

Russian Federation

1. On 28 February 2022, the Embassy of the Russian Federation in the Netherlands received under a cover letter of the Registrar of the Court of the same date a copy of an Application by Ukraine instituting proceedings against the Russian Federation entitled “Dispute relating to Allegations of Genocide” (the “Application”) as well as a Request for the indication of provisional measures dated 26 February 2022 (the “Request”).
2. On the same day (28 February 2022), the Ambassador of the Russian Federation was consulted by the Registrar of the Court regarding possible dates of oral proceedings for consideration of the Request. The Ambassador of the Russian Federation indicated that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to take all necessary decisions regarding the participation in the proceedings and conduct proper analyses of the Request in five working days. On 1 March 2022, the Ambassador of the Russian Federation received a letter of the Registrar of the Court informing him that the oral proceedings had been scheduled for 7-8 March 2022.
3. The Government of the Russian Federation regrets that despite its express indication against it the hearings were scheduled on such a short notice. On 5 March 2022, the Ambassador of the Russian Federation informed the Registrar of the Court that the Government of the Russian Federation would not participate in the oral proceedings. At the same time, out of deference to the Court, the Russian Federation has decided that its position regarding the lack of competence of the Court in this case should be hereby brought to its attention.
4. The Government of Ukraine is seeking to bring before the Court the issues of legality of the use of force by Russia in Ukraine and the recognition by Russia of the Donetsk and Lugansk Peoples’ Republics using the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (the “Convention”) as a vehicle for this purpose.
5. With reference to the dispute resolution clause of the Convention, the main purpose of which is “to prevent and to punish” the crime of genocide and related crimes, Ukraine is seeking an immediate prescription for Russia to “halt all military actions in Ukraine”¹, “immediately suspend the military operations commenced on 24 February 2022”, “immediately ensure that any military or irregular armed units ... take no steps in furtherance of the military operations”². The last two provisional measures are of a general nature³.

¹ Request, para. 1.

² Request, para. 20 (a-b).

³ Request, para. 20 (c-d).

6. The Court cannot entertain a claim, even at a provisional measures stage, without first ascertaining that it has jurisdiction over it. As the Court has repeatedly stated, “one of the fundamental principles of its Statute is that it cannot decide a dispute between States without the consent of those States to its jurisdiction”⁴, “... on a request for provisional measures the Court ... ought not to indicate such measures unless the provisions invoked by the Applicant or found in the Statute appear, *prima facie*, to afford a basis on which the jurisdiction of the Court might be established”⁵.

7. The only basis for jurisdiction referred to by the Government of Ukraine is the dispute resolution clause of the Convention, which “is not a general provision for the settlement of disputes”⁶. Even though both Russia and Ukraine are Parties to the Convention without reservations, for the Court to have jurisdiction it must establish that the “subject-matter of the dispute relates ‘to the interpretation, application or fulfillment’ of the Convention”⁷.

8. As the Court stated, “... in order to determine, even *prima facie*, whether a dispute within the meaning of Article IX of the Genocide Convention exists, the Court cannot limit itself to noting that one of the Parties maintains that the Convention applies, while the other denies it; ... the Court must ascertain whether the breaches of the Convention alleged [...] are capable of falling within the provisions of that instrument and whether, as a consequence, the dispute is one which the Court has jurisdiction *ratione materiae* to entertain pursuant to Article IX”⁸.

9. The Court must also ascertain that the rights Ukraine is seeking to protect fall under the Convention. As the Court held “having established the existence of one basis on which its jurisdiction might be founded, namely Article IX of the Genocide Convention” the Court “ought not to indicate measures for the protection of any disputed rights other than those which might ultimately form the basis of a judgment in the exercise of the jurisdiction, thus, *prima facie* established”⁹.

10. It is clear from the plain language of the Convention that it does not regulate either the use of force between States or the recognition of States. The Convention

⁴ *East Timor (Portugal v. Australia)*, Judgment, I.C.J. Reports 1995, p. 90, para. 26.

⁵ *Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (Bosnia and Herzegovina v. Serbia and Montenegro)*, Provisional Measures, Order of 8 April 1993, I.C.J. Reports 1993, p. 3, para. 14.

⁶ *Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (Croatia v. Serbia)*, Judgment, I.C.J. Reports 2015, p. 3, para. 93.

⁷ *Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, (Bosnia and Herzegovina v. Serbia and Montenegro)*, Provisional Measures, Order of 8 April 1993, I.C.J. Reports 1993, p. 3, para. 26.

⁸ *Legality of Use of Force (Yugoslavia v. Italy)*, Provisional Measures, Order of 2 June 1999, I.C.J. Reports 1999, p. 481, para. 25.

⁹ *Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, (Bosnia and Herzegovina v. Serbia and Montenegro)*, Provisional Measures, Order of 13 September 1993, I.C.J. Reports 1993, p. 325, para. 36.

defines genocide for the purposes of the Convention¹⁰, obliges the Parties “to enact ... the necessary legislation”¹¹, to punish persons committing genocide or related crimes¹², “to grant extradition in accordance with their laws and treaties”¹³. The Convention provides for a possibility for any Contracting Party to call upon the competent organs of the United Nations to take such action under the United Nations Charter, as they consider appropriate for the prevention and suppression of acts of genocide.

11. The reference to prevention in Article I of the Convention or the reference to the United Nations Charter in Article VIII of the Convention can neither make the United Nations Charter part of the Convention, thus, bringing issues related to Article 51 under the Court’s jurisdiction, nor make Article IX of the Convention “a general provision for the settlement of disputes”¹⁴ by the Court.

12. Nowhere in the Convention may one find any reference to the use of force between States or recognition of States, which are regulated by the United Nations Charter and customary international law. To read them into the Convention by implication would be to substantially amend and distort the object and purpose of the Convention. This is what Ukraine’s submissions are aiming at. In the practice of the Court disputes arose as to whether the use of force by one State against other States in itself may be qualified as a crime of genocide under the Convention¹⁵, but this is clearly not the case of Ukraine.

