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## Literature Study of Effort to Settlement the Russia-Ukraine Dispute According to International Law

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### Abstrak

*Penelitian ini berfokus pada upaya penyelesaian sengketa antara Rusia dan Ukraina berdasarkan perspektif hukum internasional. Metode yang digunakan adalah pendekatan kualitatif-deskriptif, di mana pembahasan mengenai mekanisme penyelesaian sengketa antara kedua negara disajikan melalui uraian yang didasarkan pada fakta-fakta yang ditemukan melalui studi pustaka. Sumber data yang dianalisis dalam penelitian ini mencakup berbagai artikel ilmiah dan berita yang relevan dengan konflik Rusia-Ukraina. Kerangka analisis yang digunakan merujuk pada konsep hukum penyelesaian sengketa internasional yang dikemukakan oleh Huala Adolf (2003), yang mengklasifikasikan bentuk penyelesaian sengketa menjadi dua pendekatan utama: cara damai dan cara non-damai. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa sejumlah upaya damai telah dilakukan dalam konflik Rusia-Ukraina, antara lain melalui negosiasi, mediasi, konsiliasi (conciliation), fasilitas pihak ketiga (good offices), pencarian fakta (fact-finding), serta lembaga arbitrase. Sementara itu, upaya non-damai yang juga telah ditempuh mencakup tindakan perang dan kekerasan bersenjata non-perang, retorsi (retortion), pembalasan (reprisal), dan intervensi. Meskipun berbagai upaya tersebut telah dilakukan, belum ada solusi komprehensif yang dicapai untuk mengakhiri konflik ini.*

*Kata Kunci: Rusia-Ukraina, Hukum Internasional, Resolusi Konflik.*

### Abstract

*This study focuses on efforts to resolve the dispute between Russia and Ukraine from the perspective of international law. The method employed is a qualitative-descriptive approach, in which the discussion of dispute resolution mechanisms between the two countries is presented through descriptions based on facts obtained from literature studies. The data sources analyzed in this research include various scholarly articles and news reports relevant to the Russia-Ukraine conflict. The analytical framework refers to the concept of international dispute settlement law proposed by Huala Adolf (2003), which classifies dispute resolution into two main approaches: peaceful and non-peaceful means. The findings of this study indicate that several peaceful efforts have been undertaken in the Russia-Ukraine conflict, including negotiation, mediation, conciliation, good offices, fact-finding, and arbitration institutions. On the other hand, non-peaceful efforts that have been pursued include acts of war and non-war armed actions, retortion, reprisal, and intervention. Despite these various efforts, no comprehensive solution has yet been achieved to bring the conflict to an end.*

*Keywords: Russia-Ukraine, International Law, Conflict Resolution.*

## Introduction

The conflict between Russia and Ukraine has deep historical roots, starting in 2014 and intensifying in 2020. The conflict began when then-Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich refused to sign a trade agreement with the European Union, which would have strengthened Ukraine's relations with the West (Atok, 2022). Instead, Yanukovich accepted financial aid from Russia, including a \$15 billion loan and significant gas discounts. This decision sparked massive protests in Ukraine, known as the Euromaidan Revolution, eventually leading to Yanukovich's overthrow in February 2014 (Afdhal et al., 2022; Hanifah, 2017). After Yanukovich's overthrow, tensions between Ukraine and Russia escalated. Ukraine, increasingly pro-Western, sought to strengthen ties with European countries and NATO, which Russia saw as a direct threat. In March 2014, Russia decided to annex Crimea, a Ukrainian region, to the Russian Federation after holding a referendum deemed illegal by the international community (Hendra et al., 2021). This action triggered an international crisis and sanctions against Russia from the United States and the European Union, including a ban on exporting agricultural goods, energy, and investment (Harahap et al., 2023; Zulfa et al., 2022).

Since then, bloody fighting between pro-Russian parties and the Ukrainian government has occurred in eastern Ukraine, especially in Donetsk and Luhansk, known as the Donbas region. This conflict has caused thousands of casualties and refugees (Hendra et al., 2021). In 2015, peace was not achieved despite mediation efforts with the Minsk agreement involving several European countries (Syuryansyah & Berthanila, 2022). The conflict has only worsened as violence in the region increases, as well as the support provided by Russia to separatist groups in eastern Ukraine (Hendra et al., 2021; Syuryansyah & Berthanila, 2022). This tension is not only regional but also creates a widespread impact on global stability and economic crises, especially related to world commodity prices, including food (Hendra et al., 2021; Tiara & Mas'udi, 2023). Natural resources and territorial control are the main motives for this tension, which complicates efforts to resolve the conflict (Buzan & Lene Hansen, 2009).

