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The Global South and the Russo-Ukrainian war: A strategic assessment

The global determinants of the position on Ukraine in the Global South

If we want to be precise in describing the attitude the non-Western world has towards Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine, we should study two dominating concepts: strategic neutrality and a strategic "wait-and-see" attitude. The countries of the Global South prefer to call the Russian invasion of Ukraine, which caught both Ukraine and the West off guard, a "conflict" and see Russia as an "outpost of the anti-Western struggle."¹ For the nations of the Global South, the current situation presents a significant opportunity to reshape the global order in their favour. They would like to "democratize" it, and reduce its "Eurocentric bias." The Western approach of imposing extensive sanctions on Russia has been viewed there as part of a "global neocolonial policy." It would be a mistake to assume that Global South countries are unaware of the invasion of an independent European nation by an aggressor. However, their actions suggest that they see weakening Russia as potentially upsetting the global balance between different civilizations and the West. While none of the major Global South countries have openly condemned Russia's invasion of Ukraine, countries like India are seeking a reconciliation between Russia and the US. Nevertheless, according to Ukrainians, the Indian approach echoes Russia's narrative by turning Ukraine into a battleground in the confrontation between Russia and the United States.²

In other words, allowing Russia to fall would mean the collapse of the global balance between the West and the rest of the world. Economic and ideological considerations are undoubtedly driving the geopolitical stance of the Global

¹ *Міцніший союз: консолідація демократій унаслідок широкомасштабної агресії Росії проти України*, НІСД, Київ 2023, с. 51.

² *Ibidem*, с. 54.

South. For the Global South, if Russia, which is no longer a superpower, wins, the global distribution of wealth is likely to be less Eurocentric than it has been for several centuries. Consequently, they would see it as a beneficial scenario, because many of the countries of the Global South represent much poorer regions of the world, and their neutrality and indifference to geopolitical events in Europe has economic grounds. It seems that both Russia and China are content with this stance, recognizing that they cannot demand more from Global South nations than the current policy of neutrality.

The ideological component also plays a crucial role in shaping the Global South's position on the war in Ukraine. Unfortunately, the majority of the world's democracies belong to Western civilization. Opposition to Western culture, values, and principles of international law, which are deeply integrated into the global political, economic, and cultural paradigm, is seen as consistent with the colonial past of most countries of the Global South. Moreover, many of these countries can be described as autarkies, which see democracy as a threat to the existence of their authoritarian regimes. Therefore, the war in Ukraine provides ample opportunities for non-Western countries to change the world order to suit the interests of the Global South.

However, the Global South is not a monolith; it is made up of countries deeply divided by economic, social, and political issues within their borders and engaged in geopolitical competition with each other. Each geopolitical bloc or individual country has different national interests and, more importantly, different visions of the future. Countries such as India, China, Russia, Brazil, Iran, as well as those in the Middle East, Latin America, and Africa, have different perceptions of the world's future. They have different calculations about the role of the West in the "reformed" international economic and political order. Therefore, the peace initiatives for the settlement of the Russo-Ukrainian war that were presented in 2023 make it clear that the Global South wants recognition as equal to the West and the East, and that it wants to be seen as an independent global player.

While some see the West as one of the pillars of the future order, but not necessarily dominant – a perspective common in the Global South – others see the West as an ideological, economic, and geopolitical rival, and aspire to see the West, i.e. their adversary, face defeat. They imagine a scenario in which their adversary goes through a prolonged period of humiliation and crisis, similar to what Russia experienced in the 1990s or China between the 19th and 20th centuries. For China and Russia, these periods left a historical wound.

Despite the diversity of the geopolitical agendas in the countries of the Global South, they are united in their desire to dismantle the Pax America and to challenge the dominance of the West in various areas of international relations: finance and currency, economy, technologies, culture, ideology, international

institutions, law, intellectual rights, etc. Some nations seek to displace the West in these sectors, while others want to establish alternatives that could operate within both global autocracies and democracies. The emerging landscape suggests the possibility of three blocs: one led by China and its satellites, another led by the US and its allies, and a vast intermediate zone where rules from both systems coexist.

Thus, the Russo-Ukrainian war has become a historical Rubicon through which humanity could step into a new, unprecedented form of its “devolution” or “evolution”, and it is even possible to expect a “revolution”. What direction the world order will take depends on the aftermath of the Russian-Ukrainian war. It has been explained above why the Global South is pursuing its strategy in relation to the war, avoiding taking sides in it. Since the beginning of the war, all geopolitical actors understood its historical significance, including the Ukrainians, who followed a two-dimensional foreign policy. First of all, they developed their own strategy towards the Global South, because – despite the global scale of the war – it is still a war between two nations and Ukraine’s goal is to defeat the Russians. It is clear in Kiev that without the support of the West and the Global South, it would be difficult to achieve this sacred goal. The second part of Ukraine’s strategy is intertwined with the global interests of the West. Ukraine’s victory over the Russian aggressor and the ensuing peace negotiations should, according to the Ukrainians, be the first fundamental step towards a new world order, which should be more prosperous and fairer than the versions of the new world order advocated by the global autarkies. For this reason, the voice of the Global South is fundamental for Ukraine and for the future world order. Ukraine’s peace formula is a pillar of Ukraine’s global strategy both towards the West and towards the Global South.

However, double standards are still a problem, and many pretend not to see that the countries which represent the Global South are independent in their strategic thinking of the future. The Cold War attitude towards the former Third World countries is still dominating: they are often thought not to have independent interests and to not be strong enough to be treated as equals. Any anti-Western rhetoric is often considered as part of the global grand strategies of China or Russia, and we fail to accept the fact that former colonial states have become mature and strong enough to speak in their own voice even if we do not like it. For example, an unpopular opinion was voiced by the CEO of the famous think tank Crisis Group, Comfort Ero, who pointed out that the West correctly assessed the war in Ukraine as an existential threat, but it wrongly saw the place of the Global South in the changing world. She went on to say that dissatisfaction with the power of the West was on the rise, and this dissatisfaction had been accumulating for three decades. Moreover, she added, the Global South was worried that, for the West, the war with Russia was more important than the stability of the world economy. Finally, she

pointed out that not all anti-Ukrainian or anti-Western opinion in the Global South was the work of the Russian propaganda machine. Her main message was that the dissatisfaction in the Global South had independent roots. It became even worse after the events in Palestine, when the Global South saw the double standards the West used in the case of Ukraine and of Israel.³ Ero pointed out rightly that the situation in the Middle East seriously damaged Ukrainian and Western efforts to win the sympathies of the Global South – it has been noted in many countries.⁴ In addition, it is worth mentioning an Arab voice on the matter: the British professor at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies, Omar Ashour, stressed that in “Qatar, for example, their heart [was] definitely with Ukraine, but their head [was] with Russia”, but when they saw the double standards regarding war crimes, the approach in the Arab world towards Russian atrocities in Ukraine changed.⁵

