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**GLOBAL SOLIDARITY AS A STRATEGIC BASIS  
FOR CONFRONTING THE AGGRESSOR: PUBLIC DIPLOMACY  
OF THE PRESIDENT OF UKRAINE IN SEARCH OF WAYS  
TO UNITE THE WORLD IN THE CONTEXT OF A FULL-SCALE  
RUSSIA-UKRAINE WAR**

The article examines the communicative and technological dimension of the Ukrainian leader's public diplomacy in shaping global solidarity as one of the defining strategic components of confronting the Russian aggressor during a full-scale war in Ukraine. It highlights the significance of President Volodymyr Zelenskyy's public diplomacy efforts in fostering global unity and mobilizing international support for Ukraine's defense. The research aims to elucidate the process of crystallizing global solidarity during President Zelenskyy's speeches before foreign audiences as a strategic basis for rallying the world to assist the Ukrainian people in their struggle for survival amid the full-scale Russian aggression. The study employed a technological approach as its methodological

foundation. The article identifies various communicative technologies employed by President Zelenskyy to forge global solidarity, including appeals to shared history, global responsibility, interconnected security, common values and threats, and future shared victory. Additionally, it highlights technologies such as emotional solidarity mobilization, personalization, appeals to international law, interpreting Ukraine's struggle as a shared cause, expressing gratitude to allied nations, and rationalizing the benefits of supporting Ukraine.

**Key words:** global solidarity, public diplomacy, international communication, mobilization strategies, international security, Russia-Ukraine war, international relations.

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## **ГЛОБАЛЬНА СОЛІДАРНІСТЬ ЯК СТРАТЕГІЧНА ОСНОВА ПРОТИСТОЯННЯ АГРЕСОРУ: ПУБЛІЧНА ДИПЛОМАТІЯ ПРЕЗИДЕНТА УКРАЇНИ В ПОШУКАХ ШЛЯХІВ ОБ'ЄДНАННЯ СВІТУ В УМОВАХ ПОВНОМАСШТАБНОЇ РОСІЙСЬКО-УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ВІЙНИ**

У статті досліджено комунікативно-технологічний вимір публічної дипломатії українського лідера у формуванні глобальної солідарності як одного з визначальних стратегічних компонентів протистояння російському агресору під час повномасштабної війни в Україні. Висвітлено значення публічної дипломатії Президента Володимира Зеленського в зміцненні глобальної єдності та мобілізації міжнародної підтримки на захист України. Дослідження має на меті висвітлити процес кристалізації глобальної солідарності під час виступів Президента Зеленського перед іноземними аудиторіями як стратегічної основи для згуртування світу на допомогу українському народу в його боротьбі за виживання в умовах повномасштабної російської агресії. Методологічною основою дослідження став технологічний підхід. У статті визначено різні комунікативні технології, які використовував Президент В. Зеленський для зміцнення глобальної солідарності, зокрема апеляції до спільної історії, глобальної відповідальності, взаємопов'язаної безпеки, спільних цінностей і загроз, а також майбутньої спільної перемоги. Крім того, висвітлено такі

технології, як емоційна мобілізація солідарності, персоналізація, апеляції до міжнародного права, інтерпретація боротьби України як спільної справи, висловлення вдячності країнам-союзникам і раціоналізація переваг підтримки України.

**Ключові слова:** глобальна солідарність, публічна дипломатія, міжнародна комунікація, мобілізаційні стратегії, міжнародна безпека, російсько-українська війна, міжнародні відносини.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Promoting global solidarity has become an integral part of President Volodymyr Zelensky's public diplomacy strategy during the full-scale Russian-Ukrainian war. He linked its formation and strengthening to ensuring defense support from real and potential allies in countering Russian aggression. Based on common values, common threats and mutual benefits, V. Zelensky sought to effectively engage with global public opinion, seeking to mobilize the efforts of the governments of the world's major powers in favor of Ukraine. This makes it important to address such a scientific problem as the role of production and strengthening global solidarity in the process of public diplomacy of the Ukrainian president.