This conflict has also become an arena for major countries to strengthen their influence, such as the support given by the United States to Ukraine to counter Russia in the context of the expanding influence of democracy in Eastern Europe (Hutabarat, 2022; Zahro et al., 2023). This shows that the Russia-Ukraine conflict is not only about local issues but also involves broader geopolitical interests, which complicate efforts for a peaceful resolution (Hanifah, 2017; Hendra et al., 2021; Syuryansyah & Berthanila, 2022). Political uncertainty and power struggles in the region show that the political transformation in Ukraine is being watched closely by many countries, while the need to find a peaceful solution is becoming more urgent.

The situation on the ground is further complicated by the humanitarian crisis caused by the invasion. In 2022, Russia launched a massive military invasion of Ukraine. This attack not only destroyed Ukrainian infrastructure but also caused a deep humanitarian crisis. According to a report from the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) in 2023, more than 9,000 people have been killed and more than 15,000 injured since the start of the invasion (Isnain & Wicaksono, 2023). The conflict has displaced more than 6 million people to neighbouring countries, including Poland and Moldova, and created further tensions in Eastern Europe. Russia's influence in Ukraine, which has been eroded since 2014, is now increasingly threatened by Ukraine's desire to join

NATO and the European Union (Isnain & Wicaksono, 2023). In addition, the economic impact of this conflict cannot be ignored, especially on global energy prices, where the spike in oil and gas prices has caused a crisis in many countries, including countries in Southeast Asia (Bakrie et al., 2022; Tiara & Mas'udi, 2023). Russia is one of the world's largest energy producers, and disruptions to its energy supply have caused gas and oil prices to skyrocket. In 2022, world oil prices even reached 120 US dollars per barrel, affecting the economies of energy-importing countries such as Indonesia (Kennedy, 2023). This issue shows how the conflict affects not only the countries directly involved but also those indirectly affected through trade and energy relations (Bakrie et al., 2022).

Various efforts have been made to ease these tensions. Before the 2022 invasion, the Minsk Agreement, drafted by Germany and France, attempted to provide a peaceful solution by introducing a power-sharing plan in the Donbas region. However, even though this agreement was signed, its implementation failed to stop the fighting and tensions in eastern Ukraine. In addition, European countries, along with the United States, have imposed economic sanctions on Russia to suppress the country's economy and force them to stop military aggression. Although these sanctions have impacted the Russian economy, they have not been enough to stop Russia's actions in Ukraine (Maulana, 2024).

In addition, diplomatic efforts by major countries, such as the United States and Germany, which have repeatedly proposed dialogue and a peace agreement, have also not been successful. Many European countries have played a role in advocating for a ceasefire and peace talks, but Russia continues to strengthen its position and respond to mediation efforts with military policies. On the other hand, NATO countries continue to support Ukraine with weapons, which makes this conflict even more difficult to resolve through dialogue. Although various diplomatic efforts have been made, such as a settlement through the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and various bilateral meetings between Russia and European countries, the results have not been able to end the conflict (Syuryansyah & Berthanila, 2022). International sanctions against Russia, which include the energy, transportation, and financial sectors, have harmed the Russian economy (Hanifah, 2017; Maulana, 2024). However, Russia maintains its position in Ukraine, even expanding the invasion in 2022. On the other hand, Ukraine, supported by Western countries, especially the United States and European countries, has received significant military and financial aid, prolonging and exacerbating the conflict (Maulana, 2024).

This study aims to analyze the overall efforts to find a solution to this conflict by analyzing various efforts to resolve the Russia-Ukraine conflict. According to Huala Adolf (2003), the actors that may be involved in the settlement of international disputes include: States, International Organizations, International Courts and Arbitrators, Third Parties or States acting as Mediators or Good Offices, Fact-Finding Commissions or Conciliation Commissions, and Non-State Actors. By gaining a deeper understanding of the steps taken and the results obtained, this study can contribute to formulating policies or recommendations for a more constructive conflict resolution between Russia-Ukraine.

## **Method**

The approach used in this study is a qualitative-descriptive approach, where the discussion of the procedures for resolving disputes between the two countries is presented using descriptions based on the facts found. This study also uses a literature study method to explore the international community's efforts in responding to the Russia-Ukraine conflict. According to Fatimah et al. (2025),

a literature study is a method used to collect information from written sources such as books, journal articles, and previous research reports, which help researchers understand theories related to the topic being studied and identify gaps in existing research to deepen further empirical studies. The data used in this study include various scientific references, such as journal articles using the Publish or Perish publication tool, using the Crossref and Google Scholar databases with the main keyword "Russia-Ukraine conflict resolution." In addition, to diversify our data, we also use other sources such as books, news, and other related sources. We analyzed the data we obtained using content analysis to better understand the conflict resolution efforts.

## Result and Discussion

To resolve international disputes, Huala Adolf (2003), in his book entitled "*Law on Settlement of International Disputes*," reveals two main approaches to resolving international disputes: peaceful and non-peaceful. Peaceful efforts include various methods to resolve disputes without violence, including negotiation, mediation, conciliation, good offices, fact-finding, arbitration, and the role of international organizations. Meanwhile, non-peaceful efforts involve more confrontational actions, such as retortion, reprisals, war, peaceful blockades, and intervention.

