1. Boris Johnson's first speech as Prime Minister: 24 July 2019

Retrieved from: https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/boris-johnsons-first-speech-as-prime-minister-24-july-2019

Good afternoon

I have just been to see Her Majesty the Queen who has invited me to form a government and I have accepted

I pay tribute to the fortitude and patience of my predecessor

and her deep sense of public service

but in spite of all her efforts it has become clear that there are pessimists at home and abroad

who think that after three years of indecision

that this country has become a prisoner to the old arguments of 2016

and that in this home of democracy we are incapable of honouring a basic democratic mandate

And so I am standing before you today to tell you

the British people

that those critics are wrong

The doubters, the doomsters, the gloomsters – they are going to get it wrong again

The people who bet against Britain are going to lose their shirts

because we are going to restore trust in our democracy

and we are going to fulfil the repeated promises of parliament to the people and come out of the EU on October 31

no ifs or buts

and we will do a new deal, a better deal that will maximise the opportunities of Brexit while allowing us to develop a new and exciting partnership with the rest of Europe

based on free trade and mutual support

I have every confidence that in 99 days' time we will have cracked it

but you know what – we aren't going to wait 99 days

because the British people have had enough of waiting

The time has come to act,

to take decisions

to give strong leadership and to change this country for the better

and though the Queen has just honoured me with this extraordinary office of state

my job is to serve you, the people

because if there is one point we politicians need to remember it is that the people are our bosses

My job is to make your streets safer – and we are going to begin with another 20,000 police on the streets

and we start recruiting forthwith

My job is to make sure you don't have to wait 3 weeks to see your GP

and we start work this week with 20 new hospital upgrades, and ensuring that money for the NHS really does get to the front line

My job is to protect you or your parents or grandparents from the fear of having to sell your home to pay for the costs of care

and so I am announcing now – on the steps of Downing Street – that we will fix the crisis in social care once and for all with a clear plan we have prepared

to give every older person the dignity and security they deserve

My job is to make sure your kids get a superb education

wherever they are in the country

and that's why we have already announced that we are going to level up per pupil funding in primary and secondary schools

and that is the work that begins immediately behind that black door

and though I am today building a great team of men and women I will take personal responsibility

for the change I want to see

Never mind the backstop – the buck stops here

And I will tell you something else about my job.

It is to be Prime Minister of the whole United Kingdom

and that means uniting our country

answering at last the plea of the forgotten people

and the left behind towns

by physically and literally renewing the ties that bind us together

so that with safer streets and better education and fantastic new road and rail infrastructure and full fibre broadband

we level up across Britain

with higher wages, and a higher living wage, and higher productivity

we close the opportunity gap

giving millions of young people the chance to own their own homes

and giving business the confidence to invest across the UK

because it is time we unleashed the productive power not just of London and the South East

but of every corner of England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland

the awesome foursome that are incarnated in that red white and blue flag

who together are so much more than the sum of their parts

and whose brand and political personality is admired and even loved around the world

for our inventiveness, for our humour, for our universities, our scientists, our armed forces, our diplomacy

for the equalities on which we insist – whether race or gender or LGBT or the right of every girl in the world to 12 years of quality education

and for the values we stand for around the world

Everyone knows the values that flag represents

It stands for freedom and free speech and habeas corpus and the rule of law

and above all it stands for democracy

and that is why we will come out of the EU on October 31

because in the end Brexit was a fundamental decision by the British people that they wanted their laws made by people that they can elect

and they can remove from office

and we must now respect that decision

and create a new partnership with our European friends – as warm and as close and as affectionate as possible

and the first step is to repeat unequivocally our guarantee to the 3.2 m EU nationals now living and working among us

and I say directly to you – thank you for your contribution to our society

thank you for your patience and I can assure you that under this government you will get the absolute certainty of the rights

to live and remain

And next I say to our friends in Ireland, and in Brussels and around the EU

I am convinced that we can do a deal

without checks at the Irish border, because we refuse under any circumstances to have such checks

and yet without that anti-democratic backstop

and it is of course vital at the same time that we prepare for the remote possibility

that Brussels refuses any further to negotiate

and we are forced to come out with no deal

not because we want that outcome – of course not

but because it is only common sense to prepare

and let me stress that there is a vital sense in which those preparations cannot be wasted

and that is because under any circumstances we will need to get ready

at some point in the near future

to come out of the EU customs union and out of regulatory control

fully determined at last to take advantage of brexit

because that is the course on which this country is now set

with high hearts and growing confidence we will now accelerate the work of getting ready

and the ports will be ready and the banks will be ready

and the factories will be ready

and business will be ready

and the hospitals will be ready

and our amazing food and farming sector will be ready and waiting to continue selling

ever more not just here but around the world

and don't forget that in the event of a no deal outcome we will have the extra lubrication of the £39 bn

and whatever deal we do we will prepare this autumn for an economic package

to boost British business and to lengthen this country's lead as the number one destination in this continent for overseas investment

and to all those who continue to prophesy disaster

I say yes – there will be difficulties

though I believe that with energy and application they will be far less serious than some have claimed

but if there is one thing that has really sapped the confidence of business over the last three years

it is not the decisions we have taken

it is our refusal to take decisions

and to all those who say we cannot be ready

I say do not underestimate this country

Do not underestimate our powers of organisation and our determination

because we know the enormous strengths of this economy

in life sciences, in tech, in academia, in music, the arts, culture, financial services,

It is here in Britain that we are using gene therapy, for the first time, to treat the most common form of blindness

here in Britain that we are leading the world in the battery technology that will help cut CO2 and tackle climate change

and produce green jobs for the next generation

and as we prepare for a post-Brexit future it is time we looked not at the risks but at the opportunities that are upon us

so let us begin work now to create freeports that will drive growth and thousands of high-skilled jobs in left behind areas

let's start now to liberate the UK's extraordinary bioscience sector from anti genetic modification rules

and let's develop the blight-resistant crops that will feed the world

let's get going now on our own position navigation and timing satellite and earth observation systems – UK assets orbiting in space with all the long term strategic and commercial benefits for this country

Let's change the tax rules to provide extra incentives to invest in capital and research

and let's promote the welfare of animals that has always been so close to the hearts of the British people

and yes, let's start now on those free trade deals

because it is free trade that has done more than anything else to lift billions out of poverty

all this and more we can do now and only now, at this extraordinary moment in our history

and after three years of unfounded self-doubt it is time to

change the record

to recover our natural and historic role as an enterprising, outward-looking and truly global Britain, generous in temper and engaged with the world

No one in the last few centuries has succeeded in betting against the pluck and nerve and ambition of this country

They will not succeed today

We in this government will work flat out to give this country the leadership it deserves

and that work begins now

Thank you very much

2. PM statement on priorities for the government: 25 July 2019

Retrieved from: https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/pm-statement-on-priorities-for-the-government-25-july-2019

Mr Speaker, I with permission, shall make a statement on the mission of this new Conservative Government.

But before I begin, I am sure the whole House will join me in paying tribute to my Rt Hon Friend the Member for Maidenhead - for all that she has given in the service of our nation.

From fighting modern slavery to tackling the problems of mental ill-health – she has a great legacy on which we shall all be proud to build.

And our mission is to deliver Brexit on the 31st of October for the purpose of uniting and re-energising our great United Kingdom and making this country the greatest place on earth.

And when I say the greatest place on earth, I'm conscious that some may accuse me of hyperbole. But it is useful to imagine the trajectory on which we could now be embarked.

By 2050 it is more than possible that the United Kingdom will be the greatest and most prosperous economy in Europe – at the centre of a new network of trade deals that we have pioneered.

With the road and rail investments we are making and propose to make now – the investment in broadband and 5G – our country will boast the most formidable transport and technological connectivity on the planet.

By unleashing the productive power of the whole United Kingdom - not just of London and the South East but of every corner of England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland – we will have closed forever the productivity gap and seen to it that no town is left behind ever again; no community ever again forgotten.

Our children and grandchildren will be living longer, happier, healthier, wealthier lives.

