



universität
wien

MASTER THESIS

Titel der Master Thesis / Title of the Master's Thesis

“THE NEGOTIATION PROCESS BETWEEN RUSSIA AND UKRAINE DURING THE WARTIME. THE INFLUENCE OF THE EXTERNAL FACTORS AND POSSIBLE STEPS OF THE PEACEFUL SOLUTION“

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angestrebter akademischer Grad / in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Laws (LL.M.)

Wien, 2023 / Vienna 2023

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt /
Postgraduate programme code as it appears
on the student record sheet:

UA 992 548

Universitätslehrgang lt. Studienblatt /
Postgraduate programme as it appears on
the student record sheet:

Europäisches und Internationales Wirtschaftsrecht /
European and International Business Law

Betreut von / Supervisor:

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ABSTRACT

The Ukrainian War, which started in 2014, escalated into a complex battle in 2022 that touched on major issues with the geopolitical, ecological, and humanitarian situations. Understanding the complex nature of the conflict and the negotiations from 2014 is also crucial because it will aid in reaching a resolution and the master thesis's goal. Identifying and determining possible actions for the peaceful settlement of this conflict depends significantly on exploring and comprehending the negotiating process in a situation like this. The broad theory of the interests of the other parties and their engagement will be investigated during the research since it determines the outcome of the negotiation process. It will be demonstrated in a real-world setup involving the conflict in Ukraine. In particular, the European Union, the United States of America, France, Turkey, and Hungary will be examined in this work along with other external interests and involvement in the conflict and peacebuilding. Based on their goals and circumstances in the various countries, it evaluates the key stances and nature of their actions during the war. The study will examine how this support or disapproval might affect the way a disagreement develops or is resolved, as well as how it can help or hurt the negotiating process as a whole. The purpose of this work is to demonstrate what potential course of action should be adopted to bring about peace in Ukraine or perhaps to at least somewhat defuse the current situation. In addition, try to identify specific methods and channels for other parties that could help Ukraine reach a peaceful resolution.

Keywords: Full invasion of Ukraine, negotiation process, Turkey as a mediator, European Union, the United States of America, the war in Ukraine, hybrid war, Hungary, France, peace

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Der Ukraine-Krieg, der 2014 begann, eskalierte im Jahr 2022 zu einer komplexen Schlacht, die wichtige Fragen der geopolitischen, ökologischen und humanitären Lage berührte. Das Verständnis der Komplexität des Konflikts und der Verhandlungen aus dem Jahr 2014 ist ebenfalls von entscheidender Bedeutung, da es dabei hilft, eine Lösung zu finden und das Ziel der Masterarbeit zu erreichen. Die Identifizierung und Festlegung möglicher Maßnahmen zur friedlichen Beilegung dieses Konflikts hängt maßgeblich von der Erforschung und dem Verständnis des Verhandlungsprozesses in einer solchen Situation ab. Die umfassende Theorie der Interessen der anderen Parteien und ihres Engagements wird im Rahmen der Forschung untersucht, da sie das Ergebnis des Verhandlungsprozesses bestimmt. Es wird in einem realen Szenario unter Einbeziehung des Konflikts in der Ukraine demonstriert. Insbesondere werden in dieser Arbeit die Europäische Union, die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika, Frankreich, die Türkei und Ungarn sowie andere externe Interessen und Beteiligungen am Konflikt und an der Friedensförderung untersucht. Basierend auf ihren Zielen und Umständen in den verschiedenen Ländern werden die wichtigsten Standpunkte und die Art ihres Handelns während des Krieges bewertet. In der Studie wird untersucht, wie sich diese Unterstützung oder Missbilligung auf die Art und Weise auswirken könnte, wie eine Meinungsverschiedenheit entsteht oder gelöst wird, und wie sie den Verhandlungsprozess als Ganzes unterstützen oder beeinträchtigen kann. Der Zweck dieser Arbeit besteht darin, aufzuzeigen, welche möglichen Maßnahmen ergriffen werden sollten, um Frieden in der Ukraine herbeizuführen oder vielleicht die aktuelle Situation zumindest etwas zu entschärfen. Versuchen wir außerdem, spezifische Methoden und Kanäle für andere Parteien zu identifizieren, die der Ukraine helfen könnten, eine friedliche Lösung zu finden.

Schlüsselwörter: Vollständige Invasion der Ukraine, Verhandlungsprozess, Türkei als Vermittler, Europäische Union, die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika, der Krieg in der Ukraine, Hybridkrieg, Ungarn, Frankreich, Frieden

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

DPR	Donetsk People's Republik
DPRK	Democratic People's Republic of Korea
ECHR	European Court of Human Rights
etc	et cetera
EU	European Union
G7	the Group of Seven (USA,Canada,Japan,Germany,UK, France, Italy)
G8	The Group of Eight (USA,Canada,Japan,Germany,UK, France, Italy, Russian Federation)
LPR	Luhansk People's Republik
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
POW	prisoners of war
UK	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
UN	United Nations
UNIAN	Ukrainian Independent Information Agency of News
USA	United States of America
ibid	ibidem
ICC	International Criminal Court

INTRODUCTION

This article will be related to the current war in Ukraine, which is a major cause of concern for the world community. This issue is, in some way, relevant to everyone on the globe. This dispute drew a large number of countries and nations into the negotiating process as one of the attempts to find a peaceful solution to the problem. There are several hard problems for Ukraine in negotiating during combat, which has become a hot topic. My goal with this research, as a master's student trying to understand the finer points of this process, is to delve deeper into the theoretical portion of the negotiation process, examine the historical development and singularity of the war, and highlight particular features of the negotiation process in the current setting.

The basic concept and goal of this work are to completely comprehend the negotiating process in Ukraine during the conflict with the involvement and impact of many other parties, particularly the European Union (hereinafter - EU), Turkey, and others. With the assistance of an investigation of their interests and influence, I would like to present a full analysis of the multifaceted character of the current situation and speculate on potential steps toward a resolution to this battle.

This research will be organized into three major segments. The first chapter, which is connected to the conceptual foundations of the negotiation process as well as the players in the negotiation process, will be included in the work's structure. It will emphasize the fact that international negotiations involving multiple parties are exceedingly challenging owing to the wide variety of interests. In this chapter, the essential ideas and tactics that govern all negotiations—including those taking place during a war—are discussed. This chapter will discuss the impact and interests of third parties in order to help readers comprehend the whole framework.

Next comes the second chapter, which is titled "The Uniqueness of the War and Negotiations Related to the War in Ukraine." These two factors have an influence on the current situation in Ukraine. So, in order to understand Russia's objectives, we must first define the specifics of this war as well as the negotiation process.

Notably, there has been a recent increase in interest in finding a solution to the conflict between Russia and Ukraine. Despite the fact that most people believe the conflict between Ukraine and Russia started lately, namely a year ago, it really started in 2014. Correspondingly, in my opinion, thoroughly comprehending key facets of this so-called "hybrid war" would be beneficial. Also, this chapter will depict the major circumstances and characteristics of this conflict, which began many years ago with the seizure of the Crimean, Donetsk, and Luhansk regions. It will assist to

understand the present parties' positions and the variables that contribute to the duration of this process.

Meanwhile, the conflict's negotiating phase is not a mission that should be taken lightly. Due to the negotiation process' special characteristics, we will be better able to track how the conflict and ongoing discussions are influencing the current situation. As well, the primary difficulties that the negotiators encountered as the negotiation process moved along and the factors that led to Ukraine's withdrawal from the negotiating process will be emphasized.

What's more, the participation, activities, and interests of third parties, including the EU, Turkey, France, the UN (hereinafter- United Nations), and so on, are not the least significant item that will aid us in discovering potential means of resolving this dispute. We will talk about this in the chapter after that because it wasn't evident at the time the conflict broke out in 2014 why the West hesitated to label it a war and label Russia an aggressor nation. Numerous queries came up throughout the investigation, such as "Was anyone interested in this battle and why? Why did the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (hereinafter - NATO) and EU nations start to worry about this conflict's conclusion on February 24, 2022? In the face of dictator Putin, everyone is interested in what Russia is trying to do. Because of this, the engagement of the aforementioned parties as well as the relationships between all parties will be thoroughly explored. Understanding Turkey's goals and role in advancing peace, as well as the EU's scholarship program and Turkey's geopolitical considerations, will be made easier with the help of this information.

Consequently, the goal of this research is to assess and make an effort to provide a response to the issue of whether peace is possible, under what circumstances, and what efforts should be made to advance the resolution or peace. It is also possible that more time is required to discover the perfect peaceful solution.

Finally, using a full theoretical knowledge of the negotiating process as well as the external variables at work and war, this research will identify feasible strategies that may be implemented to obtain viable agreements and move Ukraine closer to a peaceful resolution. It will be easier to impose peace in Ukraine in the future by emphasizing the importance of other parties' engagement and interests, open discourse, and international collaboration. Thus, the investigation will reveal insights into various paths to a peaceful conclusion.

PART 1: NEGOTIATION PROCESS THEORY

To begin talking about the practice of negotiation, it is important to understand the negotiation process and who are the actors in this process.

The negotiation process is a dialogue that takes place between two or more parties with the intention of achieving a better outcome than is possible by each party alone. It is important to keep in mind that the two parties have distinct objectives, interests, and negotiation strategies for achieving the deal. Business, politics, justice, and interpersonal relationships are just a few of the domains of life where this process might occur. Also, the negotiations are divided into formal or informal depending on the arising issue and the statutes of the parties. As an example, the informal negotiation process takes part when someone tries to find homework at school and he or she negotiates with their classmates about propositions from his or her side to them for this work. The formal, contrary, takes place in the professional sphere between partners, companies, etc. with the issue, influencing the perspective work between them. There are a lot of specifications for such kind of negotiation process.

Nevertheless, the aim for all kinds of negotiations is the same: achieving a mutually beneficial arrangement that accommodates most requirements of each party involved. That is why, to attain this goal, it is required to communicate with the opposing party, identify each party's interests and requirements, analyze arguments and suggestions, and settle conflicts between the parties.

In light of this, the negotiating process may be broken down into different phases: preparation for negotiations; the negotiation themselves; closing of the negotiations, and analysis of them. It should be stated that the preparation for negotiations (hereinafter- pre-negotiation) is one of the most important stages because during this step the parties are gathering the information, defining the actors of these negotiations (sometimes it is more than two parties involved), problem-defining, issue-discussing, identifying interests, suggestions, and arguments of solving the matter. All these methods should set up the final results. Before sitting down to negotiate, it should be recognized that the goal is not to win over the other party, but to reach a compromise on the problem, which is acceptable to all parties. Thus, the participants in this process may be willing to be tolerant of agreeing on some arrangements without resorting to force or avoiding such a procedure.¹

¹ 'Stages of the negotiation process, <http://megalib.com.ua/content/3482_Stadii_vedennya_peregovoriv.html>

One crucial aspect is that long before the participants sit down at the table, pre-negotiations begin. It is shown in the goal of the preparation stage. It is displayed in the preparation stage's purpose. During this stage, the parties work on psychological, organizational, structural, content, and tactical preparation. The preparation of the content and approach is crucial because it allows the delegation group to analyze the issue and its surrounding circumstances. Due to their divergent points of view and pursuits, both parties may be at variance with one another. A more casual communication style or an open confrontation might be used to communicate this confrontation. The parties ought to anticipate the demands and needs of the other parties, be ready to provide any further alternatives, come up with the right and appropriate responses to the questions posed, and so on. Nobody can predict with certainty how the negotiations will proceed or where they will end. That is why, both parties should provide the capabilities and should be available to operate the ambiguous or fluctuating circumstances. However, the above-described part of the preparation is only one phase; the parties also figure out who else is interested in the dispute or whether anything else would have an impact on the sessions. This subject matter will be covered in more detail in the next sections of the paper. Once initial preparation is undertaken, delegates aim to be prepared psychologically, organizationally, procedurally, and substantively to engage. As described by Chris Voss "...in the real world negotiation is far too unpredictable and complex for that. You may have to do *a* then *d*, and then maybe *q*." ²

When everything appears to be complete, the parties convene. Typically, the negotiating process begins with setting an agenda. The agenda forms a structure for what topics will be addressed, by whom, in what sequence. The process may begin with an opening statement in which each side identifies themselves and expresses their aims and objectives. The parties may express their interests in resolving the issue at this point, work to build trust and clarify their respective positions, conceptions, points of view, and other things, that will influence the further development of the situation and negotiation process. To achieve a favorable result during this stage, negotiators should keep in mind that the interests and goals should be clearly defined; the parties should be adaptable, understand each other's interests, and have a strong desire to achieve the goal even if it means compromising. A key element is information exchange with effective communication. The parties make an effort to narrow the gaps between the interests of the two parties and identify potential solutions. Their collaboration and oratory skills—or, in other words, their communication abilities

² C. Voss with T. Raz, 'Never split the difference', June 2018, p.8-9

—have an impact on all of this. At this point, the outcome of their work should display any possible solutions to this procedure. Following that, they reach an agreement on the specific circumstances, conditions, and ultimate solutions of this negotiating process.

