

Prof. Dr. Bernd Lucke (University of Hamburg)

Prof. Dr. Reinhard Merkel (University of Hamburg)

Prof. Dr. Dirk Meyer (Helmut Schmidt University/University of the Federal Armed

Forces Hamburg)

## Freedom for Ukraine

## - A Proposal -

- 1. All military hostilities cease on a specified date, and a ceasefire comes into effect. Both warring parties guarantee that no paramilitary groups operate in areas under their control.
- 2. Both parties relinquish all territorial claims concerning areas that have been part of Ukraine under international law since 1991 but are militarily controlled by Russia on the day of the ceasefire. Russia also relinquishes claims to annexed areas under Ukrainian military control on the day of the ceasefire. (A minor territorial exchange may occur for alignment.)
- 3. Russia and Ukraine aim to establish one or more states with limited sovereignty (SES states) on territories that have been part of Ukraine under international law since 1991 but are militarily controlled by Russia on the ceasefire date. The establishment of these SES states requires legal endorsement from both nations, such as through the ratification of a peace treaty or a referendum.
- . The creation of SES states requires approval from the local population in internationally monitored free referendums. Eligible voters are adults who last legally resided in the affected territories under Ukrainian administration. The referendums are conducted by the United Nations. If the population disapproves, the peace agreement fails. If approved, Ukraine withdraws from Russian-occupied territories, including Kursk.

- . SES states adopt a constitution during the referendum, enshrining democracy with universal, equal, and secret suffrage. The constitution integrates the European onvention on Human Rights and the European Social harter's rights. Private property protection is guaranteed.
- . SES states manage internal affairs independently, including civilian governance, financial autonomy, and police authority. iti ens en oy unrestricted freedom of travel.
- . SES states become members of the United Nations and the International Atomic Energy Agency and accede to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. They may oin other international organi ations for civilian purposes and enter into trade or investment agreements with other states.
- . SES states have limited sovereignty in foreign and security policy. Agreements with third states require Russia's consent if they include security provisions. Full sovereignty may be granted later, sub ect to Russia's approval.
- 9. SES states may establish armed forces for self-defense. They sign a friendship treaty with Russia, granting Russia rights to station troops and military systems. In return, Russia pledges to defend them against external attacks upon request.
- 1 . Ukraine (the territory under its control on the ceasefire date) either oins NAT or receives equivalent NAT security guarantees. NAT agrees not to station foreign troops or weapons in Ukraine unless Ukraine faces military aggression from Russian or Belarusian territory or the SES states constitutional freedoms are significantly restricted.
- 11. Russia agrees not to oppose Ukraine s EU membership. Ukraine may meet EU and European Economic Area accession requirements.
- 12. The United Nations finances a Ukraine Peace Fund of at least billion through loans guaranteed by UN member states (e.g., proportionally to their pre-war trade volume with Ukraine). The fund allocates resources based on market principles, combats corruption, and ensures equal market access for investors.
- 13. Peace Fund resources will address
- ar damage restoration and economic rebuilding in conflict ones,
- Assistance for individuals severely impacted physically or materially by the war,
- ompensation for Ukraine's asset losses transferred to SES states (see Point 1),
- Restructuring Ukraine's national debt (see Point 1).
- 1 . State-owned enterprises and natural resources primarily located in SES states are transferred to them. Ukraine receives compensation from the Peace Fund.
- 1 . Ukraine s national debt is restructured with Peace Fund resources to ensure long-term sustainability.

- 1 . Russia commits to returning all Ukrainian children taken to Russian territory to their families. Both sides release prisoners of war, who are free to relocate to a country of their choice.
- 1 . All wartime economic sanctions and travel restrictions are lifted. Both sides waive reparation claims and endorse the idea of benevolent forgetting as the basis for future relations.
- 1 . In case of disputes over treaty interpretation or adherence, the parties commit to peaceful resolution through diplomatic means, potentially mediated by neutral states or a United Nations body.

3