

PEACE CHRONICLE

THE MAGAZINE OF THE PEACE AND JUSTICE STUDIES ASSOCIATION



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The Magazine of the Peace and Justice Studies Association

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LETTER FROM THE GUEST EDITOR

ANNA HAMLING

Prayer

Send to those boundless traffickers in blood,
The tsars of earth, their ducats and their dollars
And shackles aptly forged!

Send to the heads and hands that toil amain
Upon this earth, so looted and despoiled,
The impulse of your strength!

Vouchsafe to me, O God, upon this earth,
The gift of love, that pleasant paradise,
And nothing else beside!

- 1860, St. Petersburg, Taras Shevchenko
(Translated by C. H. Andrusyshen and Watson
Kirkconnell)

Taras Szevchenko, was a beloved 19th century Ukrainian poet and writer. His Prayer for peace[i] and the gift of love speaks volumes to the current tragic situation in Ukraine. Russia launched its war against Ukraine on 24 February 2022, the cost in innocent lives lost continues to mount, as does the immense damage to Ukrainian infrastructure, the continuing loss of cultural heritage, and the disruption and displacement in the lives of millions of Ukrainian civilians.

When I told Wim Laven, Editor in Chief of the Peace Chronicle, about my upcoming informal 'peace trip' to Poland in the summer of 2022 he very kindly invited me to be the guest editor of the fall issue of Peace Chronicle. I accepted his invitation with gratitude. We decided on the title 'UKRAINE.' It proved appropriate as the excellent

submissions cover historical, social, cultural, political, economic and artistic contributions in this area.

My visit to Poland did not have any other agenda than to help Ukrainian refugees in Poland (5.1 million of them on 31 July) with finding temporary accommodation, free food, medicine, arranging for PESEL (Polish identity card), banking, in whatever capacity I was needed. I wanted to serve them because my linguistic abilities could help those in need. In the first couple of weeks in Warsaw (capital of Poland) I participated in the lives of the Polish volunteers and Ukrainian war refugees, mostly mothers with young children. I met many of them at the train stations (*Dworzec Centralny* [Central Station], *Dworzec Wschodni* [Eastern Station]), and in the shops and markets.

Some restaurants were not only accepting donations for Ukrainians but many staff worked without pay for a month or so in order to contribute towards refugees' immediate needs. One could see Ukrainian flags in almost every window and balcony of apartment buildings and homes, on the trams and the buses. I took part in a couple of protests against war and chanted with participants some heartwarming songs. It was amazing to see such wonderful acts of humanity from Poles who, with their spontaneous, compassionate 'open hearts' offered such a warm welcome to the refugees, their neighbours. At the busiest border crossing between

Ukraine and Poland (Medyka) thousands of volunteers organized help for the massive influx of displaced Ukrainian citizens. Many fundraising concerts, with a plethora of Polish artists, were held in Poland for the Ukrainian cause. To mention a few: *Razem z Ukraina* (Together with Ukraine) *Chwała Ukrainie* (Glory to Ukraine), *Jest nas wielu* (We are numerous), *Solidarni z Ukraina* (Solidarity with Ukraine). On the website of the independent Polish newsbroadcaster TVN, there is now a section at the bottom of the page in Ukrainian. It is all part of truly an inspiring story of a nation's extraordinary kindness and willingness to help.

However, the longer I stayed the more insight I got into the current very complex and complicated political, social, cultural and economic situation existing within Poland today. It made me aware of things that many of us (myself included) observing such global events from afar do not necessarily appreciate or understand in our view of peace. The lived experiences of the interactions between the local population and those they welcome into their communities. It caused me to pause for a moment, to take a 'deep breath' and reflect on our views of peace. Are they only on a macro-level of peace between nations in conflict? Or are they also on a micro-level of personal peace in the lives of all of those (both refugees and hosts alike) living in a third-party host nation not party to the conflict? Possibly not.

Nobody can predict when this war will end, nobody can predict what will happen or how it will happen. Thousands of Ukrainian refugees still cross the Polish border every day. According to the Polish Border Guard (Polska Straz Graniczna) at Medyka about 24,000 refugees came to Poland on 31 July alone, the exodus of Ukrainian citizens has not slowed down. Many of them might stay in Poland for a number of reasons (a possible topic for

examination) but only some will enter the labour market. Ordinary Poles of all ages, social classes and varied political affiliations are committed to offer help. But they also face mounting challenges in their own lives, the current inflation rate of 15.5% in June and July 2022, coupled with the staggering increases in energy prices, means there is a spreading inability to pay bills and meet their own needs, ever increasing difficulties in accessing medical care, and a difficult political and social situation (that will not be solved overnight). I fear that the goodwill of the Polish people could possibly change if the current situation persists and when feeding one's own family or getting medical attention for one's own elderly relatives have to be balanced against a natural desire to help Ukrainian refugees. But as 'a practical idealist' (words borrowed from M Gandhi) I do not give up hope and will continue helping people who need help, either with donations, organizing events or serving as a translator in Canada. Many of us, especially those in Peace and Justice organizations are involved in seeking a solution to the current crisis. But what else can we all do to stop this senseless war? In the seemingly endless cycle of violence is humanitarian help enough? Will creativity and a sound plan be enough?

These few sentences serve as a simple introduction to the article that I was planning to write based on my overall experiences and observations in Poland. Sadly, an unfortunate week spent in hospital in Warsaw prevented me from compiling any worthwhile piece for this issue of the Peace Chronicle. In addition, I have to take time to 'digest' what I have seen, experienced and learned through my personal experiences before I feel I can share 'my more-in depth story' (a much more nuanced story of peace within the personal relationships between welcoming Poles and refugee Ukrainians) with the readers.

Now that I am safely back in Canada I will be sending all the submissions I received on Ukraine into the capable hands of Wim Laven and Emma Lovejoy, our production manager. I am extremely grateful to all the international, well established, and junior scholars and activists who collaborated in our interdisciplinary project. Their thoughtful articles, incredible stories and beautiful poems are very much needed, valued and appreciated. So much has been already written about this war but the readers of the Fall issue of the Peace Chronicle will discover new areas from different perspectives.

By the time you read this I hope that the image of a white 'crying' dove that I have in my head will be replaced with a white dove...

Thank you all.

In Peace,
Anna Hamling

PS. Please note that the submissions are presented in alphabetical order of the contributors' first name.

On the cover image: Our guest editor, Anna Hamling, had the concept for a crying peace dove superimposed over the Ukrainian flag. For the central image, we've used a 1986 stamp from the USSR.

CONTRIBUTORS



Anna Hamling, PhD, is a professor in the Department of Culture and Media Studies at the University of New Brunswick, Canada. She is author or sole editor of more than 10 books as well as 80 journal articles and book chapters and encyclopedia entries. Her own interest in nonviolence and peace started about 10 years ago with the analysis of religious essays of L N Tolstoy. This led her to devote her time and energy into studying and publishing books on Women, Nonviolence and Peace and actively promoting peace across cultures.



Ayur Zhanaev is a member of the Free Buryatia Foundation; holds PhD in social sciences and currently is an assistant professor at the University of Warsaw. Currently, he is working on his research project concerning the ideas of social order as reflected in the didactic Buddhist literature of the Buryat-Mongols (18th to early 20th century).



Since 1981, Barbara Wien has worked to end human rights abuses, violence, war, and ecological destruction. Currently she teaches at American University and is a peace practitioner with knowledge of gender, peacebuilding, nonviolent social movements, and the political economy of war. She has edited and written 27 books and articles, led eight non-profits. She won the 2022 Mohanji International Foundation Award for Visionary Leadership, and was named "Peace Educator of the Year" in 2018 by PJSJA. She was featured in Amy Goodman's *Exceptions to the Rulers* and the *Progressive* magazine for opposing the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq as a U.S. official. Her interviews include the BBC, The Washington Post, NBC Nightly News amongst others and broadcasts in Poland, Ukraine, India, Uganda, Zambia, Palestine-Israel, and Australia.



Brooke Tracy is a first year Clinical Psychology PhD student at the University of New Brunswick. She has worked as a research assistant in several areas, including youth in the criminal justice system, mental health resources for adolescents, Indigenous health, and cultural psychology. She plans to incorporate peace studies into her work as a graduate student, conducting research on immigrant families and access to care for those experiencing social disadvantages.



Dr. Constantine Passaris is a Professor of Economics at the University of New Brunswick (Canada), an affiliate member of the Canadian Institute of Cybersecurity (Canada), an Onassis Foundation Fellow (Greece), a Dobbin Scholar (Ireland), a Research Affiliate of the Prentice Institute for Global Population and Economy at the University of Lethbridge (Canada) and a member of the Academic Scientific Board of the International Institute of Advanced Economic and Social Studies (Italy). He is a prolific author whose scholarly publications have been published in monographs, books, encyclopaedias, and academic journals. He has written extensively on economic issues dealing with public policy, economic governance, demography, immigration, human rights, multiculturalism, and the new global economy of the 21st century. Professor Passaris has received numerous academic and civilian honours and awards, including the Allan P. Stuart Award for Excellence in Teaching, the Onassis Fellowship, the Dobbin Scholarship, the 125th Anniversary of the Confederation of Canada Medal, the Queen Elizabeth II Diamond Jubilee Medal, and the Order of New Brunswick.



Ellen Lindeen, Professor Emeritus, has worked as an educator, academic, and writer throughout her professional career. She holds a Bachelor of Science degree in English Education from the University of Wisconsin-Madison, a Master of Arts degree in Literature from Northwestern University, and a Certificate of Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution from the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. At Waubesa Community College from 1996-2018, Professor Lindeen taught English Composition, Shakespeare, and she created and offered the interdisciplinary courses, Peace Studies & Conflict Resolution, and Human Rights & Social Justice. Her work in Peace Studies includes: a Fulbright-Hays Grant to study Gandhi and teaching non-violence, India, summer 2008; graduate work in International Law and Human Rights at Arcadia University, Arusha, Tanzania, summer 2010; teaching at Canterbury Christ Church University.



Gabriel Ertsgaard is the Interviews Editor for The Peace Chronicle. He earned his Doctor of Letters from Drew University with a dissertation on environmental themes in a medieval legend. He previously taught university English courses in the United States and China. His criticism, poetry, and fairy tales have appeared in various print and digital publications.



Kelly Rae Kraemer, PhD is Professor and Acting Chair of Peace Studies at the College of St. Benedict/St. John's University in central Minnesota. She holds a PhD in Political Science from the University of Hawai'i-Mānoa, where she studied the roles of allies in social movements, and an EdM from Harvard University. Her current research interests include contemporary nonviolent action, unarmed struggle during WWII, and the politics of gender and peace. She serves on the editorial board of the Journal of Social Encounters.



Mariana Hasiak was born and resides in Lviv region, Ukraine, and is PhD Student in Social Work and an English Language Teacher.

Maureen P. Flaherty, MSW, PhD, is a Senior Scholar in Peace & Conflict Studies at the University of Manitoba. She spent autumn 2021 in L'viv at LPNU working with colleagues in the DSSW.

Mariana Hasiak is a PhD student in Social Work at LPNU. For several years she also worked at the IIC. She spent half a year in Canada at the University of Manitoba, Peace & Conflict Studies.

Nina Hayduk, MSW, PhD is the past head of the Social Work Program and Director of the International Integration Centre for Professional Partnerships at LPNU. She received her MSW from UM and is a research affiliate of the University of Manitoba.

Liliya Klos, MD, D. Sc. Education is an Associate Professor and the head of the Department of Sociology and Social Work at L'viv Polytechnic National University. Her passion is healthcare technologies in Social Work.

Sofiya Stavkova, PhD is an Associate Professor in the Department of Sociology and Social Work at L'viv Polytechnic National University. She also spent a semester studying at the FSW and PACS at the University of Manitoba.



Dr. Michael George teaches Ethics, and Religion and Culture at St. Thomas University in Fredericton, New Brunswick. He has been a visiting scholar at the Universities of Split and Zagreb in Croatia. His research interests are in the area of ethical foundations, the nature of historical consciousness, and in Integrative Bioethics, where he participates with a number of European colleagues in attempting to develop an inclusive model where issues/problems might be understood as linked through historical relationships and contexts. His interests include walking, sports (now mostly as a spectator), music, history, archeology, biophysics and physics, cigars, whisky, and spending time with his family.



Michael Nagler, PhD, is professor emeritus of Classics and Comparative Literature at UC Berkeley, where he founded the Peace and Conflict Studies Program and taught upper-division courses on nonviolence, meditation and a seminar on the meaning of life. He is President of the Metta Center for Nonviolence and author of *The Search for a Nonviolent Future*, *The Nonviolence Handbook*, and *The Third Harmony: Nonviolence and the New Story of Human Nature*. Michael has spoken for the UN, the US Institute of Peace, and many academic and public venues for over forty years. He has lived at the Blue Mountain Center of Meditation's ashram in Northern California since 1970.

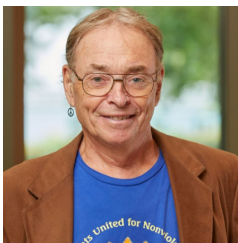
Ron Pagnucco, College of Saint Benedict/Saint John's University.



Sierra Cougot (she/her) graduated from American University in May 2022, with a bachelors of journalism from the School of Communication and an International Relations minor from the School of International Service. In her studies, she focused on global development and security through a gendered lens as well as investigative journalism. She is originally from Garland, Texas.



Stephen Zunes is a Professor of Politics and International Studies at the University of San Francisco, where he served as founding director of the program in Middle Eastern Studies. He has led seminars on civil resistance globally and is the author of a series of articles and co-editor of *Nonviolent Social Movements*. His most recent book is *Western Sahara: War, Nationalism, and Conflict Irresolution* (Syracuse University Press, revised and expanded edition, 2022.)



Dr. Tom H. Hastings is Coördinator of Conflict Resolution BA/BS degree programs and certificates at Portland State University, PeaceVoice Senior Editor, and on occasion an expert witness for the defense of civil resisters in court.

ON THE FREE BURYATIA FOUNDATION

AYUR ZHANAEV

Perhaps, nobody prior to February 24/2022 expected that there would be a real war but when the invasion broke out, it caused various responses and reactions in Russia. As one of the results, the war especially boosted political activism among ethnic minority groups. There are around 180 different ethnicities in Russia, whose activists established various oppositional movements. In their opinion, the military aggression in Ukraine and the situation of ethnic minorities in Russia are closely related things: the Kremlin does not want a strong and prosperous Ukraine, just as it does not allow the cultural and economic independence of its ethnic regions. Some of the movements in fact existed prior to the war, others appeared as a reaction to it. Although most of them appeared among diasporas and on the internet, it doesn't mean that these movements do not have any political influence or local support. In this short review, let's focus on the Free Buryatia Foundation, which was among the first ethnic anti-war organization in Russia.

