

**VOICES  
FROM  
UKRAINE**

**3**

**Assembly**

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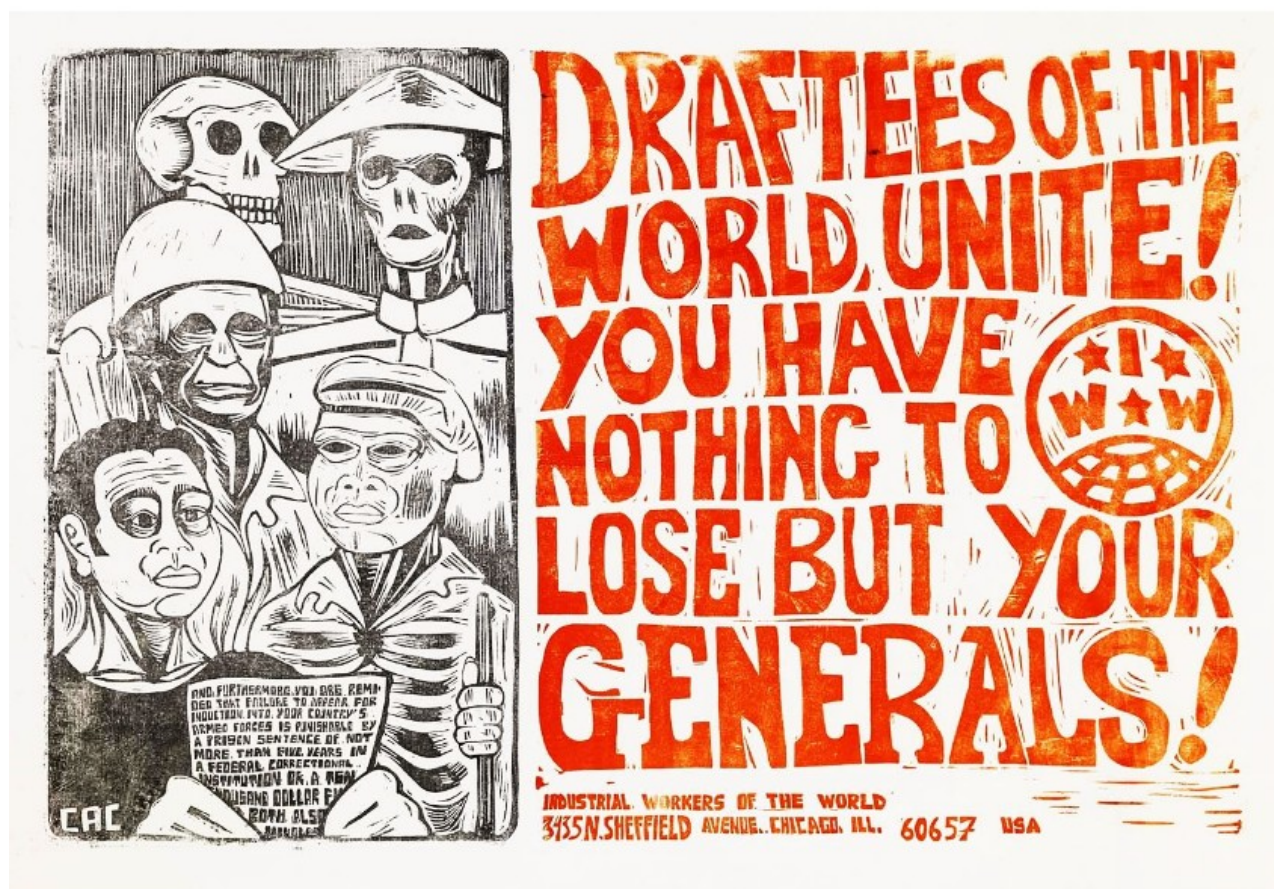
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We publish here the English version of several articles by the Kharkiv anarchist collective *Assembly*. Since the beginning of the war, the *Assembly* project has participated in actions of solidarity and resistance in bombed locations under dramatic circumstances. *Assembly* maintains a critical attitude towards the Ukrainian state and its governing bodies. It also provides information to the workers and criticizes the local bosses who use the war situation to further exploit the workers. The *Assembly* project is also a portal for informal journalism / [assembly.org.ua](http://assembly.org.ua) / and various autonomous initiatives in Kharkiv. It works on the creation of original content about events in different parts of the city, about which the local media do not report.

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# IN THE LONG HOT SUMMER, UKRAINIAN AND RUSSIAN SOLDIERS BROKE RECORDS FOR THE GROWTH OF DESERTIONS

# SEPTEMBER 6, 2024



**The title picture:** *a poster by Carlos A. Cortéz  
for the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW),  
circa 1965.*

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Since the morning of August 6, when Ukrainian troops broke through the border and occupied some border settlements in the Kursk region of Russia, debates have not subsided about the meaning and consequences of this sortie from a military-political point of view. The end of the battles for this territory is still far away. At the moment, it is only clear that such an attack against the backdrop of the collapsing Ukrainian defense in the Donetsk region came as a complete surprise to many.

In particular, the focus of attention during the battles for the Kursk region was on the border gas metering station in Sudzha (Suja), through which Russian gas is supplied to Europe. Its continued work despite hostilities around it became another symbol of the fact that war is war but international business goes as usual. From the posts of Netherlands-based Donetsk emigrant Andrey Shokotko:

*“Dutch families will be warm this winter. With full gas reserves, the chances of an extreme increase in energy bills are limited.”* Thanks to Zelensky and Putin, whose reliable partnership (so brilliantly confirmed in Sudzha) does not allow us in Europe to freeze. But it is not entirely clear – why do they send their serfs to kill each other? And why do slaves, knowing about the Russian-Ukrainian business partnership, go to kill each other?

Ukraine and the RF flatly refuse to formalize the war as a war. They are sophisticated in inventing terms. All for the sake of continuing cooperation with each other, maintaining trade relations, earning money together for the “elite”. The slaughter of slaves only helps business – in this case, by raising gas prices. In general, it is even fair that the slaughter of serfs is not registered as a war. After all, there is no war between the “elites”, and the states of the Russian Federation and Ukraine do not belong to serfs. In these territories, serfs are a resource. Expendable material.

After Sudzha, only the mentally retarded will want to voluntarily go to this war. Or those suffering from severe

forms of patriotism, which is the same thing. The fraternal partner regimes of the RF and Ukraine dispose of their slaves, earn money together, are close friends with their organisms and easily agree on everything that brings in income. At the same time, they set patriotic hamsters against each other in order to maintain power and earnings.

Secondly, the Kursk events once again showed that the gigantic bureaucratic apparatus, which copes well with plundering the budget or persecuting dissenters, is completely powerless in the face of a real threat.