Our United Kingdom of 2050 will no longer make any contribution whatsoever to the destruction of our precious planet brought about by carbon emissions – because we will have led the world in delivering that net zero target.

We will be the home of electric vehicles – cars, even planes, powered by British made battery technology being developed right here, right now.

We will have the freeports to revitalise our coastal communities, a bioscience sector liberated from anti genetic modification rules, blight-resistant crops that will feed the world - and the satellite and earth observation systems that are the envy of the world.

We will be the seedbed for the most exciting and most dynamic business investments on the planet.

Our Constitutional settlement, our United Kingdom will be firm, will be secure.

Our Union of nations beyond question.

Our democracy robust.

Our future clean, green, prosperous, united, confident, ambitious – this my friends is the prize, more still the responsibility that it falls on us to fulfil.

And to do so, we must take some immediate steps.

The first is to restore trust in our democracy and fulfil the repeated promises of Parliament to the people by coming out of the European Union – and doing so on October 31st.

I and all ministers in this government are committed to leaving on this date, whatever the circumstances. To do otherwise would cause a catastrophic loss of confidence in our political system. It will leave the British people wondering whether their politicians could ever be trusted again to follow a clear democratic instruction.

I would prefer us to leave the EU with a deal. I would much prefer it. I believe that is still possible even at this late stage and I will work flat out to make it happen. But certain things need to be clear.

The Withdrawal Agreement negotiated by my predecessor has been three times rejected by this House. Its terms are unacceptable to this Parliament and to this country. No country that values its independence and indeed its self-respect could agree to a Treaty which signed away our economic independence and self-government as this backstop does. A time limit is not enough. If an agreement is to be reached it must be clearly understood that the way to the deal goes by way of the abolition of the backstop.

For our part we are ready to negotiate in good faith an alternative, with provisions to ensure that the Irish border issues are dealt with where they should always have been: in the negotiations on the future agreement between the UK and the EU. I do not accept the argument that says that these issues can only be solved by all or part of the UK remaining in the customs union or in the single market. The evidence is that other arrangements are perfectly possible, and are also perfectly compatible with the Belfast or Good Friday Agreement, to which we are of course steadfastly committed.

I, my team, and my Rt Hon Friend the Secretary of State for Exiting the European Union are ready to meet and to talk on this basis to the Commission or other EU colleagues whenever they are ready to do so.

For our part, we will throw ourselves into these negotiations with the greatest energy and determination and in the spirit of friendship.

And I hope that the EU will be equally ready and that they will rethink their current refusal to make any changes to the Withdrawal Agreement.

If they do not, we will of course have to leave the EU without an agreement under Article 50. The UK is better prepared for that situation than many believe. But we are not as ready yet as we should be. In the 98 days that remain to us we must turbo-charge our preparations to make sure that there is as little disruption as possible to our national life. I believe that is possible with the kind of national effort that the British people have made before and will make again. In these circumstances we would, of course, also have available the £39bn in the Withdrawal Agreement to help deal with any consequences.

I have today instructed the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster to make these preparations his top priority. I have asked the Cabinet Secretary to mobilise the Civil Service to deliver this outcome should it become necessary. And the Chancellor has confirmed that all necessary funding will be made available.

I will also ensure that preparing for leaving the EU without an agreement under Article 50 is not just about seeking to mitigate the challenges but also about grasping the opportunities. This is not just

about technical preparations, vital though they are. It is about having a clear economic strategy for the UK in all scenarios, something which the Conservative Party has always led the way, and it's about producing policies which will boost the competitiveness and the productivity of our economy when we are free of the EU regulations.

Indeed, Mr Speaker, we will begin right away on working to change the tax rules to provide extra incentives to invest in capital and research.

And we will be now accelerating the talks on those free trade deals.

And we will prepare an economic package to boost British business and lengthen this country's lead as the number one destination in this continent for overseas investment.

A status that is made possible by the diversity talent and skills of our workforce and,

Mr Speaker, I also want therefore to repeat unequivocally our guarantee to the 3.2 million EU nationals now living and working among us. I thank them for their contribution to our society – and for their patience - and I can assure them that under this government they will have the absolute certainty of the right to live and remain.

Mr Speaker, I want to end by making clear that my commitment to the 31 October date for our exit.

Our national participation in the European Union is coming to an end.

This reality needs to be recognised by all parties.

Indeed, Mr Speaker today there are very many brilliant officials trapped in meeting after meeting in Brussels and Luxembourg when they could be better deploying their talents in preparing to pioneer new trade deals and promoting a truly Global Britain.

I want to start unshackling our officials to undertake this new mission right away.

So we will not nominate a UK Commissioner for the new Commission taking office on 1 November – though clearly this is not intended to stop the EU appointing a new commission.

Mr Speaker, today is the first day of a new approach, which will end with our exit from the EU on 31 October. Then I hope we can have a friendly and constructive relationship – as constitutional equals, as friends, and partners in facing the challenges that lie ahead. I believe that is possible and this government will work to make it so.

But Mr Speaker, we are not going to wait until 31st October to begin building the broader and bolder future that I have described.

We are going to start right away, providing vital funding for our frontline public services, to deliver better healthcare, better education and more police on the streets.

Mr Speaker, I am committed to making sure that the NHS receives the funds that were promised by the last government in June 2018 and that these funds go to frontline as soon as possible. This will include urgent funding for 20 hospital upgrades and winter-readiness. I have asked officials to provide policy proposals for drastically reducing waiting times and for GP appointments.

To address the rise of violent crime in our country I have announced that there will be 20,000 extra police keeping us safe over the next three years, and I have asked my Rt Hon Friend the Home Secretary to ensure this is treated as an absolute priority.

We will give greater powers for the police to use stop and search to help tackle violent crime. I have also tasked officials to draw up proposals to ensure that in future those found guilty of the most serious sexual and violent offences are required to serve a custodial sentence that truly reflects the severity of their offence and policy measures that will see a reduction in the number of prolific offenders.

On education, I have listened to the concerns of many colleagues and we will increase the minimum level of per pupil funding in primary and secondary schools and return education funding to previous levels by the end of this Parliament.

We are committed to levelling up across every nation and region across the UK, providing support to towns and cities and closing the opportunity gap in our society.

We will announce investment in vital infrastructure, fibre rollout, transport and housing that can improve people's quality of life, fuel economic growth and provide opportunity.

Finally, we will also ensure that we continue to attract the brightest and best talent from around the world. No-one believes more strongly than me in the benefits of migration to our country. But I am clear that our immigration system must change. For years, politicians have promised the public an Australian-style points based system.

And today I will actually deliver on those promises - I will ask the Migration Advisory Committee to conduct a review of that system as the first step in a radical rewriting of our immigration system. I am convinced that we can produce a system that the British public can have confidence in.

Mr Speaker, over these past few years, too many people in this country feel that they have been told repeatedly and relentlessly what we cannot do.

Since I was a child I remember respectable authorities asserting that our time as a nation has passed, that we should be content with mediocrity and managed decline.

And time and again – even the sceptics and doubters - by their powers to innovate and adapt the British people have showed the doubters wrong.

And Mr Speaker I believe that at this pivotal moment in our national story we are going to prove the doubters wrong again.

Not just with positive thinking and a can-do attitude, important though they are.

But with the help and the encouragement government and a Cabinet that is bursting with ideas, ready to create change, determined to implement the policies we need to succeed as a nation.

The greatest place to live

The greatest place to bring up a family

The greatest place to send your kids to school

The greatest place to set up a business or to invest

Because we have the best transport and the cleanest environment and the best healthcare,

And the most compassionate approach to care of elderly people.

That is the mission of the Cabinet I have appointed.

That is the purpose of the government I am leading.

And that is why I believe that if we bend our sinews to the task now,

There is every chance that in 2050,

When I fully intend to be around, though not necessarily in this job we will look back on this period, this extraordinary period, as the beginning of a new golden age for our United Kingdom.

And I commend this future to the House just as much as I commend this statement.