The members initially gathered to shoot anti-war videos on you-tube, but in March/April ended up registering a nonprofit nongovernmental organization the Free Buryatia Foundation in the US and later in the Czech Republic. The Foundation is made of Buryats from all over the world who could not remain indifferent to the fate of Ukraine. Most of them did not know each other before the war but now are united by one purpose

– to speak up against Russian aggression in Ukraine and strive for our multiethnic region within the framework of a true federation. The foundation is engaged in anti-war propaganda, volunteering activities, and legal assistance to soldiers who refuse to fight.

The military participation of ethnic minorities of Russia was especially emphasized in the media. At the very beginning of the war, Russian propagandist showman Artyom Sheinin on the main political talk show on Channel One said "... large Russian people that consists of Russians, Chechens, Dagestani, Mordovians, Buryats came to help Ukrainians. Yes, it was very hard, but we will do it. So go to work, brothers. But when our brothers work, how we can be without our Buryat brothers. So 'azhalaa khegty Buryaad khübüdüüd' – go to work, Buryat brothers!". The curious part is that he was speaking in the Buryat language 'Go to work Buryat boys' to propagate the war while it is an extremely rare occasion on official Russian TV to hear any ethnic language other than Russian. This was among the reasons why the Buryats being just a couple percent of the servicemen engaged in the invasion of Ukraine received disproportional attention from the media and popular bloggers.

There were many misunderstandings and misinformation presented by those media. For instance, many innocent people, who by 24 February 2022 were not serving in the army were

wrongfully accused of war crimes, and their images and images of their family members were exposed online. Soldiers of other ethnicities with a slightly 'non-Slavic' look were presented as 'Buryats' while footage of the Mongolian army was presented as the "Buryat troops" for the viewers. However, there are no purely Buryat units/troops, and the Buryats are serving in the Russian military personnel on a common basis and intermixed with all the other ethnicities. Thus, one of our activities is performing analytical work using open-source data on the participation of Buryat military personnel in the war in Ukraine to give an unbiased assessment and stand for objective coverage of the war in Ukraine.

Buryatia is one of the 85 federal subjects of the Russian Federation located in Eastern Siberia/Far East of Russia. Ethnic Buryats make up only 0.34% (461,389) of Russia's population. According to the census from 2010, Buryats make up 29.5% (286,839) in Buryatia, 3.3% (77,667) in the Irkutsk Region, and 6.3% (73,941) in the Trans-Baikal Territory. Buryats are also a minority in military units. As was mentioned earlier, according to estimations of the Foundation's analytics, ethnic Buryats make up around 2.4% of the Russian troops involved in this war with one of the highest casualties per capita: by mid-July, there were 275 soldiers from military units based in Buryatia who died in the war in Ukraine. 114 of them were Russians and other ethnicities from Buryatia, 77 - were Russians and other ethnicities from other regions, and 84 - were ethnic Buryats from Buryatia. All in all, 117 ethnic Buryats from Buryatia, Transbaikal Territory and the Irkutsk region died in the war in Ukraine. According to some reports, the casualties among minorities are disproportionately high. However, it could be just the effect that those casualties are more discussed and counted in some regions and much less in others. Many facts are concealed from publicity while the

true numbers and facts about the war will be hopefully revealed and objectively accessed in future.

Nevertheless, the Free Buryatia Foundation is trying to find out and present the actual situation of Buryat's participation in the war. Our members gave more than 40 interviews including with the largest world's media. The foundation has its pages on all main social media portals such as Facebook, Instagram, YouTube, Twitter, Vkontakte etc. In June we launched our webpage, which was later blocked by Russia's Federal Service for Supervision of Communications, Information Technology and Mass Media at the request of the Prosecutor General's Office. Apart from the informational activity, the members of our foundation do volunteer activities with refugees and help with consultations with military personnel who do not want to participate in the war. The lawyers who volunteer and cooperate with the Free Buryatia Foundation have consulted more than 500 soldiers since April 2022. Many of the servicemen refused to fight and terminated contracts with the Russian Defense Ministry.

Using various media, the Foundation tries to speak up against the war in Ukraine and tries to convince people in Russia that this war should be stopped as soon as possible. It is worth noting that every day we receive words of support from other Buryats for the fact that their voice is finally expressed.

RUSSIAN RESISTANCE TO THE FEBRUARY 2022 INVASION OF UKRAINE

BARBARA WIEN

Russian resistance against the invasion of Ukraine is taking many forms. From members of the Bolshoi Ballot to scientists, academics, students, cosmonauts, diplomats, soldiers, technology experts, parents, and mothers, countless Russians have taken actions to oppose the war. It is estimated that at least 16,400 Russians have been imprisoned since February for protesting the invasion of Ukraine and all public rallies have been banned.

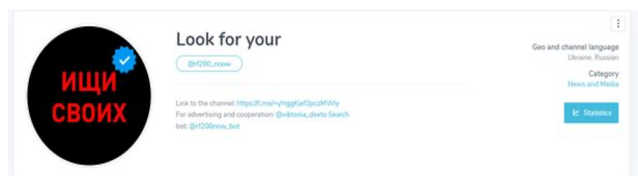
Currently, 3,000 Russians are operating an underground resistance network in St. Petersburg to assist Ukrainians escaping the detention camps inside Russia (over 1 million Ukrainians have been forcibly relocated to Russian territory). The network helped 18 Ukrainians escape in late July and 14 other detainees in June. Just like other historic underground resistance cells, one Russian resister helps to falsify identity papers; another smuggles Ukrainians out of the camp; another organizes clothing, funds, and hygiene kits, while still others transport escapees to the train station or the border.

Russian public opinion about the war on Ukraine is diverse. It is a myth that the vast majority of Russians strongly support Putin's war. The summer 2022 Foreign Affairs magazine estimates that approximately 2/5th of the Russian population is opposed to the invasion of Ukraine but are afraid to

speak out, while Putin loyalists are dependent on the subsidies he provides. A new poll by the state-run Russian Public Opinion Research Center found that 44% of Russians want peace talks with Ukraine. Another 12% declined to answer (likely out of fear). A strong plurality of young Russians below the ages of 35 want the war to stop. Opposition to the invasion is largely found among the educated, urban, young professionals. But increasingly those who have lost loved ones to the war are vocalizing their opposition, while others fear that their sons, husbands, fathers, and brothers will be conscripted. A Telegram channel set up by the Ukrainian government allows Russians to learn the "fate" of their sons, fathers, brothers, and loved ones. It has over a million subscribers. Written in Russian, the channel shares the identities and photographs of Russian soldiers captured by Ukrainian forces.

1.2 million Russian military-aged males are in the annual conscription pool (ages 18 to 27). Half must present themselves to their local military commissariat each year. Of the ten major conscription centers across Russia, record numbers of young male are not reporting. Moreover, arsonists targeted Russian military registration centers with Molotov cocktails trying to set the offices ablaze. Ukrainian Brigadier General Oleksii Gromov said that they had suspected arson at least a dozen Russian "military registration and

enlistment offices," since Putin invaded on February 24, 2022. The Institute for the Study of War said these attacks are "likely in protest of covert mobilization", citing Russian media and local Telegram channels. Young conscripts sent to fight in Ukraine are reportedly ill-equipped and poorly trained, and unaware of their purpose in the war. Some who attempted to flee the fighting on foot in Ukraine were allegedly shot by the Wagner patrol following behind their tanks convoys (BBC).



Retired Russian commanders have denounced the war. Mikhail Khodarenok, a military analyst, and retired colonel, painted a very bleak and different picture than Moscow's propaganda. On May 17, 2022, he warned that "the situation [for Russia] will clearly get worse" as Ukraine receives additional military assistance from the West and that "the Ukrainian army can arm a million people". Referring to Ukrainian soldiers, he noted: "The desire to defend their motherland very much exists. Ultimate victory on the battlefield is determined by the high morale of troops who are spilling blood for the ideas they are ready to fight for."

"The biggest problem with [Russia's] military and political situation is that we are in total political isolation and the whole world is against us, even if we don't want to admit it. We need to resolve this situation. The situation cannot be considered normal a coalition of 42 countries are against us and when our resources, military-political and military-technical, are limited."

The other guests in the studio fell silent. Even the host, Olga Skabeyeva, who is normally fierce and vocal in her defense of the Kremlin, appeared oddly subdued.

Countless additional forms of nonviolent resistance, both overt and clandestine, have been documented by Russian, Western media, and Ukrainians. Unfortunately, space here in the "Chronicle" does not permit an analysis of what Russian students and university movements have advanced, such as DOXA and the many other forms nonviolent resistance social scientists, cyber security experts and researchers have been able to verify happening inside Russia.

PEACE IS NOT PRETTY

BROOKE D. TRACY

Those in pain are part of us

They are our brothers and sisters

Their blood is our blood

We are the family of the human race

This earth is God's earth

We walk on the soil of battlegrounds

Their homes are part of earth's gift we walk on

The earth that provides our needs

Their children are God's children

As we are all God's children

When they must rise, so must we

We offer what is in our shaky hands to give

Peace is not pretty

We face the violence and chaos against this family, this earth

We loosen our shoulders, and we gear up to work

We commit to actions of rest, yet refuse to stay comfortable

We must learn to have both

And we must fulfill our roles

Accepting human frailty

Is a feat we strain to accomplish

But in the small steps every day

Yes, we must fulfill our roles

One brings peace through aiding human minds

Another through a smile toward a sour face

Others bring it through maintaining infrastructure

And another brings peace through removing debris

One brings peace through healing wounds and hearts

Yet others bring it through enlightening words

And each one, in our simple roles

Can harvest peace in what we plant

Yes, simple deeds of love we plant

On this gift of earth we share

LESSONS FROM UKRAINE FOR CANADA'S GLOBAL ENGAGEMENT

CONSTANTINE E. PASSARIS

HISTORICAL ANTECEDENTS

The Ukraine and Canada share a lived history that has blended through immigration. Immigration from Ukraine to Canada has a long and distinguished provenance. It has contributed to Canada's economic development and enhanced its multicultural mosaic. More precisely, it has contributed to populating Western Canada, building the foundations of the Canadian economy, and extending the diversity of Canada's civil society. Furthermore, the waves of immigration from Ukraine have empowered Canada to become a country of the world and the world within a country.

The first immigration wave from the Ukraine to Canada occurred between 1891 and 1914 with the arrival of an estimated 150,000 Ukrainians. Most Ukrainians from this period settled in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta, where they obtained farmland. Others settled in towns across Canada to work in industrial occupations.

Immigration grew substantially after 1896 as Canada promoted the immigration of farmers from Eastern Europe. Immigrant farmers from Ukraine contributed to populating the western provinces of Canada and launched the foundations of a thriving agricultural sector. While the Canadian western

provinces absorbed the bulk of the first Ukrainian immigration cohort, Ukrainian displaced persons and refugees settled in Ontario.

Clifford Sifton, Canada's Minister of the Interior who exercised responsibility for the immigration portfolio from 1896 to 1905 encouraged Ukrainian farmers to emigrate to Western Canada. This, for the purpose of populating Western Canada and laying the foundations for a prosperous economy driven by agricultural expansion. Sifton referred to the new Ukrainian and East European immigrants to Canada by stating: "I think that a stalwart peasant in a sheepskin coat, born to the soil, whose forefathers have been farmers for ten generations, with a stout wife and a half-dozen children, is good quality." (Encyclopedia of Canada, 1948:399).

In the first half of the twentieth century, Ukrainian Canadians overwhelmingly earned their living in the primary industries; predominantly in agriculture, but also in mining, logging, construction, and in the extension of the Canadian railway system. There is no denying that Ukrainian immigrants and their descendants have left a profound contribution to the economic development of Ontario and Western Canada (Canadian Encyclopedia, 2021).

After the First World War, when Ukraine became part of the Soviet Union, Canada witnessed a

second large wave of Ukrainian arrivals. Most arrived as refugees who settled in established Ukrainian communities, particularly in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and southern Ontario. At the end of the Second World War, a third wave of Ukrainians arrived in Canada, and by 1952 approximately 30,000 Ukrainians landed in Canada, primarily as refugees. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, about 112,000 immigrants arrived in Canada from Ukraine. As a result of the recent Russian invasion of Ukraine in February 2022, more than 12 million Ukrainians were displaced. In response, Canada's federal government introduced new measures to fast-track the admission of Ukrainians to Canada (Stick & Hou, 2022).

STATISTICAL PROFILE

The demographic impact of Ukrainian immigrants to Canada has been significant. According to the 2016 Census, Ukrainian Canadians number 1,359,655 or 3.8% of Canada's population. Ukrainian Canadians are Canada's eleventh largest ethnic group. In effect, Canada has the world's third-largest Ukrainian population after Ukraine and Russia. More than 110,000 Ukrainian Canadians reported Ukrainian as their mother tongue, and more than half live in Canada's western provinces.

The contemporary geographic distribution of Ukrainian Canadians reveals that most of them live in Ontario (28%), Alberta (27%) or British Columbia (17%). A large proportion of Ukrainian Canadians live in Manitoba (13%) and Saskatchewan (11%) About 3% of Ukrainian Canadians reside in Quebec, and about 1% live in the Atlantic provinces and the territories. They are the descendants of the early waves of immigration from Ukraine and have lived in Canada for many generations (Statistics Canada, 2017).

DÉJÀ VU

The recent arrival of a new wave of Ukrainian displaced persons to Canada because of the Russian invasion of Ukraine, offers a historical déjà vu. Indeed, Canada has a long history of admitting Ukrainians who were forced to flee their country because of persecution, displacement, and war.

The Russian invasion of the Ukraine has disrupted the uneasy calm on the European continent and has elevated political tensions around the world. It has precipitated a seismic shift in the global geopolitical landscape. Furthermore, it triggered a humanitarian crisis of massive proportions.

In effect, it has resulted in the destabilization of world peace and has emboldened other countries in Europe and Asia to resort to force for the purpose of settling geopolitical boundary disputes. Indeed, the Russian invasion of Ukraine has demonstrated that peace in our time remains a fragile public good.

GEOPOLITICAL FRAGILITY

There is no denying that the contemporary geopolitical order of the 21st century has revealed the fissures and the fault lines in our global governance and the fragility of international relations. Indeed, the multilateral institutions of governance that were created after the Second World War such as the United Nations, the World Bank the International Monetary Fund, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the Commonwealth, la Francophonie, the Group of Seven, the Group of Twenty, the World Trade Organization and the World Health Organization have failed to sustain global harmony and forge a consensus for peace among the international community of nations. They have been ineffectual in resolving our contemporary hot button issues and finding a

pathway through constructive dialogue for a peaceful coexistence on a global scale.

