

Theoretical and Applied Issues of Implementing the Transitional Justice Model in Ukraine*

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[10.15408/jch.v14i1.50220](https://doi.org/10.15408/jch.v14i1.50220)

Abstract.

The article provides a comprehensive analysis of the theoretical and applied issues concerning the transitional justice model implementation in Ukraine. The authors have systematized and examined in detail the following issues: a lack of complete understanding regarding the philosophical and analytical nature of the transitional justice model; the absence of retrospective links in the formation and development of the transitional justice model within modern international law; imperfections in theoretical provisions regarding the structural integrity of the transitional justice model; functional limitations of the transitional justice model; a misunderstanding of the grounds for applying the directions and principles of transitional justice; fragmentary understanding of specific transitional justice categories; and the reduction of the transitional justice model solely to the sphere of judicial proceedings. The study summarizes the following factors contributing to these theoretical and applied problems: 1) insufficient level of approbation and scientific substantiation of the transitional justice model at the national level; 2) a lack of institutional links between the scientific community and authorities regarding the shaping of transitional period policies; 3) a failure to comprehend the integrity of the transitional justice model and the unity of its components; 4) the individuality of transitional justice contexts in specific states; 5) insufficient exploration of the philosophical sources of the transitional justice model; 6) imperfections in the cognitive algorithms used to study the transitional justice model.

Keywords: Armed Aggression; Victims of Conflict; National Context; Post-Conflict Development; Transition Period; Human Rights; Transitional Justice; Territorial Integrity

* Received: January 16, 2026; revised: February 27, 2026; accepted: March 21, 2026; published: March 30, 2026.

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A. INTRODUCTION

The challenges modern Ukraine is facing have necessitated the application of a transitional justice model, which will enable the country to navigate the post-conflict period and move toward a stage of sustainable European development. Researching the dynamics of implementing transitional justice in Ukraine requires an analysis of relevant theoretical and applied problems. First, such an analysis helps outline the level and depth of the transitional justice doctrine development. Second, it allows for the identification of key approaches to understanding the transitional justice model. Third, the study of theoretical and applied issues enables to ascertain the reasons behind the imperfect or incomplete application of the transitional justice model in Ukraine. Fourth, such analysis demonstrates the evolution of scientific thought regarding the essence and role of transitional justice in modern international law (Zadyraka *et al.*, 2023).

B. METHODS

The analysis of theoretical and applied issues of transitional justice requires the use of a complex set of general scientific and specialized legal methods of cognition. Thus, the dialectical method was used to identify factors leading to the imperfection of certain theoretical provisions of the transitional justice model. The system and structural method facilitated the classification of theoretical and applied problems of transitional justice in Ukraine. Using the formal and logical method, the theoretical provisions and categorical apparatus of the article were stated. The use of methods of analysis and synthesis allowed for the disclosure of the nature and preconditions of the transitional justice theoretical and applied problems. In formulating the conclusions of the article, synthesis and forecasting methods were applied. Overall, this methodology facilitated a comprehensive analysis of existing theoretical and applied problems of transitional justice as well as the results with practical significance shaping.

C. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Despite years of applying transitional justice principles and directions in Ukraine, there remains a shortage of scientific papers on the transitional justice model issues. The monograph «Basic Research on the Application of Transitional Justice in Ukraine» (2017), edited by A. P. Bushchenko and M. M. Gnatovsky, which comprehensively characterizes historical preconditions of transitional

justice model shaping, in particular, it focuses on foreign states' experience, which at one time followed the way of transitional justice and succeeded in a stable development, is among the scientific writings. (Bushchenko& Hnatovsky, 2017). The essence of the transitional justice principles and directions is also considered in the chapters of the monograph, as well as the long-term steps for Ukraine regarding their application (Bushchenko& Hnatovsky, 2017). However, being a thorough study, it includes theoretical and applied issues, namely:

- The authors note that the transitional justice idea points to the states' movement between two points: 1) departure point (dictatorship, communism, war, including civil war, foreign occupation, chaos, anarchy and genocide); 2) arrival point (developed, liberal and constitutional democracy) [1, c. 8]. We consider that it limits the transitional justice model to a mere mechanism for state recovery after social upheaval.

