



Waseda University

July 13th, 2022

GLFP Presentation:

**Post-Conflict Peacebuilding for the Ukrainian crisis:
Exploring multiple aspects of peace**

**ポストウクライナ危機後の平和構築：
多面的平和の模索**

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Agenda

- 1. Opening Remarks**
- 2. Introduction of GLFP 8th Cohort**
- 3. Presentation**
- 4. Q&A Session**

Opening Remarks

Hi everyone!





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Part 5: Conclusion

Introduction

Introduction

1. How did the war begin?
2. Our focus in the research
3. Definition of **violence** and **peace**



1. How did the war begin?

- The buildup -



1991

2005

2010

2014

2019

2021

2022

• **Collapse of the Soviet Union**



• Yanukovich wins the presidential election

• Volodymyr Zelenski elected president

• (Feb) U.S. says they will send 3,000 extra troops to NATO members Poland and Romania

• **(Feb 24th) Russian invasion to Ukraine begins**

• Yushchenko promises to lead Ukraine out of the Kremlin's orbit, and head towards NATO and the EU



• **(Feb) Revolution of Dignity**

• (Feb) Yanukovich gets ousted

• **Russia annexes Ukraine's Crimean peninsula**

• **(April) Donbass War**

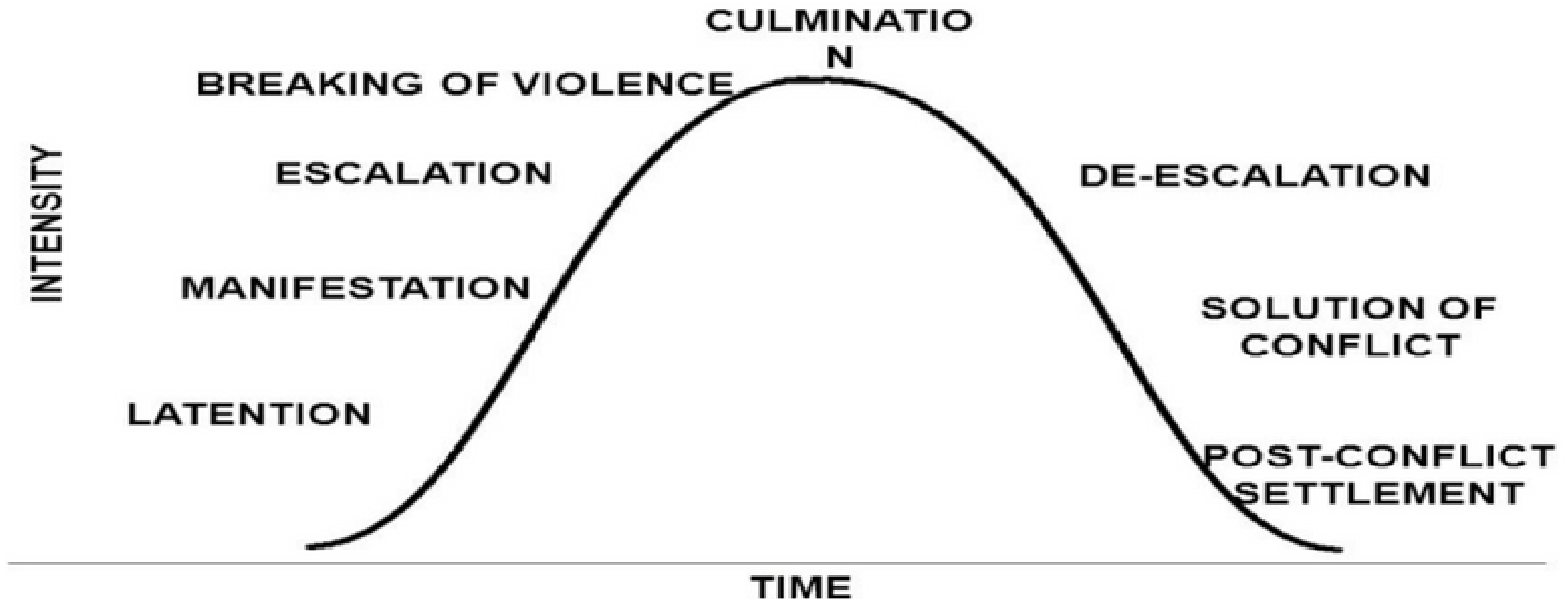
• (Jan) Zelenski appeals to President Joe Biden to let Ukraine join NATO

• (Spring) Russia begins gathering troops near Ukraine's borders for "training exercises"

2. Our focus on the research

Where and why?

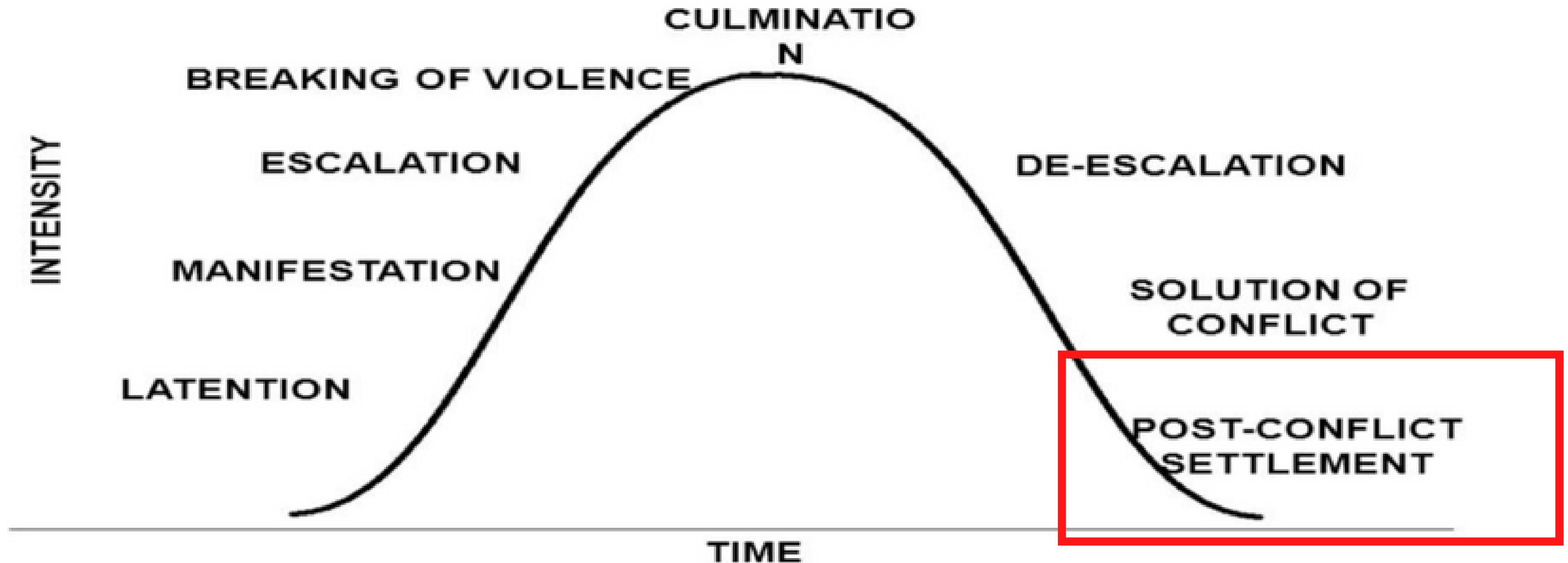
Dynamics of conflict



2. Our focus on the research

Where and why?

