

UKRAINE AT WAR

It will be Soviet and independent or a protected colony



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PREFACE

This work comes to light at a time when it's almost five months since the invasion of Ukraine started. Rivers of ink have already been written on it.

In the recent Davos Summit*, Henry Kissinger –former Secretary of State for US imperialism during the invasion of Vietnam and other outrages carried out by the US imperialists on the planet– stated that it was time to end this war. He stated that Ukraine should cede Donbass and the corridor bordering the Azov sea from Mariupol to Russia.

For Biden and the US establishment, however, that time has not yet come. It remains for Ukraine to be even more destroyed, subjugated and even divided during the war. The plan of the US imperial government is also that Russia, although it conquers a portion of Ukraine, results enormously weakened and fenced politically and economically.

The fact is that the US, as NATO commander, is handing over Ukraine as a pawn to **enter European businesses, from which it had been marginalized before the Franco-German axis**, and to penetrate deep into Russia and keep for itself the Russian sources of raw materials and commodities. This is also about the other aspect of the character of this war. Meanwhile, the US keeps adding countries to NATO such as Sweden and Finland.

For the US, it is not only about Ukraine or the "great" Russia, but also about immediately launching a huge offensive against all the former Soviet republics. In those nations, capitalist restoration was imposed decades ago and imperialism has been plundering them. There Putin

* The annual Summit of the Davos Economic Forum that brings together representatives of international financial capital, was held this year (2022) in Switzerland from May 22 to 26.

has been acting, as we will insist in this work, as the guardian of the businesses of the transnationals and the capitalists. This role is played not only in some of the former Soviet republics of Eurasia, but also fundamentally within Russia, where huge imperialist investments have been established in entire branches of production, as we will demonstrate in this work.

Before the start of the Russian invasion, Biden had announced his intention for Ukraine to join NATO, just when the key to the Nord Stream II gas pipeline, which came directly from Russia to Germany, was about to be opened. This would have transformed German imperialism into the great distributor of gas and energy throughout Europe. That is why this gas pipeline was built mainly by German companies, of which Putin and his oligarchs were junior partners, and his president was Gerhard Schröder, a former German chancellor.

The US could not allow Germany to consolidate a European vital space which, if materialized, would have left it in a privileged location to end up controlling, together with France, the most important businesses in the extraction of wealth from Russia. Much less could the US allow this in the midst of stagnation in the world economy only comparable to the crash of the 1930s. In the midst of such a capitalist crisis, the different powers are vying for the world market, which continues to shrink, while the fictitious values grow exponentially under the control of the international financial oligarchy, without any type of backing in goods.

In the Ukrainian question, the curtain is drawn open on the acute inter-imperialist disputes that have been revived around the new emerging markets of Russia and China since 1989. The clashes between the Franco-German axis and Anglo-American imperialism to control those markets and their wealth had already been transformed (whether with Obama or Trump), into open disputes and harsh trade and tariff wars.

It is clear that the powers left behind in the world market are becoming or will become more and more aggressive. This, ultimately, is what was happening with the US, which was weakened by the Franco-German axis on its way to Moscow and all of Eurasia. Given this, US

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imperialism aggressively redoubled its offensive. Through NATO, it stepped on Europe and Ukraine in particular.

Until now and reluctantly, on the Ukraine issue the Franco-German axis seems to have accepted subordinating itself to the US via NATO, while it waits in a crouched way for this war to end, so that in the "peace negotiations" they can define how they will be located not only in its relationship with Ukraine and Russia, but within Europe as a whole. This is very important for them because the US has once again sealed a pact with British imperialism and has set foot in Eastern Europe, disciplining the EU and NATO, to which most European countries have already joined.

It is under these conditions that the war in Ukraine is developing. **We are facing preparatory moments of new jumps to inter-imperialist world conflagrations in the future, if the proletariat does not prevent it.** The struggle to colonize Russia and China is currently and will be the engine of this.

However, stating that the conflict in Ukraine is the beginning of the Third World War is a fallacy.

We are facing a war of invasion by Putin and Russia to keep a part of the Ukrainian nation, while the US imperialists and NATO, without firing a single shot directly, seek to be which control the largest portion of the prey. It's been almost five months of war and the borders of a new Ukraine a thousand times subjected and tied with double and triple chains are already being drawn with shots.

This would be a rare "inter-imperialist war" that NATO and the US would be fighting against Russia, when Ukraine is only given missiles that do not go beyond 80 kilometers, a couple of drones and totally defensive weapons for the artillery duel. After five months there was not a single direct military clash of Russia with NATO...

On the other hand, the imperialist powers fully understand that they still have neither the mass base nor the support of their own working class to go to big military conflagrations and send the workers to kill each other as it was in the First and Second World Wars.

The US had to abandon Afghanistan and they were expelled from Iraq not only by the Iraqi masses' resistance, but because the US working class and also the European one and the ones from all NATO countries refused to go to die for the sake of the businesses of their own imperialist bourgeoisies. The demonstrations against the war in the Spanish State as well as the "million men march" in USA in 2008-2010 are an example of what we are saying.

The doors to the imperialist war are not yet opened, although the current conditions of the imperialist crash, the dispute among the imperialist powers and a thousand and one betrayals to the mass uprisings made by their leaderships are tragically paving the way for this.

There are still many battles to be fought, not only by imperialism but also by the world working class against their governments and regimes. This is so, because, **ultimately, the path to war will be defined by the class struggle and the advances or setbacks of the world revolution.**

The opening of the Second World War was imposed with the crushing of the German proletariat at the hands of Hitler and fascism, with the counterrevolutionary victory of Franco, with the diversion of the French revolution of 1936-38 and with the strategic defeat that meant for the world working class the rise of Stalinism in the USSR. The semi-colonial world in the mid '30s was paralyzed and suffered deep defeats. The current situation is far from this.

Those who proclaim that the Third World War has already started are deceiving the masses about the character that it will have and the conditions for its development. Actually, first the governments of the central countries must defeat their own working class or co-opt sectors of it (as Germany did in the First World War with the labor aristocracy of the Social Democratic Party) so that they accompany the imperialist gangs to their warlike adventures

Reformism separates the working class – which is the one that fights and dies in the battlefields– from the emergence, evolution and development of the war. **It seems that for the liquidators of Marxism the class struggle is suspended during the war, when actually it only becomes more acute.**

To close the path to the Third World War, the task of the moment is to re-group the ranks of the international workers revolutionary van-

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guard to remove the treacherous leaderships from the proletariat, as they cause huge defeats or diversions to the enormous revolutionary processes opened by the masses with heroic combats.

The Third World War, if the working class does not prevent it, will be an inter-imperialist war for the spheres of influence and for the division of the new markets of Russia and China, which the imperialist powers must recolonize completely. Some of their first acts may be expressed in fratricidal wars promoted by different imperialisms, that is, proxy wars, where the different powers fight in the back room to grab this or that sphere of influence and plunder the wealth or sources of raw materials.

But there is no doubt that the Third World War will begin in the same way as the Second one ended, with atomic bombings like in Hiroshima and Nagasaki and with great wars even in a continental character.

What we are witnessing today is the development of harsh trade wars, closure of markets and customs borders and acute inter-imperialist disputes, which inevitably lead to wars of invasion and for markets. That is the case of the counterrevolutionary invasions that we saw and see in the Middle East to control the oil routes, the one that is taking place today in Ukraine, the one that happened previously in Belarus, the wars that took place in the Caucasus, etc. These are just a few examples of how imperialist powers and their agents split up – sometimes by shooting or with threats of shooting – the subjugated nations.

What they want to hide in the midst of so much talk to dress the butcher of the "great" Russia in silk is that with the bloody invasion of Ukraine, Putin seeks to maintain the *status quo* of his role as gendarme of imperialism throughout Eurasia.

But, as we have seen, Kissinger, together with an imperialist sector of the EU, stated at the Davos Forums: "let's stop the war now and consummate the partition of Ukraine." Kissinger is warning that NATO, with Biden at the helm, has the risk of weakening Putin to extreme degrees before the US takes direct control of most of the former Soviet republics where Russia is the gendarme of the business of all capitalists. **The danger is that in these disputes between Moscow and NATO, the mass movement can appear, as it happened in Kazakhstan, now in Armenia**

–after Russia and Turkey gave Nagorno-Karabakh to Azerbaijan and British Petroleum– or in Belarus itself, recently invaded by Putin, to enter Ukraine with his troops. These are part of the contradictions that imperialism has in its offensive.

However, for the UK-US financial oligarchy, the time to move forward is now. The Nord Stream II gas pipeline has already been closed. For now, the French-German axis is with NATO. And that is why the US and England believe that it is time to go for more and continue to wear down Moscow, even if it means handing over a destroyed part of Eastern Ukraine.

In this book we also affirm that while Russia seeks to annex Donbass as it did with Crimea yesterday, the US together with the IMF, the World Bank and its partners in the City of London want to suck out, during and after the war, until the last drop of the blood and sweat of the workers and of the riches of the Ukrainian nation. They do this through their transnationals and with the IMF, the World Bank and the states that **impose a usurious foreign debt on Ukraine**, even with the war credits that they are granting today, which mean enormous profits for the coffers of the imperialist bankers, as they seek to exhaust Russia in a military arms race and by encircling its economy.

Moscow's current invasion of Ukraine, which NATO allows only up to Donbass, also has the aim of crushing the Ukrainian working class. This is the condition to finish leaving and colonizing that nation. They did so in Syria, to then plunder all its wealth. In Ukraine, NATO lets the “great” Russia do this “dirty work” of partition, at the cost of wearing itself out to extreme degrees. Both Kissinger and the entire US establishment are in favor of the partition of Ukraine, which would be the way to finish imposing the Minsk Pact to the end, for the definitive colonization of that nation. Imperialism is reaction all along the line, to the point of reconfiguring through blood and fire even the nations and states that exist throughout the colonial and semi-colonial world.

Ukraine and Syria are the mirrors where all the oppressed peoples of the world must look at themselves if they do not defeat imperialism and its national lackeys, the native bourgeoisies.

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In particular, all the former Soviet republics of the former USSR must be looked at in this mirror, which achieved their “independence” from the Russian Federation in 1989 but ended up being totally dependent and openly semi-colonies of imperialism, some already directly or, controlled by the bayonets of Moscow and the native oligarchs, associated in thousands of businesses with international financial capital.

THE COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY FASCIST FOREIGN POLICY OF PUTIN AND NATO

It is crystal clear that the US promoted every fascist counterrevolutionary coup took place in the planet. They spread napalm and sent Vietnam, Iraq and Afghanistan to the Middle Ages. Even if they talk about "democracy" inside the US, imperialism rules the world with the guns. There are more than 500 CIA military bases advancing in the "fight against terror" as yesterday in Guantanamo, with the worst methods of fascism which could even make Gestapo blush.

The white counterrevolutionary troops of Putin do not stay behind when it's about defending the interests of the capitalists, imposing true genocides. Let's see.

Before invading Ukraine, **Putin occupied Belarus**, an issue that has been "forgotten" by the entire world imperialist press and is hidden by the reformist left that acts behind their backs. Russian troops invaded Belarus (where the Slavic country has a military base) to crush a huge working class strike and struggle and save the Lukashenko government, transforming that nation on a beachhead of his invasion of Ukraine.

This is nothing new: the troops of the “great” Russia had already crushed the mass uprising and the general strike of the Kazakh proletariat against the big imperialist oil and steel companies in January this year.

Putin has a record of crushing rebellions of the peoples of the oppressed nations and massacring his proletariat, while he avoids at every step any direct military clash with the imperialist powers.

It was the Moscow troops that drowned in blood the great uprising for bread that broke out in Georgia in 2008 against the capitalist government of Saakashvili. In Kyrgyzstan, they promoted fascist *pogroms*

against the working class that had armed themselves and taken over the police stations in 2010 against the ferocious IMF attack by those infamous bourgeois governments, heirs to the old Stalinist scum.

We will address this question in a special appendix to this work so that it can never again be hidden that this infamous counterrevolutionary regime in Moscow has its hands stained with blood with the policy of extermination of the Chechen nation. Not to mention its role in Syria, which has been broken and divided and, with Turkey on the Euphrates, the US looting oil from the north and the dog Bashar in the south openly doing business with the same Sunni bourgeoisie in Idlib. Putin was the one who led the ferocious genocide of the Syrian masses, supporting the fascist al-Assad.

In all these countries the "great" Russia has military bases like in Crimea (Ukraine), which are not there to confront imperialism but to massacre the masses and favor the businesses of the capitalists. A clear sign of this role could be seen when Putin surrendered Armenia in 2020 to hand over Nagorno-Karabakh to Azerbaijan so that British Petroleum controls all the oil in the Black Sea and takes it out through the Caucasus to the Mediterranean through the pipelines under the custody of Turkey, a major NATO member.

In order to play this role of gendarme of the business of imperialism, the Moscow oligarchy has established an iron dictatorship in Russia, with a farce of "democratic" elections, where only the parties that swear allegiance to Putin appears, while the prisons are full of political prisoners and the proletariat is crushed, without the right to strike, or to form unions, or to carry out a demonstration of more than three people in the street, at the risk of being imprisoned for more than 10 years.

As this book is being printed, the autonomous region of Karakalpakstan is in revolt in Uzbekistan.

The Mirziyoyev government of that former Asian Soviet republic has auctioned all the companies that are still in state hands like telecommunications, oil, the huge fertilizer business, banks and land ownership. The government also wants to impose the extension of his term from 4 years to 7 and liquidate Karakalpakstan's autonomy.

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The people have risen up, not only in defense of autonomy, but because they see that this privatization plan is a big deal for the oligarchy, coming from the old Communist Party of the former USSR, and hunger, misery and slavery for the people of that region and also from all over Uzbekistan. It is the masses who suffer from the capitalist restoration.

In Uzbekistan, there's one of the largest cotton-cropping areas of the entire region. This means there's a need for huge slave workforce.

The new bourgeoisie, emerged from the counterrevolutionary communist parties of the former Soviet republics, attacked the working class as much or even more than the biggest exploiters and enslavers of the workers movement in late 18th Century and early 19th Century.

In mid-90s in Uzbekistan they imposed the same they did in the USSR back in the '80s, namely the slave work of children, paralyzing the classes in times of harvest. And we still have to stand traitors that speak on behalf of "socialism" and support, applaud and give ovation to Putin and the old Stalinist parties now turned into a new enslaver scum.

The cotton produced in Uzbekistan supplies a large part of the Russian textile industry. So, the Uzbek workers die in the cotton fields and do the worst slave works as migrants in Russia, from where they send part of their miserable wage to support their families.

The unprecedented sufferings of the exploited burst out in the different mass revolutionary uprisings in the former soviet republics. We consider an ignominy on them, typical from traitor agents of imperialism, that the left currents accuse the workers that rise in these nations of being "agents of imperialism", as they revolt even against Putin himself, the jailkeeper.

These brutal conditions of exploitation and hardships of the Uzbek workers are an example of the path followed by all the former soviet republics, handed over by the Stalinist scum to the world capitalist market. Today, all of them are the battlefield of imperialism to finish colonizing them and of the "great" Russian bourgeoisie to keep its role of murderous gendarme of the revolted people, and also of the working class and their heroic combats to defend their gains and for their demands.

The working class in the former Soviet republics of Eurasia enters the fight for their fair demands of bread, right to a decent life, fighting against the ferocious counterrevolutionary governments and regime, fighting for the national liberation against every imperialist oppression and confronting the fiercest bloodiest order imposed by the "great" Russia and its military bases.

In each one of these struggles there's an iron alternative for these nations: whether they end up being partitioned colonies of Wall Street or Frankfurt, or they will open the road for the fight for the restoration of the dictatorship of the proletariat under revolutionary and soviet ways in all the territories of the former USSR, sold out by the Stalinist scum.

Only from this view of the international situation, of the imperialist crisis, of the dispute for the markets and the class struggle, which does not cease to sharpen under these conditions of unprecedented sufferings of the masses, we can address the current war in Ukraine, a former Soviet republic nowadays turned into a bled-out colony, partitioned and exploited by imperialism and the counterrevolutionary forces of Putin and the "great" Russia.

**UKRAINE, A NATION A THOUSAND TIMES OPPRESSED BY THE
IMPERIALIST POWERS AND CRUSHED BY THE JACKBOOTS OF MOSCOW**

Ukraine is one of those former Soviet republics tied with double and triple chains by a native semi-fascist oligarchy, agent of the IMF, by the US plunder and Putin's bayonets' control.

We are before one of the wealthiest nations of Eastern Europe. Nature gave them one of the most fertile lands of the planet to produce cereals and food. As we will see in this work, it also possesses huge wealth of minerals and is one of the key countries of Russian gas and oil route through Maastricht.

To illustrate the point, Portugal has 10 million inhabitants and France has 67 million. Ukraine, with a population of 44 million, has almost the same population of Spain, of which no one dares to say it is not a nation or it is truly a collage of nations subjugated by the Borbons.

Ukraine is a nation with the fifth largest territory in Europe, after Russia, Kazakhstan, Turkey and France. How can this reality be ignored? Furthermore, Ukraine has a perfect understandable language

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for all its inhabitants, even if there are other languages spoken inside. Cynicism is a one-way path.

To tell the truth, the difference with the Spanish State is that Ukraine is a plundered nation, which has all its goods totally under embargo as warranty of a great foreign debt with the IMF, which today is drown in loans for guns given by imperialism for more than four months since the Russian invasion.

When the imperialist press brags about “aid to Ukraine” with millionaire loans of the European banks, we are not before “non-interested donations” or expenses of a NATO that had entered to war. It is not so. All the contrary. **What the imperialist countries are giving is a 15% yearly interest loans in dollars**, which only increases Ukraine’s foreign debt which comes down to 88 billion dollars with other states, the imperialist banks, the IMF, the World Bank and the European Union.

Cynicism reaches such a degree that in the middle of war and invasion of Putin’s murderous troops, imperialism and the international banks demand Ukraine to pay the foreign debt and its interests it has to pay this year. This is done in the middle of the plunder of Crimea and Donbass which Moscow wants to increase, as collecting a payment for their services as gendarme of the capitalists in the entire region for 30 years. As we said, this was the role played by Putin in Georgia, in the Chechnya genocide and in the counterrevolutionary intervention of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and the Caucasus. We won’t get tired in insisting on this because they try to hide it at all costs. They want to silence what the butcher of Moscow did in the last years in **Syria**. From the Geneva and Astana conferences, **with the US sent Putin as a fascist centurion to support al-Assad to crush the Syrian masses and contain the revolution in Middle East.**

Those who talk about a “irreconcilable split” between NATO and Moscow “forget” that what’s is in question are the terms of the partition of Ukraine and the conditions of surrender of the nation to Russia, NATO, the IMF and the imperialist transnational companies. A clear example of this we mention is that Putin left intact the French imperialist steel plant that belongs to Arcelor Mittal, located less than 500 km away from Mariupol (a city razed by the Russian bombs),

Zelensky praises Johnson of England as the “most solidary government in the war against Russia”. This is a lie and an infamy.

The total foreign debt of Ukraine, with the IMF, the World Bank and all the states that lent funds to them, has a warranty namely that any altercation or anomaly will, settled in... **London court**. For that reason, the British pirates are so confident in selling weapons to Ukraine and Johnson travels to Kyiv to embrace his employee Zelensky trying to pose as benefactor. Another cynicism!

The British Supreme Court of Justice, led by **William Blair** - brother of Tony Blair, former British Prime Minister- **still hasn't ruled for Ukraine, after four months of invasion and massacre so it does not pay the foreign debt to Moscow of more than 3 billion dollars**, saying those loans were given by a private company and bank and not the Russian state.

This is even worse than the imperialist bourgeois policy of relationships between states established by the UN, which guarantees that an assaulted country doesn't have to pay its debt to the aggressor. They don't want this example to be extended to the subjugated countries not paying the debts to the ones that plunder and harass them, while London, Wall Street and Frankfurt don't recognize the debts they have with Russia, they put embargo on Russian funds and on trade. Such a paradox!

On its side, the lackey government of Zelensky, far from suspending the payment of the debt to the imperialist creditors to put all the economy and the wealth of Ukraine to defend the assaulted nation, is paying and is willing to continue paying the whole foreign debt, except the one claimed by Moscow.

As if another fact was needed, it is more than clear that the Ukrainian working class and the people cannot defeat the invasion of plunder and death of Putin and the “great” Russia with the lackey coward bourgeoisie of Kyiv. Let alone with NATO, which only wants to deepen the plunder of Ukraine during the war in order to partition it with Moscow.