- The paper deals with the experience of individual states within transitional justice in detail; however, this experience is viewed in isolation, without generalizing shared features that essentially contribute to the transitional justice model (Bushchenko& Hnatovsky, 2017). The fact that Ukraine has combined post-authoritarian and post-conflict features is a unique phenomenon that can be used by other states. By not drawing this parallel, the authors of the study essentially sever the link between the individual stages of development of the transitional justice model itself;

- When analyzing the prospects for transitional justice in Ukraine, the authors view them as a roadmap, ignoring all institutional links that exist within the transitional justice model. In other words, they do not explain the logical connections between the directions of state policy within transitional justice. This leads to the model of transitional justice being perceived not as a holistic international legal phenomenon, but as a set of situational steps taken by the state;

- The study does not sufficiently reveal the role of international institutions and regulatory acts in the process of applying the transitional justice model (Bushchenko & Hnatovsky, 2017). The authors reveal the role of Ukrainian authorities and areas of lawmaking, but transitional justice is primarily an international legal model that relies on supranational institutions and is implemented with their direct participation. Ignoring this fact leads to a limitation of the functional capabilities of the transitional justice model itself and its perception as an international legal instrument.

Thus, analysis of this monograph gives us grounds to speak of the existence of the following theoretical and practical problems: lack of a complete understanding of the philosophical and analytical nature of the transitional justice model; lack of retrospective links between the formation and development of the transitional justice model in contemporary international law; imperfection of theoretical provisions regarding the structure of the transitional justice model and the interdependence of its individual elements (basic ideas, principles, and directions); limited understanding of the mechanism for implementing the transitional justice model at both national and supranational levels.

Other theoretical and practical issues at the national level can be visualized by analyzing individual scientific papers on the subject of transitional justice, which can conventionally be divided into two groups. The first group includes scientific research considering the transitional justice model as a complex legal phenomenon, while the second group includes scientific studies that analyze individual directions, principles, and basic ideas of transitional justice. Let us consider these groups separately and systematize the existing theoretical and practical problems of transitional justice, starting with the first group.

M. Hrusko and K. Manuilova provide a comprehensive overview of the transitional justice model in their article, examining it exclusively through the prism of armed conflict. In particular, they note that the transitional justice concept is the only way not only to overcome the dire consequences of armed conflict, but also to restore violated rights and punish those guilty of committing crimes, since the concept is a complex of processes and mechanisms related to society's attempts to overcome large-scale violations of human rights and international humanitarian law (Hrushko & Manuilova, 2021). In our opinion, the position of scholars is somewhat controversial, since the transitional justice model is applied not only in conditions of armed conflict, but also in post-totalitarian stages of development. In addition, scholars reduce the functionality of transitional justice exclusively to the restoration and protection of violated human rights.

In his scientific paper, A. V. Baginsky also attempted to comprehensively analyze the transitional justice model. The scholar points to the fact that transitional justice is a set of processes related to society's attempts to find common ground on the legacy of past large-scale abuses in order to ensure accountability, serve justice, and achieve reconciliation. It is very significant that A. V. Baginsky emphasizes victim-centeredness, which forms the basis of the transitional justice model (Baginsky, 2019). This is a crucial feature of the transitional justice model, which has a social direction and ensures sustainable

development for society and the state. However, in this paper, we can observe a diametrically opposite theoretical and applied problem. The author limits the transitional justice model to the post-totalitarian period. This violates the integrity of the transitional justice model, which, since its inception, has had two main prerequisites for application (post-totalitarian and post-conflict).

It is worth noting scientific research by A. Blaha and O. Martynenko, examining the problem of introducing the concept of transitional justice into the field of legal science. The authors successfully analyze certain areas and principles of transitional justice and express their opinion on the urgency of developing a separate area of scientific research with the aim of introducing the principles and approaches of transitional justice into the sphere of domestic legal science interests (Blaha & Martynenko, 2019). We fully support the scholars' position, since the absence of such a direction today will lead to a delay in reconciliation and the establishment of historical truth in the future (Leheza *et al.*, 2023).

