

Why the Path to Peace is Often
Paved in Conflict:
A Historical Examination of the
Doukhobors of British Columbia

MA Thesis
Submitted by

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In Dedication to my brother and father. May their spirits be infused with the joy of peace that was difficult to find on earth.

Abstract

The Doukhobors, once persecuted and exiled from Russia for their religious beliefs, were welcomed to Canada in 1899, hoping to abandon their troubled past and live their peaceful ways undisturbed. Creating this environment was more difficult than planned, and paradoxically, their behaviours have actually created a great deal of conflict not only amongst themselves, but also with those from outside their communities. This paper answers the question of why the quest for peace is often full of conflicts through an examination of the history of the Doukhobors through the framework of worldview developed by the International Education for Peace Institute. This will thus provide an example of why this group (as many others in history) could not bring their peaceful ideals into practice. It will conclude with a discussion of how the Education for Peace Program (implemented for the past six years in Bosnia and Herzegovina) could facilitate the development of a peace-based worldview thus, infusing new life into this historically rich and vibrant community.

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Why the Path to Peace is Often Paved in Conflict: A Historical Examination of the Doukhobors of British Columbia

Introduction

"Toil and Peaceful Life" is the axiom that lies at the heart of Doukhobor spiritual, personal, and community values. These values have always been and continue to be taken seriously amongst the people who belong to this historically rich and vibrant community. During particular periods of their history, certain groups of Doukhobors seemed to have almost carved a path that allowed them to embody and live these ideals in their daily lives and interactions. However, as the history of the Doukhobor people demonstrates, putting this into practice was more difficult than envisioned, and paradoxically, has actually generated a great deal of conflict within the various spheres of the community itself, and most certainly has created conflicts with those from outside their self-contained community. Thus, in their quest for peace, their paths have been paved with conflicts.

Building peaceful communities which, ultimately, together will create a peaceful world are the greatest aspirations and simultaneous challenges of every generation within the history of each and every society in the world. History has demonstrated that as we aspire toward peace, somewhere along the way, we become mired in conflict and seem to stop short of the supreme goal. As of yet, humanity as a whole, has not been able to achieve a sustainable, rich and full society cohabitating in "peace". For some, even the very

definition of peace is open to debate. Given the seemingly elusive nature of peace, the question of the possibility of humanity achieving peace becomes essential.

Much research is devoted to the elements of building a culture of peace and considerable information is available about how this may be done, yet few are capable of putting these theories into sustained practice. Many people have attempted to build peace with strong philosophical convictions, but lack the provision of a strong conceptual framework. The end result is that a great deal of our knowledge of what doesn't work comes from our own direct experiences of trying to build peace. Our experience with building a strong foundation for what will result in a truly peaceful society is, however, limited. Often, many attempts at building peaceful societies fail because we fall short of envisioning and developing all the dimensions of what constitutes a peaceful society, beyond the basics; identified as knowledge, attitudes, and behaviour. There is one important element that is missing or often underdeveloped when working on peacebuilding: the contextual framework upon which the foundations of knowledge, attitudes, and behaviour are embedded. This contextual framework will be further elaborated upon throughout this paper.

A cursory glance through the written history of the Doukhobor people demonstrates that although in many ways they, indeed, have tried to live up to the noble maxim of "toil and peaceful life", in fact their troubled history—full of conflicts and turmoil—indicates that the peaceful portion of this motto has unfortunately been lost for some

and put aside by others. Divisions within the community over who will function as spiritual leader; how the various Doukhobor groups should live amongst themselves within their communities; what beliefs should be put into practice and how that should happen; how land and resources should be divided and/or shared; as well as how the community members should present themselves to outsiders and interact with outsiders (including the Orthodox church in Russia, the government of Russia, the government of Canada, and even with their Canadian neighbors) have all been sources of contention, debate, and even fractionalization.

This paper will address the question of whether or not it is possible to build a real, sustainable peace for the Doukhobors in Canada based on a thorough analysis of their history in comparison with—and in light of—the conceptual framework used by a contemporary program in Bosnia and Herzegovina called Education for Peace (EFP). The framework will then be applied to analyze Doukhobour history within the parameters of the following two-part hypothesis:

1. Sustainable peace has not been achieved by the Doukhobor people because they have failed to pursue their quest for peace within the parameters of a unity-based worldview;

2. The unity-based worldview is in harmony with existing Doukhobor ideologies and can be easily integrated into the current philosophies and practices of the Doukhobors through the application Education for Peace (EFP) principles and practices.

Chapter 1: What is Peace?

For many, the struggle for peace has existed at the most minute level—that of the definition and essence of what peace is exactly. Some describe peace in the “negative” sense as an absence of violence and hostility, while others incorporate what is termed as a “positive” definition of peace which also elaborates on the vision of what constitutes a peaceful society. Peace, as described by Galtung, is an example of a “negative” definition of peace as it is “the absence of violence of all kinds, direct (physical, and also verbal), structural, cultural; directed at the body, mind or spirit of some other Being, human or not”¹.

“Peacefulness” as defined by Bonta is an example that incorporates a “positive” definition of peace: “is a condition of human society characterized by a relatively high degree of interpersonal harmony; little if any physical violence among adults, between children and adults, and between the sexes; workable strategies for resolving conflicts and averting violence; a commitment to avoiding violence (such as warfare) with other people; and strategies for raising children to adopt and continue these non-violent ways.”²

The definition of a ‘peaceful life’ as considered amongst Doukhobors is also not so easily defined. As the times have changed, Doukhobor culture and consciousness has also shifted accordingly. Doukhobors have typically defined a peaceful life in the sense of negative peace as an absence of war and/or direct forms of violence. Tarasoff states

"over and above these links they [Doukhobours] have consistently spoken for the total abolition of militarism-the institution of mass murder."³ Others often refer to the Doukhobors as "Pacifists"⁴. Pacifism, as defined by the Merriam Webster Dictionary is the "opposition to war or violence as a means of settling disputes".⁵ This is also evidenced in the Psalm that has been attributed to Pobirokhin in 1775.

12. Why are you a people of a wandering, pilgrim nature?

-We class ourselves as a people of a wandering, pilgrim nature because we are always moving from a symbolic land of Egypt, or land of oppression, - from a state of confusion, - towards attainment of the promised land, a land of enlightenment and truth, or that is, a state of contentment and peaceful living.

36. What kind of works do you refrain from doing?

-We refrain from anger and violence; from the judgement of others and the taking of oaths, and from taking part in the terrible acts of war.

However, there is also evidence of the belief of a "Universal Brotherhood" which has united the people through their psalms and hymns. Simple Christian edicts such as helping one's neighbour, use of truth, and behaviour that would be conducive to working with and for others is also evidenced,⁶ implying that there is another definition of peace, in the positive sense, that has also been determined as a goal. Yet, this aspect of their peaceful lives has typically not been referenced as often in relation to others from outside the community as it is with respect to others who they feel share similar beliefs. As well, historically, it is also not alluded to as much within the wider public as is their pacifist beliefs. This implies that the "negative" definition of peace has been more at

the forefront of their beliefs and, to a certain extent, their actions.

Today, the definitions of peace have altered to fit with the acculturated Doukhobors in British Columbia, their conflicted history, and an increasingly a global world. As Eli Popoff describes recent activities of the Union of Spiritual Communities of Christ (USCC) Doukhobors by John J. Verigin Jr. which demonstrates the changing nature of peace as defined by Doukhobors⁷.

The majority of those who still call themselves Doukhobors today favour integration into the general flow of the society around them, giving up what must needs be given up and retaining only those values that can be retained without going completely contrary to society's status quo.

John J. Verisgin Sr, Anna Markova's son, who has served as USCC Honorary Chairman for more than sixty years, has now passed on many of his duties to his son, John J. Verigin Jr., who, as USCC Executive Director, is working to broaden contacts with organizations and groups promoting disarmament, multiculturalism and respect for the diversity and integrity of Creation. Recognising that today's Doukhobors live in a global village, USCC members, through their working groups on peace, justice, environment and development (established in 1989), are continuing their non-violent struggle for peace and freedom and their attainment of human rights and social and economic justice for all. They also organise campaigns to provide assistance to those in need or suffering from human or natural disasters, and educate people on the importance of respecting the environment and equitably sharing the earth's limited resources. All these efforts are dedicated to sustaining and further developing fundamental Doukhorbor values and principles in today's rapidly changing environment."

The key to understanding this passage is the first part of the statement "The majority of those who still call themselves Doukhobors today". This statement refers to the group of Doukhobors today who are members of the USCC, or have also called "Community Doukhobors". For a number of reasons, which will be explored later in this paper, the number of "Community Doukhobors" has declined, with many choosing to either become "Independents", "Sons of Freedom", or who have simply given up on the Doukhobor beliefs and culture and have completely acculturated into Canadian society in their recent history. In earlier times, many Doukhobors separated along with different leaders who have competed with others for leadership roles over the community. One element that is fundamentally important to remember with this group of people is that they have never actually been a unified and united group. "Doukhobors were never a wholly unified, monolithic sect. They arose in villages scattered across southern Russia, and the unity imposed by travelling leaders and teachers was doctrinal but could not be geographic."⁸ More about the divisions will be discussed later.

Consequently, although at times the group has been described as 'unified' and/or believing in 'unity', the definitions of this form of unity were limited in scope and activity. For example, Woodcock and Avakumovic describe the unity for the group that was fashioned out of creating exclusivity from outsiders⁹.

The very possession of scriptures not preserved in writing, and therefore not easily accessible to non-members of the sect, enhanced the Doukhobor feeling of being a special people, isolated by their beliefs and their experiences from the rest of

Christiandom. The oblique symbolism of the psalms, as well as the styles of singing, were designed to render their meanings more obscure to outsiders...

In isolating them from other Christians, the Living Book, and the traditions and beliefs it recorded, gave the Doukhobors a sense of intimate unity; that unity has been personified in their leaders. To outsiders, the phenomenon of leadership among the Doukhobors has always been puzzling.

Lidia Gromova, from the Russian Academy of Sciences in Moscow, takes the notion of unity amongst the Doukhobors one step further in her paper entitled "The Idea of 'Universal Brotherhood' and unity: Lev Tolstoy and Petr Verigin". Gromova describes how this idea with regard to the development of Doukhobor beliefs was developed through correspondence between Petr Verigin and Lev Tolstoy beginning in 1895. Through their communication, the idea of 'unity of people' was discussed as through books or writing on the part of Tolstoy and live communication, spoken word, and personal example as expressed by Verigin. Tolstoy is credited with the idea of "unity, spiritual unity - as the only way to attain 'universal brotherhood'."¹⁰ In correspondence to Verigin, Tolstoy wrote, "To do God's will, to establish His kingdom on earth, people must be united among themselves, so that all may be one, as Christ recognized himself as one with the Father."¹¹ Further in the same article, Gromova states "The unity of all people in goodness and love, living by the rules of conscience rather than by the decrees of state and church - these ideas are repeated over and over again by Verigin in letter after letter, always with a sympathetic response from Tolstoy."¹² However, it is also implied, that it is not worth uniting with those who do not share the belief of "living by the rules of conscience" or uniting together those with similar

beliefs against those who live by the degrees of state and church.

The notion of unity and unifying beliefs—universal and all-inclusive— is an important concept. However, as we look to a more holistic definition of unity as described below, we will see that the definition of unity with regard to Doukhobor beliefs has been limited; and it is the fundamental element that plays a central role to the nature of development of peace and in particular the development of a peaceful Doukhobor society.

Chapter 2: The Concept of Unity and its Relation to the Definition of Peace

The concept of unity, presented in the Education for Peace (EFP)¹ Curriculum as the main prerequisite for peace and peacebuilding, defines unity as "the purposeful integration of two or more unique entities in a state of harmony and cooperation, resulting in the creation of a new, evolving entity, usually of a higher nature."¹³ Inherent in this definition is the notion of diversity as an essential element in the creation and maintenance of unity.

The concept of unity forms the basis of a Unity-based worldview that helps to engender the peacebuilding processes. Through understanding the nature of unity, the approach to conflict is taken to a new level of understanding. As well, by beginning with unity, we immediately begin to move outside of our own conflict-based worldviews which are prevalent in all cultures and societies, thus enabling us to transform the culture of violence and conflict that we reside within and engender the qualities needed to develop a culture that is based on unity and peace.¹⁴

The Education for Peace program, has a number of core principles of peace at the centre of its programs, three of which are most important within this context: 1) there is

¹ The conceptual framework that is used by the Education for Peace program in BiH is the outcome of six years of on-the-ground, field experience plus 30 years of research within the fields of peace-building, conflict resolution and peace education. The curriculum that is the outcome of this process and is being used in 112 schools in BiH is currently under publication for worldwide distribution. See Appendix II for more information.

one human race; 2) the oneness of humanity is expressed in diversity; 3) and the singular challenge before humanity is to maintain its oneness and strengthen its diversity without resort to violence.¹⁵ Furthermore, Danesh contends "that peace is a psychosocial and political, as well as a moral and spiritual condition, requiring a conscious effort, a universal outlook, and an integrated and unifying approach" (Danesh, 2004, p. 6).

Developing a Culture of Peace

In creating a culture of peace, many peace education programs focus on one or a combination of the areas defined by UNESCO's Culture of Peace declaration.¹⁶

With this declaration came a flood of peace education programs, designed to embody the attributes of a peaceful society as outlined in this important declaration. UNESCO has based their Cyberschoolbus Program¹⁷ on peace research, theories about peace, peace education and peace pedagogy from some of the most pragmatic and influential thinkers in their respected fields and encourage people to utilize the accompanying theories and pedagogy that will encourage a culture of peace. As a result, many peace education programs are based on the one or a combination of the tripartite foundations of attitudes, skills and knowledge as outlined by UNESCO.¹⁸ See Appendix I for more information about the UNESCO declaration and the attitudes, skills and knowledge they have identified as elemental to building a culture of peace.

Each of these aspects are important and necessary in the development of an effective peace education curriculum. Yet, few peace education programs have been able to comprehensively cover every aspect in each of the areas as outlined by UNESCO. Therefore, many programs focus in one focal area or a combination of some of the elements in the areas of skills, attitudes, or behaviours.

Keeping in mind the peace education schema presented by UNESCO and others, as well as the content of the current peace education programs¹⁹, two elements seem to either be missing or inadequately addressed:

1. a clear, concise peace-based conceptual framework for organizing the new attitudes, knowledge and skills; and,
2. a way of healing from the damages of conflict, war and violence so that the participants can actively and constructively build a culture of peace.

The first element is what Danesh and Danesh²⁰ refer to as *Worldview* in relation to peacebuilding and conflict resolution. The second element is what Danesh refers to as a *Culture of Healing*²¹. Each of these elements combined with a comprehensive peace education program form a more complete and effective program than many of those that have been traditionally used in contemporary society.

Chapter 3: The Education for Peace Program's Conceptual Framework for Peace Education and Peacebuilding Programs

Worldviews and their relationships to conflicts, unity and peacebuilding

Everyone has a worldview. However this concept is rarely applied to the field of peacebuilding and conflict resolution. Danesh and Danesh (2000a) discuss the relevance of worldviews to conflict resolution in the following way:

A worldview refers to the predominant lens through which we construct, interpret, and interact with all aspects of our reality. Worldviews are reflexive. They are shaped by our experience of reality, and at the same time they reshape and act upon that reality. Worldviews are dynamic. They are typically the subjective comprehensions of exposure to a wide variety of external explanations and understandings of the world. These external arguments about the nature of the world come from myriad forces, including parents, culture, and religion.²²

The Education for Peace program as developed by Dr. H.B. (Hossain) Danesh, considers the concept of worldview as encompassing four main components: our view of reality, our understanding of human nature, our perspective on the purpose of life, and our approach to all human relationships²³.

Danesh describes how worldviews evolve, individually within a collective phenomena:

Worldviews evolve in direct response to the development of human consciousness, which in turn is shaped by the aggregate of life experiences. As such, our worldviews are shaped by our individual life

stories in the context of our collective cultural histories. Because all individuals and societies are subject to the universal laws of life—unity, growth, and creativity—we are able to find fundamental similarities and patterns in worldviews that cut across cultural, linguistic, religious, and ideological boundaries.²⁴

Based on these similarities and patterns, Danesh and Danesh have identified three worldviews that are evident universally and can be applied on both at individual and collective level: Survival-based, Identity-based, and Unity-based worldviews.²⁵ Each will be discussed in turn, then later in the paper, applied to the Doukhobor historical context.

The Survival-Based Worldview

This worldview is prevalent when there are perceived dangers or threat as well as under situations of extreme power imbalance. Thus, the world is perceived to be a dangerous place. Situations in history where the survival-based worldview has been prevalent on a collective level include conditions of famine, earthquakes, and other such natural disasters which occur in all societies, and are particularly devastating in agrarian and pre-industrial societies. Developmentally, on an individual level, this worldview corresponds with the infancy/childhood stage of human individual development. However, under conditions of physical threat, injustice, poverty, war, or anarchy, the survival-based worldview is predominant in any society or individual.

Under these conditions, where individuals or collective groups feel insecure and threatened, one way that human beings attempt to deal with the real or perceived threats is to seek power in order to gain a sense of security. The use of might and force is exploited to gain the control over others. This provides an illusion of the possession of power through the domination of others. The opposite side of this means that although others may follow the ones who dominate out of fear, they do so in order to gain a sense of security or protection (safety in numbers). Human relationships are often characterized by authoritarian modes of operation and on a collective level, an authoritarian government might be characterized as utilizing dictatorial practices. The ones who submit to an authoritarian government must practice blind obedience, conformity, and passive resignation in order to create the illusion of peace. This "peace" lasts as long as the government is able to maintain power and control over the majority. However, minorities, women, children, the powerless, and/or foreigners are often systematically placed in situations of neglect, abuse, and disadvantage. All of the energy and resources of the society are used toward meeting their basic needs when an authoritarian mode of leadership is employed.