For all these, we insist that any policy on this war that does not start by conquering the national liberation of Ukraine, by crushing the Russian invasion and breaking with imperialism to do so, under the leadership of its working class allied to the workers all across

Europe, is not a Marxist policy. It is rather a policy of lackeys of imperialism or of the plunder by the Moscow oligarchy.

This is the way for the Ukrainian working class to conquer the political and military leadership of the war for the workers not to be the ones paying for the crisis, the imperialist plunder and the terrible hardships of the "great" Russian occupation.

PUTIN IS THE GUARANTOR OF THE LOOTING OF THE IMF IN UKRAINE AND ALL THE NATIONS OF EURASIA

In this forward, it is necessary to insist on a clear definition: countless times, Ukraine has been oppressed, looted and surrendered to the greed and dispute of the imperialist powers and to Putin's role as counterrevolutionary gendarme who seeks to maintain this role and its privileges in Eurasia. This has been the case for 30 years, starting in 1989.

The one that handed over Ukraine to international financial capital decades ago was **the rapacious Ukrainian bourgeoisie and the "great" Russia, which emerged from the former Stalinist Communist Parties of the former USSR**, as they also did in China, Vietnam and lately in Cuba.

The audacity of the Stalinist parties branding Putin as "progressive" who wants to "limit" imperialism's control on the planet is not only a falsification, but also a cruel scam and deception.

In case further proof is needed, when Ukraine proclaimed its "independence" in 1991, it had no external debt and today it is one of the most indebted countries in Eastern Europe, treated as a banana republic by the IMF. Today, adding the private and public external debt, the debt to the IMF, to the World Bank and the internal debt of the state, **the subjugated Ukraine owes more than 130 billion dollars.**

From the military base in Crimea and with puppet governments like Yanukovich's, Putin was the guarantor that Ukraine could meet all its commitments to imperialism and other looters of the nation. The Moscow jackal wants the prize from himself, but in inter-imperialist disputes there is no longer even a place for him.

This crisis of the Ukrainian nation was caused by a rising oligarchy, a direct agent of imperialism, who has indebted the nation since 1989 as well as taken control of the entire nationalized economy and did not return a penny of that economic scam, as it happened in all the former Soviet republics "independent" from Moscow throughout Eurasia and even in "great" Russia. That is, **they plundered the Ukrainian state and people to finance the restoration of the capitalist parasites causing unheard hardships.**

They, the Stalinists, handed Ukraine over to NATO. Zelensky is an heir and representative of that oligarchy that emerged in Ukraine 30 years ago in connection with the imperialist world economy.

IN UKRAINE, THE BANKRUPTCY OF THE CURRENTS COMING FROM THE FORMER TROTSKYIST MOVEMENT COMES TO LIGHT AGAIN

In a recent debate conference of the *Frente de Izquierda y los Trabajadores - Unidad* (FIT-U) of Argentina, the *Partido de los Trabajadores Socialistas* (PTS) -as well as many other currents around the world- declared it was "neutral" in this war, while the Partido Obrero openly supports Putin.

They all deny that there is a national liberation struggle in Ukraine. They hide that this has become a nation fiercely oppressed by imperialism, as happens with any country in Africa, Latin America or Eurasia. The businesses of the transnationals and the Ukrainian bourgeoisie were properly protected by the regime of Kyiv oligarchs and Moscow guns.

These currents invent that there is a war between NATO and Russia. According to them, Ukraine would merely be the battlefield of that confrontation. **They hide that the war in Ukraine is for the plundering, pillage, colonization and partition of the nation, which, as we have said, is one of the richest in the region and has a strategic location for the transit of goods throughout Europe.** Today Moscow is in charge of bleeding out Ukraine to maintain the privileges of the "great" Russia and its businesses in Eurasia. The more Putin crushes Ukraine, the more the masses of that country will look to the US and Europe as their possible "saviors". This is the tragedy caused by the betrayal of the leadership of the proletariat to the Ukrainian working class.

This policy, put forward by the reformist leftist parties around the globe, is an open break with the anti-imperialist program of any current that claims to be so, since war, as we said, sharpens the national oppression of Ukraine. If Putin wins, it will be tied with double and triple chains to the exploitation of the oligarchs of Ukraine and Moscow, to a double looting of the IMF and the imperialist transnationals, and it will be subjected to the Europe of Maastricht more deeply. If Ukraine is split, the result will be the same and it will be bled dry as a nation.

Today, Ukraine is a prey being fought over by lions, hyenas, jackals, who bite each other, but the battle is for the prey. Then they will settle accounts between them. Today Putin is the one who is “hunting the prey”. The US are waiting... They know that, for now, the Franco-German axis has been left out of the dispute and they clearly perceive that Putin will give them most of the prey, just like a hyena that will not seek to exceed the relationship of forces with the lions.

The “neutral” policy of these currents expresses the degree of anti-Marxist decomposition reached by broad sectors of the world left, which years ago called themselves members of the Fourth International.

If the Ukrainian working class remains isolated and without the solidarity of the Russian, European and world workers in its struggle against the Russian invasion and imperialist plunder, they will be subjected to their own bourgeoisie, to the Moscow massacre and bound with double chains to imperialism.

Zelensky’s government recently enacted a resolution tailored to the transnationals and the great Ukrainian oligarchy: **employers can fire workers without compensation, cut down wages, extend the shifts, even on Sundays and holidays... In the midst of war, the “native bourgeoisie” and the Ukrainian oligarchs prove to be a totally anti-national class, which will make a pact and hand over the nation as it suits their business when they deem it necessary together with their imperialist bosses.**

The “neutrality” of ex-Trotskyist currents gives Zelensky a green light to super-exploit the working class, the IMF to strangle the nation, and Putin and his counterrevolutionary troops to shovel the rubble of bombed-out buildings and collapsed with hundreds of dead in each one

of them, as happens in Mariupol. Russia hopes to stay there controlling the ports through which most grain exports leave. This is a very profitable business for the Moscow oligarchy... and Cargill.

The brutality of this “neutral” position in the war led one of the top leaders of the Argentine PTS, a university professor, to state, without batting an eyelid, that this is a “reactionary war” and that “neither side should be supported.”

This pseudo-intellectual member the Argentine reformist left, without blushing, called for the working class to wait for a revolution to break out somewhere in the world under the conditions of war... Not in Russia, not in the Ukraine, not in Europe ... This gentleman and his party have long been far away from the objective conditions of war, which are what create the conditions for revolution on the battlefield itself.

They have openly broken all anchorage with a minimally serious anti-imperialist program and policy to be considered Marxists.

Why don't they declare themselves “neutral” in the face of the looting of Argentina by the IMF and they do so with Ukraine? Because whenever there is war, the pacifist's vision blurs, their brain becomes a knot and they only seek to escape. Miserable.

Throughout this book we will delve into the political swindles of revisionism against Marxism and the tradition of revolutionary Marxism on the question of the oppressed nations in Europe.

No less opportunist and anti-Marxist is the position developed by currents such as the International Workers League (LIT-CI), International Workers Unity (UIT-CI) and others that create expectations that with NATO and the European Union and without defeating to the agent of imperialism in Ukraine, Zelensky's government, the oppressed nation can win the war. This is a fallacy of the “theorists” of the “two-stage revolution”, whose premise is: “first let's win the war with anyone, and then settle accounts with the Ukrainian bourgeoisie.” **We are facing a totally reactionary and anti-Trotskyist position. Without a proletarian leadership of the war that expropriates imperialism and unites with the Russian and European working class, Ukraine will never win against the Russian invasion or against the imperialism**

that oppresses it. This is how the masses in Vietnam, China and Korea defeated the most powerful armies on the planet: the American and the Japanese.

The world reformist left is moving between the positions of "neutrality", getting in Putin's tanks or waiting for NATO missiles to rain down to defeat the Russian invasion. **They have all given up the struggle to expel the invading troops from Moscow, break with imperialism and win the war with the method of the international proletarian revolution.**

The book presented here tries to rescue the Marxist theory and program as the only one for national liberation, to let the working class, which is the one that really dies and fights in the war, to transform it into the beginning of the socialist revolution.

Current conditions have made the alternative of socialism or barbarism red hot in war and in life itself; communism or fascism.

We make this foreword of this book "*Ukraine at war*" paying our tribute to all the murdered workers from Kyiv and Donbass, the workers from the divided invaded Ukraine and which will be split a thousand times soon.

Our tribute also goes to the brave miners of Donetsk, Lugansk and Odessa who, since 2014, confronted the fascist forces of Poroshenko who expropriated the fight against Yanukovich, Putin's ally and the biggest IMF agent in Ukraine in recent decades. **The broken and divided Ukraine needs the unity of its working class. And this will only be possible under the banners of a revolutionary program. This contribution that we, revolutionary Marxists, are making is in order to conquering it.**

Our solidarity is with the workers and youth who are the rank-and-file soldiers in the Russian army who refuse to fight against the Ukrainian nation. Thousands of them are in the prisons of the Russian oligarchy. They are and will be the key to stop Putin's murderous war machine, the executioner of Eurasia.

Our call also goes to the European and world working class to take the fight against the Russian invasion and the imperialist looting of

Ukraine into their hands, to reopen the only path to an independent Ukraine that will be a free and Soviet Ukraine or else, it will be a broken, bled dry and tutored colony.

In this book we also want to pay tribute to all the workers and peasants who, as is happening today in Mariupol, were massacred in the cities of Syria at the hands of the fascist Al Assad and Putin's gunboats in a partition pact between that nation and Turkey, NATO and the imperialist oil companies.

NATO, Turkey, Putin and Al Assad left Syria with the excuse that they were "fighting terrorism"... The traitors of the world left covered up such a mass murder against the workers and exploited of Syria and the Middle East.

Our tribute also goes to the peoples of the Caucasus and of Kazakhstan in revolt against the imperialist transnationals and oil companies that plunder them. Our appeal is that their revolutionary struggle does not stop, because the defeat of the butchers and murderers of Moscow, far from strengthening NATO, will reopen the path to the struggle for the restoration of the dictatorship of the proletariat in all territories of the former USSR, without the Stalinist scum. This fight will be waged under the banners of the Fourth International, the continuators of the Bolshevik-Leninist struggle, with whom the right to independence and freedom of the Ukrainian nation was won, under the leadership of the working class and its alliance with poor peasants and workers throughout Europe.

Recently, the workers of Milan called for a day of struggle against the war. The faster the European working class rises to help its brothers in Ukraine, as it did against the imperialist invasions, the closer the workers of Europe will be to starting to claim for the gains seized by the imperialist butchers.

The Stalinist leaderships of the European trade unions, allies of the butcher Putin, received as hosts in Madrid the meeting of NATO chiefs and commanders on June 29 and 30. Izquierda Unida, the Stalinist brother party of Putin and his henchmen, and the PSOE paid tribute to the NATO generals in the Spanish State. They, who support the Moscow jackal, are far from confronting NATO.

Ukraine at war

Despite the fact that they lead the most important unions in Europe, from where they support the NATO governments, they were enemies of transforming the Spanish State into a "hell" at the arrival of this summit.

They call for "confronting NATO" in Ukraine but they paralyze the forces of the European unions and of the Spanish State in particular, as they are unable to call for an active general strike and revolutionary struggle in the streets to prevent that meeting of murderers of the world was held in Madrid and to initiate an internationalist combat plan of the European working class to stop the imperialist war machine and defeat the Russian invasion of Ukraine.

They are liars. They are who surrendered the USSR, despite the fact that hundreds of groups of ex-Trotskyists cover them with a cloak of "progressivism" and "socialism".

The Stalinist and fake Trotskyist currents, with the excuse of "confronting Trump", supported Sanders of the Democratic Party, who later supported Biden... And now these leaderships are tearing their hair out because the NATO commander, Biden, is going for Moscow business.

We Trotskyists, fighting against Putin, against the US and NATO, together with the Ukrainian working class, fought under the banners of revolutionary Marxism, of Bolshevism, those of the Fourth International, that aroused the hatred of Putin, who denounced that Lenin and his party are the ones who "invented" the Ukrainian nation in 1921 when it became independent and federated with the USSR.

Far from it, it was the tsars and then Stalinism, betraying the legacy of Lenin, who disregarded, crushed and censored the national right of the oppressed peoples. In the Ukraine, the dictum of Marxism that no people that oppresses another can liberate itself, is sharply confirmed.

Surely the reader is wondering how we came to publish this book that accounts for the historical events that shook Ukraine and all of Eurasia in the last 10 years, at least. This work was not written during the five months of war. It is the expression and reflects all the revolutionary elaboration of our current, the Collective for the Refoundation of the Fourth International / FLTI, which since 2008, has concentrated a considerable part of its forces into Georgia, Kyrgyzstan, then into Ukraine and into every struggle waged by the masses of the former

Soviet republics, among other spots of revolution and counterrevolution. We linked our fate to the class struggle in those nations, as we have done in Syria and the entire mass revolutionary wave that broke out in the Middle East since 2011.

We have concentrated our forces on the two key spots of world revolution, counterrevolution and war, where imperialism focused its forces to contain and punish the mass revolutionary offensives of the 21st Century. Meanwhile, reformism, with its "siren songs" and supported by the bourgeois regimes, concentrated its forces in the enemies' parliaments, agreeing with them or co-leading with Stalinism most of the unions that strangled any serious struggle of the proletariat in the 21st Century.

Sharing this elaboration with the reader is one of our main objectives, in order to explain our position regarding "Ukraine at war" and affirm, as we do in the title of this book and throughout it, that it will be Soviet and Independent, or just one more colony, guarded by imperialism, under the bayonets of Moscow.

The banners of Bolshevism then remain in the hands of those who continue the fight for the international socialist revolution. That program and those flags are of great topical importance. That is what this work is about.

The authors

INTRODUCTION

The work that we present here accounts for the events of the last five months of the Russian invasion of Ukraine, as well as the US offensive on the European market and its disputes with the Franco-German axis for its control.

In the current capitalist catastrophe, there are too many imperialist powers in a world market that has shrunk in the midst of a crash in the world economy that is approaching a process of stagflation. These crisis and crash did not begin with the war in Ukraine, but the latter has deepened them, like the pandemic yesterday, an issue we develop extensively in this book. The capitalists and the 1% of parasites, shareholders of the large transnationals and international financial capital, have shared benefits, as expressed by the crash of 2008 and 2019, which human labor has not yet produced. This pushes more and more the different imperialist powers to dispute the world market and the spheres of influence.

This crisis, in the form of a spiral, began hitting the US in 2008, as it had already done in the crisis of the dot-coms of 1997-2001. The US has thrown its crisis not only over its working class but also over its competitors and all oppressed peoples. **This explains the aggressive role played by US imperialism in order not to lose its hegemony in the world market**, conquered by iron and fire in the second inter-imperialist war.

Imperialism and the bourgeoisie have built up a huge smokescreen in Ukraine so that the true contours of this war for the looting and distribution of an oppressed nation cannot be seen. This smokescreen would have been impossible to build without the collaboration of the

reformist leaderships of the masses, who seek to subject the workers to their executioners at every step. That's what their role is about.

The social-imperialist currents, the union bureaucracies, the Stalinist groups and the majority of the renegades of Trotskyism that have long ago handed over the flags of the Fourth International, did not foresee any of the events that are taking place today. All of them have been recruited to save the world capitalist system in crisis, as true nurses of this system that is in a state of putrefaction.

None of them even came close to explaining to the workers of the world the unheard-of sufferings that the masses of the former Soviet republics that became “independent” of the “great” Russia when the former USSR exploded in 1989, have been and are still going through.

As we stated in the Prologue of this book, with the capitalist restoration, **these "independent" nations have become true colonies or semi-colonies plundered by imperialism**, under despotic and counter-revolutionary governments that emerged from the bowels of the Stalinist parties. Without starting from this key question, it is not possible to begin an approach to the question of the war in Ukraine with a minimum of intellectual seriousness.

These former Soviet nations, such as Ukraine, as well as those in the Caucasus looted by transnationals, or those directly under NATO's orbit, such as Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia, are under not only the economic but also the direct political control of imperialism.

Likewise, in others, after 1989, Bonapartist governments have been consolidated that, with Russian military bases in their territory, guarantee a slave labor movement to be super-exploited and doubly enslaved by the transnationals and the native capitalists. This happens above all in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and other former Muslim Soviet republics and even in European Belarus itself.

Putin is in charge of taking care of the bourgeois order and the imperialist looting throughout Eurasia. This is our definition. US imperialism sustains him to the extent that he guarantees its business, but at the same time imperialism seeks to weaken the "great" Russia insofar as it also needs to advance on it and its immense wealth in order to colonize it.

The disputes over Russia with the European Union, in particular with the Franco-German axis, are merely a strategic fight for the control of the enormous wealth and sources of raw materials that nature has provided Russia with, such as gas, all kinds of commodities, minerals, etc. Whichever imperialist power that comes first to take Moscow –and also China– will be the only one able to escape from this deadly crisis of the world economy that has been dragging on for years, as we said above.

To give one more example, just look at the defaults and the collapse of the economies of semi-colonial countries plundered by imperialism. The increase in the prices of gasoline and other products, and in the fraudulent external debts, are causing enormous mass outbursts as we are seeing in Sri Lanka, in Ecuador, in different countries of Latin America, and also in hard struggles of the working class of the former Soviet republics, as was the case in January for the revolutionary general strike of the oil workers and the big imperialist steel mills in Kazakhstan. That's because the different imperialist powers are going all the way for the internal markets and the wealth of Russia and China, not to mention how they have redoubled the looting of the oppressed nations and peoples.

These objective conditions are what explains the aggressive policy applied by the US to disorganize the imperialist Europe of Maastricht; in the case of the ongoing Ukrainian war, cutting off its guaranteed energy and food supplies associated with Moscow. The Nord Stream II gas pipeline, which went directly from Russia to Germany, has been closed and energy prices, among others, have skyrocketed. Here you can see Germany reactivating its old coal plants to supply itself with another source of energy... just as it happened in the 20th century. Or, by nationalizing its energy industry, which means that the German state goes out to directly support its transnationals, while launching an offensive on Qatar and Norway for them to continue supplying gas, while the US is forcing Germany to buy its liquefied gas at a price a third higher than that obtained from Russia through the Soyuz Brotherhood gas pipeline, which goes through Ukraine and Putin threatens to close it in response to the economic siege imposed on Russia, as well as he threatens to do the same with Nord Stream I gas pipeline, another supply route used by Germany.

Imperialist nations like Italy seek to supply themselves with gas from Libya, while France and Spain dispute for it in Algeria and Morocco.

During the course of the war in Ukraine, the currents of the reformist left try to hide the situation of nations looted by imperialism, such as the former Soviet republics that are not controlled by Moscow, and the counterrevolutionary role that Moscow plays in them. This has no other objective than to whitewash the former Stalinist scourge turned into a new bourgeoisie with the capitalist restoration in the former USSR and the Communist Parties -which in the West were preserved and saved by the capitalists and their governments, and are used, just as social democracy, to keep the labor movement disciplined in the unions of the Europe of Maastricht and in a large part of the countries of the world to take advantage of all their counterrevolutionary role.

Ukraine concentrates all these contradictions. As of 1989 it was subjected to double chains of imperialist looting, under openly counterrevolutionary governments, some pro-Moscow like Yanukovych -who was overthrown by the masses in 2014- and others pro-European Union, like V. Yushchenko, the one that emerged from the "orange revolution" of 2006, or those from the expropriation of the mass uprisings of 2014 as Poroshenko and later on, Zelensky. Both are different ends of the same IMF rope that is strangling Ukraine.

On these bases, the conditions were developing of the military occupation of Ukraine by the "great" Russia, in the midst of phenomenal inter-imperialist clashes over the new and old markets. As we will not cease to insist, the US imperialists had announced that Ukraine was going to enter NATO to be in the front row on the road to Russia against the Franco-German axis. The US used the Ukrainian bourgeoisie and this nation as a pawn in their disputes over the European market and to lead Russia into a war of attrition, to later advance to encircle it, even if this is at the cost of Putin and the Moscow oligarchy keeping the southern and eastern parts of Ukraine, as they did yesterday with Crimea.

This is what this work is about, to contribute to lowering the dust and the confusion created by reformism that tries to put the working class at the feet of the different bourgeois and imperialist cliques. Some reformists "invade" Ukraine "climbing Putin's tanks", denying any de-

fensive struggle of an oppressed nation a thousand times looted and attacked. Others wait "for the miracle" of the US helping the Ukrainians in defeating Russia, as if NATO's were national liberation troops. As we will demonstrate in this work, **only an independent proletarian strategy for the victory of the invaded Ukrainian nation can lead it, allied to the Russian and European proletariats, to defeat both the Russian invasion and NATO.**

Just a couple of weeks before this book was published, a NATO meeting was held in Madrid. The attendees to that meeting were received by the "socialist" government of the PSOE and the Stalinists of the United Left, the same ones who openly supported and still support the NATO governments in the face of each decisive uprising of the European working class. The "anti-NATO struggle" of the Stalinist trade union bureaucracies and their new allies, the sellouts of the Fourth International, is a true fraud against the anti-imperialist struggle of the masses of the world and of Europe in particular.

