

UDC 91323.3

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.20535/2307-5244.61.2025.347315>**O. Zakharova**

orcid.org/0000-0002-2143-7020

*Independent researcher, Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor
(Ukraine)**О. Ю. Захарова**Незалежний дослідник, доктор історичних наук, професор (Україна)***FEMALE COMPONENT IN THE PROGRAMS
OF FOREIGN VISIT TO THE USSR AS A
TOOL OF CULTURAL DIPLOMACY (MID-
1940's — EARLY 1970's)***Жіноча складова у програмах зарубіжних візитів до СРСР
як інструмент культурної дипломатії (середина 1940-х —
початок 1970-х рр.)*

Мета статті — показати роль культурної програми міжнародних візитів, зокрема сегменту жіночої складової, як важливої частини публічної дипломатії держав, котра, у свою чергу, є «м'якою силою» політики країни та стимулює увагу до держави за допомогою формування іміджу привабливості. написанні праці була використана загальнонаукова (методи синтезу і аналізу; дедукції та індукції; історико-описовий метод та метод узагальнення) та спеціально історична (історико-типологічний, порівняльно-історичний, проблемно-хронологічний методи, метод контент-аналізу) методологія дослідження, що загалом забезпечило досягнення поставлених у праці завдань. Наукова новизна роботи полягає в тому, що вперше в українській історичній науці, на основі унікальних першоджерел, які вперше запроваджуються до міжнародного наукового обігу, досліджується «жіночий сегмент» у програмах закордонних візитів до СРСР як інструменту культурної дипломатії у середині 1940 — на початку 1970-х рр. Висновки. Аналіз унікальних першоджерел, які вперше запроваджуються до міжнародного наукового обігу, показує, що до 1945 р. у радянській дипломатії панували внутрішні, євразійські імперативи, які залежали від специфіки чинного політичного режиму, наприклад періоду масових репресій у СРСР другої половини 1930 рр. і заперечували необхідність переходу до загальноприйнятих, європейських традицій у дипломатії. Навесні 1945 р. відбувається «примирення» радянського дипломатичного протоколу з європейським церемоніалом, що можна вважати фактом революції у міжнародних відносинах. Радянський Союз прийняв до практичного застосування церемоніальні правила Західної цивілізації, а жіночий «сегмент» був

далеко не останнім інструментом у формуванні позитивного образу СРСР. Принципи гостинності були важливим складником міжнародної політики Радянського Союзу. Протокольна служба МЗС СРСР робила все можливе, щоб хоча б на публічному, формальному рівні зруйнувати загальноприйнятий стереотип про радянську державу як «Імперію зла». Радянська дипломатія, разом із культурою, мистецтвом, спортом, літературою, як могли створювали позитивний імідж СРСР. До середини 1970-х рр. у Радянському Союзі не було єдиного, стандартного дипломатичного протоколу. Тільки 1976 р. було розроблено та затверджено «Основні положення протокольної практики у СРСР», розроблені МЗС СРСР. Жіноча складова в культурній дипломатії, як і вся система протокольної практики та дипломатичного церемоніалу не вирізнялися стабільністю, послідовністю, а завжди і повністю залежали від кон'юнктурних, практичних потреб чинного політичного режиму та його представників.

Ключові слова: дипломатичний церемоніал, міжнародний візит, офіційний протокол, жіноча програма, культурна дипломатія.

The purpose of this article is to demonstrate the role of cultural programs accompanying international visits, including their female component, as an important element of state public diplomacy, which in turn constitutes the «soft power» of a country's foreign policy and stimulates international attention by cultivating an image of attractiveness. The research employs both general scientific methods (synthesis and analysis, deduction and induction, historical-descriptive method, and generalization) and specialized historical methods (historical-typological, comparative-historical, problem-chronological approaches, and content analysis), which collectively ensure achievement of the study's objectives. The scientific novelty of this work lies in the fact that it represents the first examination in Ukrainian historical scholarship of the «women's segment» in foreign visit programs to the USSR as an instrument of cultural diplomacy from the mid-1940s to the early 1970s, based on unique primary sources introduced into international scholarly circulation for the first time. Analysis of these primary sources reveals that until 1945, Soviet diplomacy was dominated by internal, Eurasian imperatives dependent on the specifics of the ruling political regime — for example, the period of mass repressions in the USSR during the second half of the 1930s — which precluded adoption of generally accepted European diplomatic traditions. In spring 1945, a «reconciliation» of Soviet diplomatic protocol with European ceremonial occurred, constituting a revolutionary development in international relations. The Soviet Union adopted the ceremonial conventions of Western civilization for practical application, with the female «segment» serving as a significant tool in shaping a positive image of the USSR. Principles of hospitality formed an important component of Soviet international policy. The Protocol Service of