Identity-based Worldview

An identity-based worldview follows the Survival phase and is akin to the adolescent phase of human individual development as it is this period of development that there is a heightened focus on individuals for creating, developing, and expressing their identities. It is not

unusual to witness adolescents testing the limits of their new found selfhoods through competition and rivalry as well as with an openness and development of new ideas and capacities.

Collectively, this period is characterized by the democratization of governments in an adversarial and competition-based version of democracy as well as by advancements in the areas of science and technology. This stage is conducive to the development of highly competitive relationships at both the individual and group levels, where individuals and groups vie for positions of power in relation to others.

Both of these worldviews are conducive to conflict as struggles for power and identity are at the forefront of the way individuals and groups relate to each other.

Unity-Based Worldview

Peace is the ultimate expression of a unity-based worldview. This worldview has a framework based upon an understanding of human nature that puts central importance on three fundamental principles: humanity's capacity to recognize the oneness of the human race, to understand the fundamental reality of unity-in-diversity, and within these parameters to actively and ably create peace. A unity-based worldview incorporates all of the elements that UNESCO has outlined as contributing to a culture of peace, all organized within a consultative and cooperative power structure that ensures the legitimate use of power in ways that are creative and assist with the development of caring

and unified interpersonal and intergroup relationships. Within a unity-based worldview, certain key principles may be derived that become the framework for our relationships and modes of organization. As stated before, these include the recognition that:

- **The world is one**
- **Humanity is one**
- **Humanity's oneness is expressed through infinite diversity**(of talents, thoughts, tastes, physical characteristics, and life experiences)
- **The central challenge of life is to create unity in the context of diversity**
- **To successfully meet this challenge, we need to learn how to resolve conflicts in a peaceful and just manner** (i.e. without resorting to violence)²⁶

The unity-based worldview is akin to the human developmental phase of adulthood or maturity. A unity-based worldview postulates that the greatest challenge facing humanity is to create and develop unity while safeguarding and maintaining its diversity in the context of justice, equality, and freedom. Few have been able to successfully meet this challenge.

In the unity-based worldview:

- Institutions aim to achieve justice through participatory, consultative processes;
- Individuals and groups seek opportunities for growth and development;

- Human relationships are based on truthfulness, equality and service;
- The essential oneness and wholeness of the human race is recognized, and all forms of prejudice and segregation are rejected;
- Women and men participate equally in the administration of human affairs; and,
- Human development and prosperity are achieved through application of universal ethical principles and processes of consultative decision-making and governance.²⁷

The characteristics of the three worldviews can be summarized in the following table:

	Survival-Based Worldview	Identity-Based Worldview	Unity-Based Worldview
Perception	World is Dangerous	World is a Jungle	World is One
Operating Principle	Might is Right	Survival of the Fittest	Unity in Diversity
Mode of Relationships	Dichotomous	Individualistic	Just and Truthful
Ultimate Purpose	To Survive and Control	To Win	To Create Unity and Peace
Mode of Decision-Making	Authoritarian / Absolutist	Libertarian / Relativistic	Consultative / Integrative

Table: Worldview Types and Characteristics²⁸

It is essential to mention that as with any developmental model of human development, we can often point to instances of characteristics from each of the phases sometimes inter-

mingled within the different phases. This is especially true during periods of transition. As well, it can also be noted that as with human development, there are times that individuals and/or groups may revert to previous phases. However, it is important to notice the overall trends that are prevalent. As such, one trend in particular can be noted: in general, the collectiveness of humanity has slowly been moving through the different developmental phases: from Survival, to Identity and now we are beginning to see instances of a Unity-based worldview developing.

An analysis of Doukhobor history through the lens of worldview will provide some insight into why their quest for peace has not been realized as well as why certain behaviours and attitudes are present within the Doukhobor communities today. As will be demonstrated, Survival-based and Identity-based worldviews have been at the core of Doukhobor interpersonal, intercultural, and international relations until present. However, the attainment of a Unity-based worldview is a possibility for the Doukhobors, as the Unity-based worldview incorporates all of the positive aspects of Survival-based and Identity-based worldviews, while framing everything within a culture of peace. This will drastically alter the current course of history.

Chapter 4: The Doukhobors: A Failure to Establish a Unity-Based Worldview

The Doukhobor people refer to themselves as pacifists and in some periods of history, elements of peacefulness have been evident. However, they have a troubled history that extends from their beginnings and extends to their exile from Russia and establishment in Canada. Presently in Canada, Doukhobors have managed to maintain a semblance of peace between themselves, their neighbours, and the Canadian Government. They have not, however, managed to create a real civilization of peace in which, as the Education for Peace curriculum suggests "a civilization of peace is at once a political, social, ethical, and spiritual state."²⁹ As will be discussed in the following sections of the paper, in essence, the Doukhobor people have not been able to live up to their peaceful beliefs as they have failed to establish a Unity-based worldview. However, it is important to note that even though the inability to establish peace might be labeled as a failure, it does not mean that it is impossible to achieve or that the Doukhobor community as a whole is a failure. This is certainly not the case. The Doukhobor community in Canada is an important, vibrant, and rich community. The paper will conclude with a discussion of the steps necessary to be undertaken in order to achieve their dream of living a peaceful life, authentically within their belief systems.

Who are the Doukhobor People?

The Doukhobor people have followed a tradition of an oral history. Much of the teachings have been passed through the generations orally through stories and songs in the Russian language. As Woodcock and Avakumovic state:

And the psalms and hymns that are set to it [vocal instruments] are the authentic expression of the Doukhobor people, of their beliefs and history, recorded mainly by anonymous folk bards and welded into tradition by the very method of oral transmission that rendered written religious literature unnecessary to a peasant people living in a rural society where literacy was rare. The corpus of psalms and hymns was called 'The Living Book', since it was constantly growing and changing according to the experiences of the sect, in contrast to the Bible, which represented, in Doukhobor eyes, the frozen wisdom of a past age.³⁰

However, recently, there have been many concerted efforts to not only record the histories, the religious songs, beliefs, and the philosophies, but to also translate as much as possible into English to encourage understanding from outside the group as well as reach a younger Doukhobor audience that no longer speaks or understand Russian in Canada.

Although the Doukhobor people and philosophy began prior to 1785, it was at this time that the Archbishop of the Russian Orthodox Church, Ambrosius gave the label of "Doukhobortsi" to the Christian-based group of people who refused to worship the icons and images used in the Orthodox Church³¹. Doukhobortsi, literally means, "spirit-wrestler" and initially was meant to be derogatory, considering the group as heretics, implying that this group

of people wrestled against the spirit of Christ. The Doukhobors, in turn, embraced the description and transformed it to mean one who wrestles with the spirit of Christ.³² They took the name because "In truth we are 'Doukhobortsi', because we wrestle not only against ikon-worship [sic], but we struggle against all other evils inherent in churches, in society and in man himself, but we allow ourselves to use only spirit-force in our struggles, and refrain from any form of violence."³³

This is a central tenet that reverberates throughout other Doukhor beliefs. As Woodcock and Avakumovic state,

Such a belief implied, as it implies today, the complete rejection of the idea of a mediatory priesthood, and, in this and other respects, the Doukhobors stand on the extreme left of the theological spectrum. From the traditional churches they differ in having no liturgy and no ikons [sic], no fasts and no festivals, no churches and no priests. They acknowledge no sacraments, and in denying the importance of baptism they are more radical than the Anabaptists. They believe heaven and hell to be states of the mind, marriages as free unions between individuals, not contracts bound by laws of church and state. Finally, they are marked among modern Christians from all but a few similarly exclusive millenarian sects by their rejection of the Bible as the ultimate source of inspiration. The only visible symbols of their faith are the loaf of bread, the cellar of salt, and the jug of water that stand on the table in the middle of their meeting-houses, symbolizing the basic elements of existence.³⁴

This also extends to the beliefs in pacifism, because if the essence of Christ is within every living human being, then it would be wrong to harm or kill another whom also implicitly houses the essence of Christ.

From their early beginnings in the southern and remote regions of Russia, the Doukhobor people have attempted to live their strong pacifist and religious beliefs in daily practice that was founded amid much controversy and conflict.

Chapter 6: Historical Philosophical and Religious Foundations of Doukhobors

The philosophical foundations upon which Doukhobors place their faith and which form the basis of their daily lives and interactions have particular significance to their history as well as the development of their worldviews. These beliefs form the basis of their pacifist and peaceful views, have caused controversy and misunderstandings, and are also at the root of many of the conflicts. As Mealing states, "the Doukhobors are what they are today because of their religion. Though many have abandoned or adapted their belief, it nevertheless shaped and continues to shape their history. This belief is transmitted chiefly through a large body of unique songs, sung in a unique style, and generally distinguished by Doukhobors into two classes, Hymns and Psalms."³⁵

A clear understanding of the religious and philosophical foundations of this group of people is necessary in order to understand what has taken place historically, as well as to determine how another philosophy can not only complement the beliefs, but also enhance the aspects that are devoted to living a peaceful life. However, it should also be noted, that although these hymns and psalms form a strong foundation for Doukhobor beliefs, much has happened through the course of history, and as mentioned earlier, Doukhobors of today, have also acculturated some more global beliefs that come with integration (and assimilation) into the Canadian environment. Yet, as many people who have any familiarity with the Doukhobors understand, it is undeniable that these hymns, psalms, and general Doukhobor

teachings still have relevance to the general make-up of Doukhobors today, even if not at a strictly conscious level.

The "Book of Life" constitutes the living memory of the Doukhobor people. It is based on oral tradition and is founded on the idea that truth is not found in books, especially the Bible, and is learned through songs and hymns.³⁶ Much can be learned from the translated hymns and psalms, although they do not constitute all of the beliefs. Many ideas have been transmitted through deliberate indoctrination, speeches, and stories. Often, charismatic leaders have espoused ideas and values that have been adopted, then later whether passed down through stories, or adopted into psalms, they have become integrated into the Book of Life.

For example, Eli A. Popoff describes a story about Daniel Filipovitch, an educated man who not only followed the Bible, but also taught from the Bible. In 1645, he rejected the teachings and the Bible and threw the Bible, along with all of his written documents into the Volga River and began teaching a new set of teachings to his followers. Although this link to Filipovitch is evident, it is considered to be one of the broad, earlier influences from which the Doukhobors have derived some of their, as Popoff puts it, "root stock".³⁷ The following Doukhobor Psalm that refers to Filipovitch reflects this earlier influence.

In His Youth He Walked Much

He was walking, and he walked past, this youthful,
young person-

As he walked, the tears streamed down his face,
And, ever so deeply, he sighed.
But, to meet him came Jesus Christ Himself-
"What are you weeping about, my young man?"-
"And how can I not weep?
For I have lost my golden book,
And the church keys I have dropped into the waters..."
"Do not weep, do not weep, my young man.
The golden book I shall have rewritten,
The waters I shall cause to be evaporated,
The church keys I shall obtain again, and unto a firm
true path I shall set you."³⁸

Ilarion Pobirohin, from the village of Goreloye, province of Tambov, led the Doukhobour people from 1775-1800. He was considered by some to be very dominant and almost militant in his leadership style. The Psalms "Be Devout" and "What Manner of Person Art Thou?" are attributed to him. "Be Devout" describes in detail, how a Doukhobor person should behave. Some of these basic tenants still ring true today.

Although the following Psalm, "Be Devout" is rather lengthy, it does serve to understand the fundamental basics for active living within and without the community.

Be Devout

Be Devout, trust in God. Love Him with all your heart. Be zealous towards His holy church. All His commandments sacredly revere and observe. Follow the path of virtue; shun all vice. Be prudent. Having in mind the end, always maintain the right perception of your means. Do not idly let go by an occasion for worthy deeds. Do not embark on any venture without careful deliberations, and in your reasoning, do not hurry. Be not tardy, except only under special circumstances and occasions. Do not desire everything you see. Do not proceed to do everything you are able to. Do not proclaim everything you know, but only that which should be proclaimed. That which you do not know, do not affirm, nor deny; best of all - inquire; then wilt though be discreet. Be temperate. Do not

partake of food without hunger. Without thirst, do not drink, and then only in small quantities when required. Avoid drunkenness as you would Hades. Intemperance begets sickness, sickness brings death. The abstemious live healthily and in continuous wellbeing.

Be meek, not arrogant - keeping more to silence than to talkativeness. When someone is speaking - keep quiet. When someone is addressing you - pay attention. When someone is relaying orders to you - fulfill them, and do not boast. Do not be obstinate, quarrelsome or vain. To all be affable, to none be a flatterer. Be thou, also, righteous. Do not desire anything belonging to others; do not steal, but in whatsoever you may have need, seek it through your labor. In poverty as for help; when it is given, accept it and be thankful. Whatsoever you may have borrowed - return; Whatsoever you have promised - fulfill.

Be manly, always willing to labor, leave off all idleness and laziness. If you wish to start some project, measure well your strength in advance, then proceed without letting up. In adversity, do not lose hope; in prosperity, do not morally deteriorate. Hold thriftiness in esteem. Keep careful observation of the different occurrences in life of inconstancy, misfortune and sorrow. Over that which the patient forbear, the fainthearted sigh, lament and wail. Be benevolent and gracious. Give to him that asketh of thee, if thou hast; help the poor, if thou canst. If anyone has hurt thee - forgive him; if thou has hurt anyone - reconcile thyself with him. It is very commendable to refrain from holding grudges. Forgive the sinner; accede to the reconciler. If you yourself will love your fellowman, you shall in turn be loved by all people. Be thou also obedient to elders, companionable to equals, and courteous to subordinates. Greet those whom you meet; return the greeting of those who greet you. To the inquirer, give answer; to the ignorant, give advice; to the sorrowing, give comfort. Do not envy anyone. Wish well to all.

Serve each and all, as much as you are able to. With your good deeds, you shall please all people. Your friends shall love you, and your enemies will not be

able to hate you. Always speak the truth; never lie. Observe all this and good fortune shall always be your lot. Glory to God. ³⁹

It is interesting to note that many elements of a peaceful society and culture are evidenced within this psalm, including the notion of reaching out to others in need and reconciliation. What is most remarkable is that this psalm was created to remind and teach the Doukhobor people about a peaceful way of life, during the pre-industrial period of human history, when most civilizations in the world were struggling within the framework of a Survival-based worldview. The foundations of the Doukhobor beliefs have the potential for creating strong peacebuilders.

Several of the beliefs and practices were in place before some of the Doukhobor leaders began reading about the thoughts and beliefs of Leo Tolstoy, while others came to being after reading his writings and being in contact with him through letters and meetings. Whether or not the Doukhobors were influenced by Tolstoy, and/or vice versa, Tolstoy understood the importance and significance of the thoughts and actions of this group of people and made many appeals to the Russian Government, British Government, the Russian Military, and the Government of Canada on their behalf and even helped them to move to Canada from their exile in the Caucasus. In his Appeal to Reason which was written to the Russian government during the height of the persecution of the Doukhobors in Russia, he writes⁴⁰:

...Whether we wish to see it or not, there has now been shown in the Caucasus, in the life of the 'Christians of the Universal Brotherhood,' especially during their persecution, an example of that Christian life toward

which all that is good and reasonable in the world is striving. For all our State institutions, our Parliaments, societies, sciences, arts - all this only exists and operates in order to realize that life which all of us, thinking men, see before us as the highest ideal of perfection. And here we have people who have realized this ideal, no doubt only in part and not completely, but have realized it in a way we did not dream of doing with our complex State institutions. How, then, can we avoid acknowledging the importance of this event? For that is being accomplished towards which we are all striving, towards which all our complex activity is leading.

As much as possible, the Doukhobor people tried to live up to these moral standards, and a communal way of a peaceful life. Indeed, initial descriptions about the Doukhobor people by others upon their arrival in Canada have described similarly attributed Doukhobor characteristics.

For example, Tarasoff writes: "Captain Evans complimented the Doukhobors for the 'industrious, frugal, clean and moral; qualities that they had shown while being cooped up on board the ship for almost one month in a journey of over 5000 miles.'"⁴¹

A Halifax newspaper dated January, 1899 reported the following⁴²:

Their features are prominent, but refined, and bear the marks of a life that is free from vice of any kind. The most striking characteristic of all is the bright, kindly sparkle of their eyes, which gives a winning expression to the whole face, and quickly wins confidence in their character. All their habits demonstrate that they are possessed of keen minds.

The *Montreal Weekly Witness* of January 17, 1898 writes:

They are a simple, kindly folk; a people of integrity and pure morals...Clean and well-kept villages have always marked their habitations.

However, as others have commented, perhaps, this idealization, assisted by Tolstoy's apparent willingness to glorify and identify only the positive aspects of Doukhobor beliefs, along with the unwillingness of Doukhobors to assimilate into Canadian culture have also led to the formation of many negative social characteristics attributed to the Doukhobor people. As Mealing asserts, that during the height of persecutions of Doukhobors in Russia, "Tolstoy came to hear of these persecutions, and - leaping rather to the assumption that Doukhobors were uniformly the saintly community of primitive Christians, he held as a social ideal-sought whatever succour he might."⁴³ However, this is not the case as there is evidence that not all Doukhobors were of this nature and some Russians, who did not believe in Doukhoborism only converted in order to leave Russia, but never really held true to the beliefs.

