

From Periphery to Centre: Ukraine's European Union Candidacy in the Shadow of War

Analysis of President Volodymyr Zelensky's Discursive Role
Claim of Ukraine as a Rightful European Union Candidate
Country and the European Union's Reaction



LUNDS
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May 2023
Master Thesis
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Abstract

The full-scale Russian invasion fundamentally changed the context of the Ukraine-EU relationship and moved Ukraine closer to its European partners, culminating with candidate status in June 2022. This move is addressed within this thesis by looking into how President Zelensky used his speeches to claim the role of Ukraine as a rightful EU candidate and how the EU responded to this role claim before acknowledging Ukraine as an EU candidate. The thesis applies a five-step analytical approach that combines elements from critical discourse analysis and interactionist role theory to capture the discourse created by Zelensky to claim this specific role and how the EU interacts with that claim and discourse. The thesis suggests that Zelensky uses various rhetorical instruments to create this discourse, which enable him to successfully claim the role of Ukraine as a rightful EU candidate. Whilst the EU utilises its existing enlargement discourse with focus on criteria and conditions when interacting with Ukraine's application in public, traces can be seen of Zelensky's discourse and argumentation. This reveals the strength of Zelensky's role claim and discourse, but also how established the EU's discourse on enlargement is. The thesis thus contributes to the existing literature on the Ukraine-EU relationship from an Ukrainian perspective, but also the greater literature on enlargement.

Key words: Ukraine-EU relationship, Volodymyr Zelensky, enlargement, interactionist role theory, critical discourse analysis

Words: 19.997 words

Acknowledgements

This thesis is dedicated to my grandmother, who supported me and always encouraged me to seize all opportunities. I want to thank my family and friends, who have been an invaluable support in the process and helped me during my ups and downs. A special thanks is extended to my advisor, Ketevan Bolkvadze, and my seminar group for their valuable comments and constructive feedback over the past months. I also want to extend a special thanks to Ted Svensson for taking the time to help me overcome some of the theoretical and methodological challenges. Furthermore, I want to thank past professors and colleagues, whose guidance and support have enabled me to reach this stage and in various ways have inspired me for this project.

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1 Introduction

“I say this as frankly as possible now: the people of Ukraine have already earned and have the right to become a member of the European Union” (Zelensky, 26 February, 2022; Appendix 4).

When President Zelensky first mentioned European Union (EU) membership as a reward for Ukraine’s resistance to the Russian invaders on 26 February, EU candidacy for Ukraine was still seen as unrealistic in relation to the Copenhagen Criteria, the EU’s holy accession book. When Ukraine officially applied for EU membership two days later, it emerged as a concrete request to make a long-lasting desire of the country reality rather than an unattainable dream. Zelensky has since used both his daily speeches and speeches directed to EU leaders and EU member states to claim Ukraine’s role as a rightful EU candidate and one that quite literally fights for the EU’s fundamental values in the trenches and battlefields around the country. It is the first time that a country applies for EU membership amid a full-scale invasion and armed struggle on its own territory, but it is furthermore also a rare example of a president and country that, despite previous rejections of EU membership in the near future (e.g. Radio Free Europe, 2016) or the country’s ability to meet the established criteria, actively and directly says to EU leaders and member states that it should be considered on a different basis than previously. Seen from the outside, this does change the picture of EU enlargement and membership and the relationship between applicant and adjudicator. Furthermore, it shows how an extraordinary situation potentially can change an applicant’s position in relation to the EU and how appearance and arguments can be altered. It does present a different situation and rhetoric that the EU must respond to and interact with as a direct consequence of Ukraine’s application and Zelensky’s continuous appearance.

This thesis ruminates from the puzzle on how Ukraine in just four months moved from being an unrealistic candidate to become an official EU candidate, where the country was fighting back against the Russian full-scale invasion. It is also born out of curiosity on how a president of a country that had been perceived as on the periphery of Europe became an household name

throughout Europe and a symbol for Ukraine's determination to protect the sovereignty and freedom of its people. This thesis intends to delve further into these questions and aims at providing an increased understanding of how President Zelensky continuously nurtures Ukraine's claim through his active use of political speeches as a platform, but also to see how the EU interacts with this claim over time before acknowledging Ukraine as an official EU candidate on 24 June 2022, something that would have been unthinkable just months before. It happens in a context of war that in itself is without precedent, but also an Ukraine-EU relationship that has been very close since the Revolution of Dignity (also known as Euromaidan) and the Association Agreement (AA). It will also be possible, with the help of previous literature, to see how the problematic situation posed by the full-scale invasion made Ukraine re-imagine its own role and change stroke for its utterances regarding the European perspective that it has repeatedly aimed for. To achieve this, I will use Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Interactionist Role Theory (IRT) to be able to dig deeper into the language of Zelensky, but also the EU's reaction. Before describing this further, it is necessary to spell out the research questions and aim.

1.1 Research Questions and Aim

The research questions provide direction for the project and thereby creates certain bounds. The questions have the purpose of enabling a study into the actual rhetoric of Zelensky and how he connects Ukraine's fight to the dream of EU membership. The nature of EU enlargement prescribes a significant role for the EU itself, calling for a sub-component looking into the reaction of the EU to this discourse. It has resulted in the following research questions:

- *How has President Zelensky used his speeches since the full-scale invasion to claim the role of Ukraine as a rightful EU candidate?*
- *How did the EU interact with President Zelensky's discourse before acknowledging Ukraine as an official candidate?*

The research questions are both comprehensive in their nature, but I will put more emphasis on the first question, while the latter has the purpose of providing a broader perspective. I will use a thorough five-step analytical approach, inspired by CDA and IRT, that will enable me to

answer the two research questions, where the focus is on Zelensky's speeches and the discourse he applies to claim the role for Ukraine. The EU dimension is captured through the interaction with the discourse but will be less comprehensive. This thesis wants to adjust the lens slightly and examine the relationship from an Ukrainian perspective, unlike the majority of the literature, and instead investigate how the EU reacts to Ukraine's actions. The two research questions open for further questions that will also be part of the thesis. As a consequence of the CDA origins, the approach will allow for a wider perspective on Zelensky's discourse and its relation to previous discourses by Ukrainian leaders and a broader enlargement discourse. Furthermore, it will be possible to examine whether the discourse and the EU's interaction with it reveal a change in the power relationship between Ukraine and the EU, which will be of aid when assessing the role claim. In the same vein, it will be possible to see if traces of Zelensky's discourse can be seen in the rhetoric of the European Commission (Commission) and European Council (EC) Presidents. The general aim of the study is to contribute to the discussion on Zelensky's role in Ukraine's accession process and how the EU responded to an extraordinary membership application, but not provide a complete explanation. It will thus be a thesis focusing on the applicant's perspective rather than the EU's, which adds academic significance. My expectation is that Zelensky uses his discourse actively to claim the role as a rightful EU candidate, but that the EU applies its well-established enlargement discourse when interacting publicly with Ukraine's request.

This thesis is structured as follows. First, I will provide the general background to create a basis. Second, my literature review will place the project in an academic context and scrutinise the existing literature to show how my approach fits in. Third, I will cover the theories that my thesis is based on and how they provide my analytical direction. Hereafter, I will present my five-step analytical approach that combines CDA and IRT before moving on to the analysis, where I will use that approach to analyse my material. The framework composes the structure of the analysis, where I in chapter six will present my main findings. My study suggests that Zelensky actively uses his discourse to claim the role as rightful EU candidate, utilising various rhetorical instruments such as metaphors, but that the EU retain its established enlargement discourse albeit with traces of Zelensky's discourse.

2 Background

The background creates a basis for some of the key themes and a steppingstone for the literature review. It will situate the Ukraine-EU relationship, track Zelensky's path to power, the Ukrainian context and EU enlargement as a process.

2.1 The Ukraine-EU Relationship

The Ukraine-EU relationship dates back to the first days of independent Ukraine and from very early on, Ukraine expressed desires to join the EU along other post-communist states in Central and Eastern Europe. However, Ukraine's European dream received a lukewarm reception in Brussels and the EU has kept the country's membership aspirations at an arm's length, despite changing presidents' public expressions of the need for a European perspective for Ukraine. The Orange Revolution in 2004 and the Revolution of Dignity in 2013/14 were in different ways connected to Ukraine's position in relation to the EU and the desire to move closer to the EU. In the aftermath of the Orange Revolution, the Ukrainian leadership wanted to take advantage of the positive image that the country had obtained to move closer to EU membership and "jump on the departing train of EU enlargement" with the Eastern enlargement. However, especially the Commission was reluctant to give Ukraine any membership prospects (Plokhly, 2021: 333-335). The Revolution of Dignity was connected to the EU, as the protests in Kyiv were a result of then President Yanukovich's refusal to sign a long-negotiated AA with the EU and thereby to tie Ukraine closer to the EU (Plokhly, 2021: 338-340). The AA was later signed and has since formed the relationship, but the lack of a clear European prospective has been conspicuous with its absence and impacted the EU's leverage in Ukraine (Plokhly, 2021: 347-349; Maass, 2019: 7). The support for EU membership has not disappeared, quite the opposite. During Zelensky's term, it has increased and measured to 69% just before the full-scale invasion (Onuch and Hale, 2022: 232, 313). This thesis therefore examines a desire and topic that have been key in Ukrainian politics since its independence, but also one that on 26 February

was expressed in very different circumstances and phrases by a leader dressed in khaki green uniform rather than a navy-blue suit.

2.2 The Comedian that became the Symbol of Ukrainian Resistance

A new chapter began in 2019, when Ukrainian went to the polls for the second time since the Revolution of Dignity and elected a president they knew from their TV and thereby connected the world of fiction with reality. Volodymyr Zelensky was elected the 6th President of Ukraine and despite doubts about his commitments to continuing European integration, he affirmed his support for the EU by paying his first visit to Brussels and met with the EC President Donald Tusk (European Council, 2019). Zelensky was elected on his own platform that carried the same name as the series ‘Servant of the People’ where he played an idealistic president, and he surprisingly and astonishingly won both the presidential and the later parliamentary election, for the first time in history. The high hopes for the new presidency and government were not fulfilled, and questions regarding corruption and rule of law remained top concerns for the Ukrainian public and its international partners, including the EU (Reid, 2023: 293-296). Zelensky had therefore experienced unprecedented popularity during his campaign, but these hopes changed during the first years of his presidency, which has been a topic for academic research that will be scrutinised in the literature review. Importantly, Zelensky was at the time of the invasion the most popular politician in the country, which ended up being a crucial platform for his leadership. This popularity grew significantly after the full-scale invasion and Ukrainians united behind his leadership (Plokyh, 2023: 211-212). Zelensky appeared to be the man of the moment and represented modern Ukraine in the first months of the war through his clear communication both to the Ukrainian public and a global audience. Researchers talked about the concept of ‘the Zelensky Effect’ (Onuch and Hale, 2022). It makes Zelensky a perfect angle to analyse from to better understand the Ukrainian response.

2.3 Ukraine in an Extraordinary Context

War has been part of life in Ukraine since the Russian annexation of Crimea in 2014 and the conflict in Donbas, but the Russian full-scale invasion of Ukraine changed the picture fundamentally. It threatened the independence of Ukraine, but also challenged the geopolitical landscape in Europe. President Zelensky made clear from the beginning that his government and the Ukrainian people would not give up, and he allegedly responded “The fight is here; I need ammunition, not a ride” to offers on evacuation, which has since underpinned Zelensky’s appearance and popularity as wartime leader (Onuch and Hale, 2022: 241-243). The EU responded very quickly and has since stood united. It has adopted policies to support Ukraine and sanctions against Russia, which have been repeated. The EU took the decision to acknowledge Ukraine together with Moldova as an official EU candidate after some hesitation (Plokhy, 2023: 305-308, 329). This decision is the focal point for this thesis, but from the perspective of Ukraine and Zelensky’s official interpretation of the process and decision.

2.4 EU Enlargement: A Rigid Process?

EU enlargement has been upheld as one of the most successful foreign policy tools. The enlargement process has since 1993 been guided by the so-called Copenhagen Criteria, which states that a candidate should respect the EU’s fundamental values and norms, have a market economy and be able to take on the legal obligations of EU membership, including adopting the whole *acquis* (European Council, 1993; Keukeleire and Delreux, 2022; 228-233). Conditionality is therefore the key to understand the accession process because the conditions need to be met for the process to succeed and additional conditions have been added, including the EU’s absorption capacity and specific requirements for the individual candidates. The Commission plays a crucial role because it evaluates a candidate’s progress and recommends the European Council to grant candidate status, open the negotiations and later complete the negotiations. However, the EC and the Council of the EU (Council) stand out because it is here that the decisions on the progress and finalisation are made, giving the member states significant influence. The European Parliament (EP) plays a role too, but it is rather limited compared to the two other institutions. Enlargement has been challenged in recent years by a degree of

‘enlargement fatigue’ that has impacted the appetite for welcoming new members into the EU. It is partly based on the democratic backsliding that has occurred in some countries and the rigidity of the process, which have impacted the EU’s credibility in its relations with the neighbourhood, in particular the Western Balkans (Keukeleire and Delreux, 2022: 228-233, 274-277). The Commission has reformed its approach to solve the credibility issue and to ensure more political control over the process (Petrovic and Tzifakis, 2021: 162). It means that the fundamental chapters will be opened first and closed last to address concerns regarding their longevity beyond accession, but also make the process more dynamic and flexible (European Commission, 2020).

3 Literature Review

This section will continue from the background and through the existing literature critically examine what has already been done. The first three sub-sections compose the main strands of the thesis, while the fourth section will situate the thesis and how it can contribute to fill out an existing gap. CDA and IRT have been used widely in the literature and will not be covered separately, but rather weaved into the sections.

3.1 EU Membership and Enlargement

As noted in the background section, the EU has undergone various enlargement rounds and it has been argued to be one of the most successful foreign policy tools. Hence, it is no surprise that a vast number of studies and research have accumulated over the years, particularly drawing attention to the ‘big bang’ enlargement of 2004 and 2007. Kollias and Messis (2022) have pointed towards the current and potential candidates and that there is a low degree of convergence towards the Copenhagen Criteria. It is important for this thesis because it can influence the EU institutions’ willingness to give candidate status to additional countries. The discourse on enlargement after the experience in 2004 and 2007 has changed away from optimism to a more conditional and hesitant approach (Wunsch and Olszewska, 2022). This has especially impacted the current Western Balkan candidates and potential candidates, where Lika (2023) argues that ‘Western Balkans’ as a social construct actively used to exclude these countries from the EU rather than including them. The idea of ‘Eastness’ has functioned in a similar way to define who can be inside of the EU and those who cannot (Kuus, 2017). Looking back at the ‘big bang’ enlargement, a certain discourse and range of emotions were present in the communication from the EU institutions. These included a degree of solidarity, shared values, and the unification of Europe, which have been absent regarding the Western Balkans despite sporadic efforts of the Commission (Terzi 2021). Ukraine has been seen as far from meeting the criteria to become candidate (Lavrelashvili and van Hecke, 2019), and exemplifies how the EU has pursued an ‘integration without membership’ approach to its Eastern

neighbourhood with emphasis on a technocratic role for the EU (Rabinovych, 2021). These studies show that discourses have been used to make sense of enlargement and form the process, but also how certain emotions strengthen the EU's commitment to enlargement. It points in a direction for this project to see how Ukraine itself makes sense of its situation and the part the enlargement can play, but also to scrutinise how the EU engages with that path and whether these emotions can be tracked.

3.2 The Ukraine-EU Relationship

The literature on Ukraine in recent years has to a great degree been through an EU focused lens and how its external policy towards Ukraine has been an attempt to exercise normative power and external influence with limited success, but also ready to compromise with its ideals to pull Ukraine closer (e.g., Bengtsson and Elgström, 2011; 2012; Kubicek, 2017; Smith, 2014; Skolimowska, 2015). The war since 2014, the AA and the Revolution of Dignity have all worked as starting points for the academic debate and how these have influenced the EU-Ukraine relationship as well as the Ukraine-Russian relationship (e.g., Menon and Rumer, 2015; Haukkala, 2018; Veebel, 2019; Chaban and Elgström, 2021). Elgström and Chaban (2018) shows through role theory how the EU has portrayed itself in very positive terms and as a 'partner' to Ukraine, while Duleba's (2022) research of the AA shows that it is based on a very asymmetrical relationship in favour of the EU despite its comprehensive nature. This thesis will seek to take a different path and instead focus on the relationship through Zelensky's eyes and how Ukraine's standing in relation to the EU and its membership longings are articulated. Various studies have touched upon how Ukraine has positioned itself to the EU and the West in general. Similar to Central and Eastern European countries in the 1990s prior to their EU accession, historical narratives have actively been used to strengthen Ukraine's connection to the West (Klymenko, 2020). The EU has been presented positively in both media and by changing politicians since the Orange Revolution until the Revolution of Dignity, but the lack of membership prospect has impacted the public's view on the EU negatively (Thomson, 2019).

Naturally, the full-scale invasion changed the nature of the relationship and made the EU's role even more crucial. Research suggests that the AA, together with the Eastern Partnership (Tsybulenko and Pakhomenko, 2016), was used to curb membership ambitions for Ukraine and

maintain the country as a close ally (Dimitrova and Dragneva, 2022). However, the unique and terrible context of war changed that when the EU recognised Ukraine as an official candidate country, which could pose a potential ‘tectonic shift’ to the EU’s enlargement approach, if Ukraine undergoes ‘accession through war’ (Hillion and Petrov, 2022). It happened after some hesitation and marked a new stage in the country’s European integration (Khalabuzar, 2023). However, the actual impact has been questioned and the candidate status does not necessarily bring Ukraine closer to membership and can be compared to the declaration to the Western Balkan countries in 2003 in Thessaloniki (Lippert, 2022). The thesis will not be able to fill these gaps on its own, but rather contribute to the developing body of literature assessing the consequences of the full-scale invasion.

3.3 President Zelensky as Populist and Wartime Leader

Zelensky is the focus of this thesis, and the background section introduced his change from comedian to politician. He has been a subject for academic research with particular focus on his successful 2019 campaign and unusual rise to power. It has been seen as an example of anti-polarisation populism and that his focus was on anti-corruption and the role of the elite, rather than questions about the EU and the legacy of the Revolution of Dignity. His speeches were used to reach these conclusions (Ash and Shapolov, 2022). Technocratic populism has also been used to capture Zelensky and his approach, as he on the one hand has placed himself as an outsider representing the people, but on the other hand included experts to tackle the larger issues. His own ideology and connection with the people worked as the compass, whereas his rhetoric had a unifying dimension with focus on bringing normality to Ukraine (Viedrov, 2022). Others have reached similar conclusions, but also pointed to the consistency in his support for European integration and thereby a continuation from former presidents in his pro-EU focus (Liubchenko et al, 2021). Researchers have also examined Zelensky’s effective communication during the beginning of the full-scale invasion, both to Ukrainians and the global audience. Zelensky has used similar tools as in his 2019 campaign, presenting himself as an ordinary Ukrainian and showing how he works for the common good of the country presented in a direct and simple language. He has also effectively connected to international audiences and through targeted appearances and the use of Ukraine’s and other countries’ history successfully rallied

international support (Dyczok and Chung, 2022). Ukraine's use of a rights-based discourse directed to the EU has been emphasised as crucial in gaining the EU's attention and to mobilise the extraordinary support after the invasion, culminating with the membership prospect (Bosse, 2022). Kaneva (2022) shows through CDA that the official 'Brave Like Ukraine' in a similar manner creates moral authority in order to be better positioned to receive support from the West. This thesis will examine whether the discourse by Zelensky regarding EU membership did create a similar moral authority in relation to the EU to form the manoeuvre room for the EU. Onuch and Hale (2022) has captured Zelensky's role and appearance through 'the Zelensky Effect' and the concept captures how Zelensky is evidence of a growing civic national identity in Ukraine and how democracy and European integration play a key role in this. Zelensky is therefore seen as the embodiment of the regular Ukrainian population and of an approach different from the more traditional politics in Ukraine since independence. Their argument is backed up by a comprehensive foundation of data and analysis of speeches and other key material.

3.4 What is missing?

The full-scale invasion is still on-going, and it continues to have a significant impact on Ukraine and its civilian population as well as the EU and the EU-Ukraine relationship and in-depth research about the consequences of the invasion is thus still to a great degree missing. The thesis will therefore contribute to research on the on-going full-scale invasion and its impact by focusing on the official speeches by the country's wartime president and how it is an articulation of a claim to a particular role in the first months of the full-scale invasion. The context does pose a 'problematic situation' and one where roles can be 're-imagined', which Harnisch (2012) has called for further research on. Unlike most studies on EU enlargement and EU membership applications, this study will alter the focus to be on the applicant and not the adjudicator (the EU) as the critical situation completely changes the context and positions of the EU and Ukraine in these roles. Furthermore, the thesis will utilise a framework built on CDA and IRT with constructivism as the liaison, which holds great potential that can pave the way for further studies taking advantage of these approaches. This thesis does not claim to fill out these gaps single handily, but rather contribute to a greater understanding of how the Russian invasion has

shaped Ukraine's positioning and role claim in relation to the EU and its ultimate goal of EU membership.

4 Theoretical Framework and Analytical Basis

Theory is the backbone of any project, and it is here made of CDA and IRT connected through a constructivist understanding. In this project, the theories are seen as tools to ‘translate’ the analysed material and uncover the assumptions behind (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002: 197). The theories are heavily intertwined with the actual analytical approach and methodology, making it difficult to separate theory from practice. The two theoretical building blocks will therefore both be discussed separately, each followed by a practical sub-section on the actual use of it. At the end of the section, I will reason *why* I have decided to connect these two and why it is doable in a project like this, before the next chapter will present my approach.

4.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

4.1.1 Critical Discourse Analysis from a Theoretical Perspective – Discourse and Social Practice

CDA captures a whole field within discourse analysis, but I will use Fairclough’s approach, as outlined in Jørgensen and Phillips (2002), as my point of departure. It will be altered so it can be combined with IRT, both theoretically and for the analytical approach. CDA is critical and emanates from the understanding that ‘discourse functions ideologically’. Research should not be ‘politically neutral’, but critical and uncover the relations in society and their impact on weaker parts of society (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002: 63-64). My approach to the critical dimension will rather be that the findings here will be a contribution to the public and scientific debate, and one perspective among many potential perspectives (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002: 181, 203-208). In the context of this thesis’ research aim, the critical dimension is to see *how* the President of Ukraine in a context of war approaches the question of EU membership in

relation to the on-going struggle for his country and how the EU interacts, in a setting very far from the technocratic and institutional process of ‘normal’ EU enlargement and accession.

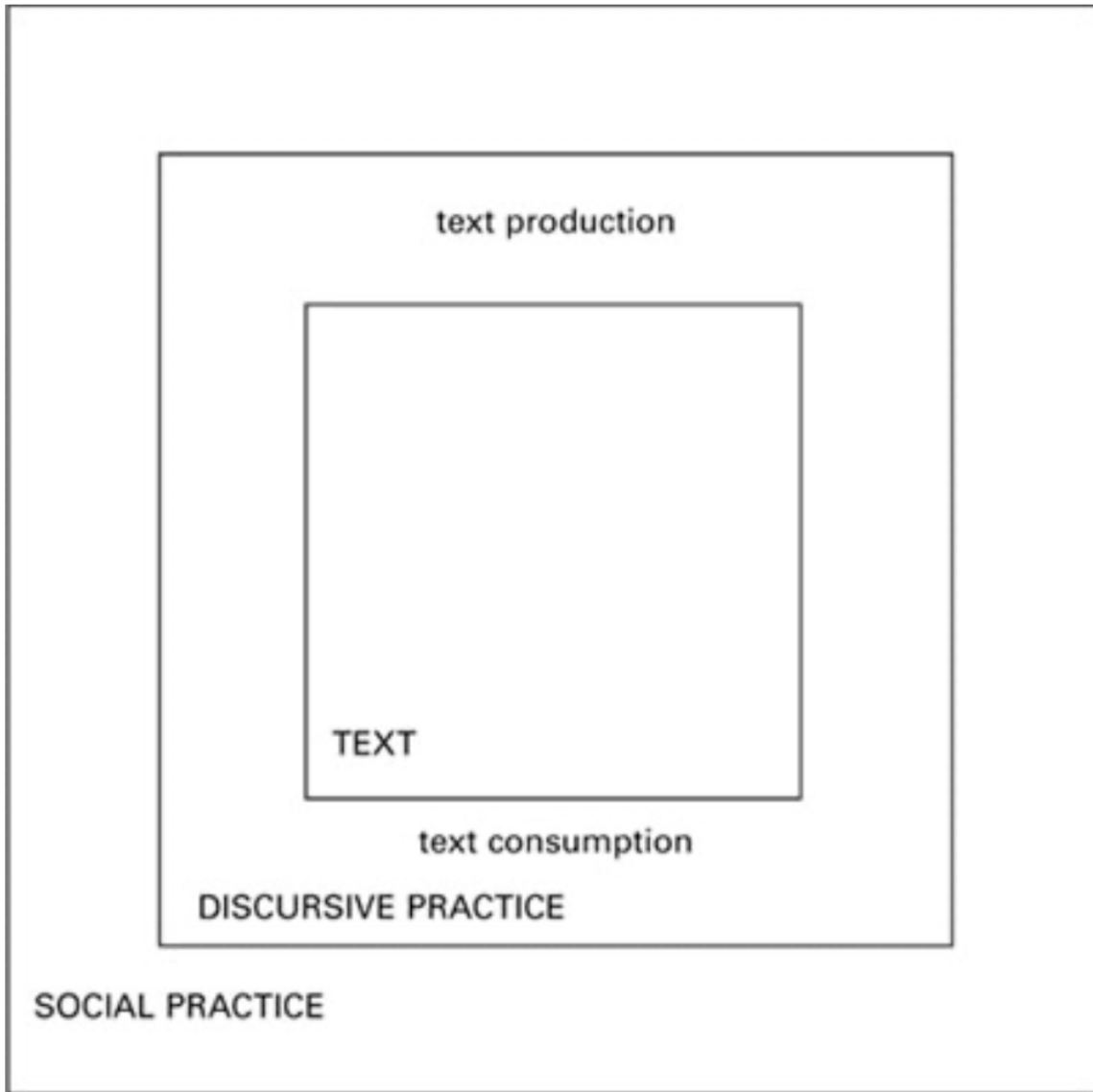


Figure 1: Fairclough's three dimensions of each communicative event that has inspired my approach. From Jørgensen and Phillips (2002: 68).

