

# LET JUSTICE ROLL!

\*\*\*\*\*

A Quarterly Newsletter Produced & Distributed by the “Social Justice & Action Group” (SJAG) of St. John the Divine Anglican Church, Victoria, B.C.

## ISSUE #17: May – July 2022 – “WAR, PEACE & NON-VIOLENCE” –

*“But let justice roll on like a river, and righteousness like a never failing stream.” - Amos 5:24 (NIV)*



“What Jesus renounced is not first of all violence, but rather the compulsiveness of purpose that leads people to violate the dignity of others. Our readiness to renounce our legitimate ends whenever they cannot be attained by legitimate means itself constitutes our participation in the triumphant suffering of the Lamb. ... The kind of faithfulness that is willing to accept evident defeat rather than complicity with evil is, by virtue of its conformity with what happens to God when he works among people, aligned with the ultimate triumph of the Lamb.”

Mennonite Theologian J. H. Yoder – The Politics of Jesus (1972)

*The ideas and opinions expressed, and or positions articulated, in the newsletter may not officially be those of the Parish or the Diocese. Your feedback is encouraged! Please address your comments to either Murray Luft (Editor) [murrayrae@yahoo.com](mailto:murrayrae@yahoo.com) or John McLaren (SJAG) [jpsmamclaren@gmail.com](mailto:jpsmamclaren@gmail.com). We invite readers to submit provocative articles (already published or original) for inclusion in future “Let Justice Roll!” newsletters. SJAG’s intention is to produce the newsletter four times per year. During Covid 19, LJR is only available via the St. John’s web-site: <https://www.stjohnthedivine.bc.ca/programs/let-justice-roll>*

## LET JUSTICE ROLL

Several of the articles in LJR#17 were written by the following members of St. John's (and Church of the Advent) -- **John Thatamanil, Sara Chu, Al Lehmann, Merl Wall and Bill Geimer**. I hope that you will take the time to read their thoughtful contributions. Once again, **Karyn Lehmann, Carol-Ann Zenger and Karen Coverett** have brought their superb skills to the editing, production, and roll-out of LJR. My thanks to all of these folks too! Finally, may peace and blessings be with you, our faithful LJR readers, during the summer months ahead of us!

ML

### The Line Up For LJR #17

<b>Introducing Issue #17 – Line Up // “War, Peace &amp; Non-Violence” - Murray Luft</b>	<b><i>i. &amp; ii.</i></b>
<b>Reflection #1: “Living Out The Sermon on the Mount” - John Thatamanil</b>	<b>P. 1/2</b>
<b>Reflection #2: “Peace” - Al Lehmann</b>	<b>P. 3</b>
<b>“Seamless Christianity &amp; Non-Violence in Ukraine” - Bill Geimer, GVPS</b>	<b>P. 4</b>
<b>“In Memorium: Three of the Very Best!” - Murray Luft</b>	<b>P. 5/6</b>
<b>“Greater Victoria Acting Together: A Progress Report” – Merle Wall</b>	<b>P. 7/8</b>
<b>“Putin Country: Journey Into the Real Russia” - Book Review by Sara Chu</b>	<b>P. 9/10</b>
<b>“Putin's Religious Vision &amp; Christian Nationalism” - W. Granberg Michaelson</b>	<b>P. 11/12</b>
<b>“Quiz: Which World Leader Gave This Reason for an Invasion?” - Peace Quest</b>	<b>P. 13</b>
<b>“Ukraine: Non-Violent Resistance” - A. Christoyannopoulos – Loughborough U.</b>	<b>P. 14/15</b>
<b>“Costs of War” - Brown U./Watson Institute</b>	<b>P. 16</b>
<b>“Waging Peace” - Eli McCarthy - Georgetown U.</b>	<b>P. 17</b>
<b>“Opinion” - Doug Roche/Hill Times</b>	<b>P. 18/19</b>
<b>“A Nuclear War Cannot Be Won &amp; Must Never Be Fought” - Jim Rice (Sojo.net)</b>	<b>P. 20</b>
<b>“Ukraine Shows We Must Reject Just War Theory” - Marie Dennis, NCR</b>	<b>P. 21/22</b>
<b>“We're Minutes from Nuclear Midnight” - Jonathon Downs, IPPNWC</b>	<b>P. 23</b>
<b>“The Myth That Violence Keeps Us Safe” - George Lakey / YES!”</b>	<b>P. 24/25</b>
<b>“Poems &amp; Prayers” - L. Cohen, S. Hauerwas, D. Berrigan, A. McCall-Smith, etc.</b>	<b>P. 25-27</b>
<b>Closing Reflection: “A Culture of Peace” -- Randolph Haluza-Dulay</b>	<b>P. 28</b>

***We acknowledge with respect the Lək'wəḡən speaking peoples on whose traditional territory we work, play and worship, represented today by the Songhees and Esquimalt Nations in their continuing relationship with this land we call our home.***

**“Let us not tire of preaching love; it is the force that will overcome the world. Though we see that waves of violence succeed in drowning the fire of Christian love, love must win out; it is the only thing that can.”**

**Saint Oscar Romero of El Salvador.**

## INTRODUCTION TO LJR #17 – THE WAR OF THE LAMB

A new issue of LJR usually does not merit a lengthy introduction. But, with the faithful of St. John's fixated on the tragedy unfolding in **Ukraine**, it is imperative to contextualize a little. My guess is that SJD congregation members have noticed an appreciable rise in their levels of anger, anxiety and sorrow due to the Russian invasion of Ukraine. In February, the parish book-study group focused its attention on Marcus Borg's book: **Convictions**. The discussion of the Chapter entitled "*Christians Are Called to Peace and Non-Violence*" could not have been better timed to coincide with the release of LJR#17!

In this issue, we present the case for "non-violence and peace", and ask: **Is Christian pacifism a viable option in the light of the Ukrainian tragedy?** Time Magazine (March 3/22) makes reference to the protests that erupted in Moscow, following Putin's cynical invasion of Ukraine. Clearly, there are even many Russians who have come out against this senseless, bloody, and opportunistic war. As Putin's propaganda machine churns out its shameless spin (eg., "... *a special operation by peacekeepers ... in the name of denazification, to protect Russian speakers in eastern Ukraine!*"), a fuller picture of what war's cruelty and inhumanity, barbarity and destruction, look like, is projected nightly on our TVs.

Full disclosure! My own interest in (and conversion to) pacifism and non-violence came by way of a fortuitous association with **Mennonites** and **Quakers** during the early 1970's. It was the time of the **Vietnam War** and during my association with Mennonite Central Committee (MCC), my colleagues made a compelling case for Christian pacifism. My later exposure to "**liberation theology**" (while living and working in Latin America during the 1980's), increased my questioning about the role of faith in social change. For example, is "**redemptive violence**" justifiable when a corrupt military dictatorship is overthrown? Does an **Anabaptist** commitment to non-violence and peace mean that Christians should not engage in violent social/political change? For me, the Gospels were pretty clear -- war and killing were unacceptable, even when just or positive outcomes of the violence were promised!

To understand the **Anabaptist/Mennonite** "*peace witness*", I revisited the history of the early Church. After the repression and torture of Christians under Roman rule, there was a period of relative benign neglect, during which *believers* were exempt from military conscription. **Constantine's** adoption of the Cross as his military emblem in CE 416 symbolically signalled the end of Christianity's freedom to pursue a culture of peace, based on the core teachings of Jesus. When **St. Augustine** (*Bishop of Hippo*) articulated the "**Just War Doctrine**" in 430 CE, it was Christians who filled the ranks of the Holy Roman Empire's army. As a result, the Church essentially "**made peace with war**". According to Anabaptists, Just War Theory essentially licenced a succession of wars, from the **Crusades** of the Middle Ages to the "**The War to End All Wars**" in 1914. The early Mennonites who emerged in Northern Europe in the 16<sup>th</sup> Century C.E. (during the Reformation) were committed to finding alternatives to war and killing. They paid dearly for their pacifism and for rejecting "**the myth of redemptive violence**." Even their modest doctrines (e.g., like refusing "*infant baptism*") made Anabaptist converts scapegoats for relentless persecution by both of the major actors in Europe's religious wars -- Roman Catholics and Lutherans/Protestants.

Anabaptist "pacifists" today believe that peace is at the heart of the Gospel, that Christians are called to pursue peace and justice simultaneously, and take seriously Jesus' imperative to "**love our enemies**". As followers of Jesus, contemporary Mennonites believe that the path of non-violent love -- i.e., "**The War of the Lamb**"-- presumes against all forms of violence, including just and unjust military conflicts. Today, many (but not all) Mennonites/Anabaptists advocate for creative non-violence to resolve war and conflict.

In this post-Easter period, my hope is that you will be challenged by the articles in LJR#17. Please pray for a just resolution of the Ukrainian crisis, and a new era of peace and justice everywhere in our troubled and splintered world.

ML, Editor

## Living Out the Sermon on the Mount

By: John J. Thatamanil, Diocesan Theologian \*

March 2022 in Faith Tides

(Used with permission)

This past week, I finally got around to reading a letter of historic importance — lost for nearly 90 years and republished only last January. On Oct. 17, 1934, a 28-year-old German pastor wrote to a revered Indian leader who had just turned 65, requesting permission to visit and study under him. He writes with new urgency as he feels time slipping away:

*"It is no use to foretell the future which is in God's hands, but if not all signs deceive us, everything seems to work for war in the near future, and the next war will certainly bring the spiritual death of Europe. What we need therefore in our countries is a truly spiritual living christian peace movement. Western Christianity must be reborn on the Sermon on the Mount and here is the crucial point why I am writing to you. From all I know about you and your work after having studied your books and your movement for a few years, I feel we western Christians should try to learn from you, what realization of faith means, what a life devoted to political and racial peace can attain. If there is anywhere a visible outline towards such attainments, than I see it in your movement. I know, of course, you are not a baptised Christian, but the people whose faith Jesus praised mostly did not belong to the official Church at that time either. We are having great theologians in Germany — the greatest of them being to my opinion Karl Barth, whose disciple and friend I am happy to be — they are teaching us the great theological thoughts of the Reformation anew, but there is no one to show us the way towards a new christian life in uncompromising accordance with the Sermon on the Mount. It is in this respect that I am looking up to you for help."*

The writer was Dietrich Bonhoeffer, the recipient, Mahatma Gandhi. The trip never materialized. Eleven years after sending that letter, Bonhoeffer was executed by the Nazis. Dietrich never met Mohandas, the man whom he so deeply venerated.