*“In the border areas of the Kursk region, where fighting has been going on all week, there are no police, no fire-fighters, no doctors, no representatives of the administration. According to official information, more than 76 thousand people left the settlements (most of them left on their own, since there was no organized evacuation, contrary to the statements of the authorities), but there are still people there, mostly elderly. The devastation of villages and towns has become a catalyst for rampant looting. Shops are being robbed, there is a collapse in*



*Korenevo, supermarket Magnet was simply destroyed. No water, no gas, no electricity. “There was no organized evacuation, and if there was, then why didn’t we hear anything about it?” a local resident writes. A similar situation is in other border municipalities. Kursk residents are sure that the administration representatives, having abandoned people to their fate, themselves provoked the collapse in the border areas. At present, it is impossible to reach the administration of Korenevsky district of Kursk region by phone. People are forced to self-organize in order to protect themselves and their property and essentially perform the functions of state and law enforcement agencies,”* told one of Russia’s largest political Telegram channels on August 11. The same scenes took place at the beginning of Russian invasion in the south of Ukraine, when the Ukrainian authorities had already disappeared and the Russian ones had not yet been established.

Thirdly, the invasion of the Kursk region has caused an enthusiasm in the ranks of Ukrainian patriots that has not been observed since last year’s “coffee in Crimea until the end of spring.” We have dedicated a separate

material “The volcano of patriotism” to this issue, someone from the Ukrainian project on monitoring street kidnapping for military service replied to it: *“There is an opinion that the Kursk offensive is diverting people’s discontent and distracting from the topic of TCRs [territorial centers for recruitment]. And I tell you that it is very noticeable. The videos about the TCR scam have decreased about five times. People got distracted by looking at maps of the offensive. But the TCR occupiers did not disappear anywhere. And they catch people on the streets at the same pace.”*

However, the absence of queues of people wishing to join the army suggests that the patriotic upsurge occurred not among conscious objectors (like from the Evader’s Manifesto sent us by anonymous anarchist reader this summer), but among those who supported Ukraine from the couch long before this, and just were demoralized by its constant fails.

Finally, the rapid August advance of Ukrainian troops in the Kursk region and the rapid advance of Russian troops in the region of Donetsk clearly demonstrated

how both states lack soldiers sufficiently seasoned in battle and motivated to die for one Vladimir or another. What, other than the military themselves, can stop the carnage when the peace talks of politicians are once again indefinitely disrupted?

Due to the reluctance of Russia to transfer large forces from Donbass to the defense near Kursk, conscripts began to be recruited en masse. The Kremlin's promises not to use guys aged 18-20, who are often without any military skills and were not going to fight, do not apply to this territory. Those who survived the border breakthrough are being forced to sign contracts in order to be sent back to the front lines.

The mother of a conscript named Yulia told the Russian pacifist Telegram channel ASTRA in mid-August, *"my son and his comrades were miraculously taken out of the front line by their commanders, where they had been standing before the invasion. The military prosecutor's office forced them to return to their positions, but the boys flatly refused. Now they are in Kursk, in a military*

*unit. They want to send them to the 3rd echelon of defense behind the assault groups in the Kursk region.”*

Simple disobedience is not enough. To not be turned into mincemeat, you need to leave this conveyor belt of death altogether. We wrote about the escape of nine convicts from the Belgorod military training ground at the end of July. Their fate is still unknown. On August 12, at least 500 people who refused to fight were taken from the location of the 138th motorized rifle brigade in the military settlement of Kamenka near St. Petersburg, where the detention center for wanted servicemen is located, ASTRA reported. Among the refusers were those with serious health problems, as well as those who were ready to go to prison, just to avoid going to the front: some were under investigation for a criminal case of leaving their unit, some were awaiting a military commission. This video shows the dispatch of a group of 150 who refused to participate in hostilities.

*“From the words of people close to them, yesterday at about 6 pm they received a message from the men who were there that they had suddenly been called to line*

*up, and then, without any explanation, they were put in KamAZ trucks and taken to a military airfield under guard. The first “batch” – about 300 people – were sent in an unknown direction. The second part – about 150 people – ended up by morning 7 km from Kursk at a military training ground. “They took us, grabbed us like a parcel, put us in and took us away,” their wives and mothers say. The military was not given any explanation or told where they were being sent. “As Comrade Colonel said, they are disbanding the center [in Kamenka], but he doesn’t know where they are being taken,” an ASTRA source said.*

According to the source, about 10 people flatly refused to board the buses. They are currently being held in a separate room and are being threatened with being sent to a pretrial detention center. The part that was taken to the military training ground near Kursk has already been sent with machine guns in an unknown direction. At the same time, about 20 people managed to escape.

On August 19, the same channel reported on one of those sent by plane to the training ground near Kursk,

who did not want to return to the war because of his injury: “According to his wife, at the training ground in the Kursk region, the commanders told them: “Run, if you can.” As a result, as she claims, 37 soldiers managed to escape – with automatic rifles and bulletproof vests. Later, they were found and detained by military police. During a second attempt to escape, the interlocutor’s husband was hit with a stun gun, and another soldier was chained to a pole. As a result, all of those who escaped were put in military Urals and taken away in an unknown direction. Later, he alone was dropped off and sent to headquarters near Belgorod, where the others were taken – to where he does not know. The mobilized man himself was in Kamenka under the article on unauthorized leaving of the unit; his trial was scheduled for September. “We decided that prison was better than all this. He is wounded, covered in fragments. He can barely walk. He passed the military medical commission in Kamenka, they told him: you are category B, but we will write A. You have arms and legs, go fight,” his wife told ASTRA.

Before that, a scandal arose in the same 138th brigade with the stormtroopers' commander, Yevgeny Zarubin from Kursk, who spoke about the heavy losses in Volchansk. In July, he and a subordinate named Sergey were discharged from hospitals. Both believed that they had not fully recovered. The soldiers were promised to be sent for further hospitalization, instead they were accused of unauthorized leaving, after which they were beaten and put in a pit. Then both were taken away somewhere with bags over their heads. On August 27, Zarubin was found in the Kamenka detention center, where he is being held under guard in solitary confinement, beaten at night, and threatened with being "taken to the front and set to zero."

Another Russian collective, "Go by the Forest," helps Russian civilians and soldiers avoid participating in the war. The spokesman of this organization Ivan Chuviliaev reported for the Assembly's article "*Long hot summer*" that during the 4 months of the warm season from May to August they provided assistance to 120 deserters, and that the majority of deserters do not contact the activists: "120 requests is normal in the absence of force

majeure. In winter and spring there were many prisoners and wounded. In the summer there were none. There was one such request from the Kursk region, and only because the person escaped on the way. This is explained by the fact that they do not need us to desert. They can leave themselves, run away. This is not the occupied territory of Ukraine, where there is military police, the FSB [Federal Security Service] and others. This is Russian territory, there are no checkpoints there that were set up 10 years ago, like in Lugansk or Donetsk, and I think there is simply no military police. They will contact us when they understand that they cannot live illegally and have to leave. Those who serve in the military are sent to the Kursk region, no one pays them anything, no one holds on to anything. It's a GULAG [Stalin's concentration camp], they are sent there, they don't run away of their own free will. Are there any contract soldiers among those who participate in the battles near Kursk? Yes, there are. Those who were forced to sign a contract or had a cross put in their contract without their knowledge."