However, we can only partially agree with the authors that the formation of such a direction is necessary for the development of a package of draft laws aimed at overcoming the consequences of the conflict. Our position is based on two main arguments:

- The transitional justice model does not necessarily have to be implemented based on legislative acts or by-laws. It can also be political decisions made by the parties to the conflict or concluded between the authorities and society;

- The formation of a separate area of scientific research is necessary for the theoretical understanding of the essence of the transitional justice model, its structure, and principles. This is the key to the substantive content of transitional justice in the Ukrainian context, which will also be implemented at the level of lawmaking. In other words, transitional justice should be studied in order to supplement the model itself with conceptually new mechanisms that will be used by other states in the future (Filatov, 2022).

The second group is represented by scientific research that analyzes individual areas, principles, and basic ideas of transitional justice. For example, K. V. Khlabytova studies the institution of lustration, which is an integral element of the institutional reforms envisaged by the transitional justice concept. In her paper, she notes that lustration should be considered as an additional, specific measure that is implemented after the introduction of institutional reforms (Khlabytova, 2017). It is worth disagreeing with this thesis, since within

the model of transitional justice, all measures take place simultaneously and in parallel. Therefore, lustration cannot be additional or optional, especially at the post-totalitarian level. This points to a problem of misunderstanding the nature of transitional justice mechanisms, which is enshrined in its fundamental principles.

It is worth noting the practical publication «Dialogue within the Transitional Justice Model: Features and Functions» by I. Brunova-Kalisetska, T. Kiseliova, and O. Martynenko. In this paper, the authors emphasize that at the initial stage of developing and implementing transitional justice, it is advisable to rely on existing dialogue platforms and civil society's initiatives so that by means of such cooperation, dialogue becomes part of the state policy of safe reintegration (Brunova-Kalisetska et al, 2020). This thesis is quite controversial, since the concept of transitional justice is based on cooperation between the authorities and civil society, with the state playing a dominant role, being fully responsible for the implementation of the transitional justice directions and principles and involving the potential of the public to help solve specific tasks. Therefore, there is clearly a problem in distinguishing between subjectivity and objectivity within transitional justice. (Kulinich *et al.*, 2023).

Some scientific writings in this group reveal the problem of fragmentary understanding of transitional justice categories. As an example, consider the paper by O. V. Chervyakova, who examines the problem of restoring Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity. The researcher notes that bringing those responsible for war crimes to justice is a component of transitional justice, the comprehensive concept of which is a prerequisite for ensuring national security and the reintegration of temporarily occupied territories (Leheza *et al.*, 2024). The author emphasizes the necessity to take into account the following aspects, namely establishing the truth; reparations; accountability; institutional restructuring; and the creation of judicial and extrajudicial mechanisms of a national nature (Chervyakova, 2020). However, O. V. Chervyakova does not take into account such a component as providing guarantees to guilty persons and highlights the mechanism of bringing to justice for war crimes exclusively through the prism of coercion and punishment. (Vitvitskyi *et al.*, 2022).

This problem is also evident in the paper by Yu. Orlov, who analyzes the criminological foundations of establishing historical truth (Leheza *et al.*, 2025). The following thesis of the scientist seems controversial: transitional justice is a system of jurisdictional and non-jurisdictional measures, the transition of society from a totalitarian to a democratic regime or from a conflict to a post-conflict, peaceful state (Orlov, 2018). It appears that transitional justice is a fairly complex

analytical model, consisting not only of measures, but also of principles and directions, as well as international legal instruments of influence on the parties to the conflict. Such fragmentation leads to a limitation of the nature and functions of the transitional justice model, as well as the areas of its potential application.

It is worth dwelling on such a theoretical and practical problem as the limitation of the transitional justice model to the sphere of judicial proceedings. This issue is quite common and, most likely, is of a terminological nature. That is, if it is transitional justice, then it is primarily courts and judicial prosecution. For example, Ukrainian experts systematize the following promising forms of transitional justice in Ukraine: involvement of international courts; judicial prosecution within both national and international jurisdiction; measures for additional specialized education of judges; creation of a panel of judges specializing in cases related to war crimes (Justice and fairness in post-conflict societies? – European experience and prospects, 2026). Undoubtedly, such forms should exist, but they are far from being the fundamental elements of the transitional justice model and are implemented in conjunction with other forms. Therefore, it should be noted that reducing the transitional justice model to the sphere of judicial proceedings leads to a distortion of the meaning of the model itself and its functional limitations (Vitvitskyi *et al.*, 2020).