On the other hand, this conflict also involves violent efforts, including direct war that began with Russia's massive invasion of Ukraine in February 2022. This invasion caused many casualties and damage to infrastructure. Western countries, in the form of retaliation, imposed economic sanctions on Russia, froze assets and restricted trade. Meanwhile, retaliatory actions occurred when both parties attacked civilian infrastructure in retaliation. In addition, Western countries also intervened by providing military assistance to Ukraine, including weapons and military equipment, to help Ukraine maintain its sovereignty. All these efforts show how resolving the conflict involves a combination of diplomacy and international pressure but still faces significant challenges.

In this article, we summarize the various efforts made to resolve the Russia-Ukraine dispute based on our literature review. We will discuss these efforts in depth to better understand the approaches applied in dealing with the dispute.

**Tabel 1:** Literature Review summary Efforts to resolve the Russia-Ukraine conflict

How	Resolution	Activity	Note
Peaceful	Negotiation	Short Negotiation	Considerable powers such as Turkey and France have tried to mediate between the two countries to reach a ceasefire, although they have not been successful. This process is often carried out in direct meetings between country leaders or representatives.
		Efforts to mediate through early talks such as the Minsk Agreements and later attempts after the 2022 invasion.	Mediation efforts, including the Minsk Agreements, aimed to de-escalate tensions but faced obstacles in implementation.

	Mediation	The UN and OSCE acted as mediators, and countries like France, Germany, and Turkey participated in peace talks.	Organizations such as the UN and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) mediate mediation efforts, facilitating talks between the two parties.
	Conciliation	UN and OSCE provide formal recommendations aimed at resolving the conflict.	Challenges arise when the parties involved do not accept recommendations due to political and military considerations.
	Good Offices	Countries like Turkey and China provide good offices facilitating talks between Russia and Ukraine.	Good offices helped open dialogue but did not enforce outcomes; thus, progress remains limited.
	Arbitration	Arbitration could have been a solution but was not fully elaborated due to the lack of formal arbitration cases in this conflict.	While arbitration remains a method, political and military tensions have prevented its application in Russia and Ukraine.
	Fact-Finding	International bodies such as the UN investigate human rights violations and war crimes through fact-finding missions.	Fact-finding is critical but hindered by the lack of willingness from parties to cooperate, limiting its effectiveness.
	The Role of International Organizations	The UN, OSCE, and others provide humanitarian aid and diplomatic mediation efforts.	Despite their role, international organizations face challenges due to vetoes in the Security Council and limited authority in enforcement.
Non-Peaceful	War	A large-scale military offensive	Russia launched a large-scale invasion in February 2022, attacking various regions of Ukraine. The conflict has caused significant casualties and damage to infrastructure.
	Retort	Economic sanctions against Russia	Western countries, including the US and the European Union, have imposed economic sanctions on Russia, frozen assets, and restricted trade as a form of pressure to end the war.
	Reprisal	Retaliatory attacks on infrastructure	Both sides, Russia and Ukraine, have carried out attacks on civilian infrastructure, including the bombing of cities and civilian facilities in retaliation.
	Intervention	Military assistance to Ukraine	Western countries have provided military assistance in the form of weapons, ammunition, and other

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equipment to help Ukraine defend its territory.

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**Source:** processed by the author from various sources

#### **a. Peaceful Efforts in Resolving the Case between Russia and Ukraine**

Efforts to resolve the Russia-Ukraine conflict can be carried out in various ways, both peacefully and through violent actions. Regarding peace, several countries and international organizations, such as Turkey, France, the UN, and the OSCE, have attempted to mediate and negotiate between the two parties. One well-known example of mediation is the Minsk Agreement talks in 2015, although its implementation was ineffective. In addition, brief meetings were held between the two countries' representatives to find a peaceful solution, although there has been no permanent agreement.

##### *1) Negotiations in the Russia-Ukraine Conflict*

Negotiation can be defined as finding a solution to a dispute to reach an acceptable outcome for both parties involved (Mangku, 2012). Although the outcome may benefit one party more than the other, negotiation aims to find common ground between the disputing parties (Daliyo, 1994; Wallace & Martin-Ortega, 2013). As one of the most traditional dispute resolution techniques, negotiation does not involve a third party, with the primary focus being dialogue between the directly involved parties. In this process, differences in perception between the parties are resolved through open discussion, allowing each party to better understand the core of the problem and ultimately find a solution. When an agreement is reached, both parties usually make concessions. However, if one party refuses to open up space for negotiation, the resolution of the dispute will be at a standstill. Therefore, it is important for the parties involved in the negotiation to be open and to comply with the rule of good faith so that the process does not become a mere formality.