The previous phase is devoted to information exchange and proposal package development and may take an extended period of time as the parties develop trust and a working relationship. Once a potential agreement is outlined, the negotiation process moves on to its last phase, which is referred to as its ending and closure. During the conclusion of the discussions, the parties conduct an analysis and assessment of the findings, as well as the implementation plan of the final agreements. Negotiations normally come to a conclusion when the parties sign the agreement. However, it is equally common for them to sign nothing and just carry out the agreed-upon responsibilities. Negotiations are deemed successful when both parties rate their progress favorably. The rate of problem-solving and the faithful execution of agreements by the parties are both crucial indicators of a negotiation's success.

To summarize the material connected to the stages of the negotiation process, the conditions for effective talks are that the parties have well-founded viewpoints, excellent preparation, and awareness of the process's strategies and tactics. The likelihood of collaboration, appreciation of the aims, goals, and information, as well as emotional restraint during the process, are other critical elements for success. To achieve the negotiation goals, it is crucial to establish communication with the counterpart, uncover the interests and needs of all parties involved, carefully analyze the arguments and proposals put forth, and effectively address any conflicts or challenges that arise between the negotiators.

As we could see, the procedure is rather sophisticated and convoluted. It encompasses a variety of aspects such as intimate relationship interaction, emotional intelligence, and strategic thinking. It should not be forgotten, as previously said, that in addition to the major parties participating in the discussions, there are several additional parties with opposing viewpoints interested in this process. This subject will be covered in further depth in the next paragraph.

1.1. Other parties' interests in the negotiation process

As it was said before, the parties in the negotiation process are not only that with whom you have communication and issue. It is also the third parties, who are interested in the solution of them

or who can influence them. The dispute affects the interests and objectives of various groups, each with its own:

- key groups—their vested interests are at stake, and they take part in the conflict—although these groupings are not necessarily influencing the fruitful discussions;
- secondary groups - their interests are infringed, but these forces do not strive to overtly display their interest, keeping their actions un³.

According to this, all parties must be identified in the stage of preparation for the discussions. Furthermore, it is vital for defining their interests and the reasons for such goals from their perspectives.

This is the reason why, finding out the causes of other parties' interest in certain talks, specifically what sparked their attention, as well as the potential interests that these parties may have in negotiations, will be the main emphasis of this section.

First off, the interests of the other parties might vary greatly, depending on factors like money, reputation, and whether or not their interests were also violated. Numerous subjects will be included in specific agreements, covering a wide variety of issues. They mostly have interests that are connected to and dependent on relationships with the key players. For instance, stakeholders, the government, mediators, specialists, international organizations, and so on. Each of them has distinct links to the bargainers and various motives.

Stakeholders include the primary actors as well as others who may not be actively participating in the process, whether they are a person, business, or organization. However, they anticipate an advantageous outcome from this procedure for their own. Since their interests can be centered on how the negotiation's conclusion might affect their reputation, finances, or other pertinent assets. They can be shareholders, employees, and so on.

The other interested party is the mediators or supervisors, although they have different goals in the negotiating process. The effective resolution of the dispute and a compromise achieved by the negotiators that are accepted by both parties are often their major goals, along with obtaining reimbursement for their services. Finding common ground, encouraging good communication, and

³ L.M. Yemelienenko, V.M. Petyukh, L.V. Torgova, A.M. Grinenko Education manual — K.: KNEU, 2003, 'Conflictology', par. 7.6. 'Constructive tools for conflict resolution', <<https://buklib.net/books/26750/>>, p. 216

building a positive negotiating environment are all things that mediators or supervisors are interested in.

It is important to examine their interests in further depth because, as previously said, their primary goal is to find a solution to the issue. They make an effort to act impartially during this procedure because of this. Their goal is to facilitate harmonious and productive debate that leads to conflict settlement. The mediators and supervisors provide a neutral and unbiased function in ensuring that all of the key parties are treated fairly and equally during the negotiation process. Furthermore, adopting this stance aids in giving negotiators the impression that all of their goals and interests are taken into account. All of this reduces the strain throughout the process and gives the parties the impression that they will be listened to and valued.

Furthermore, these third parties attempt to make the views of the main participants in a process more open, listening, and respectful of the viewpoints of one another. Therefore, their interest in this situation is related to the cultivation of compassion, comprehension, and working together between the key players during the process.

Beyond that, they have a stake in averting more complex disputes amongst the negotiators since they understand how crucial future connections and cooperation are. They therefore have an incentive in finding a solution that stimulates or helps keep up goodwill between the parties. Added to that, they strive to mitigate the bad impact on the parties and establish a good future working relationship between them.

In brief, the key goal is to ensure the equal treatment of such a negotiating process and that agenda and process will be in the way that resistant actors see it in their interest to participate.

Aside from the aforementioned players, the governments of other nations may also be a party with an interest in certain discussions. They are notably active in talks involving concerns of public interest, legal compliance, and policy ramifications, or which have international importance for their country. Usually, one of their goals may be making sure that laws, regulations, and the public interest are obeyed.

It should be pointed out, nevertheless, that their interests shift depending on a variety of factors, including their relationship with the parties involved, the nature of the negotiating process, and their potential ambitions in international politics.

One of the governments' common interests is the economy. It suggests that they will utilize the outcome of the bargaining process to produce finances, improve their country's economic standing, or protect their nation's financial well-being. Favorable trade agreements, a widely accessible

market, monetary investments, or access to resources for their local firms and industries, to name a few examples.

Another interest is linked to the geopolitical factors and the extent to which diverse third parties would endeavor to shore up their geopolitical or strategic position, relative to the conflict and ongoing negotiations between Russia and Ukraine. As well, they are interested in developing diplomatic contacts with other countries, cooperating, and finding solutions that are beneficial to everybody along the process.

Additionally, the government's as a negotiator party's primary priorities include safeguarding democracy and human rights worldwide, not only in its own nation. Such an interest is in strengthening the security of human freedoms and rights and ensuring that the outcome of the negotiations adheres to these values. It means that the solution reached throughout the negotiating process must be in accordance with international human rights standards and benefit the public. For instance, Turkey is interested in the economic result of the conflict in Ukraine since it will affect its inhabitants, such as through favorable trade deals and financial investments. France, the most democratic nation in Europe, may be more concerned with human rights and liberties than the preceding nation, and that the issue will be resolved in accordance with international law.

As a recap, the general aim for such types of parties in the negotiation process is in generating economic gains for their national enterprise and the country's economy. However, they are concerned not just with the economic side, but also with the population, human rights and freedoms, their nations' geopolitical status, diplomatic ties, safety of the nation, and so on. Furthermore, they are concerned about global peace, as seen in the current situation in Ukraine. Due to the fact that all nations, particularly Turkey, Europe, and the United States, are affected by this scenario and its effects on their individuals and nations. So, as a result of that, they are concerned about the interests of the countries that they represent.

Observers or specialists have a broad range of concerns in the negotiation process, especially if they are new to this sector or desire to sharpen their bargaining abilities. They could be consultants, specialists, interested party representatives, or another type of person. Depending on their expertise and area of occupation, their interests might be subdivided into several categories. These categories are as follows: learning and improvement; networking; reputation; representation or information collection.

Learning and improvement tend to be linked with students, researchers, or specialists who wish to see a certain negotiation process as a possible means of learning something new. To gather ideas,

tap the experience of seasoned negotiators, and develop their negotiating skills, they observe the negotiation approaches, strategies, and dynamics.

Networking, often known as forming new ties, is the second type of interest. It implies that these individuals may have the chance to forge new connections with the parties involved or to fortify existing ones throughout certain negotiation procedures. It is feasible for newcomers to this field to make new contacts, secure some internships, or meet companions there. Following these discussions, the observers and the participants in this process may decide to work together or form a partnership in the future. The desire to build relationships, expand networks, or extend their organizational or professional influence drives them.

Not to be overlooked is the reputation of this group of people. In this regard, their interest resides in the fact that if they are colleagues of one or more of the parties involved in the talks, they ensure that the conclusion of the discussions has a beneficial impact on their reputation. Specifically, how the outcome may impact the parties' standing in the eyes of the public, the confidence of their business partners or investors, and so on.

The observers may occasionally act as stakeholder representatives. These stakeholders are the third parties who are directly impacted by the problem and have direct interests in it, but who are not actively participating in the process due to certain conditions. Because of this, the representatives have a vested interest in upholding the goals and rights of their clients and ensuring that those interests are taken into account throughout the process.

Collecting information is the observers' final area of interest. For pursuing such an interest, people attend the negotiation to learn more about the negotiations, the parties adopted strategies and tactics, and undoubtedly, the results of this process. They frequently have these interests if they are speaking on behalf of organizations, stakeholders, the media, the government, or other entities. For review, documentation, or decision-making reasons, they are interested in gathering insightful information.

As a consequence, it should be emphasized that the interests of this group of third parties vary greatly and are typically determined by their function and motive in the process. The observers, on the other hand, may be able to assist the negotiators in having a more transparent, effective, and productive negotiating process.

International organizations make up the final group of third parties that this study will look at. Their interests are increasingly globalized because they care about promoting peace and stability,

optimizing global objectives, preserving the interests of member states, guaranteeing compliance and responsibility, and, of course, adhering to humanitarian standards, among other things.

As one of its top priorities, the international organization has a stake in promoting peace and stability. This goal also involves conflict resolution and stability. The engagement of international organizations is motivated by a desire to contribute to the peaceful resolution of the process, avert confrontations, and reduce pressures.

Improving global objectives is of equal importance. Thus, international organizations are intimately related to human rights, environmental viability, member-state economic advancement, and welfare as a whole. Due to the fact that these aims will be in line with the negotiating process's outcomes, their interests are entwined with the world's beneficial influence.

Another point of interest is related to the member countries. In a variety of procedures, international organizations serve as the representatives of various nations. Because of this, they must ensure that the aims and interests of these nations are taken into account during the specific negotiating process, without violating the sovereignty, rights, or welfare of this member state.

Such interests were declared by the countries in the Great Seven Hiroshima Leaders' Communiqué on the 20th of May in 2023, such countries as Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom (hereinafter- the UK), and the United States of America (hereinafter- the USA) and additionally European Union as a non-enumerated member. ⁴

The latter two objectives of international organizations are the ones that matter most, especially nowadays: maintaining compliance and responsibility, as well as sticking to humanitarian considerations. Due to what will be demonstrated a little more in this research, the majority of the time throughout the negotiating process, the negotiators forgot to take into account humanitarian issues and conformity with international law. In such instances, international bodies may remind and control participants to ensure that international law, treaties, or agreements are followed. Their primary concern is to ensure that the process's outcome adheres to the legal framework. In addition, they can give priority to humanitarian requirements, safeguard the populace, endeavor to settle the ongoing conflict with a minimal amount of harm to humanity, and proceed with humanitarian values. Ensuring compliance and responsibility, as well as adhering to humanitarian issues, are the most beneficial for the globe since much depends on international organizations' existence and

⁴ G7 Hiroshima Leaders' Communiqué, 20.05.2023, <<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2023/05/20/g7-hiroshima-leaders-communique/>>

involvement. To sum up, the welfare of the human race, human rights, and shared objectives are typically tied to all international organizations' interests.

