Non-Thirsty Traveler and Survival Blameworthiness: (re)Viewed Through the Russo-Ukrainian War

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Abstract

In the paper, the necropolitical and biopolitical aspects of survival, resilience, and blameworthiness have been reviewed through the wartime contexts of free riding. The moral assessment at times of war is dual and requires taking into account the deictic and stochastic specifics of the war contexts. Adding the coordinates of risk awareness and the deictic perspective of the Other in need of help makes it possible to model the complicated decision-making that includes evaluation of *life/death*, and *death1/death2* scenarios of choice. Thus, the modifications of the *Thirsty Traveler* thought experiment have been suggested in the article to review the moral luck discussion through the survival-related moral issues of the Russo-Ukrainian War.

Keywords: martial governmentality, resilience, blameworthiness, Thirsty Traveler, moral luck.

1. Introduction.

As "war serves as the segue from biopolitics to necropolitics by annihilating the line between politics as such and violence" (Terry, 2024: 312), the value-laden rationalities that influence the coercion-volition ratio within decision-making processes and enable or sabotage resistance during the war can be viewed through specific life- and death-related choices. Considering the choices, the deictic aspects of responsibility toward one's own survival and the survival of others, as well as indirect and stochastic consequences associated with crisis-driven decisions, define a wide range of citizens' actions during wartime, such as volunteering and military defense, on the one hand, and military draft evasion and civic inertia, on the other hand.

The military draft of certain groups of citizens during war, in order to preserve the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the state, is one of the central aspects to be reviewed through the martial governmentality during the Russo-Ukrainian War. Therefore, the study is focused on the biopolitical and necropolitical factors shaping survival decisions during the war, in particular, through thought experiments that extend the *Thirsty Traveler* experiment's problematics. For instance, war-related moral ambivalence and blameworthiness limitations, as well as the scope and mechanisms of moral responsibility implementation in situations of life- and death-

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associated decision-making become the new accents of the thought experiment seen through the lens of war challenges.

The central hypothesis of the study is that blameworthiness and justification of survival in the context of war are value-dependent. The key aspect of the paper is the problem of moral luck concerning how survival-related circumstances beyond an agent's control, personal and societal outcomes of wartime decision-making affect moral responsibility. Thus, the research question can be formulated as follows: *What are the limitations of applying the justification through moral luck to survival-related decision-making during the war?*

Methodologically, the study has been focused on modeling thought experiments to generalize the cases of (non-)survival associated with compromised moral decision-making during the war. The modeling is based on the secondary analysis of survey data on 2021-2023 social cohesion dynamics (Social Cohesion in Ukraine, 2024; 2024a). It also incorporates the litany and worldview levels of Causal Layered Analysis (CLA) (Inayatullah, 2004). Other sources under analysis included: (1) recent publications on the theoretical aspects of martial governmentality, symbolic context, and essentially contested concepts describing the realities of the Russo-Ukrainian War; (2) statistical data on the Ukrainian population resilience during the full-scale invasion phase, based on the SCORE and SHARP indicators (Resilience and Cohesion, 2023, 2025; Score-Inspired Holistic Assessment of Resilience, 2023); (3) philosophical publications on moral luck aspects of the *Thirsty Traveler* thought experiment (2015-2024).

The terms used in the publication should be understood as follows (according to Foucault, 2008; Forster & Taylor, 2022; Kahn, 2024; Marušić, 2022; Nelkin, 2023; Oksamytna, 2024; Sartorio, 2015; Talbert, 2015; Terry, 2024). The term *biopolitics* has been used in the Foucauldian sense of creating legal conditions for the self-regulation of the population, with citizens' internal motivation and responsibility, rather than obedience, being the grounds for their socially significant choices. *Martial necropolitics* implies the legal conditions that make it possible, in time of crisis, to involve citizens in processes posing a potential risk to their lives. *Moral luck*, in the publication, refers to a moral evaluation of an agent's actions under the circumstances when their choice of behavior is affected by uncontrolled external factors. In particular, according to *egoistic-optimistic biases-based moral luck* (Enoch and Guttel, 2010: 3), agents can assure themselves of being luckier and having an advantage over other individuals, while taking risky and morally unsure options. In the context of survival paradoxes during the war, the moral responsibility specifics in the fatal military draft evasion cases have been reviewed, and the idea of egoistic-optimistic biases-based moral luck has been further extended and applied to survival strategies associated with violation of civic duty during wartime. Based on the Tysa River cases of choosing risky and hypothetically fatal routes of military draft evasion instead of participation in the armed defense, seen through egoistic-optimistic biases-based moral luck, I suggest shifting from discussing survival-related decision-making in terms of personal choice between life and death, and to consider it as a choice between nature- or human-caused death and physical and/or social death during the war.

