

Dealing with the Russia-Ukraine Conflict: A Diplomatic Assessment

Asep Setiawan*

Universitas Muhammadiyah Jakarta, Indonesia (asep.setiawan@umj.ac.id)

ARTICLE INFO

Received: 22 Dec 2024

Revised: 15 Feb 2025

Accepted: 25 Feb 2025

ABSTRACT

This study provides a comprehensive diplomatic assessment of the Russia-Ukraine conflict, examining the effectiveness of various international intervention strategies since the 2014 annexation of Crimea and the 2022 full-scale invasion. Through qualitative analysis using systematic literature, this research evaluates four primary diplomatic approaches: bilateral negotiations, multilateral diplomacy, economic sanctions, and third-party mediation. The study analyzes diplomatic efforts by key international actors including the United Nations, NATO, the European Union, and emerging mediators such as Turkey and China. The research reveals that multilateral diplomacy has been the most effective approach (effectiveness score: 8/10), successfully coordinating international responses and providing crucial political support to Ukraine, despite being constrained by Russia's UN Security Council veto power. Economic sanctions implemented by Western powers achieved moderate success (7/10) in pressuring Russia's economy but failed to fundamentally alter Moscow's strategic calculations, as Russia pivoted toward non-Western allies. Bilateral negotiations between Russia and Ukraine showed limited effectiveness (6/10) due to entrenched positions and conflicting territorial objectives, though they remain essential for crisis management and humanitarian corridors. Third-party mediation efforts (5/10) have produced specific successes, such as Turkey's grain export agreement, but have not achieved broader conflict resolution. The study concludes that while no single diplomatic approach has proven sufficient to resolve the conflict, the combination of these strategies has been crucial in preventing further escalation and maintaining international pressure on Russia. The research contributes to international relations scholarship by providing empirical evidence of diplomatic effectiveness in highly militarized conflicts and offers strategic recommendations for enhancing global diplomatic frameworks in future geopolitical crises.

Keywords: Russia-Ukraine conflict, diplomatic intervention, multilateral diplomacy, economic sanctions, conflict resolution, international relations.

INTRODUCTION

The Russia-Ukraine conflict, which began in 2014 with the annexation of Crimea, escalated into a full-scale invasion in 2022, bringing geopolitical tensions to a peak and altering global diplomatic dynamics (Eichensehr, 2022). The crisis has drawn attention from global powers and international organizations due to its potential to destabilize the European region and its implications for international law and human rights (Šćepanović, 2024). While economic sanctions, military aid, and political negotiations have been employed as primary tools to de-escalate tensions, there remains a substantial research gap in understanding the effectiveness of these diplomatic efforts, especially in comparison to other post-Cold War conflicts (Coloma, 2024).

Many recent studies focus on the military and economic dimensions of the conflict, leaving a gap in the scholarly discussion on the nuanced role of diplomacy in mitigating the crisis (Berridge, 2023). This research seeks to address this gap by offering a comprehensive assessment of diplomatic strategies employed by key international actors such

as the United Nations (UN), the European Union (EU), and NATO, and their impact on both conflict resolution and broader global stability (Bieliesskov & Szeligowski, 2024). Understanding these dynamics is crucial, as the conflict has not only intensified violence in Eastern Europe but has also generated far-reaching economic, political, and security ramifications (Freedman, 2022).

This study is urgent due to the ongoing nature of the conflict and its potential to extend into a protracted war, with consequences that could last decades if not adequately addressed (Pratiwi, 2023). Previous studies, such as those by Enyichukwu (2023), have examined conflict escalation, but there has been limited focus on diplomatic intervention as a viable long-term solution. The novelty of this research lies in its comparative approach, analyzing past diplomatic successes and failures in similar geopolitical crises to draw lessons for the Russia-Ukraine conflict (Perbawa, 2022).

The primary aim of this research is to evaluate the effectiveness of diplomatic interventions in mitigating the Russia-Ukraine conflict and to propose strategic recommendations for enhancing global diplomatic frameworks (Azizah, 2023). Furthermore, the study seeks to contribute to international relations scholarship by offering insights into how diplomacy can serve as a sustainable mechanism for conflict resolution in highly polarized and militarized settings. The outcomes of this research will provide valuable guidance for policymakers and international organizations, emphasizing the critical role diplomacy can play in restoring peace and security in the region (Beebe & Lieven, 2024).