In effect, the Russian invasion of Ukraine has ushered in a new geopolitical era of political tension on the international landscape. In consequence Canada's global engagement requires a realignment and a reorientation. On the geopolitical landscape, Canada is in a unique position to exert constructive influence and to position Canada's unique history for the service of humanity.

UKRANIAN LESSONS

The contemporary Ukrainian dilemma has demonstrated the complexity of the hot button issues that confront humanity at the present time. They range from political, economic, social, and environmental. Indeed, they are multifaceted and multilayered. In this context the new world order requires more of Canada's leadership and guidance.

The principal lesson for Canada in the wake of the Russian invasion of the Ukraine is to regain the podium on the global stage. This is an essential destination at a time when international events are unfolding rapidly and internetization is redefining the modus operandi of nations in the 21st century. Internetization is a new word and concept that I have coined to describe the empowerment of global outreach and electronic connectivity (Passaris, 2021). There is no denying that this is a turbulent time in world affairs that is defined by geopolitical fluidity, digital speed, and economic uncertainty.

Canada's foreign policy requires an urgent reset to better align with the new geopolitical order. Clearly, Canada's contemporary global engagement no longer has the traction that it used to have on the

world stage. For example, Canada's last two attempts to secure a seat as a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council have failed. Canada's standing among the international community of nations as a neutral middle power and an honest broker has lost its shine. In addition, Canada's reputation with many developing countries has slipped.

In consequence, it is time for Canada's global engagement to undertake a face-lift and rediscover its role as a major player on the global podium. In this journey, Canada should serve as a global advocate for the rule of law and human rights, stand out as an international role model for the pursuit of democracy and an active catalyst for world peace.

Navigating the contemporary geopolitical landscape is not going to be easy. The future is unfolding in a very tumultuous and uncertain manner. However, Canada cannot sit idly by and simply watch global events unfold. It has a valuable contribution to make in international affairs and has a moral obligation to do so.

GLOBAL ENGAGEMENT

Canada has an important role to play on the world stage. In fact, at the present time, the world needs more Canada. Russia's invasion of Ukraine has made that abundantly clear. It is time for Canada to rediscover its leadership role through its foreign policy and global engagement.

At this moment in time, when the world is confronted with a myriad of political, social, and economic hot spots, the global stage needs Canada's influence and empowerment. It needs Canada to seize the podium and speak with its signature Canadian values and identity. A Canada

that speaks from its collective experiences and foundational values.

Canada's historical experiences as a colony of France and Britain have contributed to its *savoir faire* on global issues. Colonial rule also gave Canada a special diplomatic currency with developing countries. Those collective experiences compel Canada to fulfill the role of an honest broker and peacemaker in international disputes. They fill a void as a trusted neutral arbitrator in conflicts between superpowers and the developing world.

Canada's post Second World War foreign policy was widely acknowledged for punching above its weight on the world stage. Starting with Professor John Peters Humphrey who was tasked by Eleanor Roosevelt to write the first draft of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Followed by Canadian Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson who was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his peacekeeping model that defused the Suez Canal crisis and launched the United Nations peacekeeping efforts.

Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau's unconventional diplomatic outreach to China and Cuba. Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's relentless pursuit of sanctions against South Africa that resulted in the demise of apartheid. Canada was also instrumental in establishing the International Criminal Court, proposed the treaty to ban anti-personnel land mines and advocated for the United Nations Responsibility to Protect Initiative.

Going forward Canada needs to learn the geopolitical and economic lessons from Ukraine. As a starting point, Canada should reclaim its place on the world stage, revitalize its foreign policy, practice a constructive engagement in global affairs, speak

truth to power at multilateral summits, and nudge the international community of nations to enforce their commitment to individual and collective human rights.

REDESIGNING MULTILATERALISM

Russia's invasion of the Ukraine spotlighted the breathtaking changes on the global geopolitical landscape. Power has become more diffuse and has replaced the unipolar world of the past. Old political alliances are being tested, and new alliances are being formed. Furthermore, major international crises that used to be truly the exception are now becoming the new normal.

At the present time, the world is facing overwhelming challenges. These include a shift in global power, the vulnerability of democratic institutions, a fracturing multilateral system, a deteriorating security landscape, and internetization is redefining every facet of life. In this age of increasing global uncertainty, we need more robust institutions for global governance.

The war in Ukraine demonstrated the stark reality that our global governance institutions are not able to prevent armed conflict or contain its deleterious impact on humanity. In consequence, our multilateral institutions require renovation and a refit for the 21st century. We need a redesigned global governance architecture that embraces the economic, social, and environmental axioms simultaneously. In this task, Canada has an important role to play in redesigning multilateral institutions to enhance their efficacy for the 21st century.

Today's multipolar world is more complicated than ever before. Contemporary challenges such as economic crises, political uncertainty, and climate

change require a new mission for our global governance institutions. Canada should work with the international community of nations to rebuild our global governance architecture. Multilateralism is the way of the future and Canada should lead this journey.

A basic tenet for the efficacy of global governance is the adherence to an international system of rules and laws. In consequence, we need to redesign our institutions of global governance to better align with the new world order and provide them with the tools to enforce international law.

The maelstrom in Ukraine has underlined the importance of international law. By attacking the territory of a sovereign country, Russia violated international law, international humanitarian law and fundamental human rights. In effect, Russia has violated the oldest and most basic principle of international law, *pacta sunt servanda*, which denotes agreements must be honoured. Russia has also undermined the foundations of the United Nations Charter.

CANADA'S ROADMAP

Canada is in a unique position to make a significant contribution towards redesigning the global governance architecture and redefining the scope and substance of the new world order. As a middle-power with an open economy that is actively engaged in international trade, Canada has prospered through global outreach and a rules-based multilateral system. Canada must now lead the design of a modern rules-based multilateral system for the 21st century.

At the present time, Canada's global engagement lacks focus, coherence, and clarity. In effect, Canada's international engagement needs a

contemporary vision, clear objectives, and a purposeful strategy. Contemporary challenges necessitate that Canada's foreign policy should embrace a multipolar context and engage in multitasking. In consequence, Canada's contemporary global agenda should be defined by the contemporary geopolitical context, the deterioration of global governance, threats to democracy, the empowerment of the digital age, and international insecurity. It should also lead the process for redesigning our global governance institutions so that they are fit for purpose in the 21st century.

Canada's multicultural and multilingual population profile is a unique and strategic asset in its global engagement. It elevates its international stature, empowers its global outreach, and facilitates good relations with the international community of nations. In effect, Canada's multicultural population profile empowers it to build political, social, and economic bridges with every country in the world.

Canada's foreign policy should rediscover the important role of international aid in forging economic and political connections. Indeed, the potency of international development aid as a tool of global engagement should not be underestimated. In the new global economy, multinational corporations have emerged as potent global players. Today, a country's businesses maintain constructive relationships with foreign governments and can serve as a strategic asset in international relations. In this regard, Canada should integrate the international capacity of its global corporations into the framework of its foreign policy.

In the 21st century, Canada has emerged as an energy and agricultural superpower. The invasion of the Ukraine has disrupted the trade in agricultural products, food security and energy supply for much

of the world. This is an opportunity for Canada to provide leadership on the international stage by redesigning multilateral institutions for the purpose of creating humanitarian food security and alleviating the threat of energy insecurity.

In short, Canada must manage its international relations within an evolving world order that is marked by considerable uncertainty. At the end of the day, Canada's roadmap for global engagement should include, promoting peace and resolving conflict, redesigning global governance, enhancing the use of internetization, promoting multilateral free trade agreements, and advocating for human rights.

CONCLUSION

The Russian invasion of Ukraine demonstrated that peace in our time remains a fragile and elusive concept. It also revealed the fissures and fault lines in our multilateral institutions of global governance. Indeed, the disruption of global peace, perpetual economic crises, and substantive environmental degradation reveal humanity's vulnerable existence.

In effect, the global institutions of economic, social, and political governance that were introduced after World War II have demonstrated a lack of efficacy in resolving humanity's contemporary challenges. There is an urgent need to redesign those institutions and make them more fit for purpose. The overarching lesson for Canada from the Russian invasion of Ukraine is that the world needs a more globally engaged Canada that will contribute to redesigning our contemporary global governance architecture for the 21st century.

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UKRAINE AND NONVIOLENCE: WHAT IF?

ELLEN LINDEEN

Ukraine is on the minds of everyone in the world right now. The brutal, offensive onslaught of Russian military might on a country that is very similar to the oppressor is seen as unbalanced and vicious. Russia and Ukraine share ethnicities, religions, and languages. They are intimately related. The response of most countries to help Ukraine is to offer military support. Meeting violence with violence seems to be our default. This is the norm in our world of arms manufacturers, military bases, and nuclear weapons, despite the United Nations passing the international Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in 2017. There are clearly no easy answers to dealing with this situation.

So let us imagine how this situation could be handled differently. We will need to conjure up some "What ifs."

What if Ukrainians refused to fight the Russians as they entered their territory? What if they simply would not return fire to the attacks. Thanks to modern media, the world would see the unethical and unfair nature of the war and force Russia to stop. There would be terrible losses, of course, but are there not already unspeakable atrocities and fatalities? What would Gandhi counsel Ukrainians to do?

What if every single country or organization that believes this war of aggression is wrong approached Putin to talk. Instead of just stigmatizing or sanctioning him and his country's actions, what if every head of state or world leader initiated a meeting or summit to try to discuss options other than war. Putin's actions are largely interpreted as being a reaction to the West putting more nuclear weapons on Russia's borders. For most of its history, Ukraine has tried to remain neutral, not aligned with the West or Russia. Three decades ago, when the newly independent Ukraine was the third largest nuclear power in the world, it made the decision to denuclearize. In response, the U.S., U.K. and Russia guaranteed Ukraine's security in the 1994 Budapest Memorandum. A simplistic reaction to that decision at this point is often regret. However, Mariana Budjeryn of Harvard University explains, "It would have cost Ukraine quite a bit, both economically and in terms of international political repercussions, to hold on to these arms." Russia now claims it made the agreement with a different "legitimate" government of Ukraine. In 2014 when Crimea was first invaded, the Budapest Memorandum was first tested, and the signatories met in Paris. However, the foreign minister of the Russian Federation, Sergey Lavrov, simply did not show up even though he was in Paris at the time.

What if the West agreed to remove the nuclear weapons in Europe near Russia? There are approximately 150 American B-61 nuclear gravity bombs stationed in five countries in Europe: Belgium, Germany, the Netherlands, Italy and Turkey. If these bombs (or even some of these bombs) were decommissioned or removed as a condition of Putin abandoning his invasion of Ukraine, he could be assured that he did not need to annex more land to assure Russia's sovereignty.

What if the Russian soldiers who are being sent into Ukraine just laid down their arms and refused to fight their "brothers and sisters." They do not want to die. They have been trained to obey. What if they simply refused? As the truth makes its way into Russian media, soldiers will start to question their mission "to kill Nazis," the current propaganda theme that Putin is using to encourage his military.

How many times does a decision to go to war come down to one person? If not for the assassination of the Austrian Archduke, Franz Ferdinand and his wife, while visiting Bosnia in 1914, by a 19-year-old Serbian nationalist, the Great War (World War I) might never have taken place. Austria-Hungary retaliated, with Germany's support, and declared war on Serbia. Within days, Germany declared war on Russia, Serbia's ally, and invaded France via Belgium, which then caused Britain to declare war on Germany. The killing continued. Twenty million lives were lost, half of them civilians.

Adolph Hitler's planning for years to take over Germany, grow the empire, and kill Jews, caused World War II. No one had the courage or foresight to stop him along the way. Many people in government and the military knew his policies were evil, but they were afraid. World War II resulted in the deaths of 70 - 85 million, at that time 3% of the world's population. Civilian deaths were 50-56

million with an additional 20 million deaths due to war-related disease and famine. Atrocities continued.

If President Johnson had not reacted with war to the (now known-to-be false) attack in the Gulf of Tonkin, three million Vietnamese, United States, Laotian, and Cambodian lives might have been saved, one million military and two million civilians. Soldiers did not know who the enemy was. There are many more needless wars we can examine and count the loss of human life.

What if the Austrian Archduke was not assassinated? **What if** Hindenburg had not appointed Hitler as Chancellor in 1933? **What if** U.S. President Johnson had not reacted to the false report of an attack in the Gulf of Tonkin?

When there was a true danger of war - and with nuclear warheads - President John F. Kennedy did not respond with violence but with communication and caution. The international crisis referred to as the Cuban Missile Crisis was the result of American deployments of missiles in Italy and Turkey being matched by Soviet deployments of similar ballistic missiles in Cuba. Kennedy managed a "quarantine" against more missiles reaching Cuba rather than a "blockade" which would have been an act of war. Publicly, he negotiated with Khrushchev to have the offensive weapons removed from Cuba with an agreement that the United States would not invade Cuba again. Secretly, the U.S. agreed to dismantle the nuclear armed, medium range ballistic missiles deployed to Turkey against the Soviet Union.

Wars seem to happen because of one person's wounded pride or the perception they are backed into a corner. But we all must understand the human cost, and whenever possible, stop this carnage. With each war, we have learned that more

and more casualties are innocents. War does not happen simply because the weapons exist or because people wear uniforms. All of this must be initiated and directed. War is not inevitable. Often, war starts with the decision of one man (usually it is men) and a few others who agree to proceed or are afraid to disagree. This does not have to happen.

War is insanity. If it becomes nuclear, no one will ever win. We are harming the earth enough with carbon output without all the fallout from more wars, in resources, pollution, and human death. People go to war to obtain land and resources. I live on land stolen by white Europeans from the indigenous people of North America hundreds of years ago. Do we really need to do this in 2022? If the people on this planet are going to survive, we will have to continue to share water, food, shelter, and means of sustainability. Why waste all these resources on war?