In order to define the rules, principles and values that will govern international relations for the rest of the century, there should be a peace conference that brings together the West, Ukraine, and the countries of the Global South. Otherwise, and it is the most dangerous scenario, the global autarkies could take the lead and impose rules that will become the pillar of the new world order. Moreover, it should be noted that the Global South will immediately reject any document that proposes to build the future world order on the principles of Eurocentrism. That is why it is so important to examine carefully the nature and structure of the Ukrainian strategy towards the Global South.

The peace initiatives of the Global South

The European character of international relations has long been seen as natural for the whole world. Since the establishment of the Westphalian system, almost the entire system of world politics has been based on the European diplomatic tradition. Even the period of the Cold War was dominated by two superpowers which, from the historical and civilizational point of view, were two branches of one European cultural tree. Certainly, the period after the October Revolution, the birth of the ideological and geopolitical rival of the West, and the subsequent fall of the colonial system throughout the world made international relations much more complicated and less Eurocentric. However, the Third World or non-aligned movement was too weak to challenge the West or the East and was rather a zone of geopolitical confrontation between the two

³ C. Ero, “Global politics in the shadow of Ukraine”, Crisis Group, 22 March 2023, <https://www.crisisgroup.org/global-ukraine/global-politics-shadow-ukraine> (accessed here and below: 8.03.2024).

⁴ “Rush by west to back Israel erodes developing countries’ support for Ukraine”, *Financial Times*, 17 October 2023, <https://www.ft.com/content/e0b43918-7eaf-4a11-baaf-d6d7fb61a8a5>.

⁵ “Omar Ashour: In Ukraine, Russia fights like ISIS”, *The Ukrainian Week*, 1 February 2024, <https://ukrainianweek.com/omar-ashour-in-ukraine-russia-fights-like-isis/>.

superpowers. Countries like China and India had not reached a sufficient level of industrialization to claim their rightful place in world geopolitics. The situation changed completely after the collapse of the Soviet Union, when the former Third World lost its strategic manoeuvrability. It was left alone together with Russia, China, and India, which needed time to adapt to the new historical period of American domination and unprecedented economic globalization. Nevertheless, the last three decades have shaped the current situation. On the one hand, the mistakes of the Americans in the Middle East provoked regional and global resistance in the developing countries. On the other hand, globalization, which made Western countries move their production to developing countries, gave the countries of the Global South the opportunity to catch up with the West in terms of industrialization. But none of the countries was ready to challenge the West at the diplomatic level.

The diplomatic challenge began precisely in the Middle East, as a consequence of Arab Spring, for instance, the Syrian civil war unleashed uncontrollable processes and, as a result, Russian troops landed on Syrian soil in 2015. Russia took advantage of this historic momentum and together with Iran and Turkey initiated the so-called Astana-Sochi process, which was the first indigenous diplomatic formula of authoritarian regimes that did not include any Western countries even as observers. A similar tripartite formula was used in South Caucasus, but it did not work fully because Georgia refused to join any Russian-sponsored diplomatic platforms.

The Russian invasion of Crimea in 2014 and the all-out war in 2022 forced the Global South to choose sides, but they decided not to engage but instead to play the role of mediators. The first move was made by China on 24 February 2023, when Beijing proposed its peace plan. It consisted of 12 points and represented the Chinese philosophy of conflict resolution,⁶ and for the first time in modern history, a Chinese document aimed at ending a major regional conflict. Beijing appointed a special envoy who travelled around Europe, but China's position was not satisfactory to either Ukraine or its Western partners. EU foreign policy chief Josep Borrell said: "The only thing that can be called a peace plan is [Ukrainian President Volodymyr] Zelenskyy's proposal. The Chinese peace plan, well, it's not a peace plan. It's a set of wishful considerations, wishful thinking, but it's not a peace plan."⁷ Henry Kissinger, however, praised China's diplomatic involvement in settling the war in Ukraine,⁸ and another

⁶ "China's position on the political settlement of the Ukraine crisis", PRC MFA, 24 February 2023, https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/zxxx_662805/202302/t20230224_11030713.html.

⁷ "EU calls China's Ukrainian peace plan 'wishful thinking'", Anadolu, 6 May 2023, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/europe/eu-calls-chinas-ukrainian-peace-plan-wishful-thinking/2890176>.

⁸ "Henry Kissinger on a potential artificial intelligence arms race", CBS News, 7 May 2023, <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/henry-kissinger-at-100-artificial-intelligence-global-tensions-and-addressing-his-critics/>.

famous proponent of the realist school of international relations, Stephen M. Walt, was also in favour of Sino-American cooperation. He wrote: "An agreement jointly mediated by the United States and China would also be more likely to endure, as Moscow and Kyiv would be less likely to renege on a deal arranged and blessed by their principal patrons."⁹ At the same time, Russia supported the Chinese peace plan.

The next round of peace initiatives came from Brazil. In April, Brazilian President Lula da Silva announced the creation of a "peace club" involving Brazil, India, Indonesia, China, and some other Latin American countries. The idea had several components. Firstly, to set up a mediation team made up of neutral countries that are not involved in the conflict and do not supply arms to any of the parties involved. This would encourage the parties to engage in talks aimed at reconciling their positions. Second, to urge Ukraine to abandon its territorial demands, recognize Crimea's reunification with Russia, and acknowledge the changed strategic landscape, which would pave the way for dialogue between the parties involved. Third, and essentially, to end Western support for Ukraine, as it is fuelling the escalation of the conflict.¹⁰ It is not surprising that Ukraine and the US did not accept these conditions, while the Russians, on the contrary, found them acceptable.

The summer 2023 in Russia and Ukraine began with a major African diplomatic mission for establishing peace between the two fighting sides. In June 2023, South African President Cyril Ramaphosa proposed a 10-point plan for settling the war.¹¹ Big delegations arrived in Kyiv and Moscow from South Africa, Senegal, the Republic of Congo, Uganda, Zambia, the Comoros, and Egypt. For the African countries, food security was the main factor influencing their decision to travel to Eastern Europe.

