

Opportunities and Challenges of Peace-Building in The Russia-Ukraine Armed Conflict

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Abstract: Armed conflicts between two or more countries seem unavoidable in international relations from the past to the present, including the armed conflict between Russia and Ukraine that has been ongoing since 2022. The discussion in this paper uses a normative method. In terms of efforts to resolve the armed conflict between Russia and Ukraine, there are two main aspects: opportunities and challenges in achieving a mutually beneficial resolution for both parties. The role and efforts can be undertaken by the UN and the international community through various frameworks and mechanisms for the resolution of international disputes, in this case, the armed conflict that has been ongoing since February 2022 between Russia and Ukraine.

Key Words: Conflict, Opportunity, Challenge, Russia, Ukraine

Introduction

Armed conflicts seem unavoidable in international relations from the past to the present. Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, in his book "The Red Cross Conventions," wrote that almost the entire life of humanity is colored by wars. In other words, peace only occurs for a short period, while war tends to dominate the relationships between countries as members of the international community. Therefore, it can be said that armed conflicts themselves are accepted as something pragmatic, because they almost always occur in the international community.¹

The conflict between Russia and Ukraine began when Russia deployed its military forces to the Ukrainian border in the Crimea region. In the issue occurring in Crimea, Russia has violated Ukraine's territorial boundaries, which can pose a threat to peace and security in the Ukrainian region. Russia has increased its troops in the Crimea region and cut off access to and from the Ukrainian border. In this case, Russia has deployed around 2,000 military troops to the Ukrainian border.²

Conflicts between countries in the world can occur at any time and are caused by various factors. The disputes that occur can even lead to war. As it shocked the international community that "Russia finally launched an attack on Ukraine, after President Vladimir Putin officially announced a military operation on Thursday, February 24, 2022." The attack began with bombarding several cities in Ukraine, such as Kiev, Odessa, Kharkiv, and Mariupol. Until now, the attacks are still ongoing, although negotiations are being attempted³. The outbreak of the Russia-Ukraine war surely has its causes and background.

Actually, the issue of a potential Russian attack on Ukraine has been circulating since November 2021. A satellite image shows the movement of 100,000 Russian

¹Jacques Meurant, 1987, *Inter-Arma Caritas: Evolution and Nature of International Humanitarian, Law*, Journal of Peace Research 24, No. 3.

² Alexander Nekrassov, Yuriy Sergeev's letter to the President of the UN Security Council in addressing the conflict occurring in Ukraine Yuriy Surgeyev, 2014, Letter dated 28 February 2014 from the Permanent Representative of Ukraine to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, accessed in http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/s_2014_136.pdf.

³M Rizal, https://news.detik.com/x/detail/intermeso/20220303/Konflik-Berkepanjangan-Ukraina-Rusia/?_ga=2.107564162.1489531693.1646295377-645963666.1595984100



soldiers along with several tanks and other military hardware towards the border with Ukraine. The Russian government denies it, but it is increasingly rumored that the land of the White Bear will launch an attack on February 16, 2022⁴.

The suspicion is reinforced because Russia conducted large-scale military exercises with its neighboring country, Belarus. Estonian intelligence also reported that there will be an attack carried out by Russia using militia groups in Donbass, Eastern Ukraine, which are known to rebel against the government and support Russia⁵.

Russia dared to attack its neighboring country, which was once known for its harmony when it was still part of the Soviet Union. This is a result of Ukraine's anger towards President Putin, who signed a decree recognizing the independence of two regions in eastern Ukraine, namely the Donetsk People's Republic (Donetskaya Narodnaya Respublika/DNR) and the Luhansk People's Republic (Luganskaya Narodnaya Respublika/LNR) on Monday, February 21, 2022⁶.

Quoted from Reuters, Russia began to conflict when Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich, who was known to be very pro-Russia, was overthrown in a large demonstration in February 2014. Russia retaliated by annexing the Crimean Peninsula from Ukraine. Two months later, Russian-backed rebels seized government buildings in the Donetsk and Luhansk regions⁷.