Negotiation is important in resolving international disputes, especially for serious issues requiring diplomatic exchanges before reaching a final agreement. In the context of the Russia-Ukraine conflict, negotiations were first held after Russia invaded Crimea in 2014, and tensions escalated in eastern Ukraine. These negotiations aimed to defuse the tensions that arose after the Russian invasion of Crimea and the armed conflict in eastern Ukraine, especially in Donbas (Syuryansyah & Berthanila, 2022). The first significant effort was the Minsk Agreement, signed in 2014, aimed at defusing fighting between Ukrainian forces and pro-Russian separatists in the Donbas region (Sudiq & Yustitianiingtyas, 2022). This agreement, which involved support from European countries, especially Germany and France, in a format known as the Normandy Format, aimed to create a ceasefire, prisoner exchanges, and reduce tensions. However, although some steps, such as prisoner exchanges, were achieved, the ceasefire was never fully implemented (Sudiq & Yustitianiingtyas, 2022). This shows that although negotiations are a legitimate initial step, their results are often hampered by the unwillingness to implement commitments (Afdhal et al., 2022). In the negotiation process, both sides had to face profound differences over the demands put forward. Ukraine demanded the complete withdrawal of Russian troops from their territory, while Russia fought for the status of Crimea and the Donbas region. The inability to agree on these key points has led to frequent breakdowns in negotiations, suggesting

that while negotiations are a crucial step, the unwillingness of one party to fulfil its commitments can lead to deadlock (Hutabarat, 2022; Syuryansyah & Berthanila, 2022). One analysis states that although negotiations do not always end in agreement, they remain important as a communication channel to prevent further escalation in this protracted conflict (Syuryansyah & Berthanila, 2022).

In this context, several studies have highlighted the need for a more effective approach to the negotiation process. Given the significant international involvement, including economic sanctions imposed on Russia, it has been argued that negotiations involving third parties could be a good alternative to achieve a peaceful resolution, not only in a bilateral context but also as part of the auditorial framework of influential international organizations (Hutabarat, 2022; Sudiq & Yustitiantingtyas, 2022; Tiara & Mas'udi, 2023). Although negotiation efforts have been ongoing since the beginning of the conflict, there are still significant challenges to reaching an acceptable agreement for both parties. Existing research and experience illustrate that negotiations must be carried out with good intentions and openness to finding solutions so that this process is not just a formality but can genuinely lead to a beneficial resolution (Aji & Setiyono, 2023; Syuryansyah & Berthanila, 2022).

## *2) Mediation in the Russia-Ukraine Conflict*

Mediation is a form of dispute resolution that involves a third party as a mediator (Azhar et al., 2025). Unlike negotiation, which only involves the disputing parties, mediation involves a third party who acts as a facilitator to find the right solution and help reach an agreement between the parties involved. This mediator can be a country, individual, or international organization that acts as a "good office," namely a party that provides services to facilitate communication and dialogue between the two parties. In mediation, the mediator is not limited by existing laws but can use the principle of *ex aequo et bono* (propriety and appropriateness), which allows the mediator to consider factors outside the legal aspect, such as political or moral interests (Mangku, 2012). This principle makes mediation more suitable for resolving sensitive disputes, including those with political and legal issues. Although resolving disputes through mediation is similar to conciliation, the difference lies in how the mediator proposes a resolution. In mediation, these suggestions are often made informally and based on reports provided by the parties involved rather than through direct investigation by the mediator. In addition, it should be noted that the advice given by the mediator in mediation is non-binding, meaning it is only a recommendation that has no legal obligation to be accepted by the disputing parties.

In the context of the Russia-Ukraine conflict, mediation in resolving the Russia-Ukraine conflict involves the role of a third party who acts as a facilitator between the two conflicting parties, namely Russia and Ukraine. Mediation is important in creating constructive communication and dialogue to reach an acceptable agreement for both parties. In the context of this conflict, mediation was carried out in the Normandy format involving four countries: Russia, Ukraine, Germany, and France. This effort aims to reduce tensions by creating a ceasefire and a path to peace (Komala et al., 2023; Syuryansyah & Berthanila, 2022).

However, the challenges in the mediation process are significant. Although there has been progress, such as several prisoner exchanges, the success of mediation is often hampered by the unwillingness of one party, in this case, Russia, to fulfil the agreed commitments, as well as by the lack of security guarantees for Ukraine if they accept the suggestions submitted (Sari, 2022). This suggests that mediation, while potentially enhancing dialogue and reducing tensions, is often insufficient to

resolve profound differences in demands between the two countries (Hutabarat, 2022; Komala et al., 2023; Saeri et al., 2023).

Mediation in this conflict is also faced with profound strategic differences. Russia seeks to maintain political and military influence in the region. In contrast, with Western countries' support, Ukraine seeks to maintain sovereignty and seek closer integration with NATO and the European Union (Saeri et al., 2023). Without a broader agreement and goodwill from both parties to fulfil commitments, the mediation process will face significant obstacles (Hutabarat, 2022; Saeri et al., 2023). While the outcomes of mediation are often limited and non-binding, the importance of mediation lies in its ability to open communication channels between the disputing parties. Through mediation, conflict escalation can be avoided so that even if a concrete agreement is not reached, the dialogue continues (Komala et al., 2023; Syuryansyah & Berthanila, 2022). As a step in resolving international conflicts, mediation must be seen as an important effort to meet and find sustainable solutions.

