

## The underestimated resistance - non-violent actions in Ukraine

by Werner Wintersteiner

Our media are overflowing with frontline reports as if we were at war ourselves. On the front pages of the newspapers and on the screens, the appalling play of humanitarian militarism is given to great applause. No wonder the sporadic reports of non-violent action are drowned out in the process. Nevertheless, these play a significant but often underestimated role in the resistance against Russian aggression as well as in restoring peace. It is high time to take a closer look at civil resistance and peace options (not only) in Ukraine.



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### Non-violent resistance is alive<sup>1</sup>

Thousands of people blocked the tanks' access to the small town of Dnipro Rudne<sup>2</sup> or to the Zaporizhzhya nuclear power plant<sup>3</sup> simply by standing in their way without weapons. In the village of Kulykivka<sup>4</sup> people organised peace rallies and convinced the Russian military to withdraw. In the occupied city of Berdyansk<sup>5</sup> or in Kherson, there is still civil resistance. Ukrainians are not afraid to confront the Russian soldiers with their rejection and anger.<sup>6</sup> In Slavutich, near the decommissioned Chernobyl nuclear power plant, people also take to the streets to protest against the occupation.<sup>7</sup> Ukrainians move or change the street signs. For example, one sign says that all roads lead to The Hague, to the International Criminal Court. Other signs read: "Russian soldier, Putin has lost" or "The whole world stands by Ukraine", "Go away without blood on your hands" or even "Fuck you!" Videos show Russian deserters being welcomed with tea and being allowed to use civilians' mobile phones to call their mothers.<sup>8</sup> It is very important that there are also actions in Luhansk and Donetsk, because this gives the lie to the narrative that people there are only waiting to be liberated by Russian

troops. Ultimately, any other form of civil engagement can also be counted as an act of resistance: When residents set about cleaning up the streets immediately after a bombing and restore the conditions for a normal life as best they can, or when orchestras give concerts in the public squares of cities threatened by bombs, as well as all forms of humanitarian aid and assistance in fleeing ... Civil resistance in Belarus and especially in Russia itself is probably at least as important. For example, Belarusian railway workers or so-called cyber partisans have cut the rail connections to the neighbouring country at certain points in order to obstruct the transport of war material.<sup>9</sup> On the change.org platform, Belarusian believers are asking the Russian Orthodox Patriarch Cyril to do everything he can to stop the fratricidal war in Ukraine.<sup>10</sup> In Russia<sup>10</sup> tens of thousands are risking their freedom and their lives in demonstrations, the number of those arrested alone is now estimated at 15,000. Hundreds of priests have criticised the war in an open letter<sup>11</sup>, as have individual members of administrative units and some oligarchs. "The Yabloko party, the majority of opposition politicians and activists, many local councillors across the country, and even individual deputies of the Duma and the Federation Council have publicly condemned the war. More than 1.1 million people have signed the anti-war petition of human rights activist Lev Ponomaryov."<sup>12</sup> Hackers break through the media blackout of state television and broadcast censored war images. Well-known TV anchors are giving up their jobs to stop spreading lies.<sup>13</sup> The most spectacular action was probably the courageous action of the TV editor Marina Ovsyannikova, who held a sign with a war protest in front of the running camera during the evening news. She is threatened with several lawsuits.<sup>14</sup> In a creative way, quite a few people use the possibility to smuggle in war protests on restaurant rating sites. On Afisha.ru, for example, a review of one of Moscow's most popular fish restaurants reads: "Nice place! However, Putin has spoiled our mood with his invasion of Ukraine. Stand up against your dictator, stop killing innocent people! Your government is lying to you!"<sup>15</sup> The fact that all these solidarity activities are taking place is already a small miracle of heroism under the repressive conditions in Russia and Belarus. It goes without saying that this resistance is strengthened when Russians protest against the war abroad, such as around 3,000 Russians living in the Czech Republic in Prague at the end of March.<sup>16</sup> And more and more well-educated people, over 150,000 so far, are leaving Russia in open or tacit dissent with the Putin regime.<sup>17</sup> The Moscow prima ballerina Olga Smirnova resigned from the Bolshoi Ballet in protest (she was against the war with "all the fibres of her soul") and now dances in the Netherlands.<sup>18</sup> Nonviolent actions may only be pinpricks against the gigantic war machine, if one looks at it in purely military terms. But they have great strategic value in the longer term. This lies in their immense moral significance. For in any war, it is crucial that the combatants are convinced of the legitimacy of their cause. Non-violent actions encourage the population of the invaded Ukraine, demotivate the Russian soldiers and have an influence on public opinion in Russia. All this is reported here and there, but never put into context and understood as a spontaneous uprising rather than a consciously chosen strategy. Many of these protests may indeed be spontaneous, but many of the actions can be traced back to the fact that since the Maidan protests, and even more so since the war of 2014 and the occupation of Crimea, Ukrainian peace organisations have been systematically holding training sessions in the philosophy and methods of non-violent resistance. And apparently this has met with a positive response. There has been no lack of insightful concepts on how a non-violent rather than a (in any case failed) military approach to the seceded territories in Luhansk and Donetsk could be successful.<sup>19</sup> In any case, non-violence has been a seriously considered option among Ukrainians in recent years. At least, that is the result of representative studies.

