WAR SPEECHES I

Volodymyr Zelenskyy

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February — March 2022

LMVERLAG 2022

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On the unity of Ukrainian society 14 February 2022—20:53

Great people of a great country!

I am addressing you at this tense moment.

Our state is facing serious external and internal challenges that require responsibility, confidence, and concrete actions from me and each of us.

We are being intimidated by the great war and the date of the military invasion is being set again. This is not the first time.

The war against us is being systematically waged on all fronts. On the military one, they increase the contingent around the border. On the diplomatic one, they are trying to deprive us of the right to determine our own foreign policy course. On the energy one, they limit the supply of gas, electricity, and coal. On the information one, they seek to spread panic among citizens and investors through the media.

But our state today is stronger than ever.

This is not the first threat that the strong Ukrainian people have faced. Two years ago, we, like the rest of the world, looked confused in the eyes of the pandemic. However, we united and with clear systemic steps practically defeated it. In this difficult time, the strong Ukrainian people have shown their best qualities—unity and the will to win.

Unlike the pandemic two years ago, today we clearly understand all the challenges we face and what to do about them. We are confident, but not self-confident. We understand all the risks. We are constantly monitoring the situation, working out different scenarios, preparing decent responses to all possible aggressive actions. We know exactly where the foreign army is near our borders, its numbers, its locations, its equipment, and its plans.

We have something to respond with. We have a great army. Our guys have unique combat experience and modern weapons. This is an army many times stronger than eight years ago.

Along with the army, Ukrainian diplomacy is at the forefront of defending our interests. We have managed to gain diplomatic support from almost all leaders of the civilized world. Most of them have either already visited and supported Ukraine or will do so in the near future. Today, everyone recognizes that the security of Europe and the entire continent depends on Ukraine and its army.

We want peace and we want to resolve all issues exclusively through negotiations. Both Donbas and Crimea will return to Ukraine. Exclusively through diplomacy. We do not encroach on what's not ours, but we will not give up our land.

We are confident in our Armed Forces, but our military must also feel our support, our cohesion, and our unity. The foothold of our army is the confidence of their own people and a strong economy.

We have formed sufficient reserves to repel attacks on the hryvnia exchange rate and our financial system. We will not ignore any industry that will need government support. As it happened the other day with airlines. And evidence of this is a stable hryvnia exchange rate and open skies.

An important front of defence is the objective coverage of the situation by the domestic media. And now I want to address our Ukrainian journalists. Some of you sometimes have to perform the tasks of media owners. Most of them have already fled their own country.

Work for Ukraine, not for those who fled. The fate of the country today depends on your honest position.

And now I want to address not those who stayed with Ukraine and in Ukraine, but those who left it at the most cru-

cial moment. Your strength is not in your money and planes, but in the civic position you can show. Return to your people and the country due to which you got your factories and wealth. Today, everyone passes a real test for a citizen of Ukraine. Pass it with dignity. Let everyone understand for whom Ukraine is really the Homeland, and for whom it is just a platform for money making.

I address separately all representatives of the state: civil servants, people's deputies of all levels who have fled the country or plan to do so. The people of Ukraine have entrusted you not only to govern the state, but also to protect it. It is your direct duty in this situation to be with us, with the Ukrainian people. I urge you to return to your homeland within 24 hours and stand side by side with the Ukrainian army, diplomacy, and people!

We are told that February 16 will be the day of the attack. We will make it the Day of Unity. The relevant decree has already been signed. On this day, we will hoist national flags, put on blue and yellow ribbons and show the world our unity.

We have one great European aspiration. We want freedom and are ready to fight for it. 14,000 defenders and civilians killed in this war are watching us from the sky. And we will not betray their memory.

We all want to live happily, and happiness loves the strong ones. We have never known what it is to give up and we are not going to learn that.

Today is not just Valentine's Day. It is the day of those in love with Ukraine. We believe in our own strength and continue to build our future together. Because we are united by love for Ukraine, united and unique. And love will win. Yes, now you may think it's darkness all around. But tomorrow the sun will rise again over our peaceful sky.

Love Ukraine!

We are calm! We are strong! We are together! Great people of a great country.

Speech at the 58th Munich Security Conference 19 February 2022—18:14

Ukraine wants peace. Europe wants peace. The world says it doesn't want to fight, and Russia says it doesn't want to attack. Someone is lying. This is not an axiom, but it is no longer a hypothesis.

Ladies and Gentlemen!

Two days ago, I was in Donbas, on the delimitation line. Legally—between Ukraine and the temporarily occupied territories. In fact, the delimitation line between peace and war. Where on the one side there is a kindergarten, and on the other side there is a projectile that hit it. On the one side there is a school, on the other side there is a projectile hitting the school yard.

And next to it there are 30 children who go... no, not to NATO, but to school. Someone has physics classes. Knowing its basic laws, even children understand how absurd the statements that the shelling is carried out by Ukraine sound.

Someone has math classes. Children can calculate the difference between the number of shelling occasions in these three days and the occasions of mentioning Ukraine in this year's Munich Security Report without a calculator.

And someone has history classes. And when a bomb crater appears in the school yard, children have a question: has the world forgotten its mistakes of the XX century?

What do attempts at appeasement lead to? As the question "Why die for Danzig?" turned into the need to die for Dunkirk and dozens of other cities in Europe and the world. At the cost of tens of millions of lives.

These are terrible lessons of history. I just want to make

sure you and I read the same books. Hence, we have the same understanding of the answer to the main question: how did it happen that in the XXI century, Europe is at war again and people are dying? Why does it last longer than World War II? How did we get to the biggest security crisis since the Cold War? For me, as the President of a country that has lost part of the territory, thousands of people and on whose borders, there are now 150,000 Russian troops, equipment and heavy weapons, the answer is obvious.

The architecture of world security is fragile and needs to be updated. The rules that the world agreed on decades ago no longer work. They do not keep up with new threats.

They are not effective for overcoming them. This is a cough syrup when you need a coronavirus vaccine. The security system is slow. It crashes again. Because of different things: selfishness, self-confidence, irresponsibility of states at the global level. As a result, we have crimes of some and indifference of others. Indifference that makes you an accomplice. It is symbolic that I am talking about this right here. It was here 15 years ago that Russia announced its intention to challenge global security. What did the world say? Appeasement. Result? At least—the annexation of Crimea and aggression against my state.

The UN, which is supposed to defend peace and world security, cannot defend itself. When its Charter is violated. When one of the members of the UN Security Council annexes the territory of one of the founding members of the UN. And the UN itself ignores the Crimea Platform, the goal of which is to de-occupy Crimea peacefully and protect the rights of Crimean's.

Three years ago, it was here that Angela Merkel said: "Who will pick up the wreckage of the world order? Only all of us, together." The audience gave a standing ovation.

But unfortunately, the collective applause did not grow into collective action. And now, when the world is talking about