3. Boris Johnson's Keynote Speech – We're getting on with the job | CPC21 Speeches

Retrieved from: https://www.conservatives.com/news/2021/boris-johnson-s-keynote-speech---we-re-getting-on-with-the-job

Isn't it amazing to be here in person

the first time we have met since you defied the sceptics by winning councils and communities that Conservatives have never won in before – such as Hartlepool

in fact it's the first time since the general election of 2019 when we finally sent the corduroyed communist cosmonaut into orbit where he belongs

and why are we back today

for a traditional Tory cheek by jowler?

It is because for months we have had one of the most open economies and societies

and on July 19 we decided to open every single

theatre and every concert hall and night club in England

and

we knew that some people would still be anxious

so we sent top government representatives to our sweatiest boites de nuit to show that anyone could dance

perfectly safely

and wasn't he brilliant my friends?

let's hear it for Jon Bon Govi

living proof that we, you all

represent the most jiving hip happening and generally funkapolitan party in the world

and how have we managed to open up

ahead of so many of our friends?

You know the answer, its

because of the roll-out of that

vaccine

a UK phenomenon

the magic potion invented in oxford university

and bottled in wales

distributed at incredible speed to vaccination centres everywhere

I saw the army in action in Glasgow

firing staple guns like carbines as they set up a huge vaccination centre

and in Fermanagh I saw the needles go in like a collective sewing machine

and they vaccinated so rapidly that we were able to

do those crucial groups one to four

the oldest and most vulnerable faster than any other major economy in the world

and though the disease has sadly not gone away the impact on death rates has been astonishing

and I urge you all to get your jabs because every day our vaccine defences are getting stronger and stronger

and you, all of you, and everybody watching made this roll-out possible

you each made each other safe

so perhaps we should all thank each other

go on – try a cautious fist bump

because it's ok now

and we in turn thank the

volunteers, the public health workers, the council workers

the pharmacists

but above all our untiring unbeatable unbelievable NHS

and as a responsible conservative government we must recognise the sheer scale of their achievement

but recognise also the scale of the challenge ahead

The NHS

When I was lying in St Thomas's hospital last year I looked blearily out of my window at a hole in the ground

between my ICU and another much older Victorian section

and amid the rubble of brick they seemed to be digging a hole for something or indeed someone – possibly me

but the NHS saved me

and our wonderful nurses pulled my chestnuts out of Tartarean pit

and the other day I went back on a visit

and I saw that the hole had been filled in

with three or four gleaming storeys

of a new paediatrics unit

and there you have the metaphor my friends for how to build back better now

we have a huge hole

in the public finances

We spent £407 bn on covid support

and our debt now stands at over two trillion pounds

and waiting lists will almost certainly go up before they come down

covid pushed out a great bow wave of cases

people did not or could not seek help

and that wave is now coming back

a tide of anxiety washing into every A and E and every GP

your hip replacement

your mother's surgery

and this is the priority of the British people

does anyone seriously imagine that we should not now be raising the funding to sort this out

is that really the view of responsible conservatives?

I can tell you something

Margaret Thatcher would not have ignored this meteorite that has just crashed through the public finances

she would have wagged her finger and said more borrowing now is just higher interest rates and even higher taxes later

when this country was sick our NHS was the nurse

frontline health care workers

battled against a new disease

selflessly

risking their lives sacrificing their lives

and it is right that this Party that has looked after the NHS for most of its history

should be the one to rise to the challenge

48 new hospitals

50,000 more nurses

50m more GP appointments

40 new diagnostic centres

and fixing those backlogs with real change

because the pandemic not only put colossal pressure on the NHS

it was a lightning flash illumination of a problem we have failed to address for decades

Fixing Social Care

In 1948 this country created the National Health Service but kept social care local

and though that made sense in many ways generations of older people have found themselves

lost in the gap

when covid broke there were 100,000 beds in the NHS

- and 30,000 occupied by people who could have been cared for elsewhere

whether at home or in residential care

and we all know that this problem of delayed discharge is one of the major reasons why

it takes too long to get the hospital treatment that your family desperately need

and people worry that they will be the one in ten

to suffer from the potentially catastrophic cost of dementia

wiping out everything they have

and preventing them from passing on anything to their families

and we Conservatives stand by those who have shared our values

thrift and hard work

and who face total destitution in this brutal lottery

of old age

in which treatment for cancer is funded by the state

and care for alzheimers is not – or only partly

and to fix these twin problems of the NHS and social care

we aren't just going to siphon billions of new taxes into crucial services

without improving performance

we will

use new technology so that there is a single set of electronic records as patients pass between health and social care

improving care

and ensuring that cash goes to the frontline

and not on needless bureaucracy

When I stood on the steps of Downing Street I promised to fix this crisis

and after decades of drift and dither

this reforming government

this can do government

this government that got brexit done

that is getting the vaccine rollout done

is going to get social care done

and we are dealing with the biggest underlying issues of our economy and society

the problems that no government has had the guts to tackle before

and I mean the long term structural weaknesses

in the UK economy

It is thanks to that vaccine roll-out that we now have the most open economy and the fastest growth in the G7

we have unemployment two million lower than forecast

We have demand surging

and I am pleased to say that after years of stagnation – more than a decade - wages are going up

faster than before the pandemic began

and that matters deeply

because we are embarking now on a change of direction that has been long overdue

in the UK economy

we are not going back to the same old broken model

with low wages

low growth

low skills

and low productivity

all of it enabled and assisted by uncontrolled immigration

and the answer to the present stresses and strains

which are mainly a function of growth and economic revival

is not to reach for that same old lever of uncontrolled immigration

to keep wages low

the answer is to control immigration

to allow people of talent to come to this country

but not to use immigration as an excuse for failure to invest

in people, in skills

and in the equipment the facilities the machinery they need to do their jobs

the truckstops – to pick an example entirely at random – with basic facilities where you don't have to urinate in the bushes

and that is the direction in which this country is going now

towards a high wage

high skill

high productivity

and yes, thereby low tax economy

that is what the people of this country need and deserve

in which everyone can take pride in their work and in the quality of their work

and yes it will take time

and yes it will sometimes be difficult

but that was the change that people voted for in 2016

and that was the change they voted for again powerfully in 2019

and to deliver that change we will get on with our job

of uniting and levelling up across the UK

the greatest project that any government can embark on

We have one of the most imbalanced societies and lop-sided economies

of all the richer countries

it is not just that there is a gap between London and the South east and the rest of the country

there are aching gaps within the regions themselves

what monkey glands are they applying in Ribble Valley

what royal jelly are they eating

that they live seven years longer than the people of Blackpool

only 33 miles away

Why does half of York's population boast a degree and only a quarter of Doncaster's

This is not just a question of social justice

it is an appalling waste of potential

and it is holding this country back

because there is no reason why the inhabitants of one part of the country should be geographically fated to be poorer than others

or why people should feel they have to move away from their loved ones, or communities to reach their potential

When Thomas Gray stood in that country churchyard in 1750 and wrote his famous elegy

as the curfew tolled the knell of parting day

he lamented

the wasted talents of those buried around him

the flowers born to blush unseen

the mute inglorious miltons who never wrote a poem

because they never got to read

the simple folk who died illiterate and innumerate

and he knew that it was an injustice

let me ask you, maybe you know

where was he standing when he chewed his pensive quill ? Anybody know

Correct, thank you, he was standing in Stoke poges

my friends there may be underprivileged parts of this country but stoke poges is not now among them

in fact it was only recently determined by the Daily Telegraph

and if you can't believe that, what can you believe my friends

to be the 8th richest village in England

since gray elegised, Buckinghamshire has levelled up to be among the most productive regions in the whole of Europe