These issues are extensively developed in this work, which we invite you to read. In this introduction we present the key political questions that are developed in each chapter of this book as well as the conclusions that we will present as a closing of this work.

Ukraine at War has an annex with three works of Trotsky on the national question of Ukraine and the oppressed nations at the time of the revolution in 1917 and the fight for a Soviet and independent Ukraine given by the Fourth International in the '30s, so that this nation, without the brutal oppression of Stalin, could become a bastion of the fight against Hitler's invasion of the USSR. This is what the struggle of the Fourth International was about, to give continuity to the fight of the Bolsheviks and Lenin, to fight tooth and nail to sustain the struggle against the national oppression of Ukraine by the tsars, recognizing it as an independent nation and granting it its right to federate, as and if it decides, to the USSR.

Based on these premises, the program of those of us who fight under the banner of the Fourth International in the current war is developed.

We then present the chapters of this work:

UKRAINE AT WAR,
SOVIET AND INDEPENDENT OR A COLONY TUTORED
BY NATO AND MOSCOW

CHAPTER I:

**THE OBJECTIVE PREMISES AND INTERNATIONAL
CONDITIONS OF THE WAR IN UKRAINE**

In Chapter I we develop the objective premises and the international and national conditions of this war, and the genesis of the enormous crisis that shakes Ukraine as an oppressed nation.

With the handover of the workers' states by Stalinism in '89, Ukraine could only become what it is today: a depleted semi-colony disputed by the different imperialist powers and looted by the IMF.

In this Chapter I we develop fundamental questions about the **premises** of the enormous events that have hit the Ukrainian nation **since 2014** to the present.

Likewise, in this Chapter, through different articles, we draw the veil on two issues that we consider key on the Ukrainian question. One of them refers to **the enormous weight of the working class in that country** and the other, to **the big deals that Putin and the Moscow oligarchy have with imperialism** and the transnationals, where the deep relations between them are fully demonstrated.

In this Chapter we are editing the article that was published in "*The International Worker Organizer*" at the end of March 2022, entitled:

**"THE INTERNATIONAL CONDITIONS OF THE CAPITALIST CRASH
AND IMPERIALIST OFFENSIVE THAT HAVE DRIVEN PUTIN AND
RUSSIA TO INVADE UKRAINE"**

The Stalinist currents and some renegades of Trotskyism, to justify Putin's invasion of Ukraine, tear their clothes apart denouncing the enormous weight that NATO and imperialism have in the latter. This

is a self-exposing confession. It was they, the old Communist Parties' apparatchiks, who handed over, stealthily during the '80s -and already decisively in '89 from Moscow- Ukraine and the entire USSR to Reagan and Thatcher (the heads of NATO), to the transnationals and the international finance capital. It was from them that the new possessing classes of the countries of the former USSR, Ukraine included, came from, all lackeys of imperialism and direct agents of the IMF, which enslave these oppressed nations.

It was the new ruling class, emerged from the bowels of Stalinism and the CPSU, which was associated in '89 with Citibank, the City of London, Frankfurt and Wall Street. They, the former Stalinist leaders, became a millionaire super-oligarchy in "great" Russia and in all the former Soviet republics, as we will not cease to insist. In Ukraine, which is a fundamental link between Russia and the rest of Europe, the bourgeois fractions were configured, whether being these that look at and are intertwined in business with the European Union, or the gangs of pro-Moscow oligarchs, who have established fabulous business with Russia. But both have thousands of ties with the IMF and international financial capital, as minor partners of the latter in the plunder of the nation.

In short, there is in Ukraine a handful of big bourgeois from the Communist Party who control the key levers of this nation's economy, associated with imperialism or the Moscow bourgeoisie. They handle the grain business with Cargill and the mineral business with the big trusts and cartels of the world economy. They are the ones who charge commissions, associated with companies such as those of Biden himself from the US, for the transit through Ukrainian territory of Russian gas wealth, like the Soyuz Brotherhood gas pipeline.

What are the currents coming from Stalinism in the former USSR and their obsequious ex-Trotskyist appendages who support Putin's invasion of Ukraine complaining about, if Yanukovych, Poroshenko and even Zelensky himself are all sons and heirs of the old Communist Party, sellouts of the heroic October Revolution?

This first Chapter could not fail to mention what they are also trying to hide under lock and key in the ongoing Russian invasion, which, as we have said, is the enormous weight of the powerful Ukrainian proletariat. The working class makes one of the richest and most looted nations in Eastern Europe function and it is the one who puts the dead in this war, just like yesterday in Maidan Square and later on in Donbass.

Like the rest of the proletariat of the former Soviet republics, the Ukrainian working class, due to the betrayal and surrender of Stalinism, has been suffering historical defeats since 1989 with the fall of the USSR. In a contradictory way and going through serious crises, the Ukrainian proletariat has begun now to recover and stand up. The elements of its immaturity are the absolute responsibility of Stalinism, which handed over the working class in Eastern Europe and dealt them grave setbacks with its betrayals in the West. That is why the Ukrainian proletariat is a new labor movement, the child of a great betrayal.

We therefore present the article

**“THE UKRAINIAN PROLETARIAT, ONE OF THE KEY DETACHMENTS
OF THE EUROPEAN WORKING CLASS”**

It is enough to see the destruction of large factories and workers' concentrations in each city occupied by Russian troops to understand what we are saying here. In Mariupol, one of the largest steel mills in the Ukraine, which used to have tens of thousands of workers, was crushed and demolished, while the ArcelorMittal plant, the steel company of French imperialism, of course, was preserved by Moscow from its bombardments.

In addition to this enormous concentration of workers in the metal-mechanic and steel industry there are hundreds of thousands of mining workers, as we have already said, plus thousands of agricultural workers who are the ones who extract and produce all the wealth of the nation. The more than 80,000 port workers are the ones who ship 95% of Ukraine's exports from Mariupol, Odessa, Mykolaev and Kherson.

The Ukrainian proletariat is one of the worst paid and most self-sacrificing working classes in all of Europe. Two million of their people have migrated to Maastricht countries as cheap slave labor to support their families from abroad.

The average worker's monthly wage is 200 euros, in the midst of an unbearable cost of living exacerbated a thousand times by the ongoing war of invasion, as we report in the article we are publishing here.

The reader should know that on top of all this, and as if it were not enough, **Zelensky, president of Ukraine, has just issued a decree in the middle of the war by which the capitalists will be able to fire the workers at will and pay their wages whenever they want.** As we can see, the Ukrainian bourgeoisie does not give a damn about the lives of the exploited and is very far from “defending the nation”, as they claim to do, because they only defend their profits.

Crushing the Ukrainian working class and their struggle has been the reason for the counterrevolutionary offensives, the civil wars and the tutelage deals like those in Minsk imposed by both the US imperialists and Moscow and their agent governments. Their objective, as in this invasion, is to split the working class, divide its forces and plunder the riches of Ukraine.

In the service of this, **Putin recreated in the Ukrainian East the pantomime of a fictitious nation called "Novorossia"**, to divide the Ukrainian workers' movement, to subjugate the militant mining proletariat of the Donbass area, to which the IMF-imposed plans of layoffs and closures of state mines had to be applied. On the other hand, the Ukrainian big bourgeoisie, through deceit and repression to the workers in the West of the country, promised them that they would get out of hunger and misery with the accession of Ukraine in the EU. But, as we know, Ukraine in the EU will only be another colony and sweatshop, as it happens with all the countries of Eastern Europe that are in Maastricht or have been struggling to be there for decades! There are already 7 European countries that are applying to join the EU, treated as "second class" by the Franco-German axis. There are also 8 countries that, being in the EU, do not have the Euro as their currency, which means transforming them into cheap colonies and their labor force into slaves of the European imperialist powers, as is essentially the case of the countries of the Glacis.

The partition of the Ukrainian working class is then the key factor that allows imperialism to plunder that nation. This is so because the proletariat is the only national class that has no business or compro-

mises with the transnationals or the IMF, as the big oligarchs and the Ukrainian bourgeoisie do have. The Ukrainian proletariat is linked by thousands of ties to the European working class of the West and the Glacis, and from the Donbass, also to the Russian working class as the Ukrainian mines produce the necessary minerals for the production of Moscow's military industrial apparatus which is on the other side of Donbass borders.

That is why this first Chapter dedicated to the international conditions of the current war in Ukraine and the role of each of its actors, includes an analysis of who Putin and his oligarch partners in Moscow are. It is a question of defining the relations that "great" Russia has established with the world economy and the transnationals, with which Putin's gang is intimately linked.

The article we present here unmasks what "Putin's friends club" are trying to hide at world level, which is, nothing more and nothing less, that the big international finance capital of London, Paris, Wall Street and Frankfurt have enormous businesses in partnership with the "great" Russian bourgeoisie in that country. Together with it, the imperialist transnationals control a large part of Russian domestic market and its financial system, and own an enormous proportion of shares in the companies in charge of extracting and conducting the gas and oil they suck from the "great" Russia.

Intending to make Putin and his band of Russian bourgeoisie assassins look as "anti-imperialists" or as capable of "putting a brake on imperialism" -with which they are very keen to conciliate and do business as their junior partners-, is a lie, a fallacy and a brutal deception. Putin's "mighty army" is only there to oppress nations and crush revolutionary uprisings. If not, we challenge his epigones to tell us where there was a direct military clash between Putin's troops and NATO. Moreover, in Syria the death flights of American, Turkish, Russian and fascist al-Assad's aviation are coordinated to massacre the masses.

The Moscow oligarchy is involved in thousands of business deals with the European imperialist powers. To give just one example, as we stated in the Prologue of this work, most of the board and shareholders of the Nord Stream II gas pipeline is in the hands of big German companies,

while Gazprom, the Russian gas company, has 49% of its shares in the hands of British Petroleum and German BASF/E.on. These facts are just a sample of the business and investments that imperialism has in Russia.

In 1989, the new ruling class that emerged from the CPSU stole all the wealth and kept the fundamental branches of production of the former USSR, without putting a penny. This new ruling class hid the rubles they usurped from the former workers' state in the banks of London, Cyprus, Switzerland and Monaco and in other tax havens and also in Wall Street. Thus the "great" Russian bourgeoisie has remained intertwined and subjected in thousands of businesses to international banking, through which the imperialist gangs discipline it, limit it in its ambitions and advance on Russia's own domestic market.

We publish then the note:

**"IMPERIALISM, THE FUNDAMENTAL PARTNER OF PUTIN'S
BUSINESSES IN RUSSIA**

ARE RUSSIA AND CHINA IMPERIALIST STATES?"

In this first Chapter we also address the Ukrainian national question. This is a central point of the debate among the currents which claim to be part of the Marxist movement. For us Trotskyists, it constitutes a question of the first order to anchor a revolutionary position before the war. That's because the national question, as Trotsky affirmed, is nothing more than the "labyrinthine form in which the class struggle expresses itself".

The Ukrainian national question is one of the great keys to approach the war in Ukraine from a minimally serious point of view.

Therefore, in this first Chapter we display in depth the Marxist policy on the national question. This topic is developed in the April 2022 article:

**"THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL QUESTION AND THE POSITION OF
THE LENINIST-BOLSHEVIKS."**

The reader will get to know the position that **Bolshevism and the Revolutionary Third International** had on the national question and the Ukrainian question in particular. Bolshevism was **the only revolutionary Marxist current that resolved and gave a way out to the Ukrainian nation, as well as to all the nations oppressed by Czarism that later federated in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) after the triumph of the October Revolution of 1917**. This is the only possibility, with the victory of the socialist revolution, to liberate the oppressed peoples and Ukraine in particular. Most of the ex-Trotskyist currents have openly broken with the only program that will save Ukraine and its working class from catastrophe and barbarism.

Bolshevism was the only current, first in Lenin's lifetime and then its continuity, the Fourth International, which gave an answer to the question of the oppressed nations. Thus Bolshevism considered Czarist Russia -and later the Fourth International considered Stalin's Russia- as a true "prison of nations".

The policy of Bolshevism from 1917 to 1924 aroused all the hatred of the counterrevolutionary butcher Putin, and he denounced that the "damned invention of the Ukrainian nation" came from Lenin, as if the existence of a nation or dozens of them, as happened in the former USSR, depended on the thinking of one man or even of an entire party.

Today we see left currents and former Trotskyists who long ago broke all ties with the Fourth International denying and hiding this central point. They are divided in subjecting the Ukrainian and world working class to two different "bourgeois camps". On the one hand, there are those who sustain and support Russia's current war and massacre in Ukraine, guising Putin as an "anti-fascist", when in reality he is a counterrevolutionary government that with open fascist methods, maintains order and discipline against the masses, defending the business of capitalism in all Eurasia, as we have already said. They "march on top of Putin's tanks".

On the other hand, the pro-social-democratic currents of the former Trotskyist movement, pushing for a real front with the supposed "democratic" imperialisms, are asking NATO and the imperialist powers to defeat the Russian invasion by sending arms to Ukraine. This position is the continuity of the policy of Stalinism of World War II

and of the Yalta and Potsdam Pact: the support touted by Stalin for the "democratic allies against Hitler", which allowed the massacre of more than 20 million Soviet workers and peasants, since the US imperialism policy during that war was that Nazi Germany should demolish and destroy the USSR... **but without winning the war**, that is, without keeping Russia for itself. That loot was for the USA, a matter which it could not achieve due to the heroism of the Soviet working class and the workers of all Europe.

Intending to stop Putin's bloody invasion and the US imperialist offensive, which at the command of NATO is at the head of the European imperialist powers on their road to Moscow, without the Ukrainian working class taking the leadership of the war with the method of the proletarian revolution, and uniting with the workers of Russia and the whole of Europe, is at the very least a reactionary utopia.

For this reason, we consider to be decisive that the reader knows that there is another position, strategy and program opposed to the variants of reformism. The position of Bolshevism, which our current raises, the one we defend in this work. This is decisive to be able to give an answer and a revolutionary program before the crisis of Ukraine today. A program for the working class to take the leadership of the war -and in the course of it, the power- to crush the counterrevolutionary gang of Moscow and break with imperialism, expropriating the transnationals and ending with all commitment to pay the phenomenal foreign debt with which the IMF and the international finance capital strangle the Ukrainian nation.

We publish then a text of December 1919, which is key to understand the hatred aroused in the counterrevolutionary butcher Putin by the position of the revolutionary Bolsheviks, whose program maintains all the actuality:

"LENIN'S LETTER TO THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS OF THE UKRAINE ON THE VICTORIES OVER DENIKIN"

CHAPTER II:

2014: KEY YEAR

THE COLLAPSE OF THE COLONY UNDER THE TUTELAGE OF THE IMF AND ADMINISTERED BY THE YANUKOVYCH GOVERNMENT, PARTNER OF THE MOSCOW OLIGARCHS

In 2014, Ukraine declared bankruptcy and defaulted the repayment of the foreign debt with which the IMF, together with the plundering of the transnationals, was sucking its enormous wealth. Faced with the empty coffers of the Ukrainian Central Bank, the repayment of the debt became impossible.

Therefore, the International Monetary Fund forced the hated government of Putin's partner, the millionaire Yanukovych to impose a ferocious attack against the exploited. In response, a mass uprising spread throughout Ukraine against the International Monetary Fund's plan to attack all the workers' gains, to close hundreds of unproductive mines and to lay off hundreds of thousands of workers. That is what the international usurers demanded and Yanukovych was ready to implement all the way.

What the Stalinists call a "coup d'état" against the billionaire pro-IMF Yanukovych government, which had Putin's support, was nothing more than a ferocious mass uprising that spread all across Ukraine to overthrow it. Its most advanced point was in Maidan Square in Kyiv, which had the support of miners from all over the Donbass.

The only one who defended Yanukovych and his pro-IMF plan was Putin, who offered 15 billion dollars to get Ukraine out of default. It was already too late: imperialism was going for all, having ascertained that Yanukovych was not the government capable of implementing such an attack on the masses. The proof of this is that the closure of mines and the dismissal of thousands of workers demanded by the IMF were only implemented under the counterrevolutionary tutelage of Moscow in the Donbass from 2015 to 2017.

In 2014, for the workers and the poor, on one side there were the IMF, Yanukovych and Putin, and on the other side their need to put an end

to hunger, misery, unemployment... In these conditions, the demagogy of the European Union speaking about the "goodness" of the entry of Ukraine into Maastricht, opened a period of enormous illusions in the masses. This allowed the bourgeoisie -using the rhetoric that they would get out of the crisis by entering in the Europe of Maastricht-, to re-stabilize their regime after the fall of Yanukovych, who was defeated by the direct action of the masses.

This explains the abortion of that huge revolutionary mass uprising of Maidan Square, as it is developed in this Chapter, which was diverted to a position of joining the European Union and fleeing from the clutches of Yanukovych and Putin.

In these conditions the false illusions of the masses of having a better life within Maastricht, imposed even with the collaboration of the traitorous leaderships of Europe in particular, was the cause of the diversion of the revolutionary process and the financial and gas bourgeoisie of Kyiv's takeover of the process of Maidan Square.

So the Ukrainian working class came out of the boiling oil of Moscow, was stomped on by imperialism and was taken to the burning embers of the European Union.

It was not the illusions of the masses that diverted their struggles, but the fierce defense of the European Union of the imperialist powers exerted by the entire European left, the Stalinist bureaucracies of the trade unions and the self-styled "revolutionary socialists" who openly supported and still support it.

Let us name the traitors: they are Syriza in Greece and the Stalinist bureaucracy of the French, Greek, Portuguese, Belgian trade union centers... It is also the case of the Worker Commissions (CC.OO.) in the Spanish state, of the German social democracy, the Labourites of England, Podemos of Spain, etc.

Even bourgeois "left" wings like Mélenchon or Varoufakis went so far as to propose that the task was to "democratize" the European Union and conquer a "more social Maastricht". They are responsible for awakening illusions among the masses of the former Soviet republics in the European Union. What are these traitors talking about?

If today there is something that is making the consciousness of the masses evolve towards the left, it is that the supermarket shelves of the imperialist countries of the West no longer show even a minimum abundance for the upper strata of the working class, different from 1989, when the USSR was collapsing, subjected to the world capitalist economy, and the workers could not see how to escape from the catastrophe to which they had been led by the capitalist restoration. Today, unlike what happened in those years, inflation and the high cost of living are hitting hard on the workers of the entire European continent.

Moreover, there are still countries in Eastern Europe that have been waiting 15 years to join the European Union because they do not "meet the conditions" to do so. This blackmail is the way in which Maastricht dominates, oppresses and imposes draconian plans of plunder, adjustment and sweatshops on the nations of Eastern Europe, as it does today with Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary, Croatia, Romania, etc.

The greatest "backwardness" of the Ukrainian working class is the betrayal of the leaderships of the European proletariat, not to mention those who today keep saying that Putin, the greatest murderer and repressor of the workers of Russia and the entire Eurasia, part of a millionaire oligarchy enslaving the working class, would be the "great stoppage on the advance of imperialism". These bastards treat Putin as if he were the Che Guevara of the East. It is a fallacy and a vile lie.

As we see in the course of the present war, the promise by Maastricht of an Ukraine's membership in the EU is a brutal deception, which they can carry out since, we reiterate, all the trade union, Stalinist and social-imperialist leaderships support the EU.

Under conditions of crash and catastrophe, the uprising of Maidan Square was a first failed attempt of the Ukrainian revolution, thanks to the betrayal of the leaderships of the European working class, the social-imperialist parties, the Stalinists and the groups of renegades of Trotskyism that supported either Maastricht or Putin. Today these leaderships blame the Ukrainian working class for the adverse conditions in which the masses were left after 2014, which allowed a brutal imperialist bourgeois counter-offensive for years, as we will see later.

In this second Chapter about the **genesis** of the current war, we publish the work that refers to these convulsive events of 2014:

UKRAINE:

**A COLONY UNDER IMPERIALIST TUTELAGE, OR A SOVIET,
SOCIALIST AND INDEPENDENT NATION**

CHAPTER III:

2014

**POROSHENKO ASSUMES THE PRESIDENCY AND UNLEASHES A
FIERCE COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY OFFENSIVE**

The plan that Yanukovych, supported by Putin, could not implement to further reduce wages and state expenditures and to close 50% of the Donbass mines, after the abortion of the Maidan Square uprising, was implemented by the elected pro-European Union and pro-NATO Poroshenko government.

