

## Ukraine

# Beyond the "End of History"

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When Francis Fukuyama famously said "The End of History," an aging Yugoslav painter stood in front of one of her paintings in her old studio in Paris and said to me: *"The American cultural establishment wants to expropriate the struggles of entire peoples and declare the futility of thought, but that is not possible, because what happened The decline of the Western liberal model that is in a state of chronic turmoil will not slow down, perhaps the means of dealing with crises and major problems will change by returning to traditional wars, or new forms of violence. Crises, not opportunities for progress and development, are what remains for Mr. Fukuyama's economic and geopolitical system".*

This elderly painter refused to put her name on her paintings and only signed: anonymous

Why go back to a functional "ideology" that became bare by the facts before it collapsed by the critical pens?

Because Mr. Fukuyama, seven months after the servile withdrawal of the U.S. military from Afghanistan, returns with a new prophecy: *"Russia will lose the war, perhaps spectacularly, and this defeat will help the West get out of "our funk about the declining state of global democracy. The spirit of 1989 will live on, thanks to a bunch of brave Ukrainians."*<sup>1</sup>.

Remarkably, after retracting the theses of the last century and acknowledging that he did not appreciate well the subject of the dissolution/regression of liberalism in his recent book, "Liberalism and its Discontents." For Mr. Fukuyama to consider proxy wars, or hybrid wars as part of his concept of the end of history, but what is "frustrating" and unexpected, within this "struggle outburst" he tells us in the same hadith: that his *"ultimate nightmare", is a world in which China and Russia work in harness with one another, perhaps with China bolstering Russia's war and Beijing launching its own invasion – of Taiwan. If that were to happen, and be successful, Fukuyama said, "then you would really be living in a world that was being dominated by these non-democratic powers. If the United States and the rest of the West couldn't stop that from happening, then that really is the end of the end of history."*<sup>2</sup>

At the Kennedy Museum in Boston, during the screening of an old movie in which Nikita Khrushchev picked up his shoe and hit the table at the United Nations, a young Afro-American could not help but comment: "If an African president had done it, he would surely be accused of madness..."

Ofcors, in our world Today, the strong/western has the right to analyze, philosophize, say, and do... It is the logic of force, in the military, economic, and cyber sense, that grants the "right" in speech, and it is he who defines good and evil, right and wrong, permitted and prohibited. It is he who distributes certificates of "knowledge" and awards for peace and human rights. It is he who prevents, from punishing or admonishing the occupier, when he is an Israeli, and declaring it a fierce war against the occupier, if he is in the wrong place from the end of history: that is, from the axis of evil. This Manichean dualism, did not return humanity only to the pre-ideologies and philosophies that produced it the era of the "Western" enlightenment, but rather to the era of the first totalitarian beliefs, every time you are sure of it, that it has completed its vision for peoples, completed its blessing on them, and approved its beliefs for them as a religion until the Day of Resurrection.

War in Ukraine did not start, except for the naive novices on February 24, 2022. The war began in 2014, and even French President Emmanuel Macron avoided this mistake when he called it in his debate with

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<sup>1</sup> <https://www.newstatesman.com/encounter/2022/03/francis-fukuyama-on-the-end-of-the-end-of-history>

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

Marine Le Pen, "the military escalation in Ukraine" ... since the trilogy (Al Maidan Russia's annexation of Crimea and the war in the Donbas) eight years ago, Ukraine is in war. There are many factors, the most important and most prominent of which are the failure of the "Minsk Accords", and the agreement on rules governing the relationship between NATO (or rather the USA administration) and the Russian leadership on Eastern Europe. Which made the "special military operation", as the Russian side likes to call it, the actual turning point in the Ukrainian issue from a local war to an international confrontation, between the Russian Federation on the one hand, and NATO on the other.

The intellectual background of this introduction, which the research team at the Scandinavian Institute of Human Rights/FHM has enriched with research and translation of important topics on the Ukrainian issue, is based on the refutation of an idea that wanted to make of a "phase of the liberal world order" a moment of proclamation, a final victory for what Immanuel Wallerstein calls: World-System. And to remind you, there is an **original sin** of this system: it is the legitimization and legalization of war.

