

**VOICES  
FROM  
UKRAINE**

**2**

**Assembly**

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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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# WAR AGAINST WAR IS STARTING? THE GRAPES OF WRATH IN UKRAINE

# MARCH 31, 2024



*This yellow Niva has become in Ukraine  
a truly popular meme of resistance to state terror.*

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A little more than a month that has passed since the release of the “Assembly” winter interview fully confirms its thesis about the approaching revolutionary situation in the country. The Ukrainian parliament is on the verge of a crisis: few deputies want to take political responsibility for the bill on strengthening mobilization, the adoption of which has been postponed to April. Parliamentarians promise that the bill will not include online summonses or blocking of bank cards for evasion. From the calculations of the National Bank of Ukraine, in January 2024 alone, the population withdrew 27.4 billion hryvnias from Ukrainian banks. Why is this not a nationwide spontaneous strike? Moreover, according to a NBU report published on March 11, the volume of foreign remittances from people to the country has been falling for the second year in a row. Over the past year, the amount decreased by 7.8%, in 2022 – by 10.5% (that is, from \$14 billion in 2021 to \$12.5 in 2022 and

\$11.6 billion in 2023). Obviously, those who left the “country of dreams” before the full-scale invasion take their families with them instead of returning to them even after the war. At the same time, according to the deputy chairman of the same NBU, Sergiy Nikolaychuk, the expenses of Ukrainians abroad are much greater than the transfer of funds to Ukraine: the outflow from the cards of the population in the “travel” category amounted to \$20 billion in 2022 and \$18 billion in 2023. The people vote against the state, which wants to see them as dumb cannon fodder, not only with their legs but also with their wallets.

Another example of how unannounced quiet sabotage can force the state to unclench its jaws may be the plans voiced by the new commander-in-chief Oleksandr Syrskyi to dismiss those who refuse to fight from the *Armed Forces of Ukraine*, and using the money saved to double combat payments, to 200 thousand hryvnias per month. The only question is, why then are they going to mobilize hundreds of thousands of recruits if they are preparing to purge the army of unmotivated personnel? One way or another, no one knows what will be in the

final voted version of the bill. All we can say with certainty is that even if they manage to bend the people by adapting the initial draconian version, the critical mass of those who is not going to die for the money of the IMF, BlackRock and Ukrainian respected citizens will not disappear anywhere – moreover, this public can only become more dangerous.

Lieutenant General Oleksandr Pavliuk, the new commander of the AFU Land Forces, posted on March 24 the follow alarm about his subordinates:

«*"How will I surrender without a fight"*: why the enemy can defeat us with the help of the Ukrainians themselves

The highest pilotage of the art of war is to destroy the plans of the enemy and defeat him without using his troops in battle.

And judging by the last months, the Russians are very skillful in using ancient Chinese stratagems of warfare. And some of our fellow citizens, unfortunately, have lost the understanding that their acts and public statements have turned into a powerful weapon in the hands of the



enemy. Who did not leave, does not leave and will never leave his desire to destroy Ukraine.

Let's recall what was written and distributed in our social networks two years ago and compare it with what is happening now. From queues to the enlistment centers and memes *"if to serve - everyone is sick, but if to fight - everyone is healthy"*, we reached the harassment of the military from the enlistment centers and moral support for evading the defense of Ukraine.

Two years ago (not having even a tenth of today's air defense equipment, weapons and experience of a full-scale war!) we, with all that, perfectly understood how important it was to disrupt the mobilization in Russia. They rejoiced at every military commissariat set on fire there, rejoiced at the queues of their evaders, who fled in panic to Georgia and Kazakhstan.

From the unity and cohesion of that time, our space of news and discussion has slipped (or rather, ossified!) not without the help of our wonderful bloggers and free media. In the news channels, there are many reports about "unfortunate drowning people in the Tisa" or

"combat Hutsul" squads.

But there are almost no materials related to the work of the enlistment centers, the specifics of military service, the need to perform military duty. Publications are not interested in such topics. Appeals from the media for clarification of these issues are individual. Can't make a flashy headline? Will the target audience hide their eyes?

A separate topic is the attitude towards military personnel of the enlistment centers. Today, the enlistment centers and their guard companies are mostly staffed by servicemen who lost their health in the war and were deemed unfit to serve in combat units. How did it become acceptable to treat these people who went through hell as enemies and call them "man hunters"?

Why is it that in all the materials about "illegal acts of the enlistment centers" the most important emphasis is deliberately omitted: first of all, illegal is the refusal of men from their constitutional duty to defend Ukraine?

Not to mention the fact that all shots like "packing into a bus" fundamentally (!) do not contain what exactly led

to such consequences in the behavior of the heroes of the material.

In various social networks: YouTube, Facebook or TikTok, there are many videos with content taken out of context. We are often reproached: "it's your own fault, you don't change!" It does not. We change, we see our shortcomings and work every day to become better, more understandable! There is a lot of work ahead, and it will be much more difficult without your help! After all, only together we will be able to withstand this influx and ultimately Victory!

Break the alliances of the enemy, divide his battle formations – the ancient Chinese war strategy teaches. Contrasting the army with civilians is one of its points.

So before sharing the "flagrant story of rights violations" and the plight of the "poor evaders", it's worth asking yourself: who is this really helping to win the war?

Definitely not to Ukraine»

There have been so many examples of passers by fighting off people kidnapped by camouflage catchers in

recent months that there is no point in listing them here. Let's limit ourselves to more vivid stories.