The letter will not leave me. Watching the rise of the Nazis, Bonhoeffer worried about the "spiritual death of Europe." Living in the aftermath of that second gory war — not just its brutal battles but also the Holocaust and the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki — we know Bonhoeffer was not wrong in the slightest. But if he was on target about diagnosis, surely Bonhoeffer was also right about his proposed cure, namely a return to the Sermon on the Mount.

British Columbian Anglicans recognize that our established institutional forms are dying. Grief is unavoidable as our ranks dwindle. Still, we would be wise to heed Bonhoeffer's confidence in and hope for rebirth: the credibility of any future Christian faith hinges on faithful discipleship to Jesus' teaching. Bonhoeffer was pleased with the theological recovery of Reformation teaching about justification by grace; but he knew that it wouldn't do. A living and

costly discipleship to the nonviolent teachings of neighbour and enemy love — a Christianity of deeds not just creeds — was the urgent need of Bonhoeffer's century, as it is of ours.

Do we have evidence to support Bonhoeffer's spiritual intuition? Let's ask, where was Christian faith most vibrantly experienced in the last century? Ironically, in a Hindu living out the Sermon on the Mount and in his Christian disciple's reception thereof. That disciple? Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. About Gandhi, Dr. King, Jr. writes the following:

*"As I delved deeper into the philosophy of Gandhi my skepticism concerning the power of love gradually diminished, and I came to see for the first time its potency in the area of social reform. Prior to reading Gandhi, I had about concluded that the ethics of Jesus were only effective in individual relationships. The "turn the other cheek" philosophy and the "love your enemies" philosophy were only valid, I felt, when individuals were in conflict with other individuals; when racial groups and nations were in conflict a more realistic approach seemed necessary. But after reading Gandhi, I saw how utterly mistaken I was. Gandhi was probably the first person in history to lift the love ethic of Jesus above mere interaction between individuals to a powerful and effective social force on a large scale. Love for Gandhi was a potent instrument for social and collective transformation. It was in this Gandhian emphasis on love and nonviolence that I discovered the method for social reform that I had been seeking for so many months."*

When Bonhoeffer, Gandhi, and King concur, we'd best pay heed to them. The question is, how? What would it mean for BC Anglicans and other Western Christians to live out the Sermon on the Mount in the wake of residential schools and colonialism more broadly? What meaning can the Sermon on the Mount have in a time of climate disaster? How can we best listen to and learn from our neighbours of other traditions on how to live out the Sermon? We cannot know the answers until we patiently raise and pray these questions. Wrestling with these questions together will be essential if a living Christianity is to be reborn here in British Columbia.

---

\* John Thatamanil is associate professor of theology and world religions at Union Theological Seminary in New York. He is also a volunteer curate at St John the Divine, Victoria. Faith Tides is a monthly publication of the Anglican Diocese of British Columbia.

**NOTE:** The letter from Bonhoeffer is quoted as is, spelling errors and all, as published by Clifford Green under the title "Dietrich Bonhoeffer's Letter to Mahatma Gandhi" in the Journal of Ecclesiastical History's Jan. 2021. The letter from Martin Luther King, Jr. is quoted from The Radical King, edited by Cornel West.

### PEACE - A Reflection by Al Lehmann \*

*"Life can only be understood backwards; but it must be lived forwards." -- S. Kirkegaard*  
*"Peace is neither the absence of war, nor the presence of a disarmament agreement.*  
*Peace is a change of heart."* -- Richard Lamm, former gov. of Colorado

**New Definition:** The feeling in a safe space. A sense of harmony and "rightness" with one's environment. This differs markedly from the following two old definitions of peace.

**Old Definition #1:** Peace is an interim between wars. Peace is the opportunity to heal the wounded, bury the dead and sharpen our swords so we'll be ready for the next battle when it comes. (Obviously this isn't peace at all; it's just a lull in the cycles of the old war games. However, most governments still define peace this way.)

**Old Definition #2:** Peace is some kind of blissful, mellow state which we may get to "someday." But, we'll never get to it. Why? Because that's not who we human beings are. We're not always nice and mellow, we don't always agree, we do have conflicts. That must be factored into our definition of peace, or we'll just dream and wish our lives away trying to achieve some unattainable goal and keep killing each other because those "others" aren't fitting into our fantasy of what peace is supposed to look like. In fact, if we could achieve this mellow state where we're all just hanging around in the hot tub of life being oh-so-nice and always agreeing on everything, we would all go nuts very quickly.

Humans need passion and challenge in their lives and any workable definition of peace must honor that fact. **Real peace is an active, alive process. It is a verb, not a noun.** It encompasses the inner feeling that you are just where you are supposed to be, doing what you were destined to do, in harmony with those around you who are doing what they were meant to do and in harmony with your planet. Peace, the action-oriented verb, is happening when you and those around you are dealing with one another with respect, integrity, and a sense of shared creativity. This can happen when you are meditating together or disagreeing in the midst of a heated meeting.

**Note:** This new definition of peace does not demand that you be quiet or "nice" or unconfused. In fact, this alive *Peace-full-ness* can exist in the midst of a conflict. The difference is that, as you allow yourself to be immersed in the conflict, you also acknowledge "your truth" as relative and acknowledge the conflict as a productive process leading toward the best outcome for all. To be peaceful in a conflict is to allow the energy of the conflict to take you and "the other" to a greater understanding. This understanding is based on Warriors of the Heart by Danaan Parry. Parry's definition is very close to the concept of **SHALOM**. When Jesus said to his disciples, "Peace be unto you", he was not advocating total pacifism. What he said was that we should avoid returning violence with violence. His approach was to find a "third way," one that is at once assertive, and yet nonviolent. (For more: See Jesus' Third Way - by theologian Walter Wink.)

\* Al Lehmann is an active member of St. John's. He is a career educator, holding various teaching positions, including his most recent as Communications Instructor at Camosun College in Victoria. Al is a former Lutheran.



Seamless Christianity:  
Who Will Be The Voice of the New Testament Commandments?  
Who Will Speak for Nonviolence in Ukraine?

Although organized religion has done untold harm in the world over the years, it is also true that people of faith from many traditions have been, and are today, at the forefront of social justice. Key to their remarkable work is the truth that their lives have no comfortable compartments. Their faith permeates every aspect of every day. Black people who struggled nonviolently for basic freedoms against slavery and institutionalized racism adapted the perverted form of Christianity forced upon them and turned it into a guide to liberation. In the midst of their own suffering, rather than meet violence with violence, they took Mark 12:28-31 seriously.

We, who are not suffering, stand on their shoulders. Who but we can be voices of compassion, voices presently nowhere to be heard against the din of calls for war? Who but we can speak truth to power?

The mutual propaganda and posturing that preceded the Russian invasion demonstrates the appallingly poor state of international negotiation and conflict resolution skills. Now those who failed to avert this human tragedy have nothing to offer save more violence to overcome violence. People of faith can and must offer something better.

Brave people across Ukraine are already spontaneously using nonviolent means to fight a brutal, illegal invasion. How much better if training and education in civil resistance had been widespread and encouraged earlier. The current situation reflects a deficit in peace education that has existed for years as we go about our compartmentalized lives blissfully indifferent to it.

Yet, it is not too late. An ignored trove of information based on experience in the success of nonviolence exists. And make no mistake, we are not talking here about “*gentle Jesus meek and mild*”. There is *power* in nonviolence. Jesus knew that, even while it may remain difficult for us to grasp.

Local churches and people of faith have joined with others in our city to take the first steps on the long journey toward giving the Gospel a voice. At the **Greater Victoria Peace School (GVPS)**, the journey starts where it must start, not with nations or policies, but with each of us as individuals. Classes begin on **Apr. 22/22**, but one session is not a prerequisite for attending another. Further information & registration from [victoriapeaceschool.com](http://victoriapeaceschool.com). Thank you for your support. Peace!

**Bill Geimer, Director – Greater Victoria Peace School (GVPS)**



### **IN MEMORIAM: 3 OF THE VERY BEST!**

The world lost a great peacemaker on January 22, 2022 when Buddhist monk **Thích Nhất Hạnh** passed away at age 95. Nhất Hạnh was exiled from Vietnam after opposing the war in the 1960s. He influenced the American peace movement and urged Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. to oppose the Vietnam War (which King eventually did). Nhất Hạnh became a leading voice in applying Buddhist principles to political and social reform through nonviolent life and action.

Thích Nhất Hạnh lived the prophetic power of gentleness. At the beginning of his bestselling book [Being Peace](#) he wrote: *"Life is filled with suffering, but it is also filled with many wonders, such as the blue sky, the sunshine, the eyes of a baby. To suffer is not enough."* He also wrote: *"If in our daily life we can smile, if we can be peaceful and happy, not only we, but everyone will profit from it. This is the most basic kind of peace work."*



***Thich Nhat Hanh at Peace Conference***

\*\*\*\*\*

**Retired Bishop Remi De Roo** -- the last surviving Canadian English-speaking bishop to take part in the Second Vatican Council in Rome more than 50 years ago, died on Feb. 1, 2022. He was 97 years of age. As bishop of Victoria, he was no stranger to controversy. He was a "progressive", and was often outspoken!



***Bishop Remi De Roo at Age 90***

When he retired in 1999 at the age of 75, Remi De Roo was Canada's longest-serving bishop; he had shepherded Victoria since 1962. In 1984, he accused PM Pierre Trudeau of exacerbating the *"moral crisis of unemployment"* and later encouraged Vancouver Island's 70,000 Catholics to experiment in worship styles and enhance the role of women in Catholic Church life.

Present Victoria Bishop Gary Gordon said one of the enduring gifts the late bishop brought to the Diocese and the Church in Canada was his passion for promoting *"the council's desire for the church to grow into the fullness of the people of God in dialogue with the world, especially in the realm of the social teachings of the Church."* When he was named bishop of Victoria at age 38, De Roo was the world's youngest bishop and the first western-born Bishop of Victoria.

One of the early tasks Bishop De Roo set for himself was to visit as many of the Indigenous people of his Diocese as possible, and he maintained a close relationship with them for the rest of his life. After returning from the Council in Rome, his enthusiasm for embracing progressive ideas quickly took root in Victoria, where he told a lay apostolate workshop that new pastoral patterns were needed in the church, with the laity planning, organizing and carrying out programs with the spiritual guidance of priests and in cooperation with the hierarchy. He spoke of his frustration over what he saw as entrenched attitudes among the laity that



blocked efforts to breathe new life into Vatican II's documents.

Bishop De Roo served as chair of the Canadian bishops' Social Justice Committee and frequently called for economic justice in public policy-making. He drew the ire of traditional and conservative Catholics with his support for married and female priests. He was a frequent guest at conferences sponsored by "*Call to Action*", a Catholic organization that advocated for contraception and for married female priests. Bishop De Roo was accused of making questionable investment decisions in his Diocese during the 1980's and '90's. He was later absolved of any wrong-doing.