### **Non-violence... a necessity for survival or just a dream!**

Since the nineties of the last century, our struggle in the human rights movement and the global civil society has been based on the rejection of the imperialist idea, as old as the first empires, in written human history, which considers violence the engine of history, and reduces the theses and the role of global peace and non-violence movements, with premeditation and determination, in Acts of kindness and charity, and at best: utopia. I still remember the harsh sentences of Omar's friends from the struggle: "If you want a role in public affairs, you have to put this exemplary speech aside." Mahatma Gandhi did not receive the Nobel Peace Prize, which was generously given to Menachem Begin, founder of the Irgun militia who described the mass crimes committed by his organization against the Palestinians with his pen (the rebellion... the story of the Irgun ארגון etc." However, I also witnessed with my own eyes, in field investigation missions, and not in public libraries and intellectual seminars, which makes me believe more and more, in what Albert Einstein said, The common triumphal phrase after the end of the Second World War, Never again, is meaningless, "as long as the war is legitimate and legal in international laws." Because war is necessarily dirty, and it involves humans in its logic, Human being is the first victim, regardless of his color, religion or belief Or language. The hawks of the war staff compete for the role of the victim and the oppressed, in search of an innocence that would classify them in the camp of good, but in the field the matter is different: there are the "chosen" people and the "lumpen-people", the gypsy refugee and the five-star refugee, the possible corpse Sell it or barter it and the corpse that only deserves to be cremated... All war is always a revealer of all the double standards and latent racist instincts to which humans' resort to in their struggle with humans... In short, war, as journalist Rob Grams puts it, "is a situation in which only 'bad solutions' are available."

From the filth of war to bring out all the parasites of the swamp to the surface. This mobilizes decision-makers and "brainstorming" centers to explain, justify, and interpret every missile or artillery strike, while the numbers of the dead become mere indicators of victory and defeat, and at best, evidence of the other's barbarism. The issue of changing the 'balance of power', 'specific weapons' and the necessary sanctions becomes the first concern of the parties to the conflict.

### **From Damascus to Donbas**

It is not only the "citizen of the world" who speaks in this approach, but the one born in Daraa in southern Syria, who has shouted "No to violence, no to militarism, sectarianism and external interference" since April 2011. To avoid the assassination of the largest peaceful civil movement in the history of Syria and the region.

Marginalization and contempt, even the **war** that we were subjected to, from the various parties to the conflict in/and on Syria, and the open support, rather the systematic transfer, of the parties that chose militarisation and welcomed more than 120,000 "jihadi volunteers" from different countries of the world" were a clear example that the choice of Militarization is an essential part of the strategies of the various parties to the conflict over Syria. Despite giving the Syrian case, the clear and crystal-clear example, that violence is the best way to triumph of death over life, injustice over justice, demolition over construction, and authoritarian mentalities over the aspirations of freedom and emancipation... And just as the Afghan war ended with the handing over of power to those who closed girls' schools and forced every government employee He should grow his beard, even if his name was Sayyid Qutb or Recep

Tayyip Erdogan. Only armed gangs and legions of intervening countries remained for very "humanitarian" reasons, which gives them the "right" to do the dirtiest of jobs. The bloody dictatorship still rules the capital and metamorphic "dictatorships" rule the parties. This announces the victory of a bloody regime over the "cosmic conspiracy," another proclaims the steadfastness of "liberator" territories" and a third announces the establishment of "the first real democracy in the world"... No one put his head down. In the mud, as an essential partner in the destruction of the country and the people...

### Cold War... Hot Wars

From the cunning of history, the "exiles" from the Yalta Agreement, signed by US President Franklin Roosevelt, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and Soviet (Georgian) leader Joseph Stalin (4-11 February 1945), in one of the most beautiful cities of Crimea, are who will put an end to it. It is the peaceful movements of change in Eastern Europe that will announce the death of the Warsaw Pact and the end of a long period known as the Cold War.

