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Concerned Philosophers for Peace

Newsletter Volume 32 (Spring 2024)

Court Lewis (Editor) and Cameron Farvin (Associate Editor)

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Greetings in Peace,

This year's *Newsletter* is full of opportunities, information, and fabulous essays from a variety of scholars. Please take some time to submit your work to one of the calls for papers or next year's *Newsletter*, join CPP, and participate in supporting peace and nonviolence in our turbulent world. See "contents" for a detailed overview of what is in this issue. Make sure to share the Newsletter with anyone who might be interested, and for early career scholars, please take advantage of the Bill Gay Award:

The **Bill Gay Award** is for an early career scholar (defined as a scholar who is within 6 years of receiving their terminal degree) who has demonstrated their commitment to engaging with peace, peace studies, and peace and justice scholarship or activism. To be eligible for the award, a scholar must submit a full paper (5-7K words) at least two months in advance of the annual Concerned Philosophers for Peace conference. All submissions will be blind reviewed by the CPP awards committee. The award will be announced at the annual CPP conference by the awards committee chair, and comes with a \$2000 prize, formal certificate of recognition, and paper publication (subject to editorial approval) in the scholarly, peer-reviewed journal *The Acorn: Philosophical Studies in Pacifism and Nonviolence*. Many thanks to Dr. Bill Gay, long-time CPP member, contributor, and activist scholar for peace and justice. His generous financial support is the backbone of this prestigious award, and CPP hopes that awardees will follow in Dr. Gay's illustrious footsteps as lifelong champions for a more just and more peaceful world.

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How to stay up-to-date on CPP happenings

Website: peacephilosophy.org

Facebook: www.facebook.com/CPP-Concerned-Philosophers-for-Peace-241571222548560

YouTube: www.youtube.com/channel/UCKwauwg47qQQDhktUett4JA

Email: concernedphilosophersforpeace@gmail.com

To pay your membership dues, please visit: <https://peacephilosophy.org/registration-dues/>

President's Page

**Jennifer Kling (University of Colorado, Colorado Springs)
President 2024—2025**

I am honored and gratified to be the President of Concerned Philosophers for Peace for 2024—2025. Thank you all for this opportunity! I am excited to continue thinking together with all of you about peace, justice, and everything betwixt and between those two ideals.

As much as we might wish otherwise, philosophy alone can't save the world; but ideas must come from somewhere in order to be taken up by activists who might be able to save (parts of) the world, and philosophy has a lot to offer in the way of good ideas. Of course, getting ideas out there does not guarantee uptake, but it is a necessary first step. In my view, CPP is particularly well-situated to help with that step. (Speaking for myself, I first encountered many of my core philosophical ideas, that have since shaped much of my work, at CPP!)

In that vein, I hope to continue CPP's long tradition of engaging in both scholarly work and public engagement through a variety of venues. We are an amazing community with a lot to offer, both to each other and outwards, and I hope we can bring some of our philosophical fellowship to the world. Solidarity and peace-making go hand in hand, and I look forward to standing in solidarity with you as we work (in our various ways) toward a more just and more peaceful world. Peace and, as always, Rock On!

Photos from 2023 CPP Meeting in Knoxville, TN



Essay Prizes

We are pleased and proud to announce the winner of the first annual **Bill Gay Award** for an early scholar:

Francisco Miguel Ortiz Delgado

“Stoic Non-Violence in the (Virtuous) Ukrainian Civil Resistance to Russia”

We are also pleased and proud to announce the winners of the **Graduate Student Paper Award** from the 2023 Annual CPP Conference, “Peace in the Face of Aggression,” Knoxville, TN, hosted by Court Lewis. The winners are:

Outstanding Paper

Federico Abal

“Military Abolitionism: On a Duty to Transition Towards a Nonviolent Defensive System and Its Impact on the War-Making Dimension.”

Honorable Mention

Michael Haiden

“Tragedies With A Cause: Why Some Wars Are Necessary For A World Without War”

Please join us in congratulating the winners and thanking all of those who submitted papers for consideration. CPP strives to encourage and support the next generation of scholars, and we hope that these awards go some way toward furthering that goal. In addition, thanks to our CPP prize subcommittee. Without their work and deliberations, we wouldn’t be able to make these awards!

Members’ Accomplishments and Awards

Michael Haiden, member of Concerned Philosophers for Peace, has been awarded the *2023 Res Philosophica Essay Prize* for best unsolicited paper. In the journal’s special issue on the work of Jürgen Habermas, Michael explores if Habermas can be called a pacifist – and if so, what kind of pacifist he might be. Starting from Habermas’ articles on the Russian invasion of Ukraine, his paper examines the philosophical views that underlie Habermas’ contributions, revealing a complex form of political pacifism that informs his articles.

Michael Haiden received an MA in Philosophy and an MA in Political Science from the University of Salzburg. He is currently a research associate at the Technische Hochschule Ingolstadt, Germany, where explores the ethics of AI.



APA Divisions, Call for Abstracts

Abstracts of approximately 500 words and author bio should be sent to the corresponding Liaisons by 31 July.

The Eastern Division: Graham Parsons: graham.parsons@westpoint.edu

The Central Division : Court Lewis: court.lewis@gmail.com

The Pacific Division: John Park: john.park@csus.edu

2025 Central Meeting: Online

2025 Pacific Meeting: Call for Papers: Ethical Issues on Today's Israel-Hamas War

This is a broad CFP for drawing conclusions on any ethical issues that stem from the Israel-Hamas War that began on October 7, 2023 when Hamas attacked Israel from the Gaza Strip. Possible topics may include but are not limited to:

- Just war theory applied to the Israel-Hamas War
- Ethics of collateral damage of the war
- Definitions of genocide and applicability to the war
- Hate speech on campus protests for the war
- Actions university presidents should take in handling campus protests
- Ethics of university senates who represent all faculty at a university taking stances on the war

CPP Officers

CPP President 2024—2025: Jennifer Kling

CPP Treasurer 2022—2025: Stephen DiLorenzo

CPP Interim Executive Director 2024: Court Lewis

CPP Communications Co-Coordination 2022—2025: Greg Moses and Anthony Sean Neal

CPP APA Eastern Liaison 2024—2025: Graham D. Parsons

CPP APA Central Liaison 2024—2025: Court Lewis

CPP APA Pacific Liaison 2024—2025: John Park

Getting Involved

Join the CPP mailing list!

Visit: peacephilosophy.org (Scroll down and enter your email address under the “Follow CPP Webpage Updates” title.)

Alternatively, you can email Court Lewis (cdlewis1@pstcc.edu) to be added to our listserv.

Upcoming Elections

Executive Director (2025—2027)

Elections are held in January-February, and all members are eligible. Consider who you want to nominate, or nominate yourself at this year’s Business Meeting.

Contribute to the *Newsletter*

Want to share a short essay, recent news, events, publication, job posting, or other information related to peace and nonviolence studies? Email your contribution to: cdlewis1@pstcc.edu. All contributions are subject to approval and space limitations.

Call for Papers

Concerned Philosophers for Peace

37th Annual Conference (October 18—19, 2024, Hilton UAB, Birmingham, AL)

Emerging Technologies, Disarmament, and Peace

Keynote: George R. Lucas, Jr

Concerned Philosophers for Peace (CPP) seeks to find ways to promote peaceful, nonviolent transitions in all arenas of common life, and this year's conference will focus primarily on emerging military technologies and their effect on the prospects for peace. In the era of the Cold War, nuclear weapons were seen as providing a deterrence to war between superpowers, while pacifists pushed for total nuclear disarmament. The advent of high-tech precision weapons, armed autonomous drones and robots, and cyber-weapons have raised concerns about the risks to civilians and the incentives to wage and continue wars. We are looking for papers that examine moral questions about weapons development and the threat to peace from the proliferation of new technologies around the world. In addition to the main theme, we welcome papers on any topic related to peace and nonviolence. **Submit abstracts of no more than 500 words for papers related to this theme or to the overall mission of Concerned Philosophers for Peace. Possible topics include (but are not limited to):**

Pacifist Approaches to Emerging Technologies
Ethical Challenges of Weapons Development
Stopping Proliferation of WMDs
Nuclear Terrorism and Blackmail
Nuclear Deterrence and Disarmament
Pacifist Approaches to Disarmament
Keeping Space Demilitarized
Technological Advantage and Asymmetric Warfare

Ethics of Drone Use in War
Potential of Artificial Intelligence for War and Peace
Keeping the Peace in Cyberspace
Social Media, Propaganda, and Journalism
The Culture of Technology and Peace
Is Technology Inherently Violent?
Using Technology to Create Safe and Peaceful Spaces
Technologies for Peacebuilding and Peacekeeping
The Future of Pacifism: Science Fiction or Fact?

CPP welcomes submissions from undergraduates, graduate students, professional academics, independent scholars, and anyone willing to present persuasive sound argumentative positions in line with our theme and ethos. We also welcome submissions from a range of fields including philosophy, law, public policy, business, history, religious studies, political science, social science, or related fields. Submissions from teachers, researchers, or practitioners are also welcome, particularly insofar as those presentations complement the theme of the conference. CPP is the largest, most active organization of professional philosophers in North America involved in the analysis of the causes of violence and prospects for peace.

Submission Guidelines: Deadline: July 5, 2024

Email your CV and an abstract of no more than 500 words, prepared for blind review to David K. Chan at dkchan@uab.edu.

Write "CPP 2024 submission" in the subject line. Please include your name, institutional affiliation, e-mail address, and paper title in the body of your email.

If you are a Graduate or Undergraduate student, please indicate so in your email. **There will be a cash prize for the best Graduate student paper and the best Undergraduate student paper.**

Call for Papers

Peace in the Face of Aggression: Responses to Aggression, Invasion, and War

Philosophy of Peace (Special Book Series published by Brill)

Papers accepted for the most recent Concerned Philosophers for Peace Conference are eligible and strongly recommended to submit revised versions of their work for consideration and inclusion in a book published in Brill's Philosophy of Peace (POP) series. Papers from individuals who did not participate in the conference, but who have a completed essay on the conference theme (see below) are also welcome to submit their work for consideration.

Deadline for Submission: June 1, 2024 (if you need a short extension, please send an email request)

SUBMISSION GUIDELINES

- ♦ Manuscripts between 6000—9000 words (including all footnotes and references) and a separate title page that includes your name, institutional affiliation, e-mail, and the title of your paper should be sent as e-mail attachments to Court Lewis (cdlewis1@pstcc.edu).
- ♦ Papers should be in .doc, .docx, or .rtf format.
- ♦ Please prepare your paper for blind refereeing by removing all direct or indirect references to the author.
- ♦ The entire paper must be double-spaced and 12-point font. Please use footnotes rather than endnotes and include a list of references at the end of the article. Citation style should follow The Chicago Manual of Style. (<http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/home.html>)
- ♦ Submission of a manuscript for review implies that the manuscript has not been published nor is under consideration for publication elsewhere.

Conference Theme

Concerned Philosophers for Peace seeks to find ways to promote peaceful, nonviolent transitions in all arenas of common life, and last year's conference focused primarily on peaceful and nonviolent solutions to the Russo-Ukrainian War. CPP recognizes there are many different ways to frame and analyze the causes, methods, and solutions of the conflict. With this in mind, CPP asked authors to reflect on the variety of peaceful, nonviolent responses one might have to the Russo-Ukrainian War, including from the pacifist position. In addition to the main theme, due to developing current events, CPP also invited authors to discuss other acts of aggression, invasion, and war. CPP welcomes essays that promote diverse and decolonized ideas of peace and peace studies.

Call for Papers (Deadline Approaching Quickly. Apply Soon!)

The Maria Sibylla Merian Center for Advanced Latin American Studies in the Humanities and Social Sciences (CALAS), the Iberian and Latin American Studies Department (DEILA), and the Philosophy Department of the University of Guadalajara's Center for Social Sciences and Humanities (CUCSH) invite Papers to:

The Platform for Dialogue Transdisciplinary Approaches: Critical Political Thinking and Power from Our Afro-Abya-Yala America, the Global South, and the World

Venue: Guadalajara-Zapopan, Mexico (CALAS Headquarters)

Date: *September 18—20, 2024*

The social sciences and humanities practiced in Latin America and the Caribbean have been molded by Anglo-centrism and/or Eurocentrism. But both regions have pushed diverse epistemological ruptures against such “centrisms.” This epistemological turn, nourished by a dialogue between social sciences and humanities, brings originality to our regional thought and has several sources, for example, the idea of “Far West” (A. Rouquié), the transdisciplinary stance of Modern World-System (I. Wallerstein) or the transdisciplinary dialogues that criticize the coloniality of power (A. Quijano). Inside the criticism of Modernity/Coloniality of power are references of a universal meaning that propose the unity of diversity (S. Rivera), or that seek civilizational purpose centered on liberation politics (E. Dussel), critical political economy of Dependency Theory (V. Bamba), or criticizing internal colonialism (González Casanova).

The *critical* thinking about politics and about “the political” that was created in, from, and for, Latina America and the Caribbean is anti-capitalistic (R. Marini), antiracist, and antipatriarchal (R. Segato); and criticizes the death drives of our environmental crisis (E. Gudynas; E. Leff), the dispossession war (R. Zibechi), and the intra and interstate violences and wars (J. Tavares). In the face of these problems, the critical thinking is radical pacifist, peacebuilder, and rationalizes conflict management (A. Pérez Esquivel), and is ecosocialist (M. Svampa and others) and ecofeminist (V. Shiva). Such political criticism of power takes distance from Statecentric approaches (B. de Sousa) or unidimensional thoughts. It seeks alternatives (González Casanova) and reflects about personal experiences as the “Buen Vivir” (P. Davalos), the “Vivir Sabroso” (Francia Márquez) and the propositions of a Society of “Cuidados” (K. Batthyány) to build policies against social inequity. The debates about political economy, culture, and environment, are internationalized through the relationship between State and society. Nevertheless, the conflicts and tensions among the political stances are accentuated by the international organizations of the far right, progressivism and an “International” of the Rebellion.

With this in mind, we invite to present papers (with interdisciplinary, multidisciplinary, and/or transdisciplinary approaches, both from humanities/philosophy and social sciences) about the following topics:

- 1 Complexity, totality, and emancipation. Political polarization and power conflicts: peace process dilemmas, non-violence, and security.
- 2 Latin American feminisms, a political praxis located for the life-care.
- 3 Multiregional perspective, civilizational plurality, in front of the world-order crisis and the global North-South disputes.
- 4 Internationalization, political power mutations, social change, democracy, and local/national/supranational governments
- 5 Socio-environmentalist justice and ecosocial alternatives. Beyond anthropocentrism and necropolitics
- 6 Aesthetic, cultural, and emancipatory resistances. Identity politics, acknowledgement politics, people's politics.

Conditions for application:

The event is intended for specialists that could bring forth solid theoretical or empirical reflections on any of the topics of this call. The participants must fill the application form online with the title and abstract (300-400 words) of their proposal and a brief resumé stating professional trajectory and relevant publications. Apply here: <http://www.calas.lat/en/content/apuestas-transdisciplinarias>

The paper could be presented in Spanish, English or Portuguese.

Deadline for sending proposals: May 19th 2024.

An academic committee will select the papers under criteria of excellence. The applicants will be notified about the decision on their proposals before June 16th, 2024.

CALAS will cover lodging and living expenses. In addition, there will be a limited budget for travel expenses to Guadalajara.

Email: merian.calas@gmail.com

Official web page in Spanish (CFA “Apuestas Transdisciplinarias”): <http://www.calas.lat/es/convocatorias/apuestas-transdisciplinarias-pensamiento-pol%C3%ADtico-cr%C3%ADtico-y-poder-desde-nuestra>

Call for Papers

Tennessee Philosophical Association

55th Annual Meeting: November 1—2, 2024
Vanderbilt University

Papers are welcome on topics in any area of philosophy. Maximum length is 3,000 words for the body of the paper (approximately 10 double-spaced pages). Head your paper with a short abstract of no more than 100 words. Please use Times New Roman or other suitable 12-point font. Electronic submissions are strongly preferred. Please include your title, 100-word abstract, and word count in your submission email. The paper itself may be in Word, rtf, or PDF format. If you cannot submit electronically, mail two hardcopies to the association president; be sure to include an email address for follow up communication.

Presidential Address

Court Lewis, Pellissippi State Community College

If Václav Havel's conclusion that humans ought to live in truth is correct, and to live in lie is unethical, then we find ourselves in a morally polluted world of constant wrongdoing. My address will examine how we (i.e., those who wish to be ethical and combat living in lie) should respond to this polluted moral environment. Specifically, I will discuss how living in truth requires creating or participating in parallel structures that utilize strategies of truth-telling, reconciliation, and the fostering of de-politicized communal spheres of the mundane.

Deadline for receipt of submissions is Friday, September 6, 2024.

Submissions should be sent directly to our President:

Court Lewis
cdlewis1@pstcc.edu
subject line: "TPA submission"

Snail mail:
Court Lewis
Pellissippi State Community College
10915 Hardin Valley Road
PO Box 22990
Knoxville, TN 37933-0990

Respondents: We will issue a call for commentators in late September; please help by volunteering and encouraging your advanced students and colleagues to do so, too.