### **High esteem for non-violence**

A nationwide survey of a representative sample of 1,000 adults published in 2015 by the Kyiv Inter-

national Institute of Sociology (KIIS) revealed a strong preference among the Ukrainian population for non-violent resistance. When asked how they would respond to foreign armed intervention or occupation of their homes, more than a quarter of respondents chose non-violent resistance as their main strategy, while just under a quarter opted for armed resistance. Similarly, when asked which means of defending their communities against militarily stronger foreign opponents would be more effective, 35% opted for non-violent civil resistance, 34% for military resistance. 44%) believed that this could be successful if Ukraine pursued political reforms and restored economic growth to raise the standard of living in the government-controlled area. This view was informed by the experience of the non-violent mobilisation and civil resistance of the Donbas miners in the struggle for Ukrainian independence between 1989 and 1991, with which more than a third of respondents were familiar. Less than a fifth were willing to participate in armed resistance at that time, according to the survey, while 65% of Ukrainians said they would refuse to take part in armed action. Three-fifths, on the other hand, favoured non-violent resistance - in the form of strikes, boycotts, marches, slowdowns, absenteeism and refusal to work for the occupation authorities and/or pay taxes.<sup>20</sup> For expert Peter Levine, Ukraine even has "the highest number of highly experienced non-violent resistance fighters in the world, thanks to the successful 'Revolution of Dignity' (2014)".<sup>21</sup> A new poll published in February 2022, about two weeks before the start of the Russian invasion, found a very high level of preparedness among the population (albeit with significant regional differences). Compared to an earlier survey in December 2021, this readiness has even increased significantly, from 33.3% to 37.3% for armed resistance and from 21.7% to 25% for civilian resistance. This means that before the outbreak of war 57.5% of Ukrainians (as opposed to 50.2% in December 2021) declared their willingness to resist.<sup>22</sup> In the meantime, the Ukrainian government has focused entirely on military resistance and can obviously rely on a broad majority of the population. As can be seen, this does not mean that non-violent resistance has disappeared.