Stoke Poges may still of course have its problems

but they are the overwhelmingly caused the sheer lust of other people to live in or near Stoke Poges

overcrowded trains

endless commutes

too little time with the kids

the constant anxiety that your immemorial view of chalk downland is going to be desecrated by ugly new homes

and that is why levelling up works for the whole country

and is the right and responsible policy, because it

helps to take the pressure off parts of the overheating South East

while simultaneously

offering hope and opportunity to those areas that have felt left behind

and let us be clear that there is a huge philosophical difference between us and labour

because in their souls they don't like levelling up

they like levelling down they do

they like decapitating the tall poppies and taxing the rich till the pips squeak

they dislike academic competition latin I hear

and in Islington – I kid you not I have seen it with my own eyes - they like kids to run races where nobody actually wins

and I have to tell you I don't believe that is a good preparation for life

let alone for the Olympic games

and if you insist on the economic theory behind levelling up

it is contained in the insight of Wilfredo Pareto

a 19th century Italian figre who floated from the cobwebbed attic of my memories

that there are all kinds of improvements

you can make to people's lives he said

without diminishing anyone else

Rishi will I am sure confirm this

and we call these pareto improvements

and they are the means of levelling up

and the idea in a nutshell it is that you will find talent genius flair imagination enthusiasm everywhere in this country all of them evenly distributed

but opportunity is not

and it is our mission as conservatives to promote opportunity

with every tool we have

and it is still a grim fact that in this country

that some kids will grow up in neighbourhoods that are safer than others

and some will be, as Priti was saying, some will be sucked into gangs

and some will be at risk of stabbing and shooting

and some will get themselves caught in the one way ratchet of the criminal justice system

and many others will not

that's why levelling up means fighting crime

putting more police out on the beat as we are

and toughening sentences

and rolling up the county lines drugs networks as we are

1100 gone already

and giving the police the powers they need

to fight these dealers in death and misery that's what we want to do

– and what is Labour's answer, by the way –

to decriminalise hard drugs apparently

to let the gangsters off with a caution

an answer that is straight from the powder rooms of the North London dinner parties

and nothing to do with the real needs of this country

crime has been falling

and not just by the way because we took the precaution of locking up the public for much of the last 18 months

but because you have a conservative government that understands the broken windows theory of crime

I read a learned article by some lawyer saying we should not bother about pet theft

Well I say to Cruella de Vil QC – if you can steal a dog or a cat

then there is frankly no limit to your depravity

and you know those people gluing themselves to roads

I don't call them legitimate protestors

like some Labour councillors do I, some Labour councillors actually glue themselves to roads

I say they are a confounded nuisance who are blocking ambulances, stopping people go about their daily lives

and I am glad Priti is taking new powers to insulate them snugly in prison where they belong

what I found most incredible of all was the decision by Labour

now led by lefty Islington lawyers

to vote against tougher sentences for serious sexual and violent offenders

and on behalf of the entire government I tell you

we will not rest until we have increased the successful prosecutions for rape

because too many lying bullying cowardly men are using the law's delay

to get away with violence against women

and we cannot and we will not stand for it

and I know that there are some who now tell us that we are ungenerous and unfeeling in our attempts to control our borders

and I say – don't give me that

This is the government that stood up to China and announced that we would provide a haven for British overseas nationals in Hong Kong

30,000 have already applied

and I am really proud to be part of a Conservative government that will welcome 20,000 Afghans

people who risked their lives to guide us and translate for us

we are doing the right and responsible thing

and speaking as the great grandson of a Turk who fled in fear of his life I know that this country is a beacon of light and hope for people around the world

provided they come here legally

provided we understand who they are and what they want to contribute

and that is why we took back control of our borders

and will pass the borders bill

because we believe there must be a distinction between someone who comes here legally and someone who doesn't

and though I have every sympathy with people genuinely in fear of their lives

I have no sympathy whatever

with the people traffickers who take thousands of pounds

to send children to sea in frail and dangerous craft

and we must end this lethal trade

we must break the gangsters' business model

and is it not a sublime irony that even in French politics there is now a leading centre right politician calling for a referendum on the EU

Who is now calling for France to reprendre le controle??

it's good old Michel Barnier

that's what happens if you spend a year trying to argue with Lord Frost

the greatest frost since the great frost of 1709

and we will fight these gangs at home and abroad

because their victims are invariably the poorest and the neediest

and I will tell you what levelling up is

a few years ago they started a school not far from the Olympic park

a new school that anyone could send their kids to

in an area that has for decades been one of the most disadvantaged in London

that school is Brampton Manor academy and it now sends more kids to Oxbridge than Eton

and if you want proof of what I mean by unleashing potential

and by levelling up

look at Brampton Manor

and we can do it

There is absolutely no reason why the kids of this country should lag behind

or why so many should be unable to read and write or do basic mathematics at the age of 11

and to level up

– on top of the extra 14 bn we're putting into education

and on top of the increase that means every teacher starts with a salary of £30k

we are announcing a levelling up premium of up to £3000 to send the best maths and science teachers to the places that need them most

and above all we are investing in our skills, skills folks

our universities are world beating, I owe everything to my tutors and they are one of the great glories of our economy

but we all know that some of the most brilliant and imaginative and creative people in Britain

and some of the best paid people in Britain

did not go to university

and to level up you need to give people the options

the skills

that are right for them

and to make the most of those skills and knowledge

and to level up you need urgently to

plug all the other the gaps in our infrastructure that are still holding people and communities back

As I've been saying over this wonderful conference to you

when I became leader of this party, there were only, can you remember, what percentage of households had gigabit broadband when you were so kind as to make me leader? 7 percent, only 7 percent

and by the new year that will be up to 68 per cent

thanks to Rishi's superdeduction the pace is now accelerating massively

as companies thrust the fibre-optic vermicelli in the most hard to reach places

it's wonderful, for years SNP leader Ian Blackford has been telling the Commons that he is nothing but a humble crofter on the isle of Skye

well now we have fibre optic broadband of very high quality that we can inspect the library or is it perhaps the billiard room of Ian Blackford's croft

and that is levelling up in action

and my friends it is not good enough just to rely on zoom

after decades of ducked decisions

our national infrastructure is way behind some of our key competitors

It is a disgrace that you still can't swiftly cross the pennines by rail

a disgrace that leeds is the largest city in Europe with no proper metro system

a waste of human potential that so many places are not served by decent bus routes

transport is one of the supreme leveller-uppers

and we are making the big generational changes shirked by previous governments

we will do Northern Powerhouse rail

we will link up the cities of the midlands and the north

we will restore those sinews of the union that have been allowed to atrophy

the A1 north of Berwick and on into Scotland

the A 75 in Scotland that is so vital for the links with northern Ireland and the rest of the country

the north wales corridor

and we will invest in our roads

unblocking those coagulated roundabouts and steering-wheel-bending traffic lights

putting on 4000 more clean green buses

made in this country

some of them running on hydrogen

and as we come out of covid

our towns and cities are again going to be buzzing with life

because

we know

that a productive workforce

needs that spur

that only comes with face to face meetings

and water cooler gossip

if young people are to learn on the job in the way that they always have and must

we will and must see people back in the office

and that is why we are building back better with a once in an a century £640bn pound programme

of investment

and by making neighbourhoods safer

by putting in the gigabit broadband

by putting in the roads and the schools and the healthcare

we will enable more and more young people everywhere

to share the dream of home ownership

the great ambition of the human race

that the left always privately share but publicly disparage

and we can do it

Look at this country from the air

Go on google maps

you see how our landscape has been plotted and pieced and jigsawed together by centuries of bequests and litigation

a vast testament to security of title

trust in the law

a confidence that is responsible for so much international investment

you see how rich this country is growing

the billions of loving and incremental improvements to homes and gardens

you can see how beautiful it is

vast untouched moorland

and hills

broadleaf forests

we are going to re-wild parts of the country and consecrate a total of 30 per cent to nature

