



Imagining Ukraine in the Atlantic Community: An Analysis of  
Zelensky's Speeches

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Jeroen Cuijpers, Master student at the Faculty of Arts of Radboud University Nijmegen, declares that the submitted thesis is completely original and written exclusively by himself. For all information and ideas derived from other sources, the undersigned made explicit and detailed references to the locations. The research data presented therein were collected by the undersigned himself in the manner described in the thesis.

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## **Abstract**

Russia started a full-blown invasion of Ukraine on the night of the 24<sup>th</sup> of February 2022. Ukrainians have valiantly fought on the battlefield to defend their home country from day one onwards. This war, however, is not only fought with traditional weapons but also with words. Both Russia and Ukraine try to control the narrative of the war. Ukraine has employed a complex international communication strategy to try and win over the hearts and minds of the foreign public in an attempt to accumulate more reputational security for Ukraine. As the president of Ukraine, Volodymyr Zelensky has the ability to contribute to this strategy as well. This thesis consists of a discourse analysis of Zelensky's speeches between March 8<sup>th</sup>, 2022, and May 8<sup>th</sup>, 2023, directed at countries and institutions that represent the Atlantic community. The goal of this thesis is to find out how Zelensky positioned Ukraine in his speeches in an attempt to accumulate more reputational security for Ukraine. The findings reveal which strategies Zelensky employed to achieve this purpose. It was found that Zelensky attempted to appeal to an imagined community rooted in a community of values during his speeches. Most of his efforts were, however, directed at the European community rather than the Atlantic community, which was an unexpected outcome.

**Keywords:** Volodymyr Zelensky, Ukraine, Atlantic Community, Reputational Security, Discourse Analysis

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## Introduction

“Of course, we all want to see a different Vladimir here.”<sup>1</sup> Ukrainian president Volodymyr Zelensky decided to begin his speech in The Hague on the 4<sup>th</sup> of May 2023 with this joke. Some people in the audience briefly laughed, knowing the leaders of Russia and Ukraine happen to share their first names. This may only be one of the few similarities between the two, however. Since the start of the invasion in February 2022, the two leaders have been perceived as polar opposites.<sup>2</sup> Putin was made a fool as the Ukrainian people showed great resilience and resistance to the Russian invasion. Zelensky, on the other hand, managed to rally European and North American nations for his cause since the onset of the war.

Ukraine and Zelensky chose to not only arm the country with weapons for the war but also with words. While Ukrainian soldiers are fighting on the battlefield, Zelensky is fighting a battle to win over the hearts and minds on the global rhetorical front. He is trying to mobilize the international community to stand up for Ukraine and support its cause. With the help of clever rhetoric, symbolic language, and humor, Zelensky tries to tip the scales of public opinion in his favor. He attempts to appeal to the Atlantic community, a community rooted in a community of values, represented by NATO and the European Union. NATO and the European Union are willing to oppose Russia and support Ukraine.<sup>3</sup> As will be addressed later in this thesis, Zelensky addresses this community not as an outsider but rather as a member. When he speaks of this community, he, for example, tends to use the word ‘we’, implying Ukraine is already part of it. Zelensky also attempts to appeal to already existing international institutions, such as the International Criminal Court in the Hague to support the Ukrainian people. This is an institution that symbolizes values such as justice, freedom, and peace, and the institution is a key part of the liberal international order, similar to NATO and the European Union. By adhering to these values and institutions, which are central to the Atlantic community, Zelensky attempts to implement Ukraine into the narrative of the Atlantic community.

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<sup>1</sup> NOS, “Rusland moet hier worden berecht in nieuw tribunaal, zegt Zelensky in Den Haag.”

<sup>2</sup> Hajdu, “New GLOBSEC Trends: Volodymyr Zelensky four times more popular than Putin in CEE.”

<sup>3</sup> NATO. “NATO's response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine.” *NATO*, 2023, European Council. “EU response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine.” *Council of the European Union*, 2023.

Furthermore, this thesis will argue that Zelensky's quest to reignite Ukraine-Western relations is part of a grander strategy for Ukraine. As will be argued more extensively in Chapter 2, Euro-Atlantic integration has been one of the most important foreign policy objectives of the Ukrainian government since the start of the Russian aggression in 2014, as Ukraine needed Western support to preserve the country. In the present, Ukraine even applied for accession to the European Union and to NATO.<sup>4</sup> Ukraine has used many other traditional diplomatic tools as well to achieve the objective of strengthening its ties with these institutions.<sup>5</sup> Ukraine, however, also employs non-traditional methods to instill onto Western audiences the narrative that Ukraine belongs to the Atlantic community as an imagined community rooted in a community of values. The government now uses the media and the power of communication to strengthen and support this narrative more and more. The use of public communication could contribute to more integration into the Atlantic community.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, the power of narration and Ukraine's attempts to appeal to the Atlantic community as a community rooted in a community of values will be important to analyze when researching Ukraine's international communication strategy.

Ukraine's recent shift in international strategic communication has been on the radar for international relations researchers. Different academics have argued that Ukraine altered its strategic communication course through a number of mechanisms, including a new and concerted attention to communicating the national narrative and culture globally.<sup>7</sup> The most relevant authors and their works will be discussed throughout the thesis in their relevant subsections. However, the most important author relevant to this thesis, Nicolas Cull, and his main argument will be briefly explained.

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<sup>4</sup> European Council. "Ukraine." *Council of the European Union*, 2023, Gijs, C. "Ukraine formally applies for fast-track NATO membership." *Politico*, 2022.

<sup>5</sup> Ptashchenko, O, et al. "Institutional Instruments of Ukraine's Euro-Atlantic Integration." *Economic Affairs*, Volume 67, Issue 3, 2022, 337.

<sup>6</sup> Pipchenko, N, et al. "The policy of European and Euro-Atlantic integration as a key factor for Ukraine's transformation." *European Spatial Research and Policy*, Issue 1, 2021, 265.

<sup>7</sup> Martín, A. "Is Volodymyr Zelensky the necessary hero or not?" *Centro de Estudios Estratégicos del Ejército del Perú*, 2022, 9, Serafin, T. "Ukraine's President Zelensky Takes the Russia/Ukraine War Viral." *Orbis*, Volume 66, Issue 4, 2022, 1, Langston, S. "Volodymyr Zelensky: how acting prepared the Ukrainian president for the role of his life." *The Conversation*, 2022, 2, Cull, "The War for Ukraine: Reputational Security and Media Disruption," *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, 2022, 2, Yarchi, M, "The Image War as a Significant Fighting Arena – Evidence from the Ukrainian Battle over Perceptions during the 2022 Russian Invasion," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 2022, Bolin, G., Ståhlberg, P. "Nation branding vs. nation building revisited: Ukrainian information management in the face of the Russian invasion." *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, 2022, Kaneva, N. "'Brave Like Ukraine': A critical discourse perspective on Ukraine's wartime brand." *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, 2022.

The Ukrainian government started to change its international communication strategy earlier than the latest invasion of Russia in 2022. From the Russian annexation of Crimea in 2014 onwards, the Ukrainian government has made deliberate foreign policy changes to send a new message to the world. The main purpose of this new communication strategy is to reshape Ukraine's narrative in the world to a nation that defends universal values such as justice, freedom, and democracy. Through this strategy, the Ukrainian government tries to improve its international reputation in order to receive more support for its endeavors. This process is articulated by Cull as Ukraine's attempts to accumulate more reputational security for itself.<sup>8</sup> Reputational security is the degree of safety ascribed to a nation-state that results from being known by citizens of other nations. This thesis will build on Cull's research by investigating Zelensky's discourse during the Russian invasion of Ukraine in relation to the concept of reputational security. Both the definitions of this concept and other related concepts and the development of the theoretical framework will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2.

Zelensky exemplifies this shift and plays a large role in Ukraine's new strategy. Volodymyr Zelensky became president of Ukraine in 2019 and has used his position of power extensively to serve Ukraine's foreign policy goals. His role has been emphasized in recent research in the field of international relations.<sup>9</sup> Among these researchers, the most relevant authors to this thesis are Rubio, Edwards, and Potapenko. Each of them has analyzed Zelensky's discourse in a different manner. Rubio looked into Zelensky's attempts to incorporate visual instruments as a strategy to appeal more to foreign audiences.<sup>10</sup> Edwards researched Zelensky's use of history as a strategy to strengthen his arguments in speeches to

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<sup>8</sup> Cull, "The War for Ukraine: Reputational Security and Media Disruption," 1.

<sup>9</sup> Martín, "Is Volodymyr Zelensky the necessary hero or not?" 9, Serafin, "Ukraine's President Zelensky Takes the Russia/Ukraine War Viral." 1, Langston, "Volodymyr Zelensky: how acting prepared the Ukrainian president for the role of his life." 2, Potapenko, S. "Ukrainian President Zelensky's resistance discourse." *DiscourseNet Collaborative Working Paper Series*, N. 8/6, 2023, Rubio, A. "Zelensky's discourse during the Russian invasion of Ukraine." *Comillas Universidad Pontificia*, 2022, Frida, A. "From Clown to Hero: The construction of Volodymyr Zelensky in Swedish newspapers 2019 and 2022." *Digitala Vetenskapliga Arkivet*, 2022, 1, Zachara-Szymańska, M. "The return of the hero-leader? Volodymyr Zelensky's international image and the global response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine." *Leadership*, 2023, Edwards, S. "World War ii Memory Weaponized: The US, UK and Ukrainian Memory Diplomacy." *Journal of Applied History*, N.4, 2022, pp. 46-57, Nisch, S. "Invasion of Ukraine: Frames and sentiments in Zelensky's Twitter communication." *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 2023, Sánchez-Castillo, S, et al. "Unmuting leadership: the impact of Zelensky's social media strategy at the inset of the Ukrainian War." *Journal of Risk Research*, 2023.

<sup>10</sup> Rubio, "Zelensky's discourse during the Russian invasion of Ukraine."

raise more support for Ukraine.<sup>11</sup> Lastly, Potapenko has mostly analyzed how Zelensky uses certain pronouns such as ‘we’, ‘us’, and ‘they’ to create a narrative of Europe versus Russia.<sup>12</sup> Each of these academics’ research will be utilized and explained more thoroughly during Chapter 3.

Harnessed by the Ukrainian government, Zelensky has been an important ambassador for the country to alter public opinion during the war in favor of Ukraine. Zelensky has made considerable efforts to improve Ukraine’s reputation in Western Europe and the United States especially. Even though Zelensky’s discourse in his speeches in foreign parliaments, his daily speeches in Ukraine, and his meetings with international leaders have existed for only a short time, some discourse analyses employed by Rubio, Edwards, and Potapenko show the importance of the president’s words in the development of reshaping the Ukrainian narrative.<sup>13</sup> The goal of this thesis is to build on this research while also looking into the intersection between Ukraine’s status in the world and Zelensky’s contribution to this ever-evolving status. Furthermore, this thesis distinguishes itself as its focus is specifically on Zelensky’s appeals to the Atlantic community. In doing so, this thesis can combine literature of Ukrainian foreign policy and Zelensky’s discourse with literature on NATO, the European Union, and other institutions and countries that symbolize the Atlantic community. By researching this specific topic, this thesis aims to make a new contribution to the fields of international communication and international relations.

Therefore, the following research question will be answered in this thesis: How has Zelensky positioned Ukraine during his speeches to the Atlantic community from March 2022 to May 2023 in an effort to increase Ukraine’s reputational security? To answer this question, several subquestions will need to be answered first. These subquestions each correspond with the subsequent chapters, structuring the thesis into a clear and concise paper.

Firstly, Chapter 1 will be dedicated to explaining the context of Ukraine’s shift in international communication strategy. The motivation for this decision will be investigated by answering the following subquestion: What developments have influenced Ukraine’s

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<sup>11</sup> Edwards, S. “World War ii Memory Weaponized: The US, UK and Ukrainian Memory Diplomacy.”

<sup>12</sup> Potapenko, “Ukrainian President Zelensky’s resistance discourse.”

<sup>13</sup> Potapenko, “Ukrainian President Zelensky’s resistance discourse,” Rubio, “Zelensky’s discourse during the Russian invasion of Ukraine.”

decision to have closer relations with the Atlantic community? Answering this question requires a dive into the history of Ukraine, Ukraine-Russia relations, and Ukraine's relations with European and North American organizations. By mobilizing existing academic literature, this chapter aims to explain the position of Ukraine from its independence in 1991 to the present through the exploration of key domestic and international developments. Furthermore, Ukraine's decision to eventually alter its foreign policy and strategic communication course will be explained. For example, NATO expansion, the promise of 1990, the Bucharest Summit of 2008, the Russian invasion of Georgia in 2008, and the Russian annexation of Crimea in 2014 are all important developments to explore in this thesis in order to properly contextualize Ukraine's motivations.

Secondly, after setting the scene, Chapter 2 aims to define the most important concepts, develop the theoretical framework, and investigate the development of Ukraine's international communication strategy. The main goal for the second chapter is to find an answer to the following subquestion: How has Ukraine's international communication strategy developed between 2014 and 2023? To find an answer to this question, several important concepts need to be defined first in order to fully understand the intent of the shift in communication strategy. Concepts such as soft power, public diplomacy, and reputational security will thus be clearly defined at the start of this chapter with the help of relevant scholarly literature, based on which I will develop my own theoretical framework that will serve as the basis for the analysis. At last, Ukraine's international communication strategy will be explored in this chapter. To investigate this shift in communication, several primary sources will be interpreted and analyzed, such as governmental documents and foreign policy statements of Ukraine. However, the chapter will ultimately also base its conclusions on the academic literature that researched Ukraine's communication strategy during this same period.

Thirdly, Chapter 3 aims to analyze Zelensky's attempts to appeal to the Atlantic community as an imagined community rooted in a community of values by doing a discourse analysis of his speeches between March 2022 and May 2023 to countries and institutions that represent the Atlantic community. This chapter will be dedicated to answering the following subquestion: To what extent has Zelensky attempted to accumulate reputational security for Ukraine by appealing to the Atlantic community as an imagined community rooted in a community of values, by depicting Russia as an enemy of this imagined

community, and by using history to connect Ukraine to this imagined community during his speeches to countries and institutions that represent the Atlantic community from March 2022 to May 2023? First, the motivation will be given for why this speech set was chosen. Then, the research method will be explained in detail. The most important strategies that Zelensky employs to appeal to an imagined community will be analyzed in the speeches as well. At last, the chapter will end with an explanation of the results. By highlighting the most important excerpts of instances wherein Zelensky employs his strategies, the chapter will end with a cohesive argument.

Lastly, this thesis will end with a conclusion section which will properly answer the main research question. Furthermore, this section will make new recommendations for future researchers to build on this thesis and its concepts.