Dynamics of conflict



2. Our focus on the research

Why focus on post war?

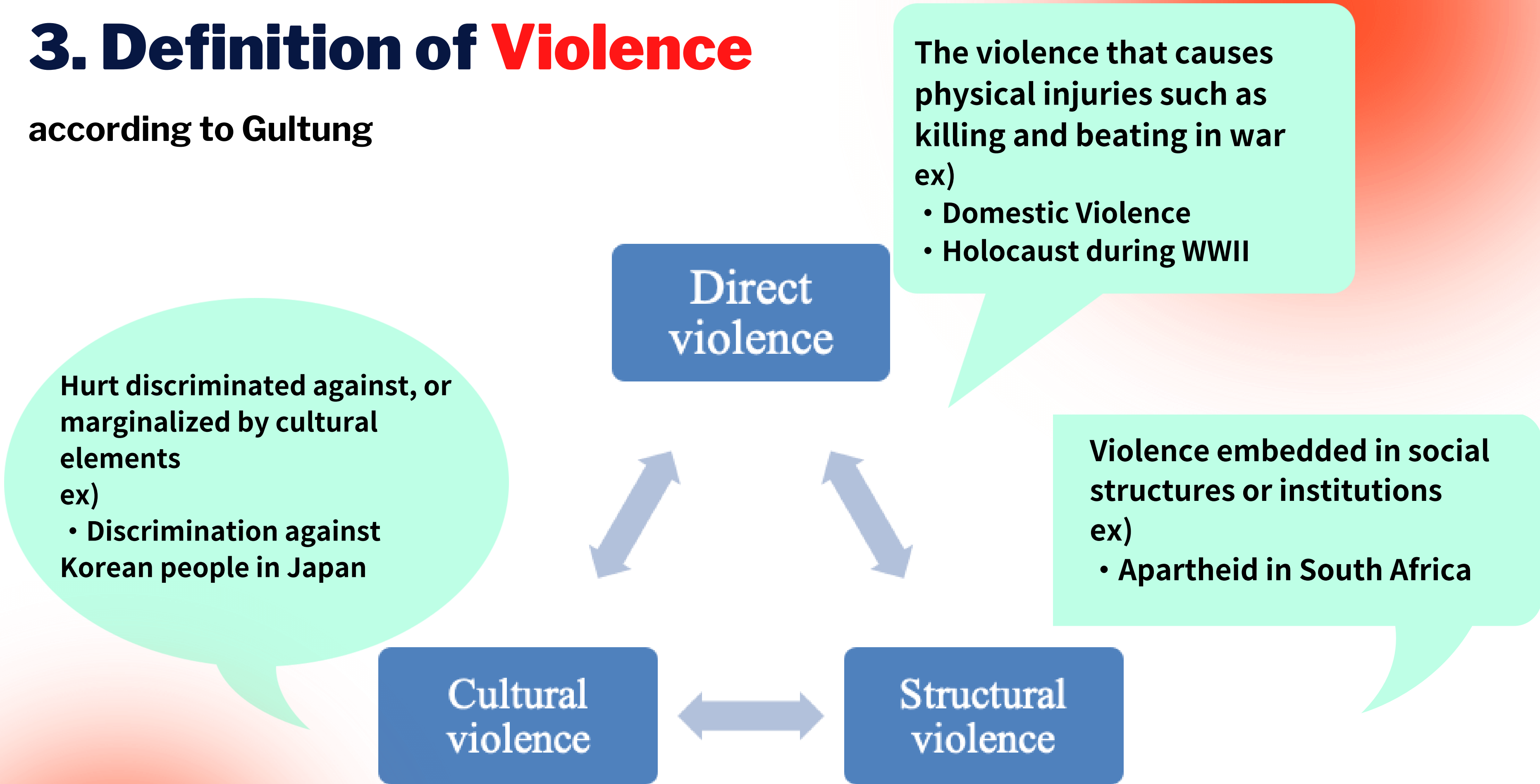
We would be considered as 3rd parties

Global
Leadership
Fellows
Program



3. Definition of **Violence**

according to Galtung



3. Definition of Peace

according to Galtung

—

NEGATIVE PEACE

*... is the absence of violence
or fear of violence.*

+

POSITIVE PEACE

*... is the attitudes,
institutions & structures
that create and sustain
peaceful societies.*

Towards Prevention

A Rationalist Overview

What Causes War?

In war... there are no winners, but all are losers.

- Neville Chamberlain

- War is **costly** for both sides.
- Everyone wants to avoid war... so why does war occur?
- Interstate Explanation:
 - Misperception and Miscalculation
 - Commitment Problems



*"Giving our nation a few really expensive gifts
would be a nice way to break the ice."*

Misperception and Miscalculation?

- Russia's miscalculations
 - Western hostility
 - Ukrainian resolve
 - Army's ability (cost of invasion)
- The West's miscalculations
 - Russia's fear of NATO enlargement,
 - EU expansion, democracy promotion.
- Ukraine's (Zelensky's) miscalculations
 - Russia's resolve for border security



Does Russia Feel Threatened?

- "it is the Russians, not the West, who ultimately get to decide what counts as a threat to them." - Mearsheimer



Commitment: Credible Assurance

- Russia:
 - Georgia, Crimea, Eastern Ukraine
- West:
 - Expansion of NATO



Steps Towards Prevention

- ASSURANCE
 - Deterrence and compellence have failed
 - Assurance from Russia
 - Assurance from NATO



Reconstruction of Ukraine

"Postwar Reconstruction" -1

What is "postwar reconstruction"?

- After World War II
- "Peace-building"
 - economic recovery
 - stabilization of conflict zones
 - restoring state institutions
 - dealing with social issues



"Postwar Reconstruction" -2

Why focus on "postwar" reconstruction?

- Cannot enter violent zones
- New perception of wars in 1990s
- Increase in numbers of post-violent conflict situations
- More knowledge and lessons learned
- Increased tension in international politics

Minimizing Possible Problems

- Media spotlight moves on to different topics
- Conflicting interests of international actors
- Lack of capacity to utilize funding and technology
- Priorities are uncertain, etc.



