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## THE FORMULA FOR PEACE AS A RESULT OF A FUTURE WITHOUT WAR IN UKRAINE

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### **Pyvovar M. The formula for Peace as a result of a future without war in Ukraine.**

Ukraine's peace strategy in the context of the ongoing war with Russia, particularly the «Formula for Peace,» serves as a pivotal political instrument for achieving a stable and just peace in Europe while strengthening global security. This process largely depends on the active participation and support of the international community, which must be ready not only politically, but also practically to assist in the implementation of peace agreements.

Russian aggression against Ukraine has persisted for a decade. Since 2014, attempts at peaceful resolution, including the Minsk Contact Group and the Normandy Format, failed to secure a ceasefire or reintegration of Donbas, nor did they avert Russia's full-scale invasion in February 2022. Bilateral negotiations commenced in the early days of the invasion: the first meeting occurred at the Belarusian border on 28 February 2022, followed by discussions on humanitarian corridors on 3 March in the Bialowieza Forest, and another on 7 March, which yielded no significant political outcomes. The final round of talks on 29–30 March in Istanbul explored Ukraine's potential rejection of NATO integration in exchange for security guarantees. Initially, Russia proposed to «reduce activity» in the Kyiv and Chernihiv directions, contingent on Ukrainian military reductions, continued aspirations for EU membership, and freezing Crimea's status for 15 years. Conversely, Russia demanded the recognition of Crimea, withdrawal of Ukrainian forces from Donbas, expanded rights for the Russian language, and other concessions. However, after Russia's retreat from northern Ukraine in April 2022 and mounting evidence of war crimes against civilians, the Ukrainian government withdrew from negotiations and abandoned the Istanbul proposals.

The Peace Formula strategy has since become a cornerstone of Ukraine's efforts to navigate the conflict. In 2023, this initiative gained momentum, with extensive discussions involving representatives from all continents. These dialogues took place during meetings between Andriy Yermak, Head of the Office of the President of Ukraine, and foreign diplomats, as well as through consultations among national security advisers. Working groups were established to evaluate the 10 points of the Ukrainian initiative, encapsulating its vision in a document titled Philosophy of the Peace Formula.

**Key words:** Peace Formula, criteria, state sovereignty, UN Resolution, war, state defense.

### **Пивовар М. Формула Миру як результат майбутнього без війни в Україні.**

Мирна стратегія України в контексті війни з Росією, зокрема «Формула миру» є ключовим політичним інструментом для досягнення стабільного та справедливого миру в Європі, а також для забезпечення глобальної безпеки. Цей процес великою мірою залежить від активної участі та підтримки міжнародної спільноти, яка має бути готовою не лише політично, а й фактично сприяти реалізації мирних угод.

Російська агресія проти України триває вже десятиліття. Починаючи з 2014 року, спроби мирного врегулювання включно з Мінською контактною групою та Нормандським форматом не змогли забезпечити припинення вогню чи реінтеграцію Донбасу, а також не допомогли запобігти повномасштабному вторгненню Росії у лютому 2022 року. Двосторонні переговори розпочалися в перші дні вторгнення: перша зустріч відбулася на кордоні з Білоруссю 28 лютого 2022 року, зокрема друга – 3 березня в Біловезькій пущі для обговорення гуманітарних коридорів, а третя – 7

березня, але без значущих політичних рішень. У фінальному раунді переговорів 29-30 березня в Стамбулі обговорювалося питання відмови України від інтеграції до НАТО в обмін на гарантії безпеки. На першому етапі російська сторона погодилася «знизити активність» на київському та чернігівському напрямках за умови скорочення Збройних Сил України, продовження курсу на членство в ЄС та замороження статусу Криму на 15 років. У свою чергу, росія вимагала визнання Криму, виведення українських військ із Донбасу, розширення прав російської мови та інші поступки.