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The novelty of the study of necro- and biopolitical aspects of survival, viewed through the *Thirsty Traveler* experiment, lies in the incorporation of moral responsibility and blameworthiness aspects of moral philosophy into the social-philosophical study of migration-related decision-making during the war. Thus, the key difference between the suggested wartime-specific modifications of the thought experiment and the previous discussions is in adding the coordinates of the traveler`s awareness about the risks and the third party relying on the traveler`s help into the causal structure. However, it is necessary to clarify the limitations of this study, since the group of evaders is narrowed to Ukrainian citizens liable for military service but preferring military draft evasion by attempting to cross the state border as a survival strategy, despite the choice being morally and logically compromised, and containing evident fatal risks.

The immediate impact of the study can be to start the discussion on resilience, civic responsibility, and the limitations of the expectations about the proportionality of burden distribution in a society at war. Moreover, the moral limits of citizens` active and passive free riding during wartime can also be further discussed through the problem of establishing a hierarchy of *lives to be risked* and *lives to be saved* in martial law contexts. The long-term impact may take the form of early modeling of post-conflict reconciliation protocols based on legal and moral responsibility, justification and blameworthiness criteria for assessment of subjects` actions and choices made during the war.

2. Social Cohesion, Civic Duty and Blameworthiness in Wartime

For a better understanding of blameworthiness in the wartime context, it can be useful to apply the 20th century terminology to the much earlier discussion. As suggested in K. Mantzouranis's study, the Aristotelian vision of social rejection and contempt can be reviewed through E. Goffman's notions of *line* and positive/negative social *face*. A social line is a deictic notion. It is a pattern of acts expressing the view of the situation and its participants, the doer of the actions included. A social face is subject-specific, as it implies claiming by the person a positive social value that is internally consistent and supported by other participants (Mantzouranis, 2023: 211). The social cohesion trends in modern Ukraine, in particular, those concerning the indicators of intergroup harmony, can be considered to understand the moral evaluation by the population of the social lines associated with a range of attitudes towards civic duty and civic engagement during the war. Another important aspect that can be assessed based on the survey data is whether citizens' free riding in the context of the martial law period makes it possible for them to maintain a positive social face.

In the paper, the trends and indicators have been studied based on the 2021 and 2023 social cohesion and resilience survey report (ReSCORE) data that allow comparison of the shifts in the indicators starting with 2021, just before the full-scale invasion of Russia into Ukraine in 2022, and during the actual phase of the Russo-Ukrainian War (Social Cohesion in Ukraine, 2024; 2024a). The SCORE-inspired Holistic Assessment

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of Resilience of Population (SHARP) datasets from a quantitative nationwide random sampling survey were also used in the report to trace the trends and dynamics in the social perception of groups. The ReSCORE panel sample makes it possible to measure and track the changes by means of "focusing on the same individuals and their responses to identical questions in both 2021 and 2023" (Social Cohesion in Ukraine, 2024: 25).

Among the indicators showing the dynamics in various aspects of civic responsibility and attitudes towards citizens` choices, those of *Sense of Belonging to the Country, Pluralistic Ukrainian Identity, Lack of Social Threat,* and *Sense of Civic Duty* are the highest in the 2023 ranking. The comparison with the pre-full-scale-invasion dataset shows that *Sense of Belonging to the Country, Pluralistic Ukrainian Identity,* and *Lack of Social Threat* indicators were top in 2021 as well, them being "deeply embedded in the social and cultural fabric" rather than implying "a short-term wartime effect" (Social Cohesion in Ukraine, 2024: 4).