In particular, on February 6, enlistment agents visited the Hutsul village of Kosmach in the Ivano-Frankivsk region (the birthplace of the legendary rebel leader Oleksa Dovbush). The residents did not greet them very friendly. They were surrounded by a female group exclaiming that “war has not been declared in the country” and that the visitors “will be beaten.” Subsequently, the women went out to an improvised protest in the center of this village. Rumors began to spread throughout the settlement that a raid of the enlistment office was planned, so women came out to stop it and also demand “fair mobilization.” In the center of the village they began to stop cars, including the car of Ivanna Grepinyak, who was traveling with her 6-year-old daughter. Protesters said the woman was filming their gathering on her phone. They started pulling her out of the car, tearing out her hair, taking away the car keys, and hitting the child. Ivanna claims that the protesters accused her of being an “information leaker” and coming to “hand over” local men to the military commissars. The protest-

ers moved away from Ivanna's car only after someone exclaimed that this was not the vehicle they were waiting for. Most of the protesters ran to the car that had approached from behind, at which time Ivanna was able to leave Kosmach. The woman went to the hospital complaining of injuries inflicted on her and her daughter by protesters. Doctors diagnosed the girl with a contusion of the soft tissues of the nose, and the 24 y/o with a probable closed head injury. She was hospitalized. In turn, women in Kosmach say that communication with the driver was polite. From their point of view, it was Grepinyak who began to insult the residents, swore obscenely, provoked, and subsequently ran over one of the protesters' feet.

The next day, a village meeting was held in Kosmach, where enlistment officers tried to explain why and how the mobilization was taking place. However, people reacted emotionally to these arguments, demanding to know from whom Ukraine needs to be defended. After fruitless discussions, people began chanting "Shame!" It was barely possible to avoid a physical clash between the military and the community – but that was only the

first bell. (Meanwhile, the regional enlistment center of Ivano-Frankivsk this week reported that 39 thousand people are wanted in the region for ignoring summonses.)

On March 7, in the village of Ploska (about 5 km from the Romanian border in the Chernivtsi region), Hutsul cavalerists attacked them with the axes. According to the cops, those mentioned in the post of Pavliuk came to the enlistment checkpoint and provoked the conflict. The viral video shows two persons in camouflage talking to a man sitting on a horse and holding an ax. Then, a SUV appears in the frame and hits one of the servicemen. Then, getting out of the car, the driver stopped and hit him in the forearm with the butt of an ax. Another attacker also struck a serviceman in the shoulder with the butt of his ax. The men damaged the windows of the enlistment car and fled. It was 28 y/o and 43 y/o local residents. Both were taken into custody under Part 4 of Art. 296 of the Criminal Code (hooliganism with particularly aggravating circumstances) without right of bail. The article provides up to 7 years of imprisonment.

These are two brothers, their sister said that one of them lost a son during the war. He went to the enlistment office, but there he got beaten and threatened. And when they met again, the man decided to take revenge. The second brother served in Donbass from 2015 to 2018. According to the lawyer, he was shell-shocked.

According to the police and the prosecutor's office, on the evening of the same March 7, in the village of Mala Rogan near Kharkov, a drunken 25-year-old local resident took an RGD-5 grenade from the balcony and, in the presence of people on the street, threw it under the car of some 31-year-old female military living in that village. So he decided to take revenge on her because of a long hostile relationship. Her blue Kia Sorento parked near the house was damaged by the explosion. The woman was at home and there were no injuries. Based on archives of social networks, we found out that this woman is Maryana Malykhina, she earlier terrorized the community, beating neighbors and locking them in the basement. *“This is a generally creepy person, causing a stir throughout Rogan. She's always yelling that she's*

*the navel of the Earth because she's a warrior. She threatens everyone, even children, even her family is afraid of her,"* locals characterize her. The guy was detained, he was informed of suspicion on the same Part 4 of Art. 296 of the Criminal Code.

On March 21, in Novovolynsk of the Volyn region, two enlistment employees visited the dormitory of a 50-year-old man due to failure to appear on a summons to dispatch. He stabbed the visitor twice – the first hit was blocked, and the second hit him in the stomach. After this, he allegedly tried to cut his wrists; an ambulance was called to the scene. The cops opened a criminal case under Part 1 of Art. 121 of the Criminal Code of Ukraine (inflicting grievous bodily harm), the desperate man faces imprisonment for a term of 5 to 8 years. “Rambo: First Blood” in the Ukrainian way...

Around midnight March 24, in Svitlovodsk of the Kirovograd region, somebody threw two Molotov cocktails along the facade of the building of the first department of the Olexandria districtal enlistment center. The fire that arose was immediately extinguished by its staff. No



people were injured. The attacker faces from three to ten years in prison. Information is from the media, there are no official press releases.

On February 29, about 50 people gathered near the town hall of Buchach in the Ternopil region because of the death of a 49-year-old man from epilepsy on the same day. He got from the enlistment center to intensive care without consciousness. The deceased's sister says that he was hospitalized twice due to epilepsy, which is documented. Most of them were from the native village of the dead, and others from other nearby communities also came. The mayor and the military commissar came out to talk with them; the police and the prosecutor's office said that they were conducting a check and that there were no signs of violent death on the body.

On March 29, footage appeared from the Khmelnytsky region of angry women mob breaking the glass of an enlistment bus during the distribution of summonses in the Shepetivka district. A fat man in military uniform who was in the car fled from it. This turned out to be somewhat more difficult for them than dragging one

guy into a bus in a crowd – they have to call the police to the scene. In a group against a group they are not such heroes!