The Psalm "What Manner of Person Art Thou?" describes-in question and answer format-some of the fundamental roots of the basis for their beliefs. The following is a selection of questions and answers from this Psalm which are of particular significance as they provide a basis to understanding fundamental Doukhobor beliefs which directly relate to the actions and behaviours of the Doukhobors throughout their history⁴⁴:

1. What manner of a person are thou?

I am a person of God.

4. For what purpose did God create you?

To give his spirit a body on earth and to glorify the name of the Lord. Likewise, so that we would come to the realization of the ways of the Lord our God and walk in His pathways.

11. To what group of peoples do you belong?

We belong to God's people, who are ever, like pilgrims, wandering from one place to another on the face of the earth.

12. Why are you a people of wandering, pilgrim nature?

We class ourselves as a people of a wandering, pilgrim nature because we are always moving from a symbolic land of Egypt, or land of oppression, - from a state of confusion, - towards attainment of the promised land, a land of enlightenment and truth, or that is, a state of contentment and peaceful living.

20. Against whom, have you drawn your spiritual weapon?

Against the symbolic Goliath, the pillar of the Philistines; against those in authority; those who live at the expense of the toil of others; against those who as thieves and robbers withhold from the divine truth that should be freely available to all from the eternal heavenly fountain.

23. What is God?

God is Divine Reason; God is a spirit; God is man.

34. What is comprised in God's law?

God's law is based on two commandments. The first commandment is that thou shalt love the Lord, thy God, with all thy heart, with all thy soul and with all thy reasoning power; and the second is likened unto it: Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments the whole law of God is based.

36. What kind of works do you refrain from doing?

We refrain from anger and violence; from the judgment of others and the taking of oaths, and from taking part in the terrible acts of war. We do not keep company with those who indulge in foolish giddiness, dances and other forms of devil-inspired worldly pleasures.

37. What do you consider the most unpermissible deed for a servant of God?

War and the taking of human life and all forms of hate towards your fellow man are the most unpermissible deeds for a servant of God.

44. Do you have among you a King?

Our King is God the Father, and our ruler is Christ the Saviour.

51. Do you have a temple of God in your midst?

We have. Our human body is a temple of God, and our soul is a reflection of God.

52. Do you have a church in your midst?

We have. Our church is built not in mountainous regions nor in valleys below, not in settlements of villages or cities so great, and is not confined within the walls of building, be they of log or of stone; but our church is built within the souls and the hearts of people.

53. At what place is your church to be found?

Our church is found there, where in freedom, and in spirit of God's love, people gather together, and in word and in deed enjoy brotherly, fraternal feelings mutually.

57. Why do you not attend services at the stone and wood-built temples of the Greek-Orthodox Church, and do not pray to the wooden ikons [sic] therein?

Because the Lord forbids us to pray and make obeisance before these, or other objects made by human hands; so that from this unreasonable, false practice we ourselves would not get traits of being wooden-natured, or stone-hearted...

58. Do you have the New Testament in your midst?

We have. Christ hath said: "I, myself, am the New Testament to you, and the Light to the whole world."

60. Where, among you, is the New Testament kept for safe-keeping?

The Lord hath said: "And they shall have my message imprinted on their hearts, and they shall proclaim it to all by their word of mouth."

Chapter 5: Doukhobor History through the lens of the Education for Peace (EFP) Framework

In Russia - Community Building

The very beginnings of the history of Doukhobors are mired in conflict, even though they were attempting to follow a peaceful path; they were rebelling from a religion and state that they no longer believed in, and thus were immediately in conflict with the authoritarian state in which the Orthodox Church held a great deal of influence. Although they identified with a new way of living and worshipping, they struggled to keep their identity and way of life unrestricted from the Tsarist government of the time. They struggled to create an autonomous "nation within a nation", which has been at the heart of their relations with governments for many years.

It is difficult to identify exactly when the Doukhobors came into being and who had influenced the thoughts, behaviours, and worship practices, however, it is widely known that they had existed previous to 1785 when their name was bestowed upon them. As was mentioned previously, in 1645, a prominent leader by the name of Daniel Filipovitch had provided a great deal of influence to his followers, and the Doukhobor hymn is attributed to this person's influence. There are a number of other influences and movements that occurred during this time in Russia as people struggled with a strict religion and doctrine that held a lot of influence over the government. However, the most direct link to the origins of the Doukhobors is in 1718 in the village of Okhochem, province of Kharkov.

Doukhobor oral tradition corroborates the story of a retired Prussian officer starting the group in this village⁴⁵.

It wasn't long before it became evident that this group of people posed a threat to the government. In the years 1733-1734 edicts are issued by the Empress Anne against the "Ikonobortsi" (icon wrestlers) in Kharkov province.

Another group of became prominent in the years 1750-1775 in the village of Nikolskoye, province of Ekaterinoslav under the leadership of Sylvan Kolesnikoff⁴⁶. Popoff continues to state that this group was not "too militant in its struggles against the irregularities of the Orthodox Church, but when left alone lived quietly and simply."⁴⁷ This is a tremendous insight into the worldview of the Doukhobors in this village at this particular time. Struggling under an authoritarian regime, the world is perceived as a dangerous place, as force could be used against them to control their beliefs and actions. If they are left to their own devices, they would be able to survive, and the best way to survive in this environment would be to not use force and do what they need to adapt and continue.

Another group, described by Popoff as a more dominant and militant group is recorded in the village of Goreloye, province of Tambov between the year 1775-1800 and led by Ilarion Pobirohin⁴⁸. He rejected all literal authority of the Bible, outspokenly criticized the Orthodox Church and its teachings, and instead is credited with creating many of the Doukhobor psalms that were memorized by the

Doukhobors. He gave very strict rules for living and worship and created the psalm "Be Devout" and "What Manner of Person Art Thou?", both illustrated above. This of course, led to punishment and persecution by the Government. Pobi-rohin was arrested and died shortly after his arrest while in exile in Siberia.

During this time, many Doukhobors were persecuted, tortured, exiled individually and in groups. The use of force to control and punish illustrates typical reactions by an Authoritarian Government toward an outspoken and wayward group. The use of punishment and force against the Doukhobors during their stay in Russia would generally continue until their exile, with a few noteworthy periods of relative peace; especially when there was a woman leader.

In 1801, Alexander the First became ruler and shortly after, granted total amnesty for all Doukhobors within the Russian Empire. With this amnesty, he also granted free transport to the Milky Waters region in Tavria, bordering the Crimean Sea, where they could live on a parcel of land that had been allotted, free of charge for them to start anew.⁴⁹ Thus anyone, who professed to be of Doukhobor faith was granted amnesty and a new life. This created a new set of challenges as those who were unfamiliar with the beliefs and way of life of the Doukhobors were intermingled with those who had professed belief for some time. As well, many deserters from the army and Don Cossacks joined the groups and helped form the new colony. However, it was implicit that each newcomer needed to adopt the views of the larger

group as conformity and uniformity (not unity) was essential.

Thus, a commune was created in Tavria with the groups from the Kharkov province, from the Ekaterinoslav province, and the Tambov province and the new settlers. The persons from the Tambov province seemed to have the most dominant form of leadership, and thus, under the leadership of Saveli Kapustin, played the most dominant role in organizing the colony.

Kapustin, also referred to as the "Law Giver" and the "Moses" of the Doukhobors, held a form of leadership that was very similar to those of Pobirohin, and thus, he instituted strict rules for governing and living within the colony as well as for worship. He is credited with instituting the form of prayer worship (i.e. bowing to the inner God in each person, the singing and reciting of psalms, and the rites of weddings and funerals) that is still practiced by Doukhobors today.

However, this form of leadership was in itself authoritarian-based. Popoff describes the leadership in the following manner: "With the diversity of people assembled at Tavria, it, of needs required outstanding leadership to have unity and orderliness. Kapustin very ably filled this role and the common folk got to worship him as a nearly-God deity.⁵⁰"

The notion of unity as described here, meant that everyone was united in their beliefs (as expressed through the Doukhobor psalms), in their support of Kapustin, and in

their roles in the colony. Although the colony was made up of a diverse group of peoples, it was expected that all were to follow the edicts of the leader (as evidenced in their worship of Kapustin). Diversity of thought, belief, and action was not tolerated. Those who thought differently followed leaders who held similar thoughts to form new colonies. Suspicion of outsiders was still evident. Unity was based on uniting the group against others. Paradoxically, what was created in this colony was a parallel form of authoritarianism that they wished to escape from initially. This resulted in the perpetuation of the survival-based worldview.

However, this period of history is viewed by some Doukhobors as been idyllic and one of peace, with the negative sides of the period being downplayed as evidenced in Popoff's narration of the history:

But the flourishing Community could not be left alone, for it attracted to itself more and more adherents. Particularly from the Don Cossacks, there were more and more desertions of recruits. The orthodox clergy of nearby villages continually sent complaints to the authorities that the Doukhobors were spreading their so called 'heresy.' When these complaints failed to get action, even more dire complaints were circulated. There were accusations that even murder was rampant among the Doukhobors, particularly of those that did not bow down to the authority of the leader and the elders. None, however, of the drastic accusations were ever substantiated against the main body of the peace-loving industrious Doukhobors, even though isolated cases of irregular conduct did come to the surface upon governmental investigation.⁵¹

With Tsar Alexander the First's death in 1825, this idealized lifestyle was soon to change. By 1830, Tsar Nicholas I had issued several strict edicts and measures

that reduced the relative freedom the Doukhobors had previously enjoyed in their community. These included forced assimilation, military conscription, restricted movement, prohibits on Doukhobor meetings, and encourages the dispersal and conversion of Doukhobors⁵². (Later, in Canada, Doukhobors would be reminded of this time in history as they see similar actions on behalf of the Canadian authorities.) In 1839, a final edict was issued and all those who refused to renounce the Doukhobor faith and return to the folds of the Orthodox Church would be exiled to the barren Caucasus Region. This exile began in 1840, traveling by horse and covered wagon, took 5 years to be complete. In Tavria, only a few Doukhobors chose to remain.

As before, they created villages, with a few differences⁵³. This time, they farmed individual plots while also sharing larger parcels of land that were communally owned and contributed to a communal property that was equally supported by all the villages. This was considered to be an investment that was centrally owned and could be drawn upon by members when they were experiencing difficulty. This came to be known as "Sirotskoye"⁵⁴ which means "orphan's haven."

In 1864, Lukeria Vasilevna Kalmoykova "Lushechka", widow of Doukhobor leader Peter Kalmakov becomes the new leader of the Doukhobors.⁵⁵ The Doukhobors enter into another period of stability and relative peace. She soon became known as a very beloved leader who helped to bring prosperity to the Doukhobors. As Popoff writes,

Lukeria Kalmekova proved to be a very able administrator. She soon got the respect of all the

elders and the love and respect of all the Doukhobors with her mild manners and sound advice. In her time, as yet, women throughout the world and more so in Russia, were not considered on anything near to an equal status with men. Lukeria spent long and untiring efforts among all the Doukhobor villages to see that abuse of women was discontinued...

...Life in general, for the Doukhobors during the time of Lukeria, was very peaceful and joyful. All older people recalled this time with warm feelings of nostalgia.⁵⁶

Tarasoff summarizes this period in the following way: "Lukeria Vasilevna Kalmykova becomes leader. Expands Sirotskii Dom in Gorelovka with own wealth and voluntary donations, plus land set aside, supported by free labour. In '60's prosperity follows: land, horses, sheep, cattle + 500,000 Rubles, fulltime workers, business managers developed."⁵⁷

Perhaps one of the reasons that they seemed to do so well during this period of history was that Lukeria managed to establish points of unity with the Government of the time (Grand Duke Michael Romanow) to avoid further persecution and punishment. This act was not a form of submission; otherwise the Doukhobors would have taken up arms and fought in the war against their will. Rather it was a way for the government and for the Doukhobors to find ground that would be acceptable to both. Romanow, brother to the Tsar, wanted assistance from the Doukhobors and threatened to enforce conscription and provide no assistance to their villages should the Turks win the war. In response, Tarasoff and Popoff both describe how Lukeria, under pressure from the government, in consultation with her advisors, allowed Doukhobors to transport supplies (non-

combative duty) for the Russian Army during the Russo-Turk War. Romanow, in return for six months of service where no Doukhobor was forced to bear arms, granted them land in the newly acquired Kars province and half a million rubles.⁵⁸

However, it is interesting to note that this period, the leadership of Lukeria also draws a great deal of criticism. Popoff points to this in a subtle way, stating, "She did allow deviations from the true Doukhobor path, like letting the Doukhobors do non-combatant freight service for the Russian army during the Russo-Turkish war in 1877. This, she conceded under strong pressure from the authorities, but she explained to the Doukhobors that this concession was because she was only a woman and would not be able to strongly guide them through the persecutions and tribulations that would follow, if she refused."⁵⁹

Tarasoff makes a stronger criticism. "The compromise and the moral laxness of the period bothered Lukeria and many of her followers. During this period, more Doukhobors began to drink vodka and have extravagant weddings. Doukhobors began to carry rifles and other lethal weapons to defend themselves against brigands and mountain tribesmen. Armed bodyguards accompanied Lukeria in her travels from settlement to settlement. And we hear of one Doukhobor, Ivan Makhortov, who served in the Russian navy for many years. Although the Doukhobors never officially abandoned a belief in nonviolence, in this period they lacked the moral stamina to resist the demands of the authorities and, undermined by their own inconsistencies, they merely succumbed to circumstances."⁶⁰

This period of Doukhobor history is very interesting as there are elements of all three worldviews present. While they lived in exile in the Caucasus, the Doukhobors were, for the most part, left on their own, with little interference from the authorities. This had allowed for further development of worldviews along with their communities, however, under threat of survival, such as in 1881, when Alexander III came into power and revived a more autocratic form of governance, the Doukhobors were advised by Lukeria that "difficult times were ahead; that they should submit to the demands of the authorities until the coming of a new leader, which she prophesized, would return them to the original and purer path of the Doukhobor movement."⁶¹ This submission to the authorities is one mechanism of survival that is often observed under periods of repression and oppression.

Upon further examination of this period of Doukhobor history, we find that it is one of the most prosperous and peaceful times and yet, this is overshadowed by the more minor negative aspects of what is viewed as "weak" leadership. Had Lukeria not reached a point of unity with the Tsar about how the government and the Doukhobors could both benefit from assisting each other, the Doukhobors could have faced much more hardships, persecution, and death. As well, she also demonstrated how women and men could work in partnership to further their society. The so-called "moral laxness" was also not the fault of a woman's leadership as Tarasoff and Popoff state, rather it stems from being unable to further establish a unity-based worldview. Had they been able to fully establish a unity-based worldview, individuals would take responsibility for

their own actions and behaviours through the lens of truth, justice, and through the application of universal ethical principles and processes of consultative decision-making and governance, rather than fully placing the blame on others.

This lack of personal responsibility is characteristic of an identity-based worldview in which situations, events, and persons are placed in relativistic terms and individuals compete over who is perceived to be the better person or in this case, who would be a better leader. Although Lukeria's leadership was not challenged during this time, upon her death, the challenges and divisions became extreme. Lukeria began grooming a successor to replace her upon her death, much to the chagrin of her brother, Michael Gubanov; the manager of the Orphan's Home, Ivan Baruin; and Alyosha Zubkov, the headman of the village of Gorelovka.

As is often the case with an identity-based worldview, they saw themselves as rivals of what they felt was rightfully theirs against Peter Verigin, the one being groomed as Lukeria's successor. What passes next in this chapter of history is reminiscent of similar practices in our current voting systems in societies today. Each began trying to gain the majority of support from the rest of the community. A split between those who supported Verigin (which became known as the Large Party) and those who supported the party led by Gubanov (the Small Party) was evident. Rumours began to spread and the Small Party brought the case to the district court and it is alleged that they bribed a number of tsarist officials so that they

would succeed. The case dragged on for months and all of the funds from the Orphan's Home were spent before it was declared that the Small Party were the winners of the case for leadership.

However, this would not be the end of the competition for leadership. Stories were also circulating that Peter Verigin had a direct biological link to previous leaders, which meant that for those who were uncommitted in their support, provided enough evidence that he should be the rightful leader. During a "sobranie" (meeting) celebrating the passing of Lukeria's spirit from the earthly world, the divisions among the groups became even greater. Approximately 70% of the group demonstrated outright support for Verigin, disregarding the decision of the courts. As the police were present at this meeting, Verigin was arrested and eventually banished to Siberia for 16 years. However, the consequences of this rivalry created a chasm between the two groups: families and villages were split as each party followed their own path and created new villages and it was the members of the Large Party who were eventually deported to Canada.

The arrest of Verigin really disturbed his followers, and as Popoff states, "brought all the somewhat dormant martyr spirit of the faithful Doukhobors to the fore."⁶² A rejuvenated spirit of following the faith ensued as psalms were sung more often, and children would know about a dozen or so psalms by the time they reached 7 or 8 years of age.⁶³ As military service is introduced into the Caucasus, in 1887, and many submit to the service, a reawakening of their spiritual and pacifist beliefs is manifested. The

threat of losing their leader re-ignited the survival-based worldview.

Verigin, from his exile in Siberia, still held a great deal of influence over his followers while also being influenced by others from outside his circle of reference. One of the main influences of his was Leo Tolstoy, who will later come to play a greater role in the lives of the Doukhobors.

