
ФІЛОСОФИ СВІТУ СОЛІДАРНІ З УКРАЇНОЮ

Від редколегії: За дозволом організаторів і модераторів відкритої інтернет-платформи “Philosophers for Ukraine” («Філософи за Україну»)¹ ми розпочинаємо оприлюднення на сторінках нашого часопису мовою оригіналів реакції філософів світу на варварську агресію путінської Росії проти України. Ми розглядаємо дописи відомих та ще не відомих українській спільноті філософів не лише як надзвичайно важливий інтелектуальний внесок у справу міжнародної солідарності із самовідданою боротьбою українського суспільства проти нападника, а й як перші спроби осмислення засад та наслідків злочину цієї війни XXI століття для всього людства.

Саша ГЕЛЛЕР, Світлана МАТВІЄНКО, Антон ТАРАСЮК,
випускники Національного університету «Києво-Могилянська академія»

Криваве ХХ століття стало для філософії вододілом. Воно продемонструвало неможливість для інтелектуалів відсторонитися від політичних подій своєї епохи, ховаючись у глибини фундаментальної онтології чи абстрактної метафізики.

Розв’язана Путіним повномасштабна війна проти України уже у ХХІ сторіччі повторює те, що не мало повторюватися «ніколи знову».

Ми започаткували відкриту інтернет-платформу “Philosophers for Ukraine” як філософи, випускники Києво-Могилянської академії. У березні кожен з нас намагався «робити щось» для захисту України: на військовому, дипломатичному, культурному фронті. Ми вирішили привернути увагу академічної спільноти до війни РФ проти України й зафіксувати солідарність щодо українського народу, проявлену міжнародною академічною спільнотою.

Єдність позиції, швидкість реакції, чітке розуміння з боку академічної спільноти несправедливого характеру російської агресії підтверджують, що Україна бореться за праве діло.

Розуміючи це, підтримуємо ЗСУ та працюємо на перемогу. Слава Україні!

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Martha C. NUSSBAUM,
*Ernst Freund Distinguished Service Professor of Law and Ethics,
Department of Philosophy and Law School, University of Chicago*

I Send My Love and Heartfelt Wishes to the People of Ukraine

I send my love and heartfelt wishes to the people of Ukraine, who are showing enormous courage in standing up against colossal evil. The world stands with you.

¹ Philosophers for Ukraine: <https://philosophersforukraine.com.ua/?fbclid=IwAR3BcNjKGcG1-1Jhzu7XEG0fzEY8kxG4nuWzIBWYqsXls-aUYlcGDilI6NIY>

My nation and the other nations of NATO are united in our determination that evil will not prevail. Philosophy has little to say in the face of such obvious violations of international law and human decency. Crimes against humanity are being committed all over Ukraine.

But what I believe is that if the nations of the West stand together with you we will prevail in the long run. Putin has shown his inability to inspire courage even in the Russian army, who are thinking like decent human beings and often refusing to fight.

Carry on, brave brothers and sisters, and may you be an example to all history of how right can make might.

Slavoj ŽIŽEK, *Researcher at the Department of Philosophy of the University of Ljubljana Faculty of Arts, International Director of the Birkbeck Institute for the Humanities of the University of London*

This Is What We Should Reject Unconditionally, Especially if We Consider Ourselves Leftists

On March 5, Vladimir Putin said that the sanctions introduced on his country by the West are “equivalent of a declaration of war,” and that he would consider NATO imposing a no-fly zone over Ukraine as participating in the conflict. One should read this statement together with what Putin repeatedly said in the last days: economic exchange with the West should go on as normal, that Russia is keeping its commitments and continuing its gas deliveries to the Western Europe...

The lesson is that Russia is not just returning to the good old Cold War with its set of firm rules — it is trying to impose a new model for how international relations should look: not cold war but hot peace, peace that equals a permanent hybrid war where military intervention are declared to be peacekeeping humanitarian missions against genocide — we read that “the state Duma expresses its unequivocal and consolidated support for the adequate measures taken for humanitarian purposes.”