Liberal "brainstorming" centers in their globalized dress are robbing the train of the "historic defeat" of the Soviet Union, for their own bank account, to talk about the end of ideological conflicts and even the "end of history" and the launch of a neo-liberal world order led by the United States of America. With the exit of the common suffix in most Western languages: Post (postmodernity, post-politics, post-truth...) as an obligatory condition, to remain in the space of philosophical, intellectual and political contemplation.

The events that erupted in Eastern Europe between 1989 and 1991 radically altered the geopolitical architecture of the world, and in contrast to the collapses that occurred, the Western camp celebrated the New World Order as the definitive victory of the liberal paradigm as the final form of the economic management of human life and the "rational" management of good-governance. Didn't Daniel Bell, since 1962, consider that ideas, not just ideologies, had exhausted their potential as a mobilizing force as humans stopped dreaming of a better future, to enjoy this infinite-blooming present<sup>3</sup>, followed by Fukuyama in 1989 with his thesis on "The End of History"<sup>4</sup>?

This post-ideological "ideology," espoused by conservatives and neoliberals in the United States, constituted the geopolitical contemplative compass for making policies and strategies. which positioned countries outside the world-system at their predetermined place and time from the "new world board of directors." "

September 11, 2001 came to put an end to the prevailing confusion in the search for an "enemy"... The "war on terror" came to the fore in the US military strategy abroad. American forces launched two devastating wars, with the *ad hoc* ally of the moment and the situation (Britain in Iraq and NATO in Afghanistan). During the first decade of this century, **the American mismanagement of the world's leadership became clear to the world**. In Iraq, it put an end to Saddam Hussein's authority so that the Islamic Republic of Iran would reap the fruits of war, and life gave us the opportunity to watch the American forces leave Afghanistan in a way that combines tragedy with farce, and handed over power to the Taliban, who removed them from Kabul twenty years ago. Of course, no one, until today, has dared talk about the *de facto* American defeat in Afghanistan. Or about US President Biden's decision to confiscate this country's bank reserves, to distribute half of it to the victims of September 11 (sic!) in a financial fraud in broad daylight, or even to "follow up" the International Criminal Court's study of the war crimes file in this country that is devastated by foreign interventions. For more than four decades.

Is it necessary to recall, that the myth of the "war on terror", which was exploited to the greatest extent by those who launched it, the process of investing in it was not limited to the Yankees, as the Russian / Iranian / Turkish military interventions in Syria was part of the "war on terror", the military presence of USA, in east of the Euphrates, also falls within the framework of this war, as well as demolition and displacement from the cities of Aleppo, Raqqa, and Afrin... Even the Ukrainian government invested in this issue by announcing the formation of the ATO zone (area of operations for the war on terror) in the Donbas war in 2014. The post-ideological cover was ready and Muslims in various countries of the world

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<sup>3</sup> Bell, Daniel. (1962). The end of ideology: On the exhaustion of political ideas in the fifties. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, pp. 370–372.

<sup>4</sup> Fukuyama, Francis. (1989). The end of history? The National Interest. Summer 1989, 3–18.

have paid the heaviest price by presenting "Islam" as the last trench to defend the totalitarian "enemy", and the biggest manufacturer of terrorism. For the progressive critical mind to fight a new compelling battle, against the theses of the clash of civilizations and its sisters, which were found in Samuel Huntington, as a "sober" ideologist and advocate<sup>5</sup>.

The world order bled the beginning of the twenty-first century with futile wars, and it did not have the desire to achieve a fundamental shift in its vision of itself and the world. Today he has completed our life order for us, and completed his grace upon us, declaring the eternal victory of the liberal model in its globalized dress...

The Donbas war was not the first return of violence as a means to redraw borders and relations between countries "since the end of World War II"! It is funny that such a discourse comes out from people who witnessed and participated, in one way or another, in the wars in Yugoslavia, in which crimes were committed. War and genocide is what was committed in the heart of Europe. Were they not there on the day of the Srebrenica crimes, did they not witness the air bombardment of NATO forces on March 24, 1999, which lasted for 78 days until an agreement was reached with the withdrawal of Serbian forces on June 9 of the same year, a process that was considered at the time by the Secretary General of NATO: The first war in history that the alliance succeeded in with zero casualties in its ranks.