Under Verigin's guidance, his followers are sent letters that urge them to stop eating meat, smoking tobacco, and drinking alcohol in 1893⁶⁴ or 1894⁶⁵. Tsar Nicholas II also brings about major changes that have a strong impact upon the group: he demands that everyone swear oath (meaning that they pledge allegiance to his leadership). These actions on behalf of Tsar Nicholas II are examples of how the government behaves when under perceived threat while looking through the lens of a survival-based worldview. However, at this time, the Doukhobors, under Verigin's leadership begin to develop an identity-based worldview and because they are Doukhobors, he requests that the Doukhobors do not swear oath nor associate with militarism. At this time, he also sets into motion, one of the most defining moments of Doukhobor history: the Burning of Firearms, which as a demonstration of their identity and way of life, act out against the governing authorities, much as might be seen during a period of adolescence.

The date of 29 June 1895 (St. Peter's Day) is chosen as the date of this demonstrative protest for two main reasons. The first is that Doukhobors normally celebrated on this day every year in commemoration of the martyred apostles

Peter and Paul. The second reason for this date is because it also coincided with the birthday of their current exiled and revered leader Peter Vasilievitch Verigin.

Just prior to this momentous event, some who were serving in the military refused to continue to serve which resulted in punishment and disciplinary actions. The Tsar and local authorities were aware that there was growing dissent from within the Doukhobor communities as their identity-based worldviews gained in strength. However, aware that they would face the wrath of the authorities, the group chose to stage a formal protest.

Doukhobor men stacked their guns atop of a mountain of combustible materials near three of their villages, and stood in a circle around the pile of weapons. At midnight as the pile erupted into flames, each group of Doukhobors sang psalms. Some of the demonstrations were interrupted by the authorities who used violence to try to stop the event. Many were injured and killed. In another village, the protest went rather peaceably with the authorities taking the names of the participants and later arresting them. As a result, the government sees these acts as treason and the Doukhobors were again exiled, this time to remote Georgia. A movement based on ideological beliefs between and amongst the Doukhobor villages had begun.

These events are particularly demonstrative of what can happen when any group of people rebels against an authoritarian regime.

Tolstoy's influence upon Verigin, and thus, the Doukhobors is significant. In 1896 he wrote a letter to his followers that contained what became known as the Doukhobor "Beloved Brother In Our Lord Jesus Christ" psalm. Popoff claims that most of it was taken from Tolstoy's book, "The Kingdom of God is Within You"⁶⁶.

"My Beloved Brother In Our Lord Jesus Christ"

My beloved brother in our Lord Jesus Christ; I wish to converse with thee, dear brother, in regards to what my belief is comprised of. - I profess and follow the Law of my Lord Jesus Christ, and my conception of it is not as a guidance from without, but as an inner Force. When we live within the Will of Lord God our Father, then the Lord liveth within us; Ever reviving us, He enlightens as with a radiant light our innermost Reason. Whosoever wishes to fulfill the Will of our Heavenly Father must surrender their hearts to the sovereignty of God. The Lord proclaims to us: 'Ye are bought with a precious price, make not yourselves slaves of me. Know ye the Truth and the Truth shall make you free.'

In starting upon this great work, we must be fully cognizant that our sincerity may be subjected to severe tests. This task of ours may bring upon us insults, injuries, suffering, even death. We anticipate misconception, misrepresentation, slander; against us shall arise a tumult of the proud, the pharisaical, the ambitious; cruel rulers, the worldly authorities, - all this joining forces in order to destroy us...Such was the manner of dealing with our Lord Jesus Christ, whose example we are humbly striving to imitate in the measure of our strength...But all these terrors must not daunt us; Our reliance is not upon men, but on Almighty God. If we refuse all human protection, what can sustain us except that Faith alone which overcometh the whole world. We will not be amazed at the trials that we shall be subjected to, but will rejoice in being worthy of sharing the suffering of our Lord Jesus Christ. In consequence of all this, we entrust our souls to God and believe as has been said, that 'Whosoever leaveth behind - his

home, brothers or sisters, father or mother, or children, or worldly possessions for the sake of the Lord will be rewarded hundredfold and in the Kingdom of Heaven will inherit life eternal.'

And so, firmly believing, despite everything that may arise against us, in the ultimate triumph of Truth, we trust in the reason and conscious of mankind, but above all in God's power, to the safekeeping of which we must entrust ourselves.

For a Christian to promise obedience to men or man made laws would be the same as if a servant hired out to a certain master and promised at the same time to fulfill all such orders as might be given to him by other people also. It is not possible to serve two masters...A Christian is released from the authority of man, in that he acknowledges over himself the one Authority of God, and the Law which is revealed to him by our Lord, Jesus Christ. He conceives it to be within his own consciousness, and he obeys only its commands. The life of man consists not in fulfilling one's own wishes but in fulfilling the Will of God. A Christian may be subjected to violence from without, and may be deprived of personal bodily freedom, yet at the same time be completely free of his passions from within. - 'Whosoever committeth sin is a slave of sin...'

A Christian is humble and meek, does not argue with anyone, does not offend anyone, uses no violence or coercion against anyone, but on the contrary, himself, with passive meekness, endures all violence and thereby overcomes evil.

This psalm clearly outlines their chosen martyrdom spirit that accompanies their survival-based worldview when under threat. After the Burning of Arms event, their very survival was challenged, and thus, the Survival-based worldview became significant again. The world was perceived as against them, bent on destroying them.

As Tolstoy unmistakably viewed his ideas and ideals within the beliefs of these persecuted people, he worked on helping them gain permission from the Russian authorities, financial assistance to leave their current situation and on finding a host country that would accept them.

Tolstoy began a campaign of letter writing to publicize the plight of these people and also enlists the help of the Quakers in England and America to help raise funds and support while also donating all of the proceeds from his novel "Resurrection" to supporting the Doukhobors' travel. In 1898, the first group of 1,126 Doukhobors goes to Cyprus, where they are sheltered temporarily before leaving for Canada in 1899.

The arrangements that were made on behalf of the Doukhobors are unclear and have serious repercussions for what happens later while in Canada. Doukhobors say that they insisted that the following three conditions be met as indicated in a letter dated August 31, 1898 by Kropotkin to Professor Mavor, in Canada, who in turn, appealed to Clifford Sifton to consider accepting the Doukhobors in Canada: "1) No obligation of military service. 2) Full independence in their inner organization. 3) Land in block; they (the Doukhobors) cannot live in isolated farms. They are Russians, for whom it is more indispensable than for the Mennonites."⁶⁷ The people who made the final deal with the Canadian authorities, never agreed to these points *formally* with the Government. Whatever was discussed was never solidified in writing prior to their arrival. The Doukhobors supposed that their beliefs and way of life were finally validated and they would be allowed to flourish

under their own rules brought out more aspects of their Identity-based worldviews, which were initially influencing their behaviours in Canada.

In Saskatchewan - Exodus to Canada

Armed with a strong sense of identity and a new awareness of freedom, the initial period in Canada, and particularly, their initial homesteads in Saskatchewan provides evidence of an Identity-based Worldview intertwined with a Survival-based worldview that was prominent as they initially began the process of settling in. There were opportunities for the Doukhobors to establish points of unity with their neighbors and their new government, however, regrettably the Doukhobors did not take advantage of these opportunities and the Government also played a similar role, and as a result, history unfolded in a most unfortunate way for these people.

On January 20, 1899, the first group of 2,100 Doukhobors reached Halifax, where, 3 days later they arrive in New Brunswick and began their train journey to their new lands where they create homesteads in Saskatchewan. Although the government and many were pleased that this new group of people had arrived in Canada as was evidenced in the newspaper accounts provided above, not all were welcoming of these strangers. Tarasoff recounts some of the newspaper accounts of the times that demonstrate some of the hostility generated toward newcomers.

One Manitoba paper, in its editorial on 'Equal rights' wrote: If there's any fighting to be done, the

English-speaking settler must leave his farm, his wife and his little ones, to lay down his life in defense of the favoured foreigner, who peacefully stays at home, growing crops and selling them at war prices. Under the Sifton regime, it is a distance disadvantage to be a Britisher or a Canadian. The only way now-a-days for an English-speaking settler to secure 'equal rights' is to disguise himself as a high-smelling Slav serf, or masquerade as a sheepskin-coated freeloader from the Caucasus persecuted for conscience sake...⁶⁸

Tarasoff continues,

[f]ear was expressed that group settlement prevents assimilation and retards the development of good citizens. 'How can the civilizing influence of the law and manners reach them?' asked one critic after labeling Sifton as 'the Napoleon of the West'. The editor of the *Preston Progress* expressed similar sentiment when he stated that the settlement of Doukhobors in one place encourages them to maintain their foreign language and foreign customs; on April 7th, 1899 he stated: 'It would be far better to distribute them in small groups throughout the country so that they could easily assimilate.'⁶⁹

These stories relate to Canadians (and British, as Canada only recently received a relative degree of independence from the British government at the time) were objecting to the fact that the Doukhobors were allotted land that allowed them to settle together in tightly-knit colonies. This created a fear that these people would not become "Canadian" or that they would essentially undermine the colonial attitudes of the time. Developing these colonies on the Canadian frontier was difficult under harsh climactic conditions. And as such, the Doukhobors became pre-occupied with issues of survival: clearing the land and making it suitable for farming; ensuring there would be ample food; building homes; ensuring that they would be protected under harsh weather conditions; and, all that

comes with settling themselves into a new life in a foreign country. Tarasoff describes the environment into which the Doukhobors began creating their communities.

Except for Manitoba, the Northwest [Canadian territories West of Manitoba] was still a territorial administration, ruled by a Governor and Council, with the help of the Mounted Police, with the Interior Department providing the direction for the federal presence in Assiniboia District, Saskatchewan and the Northwest Territories. By 1899 the administrative system was still tenuous and incomplete. The few schools existed only in towns, and in the vast territory the only roads that one could find were the well-worn tracks of the pioneer carts that traversed the prairies over prairie grass where once only buffaloes roamed. The prairie sod was yet to feel the metal blade of the plow. The Doukhobor reserves were located in these still loosely-governed territories dependent upon the federal government for direction.⁷⁰

The issues of survival also added to the growing problems the Doukhobors were facing. Most Doukhobors were uneducated and illiterate peasants, who concentrated more on survival than on learning the language of the country and getting to know their neighbors. They were happy to isolate themselves, going into the greater community to earn some money through physical labour and their farm products (crops, wooden spoons, and hand-made quilts). At times, they unknowingly undermined the previously established rate for wages, which did not sit well with their neighbors. As well, they preferred to be left alone and not tainted by what they perceived as harmful influences of the authorities. From their previous experience with authority figures, they were paranoid that the government would make them pledge allegiance to their authority which, to the Doukhobors, would mean they would have to give up their way

of life and beliefs, and that the schools would taint their own doctrines about life and religion. This demonstrates how their strong sense of identity would forge a barrier between them and their neighbors as well as figures of authority, even while they were pre-occupied with meeting their basic needs.

Admittedly, the challenges faced by the Doukhobors upon their arrival and settlement were very difficult. How does one come to break down personal and collective barriers of mistrust and prejudice while also keeping the important aspects of their histories, values and cultures alive? While on the other hand, the Canadian residents and government also shared mistrusts and prejudices about a group of people that they saw as being inferior, and of need of cultivation in the values of the larger society. Answers to this dilemma will be discussed in the concluding section of this paper.

The Doukhobors did not have their leader in their midst as he was still in exile in Siberia. The only communication they had with him was through his written letters that could only serve as guidelines for their actions and way of life. As a group of people, who although philosophically reject the notion of authority to anyone other than their "inner God", they were, as has been related previously, used to subjecting themselves to authoritarian leadership within their own communities. Popoff describes the leadership of Peter V. Verigin as having a manner that "at times [he] dealt compassionately with them [the Doukhobors that followed different ideas], thinking that this may

bring them quicker to rationality, at times had them harshly whipped..."⁷¹

Leadership traditionally passed down through familial lineage and the grooming for these leaders only came through these families. Others within these communities had cultivated a worldview that favoured obedience to their strong leaders. Thus, with regards to their lives in Saskatchewan, strong leadership would be needed within the colonies themselves to work out how the guidelines sent via mail to Canada would be taken into account in their daily lives. As Woodcock argues, this type of leadership was not to be found.

Verigin was now almost half a world away from them, and in the rare communications he was able to send he could do little more than suggest general lines of policy: the details of administration had to be worked out by the immigrants themselves. However, among them there was no single man strong enough or presumptuous enough to take the decisive portion that belonged to the divinely inspired prophet; the most respected elders enjoyed the support of their own fellow villagers or at most of a group of a villages, but never of the settlers as a whole.⁷²

It is easy to postulate that had a strong leader been in the midst of the Doukhobor population upon arrival in their new home, that the geographically isolated communities they were in the midst of forming could have maintained their practiced sense of unity as united against the outside world. This was because they were not under direct influence of strong governmental authority and did not have to submit to the formal education system of the new country as it was yet to establish itself strongly in their region,

and they were relatively isolated communities. However, this leader was not in the ranks of those in Canada.

Verigin's absence of direct influence over the group created a situation that cultivated the beginnings of fractionalization among the Doukhobors in Canada. Without a strong authoritarian leader, as the Doukhobors were used to having guide them, along with the influence of new ideas from their neighbors along with an economy of labour (hired on the building of the railroad in particular) that they had never experienced before as serfs in Russia, some Doukhobors began to follow their own ideas of how to build their new lives. The Doukhobors who were committed to following the ideals of communal ownership and a spartan lifestyle "equated private land ownership with secularism and a degeneration in the development of a true Doukhobr way."⁷³

Approximately a year after their arrival in Canada, the Doukhobors had already endured some hostile behaviours on behalf of their Canadian neighbors and were now being told that they needed to begin complying with the laws of the new country.

When Mounted Police officers in their military-looking uniforms began to appear in the villages and explain to them the regulations relating to registration of vital statistics and other subjects, when a tactless board of school trustees seized a Doukhobor horse in lieu of taxes, and when land officers began to insist that the Doukhobor males above eighteen sign individually for the quarter sections that Arthur St John and Herbert Archer were surveying, those who had been most offended by the thoughtless and brutal behaviour of individual Canadians were inclined to

link the phenomena together. The conclusion that Canadians – collectively and individually – wished to attack Doukhobor principles, to mock and destroy their pacifism, their vegetarianism, their preference for a communal way of life. Who was to guarantee that ultimately they would not be forced to bear arms? Those who have endured long persecutions are naturally suspicious, and it can be safely assumed that, even though Maude had carefully explained the Canadian Government's demands, the majority of the Doukhobors had no clear understanding of either the extent or the limitations of the conditions under which they had come to Canada. The Canadian government, in their eyes, was still – as a government – a manifestation of negative power, and for this very reason suspect.”⁷⁴

Whatever was arranged prior to the Doukhobors' arrival in Canada was coming back to haunt them, and Tolstoy would help to add fuel to the fire. On 27 February 1900, Tolstoy wrote a letter to the Doukhobors (which many Doukhobors, not realizing that Verigin had previously borrowed ideas from Tolstoy, as their words and ideas were so similar, but rather believed that Tolstoy was writing on behalf of the "Living Christ" himself, Peter Verigin), that praised them for not bowing to the Canadian authorities' demand that they individually own titles to the land and expressed his disappointment in those who were following individual over communal property. The following is an excerpt from this letter which demonstrates the logic of his thinking, and thus how ownership of property and violence became entangled together:

"All of us who profess, and wish our lives to accord with, the Christian teaching, ought to help one another. And the most needful help is—to point out one to another the sins and temptations into which we fall unawares...In reality, property means—that which I consider mine. I not only will not give it to whoever wishes to take it, but will defend it from him. And to

defend from another what I consider mine is only possible by violence; and is (in the case of need) by a struggle, a fight or even by murder. Were it not for this violence, and these murders, no one would be able to hold property.

If we do retain property without using violence, this is only possible because our property is defended by the threat of violence, and by actual violence and murder, perpetrated upon those around us.

Therefore, to acknowledge property is to acknowledge violence and murder, and if you acknowledge property, which is only maintainable by soldiers and police, there was no need for you to refuse military or police service. Those who perform military and police service and make use of property, act better than those who refuse to be soldiers or policemen, but yet wish to enjoy property. Such men, wish, without serving, to make use of the service of others for their own advantage. The Christian teaching cannot be taken piecemeal: it is all or nothing. It is inseparably united into one whole. If a man acknowledges himself to be a son of God, from that acknowledgement flows the love of his neighbour; and from love of his neighbour flow, equally, the repudiation of violence, of oaths, of state service, and of property."⁷⁵

This letter illustrates the cleverly developed dichotomous thinking of one who is functioning within a Survival-based worldview. To be a Christian is all or nothing. Either you own property and by doing so support violence or you work communally and support Christian edict—the two cannot exist together. This was one method of trying to control the actions of a more submissive group. The effect of this letter meant that those who did not own property looked down upon those who did unworthy.

In January 1901, the Commissioner of Dominion Lands (J.G. Turriff) wrote to the Doukhobors and stated that "the laws of the country 'must prevail absolutely'. Every person

married, every child born, and every death must be recorded in vital statistics. As for land ownership, 'we have only one system of granting free homesteads to settlers, and the same rule applies to every settler coming into the province...irrespective of his nationality or religious belief'.⁷⁶

Some Doukhobors began following a man by the name of Alexander Bodyansky, who had just arrived from Russia, and was a great follower of Tolstoy. As a more educated person, he helped to put voice to the discontent the Doukhobors were feeling about their situation in Canada, while also cultivating the seeds of extremism within the Doukhobor communities. Thus the fractionalization of the community was becoming more intense and more divisions were showing. There were those who preferred to follow the directives of the Canadian authorities, work for payment, and own land: these became known as the "Independents". Another group who wished to remain loyal to Peter Verigin and their communal convictions: these remained Doukhobors, and were to eventually form what is known today as the "Union of Spiritual Communities of Christ" (USCC). The last group that began to take shape leaned more toward extremism and fanaticism later became known as the "Sons of Freedom" or "Freedomites".

