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, <u>Ukrainian Pacifist Movement: Bill No 3553 of Zelensky's Military Dictatorship should be withdrawn</u> [1], War Resisters International, 2020

Full statement by the WRI affiliate Ukrainian Pacifist Movement condemning the bill introducing 'intolerable elements of military dictatorship'. The bill required mandatory military registration for employment and draconian fines and imprisonment for COs and those showing solidarity with them. It also empowered police to hunt for draftees on the streets and transfer them forcibly to army recruiting centres.

See also: 'The Brutality of Military Commissariats in Ukraine: Reaction of UN and MPs', *Truth Seeker*, 23 September 2019

This article explores the practice of arbitrary detention of conscripts in Ukraine. It includes footage (in Russian) of the Ukrainian Pacifist Movement that opposes compulsory military service.

See also: Harding, Luke, 'Ukraine reintroduces conscription to counter threat of pro-Russian separatists', *The Guardian*, 1 May 2014. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/may/01/ukraine-military-conscript... [2]

, CO Update [3], War Resisters' International , 2020

This hundredth issue of CO Update (which brings together a number of news items already published by WRI in June 2020 as separate stories) begins by noting that the annual International Conscientious Objection Day on 15 May 2020 was celebrated round the world mostly by actions online. This issue includes the Ukrainian Pacifist Movement's condemnation of the new draconian bill designed to enforce conscription (referenced above), and the Council of Europe's reiterated appeal to Turkey to recognize conscientious objection (noted in the Introduction). It also covers court cases to oppose EU financing of Eritrean development projects that employing conscript labour; the Azerbaijan government's parliamentary announcement about a prospective Alternative Service Law (promised to the Council of Europe in 2003 but not delivered); the suspicious death of a Turkish air force conscript; and two opposing bills in the US Congress: to extend draft registration to women, or to end draft registration.

See also other monthly issues of CO update for detailed news from around the world.

Aslund, Anders ; McFaul, Michael, <u>Revolution in Orange: The Origins of Ukraine's Democratic Breakthrough</u> [4], ed. <u>Aslund, Anders</u> [5], <u>McFaul, Michael</u> [6], Washington DC, Carnegie Endowment, 2006, pp. 216

Selection of essays including assessments of the role of civil society and of the youth group Pora, an examination of western influence, and a concluding analysis of the 'revolution' in comparative perspective.

Bachmann, Klaus ; Lyabashenko, Igor, <u>The Maidan Uprising</u>, <u>Separatism and Foreign Intervention</u>. <u>Ukraine's</u> <u>Complex Transition</u> [7], Frankfurt-am-Main, Peter Lang GmbH , 2014, pp. 523, hb.

Collection of 17 essays by academics, journalists, lawyers, policy makers and activists covering Euromaidan and the election of President Poroshenko in May 2014, and also developments in Crimea, from a multidisciplinary perspective. It is sponsored by the Polish National Research Institute, but inlcudes also contributions from Germany, Sweden and the USA. Thre are chapters on post-1991 Ukrainian politics, on the Orange Revolutions and Euromaidan (focusing only on Kiev).

Bartkowski, Maciej J. ; Stephan, Maria J., <u>How Ukraine Ousted an Autocrat: The Logic of Civil Resistance</u> [8], ed. <u>Bachmann, Klaus</u> [9], <u>Lyabashenko, Igor</u> [10], Atlantic Council, 2014



This work discusses the Euromaidan movement from a perspective of nonviolent strategy, highlighting the role of 'backfire' when the police attacked peaceful students' sit-ins, nonviolent tactics used to combat covert intimidation and the importance of the army's refusal to crush the protest. It also comments on the negative impact of the 'radical flank' that turned to violence.