It should be concluded that various third parties have diverse interests based on numerous circumstances, including their connection with the main players engaged, the context of the discussion, and the nature of the negotiations. Furthermore, the roles, connections, and objectives of these parties are essential considerations. As a result, it is advisable to only deal with individuals who are currently in positions of power, as this can alter how the scenario plays out. There may be additional, even more, covert forces participating in the conflict, which will impact the process since they have different interests than those who are involved. These parties have the potential to sway the course of events with the aid of these side interests, so let us outline how they may go about doing so. The war in Ukraine, which will be addressed in greater detail later, can be used as an example of the main parties and third parties. Russia and Ukraine will be the key players because their principal interests are linked to the war. There are also other parties, such as the European Union, which supports Ukraine and offers scholarships, the United States of America, which offers military assistance and training to the Ukrainian army, or Turkey, which expresses a desire to mediate this dispute. In the negotiating process, all third parties have a considerable impact. We will look at the theory first, followed by the situation as it exists in the modern world.

1.2. The impact of the third parties on the negotiations

Third parties have a wide and diverse spectrum of interests and aims, which are influencing variables. However, the question is how they would do so and what effect this will have on the bargaining process. The essential point is that the influence of such parties may be both good and destructive. Everything relies on the roles played by the parties, their goals and interests, and of course how they engage during the process. The third party's ties with the principal negotiators, as well as their participation in the negotiation process, are a significant aspect of influencing the discussions. That is why, first and foremost, a description of what the impact implies, in general, is required.

The impact of the negotiation process is the result of other people's activities or the effect of numerous external circumstances and events that result in certain repercussions or results of the negotiation process. In addition, it is capable of influencing the goals of the parties as well as

certain process dynamics, strategies, and consensuses. The appraisal of the changes in the negotiating results is what is referred to as the impact at some point. As a result, the negotiators may comprehend how these parties can influence or have an impact on their discussions.

It should be noted that third parties may be involved in some cases, either at the request of the principal negotiators or on their own initiative. Furthermore, their influence can be felt in two ways. These influencing tactics may be classified into two categories based on this:

- When adopting the negotiating strategy, the key method of influencing third parties is conviction and offering assistance in reaching a solution;
- Enforcement and pressure, such as political or economic pressure.

Aside from that, there are a number of ways for third parties to interfere in the negotiating process:

- Mediating, assistance, or intermediation: it is not required to consider these parties' recommendations during this sort of intervention; instead, they serve as advisors to the major parties.
- Reconciliation: this method is used to cease a quarrel between parties rather than to find a solution.
- Arbitration: in this case, the parties are required to follow their recommendations.

Given that there are many more influence tactics than those mentioned above on the aforementioned roads, as well as the need to research the aforementioned tactics in greater detail, it will be useful to delve a bit deeper into the problem of third-party influence.

The first is mediation, which has a more recommendation-like moderating character. During this intervention, a third party, acting as a mediator, plays a neutral role in the process and can only advise and guide the main parties. They can simply offer them some alternatives and advice on the matter that has arisen between the parties. Typically, their services include encouraging effective communication, resolving conflicts, and attempting to keep the atmosphere calm throughout the process so that everyone can express their interests and opinions on the situation. By asking questions, the mediator strives to elicit creative potential solutions to the problem. It also employs the reconciliation method in tricky conflicts. An example can be Turkey, which has a connection with Ukraine the same as Russia.

In contrast to mediation, arbitration necessitates guidelines and suggestions for improvement. The arbitrator is the third party in this system, and he has the authority to execute the agreement. Depending on the contract or law, his power varies; for example, he may be confined to selecting and enforcing one of the parties' options, or he may be allowed to recommend additional solutions. In arbitration, a resolution is always reached. However, the main issue in this process is to understand who should arbitrate and under what jurisdiction.⁵

Arbitration is therefore linked to giving leverage and pressure from authorities. This approach of influencing is linked to the use of leverage to persuade the negotiating participants to achieve an agreement. The primary sorts of incentives are economic, political, and diplomatic, and they will persuade the parties to reach an agreement and find a solution. This form of involvement tends to be used by government agencies, international organizations, and others. This has a detrimental influence on the negotiators since they are unable to achieve what they need to accomplish.

The provision of expertise and knowledge, which is often provided by third parties with a specialized understanding of a particular issue, has a favorable influence on the process. The parties are therefore provided with some crucial facts and insights into the highlighted problem. Both sides will benefit from having access to this information in order to more fully comprehend the problem at hand, consider alternative solutions, and synthesize it in order to make an educated decision. However, it has an impact on the viewpoints and arguments advanced by the parties because they begin to understand and think more broadly about the problem at hand.

Furthermore, it is often hard to reach a proper final beneficial agreement for both parties. As a result, it is preferable to use a neutral third party. Such parties do nothing but attempt to mediate between parties in various ways, such as encouraging an atmosphere of trust and collaboration, creating rapport, or even bridging their differences, among other things. These parties act as a balancing force in this circumstance. By supporting those who are less powerful while setting up a fair and equitable bargaining process, they can occasionally assist level the playing field. They influence the conditions and achievements of the negotiating process in this way.

⁵ Organisation Behaviour and Human Relations, 'Third-Party Negotiations', <<https://courses.lumenlearning.com/wm-organizationalbehavior/chapter/third-party-negotiations/>>

Keep in mind that external parties can also sway the final result of the debates by offering their financial, material, or technological resources. It has an impact on expanding the capacity of the negotiators to hold fruitful conversations and address real-world problems.

The fact that international organizations or trade associations may have an influence as third parties by establishing norms and standards and imposing incentives or punishments should also be acknowledged as one of the key insights gained from this effort. That is, they can impose provisions and norms on the bargaining process. Such standards strongly affect how the parties should behave, what is considered proper conduct, and of course, the guidelines for reaching an agreement. Furthermore, these inducements might take the shape of financial aid, preferential treatment, or the imposition of political, economic, and diplomatic penalties. Due to these factors, the parties are under pressure to reach an amicable agreement that serves both their interests and those of society. In addition, it is important to remember that regulatory organizations and governmental authorities have a stake in seeing that laws, rules, or goals of public policy are followed. It depends on the nature of the negotiation process; nevertheless, in order to achieve this aim, they might influence the process by controlling or having the right of affirmation or denial over specific aspects of the negotiation decision.

Last but not least, and in my opinion, the factor with the greatest influence, is the arbitrator, whose rulings are binding. As a result, it has a considerable influence on negotiation conclusions and, in turn, molds the final agreement. Be warned that there may occasionally be more third-party impacts as the list of third-party influence categories provided above is not exhaustive.

To sum up, the aforementioned observations and opinions can be seen that the impact of third parties may vary greatly and depend on a variety of factors, including their participation in the process, trustworthiness, and the parties' openness to accepting their engagement and taking into account their recommendations. In addition, the main actors in the negotiation process have the discretion to accept or reject any contributions, offers, or suggestions offered by third parties.

When drawing conclusions from the material presented in this chapter, it should be emphasized that the negotiating process is highly intricate and extensive since it necessitates that the parties be well-prepared physically, psychologically, and of course intellectually. However, they must also evaluate external causes and repercussions, particularly those of third parties. On the one hand, they

are required to provide essential information, assistance, dialogue facilitation, and compromise encouragement. They thus contribute significantly to this process. On the other side, the intrusion of the third party's interests may cause new conflicts and issues to surface, making it more challenging to come to an agreement that is advantageous to everyone involved.

Regardless of whether they have an active role or not in the negotiating process, it is necessary to keep in mind the interests and objectives of third parties. It is crucial to comprehend and take into account the interests of these other parties since doing so will help you anticipate future obstacles, form connections or coalitions, come up with solutions that are favorable to all parties involved, and control external expectations. It also provides a solid foundation for increasing support for the result and making it more long-lasting in the long run. With their participation, the final agreement may have a more justifiable goal and be more widely accepted. Hence, the major objectives of the other interested parties in this process are to promote dispute resolution, minimize adverse consequences, and provide favorable results for everyone.

It should be kept in mind, though, that they have their own objectives and goals, which third parties will attempt to accomplish over the course of this discussion. Because of this, they occasionally have the ability to negatively affect the culmination of the negotiation or prolong the process in order to accomplish more within the time frame they choose. These will be addressed in the next paragraphs of this article, which will focus on real-life instances.

PART 2: THE UNIQUENESS OF THE WAR AND NEGOTIATION PROCESS IN UKRAINE. INTERNATIONAL RELATION TO THIS SITUATION.

Understanding a number of issues regarding this war in general, the background, when it started, and the reason for this was necessary in order to fully comprehend the negotiating process and its external variables throughout the complete invasion of Ukraine.

It is better to start by pointing out the obvious: this is the greatest threat to humanity in the twenty-first century, both in Europe and globally. Some Russian intellectuals and politicians claimed that it was a global conflict; nevertheless, it is actually a conflict for the Ukrainian people's independence, freedom, and sovereignty. More importantly, according to the statistics, Russia is the largest country on the continent of Europe and the entire planet⁶. Its armed forces were ranked second in the world. Therefore, this collision is one of the most complex ones that has ever occurred.

By the same token, it is the invasion of a nation armed with nuclear weapons against one that has willingly renounced such weapons and signed an international treaty in order to compel other nations, including Russia, to defend Ukraine in the event of a conflict or other attack. According to the Budapest Memorandum, Ukraine relinquished Russia its entire nuclear arsenal, which was the world's third largest in the 1990s. This conflict demonstrated the failure of the global treaty, which numerous parties had signed. Furthermore, one thing connected to the complete invasion of 2022 and the nuclear arsenal is that within the initial weeks, the Russian army seized the Chornobyl and Zaporizhzhia nuclear power plants⁷. Following that, they spent several days blasting the Zaporizhzhia station. Some experts claimed that it might cause it to explode. It is important to note that it is one of the largest nuclear power plants in Europe.

Another feature is that because both of these nations have the largest orthodox communities, the battle also has a religious component. Thus, the Russian Orthodox Church has a significant impact

⁶ 'Largest Countries in Europe', <<https://wisevoter.com/country-rankings/largest-countries-in-europe/>>

⁷ 'Military conflict and the nuclear power plant of Ukraine: the threat of explosion and radiation leakage.' 5.03.2022, <<https://news.un.org/ru/story/2022/03/1419282>>

on the local population and economy, and it is closely linked to the government⁸⁹. In Ukraine, meanwhile, there are two churches: the recently formed Orthodox Church of Ukraine and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate, both of which are in conflict. The outcome of this conflict will have an impact on the status of the Orthodox Church worldwide.

It is equally important that contrary to what was previously said, the fight in eastern and southern Ukraine's regions of Crimea, Luhansk, and Donetsk started in 2014 rather than in 2022. In accordance with NATO definition of hybrid threats, David Cattlered, who is NATO's assistant secretary general for intelligence and security, classified this battle as "hybrid"¹⁰. This indicates that the fight involves more than just the standard elements of conflict and that it also has impacts on other levels. In the ground engagements of this conflict, tanks, cannons, firearms, and other pieces of military hardware are utilized. On the other hand, the war of information also includes cyberattacks, sabotage, disinformation, and other strategies that include multiple countries from all over the world. These propaganda campaigns were designed to sway the public's view and weaken the legitimacy of Ukraine's government.

This "hybrid war" involves a variety of tactics. The following are some of them:

- Information warfare (this is a technique for utilizing information warfare to spread false information, propaganda, and fabricated stories that have an impact on the way public opinion is shaped on a national and international level);
- cyberattacks and cyber warfare (this tactic is used to target the systems of government institutions, key infrastructure, and communication networks, which causes harm to the state and occasionally even results in human casualties);
- proxy components and defensible operations (this strategy is used to carry out militaristic intimidation by utilizing directly or indirectly non-state and parastate entities)¹¹ ;

⁸ 'Does death in Ukraine wash away all sins?', 27.09.2022. < <https://ru.euronews.com/2022/09/27/web-patriarch-kirill-on-ukraine> >

⁹ K. Luchenko, 30.05.2022, 'Independence or split. What will be the relationship between the Ukrainian and Russian Orthodox churches? Independence or split. What will be the relationship between the Ukrainian and Russian Orthodox churches', <<https://carnegieendowment.org/politika/87212>>

¹⁰ K. Dozier, 'NATO intel chief: Russia's war on Ukraine and a hybrid war aimed at us', 30.05.2023, <<https://www.c4isrnet.com/cyber/2023/05/30/nato-intel-chief-russias-war-on-ukraine-and-a-hybrid-war-aimed-at-us/>>

¹¹ F. Brijka, 'Operational control over non-state proxies', <<https://securityanddefence.pl/Operational-control-over-non-state-proxies,131044,0,2.html#https://securityanddefence.pl/Operational-control-over-non-state-proxies,131044,0,2.html>>

- attacking vital infrastructure (it is used to cause harm to industrial control systems and disrupt governmental functioning)¹² ;
- psychological operations and perception management (This strategy is used to achieve the key national goals by influencing the attitudes and conduct of the conflict's impacted parties at all times, whether in war or peace)¹³ .

