

---

## FPCI LIVE PUBLIC FORUM

### “Heart-to-Heart: President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy Talks To Indonesia”

#### Pembicara:

1. **H.E. Volodymyr Zelenskyy**  
*President of Ukraine*

#### Moderator:

1. **Dr. Dino Patti Djalal**  
*Founder and Chairman of FPCI*

## PRESIDENT’S SPEECH

### H.E. Volodymyr Zelenskyy

- Thank you so much, thank you for your support and warm beginning. Dear ladies and gentlemen, I'm thankful for this opportunity to address you to bring us closer to understanding on how to prevent the development of crises of scale in many regions worldwide, because the world is on the brink of several crises at once.
- My country Ukraine is one of the biggest and most reliable foodstuff exporters. We are exporting tens of million tons of grains a year and our producers ensure Ukraine stands high at the top of the world's wheat, vegetable oil, and corn exporters.
- Meanwhile, for four months, the Ukrainian express has been blocked because of the full-scale war unleashed by Russia against our state.
- Russia has cut access to our ports on the Black Sea and occupied part of the Azov Sea shoreline. Because of this military blockade, most of the traditional Ukrainian trade routes have been blocked, at the moment there are 22 million tons of grains sitting in silos in Ukraine that we cannot send in for international markets where they're exactly needed at this time.
- This is why we see the prices of cereals and grain increasing. Some countries have had to stop the imports of this, in order to prevent domestic prices from sparking and protecting domestic consumption.
- According to the UN, some 40 to 50 million people might experience hunger later this year— already since July, many countries have had their stocks depleted.
- You can check the prices at your local stores, you can see it increasing. This is a disadvantage for the poor. This can bring political chaos.
- This is not just an act of aggression of one country against another. This sea blockage prevents us from training against our aggressors. If Russia goes unscathed, then other countries will feel that no country is safe.
- Since the beginning of the war, the Russian army has used 2,389 missiles against Ukraine; this would hit civilian infrastructure, railroads, and residential buildings.

- 
- We want to supply the world market with our grains, and we will do it using European ports. These attempts Russia tries to cut short by destroying transportation hubs like railroads, etc.
  - For three months, Russian military planes have flown over our skies. They also destroyed nearly 2000 education institutions. They have also hit churches, mosques, and other religious places.
  - Just yesterday, Karkhiv, one of our cities, had 9 casualties. One was a young child, the father was hit and the mother was heavily wounded.
  - This happened in 2014 when Russia took our Crimean Peninsula and started the war on the Donbas regions in our countries. Eight years later, Russia decided to launch an assault against our state. The Russian government thinks that Ukraine has to be a colony of Russia.
  - The fourth aspect is how they treat people in the occupied territories. We have the experience of Crimea— where after 2014, it has been under the control of Russia and it has turned into one of the most dangerous places in Europe.
  - You can not find in Europe any other place like how they occupied Crimea on such a massive scale, where they persecuted Muslims who wanted to live there. How can we ignore that? This is happening in front of the whole world.
  - The fifth aspect is that it has been a long time since the great risk of weapons of mass destruction was declared openly. Russia threatened the world with nuclear weapons for the possibility of the so-called tactical chemical or biological nuclear weapons. So what does it mean to the world?
  - This can lead to changes, a change of attitude in different jurisdictions. If there is the impunity with the Russian blackmail, some countries in the world might think that it is logical to acquire nuclear weapons for their own purposes. To say that it is dangerous is an understatement.
  - Now there is a commitment on the part of Russia to guarantee the security of Ukraine after Ukraine gave up nuclear weapons. Instead, they are waging a colonial and predatory war against us. How can we ensure the safety of the region for non-nuclear armed states?
  - Ladies and gentlemen, I have presented to you five aspects of the global implications of this Russian war against Ukraine. I am sure you realize that there are more aspects to that. This is the biggest war in Europe since WWII. Nobody can predict 100% of the negative impacts that will happen for certain and as soon as this war is ended, the better it will be for every person on this Earth, not just for Ukraine.
  - The sooner we develop the Ukrainian seaport, the sooner we will stop the unfolding of the international food crisis, because we will dispatch our reserves and the new harvest which will be smaller this year, because the Russian troops mined such fields and destroyed agricultural equipment.
  - Russia was conscious of the food crisis to limit the food supply and use it as a weaponized pressure on the world.
  - If the world is truly united in regard to this invasion coming from Russia against our sovereign state, the sooner the war will end. I am very grateful to the President of Indonesia for his invitation to the G20 Summit and we accept this invitation with honor
-

