

**RUSSIAN WAR IN UKRAINE:  
COMMUNICATION NARRATIVES  
IN THE SPEECHES OF WORLD LEADERS  
IN THE MAINSTREAM MEDIA**

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**ABSTRACT**

The relevance of this article in the scientific paradigm of media research determines the presence of the concepts “peace”, “reconciliation”, “peace formula” in the war media narrative. Combining the idea of peace with the idea of Ukrainian victory in the speeches and addresses of the Ukrainian President. The importance of his appeals to the parliaments of many countries to obtain military and financial assistance and aid. Volodymyr Zelenskyy’s attention to European security issues: Ukrainians fight not only for their identity, their land, their freedom; Ukrainians are fighting for the integrity and stability of European countries. The main problem considered in the article is the communication narratives of the Russian war in Ukraine in the interpretations of narrators of different status: Ukrainian writers, journalists of different countries, philosophers, US scientists, state and political figures. Timothy Snyder’s position: the ultimate goal of the Russian war is the destruction of Ukraine, genocide. The silence of Western intellectuals in response to the aggressive speeches

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of the Russian President on the eve of the war in Georgia in 2008. Attempts to bring the Russian and Ukrainian sides to the negotiating table. The role of Angela Merkel and Emmanuel Macron in appeasing Putin. Despite the war the beginning of the procedure for acquiring a candidate for EU membership and accession to the European Union remain relevant for Ukraine. Communication narratives of foreign leaders programming the future of the Ukrainian state in the European family of nations. Changes in the Ukrainian media system, the need for its reform. The discursive analysis of articles and reports in media helped to focus on separate narratives reflecting the overcoming of uncertainty on the European continent with the beginning of a large-scale Russian war on Ukrainian territory. The communication aspect in the narratives about solving the problems of expanding international support to the Ukrainian military and civilian population, the attitude towards refugees gives grounds for predicting further research.

**Keywords:** communication, media, narratives, peace, speech, war

## 1. INTRODUCTION

“Ukraine wants peace. Europe wants peace.” This is how the President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy began his speech at the 58th Munich Security Conference. February 19, 2022. (President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy Official website 2022).

This speech contained several messages to the leaders of powerful states. They have already been discussed in the media. For my study of the communication narratives of the biggest war that has been going on in Europe since 2014, the concept of “peace” is important. The word “peace” is felt, understood and interpreted in different ways. I am referring here to the words of Tacitus “Sine ira et studio!”, but “Without anger and passion” it is difficult to talk about this issue. There is the truth of those millions of people whose world was changed by the war. Then why so often when communicating the topic of war, Europeans do not call a spade a spade? My question is still unanswered. The President of Ukraine is not afraid to communicate with the world of politicians not only about the tragedy of war, but also about peace. This idea was strengthened in his messages through October 2022 until the announcement of the peace formula.

Speaking at a conference in Munich on February 10, 2007, Russian president Vladimir Putin mentioned peace by quoting former US president

Franklin Delano Roosevelt: “When peace has been broken anywhere, the peace of all countries everywhere is in danger” (President of Russia 2007).

Between the statements from 2007 and 2022, there was the beginning of a great war. Roosevelt’s quote from the Russian President sounded like a warning. In 2008, peace was broken by Russian troops in Georgia. In 2014, Russia occupied Crimea and part of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions of Ukraine. The correspondent of the online media project “Yevropeyska Pravda” (“European Truth”), who attended the Munich Security Conference in 2022, noted that Zelensky’s “statements were harsh.” “It was not the speech of a diplomat”, but it is known that the Ukrainian President is not a diplomat, – summarizes “Yevropeyska Pravda”, and emphasizes the important support that Ukraine received during the Munich Security Conference: “... we can say with absolute certainty that the unity of the West, the readiness to support Ukraine is unprecedented” (Sydorenko 2022).

Until February 24, 2022, Europe fought for peace with statements about sanctions against the Russian Federation in case of aggression. Europe fought for peace with marches, rallies, television shows and discussions. On February 24, the war intensified with the invasion of the Russian army on a large part of the Ukrainian-Russian border. The front stretched for more than a thousand kilometres. In the media narratives about peace, new topics appeared: the sanctions package of the Russian Federation, what is there? Whose war is it -- Putin’s or the Russians? Why do Ukrainian intellectuals not want to talk about peace on European discussion platforms with so called “good Russians”? Narratives about the war were filled with eerie television footage and photo reports about the shootings of civilians and even children. There was documented torture, rape, forced evacuation to the Russian hinterland from southern and eastern Ukrainian towns that were occupied by Russian troops. There was documented looting and drunkenness by soldiers from Russia.

In “La Stampa” newspaper at the end of March, an article by Dr. Nathalie Tocci appeared. The article is called “The media, war and democracy” (“I media, la guerra e la democrazia”). This concise and deep understanding of the problem is consistent with my understanding of Russia’s war against Ukraine. As Nathalie Tocci writes, it’s really about the “pervasive terror of World War III.” About the “return of war to the European continent”. About the “war made of blood” and the narrative which goes far beyond the borders of Ukraine (Tocci 2022). Professor Timothy Snyder from Yale University, journalist and historian Anne Applebaum from Johns Hopkins University, Thomas L. Friedman from “The New York Times” write about the war which was started by the Russian dictator and its effects on the European continent. I saw Noam Chomsky’s book

“Perché l’Ucraina” in bookstores in Rome. The list of authors on the topic of war does not end with these names.

The media in some European countries call it conflict when it comes to large industrial and cultural-historical cities destroyed by Russian missiles and bombs as in the Mariupol, Kharkiv and region, Chernihiv, the suburbs of Kyiv – Bucha, Hostomel, Irpin, as well as the drone attacks on Kyiv. Kharkiv and Mariupol universities are destroyed. More than 40 percent of Ukrainian cities and villages were left without electricity– Russian missiles destroyed their energy facilities. So, is it “conflict” or “aggression”? Is this a full-scale war to murder civilians and destroy infrastructure? Intellectuals, opinion leaders, journalists, historians, political figures from many countries of the world have different answers to such questions.

US Historian, Professor of the Yale University, Timothy Snyder, who studies totalitarianism and nationalism in Eastern Europe, focuses on the history of Ukraine in the 20th century. He believes that “Putin’s ultimate goal in this war is the destruction of Ukraine as a state and the destruction of the Ukrainian people. I would like it to be clear – it is about genocide. – He writes. – If the realization of such an intention will require – and it will require – the physical destruction of the entire intelligentsia or its deportation to Siberia, then it will be so” (Sierakowski 2022).

