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It is entirely fitting that a great American broadcaster should be celebrating its role in Lisbon tonight with the first anniversary of CNN Portugal

because this is the city of the navigators

the city where the transatlantic idea was born and it is no accident that England’s oldest alliance is with Portugal

uninterrupted friendship since the treaty of Tajilde 650 years ago, side by side against the Spanish, against Napoleon and a relationship now better than ever

and even if there is the occasional wrinkle – like the spat between Christiano Ronaldo and Wayne Rooney - it is nothing but the decorative wrinkle on the skin of the pastel de nata egg custard tart that has won the heart of the British people

and of course I am grateful to CNN for all they have done over decades to tackle the insomnia that sometimes afflicts me in hotel bedrooms with an analgesic more powerful than anything in the minibar

From the first gulf war to Kosovo to the storming of the US capitol your company has fearlessly reported on every war and convulsion in the world

and when a dictator sees Christiane Amanpour with the crowds in the city square he knows that the angel of the lord is at hand and that he is about to have the privilege of watching his own downfall live on CNN

and today it is absolutely right that CNN should have its lenses trained on the biggest and most savage conflict in Europe since 1945

and I hope that you will forgive me if I focus on that war because so many of our troubles – the cost of oil and gas, the cost of wheat, the cost of fertiliser, the cost of eggs and custard for the pastel de nata, the whole disastrous inflationary spiral is being driven by the war in Ukraine

and if you want an idea of the cost in blood that Putin has imposed on his own people, he has already killed more Russian soldiers than lost their lives in the whole ten year occupation of Afghanistan

It will not now be long before Russian casualties alone outstrip the whole of the American losses in the 20 years of Vietnam

and that is before we have even begun to compute the suffering of the Ukrainians

cities gutted; tens of thousands of innocent civilians killed in bestial and indiscriminate bombardments; schools, kindergartens and hospitals targeted

and wherever Putin’s troops are pushed back we see the evidence of his war crimes: systematic rape, torture rooms, mines and booby traps left to maim those poor civilians who find them

and while we feast here tonight in Lisbon there are millions of European citizens at the other end of our continent who have no light

who have no heat, who have no water, because of the hundreds of drone and missile attacks that are taking out their electricity supplies in a cynical attempt to weaken the morale of the people

and as the cold intensifies that suffering will grow, and as the entire world is shaken by the economic consequences

and governments everywhere desperately try to help people with the cost of living, and when Europe and the US are said now to stand on the brink of a recession

it is no wonder that people ask themselves despairingly if there is some way out, some deal, some peace agreement we could encourage the Ukrainians to strike

and in the face of this clamour for a solution I am here tonight to argue for courage and patience and above all for us to stand with the Ukrainians

to help the Ukrainians for as long as it takes and I want to thank and congratulate Antonio Costa and the Portuguese government for what they are doing to help Ukraine

and I believe the UK and Portugal are shoulder to shoulder as we have been over the centuries and united in our belief that there is only one way forward and only one possible and tolerable outcome

and that is that Putin must fail. Putin must fail and Ukraine must win

and they will. The Ukrainians must, can and will win because there is simply no alternative

Of course they want peace. The people yearn for it. I know that Volodomyr Zelensky would do a deal if he possibly could

But to begin a negotiation you need a valid interlocutor on the other side, and it is clear that Putin simply cannot be trusted in anything he says

Like other western leaders I talked to him just before the invasion. Of course I did.

I told him what we all know – that there was not a snowball’s chance in Hades of Ukraine joining Nato, and that there was not the remotest plan to station US or any other missiles on Ukrainian soil

and I told him that there was nothing to fear from Nato, which is a defensive alliance, and that it was pure paranoia for him to think that Ukraine presented any kind of threat to Russia

and as our conversation went on it became clear to me that he secretly agreed, and that he was simply going through the motions, because his real motives for that invasion were entirely different

It wasn’t really about Ukraine; it was all about him, and the role he imagined for himself as the man who would rebuild the soviet empire and avenge the insult of the end of the Cold War

It was about fortifying his domestic reputation as the new Tsar Peter who made Russia great again

he invaded because he thought it would make him popular

He sent those 115 battalion tactical groups over the border because he was so deluded as to believe that the barrels of their tanks would be garlanded with roses

because he believed his own barmy semi-masticated thesis of July last year, that there is some kind of chthonic union between Russia and Ukraine

and he did it because he had no one to disagree with him, no one who would stand up to him

no backbenchers to revolt – and he thereby provided an excellent if inadvertent lesson in the advantages of parliamentary democracy; even if that system produces the occasional eccentric result, it is the best guarantee against tyranny

and he did it because he had been sitting alone in his covid bubble listening to no one except his freaky bearded orthodox priest advisers who told him that Ukraine was not really a country

and that was where he made his biggest and most catastrophic mistake

Ukraine has been an independent European country now for 31 years, and that national feeling has grown with every year since 2014

when Putin began to try to manipulate and control Ukraine through the violent annexation of the Donbas and Crimea

Go to the Maidan in Kiev. Walk up to that vast wall of heroes - the thousands of pictures of young men who have already given their lives in that conflict – and you will understand the pride and the bravery with which Ukrainians are fighting today

and if Putin had walked that wall – as I am sure many of you have – I don’t believe he would have been so deranged as to believe the Ukrainians would allow his tanks just to roll into their country

They are fighting for their homeland, for their nation, for their independence, and history teaches us that such wars tend only to end one way

Let us imagine that there was some deal to be done – some putrid compromise by which the Ukrainians were persuaded to trade land for peace, and Putin was able to keep some of his gains

Suppose he were allowed to keep – let us say – a couple of the cities in the land bridge that he has annexed, between Mariupol and Crimea

Such a deal would of course be morally bankrupt. It would also be hopeless. How could we possibly rely on Putin to observe the terms of such a compromise when he has already formally annexed four whole oblasts – Luhansk, Donetsk, Kherson and Zaporizhzhya

How can you negotiate with a crocodile when he is eating your leg and when his stated objective is to devour you whole?