### **The strategic importance of nonviolence**

Not to be underestimated is the support of international experts, such as Maria Stephan and Erica Chenoweth, authors of the now classic book "Why Civil Resistance Works",<sup>23</sup> who have also been active in the region for several years.<sup>24</sup> This study of 100 years of "regime change" proves that non-violence is far more successful and sustainable than armed insurrection when it comes to overcoming dictatorial regimes. Methods such as public protests, vigils, sit-ins, blockades, strikes or civil disobedience are used. When Ukrainians today opt for non-violence, they are pursuing several goals: First, they want to slow down and disrupt the military invasion. They also want to protect civilians, prevent violence against them and buy time for them to escape. The Russian armed forces and the population in Russia are to be made aware of the illegitimacy of their war, and the desertion of Russian soldiers is a declared goal. American veterans who had refused military service in Vietnam or Iraq are supporting them. Under the leadership of David Cortright, an opponent of the Vietnam War and now a professor at the Kroc Institute of the University of Notre Dame, they have written an open letter to the Russian soldiers. In it, they call on them not to take part in this unjust war and refer to the decision of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in The Hague, which demands a stop to the invasion.<sup>25</sup> Ultimately, it seems, only resistance in Russia itself can bring about a change in the Putin regime's behaviour in the long run. But the majority of the Russian population is still more or less convinced by Putin's argument that he must defend himself against the aggression of the fascist-led neighbouring state.<sup>26</sup> Therefore, according to the strategists of non-violence, ways must be found to convincingly refute Putin's propaganda. Andre Kamenshikov, a local representative of Nonviolence International and the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC) in Kiev, proposes an international platform to support Ukraine, for a regular exchange on all issues of

nonviolence, not least on how to effectively counter the Russian leadership's information war against its own people.<sup>27</sup> Experience in other cases shows that nonviolent campaigns can mobilise far more people and have better chances of success. Even those who rely on military resistance recognise the importance of non-violent action and consider it a "second front".<sup>28</sup> Lithuania has even included "civil defence" in its 2014 national security strategy.<sup>29</sup>

### **The dark side of military resistance**

But nonviolence as a strategy of resistance must not be an appendage of military resistance in the long run. The idea of nonviolence must not be misused for violent purposes. It must be embedded in a non-violent political vision for the long-term development of the region in order to actually offer a perspective and develop its potential. This is where the difference to military options really becomes apparent. For even if the Ukrainian resistance to Russian aggression is justified and has successfully thwarted the strategy of a quick victory for the invaders, the military struggle inevitably has its downsides. By responding to violence with violence, great human losses and the destruction of many cities have to be accepted. The Ukrainian peace movement criticises its government for not being interested enough in a negotiated solution. Western arms supplies and support for its propaganda war kept Selenskyj from seeking peaceful solutions. The continuation of the war, as well as the "destructive economic sanctions", is only in the interest of the arms industry. "Diplomacy is failing because all sides are investing too much in war and too little in diplomacy."<sup>30</sup> The harder the war is waged, the more the respective opponent is demonised, the more difficult it is to return to the negotiating table. Organisations like the Ukrainian Pacifist Movement (UPM), founded in 2019, have the courage to speak out against the prevailing mood, to reject the logic of war in principle and to stand up for the unpopular peaceful solution. It is by no means passive, but opposes the Russian invasion with all its might, but also refers to the larger context in which Ukraine serves as a battlefield in the competition between the USA and Russia. In a statement, it notes as its demands:

- Fulfilment of the 2015 Minsk Peace Agreement;
- Withdrawal of all troops;
- Termination of all deliveries of weapons and military equipment;
- Cancellation of general mobilisation of the population for war, propaganda for war and enmity of peoples in the media and social media.

Beyond Ukraine, it demands:

- Global de-escalation and disarmament;
- Dissolution of all military alliances;
- Abolition of armies and borders that separate people.<sup>31</sup>

These are, given the reality of war, very bold demands that seem hopeless. However, it is all the more important that such voices of reason are raised, which are not afraid to say the right thing simply because it is not accepted or even taken seriously by the vast majority. Yurii Sheliashenko, Secretary of the UPM and Board Member of the European Bureau for Conscientious Objection, points out: "In the seven decades following the Second World War, the great powers have only expanded their war machines and destroyed the environment. Worryingly, global military spending has almost doubled since the end of the Cold War. Sheliashenko not only exposes the hypocrisy of the pretexts for the Russian invasion, but also criticises the denial of language rights to the Russian-speaking population in Ukraine and the US war policy around the world. All the warring parties, he says, accuse the other side of lack of democracy and the existence of fascist groups, and indeed there are fas-

cists in both countries - the Varyag Battalion and the Russian National Unit (RNE) on the Russian side, and the Azov Battalion and Right Sector on the Ukrainian side. But neither side is taking action against its own fascists. If states are institutions to keep peace, every warring state is a "failed state". Thus, one can never escape the trap of violence.<sup>32</sup> Sheliazenko is thus committed to a consistent peace logic, as it is also expressed in a statement by German-speaking peace researchers (published shortly before the beginning of the war 2022).<sup>33</sup>