The more radical elements in the communities began to collectively voice their discontent with their situation in Canada and protest what they perceived as the Government's intervention into their lives and the possibility that this would be used against them, have to take up arms on behalf of the government later. Thus, in 1902, this group decided

to undertake an action that had not been considered before: 1,700 persons undertook a pilgrimage that lasted about a month which was meant to symbolize "the total renunciation of all earthly concerns and a millenarian search for the Kingdom on God on earth."⁷⁷ This was considered by many Canadians to be evidence of a mistake for letting this group of people into Canada and thus an embarrassment to the Canadian officials.

Shortly after, on 18 December 1902, Peter V. Verigin (Peter the Lordly) arrived in Canada. He quickly worked to bandage the rift that was created between the three groups, although this rift has never totally been healed. He made it clear that communal life was the true path that the Doukhobors must follow in Canada, but for those who wished to live on separate farms, they should also be allowed to do so as "freedom must be the basis of the new brotherhood."⁷⁸

Early in 1903, Verigin met with Government officials to learn about the responsibilities the Doukhobors would need to perform under the Dominion Land Act in order that the land could be officially registered in their names. This act, coupled with Verigin's ability to bring most of the Doukhobors back together, also began to heal the Government's embarrassment over the pilgrimage. However, Verigin discovered that in order to officially be given title to the land, within three years of registering, that the land would only be given over to naturalized citizens; meaning those who took an oath of allegiance to the British Crown. This would be objectionable to the Doukhobors because, given their history with the Tsarist government in

Russia, swearing allegiance to the government meant that they would have to bear arms on behalf of the government (survival-based fears) and also, their sovereignty with regards to their religious practices could also be in question (identity-based questions).

Compounding this issue was some confusion that was created by a government official who might have stated (or was interpreted to be said as such) that the oath of allegiance was not obligatory. Woodcock argues that the official "probably said that there were provisions for those who wished to affirm their allegiance rather than swear it."⁷⁹ What might have happened is that the Doukhobors chose to interpret this as meaning that it wasn't obligatory and the provisions might not have been explained.

Thus, the only a handful of Doukhobors chose not to enter their land for registry. However, Verigin made it clear to his followers that although the land would be registered individually, it would still be owned, cultivated, and considered as communal property. This would prove to be a point of contention later with the Government as more settlers began arriving in the area, and the need for available land for these settlers would become important.

In the meantime, while the three years of leeway was granted before the allegiance to the British Crown would become a greater issue, Verigin worked on developing the villages and land of the Doukhobors. He worked on buying more land, modernizing farming methods and improving the lot of his brethren. The Government ultimately wished that the Doukhobors would eventually assimilate so that the

hostilities directed toward the Doukhobors would lessen there would be less pressure from the "Anglo-Saxons" that the good land was taken up by a group of people that they were already prejudiced against. Verigin, on the other hand, felt that some accommodation to the Government was necessary in order to buy some time as well as to continue building the community in his vision. However, fully accommodating was never in his mind.

The relative peace that enveloped the community with Verigin's arrival soon began to show some holes of discontent. The more extreme elements in the community, who felt that the previous writings of Tolstoy and Verigin which preached the seemingly opposite of Verigin's current plans of modernization, accommodation (to the Government) and accumulation (of land, farming machinery, animals, seeds, food, etc.) were more in line with the true path of the Doukhobor path. This group was made of from the handful of Doukhobors who earlier refused to enter into the Land Registry and began to call themselves "Svobodniki", translating as "Freedomites", but also being called "Sons of Freedom".

The Sons of Freedom were clearly puzzled by the discrepancy between Verigin's compromises with authority and the radical teachings that his published letters appeared to convey. Since he had not actually condemned the zeal that had led them to embark on their pilgrimage, they evolved devious theory that the letters in fact still expressed Verigin's true wishes and that his instructions to comply with regulations were only meant to deceive the Canadian government. By a perversion of reasoning that was to become popular among Sons of Freedom in later decades, they argued that he meant his followers to understand precisely the opposite of what he said in public for the benefit

of outsiders, and therefore if they continued to act in the radical spirit of the letters they would earn his approval.⁸⁰

As Woodcock states, "[t]hey evolved a way of manifesting their beliefs quite novel in Doukhobor history."⁸¹ They began to travel from village to village to teach their brethren about how to become a true Doukhobor and managed to recruit a few more people. Upon amassing a group of 52 men, women and children, they decided to march naked to show, as one Freedomite said "nature to humanity, how man should return to his fatherland and return the ripened fruit and its seed."⁸²

The date for this initial protest march was dated 11 May 1903. They marched through 16 villages before being ordered to stop by Verigin, whereupon he chose to deal with this group by beating the 28 men with willow twigs.⁸³ The men were released after been beaten and they continued on to the larger "Canadian" settlement of Yorkton, where a group of local people refused them entry until they were dressed, upon which they were arrested for 3 months for public indecency. This did not stop here, as Tarasoff describes, "[a]fter their release, 10 of these men set fire to the canvas on a reaping machine, and trampled down some wheat, as a symbolic attack on materialism and science."⁸⁴ Verigin, in turn pressed charges of arson on six of the men who were jailed for three years, because Verigin felt threatened that his modernization plans would be thwarted by unchecked violent attacks. Verigin's own Survival-based worldview was threatened by the dissention of his followers.

The response of Verigin falls in-line with authoritarian leaders who feel threatened, and the Freedomite's reaction to the violence was the reaction of more violence. However, as Verigin held more authority, his "might" was more "right" and his punishment was seen as justified. Unfortunately, this only served to justify the actions of the "Freedomites" even more, and proved to be tactics that they would undertake again in the future. Furthermore now the Canadian public was involved and the Government was being asked to justify letting the "Doukhobor Problem" become out of control. Regrettably, this group's actions also attracted a lot of attention, as they continued to use nudity and burning in their activities, and with that, there came a tendency to paint all those of Doukhobor origins with the same "paintbrush", regardless of their affiliation to one of the three earlier described groups.

Compounding the plans of Verigin were the "Independent" Doukhobors. Although they believed in the Doukhobor faith, they rejected communism as the means for expressing their faith. Thus, while Verigin was amassing more property, machinery, livestock, etc., his plan required that the labour that was paid outside the community as well as the gains that were made from within the community were to go to the community pool of resources. The "Independents" did not agree and felt that whatever work they did, they should reap the rewards themselves and did not contribute the much needed funds the group needed in order to repay the loans they have received along the way.

However, given that the Doukhobors who arrived in Canada a few short years previously were illiterate peasants, they

managed to become quite successful. As the financial aspects of the group will have future relevance and consequences and as the formation and function of the communities undertook a communist form, which was unacceptable to the form and function the Canadian Government had outlined, it is significant to describe these aspects here. Future contention and misunderstanding will develop and these will become central issues. Woodcock relates an account that is worth mentioning here to describe the set up and financial aspects of the group in 1905.

The villages send their members to work outside, collected their earnings and dispatched them to the central treasury. In 1905 these earnings varied, according to village, from \$1,000 to \$4,830, and totaled \$114,136. Sales of produce and other general financial transactions were arranged through the central office in Veregin. The income from miscellaneous sources in 1905 was \$75,646, but this included a bank loan of \$50,500 that Veregin had been able to negotiate at the very advantageous rate of 4 percent. During the same year great investments were made in machinery, so that there was a total expenditure of \$249,963 and a deficit, not counting the bank loan, of \$60,180, covered by communal assets (quite apart from the village property of \$61,925.

These figures give an incomplete idea of the productiveness of the Community, which was largely self-supporting. In 1904 some 100,000 bushels of wheat were grown and ground into flour for the use of villagers, while flax, grown as a first crop on the newly broken ground, as well as the wool of the 3,000 sheep in the Community flocks, was spun and woven into cloth by the women. The herds of communally owned cattle had increased to more than 5,000 and now provided an adequate supply of dairy products, while in 1906 there were 1,057 horses. None of this livestock was included in the assets of the Community.

In land the Community had some 42,500 acres actually under cultivation.

By daring deficit financing Verigin was in fact building up the infrastructure of a self-contained community. While the villages owned their simple farm implements, such as ploughs, harrows, and horse-drawn mowers, the machinery and the industrial plant were in the hands of the Community as a whole. At the end of 1905 it owned sixteen steam engines, which went round the villages for ploughing in the spring, and eleven threshing machines. It possessed six flour mills and five sawmills. Two miles from Verigin a brickworks was established, making bricks and tiles for sale as well as for use in the villages, where some of the original sod or wattle houses were being replaced by more durable structures. At Yorkton there was a plant for making cement blocks, as well as warehouses and a home for sick Doukhobors. At Verigin, beside the railway, stood the great warehouses for storing goods that were bought wholesale for the Community from Winnipeg, Ontario, even Vancouver, and sent to the villages, where they were distributed according to need among the people.⁸⁵

All of this was created and managed by the 7,852 Community Doukhobors that lived in the villages in 1906. However successful they were amongst themselves, they were not able to engender goodwill among their neighbours. Although their communal foundations enabled them to keep their culture intact, their unwillingness to interact with and find points of unity with their neighbors created a situation that led to their own alienation.

From the ordinary people of the prairies the Doukhobors kept aloof; they were disinclined to learn the English that would have enabled them to communicate, and they were by tradition suspicious of outsiders. Other settlers were often resentful of their clannishness or jealous of their landholdings, and the Doukhobors made no overtures likely to soften their neighbours' prejudice. In the prairie towns the goodwill they had originally built up among the merchants by their trustworthiness was turned into

hostility when the Community began to buy goods wholesale and to cut itself off completely from local markets. This meant that when they came to need them the Doukhobors found themselves almost without friends or defenders in the prairies.⁸⁶

Unfortunately, they continued to follow in this pattern of self-imposed isolation emerging from their survival and identity-based decision-making processes into their future endeavours and later to their new communities. Perhaps, had the Doukhobours engaged with their neighbours and came to find points of agreement, understanding, and unity, they may have had the support they needed to continue their communities in the Prairies and not felt compelled to leave at a later date. The Doukhobors' own self-imposed isolationism created a situation in which creating points of unity with their neighbors could not take place.

In the years 1906-1907, the disagreement with the Government over the issue of lands was of primary importance. The Government felt the pressure of providing lands for the large amounts of new settlers who would realize the free market potential of the country and make it more prosperous which was compounded by the pressure they already faced from the existing homesteaders who were not too pleased with a strange group of people who kept to themselves and had followers who went on protest marches and also demonstrated in the nude. The Government really didn't take the time to try to understand this group of people. The issues of education, registration, and taxation were of secondary importance at this time. It would be later years that these issues would play an ever greater

role in the developing conflict with the government of Canada and the Doukhobors' neighbours.

Verigin and his followers did not wish for the Doukhobors to actually swear allegiance, as their previous experience had demonstrated that when they were forced to swear allegiance to the Tsar, it meant that conscription was also imposed. They feared conscription and did not trust any authority figure. The Doukhobors could not get beyond the mistrust and fear, characteristic of survival-based worldviews. Thus, they could not engage in any meaningful and productive consultations that might have led to greater understanding on both sides, and perhaps to points of unity among them.

In the spring of 1906, the new Minister of Interior, Frank Oliver set up a commission to investigate the Doukhobor land issue. The authorities wanted to encourage individual farming and break up the large aggregations of Doukhobor land. This went against what Lord Sifton had asserted in 1902 that the Doukhobors would be free to "live in villages, and would be exempted from the obligation to cultivate individual quarter sections provided they tilled an adequate proportion of their communally held lands."⁸⁷

Oliver reinterpreted the Dominion Land Act to determine that the "Doukhobor land entries were to be 'dealt with in all respects as ordinary homesteads.'"⁸⁸ This meant that the Doukhobors could no longer only farm and manage communal tracts of land; they would also need to farm lands that were allocated to them personally. When Oliver's team

inspected the Doukhobor lands, they discovered that more than one hundred of the allocated plots were irregular.

The Doukhobors, following Verigin, had an understanding that they were not going to submit to the authorities. They were strongly entrenched in an Identity-based worldview in which it was more important for them to keep their community and identity intact, rather than submit to the authorities. This is evidenced in the following catechism that in 1904 was circulating through the villages at the time and published in the *Winnipeg Telegram*:

Q. Why do you not wish to become subject?

A. The teaching of our Saviour forbids it.

Q. Of what kingdom are you subjects?

A. Of that which has no bounds.

Q. To what law are you subject?

A. To that which has no bounds.

Q. Of what faith are you?

A. Judge by our deeds.

Q. To what society do you belong?

A. To the Universal Brotherhood.

Q. In what land do you live?

A. In the world, temporarily.

Q. Wherein has the love of God revealed itself to us?

A. In that God has sent into the world a son of like substance, that through Him we might be saved. Kings! You exist for men who like yourselves are men of war. Peoples! As Christians we cannot take part in any conflicts and dissensions, and therefore you may leave us in peace...⁸⁹

Verigin also made it clear where the Doukhobors (the ones who did not declare themselves as independent) stood in a letter to Vladimir Chertkov, which became published in *Svobodnoe Slovo*, a periodical published by the Tolstoyans in England. In this letter he described how the conditions the Government was placing on the Doukhobors to register

their lands, cultivate them independently, and to swear allegiance as intolerable and against their principles. Furthermore, with regard to having to comply with the Government's demands he states "[t]here is yet two years' term, and the time will show what will then happen. To speak openly, many of the Doukhobors are now dissatisfied with the climate and with cattle breeding. And taking all things together, whether it will not compel the Doukhobors to emigrate from Canada, cannot be guaranteed."⁹⁰ This demonstrated that the Doukhobors would rather leave this new home than compromise their Identity-based ideals.

The Government, on the other hand, was not going to compromise in its requirement that the Doukhobors become naturalized citizens and did not understand why the Doukhobors did not wish to become naturalized, despite the Government's assurances that they would be exempt from military service. (The Doukhobors did not trust any authorities, and as far as the Doukhobors were concerned, the Government had already said that they would not have to swear allegiance, and now they were going back on that promise.)

In the end, some 235 Independents made legal entries, and were assisted with those 136 who had already taken the oath to have ownership over 59,360 acres of land. The Government put 122,880 acres of land in 61 villages under Government reserve for the Community Doukhobors (so that they would not completely be landless). However, well over half of the land originally granted to the Doukhobors was taken from them and on 1 June 1907, 258,880 acres of land were made available for sale to the general public which set forth an

unprecedented land rush to the Prairies and illustrated the original intentions of the Government to accommodate those that were more compliant with their policies.⁹¹

This crisis induced the more radical elements in the community to again express their displeasure with the authorities and with Verigin himself. Once again they began a long march and settled for a short time near Lake Superior. Whereupon they began their characteristic nude protest marches, and initially, the police only reprimanded them. As this behaviour continued, they began arresting making arrests and, eventually, via several jails, they sent them home.⁹²

Verigin began planning for the next stage of development as he foretold in his letter to Chertov—the Doukhobors would begin searching for new land and a new life. Although there was some discussion about a return to Russia, Verigin discovered that this was impossible. Rather, they decided to begin exploring the Western United States as possibilities, and on their initial tour, found another place that held promise: the province of British Columbia. However, because their Identity-based worldview would remain entrenched, they were not free from their problems. The problems they would encounter in British Columbia would prove to be more devastating than what they were currently experiencing in Saskatchewan.

In British Columbia: Mixture of Identity and Survival-based worldviews leads to fractionalization and disintegration

Much of what develops in British Columbia with the Doukhobors is a direct result of a mixture of both Identity-based and Survival-based worldviews. The Doukhobors were strongly motivated by their identity as a Doukhobor and their characteristic beliefs, however, as more threats were placed on them, survival-based issues again began to play an increasing role in the worldviews of many of the Doukhobors and Sons of Freedom alike. However, issues of survival would play an even greater role with the Sons of Freedom, and their actions would clearly demonstrate the extreme behaviour and attitudes of a Survival-based Worldview.

Verigin began buying up large tracts of land under his name, not under the name of the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood. This did not mean that he desired to keep the lands for himself and for profit, although it did illustrate his desire to keep control over the community. Verigin had left the lands to the Community in his will along with appointed Trustees from the Community. His main desire was to further the development of the Community and prevent the possibility of ambiguity of land ownership as well as any independents from defecting from the Community and taking any of the Community lands from them (as had been the case in Saskatchewan). Verigin's strong Identity-based worldview led him to believe that they could begin a new life in a new place rather than compromising their ideals and beliefs, coupled with the fact that they were in danger of losing their lands, and thus their livelihood that brought forth a resurgence of a slightly buried Survival-based worldview and had led him to conclude that the Community must be protected and preserved.⁹³

By 1908, Verigin had purchased and accumulated some 8,000 acres of land, which by 1910 increased to 10,000 in the Kootenay region of British Columbia. By the time Verigin died in 1924, the Community Doukhobors had accumulated 21,648 acres in British Columbia. In Saskatchewan, in 1907 when the Government opened up the reserves for homesteads, many independent Doukhobors purchased much of the land. By 1918, when the Government finally abolished the reserve land it was holding for the Doukhobors, this was sold to individual Veriginite Doukhobors (with a loan of \$71,445 from Sun Life Assurance Company) who turned this land over to the Community Doukhobors. This land, along with the land that was still owned by the Community Doukhobors in the areas of Verigin, Kylemore, and Kelvington Saskatchewan; Benito, Manitoba; and Lundbreck and Cowley, Alberta, the Community Doukhobors had a total of 71,587 acres of land when Verigin passed away in 1924.