## Chapter 1: Who are the Ukrainians?

This chapter aims to give more context to Ukraine's decision to pivot towards closer relations with the Atlantic community and Russia's response. Ukrainian history and its relationship with both Russia and Western Europe need to be explained first. Therefore, this chapter starts by giving a brief overview of Ukrainian history, starting at the birth of the Kievan Rus in the late 8<sup>th</sup> century. Then, the chapter quickly moves forward in time to discuss Ukraine in the Soviet era and its eventual independence in 1991. By giving the context of Ukraine's complex relationship with Russia first, discussing the Ukrainian divide among its inhabitants between Russia and Western Europe will be easier to explain. Furthermore, this chapter will give an overview of NATO expansionism by discussing several developments resulting from NATO's move eastward. At last, the inhabitants of Ukraine and their stance towards Russia, NATO, and the Atlantic community will be explained. To keep this chapter concise, however, the presented information will only be relevant to the following research question: What developments have influenced Ukraine's decision to have closer relations with the Atlantic community?

### Ukraine's long road to Independence

Ukraine's history cannot be fully understood without understanding Russia's history and vice versa. Their history has already been interconnected for numerous centuries. By giving a brief summary of the countries' shared history, this section will consist of an explanation for why these two countries have been friends, adversaries, or both at different points in time.

Originally, Russian and Ukrainian cultures had a lot in common. They share the same origin story and the same birthplace, Kiev. The Kievan Rus emerged in the late 800s, and this community lived in Kiev until 1240.<sup>14</sup> This group of people, most likely derived from Swedish Vikings, Finns, Balts, Bulgars, and Slavs, lived, traded, and fought together for centuries to come. The Kievan Rus was already trading with both Europe and Asia from the 9<sup>th</sup> century onwards, highlighting their early economic interdependence on these two continents.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, the Kievan Rus' adoption of Christianity, Orthodox Christianity in particular, in

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<sup>14</sup> Christopher, J., Thompson, J. "Russia: A Historical Introduction from Kievan Rus' to the Present," *Charles Scribners' Sons*, 1986, 5.

<sup>15</sup> Christopher, J., Thompson, J. "Russia: A Historical Introduction from Kievan Rus' to the Present," 9.

988 could be the single most important event for the formation of its culture. The adoption of the Christian religion fundamentally altered Kievan Rus civilization as it did not only affect religious practices but also law, education, literature, art, attitudes, feelings, and even the political system.<sup>16</sup> Another important development for the formation of this culture was its warfare with regional rivals. Fighting off other cultures and defending its homeland contributed to the Kievan Rus' culture as it resulted in the creation of a canon of songs, stories, and heroic historical figures such as Vladimir the Great.<sup>17</sup> Their efforts were unsuccessful in the end as the Mongol empire destroyed Kiev in 1240 and dealt the final blow to Kievan Rus' civilization.<sup>18</sup> This deep-rooted origin story, which is shared by modern Ukrainians and Russians, provides some additional context for the interconnection between Ukraine and Russia with the first names of both modern leaders being the perfect example of their admiration towards the past.

For the following few centuries, the region that later became known as Ukraine and its inhabitants fell victim to being controlled by different foreign forces. Several kingdoms and empires from Lithuania, Poland, and Russia each had their turn in controlling the area. An important shift for the Ukrainian people was the rise of Ukrainian nationalism in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Mykhailo Drahomanov (1841-1895), a Ukrainian teacher of ancient history and Ukrainian folklore and oral literature, was a central figure in this movement. As part of an underground Ukrainian organization, the Old Community of Kiev, and as a reputable publisher of outspoken articles in the Russian and Ukrainian press, Drahomanov exemplifies the Ukrainian sentiment of Ukrainian nationalism and independence at the time.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, after being banned by the Russian Tsar from teaching when his criticism became known, he also became a symbol of Russian oppression throughout Ukraine.<sup>20</sup> This shift in Ukrainian thinking towards Ukrainian nationalism and independence could partially explain why Russia and Ukraine grew apart.

The relationship between Russia and Ukraine entered a new phase during the 20<sup>th</sup> century in the era of Soviet imperialism. Even though the Ukrainian people fought valiantly

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<sup>16</sup> Christopher, J., Thompson, J. "Russia: A Historical Introduction from Kievan Rus' to the Present," 10.

<sup>17</sup> Christopher, J., Thompson, J. "Russia: A Historical Introduction from Kievan Rus' to the Present," 12.

<sup>18</sup> Carpini, G. "The Destruction of Kiev." *University of Toronto's Research Repository*, 2016.

<sup>19</sup> Rudnytsky, I. "The First Ukrainian Political Program: Mykhailo Drahomanov's 'Introduction' to Hromada." *Suchasnist*, Vol. 19, no. 3, 1979, 91.

<sup>20</sup> Rudnytsky, I. "The First Ukrainian Political Program: Mykhailo Drahomanov's 'Introduction' to Hromada," 91.

alongside the Soviets during several wars, they were not awarded independence quite yet after the Second World War.<sup>21</sup> The Ukrainian identity was oppressed during this period as Ukrainian independence posed a serious threat to the Soviet Union. In its attempt to unite the inhabitants of the Soviet Union into one single identity, the Soviets imprisoned, liquidated, and deported Ukrainian people affiliated with Ukrainian nationalism.<sup>22</sup> Especially during the interbellum, many Ukrainian intellectuals, teachers, writers, artists, thinkers, and political leaders, were exterminated by the Soviet Union.<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, in Soviet Ukraine between 1932 and 1933, during the Holodomor, a man-made famine, caused by the Soviet industrialization and collectivization of agriculture, killed 5 million Ukrainians, which the 73rd Congress of the United States decried on 28 May 1934.<sup>24</sup> These events symbolize the deterioration of the relationship between Ukraine and Russia.

Ukraine became independent in 1991 in the wake of the fall of the Soviet Union. Mikhail Gorbachev, the leader of the Soviet Union at the time, reformed his country's economy in an attempt to save it. This development, known as Perestroika, created opportunities for multiple nationalist groups in different regions of the Soviet Union to declare themselves independent. One of these regions, Ukraine, was able to declare national independence on 24 August 1991 in a referendum with a voter turnout rate of over 90%.<sup>25</sup> Even though Ukraine formally became an independent state from its neighbor, it could not completely decide its own course. Most notably, the Ukrainian economy was still largely dependent on trade with Russia. Ukraine could, therefore, still be characterized as an internal colony. An internal colony lacks the political or economic institutions with which to shape its own destiny and therefore is subject to the imposition of economic priorities decided elsewhere, which is Russia in this instance.<sup>26</sup> For a country such as Ukraine to become completely independent from Russia after centuries of intertwined history, it needs time to create its own institutions and engage in relations with other nations.

The abovementioned developments highlight the interdependency of Ukraine's history with that of Russia. This context already indicates some of the possible motives for

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<sup>21</sup> Britannica. "Ukraine: World War II and its aftermath." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 2007, 55.

<sup>22</sup> Lemkin, R. "Soviet Genocide in the Ukraine." *The Kashtan Press*, 2008, 2.

<sup>23</sup> Lemkin, R. "Soviet Genocide in the Ukraine." *The Kashtan Press*, 2008, 2.

<sup>24</sup> Lemkin, R. "Soviet Genocide in the Ukraine." *The Kashtan Press*, 2008, 3.

<sup>25</sup> Kuzio, T. "Ukraine: Perestroika to Independence." *Macmillan Press LTD*, 1994, 1.

<sup>26</sup> Kuzio, T. "Ukraine: Perestroika to Independence," 39.

Ukraine to strengthen its ties with other European allies west of Ukraine since it could become less dependent on Russia. However, Russia was not the only entity that exerted pressure on Ukraine. Other actors, such as NATO, have also influenced Ukrainian foreign policy, especially in recent history.

### NATO's move eastward

After its birth in 1949, NATO already accounted for possible new members with the addition of article 10 in its original constitution, which gives the organization the ability to invite new members if agreed to unanimously by all member states.<sup>27</sup> Even though some new members joined during the Cold War, most new members were added in the wake of the fall of the Soviet Union. Many former Soviet states applied for NATO membership quite quickly after they gained independence. At first, these consisted mostly of central European countries such as the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland, which collectively joined NATO in 1999. However, as more countries in Eastern Europe started to apply for membership, NATO-Russia relations started to deteriorate as Russia saw this development as an act of aggression of NATO since its border would be threatened more and more when NATO moved its borders towards Russia.<sup>28</sup> Even though Ukraine did not formally apply for NATO until the start of the war of 2022, Ukraine was on NATO's radar since 2008 as a potential new member for the future. Moreover, well before Ukraine applied for NATO membership, it had already attempted to strengthen its diplomatic ties with the institution through various agreements.<sup>29</sup> This resulted in a difficult balancing act for Ukraine as it still was largely dependent on Russia, especially economically speaking.

Russia felt aggravated by NATO because of its enlargement, causing a downturn in NATO-Russia relations. The Russian Federation repeatedly claimed that NATO promised not to move its borders eastward after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1990. This claim, however, is not reflected in academic research as researchers have pointed out that the West has not made any legally binding commitments not to extend NATO beyond the

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<sup>27</sup> NATO. "The North Atlantic Treaty." *NATO*, 1949.

<sup>28</sup> Karabeshkin, L., Spechler, D. "EU and NATO Enlargement: Russia's Expectations, Responses and Options for the Future." *European Security*, Volume 16, 2007, 307.

<sup>29</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. "Cooperation with NATO." *Ukrainian Government*, 2021.

borders of Germany in 1990.<sup>30</sup> Even though there are no legally binding commitments, it remains uncertain if a verbal promise was made during the diplomatic talks between Russia and NATO. This claim could also be a tool of propaganda to serve domestic political interests as Putin manipulated and magnified the Russian reaction to NATO enlargement.<sup>31</sup> Nevertheless, NATO enlargement has at least contributed to the deterioration of NATO-Russia relations as the country has acted upon the perceived threat of NATO by invading the Crimea in 2014 and the rest of Ukraine in 2022.

Another important turning point in NATO-Russia relations was the Bucharest Summit in 2008, resulting in a renewed wave of aggression of Russia toward former Soviet states. During this summit, NATO announced that it would welcome Ukraine and Georgia as potential new member states.<sup>32</sup> The language used by NATO in its statement was very clear about the support the two countries would receive from NATO in their application process.<sup>33</sup> Russia did not take this statement lightly as it started pursuing new foreign policy goals through military means, a kind of militarization which was heavily underestimated by NATO. NATO's statement at the Bucharest Summit fed the already-existing Russian paranoia about NATO moving its borders closer to and thus threatening the Russian border. The growing concerns and fears that at some point NATO could enlarge to Georgia and Ukraine were there even before this promise was given, but then this promise exacerbated those fears.<sup>34</sup> Russia's response to NATO's plans to invite Ukraine and Georgia to the organization was brutal.

Russia invaded Georgia in 2008, and Ukraine in 2014, creating frozen conflicts in the countries, which makes them less likely to become a new member of NATO.<sup>35</sup> The Russian intervention in Georgia's breakaway republic of South Ossetia in August 2008 was Moscow's first-ever use of military force against a sovereign state in the post-Cold War period. Moscow

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<sup>30</sup> Rühle, M. "NATO Enlargement and Russia: Discerning Fact from Fiction." *American Foreign Policy Interests*, Volume. 36, 2014, 234, - Kramer, M. "The Myth of a No-NATO-Enlargement Pledge to Russia." *The Washington Quarterly*, Volume 32, 2009, 39.

<sup>31</sup> Marten, K. "NATO Enlargement: Evaluating Its Consequences in Russia." In: Goldgeier, J., Shiffrinson, J. "Evaluating NATO Enlargement." *Palgrave Macmillan*, 2023, 209.

<sup>32</sup> Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Bucharest on 3 April 2008. "Bucharest Summit Declaration," *NATO*, 2008.

<sup>33</sup> Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Bucharest on 3 April 2008. "Bucharest Summit Declaration."

<sup>34</sup> Pavlika, K., Nikoloz, G. "The Bucharest Summit and the 2008 Russian Georgian War." *Wyższa Szkoła Biznesu – National-Louis University*, 2018, 25.

<sup>35</sup> Coyle, J. "Russia's Border Wars and Frozen Conflicts." *Palgrave Macmillan*, 2018, 265.

went to war to re-establish hegemony in Georgia as a response to US and NATO's attempts to let Georgia gain more control itself in its Northern provinces.<sup>36</sup> Russia would feel threatened if NATO gained influence so close to the Russian border in Georgia. With this new aggressive strategy, the Kremlin believes that the Russian state will enhance its chances of survival in the international system.<sup>37</sup> Similarly to Georgia, Russia invaded Ukraine as well with the annexation of Crimea in 2014. Not only did the Russians believe this invasion would make Ukraine less likely to join NATO, but it also would ensure Russian control of its Black Sea Fleet from its long-standing base in Sevastopol.<sup>38</sup>

Ukraine has been a pawn on a chessboard of NATO versus Russia. Both NATO and Russia have clearly communicated their plans for Ukraine to the world. The entities have exerted enormous amounts of pressure on Ukraine, and ever since its official independence in 1991, the country has been in a constant balancing act between its Western and Eastern neighbors to ensure its own survival. Internally, this also led to a divided nation as different communities were siding with different sides in this international conflict.

### A Divided Ukraine

Ukraine's long history with Russia has impacted its inhabitants' stance towards their eastern neighbor in different ways. Ever since Ukraine became independent, some communities, mostly living in the eastern parts of Ukraine, still wanted closer ties with Russia. However, some Ukrainians are traumatized by the past Soviet oppression and want to become less dependent on Russia. Although Ukrainian voters overwhelmingly supported independence in the December 1991 referendum, in 1994, 47 percent of Ukrainians voted against independence while only 24 percent voted for it.<sup>39</sup> This division within Ukraine made it harder for its government to create a united stance towards its foreign policy, including its international communication strategy

The Ukrainians have experienced a rocky start to their newly independent nation as it encountered some serious economic challenges during the early 1990s. For example, in

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<sup>36</sup> Karagiannis, E. "The 2008 Russian–Georgian war via the lens of Offensive Realism." *European Security*, Volume 22, pp. 74-93, 2013, 74.

<sup>37</sup> Karagiannis, E. "The 2008 Russian–Georgian war via the lens of Offensive Realism." 74.

<sup>38</sup> Treisman, D. "Why Putin Took Crimea: The Gambler in the Kremlin." *Foreign Affairs*, Volume 95, Number 3, pp. 47-54, 2016, 47.

<sup>39</sup> Karatnycky, A. "Ukraine at the Crossroads," *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 6, pp. 117-130, 1995, 118.

1993, Ukraine's inflation rate was nearly 10,000 percent which was the highest in Europe at the time.<sup>40</sup> Furthermore, its gross domestic product was declining every year during this same period.<sup>41</sup> The economic instability in the country has contributed to a loss of popular support for Ukrainian statehood, especially during the first few years of its existence.<sup>42</sup> In 1994, in the southern and eastern regions, 32 percent even expressed support for the restoration of the USSR.<sup>43</sup> Only a fraction of the Ukrainian electorate, concentrated in the western part of the country and in the capital, Kiev, were steadfast supporters of the idea of national independence at the time.