Однак, після відступу російських військ із північних регіонів України у квітні 2022 року та численних доказів воєнних злочинів проти мирного населення український уряд вирішив припинити переговори й відмовитися від стамбульських домовленостей. Стратегія «Формули миру» стала наріжним каменем зусиль України щодо вирішення конфлікту. У 2023 році ця ініціатива отримала значну увагу викликавши активне обговорення за участю представників із різних континентів. Такі діалоги відбувалися під час зустрічей Керівника Офісу Президента України Андрія Єрмака з іноземними дипломатами, а також у межах консультацій радників із питань національної безпеки. Було створено робочі групи для аналізу 10 пунктів української ініціативи, в яких було представлено бачення України викладене у документі під назвою «Філософія Формули миру».

**Ключові слова:** Формула миру, критерії, державний суверенітет, резолюція ООН, війна, оброта держави.

**Problem Statement.** According to experts and politicians, the world needs to understand that freezing the conflict in Ukraine will not lead to final peace in Europe, but will instead create conditions for renewed aggression by the terrorist country. Achieving a comprehensive and lasting peace based on the principles of the UN Charter is important not only for Ukraine, but also for the stability of all countries. This peace must ensure the restoration of Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity, the protection of its borders and respect for the sovereignty of all peoples. The current political situation on the world map shows that a Formula for Peace is necessary to guarantee Ukraine's independence and sovereignty within its state border.

**The purpose** - to analyse the Strategy of the Peace Formula for Ukraine in the war with russia and the readiness of the international community to actually support our state, which would provide legal guarantees for the state protection of its territorial integrity and ways of recovery in the post-war period.

**State of the research.** Currently, discussions on ending the war in Ukraine through the peace formula proposed by the President of Ukraine have sparked active debates worldwide. Many experts, political analysts, and scholars see both advantages and disadvantages in this approach. Among these researchers are figures such as Timothy Snyder, Vytautas Bruveris, Hryhoriy Perepelytsia, Kurt Volker and others.

**The main material.** In the 1994 Memorandum on Security Assurances in connection with Ukraine's accession to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (Budapest Memorandum), russia committed to the security and independence of Ukraine. Nevertheless, russia has plainly disregarded the commitments it made by launching its unjustifiable and ongoing, full-scale war of aggression against Ukraine. Russia's aggression against Ukraine has far-reaching implications for the region and the world. Ukraine's security is key for nuclear, food, energy and environmental security, as well as stable international economic relations, trade routes and production chains and respect of international law. The risk that aggression against Ukraine will be repeated remains high until its security and territorial integrity are guaranteed by legally binding commitments and Ukraine is backed by reliable national defence capabilities and is integrated into an international security architecture [1].

In recent years, the russian federation has actively used its nuclear power as a tool of political pressure on other countries. This is manifested both in direct threats of using nuclear weapons and in conducting large-scale military exercises involving nuclear forces. The Ukrainian peace formula involves active diplomatic efforts on the international stage. Ukraine seeks to engage the international community in supporting its efforts to prevent nuclear blackmail, particularly by strengthening sanctions pressure on the aggressor, bolstering political and economic support from international partners, as well as participating in peace negotiations. After a full-scale invasion by russia, on 24 July 2022, 10 points (criteria) for achieving the peace formula were published on the official website of President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskiy. The first point concerns 'Radiation and Nuclear Safety', for which the IAEA should play a leading role in ensuring nuclear safety and safeguards at civilian nuclear facilities. The second point concerns food security, which must be de-weaponised, as actions that negatively

affect food production and supply pose global risks. The third point is energy security. The fourth point concerns the release of prisoners and deportees, as one of the key principles of international law is the resolution of international conflicts by peaceful means that do not endanger international peace, security and justice. Demand number five is the implementation of the UN Charter and the restoration of Ukraine's territorial integrity and world order. The sixth point provides for the withdrawal of Russian troops and the cessation of hostilities.

According to the UN Resolution adopted on 14 November 2022, Russia must be held accountable for all violations of international law in Ukraine, including aggression in violation of the UN Charter, as well as for any violations of international humanitarian law. Russia must bear the legal consequences of its actions, including reparations (seventh point). Environmental security also encompasses both the philosophy and the formula for peace [2].