The latest so-called "peace initiative" so far, in June 2023, has been proposed by Indonesian Defence Minister Prabowo Subianto (who won the presidential elections in February 2024). He did not call for a peace agreement, but for cessation of hostilities. His formula was as follows: "First, cease fire and hostilities immediately. Second, withdraw troops on both sides 15 kilometers from the current line of contact and establish a demilitarised zone; and third, establish a peacekeeping mission under the auspices of the UN to monitor

⁹ S.M. Walt, "Ukraine and Russia need a great-power peace plan", *Foreign Policy*, 18 April 2023, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2023/04/18/ukraine-russia-china-united-states-peace-ceasefire/>.

¹⁰ "Мирные инициативы по Украине: еле слышный шелест мира", РСМД, 25 октября 2023, <https://russiancouncil.ru/analytics-and-comments/analytics/mirnye-initsiativy-po-ukraine-ele-slyshnyy-shelest-mira/>.

¹¹ P. Singh, D. Reva, "African peace mission: One step forward, one step back?", ISS, 23 June 2023, <https://issafrica.org/iss-today/african-peace-mission-one-step-forward-one-step-back>.

compliance with the ceasefire regime".¹² Since the plan involved holding referendums in the occupied territories, Ukraine was very skeptical – Kyiv rejected it immediately.

As we can see, for the first time in centuries, non-Western countries are involved in the processes on the European continent. Their proposals are welcomed by Russia, because they correspond to its doctrine of the multipolar world and the theory of centres of power. Ukraine, on the contrary, rejects such projects because they require big territorial and geopolitical concessions that are unacceptable for Kyiv.

The Ukrainian global initiatives and the Global South

From the very first days, it was plain that the Russian full-scale invasion of Ukraine was similar in scale to the historical events that humanity faced at times of great historical transitions. It is now clear that the result of the confrontation between the global democracies and the global autocracies will reshape the international world we know, just like Yalta and the unipolar moment did. In the third decade after the end of the Cold War, before 2022, humanity operated in a hybrid of the Yalta system and a unipolar world. The United States did not change the global order institutionally, but instead established military and soft power dominance in the world, known as Pax Americana. It seems that both systems (the Yalta system and Pax Americana) come to an end in 2022. It should be noted that now the Ukrainian and Western experts recognize the famous concept of Multilateralism as a new formula of continuation of the global leadership of the West, and even Ukraine sees itself as part of Western-led multilateralism.¹³

While Cold War experts perceived the global geopolitical landscape as a stage for interaction and confrontation between two major blocs, revolving around the ideological paradigm of rivalry between global autocracies and global democracies, it is evident that in the 21st century, this rivalry has continued and escalated to an unprecedented level, surpassing even that of the 20th century. However, within this dynamic, there is an additional voice that was not adequately heard in the 20th century – the voice of the Global South. Referred to as the Third World, comprising developing and least developed countries, or the non-aligned countries, these nations were often victims of superpower competition, with the superpowers treating the Third World

¹² "Indonesia advises holding referendums on Russian-occupied territories. Ukraine's Foreign Ministry responds", *Ukrainska Pravda*, 3 June 2023, <https://www.pravda.com.ua/eng/news/2023/06/3/7405141/>.

¹³ A. Korniychuk, "New allies? Ukraine's diplomatic battle in the Global South", *Clingendael*, 5 October 2023, <https://spectator.clingendael.org/en/publication/new-allies-ukraines-diplomatic-battle-global-south>.

as a battleground for their ideological and geopolitical struggles. Nonetheless, since 2022, it has become evident that new geopolitical and economic powers have emerged on the global stage that do not align with any particular bloc. It appears that in the 21st century, these countries are unwilling to be mere pawns in the great power competition, and they may resist this pressure to a greater extent than in the 20th century. Global politics is no longer Eurocentric, and this is exactly what Indian Foreign Minister Subrahmanyam Jaishankar meant, when, in response to a question about India's position in the Russia-Ukraine war, he said: "Europe has to get out of the mindset that Europe's problems are the world's problems, but the world's problems aren't Europe's problems".¹⁴ It was precisely the main concern in Ukraine and the West: that non-Western countries would come to see the war as "essentially a European conflict that other countries do not need to worry about and do not need to condemn".¹⁵

Ukraine and the West have quickly come to understand that the geopolitical reality has changed dramatically. China, India, and the rest of the Global South have created a profitable international economic and political regime that has allowed the aggressor to easily withstand unprecedented sanctions. With their assistance, the all-Eurasia blockade has simply failed. However, it took over a year for Western and Ukrainian politicians to turn their attention to the Global South. Initially, the language of victory was definitely Eurocentric, but gradually the West and Ukraine became more cooperative with non-Western states, at least rhetorically. A Ukrainian expert from the New Europe think tank notes that "the Format of the Formula for Peace is becoming a platform for interaction with Global South countries. However, they believe that Ukraine's victory in the war does not depend on these countries."¹⁶

It is now evident that a considerable number of international initiatives are focused on the Global South. For instance, during the last years, there have been many initiatives directly aimed at rejuvenating relations with the Global South and putting them at a new historical stage. Special attention has been paid to the equality of relations between the West and the Global South. Therefore, our research aims to examine major Ukrainian international initiatives and their level of interconnectedness with the Global South. This research is important

¹⁴ "Jaishankar's Europe remark echoes in German Chancellor's statement in Munich", *The Hindu*, 20 February 2023, <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/jaishankars-europe-remark-echoes-in-german-chancellors-statement-in-munich/article66531087.ece>.

¹⁵ T. Balmforth, "Ukraine courts Africa and 'Global South' as peace plans proliferate", Reuters, 23 May 2023, <https://www.reuters.com/world/ukraine-courts-africa-global-south-peace-plans-proliferate-2023-05-23/>.

¹⁶ "Альона Гетьманчук у програмі «Дороги к свободе» на Радіо Свобода", Центр "Нова Європа", 17 січня 2024, <http://neweurope.org.ua/visual-materials/alona-getmanchuk-u-programi-dorogi-k-svobode-na-radio-svoboda/>.

because it helps us understand the Western and Ukrainian perspectives on the post-war world order and the role of the Global South in it.