The existence of theoretical and practical problems at the national level has inevitably led to the imperfection of the authorities' positions on the transitional justice model, which are based precisely on the doctrinal provisions of this model. For example, the draft law of Ukraine «On the Principles of State Policy for the Transitional Period» which was withdrawn after the start of the full-scale invasion in 2022, stipulates that the transitional period is a period of time during which state policy to counter the armed aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukraine, restoring Ukraine's territorial integrity and ensuring state sovereignty, restoring the activities of state authorities and local self-government bodies in temporarily occupied territories, overcoming the consequences of the Russian Federation's armed aggression against Ukraine, reintegrating temporarily occupied (de-occupied) territories and their inhabitants, building sustainable peace, and preventing the recurrence of occupation, is implemented (On the general principles of state policy of the transitional period, 2026).

Based on an analysis of this provision, it can be argued that the state sees transitional justice exclusively as a means of resolving armed conflict. This raises a logical question: what about the post-transitional stage of development? Thus, a situation arises where this aspect is completely ignored by parliamentarians,

which is unacceptable, since the transitional justice model should ensure not only the resolution of the armed conflict in Ukraine, but also post-transitional changes (purification of power, reform of the public administration system, development of civil society, etc.). (Farynnyk *et al.*, 2025).

Therefore, it can be assumed that theoretical and practical problems have a negative impact on lawmaking and executive and administrative activities. Regarding the latter, there are also specific examples in Ukraine that demonstrate the government's lack of a comprehensive vision of the transitional justice model (Bobkova *et al.*, 2021).

For example, in August 2014, the Security Service of Ukraine launched the programme «They are waiting for you at home», which is a system of measures for the return to Ukraine-controlled territory and exemption from criminal liability of citizens who voluntarily refused to participate in illegal armed formations, provided that such persons did not participate in murders, torture, rape, attacks on enterprises, institutions, organizations, or other serious crimes. In other words, this is the formalization of amnesty as a separate component of transitional justice (You are waiting at home»: this SBU program is valid for those who have not committed serious crimes as part of the «L/DPR», 2026).

Thus, at the national level, theoretical and legal provisions regarding the essence and content of the transitional justice model have not been formulated yet (Vitvitskyi *et al.*, 2022).. Fragmentary ideas and quite opposing scientific views lead to transitional justice being implemented on a case-by-case basis, without any system, and without proper legal and regulatory binding. Some of these areas remain completely ignored by the scientific community and the authorities; for example, the issue of establishing commissions for reconciliation and historical justice has not yet been resolved. (Chorna *et al.*, 2023).

The factors contributing to the theoretical and practical problems of applying the transitional justice model in Ukraine analyzed in this article include: 1) insufficient testing and scientific justification of the transitional justice model at the national level; 2) the lack of institutional links between the scientific community and the authorities regarding the formation of transitional period policy; 3) the lack of understanding of the integrity of the transitional justice model and the unity of its components; 4) the individuality of the transitional justice contexts of individual states; 5) insufficient elaboration of the philosophical sources of the transitional justice model; 6) imperfection of the algorithms for understanding the transitional justice model (Sinkevych *et al.*, 2024).

D. CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, we note that there are a number of theoretical and practical problems in the field of transitional justice at the current stage of development in Ukraine. All of them hinder the formation of a unified and comprehensive doctrine of this model. In conditions where the Ukrainian state is in a transitional stage of development, the existence of such problems is quite threatening, since the directions and principles of transitional justice play a decisive role in overcoming the consequences of armed conflicts and other social upheavals. The direct link between theory and practice, particularly lawmaking, clearly indicates the interdependence between the state of scientific research on the transitional justice model and the effectiveness of its implementation in our state.

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