These two rebel groups, DNR and LNR, declared independence and proposed that both regions become part of Russia. Moscow at that time did not accept that option. Russia only used the two regions as a tool to prevent Ukraine from joining NATO⁸. It is important in an international dispute, including armed conflicts (wars), to consider how it will be resolved. War only results in human suffering and severe damage to human life/civilization. In terms of importance, what are the opportunities and challenges in resolving the armed conflict between Russia and Ukraine.

Metode Penelitian

One of the important means for the advancement of technology and science is research. This is due to the research's objective of consistently, methodologically, and systematically uncovering the truth. The data that has been collected and processed is analyzed and constructed during the research process. This research is a type of normative legal research where only library materials or secondary data are examined. Primary, secondary, and tertiary legal materials can fall into this category.

Result and Discussion

1. Chronology of the Russia-Ukraine Conflict

The conflict between Ukraine and Russia has been ongoing since the early 1990s. In ancient times, Russia and Ukraine were one entity under the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union itself was a superpower with the largest nuclear arsenal in the world. However, when the Soviet Union collapsed, new countries were formed, one of which was Ukraine, becoming one of the countries with the third-largest nuclear stockpile in the world. In fact, many experts in International Relations, warfare specialists, and

⁴ *Ibid*

⁵ *Ibid*

⁶ *Ibid*

⁷ *Ibid*

⁸ *Ibid*

ministers from other countries had already predicted the occurrence of a military attack by Russia on Ukraine⁹.

The tension between Russia and Ukraine began to escalate when Crimea unilaterally seceded from Ukraine through a referendum due to the weakness of the state's sovereignty system. The secession of Crimea from Ukraine caused several regions to follow in Crimea's footsteps, including Donetsk and Luhansk. Other factors besides the Crimean referendum also triggered the war between the two countries, namely Russia and Ukraine. Until finally, on February 24, 2022, Russia officially invaded Ukraine.¹⁰

The conflict that escalated in 2022 began with a demonstration and civil unrest in Ukraine on November 21, 2013, known as the Dignity Revolution or Euromaidan. These protests occurred because the then-President of Ukraine, Viktor Yanukovich, refused to sign the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement. As a result, in February 2014, President Viktor Yanukovich resigned. On February 23, pro-Russian demonstrations occurred in the city of Sevastopol, Crimea. On February 27, Russian forces took over the Crimean parliament and held a referendum, the result of which decided that Crimea would join Russia. This referendum is considered controversial by the international community because its truth and legitimacy are highly questionable.¹¹

After having subsided for 7 years, the conflict intensified again in 2021 when Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy requested the President of the United States to make Ukraine a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization/NATO. After the Soviet Union collapsed in the early 1990s, NATO expanded eastward, eventually incorporating most of the European countries that were once part of the Communist sphere. Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, which were once part of the Soviet Union, have already joined NATO, as have Poland and Romania. As a result, NATO has moved hundreds of miles closer to Moscow, directly bordering Russia. Russian President, Vladimir Putin, called NATO's expansion a threat, and the prospect of Ukraine joining as a major threat. Putin also asserted that Ukraine is essentially part of Russia, culturally and historically. In response to this, Russia then gathered troops near the Ukrainian border. Next, in January 2022, NATO deployed forces in Eastern Europe by sending more ships and fighter jets. The situation escalated, until on February 24, 2022, Russia began launching attacks on major cities in Ukraine.¹²

Russia's goal is to conquer Ukraine and overthrow its government, ending its desire to join the Western defense alliance NATO. A month after the invasion, in March 2022, Russia withdrew from Kyiv and stated that its main objective was to carry out the "liberation of Donbas," which is the eastern Ukrainian regions of Luhansk and Donetsk. More than a third of this territory has been seized by Russian forces¹³.

Conflicts between countries around the world can occur at any time and be caused by many things. Conflicts can even lead to war. The international community

⁹ Baby Christina Martasari Rudolf Willems, Levina Yustitianiingtyas, *Peran Dewan Keamanan Perserikatan Bangsa-Bangsa Dalam Penyelesaian Invasi Rusia Atas Ukraina Tahun 2022*, Jurnal *Academos*, Vol 1 / No 2 / Desember 2022 / 49-62.

¹⁰ *Ibid*

¹¹ Mankoff, Jeffrey. 2022. "Russia's War in Ukraine: Identity, History, and Conflict." Washington D.C. <https://www.csis.org/analysis/russias-warukraine-identity-history-and-conflict>.