In this approach, *discourse* is seen as a *social practice*, which is used within a certain field. In concrete terms, discourse is "... a way of speaking which gives meaning to experience from a particular perspective" (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002: 66-67). In CDA, discourse is both seen as *constitutive* and *constituted*, meaning that it both helps create social structures in society, but also shows them through discourse. Discourse is therefore itself seen as a social practice that acts *dialectical* with other social dimensions, because discourse is not the sole social practice

(Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002: 61). The thesis wants to uncover how Zelensky understands Ukraine's position in relation to the EU and the long-established aim of complete European integration in the context of the full-scale invasion. Discourse is crucial for the construction and development of identity, relations with other actors and to create specific meanings. For this project, the discourse focus allows to uncover what role identity Zelensky creates for Ukraine's position in Europe, the relationship to the EU as a whole and how it is used to provide a sense of meaning to the struggle against Russia. A communicative event has three dimensions that will inform the analytical framework. It is the 'text' itself, here the speeches, the discursive practice (how it is both produced and received) and the social practice, which is connected to roles (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002: 66-68; see figure 1). The aim for the use of CDA is to examine and uncover the link between what is directly said by Zelensky in his speeches and the role that Ukraine claims in relation to the EU and European integration, thereby linking discourse and social practice. However, before moving on we need to dig a level deeper within the grounds of CDA to understand the actual use of it.

4.1.2 Critical Discourse Analysis in Practice

The above lays out some of the general principles of CDA, but the various terms and tools still need to be laid out and defined, which I will do with Jørgensen and Phillips (2002: 60-95) as the initial point. The *discursive practice* captures how the speech is produced and received by the audience. Every speech comprises separate *communicative events* and are therefore speeches in their own rights, however, I will scrutinise how they are connected. It will be done by analysing the *intertextuality*, where I want to see how the speeches are drawing on each other, but also with the help of secondary literature whether it draws on material prior to the time span in focus. *Interdiscursivity* will also be included to see how the discourses draw on previous discourses from the same *genre* and *order of discourse*, or others. *Genre* is 'particular usage of language', while *order of discourse* is the constellation of different discourses within a particular institution or field. Hence, when analysing the discursive practice of the speeches, the aim is to uncover how they are made and received by looking at how they draw on each other and former texts' discourses.

For Fairclough's CDA, a linguistic inspired analysis of the text is the next step and I have selected some of them. It is therefore only a fraction of the available tools to make sense of a

text and is a conscious choice of me as a researcher because these instruments will support me in answering the research question and provide a basis for the role dimension. *Interactional control* examines the position of the speakers and who is able to set the agenda, which helps uncover the social relations and power relationship (Fairclough 1992: 152). Related to this is the idea of *topic control* and the ability to *set* and *control* the agenda (Fairclough, 1992: 154-157). The ability to choose the topic and ensure that this is what is discussed is important to set the agenda and ensure that this agenda is followed. *Formulation* is a way to police the agenda because it is how a discourse is used to define and decide what is talked about (Fairclough, 1992: 157-158). *Modality* covers the establishment of truth and how committed a speaker is to the discourse (Fairclough, 1992: 158-162). Politicians use that to appear convincing and stand behind what they say (Charteris-Black, 2011: 9-10). It will be uncovered by focusing on the words and expressions used to establish the discourse. *Ethos* is the way that identity is created by the use of language (Fairclough, 1992: 166-167).

Another thing I will look for is *transivity*, which is understood as the ‘ideational grammar’ and uncovers the meaning of the grammar and process envisioned through the grammar. Here, I will look for the *relational*, where words are used to create a relationship to other actors, and the *action process*, where an aim is made (Fairclough, 1992: 178-181). *Metaphor* is a commonly used element in speeches, and it is the use of specific words or expressions common within some genres that are then used in a different context to structure reality in a specific way (Fairclough, 1992: 194-198). It can be used “... to frame how we view or understand political issues by eliminating alternative points of view” (Charteris-Black, 2011: 32).

Persuasion is a way for actors to bring new ideas or perspectives into the arena and persuade others to accept these ideas, either through the actor’s qualities, the alluring qualities of the idea or that it is suitable to existing norms or ideas (Parsons, 2018: 86). Charteris-Black (2011; 2014: 93-99) provides a useful framework, where up to five elements compose a persuasion attempt in a speech. First, it is about ‘establishing integrity’ through *ethos* and showing the audience that the speaker has the ‘right intentions’, either by knowledge, values or similar. Subsequently, a speaker needs to ‘think right’ through *logos* and the use of coherent and backed up arguments. Thirdly, a degree of emotional impact through *pathos* is required to ‘sound right’, but here rhetorical and presentation skills are also key.

A story needs to be told and it is important it is done in an effective way that is in sync with the audience's view of the world and use frames, metaphors, myths and the like to create this story and impact a group's perspective on the world (Charteris-Black 2011: 24-25). Finally, the speaker needs to 'look right' and here the focus is on how the speaker appear in connection with the message (Charteris-Black, 2014: 93-99). These five ingredients of persuasion are very useful for the thesis and will be included as part of the CDA inspired approach to the analysis. In general, CDA is flexible and fluid regarding its sub-components, but I have chosen to bring out some clarity on how they should be understood. Still, the inherent lack of clarity is part of CDA and makes it both an attractive and challenging approach to use.

4.2 Interactionist Role Theory

4.2.1 Role Theory – Identity, Claims and Interaction

The last component of the theoretical framework is the idea of roles and that actors can 'claim' roles through their rhetoric, which then become real through the interaction with other actors. Le Prestre (1997: 5) has argued that an actor's role in international relations "...reflects a claim on the international system, a recognition by international actors, and a conception of national identity". The focal point for me is that claims come before a consolidated role and that is why I focus on Zelensky's discourse and appearance because this is a token of the role that he claims for Ukraine. For the purpose of this thesis, a role is understood as a social position with both internal and external expectations. It is thus closely related to other widely used definitions (Harnisch, 2011a: 8), and Wendt's concept of role identity (Wendt, 1999). Interaction is key because here roles meet and are consolidated, as presented by Mead (2015). Wendt describes the process of role identity formation as 'role-taking', which "... involves choosing from among the available representations of the Self who one will be, and thus what interests one intends to pursue, in an interaction" (1999: 329). Rather than 'taking', I am leaning towards Le Prestre and claiming because an actor first sets out its own role that then can be acknowledged through an interaction or rejected by other actors. When claiming a role, it is a result of a process where the actor sees itself through the eyes of other actors, activating the 'Me' part of the 'Self' (Wendt, 1999: 227). The interaction between actors is furthermore part of 'alter-casting', where the actor wants to 'cast' the Significant Other into a role that is beneficial to the actor (Wendt,

1999: 329). ‘Significant Others’ are important because they are in a closer relationship with the actor and is important for the formation of an identity (Harnisch, 2011b: 40). Here, Zelensky’s role claim is a result of a process where Ukraine is seen from an outside perspective and where the aim is to alter-cast the EU (Significant Other) into a role that will benefit Ukraine’s role claim as candidate and potential EU member. Persuasion will be key in this process and a key element in the analysis.

Role formation does not happen out of the blue. One way it can happen is in the event of ‘problematic situations’ where the normal routines are put out of play and role claims appear without those structures (Harnisch, 2011b: 42). It is a very uncertain situation and one where the actor tries to ‘stabilise’ its own role, both through a more creative approach and one where it imagines the reactions by other actors. It opens for a ‘re-imagination’ and thereby positioning it differently through its claim to a role, which can be said to be an opportunity both to be clearer on the role it wants to claim and the position of other actors (Klose, 2018: 1147). In this thesis, the Russian full-scale invasion poses the problematic situation for Ukraine, which opens for a re-imagination of Ukraine’s position and its relationship with the EU, as the Significant Other. That is why I focus on Zelensky’s speeches because that is a medium to claim a role for Ukraine regarding its relationship with the EU and a way to persuade and cast the EU to take a role where it acknowledges this role claim. Furthermore, it is a utilisation of the resources and tools at hand for Ukraine to reach both external and internal audiences. To capture this, I have been inspired by Klose’s three step IRT framework, albeit it was made to primarily capture the EU’s role in relation to its actorness. It is focusing on the EU’s reaction to a problematic situation, how it aims at realising this together with other actors’ reaction before evaluating what consequences it has for the EU and other actors (Klose, 2018: 1149-1150). Despite its different focus, I am confident that a slightly altered framework could be used here to connect the dots from the discourse analysis and put it into the wider social context, as envisioned by CDA.

4.2.2 Interactionist Role Theory in Practice

The project is inspired by the use of role theory and in particular IRT to capture the creation of roles and how interaction impacts their configuration. Klose (2018: 1147-1150) does in his approach to IRT lay out three steps to analyse the process from imagining a role to actually realising a role (or attempting to) for the EU in international affairs. The main element is the

problematic situation that will work as the context of an actor's imagination, or possible re-imagination, of its own role as a reaction to a situation of uncertainty, where established roles can be questioned (Klose, 2019: 429). For Klose, the first step is to analyse the EU's '(re)-imagination' of a role in reaction to a problematic situation, where it seeks to analyse how the different parts of the EU tries to imagine different roles, but also external actors. The second step moves on to examine how the EU tries to realise this in interaction with other actors. When analysing the interaction, the focus is also on how the EU attempts to cast the other actors into particular roles with the resources the actor has or creative use of those resources. The final step is to assess the consequences and implications of the 'role-making process' for the EU and the international structures that the EU is part of. Klose's framework is mainly made to analyse the EU as an actor in global affairs and have been utilised in various projects (Klose, 2018; 2019; 2020), but will here be altered to capture a state actor like Ukraine and to be combined with CDA. The focus will therefore be on the role formation process through discourse and rhetoric and be simpler than the one Klose proposes.

For this project, the problematic situation is the Russian full-scale invasion because it posed a high degree of uncertainty to Ukraine's independence and position in Europe. It impacted the roles that Ukraine claimed and took. I will focus on role claiming and how Ukraine's president claimed a certain role for Ukraine in response to the full-scale invasion. The focus is very much on how the President of Ukraine, as the ultimate representative of Ukraine, through his speeches attempted to claim a role as rightful candidate in response to the war on its own territory against a foreign aggressor. I will not at this stage investigate how the EU tried to cast Ukraine into certain roles, or the internal processes within the Ukrainian bureaucracy or leadership that happened before this role claim. The re-imagination and initial role claim are a way to map out the role claim that was made publicly to both internal and external audiences.

For the second step, I go more in depth with how Zelensky attempts to realise this role claim and persuade the EU to accept it, but also what role Zelensky hopes to cast the EU into. Then it will be possible to see how the EU interacts with Ukraine's role claim and whether it follows Zelensky's approach. The last element for Klose is the implications, which will be combined with elements from CDA. Of course, the implication on the surface is that Ukraine was officially recognised as an EU candidate on 24 June 2022, which also marks the end of my time period. However, when I talk about implications I refer to how the interaction impacts the role claim; does it change, is the EU engaging with Ukraine's role directly and can change be seen

in the EU's discourse on Ukraine's EU accession compared to former discourses? It is therefore not simply to conclude that Ukraine claims a certain role on candidate status that it assumes four months later, but rather the process and the developments regarding the claim and the discourse behind it.

4.3 The Assembly of the Pieces and Prepare for Take-Off

The two main elements are connected through a constructivist view on the world as a social construct, where research can contribute to an understanding of a phenomena or issue, not to uncover causal mechanisms or similar. For me, the focus is to *better* understand Zelensky's speeches in connection to EU membership and how the EU interacts with this discourse until recognising Ukraine as an official candidate. The ontological and epistemological consequences of this will be discussed below. The constructivist basis allows for the inclusion of CDA and role theory because they add to the understanding and breadth of the project, by both focusing on the language used, the context and how it influences the Ukraine-EU relationship. The perspective in the analysis is a result of the theory (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002: 154-155).

CDA allows to go beyond discourse and linguistics and connect it to the wider social context, which, together with the lack of focus on identity (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002: 146), opens for role theory. It can help to understand how Zelensky's discourse is evidence of a claim to a certain role in relation to the EU, which the EU then can interact with. Hence, the thesis does not only examine what Zelensky says and how he says it, but also how it forms Ukraine's relationship to the EU and the desire of EU membership. It is important to underline that in the speeches Zelensky claims various roles and focus on various issues, but this thesis will specifically investigate the role of EU membership. It will be a critical contribution to the debate on Ukraine and EU membership and one among many possible perspectives, built on robust theoretical ground, which opens for an analytical framework that can fulfil the aim of better understanding the discursive connection between Ukraine and EU membership. The validity of the approach relies on the main ingredients for research: that it is solid, comprehensive, and presented in a transparent manner (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002: 173).

5 Methodology and Research Design

This chapter is a continuation from the previous chapter that presented the origins of my approach and will present in concrete terms *how* the analysis will be conducted. It will thus cover the ontology, epistemology, material selection, my analytical approach, the procedure I utilise, and the general limitations. Combined, it comprises my research design.

5.1 Starting Point – Ontology and Epistemology

The basis for the methodology of this thesis is formed by the ontological and epistemological assumptions that lie behind the theoretical choices I have made. My perspective on the world is that it is socially constructed and we give meaning to it through our actions and behaviour, and that the actors I examine here decide on their actions based on their own perspectives and the interaction with other actors (Parsons, 2018: 75). Words matter because they make sense of the world and allows a manoeuvre room for action and the interaction with others. Ontologically, this thesis is therefore within the anti-foundationalist tradition (Marsch et al., 2018: 182-183). It influences what we can infer about the world and how we should study it. The theoretical foundation is constructivist, and it does place the thesis within an interpretivist epistemology (Marsch et al., 2018: 178-179). As a researcher, I interpret actions and the behaviour by Zelensky and EU leaders through their rhetoric and appearance, which I then present and argue for to the reader. It is therefore *my* interpretation of the situation and one among many potential interpretations. However, I do not reject other explanations or arguments, even if they are made from different ontological and epistemological perspectives. Rather, I see my approach as an example of modern constructivism, where this approach contributes with a certain understanding and conclusion to the debate (Parsons, 2018: 54).

5.2 Selection of Material

The thesis concentrates on the time period 24 February to 24 June 2022 and thus covers the beginning of the full-scale invasion until Ukraine was officially recognised as an EU candidate. In the period, Zelensky has minimum held one daily video address, (virtually) visited various foreign parliaments and events. I have chosen speeches as the medium to analyse because they have been defining for the narrative of Ukraine during the full-scale invasion and for Zelensky as a wartime leader. This innovative approach has enabled him both to reach domestic audiences, but also populations, politicians, and leaders abroad. They have been streamed and uploaded to the official YouTube channel of the Ukrainian President but were also available on the official website in Ukrainian, Russian and English. They therefore reach beyond just the immediate intended audience because their availability mean that they are also distributed beyond. It makes the speeches very attractive as material for this thesis, because it can track role claims that Zelensky (assumably) knows will reach an internal and external audience, including those taking the decision on Ukrainian candidate status and the populations and politicians that can pressure the European leaders to do so.

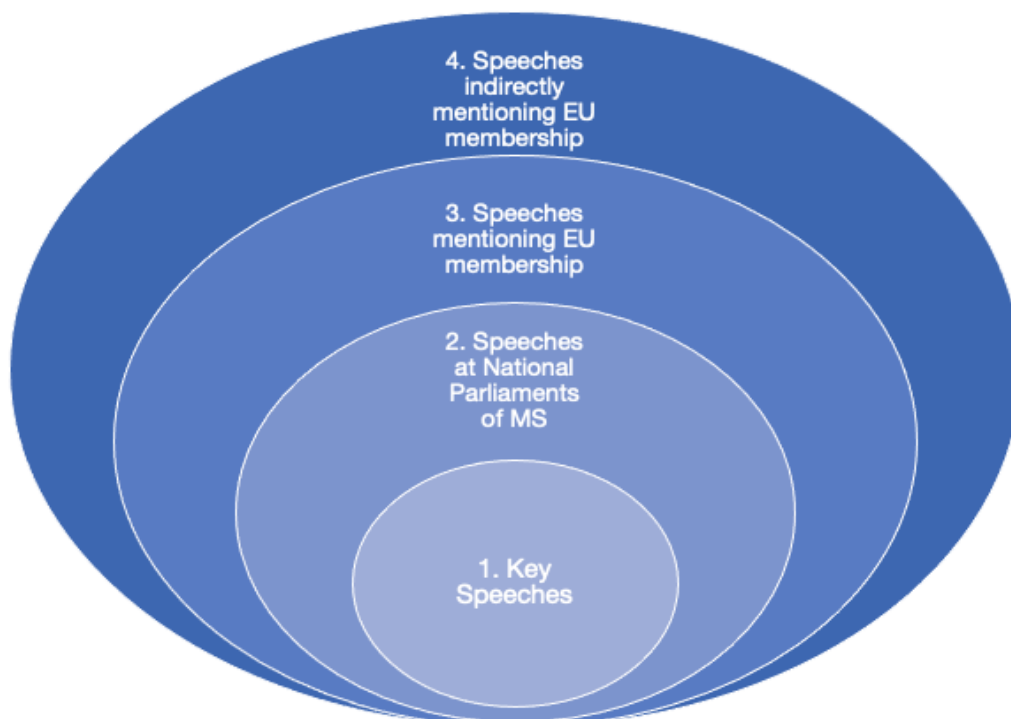


Figure 2: Own illustration of the four categories of Zelensky's speeches that form the selection procedure of material.

My selection has brought me from the 181 speeches by Zelensky that related to the EU to the 15 speeches that form my material (see Appendix 2 for overview). The speeches were divided into four categories based on their relevance to the research aim (see figure 2).

The requirement for the key speeches were that they either were made towards the EU institutions (e.g., to the EP or at EC summits), responses to milestones in the process (e.g., after Commission president presented the membership questionnaire), or at key moments in the application period (e.g., the ones announcing Ukraine's intent or as a response to the candidate status). The ten key speeches were all included in the analysis. The second category features the speeches that Zelensky (virtually) has given to national parliaments of the EU member states. In this period of time, Zelensky held 22 speeches to national parliaments within the EU and I have chosen to include three. I decided to include Zelensky's speech at the German Bundestag, because of Germany's importance within the EU and its weight in the discussions on the EU's future. Then I have included the speech to the French assemblies, also because of France's importance and because the country held the EU presidency at the time. Finally, I chose to include the Czech Republic because it would take over from France and through its presidency play a key role in Ukraine's membership endeavours. The last two speeches were picked from the third category, based on their content and that they filled out some gaps within the time period.

The material to capture the EU's reaction is a result of a careful selection of material that could help paint an overall picture of the EU's response and interaction with Zelensky's role claim (see Appendix 3 for overview). Their selection is based on the same principles as for the key speeches because these are at crucial times for the Ukraine-EU relationship within the time period and mainly in moments of interaction between the EU leaders and the Ukrainian leadership. I have chosen to focus on the Commission President and the EC President because of their key role in the enlargement process. The Commission is vital through its assessments, opinions, and recommendations for the EC, and it will therefore be ideal to look at how Zelensky's discourse impacts Von der Leyen's appearance. In the same vein, the EC President is the embodiment of the institution and seeks to represent the sum of the member states and Michel will therefore be crucial to see if Zelensky's active pressure changes influences his rhetoric. If I had decided to look at the member states, it would have been a different and more comprehensive project, and I am thus confident that the EC is the best way to achieve an insight

into the key institution for Ukraine's endeavours. The EP's role is rather limited compared to the two others, and it has also appeared as a strong support for the membership ambitions from the beginning, making it less appealing to capture the effect of Zelensky's discourse.

5.3 Analytical Approach

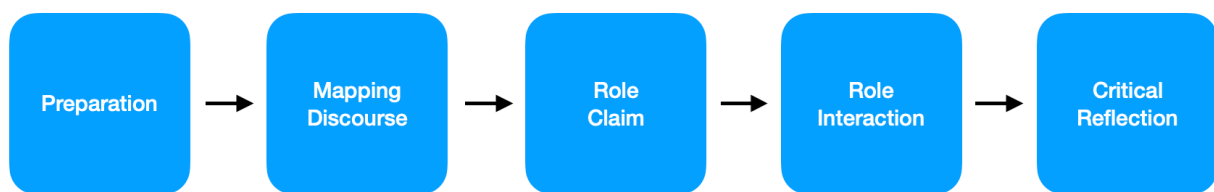


Figure 3: Own illustration of the five-step analytical approach used to analyse the material, inspired by CDA and IRT. See Appendix 1 for detailed table.

5.3.1 Preparation

The preparation element is inspired by Fairclough's approach, as laid out by Jørgensen and Phillips (2002: 76-81) and covers how the material is chosen based on the research puzzle and question(s). These have already been covered in chapter one and above.

5.3.2 Mapping Discourse

The second step focuses on uncovering the discourse of the material and what elements are used to create this discourse and get the message from the author across to the intended audience and wider. It consists of two parts, where the first focuses on the general discursive practice, while the second digs deeper into the text at hand.

Discursive Practice

The first part is focusing on establishing how it is produced, the audience and the relationship to other texts. The basis is to determine who has *written* the text and *delivering* it (for speeches),

and if it can be determined who it is *intended* for. The speeches are delivered by Zelensky and produced by him and his team, while the audiences differ slightly. This will place the *communicative event* and provide a basis for the analysis. Furthermore, it will be important to determine the *genre* of the text and the *order of discourse*. *Intertextuality* will be included when benefitting the analysis, especially to see how the speeches draw on each other and whether they draw on previous texts too. This sub-component will also include the degree of *interdiscursivity*, in particular how the speeches draw on previous discourses by Ukrainian leaders or enlargement discourses.

Textual Analysis

The next element is the more linguistic sub-component of the analysis and investigate the use of language and what is done to get the intended message across. When looking for *interactional control*, I will look at the position of Zelensky and if it is possible to determine the power relationship with the EU through the speeches. Closely related is the ability of *topic control*, where it will be examined whether Zelensky is able to set and control the agenda. Zelensky's *formulation* is a way to decide how and what is discussed, where I will focus on how he defines the struggles, EU membership and Ukraine's position in Europe. Speakers can in texts establish truths and how committed they are to this committed truth, which can be uncovered through scrutinising *modality*. Here, I look for words and expressions connected to Ukraine's EU ambitions that establish the Ukrainian perspective as the truth. *Transitivity* is used to see how grammar presents relations or processes, where it helps to show the relations to the EU and its member states and the process behind the EU dreams. In the analysis, I will also look at *metaphors* and how words and expressions from different genres are used to structure Zelensky's reality for Ukraine. The last element of the text analysis is *persuasion* and how Zelensky tries to convince the EU through his speeches. I will focus on five elements, namely the intentions, the argument, the emotions, the story, and the appearance. Altogether, they will comprise the textual sub-component for mapping the discourse and will be used investigate the wider social practice in form of the role claim and interaction.

Role Claim

The social dimension of this approach is inspired by IRT and the aim is to see what the results from the former steps tell us about what role Zelensky claims for Ukraine in relation to the EU and possible membership, but also how the EU interacts with this and if traces of Zelensky's

discourse can be seen in their statements. When looking at the material and the results from the former steps, I will uncover how Zelensky sees Ukraine's role in *response* to the problematic situation and how it *changes* the relationship to the EU and the long-held target of EU membership. Here, modality and transivity could be of particular interest because they can indicate Zelensky's establishment of the role as a 'truth' and transivity could show words that indicate action. As I look at speeches across the four-month period, I will look at whether the claim changes or whether it in substance is consistent. This step will therefore determine the role claim by Zelensky for Ukraine in relationship to the EU with basis in the chosen speeches.

Role Interaction

The next step is the interaction between Ukraine and the EU, and how Zelensky through his speeches tries to realise the role he has set out. Again, the focus is how he does that in and through the speeches and their content, connecting it directly to the second step of mapping the discourse. This step will also consider if the speeches can be seen as creative use of resources. It tries to connect what Ukraine has done, what it will do and how it will fulfil the role claim, as envisioned from Zelensky's perspective. Part of this is the process of 'alter-casting' the EU into a particular role and the persuasion to accept Ukraine's role claim. Thus, this step will also look at what role Zelensky sees for the EU that can make Ukraine's role claim into reality. The interactive element of this step will examine how the EU reacts and interacts with Ukraine's role claim and the role Ukraine sees for the EU to make this role into reality. The analysis of the EU is not my main focus and the analysis of the EU's reaction will thus be less in-depth. I will analyse statements from the Commission President and EC President in response to Zelensky's speeches and role claim and analyse whether they (over time) adopt the same (or elements) of his discourse, and whether an acceptance of Ukraine's role claim can be seen. I will look at the words and expressions used to determine if the EU uses previous enlargement discourses, or if the problematic situation has led to a change in these. As stated earlier, the expectation is that the EU maintain its existing enlargement discourse and I will therefore examine whether it is the case, or if traces of Zelensky's discourse and argumentation for the role claim can be seen. Of course, we already know that the EU will acknowledge Ukraine as a candidate by June 2022, but what is crucial is to see whether the EU accepts Ukraine's role claim and what process can be tracked in the language over time.