we are planting tens of millions of trees

otters are returning to rivers from which they have been absent for decades

beavers that have not been seen on some rivers since tudor times

massacred for their pelts

are now back

and if that isn't conservatism, my friends I don't know what is

build back beaver

and though the beavers may sometimes build without local authority permission

you can also see how much room there is

to build the homes that young families need in this country

not on green fields

not just jammed in the south east

but beautiful homes on brownfield sites

in places where homes make sense

Home ownership

And this government is helping young people to afford a home

It has been a scandal – a rebuke to all we stand for

that over the last 20 years the dream of home ownership

has receded

and yet under this government we are turning the tide

we have not only built more homes than at any time in the last 30 years

we are helping young people on to the property ladder

with our 95 per cent mortgages

and there is no happiness like taking a set of keys

and knowing that the place is yours

and you can paint the front door any colour you like

as it happens I am not allowed to paint my own front door, it has to be black

but I certainly don't have far to go to work

and if you don't have too far to go to work

and the commute is not too dreadful

and if

the job suits your skills

and your wifi is fast and reliable

then I tell you something else

that housing

in the right place

at an affordable price

will add massively not just to your general joie de vivre

but to your productivity

and that is how we solve the national productivity puzzle

by fixing the broken housing market

by plugging in the gigabit

by putting in decent safe bus routes and all other transport infrastructure

and by investing in skills skills skills

and that by the way is how we help to cut the cost of living for everyone

because housing, energy, transport

are now huge parts of our monthly bills

and it is by fixing our broken housing market

by sorting out our energy supply – more wind, more nuclear, becoming less dependent on hydrocarbons from abroad

by putting in those transport links

we will hold costs down and save you money

and we will make this country an even more attractive destination for foreign direct investment

We are already the number one

– look at the Nissan investment in Sunderland

or the Pfizer vaccine manufacturing centre that's coming to Swindon

and with these productivity gains we will turbo charge that advantage

and help businesses to start and grow everywhere

so let me come now to the punchline of my sermon on the vaccine

It was not the government that made the wonder drug

it wasn't brewed in the alembicks of the department of health

It was, of course it was Oxford University, but it was the private sector that made it possible

behind those vaccines are

companies and shareholders and, yes,

bankers

you need deep pools of liquidity that are to be found in the City of London

it was capitalism that ensured that we had a vaccine in less than a year

and the answer therefore is not to attack the wealth creators

it is to encourage them because they are responsible for the aggregate increase in the country's wealth

that enables us to make those pareto improvements

and to level up everywhere

and to rub home my point

it is not just that vaccination has saved more than 120,000 lives

Vaccination has allowed us to meet like this

and blessed us with such rapid growth

with wages rising fastest for those on lowest incomes

and that levelling up in action

The vaccines have ensured that by a simple vowel mutation jabs jabs jabs

become jobs jobs jobs

the world's most effective vaccines have saved our open society and free market economy

and it is our open society and free market economy that have produced the world's most effective vaccines

and that is the symmetry in the lesson of the covid vaccines

– science, innovation, capitalism –

is vital now for the challenge we face

the challenge the whole humanity faces

is even more existential for our way of life

in just a few weeks time this country will host the summit of our generation in Glasgow

when the resolve of the world is put to the test

can we keep alive the ambition of Paris – to stop the planet heating by more than 1.5 degrees

government can't do it alone

and taxpayers certainly can't do it alone

the other day I took a boat out into the moray firth

to see an aquatic forest of white turbines towering over the water like the redwoods of california

and you have no idea of their size until you see them up close

the deceptive speed of their wings

twice the diameter of the London eye

their tips slicing the air at more than 100 miles per hour

and I met the young men and women

apprentices

who had moved straight across from the world of oil and gas

and they had the same excitement at working amid winds and wave

and being able to see whales and dolphins from the office window

but they had the extra satisfaction that goes with knowing you are doing something to save the planet

and get Britain to Net Zero by 2050

and that is the symmetry represented by these giant windmills

massive and innovative private sector investment

and a government taking the tough decisions to make it possible

that's the difference between this radical and optimistic Conservatism

and a tired old Labour

did you see them last week, did you watch them last week in Brighton

hopelessly divided I thought they looked

their leader like a seriously rattled bus conductor

pushed this way and that by, not that they have bus conductors any more unfortunately, like a seriously rattled bus conductor pushed this way and that by a corbynista mob of sellotape-spectacled sans-culottes

or the skipper of a cruise liner that has been captured by Somali pirates

desperately trying to negotiate a change of course

and then changing his mind

and remember Labour's performance during the pandemic

flapping with all the conviction of a damp tea towel

They refused to say that schools were safe

they would have kept us in the European medicines agency

and slammed the brakes on the vaccine roll out

the Labour leader attacked the vaccine task force for spending money on outreach to vaccine hesitant minority groups

when it is hard to think of any better use of public money

and let us try to forgive him on the basis that he probably didn't know what he was talking about

in previous national crises labour leaders have opted to minimise public anxiety and confusion by not trying to score cheap party political points

one thinks of Attlee or even Michael foot in the falklands crisis

sadly that was not the approach taken by captain hindsight

attacking one week

then rowing in behind when it seemed to be working

the human weathervane

the starmer chameleon

and in his final act of absurd opportunism he decided to oppose step four of the roadmap in July

that's right folks

if we had listened to captain hindsight we would still be in lockdown we wouldn't have the fastest growth in the G7

if Columbus had listened to captain hindsight he'd be famous for having discovered Tenerife

and how utterly astonishing that in the last few weeks labour should actually have voted against new funding we're putting frward for the NHS

and we need to remember why and how we have been able to back people through this pandemic at all

it was because we Conservatives fixed the economy

we repaired the damage Labour left behind

every labour government has left office with unemployment higher than when it came in

every single one – ever since the party was invented

and today we are going to fix this economy and build back better than ever before

and just as we used our new freedoms to accelerate the vaccine rollout

we are going to use our brexit freedoms to

to do things differently

we are doing the borders bill

we have seen off the European superleague and protected grassroots football

we are doing at least eight freeports

superfertilised loam in which

business will plant new jobs across the UK

and now we are going further

not only jettisoning the EU rules we don't need any more

but using new freedoms to

improve the way we regulate in the great growth areas of the 21st century

as we fulfil our ambition of becoming a science superpower

gene editing

data management

AI

Cyber quantum

we are going to be ever more global in our outlook

we have done 68 free trade deals including that great free trade deal with our friends in the EU that they all said was impossible

and after decades of bewildering refusal we have persuaded the Americans to import prime British beef

a market already worth £66 m

build back burger I say

and you ask yourself how have the americans been able to survive without British beef for so long?

and if you want a supreme example of global Britain in action

of something daring and brilliant that would simply not have happened if we had remained in the EU

I give you AUKUS – an idea so transparently right that Labour conference voted overwhelmingly against it

and I know that there has been a certain raucus squaukus from the anti-aukus caucus

But Aukus is simply a recognition of the reality that

the world is tilting on its economic axis

and our trade and relations with the Indo pacfific region are becoming ever more vital than ever before

and that is why we have

sent the amazing carrier strike group

to the far east

been performing manoeuvres with 40 friendly countries

HMS Queen Elizabeth

as long as the entire palace of Westminster

and rather more compelling as an argument

than many speeches made in the house of commons

it has dozens of F35s on board

and 66 thousand sausages aboard

not because want to threaten or be adversarial to anyone

either with the F35s or indeed the sausages

but because we want to stick up for the rule of law that is so vital for freedom of navigation and free trade

and that is what brings AUKUS together

Australia, UK, US

shared values

a shared belief in democracy and human rights

and a shared belief in the equal dignity and worth of every human being

very few countries could have pulled off the Kabul airlift – an astonishing feat by our brave armed forces

even fewer have the same moral priorities

No other government brokered a deal such as this government did with Astra Zeneca

so that the Oxford vaccine has been distributed at cost around the world

more than a billion low cost vaccines

invented in Britain

saving millions of lives

we are led by our values

by the things we stand for

and we should never forget that people around the world admire this country for its history and its traditions

they love the groovy new architecture and the fashion and the music and the chance of meeting Michael in the disco

but they like the way it emerges organically from a vast inherited conglomerate of culture and tradition

and we conservatives understand the need for both and

how each nourishes the other

and we attack and deny our history at our peril

and when they began to attack Churchill as a racist I was minded to ignore them

it is only 20 years ago since BBC audiences overwhelmingly voted him the greatest Briton of all time

because he helped defeat a regime after all that was defined by one of the most vicious racisms

the world has ever seen

but as time has gone by it has become clear to me that

this isn't just a joke

they really do want to re-write our national story

starting with hereward the woke

we really are at risk of a kind of know nothing cancel culture know nothing iconoclasm

and so we Conservatives will defend our history and cultural inheritance

not because we are proud of everything

but because trying to edit it now is as dishonest as a celebrity trying furtively to change his entry in Wikipedia

and its a betrayal of our children's education

churchill's last words to his cabinet, actually his whole ministers but his cabinet were there

were

Never be separated from the americans

pretty good advice I'm sure you'll agree –

–

and ended with the observation

man is spirit

He was right there.