### *3) Conciliation in the Russia-Ukraine Conflict*

Conciliation involves a third party providing recommendations or a more formal solution to resolve the dispute (Mangku, 2012; Sa'diyah et al., 2025). In the context of the Russia-Ukraine conflict, conciliation can be done through international organizations such as the UN or the OSCE (Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe), which have the mandate to investigate the matter and provide recommendations that are binding on both parties (Kheista et al., 2024). However, despite numerous reports documenting human rights violations, war crimes, and violations of international law by both parties during the conflict, conciliation often fails to be implemented due to the unwillingness of the parties involved to accept the proposed outcomes.

For example, the International Commission was established to investigate the various violations in Ukraine, but the recommendations made by international bodies were often unacceptable to the parties concerned. This clearly shows the enormous challenges faced in implementing conciliation, even though the peaceful solution that could emerge from this process is obvious. In this context, Russia is intensely interested in maintaining its influence in Ukraine. At the same time, Ukraine, supported by Western countries, is more likely to prioritize sovereignty and integration with international military and economic alliance structures (Zahro et al., 2023). The unwillingness to accept conciliation recommendations is more due to deep political and military considerations, where both parties prefer to continue fighting rather than accept solutions that may be detrimental to their positions (Anjelina, 2023).

Conciliation can be important in bringing both parties closer to a peaceful solution (Sa'diyah et al., 2025). In the case of Russia-Ukraine, deep political and military considerations often hamper conciliation recommendations. The parties involved in this conflict often prefer to continue fighting rather than accept recommendations that could reduce their control over the contested territory. Thus, although the concept of conciliation is very relevant in resolving international disputes, its implementation in this case is very limited by the complex situation and the ongoing tensions between the two parties.

Nevertheless, conciliation remains important in bringing both parties closer to a peaceful solution. While the outcome is not always guaranteed, the conciliation process can help open the channels of communication and diplomacy needed to prevent further escalation of the conflict and



create conditions in which a permanent solution may be achieved (Kheista et al., 2024; Zahro et al., 2023). Another benefit of the conciliation process is its ability to provide international accountability and raise global awareness of human rights violations during the conflict. This can pressure the parties involved to reduce violence and seek a more peaceful way out in the long term. However, with the existing challenges, the situation is very complex and requires seriousness from all parties to reach a consensus (Pangaribuan & Yulianti, 2023).

#### *4) Good Offices in the Russia-Ukraine Conflict*

Good offices are a method of international dispute resolution in which a third party not directly involved in the conflict provides facilities to help the disputing parties engage in dialogue (Azhar et al., 2025; Mangku, 2012). In the context of the Russia-Ukraine conflict, several countries, including Turkey and China, have offered good offices to facilitate meetings between Ukraine and Russia. For example, Turkey was key in facilitating talks on humanitarian corridors and a temporary ceasefire agreement related to aid deliveries. While the good intentions of these countries were aligned to de-escalate tensions, the results achieved were often limited (Wódka, 2023). During this process, although Turkey provided a venue for the meetings, it did not have the power to impose a mutually acceptable solution (Wódka, 2023). Many meetings resulted in only general statements without significant progress that could lead to a more concrete resolution. This suggests that while good offices create opportunities for dialogue, the very different desires and goals of the countries involved often prevent productive progress (Hussein, 2024).

While good offices play an important role in creating space for dialogue, their function is limited to providing communication opportunities. Countries involved in conflict often have very different desires and goals, which makes good offices insufficient to defuse tensions or change the dynamics of the conflict. Therefore, while good offices allow both parties to talk, their effectiveness can only be achieved if they are supported by a firm intention to reach a peaceful solution and the parties' willingness to compromise (Wódka, 2023). It is important to note that good offices serve more as a starting point for negotiations than a definitive dispute resolution. Countries at odds will likely be more open to dialogue if they feel supported by a neutral and trusted third party. However, if both parties are unwilling to compromise, then even though good offices provide opportunities for communication, their use as a conflict resolution tool will not be effective (Greitens, 2022).

#### *5) Fact-Finding in the Russia-Ukraine Conflict*

Fact-finding is a method used to resolve international disputes by collecting, examining, and analyzing relevant evidence related to the issue at hand (Mangku, 2012). A committee or international body usually explicitly formed carries out this process. Forme committee or body will thoroughly investigate the existing facts by listening to all parties involved and examining the evidence provided by each party. In the context of the Russia-Ukraine conflict, fact-finding efforts are often carried out by committees or international bodies formed to investigate violations and war crimes that occurred during this conflict. Reports from international organizations, including the involvement of the UN Human Rights Commission and other institutions, play an important role in exposing human rights violations during the conflict (Hryenko et al., 2024; Trofymenko et al., 2024).