Minimizing Possible Problems -2

- Media spotlight moves on to different topics
- **Conflicting interests of international actors**
- **Lack of capacity to utilize funding and technology.**
- Priorities are uncertain



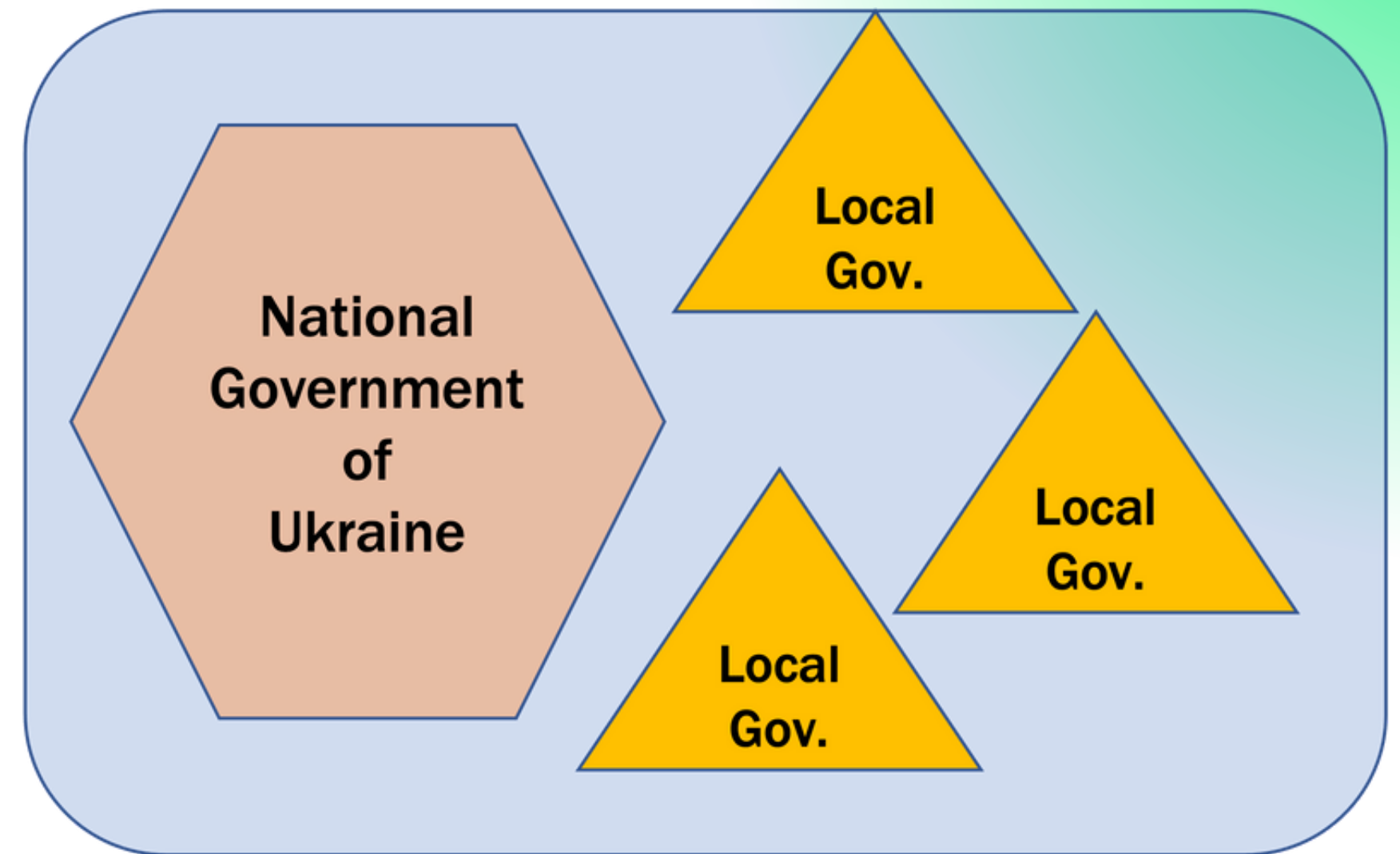
Minimizing Possible Problems -2

- Conflicting interests of international actors
 - => Setting a buffer
- Lack of capacity to utilize funding and technology.
 - => Separate agency can deal with the funding and allocating of resources



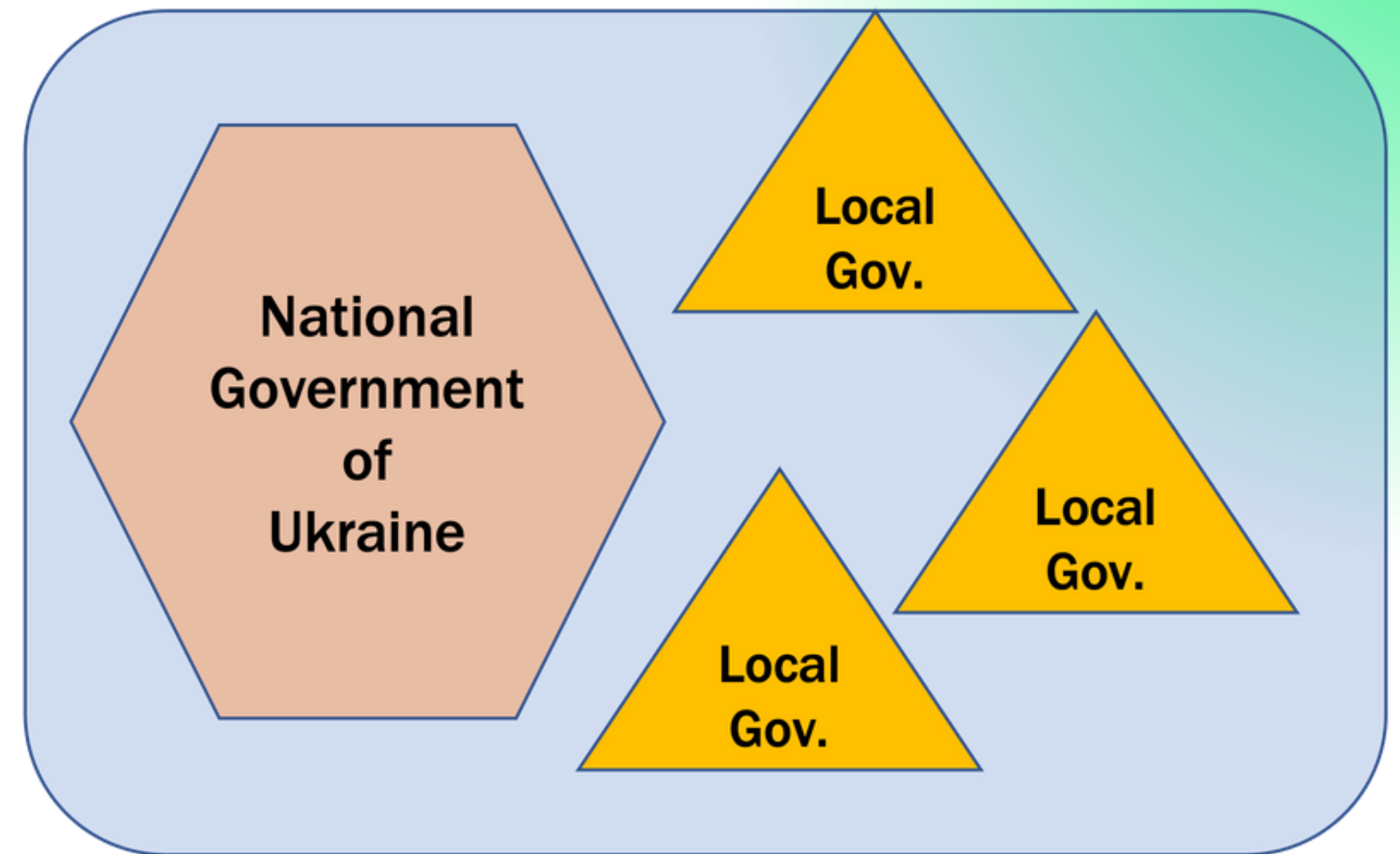
Minimizing Possible Problems -3

- Media spotlight moves on to different topics
- Conflicting interests of international actors
- Lack of capacity to utilize funding and technology
- **Priorities are uncertain**