13. In order to “glue” the Convention to the use of force and recognition of States for the purposes of invoking its dispute resolution clause, the Government of Ukraine suggests in its Request that “the Russian Federation ... commenced an unprovoked invasion throughout Ukrainian territory” “[o]n the basis of [the] claims of genocide”¹⁶, in its Application it requests the Court to “[a]djudge and declare that the “special military operation” declared and carried out by the Russian Federation on and after 24 February 2022 is based on a false claim of genocide and therefore *has no basis in the Genocide Convention*” (emphasis added), “the Russian Federation’s recognition of the independence of ... “Donetsk People’s Republic” and “Luhansk People’s Republic” ... is based on a false claim of genocide and therefore *has no basis in the*

¹⁰ Convention, Article II.

¹¹ Convention, Article V.

¹² Convention, Article IV.

¹³ Convention, Article VII.

¹⁴ *Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (Croatia v. Serbia)*, Judgment, I.C.J. Reports 2015, p. 3, para. 93.

¹⁵ *Legality of Use of Force (Serbia and Montenegro v. Belgium)*, Preliminary Objections, Judgment, I.C.J. Reports 2004, p. 279, para. 1; *Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (Bosnia and Herzegovina v. Serbia and Montenegro)*, Judgment, I.C.J. Reports 2007, p. 43, paras. 245-261, 276-277; *Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (Croatia v. Serbia)*, Judgment, I.C.J. Reports 2015, p. 3, para. 411.

¹⁶ Request, para. 2.

Genocide Convention” (emphasis added)¹⁷. However, the fact is that the Convention does not provide a legal basis for any military operation or recognition of a State simply because they are beyond its scope of application.

14. The Court confirmed that if it is not in a position to find that the acts imputed to a respondent “are capable of coming within the provisions of the Genocide Convention”, the Convention “cannot ... constitute a basis on which the jurisdiction of the Court could *prima facie* be founded”¹⁸.

15. The special military operation conducted by Russia in the territory of Ukraine is based on the United Nations Charter, its Article 51 and customary international law. The legal basis for the military operation was communicated on 24 February 2022 to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the United Nations Security Council by the Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation to the United Nations in the form of a notification under Article 51 of the United Nations Charter. The relevant letter addressed to the UN Secretary-General with the request to circulate it as a document of the UN Security Council forwarded “the address of the President of the Russian Federation H.E. Mr. Vladimir Putin to the citizens of Russia *informing them of the measures taken in accordance with Article 51 of the UN Charter in exercise of the right of self-defense*” (emphasis added) (attached).

16. In his address the President of the Russian Federation, in particular, stated:

“They did not leave us any other option for defending Russia and our people, other than the one we are forced to use today. In these circumstances, we have to take bold and immediate action. The people’s republics of Donbass have asked Russia for help. In this context, in accordance with Article 51 (Chapter VII) of the UN Charter, with permission of Russia’s Federation Council, and in execution of the treaties of friendship and mutual assistance with the Donetsk People’s Republic and the Lugansk People’s Republic, ratified by the Federal Assembly on February 22, I made a decision to carry out a special military operation.”¹⁹

17. The recognition of the Donetsk and Lugansk Peoples’ Republics is a sovereign political act of the Russian Federation. It is related to the right of self-determination of peoples under the United Nations Charter and customary international law as reflected in the statements of the President of the Russian Federation and the Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation to the United Nations, who in this regard specifically quoted from the principle of self-determination of peoples as reflected in

¹⁷ Application, para. 30(c-d).

¹⁸ *Legality of Use of Force (Yugoslavia v. Belgium), Provisional Measures, Order of 2 June 1999, I.C.J. Reports 1999*, p. 124, para. 41.

¹⁹ President of the Russian Federation official website, “Address by the President of the Russian Federation”, 24 February 2022, available at: <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/67843>.

the 1970 Declaration of Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

18. In particular, the President of the Russian Federation stated:

“The outcomes of World War II and the sacrifices our people had to make to defeat Nazism are sacred. This does not contradict the high values of human rights and freedoms in the reality that emerged over the post-war decades. This does not mean that nations cannot enjoy the right to self-determination, which is enshrined in Article 1 of the UN Charter. Let me remind you that the people living in territories which are part of today’s Ukraine were not asked how they want to build their lives when the USSR was created or after World War II. Freedom guides our policy, the freedom to choose independently our future and the future of our children. We believe that all the peoples living in today’s Ukraine, anyone who want to do this, must be able to enjoy this right to make a free choice.”²⁰

19. Referring to the right of self-determination of peoples the Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation to the United Nations in New York explained:

“I would like to remind that the principle of sovereignty and territorial integrity of states, of which violation we are being accused with regard to Ukraine, as stipulated in [the] 1970 Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States, must be strictly observed with regard to states that are ‘conducting themselves in compliance with the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples and thus possessed of a government representing the whole people belonging to the territory without distinction as to race, creed or colour.’ The current Government of Ukraine is not like this. By the way, the tragedy of Ukraine started after the illegitimate Maidan coup in 2014, when instead of talking to the Russian-speaking population, new Ukrainian authorities confronted them with guns and aviation. There is enough information and evidence on that matter, however, our Western partners prefer to not notice it.”²¹

20. A reference to genocide is not equal to the invocation of the Convention or the existence of a dispute under it, since the notion of genocide exists in customary

²⁰ President of the Russian Federation official website, “Address by the President of the Russian Federation”, 24 February 2022, available at: <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/67843>.

²¹ Permanent Mission of the Russian Federation to the United Nations official website, “Statement and reply by Permanent Representative Vassily Nebenzia at UNSC briefing on Ukraine”, 23 February 2022, available at: <https://russiaun.ru/en/news/230222un>.

international law independently of the Convention. It also exists in national legal systems of States including in the Russian Federation and Ukraine. There are no references to the Convention in the statement of the President of the Russian Federation to which the Government of Ukraine refers. The analysis of the dire situation in Donbass, including atrocities and genocide, provides a general humanitarian environment along with other factors and considerations. Ukraine first mentioned the Convention in the context of reference to genocide in Donbass, in a statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine posted on its website on the day Ukraine filed its submissions to the Court with the obvious purpose to devise a basis for jurisdiction²², although two days earlier, on 24 February 2022, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine characterised the special military operation in terms of the use of force without any reference either to the Convention or genocide.²³

21. As it was stated by the Court, “since Article IX provides for jurisdiction only with regard to ‘the interpretation, application or fulfillment of the Convention, including ... the responsibility of a State for genocide or for any of the other acts enumerated in Article III’, the jurisdiction of the Court does not extend to allegations of violation of the customary international law on genocide.”²⁴

22. The Government of Ukraine insists on the urgency of the measures of protection in light of the current situation. However, the urgency must pertain not to the situation in general, but to the protection of rights provided for by the Convention. As the Court has previously decided it must “confine its examination of the measures requested, and of the grounds asserted for the request for such measures, to those which fall within the scope of the Genocide Convention”²⁵.