Not about the war as such but also social struggle: on March 6 in Korosten of the Zhytomyr region, thousand of pensioners came to the town hall to protest the reduction of Chernobyl surcharges. A fight broke out with the police at the rally, and an ambulance was also called there. Additional payments to pension were reduced from 13 000 hryvnias to only 3200 hryvnias. *"The police stood at the door of the town council. The deputy mayor came out to the people and said that the mayor would come to them. But for some reason the people were indignant that the mayor would not come, and they themselves began to break into the town council. When they broke into the town council, there was a scuffle. They did report one injured woman there, our police officer immediately called an ambulance for this woman,"* stated the regional police speaker. Then the protesters blocked the highway to Kiev walking along the pedestrian crossing.

On March 25, in the Transcarpathian region, several dozens of women blocked two roads near Mukachevo demanding to mobilize “only by a civilized and legal method.” Despite the fact that blockades took place at pedestrian crossings so that there would be no reason to punish for traffic violations, the cops tried to disperse them. *“Everyone understands that there is a war going on, we need mobilization, we are fighting for independence and for a better life for our children. But such terrorist, bandit methods of mobilization, when people in balaclavas simply beat and kidnap from the streets – this is unacceptable, since this is a violation of all rights and human freedoms, which lead to distrust of the authorities and the commander-in-chief. And in turn, this will lead to riots within the state, which is what the rashist authorities are waiting for,”* the organizers wrote on Facebook. During the protest, a line of cars (mostly trucks) formed on the road. Certain trucks had loads related to the military activities. Cops at once said that they identified the woman organized the protest. Under Art. 279 of the Criminal Code (blocking transport co-

mmunications), she faces up to 3 years of restriction of freedom.

By the by, one of the resonant examples of “uncivilized mobilization” in Transcarpathia happened to our compatriot from Kharkov. Yevgeny Khabarov, born in 1996, was, from the words of his girlfriend Hanna Sukhanova, kidnapped from a hotel near the western border and subjected to severe torture in the enlistment center of the Khust district. After this he cut his wrists. The press service of the facility admitted that on March 13 he was detained by border guards and handed over to them, but attempted suicide that same night because he behaved inadequately and took five gidazepam tablets. Logically, after taking five its tablets (many people take this sedative in conditions of war stress), the kidnapped should have been quieter than water instead of banging his head against the wall in hysterics. Apparently, the headhunters just decided that they could get away with it anyway, so just did not bother. But in the case of bodily harm to their colleagues, somehow no one claims that the enlistment officers injured themselves...

In general, nothing surprising that so many recruits escape from the army. As it became known in mid-March from the General Prosecutor's Office of Ukraine, 4690 criminal cases of military escape from units were opened only in the first two months of 2024. For comparison: in 2022, there were only 6 thousand cases of unauthorized leaving of military units, in 2023 – already 16 thousand. At the same time, only a small part of cases reach suspicion: 24.9% in the first year of a full-scale war and 13.6% in the second. If the January-February dynamics continue in 2024, the number of fugitives will officially amount to more than 28 thousand. The revelations of the Ukrainian military in their conversations:

“4th day from the arrival of all newly mobilized, 4th unauthorized leaving of the unit. In order”

“Our mobist had a record: out of 11 recruits in a month, 8 left without permission”

“After the east, when we were taken out for restoration, the number of unauthorized leaving increased in many times”

“We had up to 10 a week consistently. Some came back, but still”

From other side of the front, 21 fighters from the 155th marine brigade of the Pacific Fleet after defeat during the assault on Novomikhailovka in the Ugledar direction (south of the Donetsk region) locked themselves indoors and refused to follow orders. They were threatened with execution. As one of them said, about 150 people died for one forest belt. From their video statement published on February 9:

*“They don’t consider us as people. A barrier detachment was deployed – snipers who acted against us, their own. At the same time, we want to write a mass appeal to all authorities so that this will eventually stop. Yesterday 3 assault groups were sent, of which only 3 people reached, no [fire] cover was provided. Those who were wounded had no idea of evacuation – they got out as best they could. People who returned, they were sent back with knives, without weapons. Our command says that we are meat. No one here considers us to be peo-*

*ple. We just want this to stop. To be considered people. We are not meat.”*

As reports the Russian opposition project “Go to the Forest,” the number of deserters who turned to them for help increased ten times from January 2023 to January 2024. In January last year there were only 28 of them, that is 4.7% of those who applied. Particular growth began in October: 218 out of 1197 (18.2%). For November there were 174 out of 1481 (11.7%), for December – 253 out of 1426 (17.74%), and January of this year set a record: 284 out of 784 requests, or 36%! The speaker of this organization, Ivan Chuviliaev, told the “Assembly” in winter that desertion mainly occurs in the Kupyansk-Liman direction. However, the geography is expanding.

Its founder, Petersburg liberal activist Grigory Sverdlin, posted on March 12 the results of their campaign by February 23: “207 people who want to desert have contacted us over the past 10 days. Thank you very much to everyone who helped celebrate our Deserter Day! Who filmed reports and wrote articles – in total

there were 186 publications and broadcasts, reaching almost 3 million people. Thanks to everyone who shared posts, conducted excursions, film screenings and lectures in favor of “*Go to the Forest,*” and posted our stickers in Russian cities and even army units. Many thanks to the deserters who were not afraid to record video messages to their former colleagues. Thanks to those who donated to us – we raised \$9,249, and this money is enough to help about 60 more people.” As Chuviliaev explained to us, these 207 were divided approximately equally between the Svatovo-Kremennaya line (as it was usually) and Avdeevka. It is also noteworthy that in the comments under the posts of this team visitors often draw attention to the need for the same structure for those who refuse to fight for Ukraine. Due to the much smaller size of Ukraine and the ban on travel abroad even for civilians, the chances of success of such an endeavor are slim, and yet, this foreshadows the possibility of stopping the carnage from below!