They want to write history their way, well, in this case, how can the heavy human cost of the wars of the United States of America be forgotten in the periphery countries? Or are these masses of people considered trivial numbers in the stock market and the geo-strategic balance of forces?

Is it necessary to recall that the so-called "war on terror", was a declaration of the practical halt of all development and anti-hunger projects in the world, and the defeat of civil pressures for the democratization of the United Nations and the progress made by human beings in the field of international justice, brought us back to the era of secret prisons and blacklists and the legalization of collective punishment with the horizontal spread of the concept of Ms. Madeleine Albright, "Collaterals damages," which brought us back to the pre-international humanitarian law.

Despite the demonstrations of February 15, 2003 against the war in Iraq, the global civil resistance front was systematically fragmented. Twenty years after the launch of this war, and despite the humiliating defeat suffered by the United States in Iraq and Afghanistan, we do not find an official, not even a single Atlantic "researcher", who dares to talk about the end of the "war on terror" or present an assessment of its catastrophic results, which allows for extrapolation. The beginning of a new era.

The general scenario that was drawn up for the reality and future of the planet was not so simple, but rather more complex, as reality replaced the simplified "postulates" even the naive. Forms of geopolitical opposition emerged that transcended borders of Europe. The United States can no longer reduce the image of Latin America to the image of the "back garden" or repeat the tragedy of the "Pinochet coup"! .. In Venezuela, "many liberal parties" failed to prevent the adoption of a constitution ahead of that of many very liberal countries, or the election of Hugo Chavez as president in "Free and Fair Democratic Elections" (December 2006). The South African reading, after the end of the apartheid regime, was not in any way to the liking of the board of directors of the World-System, the Chinese giant penetrated this system according to its rules of engagement, and the geo-economic center of gravity moved to the shores of the (Atlantic-Pacific) oceans, despite the tremendous rise of national and religious ideologies, remained Political economy is the master of the situation.

"Old Europe" did not succeed in reaping the fruits of the fall of the Berlin Wall, and Russia was also unable to stop the expansion of NATO to the east at the expense of what was considered for more than seventy years "the vital space of Moscow". Old alliances and friendships crumbled. Great Britain preferred subordination to the strongest (the United States) to bet on the "losing horse." To get out of the European Union at a time when several European countries are lining up in the queue to join it.

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<sup>5</sup> Huntington, Samuel. The clash of civilizations and the remaking of world order. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996.



In her study (in Russian), the Ukrainian researcher Valeriya Korablyova, in early 2018, reviewed the crisis of the liberal system. And how the triumphal mood of the early 1990s, which was captured by the famous concept of "the end of history," which considered Western liberalism as a major reference point, and formal democracy (as the Frankfurt Critical School calls it), turned as the pinnacle of intellectual thought. To the disastrous mentality we live in today: *"This disastrous mentality is the result of a series of crises that shook the "civilized world": "the economic instability exacerbated by the 2008 financial crisis; natural disasters and the risk of an environmental disaster; Terrorist attacks in the United States of America and Western Europe and unrestrained violence; The crisis of liberal democracy and the values of an open society is manifested in the growth of widespread populism and the panic of an influx of refugees. So the triumphalism of the 1990s was replaced by the catastrophe of the 2000s. This situation, which I have traditionally described as "the end of the end of history," requires a revision of the methods and models of the world."*<sup>6</sup>

Valeriya Korablyova warns the blind world of the war that her country has been experiencing since 2014 by saying: *"It has been proven that any local conflict, within globalized work spaces, has a global dimension and global repercussions; the modernity of contemporary war must be re-evaluated in post-Clausewitz conditions, that is, as a new social and human condition."* : **"It is important to understand that modern wars are waged against the civilian population and against the universal values of coexistence, openness and human rights. These are not modern State wars for territory and sovereignty, not ideological wars of the twentieth century for the most competitive version of modernization, not even guerrilla wars. For the "minds and hearts" of the people.**

It is difficult for our generation to forget the story of US Defense Secretary Colin Powell at the United Nations providing evidence of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein's weapons of mass destruction... and how Bernard Kushner, one of the pioneers of "humanitarian intervention" and "humanitarian corridors", was alone among all Personalities and political, civil and legal forces in France, talking about the "legitimacy of the war on Iraq"?