---

and delight, as we expect the world to solve this problem. We should not let the big scale issues happen, we should stop the atrocities. We should stop the nuclear blackmail and the use of chemical and biological weapons, and I believe that the summit will have friendly states and will not have any aggressors.

- I would like all the Indonesian people to pray for the peace of this world, to save humanity from such stress. Thank you very much for your attention. Glory be to Ukraine.

## Q&A SESSION

### Question

#### Dr. Dino Patti Djalal

- I would like to begin by asking you a question about the military situation in Ukraine. In some parts of the war, Russia has 20 times more weapons than Ukraine, and there has been analysis that says it is impossible for Russia to win, in other words, Russia can not wholly and militarily conquer Ukraine. We understand that from Indonesia because when we fought for our independence, it was “independence or die” and we would never surrender, so we understand exactly how you would die for your freedom and independence. What is the moral of the Ukrainian forces that are fighting and what can you say about the morale of the Russian forces that are fighting in your country?

### Answer

#### H.E Volodymyr Zelenskyy

- Thank you for your support. You are absolutely correct. We are fighting for the independence of our state, for our homes, families, children, wives, spouses, and parents. That is what morale depends on. The morale is at a very high level for us. I am sure that we understand that unfortunately there is great suffering and tragedy for thousands of families that have to flee from the war and abandon their homes temporarily, and some of them lost their children which is an enormous tragedy and we have lost our heroes, our sons, and daughters who have sacrificed their lives for the independence of our state, for our sovereignty.
- I am sure that for every soldier of Ukraine, there are different moments at war, where some are more confident and some are less confident, but the country is very confident and very united in that field.
- Speaking of the Russian morale, it is very difficult to tell what we saw. Indeed, it is 20 times more in the very beginning of the war. They had scores of tanks, military personnel, and equipment, against us but when they were repelled for the first time, they were discouraged and retreated and would flee. They do not value their own people, human lives, and their own military, and so we can have different attitudes towards their force.
- We can see that the enemy can be somewhat respected and confronted when they behave in a military way, without looting or raping people, we cannot have respect for that force. The leadership of Russia has no respect for their own soldiers because they sacrificed thousands of people just to please their political appetites. They have many

---

people on the technical side, but nevertheless, we have the morale and the spirit, and the truth is on our side. We never started any war, we are just defending our land, and we are protecting our country and the land of Ukraine. We are not attacking anyone.

## Question

### Dr. Dino Patti Djalal

- There have been peace talks between Russia and Ukraine, mediated by the UN Secretary-General and there is another one going on in Turkey. My question for you is, do you think that President Putin is serious about these talks achieving any results, or are these talks to allow Russian forces to catch their breath and project a positive image to the international community. So is he serious or not serious?
- Secondly, in reaching a peace deal from Ukraine's position, what would be the bottom line in reaching a peace deal with Russia, and I do not expect you to explain your negotiating terms, but what would be the bottom line, the things that you would not compromise in reaching a peace deal with Russia?