I believe that through history and accident this country has a unique spirit

the spirit of the NHS nurses AND the entrepreneurs

whose innovative flair means that there are three countries in the world that have produced more than 100 unicorns not a mythical beast

tech companies worth more than a billion dollars each

They are the US and China and the UK and those unicorns they are now dispersed around the United Kingdom in a way that is new to our country, that is the spirit of levelling up

and we need the spirit of the NHS nurses and the entrepreneurs because each enables the other

I mean

the spirit of the footballers who took England into the final of a major knock out tournament for the first time in the lives of the vast majority of the people of this country

probably, looking around at all you young thrusters, the majority of you in this room

the indomitable spirit of Emma Raducanu

her grace and her mental resilience when the game was going against her

because that is what counts

the spirit of our Olympians

it is an incredible thing to come yet again in the top four

a formidable effort for a country that has only 0.8 per cent of the world's population

in spite of the best efforts of some us jacob

but when we come second in the Paralympics as well -

that shows our values

not only the achievement of those elite athletes

but a country that is proud to be a trailblazer

to judge people not by where they come from

but by their spirit

and by what is inside them

That is the spirit that is the same across this country

in every town and village and city that can be found

that can be found in the hearts and minds of kids growing up everywhere

and that is the spirit we are going to unleash

4. PM speech at the Munich Security Conference: 19 February 2022

Retrieved from: https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/pm-speech-at-the-munich-security-conference-19-february-2022

Ambassador Ischinger, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, it's great to be here once again, after an absence of I think five years, at this very important security conference, which has helped to make this city a symbol of the unity of the West, of the strength of the Atlantic alliance and the vision of a Europe whole and free.

And at this moment of extreme danger for the world, it has seldom been more vital to preserve our unity and resolve, and that was the theme of my discussion last night with fellow leaders, including President Biden, President Macron, Chancellor Scholz and Prime Minister Draghi, as well as the leaders of NATO and the EU.

And as I said to President Putin during our last conversation, we in the UK still hope that diplomacy and dialogue may yet succeed.

But we also have to be unflinchingly honest about the situation today.

When over 130,000 Russian troops are gathering on the borders of Ukraine, and when more than 100 battalion tactical groups threaten that European country.

We must be united against that threat because we should be in no doubt what is at stake here.

If Ukraine is invaded and if Ukraine is overwhelmed, we will witness the destruction of a democratic state, a country that has been free for a generation, with a proud history of elections.

And every time that Western ministers have visited Kyiv, we've assured the people of Ukraine and their leaders that we stand four-square behind their sovereignty and independence.

How hollow, how meaningless, how insulting those words would seem if – at the very moment when their sovereignty and independence is imperilled – we simply look away.

If Ukraine is invaded the shock will echo around the world and those echoes will be heard in East Asia and they will be heard in Taiwan.

When I spoke to the Prime Ministers of Japan and Australia this week, they left me in no doubt that the economic and political shocks would be felt on the far side of the world.

So let me be clear about the risk.

The risk now is that people will draw the conclusion that aggression pays and that might is right.

So we should not underestimate the gravity of this moment and what is at stake.

As I speak to you today, we do not fully know what President Putin intends but the omens are grim and that is why we must stand strong together.

The UK has worked with the European Union and the United States to put together the toughest and strongest package of sanctions, and I spoke recently to President Ursula von der Leyen to discuss the measures prepared by the EU, in the closest coordination with our own.

And if Russia invades its neighbour, we will sanction Russian individuals and companies of strategic importance to the Russian state; and we will make it impossible for them to raise finance on the

London capital markets; and we will open up the matryoshka dolls of Russian-owned companies and Russian-owned entities to find the ultimate beneficiaries within.

And if President Putin believes that by these actions he can drive NATO back or intimidate NATO, he will find that the opposite is the case.

Already the UK and our allies are strengthening the defences of the eastern flank of NATO.

We are increasing the British contribution to Exercise COLD RESPONSE by sending our newest aircraft carrier, HMS Prince of Wales, and 3 Commando Brigade.

We are doubling our presence in Estonia to nearly 2,000 troops; we have increased our presence in Poland to 600 troops by sending 350 Marines from 45 Commando; we have increased our presence in the skies over south-eastern Europe with another six Typhoons based in Cyprus; we are sending warships to the eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea; and I have placed another 1,000 troops on stand-by to respond to any humanitarian emergency, which we all fear is increasingly likely.

And while the most alarming and visible threat is the massing of Russian land forces on Ukraine's borders, look at the naval build-up in the Black Sea, which threatens to blockade Ukraine; look at the massive cyber attacks and the incoming tide of disinformation.

This crisis extends into every domain, which is why the UK is providing NATO with more land, sea and air forces, and it is because we feared a crisis like this, that we were already engaged in the biggest increase in defence investment for a generation, spread across conventional capabilities and the new technologies that are ever more important to our collective defence.

And I'm proud to say that since Russia invaded Ukraine for the first time and annexed Crimea in 2014, we have been helping Ukraine, training 22,000 troops and, in recent months, in response to the threat, we have been among the nations to send defensive weaponry in the form of 2,000 anti-tank missiles.

I'm glad that we have been joined in this by the United States, by Poland and by our Baltic allies, and that many other nations and the EU have, like the UK, helped to strengthen Ukraine's economy.

Britain will always stand up for freedom and democracy around the world, and when we say that our commitment to European security is immovable and unconditional, our deeds show that we mean our words.

We are making the biggest contribution to NATO of any European ally because we understand the importance of collective security, and just as our European friends stood by us after the Russian state used a chemical weapon in Salisbury, so Britain will stand by you.

But we must accept that even these measures by the UK and our allies: draconian sanctions, rinsing out dirty money, the intensification of NATO's defences, fortifying our Ukrainian friends, they may not be enough to deter Russian aggression.

It is therefore vital that we learn the lessons of 2014.

Whatever happens in the next few days and weeks, we cannot allow European countries to be blackmailed by Russia, we cannot allow the threat of Russian aggression to change the security architecture of Europe, we cannot permit a new Yalta or a new division of our continent into spheres of influence.

We must now wean ourselves off dependence on Putin's oil and gas.

I understand the costs and complexities of this effort and the fact this is easier said than done, so I am grateful for Chancellor Scholz's assurances about Nord Stream 2, but the lessons of the last few years, and of Gazprom's obvious manipulation of European gas supply, cannot be ignored.

We must ensure that by making full use of alternative suppliers and technology, we make Russia's threats redundant.

That will be the work of the months and years to come, as well as the necessary and overdue steps that we in the UK must take to protect our own financial system.

And now we need to prepare ourselves for the Russian playbook of deception that governs every operation of this kind.

There will be a cascade of false claims about Ukraine, intended to spread confusion almost for its own sake,

and even now there are plans being laid for staged events, spinning a web of falsehoods designed to present any Russian attack as a response to provocation.

We've already witnessed a fake military withdrawal, combined with staged incidents that could provide a pretext for military action.

We knew this was coming, we've seen it before – and no-one should be fooled.

And we have to steel ourselves for the possibility of a protracted crisis, with Russia maintaining the pressure and searching for weaknesses over an extended period, and we must together refuse to be worn down.

What Europe needs is strategic endurance, and we should focus our energies on preserving our unity and on deepening trans-Atlantic cooperation.

