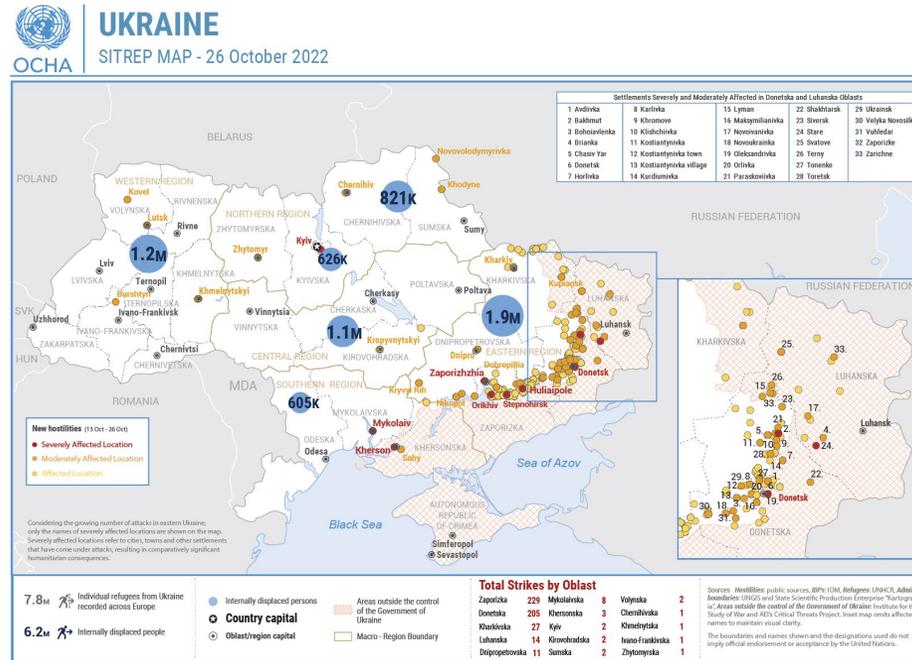
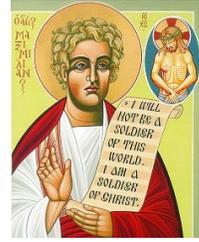


A lecture for
 Kirchheimboland
 Peace Days
 on All Saints' Day
 1 November 2022,
 dedicated to
 Saint Maximilian of
 Tebessa and Blessed
 Franz Jägerstätter



Prospects of peace in Ukraine

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Peace Agenda for
 Ukraine and the World

United Nations A/RES/ES-11/1

General Assembly Distr.: General
18 March 2022

Eleventh emergency special session
 Agenda item 5
 Letter dated 28 February 2014 from the Permanent Representative of Ukraine to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2014/136)

**Resolution adopted by the General Assembly
 on 2 March 2022**

[without reference to a Main Committee (A/ES-11/L.1 and A/ES-11/L.1/Add.1)]

ES-11/1. Aggression against Ukraine

The General Assembly,
Reaffirming the paramount importance of the Charter of the United Nations in the promotion of the rule of law among nations,

Ukrainian Pacifist Movement

- ▶ Founded in 2019 at street protests against cruel conscription
- ▶ Works to uphold human right to refuse to kill, to stop bloodshed, and to build peace
- ▶ Maintains *Peace Education* project
- ▶ Advocates nonviolent conflict resolution, abolition of compulsory military service and other militarist policies
- ▶ Part of international peace movement
- ▶ In 2022, adopted the **Peace Agenda for Ukraine and the World**
<https://www.ipb.org/yesterdays-news/peace-agenda-for-ukraine-and-the-world/>