See also: Ackerman, Peter, Maciej J. Barkowski and Jack Duvall, '<u>Ukraine: A Nonviolent Victory</u> [11] ', OpenDemocracy (3 March 2004)

Bartkowsky, Maciej, <u>Analyse: Die Maidan-Revolution in der Ukraine - Gewaltloser Widerstand in</u> <u>gewaltgeladener Situation</u> [12], (online), bpb, 2014

This study of the Maidan Revolution analyzes what Bartkowsky calls nonviolent resistance in violence-loaded situations. He argues that the major use of force and violence by the regime was not a sign of strength, but of the fundamental weakening of the regime and seemed to be a desperate attempt to avert its threatened defeat. Therefore Janukowytsch's fall was preceded by three months of mobilization and civil resistance that undermined the already weak defences of the regime.

Binnendijk, Anika Locke ; Marovic, Ivan, <u>Power and persuasion: Nonviolent strategies to influence state security</u> <u>forces in Serbia (2000) and Ukraine (2004)</u> *[13]*, Communist and Post-Communist Studies, Vol. 39, no. 3 (Special Issue 'Democratic Revolutions in Post-Communist States', ed. Taras Kuzio), 2006, pp. 411-429

Describes explicit strategies developed in both Serbia and Ukraine to increase costs of repression and reduce the willingness of the security forces to resort to violence. By combining deterrence and persuasion the organisers were able to avert major repression in 2000 and 2004.

Brock, Hannah, The Return of Conscription? [14], War Resisters' International, 2018

The author, a full time worker at War Resisters' International with a focus on support for conscientious objectors to military service, discusses whether the previous trend towards the abolition of conscription around the world is being reversed. She notes that it has been reintroduced in Ukraine, Georgia, Lithuania and Kuwait (after a short period when it was not in force) and introduced for the first time by Qatar and the United Arab Emirates; in total over 100 states practice, responding with varying degrees of harshness to objectors. Most states impose conscription for men, but both Norway and Sweden (where it h ad been reintroduced) extend it to women. The article discusses the varying regional security situations, which influence states to use conscription and carrying rounds for exemption.

Brock, Hannah, The Return of Conscription? [15], War Resisters' International, 2018

Brock assesses the changing context of her work for War Resisters' International since she began in 2012, when conscription had ended or been suspended in 22 states. She notes how regional fears of Russian aggression have influenced the reintroduction of conscription in former Soviet states (Ukraine, Georgia and Lithuania) and in Western Europe, where Sweden had reintroduced it. She also comments on Gulf States introducing or reintroducing conscription (as in Kuwait). The extension of conscription to women in both Norway and Sweden, opposed by some feminists but supported by women politicians, raises wider questions, which Brock considers, about the extent of social diversity in the armed forces. The article is extensively annotated, including references to protests against conscription and against the major military exercise 'Aurora' mounted by neutral Sweden in 2017, which incorporated NATO troops.

Bull, Anna ; Diamond, Hanna ; Marsh, Rosalind, <u>Feminisms and Women's Contemporary Movements</u> [16], London, Macmillan, 2000, pp. 286

Covers Europe in the 1990s, including essays on 'Theorizing Feminism in Postcommunism', 'Something



Unnatural: Attitudes to Feminism in Russia', 'New Mothers' Campaigning Organization in Russia', '"Its about Helping women to Believe in Themselves": Grassroots Women's Organizations in Contemporary Russian Society' and 'Women's Discordant Voices in the Context of the 1998 Elections in the Ukraine'.

Bunce, Valerie J. ; McFaul, Michael ; Stoner-Weiss, Kathryn, <u>Democracy and Authoritarianism in the</u> <u>Postcommunist World [17]</u>, ed. <u>Bunce, Valerie J.</u> [18], <u>McFaul, Michael</u> [6], <u>Stoner-Weiss, Kathryn</u> [19], New York, Cambridge University Press, 2009, pp. 360

Examines waves of change in 11 former communist nations, from 1989-1992, and the electoral defeat of authoritarian rulers from 1996 to 2005 in Bulgaria, Slovakia, Serbia, Georgia and Ukraine. This volume looks in particular at issues of transmission and the role of transnational and international actors, with a particular focus on the role of the EU. The final section discusses the conundrum posed by political developments in Russia, and also Belarus and Kyrgyzstan. Individual chapters are also cited under particular countries.