The division on these issues among the Ukrainian people remained throughout the 2000s. For example, in 2008, half of Ukrainians opposed Ukraine's possible membership in NATO, while fewer than one-fourth of the Ukrainian people supported further Euro-Atlantic integration of the country.<sup>44</sup> This split among the people, however, faded away after the invasion of Ukraine in 2014. 69% of the Ukrainian population wanted to join NATO in 2014.<sup>45</sup> This sudden shift in public opinion was caused by the uproar in Ukraine during the Euromaidan protests and the subsequent Russian invasion of Crimea.

The Euromaidan protests in 2013 symbolize Ukraine's pivot towards freedom and democracy, but also the people's dissatisfaction with an abusive and corrupt government. 350,000 Ukrainian people attended the mass demonstration in Kiev on 1 December 2013. Their backgrounds were very different in age, religion, and regional origin. They were united in their perception of widespread government corruption, abuse of power, and violation of human rights.<sup>46</sup> Furthermore, they opposed the president's decision not to sign the European Union-Ukraine Association Agreement, which would strengthen Ukrainian ties with the European Union. Even though the government barely survived a vote of no-confidence in parliament two days later, the momentum was still in favor of the Euromaidan protestors. On 8 December 2013, in the "March of a Million" half a million people went to the streets of Kiev again. A group of activists even toppled the statue of Lenin in downtown

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<sup>40</sup> Karatnycky, A. "Ukraine at the Crossroads," 117.

<sup>41</sup> Karatnycky, A. "Ukraine at the Crossroads," 117.

<sup>42</sup> Karatnycky, A. "Ukraine at the Crossroads," 118.

<sup>43</sup> Karatnycky, A. "Ukraine at the Crossroads," 118.

<sup>44</sup> Interfax-Ukraine. "Half of Ukrainians opposed to Ukraine's membership of NATO, poll indicates." *Interfax-Ukraine*, 2008.

<sup>45</sup> Polityuk, P. "Pledging reforms by 2020, Ukraine seeks route into NATO." *Reuters*, 2017.

<sup>46</sup> Von Burgsdorff, E. "The Euromaidan Revolution in Ukraine: Stages of the Maidan Movement and Why They Constitute a Revolution." *Inquiries Journal*, Volume 7, Number 2, 2015, 1.

Kiev, later replacing the monument with a golden toilet to symbolize the corruption of the political elite in Ukraine.<sup>47</sup> At the end of the protests in 2014, President Yanukovich fled the country and resigned as president. The Euromaidan protests and the newly installed Western-oriented president enraged the Kremlin, serving as two more reasons for Russia's invasion of Crimea in 2014.

### Conclusion

All in all, the Ukrainian people in 2014 still remained divided on foreign policy issues due to their long and complicated relations with Russia, NATO, and neighboring countries. Although the Euromaidan protests do not represent the entire Ukrainian people, they highlighted the people's wish to engage more with Western Europe. Outside forces, namely Russia and NATO, still tried to exert pressure to win Ukraine over to their side since 2014. This is the reality of the difficult political climate in Ukraine at the time. A tough balancing act that requires a well-thought-out communication strategy to ensure survival of Ukraine.

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<sup>47</sup> Kyiv Post. "Euromaidan rallies in Ukraine." *Kyiv Post*, 2013.

## Chapter 2: The International Communication Strategy: Ukraine's Weapon to Defend Itself

This chapter will mainly consist of a thorough explanation of the most relevant concepts, the additional context of Ukraine's goals to political-ideologically align itself more with NATO rather than Russia, and a concise analysis of the most relevant part of Ukraine's international communication strategy for this thesis. After contextualizing contemporary Ukraine by giving a brief overview of its history in the previous chapter, the theoretical framework, including the most important concepts, have to be explored before diving deeper into Ukraine's recent shift in communication strategy. By explaining the concepts of soft power, public diplomacy, reputational security, and imagined community first, it will be clearer through which lens Ukraine's communication strategy will be analyzed. Furthermore, to keep the discussion of concepts relevant to this thesis topic, several examples of how the concept in question will be useful to better understand certain developments in Ukraine will be given.

After giving more context to Ukraine's goals to political-ideologically align itself more with NATO rather than Russia, Ukraine's international communication strategy will be analyzed next. To keep the chapter concise, only information will be presented that aids in answering the following subquestion: How has Ukraine's international communication strategy developed between 2014 and 2023? To properly contextualize the recent adaptations in Ukraine's international communication strategy, some shifts in the country's goals have to be identified first. Then, the shift toward a more Western-oriented communication strategy during the years 2014 to 2023 will be analyzed. Lastly, the role of Zelensky's speeches within this strategy will be discussed.

### The Role of Reputational Security in Ukraine's International Communication Strategy

The main concept of this thesis is that of reputational security. As will be argued extensively later in this and the next chapter, the Ukrainian government altered its course in its international communication strategy to increase its reputational security in the world. Before going into this larger argument, the concept of reputational security, recently developed by Nicolas Cull, has to be examined and defined.

Reputational security is the degree of safety ascribed to a nation-state that results from being known by citizens of other nations. A country with reputational security is accepted as legitimately sovereign over its territory, not just in law but also in international public perception. It is appreciated as a member of the international community and seen as an integral part of the fabric of that community. People are interested in news from the country, and should the country be threatened, they see its preservation as a foreign policy priority.<sup>48</sup>

Therefore, reputational security can be useful to better understand the international communication strategy of Ukraine. As argued by Cull, the lack of reputational security of Ukraine during the invasion of Crimea in 2014 triggered Ukraine to rethink its international communication strategy as it needed more support from its allies than it was receiving during this first invasion.<sup>49</sup> Ukraine has since then made considerable efforts of improving its reputation among the international community to strengthen its ties with its allies.<sup>50</sup>

Ukraine's attempts to change the international public perception, in particular that of the Atlantic community, through the means of communication to increase its reputational security will be the main focal point during this thesis. Therefore, the concept of reputational security will be important moving forward, but it does not exist in isolation. Other closely related concepts, such as soft power and public diplomacy, can aid as well when analyzing Ukraine's international communication strategy.

### Soft Power and Public Diplomacy

The concepts of soft power and public diplomacy have been popular concepts among the academic community. Many recent studies have focused on the concept of public diplomacy and how different countries translated public diplomacy into their foreign policies.<sup>51</sup> Furthermore, the concept of soft power has been a useful tool for many scholars over the

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<sup>48</sup> Cull, N. "The Quest for Reputational Security: The Soft Power Agenda of Kazakhstan." *Center of Public Diplomacy*, 2018.

<sup>49</sup> Cull, N. "The War for Ukraine: Reputational Security and Media Disruption." *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, 2022, 1.

<sup>50</sup> Cull, N. "The War for Ukraine: Reputational Security and Media Disruption," 1.

<sup>51</sup> Saliu, H. "Rethinking Media Diplomacy and Public Diplomacy Towards a New Concept: Digital Media Diplomacy." *Online Journal Modelling the New Europe*, N. 39, 6, 2022.

last couple of years as they have applied this concept in various different contexts and instances in the field of international relations.<sup>52</sup>

The concept of soft power, popularized by Joseph Nye, is the ability to affect others to obtain the outcomes you want in a specific manner. According to Nye, one can affect others' behavior in three main ways: threats of coercion, inducements and payments, and attraction that makes others want what you want.<sup>53</sup> The first two strategies are examples of hard power or traditional power, whereas the latter ties in with the concept of soft power. Soft power arises from the attractiveness of a country's culture, political ideals, and policies. When a country's policies are seen as legitimate in the eyes of others, its soft power is enhanced, leading to more opportunities in the future to effectively convince other actors to align with the country's goals.<sup>54</sup> Reputational security could thus be seen as a form of soft power, but with a more specific goal in mind. Whereas soft power can be applied in many different cases, reputational security is mostly a useful concept in the context of the safety of a country and its reputation among the international community.

The concept of soft power is especially useful when applied to the case of the Ukrainian international communication strategy. Ever since the invasion of Crimea, Ukraine has tried to make its culture, values, and policies more appealing to Western nations and the Atlantic community in particular. For example, Zelensky, by making emotional speeches, tries to appeal to international audiences by making Ukraine's people, policies, and collective values known to the world in an attempt to increase Ukraine's soft power.<sup>55</sup> The concept of soft power will, therefore, be applied in the upcoming analysis of chapters 2 and 3 to better explain Ukraine and Zelensky's course of actions and their motivations.

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<sup>52</sup> Carlsnaes, W, et al. "Handbook of International Relations." *Sage Publications Ltd.*, 2012, Zhe, R. "The Confucius institutes and China's soft power." *Institute of Developing Economies*, Volume 330, 2012, Shambaugh, D. "China Goes Global: The Partial Power." *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, Volume 14, Issue 2, 2014, pp. 328-330, Pike, E, et al. "The 2016 Olympic and Paralympic Games and Brazil's soft power." *Routledge*, 2016.

<sup>53</sup> Nye, J. "Public Diplomacy and Soft Power." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616:1, 2008, 94.

<sup>54</sup> Nye, J. "Soft Power and American Foreign Policy." *Political Science Quarterly*, Volume 119, 2004, pp. 255-270, 256.

<sup>55</sup> Serafin, T. "Ukraine's President Zelensky Takes the Russia/Ukraine War Viral." *Orbis*, Volume 66, Issue 4, pp. 460-476, 2022, Rubio, A. "Zelensky's discourse during the Russian invasion of Ukraine." *Comillas Universidad Pontificia*, 2022, Potapenko, S. "Ukrainian President Zelensky's resistance discourse." *DiscourseNet Collaborative Working Paper Series*, N. 8/6, 2023.

Public diplomacy is another useful concept when engaging with Ukraine's international communication strategy. It ties in with the concept of soft power, as public diplomacy can help actors to accumulate soft power. Public diplomacy was traditionally understood as dealing with the influence of public attitudes on the formation and execution of foreign policies.<sup>56</sup> Its purpose is to increase a country's international image by exposing the values of that country and bringing economic, political, cultural, and tourist-related benefits.<sup>57</sup> Public diplomacy is an important tool in the arsenal of soft power, but smart public diplomacy requires an understanding of the role of credibility, self-criticism, and the role of civil society in generating soft power. Public diplomacy that degenerates into propaganda not only fails to convince but can undercut soft power.<sup>58</sup> Therefore, to effectively harness public diplomacy to accumulate more soft power or even reputational security, a carefully designed international communication strategy is required.

Different scholars have provided different definitions of public diplomacy. For the purpose of this thesis, the most recent definition provided by the Encyclopedia Britannica will be used. Britannica has divided the use of public diplomacy into two different kinds.

The first form of public diplomacy can be defined as branding, or cultural communication, in which the government tries to improve its image without seeking support for any immediate policy objective. States use branding strategies to foster a better image of themselves in the world. Ideally, branding creates general goodwill and facilitates cooperation across a variety of issues. It also helps to maintain long-term alliance relationships and undermine enemy propaganda.<sup>59</sup> This form of public diplomacy is more of a long-term investment strategy that Ukraine has used for several years leading up to the war in 2022 to accumulate more reputational security for itself.

The second type of public diplomacy includes various strategies designed to facilitate quicker results, a strategy also known as political advocacy. Whereas branding is meant to affect long-term perceptions, political advocacy campaigns use public diplomacy to build foreign support for immediate policy objectives. The foreign public may be encouraged to support or oppose the leaders of other states. Sometimes states need to quickly convince

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<sup>56</sup> Cull, N. "Public Diplomacy before Gullion: The Evolution of a Phrase." *USC Center on Public Diplomacy*, 2006.

<sup>57</sup> Saliu, "Rethinking Media Diplomacy," 8.

<sup>58</sup> Nye, J. "Public Diplomacy and Soft Power," 108.

<sup>59</sup> Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. "Public Diplomacy." *Britannica*, 2023.

foreign audiences to support costly military alliance strategies. Foreign leaders may want to cooperate with alliance plans but fear domestic reprisal for agreeing to unpopular actions. Under these conditions, public diplomacy may help those leaders cooperate by reducing the threat of backlash at home.<sup>60</sup>

Based on this conceptualization, this thesis will try to demonstrate how, to what extent, and why Zelensky uses public diplomacy to achieve long-term and short-term goals.

### Imagined Communities and Atlantic Integration

To better understand Ukraine's goals of increasing its reputational security internationally and its methods to do so, the concept of imagined communities should be further explained. Ukraine has tried to integrate itself further and further into an imagined community rooted in a community of values. If Ukraine becomes a valued member of this imagined community, people within the community would see its preservation as a foreign policy priority when Ukraine is threatened. To contextualize this strategy more, the concept of imagined communities should be examined first.

Originally developed by Anderson, imagined communities are socially constructed communities, imagined by the people who perceive themselves as part of a group.<sup>61</sup> This means that nations and their inhabitants are not only defined by their linguistic and ethnic qualities, geopolitical strategies, economic interests, or political gains but also by symbolic geographies, historical myths, and political imaginations.<sup>62</sup>

The Atlantic community is one example of such an imagined community. The Atlantic community is the product of the representations and imaginations of individuals and groups and of the communication and discursive strategies of particular actors.<sup>63</sup> Zelensky is an example of one of the actors who actively contribute to the continued existence of the Atlantic community due to his choice of discourse in his speeches. Furthermore, the Atlantic community was originally rooted in and produced by specific political contexts and expressed a distinctive political representation of the world. It also performed a legitimizing function for institutions, political movements, and asymmetric power relations operating

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<sup>60</sup> Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. "Public Diplomacy."

<sup>61</sup> Anderson, "Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism," *Verso*, 1983, 6.

<sup>62</sup> Penkala, A, et al. "The Ukrainian divide: The power of historical narratives, imagined communities, and collective memories." *Regions and Cohesion*, Volume 10, Issue 3, 2020, 125.

<sup>63</sup> Anderson, "Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism," *Verso*, 1983.

within the transatlantic relationship.<sup>64</sup> The Atlantic community came into existence in the post-liberal world order, and the community represents certain values such as freedom, democracy, and the rule of law. NATO and the European Union are the promoters and defenders of this community, but these institutions also represent the community by themselves.

The main hypothesis of this thesis is that Zelensky and the Ukrainian administration are trying to appeal to an imagined community as a way to create a united front and eventually accumulate more reputational security for the country in the world. After the Russian invasion of Crimea in 2014, Euro-Atlantic integration has been one of the most important foreign policy objectives of the Ukrainian government. For example, developing and implementing NATO-Ukraine Annual National Programs has been one of Ukraine's strategies to further integrate the country into the Atlantic community.<sup>65</sup> Ever since 2014, Ukraine has used many other traditional diplomatic tools as well to achieve this objective, especially through institutions.<sup>66</sup> Ukraine, however, also employs non-traditional methods to instill onto Western audiences the narrative that Ukraine belongs to the Atlantic community to support long-term and short-term public diplomacy goals, among which is the accumulation of more reputational security. The government now uses the media and the power of communication to strengthen and support this narrative more and more.<sup>67</sup> The power of narration and appealing to an imagined community will thus be important to analyze when researching Ukraine's international communication strategy.