## Answer

### H.E Volodymyr Zelenskyy

- Thank you very much for this question. I agree with you completely on that part, the reason for the rhetorics and the Russian mass media want negotiations and that they are reading for the talks, they want to postpone and give respite to their forces, and additionally mobilize some forces, by partially mobilizing. The reserves have been drawn in and they tried to secretly buy equipment from other countries. Another reason is to demonstrate to the international community that they are close to some humane steps. This is not true, they do not want any peace talks. They want to sign some documents or papers on their conditions, so that it will be some kind of ultimatum.
- Now speaking on the real dialogue or negotiations, I can not see any substantial offers of that nature or that kind. That is from the information that I have. I have not even once responded to the proposal from the leader of the Russian Federation to stop this war. After my three years in office, I have not had an offer, even once.
- Especially from the beginning of this onslaught, we are in favor of negotiations, and we support the diplomatic solutions and decisions, but this does not match with reality, because we can not wage war and increase the technical presence of the military in someone else's country and opt for diplomatic solutions of any kind. So, Russians were repelled from the key regions in the capital, and we pushed them out from Kharkiv and Donbas regions, but we can see that they use reinforcements from the Russian side, and from the borders with the Kharkiv regions.
- They like this war, and that is our impression. They are not happy with the result but it is not about the result, it is the process they enjoy. Unfortunately, it is different, I do not enjoy this process of war and I do not understand how anyone can enjoy this because we are losing human lives in the process, thousands of people we are talking about here. So I think our philosophy is different and that is why we are different to this date.
- Now speaking of the diplomatic solutions for this situation and what Ukraine is prepared to use as a "bottom line". After the atrocities committed by the Russian forces

---

in Ukraine, we can see that they are prepared to talk and this is a big step forward because we can see what is happening. The number of killed children was around 300 during this war. How can we talk to them, nevertheless, Ukraine is aware of the fact that any war will end in the near future with the leaders of other countries and the international communities. We need to safeguard our security from the EU, and we are grateful to them for the talks, where we blocked and evacuated people from Mariupol and the UN has done a lot, and the same goes for the Red Cross. This process is extremely important.

- The result matters and I believe that our people should come back to their homes and to their families.

## PUBLIC Q&A

### (Online Guests)

#### 1. Syifa Nadhilah, FPCI Chapter Universitas Sebelas Maret

- **Q:** Indonesian President Joko Widodo has invited you to the G20 Summit this November, and Indonesia has also appealed to G20 members for humanitarian assistance. What kind of assistance would you like to get from the Indonesian government and especially from the Indonesian people?

#### 2. Arief Suditomo, Journalist of Metro TV

- **Q:** President, you have reportedly said that you want to meet Russian President Vladimir Putin for a talk on a peace deal. But we heard that top officials in your administration had recently shown less willingness to concede anything to Russia with negotiations, So are you still hoping to meet Putin and reach a deal?

#### 3. Muhaimin Iskandar, Deputy Speaker of the People's Representative Council of Indonesia

- **Q:** How is the current situation of refugees, and how does the Ukrainian government handle it? How is the involvement of NATO and other EU countries regarding the problem of refugees, and how far are they prepared to provide support?

### Answer

#### H.E Volodymyr Zelenskyy

- With your permission, I will change the order of my responses to your questions and will start with the last one. In general, the situation we have is quite challenging in regards to the government, national leadership, and lots of industrial sectors that are ruined by bombardment. We practically have our oil refineries purposefully destroyed by Russia with numerous missile strikes. They have spent lots of days to completely flatten it because they want us to go deep into an energy crisis. In parallel to that, Russia has invaded a nuclear power station, and this constitutes a great danger of potential explosion at one of the nuclear power units, which is powerful— and six NPP (Nuclear Power Units) power generator units on Zaporizhzhya NPP, which you may compare it

---

to Chernobyl, where the situation there was related to one generated unit. In this operation, we have six. So how does the government tackle these challenges?