### **Dr. Paul Farmer - RIP\***

Dr. Paul Farmer, an American Catholic public-health specialist who helped found a network of clinics serving the rural poor in Haiti and Rwanda died on Feb. 21, 2022, at the clinic he had founded in Butaro, Rwanda. He was 62. Farmer's public health approach revolutionized health care in areas of extreme poverty in Latin America and Africa. Farmer's long-time friend, Fr. John Dear, wrote much of the following moving tribute/eulogy. \* From: America Magazine, Feb. 23/22.

Dr. Paul Farmer founded **Partners in Health**. He was a tireless advocate for the poor and the marginalized in Haiti, Peru and Rwanda. Many consider Farmer to be an exceptional humanitarian, peacemaker and saint. Farmer underwent a dramatic conversion that changed his life forever in 1980, the night that **Archbishop Óscar Romero** was assassinated in El Salvador. While attending a prayer vigil on the Duke U. campus, he suddenly realized that to be a Christian meant you had to be on the side of the poor and to serve Christ in the poor. Farmer moved to Haiti shortly after. Fr. Dear says Farmer encouraged him to speak out against war, racism, poverty and nuclear weapons -- "*His constant admonitions to me were: 'Keep at it! Don't give up!'*"

Partners In Health co-founders, Ophelia Dahl and Jim Yong Kim, remember Paul Farmer's role in founding one of the most innovative rural health projects in history: Paul told Dahl and Kim: "*We only need one rule: Everybody has to be kind! We have to agree to*

*practice unconditional kindness!'*"

Fr. Dear remembers Farmer as a visionary who reclaimed imagination and new possibilities of what it meant to be human and what the world could be like. "**When he was told 'You can't do that!'**, he would always answer: '*Sure we can!*' And then he did it." In the film about *Partners in Health*, called "*Bending the Arc*" (currently available on Netflix), there is a scene where Paul is working with a patient dying of TB who only has days to live. The patient says "*My father is busy building my coffin*". Paul puts her on treatment, saves her life, and then casually says to her: "**Tell your father to get rid of the coffin. You're not going to need it!**"

Farmer lived Matthew 25, serving Christ in the poorest of the poor. The dean of Harvard Medical School remarked: "*Paul Farmer has changed the way medicine is done around the world.*" His closest friend Fr. Dear concludes:

***"Paul took on the powers and forces of the culture of death and brought millions of people back to life. He was the doctor who reclaimed the Gospel for the poor in an unprecedented way. I take heart knowing that this person who practiced resurrection in the face of death every day of his life lives on with the risen Jesus. With Paul Farmer, as with Jesus, death does not get the last word. Life does!"***



*Farmer with patient in Rwanda, 2016 (America)*

## **GREATER VICTORIA ACTING TOGETHER (GVAT): THE POWER OF DIVERSITY**

**By Merl Wall \***

Many parishioners may be wondering how GVAT has been functioning over the last two years. Adjusting to the 'new normal' was essential for its' survival and GVAT did what needed to be done – became Zoomers! Despite the pandemic, GVAT pushed ahead by holding Zoom meetings that worked diligently on community-focused campaign efforts. Did we stop here? No! A new Active Research Team, **Climate Justice**, was created and is a very welcome addition to the other two ARTs - **Housing** and **Mental Health and Addictions**. These three action areas work together when concerns overlap. All three ARTS have worked hard in building relationships in the community particularly with government and social agencies.

The **HOUSING ART** has had many successful campaigns. In the last year, a team has zeroed in on the dire rental situation in the region, particularly in the City of Victoria where a majority of residents are renters. The team is advocating with the provincial government and local councils for protection from *renovictions and demovictions*. Basically, the aim is to keep controlled, affordable rents in place for long-term tenants. Another aim is to ask for legislation that would forbid landlords with multiple units to increase rent more than the percentage amount that is allowed each year. At present, a landlord can increase the rent as much as the market will bear; when the tenant moves out, the new tenant can legally be charged hundreds of dollars more than the previous rent. Letters have been sent to Victoria and Saanich councils asking them to strengthen renter protection from this escalating cost of rent. This work is on-going.

Another campaign, collaboration with the **MENTAL HEALTH & ADDICTIONS ART** on the Existence Project, is ongoing. Here, workshops with many neighbourhood associations feature the lived experience of the homeless. Their stories make clear the need for supportive housing. As a result of this advocacy, in March 2021 BC Housing announced funding to fast-track 192 supportive housing units in Victoria. Some of these projects like the one under construction on Catherine Street involve modular components that saves building time. We also wrote many letters of support to BC Housing and attended presentations at neighbourhood associations to verbally express our support for this type of housing.

An earlier campaign that showed GVAT's concern for youth aging out of care at age 19 started in January 2020 with much input from Threshold Housing and RCYBC. Meetings with 3 cabinet ministers gave us the opportunity to ask for policy and funding changes so that youth transitioning into adulthood would not end up sleeping on the street. Our extensive campaign reached fruition when the recent provincial budget made a huge announcement that proposes measures to support youth leaving care up to age 27. These measures allow young adults to stay in their current housing beyond age 19, receive \$600 per month rent supplement, keep job earnings without claw backs, improve access to counselling and life-skill programs, and get medical/dental benefits. A letter expressing our thanks for these life-saving changes was recently sent to the government, but we also asked that safe housing and support services be put into practice as soon as possible. If implemented soon, BC would be the first province in Canada to provide youth aging out of care the much-needed time to transition into adulthood.

Recent letter writing campaigns that pressed the City of Victoria council to approve affordable housing and co-op projects without requiring rezoning or public hearings has recently met with success when the council passed new legislation to expedite projects done by non-profit, government or co-op housing organizations as long as the projects fit in with the City's Official Community Plan. The Saanich Council may follow in Victoria's footsteps.

## 8.

A core from the Housing ART have been meeting with some Saanich Neighbourhood Associations in the past year with the aim to have these neighbourhoods become more open to accepting multiple forms of housing rather than just single-family homes. This will happen if the City of Saanich passes legislation that would open up more land for more affordable housing that wouldn't need to be rezoned or go through time-consuming public hearings. The Housing ART will continue to advocate for affordable housing and rents for the diverse population of Greater Victoria from the homeless, and the working poor, to the middle class.

On another front, the **MENTAL HEALTH & ADDICTIONS ART** worked to support the Canadian Mental Health Association BC Division in developing a pilot project in Victoria for a citizen-led alternative crisis response team to respond to mental health calls. Research and interviews conducted with members of the Victoria police department, Island Health and numerous community service providers identified strong support for a reduced role of police presence in responding to most mental health crisis calls.

When potential budget cuts to school district budgets were announced in the summer, the education working group of the MHA team were successful in advocating at local public meetings that funding for school counsellor positions in SD #61 be maintained. From the beginning, the Mental Health and Addictions ART has been committed to radically improving access to mental health and addiction services in a system which is confusing and underfunded. The work continues.

After being accepted into GVAT, the **CLIMATE JUSTICE ACTION RESEARCH TEAM** sprung into action and quickly established their areas of concern. The first major concern is the protection of old growth forests. They have been working on their own and in collaboration with other community groups to gain support for changes to the province's old growth logging policies. GVAT member organizations engaged with provincial ministers and MLAs, sponsored awareness raising workshops and used social media and letter writing sessions to disseminate their asks. Their efforts contributed to a major provincial government announcement in November of its intention to defer logging of 2.6 million hectares of old growth forests, and have prompted a commitment to overhaul the forestry licensing system in the province.

Their next concern is transportation. Through op-eds, personal meetings and engagement with like-minded community organizations, the Climate ART also leveraged a precedent setting commitment from the CRD to direct transportation funding away from continued highway construction and towards affordable public transportation and active transportation networks. The Climate team has also asked for resolutions to support allowing wheelchairs and mobility scooters on 'all ages and abilities' (AAA) bike and roll routes. The City of Victoria unanimously approved such a motion. Hopefully, Saanich will move in this direction.

Another area of concern is finding support in the community for the creation of green jobs and the retraining of workers who will fill the jobs in a green economy. From the successes of many of the GVAT campaigns, we have been influential across a broad swath of society. During this pandemic, GVAT has dared to join diverse member organizations in a collaborative vision to demonstrate the potential power for bringing about positive change for the greater good of our region. St. John the Divine Church has played a large role in the formation of GVAT and many members have taken an active role in the campaigns. Recently, our Anglican Diocese of BC has joined GVAT and is encouraging other Anglican parishes in Greater Victoria to join. Diversity in the GVAT membership creates the energy that forges positive change.

**\* Merl Wall is an active member of St. John's and serves on Parish Council. For further information, please contact Merle at (250) 588-5414. Much of the information found in this article was taken from GVAT's Annual Report (January, 2022). Current information has also been gleaned from GVAT meetings and the news media.**

**Putin Country:**

**A Journey Into The Real Russia**

**By Anne Garrels -- A Book Review by Sara Chu**

The author Anne Garrels became NPR's Moscow correspondent in 1993, two years after the Soviet Union had broken up. Garrel began with the premise that Moscow is not Russia. Most Russian citizens, including members of many diverse ethnic groups, live elsewhere. She chose to focus on one provincial area, Chelyabinsk, an area the size of Austria but with only three million people, on the southern edge of the Ural Mountains. She visited Chelyabinsk many times every year since 1993.

One of Garrels' main theses is that Russians outside Moscow both admire and resent the Moscow megalopolis. She describes Chelyabinsk as the "backbone of Russia",<sup>1</sup> a place rich in minerals and coal, forests, fields, and lakes. The locals believe they have supported the entire country in war and peace but the cost has been exorbitant and the region, like many others in Russia, is still raw from the ravages of history.

That history includes the revolution of 1917, industrialization in the 1930s, World War II, the Cold War, the end of Stalin's terror when he died in 1953, the near-bankruptcy of the country in the late 1980s, the replacement of Gorbachev's "openness"<sup>s</sup> with the reign of the alcoholic Yeltsin and the end of the Soviet Union in 1990. Then came the rise of Putin, who became president in 2000, and with him, the rise of the wealthy oligarchs.<sup>2</sup>

The dominant characteristic of Russian society is the corruption that is part of every facet of life—schools, the police, the military, the media, social services, everything. Bribes are built into everything. The author provides details in chapter after chapter. She also details the economic chaos that has accompanied the political upheavals.