### From Formal Independence to Real Independence

To understand the purpose of Ukraine's international communication strategy from 2014 to 2023, some additional context will be given on the history of how Ukraine has increasingly aligned itself with the Atlantic community and its institutions since the 1990s. As was mentioned in Chapter 1, Ukraine was not completely independent from Russia in 1991. Even though Ukraine was formally independent from that time onwards, the country was still

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<sup>64</sup> Aubourg, V., Scott-Smith, G. "European Community, Atlantic Community?" *éditions Soleb*, 2008, 14.

<sup>65</sup> Todorov, I. "Annual National Programmes as an Instrument of Euro-Atlantic Integration of Ukraine." *Ukraine Analytica*, Issue 4, 2018, 26.

<sup>66</sup> Ptashchenko, O, et al. "Institutional Instruments of Ukraine's Euro-Atlantic Integration." *Economic Affairs*, Volume 67, Issue 3, 2022, 337.

<sup>67</sup> Pipchenko, N, et al. "The policy of European and Euro-Atlantic integration as a key factor for Ukraine's transformation." *European Spatial Research and Policy*, Issue 1, 2021, 265.

largely dependent on Russia, especially economically. Ukraine has made significant efforts since then to integrate more into Europe, strengthen its ties with the United States, and depict itself as a democratic and peaceful nation in order to achieve total independence from its neighbor Russia.

Ukraine attempted to join institutions and sign agreements throughout the 1990s to strengthen its ties with Western Europe. For example, in 1992, Ukraine joined the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE).<sup>68</sup> The OSCE traces its origins back to the detente phase of the early 1970s when the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) was created to serve as a multilateral forum for dialogue and negotiation between East and West.<sup>69</sup> The Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) was established as a successor to CSCE two years later, but its main goals remained intact. The OSCE is a primary instrument for early warning, conflict prevention, crisis management, and post-conflict rehabilitation. Furthermore, Ukraine has even elected a chairmanship for 2013, and the government of Ukraine still communicates the important contributions made during its year as chairman to the international public in English via its website.<sup>70</sup>

Another important program that Ukraine joined in 1994 was the Partnership for Peace (PfP) program. The Partnership for Peace is a program of practical bilateral cooperation between individual Euro-Atlantic partner countries and NATO. It allows partners to build up an individual relationship with NATO, choosing their own priorities for cooperation.<sup>71</sup> This program allowed Ukraine to cooperate more and more with NATO, potentially eventually leading to NATO membership as it has done for many other countries. The Partnership for Peace program also led to a training center in Ukraine where Ukraine has held numerous training exercises with countries such as the United States, Great Britain, and Poland.<sup>72</sup>

Furthermore, Ukraine joined the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC) in 1997 as yet another way to cooperate with NATO.<sup>73</sup> The Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council is a multilateral forum for dialogue and consultation on political and security-related issues

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<sup>68</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. "OSCE." *Ukrainian Government*, 2021.

<sup>69</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. "OSCE."

<sup>70</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. "OSCE."

<sup>71</sup> NATO. "Partnership for Peace programme." *NATO*, 2023.

<sup>72</sup> NATO. "Ukrainian PfP Training Centre." *NATO*, 2002.

<sup>73</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. "Cooperation with NATO." *Ukrainian Government*, 2021.

among NATO members and partner countries. It provides the overall political framework for NATO's cooperation with partner countries in the Euro-Atlantic area.<sup>74</sup> This created the opportunity for Ukraine and NATO to establish the NATO-Ukraine Commission, which allowed for more dialogue between the two parties at all levels, including the inter-parliamentary dimension.<sup>75</sup>

Lastly, another important step towards European integration was Ukraine's signing of the European Union Association Agreement in 2017. An association agreement is a bilateral agreement between the EU and a third country. In the context of accession to the EU, it serves as the basis for the implementation of the accession process.<sup>76</sup> This agreement promoted the development of political, trade, social, cultural, and security cooperation between the European Union and Ukraine. In particular, the agreement commits countries to EU standards, including new customs regulations, quality controls, and free market competition.<sup>77</sup> At first, the agreement sparked controversy in Ukraine and contributed to the Euromaidan protests, further explained in Chapter 1.

Ukraine has not only attempted to cooperate and integrate more and more with institutions part of the Atlantic community, such as NATO and the European Union, it also cooperated more with countries in the community directly through bilateral or trilateral agreements. For example, the Lublin Triangle is a regional alliance between Lithuania, Poland, and Ukraine created in 2020. The alliance serves as a platform to create more cooperation in the political, economic, infrastructure, security, defense, and cultural fields between the three countries.<sup>78</sup>

A similar alliance that Ukraine entered is the Association Trio. The Foreign Ministers of Ukraine, Georgia, and Moldova have established the Association Trio, a tripartite format for enhanced cooperation on European integration, by signing a Memorandum in 2021. The document emphasizes the European aspirations of the three EU associate partners and their ambitions to become members of the European Union.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> NATO. "Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council." *NATO*, 2023.

<sup>75</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. "Cooperation with NATO."

<sup>76</sup> European Commission. "Association Agreement." *European Union*, 2023.

<sup>77</sup> Peter, L. "Guide to the EU deals with Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine." *BBC News*, 2014.

<sup>78</sup> Özkan, C. "The Role of the Lublin Triangle in the Russia-Ukraine War." *Ankasam*, 2023.

<sup>79</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. "Dmytro Kuleba: Ukraine, Georgia and Moldova establish the Association Trio." *Ukrainian Government*, 2021.

Ukraine has also negotiated bilaterally with different countries to integrate more into the Atlantic community, most notably with the United States. As the United States is not part of the European Union, Ukraine has committed various efforts to engage in talks with the United States as much as possible. For instance, the United States and Ukraine have a bilateral investment treaty. The United States exports coal, machinery, vehicles, agricultural products, fish and seafood, and aircraft to Ukraine. Ukraine exports mostly iron and steel, inorganic chemicals, oil, iron and steel products, aircraft, and agricultural products to the United States.<sup>80</sup> Furthermore, the United States-Ukraine Charter on Strategic Partnership is an agreement that outlines enhanced cooperation in the areas of defense, security, economics and trade, energy security, democracy, and cultural exchanges.<sup>81</sup> These efforts highlight Ukraine's attempts to not only integrate into the European community, but into the Atlantic community as it attempts to strengthen its ties with the United States as much as possible.

These developments highlight Ukraine's goals of integrating more and more into the Atlantic community. With these goals in mind, the international communication strategy of Ukraine is better contextualized and easier to understand.

An important part of the international communication strategy of Ukraine and the main focal point of this thesis is that of controlling and shaping the narrative of Ukraine as a peaceful and democratic nation that defends these values against Russia. For instance, an image of Ukrainian farmers towing away enemy tanks with their tractors has won widespread acclaim. This campaign was aimed at raising support for EU membership, arms deliveries, etc. The communication campaign emphasized Ukrainian capability in terms of decisiveness, bravery, and responsibility.<sup>82</sup> Another infamous example is the "Russian warship—Go fuck yourself!" campaign. This is what a Ukrainian soldier yelled at Russian troops at the start of the invasion in 2022. This campaign has received widespread recognition internationally as well.<sup>83</sup> The Ukrainian government is not afraid to use non-

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<sup>80</sup> U.S. Embassy in Ukraine. "Policy & History." *United States Government*, 2023.

<sup>81</sup> U.S. Embassy in Ukraine. "Policy & History." *United States Government*, 2023.

<sup>82</sup> Bolin, G., Ståhlberg, P. "Nation branding vs. nation building revisited: Ukrainian information management in the face of the Russian invasion," 2.

<sup>83</sup> Bolin, G., Ståhlberg, P. "Nation branding vs. nation building revisited: Ukrainian information management in the face of the Russian invasion," 2.

traditional diplomacy tools side by side with traditional diplomacy tools to win over the hearts of foreign audiences even more.

Ukraine's president Volodymyr Zelensky also uses both traditional diplomacy strategies and modern methods to engage in public diplomacy as much as possible. Zelensky has become an expert over the duration of the war in using new non-traditional diplomatic tools to control Ukraine's narrative among foreign audiences. One of his strategies, for example, is communicating Ukraine's values and qualities through social media platforms. Zelensky's Twitter communication mostly consists of messages which are positive and focused on dialogue, cooperation, and solidarity frames.<sup>84</sup> Not only did Zelensky use social media to depict Ukraine in a certain manner, but he also uses it to enhance its own status among international audiences. The audiovisual narrative created by Zelensky on the social media platform Instagram achieved an impactful and authentic approach to leadership.<sup>85</sup> These efforts highlight Ukraine's attempts, through its president, to use new campaigning methods to effectively communicate its narrative internationally.

Zelensky also engages with foreign audiences directly to push the narrative of Ukraine as a peaceful and democratic nation much as possible. A frequently employed strategy of Zelensky is his speeches at foreign parliaments. For example, during a speech of Zelensky at the British parliament in 2022, he narrated Ukraine and the United Kingdom as two countries with shared values and a shared destiny. Zelensky implied that the Ukrainians' fight against the Russians threatens not only Ukraine's existence but that of the entire Atlantic community.<sup>86</sup> Another example of Zelensky effectively using speeches to control the Ukrainian narrative was a speech in which he used the collective memory of World War 2 to appeal to foreign audiences, namely that of the United Kingdom and the United States. He tried to instill the qualities of the leaders during World War 2, Winston Churchill and Franklin Roosevelt, upon the leaders of the two nations at the time of the speech, Boris Johnson and Joe Biden, in an attempt to get more support from them.<sup>87</sup> These are just two examples that

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<sup>84</sup> Nisch, S. "Invasion of Ukraine: Frames and sentiments in Zelensky's Twitter communication." *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 2023.

<sup>85</sup> Sánchez-Castillo, S, et al. "Unmuting leadership: the impact of Zelensky's social media strategy at the inset of the Ukrainian War." *Journal of Risk Research*, 2023.

<sup>86</sup> Potapenko, S. "Ukrainian President Zelensky's resistance discourse," 4.

<sup>87</sup> Edwards, S. "World War ii Memory Weaponized: The US, UK and Ukrainian Memory Diplomacy." *Journal of Applied History*, N.4, 2022, pp. 46-57, 46.

highlight Zelensky's role in Ukraine's international communication strategy, but the next chapter will consist of an examination and analysis of more his speeches and discourse.

### Conclusion

All in all, Ukraine's international communication strategy between 2014 and 2023 consisted of various methods to consistently push forward the narrative of Ukraine as a peaceful and democratic nation that belongs to the Atlantic community. The country uses several tools, both traditional and modern tools, to make this happen. By appealing to foreign audiences via media campaigns and speeches, Ukraine and Zelensky engage in public diplomacy to achieve both general long-term support from its allies and to achieve specific short-term goals such as strengthening Ukraine's ties to NATO. Furthermore, they try to accumulate more soft power for the nation as it is in dire need of more assistance. More specifically, Ukraine's efforts to control its narrative and appeal to foreign audiences indicate an attempt to create more reputational security for the country, which is of vital importance in a time of war. One of the employed strategies of Ukraine to achieve this goal is by attempting to appeal to an imagined community rooted in a community of values via Zelensky's speeches. This specific topic will be explored more in the following chapter by analyzing various speeches of Zelensky.

### Chapter 3: Using Words as Ammunition: A Discourse Analysis of Zelensky's Speeches at Countries and Institutions Representing the Atlantic Community During the War in Ukraine

This chapter will consist of both the research findings of Zelensky's speeches directed at countries and institutions which represent the Atlantic Community and an explanation of the lens through which these speeches were analyzed. Firstly, the reasons for choosing this particular speech set will be given. Then, the motivation for the methodology based on which these speeches were analyzed will be given. By explaining the methodology and its connection to the rest of the thesis, it will be clearer why Zelensky's speeches play a pivotal role in Ukraine's international communication strategy and the accumulation of reputational security for Ukraine.

The results of the analysis will be given in the last section of this chapter. After the methodology section, the results will be easier to understand. To keep the section on the research findings concise and clear, only information relating to the following subquestion will be presented: To what extent has Zelensky attempted to accumulate reputational security for Ukraine by appealing to the Atlantic community as an imagined community rooted in a community of values, by depicting Russia as an enemy of this imagined community, and by using history to connect Ukraine to this imagined community during his speeches to countries and institutions that represent the Atlantic community from March 2022 to May 2023? To answer this question, the most important findings will be presented. Furthermore, for every speech, Zelensky's most important request will be given. All of the research findings can be found in the appendices in this thesis, but only a carefully chosen representative selection of concrete examples will be explained in detail to illustrate Zelensky's communication strategy in this chapter. These findings will also be connected to the rest of the thesis to highlight the importance of Zelensky's discourse within Ukraine's international communication strategy.

## The Speech Set

The speeches included in the analysis portion of this thesis were selected for their relevance to the conceptual framework of this thesis, their relevance to the international communication strategy of Ukraine, and their connection with the Atlantic community.

The time frame of the speech set, which is from March 8<sup>th</sup>, 2022, to May 4<sup>th</sup>, 2023, was selected due to the scope of this thesis. Speeches prior to the invasion were deliberately avoided as these speeches would consist of very different information than of those that took place during the war in Ukraine. Therefore, to make the research findings more meaningful, a time frame of a little bit over one year and a time frame that could be analyzed in relative isolation was selected.

The speech set was also selected due to its relevance to the concepts discussed in Chapter 2. The speeches were chosen because the most important concepts of this thesis could be analyzed in them. Zelensky's speeches during the war in Ukraine, for example, often consist of an appeal to an imagined community, which is useful as the premise of this thesis is based on this particular appeal. Zelensky, furthermore, attempts to position Ukraine in a certain manner during these speeches to raise support among international allies and make the preservation of Ukraine a foreign policy priority for these countries. Reputational security can thus also be examined throughout these speeches, making the speech set especially useful for answering the main research question of this thesis.

The speech set was selected for its place within the grander international communication strategy of Ukraine as well. As argued at the end of Chapter 2, Zelensky's speeches at foreign parliaments are part of the international communication strategy of Ukraine. As a complete analysis of this large and complex strategy goes beyond the scope of this thesis, this speech set was selected to narrow the focus of this thesis and still draw meaningful conclusions over this particular part of the grander international communication strategy of Ukraine.

Lastly, this speech set was selected as the recipients represent the Atlantic community as a whole. The recipients of the selected speeches all consist of countries or institutions which represent the Atlantic community, meaning countries that are members of NATO, the European Union, or, in most instances, both. This thesis aims to look into Ukraine's attempts to appeal to the Atlantic community. Thus, it is important for the speeches to be directed to entities representing this particular imagined community.