The *Sense of Civic Duty* indicator, described as "feeling responsible for the future of Ukraine, that ordinary people can change things in their community, their vote matters and can make a difference, and are able to understand and contribute to politics" (Social Cohesion in Ukraine, 2024: 13), increased from 5.4/10, in 2021, to 6.6/10, in 2023 (Social Cohesion in Ukraine, 2024: 15). At the same time, across general sample, in 2023, 38% of respondents could associate the phrase "Ordinary people like me cannot change anything" with themselves (Social Cohesion in Ukraine, 2024: 15), that takes us back to the passive free riding narrative positioning ordinary people as external observers during the war and compromising civic responsibility for common response to the threat (Boichak & McKernan, 2024: 56).

Civic engagement in Ukraine remains high during the full-scale Russian invasion – 57% of respondents have been engaged in volunteering and/or donating (Social Cohesion in Ukraine, 2024a: 13). Volunteers have been a distinct group of *agents of change* in Ukraine since the beginning of the Russo-Ukrainian War in 2014, as volunteering created "a collective state-like actor in lieu of the existing state institutions" (Boichak & McKernan, 2024: 51; 56; 60). At the same time, volunteering can lead to social separation between civilians with a different degree of civic engagement: agents of change and ordinary people externally observing the crisis. According to the survey by O. Boichak and K. McKernan, based on the interviews, "[s]ome volunteers felt that this separation was natural or even necessary to shield civilians from wartime atrocities" (Boichak & McKernan, 2024: 56). The researchers trace an interesting resilience-related shift of the blameworthiness narrative by narrowing the group of *civilians to be shielded* in the wartime to those who cannot be engaged in national resistance, and additionally testing 2023 SHARP hypothesis of civic resistance and cohesion being mutually reinforcing (Score-Inspired Holistic Assessment of Resilience, 2023: 29).

In the 2023 and 2025 periodic reports on resilience and cohesion of Ukrainian Society during the war, the response to the mobilization process by the population has been given special attention, as well as positive changes in recruiting to the Armed Forces of Ukraine (AFU), official exemption from military service, routes and fatal attempts of military draft evasion (Resilience and Cohesion, 2023: 34-35; Resilience and Cohesion,

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2025: 25; 35-36). For instance, regarding the societal perception of military draft evaders as a group (*Social Proximity* and *Lack of Threat* indicators), 2023 ReSCORE report data suggest that 54% of the respondents see military draft evaders as a potential threat to the public order in their community (Social Cohesion in Ukraine, 2024a: 25-26). Moreover, the blameworthiness attitude toward the free-riding individuals, for instance, exclusion from the circle of close friends, is relatively consistent among the various groups, including those of combat participants and the volunteers to the Armed Forces of Ukraine (Social Cohesion in Ukraine, 2024a: 28).

Thus, the survey data make it possible not only to trace the potential "horizontal cohesion ruptures" (Social Cohesion in Ukraine, 2024: 7) in the duty-survival dilemmas, but also to explore the shift in the survival modes associated with morally compromised strategies (for instance, military draft evasion) when the key options for the evaders' choice can appear not as *life* and *death* but rather as a probable *postponed social death and/or a physical death* during the risky attempt of evasion, to compare with the probable *physical death* of the defenders.

3. Moral Paradoxes of Free Riding and Survival during the War

The social-political and value load of the war context affects the assessment of the concepts of *life* and *death*, as well as the degree to which the risk to life is justified by the goal and the situation. For instance, George S. Terry (2024) gives a review of the Foucauldian concepts of governmentality and biopower. The researcher notes that an important value component of the situation of risk to life during war is personal military responsibility as a manifestation of resistance and will, which is not reduced to a necropolitical "permission to kill" or a martyr position of the victim. Using the example of the Ukrainian resistance, Terry points out that the act of resisting aggression becomes an axis between biopolitics and necropolitics. Firstly, it requires the external efforts of the authorities to mobilize the population for potentially dangerous activities and the autonomous need of the military not only to confront the aggressor effectively, but also to survive in order to ensure resistance for a sufficient period. Secondly, as "the Ukrainian case also demonstrates a logic of survival in which the combatant is subjugated to the conditions of potential death so that the population might live" (Terry, 2024: 321), it is the survival of the military performing combat missions that allows the transformation of the physical destruction of other individuals into the preservation of the political subjectivity of one's own state and the survival of the civilian population as well.