We need not live by the Churchill refrain, "we shall fight on the seas and oceans, we shall fight with growing confidence and growing strength in the air, we shall defend our Island, whatever the cost may be, we shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills..." **Must we forever fight?**

What if we lived by this:

"You can no more win a war than you can win an earthquake." - Jeannette Rankin, first woman elected to House of Representatives, 1917

"Why is it so easy for us to be willing to pick up arms and risk our lives, and so difficult to put down those same weapons and still risk our lives - in the cause of life?" - Ramzi Kysia, Muslim-American peace activist

"Suppose they gave a war and nobody came?" - Charlotte Keys, mother of imprisoned son

"One is called to live nonviolently, even if the change one works for seems impossible. It may or may not be possible to turn the US around through nonviolent revolution. But one thing favors such an attempt: the total inability of violence to change anything for the better." - Daniel Berrigan, American Jesuit priest, anti-war activist, Christian pacifist, playwright, poet and author

"Should anyone confront you with violence, you should try and repel it with peacefulness, whereby he who is your enemy will become your friend." - Holy Qur'an

"Violence just hurts those who are already hurt. . . Instead of exposing the brutality of the oppressor, it justifies it." - Cesar Chavez, Labor leader and Civil rights activist

"We must not allow ourselves to become like the system we oppose. We cannot afford to use methods of which we will be ashamed when we look back, when we say, '...we shouldn't have done that.' We must remember, my friends, that we have been given a wonderful cause. The cause of freedom! And you and I must be those who will walk with heads held high. We will say, 'We used methods that can stand the harsh scrutiny of history.'" - Desmond Tutu, Anglican Archbishop, Anti-apartheid and human rights activist

"Put up again thy sword into its place: for all they that take the sword shall perish by the sword." Jesus of Nazareth

"Nonviolence is a powerful and just weapon . . . which cuts without wounding and ennoble the man who wields it. It is a sword that heals." - Martin

Luther King Jr., American Baptist minister and Civil rights leader

politician, military leader, and convicted war criminal

"There are many benefits to meeting violence with nonviolence, especially when the instrument of power facing you is the strongest army in the region, and is largely unaccountable. To meet violence with violence is to play to your opponent's strong point and your own weak point." - Hanan Ashrawi, Palestinian Minister of Higher Education and Research, legislator, activist, and scholar

We may be encouraged by the negotiations that have allowed grain to be shipped out of Ukraine, the world's fourth-largest grain exporter. People must continue to talk with Putin. More diplomats, friends, government officials, and Elders must engage with Russia to stop this horrible war. We must protect human life. It is sacred.

"In 1989, thirteen nations comprising 1,695,000 people experienced nonviolent revolutions that succeeded beyond anyone's wildest expectations If we add all the countries touched by major non-violent actions in our century (the Philippines, South Africa . . . the independence movement in India . . . the figure reaches 3,337,400,000, a staggering 65% of humanity! All this in the teeth of the assertion, endlessly repeated, that nonviolence doesn't work in the 'real' world." Walter Wink, Biblical scholar, theologian, and activist

"Why of course the people don't want war. Why should some poor slob on a farm want to risk his life in a war when the best he can get out of it is to come back to his farm in one piece? Naturally the common people don't want war; neither in Russia, nor in England, nor in America, nor in Germany. That is understood. But after all, it is the leaders of the country who determine policy, and it is always a simple matter to drag the people along, whether it is a democracy, or a fascist dictatorship, or a parliament, or a communist dictatorship. Voice or no voice the people can always be brought to the bidding of the leaders. That is easy. All you have to do is to tell them they are being attacked, and denounce the pacifists for lack of patriotism and exposing the country to danger. It works the same in any country." - Hermann Goering, German

THE VOICES WE NEED TO HEAR: AN INTERVIEW WITH JONATHAN GOLDEN

INTERVIEWED BY GABRIEL ERTSGAARD

Jonathan Golden is Director of the Center on Religion, Culture, and Conflict (CRCC) at Drew University. He also convenes Drew's program in Conflict Resolution and Leadership and runs the Drew Institute on Religion and Conflict Transformation. Golden has a Ph.D. in Anthropology from the University of Pennsylvania. He is author of two books and numerous scholarly articles, and is co-author of the forthcoming *Religion in the Classroom*. He is currently writing *Turning Point*, a book based on interviews with ex-combatants and victims of conflict that become peace activists.

GE: Could you tell us a little bit about your background, and how it led to the work you do now?

JG: My dream was to study the archeology of the ancient Middle East, so I spent many summers in Israel and Palestine, Jerusalem in particular. Living in Jerusalem was pivotal for me. I was making friends that were Jewish-Israeli. I was making friends that were Arabs, both Muslim and Christian Palestinians. It was really striking to me that I could be making friends on both sides of this divide, but they couldn't seem to engage with each other in a healthy, happy, compassionate way. That's what

really got me thinking a lot about this area of work, peacebuilding and interfaith understanding.

There was a very specific incident as well. I had just arrived for a nearly year-long stay in Jerusalem, when the bus I was riding daily, Bus No. 18, was bombed twice in one week. That was in 1996. So for my interest in getting into this field, there was a long arc, but there was also a moment that called me to peacebuilding.

GE: What can you tell us about the history and mission of the Center on Religion, Culture, and Conflict (CRCC) at Drew University?

JG: About fifteen years ago, with founding Director Chris Taylor, we had an opportunity to start this center here at Drew. A lot of wonderful allies in our area of New Jersey wanted to see an institution dedicated to peacebuilding and interfaith/intercultural understanding.

New Jersey is one of the most religiously diverse spots on the planet. But there's a key distinction between diversity and pluralism. Diversity is the fact of there being different people in the room, on campus, or in your community. Pluralism addresses what we do with that diversity. How do we get

people to engage and build something positive out of all that diversity?

I like to say that the CRCC operates on three different scales: (1) locally, being very specific to our campus community; (2) regionally, as a hub for interfaith activity in a place where there is great demand for it, and (3) globally, whether that means working with refugees from around the world or bringing students to other parts of the world.

For the first ten years of the center, the focus was on global work—look at the conflict over there. For the past five years, it's become increasingly clear to many people that we're facing serious conflicts here at home. We've shifted our focus so that more than ever we're working with communities here in the United States—in particular, New Jersey. Over the years, we've also gotten increasingly student oriented. Our mission statement is "to educate a next generation of leaders in interfaith and intercultural understanding and peace."

GE: What are some key things to understand in order to pursue successful peacebuilding work?

JG: At CRCC, we've gotten very involved in what we can learn from the Northern Ireland Peace Process. One of the most important lessons is that, yes, in 1999 you had an agreement that is memorialized on paper. But there was so much work leading up to that, and so much work following after that to make it hold. I think why so many peace agreements either fail or do not progress beyond a cold peace is because people don't really invest in the person-to-person peacebuilding that's such an important part of it.

Speaking more generally, "how do you not know that?" shouldn't be a rhetorical question that we only use when we're indignant. Rather, it's

something that we should be asking ourselves. If someone says something that's alienating to me, I ask myself, how do they not know that? Well, they grew up in a community where people who look like me, sound like me, or talk like me aren't really present. Of course, they're going to make mistakes, or just not know, or worse, be afraid to ask. So, we need intentional steps to build understanding. That doesn't just happen on its own.

Even intra-group conversations are really important, and those can be the toughest ones. "Who are you to speak for my pain, or for my community?" Sometimes we have people with similar last names and similar backgrounds, but with vastly different views. Ironically, the greatest risk to peacemakers is usually not coming from the other side. If we look at history—Michael Collins, Anwar Sadat, Yitzhak Rabin, and Mahatma Gandhi—all were murdered by people from their own identity group.

How do you take that bold step toward peace when members of your own community are likely to see it as a form of betrayal? I would turn it around and say that those who are most faithful to their community are the one's able to see the long game, the long arc—like Nelson Mandela. They don't just ask how are we going to respond to the attack on our community that happened today, but how do we build a world where our community doesn't get attacked?

GE: You're currently working on a book about ex-combatants and victims of conflict who become peace activists. What inspired you to take on this project? And what have you learned from their stories?

JG: The inspiration for this project comes out of our Institute on Religion and Conflict Transformation which brings young, emerging leaders from around

the world to campus for a summer training. A young man from Nigeria told us the story of how his own brother had been murdered by an extremist on the other side of the entho-religious divide. It's a back-and-forth conflict, with victims, perpetrators, and survivors on all sides. Then the young man said something that really pierced my soul, a statement from his mother: "I don't forgive the person who did this. I probably still hold hostility toward him and maybe even his group. Nonetheless, I don't want to see another mother experience what I had to experience." This sentiment was later echoed by other people that I interviewed. It's a refrain that I heard from people in Israel/Palestine, people in Northern Ireland, and even here in the United States. Yes, forgiveness can be part of the peacebuilding process, but it's not necessarily the focus.

What's common to all of the people in my research population, is that you might expect their experiences to further polarize them, to cause their hatred to grow, to drive them further into the teeth of conflict. But for the people I interviewed, it was the opposite. For example, two men who lost their daughters in the Israel/Palestine conflict—Rami Elhanan, an Israeli Jew, and Bassam Aramin, a Palestinian Muslim—were driven by their loss to want to reach out to the other side. Both of them landed in an organization called Parents Circle-Families Forum (PCFF) which is for Israeli and Palestinian families who have experienced such tragedies. They have since become the best of friends and are well known in the field.

Or take the example of Arno Michaelis, who was an angry, violent young man involved with the neo-Nazi movement in the United States. He had a set of experiences that caused him to completely turn his world around. He has since allied himself with Pardeep Singh Kaleka, whose father was killed by a

member of the white supremacist organization Arno had helped co-found many years prior.

GE: What can outside supporters or peacemakers learn from the stories of ex-combatants and victims of conflict?

JG: The people who are living and breathing a conflict and suffering from it on a daily basis are the ones crying out for compassion, crying out for some form of reconciliation. People outside don't really get that. They'll say, just give more money to this or that cause. Just keep pushing your team to fight harder, because that's what's going to solve this. People outside the region just think that either arming your side or boycotting the other side is going to bring the solution. Whereas I'm trying to amplify the voices of these people who have suffered the most.

Even the perpetrators, the extremists, the people who've committed acts of violence—in some ways, they're victims as well. In most cases, they're someone who was radicalized or even brainwashed as a young man, had a gun put in their hands. So they were also initially victims, and then spent many years in prison. People who have felt the conflict first hand are begging people to come together and find a way to build peace. I think people need to hear these voices more than some of the other voices that tend to be louder.

“TAKE THESE SEEDS AND PUT THEM IN YOUR POCKETS” UNARMED UKRAINIAN RESISTANCE TO RUSSIAN INVASION

KELLY RAE KRAEMER

On a sunny morning in May 2022, a radio story caught my attention. Col. Roman Kostenko, veteran military defender of Donbas and current member of the Rada (Ukrainian parliament), his family home now stripped of precious belongings and occupied by Russian soldiers, had formed a military unit in Ukraine’s Kherson region. “Explosions are like music to me,” Kostenko told the reporter. He makes a hobby of blowing things up. “In wartime,” he added, “I blow up Russian soldiers.” His office was filled with weapons, but he wanted bigger and better ones. A typical war story, I thought, portraying the noble hero risking his life to save his country, with no concern for the people killed by his explosions. Enemy lives don’t matter.

But there’s a different kind of story emerging from this conflict as well. On the first day of the invasion, a Ukrainian woman angrily approached a heavily armed Russian soldier. Scolding him for being an occupier, she offered him a handful of sunflower seeds, saying “Take these seeds and put them in your pockets so at least sunflowers will grow when you all lie down here.” With this symbolic action

she challenged his presence in her country, while also acknowledging his humanity. She predicted his death in the struggle, but did not attempt to kill him. As he tried to get her to stay and talk to him, she walked away, and he let her go. She had verbally disarmed him; the rifle he carried was rendered useless by a handful of seeds. This was an act of symbolic nonviolent intervention.

Ukraine has never had a plan for all-out nonviolent civilian-based defense, nor has it been formally training its citizens to engage in unarmed struggle. No one could argue that the country was prepared to defend itself entirely without weapons. Nonetheless, Ukraine has been employing methods of nonviolent direct action alongside military defense throughout the invasion. As peace researchers and activists, we should be studying this conflict to learn more about the power of mass unarmed action in response to military invasion. Three factors have led me to this conclusion. First, the Ukrainian people have a great deal of prior experience with successful nonviolent action. Second, unarmed tactics are already being used in

both Ukraine and Russia to resist this war. Third, use of these methods is being documented in both professional and social media as it happens.

As I consider recent events, the anonymous woman's gift of sunflower seeds has become a metaphor for me. Sunflowers are a prolific crop in Ukraine, but as the national flower, their significance transcends mere economics. Since 1996, when government officials from Ukraine, the United States, and Russia planted sunflowers together at a Ukrainian missile base, the bright yellow blossoms have been a symbol of peace. As a peace researcher, I've started looking for the flowers now sprouting from the seeds of nonviolent action planted deep and wide throughout the last 30 years of Ukrainian resistance to both internal and external tyrannies.

From the start of the invasion, I have been collecting stories about civil resistance tactics being used in the current war. While such tales may surprise the general public, those of us who study nonviolence expected to see at least an occasional report of mass unarmed resistance against the Russian invaders. After all, the fall of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in 1991, the Orange Revolution of 2004-5, and the 2013-14 Euromaidan protests each gave ordinary Ukrainians practical training and experience with the power of civil resistance, as they successfully used unarmed tactics against highly-armed police and military forces.

During the Gorbachev era, the Ukrainian Student Union led a "Revolution on Granite" against the then Soviet Republic, originating the Maidan (Independence) Square tradition of mass protest via occupation. Other actions included a 300,000 strong human chain strung between L'viv and Kyiv, a draft resistance movement, and a 16-day hunger

strike that led to the resignation of Prime Minister Vitaly Masol.

Mass demonstrations, along with sit-ins, civil disobedience actions, and strikes, reappeared in 2004 as central tools in the Orange Revolution, a successful unarmed effort to annul a corruption-marred election and launch a revote. Fighting a regime that had murdered and decapitated journalist Georgi Gongadze and poisoned presidential candidate Viktor Yushchenko, the Ukrainian opposition used mass nonviolent action to ensure a democratic process. 500,000 activists dressed in orange paraded past the parliament building in Kyiv, Yushchenko swore a symbolic "oath of office", and a national strike was declared. With seas of orange-clad demonstrators again occupying Maidan Square and appearing nightly on world news programs, we all got to watch this successful civil resistance movement unfold.

Ukrainians returned to a strategy of unarmed action in 2013-14 for the Euromaidan protests. This uprising began with students using civil resistance tactics, including strikes and another mass occupation of Maidan Square. The government cracked down, but video footage of police violently dispersing the students caused this brutal attempt at repression to backfire, as Ukrainians by the thousands took to the streets to protest. Scholars debate whether these mass nonviolent actions or the violent clashes of the Revolution of Dignity that followed were most responsible for President Yanukovich fleeing to exile in Russia, but flee he did. In any case, no one can deny that the Euromaidan added a great deal of experience with nonviolent action to the tactical repertoire of ordinary Ukrainian citizens.

As we have seen, this accumulated experience bore fruit in February 2022, when alternative media stories of unarmed individuals and mass resistance

began to appear in the global press. On February 24, we learned about the woman with the sunflower seeds. Then, on February 28, following instructions from national transportation authorities, Ukrainian citizens began removing road signs in an effort to slow the advance of Russian tanks and troops into their territory. Other signs were defaced with the newly popularized slogan: "Russian warship, go fuck yourself!" Such stories of heroic, often humorous, and unarmed resistance emerged simultaneously with tales of armed revolt against one of the most powerful military forces on the planet.