23. Accordingly, the Application and Request manifestly fall beyond the scope of the Convention and thus the jurisdiction of the Court.

24. In view of the above the Government of the Russian Federation respectfully requests the Court to refrain from indicating provisional measures and to remove the case from its list.

²² Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine official website, “Statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine on Russia’s False and Offensive Allegations of Genocide As a Pretext For Its Unlawful Military Aggression”, 26 February 2022, available at: <https://mfa.gov.ua/en/news/zayava-mzs-ukrayini-shchodo-nepravdivih-ta-obrazlivih-zvinuvachen-rosiyi-v-genocidi-yak-privodu-dlya-yivi-protipravnoyi-vijskovoyi-agresiyi>.

²³ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine official website, “Statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine on the new wave of aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukraine”, 24 February 2022, available at: <https://mfa.gov.ua/en/news/statement-ministry-foreign-affairs-ukraine-new-wave-aggression-russian-federation-against-ukraine>.

²⁴ *Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (Croatia v. Serbia)*, Judgment, I.C.J. Reports 2015, p. 3, para. 87.

²⁵ *Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, (Bosnia and Herzegovina v. Serbia and Montenegro)*, Provisional Measures, Order of 8 April 1993, I.C.J. Reports 1993, p. 3, para. 35.

The President of the Security Council presents his compliments to the members of the Council and has the honour to transmit herewith, for their information, a copy of a **letter dated 24 February 2022 from the Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation to the United Nations** addressed to the Secretary-General, and its enclosure.

This letter and its enclosure will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/2022/154.

24 February 2022

Постоянный представитель
Российской Федерации
при Организации
Объединенных Наций

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Permanent Representative
of the Russian Federation
to the United Nations

136 East 67th Street
New York, NY 10065

No. 493 /n

New York, "24" February 2022

Excellency,

Attachment

I have the honor to forward hereby the text of the address of the President of the Russian Federation H.E. Mr. Vladimir Putin to the citizens of Russia informing them of the measures taken in accordance with Article 51 of the UN Charter in exercise of the right of self-defense.

I would ask you to circulate the present letter and its attachment as an official document of the UN Security Council.

Please accept, Your Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'V. Nebenzia'.

Vassily Nebenzia

H.E. Mr. António Guterres
Secretary-General
United Nations
New York

Address by the President of the Russian Federation

February 24, 2022 06:00 The Kremlin, Moscow

President of Russia Vladimir Putin: Citizens of Russia, friends,

I consider it necessary today to speak again about the tragic events in Donbass and the key aspects of ensuring the security of Russia.

I will begin with what I said in my address on February 21, 2022. I spoke about our biggest concerns and worries, and about the fundamental threats which irresponsible Western politicians created for Russia consistently, rudely and unceremoniously from year to year. I am referring to the eastward expansion of NATO, which is moving its military infrastructure ever closer to the Russian border.

It is a fact that over the past 30 years we have been patiently trying to come to an agreement with the leading NATO countries regarding the principles of equal and indivisible security in Europe. In response to our proposals, we invariably faced either cynical deception and lies or attempts at pressure and blackmail, while the North Atlantic alliance continued to expand despite our protests and concerns. Its military machine is moving and, as I said, is approaching our very border.

Why is this happening? Where did this insolent manner of talking down from

the height of their exceptionalism, infallibility and all-permissiveness come from? What is the explanation for this contemptuous and disdainful attitude to our interests and absolutely legitimate demands?

The answer is simple. Everything is clear and obvious. In the late 1980s, the Soviet Union grew weaker and subsequently broke apart. That experience should serve as a good lesson for us, because it has shown us that the paralysis of power and will is the first step towards complete degradation and oblivion. We lost confidence for only one moment, but it was enough to disrupt the balance of forces in the world.

As a result, the old treaties and agreements are no longer effective. Entreaties and requests do not help. Anything that does not suit the dominant state, the powers that be, is denounced as archaic, obsolete and useless. At the same time, everything it regards as useful is presented as the ultimate truth and forced on others regardless of the cost, abusively and by any means available. Those who refuse to comply are subjected to strong-arm tactics.

What I am saying now does not concern only Russia, and Russia is not the only country that is worried about this. This has to do with the entire system of international relations, and sometimes even US allies. The collapse of the Soviet Union led to a redivision of the world, and the norms of international law that developed by that time – and the most important of them, the fundamental norms that were adopted following WWII and largely formalised its outcome – came in the way of those who declared themselves the winners of the Cold War.

Of course, practice, international relations and the rules regulating them had to take into account the changes that took place in the world and in the balance of forces. However, this should have been done professionally, smoothly, patiently, and with due regard and respect for the interests of all states and one's own responsibility. Instead, we saw a state of euphoria created by the feeling

of absolute superiority, a kind of modern absolutism, coupled with the low cultural standards and arrogance of those who formulated and pushed through decisions that suited only themselves. The situation took a different turn.

There are many examples of this. First a bloody military operation was waged against Belgrade, without the UN Security Council's sanction but with combat aircraft and missiles used in the heart of Europe. The bombing of peaceful cities and vital infrastructure went on for several weeks. I have to recall these facts, because some Western colleagues prefer to forget them, and when we mentioned the event, they prefer to avoid speaking about international law, instead emphasising the circumstances which they interpret as they think necessary.

Then came the turn of Iraq, Libya and Syria. The illegal use of military power against Libya and the distortion of all the UN Security Council decisions on Libya ruined the state, created a huge seat of international terrorism, and pushed the country towards a humanitarian catastrophe, into the vortex of a civil war, which has continued there for years. The tragedy, which was created for hundreds of thousands and even millions of people not only in Libya but in the whole region, has led to a large-scale exodus from the Middle East and North Africa to Europe.

A similar fate was also prepared for Syria. The combat operations conducted by the Western coalition in that country without the Syrian government's approval or UN Security Council's sanction can only be defined as aggression and intervention.