The fact-finding process aims to obtain objective truth about the problem and present findings that can be used as a basis for decision-making in resolving the dispute. However, the implementation

of fact-finding in this conflict is often hampered by political dynamics and disagreements among the parties involved. This is evident from the inability of various international committees to provide binding solutions, where their recommendations are often rejected by the parties concerned (Hrynko et al., 2024; Tragniuk et al., 2024).

International bodies such as the International Court of Justice also use fact-finding to address complex issues between countries, especially those related to human rights violations in conflict situations. Fact-finding is very important in providing a clear picture of the root of the problem and providing a basis for further resolution steps (Felyk et al., 2022). Although fact-finding is important in seeking justice and accountability, its results are not consistently implemented effectively. International actions and recommendations are often hampered by deep political factors, making it difficult to find a peaceful solution acceptable to all parties to the conflict (Butsmak, 2021). Nevertheless, fact-finding remains a necessary tool to achieve transparency and evidence-based international dispute resolution, including in the context of the Russia-Ukraine conflict (Chang, 2023).

#### *6) Efforts of Arbitration Institutions in the Russia-Ukraine Conflict*

Arbitration is an alternative method of dispute resolution that has long been recognized in international law (Khomaini, 2025; Mangku, 2012). In the arbitration procedure, disputes between the disputing parties are submitted to arbitrators whom both parties freely choose (Abdurrasyid, 2002). Arbitration is a consensual dispute resolution process, which means that dispute resolution can only be carried out if there is agreement from the countries involved in the dispute.

Submitting a dispute to arbitration can be done in two ways. First, through compromise after the dispute arises, where the existing dispute is submitted to arbitration. Second, through an arbitration clause in an international agreement made before the dispute occurs (conditional compromise) (Aji & Setiyono, 2023). In this case, the countries involved can include an arbitration clause in their international agreement, which regulates how the dispute will be resolved through arbitration. These international agreements usually cover various matters, such as the subject matter of the dispute, the appointment of the arbitral tribunal, the scope of the arbitration authority, the procedure for arbitration, and the rules for decision-making.

In the context of the Russia-Ukraine conflict, although arbitration is not always a commonly applied process, there are several examples of arbitration's relevance. For example, a dispute about gas supplies between Russia and Ukraine was once submitted to arbitration, with the Stockholm Award ordering Russia to compensate Ukraine. In March 2018, the Stockholm arbitration ruled that Gazprom must pay around \$2.5 billion to the Ukrainian gas company Naftogaz for breach of contract (Johannesson & Clowes, 2022). Ukraine's victory in this arbitration shows the potential of arbitration in resolving conflicts involving commercial and legal aspects. However, in a broader context, the implementation of arbitration in this conflict still faces significant challenges (Aji & Setiyono, 2023).

The deep disagreements between Russia and Ukraine and the existing political and military tensions make arbitration a minimal option for resolving this dispute. Many argue that agreement to arbitrate is made more difficult by the ongoing tensions, which include differing views on international law and the sovereign rights of each country (Malyarenko & Wolff, 2018). Meanwhile, while arbitration can provide a more formal and orderly dispute resolution structure, reaching a consensus that truly supports this process remains a significant obstacle. Nevertheless, arbitration remains relevant

as an important alternative in international dispute resolution, especially for issues that can be based on law and can be clarified through a more structured approach. Therefore, although the application of arbitration in the Russia-Ukraine conflict is faced with many challenges, it is important to continue to maintain the option of arbitration as one of the methods that can be considered in efforts to find a peaceful settlement in the future (Fu, 2022; Winaldi & Setiyono, 2022).

#### *7) UN Judicial and International Organizations in the Settlement of the Russia-Ukraine Conflict*

Despite various obstacles, the UN and other international organizations play an important role in resolving the Russia-Ukraine conflict. One of the primary roles of the UN is to provide humanitarian assistance to millions of people affected by the war in Ukraine. Through the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), the UN has allocated more than \$3 billion for humanitarian assistance, including the delivery of food, medicine, and protection for refugees and war victims in Ukraine (Harahap et al., 2023; Mubin & Adha, 2022; Syailendra Putra et al., 2024). In addition, the UN has also issued a resolution condemning Russian aggression and calling for the withdrawal of Russian troops from Ukraine. However, this resolution cannot be enforced due to Russia's veto power in the UN Security Council (Tatamirov, 2024; Timiyan et al., 2024).

The biggest obstacle for the UN is the power structure within the UN Security Council, where Russia holds a veto that prevents a strong resolution against its aggressive actions (Harahap et al., 2023; Tatamirov, 2024). This condition creates a deadlock in diplomatic efforts undertaken by the UN. Although the UN General Assembly can pass a resolution to condemn Russia's actions, the Security Council cannot take further steps. Although the UN plays an important role in providing humanitarian assistance and condemning Russia's actions, its authority is limited by political factors, especially the veto power held by large countries such as Russia (Octavia & Husniyah, 2023).