- We have a 5 billion Dollars monthly deficit in the national budget because of no revenues, many businesses have been stalled, and many enterprises have been ruined. From here, I come to the question of how the EU and even the world are assisting us to solve the refugee problem. The way to compensate for the 5 billion loss includes social benefits, and retirement benefits—lots of liabilities are involved because of how many government payments have to go from the budget, and these are tied to budget revenues. So this is the key amount that they have been helped by the EU. We also have bilateral relations with other countries that are not members of the EU, like the US, Canada, Australia, financial institutions like the IMF, and others.
- We also have a lot of people supporting us and our Internal Displaced Person either individually or via organizations. We are talking about great numbers. The total number of displaced people stands at about 12 million. About 5 to 5.5 million had to flee abroad and these people are helped greatly by the host countries. Again this is a majority of UN member states, and other IDPs have been accepted there, like relatives. Again I think without the help of the EU, it would be quite a challenge for us to solve the humanitarian crisis.
- I think that probably we might cope because we are so willing to struggle but again it would be a huge challenge, and I could not thank enough to those people, ordinary people, and the governments of our friendly countries for their support. This really contributes to our people having this will to want to live further and struggle further.
- As regards the ongoing crisis, we understand that as soon as the economy rebounds, many people will return. Ninety-five people who had to leave the country have expressed their will to return to the country as soon as possible, but this will depend on if we are going to have our artillery strikes on our city, whether the Russian Federation will continue to use missiles, cruise missiles, air jets, bombs, and other prohibited weapons.
- Literally, we have thousands of strikes in three months. I can tell you not a single country has ever survived this kind of massive onslaught. This is the kind of neighbor we have and we have to continue living beside them. From here, prospects of meeting the Russian President depend on the only reason for our country to return to a peaceful lifestyle, to avoid the international food crisis that is unfolding right now, and this might happen because of the port blocks in the Black and Azov Sea, which are completely blocked. So there are things to discuss with the Russian leader. I am not telling you that our people are eager to talk to him but we have to face the realities that we have to live through. So what do we want from this meeting you ask?
- We all want to have our lives returned and our normal life back. We want to live, not just to exist and reclaim this life of a sovereign country within its own territory. Speaking about potential compromise with the Russian Federation, let me ask you this, “what is the bottom line for you to keep your own country independent?”, and as soon as you answer this question yourself, you will understand our bottom line. We want to live in our own country, we do not want anyone’s territory, we do not want anything

---

from anyone, and we are not going to wage war on other countries' land. We want to live peacefully under our law and land without any particular conditions for that.

- These are concerning prospects of negotiations, but I again would like to repeat that for three years. I have tried several formats, in different territories and different parts of the world to offer negotiations with the Russian President. For just one reason, I do want to sit at the negotiation table with him to quit this situation of crisis of human life loss. I want to agree on peace on our land. This is my only desire.
- Coming back to the question on G20. This will explain the significance of my answers, as the world's biggest economies are facing big challenges and conflicts that they have to resolve, like the food crisis. I feel that this might grow so that by Autumn time, we might face a real crisis, like the energy crisis that we had in Europe recently. So I do hope that the G20 will be able to know the details of the situation to find a solution. The same goes for the war. The war is at the center of Europe, and unfortunately, this war should go down in history, and for that, we need every force united. We need to join the forces of politicians, diplomats, and the world's biggest economists. Rather than supporting the Russian Federation and its business, rather than continue trading with them, we need to act until they stop their policy of aggression, and it is a question of their national management. But still, the nation and the people also have to be responsible for the aggressive policy that the government wages, and I think G20 has to be able to put a stop to this sentence, supporting Ukraine.

### **Dr. Dino Patti Djalal**

- The first question will be from Safina, who organized an online petition to end the war in Ukraine, which has gathered 70,000 signatories in Indonesia so far.
- Second is our parliamentarian Dyah Roro Esti, who is a climate activist, and is from the Golkar Party, Commission number 7.
- The last is from Bambang Harymurti, who is one of the most prominent senior journalists from Indonesia.

### **(Offline Guests)**

#### **1. Safina Maulida, Milk Tea Alliance Indonesia Spokesperson**

- Hello Mr. President, I am Safina from Milk Tea Alliance. The biggest Pro-Democracy activist alliance in Asia and beyond.
- In March 2022, we held a protest in front of the Russian Embassy demanding Russian President Vladimir Putin stop the war and aggression and stop the notorious threats of human beings in the 21st century, and the month after, as Pak Dino said, we published international petitions to demand Vladimir Putin with the same message we brought at the protests, with over 77,000 signed all over the world, including the Indonesian people.
- **Q:** Today is the 93rd day since Russia started to occupy Donetsk and Luhansk, and we really want to know your expected end-game for this since the attention of the world and all the resources had been directed to help Ukraine. Thank you. In solidarity with the people in Ukraine.

