a separate unit dedicated to digital diplomacy. The US State Department established the Taskforce on eDiplomacy in 2002. The trend was recognized and embraced by other countries as well with the UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office establishing a separate Office of Digital Diplomacy. Sweden and Canada are considered to also be among the leaders in this progressive sphere.

Digital diplomacy in Ukraine today

Characterizing the current state of digital diplomacy in Ukraine, the legal and institutional framework should be mentioned in the first place. Currently, in Ukraine, a single comprehensive law or program of digital diplomacy hasn't been developed yet. However, there are some particular provisions in other legal instruments that provide for the implementation of digital diplomacy. The Law of Ukraine on Diplomatic Service in the Article 5 states among other functions of diplomatic service «dissemination of information about Ukraine abroad».⁴

The Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine On Approval of the Regulation on the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine in paragraph 2 includes «promoting Ukraine's entrance into

¹ World Summit of the Information Society (2003). *Declaration of Principles World Summit of the Information Society* <<http://www.itu.int/net/wsis/docs/geneva/official/dop.html>> (2018, червень, 28).

² Kurbalija, J. (2016). *An Introduction to Internet Governance. DiploFoundation 7th edition* <<https://www.diplomacy.edu/resources/books/introduction-internet-governance>> (2018, червень, 28).

³ Fergus, H. (2012). *Digital DFAT: Joining the 21st century. Lowy Institute* <<https://web.archive.org/web/20120322074924/https://www.lowyinstitute.org/Publication.asp?pid=1432>> (2018, червень, 28).

⁴ *Закон про дипломатичну службу 2001* (Верховна Рада України). *Офіційний сайт Верховної Ради України* <<http://zakon3.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2728-14>> (2018, червень, 28).

the world information space, strengthening its international reputation and building the positive image of the state as a reliable and predictable partner».¹

Moreover, in April 2018 a new Law of Ukraine on Diplomatic Service was adopted as a counterpart of the Sustainable Development Strategy Ukraine-2020. The new concept requires a set of reforms necessary for the transition from the post-Soviet foreign office system to the diplomatic service of the European standard. The basics were drafted with consideration of the best practices and experience of the EU state members and the US. The whole range of diplomatic service agencies will function as a single interconnected system instead of separate reserved institutions. This will be further fostered by the development and use of the digital diplomacy instruments.

Despite the lack of a single comprehensive program or separate state body responsible for digital diplomacy in Ukraine, the practical dimension has been developed over the past few years. In order to take a closer look at the digital diplomacy practice of Ukraine, we will first divide the resources needed by a state for this aspect. The key resources of digital diplomacy for a state comprise of:

- Official websites representing the country and its institutions;
- Information resources;
- Online-services and interactive instruments;
- Social media platforms.

Outlining the first batch of digital diplomacy resources, the official websites which represent the state and its major institutions, Ukraine has already developed the key government pages: the websites of the President, the Parliament, the Ministries. The website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in particular, has been updated in terms of design recently with the launch of a new corporate style, new logo and restructuring the pages. It is available in Ukrainian and English, offers news and current developments concerning its work and the country in general. It also includes the links to all the official social media accounts of the Ministry, namely Facebook, Twitter, Medium, Blogger, YouTube, Instagram, Storify and LinkedIn.

It is also worth mentioning that since 2014 the electronic visa service is available through the Ministry's website for the foreigners-holders of passports of 46 specified countries.² The application process consists of registering on the MFA web-platform, filling in the application form online and uploading the copies of the necessary documents. The e-Visa applications are processed within 9 business days and are issued via email.