Noam Chomsky blames the West for the Russian-Ukrainian war in the book “Perché l’Ucraina” (“Why Ukraine”) published only in Italian and distributed only in Italian bookstores. Ukrainian writer Oksana Zabuzhko criticizes this Noam Chomsky’s book on her Facebook page (Zabuzhko, 2022). In a discussion with Jeremy Scahill, Noam Chomsky said: “Those are all important, but they pale into insignificance in comparison with the primary need to move towards a negotiated settlement, which is the only alternative to destruction of Ukraine, which of course, Russia is capable of carrying out” (Scahill, 2022). Their conversation is aimed at criticizing the position of the United States, which opposes the settlement of the war through peace negotiations. Jeremy Scahill also talks about how Americans use information as a weapon.

French President Emmanuel Macron spoke about the strange search for peace after the invasion of Russian troops into Ukraine. He offered to give Crimea and Donbas to the Russian invader to appease the aggressor. In October 2022, Macron met with Pope Francis and asked him to call US Presidents Joe Biden and Russia’s Vladimir Putin, Patriarch Kirill of Moscow, to try to negotiate an end to the war. This was reported by the “France 24” news television network on October 25 with reference to the French weekly “Le Point” (France 24 2022).

French President Emmanuel Macron tries to take a mediating position, pushing Putin to negotiations, slightly criticizes the Russian President: “I think, and I told him, that he is making a historic and fundamental mistake for his people, for himself and for history” and calls “not to humiliate Russia”, and to end the war diplomatically. Such are Macron’s initiatives and desires (Irish and Kerry 2022).

The compatriots of the French President – a group of scientists and heads of analytical organizations believe that it is necessary to regain leadership in Europe: “Paris must make a radical turn in its foreign policy, in particular, by appearing among the main military supporters of Kyiv” (Le Monde 2022).

## **2. PEACE OR PACIFICATION?**

In my view, appeasement began with the shameful silence of Western intellectual elites after Putin’s speech in 2007 at the Munich Security Conference. They bypassed Putin’s new cold war with the hope of eternal peace, proclaimed by Kant. In 2008, the signal of a hybrid attack sounded for Ukrainians. At the NATO summit in Bucharest, the Russian President denied the existence of a Ukrainian state. Germany and France, in order not to instigate Vladimir Putin, blocked the provision of the Membership Action Plan to Ukraine and Georgia (a NATO programme tailored to the countries wishing to join the Alliance). In the same year, Russian troops started a war in Georgia. I felt the spirit of war on the sidelines of the Bucharest summit. Later, in Montenegro, I watched a BBC report about the beginning of the Russian takeover of Georgia. At the same time, I thought that the Ukrainian issue could be next in the imperial plans of the Kremlin.

In 2014 and until the end of her term, Angela Merkel’s actions confirmed the words of her biographer, Kati Marton, that Angela Merkel’s most incomprehensible and dangerous relationship will be with Putin himself (Marton, 2021). This year, articles with very frank criticism of Angela Merkel and her political associates, who were “trapped by the Russian leader”, began to appear in the media of Western countries. For example, Matthew Karnitschnig from “Politico” believes that “Slowly but surely, it’s begun to dawn on Germans that Merkel’s soft-shoe approach to Russia – which reached its zenith with the 2015 decision to green light the Nord Stream 2 pipeline despite Russia’s annexation of Crimea and its role in the separatist war in eastern Ukraine – didn’t just open the door for Putin to go further, it effectively encouraged him to do so” (Karnitschnig 2022). Italian journalist Giorgio

Dell'Arti said in the morning TV show "Coffee Break" at "La 7" TV channel that Angela Merkel was the first to indulge Putin. And in his opinion, "European politicians do not speak in a single voice on the diplomatic scene, in the sense that they are not politically united, "the German interests are different from the French ones, which are different from the Italian ones," he stressed (La 7 2022).

Even in the Ukrainian media, the assessment of her activities is ambiguous. The President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy invited Angela Merkel and former French President Nicolas Sarkozy to Bucha to let them see the Russian atrocities there and to understand what the policy of making concessions to Russia and appeasing the dictator had led to. He stated that he invited them during his traditional address on April 3, 2022. They didn't come. Former Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko's spokesperson Iryna Vannikova recalled Merkel's "inadequate emotional reaction" to President Yushchenko's address to her on the side lines of the European People's Party congress in 2008. "Don't come to me, I don't have time for you" – Angela Merkel said to him. No one expected such an answer from the German chancellor. According to Iryna Vannikova, "Putin didn't just screw Ms. Merkel, he made her an accomplice in his crimes" (Vorontsova 2022).

An analyst at the Carnegie Moscow Center (the center was closed in April 2022 by order of the Ministry of Justice of the Russian Federation), Dmitri Trenin, wrote that after the start of Russia's war in Ukraine, "Merkel did not respond to the crisis by severing all contact with Moscow in an attempt to "isolate" and thus "punish" Russia. The German chancellor, while being very critical of Russian policies, kept the line of communication to the Kremlin open." The Moscow author believed that Merkel, risking her reputation, participated in the Minsk negotiations on a cease-fire in Donbas (Trenin 2021).

The President Volodymyr Zelenskyy criticized Angela Merkel in an interview for the German newspaper "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung" for the fact that she was indecisive and did not provide weapons to the Ukrainian Army since 2014 (Schuller 2021).

When the Germans elected Olaf Scholz as chancellor, the war continued and Germany continued to provide aid... with helmets. The ministers assured that they would soon make a decision regarding the provision of weapons to the Ukrainian army. However, the mood of restraint prevailed in German society. Some politicians advocated ending the war through diplomatic negotiations. German intellectuals spread through the media a letter to the government about the danger of supporting Ukraine. In their view, it should be forced to capitulate: "Despite reports of the successes of the Ukrainian army, it is significantly

inferior to the Russian one and has little chance of winning this war” (Berliner Zeitung 2022).

UK journalist Edward Lucas, the author of the book “The New Cold War: How the Kremlin Menaces both Russia and the West” (Lucas 2009) in a column for “The Center for European Policy Analysis” republished then by “Ukrayinsky Tyzhden” (“Ukrainian Week”) magazine, he writes about changes and miscalculations in German foreign policy regarding Ukraine during the war. He believes that the Germans do not understand the urgency, that is, the current needs of Ukrainians. He believes they do not understand what assistance is most important in each new period of the war. The social context of the column “Germany’s Belated Awakening” rests on two important themes. The first is attention to the provision of Ukrainian needs, which will save lives at the front: “Germans are paying a tiny price relative to that borne by Ukrainians, who are fighting and dying not just for their own country, but for all of Europe. The glacial pace of German foreign policy evolution may suit its well-upholstered salons, but it is jarringly self-indulgent seen from the outside. Every hour’s delay in helping Ukraine costs lives” (Lucas 2022). The second topic is the “restructuring of European security” and in this work it is noted that “there is no way to do without Germany’s economic, political and military potential.”