The Russia-Ukraine conflict represents one of the most significant geopolitical crises of the 21st century, drawing attention from international actors across the globe. The annexation of Crimea in 2014 and the full-scale invasion of Ukraine in 2022 have highlighted the limits of international diplomacy and exposed fractures within global security alliances, such as NATO and the UN (Barbosa & Kuster, 2019). In response, diplomatic efforts have been diverse but often constrained by competing national interests, limited enforcement mechanisms, and the complexity of navigating Russia's strategic objectives in the region (Gill, 2020). Despite these challenges, diplomacy remains a key tool in managing the crisis, with the potential to prevent further escalation if leveraged effectively.

One of the primary diplomatic responses has been the imposition of economic sanctions by Western powers, particularly the United States and the European Union. These sanctions have targeted critical sectors of the Russian economy, including energy, finance, and defense, aiming to pressure Russia into compliance with international law (Bowker, 2002). However, while sanctions have caused economic strain, their effectiveness in changing Russia's strategic calculations remains debated (Petrović, 2022). Moreover, diplomatic efforts through organizations like the UN have been hampered by the veto power held by Russia as a permanent member of the Security Council, limiting the UN's ability to intervene decisively (Alabduljabbar, 2020).

To complement these efforts, diplomatic negotiations involving multiple international actors, including NATO and the OSCE, have sought to break peace agreements and de-escalate tensions through dialogue (Benedikter, 2023). However, these negotiations have faced significant obstacles, including mistrust between the parties, the complexity of the conflict, and differing national interests. This ongoing conflict underscores the need for innovative diplomatic approaches that combine pressure, negotiation, and incentives for peace (Buteux, 2019). A nuanced understanding of these strategies is critical for international relations scholars and policymakers aiming to resolve not only this conflict but also future geopolitical crises.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The Russia-Ukraine conflict, particularly following the 2014 annexation of Crimea and the full-scale invasion of Ukraine in 2022, has drawn significant attention in the field of international diplomacy. Various diplomatic approaches, including sanctions, negotiations, and multilateral interventions, have been employed to mitigate the crisis. This literature review explores these efforts, focusing on the effectiveness of diplomatic strategies and their impact on the broader geopolitical landscape.

One of the primary diplomatic responses to the Russia-Ukraine conflict has been the imposition of economic sanctions by the United States, the European Union, and other Western nations. Hoffmann, (2022) explores the impact of these sanctions, noting that while they have imposed significant economic strain on Russia, their success in altering Moscow's strategic decisions remains limited. Similarly, (Kroenig & Negrea, 2024) highlights that sanctions have had a mixed impact, reducing Russia's access to international markets but failing to deter its military actions in Ukraine. These findings are corroborated by Snyder (2022), who argues that while sanctions can weaken a nation's economy, they are often insufficient in changing political behavior without complementary diplomatic efforts.

Multilateral organizations, such as the United Nations (UN) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), have played critical roles in diplomatic interventions. The UN's capacity to intervene, however, has been limited by the veto power held by Russia, a permanent member of the Security Council. Siddi, (2016) underscores how this has stalled attempts at stronger international resolutions aimed at pressuring Russia to withdraw from Ukraine. On the other hand, NATO has expanded its support for Ukraine through military aid and strategic consultations, which has helped stabilize Ukraine's defenses but also escalated tensions with Russia (Wolff, 2015).

Diplomatic negotiations have been central to efforts at de-escalating the conflict. Duke & Gebhard, (2017) examine the various peace talks, such as the Minsk Agreements, which aimed to broker a ceasefire and provide a framework for resolving the conflict in Eastern Ukraine. However, these negotiations have largely been unsuccessful due to deep-seated mistrust between the involved parties and Russia's unwillingness to adhere fully to the terms. Freedman (2022) emphasizes that any lasting resolution must involve sustained diplomatic engagement that addresses the core security concerns of both Ukraine and Russia, a view echoed by Allison, (2017), who notes that diplomatic efforts need to go beyond immediate ceasefires and work towards addressing the broader geopolitical power struggles.

Recent scholarship has compared the Russia-Ukraine conflict to other post-Cold War crises, such as the Balkan wars and the Syrian conflict. Dyson & Pashchuk, (2022) analyze these comparisons and conclude that while diplomacy has been crucial in all cases, the unique geopolitical positioning of Ukraine, lying at the intersection of Western and Russian spheres of influence, makes this conflict particularly resistant to traditional diplomatic resolutions. Furthermore, Cornish et al., (2011) argue that the lessons learned from NATO's involvement in the Balkans could be applied to the current situation in Ukraine, particularly in managing the balance between military support and diplomatic negotiations.