Garrels writes that Putin is seen as a stabilizing influence and the majority of Russians can not imagine who could replace him and dread the prospect of a regime change and the ensuing chaos. There may be rebellion in Moscow but not in the rest of the country. She also documents the mixed feelings most Russians have toward the West. They want many of the goods that the West can offer but they feel huge resentment over what they perceive as the West's attempts to humiliate Russia and to undermine Russia's actions. Russians feel the West is guilty of many faults for which the West criticizes Russia and there is some basis in truth for that feeling if one looks at American actions in Iraq, Afghanistan, and other countries. The United States has bent the rules of the Warsaw Pact and has expanded NATO so it appears to threaten Russia. The U.S. helped

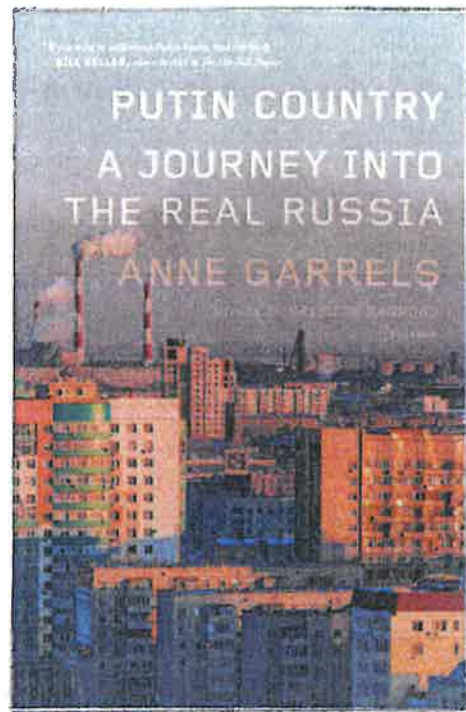


revolutions in Ukraine, Georgia, and Kyrgyzstan. When Americans criticize Russian aggression against ethnic minorities or Muslims in Russia, one can certainly say racism is alive and well in the United States. Russians in general blame Western actions for much of Russia's problems. They feel the West tries to weaken Russia and that makes them angry.<sup>3</sup>

The author paints a grim picture of the life of average Russians. The life expectancy is lower than in the West, and much much lower in some areas. The people, especially many of the men, numb themselves with alcoholism in order to cope. They have a passionate desire to reclaim a proud Russian identity, but feel profound depression at the same time. Most Russians feel Vladimir Putin is the man to help reclaim Russia's pride and identity.

The book offers interesting insights into many things that are currently in the news. Garrels describes the low birth rate in Russia. (We have the same problem in Canada.) That plus the corruption in the military, which accepts bribes for draft evasion, explains why Putin has trouble amassing sufficient troops for his wars.

Garrels also describes the return of the Eastern Orthodox Church in exchange for cooperation with Putin. This helps explain why Pope Francis was so circumspect in his plea for peace and did not specifically blame Russia for the war in Ukraine. He was tip-toeing around the Orthodox complicity with Putin's regime, in the hope that they could still be an agent for bringing peace.



This book is a few years old but it offers information about Russia that is not widely known and gives a very useful background against which we can observe and assess current events.

\*\*\*\*\*

Garrels, Anne. ***Putin Country: A Journey Into The Real Russia.*** Farrar, Straus and Giroux. New York, 2016

---

1. *ibid*, p. 5    2. *ibid*, p. 29-32  
 3. *ibid*, p. 34-36

---

\* Sara Chu is a member of St. John the Divine's SJAG and a frequent contributor of articles to LJR.

## **PUTIN'S RELIGIOUS VISION AND THE DANGER OF CHRISTIAN NATIONALISM**

**BY WESLEY GRANBERG-MICHAELSON – SOJO.NET -- MAR. 2, 2022**

Russia's war in Ukraine has a religious dimension that must be understood: For the first time in decades, two predominantly Orthodox Christian countries are fighting one another. John Paul II said, "War is always a defeat for humanity." As Russian soldiers are engaging Ukrainians in mortal combat, in many cases Orthodox Christians are killing Orthodox Christians. This war is a defeat for Christianity.

There's a millennium of history behind this. Around 980, princes in what is today Ukraine were converted to Christianity by Orthodox Christians from Constantinople. The area around Kyiv became the heart of Orthodoxy in the region for three centuries, but then moved to Moscow. Orthodox churches in Ukraine were under the "sphere of ecclesial influence" of the Moscow Patriarchate, the center of the Russian Orthodox Church, until Russia invaded Crimea 2014. That escalated a split in the Orthodox Church in Ukraine — an unintended consequence Vladimir Putin didn't imagine — and eventually a large group of Orthodox churches formed the Orthodox Church of Ukraine, independent from Moscow's influence. But others remained in the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, with its ties to Moscow.

That history is important because of how Putin envisions Russia's identity and global role. He's committed to see the glories and geography of "Mother Russia" restored. Religiously, he claims this is preserving "Christian civilization" against the secular decadence of the West. And for that, his transactional alliance with the Russian Orthodox Church is essential. Like the czars, he wants to see Moscow as the center of political and military power over an empire that is sanctified by the blessing of the Russian Orthodox Church. And he wants an Orthodox Church he can control to reign in Ukraine.

In my ecumenical experience I have often listened to colleagues from the Russian Orthodox Church, as it emerged after the fall of the Soviet Union, extol their nationalistic righteousness and dismiss the decadence of Western societies and their churches, corrupted by collusion with secular culture. To be honest, the versions of Christianity championed by those colleagues often bears a strong resemblance to the white, masculine, militarized versions of evangelical faith described with such insightful analysis by Kristin Kobes Du Mez in her best-selling *Jesus and John Wayne*. So, it makes sense that Steve Bannon and voices of religious white nationalism look to Putin and other autocratic "Christian" leaders with such admiration.

All this underscores the grave dangers of wedding the church to nationalistic power and perceived righteousness: The possibilities of faithful prophetic witness are repressed and eliminated. Nationalism becomes idolatry. Belonging to a global body of Christ that transcends national boundaries is destroyed. The possibility of the church acting within situations of conflict and war as a channel of peacemaking vanishes. And at times, the church even ends up blessing weapons of destruction.

The Orthodox Church is severely divided between the Ecumenical Patriarch still in Constantinople (Istanbul), the symbolic figure of Orthodox unity, and the Russian Orthodox Church in Moscow. That's a centuries-old tension, now deeply accentuated by today's war. Among all this war's casualties will be a deeper rendering of the Orthodox world. One can pray that the rival Orthodox

churches in Ukraine can build bridges of cooperation through solidarity with the suffering of their common land.

And what is the shape of a wider global Christian witness in the face of this war? The danger, I think, is to immediately move toward invoking the "just war" theory. The Russian side, led by Putin, is so obviously the aggressor, determined to take over Ukraine by brute military force. Even measured diplomats are calling Putin "evil." All that has justification. But historically, most conflicts ethicists try to label as "just wars," when begun, as the inexorable dynamics of warfare take over, eventually become just a war.

For the follower of Jesus, war can never be the answer. But what are the alternatives? Can nonviolent resistance from people of faith around the globe find any expression? In fact, economic and political sanctions are a start. Of course, it's clear that the sanctions imposed by countries against Putin's Russia could not prevent him from his aggression. But they can impose a severe cost that will grow over time. While they are presently discussed as a tool in the arsenal of countries not becoming directly engaged militarily, it's worth putting them within the moral framework of nonviolent resistance.

The irony is that in a globalized, economically integrated world, which breeds its own injustices, economic sanctions can become a viable and powerful tool to respond to brute aggression that breaches international law. We should remember that the apartheid regime in South Africa was finally broken when economic boycotts and disinvestment became a part of the resistance to evil. On Ash Wednesday, global Christian organizations of Lutherans, Methodists, Mennonites, Reformed, and others will have an online prayer vigil for peace, joining the appeal of Pope Francis for prayer and fasting in spiritual and practical solidarity. The Sant'Egidio Community in Rome, known for its global commitment to peace and nonviolence, **proposed** an immediate ceasefire and called for Kyiv to be declared an "Open City," or a city that unoccupied by military forces and prohibited by international law from being bombed.

The global Christian community should support and participate in all those forms of nonviolent resistance to Putin's aggression and to the temptation from all sides to see violence as an answer rather than an evil. Further, the Christian community should stand against every attempt to use religious faith as a transactional tool to support the self-righteous nationalism of any regime, autocratic or democratic.

Finally, we should remain faithful in proclaiming that wars never win, in the end, and that Christ's resurrection demonstrates how violence is all, ultimately, undone by the power of God's love.

---

**\* Wesley Granberg-Michaelson is a Sojourners contributing editor and former general secretary of the**

---

**Reformed Church in America. His most recent book is *Without Oars: Casting Off into a Life of Pilgrimage*.**

---

In April, Welsh social-justice troubadour Martyn Joseph played a concert at St. Mathias in Victoria. About his newest protest song -- **"And I'd Take You Out!"** -- Joseph states: *"One man seems to have brought this about: maybe that's naive and simplistic, but I see only a veil of evil across the face of so-called President Putin. I'm well aware that, not that long ago, the UK and the USA invaded Iraq, a sovereign country on the pretext of a lie. Madeleine Albright, the former US Secretary Of State, when asked about the destruction caused and the death of 500,000 Iraqi children replied: "it was a very hard choice, but the price - we think - is worth it".*

**Quiz: Which World Leader Gave This Reason For An Invasion? \***

1. "Defeat? I do not recognize the meaning of the word."
2. "Terrorists and terror states do not reveal these threats with fair notice, in formal declarations -- and responding to such enemies only after they have struck is not self-defence, it is suicide. The security of the world requires disarming Saddam Hussein now."
3. "Those who embarked on the path of violence, bloodshed, lawlessness did not recognize and do not recognize any other solution to the present issue, except for the military one."
4. "Apart from us the hatred of this international world conspiracy was directed against those people which like ourselves were neglected by fortune and were obliged to earn their daily bread in the hardest struggle for existence."
5. "So, let us be clear: this was not just an attack on the United States. These cold-blooded killers struck a blow at the values and beliefs of free and civilized people everywhere. The world has been attacked. The world must respond."
6. "The ruling family in Kuwait is good at blackmail, exploitation, and destruction of their opponents. They had perpetuated a grave U.S. conspiracy against us.... stabbing [our country] in the back with a poisoned dagger."

**CHOICE OF LEADERS:** Vladomir Putin, Jean Chretien, Margaret Thatcher, George W. Bush, Saddam Hussein, Adolf Hitler

**ANSWERS:** Pls. Go to Bottom of Page 26 for Correct Answers

\* From: Peace Quest Newsletter, March 19, 2022

**War cannot be humanized.**

**It can only be abolished.**

**—Einstein**

WorldBEYONDWar.org WomenAgainstWar.org



## **Ukraine: Nonviolent Resistance Is Brave; But Is It an Effective Response to Aggression?**

**By Alexandre Christoyannopoulos, Loughborough University, UK  
Editor: The Journal of Pacifism and Nonviolence -- March 4, 2022**

Responses to the Russian invasion have been swift. Thousands of people both in Ukraine and abroad are enlisting to fight against the odds. Ukrainian men between the ages of 18 and 60 are being forcibly mobilised. An “international legion” is being formed from hundreds of non-Ukrainians volunteers. People across the world are donating money to help Ukraine buy military equipment. Western countries are sending arms.