But the example that stands apart from the above events is, of course, the invasion of Iraq without any legal grounds. They used the pretext of allegedly reliable information available in the United States about the presence of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. To prove that allegation, the US Secretary of State held up a vial with white powder, publicly, for the whole world to see,

assuring the international community that it was a chemical warfare agent created in Iraq. It later turned out that all of that was a fake and a sham, and that Iraq did not have any chemical weapons. Incredible and shocking but true. We witnessed lies made at the highest state level and voiced from the high UN rostrum. As a result we see a tremendous loss in human life, damage, destruction, and a colossal upsurge of terrorism.

Overall, it appears that nearly everywhere, in many regions of the world where the United States brought its law and order, this created bloody, non-healing wounds and the curse of international terrorism and extremism. I have only mentioned the most glaring but far from only examples of disregard for international law.

This array includes promises not to expand NATO eastwards even by an inch. To reiterate: they have deceived us, or, to put it simply, they have played us. Sure, one often hears that politics is a dirty business. It could be, but it shouldn't be as dirty as it is now, not to such an extent. This type of con-artist behaviour is contrary not only to the principles of international relations but also and above all to the generally accepted norms of morality and ethics. Where is justice and truth here? Just lies and hypocrisy all around.

Incidentally, US politicians, political scientists and journalists write and say that a veritable "empire of lies" has been created inside the United States in recent years. It is hard to disagree with this – it is really so. But one should not be modest about it: the United States is still a great country and a system-forming power. All its satellites not only humbly and obediently say yes to and parrot it at the slightest pretext but also imitate its behaviour and enthusiastically accept the rules it is offering them. Therefore, one can say with good reason and confidence that the whole so-called Western bloc formed by the United States in its own image and likeness is, in its entirety, the very same "empire of lies."

As for our country, after the disintegration of the USSR, given the entire unprecedented openness of the new, modern Russia, its readiness to work honestly with the United States and other Western partners, and its practically unilateral disarmament, they immediately tried to put the final squeeze on us, finish us off, and utterly destroy us. This is how it was in the 1990s and the early 2000s, when the so-called collective West was actively supporting separatism and gangs of mercenaries in southern Russia. What victims, what losses we had to sustain and what trials we had to go through at that time before we broke the back of international terrorism in the Caucasus! We remember this and will never forget.

Properly speaking, the attempts to use us in their own interests never ceased until quite recently: they sought to destroy our traditional values and force on us their false values that would erode us, our people from within, the attitudes they have been aggressively imposing on their countries, attitudes that are directly leading to degradation and degeneration, because they are contrary to human nature. This is not going to happen. No one has ever succeeded in doing this, nor will they succeed now.

Despite all that, in December 2021, we made yet another attempt to reach agreement with the United States and its allies on the principles of European security and NATO's non-expansion. Our efforts were in vain. The United States has not changed its position. It does not believe it necessary to agree with Russia on a matter that is critical for us. The United States is pursuing its own objectives, while neglecting our interests.

Of course, this situation begs a question: what next, what are we to expect? If history is any guide, we know that in 1940 and early 1941 the Soviet Union went to great lengths to prevent war or at least delay its outbreak. To this end, the USSR sought not to provoke the potential aggressor until the very end by refraining or postponing the most urgent and obvious preparations it had to make to defend itself from an imminent attack. When it finally acted, it was too

late.

As a result, the country was not prepared to counter the invasion by Nazi Germany, which attacked our Motherland on June 22, 1941, without declaring war. The country stopped the enemy and went on to defeat it, but this came at a tremendous cost. The attempt to appease the aggressor ahead of the Great Patriotic War proved to be a mistake which came at a high cost for our people. In the first months after the hostilities broke out, we lost vast territories of strategic importance, as well as millions of lives. We will not make this mistake the second time. We have no right to do so.

Those who aspire to global dominance have publicly designated Russia as their enemy. They did so with impunity. Make no mistake, they had no reason to act this way. It is true that they have considerable financial, scientific, technological, and military capabilities. We are aware of this and have an objective view of the economic threats we have been hearing, just as our ability to counter this brash and never-ending blackmail. Let me reiterate that we have no illusions in this regard and are extremely realistic in our assessments.

As for military affairs, even after the dissolution of the USSR and losing a considerable part of its capabilities, today's Russia remains one of the most powerful nuclear states. Moreover, it has a certain advantage in several cutting-edge weapons. In this context, there should be no doubt for anyone that any potential aggressor will face defeat and ominous consequences should it directly attack our country.

At the same time, technology, including in the defence sector, is changing rapidly. One day there is one leader, and tomorrow another, but a military presence in territories bordering on Russia, if we permit it to go ahead, will stay for decades to come or maybe forever, creating an ever mounting and totally unacceptable threat for Russia.

Even now, with NATO's eastward expansion the situation for Russia has been becoming worse and more dangerous by the year. Moreover, these past days NATO leadership has been blunt in its statements that they need to accelerate and step up efforts to bring the alliance's infrastructure closer to Russia's borders. In other words, they have been toughening their position. We cannot stay idle and passively observe these developments. This would be an absolutely irresponsible thing to do for us.

Any further expansion of the North Atlantic alliance's infrastructure or the ongoing efforts to gain a military foothold of the Ukrainian territory are unacceptable for us. Of course, the question is not about NATO itself. It merely serves as a tool of US foreign policy. The problem is that in territories adjacent to Russia, which I have to note is our historical land, a hostile "anti-Russia" is taking shape. Fully controlled from the outside, it is doing everything to attract NATO armed forces and obtain cutting-edge weapons.

For the United States and its allies, it is a policy of containing Russia, with obvious geopolitical dividends. For our country, it is a matter of life and death, a matter of our historical future as a nation. This is not an exaggeration; this is a fact. It is not only a very real threat to our interests but to the very existence of our state and to its sovereignty. It is the red line which we have spoken about on numerous occasions. They have crossed it.

This brings me to the situation in Donbass. We can see that the forces that staged the coup in Ukraine in 2014 have seized power, are keeping it with the help of ornamental election procedures and have abandoned the path of a peaceful conflict settlement. For eight years, for eight endless years we have been doing everything possible to settle the situation by peaceful political means. Everything was in vain.

