

# PRESS RELEASE

## *Future Slovakia Forum Publishes Declaration of 21 November: "Defending Ukraine is Defending Europe"*

**A Moral-Political Warning Based on Testimonies from the Fourth War Winter in Lviv  
Bratislava / Prague – 21 November 2025**

Future Slovakia Forum (FSF) today published the Declaration of 21 November, a moral-political document responding to proposals for an American "peace plan" for Ukraine and the growing orientation of government policy toward Russian geopolitical interests. The Declaration is based on testimonies from Ukrainian and Czech civil society representatives from Lviv and formulates clear moral imperatives for Central Europe.

The document warns that the United States and some European governments are considering approaches to ending the war that would violate a fundamental democratic principle: Ukraine's right to decide its own fate without pressure from third parties. It simultaneously analyzes the Slovak government as a case study of a country that profits from Ukrainian defense while rhetorically supporting Russian positions.

### **Context: The Fourth War Winter and the Reported American Plan**

The Declaration was created based on conversations with Yevheniia Nesterovych (Post Bellum Ukraine), Martin Kroupa (Post Bellum founder), and Jan Dobrovský (Czech memory activist), which took place in Lviv in late November 2025.

Their testimonies describe growing fear that Ukrainian sovereignty will be traded in diplomatic negotiations between great powers—without Ukraine's full consent.

At the center of the Declaration stands criticism of the reported 28-point American "peace framework" (Reuters), which allegedly includes:

- Permanent surrender of occupied territories
- Halving the strength of the Ukrainian army
- Constitutional prohibition on NATO membership
- Amnesty for all parties to the conflict
- Ban on weapons with a range exceeding 15 km

The Declaration describes this approach as "a document of capitulation, not a peace plan" and warns: "If great powers can trade in the sovereignty of smaller nations, no small democracy in the transatlantic alliance is safe."

### **The Principle "Nothing About Us Without Us" as a Democratic Foundation**

The document emphasizes the words of Yevheniia Nesterovych:

*"Nothing about us without us—if you abandon that, it is no longer a democratic world."*

Jan Dobrovský stated regarding the reported plan:

*"Negotiating peace by sacrificing a country that is heroically defending itself is a crime—I would even say a war crime. This is not diplomacy; this is haggling with people's lives."*

The Declaration formulates this principle as the foundation of democratic international order: third countries—whether the United States, France, Germany, or Slovakia—have no moral or legal right to negotiate Ukrainian sovereignty without Ukrainian consent.

## Slovakia: A Case Study of Strategic Contradiction

The Declaration analyzes Slovakia as an illustration of a fundamental contradiction between rhetoric and reality.

### Arms Export versus Public Rhetoric

#### Contradiction:

- Prime Minister Robert Fico publicly declares: "Not a cent for military aid to Ukraine"
- Reality: Slovak private defense companies exported \$1.25 billion in weapons to Ukraine in 2024—a tenfold increase over pre-war levels, approximately 1% of the entire Slovak economy

The Declaration states: "The government profits from Ukrainian defense while rhetorically supporting Ukraine's subjugation. Slovakia is not neutral—through its actions, it becomes complicit."

This contradiction creates a fundamental conflict: Slovak private companies earn billions from Ukrainian defense while Fico's government blocks EU sanctions and legitimizes Russian aggression.

### Energy Dependence as a Political Choice

#### Oil:

- 2022: 65% from Russia
- Projection 2026: 87% from Russia

#### Natural Gas:

- 2021: 85% dependence on Russian gas
- 2024: approximately 50% dependence
- January 2025 (after end of transit through Ukraine): approximately 22% of total consumption
- Realistic projection 2026: 50-70% dependence

**Key finding of the Declaration:** What matters is not technical limitation, but political choice. Slovakia owns infrastructure exceeding 15 times its annual consumption (65 billion cubic

meters capacity versus 4.3 billion consumption), enabling complete diversification. Nevertheless, Fico's government plans to maximize Russian imports for price advantage (€70-90 million annually)—not out of technical necessity. This preference represents politically chosen energy dependence, not technical constraint.