One way or another, for Ukrainians there is no point to wait until the whole occupying forces run away – until this happens, there may be physically no one left on this



side. If even the head of state himself says that he did not warn people from the front-line territories about the full-scale invasion because panic would have set in and the national currency would have collapsed, one can imagine how long this state is ready to win more favorable negotiating position with someone else's blood. When the state hopes to survive at the cost of your death, fighting it back becomes more necessary than ever before!

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# INTERNATIONALISM – A GUIDE TO ACTION OR AN EXCUSE FOR INACTION?

TO THE START OF THE PRAGUE ACTION WEEK

20-26 MAY

*# MAY 19, 2024*



*The French poster “They migrate, they squat, they herald spring” echoes the Afghan proverb that you can kill all the swallows, but you cannot stop the coming of spring. In our realities, these words take on a special meaning: the flight of serfs brings closer the collapse to the serfdom state, as hundreds of thousands of punishers, officials and deputies will have to go defend themselves“*

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Nine points for further discussion from the anarchist newsletter of Kharkov. In some very, very eastern geography of the country, which until 2022 many would not even find on the map.

\*

**1.** First of all, these theses will only talk about the war in Ukraine. No regional egoism. Before Kharkov was close to the front, there were many students from the Middle East, Afghanistan and Africa; now we have no opportunity to learn about what is happening there through personal communication. Therefore, we will limit ourselves only to what is visible from our bell tower.

**2.** The situation in recent months in Ukraine fully confirms the thoughts from our English-language interview from February 24 and review article from March 31. Ukraine is turning from a concentration camp into a death camp. Yesterday, the law on total mobilization No. 10449, adopted on April 11, came into force, contrary to all forecasts that deputies would be afraid to do this. Now, during any street check of documents and reconciliation with the electronic register of persons liable for military service, cops will have the right to detain a man and take him to the enlistment office (official name – territorial center for recruitment, TCR) if his credentials are not in the system after the 60-day submission period. For not having a military ticket (special ID card) with you, you are also subject to detention and busification to establish your data. A day earlier, the supreme utilizer signed another law – No. 10379, increasing absentee fines for evaders. For refusal to appear on a subpoena or to update credentials, a fine of 17 to 25.5 thousand hryvnia will be imposed with the prospect of blocking accounts for non-payment (the minimum salary in Ukraine is 8 thousand hryvnia). Estimates of the num-

ber of citizens planned to be drafted into the army vary from 150,000 to 500,000; in the second case, this will mean the mobilization of every tenth man in the corresponding age. In other words, the totality of mobilization is limited only by the financial capabilities of the budget.

In last two month, the editorial group of our media has prepared detailed analyzes of the butcher law and the reaction to it from below, as well as how its adoption affected the ways of getaway from Ukraine. Then told about a project for free mutual aid of Ukrainians in unauthorized border crossings and about the Russian recruit Yuri Galushko from our city, who killed six artillery commanders for his mother traumatized during the Russian shelling of Kharkov and then escaped with his rifle. For the International Conscientious Objectors' Day on May 15, we wrote about the spring increase in desertion from Russian occupying troops and talked with a deserter from the Ukrainian border guard service. For stable and high-quality work on translations into English and resuming offline activity, even minimal but regular donations are very important to us. To support

the Assembly regularly, you can subscribe to our fundraising or send the selected amount one-time. Thanks everybody!

Over this couple of months, the Ukrainian army decay began to be discussed at the highest level. From the words of one of the most famous advocates in the country, Rostislav Kravets, during the war, more than 100 thousand military personnel left their units without permission; parliamentarian from the ruling party Yuri Kamelchuk said about 15 thousand militaries received disciplinary sanctions for violation of orders or desertion. Very often those who escaped from units are not punished in any way, otherwise there will be no one to fight at all. Demoralization in the *Armed Forces of Ukraine* is facilitated by a lack of understanding for the prospects of war, the attitude towards soldiers as meat and the failure of parliament to fulfill its promise to set a demobilization period when adopting Bill 10449. The shortage of personnel in the army is even more acute than that of weapons and ammunition. In the repressive bodies are afraid of being sent to the front and turn a

blind eye to any violence by TCR against civilians, just so as not to go to fight themselves.

**3.** Calls to unite against uniformed sadists imagined that they have the right to decide who lives and who dies are as ubiquitous among the masses as the readiness to organize together and change the life is weak. More and more of those who have nothing to defend are trying to leave Ukraine without desire to choose between life under the Kremlin and death for the wallets of scum at the trough. On May 17, a sad anniversary was reached: 30 men had already officially died trying to cross the Tisza river bordering EU countries. Those who do not flee are forced to survive under virtual house arrest (many have been doing this for more than a year, but now this practice is becoming widespread). Talking about the imminent end of Ukraine as a state, especially in the front-line regions, also does not contribute to protest activity: from this point of view, there is no point in risking criminal liability if it will end soon anyway and you will have to think about what to do in the new reality. “It’s better to possibly die in the Russian occupation



than to definitely die now for the internal occupation,” is the logic of this sombre apathy.