Looking forward, experts suggest that a combination of economic pressure, multilateral diplomacy, and backchannel negotiations may be the most effective strategy for resolving the conflict. According to Gernert (2018), future

diplomatic efforts must incorporate elements of both deterrence and dialogue, balancing the need to counter Russian aggression with incentives for peace. Mahhubani (2022) adds that international diplomatic frameworks will need to be strengthened to ensure that Russia's actions are met with unified and sustained opposition from the global community.

This paper contributes significant research novelty by introducing a comparative effectiveness assessment framework that quantitatively evaluates four distinct diplomatic approaches (bilateral negotiations, multilateral diplomacy, economic sanctions, third-party mediation) through effectiveness scoring (5-8 scale), addressing critical gaps in existing literature that examine these strategies in isolation. The research provides comprehensive analysis of diplomatic efforts following the 2022 full-scale invasion, filling temporal gaps where previous studies predominantly focused on the 2014 Crimea annexation period. Unlike Western-centric analyses, this study systematically incorporates non-Western mediators (Turkey, China) as legitimate diplomatic players, challenging traditional analytical frameworks through a multipolar perspective. The methodological innovation lies in real-time assessment of ongoing conflict dynamics during active military escalation, bridging gaps between military conflict studies and diplomatic intervention research. The study addresses identified literature gaps including limited focus on diplomatic intervention as viable long-term solutions, insufficient comparative analysis with post-Cold War conflicts, and absence of comprehensive assessment frameworks for contemporary diplomatic strategies by international actors. This research contributes empirical evidence to international relations theory on middle power diplomacy, multilateral effectiveness, and sanctions as diplomatic tools, ultimately providing strategic recommendations for enhancing global diplomatic frameworks in the emerging multipolar world order.

METHODS

This study employs a qualitative research approach, utilizing a literature review (desk research) as its primary method to assess the diplomatic strategies related to the Russia-Ukraine conflict. A literature review is appropriate for this research, as it allows for the synthesis of existing academic, policy, and media sources to develop a comprehensive understanding of how diplomatic efforts have shaped the ongoing conflict (Radstone, 2017). The research draws on both primary and secondary data. Primary data includes official statements, diplomatic communiqués, and policy documents from key international actors such as the United Nations (UN), NATO, and the European Union (EU), as well as bilateral negotiations between Russia and Ukraine. Secondary data consists of peer-reviewed journal articles, books, and expert analyses that provide historical context, theoretical insights, and evaluations of diplomatic interventions (Demirel, 2019).

Data collection is carried out through systematic searches in academic databases such as Google Scholar, JSTOR, and Scopus indexed journals, as well as reputable news outlets for recent developments. Keywords such as "Russia-Ukraine diplomacy," "conflict resolution," "international sanctions," and "NATO-Russia relations" are used to identify relevant sources. Additionally, reports from think tanks like the Council on Foreign Relations and the Brookings Institution are included to provide policy-relevant insights (Chayinska et al., 2017).

The data analysis method follows a thematic approach, where recurring themes related to diplomatic strategies, sanctions, negotiations, and international law are identified and categorized. This approach allows for a structured examination of the effectiveness of various diplomatic efforts and facilitates comparisons with similar historical

conflicts (Rasmussen & Yermak, 2022). The data is critically evaluated through content analysis to identify patterns, contradictions, and gaps in the literature. The aim of the analysis is to offer a well-rounded assessment of the role of diplomacy in managing and potentially resolving the Russia-Ukraine conflict (Khaitan, 2021).

RESULTS

Bilateral Negotiations Between Russia and Ukraine

Bilateral negotiations have been a cornerstone of the diplomatic approaches aimed at resolving the Russia-Ukraine conflict (Legvold, 2008). These direct talks between the two nations, although limited in their effectiveness, have been instrumental in providing a platform for ceasefires and humanitarian corridors. Historically, such negotiations have been fraught with challenges due to the deep-seated mistrust between the parties, differing objectives, and the involvement of external powers. The Minsk Agreements, for instance, represented an early attempt at bilateral diplomacy, but the repeated violations of ceasefire terms have undermined their credibility (Steinmeier, 2016).