The official websites of the state institutions also include the pages of the diplomatic missions to other countries. In the Ukraine's case there are a total of 203 websites of diplomatic missions to other states as well as pages of the missions to international organizations, such as the Permanent Mission of Ukraine to the United Nations, Permanent Representation of Ukraine to the Council of Europe, Permanent Mission of Ukraine to the UNO Branch and Other International Organizations in Geneva, Mission of Ukraine to NATO, Mission of Ukraine to the European Union, Permanent Mission of Ukraine to the UNESCO and others. Each of 184 embassies and 19 consulates of Ukraine has a separate official website, in most cases available in Ukraine and in a local language of a host country. However, these websites play an informative role providing contacts, news updates and some practical details about the work of this institutions. The majority does not offer any means of feedback for the users, except for the links to the social media pages where the direct communication between the institution and the citizens is possible, as well as online services so far. The information resources are not limited to only statistics updates concerning the country and its conventional symbols. Ukraine's portfolio also includes the recently adopted new country's logo and branding substituting the latest 2010 Ukraine's brand concept. On the 10th of May 2018, the Cabinet of Ministers has approved the new «Ukraine NOW» brand developed by the experts in the marketing and advertisement spheres in the country.³

¹ *Постанова про затвердження Положення про Міністерство закордонних справ України 2016 (Кабінет Міністрів України)* Офіційний сайт Верховної Ради України <<http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/281-2016-%D0%BF>> (2018, червень, 28).

² Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine (2018). *Entry and stay of foreigners in Ukraine*. <<https://mfa.gov.ua/ua/consular-affairs/entering-ukraine/e-visa>> (2018, червень, 28).

³ Banda Agency (2018). *Ukraine NOW. Новий бренд України*. <<http://banda.agency/ukrainenow/>> (2018, червень, 28).

This is one of the most large-scale marketing projects for Ukraine. It is aimed at building a brand of Ukraine in the world, attracting investments and enforcing the tourism potential. The commission working on the campaign comprised of 27 members. They have gathered a massive data bank and have conducted research in order to create a brand that will demonstrate the country's appeal for tourism, cultural cooperation, and business. The research on the current perception of Ukraine abroad supported by the British government has indicated that the top-3 associations were corruption, revolution, and war. In order to change this perception and persuade more people to visit Ukraine, the branding campaign was launched. It was created to emphasize that Ukraine is an open and modern country where the most interacting and exciting events are taking place «right now».

In the framework of the branding project, another information resource was presented. The first application dedicated to Ukraine and its developments – #Ukraine_NOW – was launched. This application gives users an opportunity to see in real time what is happening right now in different regions and places around the country.

Among the information resources about Ukraine, we can also mention popular online media, especially those available in English, for instance, KyivPost which also offers digital subscriptions for its readers. Famous blogs are also part of the information resources, adding a more personalized touch to the image created for the foreign audience about the country, which is increasingly important in relation to the general trend of personalization of international relations we have described earlier. The examples of the most popular Ukrainian blogs are Bogdan Logvynenko's blog as well as his project The Ukrainians, also blogs by Ukrainian IT-specialists and companies offering different insights and hacks popular among the professionals in the industry and strengthening the image of the country as one of the leading ones in the IT realm.

The recently developed UkraineInvest portal can also be included in the information resources list¹. It contains news about the investment climate in Ukraine, tells the success stories, lists the sectors of opportunity for the potential investors and informs about the events worth attending, like Kyiv International Economic Forum, Ukrainian Automotive Forum, Ukrainian Agribusiness Forum, Ukraine Reform Conference and others. You can also find the latest and timely updated reports on the developments in different sectors of the Ukrainian economy, for instance, on the growth of the Ukrainian agriculture or the rise of the IT in Ukraine.

The online-services and interactive instruments imply the opportunity for a user to get some kind of added value, either emotional or material. Therefore, the examples of such platforms in Ukraine include the interactive map developed during the Euromaidan events in Kyiv which made it possible for the user to see what was happening in real time and to feel engaged in the process, therefore, provoking an emotional response.