As we stated in this Chapter, after a brief transition period where Prime Minister Turchynov took over, Poroshenko won the tutored elections, under the supervision of the European Union and NATO.

Putin had earned the hatred of the entire Ukrainian working class for his support to Yanukovych and his IMF plan. In his withdrawal from Ukraine, **Putin stole the Crimean Peninsula**, where Russia has a military base that was never there to promote the Ukrainian revolution and end with NATO and the IMF, but rather to control the masses.

Poroshenko came to fulfill the task that his predecessor had not been able to. From the government, he unleashed a ferocious attack of massive lay-offs in the Donbass mines. Undoubtedly, beginning to apply the IMF plan throughout the Donbass meant dividing the workers there, where a fundamental part of the mining labor movement is concentrated, from the rest of the Ukrainian working class. Ultimately, Poroshenko attacked the Donbass miners with a clear goal: **to split the Ukrainian working class, in order to finish subjugating the nation.**

The IMF demanded the closure of a large part of the Donbass mines that were owned or subsidized by the state, where a huge investment was required. Those mines had been looted for decades by Moscow, keeping their minerals and coal to feed the industrial-military apparatus, first of the former USSR and later of the "great" Russia.

The Donbass mine workers movement had a huge tradition of struggle, even against Stalinism. In 1967 it had led a huge revolutionary struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy. Its leaders were fiercely assassinated, as it became known after 1989 when the secret archives of the Kremlin came to light.

This time, as soon as Poroshenko's attack of mine closures and layoffs began, the mining proletariat entered the scene in heavy fighting in the whole Donbass. They made theirs the cry of "May the USSR return!", which not only made Poroshenko and Kyiv to tremble, but also the scoundrel and murderer Putin and his gang of Moscow oligarchs.

In the face of Ukraine's crisis and bankruptcy and the ferocious attack of imperialism, which would leave a trail of layoffs and thousands of new second or third-class migrants to imperialist Europe, the egalitarian consciousness that existed in the workers of the former USSR resurfaced among the Donbass miners. In the former USSR there was job security, as it was a conquest of the revolution -something Stalinism voraciously surrendered to the capitalist system, associating itself with imperialism.

Then a powerful workers' resistance movement arose, which turned into a counteroffensive in Donbass. The masses of that region threatened to unify, as Maidan Square had done before, the Ukrainian working class against the IMF attack. **The workers took over the mines. The power of the Donbass legislatures and municipalities was left without basis. The working class took over the streets. The mining movement marched to arm itself and developed its independent unions, giving them a new revolutionary content.**

As we mention in this work, Putin had stationed 120,000 men on the border with Ukraine, which he quickly withdrew for fear that his rank-and-file soldiers would join the Donbass miners in their fight.

Ukraine at war

The Ukrainian army had broken up. Rank-and-file soldiers from the Ukrainian East came out in support of the miners' uprising.

This time the revolutionary crisis threatened to develop not on Maidan Square, but on the streets of Donbass.

In response to this, the puppet government of NATO and the European Union launched a counter-revolutionary civil war, supported even by fascist forces.

The Stalinist cynics who today say "NATO get out" and support Putin in his invasion of Ukraine, want to hide that while Poroshenko launched a genocidal massacre against rebellious Donbass, and NATO sent 3,000 men to the border with Russia, Putin retreated, as we have already said, withdrawing his more than 120 thousand men to negotiate a slice of Ukraine, which was submerged in an open process of recolonization. Putin sent the rank and file soldiers of his army far away so that they would not fraternize with the Donbass miners in the face of the attack by the Kyiv forces and thus left a hand free for the Poroshenko massacre. This is the truth of the facts, which the treacherous leaders of the proletariat, i.e. Stalinists and renegades of Trotskyism want to hide: Putin liberated the area and even the skies for NATO and the Kyiv troops to crush revolted Donbass.

In this Third Chapter we present the article of "The International Workers Organizer" published on June 11, 2014, where the revolutionary Marxists put the motion of:

**“LET'S STOP THE MASSACRE OF THE POROSHENKO GOVERNMENT,
ITS POLICE, COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY OFFICERS AND ITS
FASCIST MILITIA!”**

For the world workers' vanguard to know what this counterrevolutionary offensive in Kyiv was like, we publish an article on the Odessa massacre of May 2, 2014, entitled:

**“THE ODESSA MASSACRE AT THE HANDS OF FASCISTS: 46
WORKERS KILLED AND 20 SURVIVORS IMPRISONED AND ON
TRIAL”**

Along with this we are publishing the fight for a revolutionary program to unite the Ukrainian working class, that is, the workers of East and West and the fight to set up a revolutionary leadership, under the title:

**"FOR A MARXIST PROGRAM TO UNITE THE UKRAINIAN WORKING
CLASS AND THE EXPLOITED FROM EAST AND WEST!"**

That is what the essence of revolutionary politics was about. For, if the struggle of Maidan Square against Yanukovich's IMF plan tended to unify the Ukrainian working class, this time, the uprising and the revolutionary crisis that were opening in Donbass was the great point of support to fight for uniting the Ukrainian working class for it to be able to lead the fight against imperialism and its partner Putin, who desperately sought to regain control of Donbass and was looking to Crimea to steal it from Ukraine. Thus his conspiracy began against the Donbass mineworkers uprising.

CHAPTER IV:

**DECEMBER 2014 - JANUARY 2015:
DECISIVE CLASHES BETWEEN REVOLUTION AND
COUNTERREVOLUTION**

**Imperialism, with its Poroshenko government, steps
on the Ukraine.**

**The dual power of workers and soldiers arises in
Donbass. Civil war begins**

The brutal cruelty against Donbass by the Kyiv army was nothing less than the cruelty of the ruling classes and imperialism against the revolted workers, whom they needed to finish crushing or controlling again.

The governorates and municipalities of Donbass, especially in Donetsk and Lugansk, had been left without any power. Against them, the mineworkers' committees developed, which began to arm themselves for the civil war in the face of the attack by the Kyiv troops; the soldiers' committees, and even wings of the lower officers and non-commissioned officers of the army emerged, in the process of its dissolution, who struggled to maintain the unity of Ukraine, defeating Kyiv's fascism. An independent mass action was underway.

We present here an article about it, entitled:

“THE KYIV GOVERNMENT AND PUTIN IMPOSE A SIEGE TO DEFEAT THE HEROIC WORKERS AND THE MASS RESISTANCE IN DONBASS”

As we have already seen, the Donbass was finally besieged and the working class was momentarily dislocated and divided. That was the objective of the counterrevolutionary civil war promoted by imperialism.

The Ukrainian official army, under the command of Poroshenko, made a call for recruiting thousands of soldiers between 18 and 25 years old to go fight in Donbass. However, the children of the working class and the poor of Ukraine refused massively to enlist and go and fight under the Kyiv army. The committee of mothers and relatives against Poroshenko's war emerged. More than 7,500 soldiers faced criminal charges for refusing to join the army.

So it was not because of the resistance of the Russian army or because of the counter-revolutionary forces of world Stalinism, let alone because of the courage of the IMF lackeys of the Kyiv army generalship, but because of the heroic combat of the Donbass miners and the workers of all of Ukraine, that Poroshenko could not enter that region for 8 years.

Donbass was besieged. The workers' vanguard was killed and Kyiv was left without coal. Who was selling it to the NATO government? The "anti-imperialist champion" Putin, who did it from Russia and Kazakhstan. "Business is business". This exposes the hostile character

of Putin as the executioner of the Ukrainian working class and of the Donbass workers in particular.

If Poroshenko's troops under NATO command could not defeat Donbass, a "Trojan Horse" had to be sent, that is, a counterrevolutionary fifth column to defeat it from within and restore the bourgeois power in Donbass and control tightly the revolted masses.

Given the seriousness of this historical process that threatened to transform Ukraine into one of the capitals of the European and world revolution, we reproduce an appeal by the Collective for the Re-Foundation of the Fourth International / FLTI, of January 2015, entitled:

**"FOR THE RE-FOUNDATION OF THE
BOLSHEVIK-LENINIST PARTY IN UKRAINE"**

As in the Syrian civil war when they supported al-Assad, Putin or imperialism from the Astana and Geneva Conferences, in Ukraine, the renegades of Trotskyism, allied to Stalinism, played a perfidious and sinister role as the left wing of the World Social Forum. From a meeting in Minsk, leaders of the British SWP, the French NPA and the Stalinist Communist Parties of Russia and Ukraine issued a statement calling for "peace" and to "dismantle the armed groups", while the fascist forces under the command of NATO did not stop massacring the workers of Donbass.

The LIT-CI, which saw a "victory" in the expropriation and abortion of the Maidan Square uprising in Kyiv, proposed "defending the unity of the Ukrainian working class" by means of calling to "defeat the separatist movement of the Ukrainian miners", **as if the ranks of the Ukrainian proletariat could be united without the Donbass miners, together with the workers of Kyiv and the whole of Ukraine, crushing Poroshenko's army, NATO and the IMF.** This only could have been possible if the workers of Donbass had freed themselves from the manipulation of Stalinism and the bonapartist gendarme in Moscow.

The intervention of the former Trotskyists in these events of the revolution and counterrevolution in the Ukrainian civil war was miserable. As we will see later, they went so far as to support the Stalinist

"international brigades" going there, with the excuse of supporting the Donbass miners. Those brigades went instead to act as executioners of the miners' independent organizations and, associated to Putin's paid mercenaries, they organized the assassination of the movement best leaders.

This is what the crisis of the uprisings and revolutionary outbursts of the masses in Ukraine is about: an exacerbated crisis of leadership, which is nothing more than the overabundance of treacherous leaderships that separated the Ukrainian exploited from the European and Russian working class, calling for their submission either to the imperialist Europe of Maastricht or, as we have already said, to the "boiling oil" of their executioner Putin.

In these events, the "democratic" diversion of the fight against Yanukovych resulted in **the abortion of the revolutionary process** and in a totally proto-fascist government that sought to attack one of the hearts of the Ukrainian proletariat with methods of civil war, as in Donbass. Meanwhile, in this region where the labor movement was leading a revolutionary uprising against the Poroshenko government, **a policy of class collaboration** was openly implemented to liquidate the dual power with backstabs from the fifth column. It was the same policy that promoted Stalinism in the '30s with the so-called "Popular Front", with which the Communist Parties betrayed the Spanish Civil War and the 1930s revolutionary process in France, to later seal a deal with the butchers of the imperialist powers on the side of the "Allies" in World War II.

This key issue is developed in the January 2015 article:

"THE REFORMIST LEFT SUBJECTS THE EXPLOITED TO THEIR EXECUTIONERS"

CHAPTER V:

2015

WITH THE MINSK ACCORDS, UKRAINE IS DIVIDED: A REAL HELL FOR THE MASSES

Under these conditions the Ukrainian nation was besieged, divided, handcuffed and subjected to the IMF, after the working class could not take power due to the betrayal of its leaders.

Donbass could not be taken by fascism, but it was contained and its revolutionary forces were exhausted by the perfidious actions of the Stalinist fifth column and Putin's mercenaries and, as we have already seen, with the gun to their temple of Poroshenko's counterrevolutionary army.

If yesterday they had deceived the masses in Maidan Square to get them off the streets, telling them that their lives would change and they would earn wages like those of the workers in Maastricht Europe, in Donbass, as we have seen, with the fiction of "Novorrosia" and the promise of its incorporation to Russia, they created the deception that the mines would continue working and there would be no dismissals, to cover up the disorganization of the masses that the Stalinist fifth column was imposing. Actually, as soon as the last vanguard worker or rank and file soldier in Donbass, who was not under the discipline of Putin's generals and politicians was executed, **the mines were razed and the least productive ones were closed, as the IMF had been demanding, first under Yanukovich government and now with the Poroshenko government.**

Thus, the Minsk Accords were established, which are the true **regime of domination** that was imposed on the **Ukraine already under tutelage**, dividing its working class and subjugating the nation with double chains.

The Minsk Accords, as it could not be otherwise, were **provisional deals** that served the US to advance on Ukraine, but not enough to weaken the "great" Russia, which is what the former really and decisively needs in order to palliate the crash and the crisis that involve the ruling imperialism.

From the point of view of the revolution and the counterrevolution in Ukraine, these accords marked an enormous victory for the exploiters as a whole, which ended up strangling the revolutionary process and meant, above all, the **end of the phase of civil war** that had started in 2014.

Despite this, as we will see in the next chapters, the Ukrainian working class confronted this anti-worker and national subjugation pacts openly and decisively. They are a deal like the one signed in Geneva among Turkey, the US, Russia and Iran to support the fascist al-Assad, to crush the Syrian revolution and split Syria, on the basis of 600,000 deaths and millions of IDP and refugees.

As we will show in this book, it was precisely this great mass resistance in Ukraine, which again threatened to unite the working class for their demands and against the lay-offs, which prevented the Minsk Accords from stabilizing. That is what the current war is about: dividing Ukraine and completing the Minsk Accords, with Moscow stealing the south and east of Ukraine.

This is what Kissinger proposed to do now and without delay at the last Davos Summit. But this does not still convince Biden and the NATO chiefs. They are supporting the Kyiv government in order to maintain a war that leaves Russia worn out before Ukraine breaks. Not only that, but also they aim to weaken US imperialist competitors in the world market as a result, amid the deepening economic crisis of the imperialist Europe of Maastricht. So that in this war the US is also accumulating military power in Europe in order to achieve victory in the trade war that Trump had launched on imperialist Europe.

We present an article in which there's the letter of the sinister Minsk Accords signed by Merkel, Obama, Hollande, Putin and Poroshenko. People that today talk about the "progressive" and "anti-imperialist" role of Putin turn to be really miserable, because with this deal the signatories created a bloodbath in Ukraine. **Putin, far from "containing imperialism", worked with it to contain a heroic revolution**, a thousand times betrayed, a thousand times drown in blood, from the East to the West of Ukraine.

So we publish in this chapter the article of May 2015 titled:

Poroshenko couldn't defeat the exploited of Donbass. Therefore...

**PUTIN, THE US AND NATO SEAL A DEAL IN MINSK TO DISARM
THE MASSES IN THE EAST AND PARTITION UKRAINE**

There's also in this Chapter a statement of the Collective for the Re-foundation of the Fourth International / FLTI of May 2015 calling the European working class to take in its hands the fight against the imperialist oppression and that of the "great" Russia of Ukraine and against the brutal attack that its proletariat was suffering.

In this article we affirmed that in Eastern and Western Europe, the working class had one single enemy: the imperialist powers of Maastricht, the IMF, the US and the butcher Putin, the gendarme at the service of all of them in Eurasia. We called the workers of the entire Europe to break the siege imposed by the Minsk Accords on the Ukrainian working class, whose ranks were divided and subjected to huge forces that closed the path to their victory in the struggle that the exploited had started in 2014.

As yesterday the struggle in Greece, of the "Outraged" in the Spanish State, of the workers in Romania in 2010, of the French workers, or the masses of Georgia, Ukraine poses that the fight to conquer the unity of the whole European working class is on the agenda. In particular, to conquer the unity with the Russian workers, who are suffering one of the cruelest counterrevolutionary dictatorships in the planet, which allows Putin to massacre without consequences in the areas where he acts as guardian of the business deals of the capitalists and imperialism.

So we hereby present the statement titled:

**"THE TASKS OF INTERNATIONALIST SOLIDARITY OF THE
EUROPEAN PROLETARIAT WITH THE ENSLAVED UKRAINIAN
WORKING CLASS"**

Also, for the reader to know deeply the situation of the Ukrainian working class in those years, in this Chapter, we add two notes about the unprecedented sufferings of the miners movement, which, in Ukraine as in the rest of the world, work under terrible conditions.

The first note written on the situation of the miners of Donbass:

ON THE DEATH OF 33 MINERS

IT WAS NOT AN ACCIDENT, IT WAS A MASSACRE! MURDEROUS STATE!

This note is about the explosion of firedamp, which took place in Zasiadko mine in Donetsk in March 2015. Media discussed if this was due to an attack of artillery by Poroshenko. But it was not. It was due to the terrible conditions that caused a demolition of the mine which was in the territory under Putin's mercenaries control.

The second note, which refers to the congress of the Kyiv miners union and their struggle against the government, has the title:

Enough of dividing the workers in Ukraine!

From the East to the West, one single enemy, one single struggle, one single demand!

In this note we explain the tendency of the miners of Kyiv and the Ukrainian west to enter the fight, expressed in the Congress of the Mining Federation, which made a strike and demonstration of 10 thousand workers in Kyiv in April 2015 demanding decent wages.

It is the same enemy and the same demands of the same and unique Ukrainian working class facing a treacherous policy of the Minsk Accords of Putin, imperialism and the treacherous leaderships designed to split the Ukrainian proletariat.

CHAPTER VI:

From Maidan square to the Minsk Accords and the siege to the revolutionary uprising of the workers of Donbass

"NOVORROSIA": A POLITICAL SCAM OF PUTIN AND STALINISM TO PARTITION AND DIVIDE THE UKRAINIAN WORKING CLASS

As we have seen so far, the expropriation of Maidan Square struggle, which allowed the pro-European Union bourgeoisie of Kyiv to usurp the struggle of the masses when Yanukovich fell, was followed by a

counterrevolutionary counteroffensive against the miners of Donbass in order to split and defeat the Ukrainian working class.

In the previous Chapter the Minsk Accords among the US, the EU and Putin had been developed and deepened.

In this Chapter, we affirm it was neither Poroshenko nor the fascist Kyiv army who crushed the heroic mass uprisings in Donbass. Their armies were disbanding from the rank and file, which was not willing to go to fight against their class brothers and sisters from Donbass.

As we will prove in this Chapter, the working class of the East could be defeated due to the sinister deeds of the fifth column from within, and by the Minsk Accords, which subjected the workers and the revolted people in Donbass to their pro-Russian executioners again.

The Minsk Accords could only be imposed by crushing the masses in Eastern Ukraine, which permanently tended to unite with the working class of the rest of the nation.

The Minsk Accords were followed, like the body by the soul, by a brutal fallacy and a fabrication of the Stalinist counterrevolutionary forces of the “great” Russia and Ukraine, of the fascist Russian Orthodox Church and the high oligarchy of Lugansk and Donetsk, the so-called “Novorrosia republic”.

This was a parody of a fictitious nation which took advantage of the hatred of the masses in Donbass against the oppression, crushing and systematic attack of the bourgeois gangs of Kyiv on their region, which is connected through links of production and language to the old industrial apparatus of the former USSR, as we have said.

If only the Ukrainian working class had got unified in their struggle against imperialism, the oligarchy and Putin the murderer, every aspect of oppression and persecution of the peoples of Donetsk and Lugansk would have been gone quickly. It was about unifying the demands of the working class to break with the IMF, expropriate the oligarchs and disavow the foreign debt of Ukraine. That way, there could have been created a great national income to re-invest in the mines of the whole Ukraine, in the wealth of its lands, and in the technification with state-of-the-art machine-tools, in the steel and metal-mechanic industries.

Only the working class, which is an oppressed class, is capable of guaranteeing all the democratic rights, even that of self-determination, to the workers twice as exploited and persecuted in Donbass.

Yesterday, the pro-Russian post-1989 governments, and that of Yanukovych in particular, with its brutal policy of over-exploitation and attack on the masses' gains imposed by the IMF and supported by Putin, pushed the masses more and more to the European Union. That way, a pro-Maastricht bourgeoisie was strengthened in Kyiv, the capital of the finances and gas transit of Ukraine.

Poroshenko's attack on the workers and the people in Donbass was cynically prepared. This pushed the masses of that region to seek to be "protected" by the "great" Russia, which was waiting for them to strangle, with its agents there, the dual power of the working class and the exploited. From "Novorrosia", with the pro-Russian oligarchs, the plans of hunger, sellout and dismissals dictated by the IMF were imposed just as Poroshenko or even worse, as Yanukovych had tried to implement them before, supported by Putin.

"Novorrosia" was nothing but a fiction and a deception, like the postulate of "anti-fascist front" which was promoted by the Stalinist currents in the entire Europe, which imposed an infamous deal with the oligarchs of Moscow with the excuse of stopping fascism in Kyiv. They were who ultimately saved the government of Poroshenko when it had already been defeated by the masses in its offensive on Donbass.

The Stalinists and their fifth column brigades set up the "anti-fascist front" with nothing more and nothing less than Putin, who applied an open fascist policy and one of direct counterrevolution when defending the interests of imperialism in the former Soviet republics.

Therefore, in this sixth Chapter, we publish the article which develops the betrayals and stabs on the back suffered by the Ukrainian proletariat in those hard years and the strangling of the huge potentiality of a mass revolutionary uprising, which couldn't stand up in a synchronized way in the whole Ukraine. From there, also, the weakness and limits it had. It is precisely on these where the counterrevolution hit. The masses didn't have the leadership they deserved at their helm.