As I said in my previous address, you cannot look without compassion at what is happening there. It became impossible to tolerate it. We had to stop that atrocity,

that genocide of the millions of people who live there and who pinned their hopes on Russia, on all of us. It is their aspirations, the feelings and pain of these people that were the main motivating force behind our decision to recognise the independence of the Donbass people's republics.

I would like to additionally emphasise the following. Focused on their own goals, the leading NATO countries are supporting the far-right nationalists and neo-Nazis in Ukraine, those who will never forgive the people of Crimea and Sevastopol for freely making a choice to reunite with Russia.

They will undoubtedly try to bring war to Crimea just as they have done in Donbass, to kill innocent people just as members of the punitive units of Ukrainian nationalists and Hitler's accomplices did during the Great Patriotic War. They have also openly laid claim to several other Russian regions.

If we look at the sequence of events and the incoming reports, the showdown between Russia and these forces cannot be avoided. It is only a matter of time. They are getting ready and waiting for the right moment. Moreover, they went as far as aspire to acquire nuclear weapons. We will not let this happen.

I have already said that Russia accepted the new geopolitical reality after the dissolution of the USSR. We have been treating all new post-Soviet states with respect and will continue to act this way. We respect and will respect their sovereignty, as proven by the assistance we provided to Kazakhstan when it faced tragic events and a challenge in terms of its statehood and integrity. However, Russia cannot feel safe, develop, and exist while facing a permanent threat from the territory of today's Ukraine.

Let me remind you that in 2000–2005 we used our military to push back against terrorists in the Caucasus and stood up for the integrity of our state. We preserved Russia. In 2014, we supported the people of Crimea and Sevastopol.

In 2015, we used our Armed Forces to create a reliable shield that prevented terrorists from Syria from penetrating Russia. This was a matter of defending ourselves. We had no other choice.

The same is happening today. They did not leave us any other option for defending Russia and our people, other than the one we are forced to use today. In these circumstances, we have to take bold and immediate action. The people's republics of Donbass have asked Russia for help.

In this context, in accordance with Article 51 (Chapter VII) of the UN Charter, with permission of Russia's Federation Council, and in execution of the treaties of friendship and mutual assistance with the Donetsk People's Republic and the Lugansk People's Republic, ratified by the Federal Assembly on February 22, I made a decision to carry out a special military operation.

The purpose of this operation is to protect people who, for eight years now, have been facing humiliation and genocide perpetrated by the Kiev regime. To this end, we will seek to demilitarise and denazify Ukraine, as well as bring to trial those who perpetrated numerous bloody crimes against civilians, including against citizens of the Russian Federation.

It is not our plan to occupy the Ukrainian territory. We do not intend to impose anything on anyone by force. At the same time, we have been hearing an increasing number of statements coming from the West that there is no need any more to abide by the documents setting forth the outcomes of World War II, as signed by the totalitarian Soviet regime. How can we respond to that?

The outcomes of World War II and the sacrifices our people had to make to defeat Nazism are sacred. This does not contradict the high values of human rights and freedoms in the reality that emerged over the post-war decades. This does not mean that nations cannot enjoy the right to self-determination, which is

enshrined in Article 1 of the UN Charter.

Let me remind you that the people living in territories which are part of today's Ukraine were not asked how they want to build their lives when the USSR was created or after World War II. Freedom guides our policy, the freedom to choose independently our future and the future of our children. We believe that all the peoples living in today's Ukraine, anyone who want to do this, must be able to enjoy this right to make a free choice.

In this context I would like to address the citizens of Ukraine. In 2014, Russia was obliged to protect the people of Crimea and Sevastopol from those who you yourself call "nats." The people of Crimea and Sevastopol made their choice in favour of being with their historical homeland, Russia, and we supported their choice. As I said, we could not act otherwise.

The current events have nothing to do with a desire to infringe on the interests of Ukraine and the Ukrainian people. They are connected with the defending Russia from those who have taken Ukraine hostage and are trying to use it against our country and our people.

I reiterate: we are acting to defend ourselves from the threats created for us and from a worse peril than what is happening now. I am asking you, however hard this may be, to understand this and to work together with us so as to turn this tragic page as soon as possible and to move forward together, without allowing anyone to interfere in our affairs and our relations but developing them independently, so as to create favourable conditions for overcoming all these problems and to strengthen us from within as a single whole, despite the existence of state borders. I believe in this, in our common future.

I would also like to address the military personnel of the Ukrainian Armed Forces.

Comrade officers,

Your fathers, grandfathers and great-grandfathers did not fight the Nazi occupiers and did not defend our common Motherland to allow today's neo-Nazis to seize power in Ukraine. You swore the oath of allegiance to the Ukrainian people and not to the junta, the people's adversary which is plundering Ukraine and humiliating the Ukrainian people.

I urge you to refuse to carry out their criminal orders. I urge you to immediately lay down arms and go home. I will explain what this means: the military personnel of the Ukrainian army who do this will be able to freely leave the zone of hostilities and return to their families.

I want to emphasise again that all responsibility for the possible bloodshed will lie fully and wholly with the ruling Ukrainian regime.

I would now like to say something very important for those who may be tempted to interfere in these developments from the outside. No matter who tries to stand in our way or all the more so create threats for our country and our people, they must know that Russia will respond immediately, and the consequences will be such as you have never seen in your entire history. No matter how the events unfold, we are ready. All the necessary decisions in this regard have been taken. I hope that my words will be heard.

Citizens of Russia,

The culture and values, experience and traditions of our ancestors invariably provided a powerful underpinning for the wellbeing and the very existence of entire states and nations, their success and viability. Of course, this directly depends on the ability to quickly adapt to constant change, maintain social cohesion, and readiness to consolidate and summon all the available forces

in order to move forward.

We always need to be strong, but this strength can take on different forms. The "empire of lies," which I mentioned in the beginning of my speech, proceeds in its policy primarily from rough, direct force. This is when our saying on being "all brawn and no brains" applies.

We all know that having justice and truth on our side is what makes us truly strong. If this is the case, it would be hard to disagree with the fact that it is our strength and our readiness to fight that are the bedrock of independence and sovereignty and provide the necessary foundation for building a reliable future for your home, your family, and your Motherland.