The war has caused significant environmental damage, causing pollution, destruction of ecosystems and the extinction of species both in Ukraine and throughout the region. Environmental damage is prohibited under international criminal law. Finally, to prevent the escalation of the conflict, Ukraine needs clear, positive and binding security guarantees. The last, tenth point, provides for confirmation of the end of the war, which should be formalised in the form of a comprehensive legally binding international agreement signed by the parties with the participation of guarantor states [3].

By the end of 2023, more than 80 countries had supported the Ukrainian Peace Formula'. Prior to that, at the NATO summit in Vilnius, the G7 countries adopted a basic declaration on security guarantees, which are still being worked on bilaterally. As of June 2024, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Canada, Italy, Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, Finland, Latvia, Spain, Belgium, Portugal, Sweden, and Iceland had signed security assurance agreements for Ukraine. Agreements with Japan, the United States and Poland are scheduled for the coming weeks. Work on the points of the 'peace formula' began in June last year with a constituent meeting in Copenhagen at the level of political advisers. There were 15 participants in these consultations, including not only traditional European allies but also representatives of India, Brazil, South Africa and Saudi Arabia.

The second was held in Jeddah (Saudi Arabia) in August, with at least twice as many participants. Including a representative of China, which is officially supposedly neutral and offers its own 'peace plan'. It was there that a coordination council was formed at the level of ambassadors accredited in Kyiv. And this group detailed each of the 10 points of the 'peace formula'.

The October meeting in Malta, attended by diplomats from 66 countries and international organisations, focused on the first five points. That is, nuclear, food and energy security, as well as the release of prisoners and the restoration of Ukraine's territorial integrity. The other five were discussed at a meeting in Davos, Switzerland, in January 2024. It was attended by participants from 81 countries and international organisations. The expanded group includes almost 40 countries from Asia, Africa and South America. An important fact is the presence of all BRICS countries except China and Russia. Following the Davos summit, a communiqué was adopted, which stressed the importance of Ukraine's security and the fact that war is one of the main destabilising factors in the world. It was stressed that sustainable peace for Ukraine should be based on the UN Charter and the principles of international law [4].

The first Global Peace Summit, organised at the initiative of the Presidents of Ukraine and Switzerland, was held on 15-16 June 2024 in Burgenstock, Switzerland, with the participation of 101 delegations from all continents. Such a large presence was a clear signal to Russia that the international community does not support its aggressive war against Ukraine. Based on the outcomes of that Summit on Peace in Ukraine and the work of Working Group 9 on Preventing Escalation and Repetition of Aggression within the framework of Ukraine's Peace Formula, we reaffirm our commitment to achieving a comprehensive, just, and lasting peace for Ukraine. This is essential to prevent the recurrence of aggression, not only within Ukraine but also globally, both in the present and in the future. There are fundamental principles of global peace and security as outlined in the UN Charter, the Helsinki Final Act and the Charter of Paris. These principles include, among others: respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states, the inviolability of borders, the right of states to freely choose their alliances, international cooperation, the right to self-defense, and upholding human rights.

In September 2024, President Volodymyr Zelenskyy introduced the concept of a 'formula for peace' during his address to the UN General Assembly. He outlined five key points: holding Russia accountable through sanctions and an international tribunal, providing military assistance to Ukraine, restoring

security and territorial integrity, establishing pre-NATO security guarantees, and affirming Ukraine's resolve to defend itself with global support. The successful implementation of the peace formula is crucial for Ukraine's aspirations to join the European Union. On September 22, 2024, the head of state arrived in New York to participate in events during the UN General Assembly High-Level Week. The Future Summit commenced on September 23 at the UN Headquarters, where the Ukrainian President delivered a speech. Additionally, on the sidelines of the General Assembly, President Zelenskiy held discussions with a bipartisan delegation from the U.S. Congress, focusing on the Victory Plan [5].