the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs endeavoured to dismantle, at least at the public and formal level, the prevailing stereotype of the Soviet state as the «Evil Empire». Soviet diplomacy, together with the spheres of culture, art, sports, and literature, worked to create a positive image of the USSR to the best of its ability. Until the mid-1970s, no unified, standardized diplomatic protocol existed in the Soviet Union. Only in 1976 were the «Basic Provisions of Protocol Practice in the USSR», developed by the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, formalized and approved. The female component in cultural diplomacy, like the entire system of protocol practice and diplomatic ceremonial, lacked stability and consistency, remaining entirely dependent on the conjunctural, practical needs of the ruling political regime and its representatives.

Keywords: diplomatic ceremonial, international visits, official protocol, women's program, cultural diplomacy.

Diplomacy, as one of the branches of applied politics, is a very complex and responsible type of activity. In the diplomatic relations of sovereign states, an important place is occupied by the foreign contacts of statesmen. An international visit is a set of primarily protocol measures, the nature of which depends on the type of visit, which in turn is determined by political expediency. A distinction is made between visits at the highest and supreme levels. A visit at the supreme level is the arrival in the country of a head of state or head of government. A visit at the highest level is the arrival of a state delegation headed by the country's minister of foreign affairs, a special representative of the head of state or head of government, or a representative of an international organisation (Сагайдак, О. П. 2006). Delegations frequently include cultural figures who perform an important function in presenting the country and ensuring communication between states. Diplomatic visits enable the effective resolution of international problems, promote the establishment of closer contacts between heads of state, and mutually beneficial relations between countries, whilst through the mass media they lend publicity to diplomatic activity.

In the context of what has been said, we consider it pertinent to explain the meaning of the terms «diplomatic ceremonial» and «protocol». Ceremonial is understood to mean the highest degree of organisational model of behaviour for authorised persons, which is based on the rules of etiquette. Diplomatic protocol refers to the totality of generally accepted rules, traditions and conventions that are adopted in international communication (Сагайдак, О. П. 2006). In the case of a visit by the leader of a foreign state accompanied by his wife, the receiving side develops a «women's» programme, which becomes an organic part of the overall diplomatic protocol (Карягин, В. 1994, с. 143).

As is well known, diplomatic protocol for centuries was oriented exclusively towards men. The exception was women on the monarchical throne. Most often,

women were relegated to an accompanying role. Only in the 20th century did established traditions begin to change.

In the context of the above, the relevance of the topic of the proposed research is determined both by the insufficient study of diplomatic protocol in the USSR after the Second World War, particularly the female segment, and by the fact that knowledge and understanding of the patterns of functioning of the latter expands our understanding of the foreign policy of the USSR and its international relations in the second half of the 20th century.

Certain cultural aspects of diplomatic ceremonial and protocol are examined in a number of scholarly works devoted to diplomatic etiquette. Among these, the research of D. Wood, S. Serres, F. Molochkov, and P. Lyadov deserves particular attention.

D. Wood and S. Serres made a major contribution to resolving problems of codification of diplomatic ceremonial and protocol. In their view, violation of protocol norms may be regarded as a demonstration of distrust towards a diplomatic representative. However, the rules of ceremonial may change depending on the specific situation (Вуд, Д. & Серре, Ф. 1976).

F. Molochkov's monograph is a fundamental work on the problem of the foundations of Soviet diplomatic ceremonial and protocol practice. The work examines the establishment and maintenance of diplomatic relations between states, the functions and activities of diplomatic missions, and the norms and rules of professional etiquette (Молочков, Ф. 1977).

The researcher P. Lyadov examined the formation of the legal basis of Russian diplomatic protocol after 1917, the practice of visits at the highest level, the ceremonial of diplomatic receptions, and other types of activities of diplomatic workers in the 20th century (Лядов, П. 2004).

The works of O. Zakharova illuminate the attribution of artistic gifts from the USSR diplomatic fund, problems of diplomatic counter-culture as an instrument of Soviet foreign policy, the history of the formation of the normative base of diplomatic protocol in the USSR, and other problems (Zakharova, O. 2020a, p. 150–163; Zakharova, O. 2020b, p. 7–21; Захарова, О. 2022a, с. 127–132; Захарова, О. 2022b). And although O. Zakharova and L. Kiyanovska have already partially addressed the subject matter of this work in publications (Захарова, О. & Кияновська, Л. 2020, с. 27–39), several extremely vivid historical narratives that deserve coverage have remained outside the scope of attention.