The Center for Strategic Communications and Information Security conducted a study on the spread of Russian narratives about Russia’s war in Ukraine in the online media of Europe and North America. The monitoring was carried out from July 1 to 14, 2022 by the social startup LetsData. Despite attempts to block Russian propaganda media, online media in Latvia, Austria, Lithuania, Germany, and Canada often referred to pro-Kremlin media sources: TASS, RIA-Novosti in their reports and articles about events in Ukraine. “The highest overall percentage of contributions about Ukraine containing toxic language was found in the online media of France (33,2%) and Portugal (29,1%). “Toxic vocabulary primarily refers to the use of Kremlin terminology to denote the war against Ukraine (such as “special military operation”) and the transliteration of the names of Ukrainian cities from the Russian language,” – Ukrainian scholars write (The Center for Strategic Communications and Information Security 2022).

Monitoring by the Ukrainian Center for Strategic Communications and Information Security in July 2022 showed that the online media of European countries have increased the frequency of information and discussions regarding proposals for peace negotiations to end the war: “The discourse on dialogue and diplomacy as the only tools for resolving the war is present in almost every country. For example, in Hungary, Germany and Austria, this discourse is

dominant. There is also a widespread narrative about the negative consequences of sanctions for the countries of Europe and the USA.”

The topic of negotiations between Ukraine and Russia is often covered in Ukrainian and foreign media in October-November 2022. The Italian newspaper “La Repubblica”, Ukrainian online media “Yevropeyska Pravda” (“European Truth”) informed about “Closed-door consultations between Washington and Brussels foresee a short-term negotiating window with Russia, which may arise after Ukraine’s liberation of Kherson” (Tito 2022).

“Yevropeyska Pravda” (“European Truth”) reported that during the visit to Kyiv by the National Security Adviser of the U.S. President, Jake Sullivan, there was a call to the Ukrainian side to demonstrate readiness for negotiations (Yevropeyska Pravda 2022). “Zelenskyy open to talks with Russia – on Ukraine’s terms”, – stressed “The Associated Press” reporters (Meldrum and Karmanau 2022).

Volodymyr Zelenskyy reacted to the reports about the negotiation options, stating the need for their openness and publicity. He stated that the need for specific conditions for achieving peace were expressed by him in his speech during the “Group of Twenty” summit in Indonesia (President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy Official website 2022).

The Russian side presented the escalation of demands for the annexation of Ukrainian territories at the early stages as a condition for the start of negotiations. Subsequently, through the Kremlin’s propagandists, the Russian Federation wanted to achieve an appeasement in order to regroup the military forces. Sometimes Ukrainian demands were rejected. According to “Reuters”, “soon after the start of a large-scale war, advisers recommended that Putin conclude peace on terms favorable to him, but the Russian president decided to continue hostilities.” (Flynn 2022).

US political scientist Francis Fukuyama said in an interview that he does not believe in a long war that seems to have reached a stalemate, although that is just what they say about it in many Western circles. In his opinion, this is “a very dangerous view” because under such conditions Russia will control most of Donbas and most of southern Ukraine. “Still, it also wouldn’t solve the underlying causes of the war because Russia isn’t going to be satisfied holding on to just that part of Ukraine,” Francis Fukuyama believes, “the moment they rearm and feel stronger, they’re going to resume the war. So at best, it would be a temporary truce” (Ukrainska Pravda 2022).

On October 10, 2022, Russian troops conducted intensive shelling of infrastructure facilities that provide energy, central heating and water supply in many Ukrainian cities. The Kyiv International Institute of Sociology (KIIS)



conducted its own all-Ukrainian public opinion survey on October 21-23, 2022. According to the results of the survey, 86% of respondents answered that, “it is necessary to continue armed resistance to Russian aggression, even if shelling of Ukrainian cities continues.” 10% of respondents answered that negotiations are needed to stop the shelling, “even if this means making concessions to Russia” (Hrushetskyi 2022).

The nature of postmodern conflicts has shifted into the 21<sup>st</sup> century. French and German media convey the official words of support of their governments to Ukraine. Followers of Emmanuel Macron and Olaf Scholz would like to give part of the Ukrainian territory to Putin’s conquerors, naively thinking to save European peace. Intellectuals join their voices: Jürgen Habermas publishes the article “War and Outrage” in German newspaper “Süddeutsche Zeitung”. The newspaper warns that this is the opinion of an expert, which may not coincide with the editorial policy. One of the authorities of communicative philosophy intended to solve the dilemma of the modern world: Russia’s defeat in Ukraine or nuclear war. The German media pay a lot of attention to the controversy over the provision/non-provision of arms to the Ukrainian army. Habermas tried to reflect these disputes in a confused search for a compromise (Habermas 2022).

Polish media, despite their sincere solidarity with Ukrainians, discussed the interview of Polish intellectual and editor of the newspaper “Gazeta Wyborcza” Adam Michnik. He said that Russian citizens are not responsible for the war that Putin is waging and that every Russian should not be seen as guilty. He recognized Russia’s aggression, but emphasized that it is better to say that it was “Putin’s war, not Russia’s.” Popular contemporary Polish writer Jacek Dehnel posted a critical post on his Facebook page about this interview with Adam Michnik and caused a lot of comments. For example, Adam Michnik is not objective because he has feelings for Russians since his youth. Member of European Parliament Witold Waszczykowski believes that Adam Michnik’s interview is “incorrectly naïve” and that the punishment should be extended to society, not only to the political elite.”

According to my observations, the Italian newspaper “La Repubblica” provides information about the war by translating reports from the “Ukrinform” and other Ukrainian news agencies. In the articles, the authors emphasize the need to evacuate the civilian population and wounded Ukrainian soldiers from Azovstal and emphasizes to consider the options for resuming the export of grain from Ukraine after the blockade of the ports by Russian aggressors. There is criticism of German chancellor Olaf Scholz: “He surrendered himself to the mercy of events and is unable to show initiative or draw a perspective for Berlin and Brussels. However, this was not always the case in the Italian media,

according to my observations, information about events in Ukraine and other countries of the post-Soviet space was translated from Russian media until approximately February 24, 2022. It should be noted that Italian correspondents worked from Moscow, not from Kyiv or even Warsaw, covering different Ukrainian events.

### **3. UKRAINIAN MEDIA DISCOURSE OF WAR**

After February 24, 2022, the Ukrainian media system underwent significant changes. According to the Union of Journalists of Ukraine, during the eight months of the full-scale invasion of the Russian Federation into the territory of Ukraine, the occupiers killed at least 43 media persons: 8 journalists while performing their professional duties, 13 media persons – civilian victims, 22 media workers mobilized in the ranks of the Armed Forces of Ukraine (The National Union of Journalists of Ukraine 2022).

The Institute of Mass Information (an authoritative nongovernmental organization) conducted a study of internet narratives of war. Their experts concluded that in Ukraine in the third quarter of 2022, social media of officials and state institutions were used most actively by Ukrainian traditional media – 24.9% of materials from the total amount of news. Official sources posted their posts and comments most often in the Telegram channel – 16.6% of all messages and on Facebook – 6.9% (The Institute of Mass Information 2022).