But for that to work, we must also be prepared to devote the necessary resources to carry a greater share of the burden of preserving our continent's security, and to demonstrate that we are in it for the long haul.

For now, we should continue to do everything we can to pursue the path of peace and dialogue.

There is a way forward, if President Putin is minded to take it: there is a discussion to be had about the threats that he claims to see because in reality as we all know, those threats are an illusion.

They are the product of the Kremlin's chronic but misguided view of NATO as a supposedly encircling and intimidating alliance.

This is not NATO's function: NATO is a peaceful and defensive alliance and we are willing to work with President Putin to demonstrate that point and to give him the reassurances that he may need.

We could point out that until he invaded Ukraine for the first time in 2014, NATO did not permanently station any troops anywhere east of Germany and it was as recently as 2017 that the US, the UK and other NATO allies established the "enhanced forward presence" to protect Poland and the Baltic states.

Even then, the total deployment of fewer than 5,000 troops posed no conceivable threat to Russia, and it is only in the last few weeks, in response to the current crisis, that we have dispatched reinforcements, though still in numbers that constitute no possible threat.

Until 2014, European allies were cutting their defence budgets and shrinking their armed forces, perhaps faster than was safe or wise.

And to the extent that this has changed it is because of the actions of President Putin and the tension he has created.

If NATO forces are now closer to Russia's border, it is in response to his decisions and the justified concerns they have provoked among our allies.

And there are many things said about what may or may not have been said in the closed-door meetings of three decades ago, as the Berlin wall fell and Germany reunited.

But there is no doubt that we all agreed legal obligations to protect the security of every country in Europe.

And what happened in those amazing years was the dissolution of the Iron Curtain and the fulfilment of the vision of a Europe whole and free, it was one of the most incredible moments of my lifetime.

As nations at the heart of our continent regained their liberty, and their sovereign right to control their own destiny and seek their own alliances.

We will not abandon the hope and impulse of that era, made possible by the courage of millions of ordinary Europeans.

That is why NATO opened its doors to 14 states after 1999, and we cannot allow our open door to be slammed shut.

But if dialogue fails and if Russia chooses to use violence against an innocent and peaceful population in Ukraine, and to disregard the norms of civilised behaviour between states, and to disregard the Charter of the United Nations, then we at this conference should be in no doubt that it is in our collective interest that Russia should ultimately fail and be seen to fail.

I believe that in preparing to invade Ukraine, a proud country whose armed forces now exceed 200,000 personnel, considerably more expert in combat today than in 2014, President Putin and his circle are gravely miscalculating.

I fear that a lightning war would be followed by a long and hideous period of reprisals and revenge and insurgency, and Russian parents would mourn the loss of young Russian soldiers, who in their way are every bit as innocent as the Ukrainians now bracing themselves for attack.

And if Ukraine is overrun by brute force, I fail to see how a country encompassing nearly a quarter of a million square miles – the biggest nation in Europe apart from Russia itself could then be held down and subjugated forever.

After a generation of freedom, we're now staring at a generation of bloodshed and misery.

I believe that Russia would have absolutely nothing to gain from this catastrophic venture and everything to lose, and while there is still time, I urge the Kremlin to de-escalate, to disengage its forces from the frontier and to renew our dialogue.

Every nation at this conference shares a vision of a secure and prosperous Europe of sovereign states, deciding their own destiny and living without fear or threat.

And that vision of course extends to Russia, a nation whose cultural patrimony we revere, and whose sacrifice in the struggle against fascism was immeasurable.

Russia has as much right as any other country to live in peace and security, and we should never cease to emphasise that Russia has nothing to fear from our vision, which threatens and marginalises no-one.

And as we come together in unity and resolve, we must also show wisdom and moderation, because it is precisely by that unity that we show today that we have the best chance even now, at this 11th hour, of averting disaster and ensuring that good sense can still prevail.

And it is that message of unity that we must send from this conference today.

5. PM remarks at joint press conference with President Zelenskyy in Kyiv: 24 August 2022

Retrieved from: https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/pm-remarks-at-joint-press-conference-with-president-zelenskyy-in-kyiv-24-august-2022

Thank you very much Volodymyr and thank you to the people of Ukraine for the incredible honour that you have done me which is a recognition of the efforts of the UK.

When you rang me at 4 in the morning on that grim day in February and you told me the news that we had been dreading that Putin had been so insane as to invade a sovereign European country,

I told you then that we were shoulder to shoulder with you and that is as true today as it was in that horrific moment.

And I can also tell you that when we met in the high security room in Downing Street to try to understand what was happening, we were filled with foreboding.

We just did not see how this innocent and beautiful country could repel an attack by more than 100 Battalion Tactical Groups, when the suffering and the casualties would be so immense. But you did.

And like one of those indomitable Ukrainian boxers for which this country is justly famous,

you came off the ropes and you hit him with an upper-cut that sent Putin's armies reeling from Kyiv and then a hook to drive them from Kharkiv,

And it became ever clearer to the world that he had fatally underestimated the grit, the will, and above all the price that you were willing to pay to defend the country you love.

And I salute the heroic dead, I salute the families of the bereaved and the injured,

the emergency services who have been called time after time to the scenes of Putin's atrocities.

I salute the bravery of the ordinary people of Ukraine who have just got on with their lives.

The teachers, the students, the children.

In our country today young people are getting their grades for their exams and of course it has been a tough time for them,

because we've all had to cope with the pandemic.

But I ask them all to think of the children of Ukraine,

two thirds of whom have been driven from their homes, two thirds,

and who have seen nearly a fifth of their schools destroyed or damaged.

And yet working by candlelight or in makeshift classrooms, 7,500 of them have achieved the highest possible grades.

And it is our collective mission to ensure those brilliant students grow up to use their qualifications to achieve their dreams in a peaceful, prosperous and independent Ukraine.

And I believe they will, because out of the ashes of your towns and cities, out of the monstrous scars left by Putin's missiles, something beautiful is blooming, a flower that the whole world can see and admire and that is the unconquerable will of the Ukrainians to resist.

And that was what Putin failed to understand.

He simply had no idea how much Ukrainians love this extraordinary country with its rich black soil and magical golden domes,

how much they treasure the life, the bustle and the freedom and the Eurovision song contest winning cultural dynamism of Ukraine.

And just as he fatally underestimated Ukraine, he also underestimated the price the whole world was willing to pay to support Ukraine.

We have and we well and even though we must accept after six months of war the price is indeed a high price.

And I have come from a United Kingdom where we are battling inflation that is being driven by the spike in energy prices that is caused by Putin's war.

And we face strikes being driven by trade union's bosses who have the ruinous belief that the best way to tackle soaring energy prices is with ever higher wages when that is simply to pour petrol on the flames

and of course we are doing everything we can to deal with the pressures people face on their cost of living and to help people through the difficult months ahead.

And that is why it is so important for you to know now that we in Britain have the strength and the patience to get through these economic difficulties that have been so recklessly driven and exacerbated by the folly and malevolence of one man, Vladimir Putin.

And like every other European country we are of course working to end our dependence on Russian hydrocarbons and we are building those new nuclear power stations, one a year rather than one every ten years, tens of gigawatts of new wind farms and I can tell you that we in the UK will not for one second give in to Putin's economic blackmail because the people of my countrycan see with complete clarity what is at stake in Ukraine today.

Yes of course, it is about you and your right to live in peace and freedom and frankly that on its own is enough,

but it is also about all of us, all of us who believe in the principles of freedom and democracy and here today now in Ukraine I believe that history is at a turning point and after decades in which democracy has been on the defensive, on the back foot, we have an opportunity to join you in saying no to tyranny, saying no to those who would stifle Ukrainian liberty and independence and we will. And that is why Ukraine will win.

And we also know that if we are paying in our energy bills for the evils of Vladimir Putin, the people of Ukraine are paying for it in their blood and that is why we know that we must stay the course because if Putin were to succeed, then no country on Russia's perimeter would be safe and if Putin succeeds it would be a green light to every autocrat in the world, a signal that that borders can be changed by force and that is why the British House of Commons, all parties, stood as one, to applaud Volodymyr Zelenskyy and to support the military, diplomatic and economic support that we are giving to Ukraine.