## Analyzing Zelensky's Speeches: Methodology

This section will give more context to both the reasoning for choosing certain components to analyze and how this analysis will be executed in Zelensky's speeches. This motivation mostly comes from research done by other academics and the findings from the previous chapters. Firstly, the motivation for choosing Zelensky's attempts in his speeches to depict Ukraine as part of the Atlantic community as an imagined community rooted in a community of values will be given. Secondly, the reasoning for incorporating Zelensky's depiction of Russia as an enemy of this imagined community during his speeches will be further contextualized. Lastly, motivation for incorporating Zelensky's attempts to use Ukraine's long history to find more connections between Ukraine and members of this imagined community will be given.

Zelensky's attempts to appeal to the Atlantic community as an imagined community rooted in a community of values during his speeches will be one of the most important components of the analysis that will be executed. The occurrence of these attempts in Zelensky's speeches over the last year has been inspected by other academics as well.<sup>88</sup> For example, Rubio looked into this phenomenon by researching instances wherein Zelensky's applied values to Ukraine in his speeches, such as independence and political sovereignty which may appeal to Western audiences.<sup>89</sup> Furthermore, Rubio researched non-verbal communication efforts of Zelensky to instill these values even more to Ukraine. Rubio argued that Zelensky's choice to wear war clothing and to always show a Ukrainian flag in his speeches serves the purpose of instilling values of resistance, patriotism, and responsibility in Ukraine, which could appeal to the Atlantic community too.<sup>90</sup> Another researcher who did similar research in Zelensky's speeches is Potapenko. He, however, used a semantic approach as he looked into the instances wherein Zelensky used the pronouns 'we' and 'us' in his speeches.<sup>91</sup> Although Potapenko mostly used these particular findings to look into the narrative of Ukraine versus Russia and only into specific pronouns, this thesis will analyze

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<sup>88</sup> Rubio, A. "Zelensky's discourse during the Russian invasion of Ukraine." *Comillas Universidad Pontificia*, 2022, Potapenko, S. "Ukrainian President Zelensky's resistance discourse." *DiscourseNet Collaborative Working Paper Series*, N. 8/6, 2023.

<sup>89</sup> Rubio. "Zelensky's discourse during the Russian invasion of Ukraine," 23.

<sup>90</sup> Rubio. "Zelensky's discourse during the Russian invasion of Ukraine." 25.

<sup>91</sup> Potapenko, S. "Ukrainian President Zelensky's resistance discourse." 3.

language use in both the context of the portrayal of Russia as an enemy of the Atlantic community as an imagined community rooted in a community of values and in the context of Zelensky's efforts to implement Ukraine into an imagined community when describing Ukraine and its allies. Moreover, as previously explained in Chapter 2, Ukraine's attempts to narrate itself as part of the Atlantic community as an imagined community rooted in a community of values is a vital element of its overall international communication strategy to achieve the long-term public diplomacy goal of accumulating reputational security for Ukraine. Researching this should thus also play an important role in the analysis of Zelensky's speeches.

Zelensky's attempts to appeal to the Atlantic community as an imagined community rooted in a community of values during his speeches can be tested with several methods. The main question which will be asked during the research is: How and how frequently does Zelensky attempt to depict Ukraine as part of an imagined community rooted in a community of values during his speeches? The main focal point will be Zelensky's arguments itself. By researching Zelensky's attempts during his speeches to, for example, portray Ukraine as a vital part of European collective security or as the defender of the values that are commonly associated with the Atlantic community, which are currently under attack in Ukraine, the results could potentially help to understand the strategy employed by Zelensky as part of his role in the grander international communication strategy of Ukraine.

Zelensky's attempts to portray Russia as not just a threat to Ukraine but as an enemy of the Atlantic as an imagined community rooted in a community of values during his speeches will be another component of analysis that will be executed. This has received attention from academics as well.<sup>92</sup> Rubio briefly looked into this phenomenon as well in his research by emphasizing Zelensky's attempt to highlight the dangers Russia could pose for the Western countries, particularly as a nuclear threat.<sup>93</sup> This thesis aims to further build on Rubio's research, but it distinguishes itself by looking into Zelensky's attempts to emphasize the dangers Russia poses to the values of the Atlantic community as opposed to Rubio's focus which is more on the direct dangers Russia poses to Western countries. Edwards took

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<sup>92</sup> Rubio. "Zelensky's discourse during the Russian invasion of Ukraine." Potapenko, S. "Ukrainian President Zelensky's resistance discourse." Edwards, S. "World War ii Memory Weaponized: The US, UK and Ukrainian Memory Diplomacy." *Journal of Applied History*, N.4, 2022, pp. 46-57.

<sup>93</sup> Rubio. "Zelensky's discourse during the Russian invasion of Ukraine." 25.

a similar approach to Rubio when researching the role of Russia in Zelensky's speeches. He found that Zelensky mentioned Russia frequently in the context of brutal crimes such as the destruction of churches and the bombing of children.<sup>94</sup> The research in this thesis will also look into the context of Zelensky's depictions of Russia and will thus potentially reaffirm or contradict Edwards' findings. Lastly, the role of Russia in Ukraine's past has been explored in Chapter 1 as well. Since the intertwined history of Russia and Ukraine is important for the grander international communication strategy of Ukraine, the portrayal of Russia as an enemy of the Atlantic as an imagined community rooted in a community of values should play an important role during the analysis of Zelensky's speeches.

Zelensky's attempts to portray Russia as not just a threat to Ukraine but as an enemy of the Atlantic as an imagined community rooted in a community of values during his speeches can be analyzed through several methods. However, the depiction of Russia will be analyzed mostly by researching the content of Zelensky's words. The main question that will be asked to test this phenomenon will thus be: How does Zelensky depict Russia during his speeches? To answer this question, the instances wherein Zelensky mentions Russia will be analyzed. Most importantly, the context of Zelensky's mentions of Russia will be researched. When looking into these contexts, the following questions will be important to find answers to: Which adjectives did Zelensky use during his speeches when describing Russia and why? Does Zelensky use violent language when portraying Russia during his speeches? Does Zelensky mention Russia as an opposer of certain values that can be ascribed to the Atlantic community during his speeches? Zelensky's depiction of Russia will be used to develop an answer for if and why Zelensky portrays Russia as an enemy of the Atlantic as an imagined community rooted in a community of values and how this relates to Ukraine's international communication strategy.

Lastly, Zelensky's use of history to narrate Ukraine as a peaceful and democratic nation to appeal to the Atlantic community as an imagined community rooted in a community of values will be analyzed. This component has also been researched by Edwards. He looked into two speeches of Zelensky, which both had several instances in them of Zelensky referencing the past. Specifically, Edwards researched how Zelensky invoked World War 2 memory of the United Kingdom and the United States to appeal to

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<sup>94</sup> Edwards. "World War ii Memory Weaponized: The US, UK and Ukrainian Memory Diplomacy." 50.

each respective audience.<sup>95</sup> This thesis aims to build on this research, but this thesis distinguishes itself by incorporating more speeches and only analyzing the use of history when used as a tool to appeal to the Atlantic community as an imagined community rooted in a community of values. As explored in Chapter 1, Ukraine itself also has an extensive history full of emotional developments and events. This history allows Ukraine to invoke its own domestic past for the purpose of winning over the sympathy and support of foreign audiences. For example, the Holodomor crisis during the 1930s could be used by Zelensky during his speeches to highlight a pattern of Russian aggression and terror.

The main strategy to analyze this component is to look at the context of Zelensky's attempts to use the past to appeal to the Atlantic community as an imagined community rooted in a community of values during his speeches. The following question will be answered in this section: How frequently and in which context does Zelensky use history to appeal to an imagined community rooted in a community of values during his speeches? When looking into the context, the following questions will be important to find answers to: Does Zelensky incorporate domestic, foreign, or collective history during his speeches? How does Zelensky use past Russian aggression during his speeches? Does Zelensky use history as a tool to justify specific requests made during his speeches? The instances wherein Zelensky mentions the past and in what context will thus be analyzed extensively.

## Research Findings

This section will consist of the most important findings of the research done on Zelensky's speeches to countries and institutions that represent the Atlantic community from March 2022 to May 2023. To keep this section clear and concise, not all findings will be given, but rather some excerpts, which best represent the findings, will be highlighted. Before going over the research findings of the strategies which Zelensky employed during his speeches to achieve certain goals, the findings of the main requests of the speeches will be explained first. All findings and excerpts, along with the names, dates, and main goal of every speech, can be found in the appendices at the end of this thesis.

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<sup>95</sup> Edwards. "World War ii Memory Weaponized: The US, UK and Ukrainian Memory Diplomacy." 56.

### Zelensky's Main Goals During His Speeches

The research findings indicate that Zelensky frequently attempted to create general goodwill among his audience rather than have a specific request during his speeches. Of the 30 speeches which were analyzed, in 16 of them, it was Zelensky's main goal to raise general support rather than to emphasize a specific request. Zelensky thus uses these speeches mostly as a tool to achieve long-term public diplomacy purposes. Generally, throughout his speeches, he tries to accumulate more soft power for Ukraine by making its culture and identity more appealing to the audience. This could be an attempt by Zelensky to also increase reputational security for Ukraine during his speeches, as the audiences could be more likely to see the preservation of Ukraine as a foreign policy priority when drawn to Ukraine's culture and identity through Zelensky's words.

Furthermore, when Zelensky made specific requests during his speeches, European Union membership was the most common ask. In the 30 speeches, Zelensky emphasized the importance of the recipient countries' support for Ukrainian membership into the European Union in 6 of them. He specifically asked the country or institution in question to support Ukrainian membership of the European Union more fiercely. The countries or institutions wherein Zelensky emphasized this request, in particular, were Sweden, The Netherlands, Belgium, Portugal, Slovakia, and the European Union itself. This could be due to lower support in some of these countries, namely the Netherlands, Belgium, and Slovakia, for Ukrainian accession to the European Union as compared to other countries wherein Zelensky spoke.<sup>96</sup>

The request for Ukraine to join NATO was never at the forefront of Zelensky's speeches. Even during the speech at NATO, Zelensky emphasized the need for weapons rather than Ukrainian accession to NATO.<sup>97</sup> The lack of requests to join NATO and the occurrence of requests to join the European Union as Ukraine during Zelensky's speeches highlight a rather unexpected outcome of the research. Zelensky attempted to appeal more to the European community throughout his speeches than to the Atlantic community, which will be explained more thoroughly during the conclusion section of this chapter.

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<sup>96</sup> Directorate-General for Communication. "EU's response to the war in Ukraine." *The European Commission*, 2022, 4.

<sup>97</sup> Zelensky, V. "Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy at the NATO Summit." *Government of Ukraine*, 2022.

Zelensky thus had different goals for these speeches. He also employed a large variety of strategies to achieve his purposes. The following research findings will give more insight into how Zelensky tried to achieve these goals.

#### To Defend Ukraine is to Defend Peace and Freedom in Europe

Zelensky frequently implies during his speeches that Ukraine is already part of an imagined community rooted in a community of values and that defending Ukraine is thus essential for the survival of that entire community. In the 30 analyzed speeches, Zelensky appealed to this imagined community in 23 of his speeches. One example that represents Zelensky's attempt to appeal to an imagined community rooted in a community of values is his speech in the Spanish parliament which revolved almost entirely around this particular argument and line of thinking. The following excerpt, "Now the fate of not only our state is being decided on the territory of Ukraine. But also, the fate of the whole European project, of the values that united us all. Us with you. Of democracy that united us all. Of human rights, which have become a fundamental value for all of us," highlights the emphasis that Zelensky puts on the shared values of the European community.<sup>98</sup> Zelensky explicitly names values such as the importance of democracy and ascribes them as fundamental for the entire European community, of which both Ukraine and Spain are part. Moreover, in the same speech, he addresses some of the values again when he says, "because democracy should not fear. Freedom must be protected. Human rights must be above all calculations. The right to peace. The right to life. The right to happiness, to free development. The right to family security. The right to the future of children. The right to a decent old age of parents. The right to respect for every community. The right to be with you, Spain, together in a European family."<sup>99</sup> By addressing specific values and associating them with Ukraine and Europe, Zelensky attempts to frame Ukraine as part of an imagined community rooted in a community of values in the eyes of the Spanish and international audience. Zelensky thus tries to accumulate more reputational security for Ukraine by convincing people that

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<sup>98</sup> Zelensky, V. "Speech by the President of Ukraine in the Cortes Generales of Spain." *Government of Ukraine*, 2022.

<sup>99</sup> Zelensky, V. "Speech by the President of Ukraine in the Cortes Generales of Spain." *Government of Ukraine*, 2022.

Ukraine is an integral part of the fabric of this imagined community in order for the international public to see the preservation of Ukraine as a foreign policy priority.

Another strategy Zelensky employs to depict Ukraine as part of the imagined community is his attempt to highlight certain bilateral relationships with foreign leaders, which symbolize the comradery between the countries that are in the same imagined community. A good example is the speech in the Polish parliament, where Zelensky tries to associate these values with himself and his colleague Duda, the current president of Poland. In the following excerpt, “I remember my first meetings with Andrzej Duda. From meeting to meeting everything changed. The coolness disappeared. We understood each other. As a Ukrainian and a Pole. As Europeans. As friends. As parents who love their families and realize that our children must live in a world of equal good values. Our shared values. They must live in a world where nations are independent, where freedom reigns, where the family matters, and where no one ever has the right to war, to invasion,” Zelensky uses some clever rhetoric to create a sense of comradery between two countries to ground them in the same imagined community with the same common values.<sup>100</sup> Similar to ascribing Ukraine with certain values associated with the European community, Zelensky now ascribes these to himself and a direct ally in an attempt to achieve a similar goal.

Zelensky also uses examples of everyday life that represent values associated with the Atlantic community to make his language more understandable for the audience. Zelensky is not only trying to convince legislators but, more importantly, he deliberately engages in public diplomacy through his attempts to rally support among the common people. By naming simple things which represent important values, especially in combination with a brutal act of war, Zelensky tries to invoke emotions among foreign audiences. During his speech in Canada, Zelensky said, “That means more needs to be done. Much more! For peace. We all have to do more to stop Russia. To protect Ukraine and protect Europe from this total evil that is destroying everything: memorials, churches, schools, hospitals, neighborhoods and all our businesses.”<sup>101</sup> This excerpt resembles his general attempts to make his language more understandable for the public. In this case, the

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<sup>100</sup> Zelensky, V. “Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy in the Sejm of the Republic of Poland.” *Government of Ukraine*, 2022.

<sup>101</sup> Zelensky, V. “Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy in the Parliament of Canada.” *Government of Ukraine*, 2022.

buildings represent certain values that could be associated with the Atlantic community and protecting these buildings in Ukraine thus also means protecting the shared values of the Atlantic community.