Dear compatriots,

I am certain that devoted soldiers and officers of Russia's Armed Forces will perform their duty with professionalism and courage. I have no doubt that the government institutions at all levels and specialists will work effectively to guarantee the stability of our economy, financial system and social wellbeing, and the same applies to corporate executives and the entire business community. I hope that all parliamentary parties and civil society take a consolidated, patriotic position.

At the end of the day, the future of Russia is in the hands of its multi-ethnic people, as has always been the case in our history. This means that the decisions that I made will be executed, that we will achieve the goals we have set, and reliably guarantee the security of our Motherland.

I believe in your support and the invincible force rooted in the love for our Fatherland.

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Обращение Президента Российской Федерации

24 февраля 2022 года 06:00 Москва, Кремль

В.Путин: Уважаемые граждане России! Дорогие друзья!

Сегодня вновь считаю необходимым вернуться к трагическим событиям, происходящим на Донбассе, и ключевым вопросам обеспечения безопасности самой России.

Начну с того, о чём говорил в своём обращении от 21 февраля текущего года. Речь о том, что вызывает у нас особую озабоченность и тревогу, о тех фундаментальных угрозах, которые из года в год шаг за шагом грубо и бесцеремонно создаются безответственными политиками на Западе в отношении нашей страны. Имею в виду расширение блока НАТО на восток, приближение его военной инфраструктуры к российским границам.

Хорошо известно, что на протяжении 30 лет мы настойчиво и терпеливо пытались договориться с ведущими странами НАТО о принципах равной и неделимой безопасности в Европе. В ответ на наши предложения мы постоянно сталкивались либо с циничным обманом и враньём, либо с попытками давления и шантажа, а Североатлантический альянс тем временем, несмотря на все наши протесты и озабоченности, неуклонно расширяется. Военная машина движется и, повторю, приближается к нашим границам вплотную.

Почему всё это происходит? Откуда эта наглая манера разговаривать с позиции собственной исключительности, непогрешимости и вседозволенности? Откуда наплевательское, пренебрежительное отношение к нашим интересам и абсолютно законным требованиям?

Ответ ясен, всё понятно и очевидно. Советский Союз в конце 80-х годов прошлого века ослаб, а затем и вовсе развалился. Весь ход происходивших тогда событий – это хороший урок для нас и сегодня, он убедительно показал, что паралич власти, воли – это первый шаг к полной деградации и забвению. Стоило нам тогда на какое-то время потерять уверенность в себе, и всё – баланс сил в мире оказался нарушенным.

Это привело к тому, что прежние договоры, соглашения уже фактически не действуют. Уговоры и просьбы не помогают. Всё, что не устраивает гегемона, власть предержавших, объявляется архаичным, устаревшим, ненужным. И наоборот: всё, что кажется им выгодным, преподносится как истина в последней инстанции, продавливается любой ценой, хамски, всеми средствами. Несогласных ломают через колено.

от абсолютного превосходства, своего рода современного вида абсолютизма, да ещё и на фоне низкого уровня общей культуры и чванства тех, кто готовил, принимал и продавливал выгодные лишь для себя решения. Ситуация начала развиваться по другому сценарию.

За примерами далеко ходить не нужно. Сперва без всякой санкции Совета Безопасности ООН провели кровопролитную военную операцию против Белграда, использовали авиацию, ракеты прямо в самом центре Европы. Несколько недель непрерывных бомбёжек по мирным городам, по жизнеобеспечивающей инфраструктуре. Приходится напоминать эти факты, а то некоторые западные коллеги не любят вспоминать те события, а когда мы говорим об этом, предпочитают указывать не на нормы международного права, а на обстоятельства, которые трактуют так, как считают нужным.

Затем наступила очередь Ирака, Ливии, Сирии. Нелегитимное использование военной силы против Ливии, извращение всех решений Совета Безопасности ООН по ливийскому вопросу привело к полному разрушению государства, к тому, что возник огромный очаг международного терроризма, к тому, что страна погрузилась в гуманитарную катастрофу, в пучину не прекращающейся до сих пор многолетней гражданской войны. Трагедия, на которую обрекли сотни тысяч, миллионы людей не только в Ливии, но и во всём этом регионе, породила массовый миграционный исход из Северной Африки и Ближнего Востока в Европу.

Подобную судьбу уготовили и Сирии. Боевые действия западной коалиции на территории этой страны без согласия сирийского правительства и санкции Совета Безопасности ООН – это не что иное, как агрессия, интервенция.

Однако особое место в этом ряду занимает, конечно же, вторжение в Ирак, тоже без всяких правовых оснований. В качестве предлога выбрали якобы

имеющуюся у США достоверную информацию о наличии в Ираке оружия массового поражения. В доказательство этому публично, на глазах у всего мира Госсекретарь США тряс какой-то пробиркой с белым порошком, уверяя всех, что это и есть химическое оружие, разрабатываемое в Ираке. А потом оказалось, что всё это – подтасовка, блеф: никакого химического оружия в Ираке нет. Невероятно, удивительно, но факт остаётся фактом. Имело место враньё на самом высоком государственном уровне и с высокой трибуны ООН. А в результате – огромные жертвы, разрушения, невероятный всплеск терроризма.

Вообще складывается впечатление, что практически везде, во многих регионах мира, куда Запад приходит устанавливать свой порядок, по итогам остаются кровавые, незаживающие раны, язвы международного терроризма и экстремизма. Всё, о чём сказал, это наиболее вопиющие, но далеко не единственные примеры пренебрежения международным правом.

В этом ряду и обещания нашей стране не расширять ни на один дюйм НАТО на восток. Повторю – обманули, а выражаясь народным языком, просто кинули. Да, часто можно слышать, что политика – грязное дело. Возможно, но не настолько же, не до такой же степени. Ведь такое шулерское поведение противоречит не только принципам международных отношений, но прежде всего общепризнанным нормам морали и нравственности. Где же здесь справедливость и правда? Одна лишь сплошная ложь и лицемерие.

Кстати, сами американские политики, политологи и журналисты пишут и говорят о том, что внутри США создана в последние годы настоящая «империя лжи». Трудно с этим не согласиться – так оно и есть. Но не надо скромничать: США – это всё-таки великая страна, системообразующая держава. Все её сателлиты не только безропотно и покорно поддакивают, подпевают ей по любому поводу, но ещё и копируют её поведение, с восторгом принимают предлагаемые им правила. Поэтому с полным

на то основании, уверенно можно сказать, что весь так называемый западный блок, сформированный США по своему образу и подобию, весь он целиком и есть та самая «империя лжи».