But could non-violent resistance be an effective or even better alternative? Advocates of pacifism and nonviolence are often ridiculed as naïve, as dangerous, or even as unpatriotic cowards. Even in some academic circles, pacifism is “subjugated” in the sense of being both dismissed and denigrated.

Yet a long tradition of pacifism counts at least one famous Russian among its ranks: Leo Tolstoy. Since he penned his passionate denunciations of all violence around 1880-1910, there has been mounting evidence that nonviolent resistance is more effective than violent resistance, even against despots. Non-violent resistance also seems to lead to outcomes more respectful of human rights in the long term.

More research is needed on this, but what we do know is that non-violence makes strategic use of the moral high ground. As Tolstoy would acknowledge, this doesn’t mean violence won’t happen, but the nonviolent protesters risk suffering violence rather than inflicting it. The same principle was put into practice by followers of Gandhi: they knew that violent repression of nonviolent protesters would attract attention.

It’s a brave strategy, and one as potentially risky as facing the enemy with weapons. And it might not work. But it can help shift the moral balance – and with it, the balance of power. It treats opponents as human beings, and could help convince them and their supporters to rethink what they are doing and their allegiances.

It’s not clear that violence always works either. We often assume it does. But any effectiveness depends on the response of the adversary, who might comply, or resist. Meanwhile violence polarises. It hardens resolves. And of course it claims victims, aggrieves friends and relatives, who might in turn seek revenge.

### **Nonviolent Resistance to Russia’s Invasion**

In the case of the ongoing Russian invasion of Ukraine, many would argue that violent resistance meets the stringent criteria of “just war theory”. This is a war of imperialist aggression, of nostalgic power projection, driven in part by paranoia and revenge for the geopolitical losses and the brutal capitalist “shock therapy” of the 1990s.

The Ukrainians chose Volodymyr Zelensky as their president. They are in favour of closer ties with the EU and the west. Russia might feel threatened by NATO’s expansion, but those countries that joined did so precisely because they were afraid of Russia. This invasion, if anything, vindicates their fears. So the call to fight back is understandable – and tempting.

But there are other – nonviolent – ways of resisting. Some Ukrainians have stopped Russian tanks by blocking them. People have confronted troops with boos, chants and verbal tirades. The Ukrainian road company has encouraged people to remove road signs to confuse the invaders.

Ukraine is offering money and amnesty to anyone who deserts from the Russian army. Zelensky addressed the Russian people in their language telling them to resist as well.

In Russia, thousands have demonstrated in the streets despite considerable personal risks. Numerous public figures, hundreds of Russian scientists, even over 150 clerics, have expressed opposition to the war already. There are reports of small gestures of resistance like this woman wearing the colours of the Ukrainian flag in the Moscow metro.

Further away, the activist group Anonymous has been waging cyber-attacks against Russia. Major international corporations and sports organisations are cutting ties with Russia. The toughening economic sanctions imposed by multiple governments will put further pressure on Putin and the Russian elite (although they will cause considerable suffering to the Russian population).

### Nonviolent Resistance on the Horizon?

So, plenty of responses to Putin's invasion have been nonviolent, some very creatively so. There are more options. In his 1973 study, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*, the American political scientist Gene Sharp listed 198 potential methods of nonviolent action, which some have since updated to include possibilities opened by the internet.

Even as individuals away from the conflict, we make choices every day that can join in the effort. Either way, responses that do not opt for violence are still responses, just ones involving no physical violence – and sometimes, for Russians and especially for Ukrainians, at very considerable personal risks.

By contrast, Russian soldiers might be emboldened by violent responses. Putin's regime will spin what it can to its advantages. Fighting violently against a power like Russia also poses considerable risks, including in strengthening Russian resolve.

Nonviolent resistance, and especially nonviolent resistance where the resister nonetheless still risks suffering violence, instead spreads hesitation and doubt in the invading force. It keeps delegitimising the actions of regime backers. It might make them start reconsidering their allegiances.

It is of course easy to say all this from a comfortable shelter away from the conflict. I do not mean to lecture people on the ground. It is up to Ukrainians, currently living the horrors of this war, to decide how to best defend their communities and their country against military invasion. The anger at the invasion is justifiable, the urge to resist too, and the temptation to do so violently understandable.

Tolstoy's condemnation of violence was not popular back then, whether among those who wanted to topple the tsar or those who were fighting for national liberation elsewhere. But with the experience and lessons about nonviolence accumulated since then now behind us, some people in Ukraine, but also in Russia and elsewhere, have been resisting nonviolently even in the face of superpower invasion. Their strategy might be worth taking seriously and might generate more creative tactics yet – and these may prove at least as effective as violent resistance.\*

---

\* In 2018, when the Putin-friendly Moscow Patriarchate of the **Russian Orthodox Church** threatened to sever its ties with the **Global Orthodox Communion** if the **Ukraine Orthodox Church** was granted ecclesiastical independence from Russia, the irreverent, bombastic punk-rock group "**Pussy Riot**" staged a performance of "**Mother of God, Drive Putin Out!**" in the Cathedral of Christ the Savior in Moscow. **Putin** pitched the Pussy Riot Collective as "hooligans motivated by religious hatred". The irreverent protest collective replied that their "witness" was consistent with **Solzhenitsyn** who insisted that in time "...artful words will break the cement of tyrants!" (- *Sojourners Magazine*, Dec. 2018.)

# COSTS OF WAR

## HUMAN COSTS



At least **929, 000** people have been killed by direct war violence in Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria, Yemen, and Pakistan. The number of people who have been wounded or have fallen ill as a result of the conflicts is far higher, as is the number of civilians who have died indirectly as a result of the destruction of hospitals and infrastructure and environmental contamination, among other war-related problems.

Thousands of United States service members have died in combat, as have thousands of civilian contractors. Many have died later on from injuries and illnesses sustained in the war zones. Hundreds of thousands of soldiers and contractors have been wounded and are living with disabilities and war-related illnesses. Allied security forces have also suffered significant casualties, as have opposition forces.

Far more of the people killed have been civilians. More than 387,000 civilians have been killed in the fighting since 2001.

Millions of people living in the war zones have also been displaced by war. The U.S. post-9/11 wars have forcibly displaced at least 38 million people in and from Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan, Yemen, Somalia, the Philippines, Libya, and Syria. This number exceeds the total displaced by every war since 1900, except World War II.

The U.S. could have pursued several nonmilitary alternatives to holding accountable those responsible for perpetrating the 9/11 attacks. These alternatives would have been far less costly in human lives. For example, the U.S. invasion of Iraq turned the country into a laboratory in which militant groups such as Islamic State have been able to hone their techniques of recruitment and violence. The formation of Islamist militant groups spreading throughout the region counts among the many human costs of that war.

## POST 9-11 SUMMARY

### Human Costs:

#### ***Over 929 Million***

# of people killed directly in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, Syria, and Yemen. Several times as many civilians have died due to these wars.

\*\*\*\*\*

### Geographic Reach:

#### ***Over 85 countries***

from 2018-20 in US-run "counter-terrorism" ops. due to the "War on Terror".

\*\*\*\*\*

### People Displaced:

#### ***Over 38,000,000***

(Post 9/11 Period)

\*\*\*\*\*

### U.S. Budgetary Costs / \$ Impact:

#### ***Over \$8 Trillion***

\*\*\*\*\*

### RELATED PAPERS:

- **Costs of Care for U.S. War Veterans**
- **U.S. Broken Visa Process for Afghan Immigrants**
- **Costs of Iraq War Interventions (1960 - Post 9/11 Wars)**

## **WAGING PEACE – ELI MCCARTHY \***

Harvard professor Erica Chenoweth explains that research “*suggests it’s very important not to underestimate how nonviolent resistance can delay or minimize killing, begin to shift the political landscape and deter future aggression.*” Below are five immediate action steps civil society, as well as world government leaders, can take to move toward breaking the cycle of violence and ending the war.

1. The courageous and creative actions of nonviolent resistance being done in Ukraine, Russia and elsewhere should be amplified. Like the *Alliance for Peacebuilding* has done, help can be offered to establish coordination hubs to provide diplomatic, legal and material assistance for such persons as well as call for others to provide resources for these civil society leaders and activists. This will lend concrete solidarity towards dynamics of nonviolent resistance that are twice as effective and 10 times more likely to lead to durable democracy.
2. Donors, governments and multilateral institutions can step up their support for unarmed civilian protection to nonviolently protect civilians. ***Unarmed Civilian Protection***, or *UCP*, is an evidence-based strategy for the nonviolent direct protection of civilians, the reduction of localized violence, and the development of local peace infrastructures in which unarmed, trained civilians work alongside local civil society in violent conflicts. Congress directed the Secretary of State, in consultation with the USAID Administrator, to provide funds for *UCP* in its Explanatory Statement accompanying the Consolidated Appropriations Act of 2022.
3. All stakeholders, including adversaries, need to be re-humanized. This is done through the language, labels and narratives you choose to use. Although difficult, we must avoid labels such as calling persons or groups “evil,” “diabolical,” “irrational,” “thugs” or “monsters.” This doesn’t mean we agree with or justify their actions. Yet, the more we dehumanize others, the more we escalate, narrow our imagination and enable dynamics of violence.
4. Ukrainian President Zelensky should be encouraged to sign a phase one agreement with Russia to end the war. This will create space for more insightful thinking about how to address root causes and seek a more sustainable just peace. We know Russian leadership is responsible for their invasion. Yet, we have more influence on Zelensky at this point to take the moral high ground. For instance, a neutral Ukraine is likely worth it to save thousands of lives, at minimum.
5. A wave of strategic delegations or a humanitarian airlift into Ukraine to generate time and space, or peace zones, for interrupting hostilities should be considered. For example, this could include one or multiple allied countries landing huge cargo planes full of medicine and food in Ukraine. Top government (and maybe religious or other) officials would be on board. Cargo planes are not offensive fighter jets. The U.S. executed exactly such a humanitarian airlift when Putin invaded Georgia in 2008, which significantly contributed to the end of those hostilities.