Diana Dutsyk, a lecturer at the National University of “Kyiv-Mohyla Academy” and a researcher of Ukrainian media, claims that media consumption in Ukraine has changed radically after February 24, 2022, and the media landscape has changed: “In conditions of war, traditional media are forced to move to social networks and develop their channels there.” She also notes that the advertising market has collapsed and that many media outlets have closed due to lack of finances. Diana Dutsyk cites the liquidation of the media holding of Donetsk oligarch Rinat Akhmetov as an example. 4,000 journalists and TV channel employees have lost their jobs. The researcher suggests that the key reason for the closure of “Media Group Ukraine” “was Akhmetov’s loss of important industrial assets, concentrated in the East of Ukraine, in Mariupol and other bombed-out and occupied cities. It was at the expense of these businesses that Akhmetov financed his media, which were not profitable, like other media holdings.”

Traditionally, as in many countries of the world, media in Ukraine are divided into public and private. However, at the time of the new phase of the

war, all of them united to show the information television marathon “Yedyni novyny” (“United News”) that means the same news content on each Ukrainian TV channel. Diana Dutsyk is of the opinion that this was the right step: “Ukraine needs a unified voice, because it is important in the conditions of an aggressive information war, which is being waged by Russia on a level with military actions.” But only in the first months of the war, such an association gave a positive result. In her opinion, the marathon created by the pool of channels already “needs a serious transformation” (Dutsyk 2022).

Francis Fukuyama spoke briefly about Ukrainian media reforms in an interview published on the online media “Ukrainska Pravda” (“Ukrainian Truth”). He called the reform of the media sector a very important thing, because “one of the big problems previously, before the war, was the fact that all of the big media channels were controlled by a different oligarch, and they were used to protect that oligarch’s interest” (Ukrainska Pravda 2022).

In a lecture on the state of the Ukrainian media system published on the website of the Journalism Teachers’ Academy (JTA), Diana Dutsyk optimistically emphasizes four reasons for preserving freedom of speech now. Freedom of speech in the Ukrainian media relies on the generation that grew up in the conditions of this freedom, on the pluralism of the new media, on “the great attention of the world to the events in Ukraine.” Her following argument is also valid: “... this war brought a huge number of victims and suffering, and those who are actually fighting for freedom now will not forgive if we lose it after the war” (Dutsyk 2022).

Italian researchers Sergio Splendore and Margherita Brambilla wrote an article about the birth of hybrid journalism, which is created not only by journalists, but also by politicians, software developers, and various activists on different platforms such as Google, Facebook, Twitter, and TikTok (Splendore and Brambilla 2021). Modern journalism uses the texts and algorithms of the digital world to present news, analytics in a modern way, according to consumer requests and establishing communication links in society. I believe that the theoretical work of Italian researchers was confirmed in the development of the Ukrainian media discourse on the Russian war on Ukrainian territory.

After the offensive of the Russian army on the eastern border, Ukrainian intellectuals activated their public activity in media and various platforms such as Facebook, the newspaper “Den” (“The Day”), the magazine “Ukrayinsky Tyzhden” (“The Ukrainian Week”). Political analyst Natalia Ishchenko writes about the “war in the smartphone” – that is, about the rapid spread of information about the genocide of the Ukrainian people, about the nature of the

battles and the state of the armies. “War in the smartphone” deprived communication of secrets: “After the Russian invasion on February 24, people all over the world have been watching the development of the situation on Facebook, TikTok, Twitter, Telegram, etc. War, fighting, shootings and explosions are no longer even in living rooms, but in the pockets and in the hands of people all over the world.” Natalia Ishchenko gives short tips on how to create profitable content for different audiences. Having analyzed the influence of social networks, she singles out the content of TikTok: “Researchers state: the content related to Ukraine in TikTok increased several times after February 24. As of March 17, videos tagged #Ukraine have received more than 30.5 billion views and counting” (Ishchenko 2022).

The journalist and anchor of the Ukrainian public television channel “UA: Suspilne”, Myroslava Barchuk, based on the analysis of the statements of international media experts on geopolitical topics, concludes that “Ukrainian intellectuals have seen the failures of Western intellectual elites, the stereotypes and the limited thinking of Western academic environment”.

On the eve of the war, the famous Ukrainian writer Oksana Zabuzhko (whose works have been translated into more than 20 languages, into Italian by Slavacist Lorenzo Pompeo) presented her new book in Warsaw. Currently, being abroad, she tells on Facebook about many invitations from Germany and France to participate in “an avalanche of forums, round tables, where Ukrainian cultural figures have to embrace Russian ones,” calls the war the third world war. Critically she evaluates the indifference of the “world powers” to the fate of the brave defenders of “Azovstal”. She writes that “the “allies” watched the Warsaw Uprising of 1944 through binoculars. After Mariupol in 2022 – on TV.” Oksana Zabuzhko wrote the book “The Longest Journey” – a 90-page essay about the causes of the Russian war aimed at the genocidal extermination of people, the destruction of infrastructure, the liquidation of Ukrainian schools, libraries, museums – a war with Ukrainian identity. The book, published in many European languages, will help readers understand why and for what Ukrainians have been fighting for many centuries on their land against colonial Russian oppression. This book was published in Italian by the Einaudi publishing house (Zabuzhko 2022).

The popular Ukrainian writer Serhiy Zhadan (“Voroshilovgrad”, “Mesopotamia” and “The Orphanage” were published by the Roman Publishing House “Voland”) remains in Kharkiv and engages in volunteer activities. His messages on Facebook are very emotional, aimed at supporting the people of Kharkiv. The Polish Academy of Sciences has nominated him for the Nobel Prize in Literature in 2022. On November 12, he posted a photo of a destroyed

house in a Kharkiv neighborhood on Facebook and wrote: “Yesterday I was in Northern Saltivka, I went to see our former apartment. Here it is, where there is a hole in the roof, on the top floor. We lived there for several years. The Russians shelled this district for several months. Russian society, as far as I remember, did not particularly object. That is just before talking about the Russian democratic opposition” (Zhadan 2022). Messages from his open official Facebook page are often republished by various media: emotional and metaphorical messages are special evidence of the defense of Kharkiv, the courage of Kharkiv residents, and the great work of volunteers to help Ukrainian troops and residents of Kharkiv. A German publishing house compiled and translated these wartime messages from Serhiy Zhadan’s Facebook page into a separate book.