One remarkable report tells how authorities in the village of Demydiv permitted the opening of a nearby dam, which flooded their town, along with all roads in the surrounding area. This tactic prevented Russian tanks from advancing toward Kyiv. Residents cleaning out their waterlogged homes told *The New York Times* they were quite proud of what they'd done to defend their capital, despite its obvious personal costs. Such sabotaging of infrastructure has become a common tactic of national defense, with more than 300 bridges around their country destroyed by Ukrainians since the start of the invasion.

Ukrainian resistance has also received nonviolent support from allies in Russia and around the world. As soldiers opposed to the war began going AWOL, the Rada (Ukrainian parliament) offered monetary rewards to Russian defectors. Young men inside Russia began fleeing the country to avoid conscription in a war they didn't support, and 115 members of the Rosgvardia, also known as Putin's Private Army, lost their jobs for refusing to participate in the war. Belorussian railroad workers prevented shipments of tanks and other military equipment to the invading troops. Dockworkers at ports around the world (Swedish, British, Dutch, and

U.S. Americans among them) refused to handle Russian cargo. Hackers substituted anti-war for Victory Day messages on Russian television. Razom for Ukraine in New York organized a human chain across the Brooklyn Bridge. Russian celebrities began denouncing Putin's war, while ordinary Russians began writing "нет войны" (No War) on circulating banknotes.

As of this writing, we've no way of knowing if Russia will succeed in its attempt at conquest or the Ukraine army will manage to repel the invaders. However, should Russia prevail, I would not be at all surprised to see full-scale unarmed civilian resistance to Russian occupation. Asked in 2015 about how they would want their country to respond to an armed invasion or occupation, 29% of Ukrainians chose nonviolent resistance as their preferred option; just 24% chose military defense. Passionate national feeling, a strong commitment to self-determination, and the already successful use of nonviolent tactics against the Russian army in specific instances suggest that Ukrainians would willingly engage in unarmed non-cooperation with an occupying force.

Like the sunflower, whose blossom follows the sun from dawn to dusk, Ukrainians appear to be singularly focused on maintaining control of their independence, despite the hardship and loss this entails. They've demonstrated a courage that seems to grow stronger under attack, even when they are unarmed. Given these conditions, should military victory not come their way, full-scale civilian non-cooperation with a Russian attempt to rule them would not be at all surprising. In any case, win or lose, ordinary Ukrainians are planting seeds that can be used for the future development of robust unarmed civilian-based defense for their country and for the world. We who study and practice

nonviolence should collect and nurture these seeds as we wait for flowers to emerge.

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WHILE CHILDREN DIE

MARIANA HASIAK

All the thoughts have been thought.
All the words have been said.
Yet not all wars have been stopped.
It makes me sad and so mad.

I go all crazy. I don't perceive.
I have to stay awake; I think.
I see the deaths on my small screen
But people see their loved ones, dead.

With lives at stake
I don't go praying.
I go to sleep. And sleep a lot.
I don't believe in any magic. In savers
Coming from abroad.

I sleep and dream a lot of sadness
And then my anger solidifies.
I can't believe in all this madness!
And when I believe I start to cry.

I live my life. I work online.
I read some poems. I eat. Drink coffee.
I live my life. When people die.
When people die, I do my laundry.

I might be sad and bad and angry
I might post pictures here online
I might start crying or even smile
I live my life...

While children die

PICTURES OF PEACE IN TIMES OF WAR

MAUREEN FLAHERTY, MARIANA HASIAK, NINA HAYDUK,
LILIYA KLOS, SOFIYA STAVKOVA

What happens to pictures of peace during armed conflict? This story is a kind of retrospective, a checking in, and a visioning, a looking forward. What propels us through darkness? Maybe, as poet, songwriter Leonard Cohen (1992, v.2) says, it is “the cracks, the cracks in everything” through which the light comes in.

A bit of Ukraine's history

The territory of Ukraine was divided and occupied by series of regimes over the centuries (Flaherty, 2012). While some Ukrainians agitated for independence before and during Soviet times, others thought that would never happen, hoping instead for a different relationship with the Soviet Union (M. P. Flaherty 2016). The Independence granted Ukraine near the end of 1991 came as a surprise for many, more as a result of the chaotic dissolution of the Soviet Union than careful negotiations.

In the painful growth years that followed, Ukraine struggled towards true democracy. Citizens worked, however, to survive, most expressing a deep desire for a truly independent Ukraine, connected to a better, more secure and supported standard of life. Sometimes this desire was expressed in mass protest like the 2004 Orange Revolution or the Revolution of Dignity also centred in Kyiv in 2014. Russia's annexation of

Crimea and a Russian-backed takeover of sections of the eastern-bordered Donbass region of Ukraine also marked this period. Had Russia ever fully accepted Ukraine's independence?

In fall 2021, Russian troops numbers were mounting on the borders, and Vladimir Putin was voicing openly about his dream to “re-unite” the territories he saw as disjointed fragments of his Soviet empire. On February 24, 2022 Ukraine awoke to what has become a full scale war by Russia against Ukraine.

History of friends and collaborators

Liliya, Nina, and Sofiya were born and raised in Soviet Ukraine. Mariana was born in Ukraine following Independence. Maureen, from settler folk during the cold war in Canada was introduced to Ukraine on her first trip across the ocean in 1999 as part of a Canadian International Development Agency project, Reforming Social Services: Canada-Ukraine. This collaborative project founded the Department of Sociology and Social Work at L'viv Polytechnic National University (DSSW) and united all of us. Our relationships have grown and deepened over the years as we share research, teaching, and friendship.

Ukrainian colleagues supported Maureen's PhD research in Peace and Conflict Studies (PACS) in Ukraine, made possible only with Sofiya's skillful

interpretive work. Together, we completed four studies looking at individual life stories of people across the country, how people cope with hardship, and their pictures of peace (Flaherty, 2012; Flaherty & Stavkova, 2012; Flaherty, 2014; Flaherty 2017). The final study, post-2014, included internally displaced young people (IDP) and their age mates already living in L'viv. Across studies, participants from different landscapes in Ukraine shared a vision for Ukraine united in peace. While many desired Ukraine's membership in the European Union, all envisioned a country with reliable government and infrastructure, a stable secure place where all can work, where all languages can be safely spoken, and where mothers can sing lullabies in whatever language they choose. Many voiced the importance of conscientiously combining and acknowledging all disparate histories of a Ukraine divided by different oppressors, including the Soviet Union. Only on this foundation could Ukraine fully bloom.

Colleagues at LPNU's DSSW teach mediation and conflict resolution along with more standard social work courses, and the attached International Integration Centre (IIC) focuses strongly on accessible education and social inclusion of former military personnel and families. Our joint research shares those foci, also considering mental health in all these spheres in both Canada and Ukraine—peacebuilding work. In fall of 2021, we were all together again in L'viv focused on teaching and researching during COVID 19. Still, at the end of November people began openly voicing concern about Russian troops amassing at the border, fearful that full scale military aggression could commence after the Winter Olympics. People in Ukraine are very familiar with strife, conflict. However, few could imagine what is happening now.

February 2022 and following – the now times and where we are

L'viv oblast is about 70 km from the Polish border. At least 6.5 million people have been displaced within Ukraine, fleeing home for their lives. Even those leaving the country often flow through L'viv on their way (Filo and Parrish 2022). Those who leave, for whatever reason, carry the trauma and vigilance that comes with leaving close ones behind. Whether at physical worksites or working remotely, people forge ahead, fighting for their lives and the life of Ukraine the country. War impacts people differentially as people are called and able to serve in different ways according to age, gender, and resources (personal and communal) as well as physical/geographical location. Some men and women are active military people, while others in brigades guard places that should not be at risk but need protection: schools, hospitals, nursing homes. In addition to regular work, all toil to support refugees and other citizens through different means: providing basic needs, transportation, counselling, teaching children, caring for animals, fundraising. It is hard to do all this when sirens sound multiple times a day and places nearby are shelled and destroyed. It is also hard not to feel guilty because some of us are at least temporarily safer than others.

Pictures of peace in times of war

Some say peace can come about by bringing people together against a common enemy (Volkan 1994). Others say peace must be a common goal and process (Lederach 1997), people working together, with hope (Flaherty, 2012). Our research has shown Ukrainians across the country share much in a vision for peace. We are brought together to find and re-focus that common vision, seeing it through the cracks in despair.

It is hard to take a philosophical or theoretical stance when air sirens must be heeded multiple times a day. War makes a person become real, awaken, and understand what is truly important to them. On February 24, 2022, all other problems disappeared, and people realized how well they had been living. Many Ukrainians, raised in both Ukrainian and Russian cultures, now feel betrayed, physically realizing the words of the Ukrainian National anthem, "We will lay down our souls and bodies for our freedom." People ask what Russians are fighting for and with whom, with such cruelty and unfathomable violence towards civilians of all ages. Who do they see as the enemy?

Seventy years of the 300-year struggle for Ukrainian independence was a little more subdued, through a time complicated by USSR hypnosis trying to impose a unified identity across Soviets. During that time, some Ukrainians lost sight and memory of their own history because it was implied out of existence. With the declaration of Ukraine's independence, what did it mean to be Ukrainian? Currently, Ukrainians also ask themselves what they are fighting for.

As women who would like to consider ourselves pacifists, it has become more about being warriors, though not at the front. Everything is a battlefield when one's country is under attack. With these threats across the country, knowing at different levels that unimaginable atrocities on fellow Ukrainians are being committed, everyday life, work, sunrises are battles. To bring back peace, Ukrainians must first fight merely to survive. One must be alive to continue to work, to go on, to live. Even one's mind has been occupied by the aggressor, and a fight must ensue to reclaim it, to refocus. The world has become a battlefield.

How do people survive and carry on? In the first days while people fled for their lives, citizens in L'viv and other places rallied to assist refugees while scrambling to help those fighting and living in the east. This work continues along with basic survival work, and the jobs, the employment that must be done to carry on. Why carry on? Because we share a vision of peace.

Putting one foot in front of another, now, and after war, after victory, Ukrainians will work together to build a peaceful life based on Ukrainian democratic values. We will love, respect, appreciate life without evil and violence, rebuild cities and adopt all children with parents taken by war. As Peggy Chinn suggests, we must remind ourselves that no helpful action is too small for the people power needed to build peace together (Chinn 2013). There is strange comfort knowing conflict is not new and conflicts can be transformed (Ury 1999) when people work together. In those moments and hours, we can muster these thoughts, they, along with the love for our dear ones are what sustain us. We hope for them, for their future. These thoughts bring glimmers of light in better hours.

This war will not be forgotten. The memory will be passed on to children and to their children's children, added to our shared history. Only by remembering even these darkest times can peace be protected and strengthened.

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GROUP BIAS, HISTORY, AND POSSIBILITY

MICHAEL GEORGE

War distorts and does violence to most of our best attempts to create and maintain healthy and functional social relationships, even including religious relationships. In the case of Ukraine, divisions in the Orthodox church in that country that pre-date the current conflict indicate that autonomy, a central aspect in Orthodox theology and authority, is a contentious issue with differing interpretations depending on one's thoughts about politics, nationalism and religion. As all of these factors are strongly affective, and linked to identity in fundamental ways, it is not so surprising that disagreement exists. From a more general perspective, these sets of problems indicate an aspect of social relationality that illuminates a fundamental tension in human communities, even in the absence of war. That tension has to do with the necessity of belonging to a group, or groups, that provide the support and security we require to exist and thrive, something that is essential to human survival we are told by evolutionary thinkers, and that underlies a list of virtues (such as loyalty, responsibility, empathy, trust, and the like), that we all endorse, as communal bonds are foundational for all human activities, but which can become hugely problematic when the group(s)' values become exclusive, ideological, or absolute.

The nature of this problem, or more accurately, sets of problems, is something called "group bias".[i] In essence, group bias is some form of interference

with the development of practical common sense, but unlike individual bias (which has the same basis, i.e., interference with the development of practical common sense), group bias is supported by intersubjective feeling provided by the group. So, how does something which is essential for human existence, growth and stability, namely membership in a group, become the source of so many practical problems and series of historical distortions? To some extent, we are all participants in different forms of group bias, inasmuch as we live in historically conditioned contexts and are all members of different social groups. At which points, and under what sorts of conditions, do these essentially important relationships become detrimental to the development of the members of the group, and to the larger sets of social relationships that the group participates in? Clearly, it would be impossible to consider all possible situations and factors that affect whether or not the choices that are made are made in order to promote the general public good and welfare, or the choices are made in order to promote the interests of the group alone, but distortions of ideas, or incomplete ideas become clear when such choices are implemented. The current war now being waged in Ukraine is an extreme example of such a distorted set of choices being put into motion.

Group bias becomes problematic to the extent that the ideas that are promoted, and the actions that

are chosen cease being directed by the desire to understand a given situation and then to act to improve the general social conditions and instead become occasions that promote the vested interests of the particular group without consideration of the rest of the social order. This dilemma, a constant feature of human life, seems to be exacerbated in the current global political/economic climate where self- and vested interests are often perceived as unquestioned values and where achieving and maintaining power and wealth are taken for granted as legitimate enterprises. However, it would not be so difficult to make the same claim for the larger extent of human history, particularly as the domination and subordination of others seems to be an inherent element of how humans organize and control the social polity. This reality is a constant challenge to any and all who might propose moral or religious grounds as a sufficient counter-measure that might serve to rectify or mitigate the negative tendencies created by different forms of group bias. Despite the fact that religious groups are also subject to their own forms of group bias with accompanying distortions, there is an interesting argument presented by the Canadian philosopher, Charles Taylor, about the larger role of religion in the social order in the current times despite the overall decline in the social and political significance of religion in Western society.[i] In the prize-winning book, Taylor explores some of the major features and implications of changes that led Western Society from a comprehensive theological sensibility that informed all aspects of culture and society, including power and authority, in the year 1500 to become a mainly secularized social order in the year 2000 (the years are not significant in themselves but represent boundaries of the time frame he examined) where religion, where it still exists is primarily a matter of personal choice, and has little or no influence on decisions of state or

economy. In his concluding remarks, he makes the case that religion remains a significant (if diminished) part of Western Society, if only because it provides a public space for the possibility of transcendence.[ii] While Taylor's point addresses the continuing role of Christianity albeit as a reduced presence, I am interested in considering expanding the notion of transcendence as the ground of possibility as such, inasmuch as transcendence indicates for me the recognition that humans are never only victims of circumstance, but are always capable of being more than the sum of the situations that they find themselves in. In considering the social polity, and the lack of any social spaces where people are encouraged to publicly engage in critical discussion and reflection about the general state of their lives, their communities, their countries, and their planet, religion still offers a public space where the agendas of our social/political/economic projects are not determinative, or even normative (at least, theoretically speaking). The lack of social spaces where social engagement around issues and questions of meaning, purpose and identity might take place indicates the low priority that our societies place on such endeavours, which in turn raises questions about how our lives are supposed to be adequately supported and sustained by our active participation in consuming goods and services. While meeting material needs is certainly a requirement of any functional social order, in a civilized society people might expect that meaning and purpose might also have a significant social value. In the absence of public spaces where such considerations would be promoted, encouraged, and sustained, and recognized as essential elements in the constitution and maintenance of psychic and mental well being, we should not be surprised when the cumulative effects of group bias continue to negatively affect the health and viability of the larger social order. I believe that Taylor's point about

religion providing a necessary public space for transcendence is an important observation that recognizes that a social order that focusses exclusively and reductively on economic interests is neither healthy nor helpful for human beings.