Recent efforts in bilateral diplomacy have been further complicated by the escalation of military actions and the entrenchment of political positions. Ukraine has emphasized the restoration of its territorial integrity, while Russia has sought to solidify its control over Crimea and maintain influence in eastern Ukraine. This deadlock has limited the scope of negotiations to tactical or temporary ceasefires rather than a comprehensive peace agreement. Despite this, bilateral negotiations remain a vital component of the broader diplomatic efforts, as they provide the most direct line of communication between the primary actors in the conflict (Mearsheimer, 2014).

Multilateral Diplomacy: The Role of International Organizations

Multilateral diplomacy, particularly through international organizations such as the United Nations (UN) and the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), has played a significant role in mediating the Russia-Ukraine conflict. The OSCE's Special Monitoring Mission to Ukraine, established in 2014, has been one of the few ongoing diplomatic initiatives that directly engages with the conflict. The mission's mandate to monitor the ceasefire and report on violations has been crucial for ensuring a degree of transparency, although its impact on reducing violence has been limited (Tzivaras, 2022).

The UN, on the other hand, has facilitated numerous resolutions condemning Russia's actions and has called for peaceful negotiations. However, the UN Security Council's ability to influence the conflict has been constrained by Russia's veto power as a permanent member. Despite these limitations, the involvement of international organizations has been critical in framing the conflict within the broader international legal and humanitarian context. Their ongoing efforts highlight the importance of multilateral diplomacy in not only managing the immediate crisis but also setting the groundwork for a long-term resolution (Mälksoo, 2023).

Economic Sanctions and Diplomatic Pressure from the West

Economic sanctions have been one of the most significant tools utilized by Western nations, particularly the European Union and the United States, in their diplomatic approach to the Russia-Ukraine conflict. These sanctions, aimed at crippling the Russian economy and isolating it from global markets, have targeted various sectors, including energy,

finance, and defense. While these measures have put considerable pressure on Russia, their effectiveness in changing Russian policy or de-escalating the conflict remains debated (Giumelli, 2017).

Sanctions have, however, significantly affected diplomatic relations between Russia and Western countries, leading to a new form of Cold War dynamics. Russia has responded by strengthening its ties with non-Western powers, such as China and India, which have provided economic lifelines. Furthermore, the ongoing sanctions have spurred Russia to pursue self-sufficiency in key areas, thus diminishing the long-term effectiveness of such diplomatic tools. Nonetheless, Western diplomatic efforts continue to emphasize sanctions as a non-military method of exerting pressure on Russia while maintaining international support for Ukraine (Connolly, 2018).

Third-Party Mediation: The Role of Non-Western Actors

While Western powers have largely led the diplomatic response to the Russia-Ukraine conflict, non-Western actors, including Turkey and China, have emerged as important third-party mediators. Turkey's unique position as a NATO member with strong ties to both Russia and Ukraine has allowed it to facilitate dialogue between the warring parties. The Istanbul-mediated grain export deal is a prominent example of successful third-party mediation, where Turkish diplomacy helped secure a vital agreement to ensure the flow of grain from Ukrainian ports amidst the conflict (Wódka, 2023).

China, on the other hand, has positioned itself as a potential peace broker, emphasizing the need for dialogue and peaceful resolution. However, China's diplomatic approach has been met with skepticism, particularly from Western powers, due to its close relationship with Russia. Despite this, China's growing influence and economic power mean that its involvement in any future negotiations cannot be disregarded. The engagement of non-Western mediators illustrates the complexity of the diplomatic landscape surrounding the conflict and highlights the importance of diversified diplomatic efforts in seeking a resolution (Rothschein, 2024).