By examining the news and writings of journalists from Ukraine, Europe, and the United States, all of these approaches are deployed in Ukraine during the complete invasion in 2022. The hacks targeted the networks of Ukrainian government structures.

Russians have often said on TV shows, programs, and news stations that they do not bomb civilian infrastructure, but rather attack military structures. Plus, the Russian government generally makes the claim that we are not assaulting, but rather protecting Ukrainians from the terrible regime. Contrarily, in real life, their shooting targets are residences, schools, and hospitals, as evidenced by the situations in Mariupol, Kharkiv, and Zaporizhzhia.

Russian espionage, sabotage, and destabilization of Ukraine were carried out through cyberattacks and cyberwarfare. Its purpose was to undermine public trust in the Ukrainian government and cast doubt on both domestic and international citizens.

Attacking important infrastructure, such as Kahovskoye Reservoir, is one example that can have disastrous results. The Zaporizhzhia nuclear power facility was the target of a different attack. However, vital infrastructure targets include the attacking telecommunications system, other energy structures, and public transportation systems.

Thus, this conflict is a perfect illustration of a Hybrid war, in which not only military activities are used, but they are supplemented by unconventional methods. Every community and armed service in the globe must overcome this formidable obstacle.

The commencement of the conflict coincided with Yanukovich's ouster as president at the time because Putin had supported him in his bid to join the customs union headed by Russia in the presidential elections of 2004 and 2010. The revolution for dignity was born as a result of Ukrainians' refusal to allow them to happen. Volodimir Putin opted to pursue a different path after realizing that his desired goal had not yet been accomplished. During the revolution, the Russian

¹² 'Cyber attacks on critical infrastructure', 06.2016, <<https://www.agcs.allianz.com/news-and-insights/expert-risk-articles/cyber-attacks-on-critical-infrastructure.html>>

¹³ N.Sunil, 'Psychological Operations (PSYOPs): A Conceptual Overview', 21.03.2004, <https://www.idsa.in/system/files/strategicanalysis_snarula_0304.pdf>

army invaded the Crimean peninsula and forced residents to cast ballots in favor of reunification with Russia in a phony referendum. The main defense of Russia was that Crimea was a part of their country and had never been part of Ukraine. Meanwhile, as is known from history, in 1954, Soviet Union leader Nikita Khrushchev approved a deal declaring Crimea to be a part of Ukraine based on factors other than ethnicity, including geographic considerations and economic ones¹⁴. Russian army simply illegally invaded Ukrainian territory, which, given that Crimea was the hub of Ukrainian identity, had a tremendous impact and was the main reason for the confrontation between the two countries. As well this annexation in 2014 is deemed a breach of fundamental rules of international law. As a result, the United Nations passed a resolution upholding Ukraine's territorial integrity, and the entire world praised this decision¹⁵.

Notwithstanding, Crimea was not the only territory of Ukraine that Russia attacked and annexed. They established a battleground in eastern Ukraine, in the area of Donetsk and Luhansk. The main justification given for their actions was that "We came to making people free from the Ukrainian government," and as a result, they murdered individuals, destroyed infrastructure, and split apart families. The same was claimed when the main invasion commenced in 2022.

In essence, following the events of 2014, the Russian army felt powerful enough to wage war on the entire nation of Ukraine, which it did in 2022¹⁶. However, they were confronted by a fierce confrontation and defense from Ukraine, something no one expected, including Western experts.

It is hard not to mention that the post-probable end of this war will put all connections and points of the Post-Soviet countries in the proper independent place, as the Russian Federation's dominance is ending as could be seen, and it is even proven by the situations in South Caucasus (Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia, and so on), such as calling Russian government on Russia-Central Asia summit to respect the Central Asian states¹⁷.

In the same way, this battle is inextricably linked to geopolitical elements. Analyzing the bigger picture could reveal that this conflict is not solely a conflict between Russia and Ukraine. It

¹⁴ S. Plokhy, 'The gates of Europe. A history of Ukraine', 2016, p. 298-299

¹⁵ 15 A. J. Blimken, 'UN General Assembly Resolution Condemning Russia's Attempted Annexation of Ukraine's Territory', 21.10.2022, <<https://ua.usembassy.gov/un-general-assembly-resolution-condemning-russias-attempted-annexation-of-ukraines-territory/>>

¹⁶ Matthews O. Inside Putin's bunker: how he kept the plan to invade Ukraine secret. 03.11.2022, < <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/how-putin-kept-the-plan-to-invade-ukraine-a-secret-nlw087729>>

¹⁷ Rahmon tells Putin: We want to be respected. 14.10.2022, < <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k0pIRt5-eUE>>

encompasses every nation on the planet, but mainly those in Europe, the United States, Turkey, China, and so forth. What causes this? Thus, the international political situation changed during the conflict as a result of sanctions, diplomatic connections, assistance militarily, changing ties, adjusting the method of acquiring gas, and so on. As well, the connection with a Cold War between the Soviet Union and the United States influenced this war in the way of choosing Ukraine as the aliens and desire to apply to NATO rather than Russian allies, which made Russia fearful of having a strong opponent close its borders. Because of this, one of Vladimir Putin's goals during the complete invasion in February 2022 was to overthrow the Western-aligned administration in the face of Volodymyr Zelenskyy.

Furthermore, this battle had an essential effect on the economic situation, stability in energy, and the security of food in a number of countries. Even the European Union refused to import Russian coal, oil, and gas, which led to price increases and a worsening of the economy.

The refugees from Ukraine who are dispersed throughout the world, particularly in the European Union, Canada, England, and other countries, are also tied to the geopolitical backdrop. Many countries expressed their support for Ukrainians and aided them in whatever way they could. On the other hand, Western countries, particularly the EU and the United States, as well as Russia, perceive Ukraine as a battlefield. This occurs because, while Russia backs separatist forces in eastern Ukraine, Western countries back the Ukrainian government and its soldiers.

The humanitarian and environmental consequences of this war are enormous as well. To begin with, the impact on ecological systems can be seen through a large number of graves and slain animals simply lying in some forests or fields, which will influence the health of the people and a variety of diseases will emerge; due to the massive amount of bombing chemical reactors, nuclear power plants, manufacturing facilities, or power lines, the country's atmosphere, soil, and water have been polluted by hazardous chemicals, explosions, and construction breaks down which can cause longer-term health threats such as the risk of cancer and respiratory ailments¹⁸. The blasted Kakhovskoye Reservoir will have a tremendous impact on the ecological system, causing sickness, cholera, and many other infections, as the water burst out of numerous cemeteries, killing many individuals, etc. This environmental issue will have an impact not just on Ukraine, but also on neighboring countries¹⁹.

¹⁸ Ministry of the Environmental Protection and Natural Resources (2022), "Digest of the key consequences of Russian aggression on the Ukrainian environment for June 9-15, 2022", <https://mepr.gov.ua/news/39320.html>

¹⁹ S. Jayanti, 08.06.2023, 'The Bombing of Ukraine's Kakhovka Dam Affects All of Us', <<https://time.com/6285811/ukraine-kakhovka-dam-bombing-impact-essay/>>

The humanitarian tragedy is associated with Bucha, Mariupol, Kherson, Kharkiv, et alii cities. Thousands of individuals, including newborns and children, were brutally murdered, raped, and tortured. Many people were forced to leave their homes, and millions of people lost their homes²⁰. Infringing on both international law and the laws of war, the Russian army committed atrocious acts against mothers, children, and absolutely everyone else. Their behavior is far worse than that of animals.

As well, the inhabitants of the occupied territories and certain bordering areas struggle with a lack of security, issues with their access to social services and medical treatment, and issues with their access to water and energy. Furthermore, the availability of food in stores was restricted, medical services were severely reduced, classroom instruction was halted, and the connection was hampered. Under these conditions, the conflict underscored the need of continuing the case against Putin and seeking punishment for war crimes and human rights breaches.

Hence, the primary differentiating characteristic is that it is one of the most massively violent and long-lasting battles in recent decades. A further unique characteristic of this conflict is how it is interconnected with and affects a wide range of factors not only in Ukraine but also around the globe. Together with the demonstration to the rest of the world what Ukrainians are capable of doing for their country, nation, and people; meanwhile, no one expected such a strong confrontation and power from them between 2014 and the first months of 2022, when any of the international communities and organizations supported, which distinguishes this war. The stubbornness of the Ukrainian people in the face of hardship was shown by the conflict in that country. It must be kept in mind that the geopolitical importance of Ukraine, which is situated at the geographic crossroads of Western countries and the Russian Federation, was one of the primary causes of this war. Thus, all of these elements, including the historical backdrop, geopolitical relevance, humanitarian impacts, hybrid nature of the conflict, and the fortitude of the Ukrainian people, make this war distinct from others. It was considered as knowing this background information would make it less difficult to look into the following stages in fruitful collaboration, resolving conflicts, and promoting peace in Ukraine.

It is essential to recognize and comprehend the peculiarities of this war (also known as "hybrid warfare") in Ukraine in order to develop an efficient plan for fighting and reducing its effects.

²⁰ S. Shuster, 13.04.2022, 'A Visit to the Crime Scene Russian Troops Left Behind at a Summer Camp in Bucha', <<https://time.com/6166681/bucha-massacre-ukraine-dispatch/>>

2.2. The uniqueness of the negotiation process

Aside from the peculiarity of the battle, there is also the distinctive nature of the bargaining process. As previously said, the negotiating process is a complex of many participants, interests, and considerations. During the Ukrainian war, this process might be viewed as an international and multi-party conversation. Given that this conflict had an impact on the EU, the USA, and not simply Ukraine and Russia.

2.2.1 Minsk agreements

Forging a unity government in Ukraine and reaching a consensus in such a terrible circumstance was the goal of the negotiating process that was launched by a European foreign minister when the conflict broke out in 2014. He assumed the function of the mediator, which indicates that, as we know from the theory, he did not select a side in the dispute²¹.

One attempt to find a solution made by the governments of Ukraine, Russia, the US, and the EU was the Minsk Agreement in 2014–2015. The negotiations pertaining to the situation in Donetsk and Luhansk should come to a close with these accords being the outcome. It was a set of international treaties that were supposed to put an end to the fighting there. Contrary to what Russia claimed, these talks were neither between the Luhansk People's Republik (hereinafter - LPR) nor the Donetsk People's Republic (hereinafter DPR). In the so-known Normandy Format, the presidents of France and Germany mediated a meeting between Ukraine, Russia, and the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (hence referred to as the OSCE)^{22 23 24}. Unfortunately, as can be seen, today, the original draft of the Minsk Protocol failed to achieve its goal, and the violence continued, especially as it did not prevent an instant truce in the preceding

²¹N. Walker, 'Conflict in Ukraine: A timeline (2014 - present)', 24.02.2023, <<https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/CBP-9476/CBP-9476.pdf>>

²² "Ukraine ceasefire agreement signed in Minsk". CCTV America. 30. 11.2001. Retrieved 1.09.2014, <<https://america.cgtn.com/2014/09/05/ukraine-ceasefire-agreement-signed-in-minsk>>

²³ "Chairperson-in-Office welcomes Minsk agreement, assures President Poroshenko of OSCE support" (Press release). Bern: Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe. 5 September 2014. Retrieved 1 October 2014, <<https://www.osce.org/cio/123245>>

²⁴ "OSCE Chief Monitor in Ukraine urges all sides to allow monitors to carry out duties safely" (Press release). Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe. 15 September 2014. Retrieved 15 September 2014, <<https://www.osce.org/ukraine-smm/123591>>

regions. With the situation at Donetsk airport, the Minsk Protocol cease-fire had totally crumbled by January 2015 ²⁵.