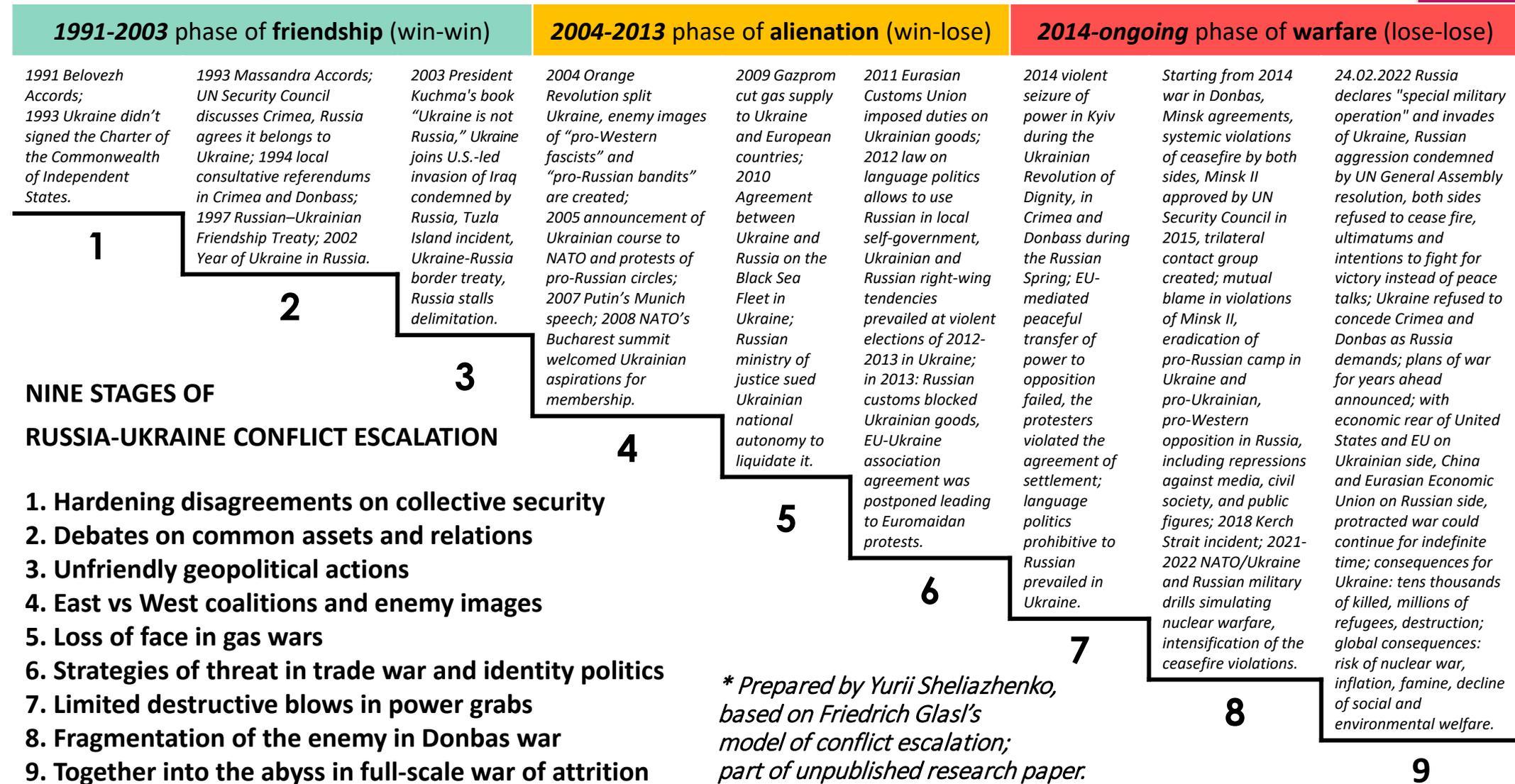


War and prospects of peace

- ▶ More than 6370 civilians killed in 2022, 3106 in 2014-2021 according to UN
- ▶ Russian offensive near Bakhmut and Ukrainian offensive near Kherson
- ▶ Peace talks suspended; intention to fight for victory; human rights violations, war crimes and heavy losses on both sides
- ▶ Russia, Ukraine, U.S. and NATO countries are preparing for several years of war
- ▶ Nonviolence weaponized by both sides
- ▶ Absence of genuine peace movement and culture of nonviolence in Russia and Ukraine, fragile sprouts are attacked by the state and warmongering nationalists



