



Analysis of Ukraine's Rejection of the Russian-Ukrainian Conflict Resolution Proposal Proposed by Defence Minister Prabowo Subianto and its Solution

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Article Info:

Abstract

Keywords:

Peace Proposal;
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Purpose: This study aims to explore the factors behind Ukraine's rejection of the peace proposal suggested by Indonesian Defence Minister Prabowo Subianto at a global defence ministers' forum in June 2023. The objective is to understand Ukraine's concerns and to propose potential adjustments that could make future peace proposals more acceptable to both Ukraine and Russia, contributing to a more balanced conflict resolution.

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Study Design/Methodology/Approach: The research employs an explanatory qualitative approach, analyzing information from documents, journals, books, and other relevant scientific literature. The study focuses on Ukraine's response to Subianto's peace proposal and examines the geopolitical and sovereignty-related reasons for its rejection.

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Findings: The findings reveal that Ukraine's rejection stemmed from concerns that the proposal favored Russia and compromised Ukrainian sovereignty. The study concludes that Indonesia's peace proposal would require significant adjustments to address these sovereignty issues, ensuring a fair and balanced approach that would not impose undue burdens on Ukraine.

Originality/Value: This study contributes to the discourse on peace-building and conflict resolution by offering insights into the complexities of international mediation. It highlights the importance of fair and balanced proposals in resolving geopolitical conflicts and provides recommendations for improving future initiatives to mediate between Russia and Ukraine effectively. The study offers valuable perspectives for policymakers and international mediators seeking to facilitate sustainable peace agreements.

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INTRODUCTION

Russia's military invasion of Ukraine on February 24, 2024 was basically triggered by geopolitical motives, as Russia felt its sovereign territory was threatened by the NATO alliance's ambition to expand its membership to Ukraine. In order to realize this plan, at the NATO Summit that took place in Bucharest, Romania in 2008, NATO countries with the full support of the United States declared their political support that Georgia and Ukraine would be considered for NATO membership (Mearsheimer, n.d.).

Since the declaration, Ukraine has been eager to become a member of NATO and establish close ties with its member states. The Ukrainian and NATO military forces are engaged in military cooperation with each other, the Ukrainian government is also preparing all domestic legal instruments to support Ukraine's move to become a NATO member, and Ukraine even received a comprehensive aid packages from NATO countries to strengthen their defense and security sectors (https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_37750.htm, 2024) .

Ukraine's relationship with NATO and all its activities really makes Russia feel uncomfortable. This is quite reasonable because geographically, Ukraine is a former Soviet Union country, Russia's closest country, arguably Russia's backyard. According to the data, Russia-Ukraine is about 400 kilometers from the border of Northern Ukraine (Dibb, n.d.). If Ukraine eventually becomes a NATO member, it would allow NATO to establish military bases in Ukraine complete with the deployment of military personnel and all instruments of weaponry. This is what makes Russia feel threatened if Ukraine's plan to become a NATO member is actually realized.

Neither NATO nor Ukraine has actually ignored Russia's concerns. They have even increasingly shown provocation by sending NATO military forces to the Eastern European region either to hold military exercises with Ukraine or simply stand guard around the borders of Ukraine and NATO member countries in Eastern Europe. Responding to the actions of NATO and Ukraine, Russia has actually asked NATO to withdraw their troops from Eastern Europe and they are allowed to conduct military exercises and deploy troops only with Russia's permission. The Russian request was apparently rejected by NATO (Alev Stoicescu et al., n.d.).

Russia's warning, which NATO ignored, further worsened Russia-Ukraine relations and also Russia-NATO relations. After months of military tensions and failed diplomatic efforts by NATO countries to reduce the tension of the Russia-Ukraine conflict, Russia finally took a firm stance by carrying out a full-scale invasion of Ukraine. The two countries engaged in open warfare with each other (Russia's War on Ukraine: Background, n.d.).

The Russia-Ukraine conflict has had a systemic impact on the world order. The conflict has triggered a humanitarian crisis and caused serious shocks to the international political economy. The negative impact is not only felt by the two countries involved in the conflict. However, other countries in the European region and other countries outside the European region such as Asia, Africa, America are also affected (Naz & Kear, n.d.)