Based on the above, the **purpose** of this study is to find out the peculiarities of the process of crystallization of global solidarity during the speeches of the President of Ukraine to the foreign public as a strategic basis for mobilizing the world to help the Ukrainian people in their struggle for survival in the face of full-scale aggression.

**Analysis of Previous Research and Publications.** Many contemporary researchers [1; 8; 22; 23; 24] assign a special role to public diplomacy in fruitful international communication. Back in 2008, E. Gilboa made the first thorough attempt to summarize the experience of scientific understanding of public diplomacy [3], but he left out the contribution of the national leader as an important actor in public diplomacy. In his study in 2023, E. Gilboa already mentions the meetings of national leaders with the foreign public as significant for the achievements of public diplomacy [4]. We would like to note the contribution of B. Goldsmith, Y. Horiuchi, & K. Matush, who studied visits of political leaders to other countries as a tool of public diplomacy [5]. Thanks to these authors, public diplomacy of national leaders has become an important research topic. In addition, they are the ones who suggested that such diplomacy itself can be an important tool for forming military coalitions [5, p.1355]. This is an important point in the context of our study, as the President

of Ukraine's online conferences in front of a foreign audience can be seen as his virtual foreign visits.

Japanese authors M. Matsuoka and R. Matsuoka were among the first to study the establishment of global solidarity by V. Zelenskyy in the course of his public diplomacy during the period of full-scale Russian aggression. They proved that the Ukrainian president successfully manages to do this due to the soft power of his statements [7, p.113]. According to N. Cull, V. Zelenskyy has strengthened Ukraine's reputational security through his public diplomacy, which has led to its support from Western countries in the fight against Russian aggression [2, p.120]. Ukrainian authors O. Vysotskyi, O. Prudnykova, & M. Trynyak emphasize that the successful implementation of public diplomacy by V. Zelenskyy is also due to his use of solidarity technology, which is able to elevate the personality of each person above everyday petty concerns by appealing to higher human ideals and at the same time inspire an ambitious desire to join the heroic victory over world evil [25]. In the context of understanding the formation of global solidarity, it is worth mentioning the research of Ukrainian scholars Y. Kalynovskyi and S. Zhdanenko, who emphasize the importance of civilizational and value narratives as a semantic weapon that deals with mental structures, historical memory of peoples and communities [6, p.30]. Despite the availability of research on the public diplomacy of the President of Ukraine during the full-scale war, it should be noted that the topic of forming and strengthening global solidarity as its fundamental goal remains insufficiently understood.

**Methodology.** The methodological basis of the study was the technological approach. It made it possible to understand the communication means of V. Zelenskyy's public diplomacy as technologies, i.e. effective tools for implementing its tasks, in particular, building and strengthening global solidarity in support of Ukraine in its fight against the aggressor.

## 2. RESULTS

In order to understand as clearly as possible what V. Zelenskyy's public diplomacy was aimed at in achieving global solidarity in Ukraine's interests, it is necessary to first define its concept. Thus, global solidarity is a united commitment and joint action by international actors – states, organizations, and individuals - to support nations or groups in crisis situations, based on common ethical, legal, and humanitarian principles. This kind of solidarity implies active participation in the maintenance of global peace, security, and human rights, going beyond individual national interests in favor of collective well-being

and justice. In addition, this solidarity is expressed through diplomatic support, humanitarian aid, economic sanctions against aggressors, legal accountability measures, and advocacy for the protection of fundamental human freedoms and the integrity of international law. We would like to clarify that the essence of global solidarity is not just reaction or support, but active and principled international cooperation. Global solidarity is, first and foremost, a united approach that goes beyond mere sympathy and includes concrete actions that strengthen international norms and protect human dignity.