Dynamics of the Russia-Ukraine conflict escalation*



NINE STAGES OF

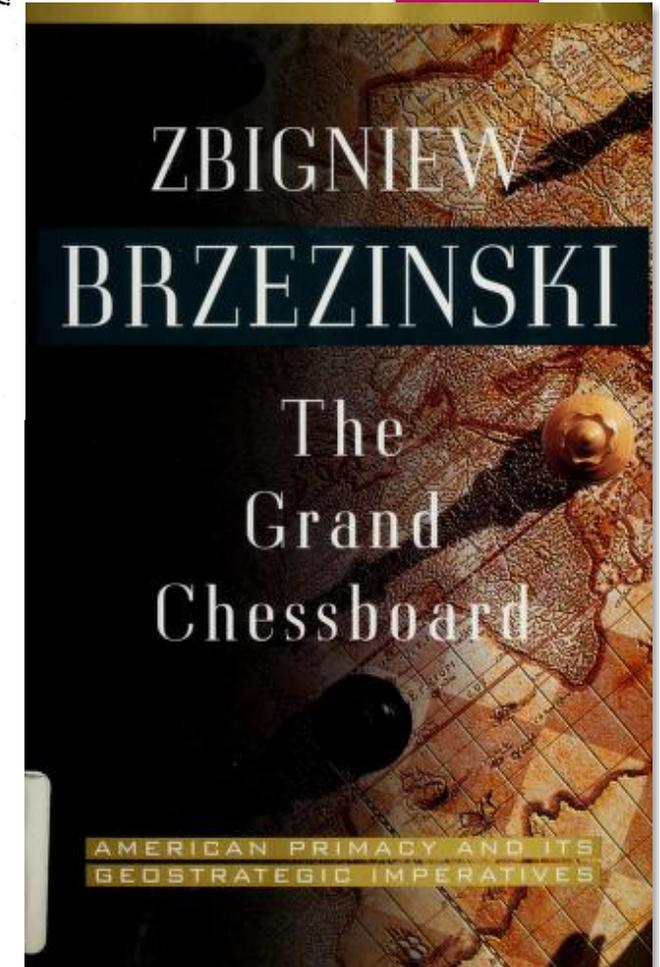
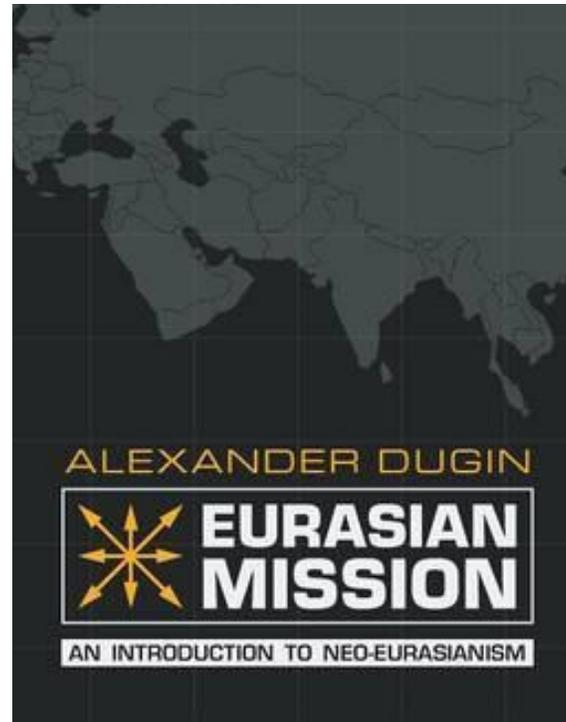
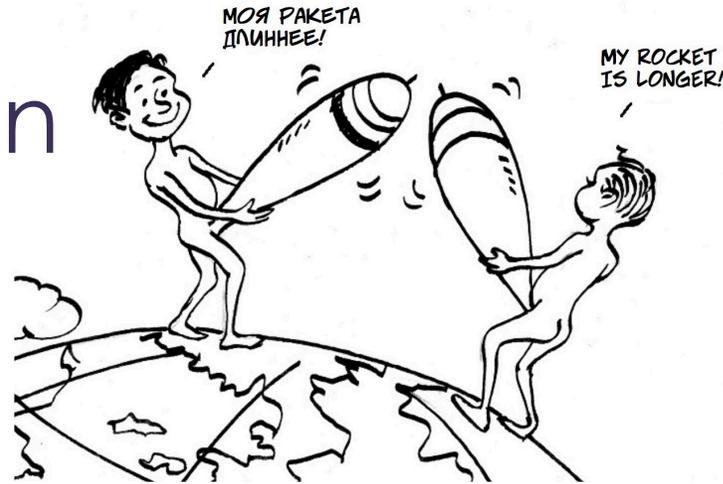
RUSSIA-UKRAINE CONFLICT ESCALATION