According to data, Russia's invasion of Ukraine led to a humanitarian crisis in which more than 7 million Ukrainians were displaced and more than 4.7 million were displaced. Furthermore, of the 7.5 million children in Ukraine, 4.3 million (57 percent) were displaced, 1.8 million children (24 percent) fled to neighboring countries and 2.5 million children (33 percent) were displaced within Ukraine. Economically and in terms of trade, the Russia-Ukraine conflict caused food and energy prices to rise. In detail, coal

prices rose 60 percent, European natural gas prices rose more than 30 percent, wheat prices rose 40 percent, crude oil prices rose to 130 USD per barrel and then fell to 110 USD per barrel (Guénette et al., n.d.). This situation then threatened the world food and energy crisis, especially for countries that have dependence on export commodities from Russia and Ukraine.

Responding to the world conditions that were seriously affected by the Russia-Ukraine war, Indonesia then tried to take part in contributing to solving world problems both when Indonesia was in official multilateral forums such as the G20, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) and when it was outside the official state forum which was informal in nature such as in seminars and dialog events.

In an effort to realize world peace as mandated by the constitution, some time ago, at the International Institute of Strategic Studies (IISS) Shangri-La Dialogue forum which took place in Singapore on June 3, 2023, the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia Prabowo Subianto submitted a proposal to resolve the Russia-Ukraine conflict (Ukraina Tolak Proposal Perdamaian Dari Prabowo - Kompas.Id, n.d.). However, the idea received a rejection response from Ukraine and support from the Russian side. The world public then became divided, with some supporting Prabowo's proposal and others rejecting the initiative. The rejection of Prabowo's proposal highlights the complexities of diplomatic initiatives in international conflict resolution. As Bercovitch and Jackson (2009) suggest, successful conflict resolution requires the identification of underlying grievances and the establishment of trust between adversaries. Diplomatic efforts must respect the sovereignty and interests of all parties to be accepted and to promote lasting peace (Licklider, 1995). In this case, Ukraine likely perceived the proposal as undermining its sovereignty and security, which are central concerns in the ongoing conflict with Russia (Huntington, 1993). The importance of international mediation cannot be overstated in such conflicts. Neutral third parties and multilateral institutions, such as the United Nations, often play a critical role in facilitating diplomatic negotiations and creating platforms for conflict resolution (Wallenstein & Svensson, 2014). However, Prabowo's proposal lacked endorsement from key multilateral actors, which likely contributed to Ukraine's rejection. As Keohane and Nye (2001) argue, multilateralism is essential in legitimizing peace efforts and providing the necessary diplomatic framework for negotiations.

After going viral and causing polemics, it was later revealed that the peace proposal submitted by Prabowo Subianto did not represent the official stance of the Indonesian state because when the contents of the proposal were presented, it was not with the knowledge of President of the Republic of Indonesia Joko Widodo (Jokowi). However, what was presented by Defense Minister Prabowo at the forum of defense ministers of countries around the world has been perceived by the international public as an Indonesian initiative and President Jokowi later did not dispute it and even supported it because according to him, what Prabowo presented was only an ordinary proposal, just a dialogue, seminar, not a state forum or negotiation forum (Indriyani Astuti, 2023).

The proposal ultimately failed to serve as a viable solution or resolution to the conflict. This article seeks to examine the underlying reasons and factors behind Ukraine's rejection of Prabowo's peace proposal. The issue of peace and Indonesia's contribution to global order, as mandated by the constitution, is a matter of significant importance that requires careful consideration. A comprehensive study and involvement of relevant authorities are essential in formulating a policy package or draft proposal on behalf of Indonesia. Such an initiative cannot be developed by a single official or an internal team

alone; it must arise from discussions and consensus among national stakeholders and receive the president's approval as the nation's highest leader (Indonesian Ministry of Defence, 2023).

This research aims to find the appropriate formula for crafting a peace proposal that would be acceptable to both Russia and Ukraine, thereby contributing to a peaceful resolution of their conflict. By understanding the reasons for Ukraine's veto and addressing the concerns related to sovereignty and fairness, this study hopes to provide insights into the formulation of effective peace initiatives. Such initiatives should be rooted in balanced diplomacy and the collective consensus of national and international stakeholders, ensuring a durable and just resolution to the Russia-Ukraine conflict.

METHODS

This study employs a qualitative research method with a case study approach to analyze in depth the factors influencing Ukraine's rejection of Prabowo Subianto's peace proposal in the Russia-Ukraine conflict. The case study approach was chosen for its flexibility in allowing a comprehensive exploration of events and a more detailed understanding of the complex geopolitical context.