¹² Shary Charlotte Henriette Pattipeilhy1, Yuveline Aurora C. Sitompul, *Russo-Ukrainian War, Multimodal Transportation Disruption, And Global Food Supply Chain Vulnerability*, *Journal of Multimodal Transportation*, Vol. 20 (2) 2022: 56-68

¹³ *Ibid*

was shocked when "Russia finally launched an attack on Ukraine, after President Vladimir Putin officially announced a military operation on Thursday, February 24, 2022." The attack began with bombarding many cities in Ukraine, including Kiev, Odessa, Kharkiv, and Mariupol. The attacks continue to this day, despite efforts to negotiate¹⁴.

Actually, the issue of a potential Russian attack on Ukraine has been circulating since November 2021. A satellite image shows the movement of 100,000 Russian soldiers along with several tanks and other military hardware towards the border with Ukraine. The Russian government denies it, but it is increasingly rumored that the land of the White Bear will launch an attack on February 16, 2022¹⁵.

The suspicion is reinforced because Russia conducted large-scale military exercises with its neighboring country, Belarus. Estonian intelligence also reported that there will be an attack carried out by Russia using militia groups in Donbass, Eastern Ukraine, which are known to rebel against the government and support Russia¹⁶.

Russia dared to attack its neighboring country, which was once known for its harmony when it was still part of the Soviet Union. This is a result of Ukraine's anger towards President Putin, who signed a decree recognizing the independence of two regions in eastern Ukraine, namely the Donetsk People's Republic (Donetskaya Narodnaya Respublika/DNR) and the Luhansk People's Republic (Luganskaya Narodnaya Respublika/LNR) on Monday, February 21, 2022¹⁷.

According to Reuters, the Russian conflict began when large demonstrations ousted Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich, who was very pro-Russia, in February 2014. Russia annexed the Crimean Peninsula from Ukraine in response. Two months later, government buildings in the Donetsk and Luhansk regions were taken over by Russian-backed rebels.¹⁸

These two rebel groups, DNR and LNR, declared independence and proposed that both regions become part of Russia. Moscow at that time did not accept that option. Russia only used the two regions as a tool to prevent Ukraine from joining NATO¹⁹. It is an important aspect of an international dispute, including armed conflicts (wars), namely how it is resolved. War only results in human suffering and severe damage to human life/civilization.

2. Efforts to Resolve the Russia-Ukraine Conflict

2.1. Opportunity

Galtung explains that in the effort to resolve conflicts to achieve peace, it can be done through 3 stages, namely ²⁰ :

1. *Peacemaking*, This stage is the initial stage where peace is sought in conflict resolution, efforts that can be made include negotiations between both parties and also peace planning.
2. *Peacekeeping*, At this stage, the parties must discuss how to implement the results of the negotiations and the previously formulated peace plan.

¹⁴M Rizal, https://news.detik.com/x/detail/intermeso/20220303/Konflik-Berkepanjangan-Ukraina-Rusia/?_ga=2.107564162.1489531693.1646295377-645963666.1595984100

¹⁵ *Ibid*

¹⁶ *Ibid*

¹⁷ *Ibid*

¹⁸ *Ibid*

¹⁹ *Ibid*

²⁰ Galtung, J, 2010, "*Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution: The Need for Transdisciplinarity*". *Transcultural Psychiatry*, Vol. 47. No. 1, hlm.20–32

3. *Peacebuilding*, At this final stage, the parties must rebuild a peaceful atmosphere by restarting communication and cooperation and repairing all the damage caused by the conflict..

