

Open Letter to the Secretary-General of the United Nations

His Excellency António Guterres
Secretary-General of the United Nations
United Nations Headquarters
New York, NY 10017, United States of America

Warsaw, Poland, December 6, 2025

Your Excellency,

Guided by profound concern for the gravity of the peace negotiations concerning the fate of Ukraine, and with the utmost respect for the principle of self-determination of peoples as well as the historical responsibility for armed aggression, we hereby submit to Your Excellency, through this open letter, a proposal comprising 14 boundary conditions for the development of a possible peace. These points have been developed grassroots-style by us, as citizens deeply concerned with peace within the international community, locally gathered around the Polish think tank, the Sobieski Institute in Warsaw.

We present these 14 points to all stakeholders in the peace negotiations, inviting them to build a community of peace around them.

We trust that the mandate of the United Nations, and particularly that of the Secretary-General, serves as the institutional foundation for achieving global peace, this time disrupted by the war in Ukraine.

Despite appeals directed to the Secretariat of the Secretary-General of the United Nations from the outset of the war, calling for recognition that in February 2022, through its act of aggression against Ukraine, Russia deliberately and unilaterally forfeited its mandate in the United Nations Security Council, no effective actions have been taken to date to halt the war and build peace. Now is the historic moment for the United Nations not to abdicate its mandate and to initiate negotiations involving peace stakeholders.

To commence these efforts, we—as citizens of Poland, historically marked by the local injustices of world wars—take the liberty of presenting to Your Excellency our own proposal of 14 boundary points for a possible peace for the communities of Russia and Ukraine, as well as the international community.

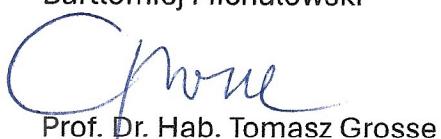
We appreciate the diplomatic initiatives that have thus far aimed at resolving this conflict, underscoring the urgency of a comprehensive and inclusive process under the auspices of the United Nations. Brazil, under the leadership of President Lula da Silva, proposed the establishment of a "peace club" of developing countries, including collaboration with China, to mediate and support dialogue toward a political resolution. Turkey played a pivotal role in facilitating early talks, such as the negotiations in Istanbul in 2022, and continues to advocate for balanced solutions amid ongoing discussions. China has taken a stance emphasizing restraint and, jointly with Brazil, has pushed for a plan uniting the Global South, including the formation of a "Friends of Peace" group at the United Nations aimed at promoting a ceasefire and resuming talks. South Africa, as part of a broader African initiative led by seven presidents in 2023, undertook mediatory actions to end hostilities. Without active United Nations involvement, meetings such as the one between Russia and the United States in Alaska took place, and today peace efforts are centered around a 28-point plan intended for concessions and resolution, which prove unacceptable for building conditions of lasting peace. The E3 countries have also engaged in peace efforts; however, as could be expected, their involvement has reached impassable red lines, where an arbiter is needed. Meanwhile, military operations continue unabated.

The aforementioned initiatives, while commendable, highlight the fragmented nature of current diplomacy and the necessity for the United Nations to convene and lead them without delay.

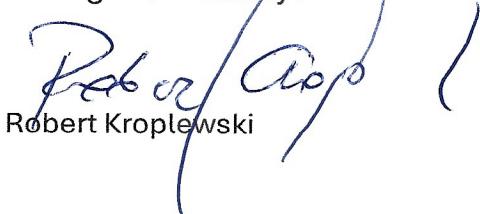
In this spirit, we strongly urge Your Excellency to exercise the full powers of your office to immediately convene and lead peace negotiations, engaging stakeholders from all concerned parties and drawing upon these diverse proposals to forge a durable resolution. The world cannot afford further abdication, and the time for decisive United Nations action is now.

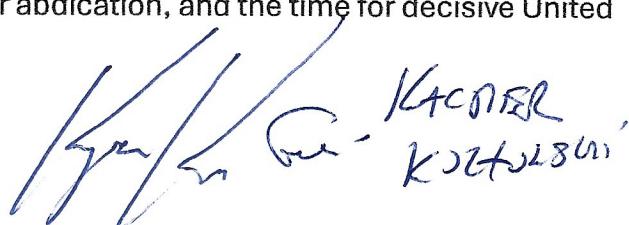
With the highest regards,


Bartłomiej Michałowski


Prof. Dr. Hab. Tomasz Grosse


Dr. Eng. Piotr Hańczyc


Robert Kropielski


Kacper Kozłowski

Attachment: List of 14 Boundary Points for Peace

Attachment to the Open Letter SG UN.

List of 14 Boundary Points for Peace in the Matter of Ukraine

Our proposed 14 points, described below, constitute a framework based on justice, self-determination, and responsibility:

1. A ceasefire is declared on land, sea, and in the air. Russian and Ukrainian forces shall withdraw 10 km from their currently occupied positions.
2. Prisoners of war are released, refugees return, families are reunited, and children are returned.
3. The state affiliation of territories occupied by Russia since January 1, 2014, shall be decided in a plebiscite conducted by the United Nations.
4. The plebiscite shall take place within one year of the ceasefire. Eligible voters shall be adult residents as of January 1, 2014, and their children who have reached the age of 18 by the date of the plebiscite. It shall be valid regardless of turnout. Results shall be counted at the county level according to Ukraine's administrative division as of February 24, 2022, based on a simple majority principle.
5. The results of the plebiscite shall be binding on Russia and Ukraine, which shall sign a new border and peace treaty.
6. Persons eligible to participate in the plebiscite shall have the right to choose Ukrainian or Russian citizenship within three years of its conclusion and shall be obligated to sell any real estate remaining in the territory of the state whose citizenship they did not choose.
7. The independence and territorial integrity of Ukraine within the borders determined by the plebiscite shall be guaranteed by the United States, the United Kingdom, Poland, France, and Germany, as well as other countries interested in peace.
8. Assets of the Russian Federation frozen after February 24, 2022, shall be allocated for the reconstruction of Ukraine.
9. Russia shall withdraw nuclear weapons from Belarus and the Kaliningrad Oblast.

10. Ukraine shall abandon its intention to join NATO.
11. Sanctions imposed on Russia after January 1, 2014, may be lifted by the imposing states at a time of their choosing, but not earlier than after the plebiscite and the demarcation of borders.
12. War crimes committed after January 1, 2014, shall be adjudicated by the International Criminal Court in The Hague.
13. Russia and Ukraine shall have full freedom to conduct elections in accordance with their constitutions.
14. Russia, Belarus, and Ukraine shall make available state archives containing documents from the years 1917–1991.

These points represent an essential path forward, taking into account historical precedents and the need for enduring stability. We are prepared to contribute to any process led by the United Nations and urge Your Excellency to act with the determination that this crisis demands.