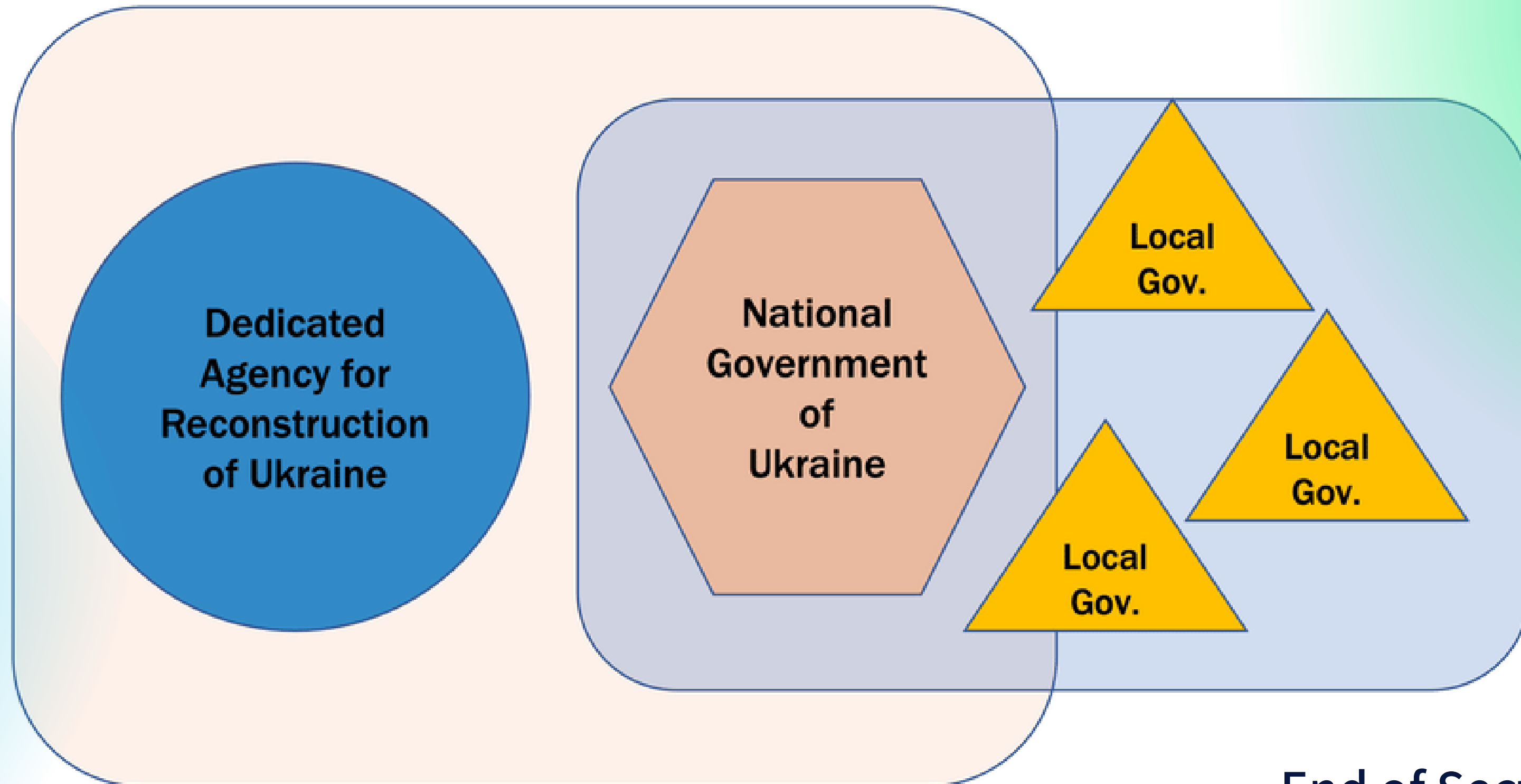


Minimizing Possible Problems -3

- **Priorities are uncertain**
 - => Local governments and people are involved in the assessment of priority
 - => Communication between national and local governments are fast and transparent



Suggested System for Reconstruction



End of Section

Economic Reconstruction for Peace-building

- The goal of economic recovery in the context of peace-building is...
 - to regain and foster stability
 - ultimately achieve **positive peace**



Framework of Economic Reconstruction

Clingendael Institute; Vries & Specker, 2009

1

**Emergency
employment
for
high-risk and
high-needs
groups**

2

**Income
generating
activities,
private sector
development
and
micro-finance
for communities**

3

**Building a
self-sustaining
economic
environment
for durable
economic
development**

Economic Reconstruction in Ukraine 1

1

**Emergency
employment
for
high-risk and
high-needs
groups**

- **Objective:** A short-term response immediately after conflict and regain the baseline stability.
- **Initiatives:**
 - Creation of short-term labor projects
 - Ex. rebuilding of destroyed infrastructure, public work etc.
 - Basic labor skills training
- **Consideration:**
 - Early action is key.

Economic Reconstruction in Ukraine 2

2

**Income
generating
activities,
private sector
development
and
micro-finance
for communities**

- **Objective:** Aid local communities to become self-reliant
- **Initiatives:**
 - Long-term labor projects
 - ex. Sustainable agriculture
 - Micro-finance
- **Consideration:**
 - Process becomes political
 - Distributional consequences