It is possible that neither geopolitical bloc will emerge as the sole winner in the global competition for hegemony. Both parties may need to consider the perspective of the Global South. An analysis of the negotiations between Ukraine and Global South countries can provide preliminary data to aid our understanding of the Global South's aspirations and address the central question: Is the Global South ready to take on the responsibility of global governance? Furthermore, it raises the question of whether the Western world is willing to accept countries from the Global South as equal partners in shaping the future of humanity in the coming decades. The Ukrainian case provides an excellent opportunity to obtain initial answers to these questions. This topic requires careful examination, as there is a significant possibility that the new world order may not align with Western and Ukrainian expectations, but rather reflect Eastern conditions. This is why an analysis of the Ukrainian strategy towards the Global South, their peace initiatives, and their political perspective on the Russo-Ukrainian War is needed.

Ukraine is the forefront of the struggle for the global freedom

Ukraine has not officially presented the concept of global freedom as a separate initiative. However, it would be a mistake to overlook this important element of Ukrainian international discourse and its interconnection with the countries of the Global South. From the outset, Ukrainian and Western political leadership presented Russia's invasion as having universalistic, existential, and even eschatological significance. Many Western politicians stated that the future of the West depended on the outcome of this war. Ukraine quickly adopted this discourse in its global policy, and its officials had to adjust to the new reality where Ukraine is a military bulwark defending the free world against totalitarian regimes. The war was presented not only as an existential case for Ukraine and the West, but for all of humanity committed to freedom, democracy, and human rights. In December 2022 in the US Congress, Zelenskyy described the war as "a struggle between the free world and tyranny" and at the end of his speech, he added: "And together with you, we will also put in place each of those who have challenged freedom. This will be the foundation for defending democracy in Europe and around the world. [...] We stand, we fight and we will win because we are united - Ukraine, America and the entire free world."¹⁷ Zelensky presented another example on 30 May 2023, stating that he considers the war in Ukraine to have global dimensions and that Ukraine's allies form two main pillars: the US and Europe. "Right now, in Ukraine, on our land, in our skies, the question is being answered: Will freedom and

¹⁷ "Full transcript of Zelensky's speech before Congress", *The New York Times*, 21 December 2023.

civilization maintain global leadership in this century? It is a decision we make together with America, together with Europe, alongside all our allies and partners.”¹⁸ Since the beginning of the war, Zelenskyy has repeated this message many times, for example in January 2024 in Estonia he stated: “In this struggle, the current global stance on freedom is being determined, and what it will be like after us.”¹⁹ It is important to note that Ukraine sees its future as part of the West, and would like to see victory over Russia as a victory for global democracy and a guarantee of Western hegemony in the 21st century.

The West shares this attitude and position with Ukraine. For instance, during his official visit to Ukraine, the new Prime Minister of Poland, Donald Tusk, stated, “I repeat this everywhere I go in the world, and it’s not just a slogan. The fate of the free world is being decided here, in Ukraine.”²⁰ He even described the war in eschatological terms, saying that in Ukraine “the global front between Good and Evil is unfolding.” He calls on those who support democracy and freedom throughout the world to unite over Ukraine. The British Prime Minister Rishi Sunak compared Zelenskyy to Winston Churchill and stated that “no leader this century has done more to unite liberal democracies in the defense of our values”. He then went on to remind the world what the stakes are if the West does not “rally to Ukraine’s side and defend our common cause of democracy over dictatorship, freedom over tyranny, the rule of law over anarchy.”²¹

Eventually, it is important to point out the historical Warsaw speech by US President Joe Biden on 21 February 2023. During his address, Biden stated that through the war, “The whole world faced a test for the ages. [...] All democracies were being tested.”²² For Biden, the attack on Ukraine represents an attack on global democracy. Furthermore, he provided a geopolitical expression of democratic allyship by stating that the coalition consists of nations from

¹⁸ Президент України, “Продовжаємо консолідацію партнерів для того, щоб українська ПВО стала максимально ефективною – звернення Президента України,” 30 мая 2023, <https://www.president.gov.ua/ru/news/prodovzhuyemo-konsolidaciyu-partneriv-dlya-togo-shob-ukrayin-83253>.

¹⁹ “Зеленский в Рийгикогу: благодарю вас за то, что вы – на стороне свободы”, Рийгикогу, 11 January 2024, <https://www.riigikogu.ee/ru/press-relizy/plenarnoe-zasedanie/zelenskij-v-riigikogu-blagodaryu-vas-za-to-chto-vy-na-storone-svobody/>.

²⁰ “Tusk w Kijowie: Porozumieiliśmy się z prezydentem Zelenskim...”, *Dziennik Gazeta Prawna*, 22 January 2024, <https://wiadomosci.dziennik.pl/swiat/artykuly/9408195,tusk-w-kijowie-porozumielismy-sie-z-prezydentem-zelenskim.html>.

²¹ “Prime Minister Rishi Sunak’s address to the Ukrainian Parliament”, GOV.UK, 12 January 2024, <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/prime-minister-rishi-sunaks-address-to-the-ukrainian-parliament-12-january-2024>.

²² “Remarks by President Biden ahead of the one-year anniversary of Russia’s brutal and unprovoked invasion of Ukraine”, White House, February 21, 2023, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2023/02/21/remarks-by-president-biden-ahead-of-the-one-year-anniversary-of-russias-brutal-and-unprovoked-invasion-of-ukraine/>.

America to Europe, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific. He added that with the onset of the war, democracies grew stronger while autocrats grew weaker. Biden used the term “democracies of the world,” indicating that they would fight for freedom. Ultimately, Biden described the war using eschatological language, stating that “Free people refuse to live in a world of hopelessness and darkness.”

This is crucial for understanding the reaction of the Global South and why non-Western countries easily took a neutral or pro-Russian stance, and why Russian propaganda found fertile ground there. It is perhaps the key issue Ukraine faces in the region: the Global South views the war in Ukraine as a European regional conflict aimed at answering the main geopolitical question of the 21st century: whether Western domination will prevail. The geopolitical drama suggests that this aspect seems unattractive to the Global South, viewing Ukraine as part of the West. The Global South and totalitarian regimes carefully observe the ongoing situation, making it difficult to conceal the real intentions of the West and Ukraine, namely to maintain Western hegemony.