On the other hand, the State's managerial and operational approach to the population during the martial law period is grounded on the premise that citizens can be coerced into doing the right thing (which, according to Article 65 of the Constitution of Ukraine, consists in defending the independence and territorial integrity of Ukraine by citizens of Ukraine (Constitution of Ukraine, 1996)) and implies a teleocratic view of morality

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justified by the coordination of society towards resistance and survival. Therefore, the question is whether moral choice and responsibility are to be (dis)located from human individuals to the managerial class coordinating society in the name of the State, under the stated conditions (McGrogan, 2022: 148; 151).

Naima Chahboun (2024) points out that "enforcement mechanisms offer something morally valuable since they relieve complying agents of burdens that they face in their absence" (Chahboun, 2024: 58) and, at the same time, states that the assumption that some "act gains moral value from the efforts it takes to perform it" is not always applicable to civic duties. Accordingly, there can be a theoretical possibility to consider blameworthiness or justification of free riding from the point of view that "contrary to the inclination to cause someone harm, the temptation to free ride displays no malice, only a desire to pursue what lies in one's rational self-interest" (Ibidem). Nevertheless, this biopolitical angle may contain a gap if applied to the extremes of wartime. On the one hand, passive free riding of the population during the war can be driven by self-interest and denial to see the changes in the social reality as a reaction to the acute crisis: for instance, in a form of "living ordinary life" and restraining from volunteering and civic activities to create an illusion of the absence of war. Therefore, the moral paradox of survival lies in the intersection of the horizontal dimension of individual life-/death-related choices of the values worthy of risking one's life, and the vertical dimension of necropolitical/biopolitical state-citizen relation during martial law that requires risking the lives of members of some groups for the sake of civilian population survival. Thus, moral responsibility for active free riding during the war can be seen as split between individual and social dimensions. N. Chahboun formulates a question on the appropriate enforcement mechanisms as follows: "Would it not suffice with some – formal or informal – procedure for subjecting potential noncompliers to criticism or public shaming?", and the effectiveness of the application of the mechanisms, such as informing noncompliers that they failed to comply and expressing discontent with them, and attaching social costs for noncompliance with the moral demands, depends on the noncompliers' moral commitment and their good will (Chahboun, 2024: 61).

In the context of Ukraine, there is still a gap as to whether moral responsibility could be applied to the persons postmortally, after a fatal attempt of realization of a morally compromised decision. For instance, notorious illegal crossings of the state border at the Tysa River to avoid the military draft, in cases where the fatal natural circumstances appear to be beyond the evaders' control, can be reviewed through the lens of moral responsibility and/or moral luck.

4. The Tysa (Tisza) River as a Ukrainian Styx. Moral Luck and Military Draft Evasion

Tracing the topic of moral blameworthiness for an attempt to escape death back to Socrates, in Plato's *The Apology of Socrates* we come across the position that "[38c] […] neither in war nor yet at law ought any man

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to use every way of escaping death. […] The difficulty, my friends, is not in avoiding death, but in avoiding unrighteousness; [39b] for that runs faster than death." (Plato, 2019).

Since the beginning of the full-scale invasion phase of the Russian-Ukrainian war in February 2022, the deaths of more than 50 Ukrainian conscripts have been recorded during attempts to illegally cross the Ukrainian-Romanian border in order to evade the military draft, in the area of the Tysa (Tisza) River notorious due to its whirlpools and underwater natural traps (Vid pochatku, 2024; Resilience and Cohesion, 2025: 36). Thus, crossing the river implies taking a fatal risk for military evaders regardless of their primary intention to survive by escaping mobilization. The unfortunate attempts to evade are hardly statistically relevant in the context of general military draft numbers, thus, the risky strategy can be reviewed not from regulatory or sociological, but rather from axiological and social-philosophical angles: as an example of active free riding in which evasion from participation in armed combat does not equal survival, and *life/death* choice can be situationally transformed into the competing *death-1/death-2 probability* choices associated with additional moral contexts of acceptability, freedom, and duty.