1. Hardening disagreements on collective security
2. Debates on common assets and relations
3. Unfriendly geopolitical actions
4. East vs West coalitions and enemy images
5. Loss of face in gas wars
6. Strategies of threat in trade war and identity politics
7. Limited destructive blows in power grabs
8. Fragmentation of the enemy in Donbas war
9. Together into the abyss in full-scale war of attrition

* Prepared by Yurii Sheliazhenko, based on Friedrich Glasl's model of conflict escalation; part of unpublished research paper.

Causes of escalation

- ▶ Overarching East-West antagonism driven by rival ideologies of Atlanticism and Eurasianism
- ▶ Violent nationalism in Russia and Ukraine, absence of genuine culture of peace and massive peace movements
- ▶ Militarization of economic and political systems, culture of violence
- ▶ Military patriotic upbringing, conscription, propaganda of war
- ▶ Incentives for elites and military-industrial complex (glory, profits)
- ▶ Subordination of soft powers to hard powers; nuclear brinkmanship



Ways to deescalation

- ▶ Development of worldwide peace movement able to pressure for peace and culture of peace generating structural changes in social systems
- ▶ Pragmatic cooperation, e.g. Black Sea Grain Initiative, emergence of economic, political, academic and cultural bridge-builders, peacemakers
- ▶ Multi-track diplomacy, including efforts of third party states, international organizations and civil societies
- ▶ Expert cooperation, joint peace research, peace education programs
- ▶ Ceasefire and peace talks



Passive and active resistance to war

- ▶ Rare protests against the war in Russia and in Ukraine were dismissed by governments as the enemy's provocations
- ▶ Both sides weaponized nonviolent action for increasing loyalty and using civilians as human shield in urban warfare; on Russian side, women and children were mobilized in support of troops occupying Crimea, for "referendums" etc.; on Ukrainian side protests were mobilized against Russian invasion, in support of Ukrainian army; a campaign of threats to defectors and collaborators was presented as "nonviolent resistance"
- ▶ Due to lack of civic education and knowledge of civics, people resort to passive protest; e.g. males in Russia-backed separatist "republics" of Donetsk and Luhansk are sitting home to avoid compulsory mobilization and hunting for recruits at the streets
- ▶ Mimicry is usual form of passive resistance: people pretend to be aggressive patriots in public, in social networks, in interviews and polls, but they are not willing to "die for Fatherland"; such a Ukrainian patriot could surprise friends finding a way to go abroad to avoid mobilization and fight for "victory or death" as he called on friends
- ▶ 21,7% of Ukrainians were willing to resist nonviolently, 15% distrusted Armed Forces of Ukraine on the eve of Russian invasion; no system of unarmed war resistance was created, all efforts were put to total mobilization of population to armed forces
- ▶ According to recent poll, 80% of respondents are participating in defense of Ukraine, but mostly by material and moral support, only 6% of respondents took up arms