Furthermore, although the UN can provide humanitarian assistance and conduct investigations into human rights violations, these investigations are often hampered by Russia's veto power. This creates a situation where even though there is an urgent need for intervention, stronger legal measures are challenging to implement (Govorukhina et al., 2024; Mubin & Adha, 2022). The UN, through various channels, continues to try to offer assistance and create channels of communication, but concrete results still depend heavily on the political conditions in the Security Council and the willingness of the countries involved to cooperate (Harahap et al., 2023; Tatamirov, 2024).

Although many UN member states provide support in the form of sanctions or humanitarian assistance, no firm legal measures can be enforced against Russia. Attempts to investigate by the International Court of Justice have been made, but international political issues and Russia's veto power make this legal step difficult to implement (Octavia & Husniyah, 2023). Therefore, although the role of the UN and other international organizations is significant in providing humanitarian assistance, they face major obstacles in taking further action to resolve this conflict.

#### **b. Non-peaceful Efforts in Resolving the Russia-Ukraine Conflict**

If the disputing countries cannot reach an agreement to resolve their dispute peacefully, then the method of resolving it through violence becomes one alternative. According to Dewa Gede Sudika Mangku (2012) in his article entitled "*Suatu kajian umum tentang penyelesaian sengketa internasional*

*termasuk di dalam tubuh Asean "*, there are several bases for resolving disputes through force, including war, which is the most extreme way involving the use of military force between disputing countries. In addition, there are non-war armed actions, which are limited military operations without a formal declaration of war but potentially worsen the situation.

Disputes can also be resolved through retortion, which means legitimate retaliatory action taken by a country against actions considered illegitimate by another country, such as trade restrictions or sanctions. Reprisal is a more measured retaliatory action that does not exceed the violation that occurred to restore the rights that have been violated. On the other hand, there is also a peaceful blockade (pacific blockade), which blocks access to a country's ports or trade routes without military force to pressure a country that is considered to have violated international law. Finally, intervention refers to the interference of another country in the domestic affairs of a country involved in a dispute, either through political, military, or economic channels, to stop the conflict or protect human rights. Although these methods can be used to resolve disputes, these violent approaches risk causing significant harm and worsening international relations, so they are usually only used as a last resort after diplomatic channels and peaceful resolutions have failed.

#### *1) War and Non-War Armed Actions*

The Russia-Ukraine War is a clear example of using military force between countries. According to F. Sugeng Istanto (1998), war is a conflict accompanied by violence by each party's armed forces, aiming to subdue the opponent and unilaterally setting peace terms. J. G. Starke (2008) added that the purpose of war is to conquer the opposing country and impose conditions of settlement that require the conquered country to comply with these conditions without having any other alternatives. This conflict has caused significant losses in terms of casualties and infrastructure damage and has worsened international relations, making it the last option taken after diplomatic channels have failed (Gunawan & Pane, 2024; Raihansyah & Izadi, 2024).

This war also shows the complexity of armed action, which does not always lead to peace but can create further tension in relations between countries. For example, the damage to infrastructure caused by the Russian attack in Ukraine shows significant impacts, where the principles of international humanitarian law are undermined, resulting in consequences for civilians and civilian infrastructure (Gunawan & Pane, 2024). In addition, studies on the protection of civilians during armed conflict underscore the need for increased efforts to protect people trapped in the conflict (Raihansyah & Izadi, 2024). The Russia-Ukraine war reflects the profound impact of armed action in the context of international relations and explains the behaviour of states involved in the conflict. In this case, the danger to international stability continues, creating challenges for future peace efforts (Gunawan & Pane, 2024; Raihansyah & Izadi, 2024).

#### *2) Retortion: Economic Sanctions and Embargoes*

Retortion is a legitimate response to inappropriate behaviour from another state, carried out in a form that does not violate international law (Mangku, 2012). In the context of the Russia-Ukraine war, Western countries have imposed economic sanctions and trade restrictions on Russia as a form of retaliation for its aggression against Ukraine. However, the implementation of this retortion must still pay attention to the provisions of the UN Charter, which emphasizes the importance of peaceful dispute resolution to maintain international peace and security (Anjani, 2017; Hanifah, 2017).

Economic sanctions against Russia have become the primary tool used by Western countries, especially the European Union and the United States, to pressure Russia to stop its military aggression against Ukraine. Since 2014, various sanctions have been imposed, including an arms embargo, asset freezes, and restrictions on the energy, financial, and other sectors that are the pillars of the Russian economy (Syukur & Fautngiljanan, 2022). One significant step was freezing Russia's access to the SWIFT international banking system, which aims to isolate Russia from the global financial market. This step has proven to be quite impactful, considering Russia lost access to the international payment system, allowing it to conduct global transactions. In addition, the Russian banking sector, such as Vnesheconombank and Promsvyazbank, were also subject to asset freezes that made it difficult for them to operate internationally (Băhnăreanu, 2022; Zulfa et al., 2022).