On August 24, they posted a letter from some woman: *“My son was detained for helping deserters and has been held for three weeks in an unknown location. He is not a serviceman. They organized a raid and detained him. They took him along with his car and are holding him in an unknown location. We have not been able to find him for three weeks. According to rumors, the military commandant’s office detained him, although he is not a serviceman. We called the commandant’s office – they said they do not have him. Kidnapped in a bandit-like manner by the FSB [Federal Security Service]. We’re knocking on everyone’s door. Yes, you’re right, it’s a complete organized crime group.”* Also in August, “Go by the Forest” received more than a hundred requests on various issues regarding the reluctance to fight in the Kursk region.

The most fertile ground for desertion, of course, is the forced mobilization of “the free people of a free country.” The Associated Press describes these preconditions in an article from August 22: *“While Ukraine presses on with its incursion into Russia’s Kursk region, its troops are still losing precious ground along the country’s ea-*

*stern front – a grim erosion that military commanders blame in part on poorly trained recruits drawn from a recent mobilization drive, as well as Russia’s clear superiority in ammunition and air power. “Some people don’t want to shoot. They see the enemy in the firing position in trenches but don’t open fire. ... That is why our men are dying,” said a frustrated battalion commander in Ukraine’s 47th Brigade.”*

Will the understanding that both sides are enslaved people lead to fraternization among soldiers? For now they prefer to save themselves separately, although one of the exceptions may be the following story. A Ukrainian army instructor told one of the main political Telegram channels of Ukraine about mass desertion from the training unit. In a post from July 17, he said: “A couple of months ago, reinforcements arrived – seafarers were taken off the ships and sent to serve in the marines. These are contractors, whom at the beginning of the war, when signing a contract, the Ukrainian Navy command promised that they would serve only on ships. But recently, the command removed personnel from several ships at once. They were transferred to marine brigades.

*On the way from the ships to training, some of these guys escaped. Almost none of the escapees were found. I think that many have already fled from Ukraine.*” The location of the events is not specified. However, since we are talking about mid-May, it is likely that the events took place as Ukrainian troops were hastily pulling together reserves to stop the Russian offensive north of Kharkov. Marines of the 36th brigade are now fighting there. And the Telegram channel of the Atesh movement, which works for Ukrainian military intelligence in Crimea, wrote on July 15 about the 810th marine brigade from Sevastopol: *“After numerous failures in Krynyki, part of the brigade has already advanced to the Kharkov section of the front. Due to heavy losses in the Kherson direction, more than 100 people refused to take part in further combat operations. The wounded are left in hospitals in Henichesk and Skadovsk. They do not have time to fill the staff with new people, and the command reports 75% of the brigade’s combat readiness.”* If seafarers from both sides refused to shoot at each other, can this be considered a kind of remote fraternization?

On August 6, the following question was raised in the largest Telegram chat that provides aid for those seeking to escape the country: *“They are going to take a friend of mine abroad for training at the end of the month. After he was thrown there by force, of course, he did not become a patriot and wants to get out. They are bringing him to Britain, they are going to put him on an aircraft. They will transport him through Poland, any ideas on how he can get out? Need to have someone else’s experience, or your own, if you have it.”* One of the moderators answered the following: *“There were cases when people left right on the road in Poland. It is possible to leave in any country... Only in the last half year, I have communicated with people who left while in Slovakia, Germany, Poland and Britain (but their further fate is unknown there). Let him try to leave on the road in Poland, by all means. There are a couple of training camps in Britain – on the mainland and on some separate island. Accordingly, it is impossible to leave the island at all, and if from the central part, then the question of legalization and further existence is unclear. Even if they take away the documents, he calmly leaves*

*the Poles for Slovakia and legalizes himself with a photo.”*

And an article from August 2 on the Deutsche Welle website became especially loud last month, noting that during the full-scale war, almost every 14th Ukrainian serviceman had fled:

“The problem of military personnel fleeing the Ukrainian army has reached alarming proportions. Unable to punish deserters, the government is ready to forgive them, if only they would return to duty (...) The policy of strict discipline, which the Ukrainian Armed Forces command insisted on so much during the first year of the full-scale war, has obviously failed, and desertion from the army has become widespread and unpunished – almost all of DW’s interlocutors interviewed for this article agree on this. The shortage of personnel is prompting the new leadership of the General Staff to use not only the stick, but also the carrot (...) Now unit commanders, who previously sought to quickly dismiss deserters from their positions, are calling everyone, asking about the problems and reasons preventing them from returning



to service. Personnel officer Victor Lyakh traveled around five regions in May – he found several dozen fighters from his 28th separate mechanized brigade at their home addresses. *“The order was: convince everyone to return. But how can I, an old man, persuade that young guy when his wife is standing behind him, and with a child in her arms? I promise that they will return the vacations, that the criminal case will be closed. Well, he says, when they close it, then maybe I will come back,”* he says. The harsh sanctions that did not stop the military from fleeing are now scaring them away from returning, DW’s interlocutors from different units confirm.”



As stated on August 15 by the Kharkov spokesman of the Security Service of Ukraine Vladislav Abdula, the deserted contract soldier is suspected of setting fire to 6 vehicles of the Armed Forces during one night. The 22-year-old guy from the Volchansk community was allegedly actively looking for job on Telegram, a representative of Russian intelligence offered him money. He was taken into custody and faces up to 10 years in prison (intentional destruction or damage to property). He filmed his actions in preparing and carrying out the task on his phone, for each arson he was supposed to receive 40 thousand hryvnya. On August 19, security forces also reported the arrest in Cherkassy region of a 21-year-old deserter, a contract soldier from one of the region's military units. He, according to investigators, was also looking for easy money and recruited a 23-year-old unemployed acquaintance to do so. They allegedly tried to burn down 8 relay cabinets, and were caught red-handed during another attempt. They face life imprisonment under the article on sabotage.

What was discussed in the revelations of Kharkov people from our publications "The time for fragging?" and

“SZCh as a new trend“ has been confirmed: no matter what kind of totalitarianism the state builds, it is not able to cope even with such a protest, if it is widespread. Therefore, on August 20, the parliament adopted bill No. 11322, according to which a person who has left his unit without permission or deserted for the first time can return to the same unit with the consent of the commander without any punishment. The severity of the current situation in the troops can be judged by the haste of the vote – it was supported in the first reading just a month earlier, on July 16.