Dorothea Gädeke (2021), while studying responsibility and guilt in the contexts of freedom, individual wrongdoings, and structural injustice of domination, suggests that "[t]he ideal of the free person expresses what kinds of freedom of action we may justifiably ask from one another as equals. From this perspective, the requirements of justice are already built into the idea of a free person and hence, justice defines freedom, not the other way around." (Gädeke, 2021: 182). The period of martial law is associated with the state security-based restriction of freedoms of the population, such as controlled migration between regions and the age-based military draft of men. Moreover, the danger-specific dimensions of duty and justice define individual freedom within the aggression resistance and resilience. The *death/life* choice of those evading active participation in armed resistance, if seen through the martial law perspectives, can be considered an attempt to make individual freedom define justice. The decision making of this kind can also mean that evasion includes lessening the chances to survive for those who depend on the human resources, for instance, defenders at the frontline. The repeated fatal cases of military draft evasion at the Tysa River indicate the transition of this survival mode from a *life/death* choice to decision-making based on the choice between the possibility of nature- or human-caused death (*death-1/death-2 possibility*), with the additional factor of lack of resilience due to the blameworthy intentions to avoid performing a civic duty during the war.

To illustrate the impact of causality on moral responsibility in the *life/death* dimension, it seems helpful to mention the discussion of the *Thirsty Traveler* thought experiment that appeared in *Methode* back in 2015, by Carolina Sartorio and Matthew Talbert, later reviewed in 2024 by Samuel Kahn in *Problemos*.

Carolina Sartorio gives such a version of the classic *Thirsty Traveler* story:

> A man is about to take a trip into the desert. In preparation, he fills his canteen with water. The man has two enemies, X and Y, who want him to die. At T1, X drains the water out of the canteen and refills it with salt (so

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> that it won't feel empty and the traveler won't notice the change). Unaware of what X has done, Y then steals the canteen, at T2, thinking that it's still filled with water. The thirsty traveler dies of thirst at some later time, T3. Two (apparently related) questions arise. First, the causal question: Who caused the thirsty traveler's death? Second, the moral responsibility question: who is morally responsible for his death? (Sartorio, 2015: 3)

One of the aspects of the discussion relevant to the research question of the article is whether moral luck contradicts the principle that we are morally responsible only for what is within our control, if responsibility is not applicable to individuals, when the consequences are beyond control of a subject (Sartorio, 2015: 1-2; 27).

In the course of discussion, Matthew Talbert notes that the basis for moral blameworthiness is the way in which the action implies questionable value judgments, prejudices, and preferences of the person, concerning the needs and interests of others (Talbert, 2015: 181). In his turn, Samuel Kahn cites Burstein's formula on moral responsibility for consequences being proportional to the person's causal influence on consequences (Kahn, 2024: 113). Nevertheless, the traveler in the thought experiment is excluded from the causal context as unaware of X and Y`s intentions and apparently being in the position of a victim of the grave consequences.

The failed draft evasion cases allow for reviewing the *Thirsty Traveler* experiment through the common axis of necropolitics and biopolitics during the war, if we can redistribute the accents of the experiment plot. The key difference between the previous versions of the thought experiment and the models of the thought experiment suggested in this article is that, considering the notorious military evasion route across the Tysa River, the awareness of the risks becomes significant in decision-making. Thus the agent`s choice between the scenarios implies the *death1* (nature-caused) and *death2* (human-caused) options. Also, to highlight decision-making specifics of wartime, my suggestion is to remodel the experiment by including the traveler`s knowledge about the risks into the causal structure and to see whether the remodeling clarifies the moral luck and blameworthiness aspects in the axiological contexts of war. In Model 1, (1) a military draft evader is the *traveler* undertaking a risky strategy; (2) *X* and *Y* imply the circumstances of human and natural origin beyond the evading agent's control despite the agent being aware of the dangers; and (3) the survival strategy choices have been symbolically described in the models as two *canteens*.