This work on the scam that “Novorrosia” meant was written in moments in which the struggle of the working class in France and its general strikes in defense of a working week of 35 hours and against labour flexibility was still on fire, and when there was the flame of the struggle of the workers in Greece, the vanguard of the Western Europe uprising with more than 32 general strikes. Which was later betrayed by Stalinism and reformism that subjected, with Syriza in power, the working class to its “democratic” executioners of Maastricht Europe.

Also, this article was written in moments in which Putin, the US, Turkey and al-Assad signed the pacts of Geneva to partition Syria after massacring that nation, leaving 600 thousand dead, thousands and thousands of imprisoned and disappeared, plus 15 million refugees. The same fate will be suffered by Ukraine if the partition and destruction plan of Putin and NATO is imposed.

Undoubtedly, the policy of imperialism was to concentrate forces in Syria and Ukraine, using his guardian dog, Putin, to contain and defeat two key focuses of the mass revolutionary struggle against the capitalist crash in 2008, which led the workers and the subjugated people to the worst catastrophe.

So we present the article of April 2016:

“UKRAINE: ONCE AGAIN A REVOLUTION BETRAYED”

This work includes a note on the notorious role of the former Trotskyists, which, as in the Syrian revolution, were in the swamp of reformism together with Stalinism or subjecting the working class to the “democratic” executioners of Kyiv. The call our current did was **to set up an independent soviet strategy for the victory of the Ukrainian revolution.**

Also, this work goes with a programmatic **manifesto of the Collective for the Re-foundation of the Fourth International / FLTI on the imposition of the Minsk Accords and the betrayal of the reformist leaderships of the Ukrainian working class.**

It was not easy for the bourgeoisie and imperialism to control the indomitable masses of Ukraine. Every serious Marxist should understand that the characterization of the phenomena of the class struggles are not defined by ideology or by the reformist workers parties or bourgeois parties that lead or manipulate the masses to drive them off the revolutionary road.

To understand, in each moment, the struggles of the working class and the role of the treacherous leaderships, which filled the battlefield with defeats and betrayals, is decisive to collaborate with the masses to find a revolutionary way forward and to conquer their liberation.

Seeing today's infamy, which tries to hide the counterrevolutionary role of Moscow, which is the one that truly managed to defeat the indomitable forces of the workers of Donbass from the inside, associated to the Stalinist fifth column, has our full despise and condemn.

The bourgeoisie had to consolidate the Minsk Pact and with it the robbery of the Crimea Peninsula of the "great" Russia. Putin already had a part of the loot in his pocket. The fifth column attacked, by killing leaders and fighters of the former Ukrainian army which were fighting together with the workers committees of the mines that organized the resistance.

The reconstitution of a centralized military force in Donbass, under the command of the "great" Russian bourgeoisie and Donetsk oligarchy, was the guarantee of the re-establishing of the bourgeois power in the region and a preview that Minsk Accords were being imposed.

We insist, "Novorrosia" was therefore a fictitious nation composed by a part of two provinces, under the protective umbrella of Moscow, to make the masses surrender. It was a maneuver of Putin and Stalinism to conspire against the Ukrainian workers. The role of the fifth column was decisive. For this, we publish two notes we consider significant, where our current denounced openly and internationally the role of murderers and criminals played by the "anti-fascist brigades" promoted from Moscow and the whole Europe.

So we present:

**“MINSK ACCORDS: MURDERS, MISSING PEOPLE, JAIL AND
TORTURE IN DONBASS”**

**“THE KILLING OF THE COMMANDER ALEXEY MOZGOVOI: A SHOT
IN THE BACK BY THE BOURGEOISIE OF DONBASS TO IMPOSE THE
DISARMING OF THE MASSES”**

The result of a strangled revolution, with a divided working class, couldn't be other than the sharpening of the masses' hardships and the attack on all their gains. This is how the working class ended, in a nation tied up with double and triple chains in the Minsk Accords.

**“THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY MINSK
ACCORDS FOR THE MASSES”**

CHAPTER VII:

2016- 2020

FIERCE CLASS WAR AND HEROIC WORKER RESISTANCE
The indomitable Ukrainian masses openly clashed with the
Minsk Accords of the US, the EU and Putin

The Minsk Accords for the tutelage of Ukraine began to settle in 2016. This was the result of the heavy blows and defeats suffered by the Ukrainian working class both in Kyiv and in the Donbass, not only by means of gunshots and counterrevolutionary wars, but also with deceit and betrayal. This way, the proletariat was taken out of the offensive position it had conquered since 2014 with the fall of the Yanukovich government and then with the heroic struggle of the workers of the East against the fascist attack of Kyiv on the Donbass.

As we have already demonstrated, in this phase of offensive and civil war, the working class at every step sought its unity throughout the Ukraine. It achieved milestones with the defeat of Yanukovich and

the struggle of the Kyiv workers refusing to strengthen the fascist counter-revolutionary forces attacking the Donbass miners.

The Minsk Accords were the regime of colonial rule imposed by the retreat and partition of the working class. Those Accords guaranteed a brutal offensive against all the workers gains.

But this was not enough to exhaust the forces of the proletariat against the ferocious attack launched from the Kyiv government and from the bourgeoisie that controlled the so-called “Novorossia” in the east.

The Ukrainian working class never stopped fighting. Thus, despite the betrayals and stabbings in the back, from **2016 to 2020 we witnessed a period of extremely harsh resistance** by the working class against utility fees increases, devaluations, closure and conversion of mines and full-fledged attacks on the workers and exploited; that is, **against the IMF and its plans to plunder the nation.**

More often in the territory controlled by Kyiv, but also in Donbass, **the Ukrainian working class presented battle with strikes, pickets, demonstrations** on a recurring basis. Today the world reformist left, in all its variants, also hides this period of heroic resistance that the long-suffering Ukrainian proletariat carried out.

The demand for a living wage and the payment of wages that are arrears for months were the engines of this fierce resistance.

In the dynamics of its struggle, the working class tended to unite its ranks and thus put the Minsk Accords of partition and pillage of the nation in check. **The working class, uniting its ranks, as leader of the exploited masses of the entire Ukraine, objectively put on the order of the day the struggle to break with the IMF and its plans to redouble the chains of the subjugated nation.**

As we will see in the next chapter, it is precisely the fact that the Ukrainian working class was not defeated and had carried out tough resistance struggles what weakened the Minsk Accords regime of domination and tutelage of Ukraine and made it impossible for all looters and enslavers of the nation to apply to the end the IMF plans. The bourgeoisie had to crush the working class.

Putin's current invasion and his actions to take over Donbass and southern Ukraine directly has this objective: to crush and split the working class with a counterrevolutionary war, to destroy its cities and even the factories where the workers are enslaved, to subjugate the Ukraine East to Moscow's bayonet regime and to leave Kyiv for NATO and imperialism.

Meanwhile, in the West, in the midst of a war of military attrition, siege and for territory, with entire cities demolished by Russian bombings, the Zelensky government launches a brutal attack against the working class, as we have already seen, allowing the capitalists to dismiss at will, not paying salaries, etc., invoking the "fight against Russian troops".

In other words, Putin's invasion is the Minsk Accords' offensive to split Ukraine and crush its working class, while the government in Kyiv prepares to put what remains of the nation at the feet of NATO and the EU.

In this period of 2016-2020, then, the Ukrainian working class was struggling to face the attacks, but was tightly controlled by a **new Stalinist pro-Putin bureaucracy in Donbass, and on the other hand, by a new trade union bureaucracy linked to the social-imperialist parties and bureaucracies of the Europe of Maastricht. The tragedy of the Ukrainian working class was shown at every step: the betrayal of the leaderships that imposed the division of its ranks** was the big obstacle that it had in a thousand and one battles. The indomitable Ukrainian working class faced the same attack under Kyiv's boot as it did under Putin's boot, but the leaderships made sure that these responses from the workers were uncoordinated.

During the development of the current war, several "international" currents behind a pseudo-Trotskyist disguise have traveled to Ukraine only for a few hours, just to take a selfie surrounded by the trade union leaders in Kyiv.

But no photo is enough to show that they are connecting themselves to the heart of the Ukrainian working class, because what defines the minimally working-class and combative character of any trade union leadership of that martyred and now invaded nation, is whether you

fight tooth and nail to reconstitute the unity of the Ukrainian working class from Donbass to Kyiv, as a precondition for the proletariat to break with the bourgeoisie and be able to take the leadership of the war against the counterrevolutionary invasion of Moscow, and break all ties with NATO and the EU.

As we have seen, the Minsk Accords were not enough to finish defeating the masses either in Kyiv or in Donbass. It was necessary to apply the Syrian plan: to partition and occupy the nation to strategically defeat the proletariat.

We therefore publish the different correspondents that account for this period of great resistance of the Ukrainian working class, from Kyiv to Donbass, included in the 2016-2020 period, which is kept under lock and key by the servants of Putin and NATO:

“THE MASSES OF KIEV FIGHT AGAINST THE PLANS OF STARVATION, MISERY AND PLUNDER IMPOSED BY POROSHENKO ON BEHALF OF THE IMF AND THE EU”

July, 2016

“THE MINERS OF THE WESTERN REGION –CONTROLLED BY KYIV-COME OUT TO FIGHT”

August 2016

“TENS OF THOUSANDS OF WORKERS PARALYZE THE ARCELOR-MITTAL PLANT AND THE MINERS TAKE TO THE STREETS AGAINST PRIVATIZATION”

July, 2018

THE MINING WORKERS CONTINUE TO FIGHT IN DEFENSE OF THEIR WORK AND FOR THE PAYMENT OF WAGE ARREARS”

July, 2018

"WITH STRIKES AND OCCUPATIONS, THE MINERS RETURN TO THE FIGHT AGAINST THE OLIGARCHS OF THE DONBASS AND MOSCOW"

August, 2020

"THE IRON MINERS RETURN TO FIGHT AGAINST THE IMF-STYLED ATTACK OF THE FASCIST GOVERNMENT OF KYIV"

September, 2020

This chapter, dedicated to the combats of the Ukrainian working class in the resistance -which in its dynamic confronted the Minsk Accords-, ends with an article that explains why Stalinism was able to play a decisive and counterrevolutionary role in Ukraine despite the working class demonstrating enormous energy in the combat, first in Maidan Square, then in the Donbass and also in the fierce resistance of the period that we develop in this section.

It was not the Ukrainian working class that did not rise to the occasion, but the leaderships that betrayed it. That's what the following note is about:

On the survival of Stalinism after 1989

WHO REVIVED LAZARUS?

In it, the reasons for the permanence of Stalinism are developed in depth, as it was kept for betraying the working class of Eastern Europe, after it handed over the former workers' states to the bourgeoisie and imperialism in 1989, after defeating and betraying the world revolution.

It is clear that without the left mantle that the renegades of Trotskyism in the West and in the East gave to Stalinism -even passing off Putin, the executioner of the USSR as "progressive" in the face of imperialism-, that pestilent corpse would have never been able to revive. This speaks about the crisis of the World Party of the Socialist Revolution, that is, the Fourth International.

CHAPTER VIII:

FEBRUARY 2022

WITH THE RUSSIAN INVASION, PUTIN AND NATO PREPARE THE FINAL PARTITION OF UKRAINE

FIRST PART

THE PRELUDE TO RUSSIA'S MILITARY ATTACK ON UKRAINE

In this section of Chapter 8, we will account the events that took place in the prelude to Putin's invasion, which was not a "bolt from the blue." The prelude to the occupation of Putin's troops was marked, as we have already seen in this work, by a strong offensive by US imperialism to regain control of the European common market, which was beginning to organize the Franco-German axis from Portugal to the Russians steppes. In such plan the US hands over Ukraine as a pawn to strategically weaken the "great" Russia.

After 5 months of war, this is resulting in the destruction of the infrastructure and entire cities of Ukraine and the direct occupation of territory by Russia from the southern corridor of Mariupol to the Donbass.

US imperialism has defended its role in the world market and therefore it had to strategically weaken the Franco-German axis in Europe, which not only was disputing the "old world" to the US, but also, from there, the "silk route" to China.

There was a precedent for this aggressive US policy under Biden's administration; they, together with England, seized the multi-million-dollar business of building 14 nuclear-powered submarines for Australia from France. French imperialism responded by sending its own military troops to Bulgaria and Romania, to defend its large transnationals installed there and to be prepared and positioned in Europe against the US offensive towards the east of the continent.

Germany was ready to cut the ribbon for the inauguration of Nord Stream 2. On doing it, it had to suspend that gas pipeline.

Meanwhile, NATO troops were already deployed in Eastern Europe and Russia started sending its army to the border with Ukraine, as stated in the note we published on January 25, 2022:

"UKRAINE: ARMED NEGOTIATION AND WAR DRUMS"

On the other hand, with the invasion of Ukraine that he was already preparing, Putin wanted to demonstrate that he was still the agent that imperialism needed to keep enslaved and suppressed the nations that the USA exploit, plunder, and subjugate. Putin defends Russia's enormous wealth of hydrocarbons, minerals and commodities. He also defends its industrial-military apparatus that they inherited from the former USSR. In the latter branch of production, he also uses Germany and France's high technology to develop it.

The "great" Russia, for now, is not a colony or a semi-colony, although it depends on the capitalist world economy. It continues to be a transitory capitalist state, dependent on imperialism, which tries and needs to advance on it in order to get out of its crisis.

For this reason, Russia defends its powerful domestic market that it conquered as a partner of the investments of the different imperialist powers within the country. **It defends the current status quo that US imperialism wants to break at any cost, both in Europe and on its way to semi-colonize the "great" Russia.**

Putin was surprised by the US offensive of stepping on Ukraine for NATO, after he had the support of US imperialism itself to send troops to massacre the masses of Kazakhstan and imprison the leaders of that enormous workers' struggle.

Above all, the butcher of Moscow was outraged that after containing and disarming Armenia and handing over Nagorno-Karabakh to Azerbaijan -which meant that British Petroleum kept all the oil from the Black Sea and the Caucasus-, the US paid him back by trying to take over Ukraine. But as the historical saying goes: "Rome" does not spare even its most faithful allies.

Days after the Russian elite troops withdrew, having fulfilled their entire counterrevolutionary role in Kazakhstan, in late January and early February, Biden announced that Putin was going to invade Ukraine... He knew Putin's roadmap. He knew perfectly well that after Kazakhstan, the latter was going to pass through Belarus and occupy it, not only to reach Ukraine from its borders, but also because he had to finish crushing a huge working class rebellion against Lukashenko's govern-

ment. One of the most concentrated sectors of the entire proletariat in the region had risen up there, where there is an enormous weight of the automotive industry, from where different imperialist companies, such as Volkswagen, traded their cars with Moscow without paying taxes. For Putin, the real enemy is not NATO, but the working class of Russia and the revolted proletariat in the former Soviet republics, who question their millionaire super-profits extracted with workers' blood and sweat.

Putin's prelude to invading Ukraine, then, was to march to massacre two revolutionary processes on its borders. That will be his role, as he has been doing so far, in Ukraine.

It is imperative that the reader have direct access to Putin's "adventures" on his march to Ukraine. It is key to inquire into how his counterrevolutionary policy is to crush the uprising in Kazakhstan, where the working class, fighting for bread and decent wages, confronted all the imperialist oil companies and large transnational steel mills that loot and plunder the wealth of that nation.

That is why we publish an article dated on January 10, 2022, in which it can be accurately observed Putin's counterrevolutionary performance and his actions as an agent of capitalist order in the former Soviet republics that surround Russia. To follow Putin's roadmap from Kazakhstan to Ukraine is to understand what he is doing in the latter, demolishing that nation and massacring its people.

So we publish:

**“KAZAKHSTAN: PUTIN, WITH HIS FASCIST BLACK HUNDREDS,
SEEKS TO CRUSH THE INSURRECTION”**

This note is accompanied by a proclamation of the Collective for the Re-foundation of the Fourth International / FLTI under the title:

“A REVOLUTION OUTBURST IN KAZAKHSTAN”

In it, as we have already said, we denounce how Biden himself greeted Putin's counterrevolutionary action there and prepared a friendly meeting with him, while the gunboats were shown and the drums of war heard.

Here, it is exposed that Putin, in a demagogic and farcical way, raised the war cry of "crush the Nazis in Kyiv", when it was the oligarchs of Moscow who protected and supported openly fascist and counter-revolutionary governments such as those of Belarus, Kazakhstan, the Caucasus and that of Kyrgyzstan, as it had done before in Georgia and in the Chechen genocide.

Of course, in his invasion of Ukraine, Putin is not willing to fire a single shot at NATO or overthrow the "Nazi" government in Kyiv -as he likes to call it-, but wants instead to negotiate and agree with him and through him, with NATO and the Americans.

The method of invasion of nations by Putin and the "great" Russia (as we see today in Ukraine as well) is the same military strategy used by the Nazis and fascism when they invaded the USSR in World War II, reducing their cities to rubble, as happened in particular in Stalingrad.

Syria is the example and the most important testimony today of what we are saying here. Putin, supporting al-Assad, demolished 80% of the cities of that country to crush a great revolution.

Back in 2010, Russia promoted fascist gangs and *pogroms* in Kyrgyzstan, as the tsars had done in the 1905 Revolution, to crush the armed workers' councils that were beginning to be set up and were attacking the property of the capitalists, threatening to overthrow Bakiev's government with a revolutionary insurrection.

The "Anti-Nazi" Russia has military bases in most of those countries, some next to British or US military bases, from where they coordinate the oppression of those peoples... But the US does not and will not respect Putin and will act against him in the same way or worse than it does with imperialist competition, such as it is testing the Franco-German axis.

US goes for everything. In two decades, three world crises hit the planet, only comparable to the crisis of the 1930s.

Marxism states that, in the imperialist era, the transnationals and finance capital, which are all monopolies that have countries supported by the states armed to the teeth, systematically and permanently push their competitors out of the way by making them to kneel down, by hook or by crook, in the competition for the world market. As the US treats Europe's competing imperialist powers ruthlessly, cutting off their business routes and the labor division that they had established, it will

do far more, as it is doing, with Putin and the "great" Russia and even in the future with China.

But the world and Eurasian working class in particular has not stopped fighting in great combats so far in the 21st century, although they want to ignore it.

We could say that in the **20th century** the powerful battalions of the Eurasia working class **had a revolutionary epicenter in what used to be Petrograd and in Moscow** and from there they spread to the borders of the old tsarist empire, as happened in the 1905 revolution and in February and October 1917. Unlike this, today, **in the 21st century, the revolutionary processes take place in the former Soviet republics of Eurasia and go towards Moscow, where the greatest fortification of the counterrevolution is located.** Not only is imperialism advancing there with its economic, political and military offensives, but also the working class of the former Soviet republics, which has its greatest ally in the center of "great" Russia, which is not the assassin Putin, but the national liberation struggles of the peoples it oppresses within the Russian Federation, and the powerful Russian proletariat, that is destined to be the one that definitively resolves, together with the working class of all of Europe, the destinies of the entire civilization in that area of the planet.

Finishing the definition of the developments of the prelude to the Russian invasion of Ukraine from the point of view of imperialism, the location of Putin and the events that have been shaking the former Soviet republics of Eurasia, without specifying the state and the situation in which the Ukrainian working class and masses had been left after years of counterrevolution would be, at the very least, unilateral on our part.

The Minsk Accords, which were not yet settled as we saw in the previous Chapter -due to an enormous resistance of the Ukrainian working class both in Donbass and in Kyiv, had subjected the proletariat to worse hardships than those suffered before 2014.

The working class of Ukraine received this war as a true hell, which was not only the bombs and missiles of the butcher Putin that began to

fall, but also the unprecedented sufferings to which it was led not only by the pro-Moscow oligarchs but also the pro- NATO ones.

The reader will see this in the note entitled:

“After the installation of the 2015 Minsk Accords...”

THE LIFE OF THE WORKERS AND THE MASSES OF UKRAINE:

A HELL IN KYIV, A HELL IN DONBASS”

It is under these conditions that the butcher Putin enters Ukraine.

SECOND PART:

After Putin had crushed the anti-capitalist rebellion of the workers of Kazakhstan and Belarus

THE INVASION BEGINS

In the face of Moscow’s offensive, which threatened to “reach Kyiv” on February, US and NATO, with economic, political and military measures, and being perfectly aware of Putin’s role, allowed him to reach only Donbass and the southern border of Ukraine. In some of those areas, the currency is ruble and the state management is already Russian directly.

US cynicism when they say that with NATO they support Ukraine, hides that they are actually willing to cede Donbass to Putin, but just when they considered it necessary and appropriate, according to their businesses in the entire Europe and how is their situation politically and economically, they would advance over Moscow.