The main sources for writing the article were the collections of the Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation, the Russian State Archive of Film and Photographic Documents, and sources of personal origin, which have important informational significance and contain weighty moral imperatives. They contribute to understanding the ethical principles and lifestyle of the Soviet ruling elite, reveal the socio-cultural environment where communications of members of the

diplomatic corps took place, and help to study the formation of state doctrine in the sphere of official ideology and culture.

The unique corpus of historical documents of the Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation (AFP RF) made it possible to study events and phenomena of diplomatic history and international relations of the USSR from the end of the Second World War to the beginning of the 1970s. In his memoirs, the legendary interpreter V. Sukhodrev, who for 40 years worked as an interpreter to the leaders of the USSR — N. Khrushchev, L. Brezhnev, A. Mikoyan, A. Gromyko, M. Gorbachev — formed portraits of the leaders of the Soviet Union and spoke about the behaviour of these statesmen not only in official settings but also in conditions of informal communication (Суходрев, В. 2010).

Photographic documents of the Russian State Archive of Film and Photographic Documents (RSAFPD) helped to understand the aura and atmosphere of the ceremonial component of diplomatic visits to the USSR.

The aim of the work is to show the role of the cultural programme of international visits, particularly the segment of the female component as an important part of the public diplomacy of states, which in turn is the «soft power» of countries' policy and stimulates attention to states through the formation of an image of their attractiveness. The scholarly novelty of the work lies in the fact that for the first time in Ukrainian historical scholarship, on the basis of unique primary sources being introduced into international scholarly circulation for the first time, the female segment in the programmes of foreign visits to the USSR is examined as an instrument of cultural diplomacy in the mid-1940s to the early 1970s.

In the USSR, the first female diplomat to officially represent the state was A. Kollontai, who in 1930 was appointed ambassador of the Soviet Union to Sweden. During the presentation of credentials, the King of Sweden breached protocol and invited the woman to sit beside him on the sofa¹. There existed a practice of summoning A. Kollontai to Moscow to accompany the wives of heads of state who arrived in the USSR on official visits: she possessed not only diplomatic abilities but also excellent taste in the matter of selecting women's clothing, footwear, accessories, jewellery, perfumes, and adornments. A. Kollontai well understood the significance of the «language of dress» in diplomatic ceremonial². In the secular diplomatic life of the capital of the USSR, a notable role was played by the wife of Marshal S. Budyonny — Olga Stefanovna — and the wife of another Marshal of the Soviet Union — Galina Antonovna Yegorova. Both had professional musical education and were famed for their acting skills. Frequent visits to diplomatic receptions at the embassies of foreign states became a formal pretext for repression. S. Budyonny's wife was arrested in 1937 and received a sentence of 11 years' imprisonment. She served her punishment in exile in Siberia,

¹ АЗП РФ. Ф. 06. Оп. 7. П. 22. Стр. 246. Арк. 72.

² АЗП РФ. Ф. 057. Оп. 8. П. 106. Стр. 10. Арк. 72.

where she worked as a cleaner. The Muscovite beauty and regular participant in diplomatic «society soirées», Galina Yegorova, was arrested before her husband. She met a similar fate. She was posthumously rehabilitated in 1956.

It should be noted that the period of repression in the USSR markedly affected the life and activities of diplomatic workers. This also concerned ceremonial protocol. For example, in the 1930s, wives of government officials were never invited to J. Stalin's international receptions. During W. Churchill's visit to Moscow in 1942, the leader of Great Britain made the acquaintance of the daughter of the head of the USSR, but in a letter to the President of the USA, F. Roosevelt, devoted to an account of the visit to Moscow, he particularly emphasised that the master of the Soviet state did not allow his daughter to remain at the sumptuous dinner. Stalin's banquets, according to the testimony of the British leader, were exclusively male gatherings, which testified to J. Stalin's prejudice and the fact that he ignored the principles of image construction as manifestations of the «soft power» of the country's diplomacy (Черчилль, У. 1954, с. 495–496).

The end of the Second World War, the expansion of the field of international activity and struggle for «friends», and the increase in the spectrum and number of «actors» in world politics convinced the Soviet Union of the urgent necessity to change the paradigm and principles of diplomatic work, particularly the transition to observance of European, «Western» ceremonial norms. Already in the spring of 1945, perceptible changes occurred.