The post-Cold War era revived the various pre-civilian structures (Vergemeinschaftung), from the old ethnic, sectarian and tribal fanatics to the small and large mobilized grudges and expressions of hatred, which returned in a new hybrid form, in their composition and external ideological<sup>7</sup> bases. In its conceptual arsenal, it includes re-tradition, de-modernity, neo-tribalism, xenophobia, etc. These new hybrid formulas give birth to new myths by creating sets of basic myths on the basis of which they combine with each other and allow themselves to coordinate with respect to a variety of political situations and 'geopolitical' visions.

At the level of the logic of resorting to force, or declaring war, states and armed groups do not lack the means and do not lack pretexts or "theorists"... The State can use a "historical" approach to justify its actions and try to legitimize its behavior, claiming that its actions were carried out by Survival, self-defense, national security, or the "supreme national interest", regional or international peace, resistance to terrorism and extremism, Islamic terrorism and neo-Nazism, and last but not least: **humanitarian peacekeeping missions**. One can engage in mental sports to refute or filter out the direct or indirect reasons for considering a country to have exhausted all diplomatic and peaceful means before zero hour of military operations. However, the first epistemological problem lies in asking a simple question: "Can the militarization of any conflict be considered an inevitable issue if other avenues are blocked?" It is this question that brings us back to the central starting point: the legitimacy of war in human existence. Because human experiences clearly show, that the word "blockade of other paths" is nothing

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<sup>6</sup> Валерия Кораблева, КОНЕЦ «КОНЦА ИСТОРИИ»: КОНТУРЫ НОВОГО МИРА В УСЛОВИЯХ «ГИБРИДНОЙ ВОЙНЫ»

(Valeriya Korablyova, The end of «the end of history»: Outlines of a new world amidst a «hybrid warfare, January 2018).

<sup>7</sup> In "The Decline of Political Islam", I dealt with the butcher's marriage in new ideologies/myths: the concept of totalitarianism between Stalin and Mawdudi, the Revolutionary Party between Sayed Kutb and Lenin, building the Ukrainian state / glorifying the heritage of the early nationalists, post-Zionism and building the myth of the Jewish State...) ... Haytham Manna, The Decline of Political Islam, Hachette-Antoine, Beirut 2021.

but a hellish innovation that aims to give an instrument of forgiveness for the **crime of aggression**, as it is an inevitable matter.

### Voices out in the open...

A number of searchers in Eastern Europe commented years ago on the catastrophic results of the Donbas war, which began in 2004. We find an advanced critical analysis of Bortnov<sup>8</sup> and Turkova<sup>9</sup> (2016), and the total of participants in the symposium "**Logos and Pathos. Humanities in the Condition of War**"<sup>10</sup> (2017) For discourse, humanities, and political science in Russia and Ukraine: How the language used to describe these events in university studies became a defining marker of political affiliation, even beyond the borders of Eastern Europe. Emotional and ideological tension prevailed over contemplation and academic effort. Often the "facts" are chosen to fit predetermined conclusions; Verification of information sources is no longer a general rule but rather an exception; Some phrases and terms are out of context, but putting them into question is a kind of unnecessary luxury.. How did descriptions of the dynamic socio-political situation turn into static data and constants that are subject to basic categories of "identity"; Serious cross-national and cross-regional comparisons are rare.<sup>11</sup> Turkova reviews the impact of the war on professional links between Russian and Ukrainian linguists, concluding that "scholars find it impossible to rise above the conflict and engage in pure and impartial analysis," resulting in the mutual isolation of the research communities. The powerful influence of confrontational approaches and the transformation of the humanities into a war front is evident on relations in the field of Ukrainian studies and beyond. Indeed, on local and transnational contacts. Politics has infiltrated research communities, universities and conferences. Increasingly hard language is used to describe the impact of Conflict over academic relations. Against the backdrop of an armed conflict, predictably, "issues of treason, loyalty, patriotism and treason are at the forefront of the discourse of [Ukrainian] intellectuals."<sup>12</sup> Scholars are no exception.