UKRAINIAN NONVIOLENT CIVIL RESISTANCE IN THE FACE OF WAR

Analysis of trends, impacts and challenges of nonviolent action in Ukraine between February and June 2022

Felip Daza Sierra



The New York Times

Ukraine's Draft Dodgers Face Guilt, Shame and Reproach

Studenten können Ukraine nicht verlassen

»Man darf uns nicht das Recht nehmen, sich ein Leben in Sicherheit aufzubauen«

Männer zwischen 18 und 60 Jahren dürfen nicht raus aus der Ukraine – das gilt seit Kurzem für Studenten, die im Ausland eingeschrieben sind. Einige von ihnen sind verzweifelt



Student protests against the travel ban

- ▶ More than 1700 students of European universities are prohibited from leaving Ukraine
- ▶ Student protests at Shehyni border checkpoint are continuing more than a week
- ▶ One of students was beaten by the border guard officers
- ▶ A petition calling to allow students to travel abroad gathered more than 21 000 signatures

Studenten können Ukraine nicht verlassen

»Man darf uns nicht das Recht nehmen, sich ein Leben in Sicherheit aufzubauen«

Männer zwischen 18 und 60 Jahren dürfen nicht raus aus der Ukraine – das gilt seit Kurzem auch für Studenten, die im Ausland eingeschrieben sind. Einige von ihnen sind verzweifelt und wählen einen lebensgefährlichen Weg.



Conscientious objection before Russian invasion

- ▶ Discrimination in legal recognition, restricted to privileged confessions, secular objectors is not allowed (tens times more potentially could be eligible, if not discriminated)
- ▶ Alternative service: hardly accessible (lack of fair procedure), punitive (1.5 times longer than military service)
- ▶ In 2021, there were 1659 conscientious objectors conducting alternative service
- ▶ Unwilling of Ukraine to comply with recommendations of UN Human Rights Committee
- ▶ Illegal conscription at territories occupied by Russia; objection isn't recognized in separatist DPR/LPR

1.2.46 UKRAINE

	 Conscription:	Yes	Reintroduced in 2014 (earlier suspended in 2012). Plans of gradual reduction and abolition of conscription by 2024 were announced despite strengthening enforcement of conscription, expansion of mandatory military training and service with no provisions for conscientious objectors.
	Conscientious objection:	1991	First recognised in the Law of Ukraine "On Alternative (Non-Military) Service" № 1975-XII of 12 December 1991.
Service 	Military:	18	12 months for holders of master's degree.
	Civilian:	27	18 months for holders of master's degree.
Minimum 	Conscription:	18	Compulsory in the age of 18-26.
	Voluntary enlistment:	17	Under 18 for military schools: 17 for cadets
More 	https://ebco-beoc.org/ukraine including the reply of the Ministry of Defence to the Questionnaire about EBCO's Annual Report 2021 (e-mail on 12/01/2022) and the reply of the Secretariat of the Ukrainian Parliament Commissioner for Human Rights to the Questionnaire about EBCO's Annual Report 2021 (e-mail on 27/01/2022).		