Active nonviolence is not about condemning or judging people who lean toward violent resistance in really difficult situations like the one Ukrainians face. It affirms and admires their willingness to take a stand against injustice rather than to be passive. Active nonviolence is primarily about accompaniment, which can and is being done in a variety of creative, courageous, nonviolent ways by Ukrainians and others. Drawing on a just peace framework helps us to better see these nonviolent possibilities and invites us further in their direction. It also helps us to see that violent action routinely escalates hostility, dehumanization and harm, and it creates other cycles of longer-term trauma and violence. More people could die in this dynamic. For example, Russia is now bombing more civilian areas. In turn, a just peace framework would also help us to focus on how we can break the dynamic of violence and build a more sustainable just peace. Let’s seriously consider these five steps and find a way to break free from the habits of war.

**\*Eli S. McCarthy, PhD is a professor at Georgetown University in Justice and Peace Studies.**



**THE HILL TIMES -- MARCH 7, 2022 -- BY DOUGLAS ROCHE \***  
**OPINION**

**The Government of Canada is sending more arms to Ukraine. That is an attempt to tell the brave people of Ukraine that we are with them in their fight against tyranny. Our concern for Ukraine would go to a higher level if Canada implemented a plan to remove the nuclear cloud from over their heads—a cloud that is swirling around everyone in the world today.**

It's no longer postponable! Russian President Vladimir Putin has shown, in a demented and terrifying way, why the possession of nuclear weapons must be outlawed now. Far from closing down the little that remains of nuclear disarmament agreements because of the Russian invasion of Ukraine, this seminal moment in the history of the 21st century must be seized.

The contradictions in Canada's nuclear disarmament policies have got to be fixed. Sand castles won't stop a tsunami. We and our NATO partners can no longer go on professing a desire for an end to nuclear weapons while supporting the military doctrine of nuclear deterrence, which leads to even more than the present 13,000 nuclear weapons. Putin jolted the world when he warned the West of "consequences greater than you have faced in history" for any interference in his invasion, and then ordered Russian nuclear forces to be placed on high alert. Suddenly a light went on in people's minds: *"You mean, those things could actually be used?"*

Throughout the post-Cold War years, people—and governments—have become lackadaisical that these horrendous instruments of warfare that once destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki could ever actually be used again. Putin raised this spectre anew. Fortunately, U.S. President Joe Biden didn't rise to the bait and return the threat, but you can be sure all the security systems around the world were tightened after Putin's outburst. The arms industry is moving into high gear.

One would have to be in real denial not to recognize that the world has now moved closer to a nuclear catastrophe. It is not enough to condemn Putin's invasion and threat of Armageddon. It does not suffice to have an immediate ceasefire and retraction of Russian forces from Ukraine. The Nobel Peace Prize-winning International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons made the right call when it urged all nuclear armed states to stand down their nuclear forces and refrain from threatening to use weapons of mass destruction. *"Any use of nuclear weapons would cause catastrophic humanitarian suffering and the fallout—radioactive, economic, political—will be harming people for generations,"* the organization said.

But such voices are shouted over by those who see belligerence as the only way to stop tyrants. Diplomacy and dialogue have failed, they claim. So now defence budgets everywhere will shoot up (Germany was an early example). Some want the remaining U.S.-Russia nuclear arms agreement, the START, to be abandoned. At the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva and again at the UN Human Rights Commission, Western delegates walked out last week when Russia took the floor (I regret immensely that Canada's Foreign Affairs Minister Mélanie Joly was among the walk-outs) to protest Russia's actions.

What good does such juvenile thinking accomplish? How will we solve the world problems of common security if all the politicians and diplomats run to their own corners? They think effective engagement can only be done on the battlefield. They are wrong. Nuclear weapons must be negotiated away because that is the only way we can avoid being blown up in some frenzied strike by an adversary.

The Non-Proliferation Treaty was set up to effect such negotiations. But it has so far failed. That is why a group of like-minded countries and civil society leaders wrote the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons. But the nuclear powers won't touch it because it actually bans the possession of nuclear weapons. Should we quit trying diplomacy just because we are at a stalemate in nuclear disarmament and the international system is in disarray? No, we should try even harder now that we realize how close we are to an unspeakable tragedy for all humanity.

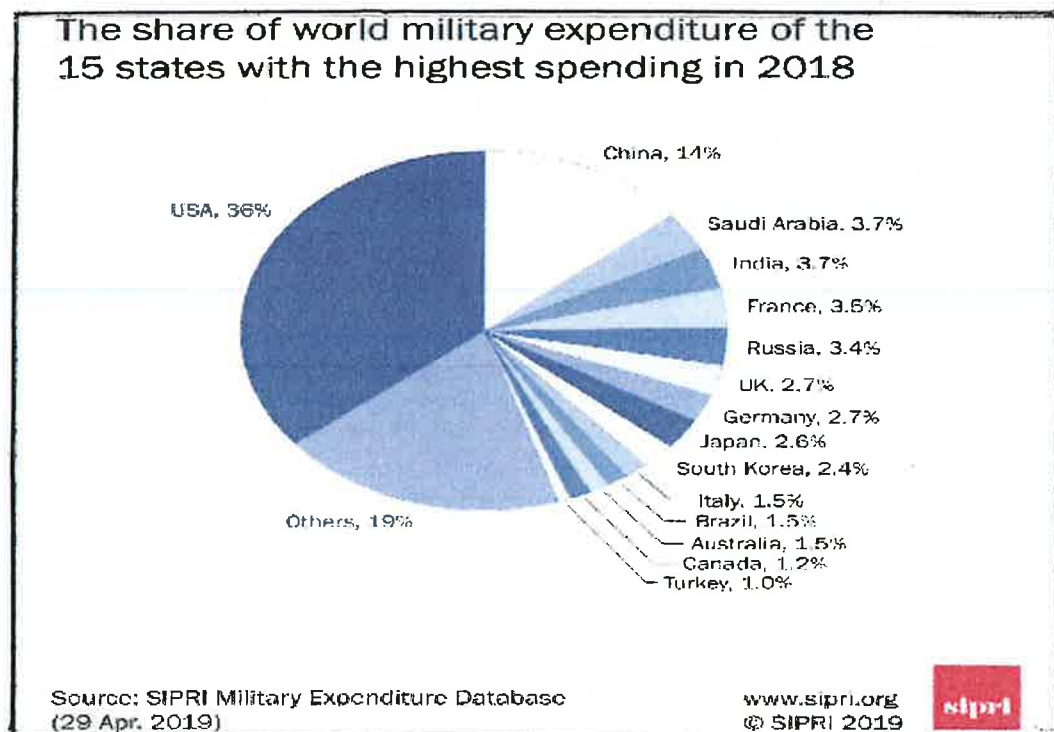
Foreign Minister Joly went to the Conference on Disarmament and recited again the tired themes of the unenforceable Test Ban Treaty and the proposed Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty, neither of which are doing anything to stop the modernization of nuclear weapons. She never mentioned the Prohibition Treaty, which has now entered into force for the 59 states that have ratified it. How is it rational to refuse to even discuss a fully activated treaty in international law? How will the new treaty become effective if NATO, which vigorously opposes it, keeps its head in the sand?

Senator Marilou McPhedran wants Canada to send a parliamentary delegation to Vienna for the first meeting of state parties to the Prohibition Treaty *"with instructions to listen and report back publicly."*

The Government of Canada is sending more arms to Ukraine. That is an attempt to tell the brave people of Ukraine that we are with them in their fight against tyranny. Our concern for Ukraine would go to a higher level if Canada implemented a plan to remove the nuclear cloud from over their heads—a cloud that is swirling around everyone in the world today.

---

**\* Former Senator Douglas Roche was Canada's ambassador for disarmament, 1984-89. He is a practicing Catholic lay person.**



## **A NUCLEAR WAR CANNOT BE WON AND MUST NEVER BE FOUGHT!**

**BY JIM RICE – SOJOURNERS MAGAZINE – MARCH 3/22 \***

President Vladimir Putin's announcement on Sunday that he had ordered Russian nuclear forces to high alert (he called it a "special mode of combat duty") brought to mind some of the most dangerous days of Cold War brinkmanship. For four decades, bellicose Soviet and American rhetoric and actions — from the Cuban missile crisis to Reagan administration talk of a "winnable" nuclear war — kept the world at very real risk of annihilation. (The Biden administration, to its credit, responded this week to Putin's provocations by asserting, correctly, that "a nuclear war cannot be won, and must never be fought," as a White House official put it to **Reuters**, and declined to escalate the U.S. nuclear alert status.)

Despite the ongoing threat posed by these weapons of mass death, the world's powers — led by the United States and Russia — still possess thousands of nuclear weapons, and in many ways the **Cold War mindset** hasn't changed. But neither has the movement to rid the world of this existential threat, a movement in which Christians have played prominent, and sometimes leading, roles. Sojourners has been at the forefront of this movement since our founding, grounding our work in the biblical and **theological** call to be peacemakers. We joined with other people of faith in efforts to **freeze** the nuclear arms race and to **abolish nuclear weapons** altogether. We have highlighted the stories of people of faith and others who have experienced conversion around these questions and called for nuclear abolition, from **Billy Graham** to Reagan cabinet members **George Shultz** and **Henry Kissinger** to, more recently, **Pope Francis**. And we've wrestled with theological questions including whether the "**just war theory**" is obsolete in the nuclear age, whether **deterrence** with world-destroying weapons is ethically **defensible**, and whether the existence of these weapons, which inherently threaten civilians, can ever be **morally justified**.

This week's rhetoric from Russia, in the context of its unconscionable violence against Ukraine, demonstrates not only that our work for a non-nuclear world isn't finished, but that it's as imperative as ever. As we enter into the season of Lent, it feels appropriate that we answer Jesus' call to be peacemakers by rededicating ourselves to eliminating these horrendous devices from the face of God's good earth.

---

\* Jim Rice is Editor of *Sojourners Magazine*. He presents a valuable reading guide on nuclear weapons with his original article. See Sojourners' website – [sojo.net](http://sojo.net)

### **Nuclear Weapons Club (Countries & Numbers of Nuclear War Heads)**

**Russia - 6,255 / United States - 5,550 / China - 350 / France - 290 /**

**United Kingdom - 225 / Pakistan - 165 / India - 156 / Israel - 90 /**

**N. Korea - none (material for 40-50)?**

## **Ukraine Shows We Must Reject the Possibility That War Can Be Just**

Mar 25, 2022

By Marie Dennis, National Catholic Reporter (NCR) \*

Slowly emerging from the heartbreak of death, destruction and massive displacement caused by Russia's illegal invasion of Ukraine are the inspiring demonstration of diverse nonviolent strategies that are upending the logic of war, and the recognition that if we are to avoid World War III, de-escalation, diplomacy and peace-building are the only route forward. Agreement is widespread that the stories of creative, active nonviolence in Ukraine and Russia must be told. They are stories about dogged diplomacy, civil resistance, elements of civilian-based defense, symbolic action, non-cooperation, winning over enemy combatants, solidarity and accompaniment, music and art, acts of kindness and welcome, the use of digital tools to document war crimes and more.