## Diplomatic Collaboration

- Robert Fico was the only EU prime minister to attend Putin's Victory Day military parade in May 2025
- On December 22, 2024, he visited Moscow for gas negotiations during Russian attacks on Ukrainian infrastructure
- Slovakia blocks EU sanctions against Russia
- The government threatened to cut off electricity supplies to Ukraine

## Church Silence and Media Capture

The Declaration criticizes the selective moral mobilization of Slovak churches:

- When Fico visited Moscow (December 22, 2024): no public moral objections from bishops
- When Russia bombed Ukrainian cities during Christmas 2024: no pastoral letters on solidarity
- When Fico's government blocked EU sanctions: no organized prayers for just peace

The contrast with mobilization around the LGBTI constitutional amendment is, according to the Declaration, "too stark to be coincidental."

### Systematic destruction of independent media:

- Transformation of RTVS (independent public broadcaster) to STVR (state-controlled television) in March-July 2024
- Automatic dismissal of the director general elected until 2027
- Funding reduction from €186 million to €131 million
- State Media Monitor reclassification from "Captured Public" to "State Controlled"
- 50% increase in attacks on journalists during 2024
- Five Council of Europe alerts since July 2023

## Historical Parallels and Geopolitical Consequences

Martin Kroupa, Chairman of the Board of Post Bellum, formulated the key theme:

*"Putin wants to control Central-Eastern Europe, threatens our NATO membership, wants NATO's collapse—this is our war and Ukrainians are fighting it for us."*

The Declaration presents three historical parallels:

1. Munich 1938: Accommodating aggressors did not prevent war—it guaranteed a worse one

2. Holodomor: Russian promises of peace historically meant Ukrainian death
3. Budapest Memorandum 1994: Security guarantees are meaningless unless honored

**Warning:** If the United States abandons Ukraine after three years of promises, it will destroy the credibility of every security guarantee it has ever given—including guarantees for Taiwan, South Korea, the Baltic states, and Slovakia.

## Seven Moral Affirmations

The Declaration contains a series of affirmations defining FSF's position:

1. Any "peace plan" negotiated without Ukrainian consent is not diplomacy, but betrayal
2. Silence in the face of aggression is complicity—whether from governments, churches, or citizens
3. Defending Ukraine is defending Slovakia—morally, geopolitically, historically
4. The European Union is a community of values, not a marketplace of advantages
5. The moral health of a nation is the first line of defense of freedom
6. Historical memory is not optional—it is our vaccination against repetition
7. The freedom of small nations is indivisible

## Calls and Demands

The Declaration contains five specific demands:

### 1. Unconditional Support for Ukraine's Right to Self-Determination

Slovakia must reject all "peace plans" that include territorial concessions, military restrictions, removal of NATO prospects, or amnesty for war crimes.

### 2. Express Disagreement with the United States Approach

If the U.S. administration continues preparing a "peace plan" that violates the principle of "Nothing about us without us," Slovakia—as a NATO and EU member—should publicly express disagreement.

*"Not as hostility toward the United States, but as defense of democratic principles."*

### 3. Expose Fico's Hypocrisy

Slovak civil society and opposition must systematically document and publicize:

- \$1.25 billion in arms exports + sanctions blockade = strategic contradiction
- Projection of 87% oil from Russia (2026) + plan to maximize gas at 50-70% = energy dependence as political choice
- Fico's trips to Moscow + silence on civilian bombing = moral collapse

### 4. Demand Church Accountability

The Slovak Christian community must demand:

- Public condemnation of Russian aggression against Ukraine
- Pastoral letters on responsibility for just peace
- Moral leadership based on the Gospel, not nationalist ideology

## 5. Defend Democratic Institutions

- Mobilize against media capture (STVR reform)
- Protect judicial independence
- Support independent journalism
- Organize protests when the government violates democratic norms

## Closing Statement

The Declaration concludes with a clear position:

*"Future Slovakia Forum stands unequivocally for Ukraine's right to decide its own fate. We fundamentally reject all 'peace plans' that arise without its consent, and we call on governments—including the government of the United States—to respect the principle of democratic sovereignty and not to trade it away for their own geopolitical convenience."*

*"Freedom begins with truth. And truth begins with the courage to reject a lie—no matter who speaks it."*

## Publication Context

The Declaration of 21 November was created in response to:

1. The United States-proposed 28-point "peace plan" (Reuters)
2. Persistent false statements by Slovak government officials spreading Russian propaganda
3. The interview of Jindřich Šídlo and Jan Dobrovský with Post Bellum representatives in Lviv (November 20-21, 2025)

The Declaration is part of the broader Ethical Renewal of Slovakia project (2025–2028), which FSF is developing in collaboration with partner organizations in Central Europe. The project focuses on defending democratic values, anti-corruption reforms, and civil society mobilization.