Ideas proposed by Western intellectuals, such as the Global Democracy Summits or the rule-based order concept, are part of the recently created Ukrainian international formulas: Peace Formula and Global Peace Forum. Additionally, Ukraine tries to integrate its initiatives into the internationally recognized fundamental principles of the international law. Ukraine puts particular emphasis on ensuring that the Peace Formula aligns with the principles outlined in the UN Charter. For example, in September 2023, Zelenskyy stated in the UNGA: “Now we can restore the operation of the UN Charter and ensure the full force of the world order based on rules.”²³ It is evident that Ukraine sees the Peace Formula as universalistic document that aims to preserve that basic principles of the international law.

Fortunately, the West and Ukraine have the upper hand over authoritarian regimes despite the fact that many countries of the Global South would prefer to see a de-Westernized world in which they could achieve better geopolitical positions on the global level. However, the Global South certainly do not wish to become vassals of global tyrannies, as they are opposed to the perpetuation of the current world order in its existing state, being also afraid of the absolute victory of Russia. For this reason, the countries of the Global South will need a strong enough West to balance out Russia and its allies on the international fora. Exactly these concerns can offer the window of opportunity for the West and Ukraine to convince the major part of the Global South to accept their terms of the post-war world order that is presented in the Peace Formula. The

²³ „Генасамблея ООН: Глобальний Південь, розширення Радбезу та підтримка України”, rFI. r., 20 September 2023, rfi.fr.uk/мижнародні-новини/20230920-генасамблея-оон-глобальний-південь-розширення-радбезу-та-підтримка-україни.

Ukrainian Peace Formula aims to establish more democratic rules in relations with the non-Western world, but this is not an easy task. So, the main impetus behind potentially aligning these countries with the West lies in the fear of the combined strength of authoritarian forces and desire to be treated as equals.

Thinking of Ukraine as part of the global 'front'

Geopolitical divisions that lead to the formation of various geopolitical alliances or blocs existed long before Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine. However, the war made it impossible to hide the geopolitical and ideological hostility between major powers. As mentioned earlier, the Global South has chosen a neutral stance in the geopolitical, ideological, and economic confrontation between the West and the East, but it is clear that they have concrete goals aimed at achieving maximum strategic maneuverability in relations with both sides.

From the outset of the war, there has been an impression that Russia would be able to bear the burden of the war alone. However, due to the Ukrainian resistance and the Western military and economic assistance, it became certain that Russia would not be able to sustain the war without external assistance from its allies. By the third year of the war, it is no secret that military assistance from North Korea, Iran, and China has been provided, but the extent of this assistance and how far these countries are willing to go in supplying weapons to the aggressor remains a question. The discussion in the West regarding sending troops to Ukraine will eventually provoke a similar discussion between Russia and its allies over allocating more assistance and even troops to fight in Ukraine.

Ukraine perceives the war not only as a conflict with Russia but as a battleground in the broader global struggle between the West and the East. Zelenskyy has emphasized that those who support the aggressor will be held accountable after Ukraine achieves victory, specifically mentioning Iran and North Korea. Since the beginning of the full-scale invasion, Ukraine has intensified its relations with Japan, South Korea and Taiwan. It also sent its elite troops to Sudan to fight with the Wagnerites.

Events unfolding around Taiwan and the South China Sea, tensions between North and South Korea, developments in the Middle East, and conflicts in the Balkans and Africa are all pieces of a larger geopolitical puzzle for Ukraine. Theoretically, in the coming years, we could see new fronts emerge in global rivalries, including domestic social and political divisions within Western countries over the future direction of their nations. Consequently, victory in one place means only a partial success at the global level, as no side can

afford to lose in the key theatre of the entire game, which is Ukraine. Ukraine recognizes this reality, and therefore, its strategic goal is to secure maximum engagement from partners in providing financial and military assistance to Kyiv, despite some degree of fatigue.²⁴

Ukraine's Western partners share a similar perspective. In January 2024, the British Minister of Defense indicated that within five years, the West could potentially be facing multiple theatres of conflict involving Russia, China, Iran, and North Korea. Furthermore, he proposed that the West should be prepared to address the outcomes of these various theaters simultaneously.²⁵ In February, he further emphasized that it is imperative for the West to ensure Russia's defeat in Ukraine and to prevent potential attacks by China. He asserted that the Global Autarkies were closely observing the situation, and if the West appeared to weaken or lose momentum, they may perceive it as an opportunity to attack. Therefore, he framed the war in Ukraine not merely as a conflict concerning Ukraine alone, but rather as an existential struggle for the West.²⁶

The concept of global theaters in Ukraine was part of the official and intellectual discourse even before the tragic incidents in Israel. However, President Zelenskyy emphasized the global dimension of Russia's negative influence, stating, "This is happening in the Sahel, and it could happen even more painfully in Israel and the Middle East region as a whole. We must not allow this. We can prevent it." In November 2023, he explicitly accused Iran, Russia, and North Korea of aiding Hamas in its assault on Israel.²⁷ Moreover, Ukrainian experts have reported since the initial days of Hamas' attack that Russian propaganda utilizes the conflict in the Middle East for its own strategic objectives and disseminates misinformation across various regions of the world.²⁸

Ukraine, the West, and the East recognize that the influence of the Global South is of paramount importance for achieving victory. All parties understand that without the involvement of the Global South, neither side would be capable of securing a decisive victory over the other. Failure to acknowledge

²⁴ В. Унанянц, „Зеленский просит огня”, 10 января 2024, <https://www.ekhovkavkaza.com/a/32768977.html>.

²⁵ Ministry of Defence and The Rt Hon Grant Shapps, „Defending Britain from a more dangerous world”, 15 January 2024, <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/defending-britain-from-a-more-dangerous-world>.

²⁶ „West must ensure Russia loses or face attacks by dictatorships, warns Shapps”, *The Telegraph*, 1 February 2024, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/world-news/2024/02/01/west-must-ensure-russia-loses-face-attacks-dictatos/>.

²⁷ „Интерв'ю Президента України Володимира Зеленського каналу NBC News”, YouTube, 6 November 2023, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uzMAjktBl5c>.

²⁸ „Владимир Зеленский: никто никогда не сможет забыть то, что террористы сделали в Израиле”, *Голос Америки*, 9 октября 2023, <https://www.golosameriki.com/a/ukraine-israel-war-reaction/7303077.html>.

this reality could result in the world being plunged into a thermonuclear conflict. In this context, Zelenskyy has asserted that Ukraine and the West are presenting to the rest of the world a set of rules founded upon international law, emphasizing: “Europe must be active. The U.S. must be active. China, India, and Arab states must feel how much could crumble if they allow terrorists to achieve their goals. Turkey, Brazil, and all of Latin America, Japan, Australia, Canada, African states, Central Asian states, Korea, Pakistan, Indonesia, the Caribbean, Pacific states – everyone must be active in defense of life and international law. We must not give terrorism any chance.”²⁹

This statement brings us back to the era of the Cold War. However, regrettably, the former Third World, which was relatively powerless during that period, now aligns with the East in seeking retaliation or, at the very least, advocating for a completely new world order.