Due to this, the major negotiators and other parties, including France, Germany, the OSCE, and others, decided to schedule one more meeting, following which one more Minsk Agreement II was signed on February 12th, 2015. This agreement was similar to the last one, but it has more specific terms relating to measures like a ceasefire, the removal of heavy weapons from the battlefield, the emancipation of war prisoners, reforming the Ukrainian constitution to grant certain Donbas regions autonomy, and giving the Ukrainian government back control of the state's border. Contrary to what was agreed upon, warfare did not end entirely following the signing of the aforementioned pact, and the accords' conditions were never fully carried out. Both parties were well aware that the terms of these agreements would never be taken seriously or completely. Therefore, it was one of the factors that led Ukraine to adopt definite perspectives during the 2022 conflict, which its opponent later rejected before the parties decided to end or stop negotiations.

What is noteworthy and should not be overlooked is that "Minsk II" is also known as the "Steinmeier formula", which included a method Frank-Walter Steinmeier, a former German minister of international affairs, who suggested to provide special status to the Donetsk region (hereinafter - Donbas). This formula reached its culmination on February 21, 2022, when Russia formally recognized the DPR and LPR, complicating the bond between Ukraine and Russia even further. The Minsk Agreements were rendered null and void as a result of Vladimir Putin's action, and the Russian president even agreed and announced that the Minsk Agreements "no longer existed" in his address. In addition, he pointed the finger at Ukraine rather than Russia for the breakdown of these accords. Whereas, the Ukrainian parliament enacted legislation on "special status" for Donbas and Luhansk on March 17, 2018^{26,27}, as stipulated by Minsk-II. Even later in 2019, the Ukrainian parliament approved an extension of a law granting limited autonomy to separatist-controlled eastern areas in order to demonstrate to Europe that Ukraine is prepared to comply with Minsk-II, notwithstanding it was cut up by a lot of Ukrainian politicians and citizens²⁸.

²⁵ Ukraine forces admit loss of Donetsk airport to rebels". *The Guardian*. 21 January 2015. Retrieved 23 January 2015, <<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jan/21/russia-ukraine-war-fighting-east>>

²⁶ Minsk agreements, <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Minsk_agreements>

²⁷ N. Zinets, R. Balmforth, "Ukraine parliament offers special status for rebel east, Russia criticizes", 17 March 2015, Retrieved 17 March 2015, <<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-ukraine-crisis-status-idUSKBN0MD1ZK20150317>>

²⁸ Reuters Staff, "Ukraine extends 'special status' for conflict-hit regions". *Reuters*. 12 December 2019. Retrieved 29 July 2020, <<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-ukraine-parliament-idUSKBN1YG0VM>>

It was also one of the required justifications for reaching a settlement to end the five-year fighting there, which served as further justification²⁹.

Furthermore, the Ukrainian news agency Ukrainian Independent Information Agency of News (hereinafter- UNIAN) determined on December 27, 2018, that not a single condition of the Minsk agreement had been properly executed³⁰.

Furthermore, as previously indicated, Russians believed that these agreements were signed not by the parties named, such as the Russian Federation, Ukraine, and others, but by representatives of the DPR and LPR. As a result, Russia has recently indicated that it will act as a mediator in future negotiations between Ukraine and representatives of the self-proclaimed separatist republic in parts of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions ³¹. Meanwhile, Volodymyr Zelensky's declaration that he "has no intention of talking to terrorists" encouraged Kremlin officials to decide against communicating with the present Ukrainian government ^{32 33 34}. As reported in the news, this became one of the justifications for Russia to launch a full-fledged invasion of Ukraine.

Nonetheless, the negotiations with Russia were not halted, because the Russian foreign ministry disclosed sensitive information between Germany and France in November 2021, violating the diplomatic convention ^{35 36}. What led to Ukraine being blamed in 2021 for employing Javeline and Turkish reconnaissance and strike drones supplied by the US ³⁷. Following another claim leveled by Russia against Ukraine in January 2022, Oleksiy Danilov, Secretary of Ukraine's National Security and Defense Council, stated that "The fulfillment of the Minsk agreement means the country's

²⁹ibid 27

³⁰ "Almost entire 'gray' zone in Donbas liberated by Ukraine without Minsk deal breach – adviser". *UNIAN*. 27 December 2018. Retrieved 22 April 2019.

³¹ "Article by Vladimir Putin 'On the Historical Unity of Russians and Ukrainians'". *President of Russia*. 12 July 2021. Retrieved 26 January 2022. "the outcome of both Minsk-1 and Minsk-2 which give a real chance to peacefully restore the territorial integrity of Ukraine by coming to an agreement directly with the DPR and LPR with Russia, Germany, and France as mediators, contradicts the entire logic of the anti-Russia project."

³² "Ukrainian leader calls for revamp of peace process to end Donbas war". *Financial Times*. 26 April 2021.

³³ "Russia to wait for responsible leaders in Ukraine, says Medvedev". *TASS*. 11 October 2021.

³⁴ "Russia Shouldn't Negotiate With 'Vassal' Ukraine, Ex-President Medvedev Says". *The Moscow Times*. 11 October 2021. Retrieved 26 January 2022.

³⁵ "Germany decries Russia's publication of diplomatic notes on Ukraine". *DW*. 18 November 2021. Retrieved 26 January 2022.

³⁶ Irish, John (19 November 2021). "France, Germany say Russia's publication of notes breaks diplomatic rules". *Reuters*. Retrieved 26 January 2022.

³⁷ "Moscow to thwart any provocations by Kiev in Donbass, Russian military chief warns". *Tass*. 9 December 2021.

destruction. When they were signed under the Russian gun barrel — and the Germans and the French watched — it was already clear to all rational people that it's impossible to implement those documents”³⁸.

To summarize, we could see that the opponent of Ukraine did not wish to comply with international agreements, laws, or any agreed-upon condition. Despite the fact that not just these parties were involved in the signing of the agreements, Russia does not give an inch about the details surrounding their violation and has even begun to place the responsibility for it on Ukraine, claiming that they were not to fault. These factors led to the Ukrainian side's decision to halt talks with Russia, but the other parties did not follow suit. Furthermore, contrary to what Ukraine and, to a lesser extent, Russia believe, Emmanuel Macron and US Secretary of State Antony Blinken have stated that the Minsk agreements are the best route to resolve the conflict in Donbas and the Luhansk area. However, in my opinion, these accords were quite helpful to the Russian side since they enabled them to achieve their goals. Second, there were many unanswered questions, such as Crimea and occupied land that should have been assigned to Ukraine rather than Russia. However, as Blinken remarked, it was a work in progress that might be examined in depth later and maybe lead to peace³⁹.

2.2.2 The negotiation process during the full invasion of Ukraine in 2022

Unfortunately, the Russian government is focused on a single goal, as stated by one of Putin's assistants, Vladislav Surkov. He stated that Ukraine "can be reformed as a confederation, with a lot of freedom for the regions to decide things for themselves⁴⁰," and that it will be divided between Russia, the EU, and the US due to the totally different "geopolitical attraction" of Ukrainian regions. He also asserted that the Minsk Accords were the initial action that "legitimized the first division of Ukraine."⁴¹ Perhaps for this reason, in October 2021, Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov suggested that America resolve the conflict and situation related to the Ukrainian territories fast in exchange for their backing of the Minsk Agreement's implementation. However, as

³⁸ "Ukraine security chief: Minsk peace deal may create chaos". *Associated Press*. 31 January 2022.

³⁹ Lister, Tim (9 February 2022). "What is the Minsk agreement and is it a way out of Ukraine crisis?". Retrieved 15 November 2022.

⁴⁰ Foy, Henry (20 June 2021). "Interview: 'An overdose of freedom is lethal to a state,' says former key Putin adviser". *The Irish Times*. Retrieved 21 June 2021.

⁴¹ibid 40

can be seen, they did not accept it, which became the rationale for formally announcing and recognizing DPR and LPR as self-proclaimed republics on February 21, 2022, which ultimately violated the Minsk Agreement, as previously stated. In addition, after this choice, Vladimir Putin asserted that Ukraine was responsible for the Donbas genocide because it had broken signed agreements and had not complied with them ⁴² ⁴³ ⁴⁴. This remark was deemed unproven and factually incorrect by genocide experts worldwide, including the United Nations. The aforementioned Russian declarations served as the impetus for their complete invasion of Ukraine on February 24, 2022⁴⁵.

After the full-scale aggression between the representatives of Russia and Ukraine, the negotiating process was immediately set up on the territory of Belarus. On the 28th of February, the 3d, and the 7th of March, there were three rounds of similar conversations⁴⁶. One outcome of these discussions was the preservation of the diplomatic ties between Belarus and Ukraine despite the fact that the Russian army invaded Ukraine from Belarusian territory. Following the final meeting, the bargaining process took place online. They were not very advanced, though, and as a result, the negotiations began in Turkey, with Turkey acting as the final mediator because of its connections to both Russia and Ukraine ⁴⁷. Given that Turkey is a balanced country between both sides and Belarus is a recognized friend of Russia, shifting the location of the negotiating table might be seen as a little diplomatic win.

Ukrainian delegates drafted the Istanbul communiqué, which was presented on March 29, 2022, during the Turkish negotiation process. The goal of this document was to come up with compromise alternatives that would nevertheless provide security assurances for Ukraine. The Russian side only offered to take "two steps back of de-escalation" in the direction of Kyiv and Chernihiv but refused

⁴² "Putin says Ukraine's Minsk peace process is finished, blames Kyiv". *The National Post*. Reuters. 22 February 2022. Retrieved 22 February 2022.

⁴³ "Minsk agreements cease to exist — Putin". *TASS*. 22 February 2022. Retrieved 22 February 2022.

⁴⁴ "Ukraine conflict: Biden sanctions Russia over 'beginning of invasion'". *BBC News*. 23 February 2022. Retrieved 23 February 2022.

⁴⁵ Sarkar, A. Rahaman; Marcus, Josh; Giordano, Chiara (24 February 2022). "Dozens dead and airports bombed after Putin invades Ukraine - live". *The Independent*. Archived from the original on 15 May 2022. Retrieved 24 February 2022.

⁴⁶ 'Negotiations between Russia and Ukraine: is there progress and how close is the agreement?', 21.03.2022, <<https://www.bbc.com/russian/news-60822040>>

⁴⁷ Atlantic Council in Turkey, 'Experts react: After Russia-Ukraine talks in Istanbul, is an end to war imminent?', 01.04.2022, <<https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/turkeysource/experts-react-after-russia-ukraine-talks-in-istanbul-is-an-end-to-war-imminent/>>

to accept any of the other concessions. As a result, the Russian army was forced to back down, because of the situation on the battlefield^{48 49}. Furthermore, specialists such as Defne Arslan, John E. Herbst, Dimitar Bechev, and Ariel Cohen believed that these discussions were the most beneficial thus far.⁵⁰

However, Ukraine's position has shifted and the negotiating process has been formally halted due to the situation in Bucha, Irpen, and Borodyanka, which has sparked international outrage, criticism, and condemnation. The war crimes committed by Russian invaders in the aforementioned territories resulted in the political incertitude of Zelensky's team. Furthermore, this situation demonstrated at one point the futility of dealing peacefully with the aggressor. Nevertheless, on the basis of such factors, it should be stated that Russian diplomats' remarks about abandoning the Ukraine dialogue process were false. Even though sometimes Volodymyr Zelenskiy has stated that Ukraine may abandon the process owing to the circumstances on the frontlines and if crimes similar to those experienced in the Kyiv region are replicated in other Ukrainian towns. Following such a circumstance, Zelensky proposed that negotiations on the nature of discussions and mutual consensus be held face-to-face between him and Putin, but this proposal was refused. After some setbacks on the battlefield and the destruction of the cruiser "Moscow," Putin even lost interest in the negotiating process⁵¹.

To summarize, according to Ukraine's 10-point plan, there are several major goals of official confrontation between Ukraine and Russia, including Ukraine's territorial integrity, including Crimea⁵²; a meeting of the presidents of both countries; and Ukrainian membership in the European Union.⁵³. Overall, the territory was the most challenging problem since losing it meant that Russia had failed to accomplish its own fundamental goal. Furthermore, everyone understands that Ukraine may join the EU, putting Russia in an even worse condition than it already is. The negotiating process during the invasion of Ukraine brought to light the difficulties, conflicting objectives, and

⁴⁸ 'The Istanbul Communiqué and security guarantees: what is known about Ukraine's negotiations with the Russian Federation', 22.05.2022, <<https://www.rbc.ua/rus/news/stambulskoe-kommyunike-garantii-bezopasnosti-1653113781.html>>

⁴⁹ S. Sedorenko, 'No peace, no guarantees. Details and consequences of negotiations between Ukraine and the Russian Federation in Istanbul', 30.03.2022, <<https://www.eurointegration.com.ua/articles/2022/03/30/7136915/>>

⁵⁰ ibid 46

⁵¹ ibid 47

⁵² 'Our path is the path of independence, territorial integrity, integration with the civilized world, the path of the Russian Federation is defeat and shame - address of the President of Ukraine', 30.09.2022, <<https://www.president.gov.ua/news/nash-shlyah-ce-shlyah-nezalezhnosti-teritorialnoyi-cilisnost-78197>>

⁵³F. Rustamove, 'Ukraine's 10-point plan', 29.03.2022, <<https://faridaily.substack.com/p/ukraines-10-point-plan>>

complexity of the parties involved. The material supplied demonstrates the shifting dynamics and the influence of military activities and war crimes on the negotiating process.