The official visit of the President of the Czechoslovak Republic, E. Beneš, to the Soviet Union took place in March 1945. The official delegation included the wife and niece of the head of Czechoslovakia. A distinctive feature of the visit was a humanitarian programme prepared for the aforementioned women, which included visits to pre-school and school establishments, medical institutions, and so forth. On 21 March 1945, the wife of the Czechoslovak leader attended a concert by the finest masters of the arts of the Soviet state, in which stars of Soviet ballet, the opera stage, symphonic music, and folk musical creativity took part. On 22 March, the first ladies of the USSR — the partners of the first officials of the Soviet Union — conducted an audience with E. Beneš's wife at a private flat in Moscow, where in the context of an informal meeting and exquisite dessert delights, the most diverse problems of humanitarian policy were discussed. On 24 and 25 March, the wife of the Czechoslovak president visited the country's leading theatre — the Moscow Art Theatre — and watched two performances. A visit with the Czechoslovak delegation to the ballet school attached to the Bolshoi Theatre of the USSR on 27 March evoked sincere admiration in her. The concluding «chord» of the visit was an audience and dinner for the Czechoslovak Republic delegation with J. Stalin on 28 March 1945¹.

¹ АЗП РФ. Ф. 057. Оп. 25. П. 123. Спр. 8. Арк. 51, 53, 61, 74–75, 90.

An important event for Soviet diplomacy was the visit to the USSR of the wife of the Prime Minister of Great Britain — Clementine Churchill. In October 1941, she established the «Aid to Russia Fund», which by 20 March 1945 had collected over £6 million in total aid to the Soviet state. The resources made it possible to purchase and dispatch to the USSR medical equipment and a complex of medicines worth over \$11 million¹. Such magnificent gestures by the allies from the anti-Hitler coalition, which, incidentally, once again confirm that the USSR could not have defeated Nazi Germany alone, could not go unnoticed, and so the government of the USSR organised a substantial visit for the wife of the head of Great Britain, which included a journey across the Soviet Union.

C. Churchill arrived in Moscow on 2 April 1945. She was received by J. Stalin and V. Molotov. She visited model establishments in Moscow and Leningrad. On 12 April 1945, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR issued a Decree awarding C. Churchill the Order of the Red Banner of Labour. From 13 April, her journey across the Soviet Union began. On 15 April, she visited Stalingrad. From 17 to 23 April, she visited the resort cities of the North Caucasus: Kislovodsk, Pyatigorsk, and Yessentuki. In Rostov-on-Don, she visited M. Lermontov's house and two military hospitals, which she intended to equip with funds from the aforementioned Fund. From 23 April, she was on the territory of the Crimean Peninsula. W. Churchill thanked the Soviet government in a telegram for the fact that his wife's journey was proceeding by rail rather than by air².

The death of the President of the USA, F. Roosevelt, changed the plans for C. Churchill's stay in the USSR. She was to have flown to London on 3 May, as an official meeting between W. Churchill and the leader of the USA was planned. However, after receiving the sad news, it was decided to extend C. Churchill's stay in the USSR for another week.

One of the leaders of Soviet diplomacy, V. Maisky, sent a letter to J. Stalin in which he assured the leader that C. Churchill was very satisfied with the reception in the USSR and was under the impression of the meeting with him. He appealed to the leader of the Soviet state regarding the adoption of a decision on a protocol matter that contradicted the tradition of the ceremonial of Soviet diplomacy. The issue concerned the fact that on the occasion of C. Churchill's departure from the USSR, a farewell breakfast should be arranged, which, in V. Maisky's opinion, ought to be organised in the name of J. Stalin, but this, in turn, constituted a breach of Soviet ceremonial, as farewell dinners were given to high-ranking officials. As regards C. Churchill, one could limit oneself to a breakfast here, since she was a high-ranking guest of semi-official rank, and moreover, a breakfast took less time than a dinner. However, from a political point of view, V. Maisky drew the Soviet leader's attention to the fact that in

¹ АЗП РФ. Ф. 06. Оп. 7. П. 22. Стр. 246. Арк. 12–13.

² АЗП РФ. Ф. 057. Оп. 25. П. 123. Стр. 6. Арк. 68, 82–84.

conditions of imperfect Soviet-British relations, the attention paid to the wife of the head of the government of Great Britain would be highly valued by the Prime Minister, as he was very sensitive to such matters, and this would have an extraordinarily positive influence on the formation of the appropriate image of the leader of the USSR¹.

As we can see, despite the dominance of internal, Eurasian diplomatic practice, in the USSR they fully understood the significance of international ceremonial and protocol in foreign policy. It was precisely for this reason that decisions were adopted depending on the political situation, although the final word always remained with the leader of the Soviet Union.

From 28 April, C. Churchill was in Odessa, where in addition to cultural and medical establishments she visited camps of repatriated English and French prisoners of war. The wife of the head of the British government treated each French prisoner of war to a bar of chocolate. On 4 May, she visited Kursk, calling at a children's home for orphans whose parents had perished in the war. On 5 May, she returned to Moscow, where she attended a concert of English music at the Moscow State Philharmonic. On 7 May, she received another award — this time from the Government of the USSR — and on 9 May she watched a production of the ballet «Swan Lake».