The larger implications of the unrecognized instances of group bias seem to include our unwillingness or inability to recognize that our current historical reality is not so much a fixed and necessary condition but rather the results of bad choices and decisions that have collectively led to the point that our general welfare and the fate of our planet are inextricably linked and threatened. The lack of historical consciousness that seems endemic in North America is another dimension of these related problems. While there are no straightforward means to change this lack of historical awareness, that we are of history, in history, and that we make history, in the absence of historical consciousness we lack the skills and sense to reject all those actions that do not promote the well being of all people. Group bias, something we all share and participate in, can provide moments where we can recognize our own culpability in promoting our own interests at the expense of others. The condition is ubiquitous, but not a necessary truth.

Perhaps in considering Taylor's claim for the necessity of maintaining a public space for transcendence, whether that be contemplative or critically reflective and open to possibility, the religious impulse that is generic to humans might be encouraged without repeating some of the more obvious problems that have accompanied the establishment of religions, and their respective institutions. As group bias grows out of legitimate and necessary social bonds and relationships and becomes a source of distortion and negation, we might also begin to reflect on how our own

balancing necessary goods and relationships with the possibility of distorting our values or disregarding others involves us all in some form of continuous critical self-reflection, and that these actions have social and political implications and effects. At a certain point, all of us are going to have to recognize that our individual well being is directly dependent on the well being of all.

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UKRAINE: IS THERE A NONVIOLENT SOLUTION?

MICHAEL NAGLER

For Yulia and Yelena

When the horrific war on Ukraine broke out, six months ago now, many of us in the field of peace and nonviolence thought immediately of “Prague Spring.” In the spring of 1968, the Czech leader, Alexander Dubček, launched a reform called “socialism with a human face.” This was anathema to the Soviets, who shortly launched a three-pronged attack on Czechoslovakia from the other Warsaw Pact nations. The invasion, which was scheduled to overrun the country in four days, actually took eight months because the Czechs mounted a nonviolent defense: switching road signs around, refusing orders, fraternizing with Russian and other soldiers, etc. Prague Spring soon became one of the iconic episodes in the modern history of nonviolence. The parallels to Ukraine now are clear.

Nonviolent resistance is occurring in Ukraine. Courageous women have stood in the path of oncoming tanks, and here and there we hear of more organized and equally courageous episodes. This is, as always, duly ignored by the mainstream media due, I think, to our cultural blindness toward anything so out-of-paradigm as nonviolence. It has not prevailed in Ukraine, partly because of that ignorance both inside and outside the country; international support has historically been a major factor in the success of large-scale nonviolent campaigns.

The question remains for all of us, what can we do now?

If we have any influence on policy decisions, which we by and large do not, we can urge policymakers not to strengthen NATO but to strengthen the budding nonviolent resistance within Ukraine. Does this mean we should call on Ukrainians not to fight back with conventional weapons? This is a gray area; but even Gandhi allowed that he’d be willing to call the Polish resistance to the Nazi invasion of 1939 “almost nonviolence,” because the Poles knew they would be “crushed to atoms” but chose a heroic, if doomed resistance to meek submission. Meek submission would be cowardice, and for Gandhi nothing could be more antithetical to nonviolence than cowardice. He also said, clarifying this dilemma further, that if a “madman with a sword” were to be raging abroad, one who “dispatched the lunatic” would be doing himself, the community, and even the “lunatic” a favor (as death is preferable to doing such damage to your soul as a violent rampage). Would there be nonviolent options even then? I would say yes, if some members of the community, possibly even one, would have the courage and the training (there we are again) to tackle extreme cases of what we roughly call “bystander intervention” today. The next best, and more realistic option would be to use force; the minimum necessary, which in such an advanced case might well be the maximum.

But there's an important difference between the nonviolent person's use of force, which s/he regrets, and anyone else's use of what might seem to an outside observer as the very same force, and it's not just that the latter might feel exultant where the former regretful. Namely, the nonviolent person would ask, and get her or his community to ask, 'What happened here? How did we let people fall so low?' And today of course we'd ask, 'and get their hands on deadly weapons?' Gandhi's sword now metastasized into an AR 15.

The major lesson we should take away from the war on Ukraine, then is not to wait until outright violence breaks out if you can possibly intervene earlier. Looking at the world as a whole, we are nowhere near the unpreparedness of the Czechs in 1968. Gandhi has happened. King has happened. Nonviolence education and training are slowly happening. As George Lakey recently pointed out, "What strikes me as extraordinary about these and other successful cases (of nonviolence deployed against seemingly impossible odds) is that the nonviolent combatants engaged in their struggle without the benefit of training. What army commander would order troops into combat without training them first?" And Paul Chappell, himself an Iraq veteran and now Director of the Peace Literacy Institute, says in the Metta Center's film, "The Third Harmony," "Most activists have no training in how to wage peace. Most people have no training on how to wage peace. Most people are not taught basic peace skills. And what if people were as well-trained in waging peace as soldiers are in waging war?"

What if, indeed? But that would require rubbing our eyes as a culture and waking up from the cultural blindness mentioned earlier. Before that happens, before humanity reaches that Edenic state, those of us who work for peace in our respective ways

(pioneers of that state, if you will), can certainly get trained in "basic peace skills" if we aren't already. And yet, this would leave the rest of the world in that aforementioned blindness, and we should also be doing whatever we can about that much broader and more fundamental problem. We should do what readers of this journal do, but "outside the choir," and on a broader scale: teach peace science, its theory, its history, its practicality. Its stark contrast to the more and more widespread phenomenon among veterans and active-duty military: PTSD. In all the literature on this subject one searches in vain for the glaringly obvious lesson it's trying to tell us: we are not made to make war. We are not violent by the core of our nature, however violent we may have become in our attitudes and behavior by our cultural conditioning.

This brings us to an important element not often well represented even in peace literature: Who are we? Of course, this is a forbiddingly profound subject and most of us are not used to thinking about even a deep question like peace at such a fundamental level. Yet here is one of the really significant advances we as a species have made even since 1968: we have by and large seen our way past the 'exciting' Freudian vision of human nature as innately aggressive (against others) that prevailed in the 1970's. Scientists have lead the way out of this dark wood just as they played an unfortunate role getting us into it. See the groundbreaking work of ethologist and primatologist Frans de Waal (also cited in "The Third Harmony"), his countryman Rutger Bregman, and before them our own anthropologist Ashley Montagu, among others.

We in the West have been slow to recognize the significance of this shift not only because of the culture endlessly propagated by the mass media but because, as Norman Cousins often pointed out, we do not really have an agreed-on vision of human

nature in general what do we actually consist of as human beings. Here Gandhi had a great advantage. He inherited the millennia-old model of the human person as body, mind, and spirit. This is not, so far, very controversial. But his culture also saw these components in a configuration of what atomic scientist Amit Goswami has called "Downward Causality." In other words, we are primarily consciousness, or spirit: consciousness shapes mind (the individual's consciousness, on its various levels) and mind deeply influences matter, or body. Now, the quality of consciousness is that it has no boundaries in spacetime. In other words, as physician/writer Larry Dossey points out, insofar as we are consciousness we are one.

In short: as bodies we are quite separate; as minds we can widely interact, and as consciousness we are one.

Now, it is not essential for every peace activist to buy into or even understand this inspiring vision. Fortunately! But to be familiar with it, to understand it, and be at least able to explain it, with the science behind it, would be immensely helpful for scholars in this still-young field.

Gandhi never condemned people for taking to the sword for legitimate reasons, i.e. to defend one's honor. But he always told them, "I can show you a better way." This is what we should share with Ukrainians today and with any people in the path of wide-scale violence: 'defend yourself as best you can, but we can now show you a better way. If the tragedy in Ukraine shows us this we will at least have taken something from it for a safer future.

REVIEW OF *CIVIL RESISTANCE: WHAT EVERYONE NEEDS TO KNOW*

RON PAGNUCCO

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Erica Chenoweth. *Civil Resistance: What Everyone Needs to Know*. Erica Chenoweth. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2021, paper, 334 pp., ISBN: 9780190244408.

Erica Chenoweth has written an excellent book on civil resistance, a term invented by Mahatma Gandhi over 100 years ago. (p. 1), Chenoweth defines civil resistance as “a form of collective action that seeks to affect the political, social, or economic status quo without using violence or the threat of violence against people to do so” (p.1). The Russian invasion of Ukraine has stirred interest in civil resistance as it has raised moral and practical issues regarding the use of violence to resist the invasion. As Thomas Reese has noted (2022), pacifists and some just war advocates applying Just War criteria, myself included, have concluded that civil/nonviolent resistance to the Russians needs to be seriously considered as a realistic, ethical option. However, the effectiveness of civil resistance, especially against a violent and highly repressive autocrat such as Putin, is not well-known or understood. This book by Chenoweth goes a

long way to remedying that problem. The extensive empirical research on civil resistance, including the analysis of numerous cases in history of successful and unsuccessful civil resistance, warrants serious study and consideration rather than the superficial dismissal of civil resistance one sometimes encounters along with the naïve assumption of the great effectiveness of violence. Civil resistance is not the province of pacifists, though many pacifists support it. In fact, as Chenoweth and others have noted, most people who have engaged in civil resistance use it for pragmatic reasons, because they believe it can be effective, not because it is a philosophical or religious commitment for them (p. 68). Indeed, I am a Just War advocate and believe violence can be justified/legitimate in some cases—just as the use of nonviolence may sometimes be unethical/illegitimate (see pp. 74-76). However, because I use Just War criteria and I am aware of the possibilities of the successful use of civil resistance, as we saw in the nonviolent revolutions of Eastern Europe in 1989-1991 (Roberts, 1991) and of the possibilities of violence, and the possibility of fewer lives lost in civil rather than military resistance, I am willing to advocate civil resistance in various cases, including the current situation in Ukraine (see Hunter, 2022; Reese, 2022; Roberts, 1991; Sharp, 1990).

Erica Chenoweth, a political scientist, developed her interest in civil resistance over time – as she wrote: “in June 2006, I stumbled into the study of nonviolent resistance as a skeptic. Like many others in my field of international relations, I was concerned primarily with questions about why people pursue political violence...and how to contain it. Most of us start from the assumption that people turn to violence because it works” (p. ix). Then Chenoweth attended a workshop by the International Center on Nonviolent Conflict (ICNC) that explored the theory and practice—various case studies – of civil resistance. There are cases of successful civil resistance that many of us know, such as Gandhi in India; the Civil Rights Movement in the US; Solidarity in Poland; the People Power Movement in the Philippines; and Optor in Serbia, among others -- successes in various types of regimes, but Chenoweth, like many others, responded to such cases with skepticism, assuming these were probably exceptional cases. At the workshop she met a fellow social scientist and future collaborator, Maria Stephan, who proposed that Chenoweth do some research to test her skepticism. She and Stephan then “teamed up to design a study that could assess—systematically and empirically – the relative success of nonviolent and violent mass movements, as well as the underlying reasons for these successes.” They did what serious empirical researchers often do to study the patterns of social and political phenomena – they put together a data set, drawing from thousands of source materials, with feedback and evaluations by numerous scholars. They focused on cases of “nonviolent mass mobilization featuring at least one thousand observed participants seeking maximalist (country level) goals [such as the overthrow of a government or territorial independence, (see p.13] from 1900 to 2006 [now updated to 2019]. We did not count smaller campaigns, or reform movements” (p. xx). It took them two years to put

the data set together, but it was well worth it – after analyzing those data, in 2011 they published their results in their highly acclaimed book, *Why Civil Resistance Works*, which received the prestigious Woodrow Wilson Prize of the American Political Science Association. Chenoweth and Stephan found that “[m]ore than half of the campaigns that relied primarily on nonviolent resistance succeeded, whereas only about a quarter of the violent ones did” (p. xx). The findings from the updated data set are discussed below. Chenoweth, and Chenoweth and Stephan, have written many other essays on civil resistance listed in the excellent References section of *Civil Resistance*, and well worth reading. Indeed, one is struck by looking at the References how broad and interdisciplinary Chenoweth’s reading is: she brings together research on social movements, democratic transitions, and nonviolence studies – areas of research that need even more integration and cross-fertilization, though Chenoweth does a good job.

Structure and Content of the Book

Civil Resistance is a very good, readable introductory overview and reference book on civil resistance, organized in a comprehensive question and answer format, posing questions commonly asked by average people, practitioners and scholars. The question and answer format may lead some to think this is not serious compendium of scholarship – it very much is so, and Chenoweth noted that the book is the first synthesis of her thought on civil resistance. The arrangement of chapter topics allows one to zoom in on the areas of special interest to them. After the introductory chapter, Chapter 1, *The Basics*, provides the framework for thinking about civil resistance. Chapter 2 is on *How Civil Resistance Works* and gives a very good accounting of the research on the topic. Chapter 3 looks at *Civil Resistance and Violence* within the

Movement, exploring such questions as can a violent movement transform into a nonviolent one and succeed, and how does a violent radical flank affect nonviolent campaigns? Chapter 4 is on Civil Resistance and Violence against the Movement, discussing such important and timely issues as civil resistance against brutal tyrants and how civil resistance campaigns deal with violent repression. Chapter 5, the last one, is on The Future of Civil Resistance; importantly, it includes a look at successful and unsuccessful revolutionary violent and nonviolent campaigns (as defined earlier in this review) using the updated data set with cases from 1900 to 2019; overall, as indicated earlier, an average of 50% of all nonviolent campaigns succeeded during this period, whereas only 26% of all the violent campaigns succeeded. However, the success rates for both violent and nonviolent campaigns have declined in the past 10 years. We see that less than 34% of the nonviolent campaigns were successful in this period, while only 9% of the violent campaigns were successful. An interesting finding in many ways: the overall decline of success in general, but yet nonviolent campaigns actually improved their relative success rate compared with violent campaigns (pp. 226-227). Chenoweth devotes much attention in this chapter to trying to explain these findings and their significance for the future. The book closes with an Appendix listing all the revolutionary violent and nonviolent campaigns from 1900 to 2019 in the study. One might object to a couple of descriptions of these cases, but I found very little with which to disagree.