PART 3: OTHER COUNTRIES' INTERESTS AND POSITIONS IN THE UKRAINIAN WAR AND NEGOTIATIONS

As described in the preceding chapters, the negotiation process often involves more than just the key protagonists. There may also be third parties that are interested in and have some influence over the dispute and its resolution.

The last chapter, which covered the specifics of the Ukrainian conflict and the negotiation process between Russia and Ukraine, made it evident that in addition to Russia and Ukraine, other states and international organizations such as the European Union, the United States, and Turkey, are also involved. The involvement of the previously stated parties, as well as Russia's goal of preventing Ukraine from entering the EU and NATO, creates several obstacles in dealing with this conflict. To have a more thorough understanding of the issue, it is vital to look at other countries' interests and impacts on the conflict and negotiation process. As the conflict began in 2014, it is important to look into the years of Crimea's takeover and the occupation of Ukraine's East as well as how the international community responded to these events.

It is important to recognize that this "special operation" on Donetsk, Luhansk, and Crimea—as the Russian government called it—received little reaction from the general public in 2014. A geopolitical divide has developed as a result of the deteriorating ties between Russia and Western nations, particularly the US and EU. The Western nations at the time were only stating that this so-called operation was against international law and the integrity of Ukraine's lands. However, as a result of such statements, no actions, such as sanctions, have been taken against Russia. NATO has just provided the Ukrainian army military training, and naturally, keeping in mind the countries that make up this organization, it has taken steps to strengthen the defensive capacity of its nations that are on the borders with Ukraine and Russia. Everyone is aware that military training was intended for Ukraine's safety, but Putin viewed this scenario from a different angle and perceived it as an attempt to lean on him. As a result, the President of Russia used it as justification for a full invasion of Ukraine and the continuation of the conflict.

The EU and the US did not take many moves during the 2014 war. However, some did exist, and they were as follows:

- Europe (particularly Germany and France), America, and the OSCE made a difference in this war by acting as a mediator between competing parties and attempting to find a settlement. This

can be seen in the Minsk Protocol (2014) and Minsk II Agreement (2015), which became the main framework for the conflict in 2014–2022;

- David Cameron, the prime minister of the UK, tried to speak with Putin over the phone about the war in the eastern part of Ukraine. He has attempted to persuade him to defuse the situation. Furthermore, the government later denies the validity and legality of the Crimean referendum, and it "strongly condemns Russia's flagrant disregard for Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity.";
- With the words "Stand with Ukraine" and by extending a warm welcome to Ukraine's acting prime minister at the White House, the US, the first adversary of Russia, demonstrated and stated their allegiance;
- The leaders of The Group of Seven (hence - "The G7") released a statement during their summit that called on Russia to halt attempting to revoke Crimea's status;
- The two most powerful effects on the other parties were exerted by the Group of Eight (hereinafter- G8) leaders, the EU and the US. First, they imposed travel restrictions and asset freezes on certain Russian officials and Ukrainian rebels associated with the Crimean referendum. Second, Russia has been kicked out of the G8;
- A number of agreements between Ukraine and Europe, America, and other parties were also reached; nevertheless, they did not end the war, and some of them actually made matters worse⁵⁴.

When all of the aforementioned actions are combined, it is clear that other nations made an effort to assist, but did not invest significantly in funding or other forms of support; the situation was isolated to Ukraine's east, which places it far from Europe and, of course, America. Second, the USA (especially - NATO), the EU, and others do not want to jeopardize world peace and energy security in Eastern Europe (since Russia is the source of gas, coal, and oil). By negotiating and imposing certain penalties, the UK and the US only attempted to achieve a peaceful conclusion, which Russian Federation ultimately violated. Their objective was to express support for Ukraine but not become too involved in this battle, which may lead to more widespread warfare. Turkish officials made an effort to strike a balance between the two fires since they had a stake in bilateral relations with both nations. This will be revealed later in this work.

Nonetheless, all of these measures and dialogues did not resolve the matter, and agreements were broken. Everyone was aware that the conflict would rage on, and the seized Crimea and the frozen

⁵⁴ibid 21

conflict in Donbas are proof of this. This occurred due to a lack of assistance from the EU and the United States. Of course, in this situation, not only the aforesaid countries are to blame, but also the Ukrainian government, which did not request military aid, such as weapons.

Unlike in 2014, the world became aware of the full magnitude of the crisis in February 2022, and many Ukrainian cities became the site of violent crime, which had a significant influence on international relations.

Unfortunately, even in the early stages of the full-fledged invasion in 2022, other nations and international organizations, such as the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and the International Committee of the Red Cross, demonstrated a lack of willingness to lend a hand and a lack of faith in Ukraine's ability to defend and respond to such a massive and potent attack, army, and country.

Due to those circumstances, Ukraine was able to resist Russian Federation for the first few months on its own. On the other hand, the enemy committed more heinous crimes against humanity, and the international community started to denounce the aggressor country's government, specifically President Vladimir Putin. Nonetheless, there were leaders of nations that either refrained or supported the Russian Federation's military activities, and some even considered NATO's provocation as the cause of the conflict.

3.1 United Nations, United States of America and its Reaction

But the United Nations' actions also indicated a hesitant stance, which the Ukrainians find quite odd. This may be observed in the appropriate activities for the phony referendums relating to the occupied areas in 2014 and 2022⁵⁵. Because, during the voting in the UN General Assembly on the aforementioned subject, the world community was split into a "coalition" made up of the Russian Federation and those who backed Ukraine or adopted a neutral stance. Nicaragua, Syria, Belarus, and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (hereinafter- DPRK) voted against the resolution denouncing the invasion of Ukraine. Iran and Nicaragua, in contrast to Eritrea, which voted in favor of the UN General Assembly in March 2022, are fully engaged nations.⁵⁶ It is hard to ignore the fact

⁵⁵ The UN General Assembly demanded that Moscow cancel the decision on the status of individual districts of the Donetsk, Zaporizhzhia, Luhansk, and Kherson regions of Ukraine, 12.10.2022, < <https://news.un.org/ru/story/2022/10/1433377>>

⁵⁶ A. Guestev, 'Friends, with whom you don't need enemies. Who in the world is left with Putin?', 6.05.2022. <<https://www.svoboda.org/a/druzya-s-kakimi-i-vragov-ne-nuzhno-kto-v-mire-ostalsya-s-putinyom/31836348.html>>

that Iran is a supplier of kamikaze drones to Russia. Attacks on Ukraine's vital infrastructure are conducted using these weapons.⁵⁷ In contrast to the resolution in question, Russia participates in UN Security Council meetings and abuses its veto power by using it to block any and all resolutions⁵⁸. With this in mind, it raises the question of reforming the UN, since the procedural significance of this council is quickly eroding due to Russia's veto power.

Along with the previously specified measures, the international community also took two more decisive moves in reaction to the invasion by Russia. First and foremost, the "Ramstein format" was initiated by the United States and NATO partners on April 26, 2022⁵⁹ ⁶⁰. This document contains provisions that allow for a discussion on the need for new weapon supplies or anything else required for Ukraine, while also reinforcing the Ukrainian Armed Forces. Second, there is the batch of military supplies that the US provides to Ukraine virtually regularly.

Regardless of this, the US's aims are to weaken Russia and demonstrate to the world its superiority over the Russian Federation with minimum engagement. Because, as President Joe Biden stated in early March, if they were fully committed, it might lead to World War III⁶¹. All of this has made Russia weaker and ensured that a sovereign Ukraine would outlast Putin, since, as the President of the US stated: "Throughout our history, we've learned that when dictators do not pay the price for their aggression, they cause more chaos and engage in more aggression. They keep moving. And the costs, the threats to America and the world, keep rising."⁶² We may deduce from this remark that the United States' primary concern is preventing the conflict from spreading.

3.2. European Union in the Context of the Scholarship

⁵⁷ 'Iranian drones in the sky of Ukraine', 22.10.2022, < <https://ru.euronews.com/2022/10/22/iranian-drones-in-ukrainian-skies>>

⁵⁸ UN Security Council, 'Russia vetoed a resolution condemning the annexation of Ukrainian territories', 30.09.2022, < <https://news.un.org/ru/story/2022/09/1432952>>

⁵⁹ K. DeYoung, A. Timsit 'Putin never imagined' global rally of Ukraine support, defense secretary says. 26.04.2022, <<https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2022/04/26/austin-putin-ukraine-support-military-russia/>>

⁶⁰D. M. Herszenhorn, Lili Bayer; 'US rallies global allies to help Ukraine repel Russia' <<https://www.politico.eu/article/ukraine-war-russia-united-states-defense-consultative-group/>>

⁶¹R. Wright, 'Ukraine Is Now America's War, Too'; < <https://www.newyorker.com/news/daily-comment/ukraine-is-now-americas-war-too> >

⁶² U.S. Mission Italy 'Remarks by President Biden on the Request to Congress for Additional Funding to Support Ukraine' < <https://it.usembassy.gov/remarks-by-president-biden-on-the-request-to-congress-for-additional-funding-to-support-ukraine/>>

As an international entity, the European Union has also expressed its support for Ukraine and its territorial integrity. At the same time, it plays an important role throughout the war, not only in terms of economic support for Ukraine but also in its diplomacy.

For example, following the Russian Federation's aggression against Ukraine and the subsequent decision of the Committee of Ministers to expel the Russian Federation from the organization, the Council of Europe immediately adapted its assistance to Ukraine in accordance with the requests and necessities of national partners⁶³. The Council of Europe Action Plan for Ukraine 2018-2022 was amended by the Committee of Ministers to provide assistance for the country's rebuilding efforts, directed by the Government of Ukraine's National Recovery Plan, and development aimed at establishing a democratic and prosperous Ukraine⁶⁴. Furthermore, to demonstrate its support for Ukraine's independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity within its internationally recognized borders, the Council of Europe implemented The Council of Europe Action Plan for Ukraine for 2023-2026 "Resilience, Recovery, and Reconstruction" with the assistance of Ukrainian authorities⁶⁵. They could see the desire and resolve of the people of Ukraine as well as the government to take part in the nation's rehabilitation. The document, which is based on Council of Europe criteria, recommends steps to aid Ukraine's economic reconstruction and recovery. This would serve to strengthen the stability of Ukrainian institutions, democratic administration, and the rule of law, as well as defend citizens' fundamental rights (also known as "The Lugano Principles")⁶⁶. Additionally, it is a step toward strengthening Ukraine's relationship with the EU and paving the road for its admission as a member state. This implementation of such a document, as well as the correspondence of Ukrainian actions with it and the previous Plan, aided Ukraine in obtaining EU candidate status on June 23, 2022, as a result of a European Council decision.

However, it is not the only assistance supplied by the EU; in the meantime, the Council of Europe Development Bank significantly aided investment projects with high social added value by partially funding them. This kind of donation aims to broaden inclusion and enhance living standards for the most disadvantaged demographic groups⁶⁷. In truth, this assistance has already

⁶³ Opinion 300 (2022) , Consequences of the Russian Federation's aggression against Ukraine, Parliamentary Assembly, <<https://pace.coe.int/en/files/29885/html>>

⁶⁴ 'About the Council of Europe', <<https://www.coe.int/uk/web/kyiv/the-coe/about-coe>>

⁶⁵ Council of Europe, 'Action Plan of the Council of Europe for Ukraine for 2023-2026 "Resilience, Recovery and Reconstruction', <<https://rm.coe.int/action-plan-ukraine-2023-2026-ukr/1680aa8282>>

⁶⁶ Conference materials, 'Lugano Declaration', <<https://www.urc-international.com/conference-materials>>

⁶⁷CEB's 2023-2027 Strategic Framework and a historic capital increase, < <https://www.coe.int/en/web/portal/-/governing-board-approves-the-ceb-s-2023-2027-strategic-framework-and-an-historic-capital-increase>>

been provided three times in the form of grants and loans to Ukraine's neighbors. Both of these before-mentioned documents related to the different types of support to Ukraine are dynamic and will be amended and added as a result of the situation in Ukraine, as well as updated in accordance with the priority of new advertisements.