Lastly, Zelensky uses visual instruments as well during his speeches to point out certain common values among the countries in question. This strategy, however, was only employed for 2 out of the 30 speeches. For example, during his speech in Sweden, Zelensky said, “the blue and yellow colors of the national flag are not just about Ukraine. This is about you as well, about Sweden. And obviously this is not a coincidence. This is fate. Because we are equally for freedom. We are equally for a peaceful life. We are equally for respect for everyone. We are equally for justice and equally for caring for the natural world in which we live. Therefore, it is logical that Sweden is now among those who support Ukraine the most.”<sup>102</sup> As mentioned in the previous section, Zelensky’s strategy of using some of these visual instruments was already highlighted in Rubio’s research.<sup>103</sup> The research findings in this thesis thus show similar results on this aspect as Rubio’s research findings. Zelensky uses creative commonalities such as the colors of the flags to appeal to an imagined community rooted in a community of values, and these symbols simultaneously make his overall argument easier to understand for the public. This could result in more reputational security for Ukraine in the future as foreign people appreciate Ukrainian culture and identity more and potentially accept Ukraine more as part of the same imagined community.

#### Russia, the Perfect Antagonist

Zelensky frequently portrays Russia as the ultimate adversary of an imagined community rooted in a community of certain values. In the 30 speeches, Zelensky portrays Russia in this manner in 21 of them. Throughout his speeches, when Zelensky mentions Russia, it is depicted as the opposite of certain values. The values that Russia opposes are the same values Zelensky ascribes to Ukraine and the imagined community it is part of. He thus attempts to portray Russia as the primary threat to this imagined community for the purpose of raising more support for Ukraine. Zelensky often vividly sets the scene to highlight this threat. For example, during his speech aimed at a United States audience, he said, “Russia has attacked more than just our land and our cities. It went on a brutal

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<sup>102</sup> Zelensky, V. “Speech by the President of Ukraine at the Riksdag in Sweden.” *Government of Ukraine*, 2022.

<sup>103</sup> Rubio. “Zelensky’s discourse during the Russian invasion of Ukraine.” 25.

offensive against our values. Basic human values. It threw tanks and planes against our freedom. Against our right to live freely in our country, choosing our own future. Against our desire for happiness. Against our national dreams. Just like yours, ordinary people of America. Just like those of everyone in the United States.”<sup>104</sup> By portraying Russia as the primal threat to the shared values of this imagined community and by connecting these values to the citizens of this community, Zelensky attempts to win over the hearts of the foreign public. This could potentially result in more reputational security for Ukraine as foreign people could be more willing to accept Ukraine to be legitimately sovereign over its territory.

Zelensky also highlights the threat of Russian aggression beyond the border of Ukraine when it is left unpunished. He does not only portray Russia as the primal threat to the imagined community, but Zelensky also emphasizes the dangers of Russian aggression for other countries in Europe in the future. Especially during speeches meant for countries that are in close proximity to Ukraine and Russia, such as Finland, Estonia, Sweden, and Norway, Zelensky uses this argument as it could be more effective. During his speech in Norway, for instance, Zelensky makes his case with the following argument: “Think about it - how do they look at it in those regions of the world where there are potential aggressors and new wars with neighbors are quite possible? They are waiting there to see if Russia will be punished enough for its actions. These horrible, aggressive actions. If not, you will see: everything we are experiencing now will be repeated in other regions.”<sup>105</sup> The ultimate goal of Zelensky is to try to show the disastrous consequences for European countries if Russia wins the war, a direct attempt of Zelensky to increase Ukraine’s reputational security as, again, European people could be more willing to accept Ukraine to be legitimately sovereign over its territory when these people are faced with the consequences of Ukraine losing its territory.

Furthermore, Zelensky emphasizes Russia’s involvement in war crimes throughout his speeches. This is yet another tool of Zelensky to show the threat Russia poses to the values of the imagined community. Zelensky emphasizes that Russia did not only start a war but an

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<sup>104</sup> Zelensky, V. “Address by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy to the US Congress.” *Government of Ukraine*, 2022.

<sup>105</sup> Zelensky, V. “Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy in the Norwegian Storting.” *Government of Ukraine*, 2022.

unethical one as well. During a speech in the Swedish parliament, Zelensky bluntly highlighted the severity of Russian war crimes when he said: “Europe has never known such a dark month since World War II. It has not seen such destruction and such war crimes. The list of those killed already reaches thousands. Dozens of our cities and communities were destroyed. Russian troops do not distinguish between civilian and military targets. They destroy everything. They burn residential neighborhoods and houses. They blow up hospitals. They even fire at kindergartens with rocket artillery! Hundreds of educational facilities and more than 200 schools were destroyed. Russian troops bombed universities.”<sup>106</sup> By homing in on the war crimes, Zelensky has yet another tool at his disposal to strengthen his main argument, which is the threat Russia poses to the imagined community rooted in a community of values. Especially the use of vivid language and the use of everyday examples hint at Zelensky’s deliberate attempts to raise support among the foreign public for Ukraine via public diplomacy.

### History Weaponized

Zelensky uses history as a tool to further strengthen the main argument of his speech from time to time as well. In the 30 analyzed speeches, he employed this strategy in 12 of them. Zelensky, for instance, uses history to find a connection between Ukraine and the country he visited. Zelensky sometimes uses Ukrainian history for this purpose, such as during his speeches to the United Kingdom, France, and Norway. Other times he invokes the history of the country he speaks to, such as during his speeches to Germany, the United States, and Finland. However, in the context of finding a connection, Zelensky tends to use both domestic and foreign history most frequently, as evidenced during his speeches to Iceland, Estonia, the Netherlands, the Czech Republic, and Greece. For example, during a speech in Iceland, Zelensky finds this connection through both countries’ languages as he said: “Ukraine and Iceland actually have very close bonds. Our cultures have been well acquainted with one another for over a thousand years. Our ancestors easily found a common language, and this can be traced now in both our and your language. We live in different parts of Europe, in different conditions - natural, economic, and security. But we value the same

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<sup>106</sup> Zelensky, V. “Speech by the President of Ukraine at the Riksdag in Sweden.” *Government of Ukraine*, 2022.

things - in Kaenugardi and in Reykjavik. Undoubtedly, freedom.”<sup>107</sup> As evidenced by this excerpt, Zelensky then uses the connection to argue that the two countries share more than just one historical development, they belong to the same imagined community.

Zelensky tends to use the shared history of Ukraine and a neighboring country to highlight the dangers Russia poses to the imagined community rooted in a community of values. Some countries share traumas resulting from past Russian aggression. In countries such as Estonia, the Czech Republic, and Finland, Zelensky revisits past traumas during his speeches to invoke certain emotions in his audience. Furthermore, he also uses developments and events in history as an indication for the future to warn people of what could happen if Russia wins this war. An example that highlights this strategy would be this excerpt from Zelensky’s speech in the Estonian parliament: “The black pages of history should not be repeated when deported Ukrainians and Estonians remained for many years in Siberia or the Russian Far East. There are already more than enough Ukrainian and Estonian graves - graves of those who died from communist deportations. That is why I urge you at the level of the European Union to find such instruments of influence on Russia, such instruments of pressure that could stop deportations and return all deported people home.”<sup>108</sup> By using history as a tool, Zelensky attempts to create more support for his cause among foreign audiences which is yet another instance of Zelensky trying to improve Ukraine’s reputational security as foreign people may be more inclined to see the preservation of Ukraine as a foreign policy priority when they are reminded of the consequences of a country losing its territory to Russia.

Lastly, Zelensky uses history to justify certain specific requests during his speeches. Especially during speeches that contain specific requests and not only to raise general support for Ukraine, such as the speeches to the Netherlands, Estonia, and the United Kingdom, Zelensky tends to use certain events or developments in history to further emphasize the importance of his request. For example, Zelensky traveled to the Netherlands in 2023 to specifically request an international tribunal in the Hague whose purpose is to punish Russian war crimes. During this speech, Zelensky said: “Europe and the world have

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<sup>107</sup> Zelensky, V. “Speech by the President of Ukraine in the Althing, the Parliament of Iceland.” *Government of Ukraine*, 2022.

<sup>108</sup> Zelensky, V. “Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy in the Riigikogu, Estonian Parliament.” *Government of Ukraine*, 2022.

already had to deal with something like this. As a result, we can see the following words in the text of the judgment of the International Tribunal in Nuremberg: “To initiate a war of aggression, is not only an international crime; it is the supreme international crime differing only from other war crimes in that, it contains within itself the accumulated evil of the whole”. That’s absolutely true.”<sup>109</sup> As seen in this excerpt, Zelensky is not hesitant to bend history to his will to serve his purpose of highlighting the importance of certain requests.

## Conclusion

To sum up, Zelensky uses different tools and strategies throughout his speeches at countries and institutions that represent the Atlantic community to improve Ukraine’s reputational security. Zelensky specifically attempts to accumulate more reputational security for Ukraine during these speeches, as evidenced by, for example, his use of vivid and clear language or his tendency to ascribe certain values associated with the Atlantic community to Ukraine. By convincing foreign publics that Ukraine is an integral part of the same imagined community as them and by convincing these people of the importance of Ukraine’s control over its own territories, Zelensky tries to make the preservation of Ukraine a foreign policy priority for these foreign audiences. Furthermore, Zelensky attempts to achieve both short-term and long-term public diplomacy goals by using different tools to convince people of the importance and urgency of certain immediate requests and by appealing to an imagined community rooted in a community of values to raise more general support for Ukraine in the long term. Zelensky’s speeches thus fit into the grander international communication strategy of Ukraine, which the main goal is to accumulate more reputational security for itself.

However, the research findings also highlight an unexpected notion in Zelensky’s speeches. Zelensky attempted to appeal more to the European community rather than the Atlantic community, which slightly opposes the premise of this thesis. The focus was originally put on the Atlantic community rather than the European community, as NATO is the primary security organization in Europe and not the European Union. Even though the research findings indicate Zelensky’s intention to appeal to an imagined community rooted

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<sup>109</sup> Zelensky, V. “Speech by Volodymyr Zelenskyy to representatives of the public, political and expert circles of the Kingdom of the Netherlands and international institutions based in The Hague.” Government of Ukraine, 2023.

in a community of values, the focus of his words was directed more toward the European community throughout his speeches. This could be due to Ukraine having a better chance to join the European Union as it has to join NATO in the near future. Ukrainian integration into the European Union seems more palpable than ever at the time of writing this thesis.<sup>110</sup> At the same time, the possibility of Ukraine joining NATO in the near future seems unlikely as some NATO members such as Hungary and Germany expressed their doubts of Ukraine potentially joining NATO soon.<sup>111</sup> The reasoning for Zelensky to focus more on the European community than on the Atlantic community should, however, be researched more extensively in the future. The research findings of this thesis can merely identify this notion and serve as a basis for future research into this specific topic.

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<sup>110</sup> Stretea, A. "EU's Largement Towards the Eastern Partnership. The Integration of Ukraine in the Midst of the Crisis." *Online Journal Modelling the New Europe*, Issue 41, pp. 28-59, 2023, 32.

<sup>111</sup> Al Jazeera, "NATO divided on Ukrainian membership as Zelenskyy renews call." *Al Jazeera*, 2023.

## Conclusion

All in all, the thesis consisted of a considerable amount of information and findings which were aimed at answering the following research question: How has Zelensky positioned Ukraine in his speeches to the Atlantic community from March 2022 to May 2023 in an effort to increase Ukraine's reputational security? The research findings of Chapter 3 highlighted the main strategies Zelensky employed to carefully depict Ukraine as part of an imagined community rooted in a community of values in an attempt to increase Ukraine's reputational security. However, it was found that these strategies were more aimed at appealing to the European community rather than the Atlantic community. Zelensky did still ascribe certain values to both the European community and Ukraine for the purpose of accumulating more reputational security. Moreover, he portrayed Russia as the main threat to the European community as a community rooted in a community of values in which Zelensky tries to imply Ukraine's survival is essential for the continued existence of the European community. Zelensky also used domestic and foreign history to find more connections with other members of the Atlantic community and to highlight the threat of Russian aggression against the European community.

All of these strategies were examples of how Zelensky engaged in public diplomacy in an attempt to achieve specific short-term and long-term goals. Sometimes Zelensky emphasized the importance of his immediate requests that needed to be fulfilled if the Atlantic community wanted to ensure Ukraine's survival. Other times, Zelensky tried to raise general long-term support for his country in an attempt to make the preservation of Ukraine a foreign policy priority for foreign audiences. Therefore, Zelensky's speeches are part of the grander international communication strategy of Ukraine to accumulate more reputational security for the country. Similarly to how Ukraine signed new agreements and treaties, started media campaigns, and attempted to control the Ukrainian narrative over the last two decades to appease more to the Atlantic community as an imagined community rooted in a community of values, Zelensky also used the tools at his disposal to serve the same purpose.

Furthermore, this thesis aims to add new contributions to the fields of international relations and international communication. On a conceptual level, this thesis developed Cull's iteration of reputational security further, and it build on his research by using the

concept to better explain the case study of Ukraine's international communication strategy and Zelensky's role in it. Moreover, by focusing specifically on Zelensky's appeals to the Atlantic community, this thesis combined literature on Ukrainian foreign policy and Zelensky's discourse with literature on NATO, the European Union, and other institutions or countries that symbolize the Atlantic community to make a unique contribution to academia.

Lastly, this thesis hopes to inspire future research into this or any closely related topic. Especially as the research findings indicated that Zelensky attempted to appeal more to the European community rather than the Atlantic community, more research into Zelensky's attempts to create more reputational security for Ukraine by appealing to the European community as an imagined community rooted in a community of values is strongly suggested.