**4.** Nevertheless, episodic examples of social resistance are regular. April 6, the Desnyansky district of Kiev: during a conversation between the TCR patrol and some passer-by, Timofey Molderf born in 1972 approached one of them from behind and struck him on the head, after this he took a knife out of his bag and tried to stab another raid participant. April 20, near the village of Chornoguzy in the Chernivtsi region: two civilians knocked down a TCRist to the ground during notification. The vehicle was blocked, he fired a pistol into the ground but for some time still was not allowed to enter the car. On the evening of May 3, in the town of Vinogradov in Transcarpathia, about 10 people of Roma nationality gathered at the TCR entrance and tried to forcefully open the gate, protesting against the mobilization of two men from their village. The staff fired into the air; the next day, video footage was published with apologies from the women for taking part in the assault. The evening of the same May 3 in Zaporozhye: at the call of the wife of Yevgeniy Butenko, detained by the cops at

home that day because of allegedly being wanted, a crowd of residents also came to the TCR. They shouted: “Let all the people out of the basement!”, “You should protect us, not kidnap us!” Police surrounded the building to prevent people from entering. The three-hour rally was broadcast by the YouTube channel of local activists of the “living people” movement. On the night of May 12, in the same Zaporozhye, someone (according to rumors) threw two Molotov cocktails into the Shevchenkovsky districtal TCR building, they did not catch fire. On May 14, cops announced the detention in this city of an organized group of five “living people” suspected in spreading disinformation about the mobilization: activists talked about its illegality and filmed the kidnapping cases. At least one of the detainees got severely beaten. Sinelnikovo in the Dnepropetrovsk region: yesterday, TCRists were carrying a private security guard Alexander Sadovsky, born in 1975. He was in the back seat of the car; while driving took out a knife and put it to the throat of one of the servicemen. Another one began to take the knife from Sadovsky and received a stab wound to his hand. The same day in the regional

center, Dnipro: unknown people in black attacked a military medic sitting in a camouflage minivan with the words “TCR faggot”, sprayed him through an open window, broke his face and glasses. Also yesterday afternoon, in the village of Bolgan of the Vinnytsia region, border guards noticed a man trying to cross the Ukrainian-Moldovan border outside the checkpoint. During the detention, a guy from Kiev, born in 1990, hit one of them, then used a spray balloon and tried to take away the weapon from the serviceman. One of the border guards fired two warning shots and then shot him in the legs; he was hospitalized. And how many videos every day of passers-by helping to fight off those being kidnapped on the streets!

**5.** Parallels in internationalist circles between the Russian-Ukrainian conflict and the First World War with calls for Russian and Ukrainian workers to stop military production do not take into account the fact that Ukraine is fighting on the economic base of its Western partners. All critical goods, from ammunition and fuel to food and medicines, are supplied from abroad. Ukraine's drone production and military repair bases do not play a key

role in the war. The weak link is the transport system. Ukrainian international carriers are alarming: many drivers, having left Ukraine, abandon their trucks and refuse to return; the logistics workers remaining in the country simply quit or do not want to leave home, saying “let the TCR and the police carry it.” Yesterday afternoon, about 100 trucks partially blocked the Odessa-Kiev highway, one of the busiest in Ukraine. The traffic jam at the exit from Odessa reached 5 km. The strikers from different regions stated that “the country rests on us” and demanded mobilization reservation for their profession; they let cars and buses through the blockade. In our Kharkov, transport companies are also on the verge of stopping; retail is in danger of nationwide collapse. This was probably the maximum strike struggle possible for the working class under existing conditions. Unfortunately, this example of the standing for survival attracted much less public attention yesterday than the fight of Usik and Fury for the title of absolute world heavyweight champion. This says a lot about the environment in which the Assembly has to operate.

At the same time, this month was also marked in Ukraine by the first public episode of ordinary workplace struggle during the war. On the morning of May 1, in Druzhkovka, due to a strike and rally, was stopped a plant supplying bread to the north of the government-controlled Donetsk region part. The reason is many months of salary arrears; about 200 people work there. However, for the reasons described above, such protests are unlikely to have a critical impact on military operations. The ones in castles don't worry about whether slaves are starving.

**6.** While foreign comrades continue to ignore our calls to campaign among Ukrainian refugees, the “free country” does not leave them. The agonizing regime is desperate to recapture the fugitive serfs, whether through refusing to grant consular services to men without military credentials or directly persuading European authorities not to work on integration of Ukrainians. This month, amid the silence of internationalists, migrants began to speak up for their rights themselves. As you can read, rather with a liberal democratic than with a class-based agenda:

May 4th: *"Concerned Ukrainians gathered for a rally in downtown Dublin. The tipping point was the Ukrainian government's new law prohibiting men living abroad from receiving passport services at embassies worldwide. The rally aimed to highlight the critical human rights situation in Ukraine and to advocate for a pathway to legal residency and naturalization for Ukrainians in Ireland after their temporary protection expires in 2025. Currently, this option is unavailable, even for Ukrainian refugees who have worked in Ireland for three years. Join our movement - various events will be held on a regular basis."* As protesters told us, a similar rally is being prepared in Berlin.

It is noteworthy that they sent a photo of the picket to a conservative Anti-Maidan blogger from Kiev, who also provided informational support for the protests in Zaporozhye. The forecast from the winter Assembly's interview that, given the international anarchist movement's passivity, the anti-war theme will be used by right-wing conspiracy theorists can be considered confirmed. And we suggest this is true not only in Ukraine.

**7.** This can only be changed by going to the Ukrainian embassies and consulates with demands to release those who do not want to fight. We have no illusions that the regime will take such a step – this ridiculous hybrid of the American Confederation with North Korea is rather ready to send the majority of the country’s population to mincemeat, just to gain at least a little more time to plunder what has not yet been stolen. Even if Ukraine opens its borders, European states may close entry. Therefore, if such actions get into the major media, they will first of all show anti-war people in Ukraine that our community really stands on their side. Without concrete practical steps, any slogans about “no war but the class war” will be perceived as an empty abstraction for everything good and against everything bad.