Even if he wanted to do such a deal, there is no way that Volodomyr Zelensky could make it work

and that is why the only option we have is to continue to support the Ukrainians in any way we can – economically, politically, and above all militarily

I am proud of the contribution the UK has made, and that we were one of the first European countries to send lethal aid – not least the NLaw antitank missiles that were so important in the early stages of the conflict

I pay tribute to Portugal for the helicopters and other assistance and all other European countries and above all to the US, because it is Washington’s contribution that has been truly phenomenal and that has been decisive in turning the tide in favour of Ukraine

and I say now to our friends and allies that now is the time to double down on that support

In expelling the Russians from the Kkarrkiv region and now from Kherson the Ukrainians have show what they can do

If we can continue to equip them with what they need – the MLRS, the HIMARS, the artillery and yes, the planes and the tanks, then I know that they have the inspirational leadership and the courage to do the rest

They can and will expunge the Russians from every part of the land they have conquered – at least since Feb 24

and I beg you, please don’t tell me we need to worry about Putin’s psychology or how he will react to this reverse

We talk about him as though he were some psycho gangster – like Tony Montana at the end of scarface, suddenly brandishing his nuke and shouting Say hello to my little friend

It isn’t going to happen

If Putin were so insane as to use a nuclear weapon or other WMD he would instantly tender Russia’s resignation from the club of civilised nations

He won’t do it because he would instantly lose the world’s swing voters – from India to Africa to Latin America – who are currently willing to cut him so much slack

He won’t do it because he would lose his Chinese patrons

he won’t do it because he would terrify his own population

and he would put Russia into economic isolation of such cryogenic ferocity that it would take decades to recover

so we should refuse to engage in this dialectic

this is not a nuclear stand-off between a Russia and Nato

This is a brutal invasion of an innocent country and all we are trying to do is give the Ukrainians the means to protect themselves and their families

and when Putin is expelled, it is not for us to worry about his political career or how he will explain it to the Russian people. As it happens, I believe he will have little difficulty

He can say that Ukraine has been purged of its so-called Nazis, or that the special military operation has been a success because the rights and language of the Russians have been protected

He can say any number of things

The Russians show every sign of being willing to swallow whatever he says about this war, and it is fundamentally not our problem

Our objective is simply to help the Ukrainians get Putin out of their country

and when he retires from Ukraine the world will be an immeasurably better place

When we have come through this storm, we will find that we have taken big and crucial steps to end our dependence on Putin’s hydrocarbons

and the right answer to the current crisis is not to lurch back to old solutions – trying to frack the Home counties of England, for instance – but to accelerate the drive for renewables and nuclear

and that is why the UK government is already the Saudi Arabia of wind power and I am thrilled that we are working so closely with EDP who are making giant investments in wind – including a new type of giant floating platform

that’s why we are building a nuclear reactor every year rather than every ten years

When this crisis is over we will together be more resilient, less vulnerable, with more reliable supplies of green energy

When Putin is pushed out of Ukraine, we will have shown that freedom matters

that democracy matters

We will have shown that you cannot just try to change borders by force, in complete contravention of international law, and expect the west to do nothing

and the lesson of that success will resonate around the world

But perhaps more important even than those considerations, we will have helped the Ukrainians to achieve their only goal – a free, sovereign and independent Ukraine

and that will be the moment for negotiation about the future of the country

and I can see that future clearly – a European country, so fortified by western arms, intelligence and training that it can never be invaded again

but which will also want to have the best possible relations – in spite of everything – with Russia

In April I went to Kiev and walked around the city centre with Volodomyr Zelensky – the first time he had been out and about for six weeks. The Russians had only just been repelled from the Kiev region and his security people weren’t at all keen; and I don’t mind telling you that it was a little bit hairy – looking up at those windows and rooftops and wondering whether they concealed an opportunistic Russian sniper

But that walkabout was nothing compared to the risks run by CNN staffers and contractors in Ukraine and in war zones around the world

This conflict has already cost the lives of about a dozen journalists – perhaps more – and I salute their bravery

If Ukraine is going to win, we need them to continue to tell the truth about what is happening

because that truth is so different from Putin’s lies

We need the truth about the massacres at Bucha, the attack on Kramatorsk

We need the truth not just about what is happening to the Ukrainians but to the young Russians who are Putin’s cannon fodder

and we need factual and objective reporting about the orders being given by his generals and his officers

the crimes they are committing against humanity

because if they know that one day they may face justice for those crimes

if they know that someone has somehow monitored their deeds with a camera or a microphone then we have the hope that they will hesitate in their barbarism

and that this conflict will end all the faster

That is why the bravery of news media is so vital, and that is why I thank CNN Portugal and the whole of CNN for what you do and thank you for listening tonight

Slava Ukraini and obrigado!