Additionally to this, the member-states of the Council of Europe, as well as several non-members, such as Canada, Japan, the US, and the EU made a decision to create a Register of Damages Caused by Aggressive War Russia against Ukraine. The aim is to make a register of documentation related to the information about statements and evidence regarding damages, losses, or damages, caused from February 24, 2022, to all physical and legal victims individuals, as well as the state of Ukraine. Considering that, Mark Rutte, the prime minister of the Netherlands, stated: "Russia must be held accountable, including for damage suffered by Ukraine and its people. We are therefore proud that the seat of the Register of Damage will be in The Hague, the legal capital of the world"⁶⁸ ⁶⁹.

The leaders of the nations advocated the establishment of a special tribunal for aggressive crimes, and the Council of Europe offered its support to this procedure. They demand the immediate release of all citizens, especially children, who have been forcibly displaced, unlawfully deported from Ukraine, or living in temporarily overrun or occupied areas. The Russian Federation must fulfill its commitment to the international community and withdraw its forces from Ukraine, Georgia, and the Republic of Moldova.

Furthermore, the EU and the European Court of Human Rights (hereinafter- ECHR) have done extensive work on problems pertaining to Ukraine and its residents. The International Criminal Court (hereinafter ICC) has also issued an arrest order for Russian President Vladimir Putin⁷⁰. Additional economic and social penalties are being applied by the EU and the US against Russia and its individuals, making up what is regarded as the broadest set of sanctions in history⁷¹. The loss

⁶⁸ Council of Europe, 'Register of damage for Ukraine', <<https://www.coe.int/en/web/portal/-/council-of-europe-summit-creates-register-of-damage-for-ukraine-as-first-step-towards-an-international-compensation-mechanism-for-victims-of-russian-aggression>>

⁶⁹Prime Minister Mark Rutte, statement, <<https://www.government.nl/documents/speeches/2023/05/17/statement-by-prime-minister-mark-rutte-at-the-general-debate-of-the-fourth-council-of-europe-summit>>

⁷⁰ International Criminal Court, 'Situation in Ukraine', <<https://www.icc-cpi.int/news/situation-ukraine-icc-judges-issue-arrest-warrants-against-vladimir-vladimirovich-putin-and>>

⁷¹ J.Borrell, 'Sanctions against Russia work.17.07.2022', <https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/%D1%81%D0%B0%D0%BD%D0%BA%D1%86%D0%B8%D0%B8-%D0%BF%D1%80%D0%BE%D1%82%D0%B8%D0%B2-%D1%80%D0%BE%D1%81%D1%81%D0%B8%D0%B8-%D1%80%D0%B0%D0%B1%D0%BE%D1%82%D0%B0%D1%8E%D1%82_ru?s=177>

of Russia's standing as a reliable and effective partner capable of participating adequately in the world economy is one example of such sanctions ⁷².

It is worth mentioning, however, that certain EU member states do not endorse the EU's viewpoint. For example, during the start of the war, member states attempted to express their support for Ukraine by providing military supplies. However, the tanks and weapons were old and some of them were damaged, resulting in a lot of losses in the Ukrainian army, and the decision for this support took a long time as well as delivering, but thankfully it was resolved, and Ukraine now has the most modern weapons in the world⁷³. The EU's ambitions to strengthen the visa-free suspension system with third countries, including Ukraine, are one additional unfavorable factor that is not currently being implemented but is being considered⁷⁴. It is an unanswered question and odd for the entire circumstance since it will have a significant impact on the war and negotiating process. It is an unanswered question and odd for the entire circumstance since it will have a significant impact on the war and negotiating process. In this approach, the EU makes it clear that they do not recognize Ukraine as a member state and quite likely will not in the future.

3.2.1 France's Position on the Situation in Ukraine

Regardless of the positions of the previously stated nations and the EU, France's administration attempts to be in the midst of this scenario. Because, at first, French President Emmanuel Macron opted to support Ukraine and its people⁷⁵. In March 2023, President Putin was sentenced for illegally annexing Ukrainian land⁷⁶.

In contrast, Macron spoke out against Putin's detention, arguing that the West needed to engage with him to stop the conflict. The argument was that he is the only one with whom the negotiating process should take place in order to find a solution. "If in a few months, we have a window for

⁷² Y.Mahda, I. Sikorsky, 'The main war of the century: preliminary results, 20.2022, <<https://www.kvak.ee/files/2023/01/Sojateadlane-20-2022-Yevhen-Mahda-THE-MAIN-WAR-OF-THE-CENTURY-PRELIMINARY-RESULTS.pdf>>

⁷³Z. Stepanenko, 14.03.2023, 'About weapons from EU warehouses, the effect of sanctions, future negotiations and Ukraine in the EU. Exclusive with Ambassador Chentsov', <<https://www.radiosvoboda.org/a/posol-ukrayiny-v-yes-vsevolod-chentsov/32316781.html>>

⁷⁴European Truth, 31.05.2023, 'The EU plans to strengthen the visa-free suspension mechanism with third countries, including Ukraine', <<https://www.pravda.com.ua/rus/news/2023/05/31/7404598/>>

⁷⁵France Diplomacy, 08.2022 'War in Ukraine: France's diplomatic action', <<https://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/en/country-files/ukraine/situation-in-ukraine-what-is/>>

⁷⁶ Situation in Ukraine: ICC judges issue arrest warrants against Vladimir Vladimirovich Putin and Maria Alekseyevna Lvova-Belova, 17.03.2023, <<https://www.icc-cpi.int/news/situation-ukraine-icc-judges-issue-arrest-warrants-against-vladimir-vladimirovich-putin-and>>

negotiations, then the issue will be between the court and negotiations, and you have to negotiate with the leaders that you have de facto, and I think that negotiations will be a priority...You can put yourself in a position where you say: "I want to imprison you, but you are the only one with whom I can negotiate" - Macron said⁷⁷. Nonetheless, we have already seen that in practice, Putin never accepts the proposal to discuss face-to-face on neutral grounds. He also stated that Russia has lost all legitimacy, but if the future Ukrainian counteroffensive fails to accomplish its military objectives, the nature of future European backing for Ukraine must be evaluated. At the same time, he stated that Ukraine guards not only its own borders but also those of Europe.

To summarize, Macron is sitting in both seats because he recognizes that if the conflict continues, it would have far-reaching ramifications for Europe and the rest of the West. Because of this, he makes an effort to get involved in the negotiation process as a neutral third party who can act as a mediator or as someone who can assist in finding a resolution to this problem. In order to ensure Ukraine's security, the French President said that the West should offer assurances. Consequently, the French government's stance remains unclear.

3.2.2. Hungary- a friend of Russia or the European Union

Even though Hungary is a member of the European Union, its prime minister has personal ties to the president of the Russian Federation and has thoughts about Uzhhorod and the surrounding area in Ukraine. It is uncertain why this is the only place where the Russian army has never fired a shot, but it is most likely the reason. At the start of the war, Orban did not criticize Putin's actions. His viewpoint is concerning for that reason.

Added to that, Hungary's prime leader, Viktor Orban, has claimed that ambitions for European integration are akin to Hitler's goals. But the Czech Republic's foreign minister rejected it, pointing out that no one compelled Hungary to join the European Union. Meanwhile, European Commissioner Vera Jourova stated that Hungarians avoid taking photographs with her in Brussels to prevent "persecution at home."⁷⁸ Plus, Hungary's viewpoint is unfavorable, as evidenced by its minister's claim that Ukraine is not a financially viable nation. Orban further asserted that Ukraine would not be able to defeat Russia in this conflict, yet data show that Russia has suffered more defeats and failures in several regions, including the Kherson and Kharkiv regions as well as the

⁷⁷P. Wintour, 31.05.2023, 'West may have to negotiate with Putin as well as pursue war crimes trial, Macron says', <<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/may/31/macron-to-call-for-european-strategic-awakening-after-ukraine-invasion>>

⁷⁸A. Zachvá, 15.05.2023, 'Czechia fumes after Orbán compares EU with Hitler's plans', <<https://www.euractiv.com/section/politics/news/czechia-fumes-after-orban-compares-eu-with-hitlers-plans/>>

present areas of the Donetsk region. Orban's remarks were always followed by action. By way of example, Budapest vetoed yet another EU military aid plan for Ukraine, frustrating German Defense Minister Boris Pistorius⁷⁹. Because of this blockage, EU defense ministers were unable to ratify a fresh package of military assistance for Ukraine. Additionally, without telling the EU or Ukraine, Hungary kept Ukrainian prisoners of war (hereinafter - POW) on Hungarian territory. It broke every rule of international law and strained relationships between Ukraine and Hungary, while at the same time demonstrating how closely connected Russia and Hungary are.

Putting together the above facts, Hungary is a Russian ally, but it is also a member of the EU organization. Orban even does not disguise his affinity with Putin, because he shares many of the same goals as the Russian President.

3.3 Turkey as a Mediator in this War and negotiation process

Along with the EU and the US, Turkey also offers assistance and support to the Ukrainian people since it has a stake in the conflict and is wary of large powers, particularly the Russian Federation.

In my perspective, the war in Ukraine offers a "golden ticket" for Turkey to rejoin NATO by taking up the high duty of peacemaker. Additionally, as is already evident, Recep Tayyip Erdogan won the election in Turkey this year thanks to his impartial stance and the fact that he has the ability to impact international peace. The outcome of Turkey's elections has the potential to have a substantial impact on regional politics. Even if there is an economic crisis and the lira is falling, imports, exports, or more precisely re-exports, are increasing. After changing the Constitution, Erdogan finds it challenging to transfer duty to the government. Putin benefits from Erdogan remaining in power. They are all conscious of the fact that they are each aimed at improving their personal gain.

In addition, on July 22, 2022, in Istanbul, Turkey, Ukraine, and Russia signed a document regarding the opening of grain exports from the Black Sea areas to Turkey ⁸⁰. This agreement was signed following the shooting down of the "Moscow," a missile cruiser that served as the Russian

⁷⁹DPA, 23.05.2023, 'German Defense Minister Slams Hungarian Blockade Of EU Military Aid', <<https://www.rferl.org/a/german-minister-slam-hungarian-blockade-eu-military-aid/32424499.html>>

⁸⁰The text of the grain agreement signed today in Istanbul has been published, 22.07.2022, <<https://ukragroconsult.com/ru/news/opublikovan-tekst-zernovogo-soglasheniya-podpisannogo-segodnya-v-stambule/>>

Black Sea Fleet's flagship, and the liberation of the Black Sea island known as "Snake Island." ⁸¹. It's a win-win situation for everyone.

However, Turkey's stance is ambiguous, as noted by Serhii Danilov, deputy director of the Center for Near Eastern Studies East: "Turkey's exclusive role at the beginning of the war is being leveled over time, Ukraine's dependence on the Turkish "Bayraktars" is eroding." Turkey plainly does not plan to clearly define a political position (pro, in the words of Volodymyr Zelenskyi, "for the truth or not"), preferring to earn money on the Russian market and obstruct American foreign policy while attempting to preserve the role of principal moderator. Turkey will not publicly support the Russian Federation, but do not expect Turkey to entirely support Ukraine; it is not worth it."⁸².

Even so, the Turkish President has repeatedly stated that Turkey should be the location on the world map where the negotiations between Ukraine and the Russian Federation start: "We report efforts and we hope to succeed so that the meeting of leaders will take place in Istanbul or Ankara... I believe that the place to take steps which it is necessary to do, especially with regard to issues related to the east of Ukraine, will be Turkey - Istanbul or Ankara."⁸³. In conclusion, we can note that Turkey has traditionally taken a position of political balancing. It is also confirmed by its actions: support for Ukraine's territorial integrity, blocking the Bosphorus straits for Russian warships and arms supply, demining, creation of humanitarian corridors, offering a place for negotiations, orphan assistance, sending humanitarian and military aid, demonstrating careful support for Ukraine and opposition to Russia, but on the other hand, saving diplomatic relations with Russia by preserving tourists.