Bunce, Valerie J. ; Wolchik, Sharon L., <u>Defeating Authoritarian Leaders in Post-Communist Countries</u> *[20]*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2011, pp. 364

Discusses electoral defeats of authoritarian leaders from 1998 to 2005 (Slovakia, Croatia, Serbia, Georgia, Ukraine and Kyrgyzstan), but also unsuccessful movements in Armenia, Azerbaijan and Belarus. Analyses local and international actors and draws comparisons with other parts of the world.

Chapman, Annabelle, <u>Ukraine's Big Three: Meet the Opposition Leaders at the Helm of Euromaidan</u> [21], Foreign Affairs, Snapshot, 2014

A journalist expert on Ukraine assesses the three opposition politicians - Vitaly Klitschko, Oleh Tyahnybok, and Arseniy Yatsenyuk - who, after the 2012 parliamentary elections, created a 'united opposition' and put themselves forward as 'leaders' of the Euromaidan protests.

Collin, Matthew, <u>The Time of the Rebels: Youth Resistance Movements and 21st Century Revolutions [22]</u>, London, Serpent's Trail, 2007, pp. 224

Interviews activists from Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan and Belarus, as well as Serbia.

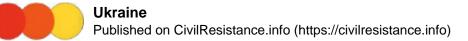
D'Anieri, Paul, <u>What has changed in Ukrainian politics? Assessing the implications of the Orange Revolution</u> *[23]*, Problems of Post-Communism, Vol. 52, no. 3 (September/October), 2005, pp. 82-91

D'Anieri, Paul, <u>Explaining the success and failure of post-communist revolutions</u> [24], Communist and Post-Communist Studies, Vol. 39, no. 3 (Special Issue 'Democratic Revolutions in Post-Communist States', ed. Taras Kuzio), 2006, pp. 331-350

Argues that while most studies focus on grassroots movements, elites – especially security services – are crucial in determining whether movements reach a 'tipping point'. Illustrates argument by comparing two 'failed revolutions' (Serbia 1996-97 and Ukraine 2001) with two 'successful revolutions' (Serbia 2000 and Ukraine 2004-2005). [Compare with Binnendijk; Marovic, <u>Power and persuasion: Nonviolent strategies to influence state security forces in Serbia (2000) and Ukraine (2004)</u> [13] (D. II.1. Comparative Assessments [25]) above.]

Della Porta, Donatella, <u>Social Movements in Times of Austerity: Bringing Capitalism Back into Protest Analysis</u> [26], Cambridge, Polity and Wiley, 2015, pp. 216

Analyzes movements since 2008 (Iceland) challenging corruption and inequality and situating them within the crisis of neoliberalism. Covers Spain, Greece and Portugal anti-austerity movements, but also Peru, Brazil, Russia, Bulgaria, Turkey and Ukraine.



Diuk, Nadia, Euromaidan: Ukraine's Self-Organizing Revolution [27], World Affairs, no. March/April, 2014

Report by a Vice-President of Endowment for Democracy covering the developments of Ukraine's demonstrations until the end of December 2014. It stresses the creative and disciplined popular organisation; the unwillingness to rely on politicians; the breadth of support not only in Kiev but in other cities of eastern Ukraine; how provocateurs have been kept out of Maidan and how violence was avoided when responding to brutal attempts to clear the square. Available on line: <u>http://www.worldaffairsjournal.org/article/euromaidan-ukraine%E2%80%99s-self-organizing-revolution</u> [28]

Femen, ; Ackerman, Galia, Femen [29], Cambridge, Polity Press, 2014, pp. 240

Femen was founded in the Ukraine in 2008 by four women to protest against patriarchy embodied in dictatorship, religion and the sex industry. Their well publicised bare-breasted protests have included a dangerous demonstration in Belarus and opposition to President Putin. They have moved to France and this book was first published in French. A film 'Ukraine is not a Brothel' claimed that Femen's protests were orchestrated and the women controlled by a male svengali. This claim is addressed in an addendum to the English version of the book.