The subjugated, occupied and partitioned Ukraine is a bargaining chip of the US with the rest of the imperialist powers and Moscow.

In part 2 of this Chapter VIII, we therefore publish the first Manifesto of the Collective for the Fourth International / FLTI which was published in February 2022 on the Russian invasion:

“THE RUSSIAN TROOPS INVADE UKRAINE”

In this statement, the trench in which we Trotskyists are in this war is defined clearly: with the Ukrainian nation, invaded by Moscow, calling to fraternize with the Russian workers that are the rank and file soldiers of the Russian army, and calling the European working class to paralyze and defeat the counterrevolutionary forces of NATO, to join the struggle for the national liberation of Ukraine. These goals can only be conquered through the proletarian leadership of the war, which, attacking the capitalists, oligarchs and imperialism, encouraging the European working class to rise, crushes the war machine of the butcher Putin and his counterrevolutionary officers.

In this Introduction, we reaffirm this revolutionary program, which is continuity of the one raised by the Bolsheviks when they led the seizure of power in the USSR in 1917 and extended it to the whole of the nations that were dominated and oppressed by the Czars.

Those great battles of the proletariat were able to take place because at the front of the revolution there was a world revolutionary party, the Third International, led by Lenin and Trotsky, which settled its victories in the international combats of the European workers which defended the Soviet proletariat. Without that internationalist battle, the conquer of the USSR wouldn't have been able to be kept under the conditions of war, counterrevolution and isolation.

The Ukrainian working class, today more than ever depends on the solidarity of the European proletariat, from Portugal to the Russian steppes, and of the proletariat of the entire Eurasia. That would be an electric shock for the Ukrainian proletariat to gain momentum in the war and the class struggle. Preventing this from happening is the role of the treacherous leaderships, agents of imperialism, the opportunists tied to their programs of betrayal and shame.

A General Strike of the working class in the entire Europe is the only one that, as a step forward in the unitarian struggle of the European

proletariat, can weaken NATO and make it tremble, move the Russian workers and bring the Ukrainian working class closer to gun controlling, without which they cannot defeat either Putin, NATO or the Kyiv oligarchs.

We publish here a statement of the Trotskyists of the Spanish State, signed by Benito Toribio Morales, which, striving for a Soviet independent Ukraine, claims:

**“ONLY A WORKERS LEADERSHIP OF THE WAR CAN DEFEAT PUTIN
AND END THE PLUNDER OF UKRAINE BY IMPERIALISM AND THE
IMF”**

Calling to promote a

Revolutionary General Strike in the whole Europe!

This part closes with a key article that gives account of the position of revolutionary Marxism in the face of Putin's invasion of Ukraine and the U.S. imperialist offensive on the planet. This note signed by Carlos Munzer, co-author of this book, reflects his intervention in an open virtual debate with hundreds of participants from all over the world of the Collective for the Refoundation of the IV International / FLTI in March, 30 days after the start of the Russian invasion. This was the same day of the 11th anniversary of the Syrian revolution.

In this debate there were also participating Syrian revolutionary fighters who have long suffered the attack, and are fighting against the same enemies that crushed by iron and fire a heroic revolution that broke out in that country in 2011, as one more link of the mass uprisings un the Maghreb and the Middle East. Putin arrived there as a gendarme of imperialism to support the fascist al-Assad in Damascus.

This happened in all the Syrian cities that received the bombs from Putin and al-Assad, with the complicity of the US and Turkey that liberated the skies for 11 years. Nothing different from what is happening today in Ukraine, when we see the destruction and demolition by artillery and aviation and the siege warfare on cities like Mariupol, Kharkov, Odessa and even many of those around Kyiv.

In this book we are going to reflect that action day of the Collective for the Refoundation of the Fourth International / FLTI of discussion and solidarity with the masses of Ukraine, where the members of the Editorial Board of the newspaper "The Truth of the Oppressed" of the socialists from Syria and the Middle East played a decisive role.

We then reproduce the intervention of Abu Muad, co-author of the books *Syria Under Fire I and II*, explaining the importance of the lessons of the Syrian revolution today for the war in Ukraine, in the article:

"THE LESSONS OF THE SYRIAN REVOLUTION: KEY ISSUES TO FIGHT AGAINST THE MASSACRE AND THE PARTITION OF THE UKRAINIAN NATION"

We also present the voice of Abu Izen **from Idlib**, calling for a joint struggle with the Ukrainian people who face the same enemy they themselves are facing in Syria: Putin who, together with al-Assad, massacred more than 500,000 exploited on behalf of imperialism, and left the nation destroyed and reduced to rubble:

"IN SYRIA WE ARE FIGHTING THE SAME ENEMY THAT IS INVADING UKRAINE TODAY."

Of course, the voice of the Syrian partisans could not be absent, with the intervention of Khero Abu Mustafa, raising as a call:

"THE WORKING CLASS MUST NOT ONLY RECEIVE REFUGEES, BUT ALSO TO RISE UP TO HELP THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE TO FIGHT AND REPEAL THIS INVASION."

As we said above, this session was closed by Carlos Munzer. We publish his article here:

"REVOLUTIONARY MARXISM AND WAR"

This note clearly defines the three positions that are formally raised in the face of the war in Ukraine, although by their content there are merely two positions that face each other in the class struggle field.

On the one hand, those who profess the old treacherous theory of "revolution by stages", even doing that in the name of Trotskyism, falsifying the latter, either supporting Putin and his counterrevolutionary

troops with whom they say they are going to "liberate Ukraine", or conversely, crying out like beggars, requesting NATO to act in a "democratic" way and free Ukraine from the savage Great Russian invasion.

Along with these two, there is a position of underhanded support for Putin, which is the one that declares itself "neutral" in the military clashes in Ukraine. That is to say, it is for Russia to win, which occupies that nation with more than 150 thousand men of one of the most powerful armies on the planet. These are cretinly parliamentarist currents that only "make war" through pompous speeches in the bourgeois parliaments, as is the case of the PTS in Argentina.

On the other side, on the other barricade and trench of this war, we find those that as we do, are defending the theory-program of the Permanent Revolution and the Transitional Program, which state that only the working class together with the poor peasants, taking the leadership of the war, will be able to defeat the Russian invasion and, supported by the revolutionary struggle of the workers of Europe, they will be able to seize power in Ukraine, liberate the oppressed nation and place it as a stronghold of the European socialist revolution and as a fundamental link to restore the dictatorship of the proletariat under revolutionary forms in the former USSR.

CHAPTER IX:

CONCLUSIONS

Finally, the reader will find Chapter IX in which the fundamental theoretical and programmatic conclusions are synthetized, which the authors considered essential to highlight.

"UKRAINE: BETWEEN THE INTERIMPERIALIST DISPUTES AND THE OCCUPATION WAR"

This chapter begins with an article that was written by Carlos Munzer, coauthor of the book, moments before going to press, which attempts to address in particular the conclusion of the international situation and the Ukraine war that has been going on for 5 months when this book comes to light.

In that article we insist that are the Ukrainian masses who pay all the cost with thousand of deaths and millions of refugees. And **also the exploited of the world, and the European ones particularly, are who see their hardships and sufferings redoubled in the midst of this counterrevolutionary offensive, with the increased cost of living, skyrocketing rises in service fees, job loss, etc.**

We can already see at these moments how, while the masses suffer these attacks, capitalists line their pockets and increase their profits. Recently, with the mediation of Turkey, Ukraine and Russia negotiated the opening of ports to the exportation of several million tons of grain, as Cargill and the other imperialist grain companies have demanded. This shows that in the midst of the war there is not any shortage for capitalists but only a sidereal increase in their benefits and their coffers' content. So much so that **the recent spike in commodity and food prices in record number has made three more members of the Cargill family enter the list of the biggest multimillionaires according to the Bloomberg magazine, joining the other two that were already in it.**

As we have seen, the world working class and the Ukrainian one particularly has tried to stand up and fight tirelessly, presenting battle every time capitalists and imperialisms tried to advance in throwing on the shoulders of the exploited the costs of the crisis and the crash, which the former two themselves and their voracity have provoked. And a thousand and one times these fights were betrayed and a thousand and one times the masses were stabbed in the back by the same leaderships they have had at their head.

Because of this, the principal conclusion which we highlight in this 9th chapter is the same one that has gone through this work from beginning to end, the greatest crisis the world proletariat face: the crisis of revolutionary leadership, which, in other words, mean the overabundance of leaderships that capitalism has bought to save itself in the midst of this catastrophe and crash.

At every step the labor bureaucracies and aristocracies, Stalinism, the social-imperialist parties and even today also the former Trotskyists, have gathered in a single party under the name of "New Left", which has sown in the exploited false illusions so that they trust that "the lesser evil" of Biden against Trump in EEUU, Castillo against Fujimori in Peru, Boric against Piñera in Chile and a long etcetera, could resolve

their hardships. In Ukraine we see the Stalinist currents and like-minded Renegades of Trotskism supporting Putin in his invasion war “as a lesser evil” against NATO; on the other hand, we see another variant of Reformism affirming that Ukraine will find its way out going together with the “Democratic Imperialisms”. In this way they have erased and concealed any struggle for socialist revolution and for the seizure of power by the proletariat.

Only by understanding this premise it is possible to explain how this rotten system has survived

We present here the article:

**“IN THE UKRAINE WAR AND IN THE INTERNATIONAL
CLASS STRUGGLE TWO THEORIES AND TWO PROGRAMS ARE
CONFRONTED:**

On the one hand that of class collaboration and the “revolution by stages” of Stalinism; and in the other hand that of Trotskyism and the theory-program of permanent Revolution”

The struggle of Trotskyists focuses on setting up again the party of the world socialist revolution, the Fourth International and its program of 1938.

That is why we present here the last article that makes up the 9th chapter of *Ukraine at war*:

**“THE TASK OF THE MOMENT: TO RECOVER THE FLAGS OF THE
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL AND REGROUP REVOLUTIONARY
CADRES OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS”**

Here we give an account of the fierce battle in which our international current finds itself and consequentially, we propose:

“The Fourth International is not dead. It lives in this sharpening of the conditions of crisis, wars and revolutions. Now it is about its living in new revolutionary combat organizations. The time has come to put this task into action again. All our forces as a Trotskyist nucleus for the international socialist revolution, are committed to this.”

As an appendix to our work, we bring closer to the reader:

THE POSITION OF THE BOLSHEVIKS-LeninISTS AND THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL ON THE UKRAINIAN QUESTION IN THE EARLY AND MID-TWENTIETH CENTURY.

Comprising “**The National Question**”, a chapter of the *History of the Russian revolution* by Leon Trotsky, “**The Ukrainian Question**” by Leon Trotsky (1939) and “**The Independence of Ukraine and Sectarian Confusion**”, also by Leon Trotsky (1939).

As we say in the conclusions of this work: “*The last word has not been said. A speed race is ongoing. On one hand, between the development of the crisis and the capitalist catastrophe that opens the way to war, and, on the other hand, the struggle of the masses, who needs to have at their head the leadership they deserve. Entering this speed race for the masses to triumph is the key task of every party that claims revolutionary Marxism. This party has the obligation of arriving with a just policy at the right time to the class struggle and wars, such as that of Ukraine, to open the way to socialist revolution*”

In Ukraine the left that proclaims itself “revolutionary” worldwide has broken with any independent Soviet strategy in the war, to submit to the bourgeois gangs that dispute the nation among them. Ukraine is at present being both torn apart and occupied, and will end up transformed in colony and with its working class divided.

That is why we reaffirm: **either Ukraine will be Soviet and independent or it will rest a tutored colony.**

For the Socialist United States of Europe!

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSIONS

UKRAINE: BETWEEN INTER-IMPERIALIST DISPUTES AND THE OCCUPATION WAR

July 2022

We could not finish this work without highlighting the reflections and political positions that we develop throughout it. These are programmatic and theoretical questions that we present in Ukraine at war, a consequence of the programmatic battles that our current, the Collective for the Refoundation of the Fourth International / FLTI, has been waging regarding the Russian invasion of Ukraine, which has already left dozens of thousands of dead among the exploited and the ordinary soldiers that Putin sent to the front in his war of partition and occupation of the Ukrainian nation.

The working class throughout Europe is also paying for this counter-revolutionary offensive with a severe attack on their purchasing power and job losses in the face of the ongoing recessionary trend. Meanwhile, the US is struggling to maintain its hegemony in the world market, setting foot on that continent with NATO and breaking, in fact, the division of labor conquered by the Franco-German axis in recent decades from Portugal to the Russian steppes.

Along with this, because of this war, already more than a million refugees from Ukraine are desperately heading to the different European countries. They join the more than 2 million Ukrainian workers, who suffered, decades ago, a brutal economic war waged by millionaire oligarchs and imperialism that plundered their nation and led them to the

most serious of catastrophes. Like the workers of Africa or the Middle East, the working class of Eastern Europe, and the Ukrainian one in particular, is which provides slave labor to the big transnationals and to imperialist Europe.

We revolutionary Marxists fight against Putin's tanks, although calling on the masses not to place any trust in the "mermaid songs" of the European Union, which with NATO and Moscow are preparing the partition of Ukraine. And we reaffirm that only the working class, with the method of revolution, will be able to crush the invasion of Moscow by taking the leadership of the war, and together with the European working class defeating imperialist Maastricht and NATO.

CAPITALIST BARBARISM DEEPENS, WHILE REFORMISM IS TRYING TO SAVE THE BANKRUPT SYSTEM

This is what the role of reformism is about: that of being the nurse of capitalism in the latter's phase of greatest crisis and decomposition. The massacre in Syria, the war in Ukraine, anticipate the future and what will happen of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples if the working class does not take power. The real plague that continues to spread to entire areas of the planet is hunger. The imperialist powers enter into a fierce battle, for now political and commercial, and at the same time throw their entire crisis at their workers' movements. **The catastrophe is already here.**

The spokesmen of the big bourgeoisie recognize the crisis of their own system. In the imperialist press and in the meetings of the capitalist parasites, they are discussing the tendency to generalized famine that is ongoing in the midst of the slump of the productive forces.

The bourgeoisie is preparing for huge class clashes. The capitalist system in its imperialist phase no **longer develops productive forces, but rather destructive ones.** It advances this or that area of the planet or branch of production while destroying most of them and bankrupting a large part of the world economy. We are facing a perverse system that has been deserving to perish since a long time ago. The anarchy in production and the constriction of the productive forces within national

borders are already an absolute brake on any development of human civilization, no matter how minimal it may be.

What has saved this rotten capitalism, and continues to do so, is the counterrevolutionary and treacherous character of the leaderships that the proletariat has at its head. Capitalism, in its mercantilist phase and its heyday with the industrial revolution, arose in a pool of mud and blood, buying princes and monarchs, incorporating them as business partners, as well as subsuming and using all previous modes of production, whom it subjected to the capitalist world-economy. Today, in its phase of decline, capitalism refuses to withdraw from history and it also does so by buying off a sector of its enemy class, this time from the proletariat. Capitalism buys the aristocracy and labor bureaucracy and their parties, so that they defend it from the proletarian revolution. It does so with the crumbs that fall off the table from the super-profits obtained by looting the colonial and semi-colonial peoples it oppresses.

The great conquests of the former workers' states, in the hands of Stalinism that kept them within their national borders and betrayed the world revolution, were handed over to imperialism. The Stalinist bureaucracies became new possessing classes. This was the consequence of Stalinism's perfidious policy of "socialism in one country" and of political, economic and commercial deals and agreements with imperialism, which has been saved, for decades, from the international socialist revolution.

Therefore, any "backwardness" in the consciousness of the masses, any limit in their action, is determined by the leadership crisis of the working class, that is, by the overabundance of treacherous leaderships.

The war cry of Stalinism, at the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century, was "socialism does not work anymore". Some postulated "21st century socialism" or "market socialism" as an alternative, and today there are millions of starving people eating from garbage dumps in Venezuela, or emigrating massively, revolting by the thousands because of hunger in Havana, or subjected to labor slavery as in China in conditions that would make Hitler himself blush. In Putin's Russia, the right to strike is a crime punishable by 30 years in prison.

The capitalist crash that has developed so far in the 21st century found the proletariat fighting and responding to the offensive of imperialism, which is throwing the whole crisis on their backs. But this

fierce struggle of the masses had and still has the limit imposed by their leadership. They have closed the road to the socialist revolution, and the trade union bureaucracies, the social-imperialist parties, the remnants of Stalinism, now also with the consent of the renegades of Trotskyism, have betrayed every struggle that the masses carried on at the international level.

The battlefield is full of rubble: not only from the Second International or Stalin's Third International, but also from the Fourth International of the Pabloites and other renegades of Marxism, who today have embraced the debris of Stalinism at world level in the so-called "New Left".

In this work we have developed our critique and our positions, which we defend and will continue to do so, under the banner of the Fourth International, the continuation of Bolshevism; it is very far from holding Putin's massacre in Ukraine or giving its support for NATO, as all the leaderships do that claim to fight it but consider the Democratic Party in the US and the imperialist governments in Europe as allies. It is enough to see, as an example of this, the government of the PSOE, Podemos and Stalinism in the Spanish State hosting the NATO summit held weeks ago in Madrid. Their howls against NATO are a vile cover for their betrayals to the working class struggle against the governments of imperialist Europe, which are part of the very same NATO.

The exploited enter the torrent of struggle **for their unheard-of sufferings**. They manage to clearly recognize their enemy. But they do not enter the combat "with a book under their arm" that allowed them, as an exploited class throughout their lives, to understand and know beforehand the tasks involved in the struggle for the seizure of power. The exploited charge against the citadel of power and create the revolutionary conditions for a revolutionary leadership to emerge from their ranks that would lead them to victory, having emerged and matured in the previous periods. This is what the new crisis is about, which means that the ex-Trotskyist groups and currents have already openly surrendered the Fourth International to Stalinism, as a great part of them did during the XX century, while in the XXI century they went to look for it in its grave and, together with imperialism, revived it.

Here and there the masses are advancing and in their struggles they go far... very far. An example of this is Sri Lanka, where in the last few days the exploited even lay down on the bed of the president in the government house. **But they don't know what to do with that power.** And so, they are retreating.

For decades of exploitation, prostration and deception imposed on them by their tormentors, the masses have not prepared themselves for the seizure of power. Then, oppressed and crushed, the exploited class does not achieve historical class consciousness for itself. It has no control of the productive forces prior to the socialist revolution.

The proletariat can only achieve class consciousness by setting up revolutionary parties that prepare themselves precisely for the revolution. Parties that prove themselves by passing through all the phases of the struggle of the masses at the international level, to lead the seizure of power at the decisive moment, overcoming all the leaderships that betray the exploited class, after having brutalized it and subjected it to its executioners for years. A party conscious that the seizure of power in its country can only be an episode of the international and world socialist revolution.

This is what the crisis of leadership is about: the lack of a revolutionary leadership that fights, for example, for the masses in Sri Lanka to stay in the palace they seized. If they had the strength to blow up the government and the infamous regime, it means that they can now dissolve the murderous police, arm themselves massively, break the base of the army, set up committees of soldiers, to seize power: so that the court passes into the hands of the insurrectionist people, so that "Versailles" is taken into the hands of the exploited.

But this does not happen because in the irruptions of the masses, the treacherous leaderships impose on them false illusions. Here and there they lead them to go after the "lesser evil", that is to say, their executioner who shows himself "compassionate" and "benevolent", but is the one that applies the worst attacks against them. Biden was the "lesser evil" (as preached by reformism) against Trump. They called to support the former and today he is the one organizing the biggest US counterrevolutionary offensive on the planet in the last decades. This is but an example of what we affirm here.

If not, let us see how the so-called "New Lefts" in Latin America are covering up for Castroism and its anti-worker government that is handing Cuba over to imperialism and crushing the hunger revolts by beating them to a pulp. In the rest of this subcontinent, these "New Lefts" have subjected the working class to the perfidious policy of "popular front", that is, class collaboration. Renegades of Trotskyism and Stalinists called to support Boric and his front with the Christian Democracy, bourgeois like Castillo in Peru or Petro in Colombia, etc. A true campist politics that posits the existence of "progressive bourgeois camps".

This is a fallacy and an old deception of Stalinism, with which they strangled dozens and dozens of revolutions across the planet. It is worth remembering the 1930s' Spain; there they supported the republican bourgeoisie in the front against fascism and, "in order not to scare it off," they closed the way for the workers and peasants to expropriate land and capitalists, which was the only way to win the war. This is what the role of "progressive camps" and "lesser evils" is all about. These fronts, with sugary phrases and "siren songs" disorganize masses' offensives, take them off the streets, so either fascism and the sabers of the generals come later and crush them, or the bourgeoisie regain control of the government and re-stabilize their semi-parliamentary or semi-Bonapartist regimes of domination. This is how the agents of the bourgeoisie act at a time when the revolution threatens to attack their property.