How often in the past we heard a similar phrase applied to interventions from Latin America to Iraq, and now Russia is belatedly taking it over. So while city shelling, civilian killings, and bombing universities go on in a country Russia wants to control, international commerce should continue, outside Ukraine it should go on... THIS is what we should reject unconditionally, especially if we consider ourselves Leftists.

Otfried HÖFFE, *Professor Emeritus, Dr.H.C.Mult., Head of the Research Center for Political Philosophy at the University of Tübingen*

The Whole World, Without Exception, Must Agree: Stop Putin!

Whether as a philosopher and great friend of the outstanding philosopher of morality, law and peace, Immanuel Kant, or as a simple citizen with the moral and legal consciousness inherent in all people — one can only be appalled at Putin’s politics and must be outraged: the authoritarian ruler of Russia has been waging a war of aggression for days. In doing so, he is violating and making a mockery of elementary international law, which requires respect for Ukraine’s territorial integrity and its people’s right to self-determination. Hurt, also mocked. His military is increas-

ingly targeting peaceful civilians, hospitals and apartment blocks. Last but not least, he violently suppresses every protest in his country against this grave injustice and against nameless suffering and threatens draconian punishments for his own and foreign press that want to report the truth. It doesn't matter to him that he violates his own constitution.

In such a situation, the whole world, without exception, must agree: stop Putin!

Bernhard WALDENFELS,

Professor Emeritus for Philosophy at the Ruhr University Bochum

Ukraine Is Not Lost Yet

War has been raging in Ukraine since February 24, 2022. War? Moscow reports of a military “special operation”; whoever says “war” is liable to prosecution in the country of the war führer. But war or not, a pretext is needed. “Historically, Ukraine belongs to us,” Putin declares, mourning the loss of the old Soviet Union and launching a Ukrainian genocide. What would he say if Germans wanted to announce: “As Königsberg and as the city of Kant, Kaliningrad historically belongs to us”, according to the slogan “Back home to the Reich”?

We should call a spade a spade. “Death is a master from Germany,” is how it sounds in the *Todesfuge* by Paul Celan, who comes from a Jewish family in the Galician border town of Czernowitz, which is also threatened today. But the deadly master does not only come from Germany. The Prague phenomenologist Jan Patočka, who suffered in 1939 from the Nazi invasion and in 1968 again from the ‘aid measures’ of the Russian brother nation, speaks of a “solidarity of the shaken” under the impression of the European wars. The shock is something that happens to us, whether we like it or not, and solidarity comes from responding together to such challenges. This brings up an old catchphrase that had a renewed impact in Warsaw in 1980 as *Solidarność*. Budapest 1956, Prague 1968, Warsaw 1980, now Ukraine 2022 — these are dates and places that invoke a rebellious Europe in many voices. However, solidarity does not stop at ethnic barriers; it includes those Russians who, under risky circumstances, are rebelling against their own country's policies.

The diversity of voices in solidarity, which I resolutely support, is perhaps an unwanted gift from Putin to a Europe that is struggling to maintain its unity and is looking for its place in the world. Perhaps even the Moscow patriarch will be alarmed before the Pecherska Lavra cave monastery in Kyiv is being used as a bunker. “Jeszcze Polska nie zginęła — Poland is not lost yet”, so now: “Ukraine is not lost yet?” Let's do judiciously what we can do without starting a world conflagration, but if need be, let's make it cost something.

FRENCH SOCIETY OF PHILOSOPHY,

Paris, March 7, 2022

Statement of Support for Ukraine

The board of the Société française de philosophie expresses its full solidarity and support for the colleagues and citizens of Ukraine in the face of the unjustifiable

war of aggression led by the Russian Federation since February 24, 2022. The continuation of this war, already terrible in terms of casualties, destruction and displacement of populations that it has caused, every day poses more serious threats to the future of Ukraine and its region, to the international order and to world peace.