The data used in this study are derived from secondary sources obtained from various authoritative literature and official documents, including reports, academic journals, and publications from international organizations. These secondary sources were selected to ensure the accuracy and credibility of the information analyzed in this study. Data validity is maintained by relying on recognized and credible sources within their respective fields, thus ensuring the scientific accountability of the analysis presented.

The data analysis technique employed is descriptive-explanatory, where the collected data are systematically explained to elucidate the reasons behind Ukraine's rejection of the proposed peace initiative. This analysis centers on the concept of state sovereignty, defined as the exclusive right to exercise supreme political authority over a country's territory and people (TĂTAR & MOIȘI, 2022a).

Furthermore, the study adopts an analytical approach to examine the violation of sovereignty that occurred when Russia launched a military invasion into Ukraine's internationally recognized territory. This research explores the impact of such violations on Ukraine's stance, perceiving Russia's actions as a direct threat to its territorial integrity. By utilizing the sovereignty framework as a theoretical foundation, the study offers deeper insights into Ukraine's defense of its sovereign rights and its refusal of the peace proposal, which it viewed as imbalanced.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Outbreak of Russia's Invasion of Ukraine and Indonesia's Role in Mediating the Russia-Ukraine Peace

Russia officially launched military aggression into Ukraine just three days after it recognized Luhansk and Donetsk as independent and sovereign republics. Russia's recognition of Luhansk and Donetsk was followed up by Russia sending military forces assigned as peace keepers to support the people and military in Luhansk and Donetsk

whose sovereignty had been recognized by Russia (VRK-RussiasLegalArguments-2022, n.d.).

From Russia's perspective, defending sovereign Luhansk and Donetsk from Ukrainian military attacks is permissible under UN Charter Article 51. In the event of a military attack by a UN member state, the article gives a state the right to defend itself individually or collectively (United Nations Charter (Full Text) _ United Nations, n.d.). Hence, this is the legal basis used by Russia to justify its invasion of Ukraine in addition to the geopolitical factors mentioned earlier.

From Ukraine's point of view, Russia's military attack on Ukraine is certainly not justified. After all, Ukraine is a sovereign state that is free to determine all fate and domestic and foreign policies without being affected by any intervention from anyone. The UN Charter clearly guarantees this. This is stated in Article 1 paragraph 2 of the UN Charter which states that one of the objectives of the establishment of the United Nations (UN) is for member states of the UN to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace (United Nations Charter (Full Text) _ United Nations, n.d.). As such, siding with Western countries, becoming a member of the European Union, NATO, and moving away from Russian influence is essentially Ukraine's birthright as an independent and fully sovereign state. In terms of international norms and laws, there is nothing wrong with Ukraine's plans and intentions to get closer to the West and adopt its values.

Furthermore, Russia's aggression against Ukraine is essentially inseparable from Russian President Vladimir Putin's ambition to make Ukraine part of Russia's political territory (Ratten, 2023). More specifically, Russia's objectives in invading Ukraine are threefold: to take control of the capital city of Kiev, to overthrow the Ukrainian government, and to replace the Ukrainian government with a pro-Russian government (Shavit et al., n.d.).

More specifically, based on an article titled on The Historical Unity of Russians and Ukrainians written by Vladimir Putin himself, the Russian President has ambitions to restore and reunite the glory of Ancient Russia which according to him consisted of three countries, namely Russia, Belarus and Ukraine (Article by Vladimir Putin "On the Historical Unity of Russians and Ukrainians" • President of Russia, n.d.). Of the three countries, only Ukraine did not declare its position in favor of Russia. In Putin's mind, the ambition to expand NATO membership to Eastern Europe and Ukraine's planned membership in NATO would certainly undermine his grand plan, making war by invading Ukraine the last resort for Putin to protect his interests.

Russia's military invasion of Ukraine inevitably invited international reactions and responses. The UN through the General Assembly on March 2, 2022 has issued a resolution urging Russia to stop illegal military aggression and withdraw all troops from Ukraine. This UN resolution was supported by 141 countries, 5 countries rejected, and 35 countries were absent (General Assembly Overwhelmingly Adopts Resolution Demanding Russian Federation Immediately End Illegal Use of Force in Ukraine, Withdraw All Troops _ Meetings Coverage and Press Releases, n.d.).