Having defined the concept of global solidarity, let us move on to the main dimensions of its development in the course of V. Zelenskyy's public diplomacy. One of the main mobilization resources for the formation of global solidarity by the President of Ukraine was the technology of appealing to the common history of foreign public opinion. For example, in one of his most memorable speeches during the first month of full-scale Russian aggression, a speech to the US Congress, V. Zelenskyy said: "Russian troops have already fired almost a thousand missiles at Ukraine. Countless bombs. They use drones to kill more precisely. This is a terror Europe has not seen in 80 years!" [9]. The reference to a chronology reminiscent of World War II serves to heighten the severity of the current threat by drawing a parallel with the most destructive conflict in Europe's modern history. This comparison is used strategically to evoke a sense of urgency and historical responsibility among international actors, emphasizing that the stakes are as high now as they were then.

Another technology of the Ukrainian president's public diplomacy is an appeal to global responsibility: "And we ask for a response. For the response from the world" [9]. Zelenskyy's rhetorical question was intended to make the international community reflect on its collective responsibility for maintaining global security. Undoubtedly, such a communication technology is aimed at stimulating action, viewing inaction as a failure to fulfill international obligations to maintain peace and security.

A significant role in the public diplomacy of the Ukrainian president is played by emphasizing that security is an interconnected, common cause of the international community. The communication technology of emphasizing the interconnectedness of security expands the understanding of the war in Ukraine as a global security issue. This naturally leads to the need to take preventive measures, not just reactive ones. By pointing to the immediate consequences in Ukraine, Zelenskyy argues for the need to adopt preemptive international strategies to prevent similar scenarios in other regions, thereby maintaining global stability. "We need to develop new security guarantees. So that it is possible to act preventively and strongly every time there is a threat to peace" [12].



In his speeches, the Ukrainian president demands a global response to acts of aggression. He not only seeks immediate assistance, but also encourages the creation of a more robust and coordinated international security system. This call to action is based on the idea that security for one is security for all, and calls for preventive cooperation rather than retaliation. “Is it possible to do this on the basis of existing international structures? After such a war – definitely not. We need to create new tools. New guarantees. Which will work preventively and strongly against any aggression. Which will really help” [12].

In his public diplomacy, V.Zelenskyy skillfully uses the communication technology of appealing to common values and common threats to not only clearly define the goals of the conflict in Ukraine, but also to mobilize international support on a broad basis. The strategic use of this technology effectively turns Ukrainian defense into a banner under which nations can rally not only for Ukraine, but also to defend the international principles they hold dear. By doing so, the Ukrainian president not only seeks defense support, but also promotes the idea of collective responsibility and a common destiny. “The struggle for our independence is a struggle for the right to stability, the right to security for all of us, for all of Europe” [11].

The communication technology of demonstrating confidence in a common victory for the sake of common values also helps V. Zelenskyy crystallize global solidarity in favor of Ukraine during his speeches to the world community. “Ukraine must win. This is not just something about our state. This is about all of us in the world... About your freedom. About your security. About our common values. About our common peace. Which our victory can historically strengthen” [18], the Ukrainian president said to the Australian public.

As we have seen above, most of the important communication technologies of the Ukrainian political leader are various appeals to the world public, which help to achieve global solidarity. One of them is certainly an appeal to unity based on the feat of Ukrainian resistance to the aggressor. Thus, V. Zelenskyy proclaimed: “our soldiers... are fighting so heroically and successfully for our common freedom, our common values” [21].

An equally important communication technology in presidential public diplomacy is linking the heroism of Ukrainian soldiers with the world’s help with weapons as the basis for survival and preservation of life: “It is a fact that freedom for our people whom Russia tried to enslave is ensured by the bravery of our warriors and the weapons, including yours, of all those who help us defend ourselves. And now only weapons will stop this death. And this is a fact. That is why it is important to be firm and resolute in helping Ukrainian soldiers with weapons” [21], V. Zelenskyy concluded.

The communication technology of appealing to the need to fight a common enemy plays a significant role in strengthening global solidarity. “We are faced with an aggressor for whom our common European striving for peace and rules means nothing and who wants something for Europe that no free nation, no honest leader, no one in this room would agree with” [21].