J. Stalin never adopted the decision to hold a farewell breakfast in honour of C. Churchill — the Soviet political regime remained true to itself. Before returning home, C. Churchill sent a telegram to V. Molotov in which she sincerely thanked his wife and the state for the cordial reception and confessed that she had been happy during her stay in the USSR. On 11 May 1945, she flew to London².

In June 1953, the daughter of the Prime Minister of India — Indira Gandhi — arrived in the USSR on a visit. During her journey across the country, she was accompanied by the head of the protocol department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, who regularly sent reports to Moscow about the journey. For example, the official reported that whilst in Samarkand, I. Gandhi had cast off all restraint, relaxed, become considerably more communicative, and spoke very positively about what she had seen in the Soviet Union.

At breakfast, in the presence of local officials, she proposed a toast to the strengthening of the historical ties between India and the USSR, to friendship and the further expansion of cultural links between the peoples and states. After returning to Moscow, at the Indian Embassy she was presented with the painting «Evening» in the name of V. Molotov. A visiting card from the head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR was enclosed with the painting³. Soviet diplomacy once again observed the norms of European diplomatic protocol, whilst

¹ АЗП РФ. Ф. 06. Оп. 7. П. 22. Спр. 246. Арк. 71–73.

² АЗП РФ. Ф. 057. Оп. 25. П. 123. Спр. 6. Арк. 81, 84–85.

³ АЗП РФ. Ф. 57. Оп. 38. П. 145. Спр. 11. Арк. 21.

the presentation of V. Molotov's visiting card testified to particularly respectful treatment of the foreign guest.

With the intensification of geopolitical antagonism between the USA and the USSR, official international events in honour of allied states became far more pompous. Such was the case in 1956, during the visit to the USSR of the Shah of Iran — M. Pahlavi.

Several new protocol elements appeared in the programme of the stay: the guest's aircraft was met on the approaches to Moscow by a squadron of fighter planes; the Shah's car was escorted by a group of motorcyclists; the leader of a foreign monarchical non-socialist state was lodged in the guest residence in the Kremlin, and so forth. And this despite the fact that the Shah had dissolved the parliamentary body of the state — the Majlis.

A photographic document made during this meeting has been preserved. Whilst the Shah's wife was dressed in a ball gown, which corresponded to ceremonial requirements, the clothing of the ladies married to the first officials of the Soviet state could hardly be attributed to any type of protocol. In fact, a «mix» of protocol styles took place, and moreover the clothing of the Shah's wife recalled not only the pre-revolutionary traditions of diplomatic ceremonials but also the revolution that had occurred during this period in Iran¹.

It must be said that the leaders of the USSR in international relations after the end of the Second World War were neither morally nor psychologically prepared to perform representative functions. However, N. Khrushchev, for instance, had a very original manner of communication that helped to establish diplomatic relations. Surviving photographic documents make it possible to conclude that foreign leaders were well-disposed towards the head of the Soviet Union.

For example, reference is made to a photograph depicting an exchange of greetings between N. Khrushchev and Queen Elizabeth of Belgium at an official reception in the Kremlin Palace in May 1962. N. Khrushchev appears in the photograph confident and natural, which creates the impression that he had long been communicating with representatives of the high circles of Western civilisation. He exchanged firm handshakes with the Belgian Queen, which, it must be noted, did not disconcert Her Majesty, and she spoke favourably about the reception in the Soviet Union². Upon returning home, the Queen of Belgium sent a series of telegrams to the leaders of the Soviet state with sincere thanks for the reception accorded to her in the USSR³.

The official visit of the President of France, Charles de Gaulle, to the USSR took place from 20 June to 1 July 1966. This was the first visit of the leader of the French state to Moscow after the Second World War. On 20 June, the aircraft

¹ РДАКФД. 1–38484.

² РДАКФД. 383788.

³ АЗП РФ. Ф. 57. Оп. 57. П. 403. Стр. 59. Арк. 51–53.

carrying the French delegation was met on the approaches to Moscow by a fighter escort. At the airport, decorated with the flags of the states, a guard of honour was drawn up, the national anthems of the countries were performed, and an artillery salute was fired. In a car bearing the standards of Charles de Gaulle, the President of France was accompanied to the residence in the Kremlin by the first officials of the USSR, the cortège of the head of the French state was escorted by motorcyclists, and along the streets of Moscow the leader of France was greeted by the inhabitants of the capital of the Soviet state. Above Charles de Gaulle's residence in the Kremlin, the national flag of France was raised.