Ukrainian diplomat Olexander Scherba, who is former ambassador of Ukraine to Austria (2014 – 2021), more frankly assesses in the Ukrainian newspaper “Dzerkalo Tyzhnia” (“The Mirror Weekly”) the current situation with the war, armistice, and reconstruction. His article is called “The End of the Pink Clouds Age.” This is a critical analysis of the illusions of the West regarding the causes of the Russian war, its end and the Ukrainian victory, and a warning to the Ukrainian society that the war continues and will be more difficult than “before Kherson”. Olexander Scherba spread Ukrainian narratives in the Austrian media when he was the Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of Ukraine to Austria. His articles were thematically related to the explanation of Ukrainian identity for a foreign reader, and the Ukrainian position on important geopolitical issues that arose after the Russian invasion and occupation of Crimea and some parts of Donetsk and Luhansk regions in 2014. In “Dzerkalo Tyzhnia” (“The Mirror Weekly”), the diplomat writes about what is interesting and useful for the Ukrainian reader. In the mentioned article, in addition to elegant criticism, there is a message of convincing faith in the strength of its people: “A nation that was able to inspire the world with its courage in war can certainly inspire it with its feat in the process of reviving the country. Otherwise, history and those who laid such unimaginable sacrifices on the altar of war will be a shame” (Scherba 2022).

After 2014, Ukrainian diplomat Andriy Melnyk, who is former ambassador of Ukraine to Germany (2015 – 2022), joined the creation of the Ukrainian media discourse. He practiced a very frank, unconventional for diplomacy, way of communicating with the German media. This made him famous in the media immediately after the outbreak of full-scale war on February 24. The “Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung” and other German newspapers wrote that

Ambassador Melnyk “crossed the red line of diplomacy”, “became a domestic political actor”, had a “polarizing style of communication”. However, after the end of his term, he said in an interview that in this way he exercised lobbying functions in order to strengthen sanctions against the Russian Federation and provide the Ukrainian troops with the necessary heavy weapons. Circumstances forced him to speak directly. He also explained this in an interview with the German weekly news magazine “Der Spiegel”: “Whoever knew me realized that the most important thing for me is to get support from Germany for my Motherland, and that my statements are explained by bitterness and despair.” (Schult and Weiland 2022).

#### **4. WHAT DID PRESIDENT ZELENSKYI SAY?**

The communication department of the president’s office distributed short video messages of the president regarding important state events. In January, at the beginning of February 2022, speaking about the Russian-Ukrainian war that had been going on since 2014, the President of Ukraine, Volodymyr Zelenskyy, reassured the society. In response to reports of the accumulation of Russian troops and equipment along the border of Ukraine, he urged not to panic: we are doing everything to resolve it diplomatically. He claimed that our life will be the same as always: we will build the Uzhhorod – Luhansk road, and in May we will grill barbecues outdoors. The speech at the 58th Munich Security Conference had a different character. For Western leaders, he emphasized the unlearned lessons of World War II history, that the pacification of the aggressor did not happen. He complained that Ukraine gave up its nuclear potential, and security guarantees for Ukraine do not work. In his speeches before the active phase of the large-scale Russian war in Ukraine, he did not mention Putin’s name or openly appeal to the Russian Federation.

Since February 24, the tone and content of Volodymyr Zelenskyy’s addresses to the people have changed. The President now has a perfect command of the Ukrainian language. As an actor, he communicates flawlessly with the audience. On February 24, he began his address with words he had not used before. “Great people of the Great country!” Later his online appeals to the parliaments of many countries appeared.

On February 25, the President missed the call of Italian Prime Minister Mario Draghi. The media expressed concern about where the President was.

Then a video of him surrounded by advisers appeared on the website. His address: “We are here. We defend independence and the state.”

On February 26, Volodymyr Zelenskyy warned against misinformation that he had fled Kyiv. He publicly rejected the US offer to evacuate: “The fight is here, I need ammunition, not a ride.”

The theme of achieving peace, which is present in President Volodymyr Zelenskyy’s speeches after his speech at the Munich Security Conference, forms the core of the Ukrainian media discourse on the course of the war. At first, his words about peace sounded like reflections, like a wish and something that would be in the future. But the concept of “peace” in his addresses and speeches after February 24, 2022 is spoken in combination with the concept of “victory” – a Ukrainian victory, a historical victory: “The sooner peace is achieved on our land thanks to the Ukrainian victory, the less evil Russia will bring to other regions, including the Middle East in its cooperation with Iran” (President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy Official website 2022).

In September-October, 2022 when some positive changes on the fronts became noticeable, more specific emphasis on the theme of peace appeared in his speeches: “We must restore peace. And let’s do it. We must secure a historic victory for our country. And it will be” (President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy Official website 2022).

President Zelenskyy transforms the concept of “peace” to an international audience. In his appeals to foreign figures and the media, a clear, convincing, concrete proposal sounds: “We have a formula for peace. And now, reacting to Russian terror, sham referenda and the attempt to annex our territory, we can apply the peace formula so that the terrorist state stands no chance” (President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy Official website 2022).

Volodymyr Zelenskyy responded to the emergence of a new European political community, which aims to return peace to Europe through cooperation. Allies and partners of many regional formats of cooperation united “to direct all possible powers of Europe to end the war and guarantee long-term peace – for Ukraine, for Europe, for the world.” (President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy Official website 2022).

The speech of the President of Ukraine at the general debate of the 77<sup>th</sup> session of the UN General Assembly on September 22 began with words about peace. He welcomed “all the people of the world who value peace and unity between different and equal.” After congratulating and wishing for peace, President Volodymyr Zelenskyy appealed with words of gratitude to all the participants of the Assembly, who were united by

the desire to restore peace. He repeated the same statements that were announced at the Munich Security Conference more than six months ago: “Ukraine wants peace. Europe wants peace. The world wants peace, and we saw who is the only one who wants war.” In the first part of the speech, Zelenskyy does not directly appeal to the Russian Federation. He recalls that during his presidency, “88 rounds of negotiations in various formats were held to prevent this war.” The speech culminates with a list of Russian military horrors. After them, he delivers the main message to the members of the UN General Assembly: Russia is a sponsor of terrorism. Zelenskyy recalls a long list of sad consequences of the Russian invasion: “After the Russian missile terror. After the massacres. After Mariupol. After the burning of Ukrainian prisoners in Olenivka by the Russian military. After blocking the ports. After the strikes of Russian tanks and missiles on nuclear power plants. And after threats to use nuclear weapons, which have become the rule, not the exception, for Russian propagandists... We must finally recognize Russia as a state sponsor of terrorism. At all levels. In all countries that profess the values of peace and protection of human life. Legally. Politically”. However, this is not the main idea of the text. The President acts as the initiator of the peace formula from Ukraine. This is a response to the different visions of a peaceful end to the war/temporary pacification prevalent in European political circles. Zelenskyy’s speech contains five points of the peace formula. Their brief interpretation is as follows: Punishment of the terrorist state for aggression; Protection of life – air shield for Ukraine; Restoration of security and territorial integrity within generally accepted borders; Security guarantees from the mission of international observers at the border; The determination to defend is the determination of the partners to help, “the determination of the world to put in the place of one who threatens all” (President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy Official website 2022).