As a country committed to the value of peace and the sovereignty of a country's territory, Indonesia is among the 141 UN member states that agreed to demand Russia to stop the military invasion of Ukraine. Not satisfied with just that, Indonesia through President Jokowi took a bilateral approach by directly visiting the two countries involved

in the war and meeting with each head of state (President Zelensky and President Putin). Starting from President Jokowi's visit to Ukraine on June 29, 2022 and then visit to Russia on June 30, 2022 (Presiden Jokowi_ Kunjungan Ke Ukraina Wujud Kepedulian Indonesia Untuk Ukraina _ Sekretariat Negara, n.d.). To the President of Ukraine Zelensky, President Jokowi expressed his deep sorrow for the conflict experienced by Ukraine and stated that Indonesia is ready to bridge the peaceful settlement of Ukraine's conflict with Russia.

During the visit to Ukraine, Indonesia provided humanitarian assistance in the forms of medicines and commitment to reconstruct hospitals damaged in Ukraine due to the war. And to President Putin, President Jokowi conveyed Indonesia's neutral stance, does not have any interests except humanitarian and peaceful missions, Indonesia hopes that the Russia-Ukraine war can be ended immediately. On that occasion, President Jokowi also conveyed a message from President Zelensky and was ready to become a bridge of communication between the two (*Bertemu Dengan Presiden Putin Presiden Jokowi Indonesia Siap Menjembatani Komunikasi Rusia Ukraina _ Portal Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia*, n.d.). Not stopping there, when he became President of the G20 in 2022 Indonesia succeeded in agreeing on a consensus with the G20 heads of state/government that the issue of the conflict-Ukraine war has a huge impact on global economic conditions, therefore this conflict must be ended as soon as possible (G20 Bali Leaders' Declaration, 15-16 November 2022, n.d.).

Indonesia's seriousness in realizing Russia-Ukraine peace continued when President Jokowi attended the G7 Summit in Hiroshima Japan on May 21, 2023. On that occasion, President Jokowi met President Zelensky and conveyed the commitment that Indonesia is ready to become a mediator of Russia-Ukraine peace (*Jokowi Bertemu Zelensky Di G7 Bahas Upaya Damai Buat Rusia-Ukraina*, n.d.) The Indonesian initiative in trying to resolve the Russia-Ukraine conflict peacefully is not only shown by an official state stance through President Jokowi. Informally, through Defense Minister Prabowo Subianto, Indonesia tried to offer a peace proposal in the hope of immediately resolving the war crisis that has been involving Russia-Ukraine for more than a year. However, unexpectedly, the proposal offered by Defense Minister Prabowo Subianto was rejected by Ukraine.

The Substance of Prabowo's Proposal in the Resolution of the Russia-Ukraine Conflict

While speaking at the IISS Shangri-La Dialogue forum in Singapore on June 3, 2023, Indonesian Defense Minister Prabowo Subianto conveyed several important points of the proposal to resolve the Russia-Ukraine conflict, including: Cessation of hostilities as soon as possible, ceasefire, establishment of a demilitarized zone as far as 15 kilometers from the positions of Russian-Ukrainian troops, assignment of UN peace keepers to monitor the demilitarized zone, holding a referendum in the disputed area of Russia-Ukraine. All these proposals were immediately rejected by Ukraine. In fact, Ukrainian Defense Minister Oleksii Reznikov, who was present and listened directly to Prabowo's speech, considered Indonesia's proposal strange and stated that the proposal looked like a Russian proposal plan and was not even considered to represent Indonesia's plan (*Ukraine Dismisses "strange" Indonesian Peace Plan - Europe - The Jakarta Post*, n.d.)

Furthermore, according to Ukrainian Foreign Ministry Spokesman Oleg Nikolenko, the rejection of Prabowo's peace proposal is because for Ukraine, Russia has launched aggression by occupying Ukrainian territories so any ceasefire proposal will only strengthen the Russian side. Furthermore, he stated that there is no territorial dispute

between the Russian Federation and Ukraine so why hold a referendum. From Ukraine's perspective, Russia has committed war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide. It is believed that Russia will use all means to disrupt Ukraine's counter-attack against Russia (Indonesia Proposes Demilitarised Zone, UN Referendum for Ukraine Peace Plan – Reuters, n.d.).

This is the concrete reason why Ukraine is reluctant to accept the peace proposal presented by Prabowo Subianto. If examined more carefully, Ukraine's objection does make sense and can be accepted by common sense. There will be no sovereign country that will be relieved if its sovereign territory is invaded and occupied by another country. Ukraine as a sovereign state has full sovereignty that cannot be interfered with by anyone. Conceptually, sovereignty can be understood as the exclusive right to exercise ultimate political authority (legislative, executive, judicial) over a geographical area, a group of people or over themselves (TĂTAR & MOIȘI, 2022b).