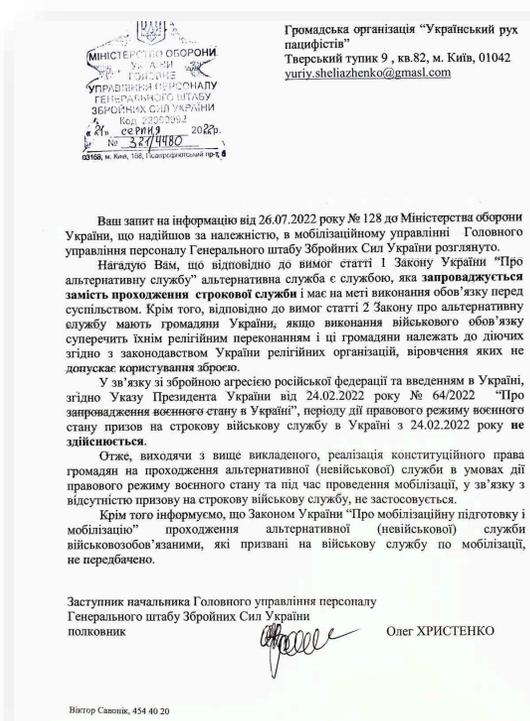
Conscription in Ukraine

Year	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
Number of conscripts	33132	30523	27595	33150	33952	30030	27821

Source: EBCO annual report "Conscientious Objection to Military Service in Europe 2021"

Conscientious objection during martial law

- ▶ According to the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine, replacement of military service by mobilization with alternative nonmilitary service is not allowed
- ▶ Ukraine derogated from Art. 9 of ECHR but not from Art. 18 of ICCPR which, according to HRC, demands to respect the right to conscientious objection even in time of public emergency, such as war
- ▶ Alternative service started before 24.2.22 continuing; new applications suspended
- ▶ Refusals to serve are punishable by 3-5 years of prison (Art. 336 of the Criminal Code of Ukraine)



Letter of the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine of 21.08. 2022: "implementation of the constitutional right of citizens to undergo alternative (non-military) service under the conditions of the legal regime of martial law and during mobilization, due to the absence of conscription for term-limited military service, is not applicable"

Article of Criminal Code of Ukraine (character of crime)	Number of criminal investigations in January-July 2022	Number of criminal investigations in January-July 2021
Article 335. Evasion from conscription for military service, military service by conscription of officers	45	279
Article 336. Evasion from conscription during mobilization, in a special period, military service by conscription of reservists in a special period	659 (official); 1500 (sources of journalists in police)*	2
Article 337. Evasion from military registration or special (training) session	11	51
Article 407. Unauthorised leaving of a military unit or place of service	1813	1138
Article 408. Desertion	1551	68
Article 409. Evasion of military service by means of self-mutilation or otherwise	115	15
Article 332. Illegal trafficking of persons across the state border of Ukraine	637	176

Registered criminal investigations related to evasion of military service or illegal trafficking across the border (sources: General Prosecutor's website; * Vesti)

Human rights violations under martial law

- ▶ At least in four cases courts sentenced conscientious objectors for evasion from military service by mobilization
- ▶ Travel ban for all men in age 18-60; to travel abroad or change place of residence, permission of military authorities is required; this policy is not compliant with human rights law; petitions against it were rejected
- ▶ Discrimination of educated professional women, e.g. medics and engineers (unlike housewives, their military registration is required)
- ▶ Repressions for antiwar views
- ▶ Despite restrictions, Ukrainian objectors seek for ways to leave the country and obtain sanctuary; 8000 men were stopped by the border guard.

Wir nicht

Ein junger Russe, der vor dem Dienst an der Waffe flieht. Ein junger Ukrainer, der seine Heimat nicht verteidigen will. Über Moral und Gewissen in Zeiten des Krieges