### **Short- and long-term visions of peace**

In the West, the Ukrainian narrative that the country is fighting for the values of democracy is uncritically shared. But the truth is more complicated, according to the German historian Jörg Baberowski: "This war is not a conflict between liberal democracy and autocracy, because most Ukrainians are much more conservative in their political views than one would like to believe in this country".<sup>34</sup> Yet this narrative serves to further legitimise the military support of the Selensky government. A pacifist approach is therefore more cautious in this respect. The essential difference between the military and the civilian option, however, is that the military option is based on a very short-term perspective: resistance with ever more and more efficient weapons in order to force the actually vastly superior opponent to retreat; flanked by the most severe economic sanctions, which are intended to isolate Russia and almost cripple its economy; reduction of Russia to a pariah state, as US President Joe Biden has put it.<sup>35</sup> According to military logic, this makes sense, but this option does not give a thought to what a subsequent peace agreement might look like. The basic idea of any peace solution, a solution for all sides involved, a common security and peace architecture, is totally lost sight of. The non-violent option, on the other hand, always thinks beyond the immediate conflict and includes the overall context. It relies on negotiations instead of continuing the war. Unfortunately, as Jörg Baberowski states: "If Putin cannot leave the battlefield while saving face, there will be no peace."<sup>36</sup> All direct and indirect parties to the conflict must press for a negotiated solution, as UN Secretary-General António Guterres never tires of repeating. The former President of Costa Rica and Nobel Peace Prize laureate Oscar Arias, together with a number of other Nobel Prize laureates, has also appealed to Ukraine, Russia and all the major powers in this regard.<sup>37</sup> Even if it seems hopeless at first glance to aim for long-term goals in the midst of war, the Ukrainian pacifists are convinced that only through such a fundamental reorientation can a new view of the conflict be taken. In this sense, Yurii Sheliazhenko opens up the perspective of the long-term overcoming of nation states, since the logic of the nation state inevitably pushes for ethnic homogenisation within fixed borders. His grand cosmopolitan vision is "the one people of the earth", united in their diversity. And he quotes the British writer H.G. Wells, who wrote 100 years ago: "A sense of history as the common adventure of mankind is as necessary for peace within as it is for peace between the nations."<sup>38</sup> The Ukrainian thinker's idea of the human community of destiny is very close to the idea of the "home-land Earth" of the French philosopher Edgar Morin<sup>39</sup>. Sheliazhenko appeals not only to his compatriots not to give up fantasy and imagination, because people trade according to their imagination. "In order to stop the war, it is important to overcome the discourse of fear in favour of a discourse of hope for a better future." Fear leads to violence, but hope leads to peace. But he does not stop at this abstract level. For it is precisely from a cosmopolitan point of view that a solution to the conflict is easier to imagine - beyond the withdrawal of Russian troops and the neutralisation of Ukraine. The great powers would have to give up their bloc confrontation, return to disarmament and sign the treaty banning nuclear weapons. The territorial issues of Ukraine regarding Donbass and Crimea could be resolved in such a climate through negotiations, if all sides are given the right to put forward their negotiating points.<sup>40</sup> As a concrete step, Sheliazhenko proposes an "independent public commission of experts"<sup>40</sup> as mediators in this war. "We can create a better world without armies and

borders, a world governed by the great powers of truth and love, uniting East and West.<sup>41</sup>

### **What we can do as a civil society**

Of course it is the decision of the Ukrainian people how they want to shape their defence against Russian aggression. The UN Charter explicitly allows for armed resistance against an aggressor. But Western civil society has an important role to play in contributing to a peace settlement, over and above any absolutely essential humanitarian support. It must not underestimate its importance. I see three areas of activity:

first, it must support the peace forces in Ukraine, Belarus and Russia with all its might. The peace researcher Eli S. McCarthy of Georgetown University, USA, proposes five points in this regard:<sup>42</sup>