The programme of the visit included a complex of events: receptions, meetings, negotiations, business dinners, visits by the French delegation to cultural establishments in Moscow, the laying of wreaths at memorial sites, and so forth. For the wife of Charles de Gaulle, a special programme was prepared: visits to the museums of the Kremlin, medical institutes of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, leading cultural establishments in Moscow, and tea with the first ladies of the Soviet Union¹.

Photographs have been preserved that recorded the main events of the visit of the President of France to the USSR. For example, in a photograph taken at the Mariinsky Theatre, one can see Charles de Gaulle with his wife and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR — A. Kosygin — with his wife. The wife of the Soviet supreme bureaucrat was dressed in an elegant dark evening gown and gloves, carried herself very aristocratically and with dignity, which gave the impression that she had long been a woman of high society².

In ceremonial culture, non-verbal language of communication is extremely important — the language of gesture, gaze, costume, and so forth. And if men's protocol costume has remained unchanged for decades, women's costume, on the contrary, in certain cases helps to create an image that has particular political symbolism.

Confirmation of this imperative can be found in the external appearance of the wife of the President of France, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, during the send-off of the official French delegation, which had been in the USSR at the invitation of the Soviet government. In a photograph preserved from 18 October 1975, the wife of the President of France was dressed in the so-called «Russian style»: Russian boots, a coat with white fur, fur collar and cuffs. The wife of L. Brezhnev, who stood beside her, had a more than modest appearance: she was dressed in a black coat and light-coloured shoes. The entire appearance of the first lady of the USSR spoke eloquently of the fact that it was very unusual and morally burdensome for her to perform representative functions in international relations. The external image that the fashion designers created for the wife of the President of France was not merely a tribute to fashion but, first and foremost, a manifestation of great respect for the traditions of the host country.

¹ АЗП РФ. Ф. 57. Оп. 63. П. 500. Стр. 43. Арк. 91–92, 98.

² РДАКФД. 0–334909.

From the mid-1960s onwards, official documents contain no information about the unofficial aspects of international visits to the USSR. However, sources of personal origin compensate for the shortage of these details. For example, the memoirs of V. Sukhodrev contain important details of the official visit to the USSR of the Prime Minister of Canada — P. Trudeau — thanks to which relations between the states improved.

The visit took place in 1971, shortly after the marriage of the head of the Canadian government. The considerably younger chosen one of P. Trudeau made quite an impression on the political establishment of the USSR when she appeared on the aircraft steps in a sexy mini-skirt. The next surprise was the fact that P. Trudeau rode up to Ivanovskaya Square in the Kremlin on the motorcycle of one of the special escort riders who were accompanying the Canadian leader. It transpired that P. Trudeau simply wanted to test the motorcycle and declared to the Soviet leaders that the machine was very good. Such a shocking act had never been seen in the Kremlin before or since. However, this was not the last «prank» of one of the leaders of Western civilisation.

For example, before breakfast at the Canadian Embassy, P. Trudeau presented A. Kosygin with a snowmobile, so that in the USSR too they would learn to produce similar machines. In addition to all that has been said, the head of Canada impressed everyone with his extravagant appearance: he wore ultra-fashionable, wide and bright ties, jackets with enormous lapels, platform shoes, and flared trousers.

Part of the programme of P. Trudeau's visit to the USSR was a visit to Kyiv, since an enormous Ukrainian diaspora traditionally resided precisely in Canada, and relations with it influenced the internal political life and results of electoral campaigns in the country. After arriving in Kyiv, P. Trudeau expressed a wish to visit a discotheque, night club, or entertainment establishment with his wife, but without official accompaniment. Strange and sensational as it was in conditions of the practical absence of night-time establishments in the Soviet Union, the KGB of the USSR organised this event within 20 minutes in the centre of Kyiv, on Khreshchatyk.

The couple were taken to premises where a table for two had already been laid. After several glasses of champagne, the couple began to dance, and moreover, according to the characterisation of witnesses, very passionately. As V. Sukhodrev recalled, it could not have entered anyone's head that the fashionable dandy with sideburns embracing a young long-haired girl was none other than the Prime Minister of Canada.

Following the results of the visit, a number of bilateral Agreements were signed, but the idea of producing bright fabrics in the USSR was immediately rejected: it was declared that P. Trudeau could wear such clothing himself (Суходрев, В. 2010).

Since by the mid-1970s there existed no unified standard approach in the USSR to the preparation and conduct of visits by leaders of developed countries, an urgent need arose to create such a document. On 8 January 1976, the Central

Committee of the CPSU developed and approved «Basic Provisions of Protocol Practice in the USSR», compiled in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR. These emphasised in particular that protocol measures should be conducted with the participation of a limited number of responsible persons and with minimal financial expenditure. A separate point declared the prohibition of foreign delegations visiting theatrical establishments of the USSR¹.