In 2017; Before Joe Biden reached the presidency and Vladimir Putin decided to escalate the military in his own process, a group of researchers gathered in Minsk posed the real problematic of their own mission: "*To resist propaganda, its normalization of war and militarization of the Eastern European Life-Worlds. Our mission is especially significant because discussions of new military conflicts among our countries play a central role in the mass media and public discourse. The war as political instrument and threatening future has turned into some sort of idée fixe of our public discussions. In this context, intellectual efforts that can offer an alternative to militarist propaganda are highly needed.*"<sup>13</sup> The war machine has turned into a political tool and the threat to the future is a kind of defining idea for our public discussions. In this context, there is an urgent need for intellectual efforts that can provide an alternative to military propaganda and the inevitability of armed conflict to address the problems at hand.

### Propaganda first, propaganda last

In its contemporary edition, the "human tragedy" lies in the fact that the emperors of economic and military power, in the global system, are the kings of "propaganda", and that the cyber world has captured artistic, literary, philosophical, political and cognitive productions. The cyber revolution succeeded in flattening knowledge, desecrating awareness and making Political rationality oscillates between open relativism and gray haze. Objectivity, professionalism, or information verification is no

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<sup>8</sup> Portnov, A. (2016) "Donbas" kak *Drugoi*. Ukrayinskie intellektual'nye discursy do i vo vremya voiny ["Donbas" as *The Other*. Ukrainian intellectual discourses before and during the war].

<sup>9</sup> Turkova, K. (2016) Words and war: Russian and Ukrainian linguists struggle to find common ground. *Open Democracy Russia*. Available from: <https://opendemocracy.net/od-russia/ksenia-turkova/words-and-warrussian-and-ukrainian-linguists-struggle-to-find-common-groun> . [Accessed 7 February 2017].

<sup>10</sup> **Logos and Pathos. Humanities in the Condition of War**, organized in Minsk in October 28-29, 2017.

<sup>11</sup> <sup>11</sup> Portnov, A, P. 103.

<sup>12</sup> Yurchuk, Y., and Marchenko, A. (2018) Intellectuals in Times of Troubles: Between Empowerment and Disenchantment During the Orange Revolution and Euromaidan. In: G. Grinchenko and E. Narvselius, eds. *Traitors, Collaborators and Deserters in Contemporary European Politics of Memory*. Palgrave Macmillan Memory Studies, pp. 142.

<sup>13</sup> Logos and Pathos. Humanities in the Condition of War, Tatiana Shchytsova & Mykhailo Minako, INTRODUCTORY REMARKS P.6

longer the obsession of any participant in the spectacle war, and the question has become: How can you win the propaganda battle with faster steps than planes, tanks, and high-speed missiles?

Today's politicians and "competent analysts" mock their every hand gesture, smile, tear, statement or "in-depth analysis," as Jean-Claude Milner wrote in *Rereading the Revolution* (2016): "Never make the inaccurate the preferred means to the effects of truth. Never turn these into the byproducts of a lie. Never make the true a tool for conquering reality." In the spectacle war that shook the world, the starting point is not to differentiate between Show, accuracy and truth, but to redefine and fabricate events, to focus in it. facts don't matter, then, automatically categorize them as the most profound, correct and accurate: The president Biden has twice repeated the expression "genocide." The Norwegian Secretary General of NATO, Jans Stoltenberg, is in a state of euphoria. How many Western officials have visited Brussels and have not met with him since taking office in 2014? It does not matter to Comrade Jans, if the number of Ukrainian refugees exceeds the population of Norway, as far as the arrival of the largest consignments of arms to the Ukrainian resistance means... All become military experts, Putin cannot be an exception...