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## Appendices

### Appendix 1: Overview of All Analyzed Speeches of Volodymyr Zelensky During His Speeches to Countries and Institutions that Represent the Atlantic Community from 08-03-2022 to 04-05-2023

<b>Speech Number</b>	<b>Speech Title</b>	<b>Recipient</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Primary Request</b>	<b>Excerpt of the Specific Requests (only given when a specific primary request was made)</b>
1	Address by the President of Ukraine to the Parliament of the United Kingdom	The United Kingdom	08-03-2022	Increase in sanctions	“Increase sanctions against the terrorist state. Recognize it as a terrorist state finally.”
2	Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy in the Sejm of the Republic of Poland	Poland	11-03-2022	General support	
3	Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy in the Parliament of Canada	Canada	15-03-2022	General support	
4	Address by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy to the US Congress	The United States	16-03-2022	General support	
5	Address by President of Ukraine Volodymyr	Germany	17-03-2022	General support	

	Zelenskyy to the Bundestag				
6	Address by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy to the Italian Chamber of Deputies	Italy	22-03-2022	General support	
7	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	France	23-03-2022	General support	
8	Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy at the NATO Summit	NATO	24-03-2022	Additional weapons	"I just want you to know that the Alliance can still prevent the deaths of Ukrainians from Russian strikes, from Russian occupation, by providing us with all the weapons we need."
9	Speech by the President of Ukraine at the Riksdag in Sweden	Sweden	24-03-2022	Membership of the European Union	"We are fighting not only for Ukraine, but also for the security of the European Union! And we have proved that we deserve to be a full

					member of the European Union. The decision is already being elaborated. It's time to adopt it! I believe that you will support us in this as well."
10	Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy in Folketing	Denmark	29-03-2022	General support	
11	Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy in the Norwegian Storting	Norway	30-03-2022	Norwegian ban of Russian ships porting in Europe	"Also, the European Union, and therefore, I hope, Norway, must finally implement a ban on Russian ships using ports on the continent. As long as Russia blocks our ports, it has no right to use all the ports of the free world."
12	Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy in the States General of the Netherlands	The Netherlands	31-03-2022	Membership of the European Union	"And you know very well, my friend Mark, that our accession to the European Union depends very much

					on you, on your country.”
13	Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy in the Federal Parliament of Belgium	Belgium	31-03-2022	Additional weapons, increase in sanctions, and membership of the European Union	“Each of you knows what needs to be done to restore peace. To be truly worthy of Europe. So help us, do it! Weapons. Sanctions. EU membership.”
14	Speech by the President of Ukraine in the Cortes Generales of Spain	Spain	05-04-2022	General support	
15	Speech by the President of Ukraine in Oireachtas, Parliament of Ireland	Ireland	06-04-2022	General support	
16	Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy in the Parliament of Greece	Greece	07-04-2022	General support	
17	Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy in Eduskunta, the Parliament of Finland	Finland	08-04-2022	General support	
18	Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy in the Riigikogu, Estonian Parliament	Estonia	13-04-2022	Estonian influence on the European Union to punish the deportation of	“That is why I urge you at the level of the European Union to find such instruments of influence on Russia,

				Ukrainians to Russia	such instruments of pressure that could stop deportations and return all deported people home.”
19	Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy in the Assembly of the Republic, Parliament of Portugal	Portugal	21-04-2022	Membership of the European Union	“And I believe that you will not betray us or yourself. Because Ukraine is already on its way to the European Union under an accelerated procedure. We hope that in the near future we will be able to obtain the status of a candidate for membership in the European Union. And when the decision is considered, I ask you to support full membership for Ukraine.”
20	Speech by the President of Ukraine in the Althing, the Parliament of Iceland	Iceland	06-05-2022	Aid in the modernization	“I invite your country, your companies to take

				of Ukrainian energy	part in the reconstruction of Ukraine, in particular in the energy modernization of our state. So that your energy efficiency experience also helps us, our people.”
21	Speech by the President of Ukraine at the National Council of the Slovak Republic	Slovakia	10-05-2022	Membership of the European Union	“Even more unity in Europe is possible only in one case – if Ukraine right now, in the conditions of war, gets a real opportunity to move faster to the European Union.”
22	Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy in the Saeima of Latvia	Latvia	26-05-2022	General support	
23	Speech by the President of Ukraine in the Chamber of Deputies of Luxembourg	Luxembourg	02-06-2022	General support	
24	Address by the President of Ukraine to both houses	Czech Republic	15-06-2022	General support	

	of the Parliament of the Czech Republic				
25	Address by the President to the Parliament of Slovenia	Slovenia	08-07-2022	Aid in the reconstruction of the digital market of Ukraine	“And I invite your country, as well as Slovenian companies and specialists, to join the reconstruction of Ukraine. The volume of work is already about a trillion dollars.”
26	We stand, we fight and we will win. Because we are united. Ukraine, America and the entire free world - address by Volodymyr Zelenskyy in a joint meeting of the US Congress	The United States	21-12-2022	General support	
27	Combat aircrafts – for Ukraine, wings – for freedom – address by President Volodymyr Zelenskyy to both Houses of Parliament of the United Kingdom	The United Kingdom	08-02-2023	Additional aircrafts	“I appeal to you and the world with simple and yet most important words: Combat aircrafts – for Ukraine! Wings – for freedom!”
28	Russia is trying to destroy the Ukrainian European way of life; we will not allow that - President's	European Union	09-02-2023	Membership of the European Union	“We are getting closer to the European Union. Ukraine will be a

	speech at the special plenary session of the European Parliament				member of the European Union! A victorious Ukraine! A member of the European Union - a victorious European Union!"
29	Supporting our people now means understanding how important it is not to remain morally neutral towards evil - address by the President of Ukraine to the National Council of the Republic of Austria	Austria	30-03-2023	General support	
30	Speech by Volodymyr Zelenskyy to representatives of the public, political and expert circles of the Kingdom of the Netherlands and international institutions based in The Hague	The Netherlands	04-05-2023	The creation of a tribunal to punish Russian war crimes	"We must transform the experience of the Nuremberg process into an operating rule! That's why we insist on the Tribunal creation."

Appendix 2: All Excerpts of Zelensky Appealing to an Imagined Community Rooted in a Community of Values During His Speeches to Countries and Institutions that Represent the Atlantic Community from 08-03-2022 to 04-05-2023

Speech Number	Speech	Excerpt(s)
1	Address by the President of Ukraine to the Parliament of the United Kingdom	
2	Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy in the Sejm of the Republic of Poland	<p><b>“I remember my first meetings with Andrzej Duda. From meeting to meeting everything changed. The coolness disappeared. We understood each other. As a Ukrainian and a Pole. As Europeans. As friends. As parents who love their families and realize that our children must live in a world of equal good values. Our shared values. They must live in a world where nations are independent, where freedom reigns, where the family matters, and where no one ever has the right to war, to invasion.”</b></p> <p>“Remember, there are 90 millions of us together! We can do everything together. And this is the historical mission, the historical mission of Poland, the historical mission of Ukraine to be leaders who together will pull Europe out of this abyss, save it from this threat, stop the transformation of Europe into a victim.”</p>
3	Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy in the Parliament of Canada	<p><b>“That means more needs to be done. Much more! For peace. We all have to do more to stop Russia. To protect Ukraine and protect Europe from this total evil that is destroying everything: memorials,</b></p>

		<b>churches, schools, hospitals, neighborhoods and all our businesses.”</b>
4	Address by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy to the US Congress	<p>“You know how much depends on the battlefield on the ability to use aircraft. Powerful, strong aircraft. To protect your people. Your freedom. Your land. Aircraft that can help Ukraine. That can help Europe.”</p> <p>“I am grateful to President Biden for his personal involvement, for his sincere commitment to the defense of Ukraine and democracy around the world.”</p> <p>“All American ports must be closed to Russian goods and ships. Peace is more important than profit. And we must defend this principle throughout the world together.”</p> <p>“Today the Ukrainian people are defending not only Ukraine, we are fighting for the values of Europe and the world, sacrificing our lives in the name of the Future.”</p>
5	Address by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy to the Bundestag	<p>“Support us. Support peace. Support every Ukrainian. Stop the war. Help us stop it.”</p>
6	Address by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy to the Italian Chamber of Deputies	<p>“This war must end as soon as possible. Peace must be restored. Enemy troops must be withdrawn from Ukraine. Demining must be carried out. And reconstruction. Reconstruction of Ukraine after this war. Together with you, together with Italy. Together with Europe. Together - in the European Union.”</p>
7	Speech by the President of Ukraine at a joint meeting of	<p>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</p>

	the Senate, the National Assembly of the French Republic and the Council of Paris	and Warsaw. For Madrid and Rome. For Brussels and Bratislava.
8	Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy at the NATO Summit	“Yes, it is true - we are not in the Alliance. Not in the most powerful defense union in the world. Not one of the 30 states under the umbrella of joint protection. Under the umbrella of Article 5. It feels like we are in the "gray zone". Between the West and Russia. But we defend all our common values. And we are bright people! And we have been defending all these values for a month now!”
9	Speech by the President of Ukraine at the Riksdag in Sweden	<p><b>“The blue and yellow colors of the national flag are not just about Ukraine. This is about you as well, about Sweden. And obviously this is not a coincidence. This is fate. Because we are equally for freedom. We are equally for a peaceful life. We are equally for respect for everyone. We are equally for justice and equally for caring for the natural world in which we live. Therefore, it is logical that Sweden is now among those who support Ukraine the most.”</b></p> <p>“Modern Europe, which has finally become peaceful, is built on clear principles. Namely: there can be no forced border revision. And every nation has the right to choose its own future - without dictatorship, without coercion, without occupation. Thanks to these two principles, we in Europe have had an unprecedented era of cooperation. Peace. Confidence.”</p>

10	Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy in Folketing	
11	Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy in the Norwegian Storting	“We have no common borders with you, but we have a common neighbor who denies all our common values.”
12	Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy in the States General of the Netherlands	<p>“What was the goal of the founders of the Netherlands? Obviously: freedom, democracy, human dignity, cohesion, cultural, religious diversity. Since then, the path to everything that shows modern Europe has continued. To the free life of dozens of different nations together - in a single space. To tolerance, which provides an unprecedented level of human respect for each other in human history. And all this is now under attack again. All this now needs to be defended again. To be defended in the east of Europe, to be defended in our state, in Ukraine.”</p> <p>“And for everyone in your country who still has doubts to definitely feel that we, Ukrainians, can be with you - in the European Union. I am convinced that this will reinforce our common European home. And will make the European project even more perfect.”</p>
13	Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy in the Federal Parliament of Belgium	<p>“Our defenders deserve to receive from Europe for the freedom of which they are fighting the weaponry that will definitely stop Russia's offensive, and therefore the onset of tyranny.”</p> <p>“So let us all together in Europe be worthy of the feats that Ukrainians demonstrate in the war for freedom. For a free Europe and against tyranny. Against Russia.”</p>

14	Speech by the President of Ukraine in the Cortes Generales of Spain	<p><b>“Now the fate of not only our state is being decided on the territory of Ukraine. But also the fate of the whole European project, of the values that united us all. Us with you. Of democracy that united us all. Of human rights, which have become a fundamental value for all of us.”</b></p> <p><b>“Because democracy should not fear. Freedom must be protected. Human rights must be above all calculations. The right to peace. The right to life. The right to happiness, to free development. The right to family security. The right to the future of children. The right to a decent old age of parents. The right to respect for every community. The right to be with you, Spain, together in a European family.”</b></p>
15	Speech by the President of Ukraine in Oireachtas, Parliament of Ireland	<p>“From the first days of the Russian invasion, you are on the side of good. On the side of freedom. On the side of Ukraine.”</p> <p>“Our common principles, our common fearlessness have already started a new page in the history of relations between Ukraine and Ireland. Our mutual understanding and respect is at the level where we can say: it is only a matter of time before you and we live together in our common European home. I am grateful to you for supporting the special fast-track procedure for granting Ukraine membership in the European Union. With your leadership, it will be even faster and more profitable for both our nations.”</p>
16	Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy in the Parliament of Greece	

17	Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy in Eduskunta, the Parliament of Finland	
18	Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy in the Riigikogu, Estonian Parliament	“Europeans must make every effort to restore international law immediately. To immediately force Russia to seek peace. This task can only be done jointly by everyone in Europe. At the level of the whole European Union. Together with other members of our anti-war coalition. If Europe wastes time, Russia will use it to expand the war zone to other countries. I believe that together we will never allow this.”
19	Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy in the Assembly of the Republic, Parliament of Portugal	“I am grateful to you for supporting our people, Ukrainian displaced persons. The Ukrainian and Portuguese people know each other well. They understand each other well. And it is important that you use your opportunities, both in Europe and in other macro-regions of the world, to protect the freedom and right to life of our people.”
20	Speech by the President of Ukraine in the Althing, the Parliament of Iceland	
21	Speech by the President of Ukraine at the National Council of the Slovak Republic	“we are at the epicenter of the confrontation of two ideas: the European democratic idea that the freedom and life of everyone matters and the cruel tyrannical idea that only a person who can subdue other people matters. That's what we need to stop together. Everyone in Europe.”

22	Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy in the Saeima of Latvia	<p>“You perceive our struggle for freedom as your own struggle. And this is true - because right now in Ukraine the fate of all of us, all Europeans, is being decided.”</p> <p>“On March 1, at a meeting in Riga Castle, a decision was made to award me the Order of Viesturs of the first degree - the highest award of the Republic of Latvia. It is a great honor for me. But I perceive this as a distinction not of my personal activity, but of our common struggle. The struggle of the Ukrainian people for independence. The struggle of the Latvian people for freedom in Europe. The struggle of all Europeans, who truly respect our common values, for Europe to be truly strong and truly united.”</p>
23	Speech by the President of Ukraine in the Chamber of Deputies of Luxembourg	<p>“Because what are we fighting for? For what we are. And to stay what we are. Free, independent, open and united with all Europeans.”</p> <p>“Nobody expected Ukrainians to have courage of this magnitude. But this magnitude is there. And this quality of our character, our willingness to fight for freedom and for our values - and these are the common values of all free Europeans - is now based on the support we have received from our partners.”</p>
24	Address by the President of Ukraine to both houses of the Parliament of the Czech Republic	
25	Address by the President to the Parliament of Slovenia	<p>“Most importantly, by going through this terrible challenge of the Russian war together, we prove that European values do not remain just a reference to old</p>

		treaties and conventions, do not serve as formal criteria only at the level of rhetoric, but are the real basis of life on the continent here and now.”
26	We stand, we fight and we will win. Because we are united. Ukraine, America and the entire free world - address by Volodymyr Zelenskyy in a joint meeting of the US Congress	<p>“This battle is not only for the territory – for this or another part of Europe. This battle is not only for life, freedom and security of Ukrainians or any other nation, which Russia attempts to conquer. This struggle will define – in what world our children and grandchildren will live and then – their children and grandchildren. It will define whether it will be a democracy – for Ukrainians and for Americans – for all.”</p> <p>“We develop strong security guarantees for our country and for entire Europe and the world. Together with you! And also – together with you! – we’ll put in place everyone, who will defy freedom. This will be the basis to protect democracy in Europe and the world over.”</p>
27	Combat aircrafts – for Ukraine, wings – for freedom – address by President Volodymyr Zelenskyy to both Houses of Parliament of the United Kingdom	“Most importantly, together with the G7 we brought about a coalition of values. A coalition that protects the rule-based world order and human rights.”
28	Russia is trying to destroy the Ukrainian European way of life; we will not allow that - President's speech at	“When everyone matters. When the law rules. When states strive to be social and societies strive to be open. When diversity is a value and the values of the different are united by fair equality. When the borders are inviolable, but their crossing is not felt.

	the special plenary session of the European Parliament	When people believe in tomorrow and are willing to take to the streets to fight for their tomorrow. When there is only one single barrier between the president and the protesters, and that is fair elections. This is our Europe. These are our rules. This is our way of life. And for Ukraine, it's a way home.”
29	Supporting our people now means understanding how important it is not to remain morally neutral towards evil - address by the President of Ukraine to the National Council of the Republic of Austria	“We seek safety, peace, freedom, happiness for our children in our Ukrainian home. We strive for international treaties and conventions that guarantee the security of peoples and the sovereignty of states to work.”
30	Speech by Volodymyr Zelenskyy to representatives of the public, political and expert circles of the Kingdom of the Netherlands and international institutions based in The Hague	