---

## 2. Dyah Roro Esti, Member of the Commission VII of the People's Representative Council of Indonesia

- President Volodymyr Zelenskyy, we express our condolences to your people, and as expressed by President Jokowi, we hope that this war can end soon, and hope for your participation at the G20 summit.
- Q: I understand that this war has caused massive migrations to occur, people have lost their families and homes, which has placed a lot of stress amongst the Ukrainian people. So my question to you is how are the Ukrainians on a communal level supporting one another psychologically at this difficult time?

## 3. Bambang Harymurti, Editor-in-Chief of Tempo

- President Volodymyr Zelenskyy, I noted with grief that at least 14 journalists and media workers have been killed in their line of duty.
- Q: What do you think we should do to ensure that their professional sacrifices are not in vain. A few months ago after I wrote my editorial, I felt that the Indonesian government was not reacting fast enough and I wanted to stage a rally at the Russian Embassy in Jakarta by sending a flower saying, "President Putin, please bring back your troops home safely and as soon as possible." But I feel that there should be more that we can do. What do you think we should do?

### Answer

#### H.E Volodymyr Zelenskyy

- I would like to thank you and support you in this issue, for the support of journalists and basically from all the mass media and all the workers in this field who have done a lot. I think they haven't done less than the weapons themselves, and I think that the most humane weapon of our modern world is journalism. I use this weapon myself and I want my voice to be heard through mass media, through journalists, we manage to unite and we are united inside our country, because we are losing what is our own. It is very difficult to always unite the external forces because from a distance, it is difficult to detect all the features of this war. It is because of the journalists, their courage, and their bravery. Six thousand journalists were continuously working from different jurisdictions, coming and staying in their hotels, and I have never seen anything of the kind. It was an empty capital at that time, as many civilians had left and the military was fighting, and we had journalists populating the town and they did their thing very effectively.
- The war is not over. In some parts, it is just the beginning and I would like to thank you for approaching the journalism community. I would like to express my condolences to the lives lost and also their crews, and technicians, and even though our doctors tried to save their lives, they could not always succeed. Do not abandon us, this is my message to you (journalists), you bridged the gap between Ukraine and other countries. This information saves lives. For us, it is like water, it is like food, it is very important for us.

---

This is the air we breathe in and I would like to thank the journalist community. Just tell us the truth about what you feel, and we will win together.

- I would like to thank the first speaker, and she said that they united and protested together. That is what we saw in many countries of the world when people came to the squares after finishing their working day. We had information from our networks that the world united on this, where they came to the embassies and supported Ukraine. People saw that, drop by drop, that it was like “rain”, and “droplets” that were not visible anymore.
- When you asked when the end would come. This is the war for independence, and on several occasions, I mentioned in 1991, regardless of the fact that our state for many years and occasions tried to fight for its independence, facing different historical challenges. In 1991, we got independence, we received it. We could be happy that many states received their independence peacefully, where many states had to fight, and we did not have to fight. But, unfortunately, it never happens that way in life. We have to fight because everything has its price, and that is the way it is. It is pragmatic and we are fighting for our independence. It is a fight for our nation and our people, and that is why this war will end when we gain our independence.
- On the G20 Summit topic, I cannot leave Ukraine and I can not go anywhere in person because I am staying with my people, they need my support and I need my support here, so if the war continues, I would not join you. If there is war, it can be done virtually, only if Indonesia accepts this option.
- At the community level, there were IDPs who had to leave the country, but inside our country, we have 7 million people, who had to go from one community to another, to parts that are not under the occupation, you can hear the shots and shelling, but you can hear that our army is fighting. We are all united. It is not individual, it is common now. Schools support each other, the universities support each other in the occupied parts of our country, and people get relocated. Students and even some schools, which were crowded in their classes, would still arrange a room to stay with their neighbors or even for people who they did not know before the war. We used to have this divide, not territorial– but mental between Western, Eastern, Northern, and Southern Ukraine had different mindsets and attitudes. But this challenge has united us, families are coming to the East and center of Ukraine, to put an end to this and come back to our homes.