Critical Reflection

The last step in my analytical framework is the critical reflection, which both aims at examining the implications of the role claim, its attempted realisation and what it means for the Ukraine-EU relationship. Besides that, it will also consider whether Ukraine's approach has changed the applicant-adjudicator relationship, when looking at it from a general EU enlargement perspective. Again, the role claimed by Zelensky for Ukraine and the way he approached it through his speeches were not a given and the only possible path, but one among many alternatives. It is therefore important to examine the results critically and also view this compared to former discourses used by Ukraine or in other enlargement contexts to better understand why these matter and how it changed the view on and for Ukraine in this extraordinary context.

5.4 Procedure

The analysis is made in the five steps, where especially the second step is comprehensive and lays the ground for the three following steps. The linguistic dimension of the analysis will therefore be made with the support of relevant software, namely NVivo. The 15 speeches for the analysis were imported to a project folder for this thesis, where each of the different elements under step two were included as separate codes. I would then analyse each speech separately and mark each with the different codes when I observed an incident of the various elements. The software would then allow me to look at all these points across the speeches and enable me to see patterns and make comparisons. I would thus have the foundation to move on to the third step and use my findings to complete that before moving on to the fourth step, where I would include EU material. As this would not be as comprehensive as the second step, I would do that through my notes. I have therefore analysed each speech and EU document individually, ensuring a comprehensive understanding of all the material that allow me to see patterns across the material through the aid of the framework. The analysis of the EU material was inspired by the elements used to analyse Zelensky's speeches and by analysing them after the 15 individual analyses of the speeches, it enables me to better scrutinise their influence. It will therefore not be a full analysis of the discursive practice or language, but rather a focused analysis where I interpret the material in connection to Zelensky's role claim and discourse. When presenting

my findings, the analysis section will apply the structure of the five-step analytical approach, rather than examining the material chronologically.

5.5 Implications

The selection has potential consequences because it leaves out large quantities of material that potentially could show a different picture or consolidate the patterns I have found in my limited analysis. My project has clear limitations in time, length, and resources, creating clear boundaries on what would be feasible and what would be beyond the breadth of a thesis. There is not a single selection approach that will satisfy these criteria or create an objective basis for the analysis. Every choice made is subjective and decided by *me* as a researcher among many potential and alternative paths. As described earlier, the aim of the thesis is to contribute to the understanding of Zelensky's discourse on Ukrainian EU membership and how the EU rhetorically has engaged with that discourse. It is thus not to generate a general or testable conclusion, but make a well-argued contribution to the debate. My selection strategy is a result of this thinking and that the speeches in focus will enable me to answer the research questions, albeit tentatively. In terms of EU material, this is also highly selective and will not be analysed as comprehensively as the speeches. However, this is a conscious decision because Ukraine is in focus and the limited time, resources, and space do not leave room for a similar discourse analysis of the EU's rhetoric. The analysis of the EU's reaction should rather be seen as a mean to see the effect of Zelensky's discourse on the EU's rhetoric and use of its established discourses.

6 Analysis - Ukraine's Defence of European Values as a Way to Membership?

With the context, the theory and analytical approach established, this chapter will utilise the five-step analytical approach to examine the material and present the key points from the analysis. The findings reveal that Zelensky established a discourse that did position Ukraine as a rightful EU member and that he used that to claim the role as EU candidate, which the EU interacted with, albeit not in the exact way that Zelensky envisioned.

6.1 Preparation

This step has already been covered previously in the thesis and part of earlier section. The puzzle stems from a wonder on Ukraine's unique journey to EU candidacy, where the research question delves into how Zelensky used his speeches to create a discourse of Ukraine as a rightful EU member and how the EU interacted with this role claim. Obviously, this influenced my choice of material, as described earlier, and guided me when choosing the 15 speeches and EU material within my time frame.

6.2 Mapping Discourse

This step is divided into two dimensions, namely the discursive practice and the more detailed textual analysis. It will enable me to scrutinise the actual discourse, which will assist me when looking at the role claim and interaction.

6.2.1 Discursive Practice

Communicative event

The 15 speeches constitute separate communicative events (see Appendix 2 for overview). They reveal the development of the situation, but also the evolution of the role claim and discourse behind it. The three first speeches on the third and fifth day are communicative events in a highly uncertain context (Appendix 4, 5 and 6), whereas that context is changed by April, where Von der Leyen's visit and handover of the questionnaire (Appendix 11) indicates a turn of the tide in Ukraine's favour. The last three speeches (Appendix 16, 17 and 18) are all as reaction to positive decisions by the Commission and EC, where the last speech is a professional production and thus shows the changing context (Appendix 18).

Genre

All the speeches are political speeches in the context of war. Some are held to foreign audiences (Appendix 7, 8, 9, 10, 14, 15 and 17), while the others mainly are targeted towards Ukrainian audiences. However, as noted previously, the speeches are all widely available and due to the international coverage during the first four months, Zelensky's words can be assumed to reach beyond Ukraine. Common for all the speeches are that they are held virtually and therefore only available for the audience through a screen and thus no direct interaction.

Order of Discourse

With the variety of speeches, it is difficult to place them under one umbrella, but they can all be categorised as wartime communication. It clearly influences what can be said and what not. The speeches work as a way to inform about the consequences of the invasion, but also to mobilise support for the defence of Ukraine when targeting a foreign audience. With my focus on EU membership, the order of discourse impacts how membership is presented and how it is used in this particular context.

Intertextuality

Zelensky draws on various texts to situate Ukraine's application. The application composes a major text and one Zelensky refers to for the first time 28 February, when he reveals to the Ukrainian public that he has signed it (Appendix 6). He refers to it again 24 June, where he announces to the Ukrainian public that the country has now been recognised as an EU candidate. He both sets the scene and emphasises the actual document:

“On Bankova Street, in the Office of the President of Ukraine, in the middle of fortifications and sandbags, in the pauses between the sirens of the air alarm, we signed a document” (Appendix 18).

It is a clear example of intertextuality and how he uses the texts to create a red thread and show the process and development from being an unrealistic role claim to reality.

Another instrument used by Zelensky is how he weaves historical speeches into his own texts. The two clearest examples of that are in his speeches held (virtually) to the German and Czech parliaments. For the previous speech, Zelensky uses the metaphor of a wall and here he refers to Reagan's famous “tear down this wall” and uses it as a way to appeal to Chancellor Scholz to step up the support for Ukraine and support its European aspirations (Appendix 8). Even stronger is the use of “Jsme s vámi, buďte s námi” (we are with you, be with us), a sentence known from the Prague Spring in 1968 that Zelensky uses to appeal to the Czech audience for more support, including for membership (Appendix 15). It thus creates a connection between the events of 1968 and the ones of 2022 in Ukraine.

Interdiscursivity

Zelensky uses different established discourses, where I will focus on three examples of this. When looking at popular non-fiction books on Ukraine, they often bear titles referring to Ukraine's geographical and imaginative location, e.g., as ‘Borderland’ (Reid, 2022) or ‘Gates of Europe’ (Plokhy, 2021). Zelensky highlights this notion as Ukraine as “grey zone” and between East and West, and that it had consequences for the full-scale invasion (speech k). The candidate status is presented as a break with this: “Today it is recognised: Ukraine is not a bridge, not a pillow between West and Russia...” (Appendix 18). He uses the discourse about Ukraine as the periphery to show how it moves towards the centre with the candidate status.

Continuing from that, Zelensky highlights this as a return to Europe and to become an equal part of the EU. The ‘return’ is similar to former President Poroshenko’s rhetoric that places Ukraine firmly in a European context and not a Russian (Klymenko, 2020). Zelensky calls the candidate status a “return to the European family” and emphasises that democracy has a long history in Ukraine (Appendix 18). It adds a degree of continuity and creates an understanding of Ukraine as a natural EU country.

Ukraine has previously been told to do its “homework” (Appendix 5), referring to the existing discourse on Ukraine’s membership aspirations and the need for key reforms. In the same vein, Zelensky talks about the expression “Ukraine chooses Europe”, which can be seen as a reference to how the Ukrainian people during the Revolution of Dignity wanted to government to move more towards the EU. He uses it to say that now is the time for the EU to “choose” Ukraine (Appendix 7) and see the country in a new light. Zelensky thus problematises the existing discourse on the state of Ukraine and that it is instead the EU that now needs to choose Ukraine by acknowledging its candidacy.

6.2.2 Textual Analysis

Interactional Control

Despite the virtual nature of the speeches, the language does reveal a degree of interactional control and attempt to reverse the asymmetrical power relationship with the EU. When he on 24 March evaluates the countries’ support for Ukrainian membership at an EC meeting, it shows the latter. In particular, he focuses on Hungary’s lack of support and is very direct: “... Hungary ... I want to stop here and by honest. Once and for all. You have to decide for yourself who you are with. You are a sovereign state...” and then directly addresses Prime Minister Orbán: “Listen, Viktor, do you know what’s going on in Mariupol?” and compares it to Holocaust in Budapest (Appendix 10). It shows interactional control when speaking so frank to members of the EC and that he is not limited by the existing power balance. Similarly, he underlines how Ukraine will reject any proposal from the EU that is short of membership and that the country will not settle for a membership of a European Political Community, as proposed by the French

President, or a more comprehensive AA (Ploky, 2023: 325-326; Appendix 14). It shows a degree of control and that Ukraine will only discuss membership, nothing less.

When announcing the candidate status on 24 June to the Ukrainian public, Zelensky shows control over how his team should be considered, namely not as regular politicians but people who act on their words: “We are not politicians, and we do not have many years, so we have moved from statements to action” (Appendix 18). It connects him with his campaign platform and how he, unless former presidents, delivers on the words about Ukraine’s European integration. In my view, that shows a great degree of interactional control.

Topic Control

The topic in focus is of course Ukraine and its membership ambitions. Already in his speech on 26 February, he sets the topic:

“I say this as frankly as possible now: the people of Ukraine have already earned and have the right to become a member of the European Union.” (Appendix 4).

The way of formulating EU membership as something that Ukraine “deserves” is repeated two days later (Appendix 5) and later he talks about Ukraine being “more Europe than others” (Appendix 8) and protecting freedom more than other EU countries (Appendix 12). It shows a similar way to police the agenda and ensure that the topic stays true to the way that Zelensky first presented it, although the call for immediate accession changes. Hence, according to Zelensky, the EU will never be “complete” without Ukraine (Appendix 14). From my reading, these are examples of a speaker in great control of what is being discussed and on what terms. It could have been presented in many ways, but Zelensky ensures that membership is being discussed on terms that are favourable to Ukraine.

Formulation

The way Zelensky formulates membership enables him to control the agenda, where the “right” to become member (Appendix 4, 5 and 6) and that Ukraine “deserves” it (Appendix 5 and 16) are particular strong aspects. When formulating it this way, Zelensky makes EU membership something that is directly connected to a country’s actions, and not a merits-based process spanning over various policy areas.

For Zelensky, Ukraine fights for "... the freedom of all Europeans" (Appendix 13), to defend European values (speech m), and to become "... equal members of Europe" (Appendix 7). Hence, EU membership could be the ultimate support for Ukraine's fight for these values (Appendix 13) and show "... that European values really work and are not just defined in certain documents as a beautiful formality" (Appendix 15). By formulating the membership application as part of the fight and connecting it to the EU values, it strengthens the discourse and makes membership a question of being for and against these values. Zelensky thus defines the call for EU membership as a question of values and something that Ukraine deserves, not a result of an intricate and long process.

Modality

Zelensky repeatedly creates the truth that Ukraine has a "right" to become member and "deserves" it because of the fight. He states that "... I am confident we deserve it..." (Appendix 5) and "... I am convinced of our success on this path..." (Appendix 14). It does create a certainty for the audiences and that Zelensky himself is completely behind the claims that he makes. Zelensky underlines throughout the time period that Ukrainian membership will strengthen the EU and it will only become really strong with Ukraine (Appendix 14 and 16) because Ukraine has shown what it is capable of (Appendix 7 and 10). Furthermore, he states that European unity is the only way to stop Russia and avoid the invasions that Europe has experienced with 1956 in Hungary, 1968 in Czechoslovakia and 2014 in Ukraine (Appendix 14).

Besides creating this understanding directly, he applies the concept of values in a subtle way to underpin that truth further. From very early on he talks about how "... we are giving our lives for values, for rights, for freedom, for the desire to be equal, just like you are..." (Appendix 7), establishing the connection between the fight against the Russian invaders and the values that the EU is based on. Ukrainian candidate status will show that the EU values are not just empty words (Appendix 15). Values are emphasised by Zelensky as key to understand the fight and struggle, but also why Ukraine wants to be a member of a values-based EU. It substantiates the idea that Ukraine has an apparent right to EU membership and is crucial for the role claim by Zelensky and his appeal to the EU.

Transivity

Zelensky shows that he has a close relationship to key actors within the EU and he mentions national leaders, Von der Leyen and/or Michel in all speeches towards a Ukrainian audience (expect Appendix 18), while he creates a direct connection in the ones to a foreign audience. For the former, Zelensky gives a strong impression of closeness to the key people within the EU and that he continuously coordinates the EU's support for Ukraine, including on membership. It is particularly strong when he in his speech on 24 March to the EC (Appendix 10) examines all 27 member states' support for Ukrainian membership. He repeats that three months later, where they are all evaluated individually (Appendix 17). For me, that signals a strong relation to the leaders, where they are at a point where Zelensky so directly can criticise their stand and encourage further support.

The speeches indicate action on Ukraine's EU membership aspirations, which both the EU and Ukraine itself must deliver. For the latter, the application itself and the fight are seen as actions to fulfil that (Appendix 5 and 6), while he later focuses on the questionnaire and the swiftness of the Ukrainian answers (Appendix 11). Speed is important for Zelensky, and he shares how Ukraine's pace has inspired the Commission to work quicker too (Appendix 13) and underlines to EU leaders how Ukraine has been "unprecedentedly fast" and "coordinated" (Appendix 14). He pressures the EU in different ways, from underlining the urgency of their decision (Appendix 10), to how he by the end of May calls for the EC to take a decision in June because Ukraine already meets the criteria (Appendix 14). This action-focused approach shows how Zelensky puts pressure on the institutions and member states to act quickly. Together with the evaluation of member states (Appendix 10 and 17), it shows how Zelensky actively calls on key actors to act to fulfil the goal he has set for his own country.

Metaphors

Metaphors are used actively by Zelensky to give strength to his message about membership and connect it to elements that the audience can identify with and/or have positive associations to. For the German parliament, he used the tailored metaphor of a "wall" throughout the speech and how Germany's reluctance regarding Ukraine's candidate status forms "stones for a new wall" that cut Ukraine off from freedom (Appendix 8). He thus uses it to show that by kicking Ukraine's membership ball down the line, it pushes Ukraine to the wrong side of the "wall", namely Russia. It can be expected that this is particularly strong in a German context, where

living behind a wall is a traumatic memory for the country and citizens. It is a strong example of an audience-tailored metaphor.

“Home” signals something safe and a place where you belong. Ukrainian membership would make Ukraine an “equal” in a “common European home” (Appendix 11) and without Ukraine, that home will never be complete (Appendix 14). “Home” works very strongly to the idea that this is not just a political question and about concrete benefits but a deeper question about belonging and feeling safe among friends. The speeches are happening in a context of war where a neighbouring country has invaded Ukraine, which impacts the language. Zelensky stresses that a yes to Ukraine would be an expression of “defence” in the war (Appendix 15). He uses that rhetoric to go beyond membership just being about values but also a concrete action to deter Russia from further actions.

A consistent metaphor is the expression of how Ukraine has already “chosen” Europe and that it is up to the EU to “choose Ukraine” (Appendix 7). It is an ongoing argument by Zelensky that Ukraine and the Ukrainian people have chosen the EU path. He uses the presence of EU flags in Ukraine, despite it not being a member, as a metaphor for that support (Appendix 17). In his last speech in the time period, he refers to the Revolution of Granite in 1990, the Orange Revolution in 2004 and the Revolution of Dignity in 2014 as the proof of how Ukraine has chosen the EU path away from Russia (Appendix 18). These examples from Ukraine’s recent history are particularly strong in creating the image of a sovereign country standing up for its independence and freedom.

Persuasion

Zelensky uses his speeches to persuade the EU into acknowledging Ukraine’s role claim, making persuasion and its sub-components key to understand.

- Ethos (intentions)

Zelensky’s intention is to bring Ukraine closer to EU membership and “to be” with the other EU members (Appendix 5 and 6) as an “equal” (e.g., Appendix 7 and 11). Zelensky wants it to happen at an extraordinary pace, first immediately through a “special procedure” (Appendix 5), then at “maximum speed” (Appendix 12), and last to receive candidate status in June (Appendix 14). His understanding of speed changes slightly because of realities on the ground and the

application process, but the intentions of a speedier process than for previous applicants are clear. I will thus argue that the intentions of bringing Ukraine into the process of membership at a significant pace are consistent, despite the aim changing from immediate accession to candidate status.

- *Logos (argument)*

The logic of Zelensky's argumentation is shaped by the war context, which especially in the beginning threatens the very existence of Ukraine. I have identified three core strains in his arguments for Ukraine's candidate status.

First, Ukraine "earns" and "deserves" EU membership, which is particularly dominant in the first three speeches (Appendix 4, 5, 6). Ukraine is fighting to become "equal members" of the EU (Appendix 7) and has shown what it is "worth" (Appendix 10), because it has done more for freedom than others (Appendix 12). Ukraine's fight for freedom and fundamental values thus places it in a favourable position to EU membership and this positioning is crucial for Zelensky's argumentation.

Secondly, Ukraine's admission would strengthen the EU itself in different ways. Values are important for Zelensky and the understanding of the fight, because that is what Russia is attacking (Appendix 15), hence that a positive to Ukraine will show that the EU really stands up for its values (Appendix 14) and not just a "beautiful formality" (Appendix 15). It is significant because it touches upon the self-perception of the EU and its members and thus an argument that has strong resonance within the EU.

From April onwards, Zelensky strongly argues that Ukraine is ready for EU membership and emphasises how the Ukrainian institutions and administration have been "...effective enough to withstand even the test of war" (Appendix 12). When the Commission gives Ukraine its backing, Zelensky underlines to the EC that Ukrainian institutions have shown resilience and the strength of "democratic habits", which should result in a green light (Appendix 16). It appears like a very strong argument because if the country can function during a full-scale attack, it can withstand the challenges of EU accession.

These three parts of the argument behind Zelensky's discourse appear like an efficient attempt to connect the struggle, the EU's self-perception as a normative beacon and Ukraine's resilience to his appeal for EU support.

- *Pathos (emotions)*

Zelensky's speeches have an emotional impact through the examples he tells from the ground in Ukraine. When focusing on EU membership, it is clear that the impact is by telling the audiences that Ukraine is fighting for the freedom of Europe: "For peace for all European countries, for the lives of children, for equality, for democracy" (Appendix 5). That is captivating and is used consistently by Zelensky. When including values, it is with a strong connection to the values of the EU (e.g., Appendix 8) and that Ukraine through its fight has shown its worth (e.g. Appendix 10). The historical proportion of the decision is also appealing to the emotions, because it is compared to the struggle itself (Appendix 17). Zelensky is thus able to create an emotional setting for his argument on why Ukraine should be a future member of the EU.

- *Story (narrative)*

The overall narrative that Zelensky creates is that Ukraine is fighting for the freedom of Europe and for the values that the EU stands for, and that Ukraine consequently deserves to become part of the EU immediately, which is later toned down to be acknowledged as candidate quickly.

The three first speeches, made on day three and five of the full-scale invasion, create the narrative that Ukraine has earned the right to become EU member under a "special procedure" and thus finally to settle the "long-standing discussion" (Appendix 4, 5 and 6). It is then repeated when Zelensky talks about "...fighting to be equal members of Europe..." (Appendix 7), fighting for values and freedom across Europe (Appendix 9), that Ukraine has done more for freedom than any other country (Appendix 12), and that Russia is attacking European values and independence (Appendix 15). It is therefore clear that this is a consistent narrative that Zelensky produces, albeit the idea of special procedure is substituted for a more realistic focus on speed.

A general narrative of Ukraine as the good and strong and Russia as the bad is produced, which for membership is connected to Russia's historical appetite for neighbouring countries and that enlargement is the only way to protect Europe from scenes like those in 1956 in Hungary and

Prague in 1968 (Appendix 14). Hence, Ukraine's move towards EU is seen as a move away from Russia and evil (Appendix 16). Furthermore, this is connected to the narrative of Ukraine as strong and away from the image of a struggling state (Appendix 5 and 10). The resilience of Ukraine has shown its abilities "... to fulfil promises and the magnitude of Ukraine's potential" (Appendix 16). It must be seen in connection to Zelensky's argument that Ukraine will strengthen the EU itself. The two narratives balance each other and the story of a morally strong and good Ukraine and its ability to withstand the greatest challenges is upheld.

- *Appearance (look right)*

Zelensky's physical appearance is important to set the scene and emotional context for his persuasion efforts, which varies slightly across the speeches. In the beginning he stands behind a presidential rostrum (Appendix 4, 5 and 6), but this is later substituted for his desk. This move from rostrum to desk has also been emphasised by academics as a way to appear less formal but still signal that he, as all other Ukrainians, is at work (Hale and Onuch, 2022: 245-247). The last speech is professionally produced and underlines the gravity of the message that Zelensky conveys to the public (Appendix 18).

Rather than a presidential uniform, which most people connect to a suit and tie, Zelensky appears in more casual military clothing in khaki or black colours (see appendix 19 for examples). It has a strong impact on the audience, signalling that this is a leader of a country under attack and has become part of Zelensky's 'wartime image' (Hale and Onuch, 2022: 246). Zelensky clearly attempts to look right and show that he is leader of a country at war and that he is not detached from the fight happening on the ground. The choice of more casual army-like clothing supports the image of a less formal president that, just as ordinary Ukrainians, works to protect the country. Notably, he appears together with Prime Minister Shmyhal and Chairman of the Rada Stefanchuk in the video on 24 June (Appendix 18), signalling unity between the president, government, and parliament in Ukraine's movement towards the EU.

6.3 Role Claim

The role claim by Zelensky in relation to EU membership will be analysed through the three steps below. Overall, Zelensky uses his discourse to claim the role of Ukraine as a rightful EU member and cast the EU into an accepting role.

6.3.1 Problematic situation

The Russian full-scale invasion of 24 February marks the problematic situation for Ukraine and thus the Ukrainian leadership, personified with Zelensky. The reality on the ground changes over the four-month time period, but it is throughout the period critical for Ukraine with the greatest uncertainty during the first weeks.

6.3.2 Response

The immediate response is, of course, to fight back against the Russian invaders and liberate Ukrainian territory and uphold Ukrainian sovereignty, but EU membership stands out early as part of the response. When Zelensky on 26 February raises the prospects of Ukrainian membership and two days later argue for Ukrainian accession through a special procedure and signs the official application, it is clear for the EU that Ukraine sees it as part of the response (Appendix 4, 5 and 6).

6.3.3 Change

EU membership is, as previously covered, not a new idea for Ukraine and it has been presented by successive Ukrainian leaders, which Zelensky also underlines when he states that "... we have been waiting 30 years for this ..." (Appendix 6) and as a "long-standing goal" (Appendix 11). However, the change is stark when Zelensky signs the application on 28 February. The change can therefore be characterised as strong because a Ukrainian leader does not just mention EU membership as a dream of Ukraine, but actually signs an application that the EU

has to engage with without coordinating it explicitly. Importantly, Zelensky talks about immediate accession in the beginning of the speech, but over time it changes to the more realistic goal of EU candidate status. It is therefore a clear reimagination of Ukraine's role because Zelensky puts action behind the words.

6.4 Role Interaction

Zelensky's claim to the role does not stand alone but is followed up by the actions he sets out for Ukraine and what he wants the EU to do. To go beyond a claim, the EU must interact with it and accept that Ukraine is to be considered a potential EU member. These will be addressed in turn.

6.4.1 Internal Realisation

Ukraine's actions to realise the role are many folded. The membership application 28 February, announced in the evening (Appendix 6), is the concrete basis for realising the role. As underlined when mapping the discourse, Zelensky perceives Ukraine as fighting for Europe and European values and these values connect Kyiv with other European values (Appendix 9). By connecting the defence of values and EU membership (Appendix 4, 5 and 6) and Ukraine as "more" European than others (Appendix 8), he creates the understanding that the fight itself is for EU membership. This narrative is absolutely crucial to understand the internal realisation from the perspective of Zelensky, as it is key for Ukraine's realisation of this role.

Another part of the internal realisation is more concrete and in line with how enlargement previously has been discussed and perceived. It revolves around institutions, administration and criteria, but in the extraordinary context of war. For Zelensky, speed is important when responding to the official requirements, such as the questionnaire (Appendix 11), which resulted in appreciation from the Commission (Appendix 13 and 17). Institutions are key for EU accession and Zelensky promotes the narrative that if institutions can withstand war and the public administration can deliver services to its citizens despite bombardments and attacks, they can also overcome the challenges of EU accession. As he states: "We have already proved that the Ukrainian state and public institutions are effective enough to withstand even the test of

war” (Appendix 12), which he repeats two months later (Appendix 16). The Copenhagen Criteria is crucial for EU enlargement and even though Zelensky does not mention them directly, he does state that Ukraine has met the “necessary” criteria for candidate status (Appendix 14). The candidate status is not the full realisation of the role that Zelensky laid out in February 2022 but is a significant step. He uses the status to confirm that Ukraine will become a “full-fledged member” (Appendix 17) and that it is “fixed at the official level” (Appendix 18). He thus says that Ukraine has done everything to reach this point and that it will succeed in going beyond that status and become a member.