From this understanding, it is very clear that geographical territory is a crucial part of a country's sovereignty so it becomes very natural that a sovereign state entity will do everything possible to fight to defend its territorial sovereignty. In the context of the Russia-Ukraine conflict, Russia's military invasion of Ukraine's jurisdiction is a clear violation of Ukraine's sovereignty, causing the Ukrainian military to fight an all-out battle against Russian militias who are considered as intruders of its sovereignty. On this basis, the author considers that it is very reasonable for Ukraine to loudly ignore the Indonesian peace proposal proposed by Defense Minister Prabowo.

Critical Examination of Prabowo's Proposed Peace Plan for the Russia-Ukraine Conflict

Since Russia officially launched a special military operation against Ukraine on 24 February 2022, several Ukrainian sovereign territories have fallen to Russia, including Donetsk, Luhansk, Zaporizhzhia, Kherson, and Mariupol (BBC, 2023). Despite this, Ukraine still claims these territories as part of its jurisdiction and continues efforts to reclaim them from Russia. What Russia has done by attacking Ukraine, entering its legal territory, causing destruction, killings, and occupation has violated universal values that are the consensus among UN member states. The UN Charter Article 2 Paragraph 4 explicitly mentions the obligation of each UN member state to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state (Nations, 2022).

Every independent sovereign nation has full sovereignty over its territory. Prabowo's idea of demilitarisation requiring Ukrainian forces to retreat 15 kilometres or 10 miles from their current positions is highly detrimental to Ukraine. From their perspective, why should they retreat 15 kilometres when the territory is their absolute sovereignty? Supporting this idea would be absurd and sacrifice Ukraine's national interests. Indeed, the current situation shows that Ukrainian Forces have begun to successfully repel Russian forces and reclaim territories previously controlled by Russia, such as Bakhmut, and Kharkiv, around Kherson (BBC, 2023). Accepting the demilitarisation proposal would disadvantage Ukraine because they would have to relinquish territories they had reclaimed as neutral areas. Moreover, regarding the deployment of UN peacekeeping forces to guard the demilitarised zone, this idea would clash with the initial idea, questioning the necessity of deploying UN forces when the concept of a demilitarised zone has already been rejected, making the deployment of UN

forces irrelevant. The idea of a referendum is also rejected by Ukraine because, for them, the Ukraine-Russia conflict is an assault on Ukraine's lawful sovereignty by Russia, not a dispute over a particular geographic territory that requires the people's voice to definitively choose whether to join Russia or Ukraine. For Ukraine, the idea of a referendum is seen as misplaced and forced. See figure 1.



Source: (Ukraine in Maps_ Tracking the War with Russia - BBC News, n.d.)

Figure 1. Map of Russian Military Dominance and Control over Ukrainian Territory

The ideas of demilitarisation, a referendum, and the deployment of UN peacekeeping forces proposed by Prabowo Subianto are not new in the context of conflict resolution involving state actors. The solution of demilitarisation was once applied to dampen the escalation of the Korean War that divided Korea into North Korea, supported by the Soviet Union, China, and South Korea, supported by the United States. Even now, the conflict between them continues (Agency, 2021). This idea successfully controlled the Korean War conflict by agreeing to a ceasefire between North Korea and South Korea and forming a 4-kilometre non-military zone (Britannica, 2023). However, this idea is not suitable for resolving the Russia-Ukraine conflict. As previously explained, Ukraine is in a legal position, being wronged, yet its jurisdictional rights, such as legal territory, civilians, and government, are attacked, destroyed, and occupied by Russia. Additionally, nowadays, Ukrainian forces have successfully reclaimed some areas occupied by Russia. Supporting demilitarisation means supporting the military invasion carried out by Russia against Ukraine and handing over Ukrainian territory for something unclear because it must be sterilised from military activity, which is Ukraine's fundamental right. From Ukraine and its allies' perspective, they indeed need peace, not by surrendering but through peace that respects justice (Post, 2023).