1. dissemination and strengthening of existing non-violent forces in Ukraine and Russia;
2. support for "Unarmed Civilian Protection" (UCP) by donors, governments and multilateral institutions;
3. all parties to the conflict, including the respective enemies, must not be demonised but re-humanised: This concerns the language, the "labelling", i.e. the labelling of the other, and the narratives chosen.
4. Ukrainian President Selenskyj should be encouraged to sign an agreement with Russia on ending the war in order to gain leeway for resolving all outstanding issues.
5. A wave of "strategic delegations" with unsuspecting personalities should be organised to establish humanitarian air bridges to gain time and space in the hope that eventually a ceasefire can be achieved.

I would add:

6. welcoming conscientious objectors from all sides, because this encourages those who do not want to take up arms and increases the legitimacy of pacifist positions.

In addition to supporting the peace forces in Ukraine, as well as in Belarus and Russia, the second task is to intervene in the debate in our countries and in the European Union on the political conclusions to be drawn from this war.<sup>43</sup> So far, the dominant narrative is clearly that we need to break free economically from Russia's dependence on fossil fuels and undertake an unprecedented arms build-up. But the world will certainly not be made more peaceful by a new arms race. The frantic calls for security through more weapons seem to distract us from examining more closely why Putin expected not to meet too much resistance from the West. It was not a question of a stronger or weaker arming of NATO - after all, NATO is not intervening directly in the war now, that much common sense can just be found. Rather, Putin has seen how easily he succeeds in integrating and corrupting the political class and leading economic captains in Europe into his system. Western Europe's dependence on Russian fossil fuels, so deeply regretted today, was largely established after the occupation of Crimea and the equipping of the rebels in the Donbas. Instead of a spiral of arms, we need a political turnaround. The third task is civil society conflict management. Peace in Ukraine and Europe is not a sprint but a marathon. Civil society could make an important contribution by creating channels of communication between the adversaries. The "Interactive Problem Solving Workshops" developed by Herbert C. Kelman at Track 2 or Track 3 level could be used as a model.<sup>44</sup> It would be a matter of releasing intellectual energies for creative solutions in a protected atmosphere and building up a basis for discussion at civil society level. Instead of indiscriminately boycotting all Russian institutions, one should try to enter into dialogue with reasonable forces, even if they have not yet broken with all aspects of Putin's policy. However, in an atmosphere of emotional tension - including justified anger at the Russian invaders, concern about the fate of the Ukrainian population and the feeling of

powerlessness in the face of the ongoing war - pacifist positions have a very hard time being heard and taken seriously at all. One is reminded of the situation at the beginning of the Iraq war in 2003, when all voices of reason were wiped off the table by equating Saddam Hussein with Hitler for the war, or in 2011, when the defence of human rights had to be used to justify the military intervention in Libya. Both cases of "bellicism plus a moral cudgel" had a disastrous outcome. A sharp confrontation with the rampant bellicism is unavoidable, so that perhaps we can still succeed in creating today what was neglected after 1989 - namely a European peace and security architecture. It would be the realisation of what Mikhail Gorbachev intended with the beautiful image of the "common European house".

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### Footnotes (sources and literature):

1 The League for Social Defence has compiled a list of links with contributions on non-violent resistance to the Ukraine war.

<https://www.soziale-verteidigung.de/artikel/ziviler-widerstand-gegen-krieg-ukraine>. Further examples, which cannot all be included here, can be found in a blog by Bryan Carey of 14.3. 22 (<https://www.peacecatalyst.org/blog/2022/3/14/ukraine-reflections-pacifism-violence-and-nonviolent-resistance>) and in the very readable essay by Peter Levine "Prospects for nonviolent resistance in Ukraine and in Russia" (). (<https://peterlevine.ws/?p=25702>).