Although these sanctions have significantly impacted the Russian economy, with the ruble depreciating sharply and the economy contracting significantly, they have not been effective enough to stop Russian military aggression. Russia has found alternative trade routes with non-Western countries such as China and India, allowing them to survive despite their isolation from the West. In addition, many countries, especially in the Asian region, do not fully support these sanctions and instead expand their relations with Russia in the fields of energy and trade (Pangaribuan & Yulianti, 2023). The debate about the effectiveness of sanctions in achieving political goals continues. Some leaders, including Emmanuel Macron of France, argue that sanctions alone cannot end this conflict without constructive dialogue (Susilawati, 2015). Therefore, although economic sanctions have had a significant impact on the Russian economy, without a straightforward diplomatic approach and willingness to compromise, these sanctions have not succeeded in changing Russia's behaviour or accelerating the resolution of this conflict (Pangaribuan & Yulianti, 2023; Sari, 2022; Susilawati, 2015).

### *3) Reprisal*

Reprisal is a retaliatory action involving a violation of international law in response to a similar violation by another state (Darcy, 2016). In the context of the Russia-Ukraine war, there have been reports that both sides have carried out attacks on civilian infrastructure, which could be considered a reprisal. However, under international humanitarian law, such actions are strictly limited and are only permitted under certain conditions. Under international law, a legitimate reprisal must meet several requirements, such as proportionality, and not be directed at protected targets, such as civilians or medical facilities. In addition, reprisal is only permitted if previous violations by the opposing party have not received an adequate response through legal or diplomatic channels (Bradley, 2023; Likhvar, 2024). Although there are situations where reprisal can be justified as a response to international violations, international humanitarian law still emphasizes the importance of protecting human rights and human dignity in any armed conflict (Darcy, 2016).

In this war, attacks on civilian infrastructure, such as hospitals, bridges, and other facilities, can be considered to violate the principles of international law that prohibit attacks on targets that are not directly involved in the conflict. Therefore, although reprisal can be considered a response to violations, its implementation must always follow strict international law rules to ensure that fundamental human rights are respected during the conflict (Beard & Stephens, 2024; Likhvar, 2024).

### *4) Intervention*

Intervention refers to a state's interference in another state's affairs, domestic or foreign affairs (Mangku, 2012; Sudiq & Yustitiantingtyas, 2022). In a narrower sense, intervention can be understood as interfering with another state's independence. Another country to influence the decisions or policies of that country. Usually, this intervention is coercive or accompanied by the threat of force. Intervention is almost always intended to interfere with the political independence of the country involved. Although intervention can sometimes be advisory, it is considered legitimate under international law if accompanied by threats or coercion. Major powers often use this action to protect their national interests or maintain international stability.

In the context of the Russo-Ukrainian war, intervention can be seen through the support given by Western countries to Ukraine in the form of military, financial, and diplomatic assistance (Sudiq & Yustitiantingtyas, 2022). Although there was no direct military intervention by Western countries, they played an active role in supporting Ukraine in countering Russian aggression. Western countries also put pressure on Russia through resolutions at the UN and the implementation of economic sanctions. For example, the sanctions imposed by Western countries, including the European Union and the United States, are a form of intervention aimed at pressuring Russia and stopping its aggression. These include significant economic sanctions and embargoes affecting key sectors of the Russian economy, as well as significant asset freezes. While these sanctions are expected to force Russia to back down from its aggressive actions, they also show how intervention can be carried out without direct involvement in military conflicts but still influence the course of the war through external support (Aji & Setiyono, 2023; Hussein, 2024; Winaldi & Setiyono, 2022).

This type of intervention shows how international powers can influence conflicts indirectly, using diplomatic and economic tools to change dynamics on the ground. Although the goal of this intervention is to protect national interests and maintain international stability, the use of tools such as sanctions and embargoes can be controversial due to the potential to increase tensions and worsen international relations (Liadze et al., 2023; Olsen, 2024). In the current situation, Western countries' open support for Ukraine and pressure on Russia create a situation where this indirect intervention remains relevant in the broader geopolitical context. This shows the complexity of intervention in international law, where even though the action is intended to promote positive change, the impact on international relations can often produce unwanted reactions from the countries involved (Hussein, 2024; Olsen, 2024).

## **Conclusion**

Based on this study, it can be concluded that efforts to resolve the dispute between Russia and Ukraine have involved various approaches, both through peaceful means and violence. Peaceful efforts such as international negotiations and mediation have been carried out, involving countries such as Turkey and France and international organizations such as the UN and OSCE. However, until now, these negotiations have not produced a significant agreement to end the conflict. Meanwhile, efforts through violence, such as Russia's large-scale invasion of Ukraine, attacks on civilian infrastructure, and economic sanctions against Russia, are also part of the dynamics of this conflict. International intervention in the form of military assistance to Ukraine shows the involvement of major countries in supporting Ukraine. However, this conflict continues without a comprehensive solution despite various efforts, both through diplomacy and violence. Therefore, more intensive and sustainable international cooperation is needed to achieve lasting peace and end the dispute between Russia and Ukraine.

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