The use of speeches to realise the role is an example of creative use of the limited resources that Zelensky has. He uses his direct and simple way of communicating to Ukraine’s advantage and it is one of the tools he employs to realise the role he has set out for Ukraine.

6.4.2 Alter-Casting

The nature of EU enlargement spells that Ukraine cannot fully realise its claimed role but needs the EU and the member states on-board to fully complete its EU membership climb. All the speeches selected for this thesis attempts to cast the EU into a role of accepting Ukraine’s membership aspirations, albeit in different ways and with different intensities. I have therefore chosen some of the main findings.

The first speeches reveal a great degree of urgency with emphasis on immediate membership (Appendix 4, 5 and 6), which is later replaced with a speedy candidate status. The member states are key to cast into an accepting role, which is most evident in Zelensky’s speech on 24 March when he evaluates each country and fails Germany and Hungary (Appendix 10), taking a clear risk by being outspoken and direct. Naturally, his speeches to national audiences attempt to cast them into a supporting role, where Zelensky in particular underlines the importance of Czechia and France because of the EU presidencies (Appendix 8, 9 and 15).

Zelensky uses praise to complement his pressure tactics. He applauds the support from the EU very directly, for example to Michel (Appendix 12) and Von der Leyen (Appendix 13), revealing a close relationship. The positivity also has a different function, namely, to apply an indirect pressure on those that are not sure. He articulates this by stating to the EC “... that I

am sure that those individual states that are still hesitant about us ... will change their minds and show our united strength” (Appendix 14). After the visit from leaders of France, Romania, Germany and Italy and their positive message, as well as the positive opinion from the Commission, it is up to the EC and Zelensky uses that opportunity to remind of the “historical significance” of the decision (Appendix 16). The positive decision on EU candidate status is not the end of the process, but an important step that he thanks the EU for (Appendix 17), and he underlines that it will be a successful process for Ukraine (Appendix 18), continuing to cast the EU into the role of working with Ukraine to ensure this. Overall, Zelensky wants to cast the EU into a role of acknowledging Ukraine as a rightful EU candidate and future member because of its fight.

6.4.3 Significant Other’s Reaction

The EU plays a key part in Ukraine’s role claim and it is therefore necessary to see how the EU interacts with Zelensky’s discourse, the role claim and his alter-casting attempts. The focus is on the Commission and EC due to their importance in the membership process, as stipulated previously. The EU does preserve its existing enlargement discourse with focus on the criteria and conditions, as expected, but Zelensky’s focus on values and Ukraine’s fight for freedom also play their part in the EU’s approach. The analysis is based on a comprehensive analysis of the EU material, but due to space constraints, the key findings will be presented below.

Not on the EU’s table

Zelensky mentions membership for the first time on 26 February. However, to illustrate how membership for Ukraine was not part of the EU’s immediate support for Ukraine, I will turn my attention to the beginning of the full-scale invasion. Here, it is evident that in public, the EU did not open for membership as part of the response. Instead, it mentions “European aspirations” with reference to the AA (European Council, 2022a), keeping with the existing ‘integration without membership’ approach discussed in the literature review, while Michel does not mention it in his post-summit statement (Council of the EU, 2022a). After Zelensky brings membership on the table, Michel holds a speech in 27 February to the Ukrainian people, where he applauds the bravery of the Ukrainian people but does not address membership or Ukraine’s position in Europe (Council of the EU, 2022b). I will therefore argue that prior to Zelensky’s speech on the 26th of February, it does not appear to be on the EU’s radar to change

its stance on Ukrainian EU membership, while Zelensky's call for immediate accession is not immediately addressed either. However, Zelensky's speech at the EP and the official Ukrainian application will change that.

Application as the spark

Zelensky's speech at the EP addresses the EU as a whole and therefore also the EC and the Commission. In Michel's speech after Zelensky's virtual appearance, he acknowledges the application and its legitimacy. He lays out the process and the Commission's key role with its opinion, but also that the EU must make the "right choice" with a "... cool head and a sense of determination..." (Council of the EU, 2022c). It is therefore clear that Michel only a few days after his speech to the Ukrainian public recognises the application and that it now is on the table, but without any time horizon. The Versailles Declaration reuses the formulation of "European aspirations" as set out in the AA, thus keeping in line with existing discourse, but it recognises Ukraine's right to choose own destiny. It underlines how the EC has acted swiftly to ask the Commission for its opinion and "pending this and without delay, we will further strengthen our partnership to support Ukraine in pursuing its European path" (European Council, 2022b: 4). It is thereby clear that the EC interacts with the role claim, but still respects the process.

Strength of existing discourse – Merits-based process

The EU has established criteria that applicants need to meet to become an EU candidate and later EU member, where the Copenhagen Criteria forms that basis. The EU's discourse on enlargement is formed by the conditions and requirements that applicants need to meet. In the case of Ukraine, it is present from the EU's side from the beginning, illustrated with Von der Leyen's emphasis on the need to respect "all conditions" (European Commission, 2022a), but it really picks up in June, where both the Commission's opinion and the EC's final decision will be made. During her visit to Kyiv in June, Von der Leyen points towards further reforms needed in Ukraine, but also the progress already made. For Von der Leyen, "the path is known, it is a merit-based path forward", and continues: "It is a path where, I must say, I really appreciate the enormous efforts and determination of Ukraine in this process" (European Commission, 2022b). It is clear to me that Von der Leyen underlines that the EU's perspective on enlargement is the same, but that Ukraine's efforts to move forward are special.

When the Commission presents its positive opinion, the established enlargement discourse is particularly strong. Von der Leyen clarifies that the Commission's opinion is based on the Copenhagen and Madrid Criteria, which sets the baseline for any application. More work needs to be done, but Ukraine has come a sufficient way to be granted the candidate status: "This is on the understanding that good work has been done, but important work also needs to be done. The entire process is merits-based. So, it goes by the book and progress depends on Ukraine" (European Commission, 2022c). It is further underlined during the press conference, where Von der Leyen repeats the "merits-based" process and that Ukraine is judged on the same criteria as other applicants, when asked if the war has resulted in this decision. When asked about the speed of the process, Commissioner for Enlargement and Neighbourhood, Olivér Várhelyi, states that the speedier process is a result of the Commission's reformed approach that makes it more dynamic and flexible, but still respects the criteria and conditions (European Commission, 2022d: 20:50-26:33). To the EP, Von der Leyen reiterates that it is because of Ukraine's progress on the criteria that the Commission recommends candidate status and that she is confident Ukraine will continue the hard work. Furthermore, she reminds how the EU has been instrumental in stabilising democratic progress for many current EU members and that it now needs to do the same for Ukraine, because it is "Europe's moment" (European Commission, 2022e). I will therefore argue that the established enlargement discourse remains strong for the EU in its interaction with Ukraine, especially when the process intensifies.

Values and freedom in the EU's rhetoric

Despite the strength of the rhetoric on criteria, conditions and reforms, traces can be seen of Zelensky's discourse. The Versailles Declaration applies the same metaphor as Zelensky, when stating that "Ukraine belongs to our European family" (European Council, 2022b), which Von der Leyen also uses (European Commission, 2022a). The use of Ukraine as part of the 'European family' has also been noted by other authors as parts of the EU's rhetoric in response to the full-scale invasion (Lonardo, 2023: 46-48). Values and the fight for freedom are important for Zelensky's role claim, and these occur in the EU's rhetoric too. After Zelensky speech in the EP, Michel states that Zelensky is "...the voice, face and light of freedom, hope security, stability and European values" (Council of the EU, 2022c). Hence, it shows how Michel acknowledges the way Zelensky has connected Ukraine's fight to these elements. He makes it even clearer during his Kyiv visit 20th April, when stating that "... they are fighting for our European values, for freedom, for democratic principles" (Council of the EU, 2022d).

Von der Leyen emphasises how “... the people of Ukraine have Europe in their hearts and minds” (European Commission, 2022e), which, combined with Michel’s remark that Ukraine has shown their support for the EU and its values repeatedly (Council of the EU, 2022b), show the acknowledgement on how Ukraine has chosen Europe. These examples reveal how values, the fight for freedom and Ukraine’s determination are included in the EU’s rhetoric, albeit with less strength than Zelensky wished.

6.5 Critical Reflection

The critical reflection section will be based on the findings from the prior four steps as well as the literature discussed in the previous chapters. It is thus limited by the material available and will appear as a comprehensive and qualified discussion and reflection on where this leaves Ukraine, the EU and EU enlargement.

6.5.1 Implications of the Role Claim for the Relationship between the Actor and the Significant Other

The obvious result of the claimed role is that it by the end is (partly) acknowledged. Even though Ukraine do not immediately accede to the EU, it is recognised as an official EU candidate and thus sparks the whole EU enlargement engine. Consequently, the change of status for Ukraine from a close partner to be seen as a future EU member has huge implications for the EU-Ukraine relationship. It thus had an impact for the relationship in the time period, but also beyond.

The way the role claim was made has implications for the relationship. Zelensky was very direct and frank with the member states, where his words against Hungarian Prime Minister Orbán and German Chancellor Scholz on 24 March (Appendix 10) stand out. It is risky when Ukraine will depend on the support from all member states for the process to move forward, but the candidate status suggests that it did not obstruct in that case. If we take the use of values and defence of democracy, it was effective to situate Ukraine and its struggle, but by saying that Ukraine is more European than existing EU members and that Ukraine has done more to

freedom than most countries, it does challenge the idea that all EU countries on an equal basis are behind the values described in the Lisbon Treaty.

Ukraine as an EU candidate is fundamentally different from Ukraine with an AA, especially considering the horrible scenes that have led to this. Zelensky's focus on values, Ukraine's resilience and its place in Europe have a positive influence on how Ukraine appeared to almost be a natural centre for the EU. That moral superiority created by the discourse can be argued to generate leverage for Ukraine and it differs from the asymmetrical relationship. However, the EU's continued focus on conditions and criteria suggests that it did not change its course but altered its language slightly for the context. Obviously, it would be premature to discuss when Ukraine would become member, and if it would succeed on the path that the country has now initiated. However, it is worth noticing that the elements that Terzi (2021) argued was present with the Eastern enlargement and has not been present regarding the Western Balkans (yet) to a great degree has been present in the case of Ukraine. Both Zelensky and the two main EU institutions, personified with Von der Leyen and Michel, talk about shared values, solidarity and European unity when describing Ukraine's candidate status and path towards membership. It is not to create a causality of certain membership for Ukraine, rather to raise the point that a strong discourse to supplement the existing 'merits-based' discourse was present in the time period.

6.5.2 Power Relationship

The literature review presented research that argues that the EU-Ukraine relationship post-Maidan was highly asymmetrical. Formally, the status as applicant and later candidate would still be considered highly asymmetrical because the reliance on green lights from the EU institutions and the member states to continue the process.

Surprisingly, the textual analysis and role interaction described above show a different dynamic, which goes beyond what would be considered a normal dynamic between an applicant and adjudicator. It appears that Ukraine, through its resistance to the Russian invaders and determination to liberate its territory and regain its full sovereignty, has assumed the moral high ground in comparison to the EU and it influences the power relationship. Zelensky talks about Ukraine doing more to protect freedom than any EU country (Appendix 12) and more European

than most EU states (Appendix 8). It does create an understanding of Ukraine as a moral rightful member of the EU and when the Commission and EC Presidents acknowledge this way of seeing the fight, it does strengthen Ukraine's position when claiming the role.

The changed power dynamic is detectable in the way that Zelensky addresses the EU leaders and national leaders very directly. On the one hand, it shows the personal connection that Zelensky enjoys with the leaders, which underlines the close relationship between the EU and Ukraine. On the other hand, it does also reveal that Zelensky does not see the highly asymmetrical relationship as a challenge to get his message across. He is a leader of a country at war against a more advanced military and more resourceful country, and he thus needs all the support he can get for Ukraine. He has decided that EU membership is a major part of this. The way he addresses the countries that are more reluctant and position Ukraine as deserving EU membership does suggest that the power relationship is different. It is clear that he appears empowered and that the support he has received from various levels around Europe does make him a different actor than before the full-scale invasion.

I will therefore argue that the four-month period and the material at hand strongly suggests that Zelensky's discourse and role claim is evident of a changed power relationship. It did not have to be that way, but the EU's engagement with the membership application and the public appearances along Zelensky indicate that the EU in a similar vein consider Ukraine differently than prior to the full-scale invasion. It only appears to increase with the developments on the ground and Ukraine strongly fighting back and mobilising all levels of society for the cause. It shows the benefits of analysing the issue from the perspective of Ukraine and Zelensky.

6.5.3 Wider Implications

The wider implications can be seen through three lenses: Ukraine, the Ukraine-EU relationship and for EU enlargement in general. I will reflect on them in turn, however, they are to a large degree interconnected.

The claimed role has massive implications for Ukraine. As Zelensky pointed out in his speeches and the previous literature shows, membership aspirations are not new in Ukraine and has been repeated by various presidents and demonstrators at the Orange Revolution and Revolution of

Dignity. It impacts the narrative and story of Ukraine because it has moved from the periphery of the EU to be part of the centre in an abstract sense, where the discourse and role claim play crucial parts. It is a significant break with the discussions on corruption, rule of law and oligarchs. Ukraine has taken advantage of this by labelling itself as 'Brave Ukraine' and Zelensky's very public diplomacy and rallying for support have reached beyond the red carpets in the capitals and Brussels. It shows that the reimagination that happened in response to the full-scale invasion and the discourse developed to claim the wished role have impacted the view of Ukraine and its standing in the EU.

Naturally, it has broad influence on the Ukraine-EU relationship because the EU has now entered a process with Ukraine, where (if the requirements are met) Ukraine could become a part of the EU itself. It is therefore a move away from the idea of integration without membership that dominated the relationship before the full-scale invasion. The power dynamics of this new chapter are yet to be seen and examined, but this study shows that the asymmetrical relationship is not set in stone. The unity that the EU developed on this issue over a four-month period is also noteworthy, when taking the 'enlargement fatigue' among members into account. It suggests that extraordinary circumstances can be translated into movements forward despite prior disagreements.

Even though Von der Leyen repeatedly has denied that Ukraine has been treated differently or had a lower threshold, Ukraine's candidate status has implications for EU enlargement in general. The speed and flexibility have partly been attributed to the reformed accession as mentioned, but it is still noteworthy how Ukraine went from an unrealistic candidate to an official candidate in just four months. The aim here is not to assess the arguments of the Commission and whether Ukraine does fulfil the criteria or not. Rather, my aim is to take what I have argued for through my findings and put it into the greater perspective of EU enlargement. Zelensky, a leader of a country that has been invaded by its neighbour, very quickly turns to the EU and appeals for membership, which the EU despite immediate reluctance acknowledges after a process that has been speeded up. It does have an impact on the perception of enlargement, especially the preliminary phase leading to candidate status, because it has been seen as rigid and one where the member states halt the process for various reasons. A clear example of this is North Macedonia's path to candidate status and the name dispute with Greece (Keukeleire and Delreux, 2022: 275-276). The case of Ukraine shows that it is possible for the EU to come together in extraordinary circumstances and move rapidly. When taking the rhetoric

on fundamental values and the defence of democracy, it is clear that EU enlargement is presented to the public as an ideational and value-based process, while the EU maintains that it is still guided by certain criteria and guidelines. Ukraine has embarked on the membership path with great success in the first stage, but it is yet to be seen if the pace will continue and if the more dynamic and political enlargement process will change Ukraine's path compared to the Western Balkan candidates' bumpy path. Furthermore, the geopolitical dimension should not be underestimated and Zelensky repeatedly underlines how Ukraine would strengthen EU's position and work as a move against Russia. It thus has major implications on the perception of EU enlargement away from one dominated by stalemate and enlargement fatigue to one where the EU can show support for its values and their strength in the neighbourhood.

7 Conclusion

This thesis has aimed to provide a greater understanding of how Zelensky claimed the role of Ukraine as a rightful member, and the EU's interaction with it. The thesis has covered various areas and it is therefore necessary to recap before moving on to answer the research question itself. My study has further implications that will be discussed, but also clear limitations that confine what can be derived. At last, I have suggestions for how future research can take this topic even further.

7.1 Recap - Connecting the Dots

The thesis emanates from a puzzle on how Ukraine moved from an unrealistic candidate to official candidate within just four months in a context of a full-scale Russian invasion. To delimit the project, the research questions facilitate a focus on how Zelensky uses his speeches to claim the role of Ukraine as a rightful EU member, and how the EU publicly has engaged with that role claim. To achieve this, I created an analytical approach based on CDA and IRT, because these are best suited to capture these elements in Zelensky's rhetoric. The project utilises a five-step approach, which enables both to delve deep into the textual components and the discursive practice, but also the actual role claim and interaction, before a critical reflection on the implications.

Zelensky actively establishes a discourse where Ukraine as a result of its fight against the Russian fighters should be considered for EU membership. He draws on existing discourses to show a degree of continuity in Ukraine's membership aspirations and to strengthen the weight of the speeches. Zelensky is able to control the agenda and formulate EU membership for Ukraine on his terms, enabling him to clearly define the role that Ukraine wants to assume. Although he changes the role claim away from immediate membership to a prompt candidate status, Zelensky is consistent by connecting membership and candidate status to the defence of freedom and fundamental values. He does that by defining EU membership as a question of

values and freedom rather than broader criteria and requirements, while using audience- and context-tailored metaphors and formulations to get his message across. Ukraine's fight thereby results in a 'right' to EU membership, because it is defending these values. The result is a clear role claim and attempt to cast the EU into acknowledging this logic and argumentation when recognising Ukraine as an official EU candidate. It establishes a strong moral foundation for Ukraine's role claim and ensures maximal impact. Zelensky does not fully succeed in casting the EU into this role, because the EU holds on to the existing enlargement discourse with focus on criteria and a 'merits-based' path. However, elements of Zelensky's rhetoric can be traced in the statements of Von der Leyen and Michel. It is thus clear that Zelensky's very active and persistent approach brought the question of EU membership for Ukraine to the forefront of the EU's support for Ukraine, and that it did have an impact on the perception of the whole process. It shifted the understanding of EU enlargement away from 'fatigue' and rigidity to a dynamic process and a question of values, albeit with a persistent emphasis on a merits-based process from the EU's side.

7.2 Zelensky's Discursive Role Claim and the EU's Reaction

My research questions steered the sails of my thesis as it laid out the aims of the project, and the findings summarised above enable me to answer the research questions. Zelensky uses his speeches actively to claim that Ukraine is indeed a *rightful* EU candidate and uses the fight against the Russian invaders as the main argument. The argument is built up around Ukraine's defence of freedom for both Ukraine itself and Europe more broadly, but also the fundamental values that the EU is founded on. The connection between the fight and EU membership composes the discourse that reveal Zelensky's perspective on the path towards the EU and the ongoing struggle, which is established through the different rhetorical instruments covered above. Importantly, Zelensky addressed the question of criteria and that the resilience of Ukrainian institutions and society as a whole show that Ukraine met the criteria for candidate status. Zelensky partly stands on established discourses within Ukraine, but the context put them into a different light, and the discourse represents a more direct and determined perspective on EU membership. It is therefore in line with my expectation of Zelensky's role

claim and use of discourse to achieve this, though with a limited engagement with the importance of criteria.

If turning to the EU's own discourse and interaction with Zelensky's role claim, the picture is slightly more motley. The EU did interact with Zelensky's discourse and thereby role claim *after* the official application, albeit with some hesitation. The EU did to a great degree apply the existing enlargement discourse with focus on criteria and a merits-based path to membership, which intensified along advances in the progress. However, it would be too simple to completely repudiate that Zelensky's discourse had no impact on the EU's rhetoric. Michel and Von der Leyen recognised Ukraine's struggle and fight for fundamental values, and that the fight could be connected to the concept of EU membership. I will therefore argue that traces of Zelensky's moral reasoning can be seen in the statements, documents, and speeches that I have examined and that it shows the strength of Zelensky's discourse, but that these were secondary to the already established EU discourse. It therefore partly meets my expectation.

7.3 The Thesis in a Greater Perspective

The aim of the thesis is to contribute to a greater understanding of the full-scale invasion and how it shaped Ukraine's relationship to the EU in those crucial first four months. The findings thus play into the already existing literature on the Ukraine-EU relationship and that Zelensky's appearance implies a change in the power relations, or at least how it should impact Ukraine's behaviour. The analysis suggests that the agency of Ukraine and Zelensky in those four months changed how Ukraine and its membership ambitions were perceived. My findings do not problematise the existing literature as such, but rather that the current circumstances have shaken up the relationship between the EU and Ukraine, and in particular strengthened Ukraine's moral standing in comparison to the EU. Furthermore, my results open for a discussion on the dynamics of EU enlargement and how the apparent enlargement fatigue within the EU did not end up in obstructing Ukraine's candidate status. The pace of the process for Ukraine (and Moldova) does shed new light on the process and the role of the applicant countries themselves, but also that this has not been present for other candidates previously. It shows the value of turning the lens away from the EU and instead focus on Zelensky and

Ukraine, because it adds to the understanding of the applicants' path to membership and how their discourses and role claims can contribute to a greater engagement from the EU.

Zelensky writes himself into the history book of political speeches, and in particular speeches in time of war, which shows that words still matter. The thesis adds to the already vast literature on political speeches and underlines their relevance, because it shows the power of creating and maintaining a discourse. Zelensky's speeches have not caused the candidate status, but it is beyond doubt that they in some ways have contributed to putting Ukrainian membership on the table as part of the response to the Russian invasion and made it a realistic path for decision-makers in the EU to embark on. In addition, it shows how speeches can be part of political leadership and a way to both appeal to a domestic audience in the fight for survival, but also to appeal for support to foreign audiences in a fight for independence.

A last element is the theoretical contribution. My thesis exemplifies the strength of combining different approaches to achieve a broader perspective on the puzzle at hand. CDA and role theory are well-established within political science, and I therefore stand on the shoulders of great scholars. However, by taking advantage of the inherent openness of CDA towards other approaches to make up for its inadequacy to capture social practice, and bring in IRT, this thesis shows the potential of merging these two perspectives to capture this particular area and its complexity. My sketch of a five-step analytical approach takes the best from the work of Fairclough and Klose to provide a clear, yet detailed, way to approach speeches and similar material. It shows the benefit of first mapping out a particular discourse before seeing how it is used to claim a certain role, while at the same time being able to include the perspective of other actors. I am convinced that my approach will contribute to the understanding of the issue and the discussion on how research like this can be realised.

7.4 Limitations and Future Research

This thesis is a contribution to the scientific debate on the Ukraine-EU relationship and the understanding of how the full-scale invasion impacts different parts of Ukrainian society and the EU as an organisation. Following from that, this thesis forms *my* interpretation of the material and understanding of the research puzzle. This is a consequence of both the ontological

and epistemological foundation, but nevertheless it does separate this project from others that are based on different traditions and generate general conclusions. I could have chosen other theories to create the foundation for the project, which would have changed these elements and brought a different perspective. However, that would not allow me to delve into the material in the same way and uncover Zelensky's discourse and role with the same depth. I have attempted to take advantage of the flexibility of the CDA concepts, while also provide the clarity needed for carrying out the research in a solid and transparent way. IRT does help create an overall picture of how the discourse impacts the role claim and public response from the EU, but it does that on the expense of a more detailed approach to the claim and interaction. Furthermore, I decided to prioritise the perspective of Ukraine through Zelensky over the EU to see it through the lens of the applicant rather than the adjudicator, but it limits what can be inferred from the analysis of the EU's reaction. However, as the EU's reaction compose a sub-component of one of the steps, it is a natural consequence. On the bottom-line, I see the combination of CDA and IRT as the best path to try and balance out the advantages and disadvantages when using them individually but is one among many potential approaches.

My project calls for future research in several ways. The full-scale invasion is still reality at the time of writing, with horrible consequences for civilians on the ground in Ukraine, and it is thus a topic that requires on-going research to understand the impact and consequences of Russia's invasion of Ukraine. It is therefore also relatively limited how much research has been conducted on both Ukraine's and the EU's behaviour and actions during the first months of the full-scale invasion, and it is a natural gap in the literature that researchers will continue to fill to better understand the events. Further research on Zelensky's speeches with different approaches, focus and/or alternative selection of material are also necessary to better understand how they shaped the understanding of the events happening. In direct connection to my findings, future research could shed light on how Zelensky's discourse and appearance shaped EU officials' understanding of Ukraine and perception of EU enlargement. This could reveal whether the discourse was something that impacted their work and approach to the application, which would also provide better understanding of how the context can shape enlargement. There are several paths for future research that could be taken, all contributing to a better understanding how the full-scale invasion challenged the way we perceive Europe, Ukraine, and leadership in politics.