2 <https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/konflikte-unbewaffnete-ukrainer-stellen-sich-panzern-entgegen-dpa.urn-newsml-dpa-com-20090101-220228-99-321252>

3 <https://www.heise.de/news/AKW-Saporischschja-Ziviler-Widerstand-gegen-russisches-Militaer-6536407.html>

4 [https://www.democracynow.org/2022/3/1/ukrainian\\_pacifist\\_movement\\_russia\\_missile\\_strike](https://www.democracynow.org/2022/3/1/ukrainian_pacifist_movement_russia_missile_strike)

5 <https://www.handelsblatt.com/politik/international/ukraine-krieg-der-widerstand-von-berdjansk-haut-ab-solange-ihrnoch-am-leben-seid/28122448.html>

6 <https://www.rferl.org/a/ukraine-civil-resistance-russian-aggression/31728966.html>

7 [https://www.zeit.de/politik/ausland/2022-03/krieg-ukraine-aktuell-liveblog#event\\_id=ekJGjm7F6jV4hRrBP1iK](https://www.zeit.de/politik/ausland/2022-03/krieg-ukraine-aktuell-liveblog#event_id=ekJGjm7F6jV4hRrBP1iK)

8 <https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/russian-soldier-breaks-down-tears-26372773>

9 <https://www.zeit.de/politik/ausland/2022-03/cyberpartisanen-belarus-sabotage-russland-ukraine-krieg/komplettansicht>

10 The Culture of Peace News Network (CPNN) has compiled a fairly comprehensive and constantly updated list of all the Russian voices against the war: <https://cpnn-world.org/new/?p=26666> as well as <https://cpnnworld.org/new/?p=26914>. See also CPNN Bulletin April 1, 2022: <https://cpnn-world.org/new/?p=27012>.

11 <https://www.vaticannews.va/de/welt/news/2022-03/russland-priester-aufruf-krieg-beenden-moskauer-patriarchat.html>;  
<https://www.rferl.org/a/russia-orthodox-clerics-stop-war-ukrane/31730667.html>

- 12 <https://cpnn-world.org/new/?p=26666> (own translation).
- 13 [https://edition.cnn.com/europe/live-news/ukraine-russia-putin-news-03-15-22/h\\_878a6439a37f03aff2ebdc8c9f5758f2](https://edition.cnn.com/europe/live-news/ukraine-russia-putin-news-03-15-22/h_878a6439a37f03aff2ebdc8c9f5758f2)
- 14 <https://www.derstandard.at/story/2000134415824/neues-verfahren-gegen-owssjannikowa-wegen-protests-im-russischenstaatsfernsehen>
- 15 <https://www.news18.com/news/buzz/ukraine-calls-for-russian-eateries-google-reviews-to-be-flooded-with-war-news-4838615.html>
- 16 Die Zeit, 26.3. 2022, [https://www.zeit.de/politik/ausland/2022-03/krieg-ukraine-aktuellliveblog#event\\_id=ekJJcD8w2PpW7XVB9DJe](https://www.zeit.de/politik/ausland/2022-03/krieg-ukraine-aktuellliveblog#event_id=ekJJcD8w2PpW7XVB9DJe)
- 17 <https://www.nzz.ch/feuilleton/joerg-baberowski-aus-dieser-schwaecher-wachsen-die-unermesslichen-greuel-des-kriegesld.1677580>
- 18 [https://www.focus.de/kultur/vermischtes/krieg-moskauer-primaballerina-tanzt-nach-protest-in-amsterdam\\_id\\_69416345.html](https://www.focus.de/kultur/vermischtes/krieg-moskauer-primaballerina-tanzt-nach-protest-in-amsterdam_id_69416345.html)
- 19 See the Manifesto of Civilian-led Nonviolent Defence and Resistance for Ukraine from 2015: <https://voxukraine.org/en/manifesto-of-civilian-led-nonviolent-defense-and-resistance-for-ukraine/>.
- 20 See: <https://politicalviolenceataglace.org/2015/10/12/to-kill-or-not-to-kill-ukrainians-opt-for-nonviolent-civilresistance/>, published on 12 Oct. 2015. The original study is published at: <http://kiis.com.ua/?lang=ukr&cat=reports&id=546&page=1>.
- 21 <https://peterlevine.ws/?p=25702> (own translation)
- 22 <https://www.kiis.com.ua/?lang=eng&cat=reports&id=1099&page=1>
- 23 Erica Chenoweth/Maria J. Stephan (2011): Why Civil Resistance Works. The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict. New York: Columbia University Press.
- 24 [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CcttVAA-\\_0](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CcttVAA-_0)
- 25 Ibid.
- 26 A December 2021 poll, however, found that at that time only a small percentage of the Russian population supported a possible war against Ukraine: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/02/11/russia-maybe-about-invade-ukraine-russians-dont-want-it/>. In a March 2022 poll, 58% of respondents support the war, 23% oppose it (<https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2022/03/08/russia-public-opinion-ukraineinvasion/>). Surveys that ask more precisely about age and information channels for making judgements come to the following conclusion in March 2022: Support for Putin's war rises rapidly with age and exclusive use of state information sources. state information sources: from only 29% among 18-24 year-olds to 72% among Russians over 51 years of age. years. (<https://ironcurtain.substack.com/p/what-do-polls-say?s=r>)
- 27 Ibid.
- 28 <https://politicalviolenceataglace.org/2022/03/11/can-nonviolent-civil-resistance-stop-putin/>
- 29 <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/03/14/russia-protests-ukraine-resistance/>