**8.** Although war supporters sadly acknowledge that internationalist positions are gaining strength in foreign anarchism, it still devotes disproportionately big attention to denouncing social chauvinists and disproportionately little to discussing what is actually happening on the ground. For our collective, even before the war, it

was self-evident that anarchism is about “no borders, no nations” instead of “borders and nation are first”; proving such basic things in the third year of the war is even less interesting. Perhaps the organizations of Ukrainian former anarchists have significant influence in Western countries, however in Ukraine they are unlikely to be known by more than a few hundred people, and wasting such efforts on criticizing them looks from our point of view like free advertising. As Elon Musk says, let's not be too hard on the NPCs.

**9.** And yet, all of the problems listed do not negate the historical significance of the upcoming Week. The whole history of Europe 1918-1923 is a history of social revolutions failed or lost due to the unpreparedness of revolutionaries, resulting in even greater global carnage. This story must not be repeated. We hope this event will be only the beginning for great anti-war activity, with a permanent structure established by comrades from different countries. For our part, we are ready to provide as much assistance and support to this matter as we can now.



Our readers are well aware that we try not to quote classics to avoid any cult of personality, but this case seems to be really worth ending with the words of Bakunin from a letter to Nechaev:

*“...This passion is only real and salutary when both sides, the positive and the negative, are closely connected in it. Hate, the negative side alone, does not create anything, does not even create the power necessary for destruction and thus destroys nothing. The positive side alone will not destroy anything since the creation of the new is impossible without the destruction of the old, and will not create anything, remaining always a doctrinaire dream or a dreaming doctrine.”*

Let's remember this in our further work.

**05/19/2024**

**NEITHER ZELENSKI NOR PUTIN**



**NEITHER UKRAINE NOR RUSSIA**

*Let's Turn Capitalist War & Peace into World Social Revolution*

"JUDGE LYNCH,  
YOU HAVE THE FLOOR!"

THE MURDER OF FARION AMID THE DECAY  
PROCESSES IN THE WARRING ARMIES

# JULY 29, 2024



*Summer street agitation in Odessa from  
other participants of the Prague May Week*

*"A premonition of civil war" is in the air of Ukraine. According to official information, 4.6 million people updated their military registration data in the two-month period up to July 17, and at least 6 million others "are subject to automatic administrative liability."* That is, about half of the country's male population finds itself in a practically illegal position.

Just had been published the morning of July 15 the Assembly's analysis on dozens of street direct actions against mobilization since the beginning of this year, the country was shaken by another clash: the evening of the previous day, in the Odessa region, border guards stopped a car with four recruits who had escaped from a training battalion, one of whom, mobilized a month ago, allegedly began to strangle a border guard and was shot dead. Already next night, in the first hours of the 15th, a grenade flew into an enlistment office in the Zolochiv district of the Lviv region (only the windows and the facade were damaged). Finally, on the evening of July 19, FariOFF happened in Lviv. The shooting of one of the most scandalous far-right opinion leaders in Ukraine, odious even to the commanders and militants of Azov

for her hatred of Russian-speaking Ukrainians, was the first street murder of a politician during the full-scale Russian invasion. Even her opponents began to speak anxiously about the threat of turning the imperialist war into a civil war. 18-year-old suspect Vyacheslav Zinchenko, an adherent of NS/WP, was detained on July 25 in the city of Dniepr; he allegedly planned to join the army later. In the manifesto of the "autonomous revolutionary racist" appeared in neo-Nazi channels, Farion is accused of inciting hatred between white people and is called an internal enemy, while the Ukrainian military is fighting an external enemy. A day before, 32-year-old Mikhail Tonkonogov, a well-known volunteer and chairman of the city's auto carriers union, was found dead in a forest belt near the same Dniepr. The police claim that on July 22 he met with two residents aged 23 and 39, as a result of the conflict they killed him with six shots and buried the body. They were detained and were suspected of premeditated murder by prior agreement. There is also a version that Tonkonogov was killed for some debt: auto transportation in Ukraine is a very corrupt business, and it is well known that refusing to pay some-

one at the top for the opportunity to do this can cost one's life. Perhaps this is why the activist's murder did not receive much resonance in society.

In such an atmosphere, it is not surprising that on June 19, the bill No. 6569-d on the establishment of the military police in Ukraine to combat desertion and disciplinary violations was adopted in the first reading. In order to at least partially ease tensions in society, on July 16, the Ukrainian parliament also voted in the first reading and took as a basis the bill No. 11322, under which a serviceman who has committed unauthorized leaving of the unit (Ukrainian abbreviation: SZCh) or desertion committed the first time will be able to return to service with all payments and support, without being brought to criminal liability. His intention must be approved by the commander. A lawyer from Kharkov who communicates a lot with the military and security forces told the Assembly about this:

*"There are more than 100 thousand trained people there, they want to bring them back. It is more profitable to agitate for their return. But in what form will it be... If*

*there are good conditions, at least 40% will return. Because they fled due to the stupidity of their commanders. If they are treated humanely, many will return. The issue is in provision. Many will want to avoid being brought in by force and being enrolled in assault battalions of prisoners. Not only is there a shortage of people there, even just holding positions is a big plus. Now there are 120 thousand SZChs. 60 thousand will return and that will be wow."*

From other Kharkov interlocutors of our media this summer. Like most of the follow-up evidence, it was presented in the articles "SZCh as a new trend," "The time for fragging?" and "Totalitarianism, heat, July":

*"Until the mechanism is clear, statements mean nothing. I think there will be a conversation with the staff, that the cops will find everyone based on the data and then they will still drive them from the zone to the field. In general, preventive conversations are constantly held, but the soldiers do not care when the command does not know how to command. Many go to SZCh through the indifference at the top, despite all the warnings and*

intimidation.