The board pays respects to the 664 Russian researchers who signed the February 25 appeal against the war and to the courage of all those in Russia who demonstrated and maintained their protest.

Philosophy teaches us to make the difference between right and force, knowledge and propaganda, truth and its simulacra, freedom and servitude, peace and the silence of terror. It invites politicians not to lose, along with the concern for truth and responsibility before others, contact with reality, without which no action for the collective good is possible.

Jonathan WOLFF,

Alfred Landecker Professor of Values and Public Policy, Blavatnik School of Government, University of Oxford, Governing Body Fellow, Wolfson College Oxford

The Courage of the People of Ukraine

I stand in awe of the people of Ukraine.

I cannot imagine what it must be like to live under fire, and to have the courage to stand up to the immense military resources of an invader with the strength of Russia. But the determination to resist the almost literally shocking injustice of the invasion and the lethal grandiosity of Putin, who has to suppress the truth from his own people, is more than inspiring.

Ordinary citizens, who just a couple of weeks ago were going about their daily working and domestic lives, have organized to resist one of the most powerful military forces on earth. The people of Ukraine are fighting for independence, dignity, and freedom, and against tyranny, rather than surrendering to fatalism. Historically Ukraine has rarely achieved independence for long. There is an iron will not to give it up now.

I'm no military strategist and will offer no prediction about how the invasion comes to an end. But the moral position is as clear as the water of Lake Svityaz. If there's any justice, the conclusion will be not the absorption of Ukraine into a bloated, pastiche USSR, but the fall of Putin. The outcome to wish for is that a renewed Russia remakes itself in a friendly, peaceful, good neighbor to Ukraine. It's what the whole world needs.

Quentin MEILLASSOUX,

University of Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne

Whoever Sows Bad Winds Sows Turning Winds

We will say that today we can only be scandalized, flabbergasted, by the appalling invasion, justified by the most impudent calumnies, of Ukraine by Putin's armed forces (not Russians, because there are many brave Russians who demonstrated against this historic crime). But it is also our fault, the fault of us Westerners, if we

are amazed that Putin inflicts today on the Ukrainians what he inflicted yesterday on the Chechens and the Syrians. Our culpable indifference reveals its effects today, and teaches us once again what no people has decidedly managed to learn from previous experiences: an ideology of violence only stops when the force of the most elementary justice opposes its extension.

The world is witnessing today the resistance of admirable people who are giving it a lesson in courage at the cost of blood. No one in Europe can believe they are safe from Putin's boundless cynicism any longer, and the Ukrainians are the ones who will keep reminding us of this, they who are fighting to preserve an independence that is not only legitimate for themselves, but precious for all those who hope and will always hope for the equality of peoples.

Let Europe not forget that what it has done or allowed to be done on its periphery has more than once ended up returning to its center. Yesterday, the unprecedented colonial violence and its procession of racist ideology returned to us in the heart of the continent in the form of an ideology using the categories of pseudo-biological inequality to justify the colonization of the Slavs, before implementing the extermination of the Jews. Today, all the permissiveness granted to a tyrant to massacre Caucasian or Middle Eastern populations comes back to us in the form of the biggest war in Europe since 1945.

Decidedly, we Westerners just have to look at our crimes committed, or our crimes permitted, to discover the plausible silhouette of our future. We would therefore do well, in addition to fighting against the atrocities which are now closest to us, to meditate on those which, apparently always distant, are carried out in our name, or with our tacit agreement. For whoever sows bad winds sows turning winds.

Graham HARMAN,

Distinguished Professor of Philosophy and Liberal Arts Co-Ordinator at SCI-Arc

We Must Support Ukraine

The shock of the past week in Ukraine was, in large part, the shock of seeing some of the worst chapters from history textbooks re-enacted before our eyes.