What is new now is that ex-Trotskyists around the world have joined this perfidious Stalinist policy. The fact that the "Anti-capitalists" of the Spanish State are part of Podemos, an instrument to support the bourgeoisie and expropriate the struggle of the Indignados, accounts for the betrayal by those who long ago deserted the Fourth International.

Today, these leaderships say that Putin and his victory may be the "lesser evil". Surely, they are not speaking from Mariupol, nor from Kharkov, Lviv, Odessa, or from the working-class neighborhoods of Kyiv bombed by Moscow. They are a group of cynics.

From our part, we approach the struggles of the working class from the point of view of what the masses do and need to get success in their struggle, so that they advance in their consciousness. The treacher-

ous leaderships organize themselves so that **the proletarians do not set up their own self-organized and armed institutions of power** at the beginning of any revolutionary or pre-revolutionary situation, and above all, during wars. Ukraine is an example of that, as an oppressed nation, it will only find its salvation from war, oppression, invasion and imperialist plunder, with a worker and peasant government again in a Soviet, Worker and Independent Ukraine

In these first decades of the 21st century, **the masses have fought tirelessly, in Ukraine, in Eastern Europe, and in the former Soviet republics, where there is an awakening of the proletariat that suffered enormous strategic defeats in 1989.** In these last couple of years, Ukraine has become an example which shows that new detachments of the proletariat of the former Soviet republics have entered into harsh combats, and, as we have stated in this work, if they develop, these combats in Georgia, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Belarus, etc., will go to the center, i.e. to Moscow. Stalinism and the treacherous leaderships will also be there defending the billionaire oligarchs of Putin's court, of the fascist Orthodox Church, all of them partners of the different imperialist powers. No doubt about it: Putin's friends club supports him in his counterrevolutionary war in the Ukraine as well as in Moscow.

Likewise, the masses have been rising up for years in China and a year ago they rose up against hunger in Cuba, an uprising that was repressed with hundreds of prisoners.

In their first fights, the working class that was sold out, crushed, starved and massacred “in the name of socialism” cannot be asked to fight for it. Only a revolutionary leadership, based on their combats and demonstrating how to seek the path to victory, will be able to once again raise the flags of socialism within the world proletariat.

As Trotsky puts it in his work “A School of Revolutionary Strategy”: the working class that wages big struggles here and there can be defeated and go backwards. Not only the bourgeoisie is a class in the productive process, but it is also a social force that fights to maintain its interests. But history once again faces the proletariat with a crude fact: if it wants to live, it must try again.

In Ukraine it has been trying in these first two decades of the 21st century. **Imperialism and the gendarme of the capitalists in Eurasia,**

Putin, have been conspiring so that the Ukrainian and former USSR working class will never rise again.

But what is also true, as the war in the Ukraine shows, is that in wars and crises, **reformism "kicks in" with the masses**. It is set at a 180° angle from their struggle. It clashes directly with them as an agent of big capital. The reformists never propose to sweep away the citadel of power as the masses in Sri Lanka did spontaneously. They never call the masses to arm themselves in the pre-revolutionary or revolutionary processes, as the exploited embryonically conquered, with their vanguard at the forefront, in the front lines in the combats in Colombia, Chile, Ecuador, etc. In that 180° angle with reformism, layers or fringes of the working class advance to the left. They even change the content to sectors of the old reformism, or make it explode. It is under these conditions that Bolshevism and Trotskyism will regroup their cadres for the socialist revolution.

THE CRISIS OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM: A HISTORICAL VIEW OF THE CRISIS OF THE "GREAT GERMANY" ... THE GREAT ANOMALY OF 1989

It is clear now that the capitalist restoration that Anglo-US imperialism led with Reagan and Thatcher in 1989 was capitalized, to a great extent, by the great Germany, which reunified and articulated, around itself and France, a European market.

This was the paradox of 1989: the imperialist power that had lost the Second World War is which was best positioned in the fight to colonize, semi-colonize and plunder the wealth of Russia.

This led Germany to achieve a position that it did not have either in the world market –nor in Europe– and that it had been unable to conquer or establish in the 20th century.

One of the foundations of revolutionary Marxism –and it is a law– states that capitalism, in the imperialist era, no longer advances as a block in the world economy as it did in the reformist era of the 19th century, where crises were the exceptions and expansion cycles were the norm. Now, as we have already explained, developing enormous wealth

at one pole and destroying most of the world economy is going ahead. What prevails is the crisis and the cycles of capitalist expansion are the exception. The irreversible logic of the imperialist epoch is a fierce battle between the different powers that dispute the zones of influence, since if one power is doing well, the other is doing badly. The world economy is not controlled by "gentlemen" who share it friendly. The cartels and the trusts shared it out in two world wars with two atomic bombings like in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. They continue to do so today with brutal trade wars that exacerbate the paralysis of the world economy, and, without hesitation, they will go to war again, putting the entire human civilization at risk.

For some time now, the theory that there is a single "super-imperialism" that controls all the businesses in the world has been shown as a Kautskyist parody, and that it only partially developed as an exception at the end of World War II, with Europe destroyed. and battered and with the US acting as the locomotive of the world economy. But that exception has long since come to an end. Today we are facing a "normal" period of dispute between the imperialist powers for the zones of influence.

The US then could not watch impassively the dynamics that opened up the vital space conquered by the Franco-German axis in the European continent. First, with Obama, he tried to make a pact and commercial arrangement. Then with Trump he tried a tariff battle with Europe (as he did with China), and as a continuation of that policy, Biden's Democratic Party took this international policy to the end, stepping on Europe this time with NATO, with the gunboats themselves.

The crisis that we see today in Europe of the brutal cost of living, the energy crisis to produce, is the indication that the US has begun to dismantle the productive forces and the European labor division. Thus, as we have already said, is how it has thrown its crisis, supported by NATO, as a result of the U.S. victory in World War II. As Marxism puts it: war is the most important economic factor of this age.

Since 2008, with the Wall Street crash and the bursting of the real estate bubbles, the US bankrupted most European banks, which had their assets listed on the New York Stock Exchange and US banks. The result of this crisis was that Europe closed more on itself and more and

more articulated its productive forces in a European division of labor, with which it went offensively to the whole world market and to the East in particular. The imperialist contradiction became unbearable

Trying to understand the policy of Moscow and the totally Bonapartist government and regime of Putin outside of the aforementioned imperialist contradictions is to understand absolutely nothing about the ongoing war, much less distinguishing the interests of the Ukrainian, Russian and all European working class in it at international level

It was then the "great Germany", with the European labor division, which had been benefiting from the sources of raw materials from Russia. But the period of the world crisis worsening began, and therefore, the period of open dispute over the new markets of Russia and China. We insist that "Great" Russia and China cannot continue to be what they were, **and the US cannot continue to be what it is if it does not reconquer them politically and economically.** Ukraine concentrates all these contradictory aspects.

That is why, in these 5 months of war, all the contradictions in Europe clearly flourish in life itself. Germany is turning to coal to power itself. The different European imperialist powers are vying for gas from the Middle East (from Algeria, Qatar or Morocco) ... **These are the first signs of a crisis in the European Union, which far from incorporating countries harmoniously, could explode into a thousand pieces in the future in a "every man for himself".** That is what U.S. imperialism is betting on so that inter-imperialist relations return to "their" normality and to the starting point of 1989: that Russia and China remain under Anglo-American influence

This means that, we insist, Ukraine concentrates all these contradictions in a long war, of artillery, for positions and of destruction, demolition and encirclement of cities to occupy and split that nation. While Germany and France await its prompt end to restart a business cycle, the US imposes on them, with NATO, that they pay for the weapons that they sent them, that their productive forces decline, and that Russia remains surrounded.

NATO's offensive in Europe strengthens the U.S. offensive by keeping its areas of influence in the Pacific. There it is associated with England and Japan. We are facing a large-scale U.S. imperialist counteroffensive

and a defensive policy of the big bourgeoisie of China and Russia due to their position, as junior partners or as managers, of the business of imperialism in their own countries and in the world economy.

The strength achieved by the US in Europe will then be turned over to redouble its offensive in the Pacific. A few months ago, it withdrew its troops from Afghanistan, precisely to concentrate all its forces in Europe with NATO and in the Pacific. The US deepens its trade war opened by Trump by combining it with military operations. He is not willing to lose, as we insist throughout this work, the race for Russia and China.

These days, the spokesperson of the Chamber of Deputies, Nancy Pelosi, will travel from the United States to the Chinese province of Taiwan, to give explicit support to the pro-independence tendencies that have emerged on that island, which is located just 180 kilometers from the mainland. As we see in this case, the US begins to mark war territory in the Pacific with an aggressive policy and exposing its pawn Taiwan to be crushed by China if it decides to do so. There is no doubt that when this representative of the Wall Street establishment leaves, China will carry out a major military operation in the region. But U.S., in this action, will demonstrate who are the true owners of the Pacific. They know perfectly well that China, for the moment, is not in a position to launch a massive attack in the China Sea against the US Navy and its powerful allies. They have set up, together with Japan, a true "NATO in Asia" with the enormous weight of the North American war fleet, which with its military commands controls all the sea routes of world trade.

The USA has not returned to the world as the great creditor, as it was between the Wars in the late 1920s and 1930s, nor as the engine of the economy, as it was at the end of World War II, or as "master of the world" as in 1989. They return with trade wars, military preparations and three world crises over the last 20 years, each one of the same magnitude and caliber as that of 1930. They have thrown those crises (and continue to do so) to the workers, the subjugated peoples of the world and their imperialist competition. For the US, the world markets, including the imperialist ones, are no longer open. With customs barriers, the great powers are trying to defend their domestic markets or their vital spaces. The USA come for everything. But their offensives of economic, military or tariff sieges have so far been insufficient. The world tensions between states and between classes are only deepening

and preparing new military conflagrations if the proletariat does not stop them.

Today, the working class of the different imperialist powers does not allow them to go to large-scale inter-imperialist military clashes. For this reason, **there are 2 alternatives ahead: war or socialist revolution. The masses have not given up. This is what has prevented, so far, the path to inter-imperialist war from being opened.**

The bourgeoisie knows that war is also a midwife of revolutions. It understood this thanks to the victory of the Russian revolution at the end of the First World War and to the expropriation of a third of the planet in the semi-colonial world at the end of the Second World War. It still bears in mind General Mc Arthur of the USA fleeing south the 38th parallel in Korea, saved by Maoism.

Therefore, the imperialist gangs must defeat their proletariat strategically, or else some of them co-opt it, through the labour aristocracy, for their military adventures. **The cynical policy of the reformist left tries to hide this prognosis: while it speaks of the “Third World War” that “would already be here”, it does not prepare the proletariat of the central countries for decisive battles.**

THE US CORNERS EUROPE BY TEARING APART ITS INTERNATIONALLY ORGANIZED PRODUCTIVE FORCES FROM PORTUGAL TO MOSCOW

What the current crisis in Germany, and in the whole imperialist Europe, which was left without its source of raw materials, food and energy, proves **is the international character with which the productive forces are articulated and how they are constrained by national borders.** Without a doubt, without its sphere of influence, every imperialist power goes directly to bankruptcy. Hence, what Trotskyism raised in the 1930s about the impossibility of building socialism in a single country, the US, where there were the most advanced productive forces, included. If the socialist revolution does not expand to the semi-colonial world and the other imperialist powers, it would be left without its sources of raw materials. This is what the struggle for the international socialist revolution is about, and also the total bankruptcy to which Stalinism

Ukraine at war

led the former workers' states with its pseudo-theory of "socialism in one country".

Being now dislocated from the relationship with the "Great" Russia, from which it drew its sources of raw materials, the "Great Europe" may quickly enter in decline and open crisis. That means that the US is splitting the division of labour in Europe, as we have already said, and even this will have consequences in the world economy.

The ongoing war, for these reasons, has a dual character imposed by the US at the NATO command. Letting Putin crush and carve up Ukraine and, in doing so, wear down his forces; and at the same time allowing the US to keep, without firing a shot, the rest of it and cut off the supply route to the rest of Europe, thus breaking the vital space of the French-German axis.

But here, as we have seen in this work, "*the Big Game*" is paid for by the Ukrainian nation, which will be divided as a tutored colony, tied by triple chains, as its working class is paying now with the massacre and extermination policy promoted by Moscow. It is also paid by the European and world working class, which sees food prices soar while the subjugated nations are thrown into the void of the world-economy.

The Europe of the French-German axis tried to take over the Russian domestic market and even semi-colonize the "Great" Russia through its investments in different branches of production and the looting of its sources of raw materials, investing, for example, as main shareholders in companies of gas or minerals, as in the extraction of gold. In this offensive, it openly competed with UK-US imperialism, including in the former Soviet republics. But it was already beginning, as we saw, to achieve primacy throughout Europe. That is why the US today can only advance on the "Great" Russia with the noise of the gunboats.

What a paradox! It was Germany which needed to invade Russia and use tanks like in the Second World War with Hitler, or like in the First World War with the Junkers, to get their vital space. And now it is the US, giving Ukraine out for Putin to split and destroy it, the one that seeks to strategically besiege Moscow and, in the future, engage in direct military wars on its flanks. For the US, their policy has no loss. Putin massacres and divides Ukraine and, as we have said, the US keeps the rest as a colony, while leaving Europe in crisis.

Putin is a gendarme of the imperialist powers, no matter that he could clash circumstantially with any of them. And it is the “greater evil” that must be crushed in order to put the Ukrainian working class on its feet, break all ties with the Zelensky government, uniting, in this fight, with the Russian working class and that of the rest of Europe, and follow the footsteps of the Soviet, independent and socialist Ukraine, the only way to defeat imperialism and its oppression exerted on the oppressed nation.

2022: WHEN ONCE AGAIN THE HURRICANE OF THE WORLD CRASH IS UNLEASHED

2022 started by deepening the crisis of the world capitalist economy, which had a new essay of a heart attack in 2019, as it had been the 2008 crash.

The heart of this crisis lies in the powerful US imperialism, which in 2008 saved its financial capital from the catastrophe of the housing bubble and financial games without a backing in goods. Their cartels had fictitiously increased commodity prices. The imperialist oil companies did great businesses in the Middle East. The Chicago commodity exchange was only rising, speculatively, while the big insurance companies guaranteed their prices in the future. When existing values do not correspond with the real values created by human labour, everything collapses like a house of cards.

In the crash of 2008, \$90 trillion in securities that were not backed by goods evaporated so capitalism can continue to breathe. The world market was thus severely restricted. This multiplied inter-imperialist disputes and competitions.

The US FED issued billions of dollars with which they saved Wall Street and, as we said, they turned to red the accounts of the superbanks of the European imperialist powers. The latter had 70% of their assets invested in the Wall Street and Chicago stock exchanges. Thus, they rushed to empty the treasuries of the state to cover their losses, throwing all their crisis to the working class, as the US had done with their workers and oppressed people to whom they plunder all the riches.

As if this were not enough, the “countercyclical” measure taken by international finance capital, to recover the rate of profit and a new cycle of investments, was to grant loans at an interest rate of 0% to its transnationals. This meant that they took enormous credits and far from bringing those values to production, where the rate of profit had already fallen, they distributed them again as benefits. That is what imperialism is all about, in Lenin's words: the degree of decomposition and total parasitism of capitalism. The result was the collapse of all the world's stock markets in the year 2019-2020.

China, in this new crisis, closed its customs barriers that Trump had tried to open with a trade war to control its domestic market. China's trade surplus did not go to the famous infrastructure of the "Belt and the Road" (the "New Silk Road") but to financial speculation. Each of Chinese banks, associated with the imperialist banks and supported by the party of the “red Moguls” of the government, got free land for 70 years given by the state. They began a cycle of construction that raised the value of properties to be worth more than their genuinely value, even reaching a higher level than that of the US housing bubble in 2008. The bankruptcy of the Evergrande company, which defrauded millions of people that had invested their money to have a house - one that was never built, gives in itself a wide picture of the actual crisis in China. Many banks in that country have put a *cepo* (the name given to the restriction on the purchase of the currency of another country in Argentina) to the withdrawal of the population's savings that lie in their treasure vaults. The crisis is already here. The world market has once more shrunk

Back in 2012 and then in 2017, bourgeois economic scholars and pseudo-Marxists announced that capitalism had emerged from one of the most serious crises of its history and that a new cycle of prosperity was opening. The debt between the states, the external debts of the semi-colonial countries, and the debts of transnational corporations and large banks and risk insurers has reached 40% of the global GDP. This is \$400 billion.

The investments of the states, since 2008, have increased mainly for the war or technology for the same. This ratifies that capitalism, in

its phase of putrefaction, as we said, is bent to developing destructive forces. And it will do so as the only way out of its crises.

The world economy is thus in a trap. If it resolves its crisis within the dying capitalist system, **entire areas of the planet will be left in ruins and many of the imperialist powers that today we know will sink into the mud of history, and others that are also left out of the distribution will make blocs and war will come. Socialism or war:** these are the two historical alternatives put forward. **Capitalism does not and will not fall by itself.**

The result of this second crash was that the values without a backing in goods, coming from these successive crises, expanded to the entire planet. The US attracted huge amounts of capital to cover its huge deficit of more than \$23 trillion. Hence not only its crisis but its strength, since it finances its deficits with the surplus of the rest of the world economy.

As we said, the pandemic exacerbated all these contradictions and made collapse the world economy, which entered a deep recession.

The anarchy in the production of the capitalist system was experienced with all its acuteness at the end of the pandemic and the deep recession that it aggravated, for a year and a half or two. The world economy was subjected to a brutal crisis of underproduction in entire sectors and branches of production. It had been said that there was a high production of electric cars, but during the pandemic, car microchip factories closed. There was also not enough lithium production for the batteries of these cars. The veil that hides the brutal anarchy that rules the capitalist mode of production was lifted.

Due to the crisis of trade, ports and ships were paralyzed. The shipping companies paralyzed their commercial voyages. And when the economy rebounded, container ports were crowded, which also leads to the paralysis of part of the production of transnationals.

The outflow of capital from the productive process creates and develops not only underproduction crises but overproduction crises also, which is the one that the world economy is experiencing in part today. The lateness of the international socialist revolution highlights the lack of an organized economy on the basis of the planning of the world's productive forces, locked today in national borders.

As if the crisis of 2019-202 that we detail above were not enough, the “struggle” waged by the imperialist states to save the big capital adds to the present troubles, while in their crisis they condemned hundreds of millions of workers to unemployment. The printing of billions of euros and dollars granted to transnationals at a 0% rate, far from going to production, once again went to robbery, piracy, and speculation. Once again, the capitalists took these credits without interest and distributed them as dividends among their stakeholders. Thus, the value of companies grew artificially on the stock market. But a short time later they but collapse when the real balances were shown, as it had happened in 2020.

Undoubtedly, with the world market in such a crisis, all peace and harmony is over. The masses are under fierce attack, and inter-imperialist competition is already ruthless. The investments of the States in weapons business is the central knot, together with the wars and the looting of the oppressed peoples, with which imperialism seeks to get out of its crisis.

The world division of labor is still dislocated. All these world contradictions are concentrated in the war in Ukraine. For the first time, Brussels announces that Europe will make an investment -for now initial and testing- of 500 million USD to arm the EU states. These weapons can only be sold if they are produced by European companies. The argument is that "they should recover the weapons shipment to Ukraine." This may be the first step to a generalized armament of the Franco-German axis, which proves at every step that they are very capable of fulfilling the task due to their high technology.

It is these conditions that threaten to place Ukraine in a chronic war, with partial trade agreements, and circumstantial ceasefires. This is because the transnationals, such as Monsanto, Cargill, etc., have "pulled out the whip", that is, they have put Turkey in negotiations with Putin so that the ports of Ukraine are opened, regardless of who controls them, so that their grains go out to world trade. This is the "weapon" that NATO sent to Ukraine to "fight" Putin: that Cargill and Monsanto continue to steal the nation's commodities, the fifth largest food exporter in the world. Business is business.

And this war could be chronic since the US does not intend to let go of its prey: the European market, which it is disputing to the Franco-

German axis. These are the conditions we see of the world situation and the war in Ukraine in particular, and the forecasts we are doing.

In short, after 12 years of parasitism, of issuing currency and securities to save the transnationals and the large monopolies that parasitize the world economy, after distributing these credits at a 0% rate as profits without direct investment in the production process, they left an enormous amount of securities circulating without any backing in goods. This is the cause of the inflation that exists and that threatens to reach two digits in the central countries such as Germany, USA, and that is already hitting the entire world economy. A period of stagflation, that is, recession plus inflation, lies ahead.