Kiev journalist and military serviceman Volodymyr Boiko writes on August 20 in his blog: *“The author predicts that in the summer there will simply be no one to defend the Ukrainian positions. Since the beginning of a full-scale war, at least 150,000 military servicemen deserted from the Armed Forces of Ukraine, mainly – in the last half a year. And every day the rate of desertion increases. On the Toretsk and Pokrovsk directions [in the Donetsk region], the defense of 1 km of the front is often held by only 3-4 soldiers. Well, how held – they sit in a pit covered with planks (called a “blindage”), hiding un-*



*der non-stop mortar fire. After the blindage is destroyed by a mortar shell, 5-8 Russian infantrymen enter the position – and so the enemy gets through. It is impossible to organize a normal defense – not for one that does not have armor, but for one that does not have enough people: riflemen, machine gunners, grenade launchers.”*

Finally, on the night of August 27, an unknown person opened fire on the security post of the Lutsk city TCR in West Ukraine. Senior soldier M. was wounded and hospitalized for treatment. Despite the return fire, the attacker managed to escape. People in local chats suggested that it could have been a busified one who escaped with a weapon. Not long before, our magazine published video from a Kharkov resident about how in the same Lutsk two kidnapped ones unsuccessfully tried to incite others to revolt against the mobilizers. On September 4, news broke of the arrest of a 40-year-old suspect. He did not explain the motives for the act; he faces life imprisonment.

If you are facing a prison term for desertion or SZCh (unauthorized leaving of a military unit), you can wait

for the trial at home. With competent lawyers, the process can last a year or more. But if you take the bait and come back, they can immediately send you to the very hell where the chances of survival are slim. So think about whether to use the new law or not.

Partial abolition of criminal punishment can also increase the flight of the military. For example, the Provisional Government in Petrograd declared democratization of the army and amnesty for deserters. As a result, the collapse of the army accelerated so much that it effectively demobilized itself and ceased to exist by the beginning of 1918.

**Unite! Demobilize! Don't utilize!**

**CATASTROPHE FOR SOMEBODY,  
SALVATION FOR OTHERS.**

**DESERTION IS FLOODING UKRAINE**

*# SEPTEMBER 22, 2024*



**ПРЕДСТАВЬ СЕБЕ:  
ПРАВИТЕЛИ  
НАЧИНАЮТ ВОЙНУ -  
А НА НЕЕ НИКТО НЕ  
ИДЕТ!**

**“SUPPOSE THEY GIVE A WAR AND NO ONE COMES!”**

The beginning of autumn was marked for Ukraine by a worsening situation on the front lines. Day by day, the defense in the Donetsk region is crumbling; in the Kharkov region, Russian troops are approaching the Oskol River; on the Kursk direction, they have also regained control of a number of settlements, although the Ukrainian army is still attacking in some places. The euphoria of victory has once again given way to frustration, and where there are defeats, there is increased pressure on internal "enemies of the people."

270 thousand units of weapons have been wanted in Ukraine since the beginning of the full-scale war until the beginning of this month, according to Opendatabot statistics published on September 12. There are all sorts of weapons, including machine guns and grenade launchers, but the most frequently lost or stolen ones are AK-74s and hunting rifles. The absolute leaders are Donetsk and Zaporozhye regions (52,628 and 31,984 pieces, respectively), the city of Kiev (27,159), and the top five is rounded out by Lugansk, Kharkov and Sumy regions (approximately 20 thousand each). These are decent numbers even by the standards of the epic year

of 1918. That is, there are plenty of weapons, only new Makhnovists are missing, who are ready to ensure the safety of their streets and neighborhoods – it is better to sell it on the black market or simply hide. The infographic can be found here; it confirms what the Assembly reported in mid-summer about the availability of firearms (in Russian; in English.)

On September 11, a video statement by two-time Kharkov mayoral candidate Denis Yaroslavsky, who currently heads one of the reconnaissance units of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, became resonant in mass media and social networks: *"If I tell you now the number of SZCh [Ukrainian abbreviation for unauthorized leaving of a military unit, in Russian – SOCh] as of today, all the Russian publics will turn on us and shout "look how many deserters they have". They don't show theirs, we can't show ours either. But I call this situation very deplorable. Now we already have a disease. I will not say that this is already the fourth stage, as in oncology, but it's boldly the second, transitioning to the third. And progressive. From the very beginning, we did not have SZCh, because, for example, I served in a volunteer ba-*

*ttalion for the first three months, we didn't receive a salary, nothing, and there were tens of thousands of people like me. Because there was motivation. Motivation to win. Now the war has entered such a stage when everyone who doesn't want to is drawn to the battlefield. Motivated people either died or got tired,"* he said about the release from criminal liability of fugitives who returned to the army.

On September 9, Kiev journalist Volodymyr Boiko, who serves in the 101st brigade of the Ukrainian Armed Forces, stated even more sharply about this law on his Facebook page: *"I have several times come across references to my modest person with information that the number of deserters in the Armed Forces and other armed formations is 200 thousand people. In fact, I said and say that the number of deserters has already exceeded 150 thousand persons and is approaching 200 thousand. With the current dynamics, it's possible to predict 200 thousand deserters by December 2024. I also want to emphasize that the actual decriminalization of desertion will have catastrophic consequences for the front in the near future. Because this law is ai-*

med not at those who have already arbitrarily left the military units (all the same, no one was looking for them all, and the criminal proceedings were not investigated before), but at those servicemen who faithfully performed their duty and who now learned with surprise, that you can lay down your arms, go home and there will be nothing for it. Today, crimes against the established order of military service are not investigated at all, deserters are not wanted – this is what led to the fact that the problem accumulated for 2.5 years and now the situation has reached a dead end. It's impossible to bring such a large number of deserters to justice, and it's impossible to find them. That's why the head of state Andrii Yermak (may His name be sanctified!) decided that people should be captured on the streets and sent to the front instead of deserters. But this doesn't help – after entering the military units, the mobilized simply return home. If anyone returns, it will be several people. First of all, it's technically impossible – after registration of criminal proceedings, the deserter is excluded from the personnel lists and he can re-enter the service only through the TCR [territorial center for recruitment, i.e.



enlistment office], through re-mobilization. Secondly, that wasn't why the deserter left the unit and went home to return. Another thing is that mass desertion has now begun, as the people have seen that it's possible to "get on skis" and there will be nothing for it." If this summer our magazine wrote [in Russian; in English] that this usually happens in the form of failure to return from the hospital or vacation, now soldiers already leave and disappear directly from their positions, even if there was no shelling. An instructor of the 59th motorized infantry brigade of the AFU, which is fighting near Pokrovsk, told about this in a Deutsche Welle video story from last week.