### **Dr. Dino Patti Djalal**

- As a final word from you, I would like to invite you to address one issue. As you know, the UN General Assembly resolution has condemned Russia’s aggression and has asked Russian troops to leave Ukraine unconditionally and totally. There are some pro-Russian sentiments in some parts of the world and within nations, including Indonesia, and the narrative has been that “Ukraine deserves to be punished for wanting to join NATO”, and also this is the narrative that the Russian representatives including in Jakarta, have been spreading to our public, and I was just wondering as a closing word on if you would like to respond to this narrative?

---

## H.E Volodymyr Zelenskyy

- First of all, whenever I address my children, I always ask them, whenever they get information, regardless of their age, one of my kids is 18, who is my daughter and my other is a 9-year-old son, “it is only you who you can trust, because of that, learn deeper, dig deeper, and find details, only then you will be able to analyze.” Probably, you will need some textbooks and not just social media and the internet, but some other sources, you will have to dig for different information from different people, and then you will have to analyze it, and then you can make a judgment. This is why God has provided us with the freedom of thinking. The head, the brain, the eyes, and the ears, have to be open and ready to take in the truth, which you should not be afraid of.
- Before speaking about NATO, let us analyze the Ukrainian laws and our constitution. At the moment, Ukraine has non-aligned status, as it has been since day one of our independence. We are not in any bloc, this is a part of the information war unleashed by the Russian federation. We have never been part of any alliance or bloc. Secondly, Ukraine has decided for itself to move in the direction of the EU. Believe me, this was at the core of the two recent revolutions in Ukraine. Some wanted in Europe, but people are free to speak about and exercise their choice to go into the EU, and because of disinformation and internal pro-Russian policies and political pressure exercised by Russia, we have had those moments in the lives of our country that sometimes would lead to victims. Russia does not want Ukraine to live freely, because it does not believe that Ukraine is an independent nation.
- Secondly, it is also said in the constitution that it is the Ukrainian people, who are to independently decide on its political course. Thirdly, you may not wage a war against a country that is willing to join NATO. Sweden and Finland are now willing to join NATO, and if you check the history and statistics, they never had it before, and Russia, with its war, is pushing these countries inside NATO because they want to get protection.
- Why do people buy weapons? Just because they like shooting and killing? No! Normal people do it for their own protection. With a neighbor like that, you can not go without weapons. You can negotiate anything but who to negotiate with. Russia first shoots and then they are ready to talk as a compromise, “let us have a negotiation”. This is how terrorists act, this is one of the terrorists’ formats. They say that “we cannot see you in the EU” and they shoot at us. “We can not see you in NATO” and they shoot at us. Then, they go in and they grab parts of our territory and then they say, “here are our terms and conditions to end this.” This is how terrorists have been all the time. Some might say that “you have to talk to them”. There are countries that would never negotiate with terrorists, and when Russia decides to stop being a terrorist country when it recognizes the bloody mistakes that they have committed, then we will be able to sit at the negotiation table to discuss. This is what the whole thing is about.
- You see the reaction of the Russian Federation to Sweden and Finland. Suddenly, Russia says that “we do not have anything against them (Sweden and Finland) being in NATO”. The same goes for their pro-European course in Ukraine. This is the choice of Ukraine and it is being a sovereign state. These are all lies and we are fighting for the truth.

---

**Dr. Dino Patti Djalal**

- Thank you, President Zelenskyy, and I want to thank you for speaking Heart to Heart to Indonesia. As everyone can see, you are not using a script. You are speaking from your heart and to our hearts. Your point is that Ukraine is not seeking any territory of Russia and it is Russia that is trying to conquer Ukrainian territory– that is the core message that anybody should know.
- If history has taught us anything, it is that no foreign power, no matter how powerful, can ever contain or subdue the free will of the people of another country. I think history is full of these lessons and I know that Ukraine will one day reclaim its peace and you can be assured that many Indonesians will pray for peace and human dignity and the safeguarding of democracy in your country.
- I want to thank everyone for joining us today. Stay safe.