Что касается нашей страны, то после развала СССР при всей беспрецедентной открытости новой современной России, готовности честно работать с США и другими западными партнёрами и в условиях фактически одностороннего разоружения нас тут же попытались дожать, добить и разрушить уже окончательно. Именно так и было в 90-е годы, в начале 2000-х годов, когда так называемый коллективный Запад самым активным образом поддерживал сепаратизм и банды наёмников на юге России. Каких жертв, каких потерь нам тогда всё это стоило, через какие испытания пришлось пройти, прежде чем мы окончательно сломали хребет международному терроризму на Кавказе. Мы помним это и никогда не забудем.

Да, собственно, и до последнего времени не прекращались попытки использовать нас в своих интересах, разрушить наши традиционные ценности и навязать нам свои псевдоценности, которые разъедали бы нас, наш народ изнутри, те установки, которые они уже агрессивно насаждают в своих странах и которые прямо ведут к деградации и вырождению, поскольку противоречат самой природе человека. Этому не бывать, никогда и ни у кого этого не получалось. Не получится и сейчас.

Несмотря ни на что, в декабре 2021 года мы всё-таки в очередной раз предприняли попытку договориться с США и их союзниками о принципах обеспечения безопасности в Европе и о нерасширении НАТО. Всё тщетно. Позиция США не меняется. Они не считают нужным договариваться с Россией по этому ключевому для нас вопросу, преследуя свои цели, пренебрегают нашими интересами.

И конечно, в этой ситуации у нас возникает вопрос: а что же делать дальше,

чего ждать? Мы хорошо знаем из истории, как в 40-м году и в начале 41-го года прошлого века Советский Союз всячески стремился предотвратить или хотя бы оттянуть начало войны. Для этого в том числе старался буквально до последнего не провоцировать потенциального агрессора, не осуществлял или откладывал самые необходимые, очевидные действия для подготовки к отражению неизбежного нападения. А те шаги, которые всё же были в конце концов предприняты, уже катастрофически запоздали.

В результате страна оказалась не готова к тому, чтобы в полную силу встретить нашествие нацистской Германии, которая без объявления войны напала на нашу Родину 22 июня 1941 года. Врага удалось остановить, а затем и сокрушить, но колоссальной ценой. Попытка уложить агрессора в преддверии Великой Отечественной войны оказалась ошибкой, которая дорого стоила нашему народу. В первые же месяцы боевых действий мы потеряли огромные, стратегически важные территории и миллионы людей. Второй раз мы такой ошибки не допустим, не имеем права.

Те, кто претендуют на мировое господство, публично, безнаказанно и, подчеркну, без всяких на то оснований объявляют нас, Россию, своим врагом. Они, действительно, располагают сегодня большими финансовыми, научно-технологическими и военными возможностями. Мы знаем об этом и объективно оцениваем постоянно звучащие в наш адрес угрозы в сфере экономики – так же, как и свои возможности противостоять этому наглому и перманентному шантажу. Повторю, мы оцениваем их без иллюзий, предельно реалистично.

Что касается военной сферы, то современная Россия даже после развала СССР и утраты значительной части его потенциала является сегодня одной из самых мощных ядерных держав мира и, более того, обладает определёнными преимуществами в ряде новейших видов вооружения. В этой связи ни у кого не должно быть сомнений в том, что прямое нападение на нашу страну приведёт к разгрому и ужасным последствиям для любого

потенциального агрессора.

Вместе с тем технологии, в том числе оборонные, меняются быстро. Лидерство в этой области переходит и будет переходить из рук в руки, а вот военное освоение прилегающих к нашим границам территорий, если мы позволим это сделать, останется на десятилетия вперёд, а может, и навсегда и будет создавать для России постоянно нарастающую, абсолютно неприемлемую угрозу.

Уже сейчас, по мере расширения НАТО на восток, ситуация для нашей страны с каждым годом становится всё хуже и опаснее. Более того, в последние дни руководство НАТО прямо говорит о необходимости ускорить, форсировать продвижение инфраструктуры Альянса к границам России. Другими словами, они ужесточают свою позицию. Продолжать просто наблюдать за тем, что происходит, мы больше не можем. Это было бы с нашей стороны абсолютно безответственно.

Дальнейшее расширение инфраструктуры Североатлантического альянса, начавшееся военное освоение территорий Украины для нас неприемлемы. Дело, конечно, не в самой организации НАТО – это только инструмент внешней политики США. Проблема в том, что на прилегающих к нам территориях, – замечу, на наших же исторических территориях, – создаётся враждебная нам «анти-Россия», которая поставлена под полный внешний контроль, усиленно обживается вооружёнными силами натовских стран и накачивается самым современным оружием.

Для США и их союзников это так называемая политика сдерживания России, очевидные геополитические дивиденды. А для нашей страны – это в итоге вопрос жизни и смерти, вопрос нашего исторического будущего как народа. И это не преувеличение – это так и есть. Это реальная угроза не просто нашим интересам, а самому существованию нашего государства, его суверенитету. Это и есть та самая красная черта, о которой неоднократно

времени: они готовятся, они ждут удобного часа. Теперь претендуют ещё и на обладание ядерным оружием. Мы не позволим этого сделать.

Как уже говорил ранее, Россия после развала СССР приняла новые геополитические реалии. Мы с уважением относимся и будем так же относиться ко всем вновь образованным на постсоветском пространстве странам. Мы уважаем и будем уважать их суверенитет, и пример тому – помощь, которую мы оказали Казахстану, который столкнулся с трагическими событиями, с вызовом своей государственности и целостности. Но Россия не может чувствовать себя в безопасности, развиваться, существовать с постоянной угрозой, исходящей с территории современной Украины.

Напомню, что в 2000–2005 годах мы дали военный отпор террористам на Кавказе, отстаивали целостность нашего государства, сохранили Россию. В 2014 году поддержали крымчан и севастопольцев. В 2015-м применили Вооружённые Силы, чтобы поставить надёжный заслон проникновению террористов из Сирии в Россию. Другого способа защитить себя у нас не было.