### Demonization of Putin or Russia-phobia?

No one knows how the founder of the far-right Eurasia Party, Aleksandr Dugin, became "le philosophe de cour de Poutine". More than twenty Western articles cite him as official Russian statements: "*Post-modernity shows that every so-called truth is a matter of believing. So we believe in what we do, we believe in what we say. And that is the only way to define the truth. So we have our special Russian truth that you need to accept. If the United States does not want to start a war, you should recognize that United States is not anymore a unique master.*"

We have to search, with light and wick, for an intelligent or critical statement issued on Russian soil in the Western media. But how that comes from a country where "there is no public opinion", "there is no opposition", in which there are no natural people who love and hate, rather they raise dogs and cats like the French, the British and the Germans? Rather than Russia, is also a part of Europe?

The Ukrainian war ended the myth of **neutrality** in sports, artistic and cultural institutions. It included Western and allied sanctions, FIFA, archery, swimming, horse riding, beauty and ugliness competitions, art and literature exhibitions, and cats and other animal competitions did not escape its consequences. The current war is based on severing all bridges between peoples, not just governments. In this sense, le **toutisme** must triumph: ALL Jews, all Arabs, all Russians, all Ukrainians...ARE... (tous les .. sont).

Poor Russian anti-war scholars, activists, and jurists, they will find only a Slovakian philosopher out of system / Slavoj Zizek, to remind them, to speak about their existence of their existence: "*You, war protesters in Russia, are not just an internationalist abstraction, you are the real Russian patriots. The patriot is the one who He really loves his country, he is the one who feels very ashamed when this country does something wrong or we go wrong. There is no saying more disgusting than he who says "my country, right or wrong." And what I say, applies to Russia, Ukraine and Europe. We have to communicate with each other more than ever. At this moment, I cannot imagine my life without you.*"<sup>14</sup>

But the tragic *guerre du spectacle* continues even if the actors differ: Western governments, which refuse to take back their "citizens" from Ghweran prison and al-Hol in Syria, are the same ones that welcome the Western Volunteer Corps, whose formation is announced by the Ukrainian president. There are just causes and evil cases. And there are villains without borders, heroes without borders... The Russian president personally, enters the arena on the other shore, welcoming all the "volunteers" from the Middle East... The issue of fighters without borders, whether jihadists, or white supremacists, is no longer forbidden, secret or limited. The definition of the first protocol of the four Geneva

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<sup>14</sup> Slavoj Zizek's address to Russians protesting Ukraine war:

[https://www.reddit.com/r/zizek/comments/t8njin/slavoj\\_zizeks\\_address\\_to\\_russians\\_protesting/](https://www.reddit.com/r/zizek/comments/t8njin/slavoj_zizeks_address_to_russians_protesting/)



Conventions for mercenaries is no longer valid, the masses can now watch the "Wali" sniper from Quebec, Canada, and the 'sniper' Muhammad Ali from Syria, talking about their heroism in the field on the media in the countries allied to the front on which they are fighting, and on government television channels that lives from taxpayers?... Here we are simply going back to the French popular proverb that preceded international humanitarian law:

### **A la guerre comme à la guerre**

Dictionaries explain this French proverb by saying: "You have to be fatalistic and adapt with time, with circumstances, however unfortunate they may be...." In frank war, anything is permissible.

The hero of "Servant of the People" Zelensky moves, like dancers on New Year's Eve, from one parliament of one allied country to another, and conference to another, to tell us about the heroic steadfastness of the Ukrainian people and his very special resistance for a very special democracy: "We will become a 'big Israel' with its own face. We will not be surprised if we have representatives of the Armed Forces or the National Guard in cinemas, supermarkets, and people with weapons. I am confident that the question of security will be the issue number one for the next 10 years. I am sure of it,"<sup>15</sup>

of course, in all global languages and on Direct, and tirelessly repeated, the statements of eighteen officials from NATO countries.