Moreover, There has been an interesting analysis by Radityo Dharma Putra, an international relations academic from Airlangga University Surabaya, regarding the rejection of all contents of Indonesia's peace proposal by Ukraine. According to him, Ukraine rejected the Indonesian proposal proposed by Defense Minister Prabowo Subianto because it was not in accordance with Indonesia's principles and did not consider the historical and political context of the Eastern European region. In a more detailed analysis, he explained that Indonesia's ceasefire proposal was unfounded. According to him, there is no guarantee that Russia will stop attacking Ukraine. Since the beginning of the war, many ceasefire attempts have been made by other countries, especially Turkey. However, there were no results. There are at least three reasons according to Radityo that hinder the Russia-Ukraine ceasefire.

First, Russia has not stopped its military aggression despite ongoing negotiations. Secondly, Ukraine is traumatized by the massacre committed by Russian troops against

residents in Bucha. Third. Russia is known by Ukraine to never keep its promises. According to Radityo, a ceasefire should be emphasized first on Russia to stop attacks and withdraw its military personnel.

In addition, according to him, before a ceasefire occurs, there usually needs to be security guarantees from other countries for Ukraine as a victim of Russian aggression. After that, negotiations can only proceed. As for the proposal to withdraw troops as far as 15 kilometers and establish a demilitarized zone, according to him this is not logical. Ukraine is not in an emergency or urgent position so the idea of demilitarization will harm Ukraine. Previously, the President of Ukraine said that Ukraine was ready to counterattack Russia so that Indonesia's proposal to stop the Ukrainian attack and withdraw seemed unnatural to Ukraine. The demilitarization proposal was rejected by Ukraine because it could be considered a gift to Russia. As a result, Ukraine will lose its sovereign territory if Russia is allowed to attack and afterwards is given the freedom to annex the territory it controls. This, according to him, is clearly contrary to the principle of territorial integrity.

Meanwhile, regarding the referendum proposal proposed by Indonesia, according to Radityo, the idea is also inappropriate because in the Russia-Ukraine war there are no territories that are in dispute status. The fact that happened according to him is that the Ukrainian territory (Crimea) has been forcibly annexed by Russia since 2014. According to him, the referendum can only be realized if all Ukrainians in the area where the referendum will be held return from refugee camps and then they can declare their choice, provided that the referendum is facilitated by the UN.

The Eastern European expert further stated that the Indonesian proposal submitted by Defense Minister Prabowo did not reflect Indonesia's neutral stance as Indonesia has shown in recent periods through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He regretted that the substance of Indonesia's peace proposal did not place Russia as the aggressor and instead weakened Ukraine's bargaining position. According to him, the overall proposal is biased in favor of Russia while at the same time trying to be a neutral mediator. (*Ukraina Tolak Proposal Perdamaian Dari Prabowo, Pakar Ungkap Alasannya Halaman 2 - Nasional Katadata.Co.Id*, n.d.)

Encouraging the Restoration of Ukrainian Sovereignty

The territorial sovereignty of a country is the most principal aspect of a state's existence. If even a small part of a country's geographical territory is reduced because it is occupied, annexed, or forcibly taken through illegal means by a foreign state entity, the consequences are severe.

The outbreak of the Russia-Ukraine war, triggered by Russia's ambition to control Ukrainian territory, which was met with fierce resistance by Ukraine and its allies, clearly demonstrates that sovereignty is a very sensitive issue. If this becomes a dispute, the solution must be wise, not benefiting one party and disadvantaging the other. With this, pushing for a peaceful resolution of the Russia-Ukraine conflict is a necessity for global stability. However, the approach must be correct, and the instruments must be accurate.

Indonesia's initiative to offer a proposal to resolve the Russia-Ukraine conflict through Defense Minister Prabowo Subianto was in principle a good step even though it was ultimately rejected by Ukraine. A month before Ukraine rejected Indonesia's proposal, Ukraine had actually rejected a peace proposal offered by China (Ukraine Tells

China Envoy Peace Plan Must Not Lose Land to Russia _ Russia-Ukraine War News _ Al Jazeera, n.d.).

Ukraine objected to one of the points of China's proposal concerning territorial sovereignty and believed that it could potentially harm Ukraine as a result of having to lose its sovereign territory considering that the proposal narrative does not require Russia to leave Ukrainian territory and does not demand that Russia surrender the territory it occupies to Ukraine. From Ukraine's rejection of China's proposal, Indonesia should learn that the basic key to resolving the Russia-Ukraine conflict from Ukraine's perspective is a matter of territorial integrity. As a UN member state bound by the UN Charter, Ukraine has the right to defend its territorial integrity and other countries are obliged to respect it.