30 The entire following passage and all verbatim quotations are based on Sheliashenko's programmatic speech about a week after the Russian invasion of Ukraine. week after the Russian invasion of Ukraine: <https://youtu.be/27co5-TuP-8>. See also his interview in democracy now! of 1. 3. 2022. ([https://www.democracynow.org/2022/3/1/ukrainian\\_pacifist\\_movement\\_russia\\_missile\\_strike](https://www.democracynow.org/2022/3/1/ukrainian_pacifist_movement_russia_missile_strike)).

31 Quoted from: <https://cpnn-world.org/new/?p=26395>.

32 <https://youtu.be/27co5-TuP-8>

33 AG Friedenslogik: Für konsequent friedenslogisches Handeln im Ukraine-Konflikt. Statement from the AG Peace Logic of the Platform for Civil Conflict Transformation (17 February 2022).

34 <https://www.nzz.ch/feuilleton/joerg-baberowski-aus-dieser-schwaechen-wachsen-die-unermesslichen-greuel-des-kriegesld.1677580>

35 <https://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/ausland/biden-verschaerft-nach-ukraine-angriff-die-sanktionen-gegen-russland-17831291.html>

36 <https://www.nzz.ch/feuilleton/joerg-baberowski-aus-dieser-schwaechen-wachsen-die-unermesslichen-greuel-des-kriegesld.1677580>

37 <https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/negotiations-putin-ukraine-us-eu-only-way-forward-by-oscar-arias-2022-03>

38 Herbert G. Wells (2015 [1920]): The Outline of History: Being a Plain History of Life and Mankind. Andesite Press.

39 Edgar Morin/Anne Brigitte Kern: Heimatland Erde. An Attempt at Planetary Politics. Vienna: Promedia 1999. See also the campaign of the same name by the Peace Research Institute ASPR in Stadtschlaining (Austria): <https://www.aspr.ac.at/en/education-training/aspr-campaigns/homeland-earth#/>.

40 <https://youtu.be/27co5-TuP-8>

41 Ibid.

42 <https://wagingnonviolence.org/2022/03/5-ways-to-support-courageous-nonviolent-resistance-in-ukraine/>

43 This position coincides with the proposals Sheliashenko makes to Western civil society in a letter dated 11.3.22 to the author: humanitarian aid, the creation of an international public opinion that advocates non-violent solutions, and education for peace and non-violence. solutions, and education for peace and non-violent global citizenship.

44 Herbert C. Kelman (2017): Resolving deep-rooted conflicts. Essays on the Theory and Practice of Interactive Problem-Solving. Edited by Werner Wintersteiner and Wilfried Graf. London: Routledge.



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Most recent book publication: Learning to Think the World Anew - Plea for a Planetary Politics. Lessons from Corona and other existential crises. Bielefeld: transcript 2021. PDF open access.

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