Fishwick, Carmen, <u>'We were so naive and optimistic'</u>: <u>Ukraine Euromaidan protesters tell us what's changed for</u> them [30], The Guardian, 2014

Interviews with three protesters, two of whom were then protesting against Russian military intervention.

See also: Stelmakh and Tom Bamforth, '<u>Ukraine's Maidan Protests - One Year On</u> [31]', *The Guardian*, 21 November 2014

Forbrig, Joerg ; Demes, Pavol, <u>Reclaiming Democracy: Civil Society and Electoral Change in Central and</u> <u>Eastern Europe</u> [32], ed. <u>Forbrig, Joerg</u> [33], <u>Demes, Pavol</u> [34], Washington DC, German Marshall Fund of USA, 2007, pp. 254

First section includes contributions from Slovakia, Croatia, Serbia, Georgia and the Ukraine. Second section is comparative discussion on range of issues by authors including Valerie Bunce and Sharon Wolchik, Taras Kuzio and Vitali Silitski.

Garton Ash, Timothy, <u>Orange Revolution in Ukraine</u> *[35]*, In Garton Ash, Timothy , <u>Facts Are Subversive</u>: <u>Political Writing from a Decade Without a Name</u> *[36]* London, Atlantic Books, , 2009, pp. 464, pp. 30-45

Places the Orange Revolution in a sequence of 'velvet revolutions' based on strict nonviolence.

Garton Ash, Timothy, <u>Facts Are Subversive: Political Writing from a Decade Without a Name</u> [36], London, Atlantic Books, 2009, pp. 464

Goldstein, Joshua, <u>The Role of Digital Networked Technologies in the Ukrainian Orange Revolution</u> [37], Research Publication No 2007-14 (Dec. 2007), Cambridge MA, Berkman Center for Internet and Society, 2007, pp. 20

Hale, Henry E., <u>Democracy, autocracy and revolution in Post-Soviet Eurasia</u> [38], World Politics, Vol. 68, no. 1 (October), 2005, pp. 133-155

Includes references to Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Kyrgyzstan and Ukraine.



Ischenko, Volodymyr, Interview: Ukraine's Fractures [39], New Left Review, no. 87 (May/June), 2014

Assessment by a Marxist sociologist in Ukraine who demonstrated in 2000 against the Kuchma regime. Topics include: the role of the far right in Euromaidan (he argues that an organised and effective minority was promoting nationalist slogans); the changing of the social composition of protesters; the *interim* government; the cultural roots of the eastern Ukrainian uprisings for independence, and the election of President Poroshenko.

Kinsman, Jeremy ; Bassuener, Kurt, <u>A Diplomat's Handbook for Democracy Development Support</u> [40], 3rd edition, Washington, DC, Council for a Community of Democracies, 2009, pp. 450

Tips for diplomats on how they can more effectively support local pro-democracy g roups facing repressive regimes. Case studies from South Africa, Ukraine, Chile, Belarus, Burma/Myanamar, Sierra Leone, Tanzania and Zimbabwe.

Kurkov, Andrey, <u>Ukraine Diaries: Dispatches From Kiev</u> [41], London, Harvill Secker, 2014, pp. 272

Account by an enthusiastic Russian Ukrainian novelist, best known for his surreal *Deat of a Penguin*, who was a symphatetic observer of protests, and stresses popular anger at the systematic corruption of Yanukovytch regime and the spontaneous self-organising nature of the Euromaidan movement.