And I'm proud that we have already supplied more arms than any other European country, including 6,900 anti tank missiles, 5000 of the NLAWs, 120 armoured vehicles, Starstreak anti aircraft missiles, anti-ship missiles and now the MLRS

And today I can tell you that more artillery and more ammunition is on its way and 2000 UAVs

and we are training 10,000 Ukrainian soldiers, alongside our allies, and only the other day I was at Catterick in Yorkshire and I met 400 of your recruits that we are helping to train

and these were people from all walks of life, people who weren't soldiers, who had never been to battle before. But the grim reality was that in just a few weeks from now they are heading to that frontline.

And when I listened to their cheerfulness and their courage, I knew Ukraine will win.

And in offering this kind of training and equipment,

I also want to applaud our friends around the world, in the EU, the Poles, the Baltic countries, the Dutch, the Czechs, the French, the Germans, the Italians, they've been steadfast.

But at this juncture it would be right to pay a special tribute to the outstanding global leadership of the United States of America,

And let me be clear, I believe this commitment by the United States of $40 billion in military support, I think $59 billion all told, has been indispensable to Ukrainian success

and I thank Joe Biden and his team for what he is doing and to all our friends I simply say this: we must keep going. WE must show that we have the same strategic endurance as the people of Ukraine.

We know that the coming winter will be tough, and that Putin will manipulate Russian energy supplies to try to torment households across Europe

and our first test as friends of Ukraine will be to face down and endure that pressure – to help consumers but also to build up our own supplies

and I believe that as we come through this winter, our position will strengthen and with every week that goes by Putin's position will weaken. And that's why now we must continue and intensify our support for Ukraine. The HIMARs the MLRS and all the systems that are proving so effective in Ukrainian hands.

We cannot afford for one moment to relax the sanctions on Putin, and we must keep up the financial and economic support for Ukraine

and every day around the world we must fight Putin's lies – because it is his war that is pushing up the price of food and oil and gas, not western sanctions

and we must fight any creeping attempt to normalise relations with Putin because it is becoming ever clearer that thanks to the sacrifices of the people of Ukraine, the vaunted Russian offensive in Donbas is failing and therefore this is exactly the moment for your friends to help you strike the Russians just as they begin to wobble.

We know that Putin's troops are tiring, that his losses are colossal, that his supply lines are vulnerable.

We can see how tiny his recent advances have become, and how huge the cost in Russian blood and treasure and tragically in the tears of Russian mothers.

And we also know that this is not the time to advance some flimsy plan for negotiation with someone who is simply not interested.

You can’t negotiate with a bear while it’s eating your leg, you can’t negotiate with a street robber who has you pinned to the floor and we don’t need to worry about humiliating Putin any more than we would need to worry about humiliating the bear or the robber.

All that matters today is restoring and preserving the sovereign integrity of Ukraine.

And on this anniversary, let us remember that glorious day 31 years ago when on an 84 per cent turnout 92 per cent supported independence.

And this is now a war for that independence and history teaches us that when a country has a language, an identity, a pride, a love of its traditions, a patriotic feeling that simply grows with every month and year that passes,

and when a country of that kind is engaged in a war for its very existence, my friends, that war is only going to end one way.

Ukraine will win,

and Britain will be by your side.

You have reminded us of values that the world thought it had forgotten,

you have reminded us that freedom and democracy are worth fighting for.

I’m proud to count myself a friend of Ukraine, I thank you for the honour that you’ve done me today,

and you can count on me and my country in the years ahead.

6. Boris Johnson's final speech as Prime Minister: 6 September 2022

Retrieved from: https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/boris-johnsons-final-speech-as-prime-minister-6-september-2022

Well this is it folks

thanks to all of you for coming out so early this morning

In only a couple of hours from now I will be in Balmoral to see Her Majesty The Queen

and the torch will finally be passed to a new Conservative leader

the baton will be handed over in what has unexpectedly turned out to be a relay race

they changed the rules half-way through but never mind that now

and through that lacquered black door a new Prime Minister will shortly go to meet a fantastic group of public servants

the people who got Brexit done

the people who delivered the fastest vaccine roll out in Europe

and never forget - 70 per cent of the entire population got a dose within 6 months, faster than any comparable country

that is government for you – that's this conservative government

the people who organised those prompt early supplies of weapons to the heroic Ukrainian armed forces,

an action that may very well have helped change the course of the biggest European war for 80 years

And because of the speed and urgency of what you did – everybody involved in this government

to get this economy moving again from July last year in spite of all opposition, all the naysayers

we have and will continue to have that economic strength

to give people the cash they need to get through this energy crisis that has been caused by Putin's vicious war

And I know that Liz Truss and this compassionate Conservative government will do everything we can to get people through this crisis

And this country will endure it and we will win

and if Putin thinks that he can succeed by blackmailing or bullying the British people then he is utterly deluded

and the reason we will have those funds now and in the future is because we Conservatives understand the vital symmetry between government action

and free market capitalist private sector enterprise

we are delivering on those huge manifesto commitments

making streets safer – neighbourhood crime down 38 per cent in the last three years

13,790 more police on the streets

building more hospitals – and yes we will have 50,000 more nurses by the end of this parliament and 40 more hospitals by the end of the decade

putting record funding into our schools and into teachers' pay

giving everyone over 18 a lifetime skills guarantee so they can keep upskilling throughout their lives

3 new high speed rail lines including northern powerhouse rail

colossal road programmes from the Pennines to Cornwall,

the roll-out of gigabit broadband up over the last three years, since you were kind enough to elect me, up from 7 per cent of our country's premises having gigabit broadband to 70 per cent today.

And we are of course providing the short and the long term solutions for our energy needs

and not just using more of our own domestic hydrocarbons but going up by 2030 to 50 GW of wind power, that is half this country's energy electricity needs from offshore wind

alone, a new nuclear reactor every year

and looking at what is happening in this country, the changes that are taking place,

that is why the private sector is investing more venture capital investment than China itself

more billion pound tech companies sprouting here than in France, Germany and Israel combined

and as a result unemployment as I leave office, down to lows not seen since I was about ten years old and bouncing around on a space hopper

and on the subject of bouncing around and future careers

let me say that I am now like one of those booster rockets that has fulfilled its function

and I will now be gently re-entering the atmosphere and splashing down invisibly in some remote and obscure corner of the pacific

And like Cincinnatus I am returning to my plough

and I will be offering this government nothing but the most fervent support

this is a tough time for the economy

this is a tough time for families up and down the country

we can and we will get through it and we will come out stronger the other side but I say to my fellow Conservatives it is time for the politics to be over folks

and it's time for us all to get behind Liz Truss and her programme

and deliver for the people of this country

because that is what the people of this country want, that's what they need and that's what they deserve

I am proud to have discharged the promises I made my party when you were kind enough to choose me,

winning the biggest majority since 1987 and the biggest share of the vote since 1979.

delivering Brexit

delivering our manifesto commitments – including social care

helping people up and down the country

ensuring that Britain is once again standing tall in the world

speaking with clarity and authority

from Ukraine to the AUKUS pact with America and Australia

because we are one whole and entire United Kingdom whose diplomats, security services and armed forces are so globally admired

and as I leave I believe our union is so strong that those who want to break it up, will keep trying but they will never ever succeed

thank you to everyone behind me in this building for looking after me and my family over the last three years so well including Dilyn, the dog

and if Dilyn and Larry can put behind them their occasional difficulties, then so can the Conservative party

and above all thanks to you, the British people, to the voters for giving me the chance to serve

all of you who worked so tirelessly together to beat covid to put us where we are today

Together we have laid foundations that will stand the test of time

whether by taking back control of our laws or putting in vital new infrastructure

great solid masonry on which we will continue to build together

paving the path of prosperity now & for future generations

and I will be supporting Liz Truss and our new government every step of the way.

Thank you all very much.