Appendix 3: All Excerpts of Zelensky Depicting Russia During His Speeches to Countries and Institutions that Represent the Atlantic Community from 08-03-2022 to 04-05-2023

Speech Number	Speech	Excerpt(s)
1	Address by the President of Ukraine to the Parliament of the United Kingdom	<p>“Ruined districts. Bombs, bombs, bombs, again bombs on houses, on schools, on hospitals. This is genocide. Which did not break us. It mobilized each and every one of us. And it gave us a sense of great truth.”</p> <p>“On the seventh day, we realized they were destroying even the churches. Using bombs! Rockets again. They do not know the holy and great as we know.”</p> <p>“On the eighth day, the world saw Russian tanks firing at a nuclear power plant. The largest in Europe. And the world began to understand that this is terror against all. This is a great terror.”</p>
2	Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy in the Sejm of the Republic of Poland	
3	Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy in the Parliament of Canada	<p>“They approach Edmonton - imagine - and fire artillery. Fire at residential areas, at people. Schools are being burned down, kindergartens are being blown up. Just as in our cities - in Sumy, in our Okhtyrka. They blockade Vancouver and besiege hundreds of thousands of people who remain in the city. As in our Mariupol. For the second week under fire, without electricity</p>

		completely, almost without food, definitely without water. In the basements.”
4	Address by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy to the US Congress	<b>“Russia has attacked more than just our land and our cities. It went on a brutal offensive against our values. Basic human values. It threw tanks and planes against our freedom. Against our right to live freely in our country, choosing our own future. Against our desire for happiness. Against our national dreams. Just like yours, ordinary people of America. Just like those of everyone in the United States.”</b>
5	Address by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy to the Bundestag	
6	Address by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy to the Italian Chamber of Deputies	“This is a war that Russia has been preparing for a long time. Which one person has been preparing for a long time. One! For decades. Earning crazy money on oil and gas exports and directing them to prepare for war. And not only against Ukraine. Their goal is Europe. Decisive influence on your life, control over your policy, destruction of your values. Not only ours. Democracy, human rights, equality, freedom... The same values as ours.”
7	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	

8	Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy at the NATO Summit	<p>“To save people and our cities, Ukraine needs military assistance - without restrictions. As Russia uses without restrictions its entire arsenal against us. Destroys all living things. Any objects - from houses to churches, from food warehouses to universities, from bridges to hospitals.”</p> <p>“That NATO may be afraid of Russia's actions. I am sure you already understand that Russia does not intend to stop in Ukraine. Does not intend and will not. It wants to go further. Against the eastern members of NATO. The Baltic states, Poland - that's for sure. Will NATO then stop thinking about it, worrying about how Russia will react?”</p>
9	Speech by the President of Ukraine at the Riksdag in Sweden	<p><b>“Europe has never known such a dark month since World War II. It has not seen such destruction and such war crimes. The list of those killed already reaches thousands. Dozens of our cities and communities were destroyed. Russian troops do not distinguish between civilian and military targets. They destroy everything. They burn residential neighborhoods and houses. They blow up hospitals. They even fire at kindergartens with rocket artillery! Hundreds of educational facilities and more than 200 schools were destroyed. Russian troops bombed universities.”</b></p> <p>“If Ukraine failed to endure, defend itself, it would mean that everything we, living and modern people, value was lost. Everything you value. Everything that is valued by any free people of any state. This would mean that all of Russia's</p>

		<p>neighbors are in danger. This would mean that you are in danger, because only the sea separates you from this aggressive policy of this state.”</p> <p>“Russia went to war against Ukraine because it expects to go further to Europe. Expects to destroy freedom further in Europe. This is a fundamental challenge for the European security system.”</p>
10	Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy in Folketing	“What Russian troops are doing to Mariupol is a crime against humanity that is being committed live in front of the eyes of the entire planet.”
11	Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy in the Norwegian Storting	<p>“Russia's treacherous actions at sea deserve special attention, as it is one of the greatest threats to international security of all that has emerged since World War II.”</p> <p><b>“Think about it - how do they look at it in those regions of the world where there are potential aggressors and new wars with neighbors are quite possible? They are waiting there to see if Russia will be punished enough for its actions. These horrible, aggressive actions. If not, you will see: everything we are experiencing now will be repeated in other regions.”</b></p> <p>“I'm sure you know all about it. You know that there is no rule of law and fair trial. You know that splitting and destroying European democracies is a long-standing policy of the Russian Federation. Russia's war against Ukraine simply continues all this. It is an attempt to destroy everything that Europe is holding on to, what we are holding on</p>

		to. Therefore, it is an aggression that aims to go beyond our borders.”
12	Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy in the States General of the Netherlands	“Especially since many in Russia want to carry this aggression further, further to Europe. The shadow of those ruins of Rotterdam is already hanging over many European cities. Ukraine is just the beginning, if Russia isn’t stopped. If we don't stop it immediately!”
13	Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy in the Federal Parliament of Belgium	
14	Speech by the President of Ukraine in the Cortes Generales of Spain	“The format of Russian state life does not provide for everything that is absolutely familiar to us, to Ukraine. Russia wants to make sure that only one order dominates in our entire region - tyrannical. So that any diversity is destroyed. So that it is impossible to find common ground and compromises between different communities. This is exactly what is happening in Russia now. This is exactly what it wants to establish in Ukraine. And then in the whole region of Eastern and Central Europe.”
15	Speech by the President of Ukraine in Oireachtas, Parliament of Ireland	“I am confident that all of us in Europe together will be able to end this terrible war and restore peace and stability in Eastern Europe. It is simply impossible to procrastinate with this. The longer the Russian aggression lasts, the worse the consequences will be not only for our continent, but also for the neighboring regions of our planet.”

16	Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy in the Parliament of Greece	<p>“Let's be honest, Russia's actions from the beginning were aimed not only at Ukraine, but at Europe as a whole. Russia is doing everything to keep Europeans without available energy. And to make energy poverty a new reality on the continent. Russia is doing everything to provoke an outbreak of inflation for many nations. Russia last year artificially created a deficit in the European gas market. And now it is doing everything to artificially create a deficit in the world food market.”</p>
17	Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy in Eduskunta, the Parliament of Finland	<p>“Russia's war against Ukraine is now deciding not only the fate of our state. Not only the fate of our people. But the fate of all those who have a common border with Russia.”</p> <p>“When this war continues, when tyranny loses the war against Ukraine, it will be one of the greatest contributions to Europe's security in decades. Consequently, one of the greatest contributions to the security of your state. That is why we need the weapons that your EU partners have.”</p>
18	Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy in the Riigikogu, Estonian Parliament	<p>“For thirty years, the nations of Europe have enjoyed peace, freedom and shared opportunities for development. Now, Russian revanchism has destroyed all the good that has worked for decades for peace in Europe, for the stability of life of European nations.”</p>
19	Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy in the	

	Assembly of the Republic, Parliament of Portugal	
20	Speech by the President of Ukraine in the Althing, the Parliament of Iceland	“It is obvious that Russia's war against Ukraine is not just an attempt to seize one country and destroy life in it. No! This is an encroachment on freedom as such. That is why it is important for all free people of the world that our country is not left alone in the confrontation with Russia. It is important that every nation helps.”
21	Speech by the President of Ukraine at the National Council of the Slovak Republic	“This war is against the very project of a common alliance based on common values on our continent. What are these values? Respect for life, human rights, inviolability of borders and freedom.”
22	Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy in the Saeima of Latvia	
23	Speech by the President of Ukraine in the Chamber of Deputies of Luxembourg	“I want to recall these words again: "We want to stay what we are." Right now, Russia's war against Ukraine is crucial for the whole of Europe as well. This is a war for values. When we win this war, all Europeans will be able to continue to enjoy their freedom. But if the person who wants to destroy any freedom in Ukraine and Europe prevails, there will be a dark time for everyone on the continent.”
24	Address by the President of Ukraine to both houses of the Parliament of the Czech Republic	“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.”
25	Address by the President to the Parliament of Slovenia	<p>“That is why Russia started a large-scale offensive on Europe from Ukraine, because Moscow is fully aware of the importance of Ukraine for the European project. And that is why Russia will inevitably lose, because Europe will not be split up, divided into pieces - as it was before. The eastern border of Europe is now equal to the eastern border of Ukraine, and one day, I believe soon, our eastern border will be marked: the territory of the European Union.”</p> <p>“Russia hit the Europeans with the gas crisis - and for the second year in a row, it is deliberately making efforts to ensure that European gas storage facilities remain unfilled before winter. Russia has driven gas prices in Europe to an all-time high – deliberately limiting supply in defiance of market rules. What did it lead to? Catastrophic inflation. If there were no such prices for energy resources, there would be no such painful consequences for the majority of people in Europe. Russia is also preparing another strike - migration. When the Russian fleet blocked our ports, it was a deliberate decision not just against Ukraine, but against everyone in the world who depends on food imports. And you can already see the consequences. But this is only the beginning, because without our food it will not be possible to stabilize the world market, save the countries of Africa and Asia from hunger. If there is a famine</p>

		there, it means you will see new migrants on the territory of the EU. Millions of new migrants.”
26	We stand, we fight and we will win. Because we are united. Ukraine, America and the entire free world - address by Volodymyr Zelenskyy in a joint meeting of the US Congress	
27	Combat aircrafts – for Ukraine, wings – for freedom – address by President Volodymyr Zelenskyy to both Houses of Parliament of the United Kingdom	“Do you have a feeling that the evil will crumble once again? I can see it in your eyes now. We think the same way as you do. We know freedom will win. We know Russia will lose.”
28	Russia is trying to destroy the Ukrainian European way of life; we will not allow that - President's speech at the special plenary session of the European Parliament	“In order to be able to wage this war, the Kremlin has been consistently destroying, step by step, year after year, what we see as the basis of our Europe.”
29	Supporting our people now means understanding how important it is not to remain morally neutral towards evil - address by the President of Ukraine	

	to the National Council of the Republic of Austria	
30	Speech by Volodymyr Zelenskyy to representatives of the public, political and expert circles of the Kingdom of the Netherlands and international institutions based in The Hague	

Appendix 4: All Excerpts of Zelensky Invoking History to Connect Ukraine to an Imagined Community Rooted in a Community of Values During His Speeches to Countries and Institutions that Represent the Atlantic Community from 08-03-2022 to 04-05-2023

<b>Speech Number</b>	<b>Speech</b>	<b>Excerpt(s)</b>
1	Address by the President of Ukraine to the Parliament of the United Kingdom	“Because we do not want to lose what we have, what is ours - Ukraine. Just as you did not want to lose your island when the Nazis were preparing to start the battle for your great power, the battle for Britain.”
2	Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy in the Sejm of the Republic of Poland	
3	Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy in the Parliament of Canada	
4	Address by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy to the US Congress	“I remember your Rushmore National Memorial. The faces of your prominent presidents. Those who laid the foundations of America. As it is today. Democracy, independence, freedom and care for everyone. Everyone who works diligently. Who lives honestly. Who respects the law.”
5	Address by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy to the Bundestag	“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.”
6	Address by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy to the Italian Chamber of Deputies	
7	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	“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.”
8	Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy at the NATO Summit	
9	Speech by the President of Ukraine at the Riksdag in Sweden	
10	Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy in Folketing	
11	Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy in the Norwegian Storting	“Like a thousand years ago, when the Norwegian Vikings were frequent visitors in Kyiv and participated in the formation of the first Kyiv state. Or - Garðaríki. This is what the lands of Rus'-Ukraine were called in Scandinavian sagas.

		The country of fortresses. The country of cities. Both our and your ancestors lived in them more than a thousand years ago.”
12	Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy in the States General of the Netherlands	
13	Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy in the Federal Parliament of Belgium	
14	Speech by the President of Ukraine in the Cortes Generales of Spain	
15	Speech by the President of Ukraine in Oireachtas, Parliament of Ireland	
16	Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy in the Parliament of Greece	“The Ukrainian Greek community is one of the largest in the world. For centuries, our people have lived side by side, raised children and built the future. The ties between Ukraine and Greece are so old that it is now impossible to find their origin. Greek poleis on our Black Sea coast, cultural exchange and trade, community coexistence - all this is thousands of years of history. Greek Chersonesus was even depicted on our national currency - hryvnia.”
17	Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy in Eduskunta, the Parliament of Finland	“But just as your courage saved your country from Stalin's invasion, our courage resists this invasion. For 44 days already. But much remains to be done to win.”

18	Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy in the Riigikogu, Estonian Parliament	<b>“The black pages of history should not be repeated when deported Ukrainians and Estonians remained for many years in Siberia or the Russian Far East. There are already more than enough Ukrainian and Estonian graves - graves of those who died from communist deportations. That is why I urge you at the level of the European Union to find such instruments of influence on Russia, such instruments of pressure that could stop deportations and return all deported people home.”</b>
19	Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy in the Assembly of the Republic, Parliament of Portugal	
20	Speech by the President of Ukraine in the Althing, the Parliament of Iceland	<b>“Ukraine and Iceland actually have very close bonds. Our cultures have been well acquainted with one another for over a thousand years. Our ancestors easily found a common language, and this can be traced now in both our and your language. We live in different parts of Europe, in different conditions - natural, economic, and security. But we value the same things - in Kaenugardi and in Reykjavik. Undoubtedly, freedom.”</b>
21	Speech by the President of Ukraine at the National Council of the Slovak Republic	

22	Speech by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy in the Saeima of Latvia	
23	Speech by the President of Ukraine in the Chamber of Deputies of Luxembourg	
24	Address by the President of Ukraine to both houses of the Parliament of the Czech Republic	<p>“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, buďte 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.”</p>
25	Address by the President to the Parliament of Slovenia	
26	We stand, we fight and we will win. Because we are united. Ukraine, America and the entire free world - address by Volodymyr	<p>“Standing here today, I recall the words of the President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, which are so good for this moment: "The American People in their righteous might will win through to absolute victory".”</p>

	Zelenskyy in a joint meeting of the US Congress	
27	Combat aircrafts – for Ukraine, wings – for freedom – address by President Volodymyr Zelenskyy to both Houses of Parliament of the United Kingdom	
28	Russia is trying to destroy the Ukrainian European way of life; we will not allow that - President's speech at the special plenary session of the European Parliament	
29	Supporting our people now means understanding how important it is not to remain morally neutral towards evil - address by the President of Ukraine to the National Council of the Republic of Austria	
30	Speech by Volodymyr Zelenskyy to representatives of the public, political and expert circles of the Kingdom of the Netherlands and	<b>“Europe and the world have already had to deal with something like this. As a result, we can see the following words in the text of the judgment of the International Tribunal in Nuremberg: “To initiate a war of aggression, is not only an international crime; it is the supreme international crime differing only from other</b>

	international institutions based in The Hague	<b>war crimes in that, it contains within itself the accumulated evil of the whole". That's absolutely true."</b>
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