Economic Reconstruction in Ukraine 3

3

Building a self-sustaining economic environment for durable economic development

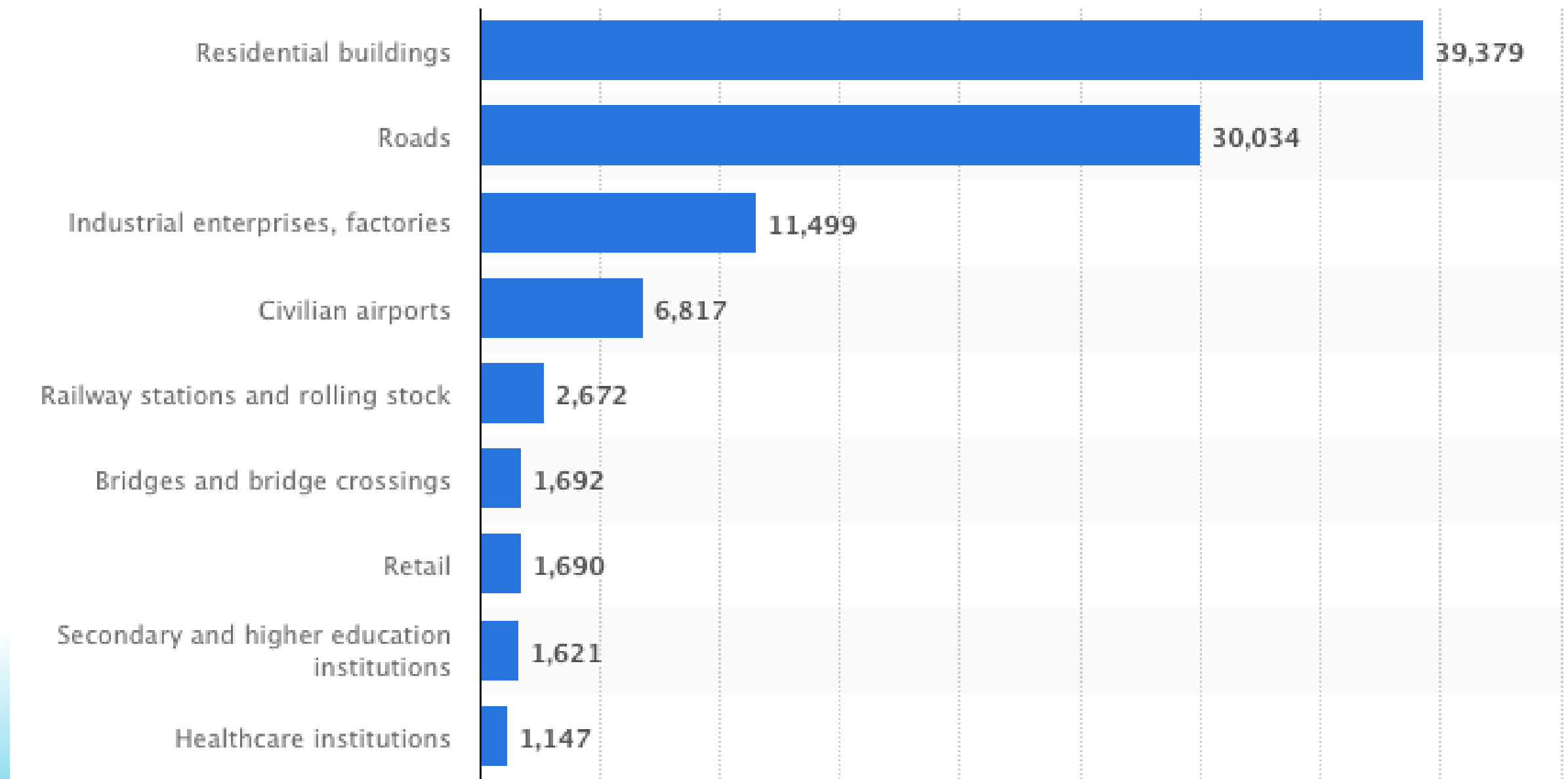
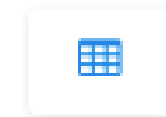
- **Objective:** To build official capacity for the state to set and control its own market economy
- **Initiatives:**
 - Basic agreement on sharing of power and resources in the domestic economy
 - Setting of national budget and macroeconomic policies
 - Strategy for sustainable growth
- **Consideration:**
 - Diversification of the market and trading partners will be critical

Rebuilding Infrastructure in Ukraine^①

Current Damage on infrastructure

- \$100~500bn damage on Ukrainian infrastructure (Reuters)
- \$29bn on housing (Kyiv School of Economics)

Estimated direct losses from damages to civilian infrastructure from the Russian invasion in Ukraine as of June 8, 2022, by type
(in million U.S. dollars)



Rebuilding Infrastructure in Ukraine^②

Rebuilding Process

- **Three stage-plan by the European think tank, The Centre for Economic Policy Research :A Blueprint for the Reconstruction of Ukraine**
 - **Stage 0 (while hostilities last): *'Minimising the damage'***
↓
 - **Reconstruction stage I (months 0-6): *'Rapid response'***
↓
 - **Reconstruction stage II (months 3-24): *'Rapid revival of the infrastructure and economy'***
↓
 - **Reconstruction stage III: *'Foundation for long-run growth'***



Retrieved from:
[CEPR Centre for Economic Policy Research.org](https://cepr.org)



Rebuilding Infrastructure in Ukraine ③

Future of Ukrainian cities

- **Energy efficiency**
- **Smart technologies and digitalization**
- **Decentralized and self-governed**
 - **Grass root approach: planning experts, officials, and local community**



Retrieved from: wearerestless.org



Retrieved from: ndtv.com



Rebuilding Infrastructure in Ukraine

-Summary-

Building Future Cities ~ Smart cities, Green cities

Rebuilding Stages ~ ex. 3 Step Plan

Current ~ \$100~500bn dollars



**Time span of recovery:
Precise number not given,
estimated to take years**



Reconstruction of the Global Economy

Economic damage in Russia

Russia might not suffer as much as we expected

- **Russia is still one of the biggest suppliers of oil and gas**
- **Not all the countries are imposing economic sanctions against Russia**
- **Russia has its own allies**
 - **Market to sell its energy**



Economic damage in Russia

The price Russia has to pay

- **Many young Russians lost their lives**
- **Less labor power in the future**
- **Long-lasting economic effects**



Economic damages outside Russia and Ukraine

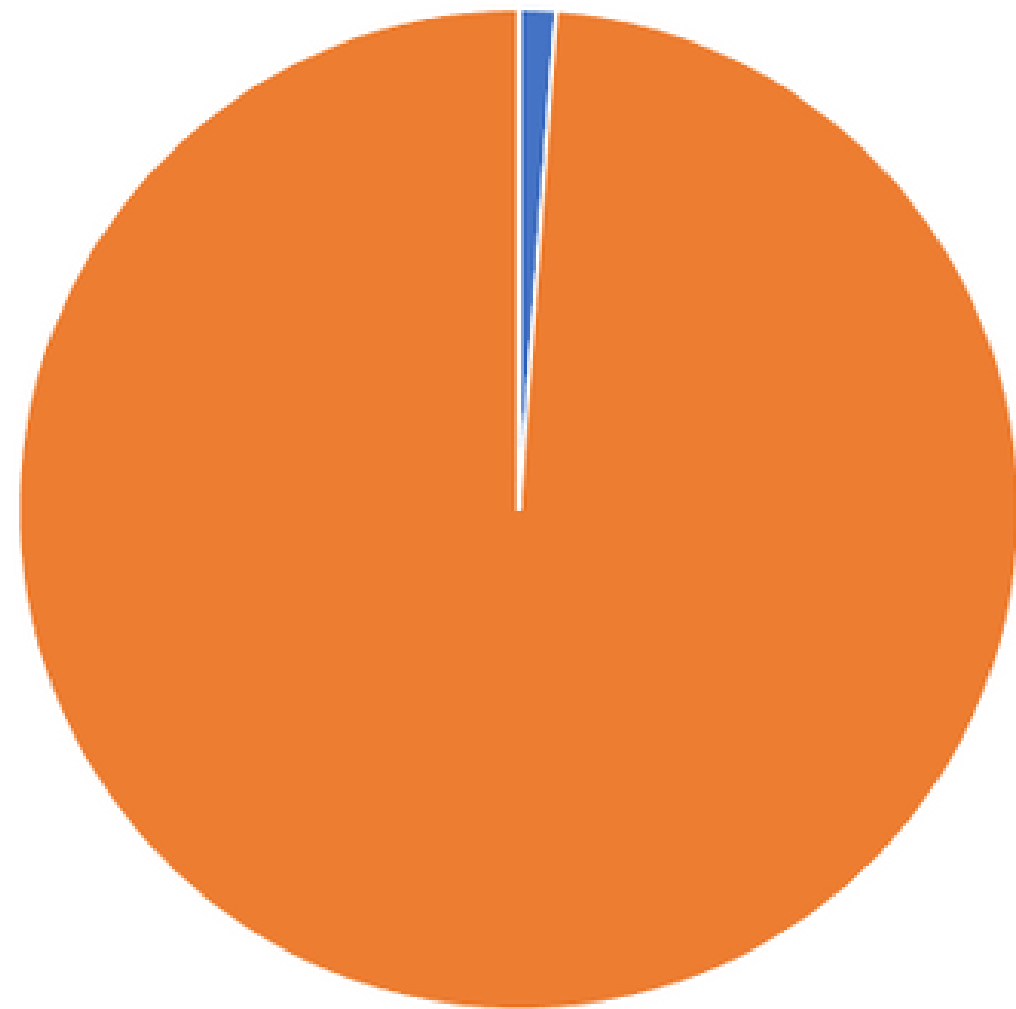
The negative effects of economic sanctions