*I have two friends in SZCh from Saltovka, they tried to resolve the dismissal through lawyers and it did not work. They were tired of getting it, they saw everything with their own eyes. Often the command ignores the treatment of the soldiers, they do not return to duty already from the hospital. They give a period of return, for example, a week, and the soldier only gets tests done in a week. Naturally, people choose their health."*

*"My godfather has already finished fighting. He went on vacation and did not come back. Everyone is fed up with everything. He called the commander and told him, he was not surprised. He lives in his apartment according to his registration, so far no one has even come. He fought for a year and a half, that's enough. Half a battalion of such ones. For how long - I didn't ask, he doesn't really care. They don't put in jail, they send back to the unit, and then we'll see."*

*"My brother came back from Toretsk without a leg, and those who were with him didn't come back, they shoved him into a minibus in the evening, in the morning he*



*was already in Dniepr... They packed him up a little over a month ago, brought him to the hospital in Vinnitsa a week ago. He didn't stay in training for long, two weeks. He didn't try to get out of there. I think if it was real, then everyone who was forced into it would have escaped. There are no more patriots, those of mine who went on their own in 22, three are already in the ground, one is missing, but when they came on leave, they all said that you have nothing to do there!!!"*

Will the phrase "to go to a lecture of Farion" become a modern synonym for "to go to the headquarters of Dukhonin", that is, the commander-in-chief of the Russian Provisional Government, lynched by sailors and soldiers at the end of 1917? Our portal wrote about a light case of soldier's lynching from the words of a Kharkov metro driver at the beginning of this summer: *"Many acquaintances and acquaintances of acquaintances are on the run, they do not return after vacation. A simple example. The guys fought since 2014. At night, of course, they drink. In the morning there was a battle, one was killed. The puppy commander of 22 took the remains for examination, that there was alcohol in the*

*blood, so that his relatives would not receive payments. They beat him up and left the unit for their native Lviv. I was driving in a car, I saw three soldiers standing. One was in slippers, that's why I noticed. I stopped and asked where I could get a free ride (I'm not afraid of them, I have a reservation). I took them to the bus station, and they opened up to me," he told anonymously on June 2.*

Politician and propagandist Alexei Arestovich, close to the Presidential Office, stated in his interview on June 22: *"If we throw more and more people into the fire, well, I can give you an example - we had a breakthrough near Toretsk. Do you think it was because life was good? There will be several more in the near future. I can give you an example: on one of the key sections of the front, the day before yesterday, 6 battalions refused to carry out a combat mission. Six. Do you think this is the only case? Do you think this will not happen again, do you think it will not escalate? This is not so. Despite all the Western aid, because at the root lies the wrong attitude towards people, and people pay - what? - with disloyalty. The same as 100 years ago. When 5 thousand Bolsheviks [in fact, there were also a lot of anarchists or*

*left socialists revolutionaries, - Ed.] were marching on Kiev, there were one and a half million soldiers in Ukraine with experience of the First World War. They would have crushed and not noticed these Bolsheviks. Why didn't they come out, why did 300 students come out? One and a half million veterans! Heroes, as we say today. No one lifted a finger, the students went. Because the government pursued such a policy, the government of that time, that no one cared about it, there was no loyalty, no one wanted to protect it. We are going down exactly the same path - look at the number of people entering military schools, look at the number of those who refuse." From his words, the recruitment of future officers is completed at less than 50% and this figure is "very small for the largest European state."*

On April 6, in the Kherson region, an AFU sergeant fired at his commander (with the rank of major) after he refused to give him leave. The bullet hit the ceiling, no one was hurt. The shooter had his automatic rifle taken away and was sent to a psychiatric center. He managed to escape on the way, the search results are unknown.

Some AFU instructor told one of the main political Telegram channels of Ukraine about a mass desertion from the training unit. *"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 post from July 17 says. The location of the events is not specified. However, if we are talking about mid-May, it is notoriously that Ukrainian troops were then hastily pulling together reserves to stop the Russian offensive north of Kharkov. Marines of the 36th brigade are fighting there now.

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 Krynki, 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?

Yesterday it became known that Yevgeny Zarubin, a resident of Kursk and a former Wagnerist, fled from the 138th guards motorized rifle brigade of the Russian Armed Forces. He recorded a viral video in the middle of this month about heavy losses in an assault of Volchansk. After this, he had to retract his words. He led former criminal prisoners and guilty mobilized soldiers, as well as those who had recently signed a contract, into the storming. Since July 28, he himself is wanted for unauthorized leaving of the unit; his weapon has also disappeared.

On July 26, six convicts escaped from a training ground in the Belgorod region (bordering the Kharkov region on the Russian side), and three more escaped the next day. According to the photo description, one of them was imprisoned for murder, the second for causing grievous bodily harm, and the third for illegal deprivation of liberty. The rest were serving time under more lenient articles.

On July 11, in the border village of Kozinka (the Graivoron district of the same Belgorod region), a contract military from Chuvashia shot two of his colleagues and wounded another one, fleeing with a weapon and ammunition. In 2011, 28-year-old Aleksei Zhuravlyov committed a robbery in a group of people, for which he was later convicted. Before his service, he worked as a window installer and pipe fitter. On July 15, it became known that the deserter was detained in the same district. The reasons for the shooting are given in social networks in different ways. According to one version, Zhuravlyov did not want to fight and allegedly did not see any other way out for himself, according to another, the motive could have been revenge for humiliation.

The most epic example of such a shooting remains the act of Russian contract junior sergeant Yury Galushko, who killed six persons at a command post in Donetsk on the night of May 4 because his mother was injured during the shelling of Kharkov. He fled with his weapons; there is no information about his arrest or death to this day. Also, in late spring, the Assembly mentioned Russian mobilized fighters Pavel Fursenko and Maxim Potekhin, arrested in the Lugansk region on suspicion of murdering a commander, but the details of what happened are unknown.