From the peace formula to the Global Peace Summit

By the end of September 2022, Ukraine and Russia were in starkly different strategic positions. While Moscow was leaning towards the strategic decision to announce the first wave of mobilization in Russia, Ukraine, on the contrary, felt relatively optimistic. Ukraine launched a significant counteroffensive operation, which proved to be successful. On 21 September 2022, Zelenskyy addressed the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA), outlining five “non-negotiable” conditions for the “formula of peace.” These conditions encompassed punishment for Russia’s crimes against Ukraine, protection of life through all means permitted by the UN Charter, restoration of security and territorial integrity, security guarantees from other countries, and Ukraine’s unwavering determination to continue defending itself. The comprehensive content of the “peace formula,” consisting of 10 points, was revealed by the President of Ukraine, Volodymyr Zelenskyy, on 15 November 2022, during the G20 Leaders’ Summit in Bali, Indonesia.³⁰ It was the language of a winner.

As correctly pointed out by Ukrainian expert Igor Dolgov, these provisions are fundamentally rooted in the United Nations Charter. The document encompasses ten aspects of regional and global security, with points 2, 5, 7, 9, and 10 holding particular significance for the Global South. They offer the organization itself, as a singular global entity, an opportunity to rejuvenate under new circumstances and prevent the world from descending into the chaos

²⁹ „Зеленский к НАТО: ХАМАС и Россия – одинаковое зло, нельзя дать террору ни шанса”, Украинская Правда, 9 октября 2023, <https://www.eurointegration.com.ua/rus/news/2023/10/9/7171000/>.

³⁰ „Формула миру: Зеленський назвав 10 умов припинення війни в Україні”, Укрінформ, 15 листопада 2022, <https://www.ukrinform.ua/rubric-politics/3614525-formula-miru-zelenskij-nazvav-10-umov-pripinenna-vihtml>.

of a potential Third World War.³¹ Another Ukrainian expert, Volodymyr Lupatsii, suggests that both the Peace Formula and the Global Peace Summit are aimed at avoiding a “geopolitical Chernobyl” and constructing a security architecture capable of preemptive actions and conflict mitigation, effectively channeling warfare.³² Most of these principles are based on the UN Charter and were adopted by the General Assembly in a special resolution titled “The principles of the United Nations Charter, underpinning a comprehensive, just, and sustainable peace in Ukraine.”³³ This resolution was supported by 141 countries.

Let us briefly explain why these points are significant and intended to attract the attention of the Global South. Point two, “Food Security,” is crucial because Ukraine seeks to ensure that the global food market stabilizes once troops are withdrawn from Ukraine. It is noteworthy because the main consumers of Ukrainian grain are countries in the Middle East and Northern Africa. The document mentions a humanitarian initiative called “Grain from Ukraine,” which aims to deliver over 170,000 tons of Ukrainian grain to Somalia, Ethiopia, Kenya, Yemen, and Nigeria. This initiative underscores Ukraine’s commitment to address food insecurity in regions heavily reliant on its agricultural exports.³⁴

Within the framework of “Food Security,” Ukraine promotes two economic and international initiatives: “Grain from Ukraine” and the “Black Sea Grain Initiative.” These initiatives were announced by Ukraine to prevent a possible global food crisis. On 26 November 2022, in Kyiv, the “Grain from Ukraine” humanitarian programme was launched during the inaugural Food Security Summit. The objective of this programme was to supply Ukrainian grain to countries in Africa and Asia facing hunger, ensuring uninterrupted supplies of grain and sunflower oil. Before the war, Ukraine accounted for over 15% of global corn exports, 10% of wheat, 15–20% of barley, and over

³¹ І. Долгов, “Формула миру: вища математика геополітики. Перший Глобальний саміт миру замість Третньої світової”, Укрінформ, 19 січня 2024, <https://www.ukrinform.ua/rubric-world/3815367-formula-miru-visa-matematika-geopolitiki-persij-globalnij-samit-miru-zamist-tretoi-svitovoi.html>.

³² В. Лупацій, “Глобальний саміт миру: чи зможе Україна стати драйвером глобальної трансформації світової системи безпеки”, Хвиля, 10 лютого 2023, <https://hvylya.net/uk/analytics/267433-globalnyy-sammit-mira-smozhet-li-ukraina-stat-drayverom-globalnoy-transformacii-mirovoy-sistemy-bezoti>.

³³ “Коментар МЗС України щодо резолюції ГА ООН ‘Принципи Статуту ООН’, що лежать в основі всеохоплюючого, справедливого та сталого миру в Україні”, МЗС України, 23 лютого 2023, <https://mfa.gov.ua/news/komentar-mzs-ukrayini-shchodo-rezolyuciyi-ga-oon-principi-statutu-oon-shcho-lezhat-v-osnovi-vseohoplyuyuchogo-spravedlivogo-ta-stalogo-miru-v-ukrayini>.

³⁴ A. Paul, “‘Grain from Ukraine’ continues to ensure global food security”, European Policy Center, 27 November 2023, <https://www.epc.eu/en/Publications/-Grain-from-Ukraine-continues-to-ensure-global-food>.