Since it is perilous business to compare anyone to Adolf Hitler, let's limit ourselves to speaking of Hitler-like actions: declaring that a neighboring country has no right to exist, blitzing through its border posts, shelling civilian neighborhoods, infiltrating thuggish saboteurs into a capital city, sending a hit squad to dispose of a duly elected President. Few of us were alive when these things last happened so blatantly in Europe, though many remember the atrocities in the Balkans. But as readers of books and viewers of documentary films, we have all shuddered at such images repeatedly since childhood. If you want to know how you would have reacted to Poland in 1939, just state clearly what you think of Ukraine today.

Unfortunately, it is no surprise to hear words of support for Putin's actions from the slithery proto-fascists of the Right who leak from the cracks of Europe or lament their missed opportunity to murder the American Congress. There is no point in dialogue with such wretched figures.

It is more disappointing when such sentiments come from the Left. At its best, the Left is a moral case against inequality and exploitation in the name of hope. Ukraine ought to be a clear moral moment for anyone not distracted by their own nationalisms or geopolitical chess moves (Russian, Chinese, Venezuelan).

Unfortunately, this clarity can be obscured by a competing imperative on the Left: anti-Americanism, and its corollary anti-NATOism. But whatever gripes one might have with the post-Soviet *pax Americana*, whatever crimes we might spot-light from American history, whatever historic Russian fears might spark passing sympathy in the West, none of this justifies a cruel laugh at Ukraine's expense.

All political abstractions aside, there is not one of us who would prefer life in a demolished military protectorate to life in the growing new democracy of Ukraine. We lie back and critique our own societies like jaded gluttons, and it takes the Ukrainians to remind us of what we all could still lose: freedom, self-determination, the rule of law.

Tell me what you think of Ukraine, and I'll tell you who you are. We must support Ukraine.

Peter SINGER,

Ira W. DeCamp Professor of Bioethics at Princeton University

Putin Is Committing a Moral Atrocity in Ukraine

It doesn't require a detailed understanding of just war theory to know that Putin is committing a moral atrocity in Ukraine. But given that he has nuclear weapons and has threatened to use them, can he be stopped?

Major economic sanctions are already being imposed, airspace is being closed to Russian aircraft, and boycotts of Russian goods are beginning. These measures, regrettably, will hurt all Russians, including those who oppose the war. But is there any other way to stop Putin from achieving his aims?

Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyi has bravely remained in Kyiv, rallying all Ukrainians to fight the advancing Russians. Zelenskyi is a hero, as are those who have responded to his call. Yet, despite the significant costs Ukrainians have inflicted on Russia's forces, a Russian military victory still appears likely.

Perhaps recognizing this, Zelenskyi has called on the Russian people to stop the war. Many Russians are trying to do just that. After the invasion was announced, there were protests in 55 cities across Russia. An independent monitoring organization says that 5,000 people have been arrested for participating in protests without prior permission, but many more are continuing to protest. At the time of writing, more than one million courageous Russians have put their names to a "Stop the War" petition on [change.org](https://www.change.org).

Despite drastic increases in the penalties for protesting, some have continued to do so. They too are heroes.

What is also needed, now, is for Russian soldiers in Ukraine to stop fighting an unjust war. They should know that they are part of a war of aggression. Intentionally killing people without sufficient cause is murder, and that is what Russian

soldiers will be doing if they obey orders to target Ukrainians with lethal weapons. Obeying orders is no excuse, just as it was no excuse for soldiers under Hitler's command.

From now on, as long as Putin remains Russia's leader, the country must be seen as an international pariah. Only then will the pressure inside Russia mount sufficiently for Putin's leadership to become untenable.