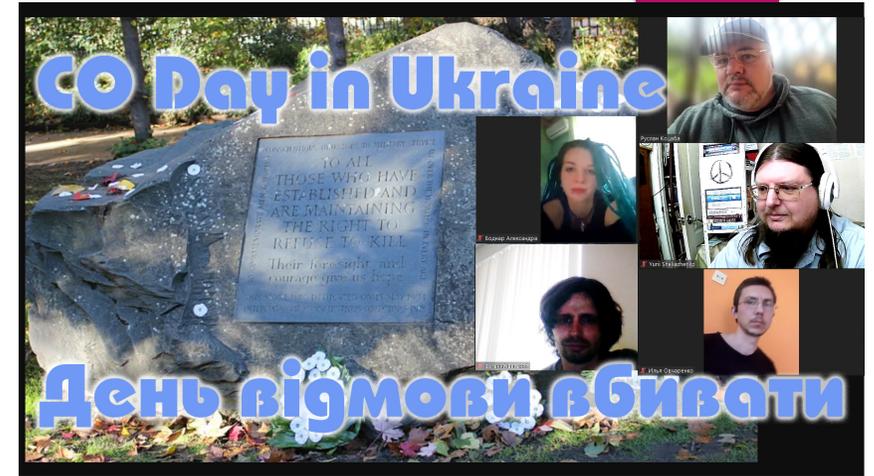
VON JANA SIMON



Ilija Owtscharenko, 36 Jahre alt, kommt aus der ukrainischen Großstadt Krywyj Rih und lebt seit Dezember 2021 in Ungarn

Tasks of peace movement

- ✓ **Uphold human right to refuse to kill!** Claim legal right to conscientious objection to military service according to international human rights standards. Help to advocate/defend right to refuse to kill.
- ✓ **Stop the war!** Advocate immediate ceasefire, comprehensive good-faith peace talks, and worldwide transition towards nonviolent society.
- ✓ **Build peace!** Help civilians to survive remaining civilians. Tell the truth, give hope, help the needy, study and teach nonviolence. Strengthen solidarity of peace-loving people and peace movement.



How to help genuine resistance to war (not to “the enemy”) in Ukraine?

- ▶ **Tell truth to the power:** war and arms race is a problem, not a solution; demonic existential enemy is fiction and total victory is not achievable; way to peace is through diplomacy, ceasefire, comprehensive inclusive peace process, global and regional reconciliation between East and West, Russia and Ukraine.
- ▶ **Invest in peace culture:** develop peace education and research, peace journalism, peace economy and politics everywhere, create infrastructure of nonviolent governance and unarmed civilian protection.
- ▶ **Help the needy:** victims of war, traumatized, displaced, deprived of means for living; refugees, conscientious objectors and deserters from Russia, Belarus and Ukraine