From a socio-political perspective, the military attack was triggered by Russia's anger over the ousting of President Yanukovich, a close ally of Russian President Vladimir Putin, and his replacement by the pro-Western Vlodymyr Zelensky. The crisis began with NATO's efforts to expand its membership into Eastern Europe, targeting Ukraine. Ukraine's interest in joining NATO is seen by Russia as a threat to its country because Ukraine's accession to NATO would turn its territory into a buffer zone, prompting President Putin to urge Ukraine not to join NATO. NATO has an interest in Ukraine because it considers Ukraine a strategic location, allowing NATO to build military bases close to Russia.²¹

The United Nations (UN) has called for diplomacy and dialogue as the best ways to resolve conflicts. As stated in Article 2, paragraph 3 of the UN Charter, "all members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered."²²

Huala Adolf²³ argue that methods or ways of resolving international disputes peacefully through diplomatic means and resolving international disputes through judicial institutions, arbitration, and other international organizations, include :

1. Negotiation
2. Inquiry
3. Good Offices
4. Mediation
5. Conciliation
6. Arbitration
7. International Court.

First, negotiation; negotiation is the most fundamental and oldest method of dispute resolution ever used in the world. Conflict resolution using the negotiation method is carried out through discussions and agreements between the two conflicting parties. The path to conflict resolution through negotiation is very open because the President of Ukraine, Volodymyr Zelensky, as reported by Tass, is ready to do anything to resolve this conflict peacefully through negotiation.²⁴

Second, good offices, or good services, are a method of dispute resolution with the assistance of a third party aimed at facilitating a meeting between conflicting parties to meet, sit together, and negotiate with the goal of resolving the conflict. One of the countries willing to facilitate the meeting between the two countries is Turkey. Turkey has offered itself as a venue for the meeting between Russia and Ukraine. The Good Offices provided by Turkey can be carried out as a follow-up to the resolution issued by the UN General Assembly, where a country can offer its role as a mediator without intending to intervene in the conflict, as mandated by Article 33, paragraph 1, and Article 35, paragraph 1, of the UN Charter²⁵.

²¹ *Ibid*

²² *Ibid*

²³ Huala Adolf in Syuryansyah, Rethorika Berthanila, Efforts to Resolve the Russian-Ukrainian Conflict, PIR Journal Vol. 7 No. August 1, 2022 pp.97-105.

²⁴ Syuryansyah, Rethorika Berthanila, Efforts to Resolve the Russian-Ukrainian Conflict, PIR Journal Vol. 7 No. August 1, 2022 pp.97-105.

²⁵ *Ibid*

Third, through international organizations, the UN Security Council held a vote in an emergency session of the UN General Assembly on March 2, 2022, to endorse a Draft Resolution condemning Russia's military attack on Ukraine and calling on Russia to cease military actions and withdraw its troops from Ukraine. Based on the 193 voting members, there were 141 countries, including Indonesia, that supported the resolution. This mechanism is implemented in accordance with the UN Charter. It seems that the UN Security Council cannot achieve optimal results in the UN session because Russia is one of the Permanent Members, preventing all countries from drafting a truly strong resolution to stop this conflict. Because Russia, as the conflicting party, has the veto power in the Security Council held in New York²⁶.

Fourth is mediation, mediation is an effort to resolve disputes through a third party called a mediator. It can be a state, an international organization, or a neutral individual who has the capacity to reconcile the parties by providing dispute resolution suggestions²⁷.

Thus, from the perspective of opportunities, the resolution mechanisms are very open with various available mechanisms. Furthermore, it depends on the conflicting parties, in this case Russia and Ukraine, as well as the support of various international community members to encourage the resolution of the ongoing dispute.

2.2. Challenge

The United Nations is an institutional body with a global scope aimed at promoting cooperation among countries around the world. The purpose of establishing the United Nations itself, as stated in the Preamble. Thus, the United Nations holds a significant role and responsibility in maintaining international peace and security. Conversely, the United Nations is also obligated to play a role and take action in the event of conflicts between states and non-state actors, including the international armed conflict between Russia and Ukraine, to resolve them.

The maintenance of international security and peace is one of the main objectives of the establishment of the UN as stated in Article 1 of the UN Charter, where this is the primary responsibility of the UN Security Council as its main body, also known as "peacekeeping." Thus, the existence of the UN Security Council as the main organ within the UN organization means that the Security Council itself has functions and powers generally regulated in Articles 24 to 26 of the UN Charter, which include the main responsibility of UN members to the Security Council for maintaining international security and peace, and also the responsibility to formulate a plan that will later be presented to the members of the UN for the establishment of an arms regulation system. In addition, the UN Security Council, specifically regulated in Article 34 of the UN Charter, states that the UN Security Council has the authority to investigate any dispute or situation that may lead to conflict or may cause an international dispute.²⁸