Kurth, Helmut ; Kempe, Iris, <u>Presidential Election and Orange Revolution: Implications for Ukraine's Transition</u> [42], ed. <u>Kurth, Helmut</u> [43], <u>Kempe, Iris</u> [44], Kyiv, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2005, pp. 152

Kuzio, Taras, <u>From Kuchma to Yushchenko</u> [45], Communist and Post-Communist Studies, Vol. 38, no. 2 (June), 2005, pp. 229-244

Kuzio, Taras, <u>Civil society, youth and societal mobilization</u> *[46]*, Communist and Post-Communist Studies, Vol. 39, no. 3 (Special Issue 'Democratic Revolutions in Post-Communist States', ed. Taras Kuzio), 2006, pp. 365-368

Examines the leading role of youth organizations – Otpor in Serbia (2000), Kmara in Georgia (2003) and Pora in Ukraine (2004) – and conditions for success, including training, western technical and financial assistance, choice of strategies and response of authorities.

Kuzio, Taras, <u>Special issue 'Kuchmagate Crisis to Orange Revolution: Civil Society, Elections and</u> <u>Democratisation in Ukraine'</u> [47], The Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics, Vol. 23, no. 1 (March), 2007

Eight contributions analysing various aspects of Ukrainian society from schools to rock 'n' roll, from politics to gender.

Kuzio, Taras ; D'Anieri, Paul, <u>Special Issue 'Ukraine: Elections and Democratisation'</u> [48], ed. <u>Kuzio, Taras</u> [49], <u>D'Anieri, Paul</u> [50], Communist and Post-Communist Studies, Vol. 38, no. 2 (June), 2005, pp. 131-292

Much of this issue analyses the previous Kuchma regime and parliamentary elections in 1994, 1998 and 2002, but there are two articles on the 2004 presidential elections and impact of the 'Orange Revolution', one by Kuzio, Taras, <u>From Kuchma to Yushchenko [45]</u> Communist and Post-Communist Studies, 2005, pp. 229-244.

Marples, David R. ; Mills, Frederick V., <u>Ukraine's Euromaidan: Analyses of a Civil Revolution</u> [51], Stuttgart and Hannover, Ibidem Press, 2015, pp. 304, pb.



Collection of essays edited by two historians at the University of Alberta. Topics cover the role of nationalism, the issue of the Russian language, the mass media, the motives and aims of the protesters, gender issues, and the impact of Euromaidan on politics in Ukraine, the EU, Russia and also Belarus. The Russian annexation of Crimea, and the creation of pro-Russian republics in the east of Ukraine and ensuing wars are covered in an epilogue.

McFaul, Michael, <u>Importing Revolution: Internal and External Factors in Ukraine's 2004 Democratic</u> <u>Breakthrough [52]</u>, In Bunce; McFaul; Stoner-Weiss, <u>Democracy and Authoritarianism in the Postcommunist World</u> [17] (D. II.1. Comparative Assessments [25]), New York, Cambridge University Press, pp. 189-225

Nikolayenko, Olena, <u>Youth Movements in Post-Communist Societies: A Model of Nonviolent Resistance</u> [53], Working Paper No 114, June, Stanford CA, Center on Democracry and the Rule of Law (Stanford University), 2009, pp. 50

Popova, Maria, <u>Why the Orange Revolution Was Short and Peaceful and Euromaidan Long and Violent [54]</u>, ed. <u>Marples, David R.</u> [55], <u>Mills, Frederick V.</u> [56], Problem of Post-Communism, Vol. 61, no. 6, 2014, pp. 64-70

Focuses on the lack of institutional channels to resolve the crisis and politicisation of the judiciary, and argues that the violence used strenghtened the role of the far right.