8 References

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9 Appendix

9.1 Appendix 1: Detailed Analytical Approach

1. Preparation		
	Research Problem and Puzzle	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Description of research problem and puzzle that the project will examine
	Research Question	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Determine the Research question that will guide and delimit the project
	Choice of Material	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Substantiate the choice of material and what limitations the choice contains
2. Mapping Discourse		
<i>a. Discursive Practice</i>	Communicative event	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Situate the communicative event and its background
	Genre	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Identify the specific genre of the text
	Order of discourse	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Establish what overall order of discourse dominates the text
	Intertextuality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The extent the text draws on other texts
	Interdiscursivity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Whether the text draws on other discourses, both within and outside the same order of discourse and genre
<i>b. Textual Analysis</i>	Interactional Control	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Position of the speaker and the ability to set agenda How the position reveals the power relationship
	Topic Control	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Speaker's ability to choose topic and ensure that it is the focus Whether the speaker can set and control/police the agenda
	Formulation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How is the discourse defined and thereby set for the discussion
	Modality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Establishment of truth Commitment of the speaker to that truth
	Transivity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Meaning of grammar and the process it reveals <i>Relational</i> grammar=creates relationships to other actors <i>Action</i> grammar=Reveals an aim and path towards it
	Metaphors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Use of words and phrases in a new context or way
	Persuasion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ethos: The right intentions Logos: The proper thinking Pathos: Sound right Story: How is the narrative/story presented Appearance: Looking right

3. Role Claim		
	Problematic Situation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Determine the problematic situation that the actor in focus has to navigate
	Response	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The role that the actor envisions in response to the problematic situation • How the actor rhetorically claims the role
	Change	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is the role claim a change or continuation to previous role claims • Does the role claim contain change in relationships to other actors
4. Role Interaction		
	Internal Realisation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What does the actor itself do rhetorically to realise the claim • The actor's description of what will be done by the actor to realise the role
	Alter-Casting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What role does the actor see for the Significant Other to realise the actor's role claim
	Significant Other's Reaction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The reaction of the Significant Other to the actor's role claim • Does the Significant Other acquire a similar discourse on the topic • Can traces be seen of the Significant Other embracing the role envisioned by the actor (alter-casting)
5. Critical Reflection		
	Implications of Role Claim for Relationship between the Actor and the Significant Other	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What consequences does the role claim appear to have for the relationship
	Power Relationship	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whether the role claim change the power dynamics between the actor and the Significant Other
	Wider Implications	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Does the role claim and the interaction have wider implications for the social practice and field

9.2 Appendix 2: Speech Overview

Appendix	Category	Date	Name	Context	Key Points
4	Key Speech	26/2-2022	We Withstood	It is the third day of the full-scale invasion and Russian troops are moving towards Kyiv. The situation is highly uncertain, as the speech also shows	Zelensky updates on the developments around the country. For the first time, he mentions EU membership and the need to 'close the long-standing' discussion.
5	Key Speech	28/2-2022	Stand Firm	It is the fifth day of the invasion and Ukraine is resisting the Russian attacks, receiving respect from its international partners.	Zelensky provides an update on the situation on the ground and talks about the respect he receives from international leaders. In this speech he launches the idea of immediate membership under a new 'special procedure'.
6	Key Speech	28/2-2022	Evening Address	This speech is the evening update on the developments on the fifth day of the invasion, where Russian troops are still moving towards Kyiv. Zelensky has officially signed Ukraine's EU membership application earlier that day.	Besides the update on the situation on the ground, this speech reveals that Ukraine has now officially applied to become an EU member, something Ukraine has waited '30 years for'.
7	Key Speech	1/3-2022	Speech to European Parliament	It is the first speech Zelensky holds to a foreign audience and takes place only one week after the full-scale invasion began.	A very moving speech, where Zelensky presents his perspective on the ongoing events and, most importantly, that Ukraine is fighting for EU membership.
8	Speech to EU MS	17/3-2022	Speech to German Parliament	The second speech to an EU member state (after Poland) and happens at a time, where Germany has been criticised for its support.	Zelensky is very direct in his speech about the need for greater German support and uses the wall reference to underline his points. He claims that Germany is one of the countries delaying the membership request by Ukraine.
9	Speech to EU MS	23/3-2022	Speech to French Parliament	His third speech to an EU member state, which is also holding the rotating presidency, and it happens just before a European Council meeting.	Zelensky continues the direct approach and that negotiations do not stand as an alternative because of Russia's behaviour. Importantly, Zelensky asks France to stand up to the historical task and help Ukraine into the EU.

10	Key Speech	24/3-2022	Speech to European Council	The speech takes place one month after the full-scale invasion and Zelensky has the opportunity to speak directly to EU leaders. It is also happening at a time, where key measures are discussed and EU membership for Ukraine is still met with some hesitancy.	This speech stands out as the most direct speech by Zelensky in the time period. He uses the speech to update on developments on the ground, and to be critical of the speed that the EU has acted with. Significantly, he evaluates every single member state on their position to EU membership, where he is particularly critical of Germany and Hungary.
11	Key Speech	8/4-2022	The strike on Kramatorsk must be one of the charges at the tribunal regarding Russia's war crimes	The speech takes place in the aftermath of the Russian attack on a railway station, killing 50 civilians. It is an important day because it is after Von der Leyen's visit to Kyiv and Bucha, where she hands over the questionnaire, an important step in the process.	Again, the speech provides an update and the situation after the attack in Kramatorsk. He talks about EU support and ends the speech with an update on the progress and what will happen with the questionnaire. He underlines the speed it will happen with.
12	Mentioning MS directly	20/4-2022	Today is a historic moment when Ukraine can develop maximum speed in joining the EU	It is on the day, where Zelensky welcomed European Council President Charles Michel to Ukraine, which can be seen clearly in the speech.	The speech covers a wide range of topic and focuses on the visit from Michel. They talked about defence, rebuilding, sanctions and naturally, membership. Membership is again talked about in historic terms and that it is a historic chance for Ukraine.
13	Mentioning MS directly	9/5-2022	Russia is the only culprit that peace has been destroyed, and this is its historical responsibility	Ukraine has provided the second round of answers to the questionnaire given by the Commission. It is also taking place after a new visit from Charles Michel, but also with the Secretary General of the Council of Europe. It is on Europe day.	The speech covers a broad range of topics, including agricultural exports, military equipment and peace. Membership is discussed, here he updates on the talks with Michel and Von der Leyen, which have been impressed by the speed of Ukraine's answers.
14	Key Speech	30/5-2022	Speech to European Council	This is a speech directed towards the European Council and thus part of the agenda for the meeting of the EU leaders.	He touches upon the most important areas for Ukraine, including sanctions, military support, energy and others. He underlines that EU membership is about the European home and to protect Europe from Russian aggression. Ukraine has the right to decide themselves, where they want to align themselves, not from Moscow
15	Speech to EU MS	15/6-2022	Speech to Czech Parliament	The speech is to the Czech parliament and the Czech Republic, we will assume the EU presidency just some weeks after. The speech takes place just a couple of days before the	The speech uses historical references related to Czechia, with a particular focus on the Prague Spring of 1968. It gives an update on the situation and where the support stands. He

				opinion from the Commission on Ukraine's candidate status.	uses the 'we are with you, be with us' slogan from 1968 to situate Ukraine's situation and its appeals for membership and candidate status.
16	Key Speech	17/6-2022	We managed to liberate Ukrainian paramedic Yulia "Tayra" Payevska from captivity	The speech is taking place just after Yulia Payevska, a hostage, was liberated and brought back to her family. Furthermore, the speech takes place on the evening, where Ukraine has received the message about the positive opinion from the Commission on Ukrainian candidate status. It is thus a milestone in the process.	The speech touches mainly on Ukrainian candidate status and membership, as it takes place after the positive opinion from the Commission. He uses it to again make the case for why Ukraine should become a candidate and that it has already showed what it is capable of.
17	Key Speech	23/6-2022	Speech at EU Summit	The speech is directed to the European Council and takes place just after the leaders have agreed to grant Ukraine (and Moldova) candidate status.	This speech is covering the progress that Ukraine has made together with its European partners, and a clear thank you to all the leaders present. It is thus a continuation of the speech in March, where he evaluated the leaders, albeit now they are all in a positive tone.
18	Key Speech	24/6-2022	Officially recognized: Ukraine is a future equal partner for 27 EU countries	This is a pre-recorded and staged speech that are targeted an Ukrainian audience and going through what it means. The positive candidate status is thus the context and Zelensky is accompanied by the Prime Minister and the Chairman of the parliament.	This speech is an argument on why this day is important for Ukraine and why membership is still the end goal for Ukraine. It goes through some of the concrete reasons, but also why it is bigger than just politics.

9.3 Appendix 3: Overview of EU Material

Institution	Date	Title	Description	Reference
European Council	24/2-2022	European Council conclusions ^[1] on Russia's unprovoked and unjustified military aggression against Ukraine	The conclusions agreed on at the Special European Council meeting after the full-scale Russian invasion. It condemns the invasion strongly. It does not mention membership directly, but talk about the right for Ukraine to choose own destiny and acknowledgement of the European aspirations, as set out in the AA.	European Council (2022a) 'Special meeting of the European Council (24 February 2022) – Conclusions'. European Council. Available at: https://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/54495/st00018-en22.pdf (Accessed: 17 May 2023).
European Council	25/2-2022	Remarks by President Charles Michel following the Special European Council on Ukraine'	Michel's official statement after the special European Council meeting after the full-scale invasion. It focuses on various measures and how the EU can support Ukraine.	Council of the EU (2022a) 'Remarks by President Charles Michel following the Special European Council on Ukraine'. Council of the EU - Press. Available at: https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2022/02/25/remarks-by-president-charles-michel-after-the-special-meeting-of-the-european-council-on-ukraine/pdf (Accessed: 17 May 2023).
European Council	27/2-2022	Address to the Ukrainian people by European Council President Charles Michel	Charles Michel is holding a (virtual) speech directly to the Ukrainian public. He talks about Maidan and how Ukraine has shown its support for the EU, and now it is time for the EU to do the same.	Council of the EU (2022b) 'Address to the Ukrainian people by European Council President Charles Michel'. Council of the EU - Press. Available at: https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2022/02/27/address-to-the-ukrainian-people-by-european-council-president-charles-michel/pdf (Accessed: 17 May 2023).

European Council	1/3-2022	Remarks by President Charles Michel at the extraordinary debate at the European Parliament on Russian aggression against Ukraine	Charles Michel's speech at the European Parliament, just after President Zelensky has held his speech. It is a speech that is in response to the moving speech by Zelensky and addressing some of the things mentioned. It acknowledges the membership question, but that it is also a difficult one for the EU.	Council of the EU (2022c) 'Remarks by President Charles Michel at the extraordinary debate at the European Parliament on Russian aggression against Ukraine'. Council of the EU - Press. Available at: https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2022/03/01/remarks-by-president-charles-michel-at-the-extraordinary-debate-at-the-european-parliament-on-russian-aggression-against-ukraine/pdf (Accessed: 17 May 2023).
European Council	11/3-2022	Informal meeting of the Heads of State or Government - Versailles Declaration - 10 and 11 March 2022	The informal meeting at Versailles, hosted by the French Presidency. The declaration covers a wide range of topics, including military support, but most important mentions Ukraine's application and the actions that the European Council has taken.	European Council (2022b) 'Informal meeting of the Heads of State or Government - Versailles Declaration - 10 and 11 March 2022'. European Council. Available at: https://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/54773/20220311-versailles-declaration-en.pdf (Accessed: 17 May 2023).
European Commission	8/4-2022	Statement by President von der Leyen with Ukrainian President Zelenskyy at the occasion of the President's visit to Kyiv - 8 April 2022	The statement that Ursula von der Leyen made at the press conference together with the Ukrainian President. Even though it touches on many areas, it marks a milestone when Von der Leyen personally hands over the questionnaire that officially starts the Commission's assessment.	European Commission (2022a) <i>Statement by President von der Leyen with Ukrainian President Zelenskyy at the occasion of the President's visit to Kyiv - 8 April 2022, European Commission - European Commission</i> . Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/STATEMENT_22_2381 (Accessed: 17 May 2023).
European Council	20/4-2022	Remarks by President Charles Michel at the press conference following his meeting with President Volodymyr Zelenskyy in Kyiv	It is a transcript of the remarks by Charles Michel during the press conference in Kyiv during his visit. He acknowledges Ukraine's fight for values and freedom, and shows support for Ukraine's path.	Council of the EU (2022d) 'Remarks by President Charles Michel at the press conference following his meeting with President Volodymyr Zelenskyy in Kyiv'. Council of the EU - Statements and Remarks. Available at: https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2022/04/20/remarks-by-president-charles-

				michel-at-the-press-conference-following-his-meeting-with-president-volodymyr-zelensky-in-kyiv/pdf (Accessed: 17 May 2023).
European Commission	11/6-2022	Statement by President von der Leyen with Ukrainian President Zelenskyy on the occasion of the President's visit to Kyiv - 11 June 2022	This statement is given during Ursula von der Leyen's last trip to Kyiv before the Commission publishes its Opinion on the Ukrainian application and whether it should receive candidate status. It is therefore the last preparations and is a sign of support for Ukraine.	European Commission (2022b) <i>Statement by President von der Leyen with Ukrainian President Zelenskyy on the occasion of the President's visit to Kyiv - 11 June 2022, European Commission - European Commission</i> . Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/STATEMENT_22_3622 (Accessed: 17 May 2023).
European Commission	17/6-2022	Statement by the President: Opinions on EU membership	Ursula von der Leyen's statement that presents the opinions on EU membership for Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia. It is those the arguments behind the recommendation to the European Council.	European Commission (2022c) <i>Statement by the President: Opinions on EU membership, European Commission - European Commission</i> . Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/STATEMENT_22_3822 (Accessed: 17 May 2023).
European Commission	17/6-2022	EU membership applications by Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia	The recorded press conference, where Ursula von der Leyen is joined by the European Commissioner for Neighbourhood and Enlargement, Olivér Váhelyi, available on YouTube. It includes the questions, where the President and Commissioner are asked critically about the applications and whether the countries have been examined on other grounds than previously.	European Commission (2022d) <i>EU membership applications by Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia</i> . Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PbdNXJf91XY (Accessed: 17 May 2023).
European Commission	22/6-2022	Speech by President von der Leyen at the European Parliament Plenary on the preparation of the European Council meeting	The speech that Ursula von der Leyen gives to the European Parliament ahead of the European Council meeting that will decide on the membership applications. She lays out the arguments for the Opinion that the Commission has produced.	European Commission (2022e) <i>Speech by President von der Leyen at the European Parliament Plenary on the preparation of the European Council meeting, European Commission - European Commission</i> . Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/SPEECH_22_3965 (Accessed: 17 May 2023).

European Council	23/6-2022	Remarks by President Charles Michel following the first working session of the European Council, 23 June 2022	The statement by Charles Michel after the first day of the European Council meeting, where the membership point on the agenda has already been discussed. It is thus a reaction to the candidate status to Ukraine (and Moldova), and the European Perspective to Georgia.	Council of the EU (2022e) 'Remarks by President Charles Michel following the first working session of the European Council, 23 June 2022'. Council of the EU - Statements and Remarks. Available at: https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2022/06/23/intervention-du-president-michel-a-l-issue-de-la-premiere-seance-de-travail-du-conseil-europeen-23-juin-2022/pdf (Accessed: 17 May 2022).
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9.4 Appendix 4: 'We withstood' – Evening address by President Zelensky

Reference (also listed in bibliography):

Zelensky, V. (2022a) *We withstood: address by the President of Ukraine on the third day of the war*, Official website of the President of Ukraine. Available at: <https://www.president.gov.ua/en/news/mi-vistoyali-zvernennya-prezidenta-ukrayini-u-tretij-den-vij-73197> (Accessed: 16 May 2023).

Derived from:

<https://www.president.gov.ua/en/news/mi-vistoyali-zvernennya-prezidenta-ukrayini-u-tretij-den-vij-73197>

Official transcript:

I can start this address with good news. We withstood and successfully repel enemy attacks. The fighting continues. In many cities and districts of our state. But we know what we are defending. The country, the land, the future of children.

Kyiv and key cities around the capital are controlled by our army. The invaders wanted to block the center of our state and put their puppets here, as in Donetsk. We broke their plan. They did not gain any advantage over us.

On our streets, in the skies of Kyiv, in Vasytkiv, in Vyshhorod, even in the surrounding fields, a real battle for Kyiv took place. The enemy used everything against us: missiles, fighter aircraft, drones, artillery, armored vehicles, saboteurs, paratroopers. The invaders are shelling residential neighborhoods, including with the use of missile artillery, trying to destroy energy facilities. They have very treacherous tactics.

Dwellings destroyed by missiles and artillery are the ultimate argument for the world to stop the occupation invasion together with us.

I say this as frankly as possible now: the people of Ukraine have already earned and have the right to become a member of the European Union. This will be the key evidence of our country's support.

It is a crucial moment to close the long-standing strategic discussion once and for all and to decide on Ukraine's membership in the European Union. I discussed this today with Charles Michel, Ursula von der Leyen, Emmanuel Macron.

The anti-war coalition is operating - defense weapons and equipment are heading to Ukraine. We already have almost full support from EU countries for disconnecting Russia from SWIFT. I hope that Germany and Hungary will have the courage to support this decision. We have the courage to defend our homeland, to defend Europe.

In each of our cities, the invaders are being severely rebuffed. Uman, Odesa, Kherson, Mykolaiv, Donbas, Kharkiv, Sumy, Chernihiv, Kyiv - wherever the enemy kills our people, the Armed Forces of Ukraine are doing everything to stop and destroy the invaders. Lviv and other cities in western and central Ukraine that are under air attacks endure firmly. Well done!

Every Ukrainian needs to remember one thing. If you can stop and destroy the invaders, do it. All those who can return to Ukraine, come back to defend Ukraine. And then we will have a lot of work with you to rebuild it!

All those who can defend Ukraine abroad, do it purposefully, unitedly, continuously! All friends of Ukraine who want to join the defense - come, we will give you weapons! All the details of how to implement this will be announced in the near future.

Glory to all those who defend Ukraine today! You are heroes!

I adopted a decision to posthumously award the title of Hero of Ukraine to Vitaliy Volodymyrovych Skakun, a sapper of the 35th Separate Marine Brigade. At the cost of his own life, he blew up the bridge.

And now I want absolutely everyone in Russia to hear me. Thousands of victims. Hundreds of prisoners who simply cannot understand why they were sent to Ukraine. Sent to be killed. The sooner you tell your government that the war must be stopped immediately, the more of your people will remain alive.

We see that there are indeed protests by your citizens against the war. We know that many in Russia are now simply shocked by the meanness and cruelty of the authorities. This is a truly correct response. I thank you for this reaction. Thanks to Leonid Parfyonov, Dmitry Muratov, Yury Dud, Liya Akhedzhakova, Valery Meladze and thousands, thousands of other Russians whose conscience is heard loud. Just stop those who lie to you, lie to us, lie to the whole world. We need to end this war. We can live in peace - in global peace, in human peace.

Our military, national guards, national police, territorial defense, border guards, special services, citizens - hold on! We will defeat everyone. Glory to Ukraine!

9.5 Appendix 5: 'Stand firm' – Morning address by President Zelensky

Reference (also listed in bibliography):

Zelensky, V. (2022b) *Stand firm: Address by the President of Ukraine, Official website of the President of Ukraine*. Available at: <https://www.president.gov.ua/en/news/stoyimo-micno-zvernennya-prezidenta-ukrayini-73241> (Accessed: 16 May 2023).

Derived from:

<https://www.president.gov.ua/en/news/stoyimo-micno-zvernennya-prezidenta-ukrayini-73241>

Official transcript:

Good morning, Ukrainian heroes! The fifth day of Russia's full-scale war against the people of Ukraine. We stand firm. During this time, we have experienced as much as other nations may not have in decades. We have been told for a long time that there is something wrong with Ukrainians in this or that issue. That Ukrainians have to do so-called "homework" for decades. Because of this, we often did not notice what we are really capable of. And now we have shown ourselves to the fullest. And it's inspiring. For everyone.

In every conversation with our partners, I hear sincere respect. Ukrainians have shown the world who we are. And Russia has shown what it has become. Just think about it: during the Russian invasion - in just four days - sixteen Ukrainian children died as a result of the Russian shelling. Sixteen! 45 children were wounded.

Every crime, every shelling that the invaders commit against us, unites us and our partners even more. Russia did not believe in such a solidary and powerful reaction. But Ukrainians have changed that story. The European Union has decided to supply us with weapons. We are grateful. Yesterday I spoke with Ursula von der Leyen, President of the European Commission, about further, even stronger steps. Europeans are aware that our soldiers are fighting for our country and, consequently, for the whole of Europe. For peace for all European countries, for the lives of children, for equality, for democracy. And this gives us the full right to do the following.

We appeal to the European Union for Ukraine's immediate accession under a new special procedure. We are grateful to our partners for being with us. But our goal is to be with all Europeans and, most importantly, to be equal. I am confident that is fair. I am confident we deserve it. I am confident that all this is possible.

Yesterday I spoke with the Presidents of Portugal, Lithuania, President of France Emmanuel Macron and President of Poland Andrzej Duda. I am especially grateful to Andrzej Duda for our fruitful work. I spoke with the Prime Ministers of Belgium, Spain and Prime Minister of the United Kingdom Boris Johnson. Support of our anti-war coalition is unconditional and unprecedented.

Europe has closed the sky to all Russian planes. Global business refuses any ties with Russian companies. Let's see how this week will end for the Russian currency - what will be the fall of the ruble. As long as this criminal invasion of Ukraine continues, the Russian state is suffering losses as if the war passed through their territory. Do you need all this? Russian mothers, Russian teachers, Russian entrepreneurs, ordinary people. For what?

Four and a half thousand Russian soldiers have already been killed. Why did you all come here? Why do the columns of your armored vehicles go against us? From our Crimea. From Yalta, Yevpatoriya, Sudak, Simferopol... These are not the names of military camps for tankers. Once

again: four and a half thousand Russian invaders killed. Throw away your equipment. And leave. Do not believe your commanders. Do not believe your propagandists. Just save your lives. Leave.

We dedicate every hour to strengthening our state. Anyone who can join the fight against the invaders must do so. Therefore, a decision was made - not easy from a moral point of view, but useful from the point of view of our protection. Under martial law, participants in hostilities - Ukrainians with real combat experience - will be released from custody and will be able to compensate for their guilt in the hottest spots of war. All sanctions are lifted from some people who took part in the anti-terrorist operation. The key now is defense.

When I ran for presidency, I said that each of us is the President. Because we are all responsible for our state. For our beautiful Ukraine. And now it turns out that each of us is a warrior. The warrior in his or her own place. And I am confident that each of us will win.

Glory to Ukraine!

9.6 Appendix 6: Evening Address by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelensky

Reference (also listed in bibliography):

Zelensky, V. (2022c) *Address by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy, Official website of the President of Ukraine*. Available at: <https://www.president.gov.ua/en/news/zlo-ozbroyene-raketami-bombami-j-artileriyeyu-treba-zupiniti-73257> (Accessed: 16 May 2023).

Derived from:

<https://www.president.gov.ua/en/news/zlo-ozbroyene-raketami-bombami-j-artileriyeyu-treba-zupiniti-73257>

Official transcript:

Russian forces today brutally shelled Kharkiv with rocket artillery. This is definitely a military crime. A peaceful city. Peaceful residential areas. No military object. Dozens of eyewitness records prove that this is not a separate false shot, it is a conscious destruction of people. Russians knew where they were shooting.

For this crime there will definitely be a tribunal. International. This is a breach of all conventions. No one in the world will forgive you the murder of peaceful Ukrainian people. Here is Ukraine. Here is Europe. Here is 2022. Evil, armed with rockets, bombs and artillery, must be stopped immediately. Destroyed economically. We must show that humanity is able to protect themselves. I believe that it is necessary to consider the full closure of the sky for Russian missiles, airplanes, helicopters. In five days of invasion, already 56 missile strikes have been carried out against Ukraine. 113 cruise missiles were fired. This is their "fraternal friendship". And the world knows what to do. I spoke about this with partners today.

The state committing military crimes against civilians cannot be a member of the UN Security Council. The entrance to all ports, channels, airports in the world must be closed for this state. Such a state must not receive hundreds of billions for energy exports. Buying Russian goods now is to pay money for murdering people.

Peaceful, proud, strong Kharkiv. You have always been such. You will always be such. We will withstand this as well. We will defend Ukraine. We will help everyone affected by inhuman invasion. Chernihiv, Okhtyrka, Sumy, Hostomel, Vasylkiv, Kherson, Mariupol, Donetsk and all other cities and towns of our native country will see a peaceful and safe life. Sincere condolences to all who lost their relatives and loved ones in this war. Eternal memory to those who died. Eternal glory to everyone who defends our freedom!

Before addressing you, I signed a decree on awarding the title of the Hero of Ukraine to twelve our defenders:

Lieutenant Colonel Eduard Mykolayovych Vahorovsky (posthumously). He died saving our aircraft from a missile strike. Gave others the opportunity to take to the air.

Major Dmytro Valeriyovych Kolomiets (posthumously). He rescued his brothers-inarms, diverted enemy aircraft fire and was shot down by an enemy plane. Lieutenant Colonel Hennadiy Vasyliovych Matulyak (posthumously). Hostomel. Destroyed the group of enemy equipment.

Lieutenant Vitaliy Anatoliyovych Movchan (posthumously). In an air battle he destroyed two enemy aircraft.

Colonel Oleksandr Yakovych Oksanchenko (posthumously). He died in an air battle, distracting enemy aircraft.

Senior Lieutenant Vyacheslav Denysovych Radionov (posthumously). Thanks to his courageous actions, the entire crew of the brigade's planes took to the air in Vasylkiv, and this saved ours from a missile strike.

Senior Lieutenant Andriy Andriyovych Gerus. Over the city of Kropyvnytskyi he shot down an enemy IL-76, which prevented the landing of Russian troops with weapons.

Brigadier General Dmytro Serhiyovych Krasyl'nykov, Commander of the Operational and Tactical Group "North". For two days he has been fighting off the continuous assault, saved people and equipment. And did not let the enemy into Kharkiv from the Luhansk region.