Today, propaganda, with its main representatives and their assistants, relies on the latest methods of psycho-emotional influence to monopolize and implant opinion in hearts and minds. The first weeks pass and it becomes clear that the "Western camp" has won the media battle over the military-bureaucratic general who reads his army's "achievements" from Moscow, in the manner of the caricatured spokesman for the army and armed forces in Syria, or the Russian president who failed to copy Joseph Stalin, and lost his gait.

Weeks in which boredom and boredom appear on the face of the "viewer/negative receiver/supporter", he searches desperately on his television for a police or comedy movie, he finds the series "The Servant of the People." ... He cries: *Trop c'est trop*, the boring and uncreative repetition of the process of controlling people's minds loses its value, propaganda turns into an **overdose** of the media opium whose elaborate blows on people's consciousness bounce back.

The obscure and disappointed, on the opposite Russian front, discovered that the talk about "extracting Nazism from its roots in Ukraine and liberating Ukrainians from their Ukraine" makes them stars and great figures, many times more than simply pleasing the Russian authorities... This tactic succeeded tremendously, productively. Modest producer before March 2022 with no personal biography, he enters Wikipedia and major Western newspapers, which found in his article, material to expose Russian politics and its project in Ukraine... Timofey Sergeytsev's article enters Wikipedia before its owner, and Timofey is honored by "critical studies" from europeans analysts and philosophers .. Like the head of the far-right Eurasia Party, Aleksandr Dugin, who won the title of Putin's philosopher in the Kremlin, everyone who wrote about Sergetsev's article donated to him honorary titles and many roles he never had in Russia, who needed to be cited, to indicate that the main objective of the Kremlin, is to wipe Ukraine off the map. No major Western newspaper or "widespread" television channel will take the statement of 7,000 thousand scientists in Russia against the war, or talk about feminist, socialist and democratic statements made from within Russian soil that are more radical in their criticism of the "Putin regime's war" on Ukraine than the rhetoric of Western analysts and officials ... the manifesto of the "Coalition of Socialists against the War in Russia" was sent in various languages to Western news agencies and in its place was a trash can. All the free anti-war voices in the Russian lands consider, as soon as they exist, the denunciation of the racist decisions taken against everything that is Russian by the NATO countries, decisions that put the Russian oppressor and the oppressed in one basket. Didn't Joe Biden

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<sup>15</sup> [President Zelenskyy, one Israel is enough \(msn.com\)](https://www.msn.com/en-us/news/world/President-Zelenskyy-one-Israel-is-enough)

break all the sanctions records in history? I don't know why he hasn't entered the Guinness World Records yet?

The surrealist poet Benjamin Péret made a mark in "The Scandal of Poets" when he wrote in 1945: "Wars, like the one we are in conflict with, are only possible thanks to the convergence of all the forces of regression. It means, inter alia, the cessation of cultural progress which is thwarted by these regressive forces that are threatened by culture"

Women who issued the statement "Feminist Resistance to War" hit: "Behind the slogan of no to war, there is no naive attitude. The only way to peace is to de-escalate the war. We demand a radical diplomatic way to reorient this situation and break with the military maelstrom opened by Russia and perpetuated by NATO. ... We are many who say no to war, imperialism, the patriarchal system, tyranny and militarism.

In a word, devastating wars will not necessarily force us to choose between cholera and plague.

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Haytham Manna: Writer, researcher, and human rights defender for more than forty years. Born in Syria, he studied medicine, psychotherapy, Anthropology and International Law at the universities of Damascus, Paris, Bobigny, and Montpellier and EHESS. He published more than fifty books on human rights, non-violence, democracy, citizenship, Islam and enlightenment, the most prominent of which is the "Short Universal Encyclopedia of Human Rights", "The Future of Human Rights", "Challenges of Enlightenment", "Critical Studies in Human Rights", "The Decline of Political Islam" and "Building Citizenship" ". Founder of the Scandinavian Institute for Human Rights/Haytham Manna Foundation in Geneva.