External communication from the Ukrainian President with the parliaments and leaders of various states was reduced to the following topics: Assistance to the Ukrainian army with modern weapons and ammunition; Strengthening of sanctions against the Russian Federation. The request to close the sky over Ukraine gradually ceased to be heard from the President Volodymyr Zelenskyy and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine Dmytro Kuleba. Instead, proposals appeared for the international community to conduct a special trial of crimes committed by Russians in the territory of Ukraine. Paul Adams, the BBC’s world affairs and diplomatic correspondent, analyzed President Zelenskyy’s speeches in front of the parliamentarians of ten countries and came



to the conclusion that “While his army has fought tenaciously on the battlefields of Ukraine, Volodymyr Zelenskyy has waged an information war on the capitals of the Western world.” The BBC’s correspondent believes that Zelenskyy’s speeches, which started in the UK Parliament “have a single urgent purpose – to muster international support – and President Zelensky goes about it with a series of highly tailored messages.” The speeches of the Ukrainian President are built taking into account the audience and the historical context of each country. This causes approval in the media comments of politicians and journalists. Parliamentarians applaud Volodymyr Zelenskyy’s every address. Paul Adams quotes the conclusions that scholars give after analyzing the texts of speeches. Researchers mostly justify Volodymyr Zelenskyy’s critical remarks about the governments of Western countries, which are in no hurry to transfer heavy weapons to the Ukrainian army – after all, Ukrainian soldiers are also defending Europe in this brutal war unleashed by Russia. The description of the perception of the speeches by those to whom they are actually addressed sounds metaphorical: “...politicians electrified by his unconventional, direct rhetoric, and fixed too in the uncomfortable spotlight of the Ukrainian leader’s righteous anger” (Adams 2022).

In May, many commentators, communication specialists of foreign research centers and “The Guardian” newspaper noted that Zelenskyy’s successful communication helped the Ukrainian army to quickly obtain the necessary weapons. I would like to draw attention to the critical remarks regarding the nature of the President’s communication. There were more of them from the side of German citizens and politicians. It was about the refusal of the president of Germany Frank-Walter Steinmeier’s visit to Ukraine. Thus, German international broadcaster “Deutsche Welle” columnist Yevhen Teise, in his analysis of Volodymyr Zelenskyy’s speeches, relies on the opinion of the German political scientist Andre Hertel from the Berlin Science and Politics Foundation. Praising Volodymyr Zelenskyy for his well-prepared speech in the Bundestag, Andre Hertel mentioned that Zelenskyy’s “critical tone in front of German lawmakers, while understandable, was “marginal”. The German political scientist was outraged by Volodymyr Zelenskyy’s appeal to Chancellor Olaf Scholz, actually a call for leadership: “When Zelenskyy addressed Chancellor Scholz at the end of his speech and demanded ‘leadership that the next generation will be proud of’, that was too much. It was insulting and arrogant,” said Andre Hertel.

The “Deutsche Welle” columnist quotes political communications expert Haso Mansfeld about the mistaken reluctance to receive German president Frank-Walter Steinmeier in Kyiv. In May, the Ukrainian President’s Office

announced that the difficulties related to the Frank-Walter Steinmeier's visit had ended (Teise 2022).

Ukrainian political scientists justify the lack of diplomatic tact in the communication of the President of Ukraine. They believe that Volodymyr Zelenskyy was not a politician before, so in the interpretation of the texts he adheres to the artistic line that is characteristic of his past occupation. The dynamism and pressure in his speeches and interviews are explained by the challenges in which the leader has to act so that the world does not become resigned, indifferent, and accustomed to war. Ukrainian researcher of the Ukrainian President's speeches, Solomiia Kryvenko, is of the opinion that "The narrator of Ukrainian history today is primarily the official government of Ukraine." I do not completely agree with Dr. Kryvenko's statement that "Speaking before the international public, representatives of the authorities explain the world as Ukrainians see it." Such a statement narrows the identification diversity of the Ukrainian people. Accordingly, the perception of the world by the Ukrainian authorities can be limited by those tasks and problems that have to be solved at each stage of the formation of a democratic state. In the government's communication "outside", its intellectual space is filled with global turbulence and the desire to preserve national stability in the face of military hybrid threats. The main thesis formulated by Solomiia Kryvenko, contained in the conclusions of her article, is not original. It resembles the conclusions of other researchers. Emphasizing the importance of this form of communication, she does not glorify the image of the President: "Each speech of the President as the head of state is indicative, as it gets the widest audience and the most attention. All the speeches together create a single narrative, a single story" (Kryvenko 2022).

An important component of the President's communication is the message of his wife Olena Zelenska on the Twitter page. There she gives short medical advice for women who have moved to more relatively safe regions of Ukraine with their children. Commenting on the position of prominent world musicians who support Ukraine. She distributed a checklist on vigilant protection of children during evacuation. Because according to the information of the Ukrainian Parliament Commissioner for Human Rights Office, their hotline received calls for the search for 1,900 missing children. Olena Zelenska visits and meets with political leaders to intensify support for Ukraine, in particular, women and children who are refugees from the war. The narrative created by Olena Zelenska is strategically aimed at protecting basic moral values in the conditions of the ongoing war.

## **5. NEW IN THE COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE EUROPEAN UNION AND UKRAINE AFTER FEBRUARY 24, 2022**

At the end of February, the long Ukrainian road to acquiring the status of a candidate for membership of the European Union began. On June 23, 2022, the leaders of 27 EU member states decided to grant Ukraine the status of a candidate for EU membership. Olha Stefanishyna, the Deputy Prime Minister of Ukraine for European and Euro-Atlantic Integration, commented on this message on the Ukrainian government portal: “The candidate status officially launches the process of Ukraine becoming a member of the EU. We are already actively working on further steps and reforming the country despite the war, so as not to lose the pace of our integration” (Government Portal Official website 2022).

Communication narratives of the advocacy process of acquiring the status of a candidate for EU membership were formed on the basis of media coverage of the activities of top government officials, media representatives, well-known analysts in European political circles. They held an extraordinary number of effective meetings at the level of their competencies in five months. These were working consultations with government officials of various EU member states, discussions and conversations with representatives of nongovernmental organizations, research centers and think tanks on the parameters of Ukraine’s readiness to be a candidate for EU membership. The media coverage of their activities was consistent and detailed in the Ukrainian media segment. In the online media “Yevropeyska Pravda” (“European Truth”) under the heading “Entry to the EU” appeared many relevant articles interpreting communication with various EU institutions. It is about the organization of the negotiation process, the implementation of economic reforms and changes in the judicial system, the transforming of legislation, the new law on media functioning. The European integration experts published their articles for “Yevropeyska Pravda” about how the level of Ukraine’s relations with the EU is changing. Their conclusions were convincing: “The approval of the candidate status for Ukraine also means that its restoration becomes an important item on the geopolitical agenda of Europe” (Nagornyak; Lyvch and Shaipova 2022).