In its implementation, there is the granting of extraordinary status to the five permanent members of the UN, namely the United States, the United Kingdom, Russia, China, and France. The five countries bear the "inescapable fact of power differential." In other words, the underlying rationale is that these countries bear the heaviest

²⁶ *Ibid*

²⁷ *Ibid*

²⁸ Baby Christina Martasari Rudolf Willems, Levina Yustitianiingtyas, The Role of the United Nations Security Council in Resolving the Russian Invasion of Ukraine in 2022, *Academos Journal*, Vol 1 / No 2 / December 2022 / 49-62.

responsibility for maintaining international peace and security, and therefore they must be granted the final and decisive vote in determining how that responsibility should be carried out. Meanwhile, for countries that are non-permanent members, they will be elected in accordance with the provisions as stated in Article 23 of the UN Charter. The allocation of seats for non-permanent member countries is formulated as follows: 5 seats for African-Asian countries, 1 seat for Eastern European countries, 2 seats for Latin American and Caribbean countries, and 2 seats for Western European and other countries.²⁹

The special rights of the five countries in the UN are called the Veto Power. The Veto Power is a privilege held by the permanent members of the UN Security Council, allowing these five countries to annul decisions made by the UN Security Council. The Veto Power in Article 27, paragraph (3) of the UN Charter for the five permanent members of the Security Council enables China, Russia, the United States, the United Kingdom, and France to cast a negative vote on non-procedural draft resolutions concerning the maintenance of international peace and security. On the other hand, the UN recognizes the Principle of Sovereign Equality, which guarantees equal status for all member states and imposes the same rights and obligations. The issue of inconsistency between the veto power and the principle of sovereign equality, as well as the legal consequences of imposing a veto on a draft resolution, becomes relevant³⁰.

In terms of issuing a resolution, the nature and decisions or resolutions set by the UN Security Council are very different from the resolutions issued by other main bodies, which are only internally binding and recommendatory. Meanwhile, the decisions of the Security Council truly have binding legal force and can even contradict the principles of international law, where the binding force of Security Council resolutions is not only binding for UN member states but also for non-member states³¹.

The Security Council resolution is binding not only on UN member states but also on non-member states as mentioned in Article 2, paragraph (6), which states, "The Organization shall ensure that states which are not members of the United Nations act in accordance with these Principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security." Based on this article, a state that is neither a UN member nor a member of the UN Security Council can also be obligated to implement and be bound by the UN Security Council resolution, especially if that state is a party to the dispute or, according to the UN Security Council session, has taken an action that could endanger international peace and security³².

The binding power of UN Security Council resolutions lies in the UN Charter, specifically Article 25, which states, "The Members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with the present Charter." It is mentioned that all UN member states have agreed to accept and implement the decisions of the Security Council, and in that article, the Security Council has the authority to make binding decisions, including Security Council resolutions. This brings the consequence that, whether consciously or not, any decision

²⁹ Regulations regarding this formulation are regulated in General Assembly Resolution 1991 (XVIII) A which replaced the Gentleman's Agreement of 1946

³⁰ Mutiara Anastya Darmansyah et al, "Inconsistency of the Veto Rights of Permanent Members of the UN Security Council with the Principle of Sovereign Equality (Case Study of the Russian Veto in the Crimea Referendum)", *Diponegoro Law Journal* Volume 11, Number 3, 2022.

³¹ See Article 25, Article 2 paragraph (6) and Article 49 of the UN Charter

³² Sri Setianingsih Suwardi, 2004, *Introduction to International Organization Law*, Jakarta: University of Indonesia Press, p.19

made by the Council in connection with its function in resolving disputes must be implemented by the parties involved³³.

Based on the above description, Russia's presence as a UN member actually poses a unique challenge in resolving the conflict between Russia and Ukraine. In the event that discussions and efforts for resolution become a topic of conversation in the UN Security Council meeting, it has already been evident that the resolution will fail to be produced.