They are about nonviolence — a way of life and a spectrum of realistic, effective strategies for preventing or interrupting violence, for protecting human life and the planet, for promoting a more just and peaceful world. This is what nonviolence researcher Maria Stephan calls "a moment of profound moral clarity." The war in Ukraine is not more important than the other wars destroying human lives and the Earth, but, as the British Catholic magazine *The Tablet* editorialized on March 19, it is "history-making, game-changing, paradigm-shifting."

The perennial debate on just war criteria continues, but given the ongoing carnage and potentially catastrophic consequences, Pope Francis' assertion that "there is no such thing as a just war" rings true. The question is not *whether* to defend against a brutal military invasion, but *how*. The nonviolent strategies being used by Ukrainians in many different locations are vitally important and illustrate powerful and effective ways to defend their communities and to break the cycles of violence. Their courageous actions point to a future when nonviolence will be the universal ethic that humans, for the sake of survival, have finally embraced.

To move in that direction, we know what we need to do. We know that we need a paradigm shift. We have been living in a context of war and preparations for war, assuming that militarized security was the only way to survive. We in the U.S. have shaped our society, and especially our economy, around that belief. The war in Ukraine is hyper-visible and, by its too-possible link to nuclear weapons and its threat to nuclear power plants, it is über-dangerous, an existential threat to all life and our common home, planet Earth. But the unquenchable, heartbreaking violence unleashed by war in Yemen, Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq, Gaza, Colombia demands the same response.

We know what we need to do. We need to stop accepting perpetual war and unending layers of violence as normal. Racism, imperialism, militarism, nationalism, the theft of resources to prepare for war, economies dependent on and fortunes made from trade in weapons, cultural violence, economic violence, extremes of wealth and poverty, gender-related violence all create fertile soil in which violent conflict and war percolate and spread.

**We know what we need to do. We need to reject the possibility that war can be just. Period!**

We know what we need to do. We need to stop dismissing nonviolence as naive, simplistic, disengaged or ineffective and to invest in a radical reset of our values, our priorities, our relationships with each other and with the planet. We need to start right now to build a new nonviolent paradigm that replaces the scarcity model and "survival of the fittest" with values that draw on the wisdom and experience of cultures and traditions committed to respect, wholeness, connectedness, mutual dependence, reciprocity, justice and life, and upon which we need to rebuild the systems and structures of our societies.



Such a complete shift may take decades: of listening to the stories and understanding the experience of the most marginalized and neglected communities; of transformative education, life-skills development and values formation; of redesigning and rebuilding political, economic, financial, social, cultural, environmental systems so that they promote socioeconomic justice, human dignity, whole Earth healing and, therefore, peace.

**Every step toward a solution in Ukraine must lead toward the kind of paradigm shift that we know we have to make if we plan to survive for much longer on this planet. For example:**

- Resources should be made available for Ukraine (the government and civil society, including the churches) to engage the conflict using nonviolent strategies in a just peace framework that focuses on breaking the cycles of violence.
- Beyond an immediate cease-fire and resolution to the crisis in Ukraine, diplomacy should pursue a cooperative, demilitarized, denuclearized security relationship between Russia and the West, a common security and economic zone that brings Russia together with Ukraine as partners in a larger zone of peace and includes an urgent commitment to reduce carbon emissions and transition away from fossil fuels.
- The long-stalled reform of the United Nations, particularly the P-5 veto power in the Security Council, should proceed if the U.N. is to fulfill its purpose of maintaining peace and security.
- Reinforcing the international rules-based system is crucial for holding Russia to account for violating international law in Ukraine. U.S. violations of international law and failure to join treaties that ban land mines, cluster bombs and, most recently, nuclear weapons, as well as U.S. repudiation of other major arms control treaties (the Iran nuclear deal, the Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces Treaty and the Open Skies Treaty) decidedly undermine international law.
- Sanctions can be effective, ethical, nonviolent tools for promoting peace; sanctions can also be unethical and violent. Catholic social teaching requires that sanctions *"be used with great discernment and must be subjected to strict legal and ethical criteria."* Sanctions on Russia must be restructured to include clear incentives for positive action and to avoid lasting harm to the Russian populace.
- Ukrainians fleeing the war, Russians fleeing repression and all refugees from violence and war must be treated with equal respect, regardless of race, ethnicity, gender, religion.

Pope Francis, following Jesus, has been setting the stage for full-on Catholic engagement in this urgent paradigm shift. His visionary 2015 encyclical, *"Laudato Si'*, on Care for Our Common Home," his clarion call for ecological conversion and for a "new post-pandemic normal" point clearly in this direction.

In the 2020 encyclical *Fratelli Tutti*, he said: *"Every war leaves our world worse than it was before. War is a failure of politics and of humanity, a shameful capitulation, a stinging defeat before the forces of evil."*

And to an international congress of educators on March 18, he said: *"A war is always — always! — the defeat of humanity, always. ... There is no such thing as a just war: They do not exist!"*

---

\* Marie Dennis is senior adviser and past co-president (2007-19) of *Pax Christi International*, and is the program chair of the Catholic Nonviolence Initiative. She is a frequent writer for NCR on issues of peace and justice.

## **We're Minutes - Or Maybe Seconds - From Nuclear Midnight ... And Urgently Need A New Global Governance Of Nuclear Weapons**

*"The Ukraine crisis spotlights the need for reforms to the central institutions of the UN.*

*None of us can afford the luxury of time."* Dr. Jonathon Downs, IPPNWC

Today the people of Ukraine are being murdered and traumatized. Russia's war on Ukraine is a public health disaster: thousands of Russians and Ukrainians alike are dying; millions of Ukrainians are displaced from the safety of their homes; and food, water and medicine are growing scarce all across Ukraine. But this war also has the potential to be a global public health catastrophe, as well. That's because Russian President Vladimir Putin has all-but threatened to use weapons of nuclear annihilation. Just as COVID-19 exposed the deep fault lines in global health-care systems, Putin has exposed the fault lines in our institutions of global nuclear governance and collective security from weapons of mass death.

Together with his counterparts in other nuclear weapons states — including to greater and lesser degrees the U.S., China, France, Britain, India, Pakistan, North Korea and possibly Israel and Iran — Putin has failed to act in good faith on nuclear weapons controls. He has scorned commitments to arms reduction by his predecessors in the Kremlin, and has restarted a nuclear arms race that is now again quickly driving us towards the brink of a nuclear catastrophe. It is a chilling reminder that nuclear war is a global vulnerability that is largely of our own making — not just in Russia, but in Western Europe, North America, the U.K., Asia, South Asia and the Middle East.

Global institutions have failed us, and countries have walked away from their disarmament treaties and obligations. The United Nations Security Council is dysfunctional, and paralyzed through the power of veto. Wasn't the UN Charter set up to prevent this type of conflict in which nuclear annihilation is threatened? The architecture of the UN has a multitude of systemic flaws beyond its inherent under-funding. To address the collective security mechanism of the UN Charter, the intervention of an established International Peace Force may have deterred such an overt assault on a sovereign member state. But that never happened.

The Ukraine crisis with all its nuclear perils spotlights the need for reforms to the central institutions of the UN and a new global governance system for nuclear weaponry. Neither Ukraine nor the rest of us can afford the luxury of time. We're minutes — or maybe even just seconds — from nuclear midnight. We at **International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War - Canada (IPPNWC)** join many other organizations around the world in calling for the immediate end to this naked aggression, wholly initiated by Russia. Our hearts and hopes for peace go out to the Ukrainian people. But as we do that, we also call on the government of Justin Trudeau to immediately undertake world leadership in efforts to permanently ban and dismantle nuclear weapons wherever they exist.

As a first step, Canada must sign and ratify the **Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons**. When Justin Trudeau's father Pierre Trudeau retired from politics in 1984, he made nuclear disarmament his deeply impassioned project. In meetings around the world, he championed this cause. At the end of the Cold War, the entire issue faded from the public limelight. But it has continued to fester and to grow ever more horrifying. Today we call upon Justin Trudeau to take up his father's cause again.

**\* Jonathan Down, an MD living in Victoria, BC., is president of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War Canada (IPPNWC). His op-ed appeared in The Star, 5/3/22. IPPNW won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1985.**

## The Myth That Violence Keeps Us Safe

**BY: GEORGE LAKEY - FEB. 28/22**

**YES! MAGAZINE**

One of the most popular—and dangerous—assumptions in the world is that violence keeps us safe. I live in the United States, a country where the more guns we have, the less safe we are. That helps me to notice irrational assumptions that prevent creative thought.

The Ukrainian government's choice to use its military to defend against Russia reminds me of the stark contrast between the choices of the Danish and Norwegian governments when faced with threat from the Nazi German war machine. Like the Ukrainian government, the Norwegian government chose to fight militarily. Germany invaded and the Norwegian army resisted all the way to the Arctic Circle. There was widespread suffering and loss, and even after the end of World War II, it took many years for the Norwegians to recover. When I studied in Norway in 1959, rationing was still in effect.

The Danish government—knowing as certainly as the Norwegians that it would be defeated militarily—decided not to fight. As a result, the Danes were able to minimize their losses compared with the Norwegians, politically and economically, as well as the immediate suffering of their people. The flame of liberty continued to burn bright in both countries under occupation. Along with an underground movement that included violence, nonviolent struggles on multiple fronts broke out that did both countries proud. The Danes saved most of their Jews from the Holocaust; the Norwegians saved the integrity of their education system and the state church.

Both the Danes and the Norwegians faced overwhelming military might. The Danes chose not to use their army and relied largely on nonviolent struggle instead. The Norwegians used their military, paid a high price for it, and then turned largely to nonviolent struggle. In both cases, the nonviolence—unprepared, with improvised strategy and no training—delivered victories that sustained the integrity of their countries.

### **Many Ukrainians Are Open to Nonviolent Defense**

There is a remarkable study of the views of Ukrainians themselves on the chances of nonviolent defense and whether they would take part in armed or nonviolent resistance in response to a foreign armed invasion. Perhaps because of their remarkable success in nonviolently toppling their own dictatorship, a surprising proportion do not assume that violence is their only option. As Maciej Bartkowski, a senior advisor to the International Center on Nonviolent Conflict, describes the findings, “Clear majorities chose various nonviolent resistance methods—ranging from symbolic to disruptive to constructive resistance actions against an occupier—rather than violent insurgent actions.”