Model 1. *The Aware (Non-)Thirsty Traveler.*

A man is about to take a trip into the desert. In preparation, he fills two canteens (C) with water. The man has two enemies, X and Y, who want him to die. At T1, when *return is no longer possible*, X adds some poison to the water in C1. *The traveler happens to see the action but relies on C2 and hopes to survive*. Later, at T2, the traveler finds out about the intention of Y to steal C2, and there is no way he can prevent it. Thus, *the traveler has to decide* whether (1) to drink the poisoned water and supposedly die at once, or (2) to go on with the trip into the desert and probably die of thirst.

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If we add the traveler's knowledge about the dangers to the thought experiment, we also imply that the traveler becomes a doer of the action as, based on their free will, they have to choose not between life and death, but rather between the probabilities: *death1* (associated with drinking the poisoned water and taking the risk of dying at once) and *death2* (associated with a complex context as scarcity of water in a desert that does not make finding water absolutely impossible). Choosing between military duty and evasion from performing the duty during war can also be viewed through evaluation of probability of the fatal risks associated with the choices, the agent being aware of their lack of control over the circumstances defining both sets of risks. Nevertheless, in the context of the Tysa River cases, the choices can be outlined as follows, (1) *an egoistic-optimistic idea of personal survival + risky strategy* implies blameworthiness: taking the nature-based risk of crossing the Tysa and probably dying due to this decision while evading civic duty; and (2) *an idea of persistence in overcoming the challenges of the war* while taking the human-based risk associated with performing the military civic duty at the frontline during the period of martial law, though the second choice also fails to guarantee survival but is considered societally responsible.

Moreover, the symbolic and mnemonic paradox of risky evasion choice is that the morally questionable attempt of survival can postmortally transform for the evaders the symbolic Styx of the Tysa into the Lethe. Thus, a social (mnemonic) death can follow the physical one of the evaders if the fatal military draft evasion cases are erased from the collective memory as events not worth remembering, not only due to their duty-related unrighteousness but also because of the difficulties in applying outcome responsibility to situations where the wrongdoing is not completed due to the consequences beyond the agent's control.

Modeling moral luck and responsibility in the context of fatal attempts to evade civic duty during wartime may also include the third party – persons at the frontline whose resilience and survival can be compromised as a result of the conscript`s evasion from the military draft. Thus, the blameworthiness of the evasion is two-fold: as a violation of duty in wartime and as creating a hierarchy of lives to be saved. This can serve as a perspective to view the research question on the possibility of still regarding the cases of death during the realization of a morally questionable intention as moral luck. Therefore, the next adaptation of the *Thirsty Traveler* experiment to the necropolitical realities of war requires further revision of the suggested analogy, where the symbolic function distribution is enhanced by adding to the plot *the third party (R)* that describes a defender at the frontline relying on the agent's support.

Model 2. *The Necropolitical (Non-)Thirsty Traveler.*

A man is about to take a trip into the desert. In preparation, he fills two canteens (C) with water. The man has two enemies, X and Y, who want him to die. At T1, when *return is no longer possible*, X adds some poison to the water in C1. *The traveler happens to see the action but relies on C2 and hopes to survive*. Later, at T2, the traveler finds out about the intention of Y to steal C2, and there is no way he can prevent it. *The death of the traveler has a high probability to affect the survival of R waiting for the traveler in the desert.* Thus, the

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traveler has to decide whether (1) to drink the poisoned water and supposedly die at once, or (2) to go on with the trip into the desert *without water, still hoping to be able to help R.*

This version of the basic experiment includes the third party who relies on the traveler's life and help. Moreover, there is a shift of moral responsibility to the traveler, for both their survival and survival of R, whatever the chances. In the context of wartime, the question is whether even the circumstances beyond an agent's control during evasion cause a shift towards blameworthiness of the chosen individual survival strategy, whenever the societally expected responsibility arising from civic duty is based on considering other citizens' need of support and survival during the crisis. The *life/death* choice of the traveler ceases to be a personal responsibility only, as choosing death duplicates a fatal outcome, and choosing resistance and fighting for chances in the situation of uncertainty makes double survival a more possible option. Transferring the symbolic structure of Model 2, when both options can imply fatal risks, onto wartime reality can mean axiological evaluation of the agent's choice of a risky and supposedly societally blameworthy, in the long run, strategy of military draft evasion that can potentially cause a wider loss of survival and resistance chances for other citizens, if compared with the risky option of participation of the conscript in the defense against aggression.