In addition, this could pose an obstacle to efforts to resolve the conflict between Russia and Ukraine. Crimea, which was previously part of Ukraine, was taken over by Russia in 2014. Internationally, this action is considered a violation of international regulations and has caused conflict. In the eastern region of Ukraine, especially in the Donbas region, conflicts continue to occur due to the rebellion of separatist groups supported by Russia. The bloody battles between the two groups have caused a lot of damage and death. The UN Security Council handles many international conflicts. Russia has used its veto power in the Security Council to protect its own interests in the Ukraine conflict. The UN cannot take more decisive action because of this. Besides the United Nations, various international organizations such as the European Union and the United States have attempted to mediate and impose sanctions on Russia.

The dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991 brought significant changes to the socio-political conditions in the Eastern Europe and Eurasia region. The Soviet Union gave birth to fifteen new countries, including Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Moldova, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Georgia. These countries have various strong intersections ranging from identity, culture, economy, and geography. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union³⁴.

Since the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the establishment of the countries of Ukraine and Russia, the relationship between these two countries has been tied to various issues, both cooperative and conflictual. Ukraine, as a former Soviet Union country, has a strong bond with Russia as the main successor state of the Soviet Union. This is evident in the strong relationship that has developed between the two countries. In the past two decades, several key issues in the relationship between the two countries have revolved around human rights (HAM), the European Union, military, and economic matters³⁵.

Russia's post-Soviet foreign policy orientation tends to be offensive in its traditional region. Russia is trying to become a leader in the region through various economic and political maneuvers. Among them³⁶ :

- 1) The formation of the CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States), which serves as a platform for cooperation among the former Soviet Union countries in the economic-political sphere, was established in 1991.
- 2) Russia's invasion of Georgia, Kosovo, Crimea, and other regions.

³³ Huala Adolf, 2004, *Hukum Penyelesaian Sengketa Internasional*, Jakarta : Sinar Grafika, hlm. 99.

³⁴ Jeffry A.Ch.Likadja, Victor Eben Sabuna, Sam Meldrian Althonsius Oematan, *Krisis Rusia Versus Ukraina Dan Pengaruhnya Terhadap Ekonomi Internasional*, INNOVATIVE: Journal Of Social Science Research Volume 3 Nomor 2 Tahun 2023.

³⁵ *Ibid*

³⁶ INUSAH, A.-B. R, 2014, *Russia-Ukraine Relations Since The Demise of The Soviet Union*. University of Ghana, Legon.

- 3) Russia's economic and political interventions in countries such as Belarus, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and also Russia's contestation with Europe on several issues such as the expansion of the European Union and NATO. Russia's stance is an effort to increase its global presence in the European and Eurasian regions.

The conflict between Russia and Ukraine has been ongoing for a very long time in its history. Between Ukraine, Russia, and Belarus, it was a medieval superpower that dominated much of Eastern Europe. During the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, Russia and Ukraine clashed. The Russian government granted autonomy to Ukraine as the Ukrainian People's Republic (UNR) after the fall of the Russian monarchy in the same year, but the Bolshevik group refused to recognize it and invaded Ukraine to incorporate it into the Soviet state. The Soviet Union was established on December 30, 1922, with the members of the Russian SSR, Transcaucasian SSR, Ukrainian SSR, and Byelorussian SSR, following the Bolshevik victory in the post-revolutionary Russian Civil War. did not stop the various wars between the Soviet states.³⁷

Thus, the historical roots of the Russia-Ukraine conflict can pose a unique challenge in efforts to resolve the ongoing conflict. For Ukraine, which has annexed its territory in Crimea and its surroundings, while for Russia, the desire of Ukraine to become a NATO member must be stopped and should not happen because it poses a threat to Russia.

Conclusion

The Russia-Ukraine conflict can be resolved through the roles and mechanisms implemented by the international community and the frameworks already available in international law. The role can be played by the UN and several countries to encourage and initiate resolution efforts. However, resolving the Russia-Ukraine conflict is not easy; there are several unique opportunities and challenges. Opportunities, as something positive, must be maximized, but regarding the challenges of resolving Russia's membership in the UN Security Council, the historical roots of the conflict, the issue of territorial annexation, and the positions and attitudes of each party that need to be jointly addressed.

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³⁷ Ardita Octavia, *Penyelesaian Konflik Rusia-Ukraina Dalam Perspektif Hukum Internasional*, *Tirtayasa Journal of International Law*, Volume 2 Nomor 2, December 2023, hlm. (109-126)

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