Barbara SCHELLHAMMER,

*Professor for Intercultural Social Transformation,
Director of the Center for Social and Development Studies
at the Munich School of Philosophy, Germany*

Doing Philosophy in the Face of War — the Courage to Speak the Truth

How do we philosophize in the face of what people in Ukraine — but also in Syria, Afghanistan, Yemen and in so many other places around the world — experience and suffer? Every explanation and every attempt to understand recoils at the inhuman and fear-filled reality of war. In an interview, a Ukrainian colleague explains that he stayed in Kyiv with his son, his wife and daughter just left town with their three cats. They both decided to stay “to be witnesses” — witnesses to the terrible things that are happening. For him and for his son, who speaks eight languages and accompanies journalists to dangerous places as a translator, it is “an inner necessity, that of telling the truth”. “We are not only defending ourselves, we are defending a certain idea of dignity and freedom. If we don't do so, our existence no longer has any meaning.” Philosophizing in war — philosophizing against war. I had to think of the courage it takes to speak the truth, the Greek practice of *parrhesia*. To “boldly speak everything” takes on an utterly existential meaning facing the lies of a Putinian regime, because life and limb are threatened for all those who dare to speak out what Putin twists in propagandistic rhetoric and cynically turns against his victims. Speaking the truth is political practice that liberates and resists manipulative speech. It aims to change society — but also carries enormous risks. The one who speaks the truth — even if it is on a sign with the word “war” in the Russian news — assumes the function of the ancient Cynic, the function of the scout, who dares to report from the frontline about all the dangers that await humanity. To speak freely is to act, to bear witness, it means to be a witness and not just a spectator looking from the outside in. Speaking the truth means doing, risking something. We, who (still) live in peace and security, have to ask ourselves: What are we willing to risk? What price are we willing to pay? As human beings, but also as philosophers. Perhaps this also means courageously confronting one's own helplessness, facing the fact that we come to our limits and that sometimes what overcomes us emotionally holds more “truth” than all the well-considered systems, theories and arguments. To philosophize in the face of war means — to use Hans Blumenberg's well-known metaphor — to be shipwrecked and not just a spectator.

Luka KUCHUKHIDZE, *Invited Lecturer and Researcher
at Ilia State University's S. Tsereteli Institute of Philosophy, Tbilisi, Georgia*

Hope of Humanity

It should be noted as a remainder, to all those Russians who support terrible atrocities in Ukraine, what the Russian migr Philosopher Nikolai Berdyaev once wrote: “The Murderer does not have the last word. Man is called to be not a murderer, but a resurrector. And behind the resurrector is a power greater than human”.

Modern Russia looks singularly like Mordor. What makes her Mordor is the unpredictability of evil, for which it is impossible to mentally prepare. This is exactly what the Ukrainians are facing now, in 2022, and what Georgia has experienced already in 2008. On August 8, 2008, Russian forces began the invasion of Georgia, marking the start of Europe's first twenty-first century war. the repercussions are still with us, as is evident in Ukraine. Russo-Georgian war is now viewed as Putin's Green light, but back then, Western Forces were reluctant to admit it's significance. Now, partially, the situation has changed and Russia is seen as a terrorist state (yet remarkably more has to be done, such as the consideration of No Fly Zone) and Ukraine as an only real island of hope for humanity in a world of uncertain values.

Behind at one time respectable Putin — Russia's Sauron — the miserable Gollum, the slave of the “treasure”, is more and more clearly visible. This time, neither the Valar, nor the Elves, nor the Hobbits will help The Russians, who will have to throw the fatal Ring into the mouth of Orodruin, themselves and stand with a sword on the bridge of Khazad-Dum in front of Balrog, with the words “You will not pass! Return to darkness!”

Let us Hope! Long Live Ukraine!

Angie HOBBS, *Professor Angie Hobbs FRSA,
Professor of the Public Understanding of Philosophy, University of Sheffield*

The Whole World is at Risk so Long as Putin Remains in Power

I remember my father, who fought in Burma in WW2, saying that the moral choices in the 1930s were so stark that one simply could not sit on the fence: one had to choose, and that choice involved a commitment to action. I believe that the current choices facing us are equally clear.

If human life is to be worth living for any of us, then we must stand up for liberty, honesty and decency, and if we do not stand up for these values, then there may come a point when there is no continuation of human life at all. The whole world is at risk so long as Putin remains in power; he will not stop at Ukraine.