Accommodations: TPA normally reserves a block of rooms for those attending the TPA. Reservation information will be posed as soon as available.

For one or two persons, a relatively inexpensive alternative is to stay at the Scarritt Bennett Center at 1027 18th Avenue South, Nashville, TN 37212. Scarritt Bennett (<http://www.scarrittbennett.org/>), once a Methodist seminary, it is also a short walk from Furman Hall. Accommodations are singles in dormitory buildings (two rooms per bath) and are modestly priced. For individual room bookings, call 615.340.7469 to speak with a Guest Services staff member.

US Military Aid to Ukraine: Business as Usual?

Duane Cady

Professor of Philosophy Emeritus
Hamline University

US military aid to help Ukraine defend itself from Russian aggression has become a political football. Some in Congress say, “spend whatever it takes,” while others in Congress say, “don’t give them a blank check.” How much should the US be spending to defend an assault on democracy in Europe? Who benefits from the spending?

Answering these questions is complicated. First off, taxpayers should know that we spent \$27.5 billion for military assistance to Ukraine in the first year of the Biden administration. This spending was part of an “approved Presidential drawdown,” that is, money outside of the current US budget. Before you credit or blame President Biden for more deficit spending, know that the spending was approved by Congress. No doubt there is more spending to come. All of this is in addition to the \$858 billion proposed for defense spending in the coming fiscal year.

Taxpayers should also know that this \$ 27.5 billion does not go directly to Ukraine. Rather, most of it stays in the US. Most of it is used to pay for the weapons we are supplying to Ukraine. Primary US weapons builders are Lockheed Martin, Raytheon, Boeing, and Northrop Grumman, two receiving in excess of \$6 billion and the other two receiving roughly \$3 billion each. Many other corporations receive smaller portions of the \$ 27.5 billion. So, the more military aid our government provides for Ukraine’s defense, the more we taxpayers support our arms industry. In a way, military support for Ukraine or any other country subsidizes our arms industry.

Another part of the story is that the US is the single largest arms merchant in the world. We make countries more dangerous by selling or otherwise supplying increasingly sophisticated weapons to more and more nations. And often we supply “foreign aid” which comes back to us as the foreign countries we aid “buy” weapons from us with money we gave them. Again, weapons production is paid for by US taxpayers even when the weapons go abroad, sometimes being used against us and our allies.

War is a nasty business. Military personnel risk and sometimes lose life or limb. Increasingly, ordinary citizens are caught in the crossfire or even targeted; they lose family members, homes, hospitals, schools and more as their countries may be reduced to rubble. Economies collapse, more and more citizens become refugees, cultures are badly wounded if not destroyed, and ways of life are disrupted to the point that they may never recover. To add to the cost of war, countries destroyed must rebuild, or be rebuilt by others. Yes, war is a nasty—and a costly—business. But it is a business. Many are profiting. As weapon-producing corporations receive increasing government contracts, stock values and dividends rise, bonuses are given, and, yes, jobs are created. The question is whether weapons production should be a major industry at the taxpayers’ expense. Might tax dollars create jobs in other ways?

Many say, “we have no choice.” But we have choices. Rather than accelerating war under claims of necessity, we could reduce if not stop supplying increasing numbers of ever more dangerous weapons. We could also get serious about diplomatic solutions rather than insisting on one and only one acceptable outcome.

Where does this leave us with Ukraine? First, we need to remind Russia that people will fight for their own families, homes and countries in ways much more persistent than they would fight a foreign war. Insurgency wars should be avoided. Russia and the US both should have learned this in Afghanistan. Russia needs to know this will make all the difference in their war with Ukraine. *(continued on page 16)*

NATO's Hegemonic Wars in Yugoslavia and Ukraine

Edward Demenchonok

Fort Valley State University

*Any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind,
and therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee.*

John Donne, 1624
Devotions (Meditation XVII)

1. Cold War Terror

I started writing this essay on March 24, 2024, on a national day of mourning in Russia to commemorate the victims of the terrorist attack at the Crocus City Hall on the outskirts of Moscow. On Friday March 22, many families with children went to this concert hall, which has an estimated capacity of 7,500, for a concert by the rock band Picnic. Just before the concert, four terrorists with assault rifles burst into the venue, killed guards, opened fire on visitors at point-blank range, and started a fire that quickly spread through the building. As a result of the attack, at least 144 people died and more than 550 sustained injuries, including children. According to news agencies, the terrorists tried to escape the country but were apprehended while fleeing toward Ukraine, where their contacts had prepared a window to allow them to cross the border. The Russian government has stated that all the perpetrators, organizers, and masterminds behind this attack on Russia and its people will get just and inevitable punishment.

There is considerable speculation and misinformation about who was behind this terrorist attack. Investigations are ongoing, and only the courts will ultimately determine the truth. Nevertheless, some preliminary information can be stated at this point. For instance, according to *Reuters*, the director of Russia's Federal Security Service (FSB), Alexander Bortnikov, said that he believed Ukraine, along with the United States and Britain, were involved in the attack: "We believe that the action was prepared by both the Islamist radicals themselves and was facilitated by Western special services" (Faulconbridge 2024). Further details were reported by *Russian Newspaper* after footage of interrogations of four participants directly involved in the attack was shown on Russian television on April 7:

All four said that immediately after the terrorist attack, their coordinator, Sayfullo from Kyiv, gave them instructions to go to Kyiv. Sayfullo told them that the Ukrainian side was preparing two ways for them to leave the Russian Federation at once. For this purpose, mine clearance work was carried out in the border areas near the villages of Chuikovka and Sopych in the Sumy region. The terrorists had to reach the Russian border, then burn the car and get to the extraction point. Each of them was promised they would receive 1 million rubles in Kyiv. (Egorov 2024)

Russian investigators have accused the Ukrainian security service of a pattern of terrorist attacks, and the Russian Investigative Committee announced on April 9, 2024 that it had launched a terrorism probe, "looking at certain Western government officials as part of an investigation into the funding of terrorist attacks such as the massacre at Crocus City Hall and the bombing of the Nord Stream pipelines" (iSideWith.com 2024). According to the AFP:

Moscow's Investigative Committee said it was "investigating the sources of income" worth millions of dollars and the "involvement of specific individuals from government officials and public commercial organizations of Western countries." It cited the name of a company that employed Hunter Biden, the US president's son. "It has been established that financial funds received through commercial organizations, including the oil and gas company Burisma Holding, working in Ukraine over recent years were used to carry out terrorist acts inside Russia," the committee said. (AFP 2024) (*continued on page 21*)

Member Profile

Gail M. Presbey: Global Philosopher of Peace and Justice

By Greg Moses, Texas State University

Gail M. Presbey, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Detroit Mercy, is a well-traveled world scholar of peace and justice, who (as her 70-page CV attests) excels in several areas of expertise, including African Philosophy, Gandhian Philosophy, Feminism, Latin American Liberation, and Peace History. Her annual email reports invariably share experiences and photos across North America and other continents, including Africa, South America, Europe, and Asia, even as her activities demonstrate close engagement with issues and organizations in and around her hometown of Detroit.

During the 1990's I came to know Gail as a colleague as we volunteered to help the New York Theological Seminary sustain its prison education program on a voluntary basis. I worked with Gail at the Greenhaven program, while she also helped with the Downstate location. Gail taught a course called "Revolution: Violent or Nonviolent?" at Greenhaven prison while simultaneously teaching a course under the same title on the nearby Marist College campus. On a regular basis, Gail, myself, and our colleagues Mar Peter-Raoul and Bruce Luske would bring students from campus to hold classes with prisoners at Greenhaven, sometimes teaching together. I counted at least eight heavy steel gates that we would walk through between the parking lot and the prison classroom.

From 1998 to 2000 she held a J. William Fulbright Senior Scholar position at the University of Nairobi, Kenya, during which she did research on Sage Philosophy, following years of work with her mentor in that field, Henry Odera Oruka (1944-1995). Presbey has published dozens of articles and chapters on Sage Philosophy, and her work on Oruka came to fruitful maturity with the 2023 publication of *The Life and Thought of H. Odera Oruka: Pursuing Justice in Africa* (Bloomsbury).

In 2005 she had a six-month research Fulbright grant, hosted by World Peace Center at MIT, Pune, India, where she studied Gandhian nonviolence. Presbey has also published more than a dozen articles and book chapters on Gandhian nonviolence, including "Gandhi: The Grandfather of Conflict Transformation" (2013), and "Odera Oruka and Mohandas Gandhi on Reconciliation" (2015) based upon an invited talk at the University of Vienna. She currently serves as Associate Editor of *The Acorn*, a publication of the Gandhi, King, Chavez, Addams Society.

Presbey served as Executive Director of Concerned Philosophers for Peace for five years and then as President for two years, delivering two CPP Presidential Addresses: "Gandhi on the Problem of Violence within the Indian Struggle for Independence" at SUNY Cortland (2008), and "Gandhian Nonviolence and Pan-Africanism" at the University of Dayton (2009). She has edited two collections of CPP papers for publication in the Philosophy of Peace series: *Philosophical Perspectives on the "War on Terrorism"* (2007) and *Peace Philosophy and Public Life: Commitments, Crises, and Concepts for Engaged Thinking* (2014), which I was honored to co-edit.

Presbey's inclusive approach to philosophy resulted in a path-making textbook that I relied upon for many years of teaching. *The Philosophical Quest: A Cross Cultural Reader*, published in two editions by McGraw-Hill (1995, 2000) helped define a high-water mark of the tide in multicultural philosophy in the US. One of my favorite memories is a drive up a snowy New York highway in a small vehicle, listening to engaged dialogue between co-editors of *The Philosophical Quest*: Presbey, Karsten Struhl, and Richard Olson. Presbey later became the first editor of *Thought and Practice in African Philosophy* (2002).

At Detroit Mercy, Presbey teaches peace and social justice, ethics, African philosophy and culture, and other courses related to social and political philosophy. (*continued on the next page*)

Member Profile: Gail M. Presbey

(continued from the previous page) She organizes a robust series of visiting lecturers to the university (12 or more yearly), many of them related to her work as Director of the James Carney Latin American Solidarity Archives. Prior to her work at Detroit Mercy, Presbey co-founded the Peace and Justice Studies program at Fordham while she was a graduate student and served as Founder and Director of Peace and Justice Studies Interdisciplinary Minor at Albertus Magnus College.

Presbey holds a Bachelor of Arts in Philosophy from University of Detroit, a Master of Arts in History with a concentration in world history from Wayne State University, and Master of Arts in Philosophy and doctorate in Philosophy from Fordham University, where she was mentored by the legendary pacifist philosopher James Marsh. Presbey received Detroit Mercy's Faculty Achievement Award in 2003 and the Mission Leadership Award in 2006. She received the Purple Ribbon Award for Peace from Pax Christi Michigan in 2018.

As the current President of the Peace History Society (after six years on their Board, four of those years as Secretary), Presbey continues to enrich the work of peace philosophy in this life, and her example will continue to serve as fruitful inspiration for generations to come.

Member Profile Andrew Fitz-Gibbon

By Andrew Fiala, California State University, Fresno

Andrew Fitz-Gibbon is a former president and long-time member of Concerned Philosophers for Peace. Fitz-Gibbon is currently SUNY Distinguished Service Professor, Professor of Philosophy and Chair of the Philosophy Department, State University of New York (SUNY), Cortland. For many years he was the Director of the Center for Ethics, Peace and Social Justice at SUNY Cortland.

Fitz-Gibbon is an accomplished scholar who has made original contributions to the philosophy of peace, pacifism, and nonviolence. He is a dedicated colleague who has served the scholarly community in various capacities. He also endeavors to connect theory and practice in his life and work.

Fitz-Gibbon began working with CPP over 20 years ago. He served a term as president in 2013—14. His service to CPP includes sustained work as a referee and editor. Among his contributions is an edited volume of conference papers, *Positive Peace: Reflections on Peace Education, Nonviolence, and Social Change*, that includes essays by Bill Gay, Danielle Poe, Sanjay Lal, and other scholars involved in CPP. Fitz-Gibbon has also contributed editorial work for journals and publications including *The Acorn: Journal of the Gandhi-King Society*, the *Peace Studies Journal*, and the *Philosophy of Peace Series* (published by Rodopi/Brill). Moreover, Fitz-Gibbon is a gracious participant in conferences and in the scholarly community that is central to CPP. He is generous with his time when reviewing papers and manuscripts. He brings a certain energy, enthusiasm, and style with him. Long-time members will recall that when he served as President of CPP, he would dress in a Scottish kilt to deliver his Presidential address, and that he also often had a ukulele that would be part of the after-dinner entertainment.

Fitz-Gibbon's scholarship is extensive. He has published over a dozen books and nearly fifty articles and book reviews. Among his recent publications is *Pragmatic Nonviolence: Working Toward a Better World* (Leiden: Rodopi/Brill, 2021). That volume is written as a dialogue, a format that Fitz-Gibbon used to great effect in a prior book, *Love as a Guide to Morals* (Leiden: Rodopi, 2012). (continued on the next page)

Member Profile: Andrew Fitz-Gibbon

(continued from the previous page) The dialogue partners in the new book engage in an extended reflection on the value and power of nonviolence. Fitz-Gibbon defines pragmatic nonviolence as follows: “through lovingkindness working toward the well-being of the other” (128). Among the important arguments and conclusions of the book we find the following: “violence is the chief obstruction to well-being and a better world” (33). And (in the voice of Jack), he says: “I’m not looking for absolute theoretical or practical purity. Every one of us has engaged in violence to some degree, but we can make the world better by practicing nonviolence. If we intentionally choose to refrain from violent actions and violent language, and if we choose to act nonviolently, then we make the world that much better” (3).

Fitz-Gibbon’s pragmatic approach to nonviolence has grown as he has developed his thinking and practice over the course of a productive career. He began his work as a Christian pastor engaged in theological questions. He went on to complete a Ph.D. in philosophy, to study Tai Chi, to work with foster children, and to become certified as a philosophical counselor. He and his wife Jane Hall Fitz-Gibbon—who has also been an active presence in CPP—have served as foster parents for a large number of foster children, which led them to write *Nurturing Strangers: Strategies for Nonviolent Re-parenting of Children in Foster Care* (New York: Routledge, 2019) and *Welcoming Strangers: Nonviolent Re-parenting of Children in Foster Care* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2015). They explain there, among other things, the importance of a loving, nonviolent home.

This spirit of lovingkindness and a commitment to nonviolence in practice has guided Andrew Fitz-Gibbon throughout his career and in his service to CPP. We are thankful for Andy for his model, wisdom, and inspiration.

Towards Perpetual Peace and Sustainable Order: A Philosophical Exploration

Alvin Tan

University of Santo Tomas,
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In the tumultuous landscape of our modern world, the pursuit of perpetual peace and sustainable order seems both an idealistic aspiration and an urgent necessity. As societies grapple with indecision and confusion fueled by political, social, economic, and environmental challenges, finding a pragmatic yet profound solution becomes paramount. This essay explores the best yet realistic way to attain perpetual peace and sustainable order, elucidating fundamental principles of diplomacy, international cooperation, economic stability, justice, and environmental sustainability. Furthermore, a philosophical examination, drawing inspiration from the works of Kant and Rawls, illuminates the reasonable path towards perpetual peace.

Diplomacy and Conflict Resolution: Prioritizing Dialogue over Discord

One cornerstone of achieving perpetual peace lies in prioritizing diplomacy and conflict resolution. The fundamental principle here is rooted in the belief that open communication, dialogue, and negotiations are potent tools for resolving conflicts without resorting to violence. Diplomacy promotes understanding and cooperation, laying the groundwork for sustained peace.

The fundamental reason behind this principle in the realization of perpetual peace is the prioritization of peaceable and non-violent means. The reason for embracing diplomacy is rooted in the belief that engaging in dialogue, not just mere conversation, fosters a deeper understanding of opposing perspectives without resorting to military interference. In other words, diplomacy seeks to address the root causes of conflicts, promoting stability and preventing the loss of human lives associated with armed confrontations. (continued on page 45)

CPP at the APA

2024 Eastern Division Meeting (1/15/2024—1/18/2024) New York, New York

Session 1: Feminist and Critical Race Approaches to War

Speakers: Serene Khader, Brooklyn College and The Graduate Center, City University of New York

Graham Parsons, United States Military Academy

Jessica Wolfendale, Case Western University

Session 2: Peace Education and Peace Activism

Speakers: Johannes Drerup, TU Dortmund and VU Amsterdam

Shadi Heidarifar, University of Florida

2024 Central Division Meeting (2/21/2024—2/24/2024) New Orleans, Louisiana

Session 1: Perspectives on Kant's *Perpetual Peace*

Speakers: Andrew Fiala, California State University, Fresno

Leonard Kahn, Loyola University New Orleans

Jack Stetter, Loyola University New Orleans

Corey R Horn, Tulane University

Session 2: *Good Omens*, Peace, Nonviolence, and the End of the World

Speakers: Paula Smithka, University of Southern Mississippi

Jennifer Kling, University of Colorado, Colorado Springs

Court Lewis, Mississippi State Community College

2024 Pacific Division Meeting (3/20/2024 - 3/23/2024) Portland, Oregon

Chair: Charles Freiberg, Saint Louis University

Speakers: Marcás Dru Johnson, Independent Scholar

Wim Laven, Cuyahoga Community College

Charles Freiberg, Saint Louis University

Jeremy Davis, University of Georgia

William Barnes, University of New Mexico

“US Military Aid to Ukraine: Business as Usual?,” by Duane Cady

(continued from page 10) Besides, even if Russia “wins” they lose, not only hundreds of thousands of military personnel are killed or maimed, but Russia’s international standing is damaged beyond repair for a generations, the credibility of their own government is severely damaged at home, and they must bear the financial costs resulting from sanctions in addition to costs for weapons, fuel, and necessary material supports for the war. If Russia “wins,” what will they have won? A nation destroyed, a nation they themselves destroyed, and a conquered people that hates Russia that will deploy an underground war on their Russian occupiers as long as they stay.