Concerning the so-called "Donetsk People's Republic", the Telegram channel Mobilization DPR Live made a compilation on June 6 about three shot combats (battalion commanders). It claims that among those killed by Galushko was his combat. On the penultimate day of spring this year, this channel reported on the death of a motorized riflemen commander from the Gorlovka military unit at the hands of his subordinates: *"At the training ground of the Karl Marx mine village near Yenakiyev, fighters of military unit 52892 (one of the subunits of the former 08803), driven to madness and*

*despair, shot dead the commander of the 1st motorized rifle battalion of the 132 brigade, call sign "Small", name Andrey. This combat killed thousands of people, those who were kept on leave in a cell in Nikitovka. The day before, a shell landed there, those who should not have been there died. The situation in this unit is tense, it is unbearably hard for the guys to serve with such incompetent commanders,"* said a source of Mobilization DPR.

The third episode in their list is from a year ago: in the so-called "Lugansk People's Republic" on May 24, 2023, a company commander allegedly shot a battalion commander in the head because they wanted to send them to be butchered. A male voice with a Donbass accent says this in the referred video. The frame shows the dead body in a large pool of blood, with a screaming nurse rushing around. They also provide a description from the FSB for the neighboring Rostov region: "On May 24, 2023, in the town of Lisichansk, LPR, servicemen of the "Storm Z" detachment committed the murder of a serviceman of the LPR Ministry of Defense and the subsequent escape from the special military



*operation zone. A total of 39 people are wanted, they may be armed with automatic weapons"* (we also wrote about this story when it happened). However, there is a discrepancy: the channel concluded that the video with the killed officer relates to the escape in the Luhansk region based on the date of its appearance. But there are men in Ukrainian pixel uniforms, and in the comments under the post, a reader noted that this probably happened in the Dnepropetrovsk region. More likely, these were two different stories on different sides of the front. The rank and position of the one killed while trying to stop deserters in Lisichansk is still unclear.

The mentioned Assembly's study on violent confrontation between civilians and mobilizers has not yet been translated into English. In total, we have recorded about 40 cases from the beginning of this year until mid-summer: from night grenade attacks on enlistment torturers to mass riots or individual armed resistance the kidnappers. People use knives, spray cans, heavy blunt objects, on June 4 even threw tomatoes at visitors during a raid on a market in Kherson. At the same time, the survey did not include the equally regular arsons of

relay cabinets, electrical substations, and military vehicles – not only Ukrainian security forces, but also a number of independent sources link them to Russian recruiters of easy money seekers on Telegram and the Darknet.

The arming in the working class is a separate matter. *“Buying a gun is not difficult at all. An automatic rifle is three thousand, a pistol is 1500, last year went to Staryi Saltov to buy from the soldiers, but if the cops find it, it’s a criminal offense for 5 years, no less. This is in hryvnia. The dude took two AKs, I’m scared, I already had a similar conviction. There’s a very fine line between [criminal articles] 156 and 157, I jumped from 157 to 156, I don’t remember the points, but they were easy. They sold everything from boots to thermal imagers, or asked one of the locals to go to a pawnshop in Kharkov for a share. These are trophies, there was there like shit. There was a whole sale there – generators, cartridges [for firearms], uniforms. Many people got hold of gens, boots, cartridges. I wouldn’t mess with the military or rifles now, even if they accidentally find it, they can knock you off, or an article, put you in jail anyway, plus they will*

*torture you, asking you what you need all this for. By the way, I heard about a case where a man in Kupyansk in 22 collected weapons abandoned by the AFU in a barn, then when the Russians found them, they beat him up and sent him to the FSB. The FSB kept him in suspense for a month, then let him go. The arsenal, of course, was taken away,"* tells a mechanic from one of Kharkov's municipal enterprises.

Of course, the chronicle of the Ukrainian rear social war need to be updated since then. Odessa, known for its traditions of combative anarchism, is especially rich in news. On July 19, a crowd of passers-by blocked the road at Privoz, preventing the police from detaining a driver who allegedly did not stop at a checkpoint. In the scrimmage, the cop's uniform was torn off, naked to the waist, he fired a pistol into the air and doused an elder woman with pepper spray. Last week, in the suburban village of Tairovo, a local deputy got allegedly beaten for helping to distribute military draft notices, and in Odessa, someone burned a neighbor's Suzuki for his swastika tattoo (if believe the social networks). If we take seriously the statements of the Ukrainian authori-

ties about their readiness for negotiations with Russia, so long-awaited for a significant part of Ukrainian society, all sense is lost in the widely announced autumn counteroffensive and the total mobilization. Even without further practical steps, these speeches threaten to further undermine the motivation of the troops, where the personnel will logically decide: what is the point of mass deaths on the threshold of negotiations? Moreover, the force mobilization on the streets for the planned breakthrough of the front by means of superiority in manpower becomes meaningless and gives the draft dodgers even more confidence that it is necessary to hide, as there is not much time left to wait. Therefore, no matter what tricks are standing behind such statements, they threaten an even more serious growth of anti-war insistence at the front and in the rear. The process is going in accordance with our winter forecast that 2024 will be a key year for the formation of a revolutionary situation similar to the WWI scenario.

Glory to evaders, trenches to serfs! Everything will be Evadia!



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

**"SUPPOSE THEY GIVE A WAR AND NO ONE COMES!"**



**AGAINST  
CAPITALIST  
WARS**

**AGAINST  
CAPITALIST  
PEACE**