A problem that began to arise was that the Doukhobor Community faced the challenges of being geographically fragmented. This brought the danger of disuniting the various geographical groups as they were used to having their leaders close in order to guide them. As well, in order to begin again (with land purchases, transportation of the Doukhobors and some equipment to the new Communities and the purchase of new machinery for clearing forests, Verigin had accumulated a great deal of debt.

However, as Woodcock describes this period, the Doukhobors fared rather well.

An abundance of willing labour, men, women, and even children, who would work during summer through the long hours of daylight, was in fact the great advantage possessed by the Community over the non-Doukhobors who at that time were endeavouring to set up individual farms in the Kootenays. It enabled them to manipulate gang labour for clearing the forests, creating the irrigation systems, tilling the ground for the first crops, and planting fruit trees. It provided a pool on which local farmers and sawmill-owners could draw at a time when casual hands were scarce in the interior of British Columbia. It provided men who worked on the railways and on the construction jobs, as they had done in the prairies, and labour for the contracts into which the Community entered to provide railway ties and telegraph poles from the timber on its lands.⁹⁴

Moreover, one year later, at the end of 1909, the Community was well on its way to establishing itself.

"At Brilliant...some seven hundred already settled. They had made several miles of roads, built two sawmills and a number of communal houses, stables, and out-buildings, cleared five hundred acres of forest land and planted it with fruit trees, terraced hillsides to form vineyards, and constructed a concrete reservoir with a capacity of a million gallons, linked with a number of irrigation channels. In addition to these considerable tasks, on their own account they had managed during the summer to earn thirty thousand dollars from outside employment."⁹⁵

By 1917 when Verigin decided to relinquish the direct control of the assets of the Community, it was incorporated into the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood Ltd., with a capitalization of \$1,000,000 and shares held by 14 shareholders, who each signed that the shares they owned

were actually in trust for the members of the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood, or the Community Doukhobors.⁹⁶ In an assessment in 1923, the Community's assets were valued at \$5,752,479, while it is reported that in 1924, the assets were valued at \$6,410,822, with unpaid mortgages at \$1,113,300.⁹⁷

However, much was proudly accumulated by the Doukhobors, they actually lived in a rather austere manner in communal houses with only the basics. This frugal lifestyle was prescribed by Verigin for the dual purposes of their religious values (not placing a lot of value on material wealth), and for the purposes of economy so that the greatest amount of personal assets went to the building up of capital assets and the paying off of the principle and interest related to the debts.

There was a general feeling that the Doukhobors could view upon Verigin to look "after all one's affairs and [deal] with the threatening outside world."⁹⁸ The fact that the Doukhobors only felt safe in the boundaries of their own Community, is strongly characteristic of a Survival-based worldview, much as a child looks to a parent to keep them safe.

Verigin had created a community that was controlled in all aspects by himself. He was their religious leader, the president of their corporation, and the ultimate decision-maker. He controlled every aspect of life for these people and this began to create some divisions amongst his followers. Woodcock refers to Maloff, a Doukhorbor historian, who describes the beginnings of the rifts

between three classes of people, the believers, "the pseudo-believers, and the non-believers."⁹⁹

The pseudo-believers were composed of a more educated and elite group who had gained considerable business experience managing the Community enterprise and also had a lot of contact with the greater non-Doukhobor community. They no longer believed in the ideals of the Community and wished more for materialistic gain privately, but publicly tried not to demonstrate this quality.

The non-believers were younger and no longer shared the same religious points of view and were disappointed with the narrowness of points of view and the confined setting of the Community.

Those who were opposed to Verigin's leadership and the management of the Community were not likely to outwardly voice their displeasure. Like any authoritarian leader who is accorded respect due to their rank, Verigin tightly controlled the meetings and devised methods for controlling the opposition.

Besides, the Community had its own miniature criminal code for dealing with those who were regarded as disloyal. Public censure was the lightest punishment. More serious offenders would be deprived of their flour ration for anything from three days to a month. The gravest punishment was expulsion from the Community, and few were willing to risk this, since they were turned away without any means whatsoever and lacked the skills or the linguistic ability to live in the outside world as anything better than casual labourers. Moreover, there was no free land on which to make a start in southern British Columbia as there had been on the prairies.¹⁰⁰

Furthermore, the Community's mistrust of authorities, a history of an oral tradition, and an unwillingness to become acculturated into a non-Doukhobor environment founded a belief that the only education that was needed was the one that was passed down through the Doukhobor teachings and life in the Community. However, this also served another function for Verigin. By keeping the majority of the population uneducated, he could also keep tighter restrictions and control over the community.

Meanwhile, the Independents in Saskatchewan were developing institutions of their own, and began following the intellectual advice of Peter Makaroff, who became a practicing lawyer after graduating from the University of Saskatchewan. "Without adopting any of the pretensions of the traditional leaders, he became the intellectual guide to those Doukhobors who had chosen the path of opposition to Peter Verigin but were not prepared to abandon entirely their loyalties to the past of the sect."¹⁰¹

This was a huge threat to the plans of Verigin who needed to ensure that he had a large body of willing people to carry out the enterprise of the Community and continue to pay off the outstanding debts. As the Independents gained in number and in prosperity, there would be more temptation from the disgruntled members in British Columbia to abandon the enterprise and follow the Independent's example. This could spell disaster for Verigin and the Community so in 1913, "he forbade intercourse with Independents under penalty of expulsion from the Community. Families had become divided in the allegiances, and Community members

were expected to give up contact even with their relatives."¹⁰² This move by Verigin would further the discontent within the Community.

Although there were some opposition movements in British Columbia prior to Peter "the Lordly" Verigin's death in 1924, they only served to create lines of fractionalization amongst the members, which after his death, would create the greatest amount of conflict punctuated by violent and aggressive acts in the history of the Doukhobors. However, Verigin felt very threatened and continued on a campaign to destroy the disobedient Independents so that they would not form an alternative to his vision.

In 1917, with the First World War, the National Service Act of 1917 came into effect, thereby ordering mandatory military service for the Canadian people. Although the Doukhobors were exempt from military service as promised, Verigin felt that the Independent Doukhobors were no longer Doukhobors (as they failed to follow his vision and orders) and rallied the Government to enforce Military Service amongst the Independents while at the same time, threatening those in the Community with informing them that they, too would no longer be exempt from Military Service if they were to leave the Community.

The Government kept their promise and there is no evidence that the government contemplated enforcing Military Service from the Independent Doukhobors or the Community Doukhobors for that manner. Only one incident came to attention in Saskatachewan with a police officer and magistrate jailing some Independent Doukhobors for failure to report for

Military Service. As soon as officials in Ottawa became aware of this issue, they immediately corrected the situation and the Doukhobors were released.

It wasn't long after their arrival in British Columbia that the provincial authorities began to take interest in the Community. Although they had gotten around the issue of oath-taking by buying their land, they still had to deal with issues of education, taxation, and registration (of deaths, marriages, and births in particular).

The first issue that was pressed upon the Doukhobors was of education. In 1911, a school was built in Grand Forks near the Community and Doukhobors were encouraged to send their children. At first a few sent children, then more began. Verigin saw an opportunity and built a school in Brilliant and hired a non-Doukhobor to teach the children.

However, this initial compliance would not last. The Government, underestimating the proclivity of the Doukhobors toward sheltering themselves from the demands of authorities, used a demonstration of their power and authority in order to prove a point. The police, having discovered that a death in the Community wasn't registered, jailed four Doukhobor men for three months. Immediately, all Doukhobor children were pulled from the schools and in a special meeting, the Doukhobors, in a classic demonstration of an Identity-based worldview action, agreed to a mass refusal of compliance with any registration laws. This demonstration initiated the long struggle that the Doukhobors would have with the Governments of British Columbia and Canada, as well as with a lot of internal

strife, from which they still have not recovered to this day.

The local authorities near the Community were up in arms over this massive amount of civil disobedience and brought this to the attention of the very conservative Provincial Government. In response, this started the initiation of a long series of Commissions to look into the affairs of the Doukhobors.

Sir Richard McBride chose a locally-based Conservative by the name of William Blakemore to personally conduct the investigation into the Doukhobor Communities in B.C. and in the prairies in the fall of 1912. Blakemore was very thorough and for the most part tried to understand the reasons behind the Doukhobor actions. He tried to bring out the ideological arguments of the Doukhobors against education, even using their own words to describe them in his report.

He finished his report with a series of recommendations, wisely suggesting that

no drastic immediate steps should be taken to force compliance with the education and registration laws, that the government be patient with the people and put pressure only on the leaders, and that when action had to be taken, fines rather than imprisonment should be imposed. He suggested the appointment of a Doukhobor sub-registrar and of Russian teachers, and a simplification of the curriculum to arouse Doukhobor confidence.¹⁰³

It seemed as though Blakemore had tried to get to the root of the Doukhobor issue and try to suggest how the Government could possibly find a way of bringing resolve to

these issues in a compassionate manner. However, any credibility he may have gained with the Doukhobors was immediately lost as soon as the report became public and it was discovered that he declared "[t]hat it was in the best interests of the country that the Order in Council granting exemption from military service should be cancelled."¹⁰⁴

As soon as this was discovered by the Doukhobors, their mistrust of the Government was refreshed as they felt that the authorities were to break their word about allowing for the exemption of Military Service. Thus, they felt if they complied with the authorities on the issues of education, registration, and taxation, conscription would be next and this would be intolerable.

The local non-Doukhobors, on the other hand, who were already prejudiced against the Doukhobors, felt that Blakemore was too sympathetic toward to the Doukhobors and rejected the concerns of the local authorities and business community. Woodcock describes how "[t]he local Conservative leaders and the businessmen's associations, annoyed at Blakemore's rejection of their charges, renewed their agitations as soon as his findings were published. The police in their turn began to exhume Doukhobor bodies in order to gain evidence. In August 1913 they raided a Doukhobor village in an attempt to seize witnesses, and were driven away by rioting women who attacked them with fence rails."¹⁰⁵ Thus the Doukhobors, feeling unsafe, as though the outside world was conspiring against them, began to exhibit the extreme characteristics of a Survival-based worldview.

As the Government began a campaign of coercion and threats to try to get the Doukhobors to submit to their demands, the Doukhobors began to display behaviours that would become known as the hallmark of Doukhobor protest in the future. In 1914, a group of elders sent a long list of grievances to the Attorney General in Victoria stating that if their grievances are not given due consideration and proper treatment that they might emigrate and will begin mass nude protests. Ironically, these statements were not initiated by the more radical elements within the Doukhobor Community known as the Sons of Freedom, but were from the orthodox Community Doukhobors themselves. However, it would be the Sons of Freedom who would take the initiative and carry out these actions in the future. What is interesting about this turn of events is that these threats demonstrate how deeply embedded the Doukhobors were in their worldviews and that the line of demarcation between the actions of the Sons of Freedom and those of the Community Doukhobors could easily be erased when under extreme threat.

The Attorney General, simply declared that he was ready to imprison any of them for indecent exposure and issued the "first specifically anti-Doukhobor legislation to be enacted in Canada. This was the Community Regulation Act. It repeated the obligations under law to provide vital statistics and send children to school, and it specified the fines to be levied. It differed from previous legislation in the adding a clause that allowed distraint on the possessions of the Community for the offenses of its members."¹⁰⁶

Doukhobor children would not be sent to school from the winter of 1914-1915. As the Government began to look into the action it could take, the Attorney General "took it upon himself to guarantee that no para-military exercises or religious education would be forced on Doukhobor children."¹⁰⁷ In turn, Verigin promised to enroll enough students to fill the schools that existed at the time. However, full compliance was never reached as only a fraction of Doukhobor children were actually enrolled in school and attendance was poor. However, this was enough to temporarily satisfy the Government.

As the war ended, and it became obvious to the non-Doukhobors that the conscientious objectors were able to earn money during the war as they did not need to serve, and thus the non-Doukhobors felt that they suffered a double injury as a result. Anti-Doukhobor resentment grew even stronger. This time, the Government joined in the patriotic and militaristic sentiment rallying throughout the Kootenays.

In March 1919 Doukhobors were denied the right to vote in Provincial elections, and a minister publicly stated in a speech while touring the region that "Doukhobors should be made to live up to the law!"¹⁰⁸

Others felt that simply living up to the law was not enough. In February 1919, a group of returning soldiers in Nelson demanded that the Doukhobors be sent back to Russia and that their lands should be given to the veterans of the war. In April, in Grand Forks, similar demands were also made and immediately a group of twelve returning soldiers

went to Brilliant to force Verigin to comply with these demands. During this encounter, Verigin signed an agreement that would give Doukhobor lands to the Soldiers' Settlement Board and local surveyors came out to survey and appraise the land. A few days later, Verigin changed his mind and wired the minister of the interior claiming he signed the agreement under duress.¹⁰⁹

Word of this situation also reached other parts of Canada, and some support was rallied in defense of the Doukhobors. The Minister of the Interior, Arthur Meighen ruled that the Soldier's Settlement Board had no right to these lands and the matter was settled. However, the prejudices and suspicions on both sides were to stay entrenched.

The Community was not left unscathed from the damages of the war and was in a rapid state of decline. In order to keep up the payments of taxes and repayment of the loans, Verigin had to further reduce the spending of the Community. This created even more discontent within the Community itself. Verigin publicly appealed for the Government to assist the Community and form another Commission to investigate, but the Government did not respond to these requests.

In the Fall of 1922, Doukhobors began pulling their children out of school and the Government responded quickly by levying hefty fines and sending the police to the Community to seize Community goods in lieu of the unpaid fines. This was a pretty hefty price to pay for non-compliance. This time, the fines were paid. However, a peculiar string of arsons began in which the schools were

being targeted began in May 1923.¹¹⁰ An established pattern soon became visible: Community goods would be seized in lieu of the fine payment, and a school would be burnt until a total of nine schools were destroyed.

Verigin denied connection to the burnings which were attributed to the "Nudes", "Anarchists", and "Outlaws", who were unhappy with Verigin's leadership. In short, these violent acts were attributed to the Sons of Freedom movement, who had also targeted Verigin's house, a Community sawmill and a poleyard owned by the Community. The question of education would prove to be a contentious issue for many years.

However, Peter "The Lordly" Verigin's reign would soon end abruptly. On 29 October 1924, the train carriage that Verigin was traveling in exploded into flames. To this day, rumours abound about what actually happened and there are many who attribute this to an act of assassination rather than an accident. Verigin had many enemies from amongst the Doukhobors as well as with the non-Doukhobor population. As well, there remains the possibility that Verigin was not the target of a plot, but rather John A. Mackie, a member of the B.C. Legislative Assembly for Grand Forks, who was traveling in the same compartment as Verigin could have been the target. Whatever the case, it was never resolved, and legend within the community abounds surrounding the circumstances of this event.

As Verigin did not name an heir to his leadership, the Doukhobors were once again in a situation that threatened more division. The Independents felt that the Doukhobors no

longer needed a leader; the Sons of Freedom felt that the time had come for the Tsar of Heaven to rule over the earth; and the Community was divided between naming Verigin's son, Peter Petrovich as leader; or amongst those who held the most influence over the financial aspects of the Community, the choice of Anastasia Gulbova was favoured. In the end, the majority chose Peter Petrovich, and he was immediately sent for from Russia.

Peter Petrovich Verigin was happy to take over leadership of the Doukhobors, and in his first act of leadership from Russia, immediately implored to the Doukhobors in B.C. to begin sending their children to school as he felt that school was beneficial. Thus in 1925, the issue of education was temporarily stayed. However, Petrovich Verigin was not ready to immediately come to Canada and delayed his departure. During this time, acting on letters to the Doukhobors from Russia, Petrovich Verigin began asking for money so that he could leave Russia. The amount that was spent was undetermined but conservative estimates claim this figure to be around \$18,000.¹¹¹ He eventually departed Russia in 1927 without his wife and son, Peter, but not before he was jailed by the authorities in Milky Waters for drunkenness, counter-revolutionary tactics, and accused of brawling with his followers, as well as attempting to exhort money from the Milky Waters' Community funds. These kinds of activities would continue during his leadership in Canada.

Soon after his arrival in Canada, Peter recognized that the largest immediate threat to the Community was the huge debt facing them. The Community was facing extreme financial

difficulties with debts amounting to approximately \$1,250,000. The Community, desperately searching for some assistance, appealed to the provincial government to repay the Doukhobors \$150,000 for the money and labour they spent building roads and bridges in the Kootenays that the Provincial Government and the public now used for regular transportation. The Doukhobors felt that they saved the Government a great deal of money by building this infrastructure that was in use as a Provincial structure. The Government did not respond to this plea for assistance.¹¹² This was to become another source of grievance for the Doukhobors against the Government as they struggled with issues that threatened survival.

The Doukhobors, in turn, took out a loan of \$350,000 through National Trust who represented the Canadian Bank of Commerce to pay the taxes and more immediate, pressing debts.¹¹³ By 1928, the debts totaled \$1,202,579.¹¹⁴ Peter Petrovich Verigin decided that the most prudent road to follow would be to begin relieving the burden of debt amongst the Doukhobors and by the time he died in 1939, he managed to cut the debt in half.