The president of Ukraine, Volodymyr Zelenskyi, does not hold such a perspective of promoting peace, and he showed his displeasure by labeling such diplomatic strategies as "double standards" and "earning on the blood." ⁸⁴.

Nonetheless, there are several more significant reasons for Turkey's attitude in this war. According to Ihor Semivolos, Director of the Center for Middle East Studies, Turkey's efforts in this

⁸¹A.Levchenko, 'Blackmail by starvation and revenge of fanatics: how the de-occupation of the Serpentine violated the plans of the Kremlin', 13.07.2022. <<https://realist.online/politika/shantazh-holodom-i-mest-izuverov-kak-deokkupatsija-zmeinoho-narushila-plany-kremlja>>

⁸²Freedom, 07.04.2023, 'Turkey's rhetoric about "peacekeeping" regarding Russia's war against Ukraine is connected with upcoming elections - Danilo', <<https://uatv.ua/ritorika-turtsii-o-mirotvorchestve-otnositelno-voyny-rf-protiv-ukrainy-svyazana-s-gryadushhimi-vyborami-danilov/>>

⁸³ Ukrinform, 02.05.2023, 'Erdogan will talk to Putin again about meeting with Zelensky in Istanbul or Ankara', <<https://www.ukrinform.ua/rubric-polytics/3472691-erdogan-znovu-govoritime-z-putinim-pro-zustric-iz-zelenskim-u-stambuli-ci-ankari.html>>

⁸⁴ Fars News Agency, 02.05.2022, 'Zelensky Accuses Turkey of 'Double Standards'', <<https://www.farsnews.ir/en/news/14010212000577/Zelensky-Accses-Trkey-f-Dble-Sandards>>

war are intended to protect the country's interests, particularly its economic interests. For the growth of the region's small and medium-sized companies, Russian tourists are crucial. Repeating the 2015 incident in which a Russian jet was shot down. As is well known, due to the drop in tourism caused by Russia's embargo and the closure of the country's borders, Turkey had to apologize. Turkey is primarily concerned with the economic side of things because of this. The Russian Federation's attack against Idlib, however, may complicate the situation in Syria for Turkey from a political standpoint. An undesirable situation might arise before this year's presidential elections as a result of the Russian strike in Syria, which could result in the migration of 2 million refugees to Turkey.

The Black Sea region is another matter; since here is where the Russian Federation has deployed its armed fleet, Turkey has no control over this choice. As was previously noted, in the meantime, Turkey restricted military aircraft from using the straits and airspace, preventing both the movement of mercenaries from Syria and air contact between Russia and Syria. These are essential components for ensuring security in the Black Sea area. According to the analysis of the Center for the Study of Modern Turkey's analyst, Evgenia Haber, more objective and active favorable material is detected in Turkey's communication sphere towards Ukraine. Meanwhile, Turkish nationals have a concurrently high level of anti-American sentiment in their community (approximately 50%), with many of them believing that US foreign policy is to blame for the conflict that Russia and Ukraine are currently engaged in. Despite being the sole NATO member to oppose sanctions on the Russian Federation, Turkey provides "Bayraktary" to Ukraine. According to official statistics, around 1000 Russian Federation registered enterprises in Turkey, Russian Federation people would quickly acquire real estate, and tourism channels are in operation⁸⁵. Five Turkish banks have adopted the Russian financial payment system "MIR," allowing Turkey to continue purchasing Russian gas and oil for rubles (the national currency of Russia), supporting the economy of the aggressor state. By taking such measures, Turkey is protected from any potential future aggravation of the Syrian crisis. Additionally, according to the Bloomberg publishing company, the Russian Federation views Turkey as a mediator in its economic discussions with the West⁸⁶.

⁸⁵ G. Eрман, 27.08.2022, 'Traditions of Ottoman diplomacy. Why Turkey is a partner for Ukraine, but not an ally', <<https://www.bbc.com/ukrainian/features-62682378>>

⁸⁶ O. Ant, B. Akman, B. Barenstein, 03.02.2023, 'US Raises Pressure on Turkey and UAE to Curb Russia Trade Ties' <<https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2023-02-03/us-warns-turkey-on-export-controlled-goods-sent-to-russia#xj4y7vzkg>>

All things considered, it is clear that Turkey primarily considers its own political and economic interests. As of right now, data show⁸⁷ ⁸⁸that the Russian Federation and Turkey have traded 30 billion United States dollars (hereinafter-USD) worth of goods in just six months. Given the high level of inflation and the precipitous decrease in the value of the lira, this is particularly significant. Therefore, Turkey will endeavor to balance the economic situation in whatever manner possible during the negotiating process. Regarding the grain agreement, Erdogan has used it to establish himself as a political force to be reckoned with in the Middle East and Africa. This is an extraordinarily evident political calculation.

To summarize, the war is challenging for Turkey, which is attempting to end the conflict. The Ukrainian war should be put on hold, according to Turkish business circles. Such discussions have zero chance of being successful. However, it is the only way to attempt to find a peaceful settlement.

⁸⁷ 'Bloomberg The Open' Full Show' 29.06.2023, <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=23CoULnTWi0>>

⁸⁸ N. Gavrilko, Genadii Shirokiy, Rustam Uldashev, 10.03.2023, 'Status and prospects of the Russian economy in 2023', <<https://niss.gov.ua/doslidzhennya/mizhnarodni-vidnosyny/stan-ta-perspektyvy-rosiyskoyi-ekonomiky-u-2023-rotsi>>

CONCLUSION

For making more comprehensive analysis there is Annex 1 after the conclusion, which shows the timeline of all key events.

The focus of this thesis was to analyze the whole situation in Ukraine and presume possible steps for solving the war between Ukraine and Russia with the help of the negotiation process and third parties. The discussion examined the conflict through the lens of negotiation. Chapter 1 described the theoretical part of the negotiation process and the parties and their influence on this process. Without this information, it would be difficult to examine the negotiations in a practical situation related to the war in Ukraine. Chapter 2 examined the uniqueness of the war and negotiation process in Ukraine, which includes certain important events. These events play a significant role in the current war and negotiation process. Chapter 3 shows the war in Ukraine and international relations because they changed and had some specifics during the different events and times, what influences the results of the negotiation process. A resolution to the war can be reached through continuing violence until it ends. An alternative is to pursue negotiations where Russia and Ukraine's underlying interests can be achieved at a relatively less costly means. Negotiation presents a potentially more effective strategy to end a conflict or any other issue. Nevertheless, it can be extremely challenging to find a solution that works for everyone, because so many parties are involved in this particular situation. Since each key participant in a dispute, as well as third parties, has its own interests and objectives. As a result of this, they have an influence on how the negotiations are decided.

It can be observed that agreements made during negotiations occasionally end up being broken by examining the real-world example of the conflict in Ukraine, which started in 2014 and culminated in a full-scale invasion in 2022. Similar to what happened with the Minsk Agreements, even third parties that were engaged in the conflict or had concerns for their own nations to some extent overlooked the violation.

However, other parties that are also interested in the resolution of this conflict, like the EU, Turkey, the United States, and others, have started to look for a peaceful conclusion to this war because it has grown to be one of the largest and most brutal in the twenty-first century. This battle consequently had an impact on the political, ecological, and humanitarian facets of our planet.

However, from a broader perspective, there cannot be a peaceful truce at this time due to the large number of casualties, difficulties, and infrastructure destruction. As stated earlier in this work,

in order to fully resolve this conflict, Russia must return all Ukrainian territories that are currently occupied.

Anyway, certain methods can be taken to in order to at least temporarily halt the cruelty to the Ukrainian people.

The first step in the negotiations, in my opinion, should be to discuss Ukraine's security, because a similar agreement was violated, thus the majority of countries must come out in favor of Ukraine. Additionally, President Putin's greatest concern is Ukraine's membership in NATO. Countries such as Turkey, France, and the United States must guarantee the opposing side that Ukraine will not join NATO in order to establish at least some type of negotiation to end the war. Furthermore, it should be emphasized that this is most likely the case, even if we disregard the most recent news, in which many NATO countries opted to advocate for Ukraine's early admission into this organization. This viewpoint is supported by the notion that because NATO is also concerned about the outbreak of the Third World War, it is not advantageous for them to share direct physical borders with one of their enemies, Russia. Ukraine will continue to function as a buffer zone in the same capacity that it already has. Even if Ukraine does not join NATO, it will require the full support of the West, namely the EU and the US, because the Ukrainians may not be able to hold out for more than a year on their willpower and admiration for the Motherland without the equipment, training, and experience that they have.

The second stage could be to begin isolating some military zones, as Israel has done. For instance, zone A will be controlled by the Ukrainian government, zone B will be neutral and not be under the control of anyone, and Zone C will be controlled by Russia until a peaceful solution to the issue of the territories between Russia and Ukraine is reached. Given that it is unclear how long the battle will be frozen, this is a more unfavorable alternative to the solution. However, it will enable Ukraine to conduct negotiations and find ways to terminate the escalation with fewer losses.

One of the most essential parts and evidence that this war can be concluded through negotiations will be the return of all Ukrainian prisoners of war and forcibly resettled persons to their motherland from all areas where they are imprisoned, including Russia, Hungary, and others. Another crucial step will be a face-to-face meeting between the presidents of Russia and Ukraine on Turkish soil, as Turkey has already stated that it will act as a mediator in this dispute.

At this point, I believe that these are the only feasible approaches for setting up future negotiations on ending the war between Russia and Ukraine. Unsurprisingly, there is now no way to

end this war peacefully due to numerous violations of international law, the law of war, human rights, and freedoms, as well as enormous brutality to the Ukrainian population. But despite this, it is necessary to think that the aforementioned actions make it possible to attempt to minimize losses and contribute to the future peaceful resolution of this fight.

ANNEX 1- TIMELINE

Date	Event
1954	Declaration of Nikita Khrushchev that Crimea is a part of Ukraine
1990s	The Budapest Memorandum - international agreement related to the refusing Ukraine from the Nuclear Weapon and approval of the Russia, UK and the USA on the security insurance towards Ukraine
2008-2009	Ukraine states its desire to join the EU and application for the NATO membership Action Plan from Ukraine
Summer 2013	Russia starts a trade war with Ukraine, forcing the government of President Viktor Yanukovich to back down from signing an association agreement with the EU, which led mass protests that became known as the EuroMaidan and Revolution of Dignity
Early February 2014	Removal of President Yanukovich, because of the violent protest on the streets in Kyiv.
26 -28 February 2014	Russia launches a war against Ukraine taking over the Crimean peninsula and sending its troops and supplies into the Donbas region
03 March 2014	Joint statement from Western countries about violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine by Russia
09 March 2014	Talks between Prime Minister UK David Cameron and Russia about de-escalation
12 March 2014	Obama greeted Ukrainian prime-minister in the USA, meanwhile G7 issued a statement calling on Russia to cease all efforts to change the status of Crimea
24 March 2014	Russia was expelled from the G8
2014-2015	Minsk Agreement among Russia, Ukraine and Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
5 September 2014	Minsk Protocol among parties
12 February 2015	Minsk II among parties
17 March 2018	“Special status” of Donetsk People’s Republic and Luhansk People’s Republic
21 February 2022	Officially recognising of DPR and LPR by Russia
24 February 2022	Full-invasion of Ukraine
28 February 2022	The negotiation process in 3 rounds on the territory of Belarus
3 March 2022	
7 March 2022	

29 March 2022	Presenting the Istanbul communiqué from the Ukrainian side during the negotiation process in Turkey
26 April 2022	The USA and NATO initiated the "Ramstein format"
22 July 2022	The grain agreement between Russia, Ukraine and Turkey
23-27 September 2022	Referendums in the occupied territories, such as new part of Donetsk, Luhansk, Zaporizhzhia and Kherson regions
12 October 2022	The resolution of UN "Territorial integrity of Ukraine: compliance with the principles of the UN Charter."
27 November 2022	The Council of Europe Action Plan for Ukraine for 2023-2026 "Resilience, Recovery, and Reconstruction"
17 March 2023	The issuing the warrants of arrest to Vladimir Putin because of the situation in Ukraine by the Pre-Trial Chamber II of the ICC
23 June 2023	Ukraine obtained a EU candidate status

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