Thus, by applying the models to the topic under discussion in our paper, we can also suppose that *wartime-associated state coercion, fear for one's own life, and the intention to evade the military draft during the war may be beyond the causal responsibility of the individual, but actions resulting from such a set of factors imply a social impact and, therefore, can be considered blameworthy*.

This can lead us to the idea of the dual moral assessment at the times of war: (1) a *deictic moral assessment* that implies the impossibility of isolated evaluation of death and survival as deeply personal acts only, due to the paradoxical duplication of survival chances of the Other by survival and actions of the defenders, help providers and supporters; (2) a *stochastic moral assessment* that implies taking into account the oscillation of direct and indirect moral risks resulting from a person`s actions and intentions, such as concentric ripples of interaction and the failures of resilience due to active and passive free riding in the situations of war-triggered danger and uncertainty.

5. Conclusions and implications for further studies on martial governmentality and survival.

In Ukrainian society, military draft evasion in general is perceived as morally compromised and having a negative impact on the population resilience and aggression resistance. The issue goes beyond sociological studies and legal assessment and belongs to the intersection of philosophical studies: social philosophy, in particular, migration studies, ethics, and political philosophy.

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The analysis of the intentional-causal structure of military draft evasion, during the escalation phase of war and general mobilization under martial law, can be considered through the perspectives of civic duty, survival, and blameworthiness.

Therefore, to outline the limitations to the justification of morally compromised survival strategies during the war, it might be necessary to go beyond a monological perception of duty and personal moral responsibility as focused on the agent and shift to the perspective of communicative (in the Levinasean sense) responsibility for the vulnerable third party or parties relying on support to survive. In the study, the *Thirsty Travele*r thought experiment has been reviewed through the egoistic-optimistic biases-based moral luck and remodeled with a focus on the circumstantial and constitutive aspects of the problem relevant to morally compromised decision-making during wartime. In particular, two adaptations of the experiment have been suggested for further discussion. Model 1, *The Aware (Non-)Thirsty Traveler*, allows us to add awareness of the risks to the causal structure, thus making the agent responsible and, therefore, blameworthy for choosing between the socially righteous risk of participation in defense and the morally compromised risky strategy to evade military draft. Model 2, *The Necropolitical (Non-)Thirsty Traveler,* shifts the focus from the personal survival of the evaders to the third party, defenders at the frontline, relying on mobilization of new conscripts to improve the aggregate chances of defense and survival of the military personnel. Thus, the stochastic and deictic perspectives of moral assessment applied to survival strategies during the war create a discussion possibility concerning personal and societal dimensions of death and survival during contexts implying existential threats.

The topic has a wider research potential, in and out of the context of Ukraine, as it enables a discussion on the tools (and indicator scales) to assess the permissible limits of causality in a situation where the moral decision is based on the *life/death* or even *death1/death2* coordinates. The deictic perspective of moral assessment can be further discussed as the security-related changes in coercion and human rights during the period of martial law. The convergence of necropolitical and biopolitical aspects creates specific cohesion and co-dependency patterns in society, as well as causes shifts in understanding life and death as socially meaningful acts.

The results and models of the study can also be helpful for policymakers. For instance, a *moral luck indicator* (as a hypothetical impact of the factors beyond one`s control on decision-making during the war) can be further included in the studies on civic duty and resilience of population during the period of martial law. At the postwar stages of rebuilding and post-conflict reconciliation, the results can be helpful to tailor the strategies for both moral and legal assessment of the actions of subjects during the special period. The discussion on postmortal blameworthiness and justification associated with the wartime can also be applied to defining symbolic and axiological filters of collective memory in the future: whether a Styx becomes a Lethe.

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