However, Peter Petrovich Verigin would soon become known as "Peter the Purger" as he declared that his role was "not to destroy the Community but to strengthen it with purgation, and to bring unity to the Doukhobors."¹¹⁵ A shift began to take place within the Community from a more Identity-based worldview to one of Survival as the Community began facing more challenges that threatened their very existence. It wasn't long before the Doukhobors realized that Peter the Purger's form of leadership was through authoritarian means

as he instilled fear in the hearts and minds of his followers. His abuse of alcohol and the tirades that accompanied these periods of abuse became well known, not only amongst his followers, but also with the non-Doukhobors. He often engaged in drunken brawls with Doukhobors, and non-Doukhobors alike. Woodcock describes Peter Verigin in the following manner:

...[Peter] fought a personal battle; and if any consistent thread can be seen in his actions, it is that of nihilism in the strictest sense. There is little evidence that he held anything sacred. An irresponsible and unprincipled use of power seems to have characterized his relations with his followers, and a similar arbitrariness, a temperamental lawlessness, governed his relations with Canadian society. Inevitably, Canadian society fought back...¹¹⁶

He soon began making many plans for financial security, some of which were more legitimate than others. One of his plans of financial reform that would leave the other Community Doukhobors fighting for Survival later was one in which Community Doukhobors were required to pay a flat sum of money to the Community each year, and anything above this, could be used however each family deemed appropriate. This levy varied with the economic realities of each year, and in essence each family was paying the equivalent of rent for the use of Community lands. The Community Doukhobors would be given right to the profits of the Community however they did not have any proprietorship over the land.¹¹⁷ This unilateral decision, although did help to reduce the amount of debt facing the Doukhobors, it also ended up having a disastrous impact upon the rest of the members of the community.

In 1932, Peter the Purger was jailed for perjury. His initial sentence of 3 years was reduced to eighteen months, and although there were many nude demonstrations on behalf of the Sons of Freedom, it was not to support him, but actually they were against his policy to oust the Sons of Freedom members from the Doukhobor Communities. As the Dominion Government had only a year earlier created a law against public nudity, the Government was now faced with the problem of finding jails for the several hundred convicted of this offense and also of finding measures to take care of the children. Peter the Purger became the target of the Government as they took actions to remove him permanently from the Doukhobor Community, believing that if they removed him, they would remove the problems with the Doukhobors.

Almost half-way through his sentence, the Government decided to secretly pardon Peter, only to have him later arrested for deportation on an order from Immigration. He was secretly taken for deportation, where given the circumstances in Russia, it would be likely he would face a concentration camp for a home. The secret did get out, and some Doukhobors came to his rescue, and just as he was about to be loaded onto a ship in Nova Scotia, managed to legally challenge the Government's secret deportation order. Although the Supreme Court in Nova Scotia declared the Government's actions illegal, the Supreme Court of Canada declared their actions legal. However, most Canadians supported Peter, not because they liked him, but because they found the actions of the Government to their distaste and the Government did not pursue the deportation further. However, this action on behalf of the Government

of Canada, later was to become fuel for the Doukhobors as well as the Sons of Freedom as it helped to solidify their Survival-based belief that the Government of Canada could not be trusted (as many were likely to believe anyway due to their treatment in Russia), and the Government's authoritarian actions did indeed create the breeding ground for more conflict, especially as Peter's legal battles continued on.

As Peter the Purger continued to make unfavourable headlines throughout the rest of the decade, the general public's attention became focused on the "Doukhobor Problem". However, increasingly, Peter the Purger became even more aligned with a Survival-based worldview as he struggled to keep the Community Doukhobors together in order to maintain his plans of reducing the amount of debt owned by the Doukhobor Community, but managed to further divide the Doukhobors as he began ousting the Sons of Freedom from the ranks. Meanwhile, membership in the Community Doukhobors began to rapidly decline as some became disenchanted with the leadership present in the Community and generally went into three directions. They either went their own way and integrated into the larger Canadian Society or joined the ranks of the declared "Independent Doukhobors" who wanted to have a more loosely organized group or else they joined the ranks of Sons of Freedom, who now had begun living in a separate parcel of land that was not as arable as the Community Doukhobor lands. Others simply rejected the Doukhobors altogether and integrated more completely into Canadian society.

From 1927-1938 Peter Chistiakov managed to pay off \$704,243 of the \$1,202,000 debt that the Community Doukhobors had accrued prior to his arrival as leader, \$543,661 in interest, and \$301,949 in taxes, and even expanded the capital assets up until 1933, while also managing to make a bit of his own personal profit, it was not enough to keep the Community alive¹¹⁸. By 1938, the cracks in the economic life of the community were visible as they began selling off implements, lumber, machines, and other equipment for next to nothing. By 1939, Sun Life and National Trust began a process of foreclosure on the Doukhobors as they still as yet had unpaid debts and seemed unable to pay them off.

During this time, Peter the Purger also had a great deal more pressure put on him as the Sons of Freedom began engaging in more mass nude protests and arson campaigns. General resistance against any form of authority (including Community Doukhobors) or government involvement became second nature to the Sons of Freedom. The Community Doukhobors tried to exile them from the Community lands, and they had little money and no work. The Survival-based worldview became even stronger in the minds of the Sons of Freedom which began to manifest in religious fanaticism, mass demonstrations (sometimes nude), arson, dynamiting and bombings, and other "Black Work"¹¹⁹ as it was called by those who engaged in these forms of resistance activities. Peter desperately tried to remove any outward appearance that they were connected to the Community. However, the Government and non-Doukhobors only saw how out-of-hand these "Douks" (derogatory term for Doukhobors used by non-Doukhobors) could be.

At one point in 1930, with a large number of adults under arrest for nude demonstrations, the Government tried sending the Sons of Freedom children to Industrial schools (residential schools), whereupon, the children passively resisted any attempts at learning. The Government realized that it was not worthwhile to further attempt this method for the moment. It would be later that Residential schools would come into play again. There were so many Sons of Freedom who were making life difficult not only for the Community and Independent Doukhobors (as non-Doukhobors generally did not discriminate between the various factions), that a new prison on Piers Island was built in 1932 specifically to house the rebellious troublemakers.

With so many adults in prison, 365 Sons of Freedom children were again put into residential schools for delinquent children. Most of these children spent a year under the care of the government. In 1933, with the depression playing a role in finances, most of these children were placed (without parental consent) into homes of Community and Independent Doukhobors. However, the legacy of the psychological damage the children faced in the residential schools would live on.

It was little wonder that the pleas made to the Provincial Government by the Community Doukhobors for assistance under the Farmers' Creditors Arrangement Act fell upon deaf ears as the Community assets and land began being dismantled in the process of foreclosure and dispersed in 1939. The Government saw the Community as a limited company, not as a group of farmers. Not until the process of foreclosure was finalized and the Community Company was dismantled did the

Government step in and begin negotiations with National Trust and the Sun Life Assurance Company as the Government became aware that the displacement of several thousand Doukhobors would be more problematic. The Provincial Government paid the creditors \$296,500, thereby taking ownership over the land under the Land Settlement Board and allowing the Community Doukhobors to stay on the land, paying nominal rent to the Government¹²⁰. The Community Doukhobors were left with land (although rented), but did not have any capital or any equipment to make improvements or developments.

This event in the history is extremely significant as the Doukhobors saw this as a repeat of what happened in the Prairies earlier and their distrust and disdain toward the Government increased. This was especially true for the Sons of Freedom. The Survival-based worldviews of Community Doukhobors and Sons of Freedoms were even stronger than ever, and each extreme of this worldview were manifest in the coming years.

As for Peter Chistiakov, his health had already been in decline, and in February 1939, he passed away. Eighteen-year-old John J. Voykin, Peter's grandson, assumed the leadership role and faced great challenges throughout his term of leadership under the name John J. Verigin.

In 1940, Canadian Parliament passed the National Resources Mobilization Act which required universal registration as a precursor to conscription and with the Selective Service Act in 1943, brought conscription, in principle into all areas of employment. Non-Doukhobors began pressuring the

Canadian Government to revoke the Doukhobor's exemption from National Service. The Government kept their word and left it up to the individual Doukhobor to decide if they would enter military service or remain as objectors. Indeed, some Doukhobors (including Sons of Freedom) did join the military, but the majority did not.

With the majority of Doukhobors feeling that they have been cheated by the Government (due to the recent foreclosure and loss of properties) and with the compulsory registration, the majority of Doukhobors were extremely distrustful. When a military representative came to the Doukhobor community in 1943 to command registration, the Community resoundingly refused. Before this time, the Community and Sons of Freedom were actively employed throughout the Kootenays as non-Doukhobors were focused on the war-effort. During this time, there was little activity on the part of the Sons of Freedom. However, with the added pressure from the Government, the Sons of Freedom went even further than simply saying "no" to registration, and torched the once acclaimed Jam Factory that was originally set up and run by Doukhobors but was now Government owned. This began a new wave of violent action on behalf of the Sons of Freedom with the major targets of property owned by the Doukhobors as well as some by the Government (schools, bridges, Canadian Pacific Railway).

In 1947, the Government appointed an inquiry into the violent activities that were happening within the area of Grand Forks and the Kootenays. Hearings were held and the Community Doukhobors (which had by 1938 formed an alliance called the USCC - Universal Spiritual Communities of Christ

to give voice to the Community Doukhobors) had a lawyer that stressed the importance of security within the Community. With continued insecurity, the Community Doukhobors would not be able to continue with buying back their lands. However, either out of fear of reprisals, or lack of trust in the Government, no Community Doukhobors would testify against the Sons of Freedom. This form of non-action is typical of the other side of the coin by those who hold a Survival-based worldview as they are apt engage in behaviours that do not draw any attention onto themselves out of fear for bringing more trouble. The Government however, wished to have evidence of an "organized conspiracy of terrorism" and target specific people within the ranks of Sons of Freedom. However, an "organized conspiracy" was not the case.

Although it is indisputable that there were some Doukhobors who engaged in terrorist activities, it was not an organized effort. These were simply the manifestations of Survival-based worldview whereupon there is a great deal of pressure put upon groups of people under authoritarian forms of leadership. As we have seen, throughout their history, the authoritarian forms of leadership not only came from within their own communities, but another form was also framing the communities in the larger national governments.

More extreme acts continued during the 1950's and early 1960's. In 1962, the Sons of Freedom from Krestova marched to Vancouver to air their grievances to the world against the government's attempts to assimilate the Sons of Freedom (and all Doukhobors) into mainstream Canadian culture. The

media continued to capture all of the violent activities and outrageous behaviours of the Sons of Freedom. They did not however, see any difference between the groups of Doukhobors and painted Independent and Community Doukhobors with the same brush as they covered the activities of the Sons of Freedom. This resulted in a great deal of discrimination against the Doukhobors that still exists to some extent today, especially in the Kootenay-Boundary region of British Columbia.

However, during this same time, the majority of Doukhobors began the process of gradual assimilation into mainstream Canadian life. "Families became individual and self contained; every man earned for himself and his immediate dependents, and this forced him into closer relations with the world outside. Children attended school fairly regularly, and in localities where Doukhobors were only one element in the population, this brought the children as well as their parents into closer contact with their neighbours"¹²¹.

Yet, the Sons of Freedom were still engaged in terrorist activities. A Government investigation began to really delve into how to solve the unrest. In 1952, they made their findings and suggestions public, and attempted to make moves toward reconciliation, noting that some of the grievances the Doukhobors had toward the Government were legitimate, and suggested concessions. They did not opt for a soft-line with the Sons of Freedom, as they suggested stronger punishment for truancy and revoking of Objector Status with criminal activities, but they also suggested ways of building trust through the "recognition of the

Doukhobor form of marriage and the repeal of all legislation aimed specifically at the Doukhobors, such as the law excluding Doukhobors from participation in provincial and federal elections, and the section of the Criminal Code applying the special penalty of three years' imprisonment for parading in the nude...the committee recommended that a Commission for Doukhobor Affairs should be appointed to 'coordinate the activities of all levels of government as they relate to the Doukhobors, and give leadership to new approaches in meeting the problems of the group'." ¹²²

This was the first time that the Government had actually attempted to create unity with the Doukhobors and Sons of Freedom. Unfortunately, the political climate soon changed after the publication of this report. The new Provincial Government took a traditional tone with the Doukhobors and decided that stronger punishments and a harder line would solve the problems. Unfortunately, as we look to what is happening in the world today, we can see many parallels and intuitively know that this does not work. Historically speaking, the Government's show of force only inflamed the tensions and did more harm than what had been done during the reigns of previous Governments.

Beginning in late 1953 and continuing until 1959, the Sons of Freedom were arrested for minor offenses, imprisoned, and their children were hunted by Mounties and sent to Residential schools. Police-led raids were carried out to find the children of those imprisoned and send them to the Residential schools as the children fled into the woods. Some children registered at the local schools in order to

avoid being sent to Residential schools. At the local schools, they offered vocational training and teaching of Russian language, which provided some comfort to those who enrolled. However, in total 170 Sons of Freedom children went to the Residential school in New Denver. Today, the terrible legacy of the Residential schools lives on in the communities where Sons of Freedom make home.¹²³

Beginning in 1957, Doukhobors were again allowed to participate in elections and there is some engagement by Community Doukhobors in a joint conference on "Peace Through Non-Violence" held with Doukhobors, Quakers, and the Fellowship of Reconciliation at the University of British Columbia in 1958. By 1961, Doukhobors began buying land from the Land Settlement Board in B.C. and John J. Verigin is elected "Honorary Chairman of the USCC"¹²⁴, choosing instead to take on a new form of leadership than was previously practiced. In 1960, he discussed the form of leadership he should undertake:

Our Declaration of 1934 clearly states that the one and greatest leader above us all is our Saviour, Jesus Christ. On Him is based our Faith and our hope. But, I beseech all of you, that you must conscientiously, each and every one of you, face up to , and strive to resolve, the many problems confronting us. This is will be as the saying we often refer to - 'The will of the people is the Will of God.' Being brought up in the spirit of shouldering ones organizational duties as well as other responsibilities, I cannot refuse to fulfill that which the people ask of me. I ask of you, each and every member of our organization, individually and mutually, to shoulder and to carry the responsibilities that confront us now, and arise from day to day. This is our sacred duty.¹²⁵

It seems as though, superficially, the Provincial Government's hard-line tactics used against the Sons of

Freedom seemed to have reduced the terrorist acts and mass demonstrations after the early 1960's. However, this has come at a high price for the Sons of Freedom. To this day, they have voiced their concerns over the "abuse" that has occurred while the children were at the industrial schools "through neglect, lack of love and nurturing, and harsh discipline. Her [Ombudsman Dulcie MacCallum's 1999] report concludes these children, now adults, are entitled to an apology, an explanation, and compensation"¹²⁶ as they continue to suffer from the effects of the systemic abuse.

As of October 2004, the Government has acknowledged the wrongs they have committed, especially those involving the Residential schools, but for many Sons of Freedom, it is not enough. They wish to see a public apology, however, the Government has not provided one at this time.

Today, all Doukhobor children go to school, and are integrated into Canadian society. The Community Doukhobors struggle with enrolling youth membership in the USCC as many youth are aligning more with Canadian values and the pursuit of higher education outside of the community. As the burden of activities with the Community falls upon the younger generation, this generation of youth is struggling with the demands being placed on them by their family, pressures from their jobs, and those to keep the Community activities alive and functioning. Many young Doukhobor children are losing touch with their heritage and see little or no relevance to their roots. However, there is another group of young acculturated Doukhobors who have had little to do with the Doukhobor religion, and are also realizing there's more to their roots and have begun a

process of independently seeking their own answers to the questions they have about their cultural heritage. Still more adults and those who make up the older generation have re-instated their membership in the Community and are becoming more involved.

The divide between the Community Doukhobors and Sons of Freedom and Independents is becoming less evident, as even the men who were actively involved in the terrorist activities from the Sons of Freedom and those who were against them in the Community and the Independents who sought to wipe their hands of all of it, have recently began making strides toward reconciliation. The Doukhobor Men's Choir has formed that involves members from all three groups and sings together in the name of peace and harmony.

The Community Doukhobors are becoming increasingly involved with other war resistance movements throughout the world and are beginning to actively engage in Peace activities and movements. However, if the Community cannot engage larger numbers of youth into its circles, then the continuation of these Community activities lays in question.

John J. Verigin's son, John J. Verigin Jr., who now has taken a leadership role in the Community has stated that there is still a need for healing in all Doukhobor groups and it would take the following three aspects:

1. recognition of the need to heal/reconcile within the Doukhobor Community itself (all groups) before being able to reach out to the wider non-Doukhobor community;

2. an inner belief/strength to believe that the self holds the power/cards to do things
3. building mechanisms that could be in place for use by future generations¹²⁷

These points bring us toward recommendations and the conclusion of this paper.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

David Augsburger notes in his introduction to his book Conflict Mediation Across Cultures: Pathways and Patterns, some interesting revelations about the way conflicts are (mis)handled in our societies today. He argues that "our methods of resolving disputes and conflicts, especially the major ones, are still crude, ill-considered, inadequate, and frequently ineffective. There is a need for a fundamental shift in our thinking about and our approach to the resolution of all types of conflicts-from the interpersonal to the international."¹²⁸ It is clear that the Doukhobor conflicts have been mishandled, and as a result, the Doukhobor psyche has been severely damaged.

In the current trends that can be observed in all groups of Doukhobors, a process of "collective forgetting" seems to be occurring - where the older generations do not wish to speak of the problems that have happened, and the younger generations are growing up in a vacuum of knowledge of their history, pointing the way to further acculturation into wider Canadian society. And yet, for many who have really felt the effects of the most recent troubled

history, forgetting does not allow for healing, and a continued cycle of self-abuse is evident.

What kind of worldviews to the Doukhobors hold today? Again, there is a mixture of worldviews. For most, the issues of survival have passed, and identity plays a greater role and is evident in questions that are coming to the forefront of all Doukhobors: What does it mean to be a Doukhobor today? Should the Government apologize for the past treatment of the Doukhobors and Sons of Freedom? Can we break the cultural taboos of past generations of Doukhobors and still hold the values of Doukhobors?