So, what do we, the US, do? Ever increasing sanctions? Of course. Covert operations? Yes, if they can be multilateral. Genuinely defensive weapons? Yes. And diplomatic efforts, beginning with a cease fire. Even if diplomacy goes no further and results in a situation like that between North and South Korea, still formally and officially at war, we have minimized the hot war. Even under these conditions, putting an end to the death, carnage, displacement and destruction is a step in the right direction. This is only possible if both sides start talking.

It doesn’t help when the Western alliance forgoes peace talks until Ukraine is in a stronger position, one which may lead to a cease fire more favorable to the West. It doesn’t help when the alliance demonizes Russia. Even a rat needs a way out; with no way out, the rat becomes more deadly.

Above all we need to remind ourselves of what Representative Jeannette Rankin said as she was one of very few in congress to vote against the US entering World War I: “You can no more win a war than you can win an earthquake.” “There must be a better way.”

**Friendship During Conflict and Conflicting Friendships:
Affective Cosmopolitanism as Friendship, a Prerequisite to the Peace Process**

**Henry Vumjou
Indian Institute of Technology, Bombay**

It is intriguing how moments of conflict often prompt deep contemplation about peace. Philosophers are no exception. Kant, who is said to have keenly followed the events of the French Revolution, wrote *Towards Perpetual Peace* during the peak of the revolution. The past decade has seen enough conflict to bring out humanitarian crises worldwide. The focus of people around the world and the media coverage is usually inclined towards such conflicts that happen in the West or the conflicts that happen outside of the West where the West is involved. However, unbeknownst to most of the world, tucked away from the coverage of the mainstream media, a conflict has been ravaging the Indian state of Manipur for the past ten months now. A conflict between ethnicities that will go down as one of the bloodiest in the region’s history. The attempt in this essay is to tell the world about the conflict and much more about an instance of friendship that stood the test of conflicting times, which can be taken as a precedent for initiating peace in the times to come between the conflicting communities.

The conflict started as an ethnic clash between the majority Meitei and minority Kuki-Zo communities in Manipur over land and minority rights. The conflict started in the peripheral areas and reached the Imphal area in no time. Imphal is the capital city dominated by the majority of the Meitei community. Overnight, Kuki-Zo localities in Imphal went up in flames. The minority Kuki-Zo people had to flee for their lives in Imphal as radicals from the majority of Meitei groups were targeting them. The Kuki-Zo community did the same to Meiteis in their dominant areas. The rift between the two communities is evident, something which cannot be easily undone. The conflict went on and brought about the worst kind of crime against humanity cases between the warring communities. One of the most noticeable incidents could be the naked parading of helpless Kuki-Zo tribal women, which came to light much later as the conflict went on. (continued on page 42)

My New Favorite Anti-War Film: Godzilla Minus One (No spoilers)

Kate C.S. Schmidt
Metropolitan State University of Denver

It surprised me too, but the best anti-war film I've seen in recent years is the hidden gem Godzilla Minus One (2023), written and directed by Takashi Yamazaki. The film has been widely praised and won the Academy Award for Best Visual Effects. The movie shows the harmful consequences of war, but more significantly, it also uses the core story to give a deeper emotional articulation of the moral costs of war.

The filmmaker François Truffaut famously wrote: "I don't think I've really seen an anti-war film. Every movie about war ends up being pro-war." By its very nature as a visual story-telling medium, movies will make events look dramatic and sensational. War movies become a setting for noble acts and meaningful story development that can attract viewers even if the movie attempts to show the costs of war. Some philosophers argue there are no anti-war films; I don't know if I agree that anti-war movies are a conceptual impossibility, but like Truffaut, I don't know if I have ever really seen one until now.

One key difficulty for movies attempting to be anti-war is that they must still portray war, and any portrayal on the silver screen will make war look significant, will make violence look like action, and will make death look unimportant compared to the vast spectacle of war. Godzilla Minus One avoids this difficulty, in part because it shows almost no scenes of war in the 125-minute runtime. Instead, the movie is focused on the ruins of Japan in the immediate aftermath of World War II. The setting, the topics of conversation, and the emotional states of the main characters are all defined by their various losses and despair in the aftermath of the war. In the midst of attempting recovery, Godzilla approaches Japan and threatens another round of societal destruction. Our protagonists must figure out a way to stop Godzilla and save their country. Despite a relatively small budget, Godzilla is genuinely scary: an unstoppable monster that promises destruction and death each time he appears. Yet our main characters face this desperate situation with bravery because at least "it's not war."

The basic plot of Godzilla Minus One (partially named because the events of the movie precede the original 1954 Godzilla) is that Godzilla is approaching Japan and threatening destruction. What's special about the movie is how it focuses inward on the emotional journey of the people in the movie. Rather than reveling in some graphic fight or show of overwhelming force against Godzilla, this movie spends a lot of time showing why some citizens are so committed to fighting Godzilla even when it seems impossible. We see their communities, and their lives, to understand what they are driven to protect. This approach refocuses the emotionality of the story, and the plot action, around the characters' love for their country, and for one another. The movie doesn't just show the power of war, but the power of community, cooperation, and peace. This clear-eyed portrayal is what ultimately makes the movie so memorable and so beautifully anti-war. Rather than showing the scale and spectacle of war's violence, the audience sees the moral goods that are directly threatened by war. The story focuses on understanding the value of life, a value that is always threatened by war.

If you can, watch this movie. If you can't, keep an eye out for the stories we tell each other about war. I remain hopeful that we can use stories to better understand the moral values that we share and protect together.

Self-Defense and the Value of Life

Federico Germán Abal
Institute of Philosophical Research (IIF) - CONICET

Human life is enormously valuable. I believe that the vast majority of people, even living in societies that tolerate unacceptable levels of violence and death, share this same idea. The death of a person moves us.

For example, when we hear about the death of a person in a car accident, we think (even for a moment) of our own life, our children, partner, parents, siblings, friends. We perceive how much it would hurt us if one of them died and also how our own death would mean the end of projects, sensations, and the enjoyment of time with the people we love. We have the wonderful capacity to recognize that what we feel at the thought of the death of a loved one may be similar to what the loved one of the person who just died in the car accident feels. This ability, often called empathy, allows us to be moved by the death of another human being and explains why we are moved by certain books and movies that include some reflection on death.

Despite this phenomenon, many people believe that intentionally killing another human being can sometimes be morally justified. *(continued on page 36)*

War On the Environment

Anna Malavisi
Western Connecticut State University

As I ponder the futility of war, witnessing the killing of many innocent Palestinians (and others) and persistent destruction and disruption in Ukraine, I have come to realize that the entire industry of war over centuries has contributed to the climate crisis. To address the climate crisis there is an urgent need to understand better the impact that war is having and has had on the environment, but also challenge a current political ideology that too easily justifies the waging of war as the only solution to conflict. The first thing that happened after the devastating massacre by Hamas on October 7, 2023 was Israel's declaration of war on Hamas, and more truthfully, on all Palestinians. Israel's decision was further supported by many global and political leaders (US, Britain, Canada, France, Australia, the European Union, and others) by stating, "Israel has the right to defend itself." The gravest error here, is the complete absence of recognition about the decades of oppression of Palestinians by the Israeli government. The international community has practically turned a blind eye to this history, so much so, I think, that many people ignorant of the situation in Palestine before October 7 believed that the conflict started only then. In this piece I will not delve further into the failings of the global community in this matter—I've left that analysis for another piece. In this piece, I focus on the impact of war on the environment.

The History of War

Many will say that humanity has always engaged in war, so that it's futile to think that we could ever abolish war. I want to challenge this notion to the extent that, too often, countries resort to war without considering other alternatives, such as non-violent ones. The fact that war itself is a major contributor to the climate crisis should be reason enough for nation-states to rethink strategies of protection, security, and related matters.

While scant evidence is available that shows that organized warfare existed before 4,000 BCE, most anthropological findings suggest that warfare first appeared around 6,000 years ago. Some historians speculate that humans were free of such large-scale violence for most of the preceding 100,000 years (Smith 2017); but I'm not totally convinced that this is the case. *(continued on the next page)*

(continued from the previous page) War in the West for the last 2,000 years has been “rooted in Classical Roman and biblical Hebraic culture, and contains both religious and secular elements” (Johnson 2024). Rationales for war can be found in the writings of theologians such as Augustine (354—430) and Thomas Aquinas (1224—1274) but also secular theorists such as Cicero (106—43 BCE). From these writings, just war theory has emerged, which comprises two main elements: resort to war: *Jus ad bellum* (the right to wage war) and conduct in war: *jus in bello* (justice in war) (Ibid.). Most wars have been said to be justified within the framework of just war theory; of course, some of them unjustifiably.

Political Ideologies Today

What I see as a serious problem of the current geopolitical context is the predominance of political ideologies that resort to war far too easily. Some of the factors that influence these decisions include the following: a rising trend toward nationalism; national self-interests that often are economic, outweigh the interests and needs of other countries; a complete disconnect between war and the environment; the notion that some lives are deemed ungrievable; economic benefits from war that outweigh its moral senselessness; advancing technology that has changed the face of war; asymmetries of power, and the greed for power; and finally patriarchy and the kudos associated with war.

The Impact of War on the Environment

The impact of war has both immediate and long-term effects. Immediate effects are obvious: complete destruction of human and non-human lives and habitats. I offer three examples to demonstrate the long-term effects of three different geographical locations: Africa, Sardinia, and Palestine.

i) Jane Goodall and the Wars on Wildlife in Africa

As a young scientist in the 1960s, Goodall observed chimpanzee habitat that stretched for miles; forests also stretched for miles. Today one will see cultivated land, no trees, eroded hillsides, loss of soil fertility and no forest animals. One of the principal causes of this devastation in Tanzania over the years has been the influx of refugees, as well as general population increase. Refugees that have fled wars in Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and other places (Goodall 2017). Refugees anywhere have a terrible struggle to survive. They cut down trees for shelter and firewood. They gather all kinds of edible plants and hunt wildlife for food. And as Goodall says, “Scarcity of natural resources can actually trigger conflicts as well as prolonging existing wars” (Ibid.). So, not only do we have to consider the impact war has on the environment but also the impact nature and the climate crisis can have on the initiation of war.

ii) Sardinia, Italy

Sardinia is an island paradise off the coast of Italy but also, a place used to train soldiers and pilots. Seventy percent of Italy’s military bases are in Sardinia. Italian and NATO bases occupy about 1/3 of the island’s land. In the communities that surround the bases there are epidemic levels of cancers and birth defects in the populations—which includes non-human animals. The soil, air, food and water are all contaminated with heavy metals, jet fuel, napalm, and other poisons. Large quantities of toxic waste are generated. Explosions of weapons and waste from past wars leave areas unable to support vegetation. It is NATO’s largest air base used by Italy, Germany, Canada, and the US since 1954 (Jaccard 2017).

iii) Palestine/Occupied Territories

The degradation of the natural environment (which includes humans) in Palestine over decades is abhorrent. Even before the conflict that started in October 2023, both the West Bank and Gaza Strip faced water-stress. Ninety-five percent of the water in Gaza is unfit for human consumption. Ground water is threatened by the contamination of wastewater and salinization (Conflict and Environment Observatory 2024). (continued on the next page)

(continued from the previous page) According to the Conflict and Environment Observatory, “Land closure and confiscation, and the destruction of orchards in the West Bank has restricted grazing and agriculture and has caused overgrazing in other areas and so degraded soils” (Ibid.). Solid waste management is poor across both areas. “The dumping of toxic waste by Israel has been reported in the West Bank. The management of the vast quantities of debris, and contamination from the conflicts in Gaza, is a persistent issue” (Ibid.).

Military budgets

I would be remiss to not mention, at least, the exorbitant military budgets that support the war-industry. The wars in Iraq and Afghanistan cost the United States \$1.5 trillion—about twice the cost of the Vietnam War when adjusted for inflation. One out of every five tax dollars is spent on armaments and the armed forces. The US spends more on its defense budget than the next ten countries combined—including Russia, China and allies. Not surprisingly, the United States is the world’s largest supplier of weapons.

War has created a huge global military empire that feeds the world’s oil-based economies. Waging war is dependent on burning vast amounts of oil and generates high levels of greenhouse gases. Increased military spending diverts funds from social, educational, health and environmental needs.

Final thoughts

There is an urgent need to understand better the impact of war on the environment—though, understanding is not enough; acting on it is necessary. Furthermore, there is a need to extend the moral community to include non-human beings, as well as the entire ecosystem. In other words, an anthropocentric worldview needs to be rejected. There should also be an awareness and understanding that all humans—not just some—have equal moral worth. Arguably, the world is at a tipping-point. The other day, Rwanda remembered 30 years since the genocide which occurred in the country. Rwandan leaders called out the failure of the international community for not intervening to stop it. Thirty years on, and once again, the international community has failed the Palestinian people. The Vatican declared that gender fluidity (among other things) threatens human dignity; while Judith Butler says it’s social change which threatens human dignity (Richardson-Self 2024). I believe our biggest threat to human dignity is humanity itself. And it is not just a threat: it’s an actuality—and an ancient one. The moral compass of most global leaders (in fact, maybe all of us) needs to be recalibrated. That there is a pressing need for action cannot be denied.

Let me finish with a few lines from Verse #30, ‘Defense and Aggression’ from the *Dao De Jing*:

Those on the path of the Great Integrity
never use military force to conquer others,
Every aggressive act harvests its own counter-terrorism.

Wherever the military marches,
the killing fields lay waste to the land,
yielding years of famine and misery.

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NATO's Hegemonic Wars in Yugoslavia and Ukraine, by Edward Demenchonok

(continued from page 11) Investigators and political analysts, trying to understand the motives of this crime and who staged, planned, and organized the terrorist attack, are speculating on the geopolitical context and circumstantial evidence. In doing so, they raise the traditional question of *cui bono*, i.e., “who benefits?” Jeffrey Sachs suggests that, in this case, nothing should be taken at face value, that there are “continuing drum beats that there are links with Ukraine,” and that “we are learning lots of details that point toward Ukraine” (Sachs 2024).

Many analysts are skeptical about ISIS' involvement in this attack (Nivat 2024; Osborne 2024). Scott Ritter, a former Marine Corps Intelligence Officer, commenting on the terrorist attack on the Crocus City Hall, doubts ISIS' involvement and argues that there is strong evidence that it was a Ukrainian intelligence operation with the CIA involvement: “If this was something planned by Ukraine, then it means it was something planned by Ukraine under the direction of the CIA to carry out an American policy objective, which seeks the strategic defeat of Russia” (Ritter 2024). He further argues that since the Ukrainian regime is losing the war on the battlefield, it is resorting to terrorism against civilians. Seth Ferris, an investigative journalist and political scientist, writes that “Ukraine, and its backers, are losing the war, and losing it badly” and hypothesizes that “both the US and UK have a history of cooping terrorist groups as part of their divide and rule approach to ‘imperial control’ and it is increasingly likely that this attack may have been orchestrated by some in Ukraine, with western backing from the CIA and MI6” (Ferris 2024). Furthermore, Ukraine's security service, the SBU, has deep ties to the CIA (Miller and Khurshudyan 2023).

1.1. A litmus test for humanity

On the day of national mourning, people prayed in churches and mosques for the repose of the souls of the innocent killed and for the recovery of the wounded. Thousands of people went to hospitals to donate blood, and many volunteers provided all possible support to the victims. This tragedy affected not only the victims themselves, their relatives, and their friends but also made the vulnerability of human life in the face of terrorism and politically organized violence abundantly clear—everyone can become a victim, and therefore everyone must unite against terrorism and the conditions that give rise to it.

Russia was shocked by this barbaric crime. But if the masterminds expected it to intimidate people and destabilize Russian society, the attack's effect turned out to be the opposite: people's grief united them in their determination to resist the enemy. Since the attack, deep condolences have been pouring in from many countries, and the UN Secretary-General António Guterres expressed his condolences and condemned the terrorist attack in the strongest possible terms. In contrast, Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky blamed Russia for the attack (Thompson 2024).