On September 15, one of the largest news channels in Ukraine also wrote about how the official statistics of military escapes are understated: "... Also, SZChs and refusers are removed from the staff. Went out arbitrarily, was absent from the unit for more than ten days. Or refused to go to the front. Most SZChs and refusers don't have criminal cases opened against them, commanders don't write reports. Since this spoils the overall statistics of the unit and calls into question the comman-



der's competence to lead and maintain morale. Therefore, such a contingent is quietly removed from the staff. There's another nuance. The thing is that if the sick, offenders or refusers aren't removed from the staff, then according to the documents the unit doesn't need to be replenished. And it's considered combat-ready. But in reality the unit isn't combat-ready. Since more than half of it consists of offenders or wounded. Offenders with drunkenness or fights, or drug addicts, can be kept out of staff for years - no one needs them in combat units. They also can't be fired, so offenders can be kept in reserve companies as cheap labor for units. They are rarely allowed home, they are kept in the rear not far from the unit. There's no security in the reserve companies for "outstuffers". If an "outstuffer" escapes from a reserve company - goes into repeated SZCh, then he's first declared wanted. Then a criminal case is opened for desertion. People escape from reserve companies very often. But some of them are caught by the Military Law Enforcement Service and brought back after "re-education" at the commandant's office," explained the AFU captain Bogdan D. to journalists.

On September 14, Lviv military serviceman Maxim Bugel wrote on Facebook how the unwillingness of our neighbors in the Sumy region (also bordering with the Kursk region of Russia) to provide housing led him to thoughts about desertion: *"...There was hope that after the shelling started in Sumy and many people left, eventually they would need funds to rent housing in the places they moved to. But the planets didn't align. An OLX announcement. There are a few houses, a few apartments, but there is a nuance – they are rented only for families with children, at most, with a small animal. Prices are reduced but the requirements for settlement are not. And today I also learned that in one of the apartment buildings, in the settlement where we are now, they were meeting and deciding whether to let the military into the building. They agreed – that we are unclean and have no place in their heavenly place. In the neighboring one, they decided to let us in. There is a desire to gather my Cossacks on their square and also hold at least a referendum on the topic "do we need to defend them" and if the decision is not in their favor – turn around and go home. It is interesting to look at their faces in this case.*

*What will be more: fear or joy that a brotherly people will come to them.*" As we noted in the material about this tendency, the author also missed the fact that the first Cossacks were fleeing serfdom instead of fighting for it. Earlier this month, a famous right-wing activist was indignant that residents of a high-rise building in Kharkov want to evict his volunteer warehouse in order to avoid missile arrival.

The article "In the long hot summer, Ukrainian and Russian soldiers broke records for the growth of desertions", which was published by us on the first day of autumn, turned out to be just in time. (It is available in Russian, in English, in Spanish, in Italian.) A number of feedbacks came from both sides of the front. From discussions in local chats of Kharkov:

*"I have a small observation, several busified ones, who haven't been very critical of the authorities all this time, now quite console themselves with the thought that those at the top know better. While you are "free", your thoughts are within the framework of social currents and have the opportunity to wag. As soon as you get*

*into a collective with outlined tasks, in most cases, your thoughts are in the same tunnel as everyone else. A busified, getting into a collective of previously busified, but already resigned to the situation, mentally assimilates with them, accepts their point of view, creating a comfort zone (swimming against the current is always uncomfortable). There he's drawn into the topic and also begins to think that everyone else is a scoundrel and an evader, motivation appears. Until he gets into slaughter. There comes awareness and often SOCh."*

*"I have three - a godfather and two deceased acquaintances who went voluntarily from the first days, but when they came to Kharkov, we drank together, no one shouted that I'm an evader, but on the contrary, that there's nothing to do there. One, a volunteer too, is already abroad. He went for 2 weeks and has been there for half a year already. He said that just to take a rest..."*

*"A guy worked nearby, and he had a dog. So he dressed it up in a camouflage vest, a yellow and blue leash. And he himself walked around with all sorts of patriotic bra-*

celets and tridents on his backpack. On the way to work, he was accepted by the TCR and he went to training. Then I see after 2-3 months he is hobbling. I thought he was drunk, but everything turned out to be much more interesting. After training, they were taken in tarpaulin trucks somewhere to the front line. And right when unloading the personnel, they got hit with something cassette-like. So, he wasn't drunk, his legs were cut up by shrapnel, and they hadn't pulled out all the shrapnel from the body yet. They sent him home from the hospital to finish his treatment, but didn't write him off due to his wounds. And the guy said during conversation that he f\*cked all this, he was going to go into SZCh. That's how quickly his surge of patriotism passed."

"Half of my yard is SZCh, the Slobozhansky district. The main thing is not to get caught, otherwise no one cares. We don't have a military prosecutor's office anymore, the cops deal with deserters now, and they don't give a damn about it. In the spring, an acquaintance showed up in the neighborhood. He fought in the Zaporozhye region. In May, the commander came to him and said: "We're being transferred to Liptyy [one of the hottest

*places in the Kharkov region], and then you have to decide for yourself, just leave your automat [rifle] if you decide to run away." Well, he left his uniform and is now an SZCh. They're getting by somehow, like everyone else."*

On September 9, we received a letter from Gorlovka, controlled by the far-right "Donetsk People's Republic" since 2014: *"The saddest thing is that if you start telling people that soldiers need to desert the army and turn their weapons against those in power, people will widen their eyes and say, "Do you want 1917 to happen again? For brother against brother again, and for people to swell with hunger? It's better if we endure, otherwise it will get worse." We have photos of those wanted for escape on our streets. And the inscriptions: "Betrayed the republic, betrayed comrades, betrayed himself." I've heard the opinion that we have a lot of SOCh. But "a lot of" is a flexible concept. And their captures aren't published here."* We will not cite the name of the person who spoke out. On September 14, a post appeared in the Telegram channel Mobilization DPR Live about Donetsk mobilized soldiers of military unit 78979 on the Kursk di-

rection complaining about bullying by the new commander and threats to send them on crutches to storm the front. *"My advice: if you want to LIVE, run (or let them run), if possible... No one, no human rights bodies will help YOU! I tried! I myself didn't fully recover from my injury, I was thrown into a meat assault. These bodies simply leaked me after I turned to them for "help". They leaked me in a unit that wanted to destroy me. The prosecutor's office didn't bother to deal with my case. I've to save my "life" from lawlessness, arbitrariness myself, now being in the "underground"! They simply don't need crippled fighters after injuries! They destroy us - THEIR OWN are finishing us off! ... According to plan? According to schedule? Yes?"* - a reader with an anonymous profile commented below.