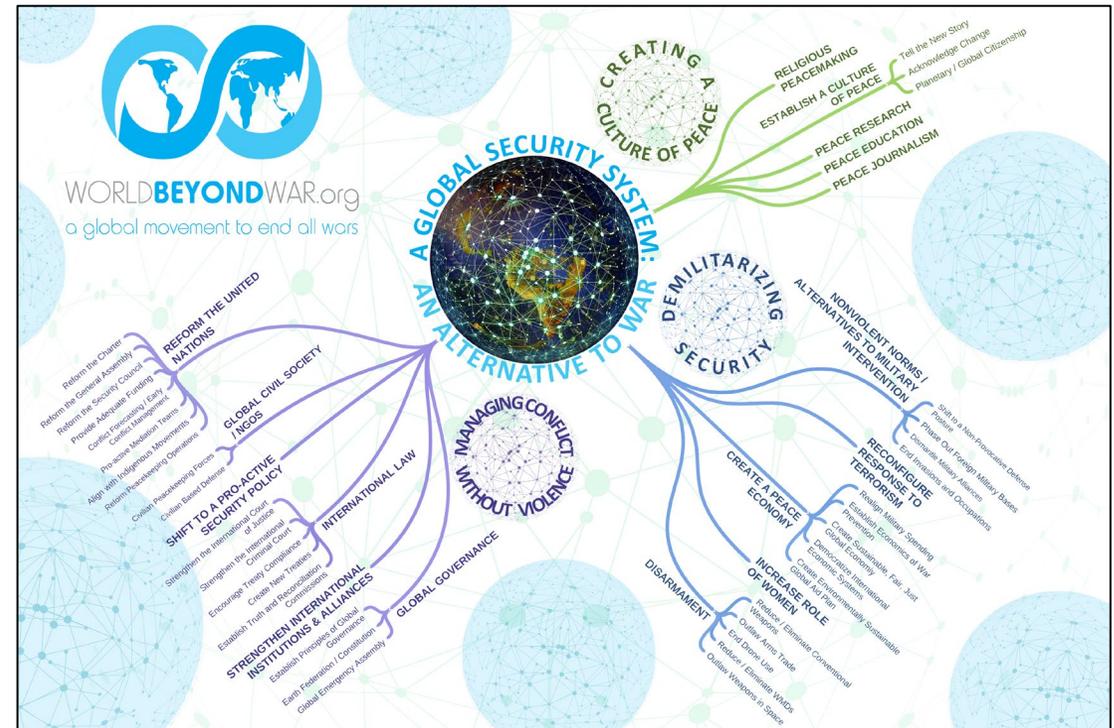


War Resisters' International

a global network of grassroots antimilitarist and pacifist groups, working together for a world without war

HOME ABOUT NETWORK ▾ OUR WORK ▾ RESOURCES ▾ THE BROKEN RIFLE CONTACT

Ukrainian Pacifists: War is a crime against humanity



International campaigns, networks and cooperation

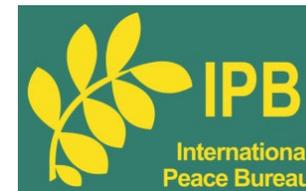
- ▶ Networks of the peace movement which succeeded in preventing nuclear war in 20th century: International Peace Bureau, War Resisters' International, Pax Christi, International Fellowship of Reconciliation; new networks: World BEYOND War, Peace in Ukraine, No to Nato, CODEPINK, etc.
- ▶ Academic collaboration on peace research and education; UN SDG solutions network; experts and scholars calling for peace: Jeffrey Sachs, Friedrich Glasl, Jeremy Shapiro, Anatol Lieven, etc.
- ▶ #ObjectWar campaign, petition "Russia, Belarus, Ukraine: Protection and asylum for deserters and conscientious objectors to military service" at YouMove Europe (Connection, WRI, EBCO, IFOR)



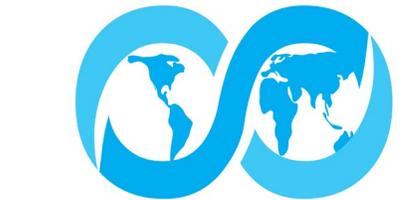
#OBJECT WAR CAMPAIGN

Solidarity with conscientious objectors and deserters from Russia, Belarus and Ukraine

#ОткажиВойне
#ВідмовВійні



IFOR INTERNATIONAL FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION



WORLD BEYOND WAR.org
a global movement to end all wars

#STOPTHEWARNOW

CAROVANE DELLA PACE A KIEV

26 SETTEMBRE | 3 OTTOBRE



PEACE
IN
UKRAINE

Choosing peace instead of standing with belligerents

- ▶ War can't restore justice, it deepens injustices
- ▶ War can't bring peace; there are no victories without losses, only peace brings benefits of win-win solution
- ▶ <https://worldbeyondwar.org/alternative> exists
- ▶ War could be abolished, alike slavery
- ▶ Tell truth, expose lies, teach peace, cherish hope and work for peace tirelessly

Five simple rules

- ▶ Work for peace.
- ▶ Don't harm.
- ▶ Communicate, don't fight.
- ▶ "Victory" is utopia.
- ▶ "The enemy" does not exist.



Approaches to building of a culture of peace and critical study of armed conflicts in civic education



Alexander Belik Ellis Brooks Phill Gittins Yurii Sheliashenko Werner Wintersteiner



Online Debate: Can War Ever Be Justified?

Arnold August vs. David Swanson with moderator Yuri Smouter



International Day of Peace
Sep. 21, 2022



WORLDBEYONDWAR.org
a global movement to end all wars



Can War Ever Be Justified?

An Online Debate
Mark Welton vs. David Swanson
February 23, 2022, 3:30 - 5:00 p.m. ET



A Debate on the question of war