50% of sunflower oil, highlighting its significant role in global food markets.³⁵ The next summit was held in November 2023, where a joint communiqué reaffirmed Ukraine's commitment to deliver grain to African and Asian countries and received support from the countries of the Global South that participated in the summit for Ukraine's Peace Formula. Additionally, the communiqué criticized Russia for the weaponization of food for its interests.³⁶

As part of this initiative, Ukraine launched the Black Sea Grain Initiative under the auspices of Turkey and the UN on 22 July 2022. At the peak of the grain crisis, Ukraine attempted to convey the message that it was Russia that was disrupting the world food market. It was during this period that a phrase has been brought into the public discourse which vividly described the situation around this issue: "Ukrainian grain is more than just a business or an economic entity. It embodies geopolitics gained popularity."³⁷

Point five of the "peace formula", "Restoration of territorial integrity," has significant symbolic meaning, as it underscores Ukraine's vision for a new future world order after its victory over Russia, where annexations and the seizing of foreign lands would be impossible. Point seven, "Restoration of justice," emphasizes that the aggressor must bear full responsibility for its criminal actions. This entails engagement with international law and courts, wherein the voice of the Global South becomes crucial. Unfortunately, Putin's decision to end the grain deal did not diminish support for Russia among the countries of the Global South, as Bloomberg had to acknowledge.³⁸

Finally, points nine, "Preventing escalation and repetition of aggression," and ten, "Confirmation of the end of the war," are interconnected. The creators of the Peace Formula anticipated that ensuring Ukraine's security would be contingent upon global nuclear, energy, food, and ecological security, as well as the stability of world economic relations. However, the document suggests that full security for Ukraine and the establishment of effective international and military mechanisms require the creation of a new architecture of international security. The tenth point of the document suggests that achieving a just peace requires the implementation of a new "framework" with concrete and precise "commitments and arrangements" through a peace conference. According to

³⁵ "Grain From Ukraine", Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, 17 January 2024, <https://mfa.gov.ua/en/grain-ukraine>.

³⁶ „Спільна заява міжнародного саміту «Зерно з України»", МЗС України, 25 листопада 2023, <https://mfa.gov.ua/news/spilna-zayava-mizhnarodnogo-samitu-zerna-z-ukrayini>.

³⁷ "Країни глобального Півдня – без зерна, а Україна – без прибутку", ДІМ, 15 вересня 2023, <https://kanal.dim.tv/krayiny-globalnogo-pivdnya-bez-zerna-a-ukrayina-bez-prybutku-chy-vdastya-realizuvati/>.

³⁸ "Putin is winning his grain war, pitting Poland against Ukraine", Bloomberg, 22 September 2023, <https://www.bloomberg.com/opinion/articles/2023-09-22/putin-is-winning-his-grain-war-pitting-poland-e>.

Ukraine's vision, this peace conference should involve the broadest spectrum of states actively engaged in implementing the Peace Formula.

From a historical perspective, previous conceptual conferences played defining roles in shaping world history. However, the upcoming peace conference, guided by the Ukrainian Peace Formula, will depart from the models established by conferences such as the Westphalian Conference of 1648, the Congress of Vienna of 1814–1815, the Treaty of Versailles of 1919, and the Teheran-Yalta Conferences. It is important to note that historically, such conferences were Eurocentric. Even in the San Francisco Conference of 1945, where many non-Western nations participated, it seems that the involvement of Third World countries was not taken seriously by Western powers, who saw it merely as a gesture of their own goodwill and pragmatism. The Ukrainian Peace Formula seeks to revolutionize the Western approach towards the Global South, aiming to genuinely listen to and treat non-Western nations as equals. However, it is crucial to acknowledge the challenging reality that building a future world order, where countries of the Global South are treated as equals, is difficult and uncertain.

In Ukraine, there is a prevalent opinion that the Global South is not a monolithic entity, which provides an opportunity for Western and Ukrainian diplomacy to partially persuade some of these countries. Consequently, democracies should engage with each actor and organization representing the Global South individually. Russian officials, however, hold the belief that the West and Ukraine will be unable to sway the Global South. For instance, Maria Zakharova asserted that the West uses events like the World Economic Forum in Davos to “deceive and blackmail” the Global South and Global East into siding with them. She added that these regions would not allow themselves to be drawn into openly anti-Russian initiatives.³⁹ Without Russia, she said, no global conference can be considered legitimate.

Ukraine operates within the framework of the European diplomatic tradition and does not entertain the possibility of inviting the aggressor to future post-war conferences. Zelenskyy has directly stated that countries that do not respect Ukraine's territorial integrity will not be invited to the Global Peace Summit, which will set the groundwork for the post-war world order. During the Davos summit, Zelenskyy personally emphasized Ukraine's desire to see leaders from the Global South participate in the upcoming summit, which is planned to be held in Switzerland.⁴⁰ However, the agenda of the Global

³⁹ “Russia says West will try to trick Global South, Global East into supporting Ukraine at Davos”, Anadolu Ajansı, 11 January 2024, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/europe/russia-says-west-will-try-to-trick-global-south-global-east-into-supporting-ukraine-at-davos/3105697#>.

⁴⁰ “Switzerland to host Ukraine peace summit at Zelenskiy's request”, Reuters, 16 January 2024, <https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/ukraines-zelenskiy-wants-china-join-global-peace-summit-2024-01-5/>.

Peace Summit seems to be the biggest challenge for Ukraine. It may prove difficult, or even impossible, to satisfy both the West and the Global South, even in the preliminary stages aimed at setting the framework. This could be the main reason for the changing final date of the event. However, the Global South appears ready to negotiate, recognizing that this is a historic opportunity to secure the most beneficial conditions for the remainder of the century.

Multilateral meetings of political and national security advisers on Ukraine

A lower level component of Ukraine's global strategy involves the organization of regular multilateral meetings of political and national security advisers on Ukraine. This unique formula began relatively recently, with the first meeting taking place on 24 June 2023 in Copenhagen, Denmark. Present at this meeting were representatives from Ukraine, the United States, the European Union, the United Kingdom, Denmark, Brazil, India, Italy, Canada, Germany, South Africa, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, France, Japan, and several other countries. Interestingly, the Kremlin was unaware of this meeting.⁴¹ In the second meeting of advisers held in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, on 5–6 August 2023, the number of participating countries increased to 42, including representatives from China, South Korea, Egypt, Indonesia, and others. Strikingly, China only participated in the negotiations in Jeddah and was absent from the rest of the meetings. This shift indicates a growing involvement and interest from a diverse range of countries, particularly from the Global South, in discussions regarding Ukraine's global strategy and security concerns.

The next meeting took place in Malta on 28–30 November, with the participation of 66 representatives from around the world. The Ukrainian expert Taras Zhovtenko highlighted the significance of the third round of international negotiations on the Ukrainian Formula for Peace in Malta. He added that Ukraine's strategic objective was, where feasible, to actively engage countries from the Global South in implementing President Volodymyr Zelenskyy's peace plan. This underscores Ukraine's commitment to broadening international involvement and support for its peace initiatives.⁴² After the meeting in Malta, the Ukrainian Foreign Minister noted that in the preceding six months, numerous peace initiatives vanished from the public sphere that suggested

⁴¹ „Кремлю неизвестно о секретной международной встрече по Украине в Копенгагене”, ТАСС, 27 июня 2023, <https://tass.ru/politika/18127691>.