For Russians, this tragedy is comparable to the tragedy of 9/11 in the United States. On that occasion, President Vladimir Putin was the first to call then US President George W. Bush to express his condolences and offer Russia's assistance in the investigation into the crime and its collaboration in the fight against international terrorism. In the past, American and Russian security services have collaborated in the fight against international terrorism, such as after the Boston Marathon bombing on April 15, 2013. Several months before the attack, the Russian FSB sent US intelligence services a warning, and in March 2011, the FSB sent a memorandum to the FBI and CIA about the Tsarnaev brothers and their activities as followers of radical Islam. However, an FBI investigation yielded no evidence to support those claims (Bender and Bierman 2013; Radia 2013). In 2017, US intelligence alerted their Russian partners to a planned terrorist act in Kazan Cathedral in St. Petersburg that helped Russia to prevent it, for which Moscow expressed its gratitude to Washington. Regarding the recent terrorist attack, however:

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A. Bortnikov...emphasized Tuesday in public comments that the information the United States provided was “of a general nature.” “We reacted to this information, of course, and took appropriate measures,” he said, noting that the actions the F.S.B. took to follow up on the tip didn’t confirm it. *The adversarial relationship between Washington and Moscow prevented U.S. officials from sharing any information about the plot beyond what was necessary*, out of fear Russian authorities might learn their intelligence sources or methods. (Sonne, Schmitt, and Schwirtz 2024; emphasis added)

This raises the question of whether US officials would have shared more specific information with Russia if this adversarial relationship did not exist. Would this have helped the Russian authorities prevent the terrorist attack? After the White House National Security Communications Advisor John Kirby said that “there’s not going to be any security assistance with Russia and the United States” (Whitehouse.gov 2024), Maria Zakharova, the representative of the Russian Foreign Ministry, responded by saying that “the White House’s statement of refusal to help Russia after the terrorist attack at Crocus City Hall is immoral behavior” (Mironov 2024).

This is very regrettable because the victims of terrorism are innocent civilians in countries around the world. Terrorism is an international problem that requires close cooperation between all nations because no one country can protect itself without such collaboration. This is the bare minimum humanitarian collaboration required in this area. The US’ refusal to collaborate with Russia also puts other collaborations at risk, including negotiations on the SALT III agreement on strategic weapons.

2. NATO’s bombing of Yugoslavia in 1999 as the herald of the new Cold War

March 24, 2024, also marked the 25th anniversary of NATO’s bombing of Yugoslavia, which began on March 24, 1999, and lasted 78 days. This was a continuation of the partition of the country and led to the separation of Kosovo, which declared its independence from Serbia in 2008. This unilateral declaration of independence and its recognition set a precedent in international law and practice. It remains an unhealed wound, and there are still tensions between the government of Kosovo and the Serbs in North Kosovo.

This anniversary was commemorated by an international conference held in Belgrade on March 22-24, 2024, on the theme “From the Aggression to a New Just Order.” Hosted by the Belgrade Forum for the World of Equals, participants gathered from all over the world issued the following statement:

2.1. Not to Forget! 1999 – 2024. The Belgrade Declaration

Statement of condemnation of the terrorist attack in Moscow:

Participants of the International Conference held in Belgrade on March 22-24, 2024, on the occasion of marking the 25th anniversary of NATO’s armed aggression against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia,

- Condemn in the strongest terms the heinous, bestial and provocative terrorist attack in Moscow that killed so many innocent people, and express belief that the perpetrators will be quickly apprehended and brought to justice.
- At the same time, express their deepest condolences to the families of the killed and the injured ones, to the citizens of Moscow, and to the entire Russian people, in the moment of their pain and huge grief.
- Call for a determined and coordinated combatting of terrorism as a global danger that threatens all the peoples of the world.

In Belgrade, March 23, 2024. (Black 2024a)

(continued on the next page)

(continued from the previous page) The participants of this forum issued the **Belgrade Declaration**, which states:

We belong to different countries, nations, ideologies, religions and civilizations, but stand firmly united in our commitment to peace, equality, and prosperity for all peoples, as well as in our condemnation of interventionism, expansion, domination, and hegemonism. **We firmly condemn** the unprovoked armed aggression by NATO against the FRY (Serbia and Montenegro) in 1999 as an unlawful, invading and criminal war against a sovereign, peace-loving European country, waged devoid of a UN Security Council mandate, in blatant violation of the United Nations Charter, the OSCE Helsinki Final Act (1975) and the fundamental principles of international law. (Black 2024a)

The participants also stated the casualties of this aggression:

The aggression took the lives of 1,139 soldiers and police officers, about 3,000 civilians also including 89 children, while some 10,000 people were wounded. However, the consequences of prolonged effects of weapons filled with depleted uranium and toxic compounds are by far greater. (Black 2024a)

They condemned militarism and NATO's expansion:

We oppose the unipolar world order based on the strategy of hegemonism and global domination with NATO as its military feast. The aggression against the FRY in 1999 was speeding up of the strategy of expansion to the East, and a source of danger to peace in Europe and the world. At the time of the aggression, NATO had 19 members, and today counts 32. After the erection of US military base Camp Bondsteel in Kosovo and Metohija, there followed dozens of new NATO bases. Presently, Europe hosts a far larger number of foreign military bases and stockpiles of nuclear weapons than it did during the bipolar world and the Cold War era. [...] The biggest obstacle to the world order of sovereign, equal nations is the relics of the Cold War. That is why NATO should be dissolved and the doctrine of hegemonism, expansionism and neocolonialism consigned to history. (Black 2024a)

They expressed grave concern about the many conflicts in today's world, stating with regard to the war in Ukraine that:

We hold that the Ukrainian crisis is a corollary of NATO's strategy of expansion to the East, under betrayal of all agreements of the otherwise. **We believe** this crisis can be resolved peacefully, by acknowledging and removing the causes and by guaranteeing equal security for all countries. (Black 2024a)

To militarized hegemonic unipolarity, the declaration opposes the idea of a peaceful multipolar world order based on the sovereign equality of all states:

We support the peace, security and development initiatives that are based on the principle of mutual indivisibility of peace, security and development, and that take note of the root causes of problems. The key roles in that process play BRICS, EAEU, Global Initiative "Belt and Road", Shanghai Cooperation Organisation, NAM. We support the abolition of all monopolies, privileges based on 'exceptionalism'. We refuse unilateral sanctions, erection of new 'walls' or divisions. The attempt to divide the world into 'democracies' and 'autocracies' is a trickery of the power-centers designed to extend the life of the unipolar world order. (Black 2024a)

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2.2. World Peace Council Secretariat's statement on the 25th anniversary of NATO's aggression against Yugoslavia

The day before the conference in Belgrade, the World Peace Council Secretariat met and issued a communiqué concerning NATO's historic aggression:

On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of NATO's aggression against the peoples of Yugoslavia, the WPC Secretariat reiterated its indignation for the huge crime committed by imperialism's biggest war machine in 1999. This crime served also as a precedent for later crimes and imperialist wars of the USA, NATO and the E.U. in other parts of the world. NATO was never a defensive structure, and the case of its aggression against Yugoslavia proved its brutal, inhuman, and reactionary character, manifested in its 75 years of interventions, wars, coups and aggressions, which it will celebrate this year. (World Peace Council 2024)

The Secretariat also addressed the NATO-Russia war on Ukrainian soil:

The Secretariat ... expressed its deep concern about the bloodshed, casualties, and destruction on all sides, particularly about the dangers for a further escalation which could extend into a war of global dimensions, with the possible use of Nuclear Weapons, which would lead to the destruction of humanity. This war did not start two years ago; it started in 2014 with the US-NATO-EU-backed Coup in Kiev, the attacks of the Ukrainian regime on the population in the Donbass, and the massacre at the Trade Union building of Odessa in May 2014. But its roots go even further back to the dissolution of the USSR in 1991, which occurred despite the fact that overwhelming majority in the Soviet Union voted in favor of maintaining it through a respective referendum. The WPC took a crystal-clear position in February 2022, which was reaffirmed in its last Assembly, that while we do not agree, as a matter of principle, with any unilateral change of international borders, we denounce NATO and the governments of its member states for expanding its range eastward and encircling the Russian Federation militarily. They have been fueling this war for two years with huge sums of money, military equipment, and political support to the regime of Kiev, which also has the support of neo-fascist and Nazi forces in the Ukraine. The WPC denounces the affiliation of Finland and Sweden into NATO and the plans to deploy 300.000 troops close to the borders of Russia and the witch hunting of peace-loving forces in these countries for struggling against NATO. The WPC calls for an end of all hostilities in this conflict, de-escalation of all military actions, and politically negotiated solution based on the International Law. (World Peace Council 2024)

2.3. For Peace! No to NATO! – On the 75th anniversary of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization

On April 4, 2024, the Portuguese Council for Peace and Cooperation, affiliated with the World Peace Council, issued the following statement under the title “For Peace! No to NATO!” in which it demanded the dissolution of NATO and the end of its wars of aggression and confrontational policy:

The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) was created on April 4, 1949, precisely 75 years ago, and since then it has constituted the greatest threat to Peace in the world. The creation of NATO countered the creation of a collective security system provided for in the United Nations Charter, imposing on the world a political-military bloc and the logic of confrontation, arms race and war. [...] Beyond the proclamations, NATO's true purposes were, from the outset, to confront the USSR and the camp of socialist countries, contain the advance of the national liberation movement, witnessed following World War II, and justify maintaining and strengthening the military presence of the United States of America in Europe. The Warsaw Pact, so often incorrectly pointed as the reason for NATO's existence, would only be formed six years after the creation of NATO, that is, in 1955. [...] With the end of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp in Europe, NATO not only did not dissolve, but rather strengthened and expanded, creating new pretexts and “enemies”, expanding its scope and geographical range of action. (Portuguese Council for Peace and Cooperation 2024)

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(continued from the previous page) The Council pointed out NATO's policy of expansion and warmongering:

From the nineties of the 20th. century onwards, NATO dropped its defensive mask and openly assumed itself as a military organization of an offensive nature, at the service of US foreign policy, continuing to extend into Eastern Europe, placing itself increasingly closer to the borders of the Russian Federation. During NATO's war of aggression against Yugoslavia in 1999 – the first war in Europe since the end of World War II, NATO revised its strategic concept in a more aggressive direction and expanded its scope of action beyond the North Atlantic. After the Yugoslav people, the Afghan, Iraqi and Libyan people also felt, through death, suffering and destruction, as a result of NATO's wars of aggression against their countries, how false is the so-called “liberating” vocation of this aggressive political-military bloc. The 32 countries that currently make up NATO and the partnerships it promotes with other countries around the world, expand their action from North America to Europe, from Africa to the Middle East, from Latin America to Asia-Pacific. (Portuguese Council for Peace and Cooperation 2024)

The Council also commented on the militarization of the European Union and the war in Ukraine:

The EU's alignment with the escalation of warmongering promoted by the US places it in a situation of subordination and dependence on North American interests. The reality shows that the militarisation of the EU, whether complementary to NATO or not, represents more militarism, greater military expenditure, a greater threat of war, factors that constitute a clear and growing threat to peace. An example of this is the continuous instigation and promotion of the prolongation of the war in Ukraine, a conflict which, as the CPPC has been stating, is not between Russia and Ukraine, but a conflict that is taking place in Ukraine between the US, NATO and the EU and the Russian Federation. (Portuguese Council for Peace and Cooperation 2024)

Finally, the Council stressed diplomacy and dialogue as the path toward a just peace:

It is necessary to put an end to the war, it is necessary to put an end to the escalation of arms, the increase in militarism, the strengthening and expansion of political-military blocs, such as NATO, and promoting the path of diplomacy, dialogue, and political solution of international conflicts. [...] Thus, and on the day that the political-military bloc marks another year, we remain firm:

- demanding the dissolution of NATO and the end of its wars of aggression and confrontational policy;
- demanding an end to the warmongering escalation taking place in Europe, the Middle East and the Asia-Pacific region;
- demanding an end to the escalation of arms and fighting for general, simultaneous and controlled disarmament;
- reaffirming the need to support displaced people and refugees, victims of the wars that NATO promotes and supports;
- requiring compliance with the principles of the United Nations Charter and international law, respect for sovereignty, independence, equality of rights between States. (Portuguese Council for Peace and Cooperation 2024)

3. The NATO Proxy War in Ukraine against Russia

3.1. NATO's expansion

NATO's bombing of Yugoslavia heralded the new Cold War, which escalated with NATO's expansion: in 1999, despite Russia's strenuous objections, Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic became NATO members.
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(continued from the previous page) This violated the agreement concluded at the end of the first Cold War in 1990 when the US promised that with the unification of Germany, “there would be no extension of NATO’s jurisdiction for forces of NATO one inch to the east” (“Memorandum of Conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and James Baker in Moscow” 1990).

Nevertheless, NATO has since been expanding eastward. In 1998, after the Clinton administration got the Senate’s approval for NATO membership to be extended to Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic, George F. Kennan, a veteran of American diplomacy, warned: “I think [NATO’s expansion] is the beginning of a new cold war... I think the Russians will gradually react quite adversely and it will affect their policies. I think it is a tragic mistake. There was no reason for this whatsoever. No one was threatening anybody else” (Freedman 1998). Since 1999, NATO’s membership has increased to 32 countries through seven rounds of enlargement in 1999, 2004, 2009, 2017, 2020, 2023, and 2024. Russia strongly objected to this expansion, but its protests were ignored. Recent plans to admit Ukraine to NATO and thus create

Since 1999, NATO’s membership has increased to 32 countries through seven rounds of enlargement in 1999, 2004, 2009, 2017, 2020, 2023, and 2024. Russia strongly objected to this expansion, but its protests were ignored. Recent plans to admit Ukraine to NATO and thus create a border with Russia would mean that its missiles could reach Moscow in less than ten minutes, thus posing an existential threat to Russia. This escalation led to the NATO proxy war in Ukraine against Russia.

In the Western narrative, spread by the dominant official media in the “informational war” of the new Cold War, the war in Ukraine was immediately explained as the result of “unprovoked Russian aggression.” But with time, more information is emerging from the media and publications by reputable political analysts giving a more complete and quite different picture. These new details show that in the complexity of this conflict, different actors are involved, including the US and its NATO allies, each with its own political interests and influence on the different aspects and dynamics of the conflict.

Richard Falk, for example, distinguishes three levels of the conflict. The first level was initiated on February 24, 2022, when Russia launched its “special military operation” in Ukraine. The second level soon became evident as NATO, led by the United States, increasingly supported Ukraine with the goal of achieving a military victory. This support included the supply of heavy weaponry and financial assistance. It was accompanied by punitive sanctions against Russia and its demonization. The third level of the war persists as the anti-Russian elements in Western Ukraine are hostile toward the majority Russian-speaking population in Eastern Ukraine, and after the ultra-nationalist coup d’état in Kyiv in 2014 the hostilities led to the civil war. These multilevel conflicts develop within the confrontation’s geopolitical level and are interwoven in the geopolitical proxy war (Falk 2022). In short, Ukraine’s anti-Russian policy and its use by NATO as an “anti-Russian outpost,” combined with the US geopolitical goal to “inflict a strategic defeat” on Russia, are inextricably linked with NATO’s proxy war against Russia. Although Falk notes that Russia’s “special military operation” in Ukraine was imperiling its territorial integrity, he stresses that this was provoked by the United States:

There is also little doubt that the United States irresponsibly provoked Russia by a series of interferences with the internal politics of Ukraine, which was expressive of Washington’s post-Cold War orientation as the one and only sovereign state with a geopolitical status that permitted the pursuit of strategic interests without respect for geographical proximity and the restraints of international law, including the sanctity of the international boundaries of sovereign states. (Falk 2023)

The predominant Western narrative dates the beginning of the conflict to February 24, 2022, when Russian troops, together with the troops from Donetsk and Lugansk, began a “special military operation” in Ukraine. There is a grain of truth in this, but not the complete truth. Several aspects of the conflict—historical, geopolitical, and contextual—must be considered. *(continued on the next page)*

(continued from the previous page) To fully understand the conflict, one must discern the reasons and arguments of all parties involved. The position of the West is well known. But what is the position of the other party? Russia's position, set out in several official documents, indicates two interrelated causes of the conflict. The first is the expansion of NATO, which threatens Russia's national security. Russia considers the special military operation a legitimate course of self-defense against the NATO threat. The second is the ultra-nationalist coup d'état in Kyiv in 2014, which triggered a civil war against the Russian-speaking population in Donbas, forcing Russia to defend them from the neo-Nazi genocide (Rubinstein and Blumenthal 2022). These causes were highlighted by Jeffrey Sachs in his testimony to the UN Security Council:

The War in Ukraine has two main political causes. The first is the attempt by NATO to expand to Ukraine despite the timely, repeated, and increasingly urgent objections by Russia. Russia considers NATO presence in Ukraine as a significant threat to Russia's security. The second political cause is the east-west ethnic divide in Ukraine, partly along linguistic and partly along religious lines. Following the overthrow of President Yanukovich in 2014, ethnic Russian regions broke away from the post-coup government and appealed for protection and autonomy. The Minsk II agreement, endorsed unanimously by this Council in Resolution 2202, called for regional autonomy to be incorporated in Ukraine's constitution, but the agreement was never implemented by the Government of Ukraine despite the UN Security Council backing. (Sachs 2023)

3.2. The failure of attempts to settle the conflict diplomatically

Russia sought to resolve the civil war between the people of Donbas and the Kyiv regime by peaceful political-diplomatic means, and together with Germany and France, it supported the Minsk agreements, according to which the Ukrainian authorities should have undertaken constitutional reforms to grant autonomy to the Donetsk and Luhansk regions. But Ukrainian president Zelensky refused to implement them. Angela Merkel, who mediated the agreements, acknowledged in an interview with *Die Zeit* that "The 2014 Minsk Agreement was an attempt to buy time for Ukraine. Ukraine used this time to become stronger, as you can see today. Ukraine in 2014-2015 and Ukraine today are not the same" (Merkel 2022).