Lieutenant Colonel Andriy Mykolayovych Kruhlov. He withdrew the Buk SAM unit from the enemy attacks and personally destroyed two Russian helicopters and one plane.

Colonel Oleksandr Volodymyrovych Mostov. He shot down a Russian IL-76 near Vasylkiv, as well as two Mi-24 helicopters, which prevented the landing of paratroopers and weapons.

Lieutenant General Yuri Ivanovych Sodol. In the battles for Volnovakha, he saved our men from the encirclement and organized a successful counterattack. He brought people out of the enemy's attack. Defends Mariupol extremely effectively. Colonel of medical service Eduard Mykolayovych Khoroshun. He personally organized the defense of the besieged military medical center and carried out the evacuation of the wounded.

Now about Kyiv, our beautiful capital, the basis of our state, our security. For an enemy, Kyiv is the key target. They want to break our national statehood. Therefore, the capital is constantly in danger. Three rocket-bombing strikes are carried out only today. TETs-6 is the target. They want to damage a power station and leave our city without light. We did not allow them to break

the defense of the capital. And they send saboteurs to us. Constantly. Hundreds. All they are being neutralized.

In addition to defense, we are thinking about the rear as well. Provide people with everything necessary. We formed a round-the-clock coordination headquarters that collects all requests from regional administrations regarding the lack of the most necessary stuff. Products, medicines, fuel, equipment. The headquarters directly finds suppliers that can quickly and qualitatively meet such needs. This is the restoration of supply chains, interrupted by the war. Today, at the initiative of the Russian side, the first round of negotiations between Ukraine and Russia took place. These negotiations took place against the background of bombing and shelling of our territory, our cities. Synchronization of shelling with a negotiation process could be seen. I believe that Russia is trying to put pressure on us in such a way. Don't waste time. We do not perceive such tactics. Fair negotiations are possible when one side does not hit the other side with rocket artillery precisely at the moment of negotiations.

So far we do not have the result we would like to get. Russia has declared its position. We have outlined positions in response - to end the war. Some signals we received. When the delegation returns to Kyiv, we will analyze what we've heard and then determine how to move to the second round of negotiations.

Another thing that is very important to say. We've been waiting 30 years for this. Today I signed an application for Ukraine's membership in the European Union. We have gained the right to be together with everyone in Europe. The application has already been delivered to Brussels, officially registered. The time has come.
Glory to Ukraine!

9.7 Appendix 7: President Zelensky's Speech to the European Parliament

Reference (also listed in bibliography):

European Parliament (2022) 'Complete Sitting Minutes'. European Parliament. Available at: https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/CRE-9-2022-03-01_EN.pdf (Accessed: 16 May 2022).

Derived from:

https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/CRE-9-2022-03-01_EN.pdf

Official transcript:

Madam President, you know, over the last couple of days I have not known how to greet anybody properly, because I can't say 'good' morning, 'good' afternoon or 'good' evening. This is absolutely true, because for some people every day is definitely not 'good'. For some people, this day is their last.

I speak today now about my citizens – the citizens of Ukraine – who are manning the walls and defending freedom and paying the ultimate price. I'm very pleased with what I've seen here – this unifying mood. I'm happy that we have brought together all the countries of the European Union today, but I did not know at what cost. This is a tragedy for me, for every Ukrainian and for every state – thousands of people killed, two revolutions, one war and five days of full-scale invasion by the Russian Federation.

I'm not reading from a sheet of paper, because the paper phase in the life of my country has ended. Now we are dealing with reality. Those people who died – this is real life. I believe that today we are giving our lives for values, for rights, for freedom, for the desire to be equal, just like you are – just like every human is. We are losing our best, our strongest and our most valuable people.

Ukrainians are incredible. We often love to say that we will prevail over everyone, and I'm very happy that you are not only talking about it, but you can also see it. I am convinced that we will indeed prevail over everyone. There is an expression, 'Ukraine chooses Europe'. That's what we have been striving for, and that's where we are have been and are still headed. I would very much like to hear you say to us that Europe now chooses Ukraine.

I have a few moments to talk with you now since there is a lull in missile strikes and bombardments. This morning was a very tragic one for us. Two cruise missiles hit Kharkiv, a city located close to the border with the Russian Federation. There were always many Russians there, and the people have always been friendly and had warm relations. There are over 20 universities there. It's the city that has the highest number of universities in our country. The youth there is bright and smart. They have always gathered and continue to gather there to celebrate all the festivals in the largest square in our country, Freedom Square, which is also the largest square in Europe. Yes, it is truly called Freedom Square. Can you imagine that, this morning, two cruise missiles hit Freedom Square? Dozens were killed. This is the price of freedom.

We're fighting for our land and for our freedom. Despite the fact that all large cities of our country are now blocked off, nobody is going to come in and interfere with our freedom and our country. Believe you me – every square in every city of our country from today on, no matter what it's called, is going to be called Freedom Square. Nobody is going to break us. We are strong. We are Ukrainians.

We have a desire to see our children live. I believe this to be a fair one. Yesterday, 16 children were killed. President Putin will say yet again that it's some kind of operation and that they are hitting military infrastructure where our children happen to be. What kind of military factories are they working at? Are they riding around in tanks or launching cruise missiles? You killed 16 people just yesterday!

Our nation is extremely motivated. We are fighting for our rights, for our freedoms and for our lives. Now we're fighting for our survival, and this is our highest motivation, but we're also fighting to be equal members of Europe. Today, I believe that we are all showing the world exactly what we're made of. The European Union will be much stronger with us – that's for sure. Without you, Ukraine will be alone.

We have proven our strength. We have proven that, at the very least, we are exactly the same as you are. So prove that you are with us. Prove that you will not abandon us. Prove that you

are indeed Europeans, and then life will prevail over death and light will prevail over darkness. Glory to Ukraine!

9.8 Appendix 8: Address by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy to the Bundestag

Reference (also listed in bibliography): Zelensky, V. (2022d) *Address by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy to the Bundestag*, Official website of the President of Ukraine. Available at: <https://www.president.gov.ua/en/news/promova-prezidenta-ukrayini-volodimira-zelenskogo-u-bundesta-73621> (Accessed: 16 May 2023).

Derived from:

<https://www.president.gov.ua/en/news/promova-prezidenta-ukrayini-volodimira-zelenskogo-u-bundesta-73621>

Official transcript:

Dear President Göring-Eckardt. Dear Mr. Scholz.

Dear ladies and gentlemen, deputies, guests, journalists. German people!

I am addressing you after three weeks of full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine, after eight years of war in the east of my country, in Donbas.

I appeal to you when Russia is bombing our cities, destroying everything in Ukraine. Everything - houses, hospitals, schools, churches. Using missiles, air bombs, rocket artillery.

Thousands of Ukrainians died in three weeks. The occupiers killed 108 children. In the middle of Europe, in our country, in 2022.

I am addressing you after numerous meetings, negotiations, statements and requests. After steps in support, some of which are overdue. After sanctions, which are obviously not enough to stop this war. And after we saw how many ties your companies still have with Russia. With a state that just uses you and some other countries to finance the war.

During the three weeks of war for our lives, for our freedom, we became convinced of what we had felt before. And what you probably do not all notice yet.

You are like behind the wall again. Not the Berlin Wall. But in the middle of Europe. Between freedom and slavery. And this wall grows stronger with each bomb that falls on our land, on Ukraine. With every decision that is not made for the sake of peace. Not approved by you, although it may help.

When did it happen? Dear politicians. Dear German people.

Why is this possible? When we told you that Nord Stream was a weapon and a preparation for a great war, we heard in response that it was an economy after all. Economy. Economy. But it was cement for a new wall.

When we asked you what Ukraine needs to do to become a member of NATO, to be safe, to receive security guarantees, we heard the answer: such a decision is not on the table yet and will not be in the near future. Just as the chair for us at this table. Just as you are still delaying

the issue of Ukraine's accession to the European Union. Frankly, for some it is politics. The truth is that it is stones. Stones for a new wall.

When we asked for preventive sanctions, we appealed to Europe, we appealed to many countries. We turned to you. Sanctions for the aggressor to feel that you are a force. We saw delays. We felt resistance. We understood that you want to continue the economy. Economy. Economy.

And now the trade routes between you and the country that has once again brought a brutal war to Europe are barbed wire over the wall. Over the new wall that divides Europe.

And you don't see what's behind this wall, and it's between us, between people in Europe. And because of this, not everyone is fully aware of what we are going through today.

I am addressing you on behalf of Ukrainians, I am addressing you on behalf of Mariupol residents - civilians of a city that Russian troops have blocked and razed to the ground. They just destroy everything there. Everything and everyone who is there. Hundreds of thousands of people are under shelling around the clock. No food, 24 hours a day without water, no electricity, 24 hours a day without communication. For weeks.

Russian troops do not distinguish between civilians and military. They don't care where civilian objects are, everything is considered a target.

A theater that was a shelter for hundreds of people and was blown up yesterday, a maternity hospital, a children's hospital, residential areas without any military facilities - they are destroying everything. Round the clock. And they do not let any humanitarian cargo into our blocked city. For five days, Russian troops have not stopped the shelling specifically to prevent the rescue of our people.

You can see it all. If you climb over this Wall.

If you remember what the Berlin Airlift meant to you. Which could be realized because the sky was safe. You were not killed from the sky as now in our country, when we cannot even make an airlift! When the sky gives only Russian missiles and air bombs.

I am addressing you on behalf of older Ukrainians. Many survivors of World War II. Those who escaped during the occupation 80 years ago. Those who survived Babyn Yar.

Babyn Yar that President Steinmeier visited last year. On the 80th anniversary of the tragedy. And that was hit by Russian missiles now. It is exactly this place that was hit. And the missile strike killed the family that went to Babyn Yar, to the monument. Killed again, 80 years after.

I appeal to you on behalf of everyone who has heard politicians say: "Never again." And who saw that these words are worthless. Because again in Europe they are trying to destroy the whole nation. Destroy everything we live by and live for.

I am addressing you on behalf of our military. Those who defend our state, and therefore the values that are often talked about everywhere in Europe, everywhere - and in Germany as well. Freedom and equality. Opportunity to live freely, not to submit to another state, which considers a foreign land its "living space". Why are they defending all this without your leadership? Without your strength? Why are overseas states closer to us than you are? Because this is the Wall. The wall that someone doesn't notice and that we are hammering on while fighting to save our people. Ladies and Gentlemen! German people!

I am grateful to everyone who supports us. I am grateful to you. Ordinary Germans who sincerely help Ukrainians on your land. To journalists who do their job honestly, showing all the evil that Russia has brought to us. I am grateful to the German businessmen who put

morality and humanity above accounting. Above the economy. Economy. Economy. And I am grateful to the politicians who are still trying... Trying to break this Wall. Who choose life between Russian money and the deaths of Ukrainian children. Who support the strengthening of sanctions against Russia that can guarantee peace. Peace to Ukraine. Peace to Europe. Who do not hesitate to disconnect Russia from SWIFT.

Who know that an embargo on trade with Russia is needed. On imports of everything that sponsors this war. Who know that Ukraine will be in the European Union. Because Ukraine is already more Europe than many others.

I am grateful to everyone who is taller than any wall. And who knows that the stronger one bears more responsibility when it comes to saving people.

It is difficult for us to endure without the help of the world, without your help. It is difficult to defend Ukraine, Europe without what you can do. So that you don't look over your shoulder even after this war. After the destruction of Kharkiv... For the second time in 80 years. After the bombing of Chernihiv, Sumy and Donbas. For the second time in 80 years. After thousands of people tortured and killed. For the second time in 80 years. Otherwise, what is the historical responsibility to the Ukrainian people still not redeemed for what happened 80 years ago?

And now - so that a new one does not appear, behind the new Wall, which will again demand redemption.

I appeal to you and remind you of what is needed. The things without which Europe will not survive and will not preserve its values.

Former actor, President of the United States Ronald Reagan once said in Berlin: Tear down this wall!

And I want to tell you now. Chancellor Scholz! Tear down this wall.

Give Germany the leadership you deserve. And what your descendants will be proud of.

Support us. Support peace.

Support every Ukrainian. Stop the war. Help us stop it. Glory to Ukraine!

9.9 Appendix 9: Speech by the President of Ukraine at a joint meeting of the Senate, the National Assembly of the French Republic and the Council of Paris

Reference (also listed in bibliography):

Zelensky, V. (2022e) *Speech by the President of Ukraine at a joint meeting of the Senate, the National Assembly of the French Republic and the Council of Paris*, Official website of the President of Ukraine. Available at: <https://www.president.gov.ua/en/news/promova-prezidenta-ukrayini-na-spilnomu-zibranni-senatu-naci-73773> (Accessed: 16 May 2023).

Derived from:

<https://www.president.gov.ua/en/news/promova-prezidenta-ukrayini-na-spilnomu-zibranni-senatu-naci-73773>

Official transcript:

Ladies and gentlemen senators! Ladies and gentlemen deputies! Councillors of Paris! French people!

Thank you for the honor of speaking to you today.

I am sure that you are well aware of what is happening in Ukraine. You know why this is happening. And you know who is to blame. Even those who hide their heads in the sand know. And whose hands are still trying to get money from Russia.

So today I am addressing you. Honest, brave, rational and freedom-loving. I am addressing you with questions: how to stop the war? How to return peace to our state? Because most of the puzzles that make up the answer are in your hands.

On March 9, Russian bombs were dropped on a children's hospital and a maternity hospital in our city of Mariupol. It was a peaceful city in the south of Ukraine. Absolutely peaceful - until Russian troops approached and besieged it, as in the Middle Ages. Until they began to torture people with famine, thirst, kill with fire.

There were people in the maternity hospital on which the Russians dropped bombs. There were women in labor. Most of them were saved. Some were seriously injured. One woman had to have her foot amputated, as it was completely shattered.

And another woman... She had a shattered pelvis. Her child died before birth. Doctors tried to save the woman. Fought for her life! But she begged the doctors for her death. She begged to leave her, not to help her. Because she didn't know what to live for. They fought. She died. In Ukraine. In Europe. In 2022. When hundreds of millions of people could not even think that it could be so, that the world could be so ruined.

I ask you now to honor the memory of thousands of Ukrainian men and women, all those who were killed as a result of Russia's invasion of the territory of our peaceful Ukraine with a moment of silence.

After weeks of Russian invasion, Mariupol and other Ukrainian cities hit by the occupiers resemble the ruins of Verdun. As in the photos of the First World War, which, I'm sure, each and every one of you saw. The Russian militaries do not care which targets to hit. They destroy everything: residential neighborhoods, hospitals, schools, universities. Warehouses with food and medicine are being burned. They burn everything.

They do not take into account concepts such as "war crime" and "binding conventions". They brought terror to Ukraine, state terror. Each and every one of you is aware of this. All information is available. All the facts are there.

About women raped by the Russian military in the temporarily occupied areas. About refugees shot on the roads. About journalists they kill knowing for sure that they are journalists. About old people who survived the Holocaust and are now forced to save themselves from Russian attacks on peaceful cities in bomb shelters.

For 80 years, Europe has not seen the things that are happening in Ukraine now. Because of Russia's actions. When there are people so desperate that they beg for death! Like this woman.

In 2019, when I became President, there was already a format for negotiations with Russia. It was the Normandy format. The format of negotiations that were to end the war in Donbas. The war in eastern Ukraine, which has been going on for 8 years, unfortunately.

Four countries took part in the Normandy format - Ukraine, Russia, Germany and France. Four, but through them the whole world, all positions were represented. Someone supported. Someone was trying to delay the process. Someone wanted to ruin everything. But it seemed important that the world was always present at that Normandy table, the table of peace.

And when the negotiations yielded the result, when we managed to free people from captivity, when we were able to agree on some decisions in December 2019, it was like a breath of fresh air. Like a glimmer of hope. Hope that talks with Russia can help. That the Russian leadership can be convinced in words so that Moscow chooses peace.

But February 24 came. A day that ruined all those efforts. All of us. Ruined the old meaning of the word "dialogue". Ruined the European experience of relations with Russia. Ruined decades of European history.

All this was bombed by Russian troops. Destroyed by Russian artillery. Burned after Russian missile strikes.

The truth was not found in the offices. So now we have to look for it and gain it on the battlefield.

So what now? What do we have left? Our values. Unity. And the determination to defend our freedom. Common freedom! One for Paris and Kyiv. For Berlin and Warsaw. For Madrid and Rome. For Brussels and Bratislava.

Sips of fresh air will definitely not help anymore. It makes sense to act together. To put pressure together. To force Russia to seek peace.

Ladies and Gentlemen! French people!

On February 24, the Ukrainian people united. Today we have no right or left. We do not look at who is in power and who is in opposition. The usual policy ended on the day of Russia's invasion and will resume only when there is peace.

And this is right - to fight for life. To protect our state.

We are grateful to you, we are grateful that France helps. We are grateful for the efforts of President Macron. Who showed true leadership. We are constantly communicating with him, it is true, we are coordinating some of our steps.

Ukrainians see that France values freedom as much as it has always been. And you protect it. You remember what it is. Freedom, equality, brotherhood. Each of these words is full of power for you! I feel it. Ukrainians feel it.

That is why we expect from you, we expect from France, from your leadership, that you will be able to make Russia seek peace. To make it end this war against freedom. Against equality. Against brotherhood. Against everything that made Europe united and full of free diverse life. We expect from France, from your leadership, that Ukraine's territorial integrity will be restored. And together we can do it.

If among the attendees there are those who doubt it, your people are already sure. Like other nations of Europe.

And that during France's presidency in the European Union the long overdue historical decision will be made - on Ukraine's full membership in Europe and the EU. Historical decision in historical time. As has always been the case in the history of the French people.

Ladies and Gentlemen! French people!

Tomorrow will be a month since Ukrainians have been fighting for their own lives, for their own freedom, since our army has been heroically opposing the overwhelming forces of Russia. We need more help! We need more support!

In order for freedom not to lose, it must be well-armed. Tanks and anti-tank weapons, aviation and air defense. We need all this! You can help us. I know. You can!

In order for freedom not to lose, the world must support it with sanctions against the aggressor. A new sanctions package every week. Every week!

French companies must leave the Russian market. Renault, Auchan, Leroy Merlin and others. They must cease to be sponsors of Russia's military machine, sponsors of the killing of children and women, sponsors of rape, robbery and looting by the Russian army.

All companies must remember once and for all that values are worth more than profit. Especially profit on blood. And we must already think about the future. About how we will live after this war.

Guarantees are needed. Strong guarantees. Guarantees that security will be unshakable, that there will be no war, and that war in general will be impossible.

We are creating such a system of guarantees. A new security system. In which France, I believe, will play a leading role. So that no one will ever have to beg for death again! So that people live their life. Full life. And so that we say goodbye to people not under bombs, not in war, but when the time comes.

Only in peace. Only in dignity. Because you have to live so that you are respected. So that you are remembered. And so that people say goodbye to you in a way France said goodbye to the great Belmondo.

Thank you, France! Glory to Ukraine!

9.10 Appendix 10: Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy at a meeting of the European Council

Reference (also listed in bibliography):

Zelensky, V. (2022f) *Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy at a meeting of the European Council, Official website of the President of Ukraine*. Available at: <https://www.president.gov.ua/en/news/promova-prezidenta-ukrayini-volodimira-zelenskogo-na-zasidan-73809> (Accessed: 16 May 2023).

Derived from:

<https://www.president.gov.ua/en/news/promova-prezidenta-ukrayini-volodimira-zelenskogo-na-zasidan-73809>

Official transcript:

Greetings to all of you, greetings to all our friends, friends of Ukraine! Greetings to all who support freedom!

Mr. President of the European Council, my friend Charles, I congratulate you and congratulate all of us on your re-election. I think this is very important and this is right.

I am grateful for the opportunity to address you and the nations of Europe.

Today it's already been a month since the Russian invasion. After 8 years of aggression in Donbas. The month of the great war.

In short, about its chronicle. Because everything is in my head and everything is fragments. Unfortunately, tragic ones.

It all started on February 24. From Russia. When the missiles flew. Early in the morning. Against our peaceful cities. People have still been sleeping. Death has already come.

Russia sent armored vehicles against us. Brought several thousand tanks to Ukraine.

It's hard to count how many of them have already been burned. How many can still kill us.

Bombs fell on our people. From planes that took off from Belarus. And they didn't even admit that they did it.

Russia captured the Chernobyl NPP. Staff have not been released for 24 days there. Imagine, people lived 24 days at such a facility, worked at such a facility. These are our people.

So that nothing terrible happens in Chernobyl again. To prevent the catastrophe. And the Russian military held them hostage. Russian tanks fired at the Zaporizhzhia nuclear power plant. Russia fired missiles at Babyn Yar.

It has already destroyed more than 230 schools and 155 kindergartens. Killed 128 children. Fired missiles at universities. Burns residential neighborhoods with rocket artillery.

Whole cities, villages. Just to ashes. Nothing remains. The Russian military killed journalists. Although they saw the inscription "Press" on them. They may not have been taught to read. Only to kill.

Russia has blocked Mariupol. This is a blockade that no one could have imagined in our time. Hundreds of thousands of people without water, without food. Under constant shelling, under constant bombing.

The Russian militaries deliberately blow up hospitals, maternity hospitals, shelters. They even blow up shelters, imagine! Knowing for sure that people are hiding there.

They killed 96-year-old Borys Romanchenko in Kharkiv. A Russian projectile flew into his apartment. Into the apartment of a man who survived the Nazi concentration camps, but could not survive Russia that went to our Ukrainian Kharkiv. Thank God, our military stopped Russia there.

Russian troops are using phosphorus bombs - it was this morning. Rape women. Loot houses. Destroy churches! All churches. Even those of the Moscow Patriarchate.

Abducted more than 2,000 children from Ukraine. We don't know where our children are, where our 2,000 children are. Fire at humanitarian convoys. They don't care who's there. Children, women, church representatives who accompany the humanitarian cargo.

They kill people in Donetsk and say it's us. They say it's us, the "nationalists". Russia is doing all this. For a month already. On our land. And Ukraine? What is Ukraine doing?

It did not go to a foreign land. Never dreamed of any war. Shoots down missiles. Urges strangers to lay down their arms and return home. For the sake of life.

Do you understand? For the sake of life. Not death.

Heals and feeds war prisoners. Allows them to contact their relatives by phone. Collects the corpses of Russian soldiers from the fields, which they simply leave, abandon. Hundreds and hundreds.

Ukraine has united for peace. And for the sake of peace it unites the world. Tries to unblock the besieged cities.

Maintains the safe operation of nuclear power plants. Even in the presence of the occupiers.

Calls on the IAEA to intervene and patiently explains to the international bureaucracy what is happening. Evacuates people from dangerous areas. Does not stop trying to deliver humanitarian aid. Records Russian war crimes. Gathers evidence.

Invites journalists. Maintains the functioning of all institutions of a normal state. Defends its own country!

And every morning... Do you hear me? Every morning, the whole state, the whole of Ukraine - children, grandparents - everyone honors the memory of all those who died for our state with a moment of silence.

Have you heard anything like this on Russian television? Have you seen this in their schools?

They are even ashamed of the word "war". They call it a "special operation".

Although they organized a massacre here, as the Nazis did. These are different worlds. We and they.

These are different values. This is a different attitude to life. The Russian military does not see what dignity is. They do not know what conscience is. They do not understand why we value our freedom so much. This is what determines how the country will live.

And who should be in Europe. And what about the European Union?

I want to thank you - you are united, united around us. But I want to say that it was done in one way or another. But once again, the main thing is that you have united.

And we really appreciate that. You have applied sanctions. We are grateful. These are powerful steps.

But it was a little late. Because if it had been preventive, Russia would not have gone to war. At least no one knows for sure. There was a chance.

You blocked Nord Stream 2. We are grateful to you. And rightly so. But it was also a little late. Because if it had been in time, Russia would not have created a gas crisis. At least there was a chance.

And now you and I are preparing Ukraine's membership in the European Union. Finally.

Here I ask you - do not be late. Please. Because during this month you have compared these worlds, and you see everything. You saw who is worth what. And you saw that Ukraine should be in the EU in the near future.

At least you have everything for that. And we have this chance. Lithuania stands for us. Latvia stands for us. Estonia stands for us. Poland stands for us. France - Emanuel, I really believe that you will stand for us. Slovenia stands for us. Slovakia stands for us. The Czech Republic stands for us. Romania knows what dignity is, so it will stand for us at the crucial moment. Bulgaria stands for us. Greece, I believe, stands with us. Germany... A little later. Portugal - well, almost... Croatia stands for us. Sweden - yellow and blue should always stand together. Finland - I know you are with us. The Netherlands stands for the rational, so we'll find common ground. Malta - I believe we will succeed. Denmark - I believe we will succeed.

Luxembourg - we understand each other. Cyprus - I really believe you are with us.

Italy - thank you for your support! Spain - we'll find common ground. Belgium - we will find arguments. Austria, together with Ukrainians, it is an opportunity for you. I'm sure of it. Ireland - well, almost. Hungary... I want to stop here and be honest. Once and for all.

You have to decide for yourself who you are with. You are a sovereign state. I've been to Budapest. I adore your city. I have been many times - very beautiful, very hospitable city. And people, too. You have had tragic moments in your life. I visited your waterfront. I saw this memorial... Shoes on the Danube Bank. About mass killings. I was there with my family.

Listen, Viktor, do you know what's going on in Mariupol? Please, if you can, go to your waterfront.

Look at those shoes. And you will see how mass killings can happen again in today's world. And that's what Russia is doing today. The same shoes. In Mariupol, there are the same people. Adults and children. Grandparents. And there are thousands of them. And these thousands are gone.