Following Ukraine's rejection of the Chinese and Indonesian peace proposal, one corrective step for Indonesia in improving the proposed resolution of the Russia-Ukraine conflict, which was rejected by Ukraine, is to encourage the restoration of Ukrainian sovereignty. This means that Ukraine's sovereign rights over its territory must be returned as before. This is important because, after all, Ukraine is a sovereign state entity that also has reason and feelings that as a member of the world community, it also deserves basic rights, such as the right to sovereignty over its legal territory. Furthermore, Indonesia must openly declare readiness to be a third party, along with others such as the UN, to mediate the peaceful resolution of the Russia-Ukraine conflict.

Indonesia must actively encourage both Russia and Ukraine to negotiate with each other to accelerate the resolution of the conflict peacefully, justly, and with a commitment to respecting each other's territorial sovereignty. Indonesia once had a great experience in reconciling the Vietnam-Cambodia conflict through the Jakarta Informal Meeting. Indonesia has also experienced success in reconciling the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) conflict with the Philippine government. (RI, 2019). Hopefully, a similar experience can be applied by Indonesia in reconciling Russia and Ukraine, producing a resolution that is acceptable to both conflicting countries without leaving ripples that could cause new problems.

CONCLUSION

The Russia-Ukraine conflict was basically triggered by Russia's insecurity over NATO's ambition to make Ukraine a member of the defense alliance. Russia considers that Ukraine's membership plan with NATO will threaten its sovereign territory. Based on the national interest of defending the safety of its people, Russia then launched a military invasion of Ukraine so that the two were involved in open warfare. The Russia-Ukraine conflict then had a serious impact on humanitarian, economic, political aspects, and threatened world stability.

In order to realize world peace affected by the Russia-Ukraine conflict, Indonesia took the initiative by submitting a proposal for peaceful resolution of the Russia-Ukraine conflict. Unfortunately, the proposal was rejected by Ukraine.

Ukraine's refusal to accept the peace resolution proposal for the Russia-Ukraine conflict offered by Indonesian Defence Minister Prabowo Subianto in practice can be understood as Ukraine's firm objection to the points within it, such as the formation of a 15-kilometre demilitarised zone, the deployment of UN peacekeeping forces, and the conduct of a referendum. From Ukraine's perspective, the content of Prabowo's proposal is deemed to disadvantage Ukrainian sovereignty and benefit Russia.

This precedent is somewhat disruptive to Indonesia's role and standing under President Jokowi's leadership, who had previously built a commitment through bilateral diplomacy with both the President of Ukraine, Volodymyr Zelensky, and the President of Russia, Vladimir Putin, that Indonesia is ready to mediate the resolution of the Russia-Ukraine conflict. However, the opportunity to continue taking steps towards peacefully resolving the conflict between the two countries has not yet closed.

Learning from the case of Ukraine's rejection of the peace proposal offered by Defence Minister Prabowo Subianto, Indonesia under President Jokowi must realise that Indonesia's peace proposal will be accepted by Ukraine if the content of the conflict resolution with Russia is conducted fairly, peacefully, and does not harm Ukrainian sovereignty.

As stated by President Jokowi after hearing a direct clarification from Defence Minister Prabowo about the peace proposal for Russia-Ukraine he presented at the dialogue forum in Singapore on 3 June 2023, Indonesia is committed to respecting the territorial sovereignty of other countries. Concerning this, the author believes, Indonesia needs to boldly advocate for the restoration of Ukrainian sovereignty as a manifestation of Indonesia's commitment to Article 2 of the UN Charter, which obliges every UN member state to respect the territorial sovereignty of other UN countries.

Moreover, Indonesia also needs to approach and convince Russia that respecting the territorial integrity of a country is the key to harmonious international relations. That no country, including Russia, wants its sovereignty to be disturbed, hence mutual respect for the sovereignty of other countries is a must for every state entity.

Indonesia's successful experience as a mediator in resolving the Vietnam-Cambodia conflict decades ago could be replicated by Indonesia, provided Indonesia truly wants to be a bridge for conflict resolution that benefits all warring parties, not making the conflicting countries feel disadvantaged because their sovereignty is lost and disturbed. This means that both Russia and Ukraine must feel satisfied, and happy, and accept the solution offered by Indonesia. If this happens, then Indonesia is rightfully considered a country that has succeeded greatly in reconciling Russia and Ukraine.

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