Formally, the reasons given for such a decision were savings in budgetary funds, but it was clear to everyone that the political establishment of the USSR had decided to exclude the sector of culture and art from official public diplomacy, since many representatives of the creative intelligentsia were opposed to Soviet power, preferred to emigrate abroad and work there (R. Nureyev, M. Baryshnikov, S. Kramarov, and others), or, at the very least, chose to serve in democratic establishments where there was no fierce control by Soviet ideology. Certain prominent figures of Soviet art, for example G. Vishnevskaya and M. Rostropovich, «were accorded the high honour» of being expelled from the USSR and stripped of the citizenship of the country by decision of the supreme authorities.

Summarising what has been set forth, we consider it possible to make certain generalisations. The socio-political structure of the state leaves an imprint on diplomatic norms, although ceremonial protocol is a very conservative tradition and by the laws of diplomacy should remain outside politics. Otherwise, courtesy can become rudeness, which in no way contributes to the strengthening of the system of international relations. And although over the centuries of world history diplomatic protocol has undergone significant changes, one thing has remained consistently unchanged — ambassadorial ceremonials, which were obliged to maintain the illusion of the might of any state, including the Soviet Union. Diplomatic protocol, being part of state ceremonial culture, was a vivid illustration of the spiritual, moral, and political condition of society, which ensured the achievement of a certain level of prestige for the authorities. The segment of the women's protocol programme has always been an organic component of cultural diplomacy, which in turn was an instrument of «soft power» in international relations, when the attractiveness of a country in the world community is created through individual elements of public ceremonial. Analysis of unique primary sources being introduced into international scholarly circulation for the first time shows that until 1945 Soviet diplomacy was dominated by internal, Eurasian imperatives, which depended on the specificity of the ruling political regime, for example the period of mass repressions in the USSR in the second half of the 1930s, and denied the necessity of transition to generally accepted Western traditions in diplomacy. After the Second World War, the Soviet Union changed its policy in this sphere, as the need to establish bilateral relations with other states overcame internal conservatism. In the spring of 1945, a «reconciliation» occurred

¹ АЗП РФ. Ф. 057. Оп. 60. П. 260. Стр. 1. Арк. 44.

between Soviet diplomatic protocol and the European ceremonial of Western civilisation, which can be regarded as a fact of revolution in international relations.

The visits to the USSR of the President of the Czechoslovak Republic, E. Beneš, the wife of the Prime Minister of Great Britain, C. Churchill, the daughter of the Prime Minister of India, Indira Gandhi, the Shah of Iran, M. Pahlavi, Queen Elizabeth of Belgium, the Presidents of the French Republic, Charles de Gaulle and Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, and the Prime Minister of Canada, P. Trudeau, became vivid confirmation that the Soviet Union had adopted for practical application the ceremonial rules of Western civilisation in international relations, and the women's segment was far from the least instrument in the formation of a positive image.

We can confidently assert that the principles of hospitality were an important component of the international policy of the Soviet Union. The protocol service of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR did everything possible to destroy, at least at the public, formal level, the generally accepted stereotype of the Soviet state as an «Empire of Evil». Soviet diplomacy, together with Soviet culture, art, sport, and literature, created a positive image of the USSR as best they could.

Until the mid-1970s, the Soviet Union did not have a unified, standard diplomatic protocol. Only in 1976 were «Basic Provisions of Protocol Practice in the USSR» developed and approved, compiled by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR. In connection with the intensification of antagonism in international relations and the geopolitical confrontation of the Soviet state with the Western world, it was particularly noted that all diplomatic protocol measures should be conducted with minimal financial expenditure, and foreign delegations should not visit the country's theatres. Such a position was a consequence of the emergence of wide circles of internal ideological opposition, especially among the creative intelligentsia of the USSR.

On the whole, the women's component in the cultural diplomacy of the USSR, like the entire system of protocol practice and public ceremonial of the country, was not distinguished by stability or consistency, and always and completely depended on the conjunctural, practical needs of the current political regime and its representatives.

Вуд, Д. & Серре, Ш. 1974. Дипломатический церемониал и протокол. Москва: Прогресс, 1974. 400 с.

Захарова, О. 2022а. Атрибуція мистецьких творів радянського дипломатичного подарункового фонду. *Актуальні питання гуманітарних наук*. Вип. 51. С. 127–132.

Захарова, О. 2022b. Мистецтво як комунікативна технологія дипломатичного церемоніалу. Ніжин: Лисенко. 448с.