The crisis in Ukraine was aggravated by its foreign policy aim to join NATO. According to Cohen, it was not Russian "alleged 'aggression' that initiated today's crisis but instead a kind of velvet aggression by Brussels and Washington to bring all of Ukraine into the West, including (in fine print) into NATO" (Cohen 2022, 17). The crisis was further exacerbated by NATO's proxy hybrid war in Ukraine, which sought to inflict a "strategic defeat" on Russia. Have the US and NATO used Ukraine against Russia? This exact question was raised by David Ray Griffin, who concluded that "the American war aim is not to spare Ukraine, but ruin Russia" (Griffin 2023, 170-171).

Russia tried to settle the conflict diplomatically by convincing the US to abandon the idea of bringing Ukraine into NATO, but it was rejected. As John Mearsheimer writes:

But Washington refused and instead doubled down at every turn – arming and training Ukraine's military and including it in NATO military exercises. Fearing that Ukraine was fast becoming a de facto NATO member, Russia sent letters on 17 December 2021 to President Biden and NATO itself demanding a written commitment that Ukraine would not join the alliance and instead be a neutral state. Secretary of state Antony Blinken tersely replied on 26 January 2022, "There is no change; there will be no change." [...] From a realist standpoint, Moscow's reaction to NATO expansion into Ukraine is a straightforward case of balancing against a dangerous threat. (Mearsheimer, 2023)

The escalation of the crisis prompted the Russian leadership to recognize the independence of the Donetsk People's Republic and the Luhansk People's Republic. On February 24, 2022, it launched a "special military operation", claiming it was necessary to "demilitarize and de-nazify" Ukraine. *(continued on the next page)*

(continued from the previous page) In this context, “demilitarize” meant not allowing NATO’s presence and ensuring Ukraine’s neutral status, and “denazify” meant defending the Russian and Russian-speaking population from discrimination and neo-Nazi attacks. Russia insists that the “special military operation” was not the start of the war but an attempt to end it.

After the start of the “special military operation,” Russia held a series of negotiations with Ukraine, and on March 29, 2022, the Ukrainian delegation, headed by David Arakhamia, initialed and signed an agreement in Istanbul to resolve the conflict peacefully, which provided for Ukraine’s obligation not to join NATO and maintain a neutral, non-nuclear status. However, Zelensky rejected this agreement. Arakhamia said about the negotiations with the Russian delegation in Istanbul that:

It was always about NATO... It was the most important thing for them. They were prepared to end the war if we agreed, as Finland once did, to neutrality and pledged not to join NATO... But when we returned from Istanbul, Boris Johnson [the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom] came to Kyiv and said: “We will not sign anything with them at all. Let’s just fight.” (Koroshiya 2023)

Zelensky said he would seek a military victory on the battlefield and asked NATO to give him more weapons for the war against Russia. Then, in September 2022, he signed a decree that prohibited and criminalized negotiating with Russia, blocking a diplomatic solution to the conflict.

4. Moving up the deterrence-escalation ladder

4.1. An “extraordinarily wise investment”: Fueling the proxy war in Ukraine with money and arms

The military conflict in Ukraine is frequently described as a proxy war between NATO and Russia. In a proxy war, “one or more third parties directly or indirectly support one or more state or nonstate combatants in an effort to influence the conflict’s outcome and thereby to advance their own strategic interests or to undermine those of their opponents. Third parties in a proxy war do not participate in the actual fighting to any significant extent, if at all” (Baugh 2024).

The fact that the US is waging a proxy war in Ukraine against Russia is not a secret, as has been stated by many political analysts and even some officials. One analyst, Hal Brands, wrote about this as much as two years ago: “[T]he North Atlantic Treaty Organization is using Ukraine as a battering ram against the Russian state. [...] Russia is the target of one of the most ruthlessly effectively proxy wars in modern history” (Brands 2022). “The key,” Brands noted, “is to find a committed local partner—a proxy willing to do the killing and dying—and then load it up with the arms, money and intelligence needed to inflict shattering blows on a vulnerable rival. That’s just what Washington and its allies are doing to Russia today” (Brands 2022).

It is worth adding that most Ukrainian people are not “willing to do the killing and dying” but have been forced to do so by the corrupted usurpers in Kyiv, who sold the country’s sovereignty to turn it into a vassal and establish an oligarchic dictatorial regime. Through propaganda, economic dependence, policing, and mobilization, this regime has forced the Ukrainian people into the role of mercenaries, sacrificing them on the altar of the rulers’ political ambitions and money.

What is the relationship between Ukraine, the country directly engaged in this war as the “proxy,” and its “master,” those who are standing behind it, supporting it politically, financially, and militarily, namely, the US and its NATO allies? Brands explained the mechanics of this “business” as follows: “Western governments have delivered the money to keep Kyiv in business and the intelligence it has used to spoil Russia’s attacks—and even, reportedly, to target its generals.” Ukrainian forces, for their part, have “to fight to the last man.” As he further explains, “For NATO, the payoff has been damaging some of the most important parts of the Russian military [...]. America’s goal is to ‘weaken’ Russia, Secretary of Defense Lloyd Austin has acknowledged” (Brands 2022).

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(continued from the previous page) Within the US conceptual framework of the crucial twenty-first-century global struggle of “democracies” against “autocracies,” Ukraine is portrayed as a prime example of “spreading democracy,” a democratic country fighting against “autocratic Russia” to defend not only its own democracy but also the democratic West. Zelensky uses this lofty narrative in Ukraine to call on the Ukrainian people to undertake more sacrifices and portray himself as a heroic superman and the “savior of the West” in a global soap opera. The same narrative is used in Western propaganda to justify this confrontational policy and the hundreds of billions of taxpayers’ dollars and euros spent on this war in the form of military and financial aid sent to Zelensky’s regime.

But war is not a show. Behind the deceptive propaganda images, there is the brutal reality of blood, death, destruction, and irreconcilable human tragedies, as well as the real interest of those profiting from war—politicians, career generals, the deep state, and the military-industrial-political complex. In an interview on September 14, 2023, Senator Mitt Romney of Utah said that “[s]ince the war began 18 months ago, the Biden administration and US Congress have sent more than \$75 billion on assistance to Ukraine” and termed this aid an “extraordinarily wise investment” (Dearnley 2023).

A similar argument justifying the proxy war as an “extraordinarily wise investment” was made by former UK Prime Minister Boris Johnson on April 11, 2024, during his address in a discussion on “The Global Fight for Democracy” at Georgetown University. He underlined the importance of Western support for Ukraine, which he said is ultimately fighting for Western and democratic interests: “I want to pay tribute to the United States of America, because without the sheer weight of American support, it might’ve been very different... There could be no more effective way of investing in Western security than investing in Ukraine, because those guys without a single pair of American boots on the ground are fighting for the West.” The Ukrainians “are effectively fighting our own fight, fighting for our own interests,” and therefore, in Johnson’s view, the money and resources put into the country generate “fantastic value” (Wright 2024).

One commentator mentioned Johnson’s hypocrisy and demagoguery and said, “Johnson offered a spirited defense of the democratic system, but inconsistencies in his worldview remained apparent as he struggled to reconcile his rhetoric with his record” (Chatterjee 2024). However, it should be noted that Johnson said one revealing thing about the proxy war in Ukraine as an “investment”: that the West is supplying the Kyiv regime with weapons and money, and in exchange, Zelensky’s regime is supplying soldiers and is committed to fighting “until the last Ukrainian.” Accordingly, both sides are profiting. On the one hand, the US gets “fantastic value” for its investment in this by using its vassal to inflict a “strategic defeat” on Russia. On the other hand, Zelensky’s corrupted oligarchs are getting billions for a lavish life and are purchasing multimillion properties in the West to which to escape with a “golden parachute” after their ruined county collapses (Hall 2023; Cole 2024).

Zelensky is also interested in the perpetuation of the war as a pretext for extending the previously established martial law and not holding presidential elections. This will raise questions concerning the legitimacy of his position and accusations of usurping power. “Volodymyr Zelensky’s five-year presidential term expires on May 20, 2024. When he was inaugurated, Zelensky promised to bring peace to Ukraine, to root out the corrupt elite, and to serve just one term as president,” writes Konstantin Skorkin. But now Ukraine is embroiled in a full-scale war, “domestic politics is plagued by corruption; and Zelensky stands accused of seeking to usurp power” (Skorkin 2024). Thus, the Ukrainian people are currently being deprived of their democratic right to express their opinion about the existing regime and bring about political changes. Perpetuating war is a well-known method for perpetuating dictatorial power. No wonder neither partner in this proxy war—the proxy and its master—is interested in abandoning this profitable “gold mine” or in negotiations to find a political solution to end it.

4.2. The human price of war

The real losers in this “blood money” business are the Ukrainian people, who are impoverished and used as cannon fodder for the Kyiv regime’s ends. Zelensky’s refusal to sign the peace agreement with Russia following the negotiations in Istanbul in March 2022 and his decision to continue the war had fatal consequences for Ukraine.

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(continued from the previous page) Subsequently, the Ukrainian people have been paying a very heavy price for this. In the first year after negotiations, according to *The New York Times*, “Ukraine had suffered 124,500 to 131,000 casualties” by February 2023 (Barnes et al. 2023). By February 2024, according to *Newsweek*, “Ukraine had sustained 383,000 casualties.” (Cook 2024). The exact number of casualties is most likely more than that reported.

Nevertheless, instead of trying to find a peaceful political-diplomatic solution to stop the war, politicians are pouring more oil on the flames. On April 23, 2024, the US Senate passed a bill, signed off by President Joe Biden, allocating \$95 billion in war aid, including \$61 billion to Ukraine (with a further \$26 billion to Israel and \$8 billion to Taiwan). This was cheered by the military-industrial complex and hawkish politicians, but sending more arms to war zones is not conducive to negotiations and peace. In Ukraine, it will only prolong the conflict and increase casualties still further (Jalonick, Groves, and Amiri 2024).

The war machine needs both cannons and cannon fodder. After the US approved a \$61 billion aid package for Ukraine, officials in Washington have turned their attention to Kyiv’s manpower deficit: “As American officials pressed lawmakers in Washington to deliver more military aid for Ukraine, they also pressed the government in Kyiv to address problems with its draft. James O’Brien, the assistant U.S. secretary of state for European and Eurasian affairs, noted on a visit to Kyiv this week that the country’s mobilization efforts were every bit as critical to stabilizing the front and turning the tide of war as artillery. ‘Ukraine needs to make sure it has the people necessary to fight,’ he said at a news conference” (Varenikova 2024).

Additionally, Zelensky announced plans to mobilize another 500,000 Ukrainians (Sforza 2023). Accordingly, on April 16, 2024, he signed into law a bill to overhaul Ukraine’s mobilization rules. The law obliges Ukrainian men between 18 and 60 to update their personal data with the military authorities. The average age of soldiers on the front line is now around 43. Zelensky recently signed a separate law cutting the age for combat duty to 25 from 27 to secure more fighting power and adding new punishments for draft dodging. The new mobilization law features no terms for demobilization and sparked a public outcry (Dysa 2024).

Many Ukrainians are disappointed and do not want to be cannon fodder, but cannot escape the country to avoid the draft either: “The government passed a new mobilization bill aimed at increasing troop numbers and has stepped up border patrols to catch draft dodgers. Now, officials are targeting men who have already left the country. This week the government announced that Ukrainian embassies had suspended issuing new passports and providing other consular services for military-age men living abroad” (Varenikova 2024).

The Kyiv regime and its Western masters are working together to deport Ukrainians living abroad to go to the front. But while the “majority of Ukrainians living abroad ... will not abandon their jobs, studies, wives and children ‘to take a one-way trip right now’” (Varenikova 2024), they are unable to escape the draft. Thus, the right to asylum, human rights, international law and conventions – all the bulwarks that are supposed to protect individuals are trampled under the pretext of war as *carte blanche* for absolute power over individuals’ freedoms and lives. The net of state bureaucracies works together: “Poland and Lithuania have said they are prepared to help Ukrainian authorities return men subject to military conscription to the country.” As a result, “There were angry scenes at consular offices and agencies in Poland later in the day, where men who had booked appointments to pick up documents were told they could not do so” (Walker 2024).

The legality of the new mobilization bill has been questioned since Ukraine is moving to limit its citizens’ human rights: “Earlier in April, Ukraine notified the Council of Europe of the partial suspension of some clauses of the European Convention on Human Rights and Freedoms in connection to recent changes in its martial law. According to the application, Ukraine will stop observing such provisions of the convention as inviolability of housing, confidentiality of correspondences, non-interference in personal and family life, freedom of movement and free choice of residence, and to use and dispose of one’s property” (Euronews 2024). (continued on the next page)

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4.3. From proxy to quasi-proxy war and the risk of direct armed engagement

NATO's proxy war in Ukraine against Russia is not only devastating for the Ukrainian people but also creates the looming risk of the direct engagement of two nuclear superpowers. A proxy war is a tricky enterprise and can be a launchpad for direct involvement, as it was in the Vietnam War. In Afghanistan in the 1980s, the US financial and military support of mujaheddin "freedom fighters" created fertile soil for the ascendancy of al-Qaeda and Osama bin Laden, culminating with the horrific terrorist attack on 9/11.

At first glance, it may seem to be a "perfect war," that is, fighting the enemy with someone else's hands while remaining safe at a distance. But there is a lot of ambiguity about proxy wars; there are different concepts and interpretations of proxy wars and no clear understanding of the border between indirect and direct engagements, of the "red line" when a proxy war becomes a direct conflict.

On the one hand, Washington says that it does not want a direct confrontation with Russia as a nuclear superpower. But at the same time, the US and its NATO allies are waging a proxy war in Ukrainian territory, using Ukraine as a mercenary and supplying it with increasing amounts of money, weaponry, and military assistance; thus, the war is moving up the "escalation ladder."

Writing for *The Washington Post*, Karen DeYoung raises this very question: Is the US in a proxy war with Russia? She writes: "With its ever-increasing supply of sophisticated weapons, Putin said, the West was now using Ukraine as a 'testing range' for its plans to destroy Russia. Its goal was 'to spark a war in Europe, and to eliminate competitors by using a proxy force,' he said in a presidential address. 'They plan to finish us once and for all'" (DeYoung 2023). She mentions that the White House disagrees with this. At the same time, however, she provides information from leaked documents that reveal "how deeply the United States is involved in virtually every aspect of the war, with the exception of U.S. boots on the ground." More specifically:

The leaked documents confirm in detail that the United States is using its vast array of espionage and surveillance tools—including cutting-edge satellites and signals intelligence—to keep Kyiv ahead of Moscow's war plans and help them inflict Russian casualties. [...] [T]he [US] administration has given Ukraine more than \$40 billion in military and economic aid, along with real-time targeting assistance and sophisticated weapons systems on which it has trained Kyiv's forces. (DeYoung 2023)

With the increasing support from the US and NATO for Ukraine, "The boundaries set on arms deliveries have been progressively eroded over time, with the early preferences for solely 'defensive' capabilities giving way to an appreciation of the need to send capabilities suitable for offensives. [...] So one big decision after another has been taken – in Washington from Himars in May, Harm anti-air defence missiles in July, Patriot air defences in December, and now infantry fighting vehicles" (Freedman 2023).

NATO is moving up the escalation ladder. On May 3, in an interview with *Reuters*, UK Foreign Secretary David Cameron "said Ukraine had a right to use the weapons provided by London to strike targets inside Russia, and that it was up to Kyiv whether to do so" (Hunder 2024). This was a policy shift compared to previous claims by Western officials that Kyiv has been given weapons on the condition that they only be used within what Ukraine claims as its sovereign territory.

Some of NATO's political leaders say that they are considering sending troops to Ukraine, which would be a significant escalation of the conflict, increasing the risk of a direct military engagement. In an interview on May 2, French President Emmanuel Macron "doubled down on his comments from earlier this year of not ruling out sending troops to Ukraine." He reaffirmed his position regarding sending troops to Ukraine: "I'm not ruling anything out," he told *The Economist*. "If Russia decided to go further, we will in any case all have to ask ourselves this question" of sending troops (*L'Espresso* 2024). (continued on the next page)

(continued from the previous page) Furthermore, US House Minority Leader Hakeem Jeffries said on May 5, 2024: “We can’t let Ukraine fall because if it does, then there’s a significant likelihood that America will have to get into the conflict—not simply with our money, but with our servicewomen and our servicemen” (McCandless 2024).