Readers of the book probably will focus on various and different topics, and the book is structured to accommodate that. Here I would like to highlight just a few things in the book.

Chenoweth begins with a look at two theories of social and political change, which I contend is

essential to consider. The first theory, which Chenoweth calls the “control” theory, assumes that a ruling power is monolithic and entrenched in an almost autonomous political elite, and that only violence can dislodge the monolithic, embedded elite power. But, Chenoweth writes, control theory forgets that rulers “must be supported by a pyramid of people” (p. 30), and need the cooperation of various people in order to rule. What Chenoweth calls control theory, Robert Helvy, drawing from Gene Sharp, calls the “Monolithic Model of Power,” which assumes that “All power resides at the top; Structure is unchanging; People have no input; People must obey; People [are] dependent on [the] ruler” (Helvy, 2004, p. 167). Chenoweth calls the second theory the “legitimacy approach” (p. 30), which is the theory underlying civil resistance. Chenoweth writes that this approach has three basic assumptions: 1. Legitimacy: “political power comes from the ability to get other people to cooperate and obey authority voluntarily” (p.31). 2. “no oppressive system is monolithic...every oppressive system leans on the cooperation and the acquiescence of the people involved” (p. 31). Here Chenoweth refers to a concept commonly used by academics and activists alike: pillars of support, which refers to the categories of people that a ruler relies on to various degrees in order to rule, such as security forces; economic elites; government bureaucrats; media; religious authorities; educational institutions; workers in various sectors; and cultural figures (pp. 31-32). Civil resistance attempts to get people in these various sectors to stop cooperating with the ruling elites in order to deny them what they need to rule, and to get elites to change as well, out of self-interest or a change of view. An example Chenoweth provides is how white South African business owners concluded after black boycotts and international sanctions, that to prosper they needed to accept the demands of antiapartheid activists and pressure the apartheid

government to change (pp. 33-34). These businesses changed primarily because of their self-interest, not a conversion or change of heart. Helvy, drawing from Gene Sharp, discusses pillars of support in terms of what a ruler needs to rule, such as 1. authority/legitimacy; 2. human resources; 3. people with certain skills and knowledge; 4. intangible factors such as values and attitudes towards obedience of authority; 5. Material resources; and 6. sanctions: which are of various types and severity and are usually used by the ruler elite to maintain order or coerce compliance. Rulers often use sanctions to rule, but people may or may not obey because of sanctions (Helvy, 2004, pp. 4-7). Chenoweth notes that activists often do a pillars of support analysis of who is supporting the ruling elite; Helvy provides a framework to do that analysis – a strategic estimate of the situation and guidelines for possible courses of action (Helvy, 2004, 47-65).

From the research Chenoweth identifies four key factors that help to explain the success or failure of civil resistance: 1. "Mass participation, drawing from all walks of life" (pp.83-85); 2. "Shifting the loyalties of the regime's supporters" (pp.85-87); 3. "Using a wide variety of tactics, not just demonstrations" (pp. 87-88); "Discipline and resilience in the face of repression" (pp. 88-90). Regarding the first factor, Chenoweth found that "[n]o movements have failed after getting 10% of the nation's population to be actively involved in their peak event. Most succeed after mobilizing 3.5%" (p. 94). Getting 10% of the population to actively participate is rare; approximately 3.5% participation in a peak event is more common. Chenoweth goes on to discuss this 3.5% pattern of participation in successful civil resistance campaigns on pp. 114-121. One of her points is that having a participation rate of around 3.5% probably indicates a broader support for the campaign's goals in the population, and is related to withdrawal of support for ruling elites and the

defection of ruling elite supporters. And though Chenoweth does not directly cite a finding in some research on democratic transitions, such large protests also may strengthen the hand of elite reformers in relation to hardliners in an authoritarian regimes.

Finally, I call attention to a finding I found particularly interesting. Chenoweth summarizes her research with Jay Ulfelder on the indicators,-- such as population size, level of democracy or autocracy, degree of ethnic fractionalization, levels of poverty -- that might help to explain why nonviolent campaigns emerge in some countries but not others (see pp. 184-186). To my surprise, and something I am investigating further, the level of democracy or autocracy was not strongly correlated with civic resistance emergence, but rather, Chenoweth reports, "the most consistent and influential predictor of nonviolent uprising was a country's human rights record. Countries with worse records had a higher chance of witnessing a mass nonviolent uprising than countries with relatively better records" (p.184). Chenoweth goes on to discuss the effects of violent repression on civil disobedience campaigns. Chenoweth isn't saying that violent repression doesn't matter, but rather that it doesn't usually prevent the emergence of civil resistance campaigns.

In conclusion, I highly recommend this readable but comprehensive book on civil resistance. One of my few criticisms is that I wish it had some case studies to illustrate some points, as we see in Chenoweth and Stephan 2011, but one can certainly consult that excellent book for the examples.

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MOM-ING FOR PEACE: RUSSIAN WOMEN CONFRONT THEIR GOVERNMENT'S HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES AGAINST UKRAINIANS AND THEMSELVES

SIERRA COUGOT

Over the past almost six months, the world has watched with bated breath as Russian armed forces escalated centuries of antagonism against the Ukrainian people into a full-scale invasion and, by all accounts, massacre. Ukrainian civilian groups and government agencies alike have focused on calling Russian mothers to action because of their previous success in hindering their government's acts of violence, building peace, and addressing human rights violations in Eastern Europe. Founded in 1989, the Union of Soldiers' Mothers Committees of Russia, or USMCR, are groundbreaking in their efforts because of the dual focus on human rights abuses within their borders and on foreign soil.

The Russo-Ukrainian War has been happening since 2014, and surrounds Ukraine's sovereignty as an independent state since declaring independence from the USSR in August 1991 before the union dissolved, which is heavily disputed by Russia. The war started when Russia annexed Crimea and proceeded to back separatist movements in Donbas--both of which are internationally recognized as part of Ukraine. A steep escalation of violence occurred February 24, 2022, when Russian troops that were building

around Ukrainian borders for at least a year began an ongoing invasion into Ukraine.

On March 8, President Putin insisted in a nationally televised message he would not send conscripted soldiers to Ukraine, which was since proven false.[i] Ukrainian forces and media report a fair number of Russian soldiers are 18 and 19 years old, or going into their early twenties. "These are not warriors of a superpower," Zelenskyy said in a speech disseminated via Facebook. "These are confused children who have been used." [ii] Further videos are circulating the internet of Russian prisoners of war calling home with assistance from Ukrainians. They are recorded saying they are scared, and confused how they ended up on the frontlines; if the Russian government told them or their families anything at all, it was that they were going on a roundtrip training exercise through Belarus.[iii] When it became apparent parents were being intimidated by Russian secret services and fed what to say on the phone, Ukrainian social media users like Volodymyr Zolkin took to YouTube and Twitter to post interviews with these soldiers that anyone--family and international onlookers alike--could access online.[iv] Combined with videos of these young Russian soldiers and Ukrainian civilians dying

in the street as a reflection of Putin's will, social media is being used to its full extent as an open channel of communication to lower Russian support of the war and gain international sympathy. By the first week of March, the Ukrainian government urged Russian mothers to come retrieve their sons. The defense ministry went as far as publishing emails and phone numbers to Facebook where parents could obtain the information necessary to do so.[v]

This hopeful reliance on Russian mothers to action can be traced back to the USMCR's creation in 1989 during the Soviet-Afghan war. The coalition's goal was straightforward: free their sons from present and future compulsory service and safely return them home. Though conscription exists today, USMCR lobbying for their sons' rights and safety in the spring of 1989 led the Soviet government to halt its six-year mass recruitment of higher education students--which was already legally defined as an excuse for postponement of service prior to the Soviet-Afghan war.[vi] A few months later, after continued petitioning, 180,000 soldiers were sent back to Russia.[vii]

This marked only the beginning of their peacework. In 1990 the USMCR discovered and began exposing *dedovshchina*, an informal hierarchy of hazing rituals ranging from extra chores to physical and psychological torture, which prior to 1989 was masked by military sentimentalism.[viii] When summer came to Moscow, they held mass demonstrations to bring attention to 15,000 peacetime deaths they uncovered as a result of *dedovshchina*.[ix] In popular Russian history scholarship, a now widespread national scrutiny of the army is attributed to USMCR's mobilization, transparency, and relentless interrogation of military officials on the matter.[x] They are perhaps most renowned for their "March for Compassion" through

Grozny in 1995, during the First Russian Chechen War. Mothers entered then-active warzones to illuminate Russian human rights abuses in Chechnya and take their sons--or their bodies--back home to safety.[xi]

Today, the USMCR functions as a branch of the international peacebuilding organization Human Rights House. They have continued their work by making people aware of the lasting effects violence has on soldiers after they return from war. This work includes taking testimonies from Russians opposed to war and military aggression, founding physical and psychological rehabilitation centers for soldiers, their families and civilians experiencing the lasting effects of violence, providing legal counsel for soldiers and their families, and organizing conferences and mass demonstrations against government aggression.[xii]

On the Russian front, while working alongside Ukrainian efforts to send soldiers back home, USMCR are also actively petitioning their government for sending newly conscripted soldiers to war. Between 2006 and 2008, the required time for military service was lowered from two years to 18 months to one year, though multiple conditions to be exempt from conscription were removed from the law at the same time.[xiii] Previous public understanding was that soldiers could not legally participate in combat with under four months of training.[xiv] It, however, is not illegal to transfer conscripts between military bases and USMCR noticed transfers taking inexperienced soldiers gradually closer to the Ukrainian border as late as two days before the invasion.[xv] USMCR lawyer Alexander Latynin told Russian media outlet Meduza that soldiers can consent to enter into combat with 1-3 months of experience depending on their personal education level if they sign a government contract.[xvi] The committee has

reason to believe contracts were disguised or even changed after signing, emphasizing the power dynamic between the military and their sons could easily have coerced them into signing these contracts either with threats or without their knowledge. As a result the USMCR is actively petitioning Putin to cease these actions, but updates out of Russia since the initial announcement of the lawsuit are sparse and unavailable online.

As USMCR's work has garnered attention from the outside world, anyone interested in offering rehabilitating, educational, and/or legal support is encouraged to help--regardless of maternal status. They maintain the title of mothers because it is entrenched in their peacebuilding framework. Most often, mothers are the ones who communicate with them first regarding concerns about their sons. When approached by someone in need, whether soldier or civilian, whether their family is involved in the process or not, the organization assumes the role of protector, offers all available resources, and provides a safe haven to heal from trauma--pillars traditionally associated with motherhood. Often in traditionalism these values are viewed as vulnerabilities, especially when combating violence or during times of war. For USMCR, however, values such as compassion and forgiveness are a major strength in creating spaces where people feel secure opposing the government. In 2005, Danish ethnographer Maja Hojer argued that when people previously viewed men as the sons of the state and women, in turn, as the state's mothers, then "the obligations felt towards the state [were] deeply embodied" as moral ties.[xvii] By teaching draftees and their relatives their rights and what to be aware of to protect themselves, the USMCR was successful in "[changing] people's relation to the state into formal and legal" instead of somewhat blindly dutiful.[xviii]

Putin has made his stance against domestic opposition clear. After the invasion began in March, many young Russians fled the country in protest. Putin responded by calling them the "fifth column," "national traitors." [xix] One of these refugees, Anastasia Mez, told Politico in an interview that "nowhere are Russians treated as badly as in Russia." [xx] Dissident political groups such as USMCR are actively targeted by Putin's 2012 foreign agent law which labels any organization receiving international funding as a foreign agent, making them choose between ineligibility in government processes, surveillance and armed searches, and wrongful imprisonment, etc. or cutting ties with their primary sources of funding. [xxi] Because of this ongoing, decade-long struggle, data surrounding international support for USMCR has been heavily removed from the public domain to protect its members. Since foreign agent status effectively criminalizes their work, USMCR has refused international funding since May of 2014.

Mez, residing in Turkey at the time of her Politico interview, was candid about international intervention as well. "Western sanctions are also affecting those who oppose Putin," she said, referencing the inability for political refugees to access personal assets like bank accounts, while local stores quickly run out of necessities such as flour and hygiene products. [xxii] NGOs such as USMCR have a policy of following Ukraine's sovereignty in their country when trying to reach lasting peacebuilding decisions--but in a time rife with political suppression in Russia, they urge the international community to be aware of which sanctions will hurt the Russian people more than they will effect Putin and how that is still unlikely to convince him to stop his personal warpath.

Notes:

- [i] "Putin Says Will Not Use Conscript Soldiers in Ukraine," Reuters (Reuters, March 8, 2022).
- [ii] Aaron Parsley. "Video Appears to Show Russian Soldier in Tears as He's Fed by Ukrainians and Allowed to Call Home," PEOPLE.com. PEOPLE, March 3, 2022.
- [iii] Ibid.
- [iv] Daniel Boffey. "Often a Russian Mother Has a TV for a Brain: Ukraine Youtuber Films Pows Calling Home." The Guardian. Guardian News and Media, April 5, 2022.
- [v] Parsley. "Video Appears to Show Russian Soldier in Tears as He's Fed by Ukrainians..."
- [vi] Gerald Nadler, "Soviets Halting Student Military Draft," UPI (UPI, March 31, 1989).
- [vii] Betty Reardon, Asha Hans, and Valerie Zawilski, "Russian Women Opposing War," in *The Gender Imperative: Human Security vs State Security* (London ; New York: Routledge, Taylor et Francis Group, 2019), p. 264.
- [viii] Julie Elkner, "Dedovshchina and the Committee of Soldiers' Mothers under Gorbachev," *The Journal of Power Institutions in Post-Soviet Societies*. (CERSIPS, July 2, 2004).
- [ix] Reardon, et al., "Russian Women Opposing War," p. 264.
- [x] Ibid.
- [xi] Ibid.
- [xii] Ibid.
- [xiii] "The State Duma Reduced the Term of Service in the Army and Canceled Deferrals," RBC (RBC, April 21, 2006).
- [xiv] "I'm Panicking - Where Is My Child?' Conscript Soldiers Are Being Sent to Fight against Ukraine, Their Relatives Say. Here's What Their Families Told Meduza." Meduza. Meduza, February 25, 2022.
- [xv] Ibid.
- [xvi] Ibid.
- [xvii] Reardon, et al., "Russian Women Opposing War," p. 265.
- [xviii] Ibid.
- [xix] Uliana Pavlova, "Putin Is the Only Leader They've Known. and They're Done with Him." POLITICO (POLITICO, April 7, 2022).
- [xx] Ibid.
- [xxi] "Russian NGO of Mothers of Soldiers Labeled 'Foreign Agent,'" Human Rights House Foundation (Human Rights House Foundation, September 2, 2014).
- [xxii] Pavlova, "Putin Is the Only Leader They've Known. and They're Done with Him."

