

UKRAINE SETTLEMENT: SUBSTANCE

ISSUE	OPTIONS	LIKELY OPTION
One/Two/Three Steps	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Declaration of Principle • Temporary Cease-fire and CBMs • Cease-fire • Framework Agreement • Full Agreement • Declarations/Agreements by Others 	A Declaration of Principles followed by a Framework Agreement, supported by Annexes and external documents on security guarantees, sanctions lifting, etc
Reduction of Violence, CBM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Targeting, Safe Zones • Humanitarian Access • Evacuations, Corridors • Prisoner Exchanges, Return of Remains 	All
Cease-Fire	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Truce, local, regional, nation-wide • Temporary Cease-fire • Permanent Cease-fire (restoration of 2 (4)) 	Permanent Cease-fire, tied to a comprehensive and timed withdrawal
Withdrawal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Time-Frame • Full/Partial/Front-loaded • Safety for Withdrawing Forces 	Front Loaded, with the exceptions of a temporary presence in Luhansk and Donetsk
Prisoners of War and the Detained	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mutual Release (Exchange) • Exception for those Charged with War Crimes • Detained Civilians • Graves, Bodies 	All
Humanitarian	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Humanitarian Access, Food, Medical • Safe Areas • Shelter, Restoration of Basic Services • Evacuation • Demining, Unexploded Ordinance 	All
International Presence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Int'l Membership/chair in Mixed Commissions • Special Political Mission • Separation of Forces, Disengagement (Buffer) • PKO • Complex PKO • Governance 	Mixed Commissions in areas of contact; Buffer force once withdrawal has been achieved; Civil presence in mixed areas.
Victims of Sexual Violence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emergency and Longer Term Medical • Psychological Support Short/Long Term • Support in Society • Public Education 	All
Vulnerable	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identification of Vulnerable Groups • Immediate Safety • Rehabilitation and Well-being • Integration 	All
Crimea	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recognize Annexation • Defer with or without Process and/or Criteria • Positive Deferral • Negative Deferral • Silence 	Positive deferral

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Kherson/Zaporizhzhia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hong Kong Solution • Negative Deferral • Silence 	Withdrawal, access corridor to Crimea, plus fresh water, Hong Kong
Luhansk/Donetsk small	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Statehood • Taiwan • Cyprus • Srpska • S-Tirol 	Autonomy to the point of virtual independence, Taiwan, ability to maintain cross-border relations
Luhansk/Donetsk large	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Restoration of Ethnic Composition • Complex Power Sharing • A Russian-speaking sub-unit within L @ D 	Bosnia and Herzegovina
Denazification	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ignore • Report into Asov Brigade • Broader Review of Alleged Nazi Presence 	Ignore, or commission an independent external report on the allegations
Weapons of Mass Destruction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Confirm Comprehensive NBC prohibitions • Conduct Investigation into Allegations • Review Safeguards Arrangements • Additional Verification 	Conduct international investigation into allegations and confirm prohibitions and existing verification
Disarmament	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Restrict Long-range Delivery Systems • Restrict heavy weapons to agreed levels • Broader restraints on conventional arms 	Restrict systems with a reach deep into the RF
[Odessa et al]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Permanently Int'l [Danzig/Trieste] • Temporary [Eastern Slavonia/Mostar] 	[Not contemplated]
Permanent Neutrality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Imposed Permanent Neutrality • Chosen Permanent Neutrality • No NATO commitment • Clarification re EU 	Chosen permanent neutrality with the option of EU membership
Security Guarantees	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Impositional • Protective • Focus on Armed Attack/Act of Aggression • Political/Economic/Military Response • Consultation or Automaticity 	Protective Declaration, automatic restoration of economic sanctions plus credible threat of forcible response
EU	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Special Accelerated Process • Normal Process Accelerated • Delayed Process • No EU 	Normal Accelerated Process
Sanctions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mile-stones • Gradual, Coordinated Lifting • Threat of Re-imposition if no Implementation 	All
Language Law	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Keep the Existing Provision • Adopt a New Law on Language and Culture • Adopt a Broad, New Framework on Non-Dominant Groups, exp. Russian-speakers 	Draft a comprehensive new law on minority languages and culture, have it vetted by Venice Commission and OHCNM before adoption, add mechanisms for protection of min. rights
Refugees/Displaced	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Registration • Voluntary (assisted) Return 	All

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	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Safety Committees • Rehabilitation • Reclaiming Property 	
Reconciliation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Truth Commission/Agreed History • Cultural Fund/Activities • Exchanges • Remembrance/Memorials • Twinning 	Some of these, but not all will be possible in the initial post-conflict phase
Accountability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Evidence • National Processes • ICC • Specialist Tribunal for Aggression • No Amnesties other than Donbas Rising 	No accountability provision in the agreement, but no amnesty other than L @ D fighters not accused of war crimes. National prosecutions and international action remain possible
Compensation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • War reparations • Compensation Commissions • Friendship and Rehabilitation Fund • Mixed Model of FF + Int'l Contributions 	Mixed Model of Friendship Fund with international and strong RF contributions and Compensation Commission
Rehabilitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Post-conflict Donor Conference • EU-led rehabilitation in an Association Context • World Bank/IMF 	All
Legal Form	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bilateral Agreement • Multilateral Agreement • Bilateral plus Political Declarations 	Bilateral agreement with Annexes plus multilateral declarations in variable geometry on security guarantees, sanctions relief, rehabilitation relations with the EU
Dispute Settlement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Joint Commission • High Representative • Conciliation/Arbitration 	All, individual mechanisms depending on the issue area
SC Endorsement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chapter VII endorsement • Chap. VII Anchoring of Permanent Neutrality 	General Chapter VII endorsement
European Security Order	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Activate OSCE • Activate ODCE and review Transparency and CBM provisions, military manoeuvres and aerial provocations (approaches) • Agree new levels on conventional forces • Agree new INF treaty • Conclude Helsinki II including endorsement of territorial changes since Helsinki I • Conclude agreement along the lines proposed on 17 December 2021 	Non-aggression pledge and review CBM and transparency provisions, encouragement for overall European conventional force level reduction and open discussions on INF
Duration/Review	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fixed Term • Fixed Term with auto-renewal • Open-ended • Review as part of the above 	Some provisions are permanent, others will be reviewed after a fixed term, then renewal.