То же самое происходит и сейчас. Нам с вами просто не оставили ни одной другой возможности защитить Россию, наших людей, кроме той, которую мы вынуждены будем использовать сегодня. Обстоятельства требуют от нас решительных и незамедлительных действий. Народные республики Донбасса обратились к России с просьбой о помощи.

В связи с этим в соответствии со статьёй 51 части 7 Устава ООН, с санкции Совета Федерации России и во исполнение ратифицированных Федеральным Собранием 22 февраля сего года договоров о дружбе и взаимопомощи с Донецкой Народной Республикой и Луганской Народной Республикой мною принято решение о проведении специальной военной операции.

Её цель – защита людей, которые на протяжении восьми лет подвергаются издевательствам, геноциду со стороны киевского режима. И для этого мы будем стремиться к демилитаризации и денацификации Украины, а также преданию суду тех, кто совершил многочисленные кровавые преступления против мирных жителей, в том числе и граждан Российской Федерации.

При этом в наши планы не входит оккупация украинских территорий. Мы никому и ничего не собираемся навязывать силой. Вместе с тем мы слышим, что в последнее время на Западе всё чаще звучат слова о том, что подписанные советским тоталитарным режимом документы, закрепляющие итоги Второй мировой войны, не следует уже и выполнять. Ну что же, что ответить на это?

Итоги Второй мировой войны, как и жертвы, принесённые нашим народом на алтарь победы над нацизмом, священны. Но это не противоречит высоким ценностям прав и свобод человека, исходя из тех реалий, которые сложились на сегодня за все послевоенные десятилетия. Также не отменяет права наций на самоопределение, закреплённое в статье 1 Устава ООН.

Напомню, что ни при создании СССР, ни после Второй мировой войны людей, проживавших на тех или иных территориях, входящих в современную Украину, никто никогда не спрашивал о том, как они сами хотят обустроить свою жизнь. В основе нашей политики – свобода, свобода выбора для всех самостоятельно определять своё будущее и будущее своих детей. И мы считаем важным, чтобы этим правом – правом выбора – могли воспользоваться все народы, проживающие на территории сегодняшней Украины, все, кто этого захочет.

В этой связи обращаюсь и к гражданам Украины. В 2014 году Россия была обязана защитить жителей Крыма и Севастополя от тех, кого вы сами называете «нациками». Крымчане и севастопольцы сделали свой выбор – быть со своей исторической Родиной, с Россией, и мы это поддержали.

Повторю, просто не могли поступить иначе.

Сегодняшние события связаны не с желанием ущемить интересы Украины и украинского народа. Они связаны с защитой самой России от тех, кто взял Украину в заложники и пытается использовать её против нашей страны и её народа.

Повторю, наши действия – это самозащита от создаваемых нам угроз и от ещё большей беды, чем та, что происходит сегодня. Как бы тяжело ни было, прошу понять это и призываю к взаимодействию, чтобы как можно скорее перевернуть эту трагическую страницу и вместе двигаться вперёд, никому не позволять вмешиваться в наши дела, в наши отношения, а выстраивать их самостоятельно – так, чтобы это создавало необходимые условия для преодоления всех проблем и, несмотря на наличие государственных границ, укрепляло бы нас изнутри как единое целое. Я верю в это – именно в такое наше будущее.

Должен обратиться и к военнослужащим вооружённых сил Украины.

Уважаемые товарищи! Ваши отцы, деды, прадеды не для того сражались с нацистами, защищая нашу общую Родину, чтобы сегодняшние неонацисты захватили власть на Украине. Вы давали присягу на верность украинскому народу, а не антинародной хунте, которая грабит Украину и издевается над этим самым народом.

Не исполняйте её преступных приказов. Призываю вас немедленно сложить оружие и идти домой. Поясню: все военнослужащие украинской армии, которые выполняют это требование, смогут беспрепятственно покинуть зону боевых действий и вернуться к своим семьям.

Ещё раз настойчиво подчеркну: вся ответственность за возможное

кровапролитие будет целиком и полностью на совести правящего на территории Украины режима.

Теперь несколько важных, очень важных слов для тех, у кого может возникнуть соблазн со стороны вмешаться в происходящие события. Кто бы ни пытался помешать нам, а тем более создавать угрозы для нашей страны, для нашего народа, должны знать, что ответ России будет незамедлительным и приведёт вас к таким последствиям, с которыми вы в своей истории ещё никогда не сталкивались. Мы готовы к любому развитию событий. Все необходимые в этой связи решения приняты. Надеюсь, что я буду услышан.

Уважаемые граждане России!

Благополучие, само существование целых государств и народов, их успех и жизнеспособность всегда берут начало в мощной корневой системе своей культуры и ценностей, опыта и традиций предков и, конечно, прямо зависят от способности быстро адаптироваться к постоянно меняющейся жизни, от сплочённости общества, его готовности консолидировать, собирать воедино все силы, чтобы идти вперёд.

Силы нужны всегда – всегда, но сила может быть разного качества. В основе политики «империи лжи», о которой говорил в начале своего выступления, прежде всего лежит грубая, прямолинейная сила. В таких случаях у нас говорят: «Сила есть, ума не надо».

А мы с вами знаем, что настоящая сила – в справедливости и правде, которая на нашей стороне. А если это так, то трудно не согласиться с тем, что именно сила и готовность к борьбе лежат в основе независимости и суверенитета, являются тем необходимым фундаментом, на котором только и можно надёжно строить своё будущее, строить свой дом, свою семью, свою Родину.

Уважаемые соотечественники!

Уверен, что преданные своей стране солдаты и офицеры Вооружённых Сил России профессионально и мужественно исполнят свой долг. Не сомневаюсь, что слаженно и эффективно будут действовать все уровни власти, специалисты, отвечающие за устойчивость нашей экономики, финансовой системы, социальной сферы, руководители наших компаний и весь российский бизнес. Рассчитываю на консолидированную, патриотическую позицию всех парламентских партий и общественных сил.

В конечном счёте, как это всегда и было в истории, судьба России – в надёжных руках нашего многонационального народа. А это значит, что принятые решения будут выполнены, поставленные цели – достигнуты, безопасность нашей Родины – надёжно гарантирована.

Верю в вашу поддержку, в ту непобедимую силу, которую даёт нам наша любовь к Отечеству.

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