Russia denounced these bellicose statements as provocative. The Russian Foreign Ministry summoned British Ambassador Nigel Casey for a formal protest after Cameron’s remarks, and “Russia warned Britain ... that if British weapons were used by Ukraine to strike Russian territory then Moscow could hit back at British military installations and equipment both inside Ukraine and elsewhere” (Faulconbridge and Muvija 2024; Black 2024b). The Russian Foreign Ministry also summoned French Ambassador Pierre Levy regarding Macron’s idea of “strategic ambiguity” to keep the option of deploying NATO troops in Ukraine on the table.

On May 6, 2024, Russia started a snap exercise in the use of tactical nuclear weapons in the Southern Military District, which borders Ukraine, “in response to provocative statements and threats of individual Western officials against the Russian Federation.” “This is a forced measure in response to the impudent and aggressive policy of the ‘collective West,’ which creates unacceptable threats to the security of Russia and its citizens,” Anatoly Antonov, the Russian Ambassador to the US, told *Newsweek*. “The United States and its allies are constantly expanding supplies to Ukraine of lethal weapons designed to kill Russian people and carry out attacks on our territory [...]. We are not threatening anyone,” Antonov said. “However, the strategists in Washington who had gone off the rails as well as its satellites in Europe must understand that in the spurred rise of stakes, Russia will use all means to protect its sovereignty and territorial integrity. The West will not succeed in the unilateral escalation game it tries to play” (O’Connor, 2024).

Politicians who are provocative in their statements and actions toward other nations must be responsible and think about the possible consequences for their own countries. If such statements provoked Russia to start a snap exercise in the use of tactical nuclear weapons, the continuation of such a policy may escalate to the use of strategic nuclear weapons. Is it not time to stop playing with fire?

4.4. The tail wags the dog

In the proxy war, which is full of paradoxes, each party is pursuing its own interests and using each other. As Doug Bandow writes, “In Ukraine, ‘American leadership’ meant ... allowing NATO into Ukraine (rather than Ukraine into NATO)” (Bandow 2023). The “Europeanization of Ukraine” project has instead become the Ukrainization of the European policy. The US is using Ukraine as an “anti-Russian outpost” to inflict a strategic defeat on Russia and is supplying Ukraine with money and arms while hoping to keep its distance and limit its direct involvement. For the US, the conflict’s unlimited escalation would mean the growing risk of a direct armed engagement with Russia as a nuclear superpower, and the US prudently does not want to risk the lives of its soldiers and citizens in a possible retaliatory missile strike on its own territory.

The Kyiv regime has its own agenda, rejecting politico-diplomatic solutions to the conflict and stubbornly insisting on “victory on the battlefield.” The two years of war show that it puts its self-serving interests first and is willing “to fight until the last Ukrainian” and irresponsibly sacrifice the lives of its soldiers and citizens, not to mention the lives of Europeans and Americans. The Kyiv regime is profiting from war, parasitizes on foreign aid, and wants more and more money and weapons. In this regard, its policy and actions are provocative, escalating the conflict. It uses NATO’s missiles, as well as satellites and targeting assistance, to strike Russian cities, for which Russia blames the US and NATO. By doing so, the Kyiv regime is getting out of control and dragging the US into deeper involvement in the conflict.

The US stakes its policy on Ukraine’s victory as a proxy, investing money and arms, and thus becoming tied to and, in some sense, dependent on the outcome of this war. (continued on the next page)

(continued from the previous page) Kyiv is exploiting this situation and demanding more money and arms, casting the blame for its defeats on the battlefield on the US for not giving aid sufficiently quickly. With time, the proxy's appetite is growing, and Kyiv is now requesting long-range ATACMS missiles and F-16 fighters and will soon want NATO boots on the ground.

There are rising concerns among analysts that Kyiv demanding more offensive weapons may lead to it pursuing its own agenda and involving NATO into a direct armed engagement with Russia. For example, "a Ukrainian move to try to take Crimea might be the one that could lead to a Russian nuclear response. From this perspective it is the US and its allies that have become the proxies, drawn further into Ukraine's fight than is really wise" (Freedman 2023). Thus, the situation might become one wherein "the tail wags the dog" and the US becomes the hostage of its own policy, the consequences of which could spiral out of control.

The new American aid package includes the long-range ATACMS missiles, capable of hitting targets as far as 186 miles (300 km) away. The suggestion that Kyiv has promised not to use them is not credible. The US should not rely on this because Kyiv could create a situation that drags the US into a direct engagement with Russia. Given its radicalistic policy and unpredictability and its previous strikes on Russian territory (in the city of Berdyansk and an airfield in Dzhankoi in Crimea), it is unlikely that Ukraine will not use these powerful missiles for strikes even further into Russian territory. This would dramatically increase the risk of the war escalation's worst-case scenario.

When evaluating such a situation, some analysts suggest considering the opinion of the other side to try to understand what it may look like from the perspective of an opponent or adversary. What one side perceives as the glass being half empty, the other may perceive as the glass being half full. What, from Washington, may seem like a "proxy" war may be seen from the Kremlin as direct US participation in the war. As Bandow has pointed out:

Perhaps most important is Biden's insistence that "we do not seek to have American troops fighting in Russia or fighting against Russia." Nevertheless, he turned the Ukraine conflict into a proxy war against Moscow: The U.S. underwrote, trained, and supplied Ukraine's military, and helped Ukrainians kill prodigious numbers of Russian soldiers, target senior Russian officers, sink Russian ships, and destroy Russian military installations. From Moscow's perspective, the two countries already are at war. Although Putin seems unlikely to use nuclear weapons to win, he might use them to not lose. (Bandow 2023)

While differentiating between a "proxy" war and a direct armed conflict can be disputable academically, and despite what NATO leaders might believe and how their spokespersons try to convince the public that they are not directly involved, Russia may see the thresholds differently. Indeed, its military will make judgments based not on words but on facts and the situation on the ground. Ultimately, the targeted side is "a vulnerable rival," and since it feels such a war threatens its national security, Russia will draw the "red line"; when this line is crossed, it will be forced to act accordingly. The conflict's escalation toward this tipping point involves a high risk of transforming this proxy or quasi-proxy war into a direct armed conflict.

In 2022, *The Guardian* reported that "Russia's defence ministry claimed Washington was 'directly involved' in the war, and had passed on intelligence that had led to the 'mass deaths of civilians'. The US was responsible for rocket attacks by Kyiv on populated areas in the eastern Donbas and in other regions, it said. 'All this undeniably proves that Washington, contrary to White House and Pentagon claims, is directly involved in the conflict in Ukraine,' the ministry said in a statement" (Reed 2022).

The fact that the conflict has reached the point that Russians no longer see this war as a proxy war but believe in the US and NATO's direct participation is very bad news because Russia may therefore react accordingly. Thus, NATO cannot hide behind the proxy "veil of ignorance" anymore, and by escalating the war, it has itself become the target of retaliation and exposed its population to the possibility of a nuclear catastrophe. (continued on the next page)

(continued from the previous page) Russia stresses that it views nuclear weapons as a form of defense, and its policy in the field of nuclear deterrence states: “The Russian Federation reserves the right to use nuclear weapons in response to the use of nuclear weapons and other types of weapons of mass destruction against it and (or) its allies, as well as in the event of aggression against the Russian Federation using conventional weapons when the existence of the state itself is at risk” (Decree of the President of the Russian Federation 2020).

The stakes in this conflict are different for the US than for Russia. For the US, the proxy war essentially aims to secure tactical gains in hegemonic geopolitics. For Russia, NATO’s expansion and deployment of its military infrastructure near its borders, where its missiles can reach Moscow in less than ten minutes, is an existential threat, flaming its people’s resolve to defend their motherland by all means possible. “The U.S. has no serious, let alone vital, interests at stake warranting such a course. Any conflict would be likely to go nuclear—a catastrophe” (Bandow 2023).

4.5. Ukraine as a sacrificial pawn on the hegemonic geopolitical chessboard

Despite the end of the Cold War, in his book *The Grand Chessboard: American Primacy and its Geostrategic Imperatives* (1997), Zbigniew Brzezinski, an ideologue regarding separating Ukraine from Russia, argued that the US, as a “hegemony of a new type” (Brzezinski 1997, 3), should assert its preponderance and prevent the growth of other countries, Russia and China above all, viewed as potential competitors. For him, resource-rich and geostrategically important Eurasia is viewed as a chessboard. In this geopolitical game, he assigned to Ukraine the role of a pawn with a distinctively anti-Russian edge, and he says that “the loss of Ukraine was geopolitically pivotal, for it drastically limited Russia’s geostrategic options” (Brzezinski 1997, 91). He develops this strategy to isolate Ukraine from Russia by stirring nationalism and tying it to the EU and NATO.

In his recent book *Ukraine in the Shadow of Geopolitics: A Battle for the Future of Global Security in the post-Cold War 21st Century World*, Richard Falk analyses the US policy regarding Ukraine within its historical and geopolitical context. He points out that after the end of the Cold War, the US sought to substitute the previous bipolarity with unipolarity and exclusive control over global security. However, Russia and China preferred to be sovereign, rejecting unipolarity and instead cooperating as partners in their opposition to a US-led NATO, which resulted in a new bipolarity. The second Cold War is more dangerous than its predecessor, stimulating arms races, periodic crises, and diverting resources and energies from such urgent global challenges as climate change, food security, and humane migration policies. The US and the NATO alliance regard the conflict in Ukraine as primarily a battle for the future of global security in the twenty-first-century world. According to Falk, the war’s outcome will dramatically affect future geopolitical alignments. The US supports Ukraine, hoping for its victory in order to consolidate its hegemony in a unipolar world. But if Russia wins, it will open opportunities for a more normalized situation of shared responsibility in a multipolar world. Falk envisions an emerging cooperative multipolarity, the policy agenda of which will respond to the need not only for shared global and human security but also for the mitigation of global economic and ecological problems (Falk 2024).

The US views Russia as an obstacle to global domination. So far, attempts to inflict a “strategic defeat” on Russia and destroy it through economic sanctions have failed since it has enormous natural resources and has been able to redirect its economic relationships from the West to the East. Attempts to “isolate” Russia did not succeed either; instead, they pushed it into closer relationships with China, India, and countries of the “Global South.” Attempts to destabilize it from the inside also failed: in facing the foreign threat, its people became more united. As of the time of writing, news from the Ukrainian battlefield shows that Russian forces are prevailing (Buccino 2024). The whole gamble on inflicting a “strategic defeat” on Russia as a nuclear superpower was miscalculated.

The US undermined the concept of deterrence because its nuclear buildup disturbed the strategic balance. It developed the Ballistic Missile Defense System (BMDS), which makes it possible for the US to launch a first strike while simultaneously hoping to shield itself from a retaliatory response. (continued on the next page)

(continued from the previous page) Furthermore, it also withdrew from the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, which banned weapons designed to counter ballistic nuclear missiles, the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty, and the Open Skies Treaty. The only remaining treaty, the New START Treaty, will expire on February 4, 2026, and there are no negotiations about its extension.

Militarized hegemony is perceived as a threat by nations that do not want to be vassals, provoking defensive reactions and galvanizing the arms race. In response to the US deployment of the BMDS, Russia developed hypersonic missiles immune to any current missile defense system. Neither “Star Wars” nor a layered missile defense system can shield the US from retaliation in the event of a first strike; instead, it has increased the risk that it might become the target for a retaliatory strike. China is also boosting its nuclear potential. In a new arms race, technical mistakes in the highly complex automated systems might trigger an unintended launch. All this increases the already high risk of a nuclear catastrophe for the world.

Global domination is viewed as a challenge by nations that do not want to be dominated but want sovereignty and independent development. The *divide et impera* policy provoked the counter-actions of many countries in uniting for liberation and independent development. The contours of an emerging multipolar world order are marked by transcontinental and regional alliances such as BRICS (an economic association of Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa, which plans to include also Egypt, Ethiopia, Iran, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates), the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, the Eurasian Economic Union, and the Collective Security Treaty Organization.

5. “Remember your humanity, and forget the rest”

Balancing on the brink of a direct military engagement between two nuclear superpowers is very risky, and those pushing for the conflict’s escalation are playing with fire. Tom Z. Collina expressed grave concern about this escalation in the *New York Times*, warning against increasing American military involvement in Ukraine because the consequences of a direct confrontation between NATO and Russia could be unimaginably dire:

[A] direct U.S.-Russian conflict could escalate to nuclear war: The Soviet Union may have disappeared 30 years ago, but its nuclear weapons did not, and neither did ours. If they are used, the consequences would be horrific—instant death for people in the immediate blast area followed by environmental destruction, possible famine and more death as the radiation spread. It could mean the end of civilization as we know it. (Collina 2022).

Global hegemonic policy and nuclear weapons are a dangerous combination threatening world peace and the future of humanity. The policy of hegemonic unilateralism in a unipolar world is inherently violent and is a threat to world peace. Therefore, it needs to be stopped and replaced by the peaceful coexistence and collaborative relationships of sovereign nations as equals, based on international law, in a multipolar world.

We must remember the wisdom of those prominent intellectuals and scientists who issued “The Russell-Einstein Manifesto” at the Pugwash Conference on July 9, 1955, warning the world about the dangers of wars in the nuclear age, which “might possibly put an end to the human race.” As the first step in the search for a solution, they suggest: “We have to learn to think in a new way.” This new thinking consists, first of all, in considering human life and the survival of humankind as the supreme and unconditional value. “We appeal as human beings to human beings: Remember your humanity, and forget the rest.” It is the choice between “the risk of universal death” and the collaboration for survival. If people can understand this common peril, “there is hope that they may collectively avert it” (“Statement: The Russell-Einstein Manifesto” 1955). (References on page 45)

Self-Defense and the Value of Life, by Federico Germán Abal

(continued from page 18) Especially, when one intentionally kills an unjust aggressor who seeks to kill us and there is no other way to avoid one's own death. This is the paradigmatic case of a justified lethal defensive act. How can the acceptance of self-defensive killing and the recognition of the value of life be accommodated? Shouldn't recognizing the value of human life lead us to refrain from killing in all cases, even in the face of an unjust aggressor?

This seems to me to be one of the most fascinating and problematic topics of human experience. For many philosophers it is clear what is going on. Every person has a claim right to life (which in this context means a claim right not to be killed), which imposes enforceable duties on third parties. When Mary deliberately seeks to make an attempt on Kate's life, disregarding the value of her life and violating her duty, then Mary loses her right to life.

In short: the life of every human being is valuable, but the logic of the rights that protect that value enables us to intentionally attempt against the life of another human being when necessary. When that happens (when we intentionally attempt against the life of an aggressor to prevent him from killing us), we are not denying the value of his life, but we are acting within the framework of a background of rights that allows the protection of the value of all lives, including that of the aggressor in any other scenario.

This explanation of the basis of certain rights based on the value of life is not the only one available. It is possible to offer an explanation based on people's interest in preserving their own lives. I believe that a value-based approach makes it possible to give a clearer account of the agent-neutral value of the life of every human being. It is not necessary for the person whose life is at stake to consider their life valuable or to have an interest in preserving their own life for one to acquire a duty to recognize the value of life. But, ultimately, this discussion (between a value-based and an interest-based approach) is not so important for what I want to point out here.

What I briefly presented above is the most widely accepted approach to account for the permissibility of defensive violence: the forfeiture account. This approach finds a very clear modern antecedent in John Locke. It is no coincidence that prominent authors within the self-defense literature, such as Jonathan Quong or Kai Draper, openly acknowledge themselves to be Lockean. However, none of these contemporary authors accept or replicate Locke's conceptualization of the moral status of aggressors. In the *Second Treatise on Government*, Locke states that when a person attempts against the life or property of another, he becomes degenerate, and declares himself to quit the principles of human nature and to be a noxious creature. Also, the aggressor declares war against all mankind, and therefore may be destroyed as a lion or a tiger, one of those wild savage beasts with whom men can have no society nor security.

One of the criticisms of the forfeiture account is that it cannot help but replicate this disdain for the offender's life. Gerald Lang names this as the shrinking value problem. Usually, this problem is presented as pointing to the inability of the approach to account for the requirement of necessity. If an aggressor's actions cause him to forfeit his right to life (because, for example, he advances toward us armed with the intention of killing us), then it is permissible to kill him, even if it is not necessary (even if it would be possible and equally effective to use a shield, hide, or flee the scene).

As is well known, there are two positions (internalism and externalism) within the forfeiture account that seek to account for why it would be impermissible to kill the aggressor proportionately but unnecessarily. The debate between internalists and externalists is conceptually very rich. However, here I am interested in pointing out another challenge to the forfeiture account that I believe should be read in the light of the shrinking value problem: the challenge of the scope of the aggressor's defensive actions against his innocent victim. (continued on the next page)

(continued from the previous page) Suppose Mary advances armed against Kate with the intention of killing her and Kate goes to defend herself in a necessary and proportionate manner, killing Mary. Can Mary do anything to prevent Kate from killing her?