Equally important in presidential public diplomacy is the appeal to unity in the fight against global evil. “We are united in the belief that Europe and all other parts of the world should not be a place where the ambitions of tyrants destroy the lives of nations” [21].

One of the Ukrainian president’s strongest communication tools in forging global solidarity is an appeal to a future common victory over world evil. “And we must become winners so that it is our view of life that will remain in Europe. Dear Europe! Ukraine is offering you a victory that will turn into peace and save you. Ukraine is offering a victory not just in this war alone, but over aggressions and annexations, the burning of cities, deportations, and the catastrophe of genocide anywhere else on earth” [21].

Another significant communication technology in V. Zelensky’s arsenal of public diplomacy is an appeal to a common secure future. “We are offering and bringing closer a common victory over those who have taken all this old evil from the pages of the past to destroy our future, which all of us – all of Europe – dream of for our children” [21].

One of V. Zelensky’s strongest communication gestures was an invitation to the global democratic public to share the honor of victory. “I urge all of you to become winners together with us, together with Ukrainians!” [21] (President of Ukraine, 2023b).

In his speeches before the UN, the Ukrainian leader linked the global solidarity of the peoples of the world to the desire for peace and counteraction to all kinds of aggression. “I thank you that we are united in our striving to restore peace and to guarantee peace for any nation that has become a victim of the armed aggression” [15].

According to the main thrust of the Ukrainian president’s public diplomacy, the solidarity of the global public was to be built on the basis of common peace-loving desires. “Ukraine wants peace. Europe wants peace. The world wants peace. And we have seen who is the only one who wants war” [15]. Thus, common peaceful desires also become a technology for building global solidarity.

One of the landmarks of V. Zelensky’s public diplomacy was an appeal to the common desire of states and the world as a whole to protect life as the most important value. “We must protect life. The world must protect life. Every state suffering the armed aggression needs the opportunity to protect its citizens and liberate its territory” [15].

One of the strongest communicative technologies of the Ukrainian president's public diplomacy was the demonstration of global solidarity against global evil through the use of numbers. "I want to thank one hundred and one countries that voted for my video address to take place. It was a vote not only about the format. It was the vote about principles. Only seven countries voted against: Belarus, Cuba, North Korea, Eritrea, Nicaragua, Russia, and Syria. Seven. Seven who are afraid of the video address. Seven who respond to principles with a red button. Only seven. One hundred and one – and seven. Friends! If this coalition is against our determination, then I congratulate you all. Because this means that peace will prevail over any aggression..." [15].

To enhance the emotional impact of his public diplomacy, V. Zelenskyy used emotional power technologies. Thus, the Ukrainian president resorts to stories that not only inform, but also inspire, and create an emotional connection with his audience. By talking about Ukraine's resilience, he strengthens the sense of solidarity, making the international community feel part of Ukraine's struggle. In general, this fits into the mechanism of influence of the technology of mobilizing emotional solidarity. Historical parallels play an important role in the application of this technology. When the public sees how their past struggles are reflected in the present of another country, it can trigger a strong desire to help, based on a deep understanding of what it means to fight for one's sovereignty and justice. An illustration of this is the Ukrainian president's appeals to historical figures, national heroes who were associated with defending the ideals of freedom and independence of individual countries. "I am turning to the pages of the history of the American continent and asking: On whose side would Simon Bolivar be in such a war that Russia unleashed against Ukraine? Who would Jose de San Martin support? Who would Miguel Hidalgo sympathize with?" [19]. Thanks to such questions, which are focused on the audience's interactive perception of the information presented, on its emotional solidarity with the Ukrainian struggle for sovereignty, V. Zelenskyy enhances the effect of the technology of mobilizing emotional solidarity by answering his rhetorical questions by modeling the behavior and attitudes of legendary heroes in the context of Russian aggression. "I think they would not help someone who is just looting a smaller country as a typical colonizer. I think they would not support someone who constantly lies and does not even call a war a war, hiding behind the definition of "special military operation". I think they would not sympathize with someone who deliberately puts different countries on the brink of starvation – through an artificial food crisis. Who drives people into poverty – through price and energy crisis, both artificial. And who is so mean that he makes war against civilians, destroying all the foundations of normal social



life using rockets and artillery against residential buildings, hospitals, schools, churches” [19].