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THOUGHTS ON UKRAINE

STEPHEN ZUNES

The Russian invasion of Ukraine is a clearcut act of aggression, a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and other fundamental principles of international law. It has resulted in an enormous level of human suffering, including multiple attacks on civilian population centers. Much of the world has united against Russia, which under Putin seems have combined some of the worst elements of the Czarist and Communist regimes. In addition, Russia's violation of the 1994 Budapest agreement—in which Ukraine agreed to destroy its nuclear weapons inherited from the Soviet Union in return for guarantees of its territorial integrity—has been a major setback in nonproliferation efforts.

Unfortunately, the history of U.S. militarism, imperialism, and false narratives has led some on the antiwar left to rationalize Russian aggression and exaggerate Western responsibility. A number of forums and rallies in the weeks preceding the invasion calling for no war in Ukraine focused on the nonexistent threat of U.S. military intervention while ignoring the very real and growing threat of a Russian invasion. Subsequently, some have tried to blame Washington for Moscow's actions.

It is certainly true that the decision by the United States to break what appears to have been a promise to the Kremlin that NATO would not expand eastward contributed to Putin's paranoid nationalism. Incorporating former Warsaw Pact countries and three former Soviet republics into the Western alliance could be seen as unnecessarily provocative, particularly considering

invasions of Russia from Western Europe through Ukraine in 1812, 1914, 1919, and 1941.

Putin appears to have at least some U.S. supporters. Not only are many in the Trump wing of the Republican Party embracing his autocratic reactionary nationalism, but there are also people on the left who have embraced him simply because he opposes the United States. They have repeated the Kremlin's lies that neo-Nazis, who only received 2½ percent of the vote in the most recent elections, control the Ukrainian government and military. The current president, Volodymyr Zelenskyy, who won by a landslide, is Jewish and an ethnic Russian, making claims that the Ukrainian government is controlled by Nazis committing genocide against Russian-speakers particularly absurd.

While international law gives Ukraine every right to resist Russian aggression through military force, there are serious questions as to whether the valiant but extremely costly resistance to Russian efforts to annex the country's eastern provinces is worth the cost. Others argue that it is worth sacrificing tens of thousands of lives, destroying cities and livelihoods, and the enormous financial and environmental costs in order to defend the important principle that no country has the right to expand its territory by force or unilaterally change recognized international boundaries.

However, Western nations have hardly been consistent in upholding that principle. The United States, for example, has formally recognize Israel's

illegal annexation of Syria's Golan Heights and Morocco's annexation of the entire nation of Western Sahara, both seized by force in defiance of the United Nations. Similarly, the United States has repeatedly insisted that the Palestinians give up large swathes of the West Bank occupied by Israel as part of any peace agreement. As a result, allowing Russia to hold on to Crimea, which it illegally annexed in 2014, or parts of the Donbas region it currently occupies illegally, would not necessarily set a dangerous new precedent.

Are there nonviolent alternatives to either capitulation to Russian aggression or an ongoing, bitter, deadly stalemated armed conflict?

Ukraine has had an impressive history of nonviolent resistance, including the 2004-2005 Orange Revolution following an effort by the ruling party to install the pro-Russian Viktor Yanukovich as the new president in a stolen election. The massive civil insurrection forced a new election in which the democratic pro-Western opposition won. Yanukovich won the presidency legitimately in 2010, but rampant corruption, unpopular policies, and increased political repression led to the 2013-2014 Maidan Revolution which forced his departure and, after a short interim government, allowed for a new round of elections a few months later. Running as an outsider opposed to the two major corrupt political blocs, Volodymyr Zelenskyy was elected by a landslide in 2019.

Both uprisings were overwhelmingly nonviolent. The rioters that engaged in the street fighting during the Maidan protests were the equivalent of the Black Bloc groups that have taken advantage of large nonviolent protests against racism and neoliberal globalization in that they got the bulk of the media coverage, but they were not leading the struggle. And the armed fascist groups that seized

some government buildings in the final hours or Maidan uprising were of little consequence as well—Yanukovich had already fled to Russia by that hour.

Some pro-Putin elements have tried to depict the popular uprising against Yanukovich as a U.S.-sponsored coup d'état, citing then-Assistant Secretary of State Victoria Nuland's efforts to influence the makeup of the post-Yanukovich interim government and an earlier trip to Ukraine in which she expressed her solidarity with the protests by passing out bread to demonstrators. There is also no question that the United States directly and indirectly provided some funding to some opposition groups (though nowhere near the \$5 billion some people are quoting; that figure was the total of all foreign aid to Ukraine since 1991, including when pro-Western governments were in power the U.S. presumably didn't want to overthrow). However, such funding does not constitute a coup.

Indeed, it's also true that the Soviet Union provided some aid to leftist revolutionaries around the world and tried to influence the makeup of their post-revolutionary governments. However, claims by former president Ronald Reagan and others that the Soviets caused these revolutions or led these revolutions or "exported revolutions" or that these revolutions were "Soviet coups" denies agency to oppressed peoples who rose up against various rightwing U.S.-backed dictatorships.

Similarly, the claims that the limited amount of U.S. assistance and interference somehow delegitimizes the 2013-2014 popular struggle Yanukovich is just as simplistic as those who insisted the Soviets were carrying out a "hit list" in Central America and elsewhere by supposedly instigating these struggles. It denies agency to the millions of Ukrainians who, like leftist revolutionaries in previous eras, made

some major political mistakes but were motivated by a sincere desire for greater freedom, justice, and self-determination.

The burden of proof should belong to those who have thus far failed to provide evidence that the hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians who have twice braved winter cold for months in overwhelmingly nonviolent protests and the millions of others who honored calls for strikes and boycotts would have failed to do so were it not for the United States.

Could this impressive homegrown nonviolent legacy be applied in the face of the Russian invasion today? It is certainly difficult to nonviolently defend cities under heavy aerial bombardment, though there has been impressive nonviolent protests and massive noncooperation in Ukrainian cities under Russian occupation. A strong case can be made that a comprehensive nonviolent defense plan based on massive noncooperation could make a Russian occupation untenable, but it is probably not realistic to expect Ukrainians to lay down their arms and hope that the subsequent Russian occupation of their country could be defeated accordingly.

The best hope for a nonviolent resolution would come from within Russia itself, where—despite a very repressive political environment—many hundreds of individual and collective actions have taken place. The United States and other Western countries therefore need to pursue policies which would encourage the Russian opposition and undermine the nationalist sentiment which has strengthened Putin's hand.

This would require the Biden administration to renounce its recognition of the illegal Israeli and Moroccan occupations, end its policy of blocking

UN Security Council action in resolving these conflicts, and demand that these allies immediately withdraw from all of their occupied territories. In doing so, it would make clear that Western opposition to Russian aggression is indeed based upon international law, not simply a geopolitical calculation in which the U.S. insists that its allies can engage in illegal activities while Russia cannot. Similarly, the United States cannot seriously raise concerns about Russia's lack of democracy, suppression of antiwar opponents, and other human rights abuses as long as the United States continues to provide unconditional arms transfers and other support for dictatorial regimes around the world.

In addition, the United States needs to reverse its stated goal to "weaken Russia," stop the expansion of NATO, and finally get serious about nuclear disarmament. Such changes in policies will diminish Putin's efforts to maintain popular support through manipulating nationalist fears among the Russian public.

It is not our place to insist the Ukrainians engage in nonviolent resistance while many Western governments—particularly the United States—pursue policies that make it difficult for nonviolent resistance in Russia to successfully challenge Putin. As with many other conflicts around the world, the best way of supporting nonviolent resistance abroad is to engage in it at home.

HOW TO DEFEAT INVADERS WITHOUT GUNS OR BOMBS

TOM H. HASTINGS

We are witnessing the Vietnamization of Ukraine--a brave but overmatched people committed to retaining and regaining its territory and its freedom from foreign domination.

For Vietnam, it meant a series of wars, a smashed infrastructure, millions dead, millions poisoned from chemical warfare committed by the US, a landscape of toxified waters and soil, and many other less-considered damages.

"I stood at the shore of the South China Sea and just cried for my poor, poor Vietnam."

Minh was a fellow student in a Peace and Conflict Studies program in Wisconsin, where we were both earning degrees decades ago and trying to learn less harmful ways to manage conflict.

She was a young woman of barely 19 in Vietnam when she met a young American GI in Da Nang, her town. They fell in love, got married, and she came home with him.

A few years later, she was finally able to get her sister and her surviving parent--her mother--admitted to the US. She went back to Vietnam to get them and told me about what she saw.

"A whole generation lost their education," she said.

"So many sick and deformed children from Agent Orange."

We talked about ways that Vietnam might have resisted the foreign troops from China, France, Japan, France again, and finally the US in the many invasions they suffered. We were students and had ideas, but the full scholarship on such tough questions was yet to come.

From the case studies of scholar Gene Sharp to the books and films by Peter Ackerman and his colleagues, and then to the rigorous empiricism of Erica Chenoweth and Maria Stephan--and many other researchers--we actually now have some of those elements that, added together, might be able to do with nonviolence what Vietnam--and now Ukraine--attempted to do with violence.

First, the empiricism: in a landmark study of hundreds of "maximal goal" cases over the past century, Chenoweth and Stephan found results that stood common wisdom in Political Science and Security Studies on its head.

Nonviolent insurgencies are approximately twice as likely to succeed as violent struggles. Their methodology was so rigorous that each has won prestigious awards and promotions in both Ivy League schools and the government. While their

original International Security journal article was published in 2008, their results have proven robust and political scientists are still trying to catch up, proving the power of counterintuitivity is a match for rational, scientific rigor and results. As Monty Python's Flying Circus would say, "No one expects the Spanish Inquisition!" and no one expected that nonviolent struggle would significantly outperform violence. Belief perseverance has generated mudslides of intellectual sluggishness as old line experts continue to ignore validity-threat-proof research published in top journals in favor of what old mental muscle memory tells them. Sadly, they continue to pass along old incorrect assumptions to young students.

Indeed, even the reaction of many of those who prevailed in a nonviolent victory all too often is basically, "Wow, that was lucky! Now let's focus on arming up so we are really ready next time."

But we persist. Our small but significant field of Peace and Conflict Transformation turns out graduates with our degrees at all levels. They are the true change agents of times to come. What are they picking up from us?

What components of which cases can give us an idea of how a smaller country with a relatively small military might be able to eventually evict a foreign occupying force?

First, it's important to see the enormous difficulty of success using any method, violent or nonviolent. Palestinians have used every method they could to regain their land and sovereignty, as have Catalans, Kurds, and many other peoples. It is not only very hard, it usually takes years, if not decades.

I think of the parallels and the divergencies of the cases of Denmark invaded by Nazis in 1940 and Ukraine invaded by Russia in 2022.

The Danish leaders had taken the Kellogg Briand Pact of the late 1920s seriously and had essentially mostly disarmed in a well meaning effort to avoid future war.

Ukraine built up their military as fast as they could following the Russian takeover of Crimea in 2014. So that is different.

When the Germans took over Denmark they regarded the Danes as their little Aryan brothers. Russians regard Ukrainians as their little Slav brothers. Both powers fantasized easy domination over, even admiration from, their lesser imagined siblings. Both Germany and Russia erred.

Danes preserved their lives by quick military surrender but they never surrendered their national sense of being Danes, not Germans, Danes, not Aryans. Much as Chileans did what Pinochet demanded as long as he had a gun to their heads, Danes cooperated, to the extent required to keep their people alive.

Danes lost the lowest percent of their population in WW II of any European country, almost the lowest in raw numbers, and did not even get on the list compiled of the 14 countries with the highest percent killed in that war.

In World War II the Allies fought the Axis powers militarily. Danes did little to help their occupiers and instead waited out the 5 1/2 year occupation with work slowdowns, sabotage, walkouts, and other relatively low risk nonviolent actions. Only when the Nazi order to round up all the Danish Jews came as part of the final solution did Danes as a whole take enormous risks to hide Jews, get them to the coast, and into Danish fishing boats to take them to neutral, safer Sweden. Hundreds were caught and killed by Nazis.

Ukraine is suffering terribly as they bravely resist, just as the Vietnamese did. When people are devoted to their identity as a sovereign people they will resist by whatever method they believe will work.

Danes knew violent resistance was irrational. Ukraine, armed by the US and NATO countries, is encouraged to kill and die, and they have been. Like so many others resisting Europe's old colonial powers in the 1950s, 60s, and 70s, Vietnam was supplied with AK-47s and many other weapons by the Soviets, and violent resistance was valorized.

Interestingly, when violence was employed against the Nazis and it took more than five years to succeed, there were no voices complaining that it took too long, but when sanctions did not bring Putin to his knees in one month there were many voices denouncing sanctions as too slow.

In nonviolence studies sanctions are a tool, not invariably either an evil or benign act. Scholars George Lopez and David Cortright produced excellent analysis and scholarship on "the sanctions decade," the 10 years following the collapse of the Soviet Union, when as many UN Security Council-ordered sanctions were declared as during the previous 45 years combined. They helped us understand that, like any tool, sanctions can be misused and hurt innocents (e.g., sanctions on Iraq in the 1990s) or can be excellent nonviolent incentives to modulate and even halt destructive behavior (e.g., sanctions against apartheid in South Africa).

Any rational cost/benefit analysis attempted when trying to alter aggressive violative conduct should consider how long the remedies may take by best estimates, how many likely casualties would occur to both combatants and noncombatants, and all the other costs (financial, carbon footprint,

infrastructure damage, environmental damages to water and soil, human health impacts, long term trade and transportation impacts, etc.).

Instead, the public discourse and decider discourse seems only focused on "blood and treasure." Comparing the potential paths toward freedom and security requires a great deal more thought. As this is written, there seems to be zero consideration, for instance, of the immense carbon footprint of moving military forces around the map, bombing fuel depots, jets and warships moving in many directions, etc. It is as if analysts never went beyond the days of horse-drawn cannons and rowing galley ships.

Applying a serious cost-benefit analysis would point toward the advisability of civilian-based defense, including advanced sanctions and breakthrough cyber-help, utilizing an inside game and outside game in a transnational version of consensus community organizing toward targeted, effective civil resistance and a coalition of nations exerting massive financial pressure.

We see the lessons from nonviolent campaigns great and small, from the above-mentioned Danish and South African cases, as well as what we learned from the Filipinx in 1986 and beyond, and including methods practiced by Chileans as they brought down Pinochet and the Serb nonviolent overthrow of Milosevic. These campaigns and many more, when examined in the light of Putin's flagrant state terrorism, would offer a distinctly less costly response approach to his inhumane conduct, or to that of any great power acting to subjugate others.



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