Suppose Mary could pull out a shield and prevent Kate from shooting her to death. The fact that Mary has forfeited a right to life by her attempted wrongful assault cannot imply that she has forfeited a right to take any action that would prevent her death. Mary does not owe it to Kate to let herself be killed. Mary simply owes it to her to respect Kate's claim right to life. The important thing is the cessation of the aggression, not Mary's death.

The position that denies Mary's permission to defend herself using the shield is incompatible with recognizing the value of Mary's life. Just to clarify: in this example, Mary is simply preventing Kate from killing her. She is not preventing it with the intention of continuing her assault on Kate later. If Mary intended to defend herself and then kill Kate, then Mary's defense would be impermissible, not because Mary is defending her life, but because Mary's defense is a step in an immoral criminal plan.

It is true, as Lang says, that the forfeiture account seems to be excessively attacker-focused. But this statement is a bit ambiguous. The focus is on the conditions that cause the attacker to forfeit her right. In this sense it is attacker-focused, but in a narrow way. It does not usually talk about what actions the aggressor can do to prevent the victim from killing her in a necessary and proportionate manner.

Suppose Mary can prevent Kate from killing her, but not by a shield, but by shooting her in the leg. Could Mary, the wrongful aggressor, shoot Kate, the victim, in the leg to prevent Kate from killing her in a necessary and proportionate manner? Many would respond negatively. The forfeiture account seems to be oriented in that direction. One can trace in the literature a tendency to consider that the aggressor can only act defensively when the victim responds disproportionately or, perhaps, unnecessarily. However, I believe that the recognition of the value of Mary's life should allow her to defend herself even at the cost of imposing harm on the victim in cases where the victim does nothing wrong.

I believe there would be a consensus regarding the reasonableness of the following statements: (1) Mary cannot kill Kate to prevent Kate from killing her necessarily and proportionately, and (2) Mary can defend her life using a shield, even if using it would cause Kate a scratch.

But why would we allow the aggressor to physically harm, however minimally, the victim in order to defend herself? The answer seems to be: because Mary's life is valuable enough to justify imposing minimal harm on Kate. But where should the threshold be set? Could Mary cut off Kate's leg to prevent her necessary and proportionate defensive act? Clearly not.

The setting of a threshold is always suspect of arbitrariness. This does not mean that the idea that there should be some threshold is arbitrary. For example, it is arbitrary to establish whether people should have the right to vote at 17 or 18, but it is not arbitrary to set some age for the purpose of distributing political rights. In this case, as we have seen, the very moral reflection of the problem leads us to that point. The best that can be offered are very clear cases and humbly accept a large gray area of cases where we do not know exactly what to say. I do not think that this is a big problem, but rather the realization of a fact of human morality, namely, that it does not admit of arithmetical precision.

That said, the recognition of the value of life allows us to point to a consistent conceptual framework and to clarify the scope of this gray area of the threshold. In this conceptual framework we can connect the question of "what harm is an unjust aggressor morally allowed to impose in order to prevent a victim from killing her in a necessary and proportionate manner?" with the question of "what costs must a victim bear when defending herself in order to avoid killing her aggressor?" *(continued on the next page)*

(continued from the previous page) The second question brings us back to the requirement of necessity. This requirement demands that we adopt the least harmful means to produce a given defensive end. Sometimes, however, the least harmful means for the aggressor involves very high risks, or direct harm, to the victim. For example, a victim may have two options to prevent her aggressor from killing her. One option is to kill the aggressor. The other is to jump from the roof of one building to the roof of another at high risk of falling to her death. In that case, the victim who chooses to kill her aggressor is not in breach of the necessity requirement. For this reason, it is often referred to as a morally weighted (reasonably biased in favor of the victim) necessity requirement.

The necessity requirement may require us to incur some costs to avoid killing the aggressor. For example, it may require us to flee a place even at the cost of dropping our wallet or jumping off a roof even at the cost of breaking our ankle. This is so for a reason of internal proportionality of the necessity requirement. It is not proportionate to produce the death of the aggressor to avoid losing one's wallet or to avoid breaking one's ankle. The aggressor's life is sufficiently valuable for us to have to self-impose certain harms.

Now, the moral reason (the recognition of the value of the aggressor's life) that allows the requirement of necessity to impose on a victim the duty to jump off a roof or to flee at the cost of losing his wallet, may also enable a third party to impose the same harm on the victim to save the aggressor's life. For example, a third party may impose a twisted ankle on the victim to save the aggressor's life. If this is so, then the aggressor himself seems entitled to harm the victim of his aggression in a certain way in order to prevent the victim from killing him necessarily and proportionately. Then, the level of harm that is exigible to the victim by reason of the necessity requirement is the same as that which could be imposed by the aggressor so that his victim does not kill him.

If Kate had two options to avoid Mary's aggression, one of which involves killing Mary and the other of which involves fleeing at the cost of breaking her ankle, and the morally weighted necessity requirement would demand that Kate opt for the flee option, then in an alternative scenario, where Kate does not have the flee option and only the kill option, Mary could produce harm equivalent to the hypothetical scenario (the breaking of her ankle) to prevent Kate from killing her necessarily and proportionately.

This may seem confusing, but it becomes much clearer when we recall the moral reason that underpins the demands of the necessity requirement, namely the recognition of the value of life. This recognition leads us to grant limited defensive rights to unjust aggressors against even permissible defensive actions by their victims. It also helps us to define the fuzzy threshold of harm that aggressors can defensively commit against their victims.

To deny absolutely the aggressor's defensive rights is to fall back on the shrinking value problem. Some authors of the forfeiture account accept that the aggressor has some defensive rights against a victim who responds proportionately but unnecessarily to his aggression. But, in general, it is believed that unjust aggressors forfeit any right to violently defend their lives from a victim who acts permissibly, necessarily and proportionately. I am interested in exploring how recognition of the value of life should format the defensive rights of victims and aggressors. I believe that such recognition leads us to (1) demand more of victims in relation to the costs they must bear in order not to kill the aggressor (in turn, I believe this should be permeable to considerations of ex ante injustices of the defensive act, very little addressed in the literature) and (2) to allow more defensive actions by aggressors to save their lives (on the condition that they will not continue their aggression thereafter).

These conclusions are especially relevant for more realistic cases of self-defense than those typically treated in the philosophical literature. I am currently working on my doctoral dissertation on the morality of defensive actions against conditional threats (at the individual and state level), in which I intend to address some of the problems mentioned here. Needless to say, I welcome any comments, criticisms or suggestions that readers think might help me to think through these issues better. You can reach me via e-mail: federicogermanabal@gmail.com

(continued from page 14) Historically, the devastating consequences of wars have underscored the urgency of embracing diplomatic solutions. The devastation of World Wars I and II, along with numerous regional conflicts, highlights the destructive nature of armed conflict and the imperative to seek alternatives. Diplomacy, by prioritizing dialogue over violence, not only prevents the loss of human lives but also lays the groundwork for long-term stability by addressing root causes rather than symptoms.

Diplomacy serves as a mechanism for states to engage in dialogue, de-escalate tensions, and find common ground. The alternative, military intervention, often exacerbates conflicts and breeds resentment. Bertrand Russell once noted, “War does not determine who is right—only who is left.” This insight emphasizes the futility of violent conflict in achieving lasting solutions.

International Cooperation and Alliances: Strength in Unity

Building on the principle of diplomacy, international cooperation and alliances play a pivotal role in achieving perpetual peace. The interconnectedness of nations in the globalized era demands collaborative efforts to address shared challenges. By fostering alliances, nations can pool resources and expertise, creating a collective force against common threats.

Historically, instances like the formation of the United Nations after World War II demonstrate the potential for global collaboration. The UN’s charter emphasizes the peaceful resolution of disputes, collective security, and international cooperation to address socioeconomic issues. By uniting nations under a common framework, the international community can pool resources and expertise to tackle challenges collectively.

Originating from the ashes of WW II, the European Union (EU), which serves as a tangible example of successful international cooperation, was founded on principles of economic integration and mutual understanding. By promoting economic cooperation and ensuring a shared stake in stability, the EU has contributed significantly to peace on the European continent.

Economic Stability and Social Justice: Nurturing Equitable Societies

A stable and just economic framework is crucial for maintaining societal harmony and, consequently, perpetual peace and sustainable order. Economic stability minimizes the sources of social unrest, reducing the likelihood of conflicts rooted in economic inequalities create conditions conducive to peace. The principles here involve addressing poverty, promoting fair trade practices, and fostering social justice.

A study by the International Monetary Fund highlights the correlation between income inequality and social unrest. By addressing poverty, promoting fair labor practices, and ensuring access to education and healthcare, nations can build more stable and inclusive societies. Economic stability, combined with social justice, fosters a sense of security and reduces the likelihood of internal conflicts.

One compelling illustration of the positive interplay between economic stability and social justice fostering peace can be found in the Scandinavian countries, particularly Sweden and Norway. Their commitment to comprehensive social welfare systems, equitable wealth distribution, and inclusive policies has created societies with high levels of trust and social cohesion, mitigating the potential for internal strife.

Rule of Law and Human Rights: Foundations of Trust

The establishment and adherence to the rule of law, coupled with a commitment to human rights, form the bedrock of a just and peaceful society. Upholding the rule of law ensures fairness, equality, and accountability, fostering trust among citizens and nations alike. *(continued on the next page)*

(continued from the previous page) The protection of human rights contributes to the creation of a society where every individual feels secure and valued. The principle emphasizes that a foundation of trust among citizens and nations contributes to long-term peace. The post-apartheid South Africa serves as a compelling example of the transformative power of justice and human rights. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, initiated to address the atrocities of the apartheid era, exemplifies a commitment to justice as a means to heal societal wounds. The emphasis on truth-telling and reconciliation, rather than punitive measures, showcased a philosophical shift towards fostering enduring peace.

International organizations, such as the International Criminal Court, play a crucial role in holding individuals accountable for human rights violations. By establishing mechanisms for justice on a global scale, the international community reinforces the idea that no nation or individual is above the law, promoting a more just and peaceful world order.

John Locke posited that societies should be based on a social contract, where individuals willingly relinquish certain freedoms for the greater good, protected by a just government. This concept emphasizes the importance of a rule of law that applies equally to all, preventing the abuse of power and fostering an environment where individuals feel secure in their rights.

Environmental Sustainability: A Prerequisite for Global Stability

Acknowledging the intricate connection between environmental health and global stability is essential in the pursuit of perpetual peace. Environmental sustainability serves as a cornerstone not only for fostering human well-being and nation-building but also necessitates collaborative efforts among nations to tackle pressing challenges such as climate change, resource scarcity, and ecological degradation. Therefore, the principle of environmental sustainability is integral to the overarching framework of achieving perpetual peace.

For example, the Paris Agreement, signed by 196 countries in 2016, illustrates a collective commitment to environmental sustainability. By addressing climate change and setting targets for reducing greenhouse gas emissions, nations demonstrated a shared responsibility for the well-being of the planet. This environmental accord reflects a recognition that ecological stability is inseparable from global peace and security.

Hans Jonas posited that ethical responsibilities extend beyond the current generation to encompass future ones. This intergenerational ethical perspective emphasizes the critical role of environmental stewardship. Nations, through the prioritization of sustainable practices and collaborative efforts to address environmental challenges, not only contribute to a healthier planet but also mitigate potential conflicts arising from resource depletion.

Philosophical Perspectives: Kant's Perpetual Peace and Rawls' Justice Theory

From a philosophical standpoint, Immanuel Kant's idea of "Perpetual Peace" provides valuable insights into the pursuit of lasting global harmony. Kant posited that democratic nations, marked by accountability to their citizens and characterized by shared values and governance structures, are inherently less likely to go to war with each other. He proposed the establishment of a federation of free states based on principles of justice and respect for each other's sovereignty as a means to achieve perpetual peace.

Kant's emphasis on democracy as a catalyst for peace aligns with contemporary democratic peace theory. Empirical studies have shown that democracies tend to have fewer interstate conflicts, supporting the notion that shared political systems contribute to international stability. The idea of perpetual peace aligns with the Kantian notion of moral duty. Kant believed that individuals, guided by reason and moral principles, have a duty to work towards the establishment of a peaceful world order. This moral imperative extends to nations as well, urging them to transcend self-interest and prioritize the common good.

Moreover, the philosophy of cosmopolitanism emphasizes the idea that all individuals, regardless of nationality, share a common humanity. *(continued on the next page)*

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By embracing cosmopolitan principles, nations can move beyond narrow self-interest and work collaboratively to address global challenges, fostering an environment conducive to perpetual peace.

Furthermore, John Rawls' theory of justice provides a philosophical framework for envisioning the establishment of a fair and stable international order. Central to Rawls' ideas are the concept of the original position, wherein individuals would formulate principles of justice without knowledge of their societal positions—a state referred to as the “veil of ignorance.” In the realm of international relations, this perspective promotes for the development of institutions and agreements that are inherently equitable and just for all nations, irrespective of their unique circumstances.

To illustrate, one concrete historical scenario where countries engaged in trade negotiations: the establishment of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in 1947, which later evolved into the World Trade Organization (WTO). Applying Rawls' philosophy, the negotiators would operate under the “veil of ignorance,” meaning they are unaware of their respective nations' economic strengths or weaknesses. In this context, the principles and agreements forged would prioritize fairness, ensuring that the resulting international trade system benefits each nation impartially. Rawls' theory thus guides the construction of an international order that embodies justice and stability by emphasizing the universal pursuit of fairness across diverse global circumstances.

Conclusion: Toward a Harmonious Future

In the end, the pursuit of perpetual peace and sustainable order in times of uncertainty and chaos requires a multifaceted approach rooted in diplomacy, international cooperation, economic stability, justice, and environmental sustainability. The fundamental principles outlined—prioritizing dialogue, fostering collaboration, nurturing equitable societies, upholding the rule of law, and promoting environmental stewardship—form the basis for a pragmatic and comprehensive strategy.

The philosophical perspectives of Kant and Rawls offer philosophical groundworks that align with contemporary theories and empirical evidence. As we traverse the complexities of our interconnected world, the pursuit of perpetual peace remains an ongoing challenge, demanding the commitment of nations, leaders, and individuals alike. By embracing these principles, humanity can strive towards a future characterized by enduring peace, sustainable order, and shared prosperity.

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Friendship During Conflict and Conflicting Friendships: Affective Cosmopolitanism as Friendship, a Prerequisite to the Peace Process, by Henry Vumjou

(continued from page 16) However, amidst this melee, an instance of friendship defies such division between two friends, Angamba and Samuel, each belonging to one side of the conflicting communities. In the most trying times during the conflict, Angamba convinced his father to pack clothes, food, and drinks for Samuel and bring them to him on their family scooter, who had to flee to the relief camp where his community was kept under the watch of security forces. Angamba also keeps in touch with Samuel throughout the turmoil, showing support and care for his friend. Eventually, as he leaves for his home, Angamba bids goodbye to Samuel, waving his hand in a comforting gesture, expressing hope for their future together. This is a powerful and remarkable instance of friendship. The two boys, although each belonging to two warring communities, have peace between themselves—no conflict between them. This remarkable incident makes us question the nature of friendship altogether again, about the importance of friendships among human beings, and the potency it has for peace-building. We shall look into the different paradigms of friendship to understand the friendship between Angamba and Samuel.

Friendship Between Equals

A glance into the history of philosophy shows us that the discourse on friendship is traceable as early as the works of the founding pillar of Western thought, Aristotle. In *The Fragility of Goodness*, Nussbaum holds that Aristotle has devoted more space to the discourse on friendship than any other topic in his two famous works—the *Nicomachean Ethics* and the *Eudemean Ethics*. In *Eudemean Ethics* Book VII (1234b), Aristotle asked the most fundamental questions about friendship: the essence of friendship and its attributes, the qualities of a friend, the multiplicity of friendships, and conduct and responsibilities towards friends. In Aristotelian understanding, friendship is a mutually beneficial relationship between two individuals. There can be various kinds of friendships based on the nature of the relationships: friendships based on utility, pleasure, and virtue. So, a friend is an individual who cares about the well-being and happiness of another person. Aristotle emphasizes the aspect of well-being and virtue in friendship. People who treat one another wrongly cannot be friends.

In Book VIII (1156b) of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle introduces the idea of a perfect friendship. It is the friendship between good individuals with similar virtues. Any friendship, directly or indirectly, is rooted in pursuing what is good or a desire for pleasure. Individuals share a deep affinity for the perfect type of friendship as they are fundamentally alike in character and virtues. A perfect friendship is characterized by the alignment of goodness and pleasure in the relationship, and the bond between the individuals is powerful and fulfilling. Such friendships last as long as the good and virtue is enduring. However, Aristotle remarks that perfect friendships are rare and unlikely. It takes time to acquaint one another as individuals, and friendship takes work.