V. Zelenskyy touches upon strong emotions by involving children in his story, a communication tactic that resonates with both parents and non-parents. “Cruise missiles. Even before dawn. And your children hug you and ask: ‘what happened, dad?’ And you are already receiving the first reports on which facilities in your country have been destroyed by missiles of the Russian Federation” [13]. The mention of children seeking solace and explanations in the face of violence touches on the essence of parental instincts to protect and ensure safety, evoking a deeper emotional response and empathy from the audience.

By employing the technology of personalization by asking foreign audiences to imagine that their own cities and families are directly affected by the conflict, as they are in Ukraine, V. Zelenskyy effectively overcomes the distance barrier that often reduces the severity of distant conflicts. This personalization makes an abstract and distant war immediate and tangible, amplifying the emotional impact and spurring international audiences to action. The strategy of personalization goes beyond individual security and encompasses a wider range of human experiences related to destruction, fear, and the desire for peace. V. Zelenskyy’s description of ordinary life turned upside down reminds us of the common values of security and normalcy, thus eliminating cultural and geographical differences. “Imagine you are looking for words to explain this to children. Explain to them that a large-scale war has begun. The war aimed at the destruction of your state, at the conquest of your people. And you know it” [13].

An effective technology in crystallizing global solidarity is an appeal to international law as a fair basis for modern international relations. This approach was concretized in V. Zelenskyy’s public diplomacy, in particular, by his emphasis on the international community’s attention to violations of humanitarian law by the Russian military in the occupied Ukrainian territories. “The Russian military searched for and purposefully killed anyone who served our state. They executed women outside the houses when approaching and simply calling someone alive. They killed whole families - adults and children. And they tried to burn their bodies. I am addressing you on behalf of the people who honor the memory of the deceased everyday. Everyday, in the morning. The memory of the killed civilians. Who were shot in the back of the head or in the eye after being tortured. Who were shot just on the streets. Who were thrown into the well, so that they die there in suffering. Who were killed in apartments, houses, blown up by grenades. Who were crushed by tanks in civilian cars in the middle of the road. For fun. Whose limbs were cut off, whose throat was cut. Who were raped and killed in front of their own children” [16]. As you can see, in this speech to

the UN Security Council, the Ukrainian leader describes in detail the large-scale Russian aggression that Ukraine is facing, detailing Russia's war crimes, which directly violate several international norms, including those related to the protection of civilians in war.

The interpretation of Ukraine's struggle as a common cause of the whole world is a favorable context for strengthening global solidarity. President Volodymyr Zelenskyy actually sees Ukraine's fight against Russian aggression as a global problem, not just a regional conflict. This strategic definition of the Russian-Ukrainian war is intended to attract international support by emphasizing the universal implications of this war and its importance for global peace, stability, and democratic values. Thus, the Ukrainian president noted: "Every politician in a democratic world must defend the need to provide Ukraine with all the necessary weapons. Because it is on the battlefield that it is decided who will be the winner in this war – freedom or tyranny" [14]. In this context, V. Zelenskyy's speech to the National Assembly of the Republic of Korea was indicative, in which he said: "And this is Russia's war not just to conquer Ukraine. This is only the first step. First, Russia wants to destroy our independence, our state, to tear it apart. Wants to destroy everything that makes us Ukrainians, makes us a separate nation. And then it wants to go further to Europe. Further to Asia... But Russia has only just begun with Ukraine. The next step in their plan is to destroy other states... Russia wants to dominate. And it believes that it can do this in only one way: sending its army brought up in total lawlessness to destroy everything that allows other nations to live" [17]. In this statement, Zelensky emphasizes that the stakes are higher in the fight for Ukraine. By suggesting that the outcome of this conflict could directly affect other countries, he broadens the scope and emphasizes the potential global consequences of not supporting Ukraine now.