And you hesitate whether to impose sanctions or not? And you hesitate whether to let weapons through or not?

And you hesitate whether to trade with Russia or not? There is no time to hesitate. It's time to decide already. We believe in you. We need your support. We believe in your people. We believe in the European Union.

And we believe that Germany will also be with us at the crucial moment. Thank you!
Glory to Ukraine!

9.11 Appendix 11: The strike on Kramatorsk must be one of the charges at the tribunal regarding Russia's war crimes - address by President Volodymyr Zelenskyy

Reference (also listed in bibliography):

Zelensky, V. (2022g) *The strike on Kramatorsk must be one of the charges at the tribunal regarding Russia's war crimes - address by President Volodymyr Zelenskyy*, Official website of the President of Ukraine. Available at: <https://www.president.gov.ua/en/news/udar-po-kramatorsku-maye-stati-odnim-zi-zvinuvachen-na-tribu-74197> (Accessed: 16 May 2023).

Derived from:

<https://www.president.gov.ua/en/news/udar-po-kramatorsku-maye-stati-odnim-zi-zvinuvachen-na-tribu-74197>

Official transcript:

Ukrainians!

The 44th day of our defense against the Russian invasion is coming to an end. The 44th dark day. Russian troops launched a missile attack on the Kramatorsk railway station this morning.

38 people died on the spot. Another 12 people died in hospitals during the day. We lost five children. Dozens more heavily wounded remain in hospital.

This is another war crime of Russia, for which everyone involved will be held accountable.

Russian state propagandists were in such a hurry to shift responsibility for the attack to Ukrainian forces that they accidentally blamed Russia.

RIA Novosti reported that the strike on Kramatorsk had been inflicted when the missiles were still in the air. The day before, other Russian propagandists were spreading threats to all those who escaped from Donbas by rail.

All the world's leading powers have already condemned Russia's attack on Kramatorsk. We expect a firm, global response to this war crime.

Like the massacre in Bucha, like many other Russian war crimes, the missile strike on Kramatorsk must be one of the charges at the tribunal, which is bound to happen.

All the efforts of the world will be aimed to establish every minute: who did what, who gave orders. Where did the rocket come from, who was carrying it, who gave the order and how the strike was coordinated. Responsibility is inevitable.

I spoke about this today with representatives of the European Union who arrived in Kyiv. With President of the European Commission Ursula von der Leyen and head of European diplomacy Josep Borrell.

During the day, they visited Bucha and witnessed the consequences of the occupation. They saw how many people were killed by the Russian military. I appreciate the EU's readiness to provide the necessary financial and technical assistance to document and investigate Russian crimes. I am grateful to the President of the European Commission for her personal involvement and assistance in setting up a joint investigation team to establish the full truth about the actions of the Russian occupiers and bring all those responsible to justice.

I am also grateful for the financial support - one billion euros for weapons. Plus today we agreed on another 500 million euros for defense needs.

I held negotiations with the Prime Minister of Slovakia and thanked for the unprecedented defensive and other support. For the warmth of Slovak hearts towards Ukrainian men and women.

We also talked with EU officials about further steps to force Russia to seek peace. I emphasized that the existing sanctions are not enough. The pressure on Russia must be increased. It is necessary to introduce a full energy embargo - on oil, on gas. It is energy exports that provide the lion's share of Russia's profits and allow the Russian leadership to believe in its impunity. This allows Russia to hope that the world will ignore the war crimes of its army. We will not allow this. Everyone in the world who has the courage, like Ukrainians, to resist tyranny will not allow this.

Russian banks must also be completely disconnected from the global financial system. Not some of them, but all, the entire banking system of Russia. It is inadmissible that the greatest threat to global security is finding its way to global wealth.

In this context, I also evaluate the new announced package of sanctions against Russia. I believe the softness with which some in the West still treat the Russian state is wrong. We know who is constantly trying to soften sanctions proposals. And we will do our best to finally make Europe understand: in any case, you will have to impose really principled and really strong sanctions against Russia. And not some partial restriction of Russian energy exports. Not some

partial restriction of Russian navigation. We know everyone who delays the decisions. But I am confident that both these politicians and these countries will change their position under the pressure of all that Russia is doing against Ukrainians and against freedom in Europe. I addressed the Parliament and the people of Finland today. I called on Finnish politicians to do everything possible to help Ukraine. I also reminded that the best way to stop tyranny and protect freedom is to provide Ukraine with the necessary weapons. The weapons we have repeatedly asked for from the West. The weapons that are available there. I will continue to fight every day, literally every hour, to get everything our state needs.

Russia's war against our people may end in victory of freedom much sooner than many in the world think if Ukraine simply receives the weapons the list of which we have provided. Any delay in providing such weapons to Ukraine, any excuses can mean only one thing: the relevant politicians want to help the Russian leadership more than us Ukrainians.

No matter what, we will continue to protect our land and our people in any case.

Yes, not everyone in the world has found the courage we have. But we have powerful and principled partners and friends. Real friends who help Ukraine to really protect us. To really protect freedom in Europe. I am convinced that Ukraine's victory is only a matter of time. And I will do my best to reduce this time.

By the way, we also talked today about the time needed for Ukraine's full accession to the European Union.

Today we received a questionnaire from the European Commission. Finally. A questionnaire the answers to which will be the basis for preparing the conclusion of the European Commission on Ukraine's readiness for EU membership negotiations.

Our Government will prepare answers qualitatively and very quickly. I think in a week. Next is the conclusion of the European Commission, which will be prepared in the next few months. And then there will be the decisions of the member states and the negotiations on accession.

I am convinced of our success on this path. I am convinced that we are finally close to realizing our long-standing goal. Ukraine will be one of the equals in our common European home. Ukraine will be a member of the European Union. A peaceful, sovereign, rebuilt state. We will provide it. There is no doubt.

We are also preparing for tomorrow's mass event in Warsaw, which will take place within the initiative of President of the European Commission Ursula von der Leyen and Prime Minister of Canada Justin Trudeau – Stand for Ukraine.

It is about the support for Ukrainians, for our migrants. All funds will be allocated for the support of Ukrainians.

Glory to Ukraine!

9.12 Appendix 12: Today is a historic moment when Ukraine can develop maximum speed in joining the EU - address by President Volodymyr Zelenskyy

Reference (also listed in bibliography):

Zelensky, V. (2022h) *Today is a historic moment when Ukraine can develop maximum speed in joining the EU - address by President Volodymyr Zelenskyy*, Official website of the President of Ukraine. Available at: <https://www.president.gov.ua/en/news/sogodni-istorichnij-moment-koli-ukrayina-mozhe-rozvinuti-mak-74441> (Accessed: 16 May 2023).

Derived from:

<https://www.president.gov.ua/en/news/sogodni-istorichnij-moment-koli-ukrayina-mozhe-rozvinuti-mak-74441>

Official transcript:

Free people of the bravest country!

The 56th day of our defense is coming to an end, and today we have definitely become one step closer to peace.

I was glad to welcome in Kyiv a great friend of our state and all Ukrainians - President of the European Council Charles Michel. Each such visit only underscores how absurd Russia's plans to seize our state were.

Three days? Five days? In how many days the occupiers planned to take control of Ukraine? 56 days - and we are meeting our guests in our capital for the sake of our national interests.

I held very thorough talks with Charles Michel on many aspects of relations between Ukraine and the European Union. The main thing is, of course, to protect our state and maintain the stable functioning of all state structures and all institutions. We discussed concrete steps of the European Union to help our country. In particular, defensive, financial and sanctions.

The second major topic of the talks is our movement towards European integration. This is the historic moment when we can develop maximum speed in joining the European Union. We have already proved that the Ukrainian state and public institutions are effective enough to withstand even the test of war. We are already doing as much to protect freedom on the European continent as other nations have never done.

And I see from all our friends in the European Union a willingness to help our movement as much as possible. I thanked Charles for that today.

The third major topic of our talks is the preparation of the necessary steps for the reconstruction of Ukraine after the war. We also discussed what we can do together with the European Union to address the threats to food and energy security in Europe and around the world posed by Russia. Resuming exports of Ukrainian agricultural products and blocking Russia's ability to blackmail Europe with energy resources are top priorities for everyone on the continent.

Before meeting with me, President Charles Michel visited Borodyanka, Kyiv region. He came there not alone, but together with his team. They saw with their own eyes what the occupiers had done on our land. What destruction they had caused. And a correct conclusion was made by our friends: there can be no peace without justice. We will do everything we can to bring to justice every Russian military and commander guilty of war crimes. Modern technology allows you to clarify many details. Every surname, every home address, every bank account - we will find everything.

A Plan to strengthen sanctions against the Russian Federation for the war against our state was published today. This Plan was developed by a team of Ukrainian and international experts led by Andriy Yermak and Michael McFaul.

When all the key areas identified in this Plan are implemented, Russia will lose the opportunity to finance the military machine. In particular, the Plan provides for restrictions on Russia's energy sector, banking sector, export-import operations, transport. The next steps should include an oil embargo and a complete restriction on oil supplies from Russia.

We are also working to ensure that all - I emphasize - all Russian officials who support this shameful war receive a logical sanctions response from the democratic world.

Russia must be recognized as a state - sponsor of terrorism, and the Russian Armed Forces must be recognized as a terrorist organization.

The European Union is currently preparing a sixth package of sanctions. We discussed this today with Charles Michel. We are working to make it truly painful for the Russian military machine and the Russian state as a whole.

I emphasize in all negotiations that sanctions are needed not as an end in themselves, but as a practical tool to motivate Russia to seek peace.

It is important that the EU Delegation and the embassies of friendly countries resumed work in Kyiv. This is one of the signals needed to tell Russia that there is no alternative to peace. There is no alternative to ending the war and guaranteeing full security for Ukraine. The more diplomatic missions return to work in our capital, the stronger this important signal will be.

Already 18 foreign missions are working in Kyiv in various formats. In particular, Italy, Iran, Kazakhstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Poland, the Holy See, Slovenia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Turkey, France, the Czech Republic, Estonia and others.

The return to normal life of the liberated cities and communities of Ukraine continues. 934 settlements have already been liberated. Police resumed work in 435 settlements. Local self-government started working in 431 communities. The work of humanitarian headquarters was launched in 361 settlements. We are gradually restoring people's access to medical and educational services, to social protection bodies. We are restoring road infrastructure, electricity, gas and water supply.

The biggest threats are mines and tripwire mines planted by the occupiers and shells that did not explode. It takes a lot of time, a lot of effort to neutralize them all. And I am grateful to all the specialists, all the rescuers who perform this important task.

Once again, I urge our citizens returning to liberated communities to be very careful. Do not enter the territory that has not yet been inspected. Do not go into the woods yet. If you see anything resembling a mine or a tripwire mine, report it to the police and rescuers immediately. Do not delay or attempt to remove hazardous items yourself.

The situation in the east and south of our country remains as severe as possible. The occupiers do not give up trying to gain at least some victory for themselves through a new large-scale offensive. At least something they can "feed" their propagandists with.

And I am sincerely grateful to each of our defenders, to all the Armed Forces of Ukraine, to all our cities, to all our communities that are resisting the invaders. To those who hold on and with their struggle, without exaggeration, save our state.

Mariupol, Avdiivka, Maryinka, Krasnohorivka, Toretsk, Velyka Novosilka, Zolote, Popasna, Izyum, Kharkiv, Hulyaipole, Mykolaiv, Vysokopyllyia, Snihurivka and dozens, dozens of other cities, dozens of other communities of the east, communities of the south of Ukraine, in the struggle for which the fate of our people and our freedom is being decided.

We are doing more than the maximum to ensure the supply of weapons to our army. Every day, all our diplomats, all our representatives and I personally work 24/7 through all possible channels - official and unofficial - to speed up the delivery of aid.

And I am very pleased to say, with cautious optimism, that our partners started to understand our needs better. Understand what exactly we need. And when exactly we need all this. Not in weeks, not in a month, but immediately. Right now, as Russia is trying to intensify its attacks. Traditionally, before delivering the address, I signed a decree awarding our defenders. 203 servicemen of the Armed Forces of Ukraine were awarded state awards, 49 of them posthumously.

Five of our servicemen were posthumously awarded the title of Hero of Ukraine. Eternal memory to everyone who gave life for Ukraine! Eternal gratitude to all who stood up for our state! Glory to Ukraine!

9.13 Appendix 13: Russia is the only culprit that peace has been destroyed, and this is its historical responsibility - address by the President of Ukraine

Reference (also listed in bibliography):

Zelensky, V. (2022i) *Russia is the only culprit that peace has been destroyed, and this is its historical responsibility - address by the President of Ukraine*, Official website of the President of Ukraine. Available at: <https://www.president.gov.ua/en/news/rosiya-yedinij-vinuvatec-togo-sho-mir-buv-zrujnovanij-i-ce-y-74945> (Accessed: 16 May 2023).

Derived from:

<https://www.president.gov.ua/en/news/rosiya-yedinij-vinuvatec-togo-sho-mir-buv-zrujnovanij-i-ce-y-74945>

Official transcript:

Ukrainians! Unbreakable people of our country!

Today, we have taken another step - a very important and not just a formal step - on our path to the European Union. Ukraine has submitted the second part of the answers to a special questionnaire to be completed by each country aspiring to be part of the European Union. It usually takes months. But we did everything in a few weeks. This is a document that contains thousands of pages.

And it was today that I held talks about our European integration with both Charles Michel, President of the European Council, and Ursula von der Leyen, President of the European Commission. I thanked them on behalf of the entire Ukrainian people for their support for our country. For attention to our needs and especially now - in this difficult time of war.

They are well aware that this war is not only for our freedom, but also for the freedom of all Europeans. Mrs. Ursula said she was impressed with the speed with which our government officials filled out the questionnaire. And I was glad to hear from her that our speed encourages

the European Commission to act just as quickly. We expect to receive a positive response in June regarding the acquisition of EU candidate status by our country.

I also thanked the President of the European Commission for the work on creating a Trust Fund for the reconstruction of Ukraine after the war, after the victory. And for the efforts needed to agree on a new package of sanctions on Russia.

President Charles Michel visited our Odesa today. He saw with his own eyes what the blocked sea means. For the first time in decades there is no usual movement of the merchant fleet, no usual port functioning in Odesa. Probably this has never happened in Odesa since World War II. Ordinary life related to the sea is blocked by Russia. Exactly Russia. And this affects not only Ukraine.

Without our agricultural exports, dozens of countries in different parts of the world are already on the brink of food shortages. And over time, the situation can become downright terrible.

Politicians are already discussing the possible consequences of the price crisis and famine in Africa and Asia. This is a direct consequence of Russian aggression, which can be overcome only together - by all Europeans, by the whole free world. It can be overcome by putting pressure on Russia, by effectively forcing Russia to stop this disgraceful war.

And, by the way, today - despite the presence of the President of the European Council - the Russian military again launched a missile strike at the Odesa region. This is the real attitude of Russia to Europe. And it has always been so. Whatever they say in Moscow.

I met in Kyiv with Secretary General of the Council of Europe Marija Pejčinović Burić. We discussed what can be done for peace in Ukraine and Europe with the tools of this esteemed institution. I am grateful for the support of our state by visiting our capital on this day. Europe Day. And Day of Victory over Nazism.

Usually on May 9, Europeans recalled the price of peace that was paid by all the nations of our continent 77 years ago. They talked about how to prevent the recurrence of such a terrible war.

It is clear that now everything is different. In European capitals, the main topic is the price of peace that will have to be paid to stop the war unleashed by Russia. And also the price for Russia for bringing the evil of total war of destruction of our people to Europe again.

I'm sure this is also the main topic in Moscow now. They can show anything in propaganda - let it be. And make any political statements. But the reality cannot be changed. Reality requires peace. And the only culprit that peace has been destroyed is and will be the Russian state. This is a historical responsibility of Russia.

Well, we, Ukrainians, continue to work for our defense, victory and restoration of justice. Today, tomorrow and any other day needed for the liberation of Ukraine from the occupiers.

I am grateful to all our defenders.

I am grateful to all those who defend the Kharkiv region, defend Donbas, defend the south of Ukraine. Who do not give up and are waiting for the Ukrainian flag in all those cities that are temporarily - I emphasize this: temporarily - captured by the occupiers. Kherson, Melitopol, Berdyansk, Enerhodar, Mariupol, all other cities, all our other communities. The Ukrainian flag will return. Because this is our country. Free European country. Our state.

Glory to Ukraine!

9.14 Appendix 14: Address by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy to the European Council

Reference (also listed in bibliography):

Zelensky, V. (2022j) *Address by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy to the European Council, Official website of the President of Ukraine*. Available at: <https://www.president.gov.ua/en/news/zvernennya-prezidenta-ukrayini-volodimira-zelenskogo-do-yevr-75465> (Accessed: 16 May 2023).

Derived from:

<https://www.president.gov.ua/en/news/zvernennya-prezidenta-ukrayini-volodimira-zelenskogo-do-yevr-75465>

Official transcript:

Dear Mr. President Michel. Dear Mrs. President Roberta. Dear friends!

I am glad to be able to address all of you without exception. Today is the 96th day of Russia's full-scale war against our state, against all of us and against all of you. Against European unity. Russia wants to see at such meetings not a united European Council that we see now, not a united European Union, but 27 separate states, 27 fragments that cannot be put together. This is their wish.

This policy of the aggressor is consistent, and there is no delay in it. Unlike Europe, Russia does not need to hold such summits and seek compromises for weeks. By the way, I want to thank you for talking about these compromises, for striving to find help and support for Ukraine. So, they are not ready to compromise, choosing what to do to achieve their goals. And now we see how the Russian offensive in Donbas is destroying our cities, destroying the communities of Ukraine, and at the same time how the European unity, the desired European unity may falter. On April 8, the 44th day of the war, the EU's fifth sanctions package was imposed. And 52 days have passed since then. What happened during this period?

At that time, as of April 8, there were 169 children on the list of those killed by the Russian occupiers in Ukraine. As of today 243 children are on the list.

At that time, as of April 8, 928 educational institutions were destroyed. Kindergartens, schools, universities. As of today – 1888.

According to the information for the past day, the number of Russian missile strikes at Ukraine is already almost 1,600. Russia has used more than 2,400, almost 2,500 different missiles against us, against the civilian population. And then, as of April 8, there were less than a thousand strikes and they used about a thousand missiles. This is the progress of their aggression.

And, of course, I want you to understand me - I'm not blaming any of you. It is only the Russian state that is to blame for everything that is happening. But I am convinced that it is obvious to each and every one of you that there should be progress in sanctions for this aggression. And for us it is crucial. And it will help us a lot!

The progress that makes Russia begin to seek peace. And only this can be our common demand. Peace. There can be no compromises at the expense of our territorial integrity, our sovereignty! I am grateful to everyone who promotes the sixth sanctions package and tries to make it effective. However, unfortunately, for some reason it is not there yet. And why do you depend on Russia, on their pressure, not vice versa? Russia must depend on you.

Why can Russia still earn almost a billion euros a day by selling energy resources? Why are banks of a terrorist state still working with Europe and the global financial system? Serious questions. And why are Russian propaganda channels still active in the European Union? This is an information weapon of the Russian Federation. Why are Russian civil servants who support the war and judges who openly support repression still not under sanctions?

Each of these important questions is not just about sanctions packages or the war in Ukraine. All this is about us. All this is about Europe itself.

Dear friends! Ladies and Gentlemen!

Only through greater unity can we find effective responses to everything that Russia is doing against us and against you. If someone torpedoes a ship, one or more cabins cannot hope to stay afloat when others drown.

You can see that the consequences of Russia's aggression have gone beyond our continent. And they will definitely return with even bigger problems for the whole of Europe. For example, large-scale famine in Africa and Asia will mean a threat of a new large-scale migrant crisis for southern and south-eastern Europe.

And when you hear food blackmail from Moscow, please know that this is their deliberate strike at your societies. To ensure this strike, Russia simply uses the people of Africa and Asia as hostages, deliberately pushing them to starvation. So that people from there flee to you en masse. Are you ready for this? I don't think so.

Let's take a look at price instability in the energy market. It's not just some of the usual market fluctuations periodically observed.

Last year, Russia created conditions for the record increase in gas prices. Now, investing in instability, Russia is making all energy prices skyrocket. For what? For Europeans to protest, not against the aggressor and their aggression, but against their own states. Against you personally. Against their leadership.

And if this is a threat to each and every one of you, if this is Russia's bet on political chaos in your countries, why do some people still think they can defend themselves alone?

Europe must show strength. Because Russia perceives only strength as an argument. It's time. It's time for you to be not separate, not fragments, but one whole.

Ukraine has shown by its own example why this is important. Why it's important to be united. In our country, starting from February 24 there is the maximum unity, everyone is working for one result - state protection. And thanks to this we managed to do what the world did not expect, Russia did not expect - Ukraine stopped their army, and everyone was afraid of it, everyone remembers. And we managed to liberate part of our occupied territory.

Greater unity is truly the foundation of this strength. You know this. Finally, all quarrels in Europe must end, internal discord that only encourages Russia to put more and more pressure on you, on the whole of Europe.

The sixth sanctions package must be agreed upon. It must be effective - including oil. So that Russia feels the price of what it is doing against Ukraine and against the whole of Europe. And for you and us to finally become independent from Russian energy weapons. At least from its oil part.

And we must immediately find a solution that will prevent the food crisis from unfolding. Of course, I thank you for your efforts together with partners to create green corridors for agricultural exports from Ukraine. But still, you understand that a reliable guarantee of food security is impossible without ending Russia's war against Ukraine on our land. Because there can be no peaceful trade, no steady agricultural production, if Russia retains the ability to intercept ships with Ukrainian agricultural products. And not only in the Black Sea. Or to strike at our cities, ports, elevators, other infrastructure.

Mr. President Michel!

You were recently in Odesa and were forced to go into a shelter due to a missile attack. Mr. President has felt for himself what I am talking about now.

And if this was felt even at such level, why is Russia still not recognized as a terrorist state, a state - sponsor of terrorism?

And another aspect. The European home was never complete without Ukraine. It won't be. There will never be a full-fledged European power without Ukraine. The very fact that Ukraine remained a fragment of Europe, somewhere outside your countries, contributed to the fact that Russia has developed an aggressive appetite to seize its neighbors.

Only the enlargement and strengthening of European unity can prevent the recurrence of what Europe experienced on February 24, in 2014, and even in 1968 or 1956.

Therefore - at the strategic level - the status of a candidate for membership in the European Union for Ukraine should be approved already in June. I would like to express gratitude to the countries of the Western Balkans for their understanding and support for granting candidate status to our country. Thank you very much.

On April 8, when the fifth sanctions package was approved, we also received a questionnaire from the European Union. And we have already answered it over this time. We have already provided these answers to the European Commission.

Unprecedentedly fast, and most importantly - in a coordinated manner. We expect the same reaction from Europe.

And we reject any attempt to find an alternative that no one needs, or to find something else for Ukraine. We need to be like you. We want Ukraine to receive candidate status.

We have met all the necessary criteria for this status. And I am sure that those individual states that are still hesitant about us, you know it well, will change their minds and show our united strength. The strength of our nations who support our membership in the European Union by an unprecedented majority. The strength of your nations, the strength of your states and a united Europe.

I want to thank you for your unity, ability to be united, energetic, to have a future in a strong European Union and to ensure that the developments in the world depend on us. So that we depend on ourselves, not on some offices somewhere in Moscow.

Right now you can determine whether everything that the European Union says about itself is true. About unity in diversity, common values and the same approach to all European democracies.

We need a common customs space that will strengthen both Ukraine and all those involved in trade with us. We need a common payment space that will accelerate integration at the level of ordinary people. And a common roaming space. It is very important for our displaced people, more than 5 million of them, not to experience discrimination.

And, of course, further armed and financial support for Ukraine is absolutely necessary. Now our common freedom depends on our success on the battlefield, and your stability depends on our stability.

And this is another reason to find and freeze, and then confiscate all Russian assets and allocate them for the reconstruction and compensation for the damage caused by the war.

Dear colleagues! Dear friends!

We have already started a conversation with most of you about rebuilding Ukraine. We are creating a large-scale recovery plan. The global United24 support project has been activated. The European Commission is also preparing a platform for reconstruction. I urge all of you to join these initiatives now.

If rebuilding begins during the war and becomes truly pan-European, it will be one of the most convincing pieces of evidence for everyone and, of course, for Russia in particular, that Europeans are strong. And they will not allow any of the integral parts of Europe to be destroyed. Neither Ukraine nor any other part.

And finally.

A 9-year-old girl died today as a result of the Russian shelling of the Kherson region of Ukraine. Two more children were wounded: a 7-month-old baby and a 5-year-old girl. A normal person can't just put up with it. With such crimes. Daily crimes. These are the deliberate killings by the Russian military of our civilians, our children. They know exactly who they are firing at. And I really count on your principledness and activity to bring to justice every Russian soldier who killed or tortured our people, and every commander who gave or condoned such orders. Europe can definitely do that.

Let's do it!

Because this is not just a question of the aggressor's responsibility for a particular war, but of protecting humanity as such.

Thank you for your attention. Glory to Ukraine!

9.15 Appendix 15: Address by the President of Ukraine to both houses of the Parliament of the Czech Republic

Reference (also listed in bibliography):

Zelensky, V. (2022k) *Address by the President of Ukraine to both houses of the Parliament of the Czech Republic*, Official website of the President of Ukraine. Available at: <https://www.president.gov.ua/en/news/promova-prezidenta-ukrayini-pered-oboma-palatami-parlamentu-75825> (Accessed: 16 May 2023).