After private contacting for details, he added: *"It was in Donetsk. Yes, I deserted! Because I was taken away in a meat assault, having been partially cured, while my Russian passport and mobile phone were taken away, they kept me under armed guard the whole time, insulted and threatened, but I managed to escape, later I contacted the prosecutor's office, to which there was silence,*



*and they simply leaked me from the prosecutor's office to a military unit, where they wanted to zero me out, saying like that I was alive and well, saying look for him, well, you understand why, when they find me, they will zero me out. So I sit quietly and my opinion is that no one will help you, even the prosecutor's office. All those guys with whom I was taken were also partially cured, they died. Sorry, I won't say anything more, I'll say that this is thriving in the 114th brigade, Donetsk."* Being asked how exactly he managed to escape from custody, he did not answer. It is a common thing in both armies: like, I have some information that can help save the lives for others, but I will not share it. The lawlessness from higher ranks relies on those who groan from this.

Alas, after the end of the Vietnam War, such a type of anti-war activist as a military serviceman engaged in agitation and propaganda among his colleagues was practically forgotten. This is exactly what a Russian leftist who introduces himself as Sergey Thälmann wrote to us about on September 2. In addition to other important inside information, his letter helps us understand why there was no widespread desertion among Russian con-



scripts in the Kursk region, despite the fact that this seems to be the most logical choice for those poorly prepared for battle:

*"I'm a conscript, there was no distinct choice. I actively educate soldiers and explain the injustice of the conflict. Of course, I'm not very fond of anarchism, but I believe that there's no way without anarchists. Anarchism is the heart of communism, and Marxism is its mind.*

*I'll say right away that there's a strange atmosphere among conscripts – for some reason everyone wants to see the war. And when you start explaining that war is not a shooter, not a computer game, their desire immediately disappears. However, there are even such young people who defend Russian capital. They speak in the paradigm of "friends – foes" about Ukrainians and Russians. This is truly frightening. Many sign the contract, but... Taking into account both material and superstructural values. That is, with the desire to see the war. Consumer society has washed away the human brain so much that 19-year-old guys in Balashikha [near Moscow, – Ed.] want to go to Kursk. And it seems to me*

*that such an atmosphere is not only here.*

*Well, and interesting observations: many officers are outright Nazis. For example, I talked to the communications chief of the mortar division of the 4th regiment. And he told me that I need to read... German thinkers of the 1930s. And there are hundreds of such ones here. Although there are adequate people... On the faces of the mobilized you can see more fear, despair. I talked to so many mobs here – not a single one wanted to fight. Some worked in a plant, some as an electrician. But conscripts are the opposite. Maybe because many are from the provinces, where life is boring and there are few bright emotions. Or maybe because in a consumer society, the consumer can consume absolutely any product provided. Even war becomes a commodity for sale.*

*In the companies there is also such a concept – military-political information. There they say absolutely terrible things. About how Ukraine almost burns people alive, and almost exclusively hits peaceful cities, ignoring military objects. As if the AFU isn't an army, but... some small bandit who shoots at everything in sight. The*

*main thing is that they hush up how in Russia, too, they pack people and forcibly send to war.*

*What can we get here, two concentrated capitals clashed with each other. Their most loyal dogs came out of their kennels)) Ukrainian capital is just as chauvinistic and concentrated in the form of financial capital as Russian. No government can be defended, they are both criminal, both thieves. And war is a war of slave owners for the strengthening and reinforcement of slavery. To support one of the slave owners in it means to be against the oppressed, that is, against the slaves. Against the serfs. Against the proletarians.*

*By the way, to those who say that Ukraine is a victim. Supporting a young and inexperienced robber in a fight with an old and fat one is supporting robbery as such and further robbery of one of them."*

*In continuation of what was said about the escapes of Ukrainians from NATO training grounds, we ourselves found a guy from Sumy named Maxim, who did it in the United Kingdom: "I was mobilized by force, busified. But my plans to escape arose after arriving there. Even thou-*

gh everything was cool there, I didn't want to return to Ukraine. It's much easier to escape from training there. There you escape and are already abroad, in Ukraine if you escape, then go and look around, I don't understand how to live, work, etc. There was no selection as such in our unit, they announced that there's recruitment to Britain, they took everyone who wanted, even men 50+ years old went. They will take your passports on the 2nd-3rd day, so it's better to escape on the first day. I was lucky, my passport was left at home and I flew to Britain with a military ID. And then in Europe I received my passport via the post. Just along with my clothes, they even described it in the invoice as a "document", there were no problems. When you escape from training, it's best to go straight to the airport and as quickly as possible. As far as I know, they only let you surrender to the authorities at the airports to help protect you. You don't have to get on the plane, you just surrender to the migration service there. They won't send you back to the unit if you manage to get to the airport. I was dressed like a civilian, I speak English well. It wasn't difficult, we climbed over the fence at night and that's it.

*There is no security at all. It's better not to tell anyone about the escape at all. Not even your comrades-in-arms."*

Finally, since we are talking about Western countries, the historian and political scientist from the Netherlands Fredo Corvo, an adherent of anti-partisan Marxism, devoted to our creature an entire review on the multilingual website Left Dis:

*"The article by the Ukrainian group Assembly rightly refers to the mass desertions of Russian soldiers in World War I. When these were supplemented by mass strikes in the arms industry and mass demonstrations by women, the mass desertions turned into soldiers' revolts and the creation of soldiers' councils. Thus, in the words of Henriette Roland Holst, the means of struggle for social revolution in Russia were complete, and the proletarian revolution of October 1917 was able to put an end to Russian participation in the war.*

*Such a perspective may seem rather unlikely in the present situation. In the eyes of the ultra-minority revolutionary communists, there is an enormous gap bet-*

ween the low level of consciousness of the proletariat, its domination by bourgeois ideologies such as nationalism, and their own awareness of the dangers of the present inter-imperialist wars and the consequent need for world revolution. This gap is a fact. However, the working class, as an exploited and oppressed class, has shown that it is capable of raising its consciousness to its historical task in its struggle against the effects of war. The article shows that individual desertion is increasing on both sides of the fronts, with the first appearance of collective and organized desertion.

History does not repeat itself. The proletarian mass movement goes through the stages of previous revolutions in its own way. This is how it can succeed where it failed before. From the (failed) revolutions in Russia and Germany during and immediately after World War I, we know that mass strikes in the armaments industry gave the struggle against the war a proletarian character. Mass demonstrations by women showed the need for courage on the part of men. Both mass strikes and mass demonstrations at home helped turn mass desertions from the front into soldiers' revolts and the creation of

*soldiers' councils. In turn, the revolutionary soldiers were able to prevent the repression of the masses demonstrating against the war.*

*Another lesson of February 1917 in Russia and November 1918 in Germany, Austria and Hungary is that left bourgeois forces can initially contain mass movements with slogans for nationalism, peace and reform. Last weekend and today, we see a similar containment of a mass movement against war in Israel.*

*We should understand that 'the old mole' is digging and - more importantly - why, how, with what perspectives."*

And there will not be any "effective recruitment" here. Russia is big, there are enough alcoholics and just idiots there, for whom the ultimate dream in a civilian job is 30 thousand rubles, so they are ready to go to the slaughter for the sake of millions in payments (and then, judging by the mass coercion of conscripts to sign contracts, even in the Russian Armed Forces there is a serious shortage of contract soldiers). In Ukraine there are fewer fools, and there are no such budgetary resources,

so the only basis for mobilization can be a "minivan of invincibility". Those who are not ready to die for this ghetto will not go, no matter how much the recruiters explain that it is important and honorable. Even if they pay mountains of gold under the contract, this will not allow recruiting enough personnel for the Armed Forces of Ukraine, because most of those who remain value their lives more than any money. That's bullshit, folks.