The communicative technology of expressing gratitude to countries and their leaders plays an important role in cementing global solidarity in the process of public diplomacy of the President of Ukraine, which certainly works to strengthen the sense of personal involvement and responsibility of influential representatives of the international audience. This technology contributes to a deeper sense of connection and obligation to support Ukraine. Thus, V. Zelenskyy expressed his gratitude to various G7 countries and their leaders for their support, thereby strengthening their commitment and encouraging further global solidarity: "Today I want to recognize the leadership of each of you as well as the solidarity of the entire Group of Seven... I believe we will continue to cherish this solidarity of values" [10].

Rationalizing the benefits of allies' assistance to Ukraine has also become a significant communication technology for V. Zelenskyy in his public speeches

to foreign audiences. Thus, in his speeches to foreign audiences, the Ukrainian leader describes the practical benefits of supporting Ukraine, such as strengthening global security, preventing wider regional instability, and strengthening control over compliance with international norms. “After we win together, any aggressor – big or small – will know what awaits him if he attacks international order. Any aggressor who will try to push the boundaries by force. Who will inflict destruction and death on other peoples. Who will try to endure his dictatorship at the expense of other people’s blood in criminal and unprovoked wars, as the Kremlin does. Any aggressor is going to lose,” [20] stated the President of Ukraine. As we can see, the communicative technology of rationalizing the benefits of supporting Ukraine expands the context of interpreting the activities of world leaders, who, as a result of the picture of the world offered by V. Zelenskyy’s public diplomacy, not only help to resolve the regional conflict, but also contribute to strengthening international stability and preventing future aggressions.

### 3. CONCLUSIONS

Thus, global solidarity is a joint commitment and joint actions of international actors - states, organizations and individuals - to support nations or groups in crisis situations, based on common ethical, legal and humanitarian principles, as well as the interests of security and a stable international order. Various communication technologies have become effective tools for building global solidarity in the process of public diplomacy of the President of Ukraine during the period of full-scale Russian aggression. Among them, the following were particularly important and significant in achieving the goals of the Ukrainian president’s public diplomacy during the full-scale Russian aggression 1) appealing to the common history of foreign public opinion, 2) appealing to global responsibility, 3) emphasizing the interconnectedness of security, 4) appealing to common values and common threats, 5) demonstrating confidence in a common victory, 6) appealing to unity based on the feat of Ukrainian resistance to the aggressor, 7) linking the heroism of Ukrainian soldiers with the help of the world with weapons as the basis for survival and preservation of life, 8) appealing to the need to fight a common enemy, appealing to unity in the resistance against world evil, 9) appealing to a future common victory over world evil, 10) appealing to a common secure future, 11) an invitation to the global democratic public to share the honor of victory, 12) emphasizing common peaceful desires with a foreign audience, 13) appealing to the common desire of states and the world as a whole to protect life as the most important value, 14) demon-

strating global solidarity against global evil through the use of numbers, 15) a technology of mobilizing emotional solidarity, 16) a technology of personalization, 17) an appeal to international law as a fair basis for modern international relations, 18) an interpretation of Ukraine's struggle as a common cause of the whole world, 19) a technology of expressing gratitude to countries and their leaders, 20) rationalization of the benefits of allies' assistance to Ukraine.

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## **СУЧАСНІ ТРЕНДИ ДИПЛОМАТИЧНОЇ КОМУНІКАЦІЇ: «WHATEVER WORKS»**

Дипломатична комунікація – один із найбільш жорстко регульованих видів суспільної комунікації, де обмежувальними чинниками є норми й вимоги дипломатичного етикету та протоколу й століттями напрацьована дипломатична практика. Проте навіть цей інструмент міжнародних відносин зазнає впливу під тиском сучасних нововведень і викликів, які закладають