Derived from:

<https://www.president.gov.ua/en/news/promova-prezidenta-ukrayini-pered-oboma-palatami-parlamentu-75825>

Official transcript:

Dear Mr. President of the Senate!

Dear Madam President of the Chamber of Deputies! Dear Prime Minister, members of the government! Dear members of the parliament, attendees, journalists! Dear Czech people!

First of all, I would like to thank you for this opportunity to address both houses of the Parliament of the Czech Republic and absolutely all Czechs in this format today.

I would like to thank you for those warm words, strong words of support for our people, me personally, our state, which were heard here today, and for the warmth with which you shelter our forcibly displaced persons. We appreciate it, it's truly historical. I am grateful to you for this personally and on behalf of every Ukrainian.

I was thinking how to begin my speech. I will begin with words that each of you knows for sure and that all Europeans who respect history and freedom on our continent know for sure: Jsme s vámi, bud'te s námi!

These are words of extraordinary importance. They had such importance when they sounded on Czech radio in 1968, supporting the resistance. They are extremely important now as well, when - recalling them - we are talking about those who fought for freedom for your people.

But, in fact, these words have one more dimension. Now, when the Ukrainian people are fighting for freedom against the brutal Russian invasion, we can say that it is with these words that we, Ukrainians, address all the peoples of Europe, all the peoples of the democratic world. We are with you, be with us!

We oppose tyranny, which - as in the past - does not want to stop only in Ukraine. It considers everyone in Europe its target, all those who live a free life. Russia is not interested only in our cities of Mariupol, Severodonetsk, Kharkiv, Odesa and Kyiv. No. Its ambitions are focused on the vast space from Warsaw to Sofia, from Prague to Tallinn.

And as in the past, the Russian invasion of Ukraine is only the first step that the Russian leadership needs to open the way to other countries, to the conquest of other nations. This is openly said not only by Russian state propagandists, but also by Russian officials. They have already reached the point, for example, of threatening to officially revoke the recognition of the Baltic states' independence. And then what's next? Who is next?

Ladies and Gentlemen!

When Ukraine appeals to European countries for support, we are guided by this principle, by these words that have become one of the foundations of your history: we are with you, be with us.

Russian tanks storming the cities of the Ukrainian Donbas, trying to attack the Ukrainian Kharkiv, Mykolaiv, Zaporizhzhia, must be stopped and burned or expelled from the territory of independent Ukraine. So that they can never again come to Prague, or to Ostrava, or to Brno, or to Pilsen, or to Karlovy Vary, or to any other city on our continent. It is in Ukraine that the battle for the future of Europe is taking place right now.

I am very grateful to your state, to your people for the generous help in this struggle. The Czech Republic helped us both with weapons - very substantively and immediately after it became

necessary - and politically. I thank the leadership of the state for that. You can be sure that you have supported yourself and your own freedom, your own life with that. And support must be maintained for as long as it takes to win. This is how this confrontation must end - with victory. And even if some politicians in some countries are afraid of the possibility that freedom will win and tyranny will lose, there are no your leaders among such politicians. The Czech people are well aware of how compromises at the expense of others end and what concessions to tyranny lead to, which proposes to take away only the supposedly part of the desired territory to pretend that the aggression has stopped. He who wants to capture everything will never stop, taking only part. I urge you to continue together with us, without stopping for a moment, to convince all those who have not yet managed to choose a clear side in this confrontation, which has been going on for 112 days already, of this simple truth.

Ukraine must get everything to win. Modern and powerful enough weapons - the Prime Minister talked about that today - to get advantage over the Russian army. Financial support - to have resources against Russia, whose savings and revenues are still very significant - in 100 days of this war since February 24 Russia has already earned 93 billion euros on the sale of energy only.

Ukraine must also receive fundamental support of values that will finally deprive Russia of its main ideological weapon, namely the assertion that Europe is incapable of real unification and that it does not need Ukraine.

In the near future, we must receive an answer from the European Union - from all member states - to the question of Ukraine's status. Providing Ukraine with the candidacy right now is proving that European unification is real and that European values really work and are not just defined in certain documents as a beautiful formality.

The Russian troops are well aware that they are fighting against European values, against the fact that any free people of Europe who share common European values can become part of the European Union. This is the ideological firmware of the Russian occupiers.

So strengthening Europe's union and saying "yes" to Ukraine is also a defense in this war. This will be another historical manifestation of the meaning contained in the words: we are with you, be with us.

That is why I ask you to be as active as possible these days, these weeks, so that all European leaders agree that defending and strengthening Europe is our common cause, and so that no one can make an exception to this principle.

The fateful Czech "eights" - 1938, 1948, 1968 - are comprehensive answers to all those who still want to "pacify" the aggressor by betraying European values and weakening Europe.

Ladies and Gentlemen! Dear Czech people!

The Czech presidency of the European Union will begin in a few weeks. And at this time there will be no less challenges before us, before the whole of Europe, than now. But they are transforming.

I very much appreciate the key attention paid to Ukraine in the priorities of the Czech presidency. We have to agree on the seventh package of sanctions against Russia for this aggression, for this war. And we also have to substantively move on to the reconstruction of Ukraine - of the entire liberated territory.

When you, Mr. Prime Minister, Mr. Petr, visited our capital in March, you became one of the first European leaders to boldly show that Europe is and will be with Ukraine. And I believe

that the Czech Republic will be among the leaders in the implementation of the largest economic and infrastructural project of our time - the Ukrainian reconstruction. This is a special opportunity to show all the strength of Europe - technological, institutional, creative.

We must ensure full synchronization of the Ukrainian National Reconstruction Plan and the European Reconstruction Platform in order to implement them as efficiently and quickly as possible. I also invite you to join the reconstruction of Ukraine at the national level - taking patronage over one of the regions or cities, or communities, towns of Ukraine, which suffered from Russian aggression. Such a reconstruction will be the best proof that no aggression, no matter how brutal, will ever achieve its goals and be ever able to break any of the European nations, let alone Europe as a whole.

I am grateful to you for the sincere and full support of our people, our Ukrainian temporarily displaced persons. You have sheltered hundreds of our people fleeing the war on your land. Thousands of people live in your homes, receive help from your families. We must do everything so that each and every one of them can return home, return to Ukraine.

We can come - and we will come - to the fact that the principle of following the rule: "Jsme s vámi, bud'te s námi!" - will have a result that can be described in other important words - in the words of Václav Havel: "Truth and love have to overcome lies and hatred." Unfortunately, this has often failed in the history of Europe. But now, in 2022, in Ukraine and, most importantly, together - we can ensure this so powerfully that the fruits of our victory will be enjoyed by many generations of our nations.

Děkuji vám! Ať žije Česko! Glory to Ukraine!

9.16 Appendix 16: We managed to liberate Ukrainian paramedic Yulia “Tayra” Payevska from captivity – address by the President of Ukraine

Reference (also listed in bibliography):

Zelensky, V. (2022) *We managed to liberate Ukrainian paramedic Yulia “Tayra” Payevska from captivity – address by the President of Ukraine, Official website of the President of Ukraine*. Available at: <https://www.president.gov.ua/en/news/vdalosya-zvilniti-z-polonu-ukrayinskogo-paramedika-yuliyu-ta-75877> (Accessed: 16 May 2023).

Derived from:

<https://www.president.gov.ua/en/news/vdalosya-zvilniti-z-polonu-ukrayinskogo-paramedika-yuliyu-ta-75877>

Official transcript:

Ukrainians! All our defenders!

We are now one step from the beginning of full-fledged integration with the European Union. We have a positive conclusion from the European Commission on the candidacy for Ukraine.

And this is a historical achievement of all those who work for our state. The only thing left is to wait for the decision of the European Council next week. And I believe that Ukraine has done everything possible for this step to be positive as well – the decision of the European Council, i.e. the leaders of the EU states. Ukraine deserves this positive. Ukrainian values are European values. Ukrainian institutions maintain resilience even in conditions of war. Ukrainian democratic habits have not lost their power even now. And our rapprochement with the European Union is not only positive for us. This is the greatest contribution to the future of Europe in many years. Let me remind you now only one thing: after February 24, our country acceded to the European energy system. Our networks - Ukraine and the European Union - work in sync despite a full-scale war. Hence, even this fact alone shows everything at once - the professionalism of our people, the strength of our institutions, our ability to fulfill promises and the magnitude of Ukraine's potential. And I want to emphasize that Ukraine's European integration is not something purely political, not something detached from the lives of ordinary people. On the contrary. The closer we are to other European countries, the more opportunities we will have to guarantee all Ukrainians a modern and prosperous life.

I spoke today with Mrs. Ursula von der Leyen, President of the European Commission. I thanked her and all members of the European Commission for their leadership and today's decision. I also spoke with European Council President Charles Michel. We are coordinating our steps. And I am grateful to Charles for feeling the historical significance of these processes for both Ukraine and the future of Europe. Today I will also speak with Prime Minister of the Netherlands Rutte. I use every opportunity for our interests, for Ukraine. During yesterday's visit to Kyiv by the leaders of France, Germany, Romania and Italy, it was clear what far-reaching prospects are being opened both for our country and for all Europeans if we continue to work together. And today this understanding has become even clearer. European strength, European independence and European development can be imagined truly powerful only with Ukraine.

It is interesting, by the way, how the course of history chooses the time for important decisions: the government of Ukraine abolished the agreement on visa-free regime with the Russian Federation today. Now the visa regime will be effective starting from July 1. It is difficult to overestimate the symbolism of what happened today. But no one picked the moment on purpose. This is what the course of history is. Russia itself has done everything to destroy any ties with Ukraine. Well, we are doing everything to make our ties with Europe as strong as possible.

Boris Johnson visited Kyiv today. This is already the second visit of the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom to our capital since February 24. The negotiations are positive. We discussed the situation on the frontline and ways to achieve our victory. I am grateful to Boris for his leadership in supporting Ukraine, including with weapons. I am also grateful that we equally perceive the need for unconditional protection of our state. We talked about security guarantees for Ukraine. When we define the parameters of these guarantees, they will determine the future of Ukrainians and all Europeans for generations to come. In general, the week was maximally useful for Ukraine – in many areas. And I would also like to thank US President Biden today for increasing American support for Ukraine every week. And this week we have significant results on the front exactly due to the support of the United States.

I have just signed new decrees on awarding our heroes. 413 combatants were awarded state awards, 29 of them posthumously. And finally. Today I can already announce this: we managed to liberate "Tayra", Ukrainian paramedic Yulia Payevska, from captivity. I am grateful to everyone who worked for this result. "Tayra" is already home. We will keep working to liberate everyone.

Eternal glory to all who stood up for our independence and our freedom! Eternal memory to all who died for Ukraine! Glory to Ukraine!

9.17 Appendix 17: This is the biggest step towards strengthening Europe that could be taken right now – address by President Volodymyr Zelenskyy to the participants of the EU Summit after granting Ukraine the status of a candidate for membership

Reference (also listed in bibliography):

Zelensky, V. (2022m) *This is the biggest step towards strengthening Europe that could be taken right now – address by President Volodymyr Zelenskyy to the participants of the EU Summit after granting Ukraine the status of a candidate for membership*, Official website of the President of Ukraine. Available at: <https://www.president.gov.ua/en/news/ce-najbilshij-krok-na-posilennya-yevropi-yakij-mozhna-bulo-z-76025> (Accessed: 16 May 2023).

Derived from:

<https://www.president.gov.ua/en/news/ce-najbilshij-krok-na-posilennya-yevropi-yakij-mozhna-bulo-z-76025>

Official transcript:

Greetings to all our friends, all leaders-friends of Ukraine! Greetings to all who support freedom!

That is how I began my address to the European Council on March 24, three months ago, when I urged you to support us.

And that's quite a path we have come in these three months! All of us together: Ukraine, your states and the European Union as a whole.

This path is not politics. I believe this is what will always be the starting point of Europe's new history. Europe without division. Europe without "gray" zones. Europe that is truly united and that knows how to defend itself, its values, its future.

Today you have adopted one of the most important decisions for Ukraine in all 30 years of independence of our state.

However, I believe this decision is not only for Ukraine. This is the biggest step towards strengthening Europe that could be taken right now, in our time and in such difficult conditions, when the Russian war is testing our ability to preserve freedom and unity.

On the fifth day of Russia's full-scale war against Ukraine, we applied to join the European Union. We provided extremely fast and high-quality answers to the questionnaire we received from the European Commission.

And here is the desired result today. Today, I would like to reaffirm that Ukraine is capable of becoming a full-fledged member of the European Union.

Then, three months ago, I addressed each country of the European Union and indicated at what stage we were, as I thought, in our relations. And today I would like to tell each and every one of you personally what our people feel, and in the same order as it was then.

Lithuania stands for us. Thank you, Mr. President! Gitanas, you know how grateful Ukraine is to your people and to you personally. Latvia stands for us. Thank you, Mr. Prime Minister! I believe that together we will be able to strengthen the international legal order. Estonia stands for us. Thank you, Mrs. Prime Minister Kallas! By helping one, we help everyone. Estonia has done a lot. Poland stands for us. Thank you, Mr. Prime Minister! Your state, your people, your President - all of you on this path to Europe are truly brothers with us. France stands for us. Thank you, Emmanuel! You can be sure that with Ukraine, Europe will really be able to be among the global leaders in the XXI century. Slovenia stands for us. Thank you, Mr. Prime Minister! I am grateful for the unwavering protection of the common European cause. Slovakia stands for us. Thank you, Mr. Prime Minister! We have to continue to protect each other, it makes us really strong. The Czech Republic stands for us. Thank you, Mr. Prime Minister! I believe that we will also be together on the path to Ukraine's full membership in the EU. Romania stands for us. Thank you, Mr. President! Klaus, our cooperation in the region and in European structures can indeed become one of the foundations of global stability. Bulgaria stands for us. Thank you, Mr. Prime Minister! Thank you for choosing the side of good in the confrontation that began on February 24 without hesitation. We know it's not easy for you. Greece stands for us. Thank you, Mr. Prime Minister! And I'm personally thankful to the Greek people, your country, which I really love. Germany stands for us. Thank you, Olaf! Thank you for your support at a crucial moment. Portugal stands for us. Thank you, Mr. Prime Minister! Your country knows our people well. And I am sure that we will only increase positive ties between us. Croatia stands for us. Thank you, Mr. Prime Minister! And thank you for the help with the experience we use to protect our freedom. Sweden stands for us. Thank you, Mrs. Prime Minister! Blue and yellow truly always stand together! Finland stands for us. Thank you, Mrs. Prime Minister! Your willingness to resist aggression is simply amazing! The Netherlands stands for us. Thank you, Mr. Prime Minister! You can be sure that your choice of Ukraine will definitely strengthen our common European freedom, the rule of law and our unity in diversity. Malta stands for us. Thank you, Mr. Prime Minister! The voice of your island makes the European community complete. Denmark stands for us. Thank you, Mrs. Prime Minister! Be sure that the protection of European values will only increase with Ukraine. Luxembourg stands for us. Thank you, Mr. Prime Minister! We truly understand each other, and your energy inspires us to future victories.

Cyprus stands for us. Thank you, Mr. President! Thank you for the choice in favor of our people and our values.

Italy stands for us. Thank you very much, Mr. Prime Minister! Thank you for your strength, for your perseverance. Thank you for proving that the principles of decent people are truly the foundation of Europe.

Spain stands for us. Thank you, Mr. Prime Minister! I believe that we can significantly strengthen our relations.

Belgium stands for us. Thank you, Mr. Prime Minister! We hope that after our victory we will be able to see each other often in Brussels on common European affairs.

Austria stands for us. Thank you, Mr. Chancellor! I am convinced that we will be able to make Europe even safer and historically the most stable. Ireland stands for us. Thank you, Mr. Prime Minister! This is a historic rapprochement of our nations. Your personal leadership is truly impressive. Hungary stands for us. Thank you, Mr. Prime Minister, thank you, Viktor, together we are capable of much more than alone! Mrs. President of the European Parliament Roberta Metsola! We are grateful to you personally and grateful to the European Parliament! You were the first to support Ukraine's candidate status the day after our application. Mr. President of the European Council, dear Charles, Mrs. President of the European Commission, dear Ursula, I am grateful to you both for the leadership that has led us all to this day. I am grateful for the sincere help, for the faith in Ukraine, in Ukrainians, in all of us.

I have always said that we, Ukrainians, believe in the European Union. Although we remained formally outside the European Union, our country probably had the largest number of flags of a united Europe.

They were in the hands of our people during the revolutions. They have been in the hands of our people in the trenches since 2014. I believe that the flag of the European Union will be in every Ukrainian city that we have yet to liberate from the occupation of the Russian Federation. Ukrainian and European flags will also be together when we will be rebuilding our state after this war together.

And today in the framework of our joint meeting – the summit of all European leaders, I would like to express special gratitude to our heroes - each and everyone who defends the independence of Ukraine with weapons in their hands, defends the freedom of Europe.

Thank you! Thank you for making possible a new history of Ukraine, a new history of Europe - even stronger, even freer.

Thank you all so much!

Glory to Ukraine!

9.18 Appendix 18: Officially recognized: Ukraine is a future equal partner for 27 EU countries - address by the President, the Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada and the Prime Minister

Reference (also listed in bibliography):

Zelensky, V. (2022n) *Officially recognized: Ukraine is a future equal partner for 27 EU countries - address by the President, the Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada and the Prime Minister, Official website of the President of Ukraine*. Available at: <https://www.president.gov.ua/en/news/oficijno-viznano-ukrayina-ce-majbutnij-rivnij-partner-dlya-2-76029> (Accessed: 16 May 2023).

Derived from:

<https://www.president.gov.ua/en/news/oficijno-viznano-ukrayina-ce-majbutnij-rivnij-partner-dlya-2-76029>

Official transcript:

Fellow citizens of Ukraine! Dear Ukrainian people!

120 days ago, Russia launched a full-scale war against us. For 120 days, Ukraine and its people have heroically been defending their land and their freedom.

They are fighting back one of the largest armies in the world. The aggressor, whose population is three times larger than ours, and the area is almost 30 times bigger. Therefore, each of the 120 days of our struggle is historic. But this day is special.

Ukraine has officially received the status of a candidate for accession to the European Union.

We have heard many statements from many politicians over the years about the course to Europe and the strategic importance of this course. We are not politicians, and we do not have many years, so we have moved from statements to action.

From dreams to action. And on February 28, Ukraine applied for EU membership.

On Bankova Street, in the Office of the President of Ukraine, in the middle of fortifications and sandbags, in the pauses between the sirens of the air alarm, we signed a document. Many people were skeptical, and considered Ukraine's chances illusory.

But we all united. Ukraine united. And the world saw our unique feature: the less they believe in us, the better we perform. Instead of thousands of words, thousands of slogans about moving to the EU, we filled in thousands of pages of the European Commission's questionnaire. What other countries spend a few years doing, we did in a few weeks.

At the summit in Brussels, the leaders of the 27 EU member states adopted an official decision: Ukraine receives the status of a candidate for accession to the European Union.

And today I want to give a series of answers honestly, clearly and comprehensively for everyone. Fill in our questionnaire. Explain in human language what exactly happened and why it is so important. What does this mean for us and what does this mean for Ukraine? What does this mean and what does it give to Europe? What next? What will we do? What do our partners expect from us? What do we expect from partners? What do we expect from you as a society? And why will we definitely succeed?

First, candidate status is not just a new step. This is a new summit. Not a new paragraph, not a new page or even a new section. This is a new volume in the history of Ukraine's European integration, which we started writing today. And as of today, this book has no other options but one: Ukraine will become a member of the EU in the future. As of today, this is fixed at the official level.

Candidate status is a mandatory step that most countries have gone through. This is a point of no return. It's not just a new name or a new sign. This is a new status and a new image.

Today it is recognized: Ukraine is not a bridge, not a pillow between the West and Russia, not a buffer between Europe and Asia, not a sphere of influence, not a "gray" zone, not a transit territory. Not the border between orcs and elves.

Ukraine is a future equal partner for at least 27 EU countries.

Chairman of The Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine Ruslan Stefanchuk:

EU candidate status is a recognition of our achievements in becoming a mature democratic European society. The strengths of our institutions that continue to work effectively even in times of full-scale war.

This is a powerful political message. It will be heard by soldiers in the trenches, every family that was forced to flee the war abroad, everyone who helps bring our victory closer.

But it will also be heard in the bunker. We can't change geography. Russia will continue to be our neighbor. But that decision has changed history. And in this case, history has defeated geography.

Behind us is a column of Magdeburg law. It was installed in the place where Volodymyr the Great christened Kyivan Rus'-Ukraine. Hundreds of years later, this column was fortified with protective shields against Russian bullets and shells. It is an eloquent symbol of how they want to destroy our culture, our faith, our law.

Our history. But history will win. The future will win. Ukraine will win.

Prime Minister of Ukraine Denys Shmyhal:

Candidate status is a high evaluation of the market transformations that have enabled us to integrate into the EU economy in the energy, digital, customs, transport and other key sectors. These are new perspectives and new opportunities for Ukraine. Access to new EU financial support programs. These are new investments, new projects, new jobs, and support for post-war reconstruction.

From now on, our state not only will adopt the European experience, but also will be able to influence the formation of sectoral policies of the European Union. From now on, the process of Ukraine's integration into the EU has become irreversible.

From now on, Ukraine has a legal place in the European family. And relations between us and the EU are moving from the neighborhood policy to the enlargement policy.

President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy:

Even simpler. In the plane of not political, but human relations. Obtaining candidate status is an engagement. A serious step in the relations between Ukraine and the EU. This is not just friendship, not sympathy, but a firm and official intention to become one in the future. In the near future.

And as of today, Ukraine will be able to join the work of certain bodies and new EU programs, access to which is limited to third countries. Today we have got rid of this humiliating definition. Ukraine has never been like that in essence, but the official terminology called us that. We got rid of it. We are not a third country. Not a tenth, not a hundredth, we are a future member of the European Union.

Today is an important day. We hear the Ode to Joy. Joy, but not euphoria. There is a lot of work ahead. The work of everyone in their place. The cohesion of all branches of government and society is our key to success.

Despite the war, we continue to implement EU legislation, norms and rules in all spheres of life. The government will develop an appropriate roadmap.

The next steps are known - we have the recommendations of the European Commission.

We expect the Verkhovna Rada to approve European integration laws as a matter of priority.

We expect all of you to have high civic consciousness, devotion to our values and awareness that no one will build us a European Ukraine, except us.

I would like to emphasize a very important point. We are changing Ukraine for ourselves, not for someone else. We are implementing reforms not because of someone's demands, but because of our own beliefs. Ukraine seeks not to join, but to return to the European family. In 2014, the Ukrainian people withstood and defended its European future. But it has chosen it much earlier.

Because democracy existed here more than a thousand years ago. In the days of Kyivan Rus', when people joined in solving important issues in veche. Human rights, human life have already been valued a thousand years ago. Kyivan Rus' is probably the only medieval state where there was no death penalty.

700 years ago there was a widespread legal system of local self-government. 700 years ago Ukrainian cities already had the Magdeburg law. Historians say that the borders of Europe are the outskirts of the last eastern city, which has the Magdeburg law. It did not take root further than the east of Ukraine.

500 years ago, our ancestors chose their own leaders. Hetmans of Zaporizhzhia and Kish otamans were not appointed by the king, tsar, boyars, nobility or aristocracy, but were elected freely and equally by all Cossacks.

For centuries, our people have been committed to the principles of tolerance and respect. Hundreds of national communities and representatives of all religious denominations have lived and still live in peace and harmony on our land.

Today Ukraine is fighting for its freedom. And this war began just when Ukraine declared its right to freedom. To its choice of its future. We saw it in the European Union. No matter how someone convinced us that no one wanted us there and a happy tomorrow for Ukraine was possible in a completely different union called Customs. And no matter how surprised they were that Ukrainians preferred freedom over cheap gas. We have chosen the path.

The path determined by our people, not someone's power. Chosen by Maidan Nezalezhnosti, not Red Square. The path the Revolution on Granite fought for in 1990, the Orange Revolution stood on barricades for in 2004 and the Heavenly Hundred gave lives for during the Revolution of Dignity in 2014. It was then that the voice of Ukraine sounded loudest. It was there that we firmly chose our path. That is why the Russian Federation appeared on it, annexing Crimea, occupying part of Donbas and later starting a full-scale war against the whole of Ukraine. And that is why this decision of the EU is so important, motivates us and shows: all this is needed not only by us. Having declared our desire to go to the EU, today we finally heard clearly: we are waiting for you! You are welcome! We want to see you as a full member of our family.

Hence, all this was not in vain. And our struggle continues not in vain. Ukraine has truly united. Ukraine is truly fighting. Ukraine will definitely win. Truly!

Ukraine. Europe. World. Humanity. Glory to Ukraine! Glory to the Heroes!

9.19 Appendix 19: President Zelensky's Appearance – Selected Examples

Example 1: Official picture from Zelensky's speech on 26th of February. See appendix 4 for transcript and details.



Available on:

<https://www.president.gov.ua/en/news/mi-vistoyali-zvernennya-prezidenta-ukrayini-u-tretij-den-vij-73197>

Example 2: Official picture from Zelensky's speech to the European Council on 30th May. See appendix 14 for details.



Available on: <https://www.president.gov.ua/en/news/zvernennya-prezidenta-ukrayini-volodimira-zelenskogo-do-yevr-75465>

Example 3: Official picture of Zelensky from his speech on 24th June announcing the EU candidate status to the Ukrainian people. See appendix 18 for details.



Available on:

<https://www.president.gov.ua/en/news/oficijno-viznano-ukrayina-ce-majbutnij-rivnij-partner-dlya-2-76029>