Захарова, О. & Кияновська, Л. 2020. Мистецтво як потужний засіб зовнішньої політики (культурна складова частина програм зарубіжних візитів до СРСР з відвідуванням України (початок 20-х — початок 80-х рр. ХХ ст.). *Актуальні питання гуманітарних наук*. Вип. 34. Т. 2. С. 27–39.

Карягин, В. 1994. Дипломатическая жизнь за кулисами и на сцене. Москва: Международные отношения. 315с.

Лядов, П. 2004. История российского протокола. Москва: Международные отношения. 280 с.

Молочков, Ф. 1977. Дипломатический протокол и дипломатическая практика. Москва: Международные отношения. 248 с.

Сагайдак, О. П. 2006. Дипломатичний протокол та етикет. Навчальний посібник. Київ: Знання, 2006.

Суходрев, В. 2010. Язык мой — друг мой. От Хрущева до Горбачева. *Вестник Московского университета*. Серия 22. Теория перевода. № 2. С. 100–111.

Черчилль, У. 1954. Вторая мировая война. В 6 т. Т. 4. Москва. 584 с.

Zakharova, O. 2020a. The Regulatory Framework of the Soviet Diplomatic Protocol. History of Formation. *Krakowskie Studia Malopolskie*. № 2 (26). P. 150–163.

Zakharova, O. 2020b. Diplomatic Counterculture as a Tool of the Soviet Foreign Policy. *Krakowskie Studia Malopolskie*. 2020. № 3 (27). P. 7–21.

Vud, D. & Serre, Sh. 1974. Dyplomatycheskyj ceremonyal y protokol. [Diplomatic Ceremony and Protocol]. Moskva: Progress, 1974. 400 s. [In Russian].

Zaharova, O. 2022a. Atrybucija mystec'kyh tvoriv radjans'kogo dyplomatychnogo podarunkovogo fondu. [Attribution of Mystical Creations to the Radyansky Diplomatic Gift Fund]. *Aktual'ni pytannja humanitarnyh nauk*. 2022. Vyp. 51. S. 127–132. [In Ukrainian].

Zaharova, O. 2022b. Mystectvo jak komunikatyvna tehnologija dyplomatychnogo ceremonialu [Art as a Communicative Technology of Diplomatic Ceremony]. Nizhyn: Lysenko. 448 s. [In Ukrainian].

Zaharova, O. & Kyjanovska, L. 2020. Mystectvo jak potuzhnyj zasib zovnishn'oi' polityky(kul'turna skladova chastyna program zarubiznyh vizytiv do SRSR z vidviduvannjam Ukrai'ny (pochatok 20-h — pochatok 80-h rr. XX st.). [Art as a Strong Support for Foreign Policy (the Cultural Warehouse Part of the Programs of Foreign Visits to the USSR with the Expansion of Ukraine (the Beginning of the 20s — the Beginning of the 80s. XX st.)). *Aktual'ni pytannja humanitarnyh nauk*. Vyp. 34. T. 2. S. 27–39. [In Ukrainian].

Karjagyn, V. 1994. Dyplomatycheskaja zhyzn' za kulysamy y na scene. [Diplomatic Life behind the Scenes and on the Stage]. Moskva: Mezhdunarodnye otnoshenija. 315 s. [In Russian].

Ljadov, P. 2004. Ystoryja rossyjskogo protokola. [History of Russian Protocol]. Moskva: Mezhdunarodnye otnoshenija. 2004. 280 s. [In Russian].

Molochkov, F. 1977. Dyplomatycheskyj protokol y dyplomatycheskaja praktyka. [Diplomatic Protocol and Diplomatic Practice]. Moskva: Mezhdunarodnye otnoshenija, 1977. 248 s. [In Russian].

Cherchill, U. 1954. Vtoraja myrovaja vojna. [The Second World War]. V 6 t. T. 4. M. 1954. 584 s. [In Russian].

Sahaidak, O. P. 2006. Dyplomatychnyi protokol ta etyket [Diplomatic Protocol and Etiquette]. Navchalny posibnyk. Kyiv: Znannia. [In Ukrainian].

Suhodrev, V. 2010. Jazyk moj — drug moj. Ot Hrushhova do Gorbacheva. [My tongue is my friend. From Khrushchev to Gorbachev]. *Vestnik Moskovskogo universiteta*. Seriya 22. Teoriya perevoda. № 2. S. 100–111. [In Russian].

Zakharova, O. 2020a. The Regulatory Framework of the Soviet Diplomatic Protocol. History of Formation. *Krakowskie Studia Malopolskie*. № 2 (26). P. 150–163. [In English].

Zakharova, O. 2020b. Diplomatic Counterculture as a Tool of the Soviet Foreign Policy. *Krakowskie Studia Malopolskie*. 2020. № 3 (27). P. 7–21. [In English].