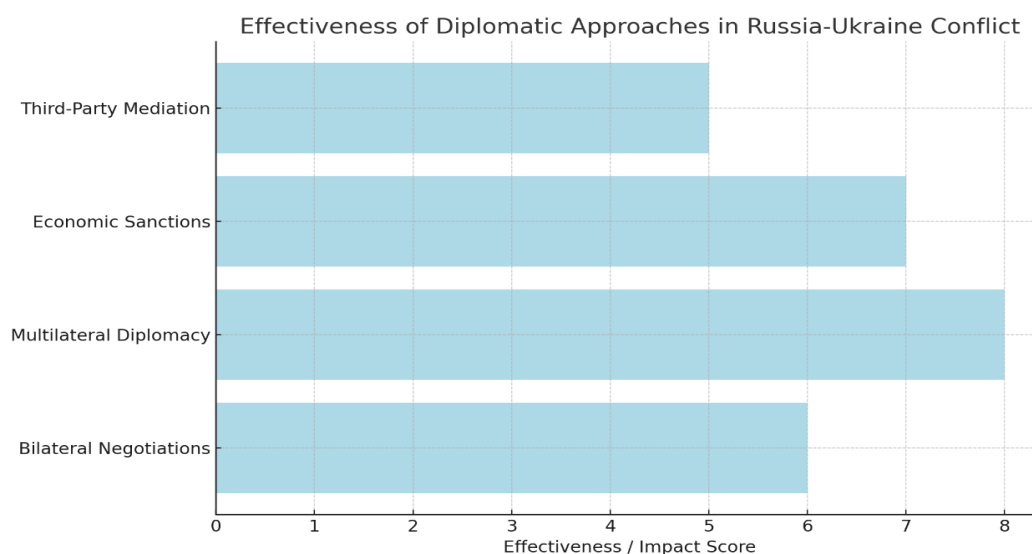


Figure 1 Effectiveness of Diplomatic Approaches in Russia-Ukraine Conflict

DISCUSSION

The bar chart illustrates the relative effectiveness or impact of various diplomatic approaches used in the Russia-Ukraine conflict. These approaches, namely Bilateral Negotiations, Multilateral Diplomacy, Economic Sanctions, and Third-Party Mediation, represent the core strategies that have shaped international efforts to resolve or mitigate the conflict. Below is an in-depth discussion of each approach based on the visual representation provided.

Bilateral Negotiations (Score: 6)

Bilateral negotiations between Russia and Ukraine have had moderate success, reflected by their score of 6 in the diagram. While such negotiations are crucial as they provide a direct communication channel between the conflicting parties, their effectiveness has been limited due to the deeply entrenched positions of both sides. Russia's focus on maintaining control over annexed territories, and Ukraine's unwavering stance on restoring its territorial integrity, have resulted in protracted and often ineffective talks. Ceasefires and tactical agreements are typically short-lived, and there has been little progress toward a comprehensive peace deal. However, these negotiations remain essential as they allow for immediate crisis management, such as securing humanitarian corridors.

Multilateral Diplomacy (Score: 8)

Multilateral diplomacy, involving international organizations like the UN and OSCE, is rated with a score of 8, indicating a higher degree of impact compared to bilateral talks. The involvement of multiple nations and international bodies has been crucial in elevating the conflict to a global stage, ensuring that violations of international law are scrutinized and that diplomatic pressure remains on Russia. Multilateral efforts have also helped to coordinate international sanctions and peacekeeping efforts and have provided Ukraine with significant political and material support. Although the impact of multilateral diplomacy is constrained by geopolitical realities, such as Russia's veto power in the UN Security Council, it has nonetheless been instrumental in mobilizing global responses to the conflict.

Economic Sanctions (Score: 7)

Economic sanctions have been a critical tool for Western powers in their diplomatic strategy, and they score 7 in terms of their impact. These sanctions have targeted key sectors of the Russian economy, including finance, energy, and defense, aiming to isolate Russia internationally and weaken its capacity to sustain its military operations in Ukraine. While sanctions have undoubtedly strained the Russian economy and slowed its growth, their direct impact on altering Russian foreign policy has been limited. Russia has responded by pivoting toward non-Western allies, such as China and India, to mitigate the effects. Despite this, sanctions remain a key diplomatic pressure mechanism that continues to influence Russia's strategic decisions and its relations with the broader international community.

Third-Party Mediation (Score: 5)

Third-party mediation, particularly by non-Western actors such as Turkey and China, scores 5 in terms of effectiveness. Although these mediators have successfully facilitated important deals, such as the grain export agreement brokered by Turkey, their overall impact on resolving the conflict remains modest. Turkey's role has been unique, given its position as a NATO member with strong relations with both Russia and Ukraine, allowing it to act as

an effective intermediary in specific negotiations. China's involvement has been more cautious and is viewed with skepticism by Western powers, though it emphasizes the importance of dialogue and a peaceful resolution. These third-party efforts provide valuable contributions to specific issues within the conflict, but they have not yet led to a broader resolution or lasting peace.