⁴² Т. Жовтенко, „Чому Байдену та Сі так важливо зустрітися і як долучити країни Глобального Півдня до мирного плану Зеленського”, Демократичні ініціативи, 30 жовтня 2023, <https://dif.org.ua/article/chomu-baydenu-ta-si-tak-vazhливо-zustritися-i-yak-doluchiti-kraїni-globalnogo-pivdnya-do-mirnogo-planu-zelenskogo-komentar-tarasa-zhovtenka>.

Ukraine should either relinquish territories, engage in exchanges, or accept other undesirable terms.⁴³

On 1 December 2023, a meeting was held in Kyiv with the participation of 86 representatives. As stated after the meeting, the presence of Brazil, India, and South Africa – countries that, along with Russia and China, constitute the BRICS group – was highly significant as they stayed in dialogue with Moscow. Additionally, Andriy Yermak, the Head of the President's Office, conveyed that Ukraine was considering the possibility of conducting additional summits with African and South American nations to better articulate its position. It is noteworthy that Yermak plays a central role in Ukraine and is responsible for almost all crucial contacts with Ukraine's foreign partners.

According to Ukrainian diplomats, Ukraine's aims are to initially forge a broader coalition of diplomatic support for its vision of peace beyond its core group of Western supporters, reaching out to countries of the Global South, such as India, Brazil, South Africa, and Turkey. The chief diplomatic advisor to President Zelenskyy, Igor Zhovkva, stressed that the primary objectives of the next round of negotiations would be to reach conclusively a shared understanding of the content encapsulated in the 10 points.⁴⁴

The most recent meeting occurred in Davos on 14 January, with the participation of 83 states (Europe – 39, Asia – 18, Africa – 12, South America – 6, Northern America – 3, and 2 from Oceania). Yermak disclosed that during the meeting, the countries prepared a Joint Plan of Responsible States of the World, and afterwards, the process is to be finalized during the first global summit at the level of heads of states. This summit aims to adopt the plan. In a joint press communiqué, the countries agreed that Ukraine's security is an integral part of global and regional security.⁴⁵

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Amidst the Russo-Ukrainian conflict, the Global South adopts a multifaceted stance, balancing neutrality, economic interests, and ideological divergence from the West. While refraining from outright condemnation of Russia, many nations see the conflict as an opportunity to challenge Western dominance

⁴³ „Кулеба заявив, що з інфополя зникли неприйнятні «мирні» ініціативи для України”, Главком, 30 жовтня 2023, <https://glavcom.ua/world/world-politics/kuleba-zajaviv-shcho-z-infolja-znikli-neprijjatni-mirni-initsiativi-dlja-ukrajini-965296.html>.

⁴⁴ „Україна заманює Глобальний Південь до переговорів у Джидді”, ZN.UA, 3 серпня 2023, <https://zn.ua/ukr/war/ukrajina-zadobruje-hlobalnij-pivden-perehovorami-v-dzhiddi-reuters.html>.

⁴⁵ “Andriy Yermak on the results of the meeting of advisors in Davos: We still have a lot of work to do, but we are united on the key principles of peace for Ukraine and the whole world”, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, 15 January 2024, <https://www.president.gov.ua/en/news/andrij-yermak-za-rezultatami-zustrichi-radnikiv-u-davosi-u-n-88333>.

and advocate for a fairer global order. Economic considerations drive much of this stance, with potential wealth redistribution away from the West seen as beneficial. There is also shared aspiration to dismantle Western hegemony or at least change the current balance of power in the world in the Global South's favour. However, the Global South is not uniform; internal divisions shape individual countries' approaches. Ukraine seeks support from both the West and the Global South, stressing the need to engage with diverse perspectives. Peace initiatives from the Global South signify a shift from Western-dominated diplomacy, reflecting assertiveness in shaping global politics. China's plan, Brazil's "peace club" proposal, South Africa's initiative, and Indonesia's call for peace demonstrate attempts to mediate in the conflict. These initiatives challenge traditional power structures and advocate for inclusive diplomacy. The war prompts Ukraine and the West to recognize the Global South's role, with China and India notably protecting Russia against sanctions. Ukrainian initiatives aim to engage the Global South, raising questions about their readiness for global governance and Western acceptance of equal partnership. The conflict is portrayed as a universal struggle for freedom and democracy, but the Global South's response varies, complicating Ukraine's efforts to garner support. President Zelenskyy's Peace Formula outlines conditions for peace, and the Global Peace Summit is supposed to shape the post-war world. Regular multilateral meetings of advisers aim to consolidate support for Ukraine's interests, with recent discussions in Davos focusing on a Joint Plan of Responsible States to address security concerns within global and regional frameworks. Ukraine initially hoped that the upcoming Peace Summit is going to be the apogee of the global support of Ukraine, but unfortunately, many factors indicate that the Global South will not turn away from Russia and will continue to balance between the two geopolitical blocs. The primary issue with this Summit is that despite the bold declarations from Ukrainian and Western politicians about setting a date and garnering support from the Global South, the reality on the ground is far bleaker. Without the participation of the Global South, the Summit fails to truly represent a global consensus on the post-war order. The repeated delays in the finalization of the summit date indicate that neither Ukraine nor the West has been successful in persuading the Global South on the matter of the post-war world order. This suggests that the Global South is keen on maintaining geopolitical equilibrium.

The Global South and the Russo-Ukrainian war: A strategic assessment

This chapter delves into Ukraine's multifaceted engagement with the Global South, exploring the global determinants influencing the Global South countries' position on Ukraine. It examines Ukraine's peace initiatives aimed at fostering regional stability and

analyzes its diplomatic strategies for engaging with Global South nations. Furthermore, it highlights Ukraine's role as a champion of global freedom and discusses its foreign policy approaches to the Global South. The paper also sheds light on the institutional pillars, diplomatic platforms, and communicational strategies employed by Ukraine to strengthen its ties with the Global South.

Keywords: Global South, Ukraine, Russo-Ukrainian War, Peace Formula, Peace Summit, new world order, conflict resolution

Słowa kluczowe: Globalne Południe, Ukraina, wojna rosyjsko-ukraińska, formuła pokojowa, szczyt pokojowy, nowy porządek światowy, rozwiązywanie konfliktów