Following Aristotle, we can see one model of friendship which is even relevant today. Aristotle's model is the model of friendship that rests on homogeneity. Aristotle emphasizes the kind of relationship between equals, that of the same kind of beings with similar virtues. According to Aristotle, a friendship between unequals cannot be called true friendship. The friendship between man and woman or master and enslaved person, for instance, cannot be considered the perfect type of friendship in the Aristotelian model. Thus, sameness, reciprocity and equality are the defining features of the traditional model of friendship. In short, the Aristotelian model is the model of friendship based on equality and similarity, which is friendship understood in the traditional sense.

Friendship With a Difference

Derrida discovers the ruptures and tensions and deconstructs the traditional sense of friendship. He finds an aporia in the Aristotelian conception of friendship manifested in the apostrophe “O my friends, there is no friend (*o philoi, oudeis philos*),” which resulted in ‘performative contradiction’. (continued on the next page)

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He reconciles this by arguing that friendship is something yet to come. As Derrida puts it in his “Politics of Friendship,” “Friendship is never a given in the present; it belongs to the experience of waiting, of promise or engagement.” The apostrophe ‘O my friends’ takes us to the future, but it also turns back to the past. This past is what gives us the minimal community-shared understanding, which is friendship. There exists a friendship prior to friendship, prior to any contract due to sharing, which is presupposed by all things called the originary friendship.

We can also see Derrida saying that in asking the question “What is...?” there is the presupposition of pre-established harmony and rupture of a “friendship prior to friendships.” This conception of friendship is different from the conception of friendship as ‘being present’—in the sense of substance, subject, essence or existence. Derrida, following Heidegger, calls primordial favor, the harmony, as friendship, but he envisages a non-essentialist rendition of friendship. He goes back to the apostrophe “O my friends....” and extrapolates it to mean the destruction of the “being present”—substance, essence, etc.—by the “future anterior, which would be the very movement and time of friendship.” Derrida locates an asymmetry between originary friendship (o! my friends, which is the address) and our actual friendship situation (that there are no friends). This asymmetry leads us back to “the question of response.” Derrida connects the question of response to responsibility by way of a grammar, which he represents in three modes: a. answering for oneself, b. answering to others, c. and answering before others.

Derrida, by deconstructing the traditional understanding of friendship, demonstrates a lack, for instance, of excluding the feminine gender in the discourse. He also shows that the canonical discourse on friendship is overwhelmingly characterized by logocentrism and phallocentrism. Such overwhelming domination performs two kinds of exclusion—a. friendship between women and b. a friendship between man and woman. Derrida thus departs from the canonical discourse on friendship and proposes a more inclusive model of friendship. Derrida follows Nietzsche, and focuses on the friendship yet to come. In saying, ‘O my friends, there is no friend,’ he says that Zarathustra is speaking of a wish, something yet to come...in the sense of ‘O my friends if there were good friends.’ Derrida posited this to suggest that the friendship yet to come will be marked by liberty, equality and fraternity. This becomes, for Derrida, a consideration of “the political” as the place of an always deferred and therefore always open and hospitable community. “Friendship” then defines a community as annulling any social exclusion. Friendship ought to be inclusive to all.

As we can see, there is another model of friendship that emphasizes *difference* or the other, as opposed to the Aristotelian model of friendship. This kind of friendship can be seen in the works of Gadamer, Nancy, Blanchot, and, most explicitly, in Derrida. Rather than focusing on similarity, this model of friendship entertains the idea of *difference*. At the same time, it is an inclusive model of friendship that can accommodate all kinds of differences.

Friendship as Affective Cosmopolitanism

Leela Gandhi, in her work *Affective Communities: Anti-colonial Thought, Fin-De-Siècle Radicalism, and the Politics of Friendship* highlights the friendship model exemplified by figures like C.F. Andrews during the Indian freedom struggle, suggesting its significance as an anti-colonial tool. As we shall see, this is yet another model of friendship quite different from the other models. Let us turn to the instances of this model of friendship that Gandhi enumerates.

One such instance happened in the wake of Mahatma Gandhi’s struggle for the cause of the bonded laborers in South Africa. Andrews, who was teaching in Delhi, left all he possessed to aid Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa. Mahatma Gandhi, dressed like a laborer, awaited him at the dock. When meeting Gandhi, Andrew “stooped at once instinctively and touched Mahatma Gandhi’s feet.” This particular act that transpired between Mahatma Gandhi and Andrews defied all colonial hegemony. Another instance happened in the wake of the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, where Andrews encountered a mentally perturbed young Sikh who was detained under accusation of anti-colonial activities. Andrews stooped down and touched the feet of the Sikh, asking forgiveness for his compatriots’ wrongdoing. This act of Andrews liquidates the chasm between the colonized and the colonizer, preventing the possible reduction of the anti-colonial nationalism to ‘pure oppositionality’. (continued on the next page)

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In recognition of Andrews's 'invisible sacrifices', Mahatma Gandhi proclaims in public not to hate the British. Another instance was Andrews' response to Katherine Mayo's publication of *Mother India*, which exposes, in a controversial light, the evil practices of India to the world at large. Andrews responded with a book called *True India*, defending Indian morals and testifying against Mayo, an Englishman's "deep reverence for Indian civilization as a whole." By making such an address, he denies identifying himself with the East or the West.

Leela Gandhi characterizes all these acts of Andrews in a trope called "friendship." She recalled Andrews' prayer for an "Indian bosom friend"; answered by the friendship with SK Rudra, Zaha Ullah, M. Gandhi, Tagore, Munshi Ram and many more. On Andrews' death, Tagore expressed his profound delight in their friendship as a river flowing from a clear spring. Gandhi professed that Andrews was his closest friend at the time of the Quit India Resolution. Most obituaries in Andrews's honor expressed his gratitude for being blessed with the gift of loving friends.

We can see from the above that, as Gandhi is rightly emphatic about, Andrews' friendship is effective in the renunciation of the then-existing colonial divide. In turn, he can make friends with the anti-colonial struggle. This is a unique trope of friendship—a friendship between not just differences but opposing differences. It is a friendship between the oppressor and the oppressed. Leela Gandhi calls this kind of friendship affective cosmopolitanism. She asserted that Andrews's trope of friendship on conscious scrutiny, rather than being emotive, could be interpreted as affective cosmopolitanism.

Elements of affective cosmopolitanism are traceable to Andrews's literary works. With an emphasis on 'friendship, fellowship and koinonia', Andrews vehemently campaigned against inheritance, identity and belonging in his interpretation of the New Testament. Andrews also wrote about the friendship of Christ and His disciples, whom he called to serve, yet calls them friends instead...telling them dying for a friend is the greatest love. According to Andrews, the emotions of friendship should be imparted to relatives and strangers alike, and nothing should come in between, for it is the sharing of the will of God by earnest souls. Based on this, Andrews took a firm step against his own countrymen's imperial Christianity by resigning from his ministry, which propagates racial segregation. True to his stand, Andrews is against gender and species discrimination. He even calls for the inclusion of women in the Anglican ministry, arguing that there is no male or female in Christ.

Friendship as a Prerequisite to Peace Process

So, we started with the instance of friendship during the initial days of the Manipur conflict. Then we proceed to look at two paradigms of friendship. The Aristotelian or traditional model of friendship is characterized by the relationship between those who are the same. There is another model of friendship which emphasizes the difference or the other. There is yet another model of friendship between opposing individuals marked by an affective concern for the other, to the extent of trespassing one's community for the socio-political upliftment of the other. This kind of friendship is called affective cosmopolitanism. Affective cosmopolitanism is the ethico-political practice of a desiring self inexorably drawn towards difference—a self which tends towards others.

Let us come back to where we started. In the midst of the Manipur conflict, a poignant example of genuine friendship emerges, transcending the ethnic divide that fuels the violence. Two young men, Angamba and Samuel, belonging to opposing sides of the conflict, form a deep bond despite the risks to their lives. Their friendship mirrors the model seen in figures like C.F. Andrews and Mahatma Gandhi during the wake of the Indian national movement, where shared values and empathy unite individuals despite socio-political and colonial divisions. Angamba and Samuel's friendship exemplifies the essence of Aristotelian virtue, where the mutual desire for excellence and genuine care for each other outweighs their differences. Such friendship persists because they accept the *difference* in each other. In a violent conflict where communities are pitted against each other, their friendship stands as a beacon of hope for reconciliation and peace. (continued on the next page)

(continued from the previous page) The Manipur conflict has continued to persist for the past ten months now, highlighting the urgent need for genuine friendships that bridge ethnic divides. While attempts at peace processes have been made, they have thus far been unsuccessful. Respect for differences is crucial in friendship and the pursuit of peace, yet true reconciliation requires acknowledgement of injustices suffered by all communities involved. Manipur truly needs a form of friendship rooted in affective cosmopolitanism, where empathy, solidarity, and a commitment to truth and justice pave the way for lasting peace. Only through genuine understanding and mutual respect in the form of friendship as affective cosmopolitanism can the cycle of violence be broken and a future of harmony and coexistence be realized in Manipur.

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I do a lot of work with different organizations, and I'm willing to work with just about anyone, as long as they are respectful to me and others. I also consider myself a fairly "open book." I tend to be optimistic and look for ways to compromise. I don't have secret agendas, unless food is involved—I'm not afraid to attend a meeting or event to get free food! I'm just a curious person who has lots of (as some of my friends lovingly say) weird thoughts and questions. People who know me have come to expect my oddities, and I'm quite comfortable being "odd."

However, last year, I learned a valuable lesson about the fragility of relationships. Someone who I thought was a friend accused me of all sorts of nasty things because I include pronouns as part of my email signature. For him, I was part of a vast conspiracy to destroy the world with "woke" ideology. Even after I explained to him how using pronouns has opened lines of communication that have helped young adults during crisis situations, he completely disengaged from our friendship and the social networks where we associated. In other words, he chose to believe a fictional ideological narrative over an actual person who he knew and had seen do all sorts of caring acts, including taking care of his children.

The Editor's Ear

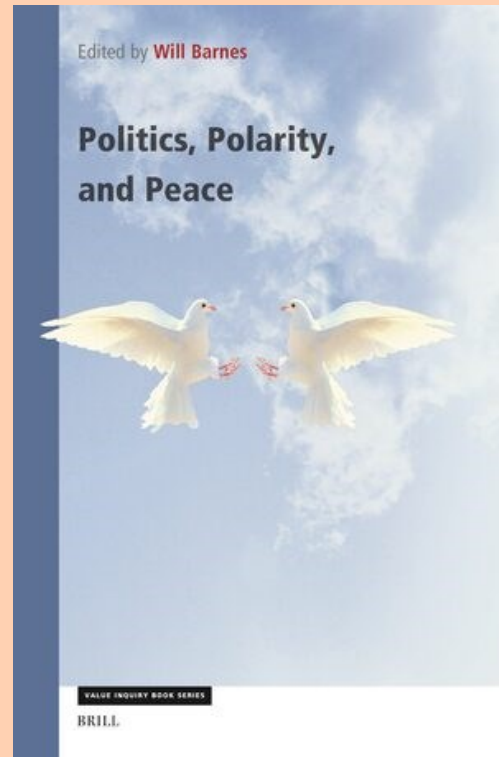
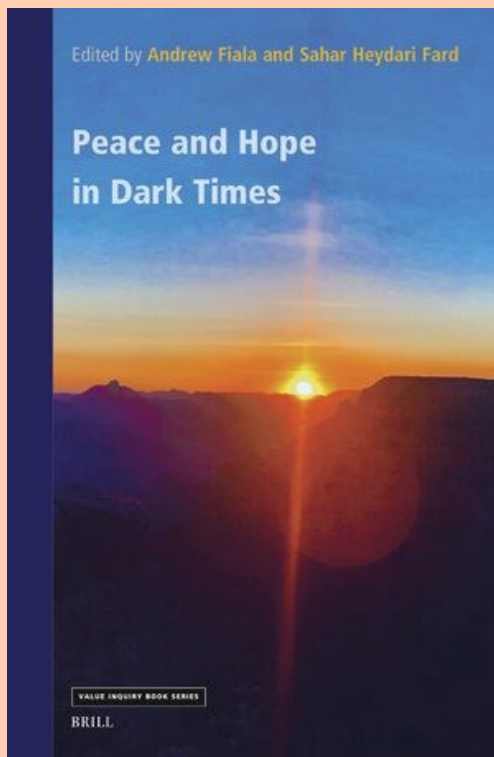


In a world where wars, abuse, and violence are hourly occurrences, I think I am most troubled by how helpless we are in the face of ideologies designed to create relational chasms and walls that prevent peaceful engagement and friendships. Let us disagree. Let us participate in competing protests. Let us struggle for the words to say when explaining our beliefs and trying to make sense of others' beliefs. Let us be adversaries, passionately committed to making the world better in our own unique ways. But may we never let an ideology, whether based in fact or trumped up in lies and conspiracies, turn our neighbors into an enemy-Other. I find comfort that Concerned Philosophers for Peace (CPP) has for over forty years provided a space that allows for disagreement and fellowship around the goals of peace and nonviolence. Thank you for reading and sharing CPP's *Newsletter*, and I hope you will continue to be involved, get more involved, and share the message of peace and nonviolence to your local communities.

Let me end with a few closing "thanks" and announcements. First, I am thankful for Cameron Farvin's willingness to help edit the *Newsletter*. He has a lot of great ideas and expertise to really make it something special. Second, if you missed the news, Johan Galtung passed away in February. For those unfamiliar with Galtung, he was born 24 October 1930 and died 17 February 2024. He made many great contributions to peace studies, and as Betsy Reed wrote in his obituary: "...Galtung laid out a conceptual basis for peace studies. It should cover both direct violence (the application of physical force to hurt or kill) and structural violence (the deprivation of life chances as a result of social structures). To these he paired negative peace (the absence of direct violence) and positive peace (the absence of structural violence). The task of peace studies should be to pursue both negative and positive peace. To some, this risked peace studies becoming a "black hole", with no limits on its scope." (<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2024/mar/21/johan-galtung-obituary>) I love that CPP continues to explore this "black hole," and many thanks to Galtung for his work. Third, I can't wait to see everyone in Birmingham, AL for this year's CPP conference. Make sure you submit a paper and attend. Finally, as I write these words, there are reports that Hamas has agreed to a ceasefire with Israel, brokered by Qatar and Egypt. Yet, suffering and killing in area continues, as does suffering and killing in Ukraine, Nigeria, Sudan, Haiti, and so many other places around the world. To live in truth is to constantly strive to engage actual people in the living world, and the hope I have for myself and CPP is that we will live in truth and continue to provide spaces for engagement and community.

Be well, friends,
Court Lewis

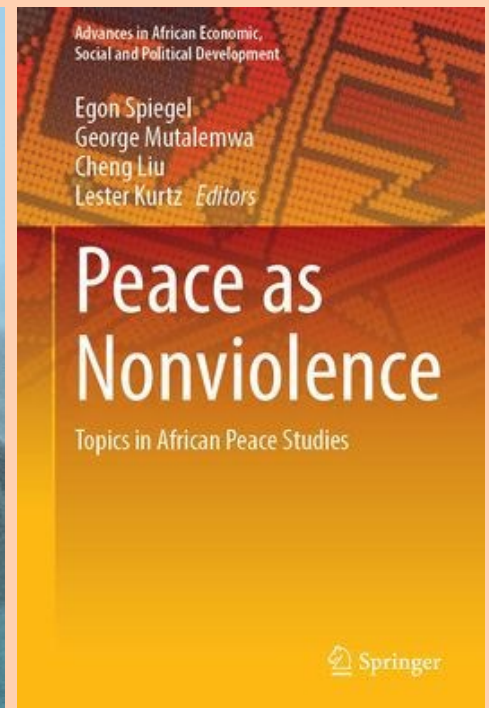
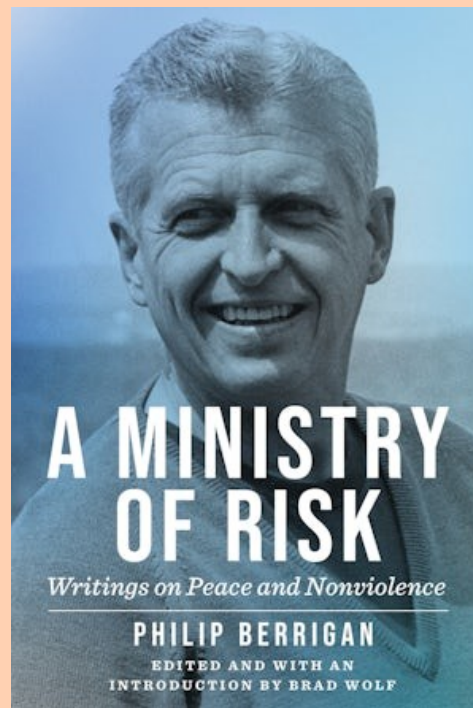
Books of Interest



THE POLITICS OF WAR AND PEACE

A Survey of
Thought

Abbott A. Brayton
Stephana J. Landwehr
Foreword by Andrew J. Goodpaster



Thank you for reading, and we hope to see you
at one of our future events.

We are also deeply grateful for your support
of peace and nonviolence.