On October 14, a virtual conference was convened to address the fourth thematic component of the 'peace formula,' specifically focusing on measures to prevent the escalation of hostilities. The United Kingdom chaired the working group, which emphasized the critical importance of implementing comprehensive security agreements, enhancing Ukraine's defense capabilities, and enforcing restrictive measures to deter future aggression. On 30-31 October was a mixed format conference was held in Montreal, Canada, on the fourth point of the 'peace formula', 'Release of prisoners and deportees'. It was about helping and resolving the fate of tens of thousands of children abducted by Russia from the occupied territories of Ukraine. Among the deportees are children from orphanages, those who lost their parents as a result of Russian aggression, and those who were separated from their families during Russian filtration measures.

However, I would like to draw attention to an important event for our society at the Recently, on 16 October 2024, the President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskiy presented an official plan for Ukraine's victory in the war with Russia in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine. It contains 5 points: geopolitical (point 1), military (points 2 and 3), economic (point 4) and security (point 5). The main steps are: a) Inviting Ukraine to NATO – now; b) Strengthening defence against the aggressor, transferring combat operations to the enemy's territory, etc; c) 'Deterrence – deploying a non-nuclear deterrent against Russian aggression on the territory of Ukraine; d) strategic and economic potential – to conclude a special agreement on joint protection of critical resources in Ukraine, joint investment and use of economic potential; e) Replacement of some foreign military with Ukrainian units after the war.

According to him, the first 4 items are what needs to be done during the war, and the last one - after it is over. Inviting Ukraine to NATO – now. What does it mean? According to this citation, for decades, Russia has used the fact that Ukraine is not a NATO member to encroach on its security. 'Now the fact that Ukraine is invited to join NATO can be truly fundamental for the world. "We should understand that NATO membership is a matter of the future not the present. Russians must feel that their tsar has lost to the world geopolitically" – the Ukrainian president said [6]. The next important step is to strengthen defence against the aggressor, transferring combat operations to the enemy's territory. He noted that the key to implementing this point is the successful continuation of operations in Russia, strengthening the positions of the Armed Forces, assistance from partners in forming reserve brigades, bringing Ukraine's air defence to a new level, expanding the use of Ukrainian missiles and drones, lifting restrictions on the use of long-range weapons against Russian targets and providing Ukraine with real-time data from satellites and other intelligence assets. To mitigate the risk of war escalation and prevent potential future aggression, it is essential, with the support of the international community and investment, to enhance Ukraine's defense capabilities. This includes fostering the development of modern defense systems and establishing resilient armed forces capable of ensuring Ukraine's immediate security and deterring future threats from Russia. A critical aspect of this approach is the advancement of regional and sectoral security frameworks. Particular emphasis should be placed on ensuring the safety and freedom of navigation in the Black Sea and Sea of Azov, in accordance with international law, to facilitate stable Ukrainian grain exports. Furthermore, strengthening cooperative activities within capability coalitions and implementing the security agreements and arrangements concluded with Ukraine are pivotal. These measures not only bolster Ukraine's current defense posture but also underpin its long-term recovery and sustainable stability.

An interesting point is 'The deterrence package is the fact that Russia is either going to diplomacy or to the loss of its war machine. Peace through strength. It works equally well on both sides of the Atlantic. And this point can be ensured, in particular, by funding under the already concluded security agreements with partners and certain amounts of financial support. 'Deterrence – deploying a non-nuclear deterrent against Russian aggression on the territory of Ukraine. The next one is Strategic and economic potential – to conclude a special agreement on joint protection of critical resources in Ukraine, joint investment and use of economic potential; replacement of some foreign military with Ukrainian units after the war.

The last important point is wartime. The President of Ukraine noted that after the war, Ukraine will have one of the most experienced and largest military contingents with real experience of modern warfare and the use of Western weapons, as well as interaction with NATO. This experience, he said, should be used to strengthen the Alliance's defence and security in Europe. In addition, the Plan contains 3 secret annexes [7].