### **Violence Is Sometimes Effective**

I am not arguing that the threat or use of violence never achieves a positive result. In this short article, I'm setting aside the larger philosophical discussion while recommending Aldous Huxley's remarkable book *Ends and Means* to readers who want to delve more deeply. My point here is that a compelling belief in violence renders people irrational to the point of hurting ourselves, over and over again. One way we're hurt is diminished creativity. Why isn't it automatic, when someone proposes violence, that others say, “Let's investigate and see if there's a nonviolent way to get that done?” In my own life, I've been faced with violence many times. I've been surrounded on a street late at night by a hostile gang, I've had a knife pulled on me three times, I've faced down a gun that was pulled on someone else, and I've been a nonviolent bodyguard for human rights activists threatened by hit squads. I'm big and

strong, and a while back, I was young. I've realized that in threatening situations, as well as the larger confrontations we get into with direct action, there is a chance that I might have gained tactical victories with violence. I also knew there was a chance that I could have won with nonviolence. I've believed the odds are better with nonviolence, and there's lots of evidence on my side, but who knows for sure in any given situation?

Since we can't know for sure, it leaves the question of how to decide. This could be challenging for us as individuals as well as for political leaders, be they Norwegian, Danish, or Ukrainian. It's no help to have a violence-loving culture pushing me with its automatic answer. To be responsible, I need to make a real choice.

If I have time, I can do the creative thing and research possible violent and nonviolent options. That could help a lot, and it's the least we can demand of governments making decisions for its citizens. Still, developing creative options is unlikely to seal the deal, because the situation before us is always unique, and predicting results is therefore a tricky matter.

I have found a solid basis for decision. I can't know for sure the outcome of nonviolent or violent means ahead of time, but I can judge the ethical nature of the means itself. There is a clear ethical difference between violent and nonviolent means of struggle. On that basis, I can choose, and throw myself fully into that choice. At age 84, I have no regrets.

---

\* This article was originally published in Waging Nonviolence. **George Lakey** is a Quaker activist, sociologist and author. He recently retired as professor at Swarthmore College. He has led over 1500 social change workshops on five continents and coordinated non-violent resistance projects on local, national and international levels.

\*\*\*\*\*

## LJR POEMS & PRAYERS

The God we yearn to know more deeply is  
the God of Jesus, the God of the prophets,  
the God of the two testaments—a gracious,  
loving Creator, a God of shalom and justice,  
a God who intervenes in our history, who  
shatters the weapons of war, and foils the  
power of nations and empires.

- Will O'Brien, "Be Still and Know"

Out beyond ideas of wrong-doing and  
right-doing, there is a field. I'll meet  
you there. - **Rumi, "A Great Wagon"**

## **Prayer for Overcoming Indifference**

For the sin of silence,  
For the sin of indifference,  
For the secret complicity of the neutral,  
For the closing of borders,  
For the washing of hands,  
For the crime of indifference,  
For the sin of silence,  
For the closing of borders.  
For all that was done,  
For all that was not done,  
Let there be no forgetfulness  
before the Throne of Glory;  
Let there be remembrance  
within the human heart;  
Let there at last be forgiveness  
When your children, O God,  
Are free and at peace.

From Chaim Stern, editor, *Gates of Repentance* (Central Conference of American Rabbis, 1978).

## The Poetry of Daniel Berrigan

Jesuit priest Rev. Daniel Berrigan was one of the leading Christian voices against the Vietnam war. He was haunted by the tragic deaths of children. Berrigan spent years in prison for civil disobedience, was on the cover of *Time* Magazine, helped found the **Plowshares** disarmament movement, and wrote some fifty books. But he was first and foremost a poet. He attracted international fame when he won a Lamont Poetry Award for his first book of poetry, *Time Without Number* (1997). Berrigan died in April 2016 at the age of 95. A new collection of the poems written by Rev. Daniel Berrigan called: *The Trouble With Our State* was published in 2021. Here are three poems from his collection which could readily be transferred to the Ukrainian tragedy unfolding today.

### 1. Untitled

For every 10,000 words  
there's a deed  
floating somewhere  
head down, unborn.  
Words can't make it happen.  
They only wave it away  
unwanted.  
Yet Child, necessary one,  
unless you come home  
to my hands  
Why hands at all?  
Your season, your cries  
are their skill,  
their reason.

\*\*\*\*\*

### 2. Some

They were asked, and  
Why do you walk?  
Because of the children,  
They said.  
And because of the heart,  
And because of the bread.  
Some walked and walked  
and walked.  
They walked the earth,  
Walked the water.  
They walked the air.  
Why do you stand?  
Because the cause  
is the heart's beat  
And the children born  
And the risen bread.

\*\*\*\*\*

### 3. In the Hanoi Shelter

I picked up the littlest,  
a boy, his face  
breaded with rice  
(his sister calmly feeding him  
as we climbed down).  
In my arms fathered  
in a moment's grace,  
the messiah of all my tears.  
I bore, reborn  
a Hiroshima child from hell.  
Members of the jury,  
What say you?  
Of the Land of burning  
children.

### Answers to Invasion Quiz (P. 12)

- 1. Margaret Thatcher  
4. Adolf Hitler

2. George W. Bush  
5. Jean Chretien

3. Vladimir Putin  
6. Saddam Hussein





In Troubled Times

- By Alexander McCall Smith \*

Somewhere as I write these lines  
Armies clash, the speechless  
innocent flee,  
The rumbling armour and the fire,  
And skies, once clear and optimistic,  
Darken with intended smoke;  
In the classroom, incredulous  
children,  
We sit mute with shock, as history  
Wags her firm admonitory finger,  
Reminds us of the foolishness  
Of forgetting how things  
Have a way of being, however much  
We think we've put all that away,  
The past is never far away, she says,  
The past recurs, again and then  
once more.

In shadows and in darkness,  
In moments of despair  
At how malignant ambition can  
Threaten the ordinary lives  
Of unexceptional people,  
We turn, when we can,  
To the things that help,  
Of which love and charity,  
Are the main foundations;  
And seek in books, those universal  
Depositaries of human truth,  
The things we want and need  
To make us strong, the evidence  
To prove that light will still exist  
The darker it otherwise gets,  
And will be there, stubbornly  
Glorious on the printed page.

---

\* *Alexander McCall Smith is the author of the popular "Number One Ladies' Detective Agency" series.*

**It Seemed the Better Way**

- By Leonard Cohen (2016)

It seemed the better way  
When first I heard him speak  
But now it's much too late  
To turn the other cheek.

Sounded like the truth  
Seemed the better way  
Sounded like the truth  
But it's not the truth today.

I wonder what it was  
I wonder what it meant  
At first he touched on love  
And then he touched on death.

I better hold my tongue  
I better take my place  
Lift this glass of blood  
Try to say the grace.

**Mercy**

Unholy we sang this morning,  
and prayed as if we were not broken,  
crooked the Christ-figure hung,  
splayed on bloodied beams above us;  
devious God, dweller in shadows,  
mercy on us;  
immortal, cross-shattered Christ—  
your gentling grace down upon us.

Stanley Hauerwas  
Cross-Shattered Christ

**Common Prayer: A Liturgy  
for Ordinary Radicals (2012)**

Lord,  
help us make our lives an offering  
of quiet commitment  
to thread love through the torn  
garments of society.  
Amen.

## MIND AND SOUL

# A culture of peace

Randolph Haluza-DeLay

**T**he very day that Russia sent tanks across the Ukrainian border, a book on nonviolence arrived at my door. Sometimes I wonder if God does that sort of thing intentionally.

As an advocate of nonviolence, I have been queried frequently about what can be done about this war. The challenge is whether one can say anything new and practical under the sun. Or is there just a time to kill and then later maybe a time to heal, weep and mourn? That is, is there a time for war and a time for peace?

Those statements come from Ecclesiastes, perhaps the most existentially confusing book in our collection of sacred Scriptures. I like the Bible because it does not have simple answers. The writer of Ecclesiastes struggles not only with faith, but with practice.

I have no experience of war. I have faint experience of nonviolent practices to de-escalate dangerous situations. But the scale between working with a raging young offender and countering tanks and missiles is so disproportionate that I hesitate to say anything about this war.

Ten days after the invasion of Ukraine, almost a dozen of us watched a movie about nonviolent political revolutions. There are many techniques, practices

and strategies for nonviolent action even in the face of brutal and persistent violence. But nonviolence isn't always effective, some people said afterwards. Yes, and violence isn't either!

In last month's column, I mentioned political-science research showing nonviolent protests were more likely to succeed and have better long-term effects than violent forms of political revolution. It was serendipitous. I wasn't expecting war in Europe to break out. Let us also remember that there is violence and war elsewhere in the world, too.

I am glad that Anabaptists have moved from being the "quiet in the land" and simple nonresistance toward active peacemaking. Christians have public responsibilities along with fidelity to Jesus-following. That makes perfect faithfulness far more difficult.

Nonviolence is not only a refusal to do harm, it actively works to create the conditions for peace, good decision-making, reconciliation, democracy, and, dare I say, shalom. Nonviolence can be obstructive—protests and work slowdowns—or constructive—building alternatives. Both help create the conditions we want. Active peacemaking does not avoid, accommodate or conceal violence.

The alternative to war and other forms of violence is to promote a "culture of peace." The UN defines this as "a set of values, attitudes, modes of behaviour and ways of life that reject violence and prevent conflicts, by tackling their root causes to solve problems through dialogue and negotiation among individuals, groups and nations."

Root causes: To work for justice is to work for peace. Ways of life: A culture of peace means we tell different stories about "heroism" and we focus on different parts of that complicated Bible. It undermines the temptation to use force. It means we examine our own hearts, and how power and privilege shape relations in the church and society. It means we learn better forms of communication. It means we learn new behaviour. It means we actively learn.

The first jointly produced document of the Bridgefolk Catholic-Mennonite dialogues in North America was entitled "Called to be peacemakers." What is particularly interesting is that nonviolence is a woefully minor tradition in Catholic Christianity.

That book that arrived at my door? It was from a new nonviolence initiative promoted by the Catholic peace organization Pax Christi.



*Randy Haluza-DeLay's first published article was way back in 1996 for The Mennonite Reporter, on the varieties of pacifism.*

God of peace and justice, We pray for the people of Ukraine today. We pray for peace and the laying down of weapons. We pray for all those who fear for tomorrow, that your Spirit of comfort would draw near to them. We pray for those with power over war or peace, for wisdom, discernment and compassion to guide their decisions. Above all, we pray for all your precious children, at risk and in fear, that you would hold and protect them. We pray in the name of Jesus, the Prince of Peace. Amen. **Archbishops: Justin Welby/Stephen Cottrell**