# UKRAINE: FROM A WAVE OF DESERTION TO SPONTANEOUS SELF-DEMOBILIZATION AMID US ELECTIONS

# NOVEMBER 11, 2024



*National Unity and Armed Forces Day is celebrated in Italy on November 4 in honor of the capitulation of Austria-Hungary in World War I. Up to 80 people came to the Ukrainian consulate in Milan to celebrate Deserter's Day. Photos were sent to us from the revolutionary anarchist blog Wild Fields [campiselvaggi.noblogs.org](http://campiselvaggi.noblogs.org) , appeared this fall under our influence.*

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In the lead-up to the US elections, the flight of personnel from the Ukrainian Armed Forces since the middle of 2024 took on the character of an avalanche, threatening to leave the regime without an army in the near future. According to Ukraine's Office of the Prosecutor General, from January 2022 to September 2024, almost 90 thousand criminal proceedings were opened because of such facts, and the majority were initiated since the beginning of the current year: 35,307 out of 59,606 cases of unauthorized leaving of a unit (Article 407 of the Criminal Code) and 18,196 out of 29,521 ca-

ses of desertion (Article 408 of the Criminal Code). The largest number of desertions was registered in the regions of Zaporozhye (6,144), Kharkov (5,771) and Donetsk (5,318), while the regions of Donetsk (8,574), Dnepropetrovsk (3,308), Zhytomyr (2,433) and Lviv (2,170) are leading in terms of cases of unauthorized leaving of units (SZCh in Ukrainian). These are only the cases to which the authorities reacted. However, even of these, only 4,698 cases of unauthorized leaving and 442 cases of desertion reached the court. 2,592 and 414 cases were closed, respectively (during the same period).

9,487 criminal proceedings were registered in Ukraine under the mentioned two articles in October 2024. For comparison, in January 2024, there were initiated only 3,448 criminal proceedings. And in total, from February 2022 to November 1, 2024, already 95,296 criminal cases were opened. (The composition of one brigade in the Armed Forces of Ukraine is from 3 to 5 thousand persons.) Although both these articles may apply not only in the AFU, much less is heard about escapes from other Ukrainian armed structures, as, in particular, our interlocutor did, who deserted from the State Border

Guard Service.

Since August, information has been leaking out from time to time about people who escaped their units before being sent to the Kursk operation. For example, the following was reported about the 82nd Airborne Assault Brigade, which took part in last year's southern counter-offensive and is considered an elite and one of the best equipped units. *"On August 10, I found out that my acquaintance is in SZCh. They had to go to the Kursk [region], he says that more than 40 people left everything and went home. He says: "they gave me some dispatch letter, I looked at it and realized that it's a one-way ticket." He doesn't live in the place [where he is officially registered], got a job, I don't know exactly how he got out, he doesn't really want to talk about it. He has a normal medical form, he was a sergeant in the army, by conscription. He was taken near the house, but he wouldn't budge, and then I learned that he's at home. [At first] Every day 1-2 people, and then, after they found out that they were going to Kurshchyna, many fled [...] It's not so far from me, although he's not very visible now. But judging by everything, literally only a*

*few stand trial, it's just that their number is very large. I'm sorry but I can't provide more information. I don't think he will want to either. Such are the times," a resident of the Khmelnytsky region told us on October 9.*

*Those sent to NATO training grounds are massively deserting too. "The main thing is to have a foreign passport with you; 29 people left our battalion in Poland. Everything depends on the situation, at the first opportunity, they are there for a month, there will be many chances. Civilian clothes so that they don't take them. Most likely, they will soon tighten the screws in training centers abroad, or will stop transporting the caught elite stormtroopers there altogether... too many want to get out of a foreign training center ) Now they are already transporting many times less for training abroad than at the beginning. And soon they will probably shut this down all together or will make some kind of bail, like in North Korea. These fag\*\*ts earn money that Europe allocates, our battalion took everyone who wanted to go, after Poland they went to Germany for a week exactly now. Recently, a law was passed [in Ukraine] that after the first SZCh you can return with a transfer to*

*another unit, but they will immediately send you to slaughter, such laws don't attract".* This is what a user named Ruslan wrote on September 13 in the open Telegram chat UFM for mutual aid in crossing the border. Our recent material "Run away, guys, I'll be back!" also tells the dizzying story of a Ukrainian who was captured as he was trying to cross the border, forcibly drafted, and then escaped from the training unit with the one he acquainted in captivity of border guards, managed to finally go out through the Carpathian Mountains and has received protection in Europe. Migrant smugglers also admit that, if deserters were rare among their clients before, since about May, at least one fugitive military man has appeared in almost every group.

The early October loss of Ugledar (Vuhledar in Ukrainian), the "steppe Monte Cassino" in the south of Donbass, was another link in the chain of declining controllability of troops after Ukrainian units north of Kharkov could not withstand the barrage of fire on May 10 and unauthorizedly retreated from the border 10 km closer to the city. The first case of collective disobedience of fighters in the Ugledar direction became known in the

winter, and from the Russian side: 21 stormtrooper of the 155th Marine Brigade of the Pacific Fleet locked themselves in a room, refused to follow orders from the command and recorded a video statement about heavy losses during the assault on Novomikhaylovka, then taken in April. They were threatened with execution.

In the fall, the disintegration of the Ukrainian defense of Ughledar became one of the key reasons for the retreat from it. Volodymyr Boiko, a Kiev journalist serving in the 241st Territorial Defense Brigade of the AFU, accuses the regime of preparing a capitulation and insufficient repressiveness towards the military. In particular, on October 3, he wrote in his blog:

*“What has been happening in Vuhledar over the past few days, in general, is called a local collapse of the front. The chaotic retreat of the remnants of the 72nd Separate Mechanized Brigade, which still has not received an order to withdraw, and then leaving the town within three days after months of successful defense, is something I have warned about many times since January 2024. It will only get worse. [...] Here, for example, is*



*information about the last, before the surrender of Vuhledar, replenishment of personnel of the 72nd Brigade. 50 new recruits, mostly aged 52-56, arrived in the brigade. 30 of them were immediately sent to rear units and hospitals, as they were not fit for front-line service due to their health (because the enlistment office was implementing a draft plan and mobilizing the sick). Of the remaining 20, 16 servicemen deserted on the second day. Thus, out of a replenishment of 50 people, 4 were sent to the position, and after the first rotation, these four also deserted. And such a situation there is on the entire front.”*



**The rally in the 123rd Brigade**



On the same day, October 3, in Voznesensk of the Nikolaev/Mykolaiv region, about 100 soldiers from the 187th Battalion of the 123rd Territorial Defense Brigade came out to protest. All of them refused to carry out the combat mission and left their unit without permission instead of supporting the 72nd Brigade. According to them, they lacked the training and weapons to take part in the fighting. *"I have repeatedly appealed, even to my section, for which I was responsible. I asked to provide PKMs, machine guns. "We don't have any, we can't provide." And then to Donbass, with what?"*, a platoon commander named Sergei told state TV. It was the first public demonstration of those who left their unit at the front and returned to their region without permission.