- **Economic sanction is a double-edged sword.**
→ **Europe is very dependent on Russian energy.**
- **The negative economic impact can spread.**
- **The significance of the economic damage in a country is determined by how dependent its economy is on Russia.**



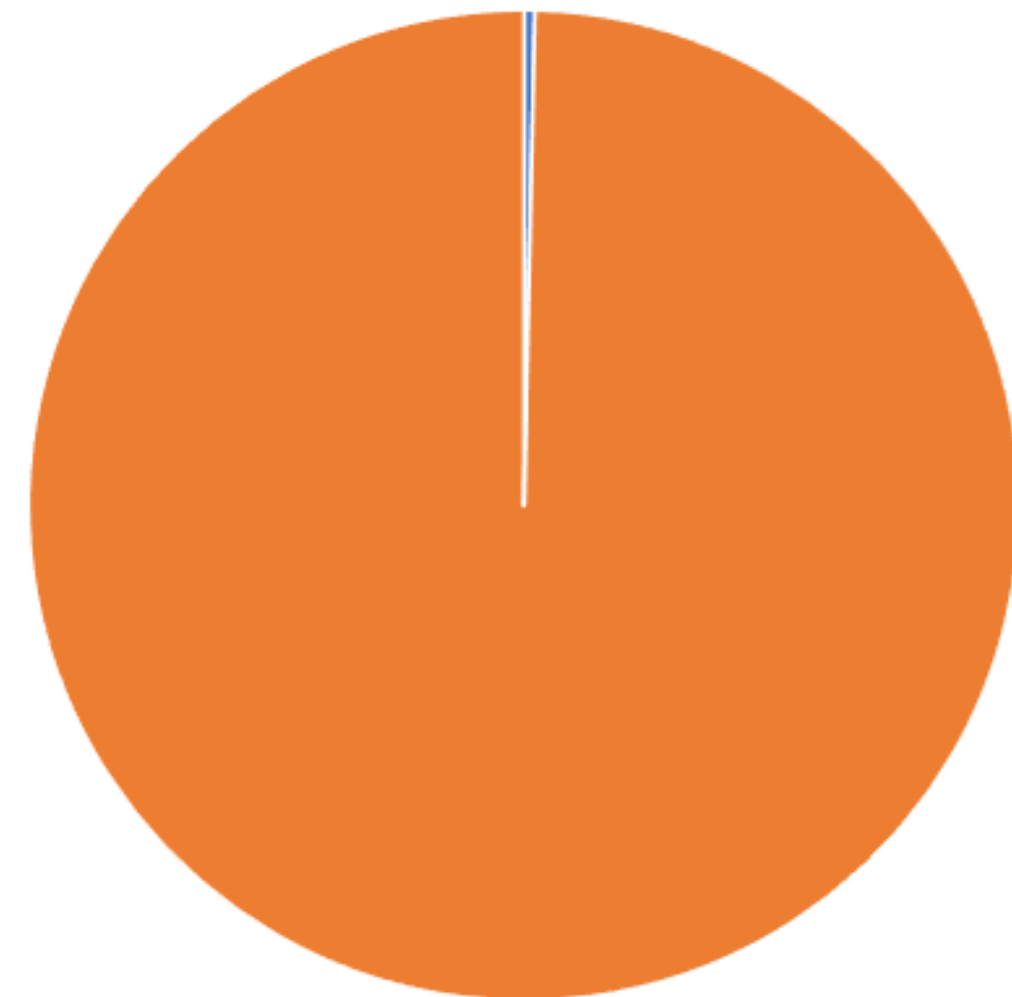
Example of a country with little economic relationship with Russia : Austria