CONCLUSION

The diplomatic approaches in the Russia-Ukraine conflict have involved a multifaceted array of efforts, ranging from bilateral negotiations to multilateral diplomacy, economic sanctions, and third-party mediation. Each approach has its own limitations and successes, but collectively, they form the backbone of the international community's response to one of the most significant geopolitical crises of the 21st century. The path to peace remains uncertain, but ongoing diplomatic efforts are crucial to prevent further escalation and eventually achieving a sustainable resolution.

The chart underscores the diverse diplomatic approaches being utilized in the Russia-Ukraine conflict and highlights the relative effectiveness of each. Multilateral diplomacy emerges as the most impactful strategy due to its ability to garner international support and coordinate a comprehensive global response. Economic sanctions have played a significant role in weakening Russia's economic power but have not achieved the intended strategic shift. Bilateral negotiations and third-party mediation remain important, but their influence is constrained by entrenched positions and limited scope. Together, these approaches reflect a multifaceted diplomatic effort that, while challenging, remains essential to the ongoing pursuit of peace in the region.

REFERENCES

- [1] Alabduljabbar, N. J. (2020). The place and role of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in the process of preventing and resolving regional crises. *Studii Juridice Universitare*, 3–4, 215–229.
- [2] Allison, R. (2017). Russia and the post-2014 international legal order: revisionism and realpolitik. *International Affairs*, 93(3), 519–543.
- [3] Azizah, A. N. (2023). Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) sebagai Organisasi Antar-Pemerintah Regional di Kawasan Teluk Persia dalam Menangani Krisis Diplomasi Qatar-Arab Saudi. *Journal of International Relations Diponegoro*, 9(1), 189–208.
- [4] Barbosa, L., & Kuster, R. (2019). The Coordination Between International and Regional Organizations (Third Party Actors) as an Effective Recourse for the International Conflict Resolution Through Mediation. *Willamette Journal of International Law and Dispute Resolution*, 26(1/2), 138–172.
- [5] Beebe, G., & Lieven, A. (2024). The Diplomatic Path to a Secure Ukraine. *Quincy Institute for Responsible Statecraft*, 13.
- [6] Benedikter, R. (2023). The new global direction: from “one globalization” to “two globalizations”? Russia's war in Ukraine in global perspective. *New Global Studies*, 17(1), 71–104.
- [7] Berridge, G. R. (2023). The Russia-Ukraine War: Is a Diplomatic Solution Possible? FEBRUARY.
- [8] Bielieskov, M., & Szeligowski, D. (2024). FOOD-FOR-THOUGHT PAPER for the side-event on the margins of the 2024 OSCE Annual Security Review Conference: “Two Years of Russian all-out Aggression against Ukraine : State of Play and Future Scenarios .” April 2022.
- [9] Bowker, M. (2002). Brezhnev and Superpower Relations. In *Brezhnev Reconsidered* (pp. 90–109). Springer.