Obviously, we understand that the aggressor country is actively opposing the peace formula, putting forward its own proposals and trying to split international support for Ukraine. This creates obstacles to achieving diplomatic results. Even with the support of the G7 and individual NATO countries, the proposed security mechanisms may not be effective enough to prevent future aggressions, as they do not provide for direct military intervention in the event of a new attack on our country. The restoration of Ukraine, as envisaged by the formula, requires significant financial resources. However, dependence on international assistance can create risks due to limited funds or changing political priorities in donor countries.

According to Hryhorii Perepelytsia, Director of the Institute of Foreign Policy Studies, on the one hand, the «peace formula» or any other peace proposal is ineffective in conditions where there is insufficient pressure on Russia, and it is almost unimaginable that even the agreement of allies on the points of the «formula» would bring Russia to the negotiation table, especially when the talks would not be conducted on the Kremlin's terms. On the other hand, the «peace formula» serves a number of other important functions. Vytautas Bruveris, a political scientist and the chief editor of the Lithuanian news agency ELTA, agrees that no peace formula will serve as the basis for real peace until Russia is defeated on the battlefield: «Plans and formulas are one thing, but the only real way out of this war is Russia's military defeat, forcing the Russian dictator to leave Ukrainian territory, and then halting any aggression.»

**Conclusions.** A great advantage of the Peace Formula is its support by more than 80 countries. This demonstrates the growing global unity in rejecting aggression and supporting Ukraine's sovereignty. However, it is also important to note that key international organisations such as the UN, EU and NATO should play a more active role in shaping and monitoring the implementation of peace agreements. For example, the UN could set up specialised commissions to monitor the implementation of the terms of a peace settlement, including the withdrawal of troops and humanitarian reconstruction of the affected areas.

Thus, the implementation of the Peace Formula is not only a political goal, but also a prerequisite for further progress in the EU accession negotiations, as the end of hostilities creates stability, which is the basis for integration processes. It is of great importance for overcoming the consequences of the armed conflict and ensuring the country's sustainable development. Implementation of the peace formula can contribute not only to the restoration of territorial integrity, but also to the creation of a secure, stable and prosperous future for the Ukrainian people.

Organizing peace talks under the auspices of international organizations is a crucial step towards achieving a long-lasting and just peace. The foundation of such negotiations should be the Ukrainian Peace Formula, which envisions a peaceful resolution of the conflict through diplomatic means, adherence to international law, and ensuring high safety standards at all stages of the life cycle of peaceful nuclear facilities. This creates conditions for stability and development in the post-conflict period. In the post-war period, Ukraine should become an important player in strengthening global security. Thanks to its experience in modern warfare and the use of advanced Western military technologies, the Ukrainian armed forces can become a key element of strategic security for Europe and NATO. This creates opportunities for Ukraine to actively cooperate with international organisations in peacekeeping missions and global security.

The effective implementation of both national and international restrictive measures against aggressor states and their allies is a vital element of a broader strategy to prevent aggression. These measures, including economic sanctions, diplomatic isolation, and trade restrictions, are fundamental tools for deterring further hostile actions and conveying global disapproval. The Ukrainian government holds that, in the case of aggression, the imposition of comprehensive restrictive measures, along with safeguards to prevent their circumvention, can form a crucial aspect of a strategy to avert future aggression. Such measures should be maintained until specific conditions are fulfilled: the cessation of aggression, the restoration of territorial integrity, and compensation for the damages inflicted by the aggressor. This approach not only seeks to hold the aggressor accountable but also sends a

powerful message that violations of international norms will have lasting repercussions. This strategy, encompassing punitive actions and legal frameworks, should be part of a more extensive, integrated plan to prevent future conflicts, ensure global security, and deter future acts of aggression. Effective enforcement and international collaboration are key to the success of these measures. The Peace Formula primarily concerns Ukraine, but if international institutions fail to facilitate the just resolution of aggressive conflicts and the attainment of peace—clearly demonstrated by Ukraine’s experience—the Peace Formula could serve as a new universal framework for making the necessary decisions.

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