Export volume to Russia



■ Russia ■ Others

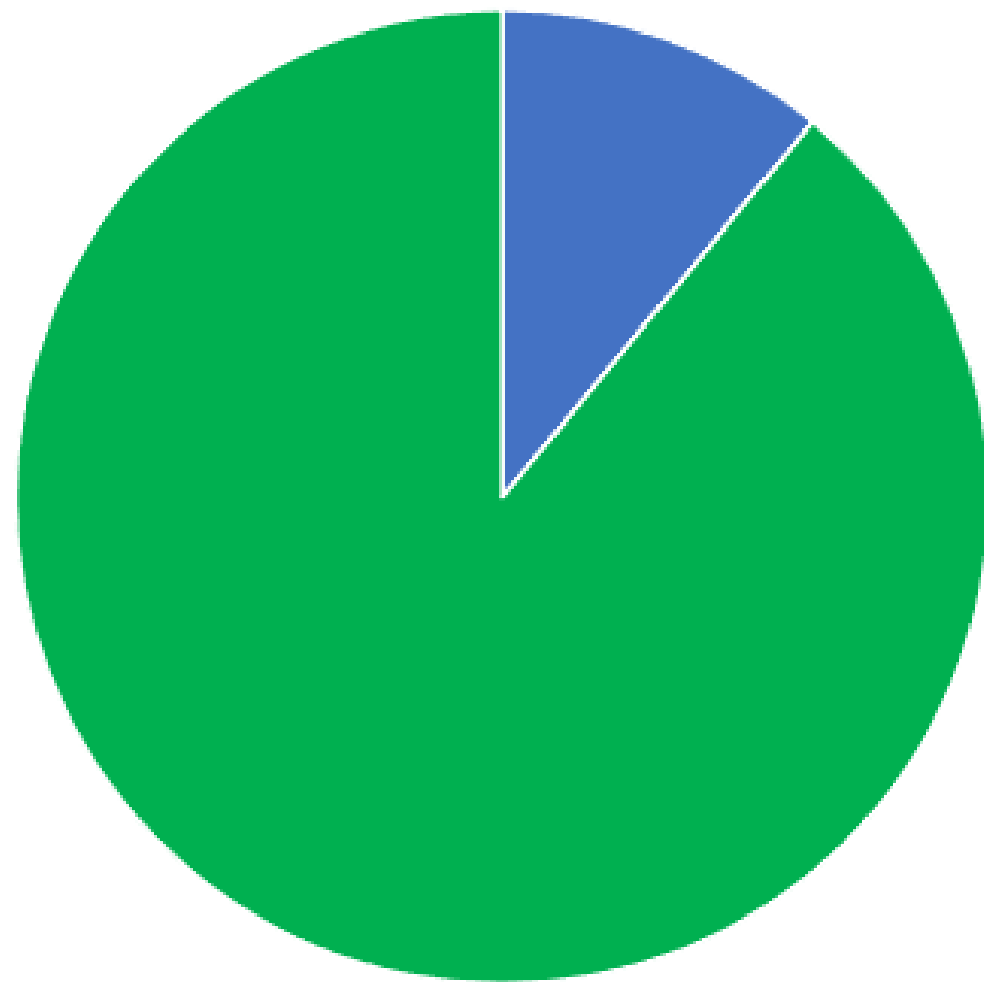
Import volume from Russia



■ Russia ■ Others

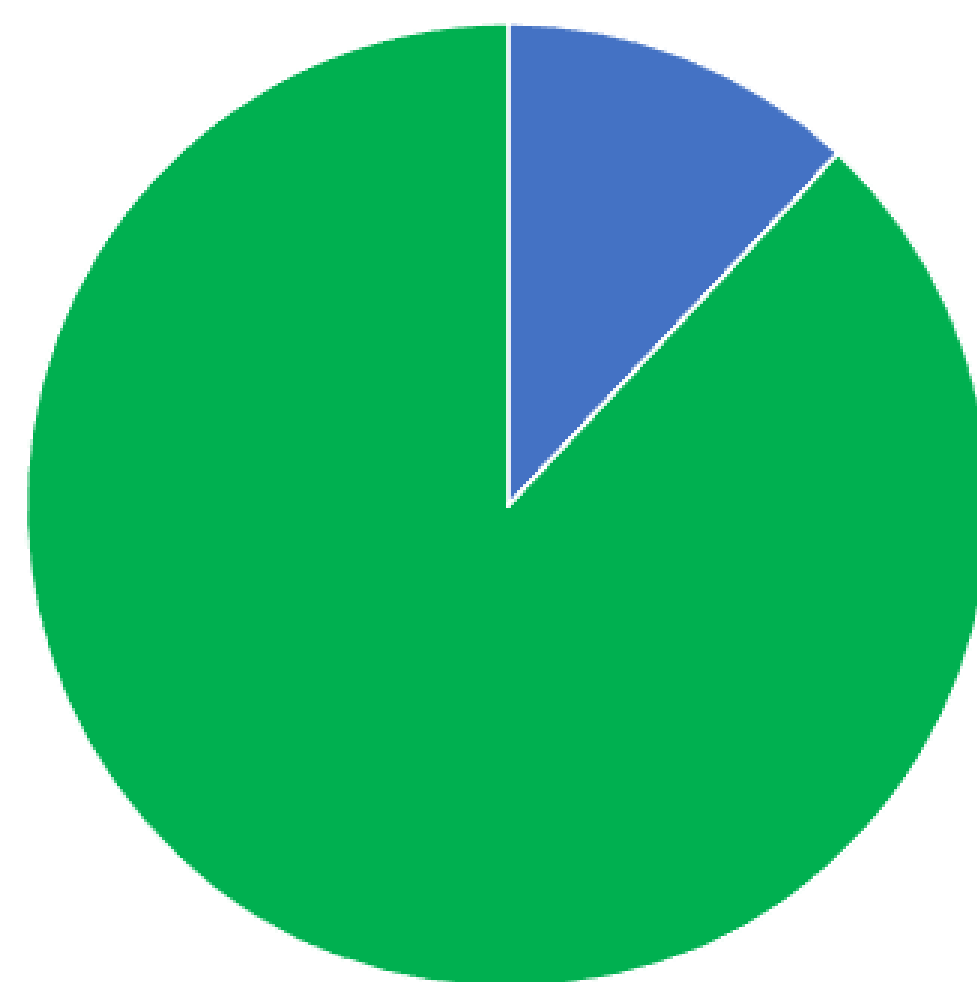
Example of a country economically dependent on Russia: Lithuania

Export volume to Russia



■ Russia ■ Others

Import volume from Russia



■ Russia ■ Others

The process of economic reconstruction

At some point, Russia and opposing countries will have to restore their relationship

- **At a certain point, they are likely to make compromises for their economy.**
- **It is better to restore the relationship and resume the healthy economic activities.**



Education for Peacebuilding

Aims for Peace Education

Definition of Peace Education:

“The process of promoting the knowledge, skills, attitudes, and values needed to bring about behavior changes that will enable children, youth, and adults to prevent conflict and violence”

by UNICEF

Critics:

- **The definition is too ambiguous, for it does not define what kind of violence and peace they are aiming to achieve. (Tinker 2016)**
- **Education aims for Positive peace often end up being ambiguous. (Porath 2003)**



<https://blogs.unicef.org/blog/tag/peace-education/>



3 Ideal Steps of Post-conflict Peacebuilding Education

Bosnia
Herzegovina
and Nepal case

1

International
organization
Intervention

2

Cooperation
with
Governmental
organization

3

Mainstreamed
to the national
education



MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE
OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION



UNITED NATIONS



unicef

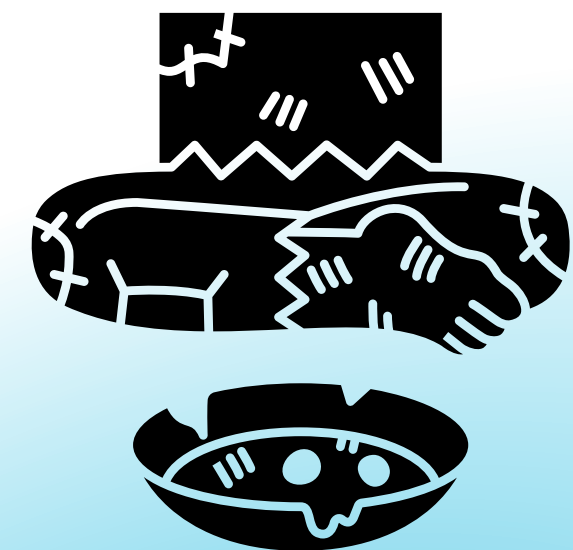
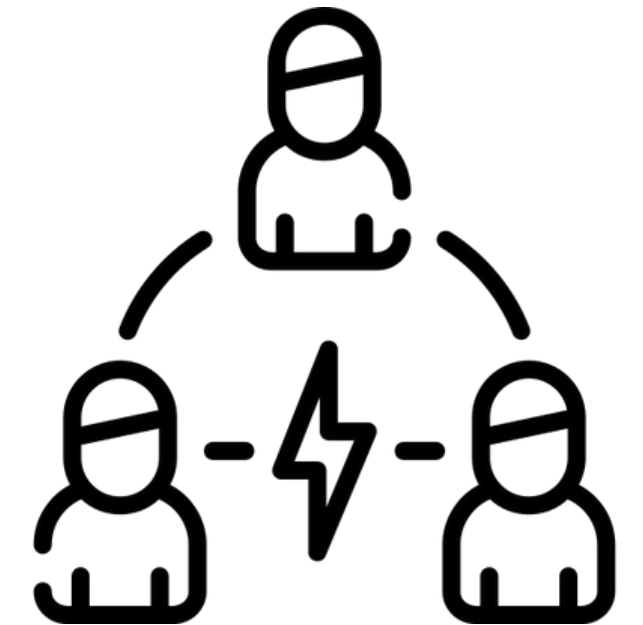
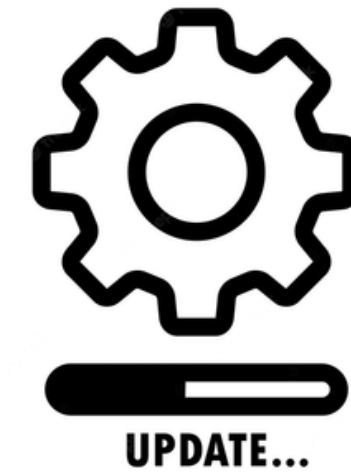