- [10] Buteux, P. (2019). Strategy, doctrine, and the politics of alliance: theatre nuclear force modernisation in NATO. Routledge.
- [11] Chayinska, M., Minescu, A., & McGarty, C. (2017). Political solidarity through action (and inaction): How international relations changed intracultural perceptions in Ukraine. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 20(3), 396–408.
- [12] Coloma, C. (2024). Back to the future: re-examining John Mearsheimer's idea of hypernationalism in the context of the Russian Ukrainian war. *Critical Studies on Security*, 1–17.
- [13] Connolly, R. (2018). Russia's response to sanctions: how western economic statecraft is reshaping political economy in Russia. Cambridge University Press.
- [14] Cornish, P., Lindley-French, J., & Yorke, C. (2011). Strategic communications and national strategy. Chatham House, The Royal Institute of International Affairs.
- [15] Demirel, G. (2019). Permanent neutrality policy of Turkmenistan: a comparative analysis of Turkmenbashi and Berdimuhamedov eras. Middle East Technical University.
- [16] Duke, S., & Gebhard, C. (2017). The EU and NATO's dilemmas with Russia and the prospects for deconfliction. *European Security*, 26(3), 379–397.
- [17] Dyson, T., & Pashchuk, Y. (2022). Organisational learning during the Donbas War: the development of Ukrainian Armed Forces lessons-learned processes. *Defence Studies*, 22(2), 141–167.
- [18] Eichensehr, K. E. (2022). The Biden administration cracks down on ransomware. *AMERICAN Journal Of International Law*, 116(2), 445–451.
- [19] Enyichukwu, O., Onuabuchi, N. E., Mkpaofiek, L. G., Bolaji, A., Uloma, I. E., & Matthew, R. P. (2023). Modern Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities Available online : <https://mjssh.academicjournal.io> Diplomatic Practice and Russia-Ukraine Conflict : The Role of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). 22(2022), 22–32.
- [20] Freedman, L. (2022). Command: The politics of military operations from Korea to Ukraine. Penguin UK.
- [21] Gernert, M., El Bilali, H., & Strassner, C. (2018). Grassroots initiatives as sustainability transition pioneers: implications and lessons for urban food systems. *Urban Science*, 2(1), 23.
- [22] Gill, A. S. (2020). The changing role of multilateral forums in regulating armed conflict in the digital age. *International Review of the Red Cross*, 102(913), 261–285.
- [23] Giumelli, F. (2017). The redistributive impact of restrictive measures on EU members: Winners and losers from imposing sanctions on Russia. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 55(5), 1062–1080.
- [24] Hoffmann, T. (2022). War or peace? –International legal issues concerning the use of force in the Russia–Ukraine conflict. *Hungarian Journal of Legal Studies*, 63(3), 206–235.
- [25] Khaitan, T. (2021). Guarantor institutions. *Asian Journal of Comparative Law*, 16(S1), S40–S59.
- [26] Kroenig, M., & Negrea, D. (2024). We win; they lose: Republican foreign policy and the new cold war. Simon and Schuster.
- [27] Legvold, R. (2008). The role of multilateralism in Russian foreign policy. In *The Multilateral Dimension in Russian Foreign Policy* (pp. 35–59). Routledge.
- [28] Mahbubani, K., & Mahbubani, K. (2022). Multilateral diplomacy. *The Asian 21st Century*, 231–245.

- [29] Mälksoo, L. (2023). Resolution ES-11/4 Territorial Integrity of Ukraine: Defending the Principles of the Charter of the United Nations (UNGA). *International Legal Materials*, 62(4), 601–604.
- [30] Mearsheimer, J. J. (2014). Why the Ukraine crisis is the West's fault: the liberal delusions that provoked Putin. *Foreign Aff.*, 93, 77.
- [31] Perbawa, I. K. S. L. P. (2022). The Role of United Nations on War Conflict Between Russia and Ukraine. *International Journal of Social Science and Business*, 6(4), 496–501. <https://doi.org/10.23887/ijssb.v6i4.45729>
- [32] Petrović, M. (2022). european union and ukraine: the strategic partnership leading to (some) where? *Међународни Проблеми*, 74(1), 75–101.
- [33] Pratiwi, A. (2023). Kepentingan Rusia Dalam Pengerahan Operasi Militer Ke Ukraina Tahun 2022. *Program Studi Ilmu Hubungan Internasional Fakultas Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu*
- [34] Radstone, S. (2017). *Memory, history, nation: Contested pasts*. Routledge.
- [35] Rasmussen, A. F., & Yermak, A. (2022). The Kyiv Security Compact. *Working Group on International Security Guarantees for Ukraine*, 13.
- [36] Rothschein, T. (2024). Chinese reaction to the 2022 Russian invasion of Ukraine.
- [37] Šćepanović, J. (2024). Still great power? Russia's status dilemmas post-Ukraine war. *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 32(1), 80–95.
- [38] Siddi, M. (2016). German foreign policy towards Russia in the aftermath of the Ukraine crisis: A new Ostpolitik? *Europe-Asia Studies*, 68(4), 665–677.
- [39] Steinmeier, F.-W. (2016). Germany's new global role: Berlin steps up. *Foreign Affairs*, 95(4), 106–113.
- [40] Tzivaras, I. P. (2022). Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE). In *International Conflict and Security Law: A Research Handbook* (pp. 555–573). Springer.
- [41] Wódka, J. (2023). Turkey's Middlepowermanship, Foreign Policy Transformation and Mediation Efforts in the Russia-Ukraine War. *Studia Europejskie – Studies in European Affairs*, 2023(4), 215–233. <https://doi.org/10.33067/se.4.2023.12>
- [42] Wolff, A. T. (2015). The future of NATO enlargement after the Ukraine crisis. *International Affairs*, 91(5), 1103–1121.