This means that you should not regret the loss of certain forms of cooperation that have become irrelevant. Corrections are made by the destructive Russian war on Ukrainian territory. Therefore, in the political discourse of the future of Ukraine, after the victory in this senseless genocidal

war, there is a place for a new communication narrative about “the readiness of the EU to participate in the reconstruction of Ukraine in the future, and now, providing macro-financial, military, humanitarian and other assistance, the total announced the size of which currently almost reaches 15 billion euros and is growing” (Borrell 2022).

On October 12, 2022, the online media “Yevropeyska Pravda” published a translated summary of High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy Josep Borrell’s Opening speech at the EU Ambassadors Annual Conference 2022. The speech of the top diplomat of the European Union about the new world reality (Borrell 2022).

His speech contains an unexpected aspect in the concept of an error. He admitted that he was wrong in his assessment of the situation before the Russian invasion. I decided to pay attention to the concept of mistakes by conducting a discursive analysis of Josep Borrell’s speech. A high-ranking official admits to a misunderstanding/perception of Russian military ideology. The beginning of his speech has philosophical motives: the world has begun to change rapidly, but it is dominated by “radical uncertainty”. So, we need to act quickly: “We have to accept it and to adapt [to] it, prioritising flexibility and resilience” (Borrell 2022).

In contrast to the metaphorical and philosophical beginning of the High EU Representative Josep Borrell’s speech, later he very frankly pointed out the long-standing shortcomings of the EU’s international policy and economic peace. Josep Borrell noted that the EU “prosperity was based on China and Russia – energy and market.” Europeans mistakenly “have decoupled the sources of our prosperity from the sources of our security.”

Europeans must overcome the uncertainty and the “difficult cocktail – internal and external” changes and act more actively in all issues. The top EU diplomat’s warning that the world where “the United States – take care of our security... China and Russia – provided the basis of our prosperity... is no longer there” – sounds like a call to rebuild our attitude to current challenges and “to be a little bit out of the crisis mode. This will require thinking more about how technology is reshaping the world and the nexus between energy, climate and raw materials.”

The Ukrainian media showed great interest in Josep Borrell’s speech. Many commentators emphasized that to make such an open critical assessment of the situation, he was prompted by the largest on the European continent war since the World War II. For Ukrainian society it is a matter of how the nearest events will develop in the European neighbours’ countries and what significance will these changes in the EU have for the economy, security and Ukrainian victory

in the war. That is why the spreading of the ideas of Josep Borrell's speech appeared in the communication narratives of the Ukrainian media logically, and not by chance.

The National Institute for Strategic Studies (NISD) in Kyiv posted an analytical commentary on the High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy Josep Borrell's speech on its website. Regarding Ukraine, as in the speech, it is not about joining/not joining the EU. The analytical report specifically notes what not all European leaders were talking about before Borrell: "J. Borrell admitted that the EU did not foresee a full-scale invasion of the Russian Federation into Ukraine and did not believe the warnings of US colleagues. The fierce and effective resistance of Ukraine to the aggressor came as a surprise for the European community" (Orlyk 2022).

Paying attention to increasing the role of the European Union, Josep Borrell specified diplomatic tasks for EU diplomats. Speaking about the need "to be much more engaged in this battle of narratives", he pays great importance to European diplomacy in the fight for "the spirits and the souls of people."

The communication goal voiced by a high European official, i.e., the foreign narrative, resonates in Ukrainian, very similar tasks, which must be implemented quickly and effectively in the age of hybrid wars. "We do not have a Russia Today or a Sputnik, not even Radio Liberty, but I think that all of you have to do much more on communication. We provide you with materials and I have the feeling that you do not transmit the message strongly enough. I need my delegations to step up on social media, on TV, in debates", addressed Josep Borrell to the EU Ambassadors. That is what the speech says, and this is almost the audiovisual content strategies in Ukrainian media.

Among the Ukrainian media, apart from "Yevropeyska Pravda", the most attention was paid to the Opening speech of the High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy at the EU Ambassadors Annual Conference 2022, the online media oriented to business consumers as "Forbes Ukraine" and "NV" magazines and the National News Agency of Ukraine "Ukrinform" (Forbes.ua 2022).

## **6. COMMUNICATIVE NARRATIVES OF FOREIGN LEADERS ARE RELATED TO UKRAINIAN ISSUES**

The Federal President of Germany Frank-Walter Steinmeier's "Address to the German Nation" (or its abridged version) appeared in almost all Ukrainian news media. Discussions in political shows and analytical TV and radio

programs lasted almost a week. “Yevropeyska Pravda” called this speech historic and explained its significance for Germany in the background to the article: “The Social Democratic Party of Germany was often (and with good reason!) perceived as friendly to Russia. This is another reason why this speech by Steinmeier is symbolic, milestone, historic for Germany. It was not for nothing that it was announced as an “address to the nation” – an extremely rare format for Germany” (Steinmeier 2022).

The President of Germany is an extremely respected figure in his country and in the European political environment. As for the Ukrainian perception, as a European politician Frank-Walter Steinmeier was different at different times. In the 90s of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, he as a minister of the German government, was sometimes a guest of one of the German foundation popular in Kyiv. On this discussion platform, he did not mince words in his assessments of the Ukrainian future and did not try to understand why Russian propaganda despises Ukraine as democratic state, does not recognize the Ukrainian language, and appropriates Ukrainian history. He was not alone in his feelings for so called “great Russian literature”, for understanding bright representatives of the so called “Russian world”. When while an event outside of Ukraine, a European discussion platform, the Ukrainian writer Oksana Zabuzhko tried to oppose this German politician as to a member of the Social Democratic Party (not a minister), her microphone was turned off. That was at the end of the past century. The “liquid modernity” (as defined by Zygmunt Bauman) were not even discussed in broad political environment at that time. With the “liquid modernity” came uncertainty. It started on February 24, 2022 for Europeans, according to Frank-Walter Steinmeier: “But no one felt the horror of that morning as deeply as the people of Ukraine.”

The foreign leader’s narrative about the war in Ukraine did not begin with a speech. It began with the visit of the federal president of Germany to Ukraine, more precisely to the town of Koriukivka in Chernihiv region as a symbol of the worst tragedy of the World War II. At that time, almost 7.000 residents were shot by punitive squads of the occupiers, and more than 1.300 houses were burned, which “in terms of the number of victims, the number of victims is almost 45 times greater than that of the Belarusian Khatyn massacre, 41 times that of the Czechoslovak Lidice (now Czech Republic), and 12 times that of the French Oradour-sur-Glane massacre. In a historical narrative, sometimes there are coincidences that are difficult to explain with theoretical concepts, say, about war, peace and reconciliation. Ukrainian Koriukivka again suffers from the Russian war in Ukraine. The federal president and the residents of Koriukivka were nearby for several hours in the bomb shelter. All that he heard from them;

Frank-Walter Steinmeier conveyed in an emotional introduction to his “Address to the German Nation”. He finally found out what people from a different culture experienced, but whose identity leans towards European. His judgment about a new era in the country’s development is accompanied by a very direct assessment of what happened: “Russia’s brutal war of aggression in Ukraine turned the European security order into ashes. In his imperial obsession, the Russian president violated international law, seized land, and questioned borders.”