The day before, 33-year-old Igor Grib, commander of the 186th Battalion in this brigade, shot himself because his battalion fled from its positions near Ugledar. (This led to the final loss of the town.) Volodymyr Boiko writes that the lieutenant colonel committed suicide after the formation: when the soldiers dispersed, they heard a shot. On October 4, a farewell ceremony for the officer was held in Pervomaysk. The results of the inter-

nal investigation about his death are unknown, the situation in the battalion is classified. There is a version that Grib was killed by fleeing soldiers for trying to stop them.

Law No. 3902-IX was adopted on August 20 and came into force on September 7. It allows returning to a unit after the first unauthorized leaving or desertion without any punishment, has had consequences with a collapse of defense in the Donetsk region in just a couple of months (as we assumed in Russian and in English). The lack of motivated personnel and the weakening controllability of the troops are an even more important reason for the surrender of settlements than the lack of weapons and ammunition. Due to retreats, morale is declining ever more. With the fall of Ugledar, plus then of Gornyak and Selidovo at the end of October, the Ukrainian front in Donbass is falling not by the day but by the hour. From the post of Volodymyr Boiko on October 8:

*“For example, only from my military unit in August-September 2024, after amendments were made to the Criminal Code of Ukraine, half of the servicemen deser-*

*ted from the number that arbitrarily left the service in the previous 2.5 years. And every week there are more and more of them. Because why serve, if you can not serve and there will be nothing for it? The situation is similar in other military units that are currently defending the Donetsk region. And the total number of deserters since the beginning of the full-scale invasion is already estimated at 170 thousand, despite the fact that during this time the commanders of military units managed to achieve (through the court, scandals, complaints to the Prosecutor General's Office, etc.) the registration of 86 thousand criminal proceedings under Art. 407, 408 of the Criminal Code of Ukraine.”*

El País, one of the largest newspapers in Spain, wrote about this on October 21: *“The Ukrainian military on the Kurakhovo front claim that the number of troops has been sharply reduced, which is a worse obstacle than the need for more weapons.”* In addition to SZCh and desertions, the newspaper mentioned that soldiers of the 116th Territorial Defense Brigade from the Poltava region refused to carry out an order in Kurakhovo (also in the south of Donbass) and that the brigade was

transferred to Sumy. The British liberal establishment's magazine *The Economist* notes in an article on November 7 about the same section of the front: *"The worry now is less what is happening at the front lines than what it reveals about stresses behind them. Amid a breakdown of trust between society, the army and the political leadership, Ukraine is struggling to replace battlefield losses with conscription, barely hitting two-thirds of its target. Russia, meanwhile, is replacing its losses by recruitment with lucrative contracts, without needing to revert to mass mobilisation. A senior Ukrainian military commander admits that there has been a collapse in morale in some of the worst sections of the front. A source in the general staff suggests that nearly a fifth of soldiers have gone AWOL from their positions."* If the latter estimate is not inflated, this may be even more than the Boiko's estimation in 170 thousand fugitives a month ago (given that criminal cases against them are often not opened).

At the same time, if earlier the state usually resorted to beatings to drive civilians into the army, on October 24 it became known that it is now also using mass violence

against front-line soldiers. The news about this were spread by relatives of fighters from the 210th Battalion of the 120th Territorial Defense Brigade from the Vinnytsia region, who, according to them, refused to die in the fight for Gornyak.

Based on account of the women, on the night of October 24, the leadership of the 110th Mechanized Brigade arrived at the battalion's location along with unknown armed persons in military uniform. The soldiers were ordered to immediately board a bus that had been brought in; when they refused, physical force was used and, in some cases, visitors reportedly shot at them. Some men were packed into buses and taken away in an unknown direction, others managed to escape. Those who were not caught by force were ordered to be transferred to Barvenkovo in the Kharkov region without permission to take leaves of absence to rest and recover. Not knowing where their male relatives are, the families of those serving in the 210th Battalion rallied in Vinnytsia. They were told to wait for information. The fate of those who escaped from there is unknown too.

Acts of individual terror against the war and the state have become much less frequent with the US elections approaching (apparently due to the reluctance of many people to risk a long prison term when peace talks may begin soon). Nevertheless, on the morning of October 13, an enlistment center's employee in Poltava found a grenade tripwire at her gate, which is suspected of being the work of some local draft dodger previously had threatened to throw grenades at her. On November 5, it became known from the Dnepropetrovsk region that civilian-clothed enlistment agents wanted to mobilize a truck driver who had come to pick up his children. He fought them off and drove away, filming everything on his phone. Then they came to his home and entered the territory, demanding to delete that footage. The man met them with a rifle and a Molotov cocktail – he managed to force them to leave by threatening to burn the car and shoot them. On September 26, two residents of the Ukrainian-Romanian borderland received each more than 3 years of imprisonment for hooliganism, having attacked enlistment servicemen and their vehicle with axes (traditional Hutsul weapon) on March

7. Their image from the viral video of that attack has acquired cult status in Ukrainian anti-war circles.

This text was prepared on the eve of the 107th anniversary of the October Revolution, with its self-demobilization of the Russian army, which led to Russia's withdrawal from World War I. If the conflict is not frozen along the front line, today's Ukraine is at great risk of repeating this path, when the Provisional Government in Petrograd declared the democratization of the troops and an amnesty for deserters. The collapse of the army accelerated so much that it actually dispersed and ceased to exist by the beginning of 1918. A bit later, the nationalist Ukrainian People's Republic also failed because its own troops did not want to defend it. Paradoxically, the rise to power of Trump, with whom many associate the expectation of the end for support to the agonizing dictatorship in Ukraine, might, in the end, save this regime from military defeat.

Compared to the previous overview in September, the role of collective and organized desertion has clearly increased. Nonetheless, one should not delude oneself in-



to thinking that this is already a revolutionary situation. Both Ukrainian and Russian public opinion is currently focused on the presidential elections in the United States, with many having the misguided hope that a Trump victory could provide the basis for a quick, peaceful settlement of the war. It seems that only the failure of these expectations can open the way for mass interest in a revolutionary alternative.

We are at a turning point in history.