Popovic, Srdja ; Miller, Matthew, <u>Blueprint for Revolution: How to Use Rice Pudding, Lego Men, and Other</u> <u>Nonviolent Techniques to Galvanise Communities, Overthrow Dictators, or Simply Change the World</u> [57], Melbourne and London, Scribe, 2015, pp. 282

Popovic, an activist against the Milosevic regime in Serbia in the 1990s, went on to find CANVAS, which has offered advice and nonviolent training to activists in former Soviet states and other parts of the world, including Egypt before Tahrir Square and Syria. The book emphasizes the role of CANVAS (but does not address criticism of its role) and foregrounds the author's own experiences and interpretation of nonviolent action. It covers many varied campaigns with examples of how to mobilize successfully and use humour and imaginative forms of protest. It also addresses how to make oppression 'backfire' and the need to persevere in one's effort after apparent success. Written for activists rather than for scholars of nonviolence.

Sakwa, Richard, <u>Frontlinhe Ukraine: Crisis in the Borderlands</u> [58], London and New York, I.B.Tauris, 2015, pp. 220

A book by long-term academic expert on the Soviet Union/Russia, which situates coverage of Euromaidan and the subsequent local rebellions in Crimea and other parts of eastern Ukraine within a context of different cultural and ideological strands in Ukrainian society, and within the wider context of Russian-Western relations. Sakwa is very critical of Western policies after 1991 and, more recently, towards Putin, and also challenges the bias of much western reporting on the evolving Ukrainian crisis.

Sherry, Dave, Occupy! A Short History of Worker Occupations [59], London, Bookmarks, 2010, pp. 157

Covers campaigns in Argentina, Chicago (USA), France, Ukraine, Turkey, Egypt, South Korea and China.

Wilson, Andrew, Ukraine's Orange Revolution [60], New Haven CT, Yale University Press, 2005, pp. 232

Lively analysis by academic expert on the country, stressing the complexity of Ukraine's regional politics and of the 'Orange Revolution' itself. See also Wilson, Andrew, <u>Ukraine's "Orange Revolution" of 2004: The Paradoxes of Negotiation [61]</u> In Roberts; Garton Ash, <u>Civil Resistance and Power Politics: The Experience of Non-violent Action from Gandhi to the Present [62] (A. 1.b. Strategic Theory, Dynamics, Methods and Movements [63])New York, Oxford University Press, 2009, pp. 335-353.</u>



Wilson, Andrew, <u>Ukraine's "Orange Revolution" of 2004: The Paradoxes of Negotiation</u> [61], In Roberts; Garton Ash, <u>Civil Resistance and Power Politics: The Experience of Non-violent Action from Gandhi to the Present</u> [62] (<u>A.</u> <u>1.b. Strategic Theory, Dynamics, Methods and Movements</u> [63]), New York, Oxford University Press, pp. 335-353

Wilson, Andrew, <u>Ukraine Crisis: What It Means for the West</u> [64], New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2014, pp. 224, pb.

British academic expert on Ukraine (author of books on the Orange Revolution) covers both the Euromaidan protests, which he witnessed (stressing variety of protesters and arguing that the far right played a minor role), and the subsequent developments in both western and eastern Ukraine. He concludes with a discussion of Russian policy. Wilson also wrote brief assessments during the course of the Maidan protests, for example: '<u>The Ukrainian</u> <u>#Euromaidan</u> [65]', by the European Council on Foreign Relations, 5 December 2013.

A film on the demonstration in the Maidan by Ukrainian Director Sergei Loznitsa (duration 134 minutes) was released in London in February 2015.

Youngs, Richard ; Boonstra, Jos ; Vizoso, Julia Choucair ; Echagüe, Ana ; Jarábik, Balázs ; Kausch, Kristina, <u>Is</u> <u>the European Union Supporting Democracy in its Neighbourhood?</u> [66], Madrid, FRIDE, 2008, pp. 150

EU 'neighbourhood plans' agreed with neighbouring states link economic cooperation with human rights and democratization. This report includes case studies of how this has been implemented - or not - in Morocco, Jordan, Lebanon, Ukraine, Belarus and Azerbaijan. <u>FRIDE</u> [67] has published a range of reports and policy briefs - all available online - with critical analyses of 'democracy promotion', especially by the European Union and its members, including in the context of the 'Arab Spring'.

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