With more and more Doukhobors holding less value in their own culture and more value in Canadian society, many have taken on the predominant worldviews held by Canadian society in general today. The Canadian struggle for identity is most predominant, as is the trait of apathy held by a large amount of Canadians. However, for the youth engaged in the Community, there is a movement toward uniting with others who are struggling with the path to peace and non-violence as well as struggling with trying to maintain their own Doukhobor identity. For the Sons of Freedom, they have either joined the ranks of Canadian values or are struggling to maintain a sense of identity that needs recognition and validation from the Canadian Government as well as other Doukhobors.

What is most needed in the Doukhobor and surrounding non-Doukhobor Communities are the twin processes of a Culture of Peace and a Culture of Healing that would restore new life into the Doukhobor community and activities while

healing from all of the past injuries that the Doukhobors have suffered from for over a century. Without this healing process, the Doukhobors will be unable to move forward in a healthy, positive way and become the true peacemakers that they are as is inherent within their religious and cultural beliefs.

Putting Theory into Practice: Integrating the Education for Peace (EFP) principles of Unity and a Peace-based Worldview into Doukhobor philosophy to create a sustainable "Peaceful Life"

The very important issues of isolationism and the rejection of assimilation have not only severely affected the Doukhobors in Canada, but have also been sources of contention between Canadians, the Government of Canada, and other immigrant groups throughout Canadian history. The native populations, the Japanese and Italians during WWII, the Chinese, and the struggles of the French (Quebecois) to protect their cultures are the most recognized instances of the government's forced acculturation and the mutual mistrust of various groups. The underlying tensions that occur between visible minority groups in Canada and the majority Caucasian population in Canada are still important issues today, with less visible tension in relation to the invisible minorities and the poor.

At the heart of Doukhobor beliefs, psalms, and hymns lay the basic foundations of peaceful principles. However, as in most societies in the world today, they are framed within the context of conflict-based worldviews. Through simply reframing the already existing principles through a

unity-based worldview and infusing new definitions of unity and additional principles of peace into their understanding, there is the potential for rejuvenation and reaffirmation of Doukhobor values within the Community and all groups of Doukhobors. The unique cultural and religious identity of the Doukhobors will not be lost, but rather a new pride in their group will develop. Understanding the nature of a Culture of Healing and actively building this while simultaneously building the understanding of a culture of peace will also facilitate the process.

The optimal path for engaging all Doukhobors in this process is to begin a program of Education for Peace in the schools in the Kootenay-Boundary region of B.C., where most Doukhobor families still live. Training the youth and engaging the adults and grandparents in this process will not only serve the Doukhobor families, but also serve the non-Doukhobor families and help to create a Culture of Healing and a culture of peace in and between the Doukhobors and non-Doukhobors as well.

This paper completes the first stage developing a plan of action through its examination and development of a new understanding and vision. The next stage in this process would be to identify key people in the Kootenay-Boundary region as well as provincially who could come together and consult upon the development of a proposal and implementation strategy. These people would be teachers and school administrators; school superintendents; union leaders; Doukhobor leaders and community members; municipal, regional, and provincial leaders; and others who would be directly involved in supporting this process.

The 112 schools and 64 communities in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) provide a wonderful example of how this program works, as well as a structured and systematic strategy for implementation, and is demonstrative of the positive effects it has had on all three ethno-religious groups in BiH over the past 6 years that EFP Programs have been engaged in their schools. Initially, the Program began in 6 schools (3 secondary and 3 elementary) and engaged all the groups who were recently involved in a devastating war that divided the country into Croats (Catholics), Bosniaks (Muslims), and Serbs (Orthodox). Within the first six months of the program, dramatic results were observed, and consequently, EFP-International was invited to expand the program into every school in the country. At this time 112 schools are engaged in the process involving 70,000 students, 5,000 teachers, and 160,000 parents/guardians. The Government of BiH is so committed to this program that they have asked for EFP to be integrated into the process of formal education reform, meaning that every subject and every grade in BiH will be taught through the lens of peace with the EFP Program guiding the way. More information about EFP-International and their programs can be found in Appendix II.

The training of new generations of Doukhobors as active peacebuilders is already feasible as they teach the basic tenants of their beliefs. Framing their beliefs and teachings through the lens of a Unity-based worldview will further strengthen their values and create new generations of Doukhobor leaders who actively engage in building cultures of peace not only in their own communities, but

also throughout the world. The processes of assimilation and acculturation which are removing a large proportion of youth away from the Doukhobor communities will not have as great of an impact as is currently the case. The youth will be connected with their proud roots at their foundations, and continue to pass on these values and traditions to their children. Should the Doukhobor and non-Doukhobor leaders as well as those directly involved in the education system in the Kootenay-Boundary region come together with this unity of purpose, the potential for entire communities is tremendous.

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- ¹²⁸ David W. Augsburg "Conflict Mediation Across Cultures: Pathways and Patterns" (Louisville:Westminister/John Knox Press, 1992), p.5

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Appendix I: UNESCO Culture of Peace Declaration

"As defined by the United Nations, the **Culture of Peace** is a set of values, attitudes, modes of behaviour and ways of life that reject violence and prevent conflicts by tackling their root causes to solve problems through dialogue and negotiation among individuals, groups and nations (UN Resolutions [A/RES/52/13](#): Culture of Peace and [A/RES/53/243](#), Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace). For peace and non-violence to prevail, we need to:

- *foster of culture of peace through education by revising the educational curricula to promote qualitative values, attitudes and behaviours of a culture of peace, including peaceful conflict-resolution, dialogue, consensus-building and active non-violence. Such an educational approach should be geared also to:*
- *promote sustainable economic and social development by reducing economic and social inequalities, by eradicating poverty and by assuring sustainable food security , social justice, durable solutions to debt problems, empowerment of women, special measures for groups with special needs, environmental sustainability...*
- *promote respect for all human rights: human rights and a culture of peace are complementary: whenever war and violence dominate, there is no possibility to ensure human rights; at the same time, without human rights, in all their dimensions, there can be no culture of peace...*
- *advance tolerance, understanding and solidarity: to abolish war and violent conflicts we need to transcend and overcome enemy images with understanding, tolerance and solidarity among all peoples and cultures. Learning from our differences, through dialogue and the exchange of information, is an enriching process...*
- *support participatory communication and the free flow of information and knowledge: freedom of information and communication and the sharing of information and knowledge are indispensable for a culture of peace. However, measures need to be taken to address the issue of violence in the media, including new information and communication technologies...*

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- *promote international security: the gains in human security and disarmament in recent years, including nuclear weapons treaties and the treaty banning land mines, should encourage us to increase our efforts in negotiation of peaceful settlements, elimination of production and traffic of arms and weapons, humanitarian solutions in conflict situations, post-conflict initiatives...*

**Skills, Knowledge and Attitudes outlined by UNESCO for
developing a Culture of Peace**

Skills

Communication, active listening and reflection

Cooperation

Empathy and compassion

Critical thinking and problem-solving

Artistic and aesthetic

Mediation, negotiation and conflict resolution

Patience and self-control

Responsible citizenship

Imagination

Leadership, vision

Knowledge

Self-awareness, recognition of prejudice

Issues relating to:

Conflict and war

Peace and non-violence

Environment/ecology

Nuclear and other weapons

Justice and power

Theories of conflict analysis, prevention, and resolution

Culture, race, gender, religion

Human rights, responsibilities

Globalization

Labor

Poverty and international economy
International law and Criminal Court
United Nations, international system, standards and
instruments,
Healthcare, AIDS
Drug trade

Attitudes

Ecological awareness
Self-respect
Tolerance
Respect for human dignity and difference
Intercultural understanding
Gender sensitivity
Caring and empathy
Non-violence and reconciliation
Social responsibility
Solidarity, world-mindedness

Appendix II: Education for Peace Introduction



International Education for Peace Institute (EFP-INTERNATIONAL)



Vision

While many universities, government agencies and civil society organizations devote considerable resources to the study of conflict, violence, and war, there are relatively few programs dedicated to a systematic, sustained plan of action to educate children and youth, their parents, teachers and leaders in the principles of peace. Consequently, generations repeat the mistakes of former generations and conflict and violence become permanent facets of human societies.

Education for Peace (EFP) is a comprehensive program aimed at breaking this cycle of violence through assisting young generations—with the help of their teachers, parents, and community leaders—to become peacemakers. EFP provides in-depth, systematic and sustained programs of training in the foundations of peace, democracy, inter-ethnic understanding, human rights and gender equality. Peace and education are inseparable aspects of civilization. No civilization is truly progressive without education and no education system is truly civilizing unless it is based on the universal principles of peace.

History

The initial two-year pilot project of Education for Peace was launched in June 2000 in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), with the participation of more than 400 teachers and school staff, 6,000 students and their parents. The project had the support of education ministries, municipal leaders, and international authorities. The pilot program yielded significant positive results and gained the recognition and endorsement of the BiH Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministries of Education, as well as the Office of the High Representative in BiH. The government subsequently invited EFP to create a strategy for introduction of the program to all schools in the country.

To initiate the expansion of EFP, in March 2003 two full-day Consultative Forums on Education for Peace were held in Sarajevo, with the participation of all thirteen Ministries of Education at the Entity, Cantonal and District levels and all Directors of the eight Pedagogical Institutes of BiH. These consultations resulted in *unanimous support* from all educational authorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the BiH Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Office for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE-BiH Mission) for the *country-wide implementation* of the Education for Peace program. It also laid the foundations for the gradual inclusion of Education for Peace in the formal curriculum of BiH schools as a component of the reform of the country's educational policies.

Subsequently, the program was introduced to 106 additional BiH primary and secondary schools that together have some 80,000 students, 5000 teachers, and 140,000 parents/guardians. Plans are now underway for the inclusion of the EFP Curriculum into the education system all across BiH, thus providing—on an on-going basis—a comprehensive peace-based education to all primary and secondary level students in the country. The success of the EFP program in this sensitive part of Europe, where members of three major faith traditions—Catholicism, Islam, and Orthodox Christianity—have recently emerged from a long and devastating war, has attracted the attention of the academics, educators, international organizations, and government and civic leaders in many parts of the world. Currently, EFP program is being considered for introduction into school communities in Africa, North America, South-East Asia and other parts of Europe.

Through partnerships with governments, private foundations, international NGOs, educational institutions, and community organizations, EFP aims to serve any and all communities who wish to embark on the all-important goal of educating their children and youth within the framework of a peace-based curriculum and make significant advance in their efforts to create a culture of peace in and between their respective societies.

Curriculum

The primary aim and challenge of the Education for Peace program is to educate every new generation of students to become peacemakers and to devote their talents, capacities and energies towards the creation of a civilization of peace based on the tripartite pillars of *culture of peace*, *culture of healing*, and *culture of excellence*. This requires the engagement of the students in a systematic and sustained program of full emersion to study the principles of peace that are integrated into every subject. This goal is achieved through implementation of five inter-related programs: EFP-Intensive, EFP-World, Youth Peace-builder Network (YPN), Conflict-Free Conflict Resolution (CFCR), and Leadership for Peace (LFP).

The EFP curriculum is designed to be both *universal* and *specific*. The universality of the curriculum refers to the universal principles of peace—the common heritage of humanity, the diverse expression of this common heritage, and the absolute necessity to create a unified and peaceful world within this framework of oneness and diversity without resort to conflict and violence. While the principles of peace education are universal, their implementation is context-specific. For each distinct society, the EFP-International faculty in close collaboration with the educators and experts from that community, designs an EFP curriculum with due consideration of its unique characteristics, needs, and challenges.

It is through this all-inclusive approach that participating communities are given ownership of the EFP program. This process creates environments conducive to sustainable social and cultural development in and between participating school communities through the active involvement of men, women, boys and girls, as united partners in the process of repairing the fabric of their conflict-ridden and war-torn societies. It also creates the necessary mechanisms for the sustainability of the program by training a large number of educators from the participating schools as EFP specialists and through the integration of EFP principles in the curriculum of those schools.

A comprehensive and extensive EFP Curriculum, which has been in preparation in the course of past ten years, is scheduled for release, in print and multimedia formats, in 2006. The EFP Curriculum provides a framework for exploring all subjects—literature, history, math, biology, sociology, music, geography, chemistry, sports, etc—within the parameters of the principles of peace. Teachers are afforded opportunities to convey the principles of peace and skills of peace-making to their students by the use of the EFP “Understanding-Oriented” approach to lesson development and classroom instruction. Through this approach, students develop the ability to contextualize information and data in each of their subject areas within the framework of peace rather than conflict, and to connect their learning in each field of study with relevant issues in other fields.

The EFP Curriculum is designed in a flexible format allowing it to evolve and be modified in the light of new research findings and insights gained in the course of implementation of EFP and other peace education programs. It consists of ten small book-length components that cover a range of issues including:

- the Education for Peace Manual, in both print and multimedia formats;
- Peace Moves, a dialogue on peace among youth prepared in both print and multimedia formats;
- Components on causes and prevention of violence;
- Conflict-Free Conflict Resolution (CFCR);
- the Violence-free Family (VFF);
- Leadership for Peace (LFP),
- Culture of Healing (CoH); and,
- Filmed EFP lecture series (CD-Rom/DVD formats).

Programs

EFP–Intensive is a two year community-based Education for Peace program in which all teachers, staff and students of a given school are trained in its principles. A tailor-made curriculum for schools is developed based on EFP-International’s universal curriculum and in consultation with the educators in the participating school communities, as a framework for study of all subjects. This program is particularly suited to assist ethnically segregated schools, those with displaced and refugee populations, schools situated in zones of intense conflict or in economically deprived regions, to overcome the barriers of ethnic hatred and the traumas of conflict and violence. The two-year program focuses on development of 1) a culture of peace, 2) a culture of healing, and 3) a culture of excellence in the participating school communities.

Through a carefully monitored and sustained implementation process, EFP-Intensive facilitates the forging of bonds of trust, open communication and sensitivity, which take time to develop and which are essential for creating peaceful, creative, and healthy learning environments.

EFP–World is a comprehensive IT-based multimedia version of the Education for Peace Program. The EFP-World curriculum is the same as the one used by participants engaged in the EFP-Intensive Program. Through on-line and CD-ROM delivery, EFP-World can be offered to schools at a relatively low cost. The program not only bridges the digital divide by introducing students and teachers to the world of information and communication technologies, but also creates an international forum for young people of all backgrounds and modes of thought and interest, to have meaningful dialogue within the parameters of the principles of peace.

Youth Peace-builder Network: The Youth Peace-builder Network (YPN) is an emerging network of youth mobilized as leaders for their peers with the goal of creating violence-free, peaceful schools, neighborhoods, and communities. Trained in cutting edge concepts of peacemaking, conflict transformation, and violence prevention, YPN participants lead their peers in exploring the fundamental ideas, worldviews, and actions which characterize a culture of peace. YPN has had its origins at a few schools in North America. The current plan is to systematically create YPN groups in many other schools throughout North America and the world.

EFP–Professional Diploma: Specially-trained educators (EFP Specialists) in each school facilitate the implementation and sustainability of EFP-World and EFP-Intensive programs. These individuals are trained in all aspects of the EFP curriculum and implementation methodologies. The EFP Diploma holders then facilitate and monitor the process of EFP program implementation in participating schools. These individuals will also become members of the expanding faculty of EFP-International and may be invited to provide expert assistance to their colleagues in other schools involved with implementing EFP Programs.

Leadership for Peace (LFP) is a parallel program offered to municipal and civic leaders—community organizations, members of the media, religious organizations, etc.—in those communities where schools are participating in Education for Peace. The purpose of Leadership for Peace is to familiarize the participants with the principles and objectives of the EFP curriculum, so that as leaders in their respective communities and constituencies, they could provide valuable assistance for the realization of the main objectives of the EFP Program. Leadership for Peace also focuses on the challenges of governing multi-ethnic communities and offers the participants with latest knowledge and practices for prevention of conflicts and their peaceful resolution once they occur. LFP complements and reinforces the efforts of school communities that are engaged in EFP-Intensive, EFP-World, and YPN.

Violence-Free Environments (VFE) is a program designed particularly for implementation in environments such as families, institutions, schools, and communities in North America, Western Europe, Japan, and similar societies, where families, schools and communities are increasingly burdened with highly conflicting and conflict-producing demands. The main elements of VFE program are drawn from the experience and work of the EFP Program and are particularly suited for multi-ethnic and culturally diverse environments.

International Education for Peace Institute (EFP-INTERNATIONAL)

International Education for Peace Institute was founded in 2000 by Dr. H.B. Danesh, the author of the Education for Peace program and a professor of psychiatry, peace education and conflict resolution. The institute has been directed by Dr. Danesh since its inception. EFP-INTERNATIONAL draws upon the expertise of an international faculty specialized in the fields of curriculum development, peace education, conflict resolution, political science and psychology. The faculty works closely with local educators, pedagogues, counselors, psychologists, and administrators to develop and implement context-appropriate EFP programs to their respective schools in various cultural contexts. EFP-INTERNATIONAL coordinates the activities of its branch agency, EFP-BALKANS, and collaborates with its affiliate EFP- INTERNATIONAL (CANADA). Through the International Education for Peace Institute and its sister agencies, systematic programs of training, research, consulting and academic collaboration are offered worldwide.

Sponsors and Supporting Agencies

- All 13 BiH Ministries of Education
- All 8 BiH Ministries of Education
- Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), BiH Mission
- BiH Office of the High Representative (OHR)
- Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC)
- Government of the United Kingdom
- Government of Luxembourg
- Government of Japan
- Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA)
- United States Institute for Peace (USIP)
- United Nations Development Program (UNDP), BiH Mission
- World Bank, BiH Office
- Rotary International (Chapters in a few European countries))
- Vectis Solutions (Canada)

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