MINISTRY
OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE
OF UKRAINE

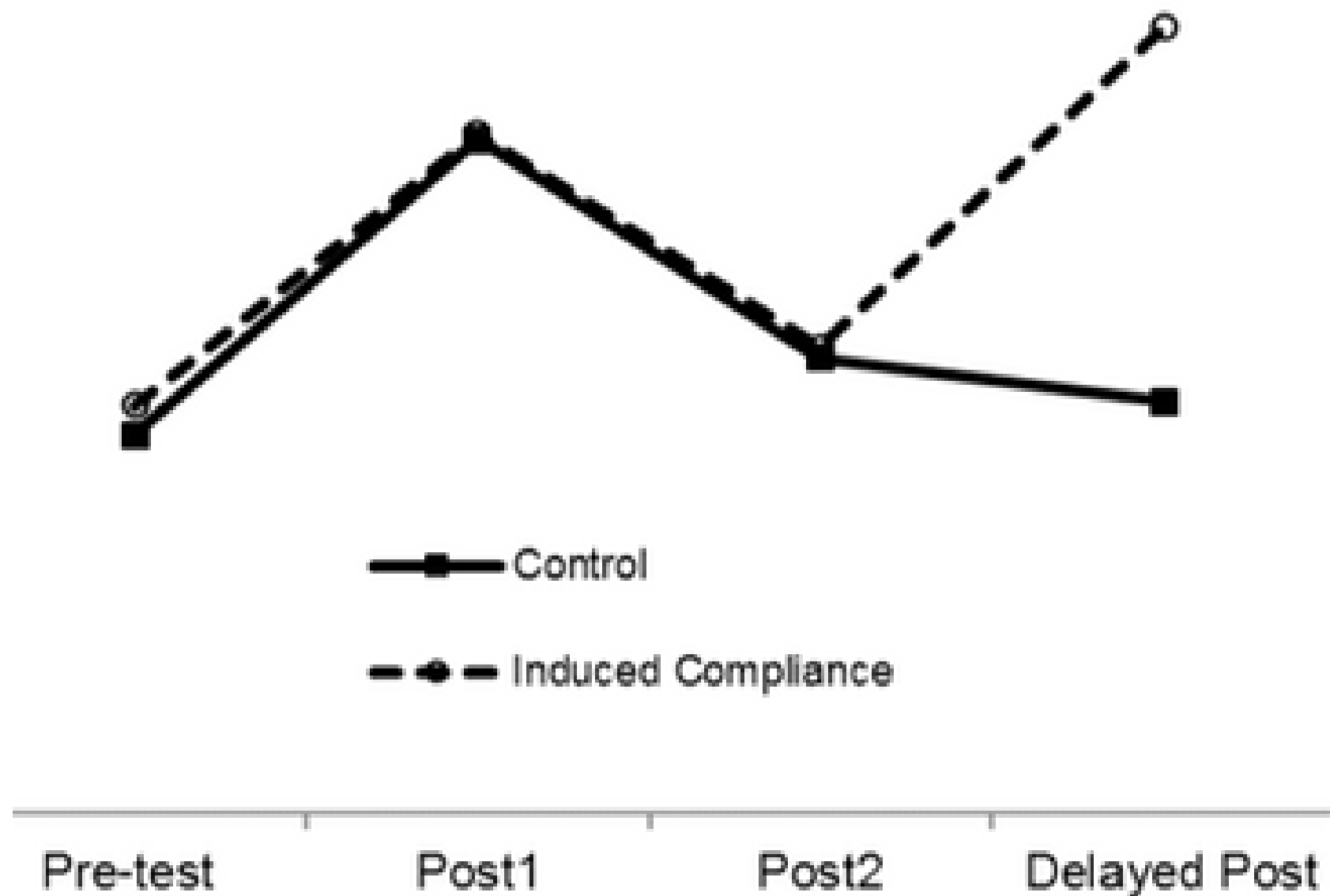


Limitations

- **The peace education evaluation system remains undeveloped**
- **Powerful third-party countries may intervene with education first before international organization**
- **Peace education for mutual understanding may be difficult, especially for economically disadvantaged people**



Three Lessons from Palestine/Israel case



No.1

**Avoid Short-term
Intervention: Eroded Effect**

No.2

Mitigate hostility by contacts

No.3

**Change Contents to Fit into
Targets**



Structure of the education

Contents	Details	Characteristics
Facilitation of studying other conflicts	Promoting learning other types of conflicts such as Palestine/Israel	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Circumvent rejection of the collective narrative of the adversary in the conflict facing one's own society.
Dialogue	Taking dialogues in Russia and Ukraine and share them each other	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• One of the most basic forms of peace education.• Effective when people talk about their interpersonal level
Arts, social activism or sports	Playing Soccer, Tennis or Judo by Russian and Ukraine	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Possible to involve children into the education• Does not have to be formal



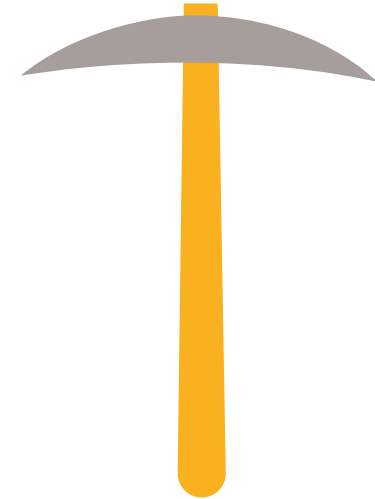
Conclusion



War Prevention

ASSURANCE

- Deterrence and compellence have failed
- Assurance from Russia
- Assurance from NATO



Reconstruction of Ukraine (infrastructure&economy)

With the right methods and processes, reconstruction can serve as an opportunity for Ukraine to become a new, self-sustained country.



Rebuilding of the Global Economy

Russia: Re-connect to global economy
Others: Resume the global economy



Education for Peace-Building

Need to be careful about the structure of the intervention

The key to pursuing and maintaining positive peace



Thank you!

Any questions?

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