## Key Statistics and Facts

**Slovakia's Democratic Decline (V-Dem Institute, FSF analysis):**

- 2022: 76.2 liberal democracy points
- 2024: 58.4 points
- Decline: -17.8 points = one of the steepest in European history

**Slovak Arms Export (2024):**

- Total value: \$1.25 billion
- Tenfold increase over pre-war levels
- Represents approximately 1% of Slovakia's entire economy

#### **Slovak Energy Dependence:**

- Oil: 65% (2022) → projection 87% (2026) from Russia
- Natural gas: 85% (2021) → 50% (2024) → 22% (Q1 2025) → projection 50-70% (2026)
- Infrastructure capacity: 65 billion m<sup>3</sup>/year vs. 4.3 billion consumption = complete diversification possible

Source: FSF Analysis based on Centre for Research on Energy and Clean Air (CREA), Bloomberg, OSW Centre for Eastern Studies, V-Dem Democracy Report 2025

## Quotes Available for Further Use

#### **Yevheniia Nesterovych, Director of Post Bellum Ukraine:**

*"Nothing about us without us—if you abandon that, it is no longer a democratic world."*

*"When we last tried for peace, we had the Holodomor."*

*"Every generation in Ukraine has its own Maidan."*

#### **Jan Dobrovský, Czech memory activist:**

*"Negotiating peace by sacrificing a country that is heroically defending itself is a crime—I would even say a war crime. This is not diplomacy; this is haggling with people's lives."*

*"Russia knows no alternative other than hard power by which it can be stopped; everything else is capitulation. And Europe is heading toward capitulation by burying its head in the sand, thinking it doesn't concern them."*

#### **Martin Kroupa, Chairman of the Board of Post Bellum:**

*"Putin wants to control Central-Eastern Europe, threatens our NATO membership, wants NATO's collapse—this is our war and Ukrainians are fighting it for us."*

*"At least what is known about this supposedly peaceful plan—to reduce the Ukrainian army by half—is exactly the opposite of what is needed for peace. A strong army is the only thing that will bring peace."*

#### **From the Declaration of 21 November:**

*"Ukraine bleeds. Europe wavers between courage and caution. Slovakia, through its policies, undermines European solidarity."*

*"How can a democratic government defend the current sale of weapons to a state defending itself against genocidal aggression while publicly supporting the aggressor? Answer: it cannot. It can only pretend."*

## About Future Slovakia Forum

Future Slovakia Forum is a Slovak think tank and civic platform (civic association Fórum budúcnosti Slovenska, ID 56046260) with offices in Prague and Bratislava. Founded on February 8, 2024, FSF supports democratic institutions, rule of law, and expert, data-driven reforms.

### Main areas of work:

- Healthcare – system reform, financing, long-term care
- Education and skills – school modernization, youth, future professions
- Public finances – sustainability, budgeting, transparency
- Decentralization and governance – strengthening cities, local governments, and democracy

### Key initiatives include:

- Ethical Renewal of Slovakia (2025-2028) – comprehensive framework for democratic defense
- Democracy Defense Network CEE (DDN CEE) – transnational platform coordinating civil society in Slovakia, Czechia, Poland, the Baltic states, and Romania
- Brussels Agreement – diaspora mobilization framework targeting 150,000-180,000 votes in 2027

In March 2025, FSF published the representative survey "Where Does Slovakia Belong?", which revealed the paradox of Slovak society—majority support for pro-Western orientation (63.5%) alongside resistance to responsible investment in security.

## Documents Available on Request

- Full text of the Declaration of 21 November (PDF, 11 pages)
- Source materials and data (V-Dem Report, arms exports, energy dependence)
- Biographical information on Lviv interview participants
- Survey "Where Does Slovakia Belong?" (March 2025)

## Media Contact

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Paměti národa Podcast - Dobrovský & Šídlo:

<https://herohero.co/dobrovskysidlo/post/egnjmmrferwhidhgnreiuvjrtasowzblw>

Survey "Where Does Slovakia Belong?" (March 2025):

[https://www.future-slovakia.eu/sk/news/expert-discussion-ii.---all-facts-\(instead-of-guesses\)-revealed.-where-does-slovakia-belong%3F](https://www.future-slovakia.eu/sk/news/expert-discussion-ii.---all-facts-(instead-of-guesses)-revealed.-where-does-slovakia-belong%3F)

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