The extraordinary courage and resilience of the Ukrainians is inspirational, as is the courage of those Russians who openly protest, but we must do more than applaud. For the moment (21.3.2022), we must increase sanctions and the supply of arms, medicines, food; we must be prepared to suffer the consequences of cutting off our supplies of Russian oil and gas. We must also do everything possible to encourage the Russian soldiers to refuse to carry out orders, and to inform the Russian people about what is really happening.

But I fear that the time may come very soon when more direct military support becomes necessary: when NATO and others say that red lines should not be crossed, this time they should mean it. I am acutely aware of the dangers of triggering WW3, but it is certainly possible that it has already started.

Charlotte POLLET, *Associate Professor of Philosophy and History of Mathematics, National Yangming Chiaotung University*

Make Sure that the Word 'Democracy' Never Fall Under Censorship

I am writing to you from Taiwan, I am writing to you from my classroom where among students there are Ukrainians. We can all feel the emotion, the tension, the anguish, the vulnerability, the anger, the weight of uncertainty.. In recent years, I have learned to stay calm teaching philosophy while watching the ballet of fighter jets, frigates and submarines in the China Sea in our Covid bubble. My students taught me that continuing to live everyday life could be an act of courage. It is not blindness not to give in to anguish when one wonders what tomorrow will bring, and to continue to read together the Stoics, Zhuangzi, Rousseau, Montesquieu, Kant, Sartre, Arendt... as acquired. We must continue to teach philosophy as a normality, to provide the solidity students need. Their perseverance is a strength.

I condemn this obsessive pathological desire for aggression when history doesn't want to rewind like an old video tape, these discourses on historical illegitimacy which dare to say that it is a question of 'liberation' or 'peacekeeping' adding lies to cover unacceptable violence. It is the prohibition to the other to be able to think themselves otherwise. It is the invalidation of the presence of otherness, of diversity, the refusal of changes, of novelty and therefore of the negation of future.

Dictatorships have no future, while democracies are perfectible and diverse. Our job is to make sure that the words democracy and enlightenment never fall under censorship. The Ukrainians are fighting for us. They show extraordinary courage. I call on to show our solidarity with them.

Federica MONTEVECCHI, *Italian Philosopher, Author of "Nietzsche. Dizionario delle idee" (Roma, 1999), "Giorgio Colli. Biografia intellettuale" (Torino, 2004), and "Empedocle di Agrigento" (Napoli, 2010)*

Don't Rely on Neikos, the Strife

*A joyless land (ἀτερπέα χῶρον),
Where Slaughter and Grudge, and troops of Dooms
Where shriveled Diseases and obscene Decays,
And Labors, burdened with the water-jars,
Do wander down the dismal meads of Bane.*

(FR.121DK).

With these verses, in the fifth century BC, Empedocles of Agrigento describes the fate of the world when Neikos prevails, the Strife, which by nature, even in the moment of its maximum power, can never terminate its bond with Philia, the Love.

Neikos and Philia, in fact, are polar forces, i.e. opposites that implicate each other, which have their *raison d'être* in the other and vice versa, and for this, according to Empedocles, they mark the cosmic cycle with inexorable regularity, intertwining destruction with construction. However, on another level, they have a different weight between them, as can be seen from the verses of the ethical poem Purifications (Καθαρμοί) where it is exhorted to:

O fast from evil-doing (κακότητος).

(Fr.144DK)

Evil-doing agitates, tormenting anxieties weigh down, Empedocles says, and prevent one from seeing friends, φίλοι, from understanding the importance of becoming immune from occasions of moral ruin. For this reason, Philia should be privileged in practical life and choosing her means knowing that Neikos never definitively prevails, but above all it involves taking care of one's integrity, defending it, and recognizing the importance of acting with those who take care of her own moral integrity.

An ancient and everlasting indication that never more than today, in the time of Neikos, urges us to see who has chosen not to rely on Neikos, perhaps struggling, and in harmony with her acts and resists.