As the NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg, the German leader does not want the war to get out of control and beyond the borders of Ukraine. Frank-Walter Steinmeier broadly explains the concept of “peace”. How it should be perceived by the German society: “The new era presents us with such a challenge that we have not faced for a long time. This is a test of strength from which we cannot escape.” Such words should reassure those opposed to military aid to the defending party; who is afraid of a cold winter without Russian gas; who does not want to lose economically due to sanctions on another country. And what kind of peace do Ukrainians want: “Ukrainians – men, women and children who flee to their basements every day from Russian rocket fire – they also long for peace, even more desperately than we do! But they are right when they say that it must be a just peace. A peace that will preserve the independence and freedom of Ukraine.”

Ukrainian historian, politician and diplomat Roman Bezsmertnyi hosted a his own videoblog “ProSvit with Roman Bezsmertnyi” on YouTube Channel “ProUA” dedicated to the analysis of the “Address to the German Nation” and the speech of the Russian president at the “Valdai Discussion Club” (Moscow-based think tank). Roman Bezsmertnyi read these texts and planned to analyze them as an absentee discussion. But he had to abandon this idea from the beginning. “Steinmeier’s address can be classified as an intellectual document about the common Europe of the future,” claims Roman Bezsmertnyi, “but Putin’s speech impresses with traditional criminal-gangster slang.” The emotional center of his speech is the negative literary hero-murderer Pyotr Verkhovensky from Fyodor Dostoevsky’s novel “Demons”. The Russian president blames the war not on Russia, but on the West (Bezsmertnyi 2022).

The Ukrainian historian also considers Putin’s text as a warning to European countries about his aggressive intentions. This video blog received 79.000 views in 13 days. Ukrainian media also shared a Twitter comment by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Latvia, Edgars Rinkēvičs, regarding the

content of the Kremlin leader's speech: "It's almost like a rehearsal of a defense speech at the International Tribunal in The Hague or Nuremberg" (Ukrinform 2022).

Polish President Andrzej Duda visited Kyiv on February 23, a few hours before the invasion of Russian troops. "I was here to support Ukraine and its people in an extremely difficult time, and to assure that Poland will never leave Ukraine alone," he will say in the Ukrainian parliament later (Duda 2022).

After the liberation of Kyiv region, Andrzej Duda, together with the presidents of Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia, visited the most affected town of Borodyanka. The media coverage of those visits was restrained and focused on telling about the comprehensive support of the state and the people by the leaders of other states (Yevropeyska Pravda 2022).

On May 22, 2022, Andrzej Duda was the first president of foreign country to address the Ukrainian parliament after a large-scale Russian invasion. His speech contained several dominant senses: respect for Ukraine, which fights for its subjectivity, which protects European values: "you defend Europe against the invasion of barbarism and the new Russian imperialism, which show the tyrants their place, which proved that the spirit of a free people is stronger." The Polish president emphasized the attitude towards millions of Ukrainian refugees: "...I would like you to know that your relatives, wives, parents, children, grandchildren, millions of people who had to leave Ukraine for Poland, fleeing the tragedy of the war, are not in our country as refugees, they are our guests." In the narrative communication of the historical past of the two peoples, there were unifications and confrontations. Considering the complex history of the Ukrainian and Polish peoples, one should try to prioritize what unites them – this opinion was also expressed in his speech. Andrzej Duda is concerned that "Unfortunately, voices of concern have appeared in Europe recently demanding that Ukraine give in to Putin's demands. And I want to say clearly: only Ukraine has the right to decide its future, only Ukraine must decide it itself (...) there can be no negotiations and decision-making behind Ukraine's back. Absolutely nothing about you without you is an iron principle, it must be followed." (Duda 2022).

The Polish leader warns others not to sacrifice the freedom and territory of Ukraine for their own peace and prosperity. His message that there are no decisions about Ukraine without Ukraine is consistent with the key requirements announced by President Volodymyr Zelenskyy to the international community that solves global problems of continental security.



## CONCLUSION

I consider the communication narrative of the Russian war in Ukraine as part of the modern history of my country, reflected in the media. My work on this article made it possible to single out several key components. The concept of “peace” is the price of peace and armistice, Ukrainian victory in the war is the way to peace, armistice is the way to strengthen the colonial Russian war of aggression and genocidal war. The communication of the President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy with the world can be attributed to the narrative type (the “narratistic attitude”, according to Walter Fisher). The intensive dissemination of his appeals to his people, to the parliaments, leaders and peoples of the world, full of national dignity, contributed to the receipt of defense, financial, humanitarian, and political assistance and aid. Many countries have condemned Russia’s fraudulent attempt to annex the territory of four regions of Ukraine. War is fought not only on the battlefields. Its hybrid manifestations are clearly visible in various directions: informational, diplomatic, economic, cultural. The Ukrainian media system has changed a lot after February 24, 2022. The information television marathon “Yedyni novyny” (“United News”) created by most of all Ukrainian TV channels after the eighth month of broadcasting also needs reform its concept. The communication narrative of journalist and writers has moved to new media: Facebook, Twitter, Telegram, Tik-Tok. Ukrainian intellectuals as writers Oksana Zabuzhko and Serhiy Zhadan, diplomats Oleksandr Shcherba, Andriy Melnyk tell the truth about the Ukrainian military outpost in Europe, about life after liberation from Russian occupation, about Ukrainian people who make history, whose courage and endurance is also a great story of victory over the enemy. My study of communication narratives would not be complete if I did not draw attention to the content of the speeches of intellectuals, outstanding national leaders from the countries of the European Union. They were not always consistent in their interpretation of the changing times of the globalized world. They did not all and did not always see the young democratic Ukraine outside the colonial Russian discourse. But many have come to understand and accept the fact that Ukraine wants to successfully complete the path to joining the European Union. As Serhii Plokhii the Ukrainian historian, professor of the Harvard University and Director, Ukrainian Research Institute there writes: “Ukraine will be on the right side of the history, on the right side of the border.”

When I am working on this article, I do not know when the war would end. I would like the new article to be the answer to why so many outstanding minds did not believe that Putin would invade Ukraine: they did not believe in 2007,

2008, 2014 and even in 2021 and 2022. These narratives are not entirely and not always Ukrainian, but they carry the communication load caused by the war, and they will eventually form a segment of the historical national media narrative.

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