Another example of an interactive instrument is the Ukrainian in-house developed StopFake service available in 13 languages.² It has a total of almost 200 000 followers, subscribers and fans on different social media platforms and in addition to this, has recently introduced its own Telegram channel to distribute the information faster and more efficiently among the younger population. The launch of this fact-checking service has been initiated in 2014 by the lecturers, graduates, and students of the Kyiv Mohyla Journalism School along with the KMA Digital Future of Journalism. The project was joined by the proactive Ukrainian journalists, editors, IT specialists, translators and other professionals. The goal of the project is not only to refute fake news but also to create a propaganda archive and database, to analyze and verify information and to train various media stakeholders to identify fakes.

The Ukrainian online-learning platform Prometheus can also be seen as an example of an online service.³ Prometheus is a public project of mass online-courses based on the collaboration of the universities, professors and IT specialists aimed at providing an opportunity for educational establishments, organizations, and companies to publish their courses throughout the platform and for the visitors to have access to free quality education and training on various subjects.

Giving the characteristics to the use of social media platforms by Ukrainian institutions, political parties, and leaders, since 2014 we see a significant rise for this channel of communication. The foremost benefits it provides are the instant feedback received via the most popular services, like Facebook, Twitter,

¹ UkraineInvest (2018). *UkraineInvest. Official Portal* <<https://ukraineinvest.com/>> (2018, червень, 28).

² Website StopFake (2018). *News* <<https://www.stopfake.org/en/news/>> (2018, червень, 28).

³ Website Prometheus (2018). *About Us* <<https://prometheus.org.ua/about-us/>> (2018, червень, 28).

YouTube etc. and the higher level of credibility for the users compared with the traditional media. Approximately 78% of people trust the social media messages, while the percentages are almost twice lower for those who trust the classic media and advertising.¹

The social media are now increasingly used in Ukraine by the governmental bodies, parties, organizations and politicians in both pre-election, election and post-election periods, creating a continuous information space fueled by regular updates. Following the examples of the American and European politicians, Ukrainian actors are also creating accounts on more specific social platforms such as professionally-targeted LinkedIn, image and video-oriented Instagram, Vimeo, Snapchat, Flickr, content-focused blogging services (the widely known Blogger, the news services side projects like BBC blogs or Ukrainian own UkrPravda blogs) and additional platforms like Storify where you can create a visual story about an event or process, for instance.

Discussion and conclusions

To summarize, the phenomenon of digital diplomacy has emerged in the international relations as a reaction to the urge to meet the new requirements and comply with the modern conditions of international development and cooperation among the states. Digital diplomacy offers a wide range of instruments and opportunities to influence the foreign audience implementing the information and communication technologies and benefiting from their rapid growth of popularity, development and newest features. These opportunities are especially important for Ukraine as for a country currently in the process of a hybrid conflict and aspiring to build and strengthen its image on an international stage.

Therefore, these prerequisites have already resulted in the practical implementation of some of the components of digital diplomacy in Ukraine. The country has a rather developed system of official websites and portals, although they still lack interactivity and need to offer more useful services and provide users with a feedback option at this point. The information resources about Ukraine are also developing proactively and this positive tendency is expanding its scale which has a positive impact on the information space and the country's reputation.

The sphere of online services and interactive instruments has some outstanding examples to offer and has a potential for further growth and progress in the view of Ukrainian civil society and the IT sphere rapid development. The social media usage is progressively improving from the side of political and governmental institutions and representatives providing information in real time and with the possibility of efficiently receiving feedback from the audience.

The legal framework and a dedicated unit responsible for digital diplomacy are the key spheres identified as fields to work on at this stage. A comprehensive law, a strategy of development and a time-oriented, specific and measurable program of digital diplomacy application will significantly improve the state's activities as it will provide a more structured approach and will identify the bodies or agencies directly responsible for different aspects of digital diplomacy and the steps needed to be taken to achieve its objectives. Establishing a separate unit will also increase the efficiency of the digital diplomacy of Ukraine as it will gather the experts in one institution and will improve the understanding of its instruments, methods, and purposes for other branches of state activity. This is also further confirmed by the positive experience of the US and the UK where the separate bodies responsible for digital diplomacy were effectively formed.

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