FACED WITH THE MORASS OF THE CAPITALIST ECONOMIC CRISIS, THE WORKING CLASS AND THE OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD HAVE NOT STOPPED -AND WILL NOT STOP FIGHTING

The catastrophe and the capitalist crisis have paralyzed some sectors of the working class, but other sectors have been pushed into combat. It is clear that the mass irruption led by the black labor movement in the US against the Trump government, as well as the fight against the war in 2008, were a consequence of the world crisis and US imperialism.

Throughout this period, the working class never stopped fighting. Here and there they are entering the battle. Imperialism knows, as we have said, that war is also a midwife of revolutions. But they can't stop turning to it in order to survive.

The proletariat, as we have already seen, gave battle incorporating new battalions that entered the combats, such as the proletariat of the former workers' states and the American working class itself.

Also in 2008, the European proletariat broke into great class struggles, such as the uprising of the Greek workers and their 32 general strikes, or the hard resistance that the French proletariat put up against the attack of their conquests, or the "Republic of the Outraged" and the struggle of the working class of the Spanish State against the war in Iraq, where the slogan that mobilized hundreds of thousands was "your war, our dead".

Ukraine at war

In 2011, the workers and oppressed peoples of the Middle East were undoubtedly at the forefront of the struggle against imperialism worldwide.

Likewise, enormous revolutionary mass uprisings developed against imperialism in Latin America and continue to deepen, which means that the masses do not shy away from combat and do battle. Here and there, like yesterday in Chile, Colombia, Bolivia, Peru, and today in Ecuador, Panama, Honduras, the masses have taken to the streets.

Meanwhile, in the Pacific, yesterday Hong Kong and today Sri Lanka are the anticipation of new mass uprisings that are prepared in China as a response to the crisis and brutal attack by the bourgeoisie against the exploited in that country.

In South Africa, the working class confronted and overthrew governments of the infamous regime of the transnationals, the African National Congress and the Communist Party. It marks the imprint of the African working class.

The masses have presented and present hard combats. If these cannot succeed, it is because of the accumulation of treacherous leaderships. Their betrayals prevent the working class from finding a way out of the catastrophe of the world capitalist-imperialist system. A system in such a state of putrefaction that, according to Lenin, is based on the brutal parasitism imposed by the monopoly as well as on the split of socialism, that is, the coopting, for some coins, of the aristocracies and worker bureaucracies and their parties to save thus system from the socialist revolution.

The last word has not been said. A speed race is in progress. On the one hand, between the development of the capitalist crisis and catastrophe that opens the way to war, and on the other, the struggle of the masses, which need to have at their head the leadership they deserve. Entering this speed race so that the masses can reach victory is the key task of any party that claims to be revolutionary Marxism. This has the obligation to arrive with a fair policy at the right time to the class struggle and wars, such as the one in Ukraine, so that the path to the socialist revolution is opened.

Once again, the reformist left fails the test

IN THE WAR IN UKRAINE AND IN THE INTERNATIONAL CLASS STRUGGLE, TWO THEORIES AND TWO PROGRAMS ARE CONFRONTING*

On the one hand, that of class collaboration and the "two-stage theory" of Stalinism; and on the other, that of Trotskyism, the theory-program of the permanent revolution

July 2022

In these last 3 years of bankruptcy of the capitalist system, the working class has not stopped fighting. As it did it in the US, clashing with the murderous police and white supremacists, sending Trump to the memory box... What a paradox: the entire reformist left, from the Communist Party and social-imperialist currents like the ISO in the US, to renegades from Trotskyism of all kinds and continents, felt sympathetic to Sanders, to the "democratic socialists" of the USA. Thus, they placed the working class and the rebellious North American youth as the last link of the imperialist bourgeois "left wing" of the Democratic

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Party. This is how the monster called Biden was born... a product of the "anti-Trump front" of the Democratic Party, supported, we insist, by the Cuban Communist Party, the entire North American and world left and most of the renegades of Trotskyism in particular.

These currents today throw up their hands in horror at the "expansion of NATO" and its counterrevolutionary intervention in Eastern Europe and in the five continents, when they have just supported, sustained and called to vote for the NATO commander in chief, Biden and the American rulers.

A "NEW LEFT", MADE OF STALINISTS AND CURRENTS THAT HAS OPENLY BROKEN WITH THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, HAS EMERGED, TAKING UP THE OLD POLICY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SUPPORTING "DEMOCRATIC" IMPERIALISM DURING YALTA

A SCANDALOUS POLICY: THE LATIN AMERICAN "NEW LEFT" SUPPORTING THE BOURGEOIS FRONTS THAT COME TO DIVERT THE MASS REVOLUTIONARY OFFENSIVES

That is the role of these class collaboration fronts. This policy is a continuation of that of Stalinism: to tie the fate of the working class to its "democratic", "progressive" or "anti- neoliberal" executioners (as they like to call them now), all direct agents of imperialism, so that later, like the other end of the same rope, the repressive forces and fascism can crush and annihilate the vanguard.

This is what happened in Bolivia and Colombia, where the "mermaids songs" of Morales and Petro ended with Camacho and **Áñez** carrying out a fascist coup in 2019 and with paramilitaries watering all the rivers of Colombia with the blood of the workers and the rebellious youth.

The class collaboration fronts anesthetize the working class and the exploited, throw water on the fire of the revolutionary processes, weaken and liquidate the left wing, so that later Bonapartist governments and regimes settle down to stabilize the control of the bourgeoisie, after that independent mass actions have put their dominance at risk.

In Latin America, currents such as the LIT-CI, UIT-CI, and more "critically" the PTS, allies of the Cuban "left", have called for a critical vote, that is, to politically support those they consider to be governments and "progressive" fronts like Castillo in Peru and Boric in Chile.

These currents fraternize with the bourgeois left of the Kirchners in Argentina "against the right wing", just as they do with the MAS parliamentarians of Arce and Morales in Bolivia, who are asked to solve all the problems of the working class.

In Brazil, disastrously, they have called to support the popular front of class collaboration between Lula and Alckmin, as do the "anti-capitalists" of the PSOL and all its tendencies and fractions, while others, like the PSTU / LIT-CI, call to vote for their own candidates in the first round, knowing that in the ballotage they will vote again, as they did in the past elections, for Lula and his bourgeois partners.

Boric, a self-confessed Stalinist, who is the current commander in chief of the Pinochetist military and the administrator of the education and private pension businesses and of all the transnationals that loots Chile, was supported, with the alliance of the renegades of Trotskyism and various Stalinists. They support a "leftist" jailer and executioner of the rebellious youth, who has just militarized the south of Chile.

These currents also supported that political swindler of the transnationals and imperialism called Castillo in Peru, who has just murdered 4 workers in the riots that recently shook that country.

We are facing a left of renegades from Trotskyism and neo-Stalinists that acts holding up and supporting the direct agents of US imperialism throughout the American continent, from Alaska to Tierra del Fuego.

The Stalinist Patriotic Union and the FARC had just declared their support from Havana to Petro in Colombia; and the LIT-CI and the PST of that country had just announced their call to vote for Petro and he thanked them by holding a meeting with the representatives of more than 60 US companies, headed by Coca-Cola, to which he guaranteed legal certainty and the defense of all its businesses in Colombian territory. "Tell me who you go with and I'll tell you who you are," the saying goes.

All of them have just supported the scam of the "Bolivarian revolution" that was disguised as "anti-imperialist". Now they support class collaboration fronts that are direct agents of imperialism and that do not even threaten in words to seize them 10 cents.

That is what the new role of the renegades of Trotskyism and Stalinism in the American continent is about: a "New Gringo Left" that today is playing the same role that the old Communist Parties did in the postwar period and throughout the Yalta period, supporting "democratic" US imperialism from the mass organizations, mainly in Latin America. That is why the Cuban Communist Party supported Batista, Monge's party in Bolivia handed over Che Guevara, and in Argentina Stalinism was part of the pro-US counterrevolutionary anti worker coups against Peronism, among other atrocities committed by the Communist Parties during Yalta.

CUBA SUBJECTED AGAIN TO THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM: REBELLION OF THE WORKING CLASS AGAINST HUNGER THE RENEGADES OF TROTSKYISM, MEETING WITH STALINISM IN HAVANA, TURNING THEIR BACKS TO THE WORKERS

In the face of the enormous uprising of the Cuban workers and exploited on July 11, 2021, the so-called Cuban "left", led by Frank García Hernández and other militants of the Communist Party of the "red businessmen" of Havana, demands indulgence from that bourgeois government for the hundreds of prisoners of the starving working class, reaching the cynicism of asking reduction of sentences.

If today this current of Frank García Hernández can pose as the "critical" wing of the CCP, which is openly yielding Cuba to world imperialism, it is thanks to the legitimacy given to it by the liquidators of the Fourth International who traveled to Havana in 2019 (and also in 2021 in Brazil) to meet with these militants of Stalinism, and they were allowed to use the figure of Trotsky to carry out the worst outrages and betrayals against the working class of the continent.

We are facing a great stab in the back to the world labour movement: they dress García Hernández with the aura of "Trotskyist", who is a proud Castro militant who marched on 11J shouting "the streets belong to Fidel" in the column of the Communist Party that beat up

the dispossessed masses that mobilized to the Plaza de la Revolución demanding bread.

It is this same “critical left” in Havana that has dressed up as “democratic” and “progressive” the head of the counterrevolutionary pirates of Wall Street, making a petition to demand that Biden “lift the blockade on Cuba.”

Today, these people have begun to raise the demand that the Cuban CP should legalize organizations of the unemployed like the ones that carried out the Federal March in Argentina. The Cuban “left” has already learned very well in its single party of Stalinists and renegades of Trotskyism how to control the hungry and desperate masses so that they do not overpass all the institutions of power with their spontaneous struggle, as happened in Cuba on 11J.

After decades of silence, they suddenly call for a union for the unemployed in Cuba. They try to convince Díaz Canel and the counter-revolutionary staff in the government to authorize them.

It is clear: while the Castro judges sentence to decades in prison those arrested for the 11J uprising to chastise the hungry masses, the Cuban “left” calls for the creation of institutions that discipline them so that they do not revolt and if they do, it is under the control of the State and the counterrevolutionary government of Díaz Canel and the new Cuban rich, who have long become partners in hundreds of business with imperialism.

Ultimately, they call for a parody of a union. Their policy is to set up totally nationalized unions in the movement of hungry and unemployed workers in Cuba. Unions totally independent of the state are out of the question, let alone legalizing revolutionary workers’ parties that fight to overthrow this government of hunger and surrender to capitalism.

UKRAINE AT WAR: REFORMISM SEEKS THE "LESSER EVIL" WHILE LEAVING THE UKRAINIAN WORKING CLASS AND THE OPPRESSED AND OCCUPIED NATION OUT OF ITS PROGRAM

Another central point where this “New Left” gathers its forces to break with revolutionary Marxism and with any policy of continuity with the legacy of Bolshevism and the Fourth International is in

Ukraine. As they did yesterday in Syria, (and continue to do so), these currents have left no trace of revolutionary and class policy in the face of war.

For five months they have climbed into Putin's or NATO's tanks, as they have not clashed on any battlefield in Ukraine, since only the Ukrainian working class and the rank-and-file soldiers of Russia who are taken as cannon fodder die and are slaughtered there.

All these currents agree with Putin and NATO that Ukraine should not even be an independent nation. Thus, they liquidate all anti-imperialist demands and prevent the Ukrainian and Russian working class from taking the political and military leadership of the war into their hands, relying on the revolutionary struggle of the European proletariat.

They may say that the working class of Ukraine is not seen in this war... The workers are dying, taking refuge outside Ukraine or hiding in the subsoils of the subways or factories so as not to die massacred.

Ukraine is being divided and occupied and will become a colony with its working-class torn apart.

The left that proclaims itself as "revolutionary" worldwide has broken with all independent Soviet strategy in the war to submit to the bourgeois gangs that dispute Ukraine.

On May 20, the workers of Italy held a General and Social Strike, which was the first action of internationalist solidarity of the workers with their comrades, the Ukrainian workers, fighting against Putin and NATO. Beyond this or that programmatic aspect with which we may not agree with, this was the first real struggle (in deeds and not in words) that the working class has waged in Europe, declaring "war on war". It means the class war to the counter-revolutionary war against the Ukrainian nation.

The call for this General and Social Strike developed as a huge vanguard action in key cities of Italy. That struggle opens the way and is an example of effective international solidarity against Putin's war and the counterrevolutionary weaponry and expansion of NATO in all Europe.

IN BLOODIED SYRIA, THE MASSES NO LONGER ALLOW FORGETTING OR FORGIVENESS THE CURRENTS OF THE REFORMIST LEFT, ALLIED TO AL-ASSAD AND PUTIN, HAVE MUCH TO EXPLAIN

In Syria, the fascist al-Assad, to decompress the situation of the starving masses in Damascus and all the territory he controls, announced that he was going to release some political prisoners. Only a few dozen of them came out of prison, physically and mentally destroyed after years of torture, some without recognizing their own families. They are prisoners like those who left after the torture of the Nazis and the Gestapo in World War II from concentration camps.

The people of Damascus took to the streets to look for them. Quickly the cry that arose was: "Freedom and appearance alive of the 500,000 of ours who are no longer here!"

In Idlib, clashes have begun with the millionaire businessmen of Al Qaeda (HTS), as repressive and starving of the masses as al-Assad in Damascus, supported by Turkey, which has occupied a huge swath of Syrian territory in the north, already carrying its currency and troops.

The "New Left" in Syria won the trust of the bourgeoisie and imperialism, sustaining this historic massacre, proclaimed by them, under the command of the imperialist powers, as a struggle "on terror".

These currents have much to explain. Now, they do have a lot to explain. They said the best thing that could happen in Syria was for al-Assad or the Kurds, who are under US command in common barracks with the dog Bashar, to win.

Meanwhile, the Syrian resistance today relaunches an offensive to open the fronts when it sees that Putin is weakened in Syria by pouring all his forces into Ukraine, and at a time when enormous Palestinian resistance is developing against the onslaught of Zionism and a magnificent mass revolutionary uprising in Iran that is already shaking the entire region.

AS THE WORLD SOCIAL FORUM BEFORE, TODAY THE "NEW LEFT" OF STALINISTS AND RENEGADES OF TROTSKYISM IS IN CHARGE OF SAVING GOVERNMENTS AND REGIMES IN CRISIS

Every attentive observer and follower of the movement of the international socialist left will be able to see in these events the real outlines of the so-called "New Left": a coordinated and centralized gathering of Stalinists, "anti-capitalists", former Trotskyists... A unique party that has carried the flags of the Fourth International to the mud and that

was tested together with Macron, the US, Putin, and al-Assad in the so-called "antiterrorist front" in Syria to contain the revolutions in the Middle East. They proved themselves supporting Sanders and Biden in the US and the entire pro-imperialist and gringo left in Latin America.

In Africa, they openly support the ANC government in South Africa, as does the ISO, those "socialists" of the queen, which come from being the fundamental support of Corbyn's Labour Party of British imperialism.

We have already seen that their actions in Ukraine were not improvised, and although they bawl against the war, they are supporting either NATO or butcher Putin.

In imperialist Europe, the forces of the "anti-capitalists" of the NPA and the Solidaires trade union of France were at the service of sustaining the policy of the Communist Party in the counterrevolutionary leadership of the CGT. In Greece, Stalinists and the renegades of Trotskyism strangled the workers' movement together by supporting Syriza, supporting its plebiscites and making an agreement with his Finance Minister, Varoufakis, to call on the workers of Europe to "democratize" imperialist Maastricht... With the current events in Ukraine, imperialism shows how it is "democratizing" the Maastricht that these social-imperialist scoundrels are holding: with wars, massacres, and attacks on all the conquests of the European working class.

It is not the crisis of the working class and its inability to fight against the rottenness of this capitalist system that prevails in the world situation. The crisis and weakness of the struggle of the masses are given by the treacherous actions of the leaderships that are at their head.

After the wave of the scam of the "Bolivarian revolution" and the World Social Forum with its lies that "another world is possible", "market socialism" and "socialism of the twenty-first century", after these leaderships led dozens of revolutionary processes to dead ends in the first 15 years of this twenty-first century, to end up being used as "squeezed lemons", the 1% of imperialist parasites have set up this "New Left".

While organizing wars and consolidating their regimes and governments to deal with the masses, imperialism, with a sharp class instinct has summoned the former Trotskyists to make pacts of "peaceful coexistence" with the Stalinists, as was the case at Yalta. This happens in all countries and internationally to contain the socialist revolution,

divert revolutionary processes and subject them to the fronts of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie.

THE TASK OF THE MOMENT: RECOVER THE BANNERS OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL AND REGROUP THE INTERNATIONALIST FORCES OF THE WORLD PROLETARIAT

July 2022

Big capital cunningly safeguarded and protected Stalinism so that it can play its counterrevolutionary role at the head of the unions and mass organizations throughout the world, while it culminated its consolidation as the new ruling class in the former worker states, allied to all the imperialist powers, from Vietnam to Cuba, from China to Korea, and from the former USSR to the European Glacis.

But this would not have worked without the legitimacy provided by the parties on the left that claimed for decades being part of the Fourth International, the only place from where the working class could be spoken to with clean flags and looking the exploited in the eye.

After decades of opportunism and adaptations, the revolutionary movement fell apart and, as we see it today, ended up betraying the entire programmatic, theoretical and organizational legacy of the Fourth International, to deploy an open policy of class collaboration.

That is what the battle in which we are engaged in today is about: giving continuity to that program and theory of the Fourth International, which have proven to pass the test of history, while those who once supported it openly betrayed, as they continue to do.

A new base of careerists and opportunists entered the ex-Trotskyist parties, imbued with a fierce revisionism of Marxism on the part of their

leaderships, so that they continue the old work and policy of Stalinism that led the world proletariat to the cruelest defeats.

Cadres, militants or currents such as the Collective for the Refoundation of the Fourth International / FLTI, now sailing again against the current, but firmly supported by the most advanced struggles of the working class, which has not given up, we seek at the international level to recover those flags from opprobrium, mud and betrayal to re-found the IV International purged of traitors and lackeys of Stalinism who handed it over a while ago.

In this catastrophe of the capitalist system, which does not find another way out to recover its profits other than piracy, parasitism, looting and war, we revolutionary Marxists know how to move in our environment and habitat, which is to march to prepare and organize new revolutionary parties under the banners of the Fourth International for the socialist revolution. Our call is to prepare the class civil war against the war that the capitalists declared against the international proletariat.

We Marxists know what it is about. Here and there reformism proclaims that the working class and the exploited can improve their current living conditions without a victorious socialist revolution at international level and without the crushing of the bourgeois parasites and their regimes. The opportunist practice of the "New Left" is based on this reformist thesis. That is why more and more they collide with the masses, because their apothegm is not possible.

Without revolutionary struggles of the armed masses, without putting its foot on the chest of the bourgeoisie, without forcing it to surrender, without concentrated international struggles of the world working class, they will not be able to improve their living conditions even partially. As Marxist strategy proposes, without fighting for everything and with revolutionary methods is already impossible for the proletariat to achieve the slightest of their conquests. And if they get them and do not seize power, they will lose them. This is the apothegm of revolutionary Marxism today.

Our strengths lie in the fact that if the working class does not want to succumb, it must try again and find the way to conquer a period of victorious revolutions once again.

Ukraine at war

So are we, the members of the Collective for the Refoundation of the Fourth International / FLTI and its revolutionary groups. We have to try again. It is not the time to sound the trumpets of withdrawal from the revolutionary movement, but rather the time to prepare new offensives to re-found the Fourth International and regroup the best cadres that the working class is shaping in the front lines of each combat on a world level.

The traitors of the Fourth International are not more capable. They are the expression of decades of betrayals and capitulations to the legacy of our world party. They are supported by states, regimes and governments. They stopped relying on the best of the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat a long time ago. They now openly act to sell them out and betray them.

We revolutionaries, as the vanguard of the working class and the advanced workers have done, have selected our cadres. The program and its tasks select the revolutionaries and search tirelessly for the flesh that fights for them on a daily basis.

Every revolutionary current must focus on the new layer of insightful workers and youth that emerge from the most advanced combats of the mass movement, who begin to see and distinguish that those who spoke on behalf of Trotskyism are vulgar reformists; nothing different from those who betrayed them in previous struggles.

These insightful young and workers are once again taking the Trotskyists to the heart of the revolutionary struggles, to their most active battalions. This makes reformism nervous again, which counted our dead, murdered by the fascist beast in the Syrian revolution, with satisfaction. That is their problem... As it is crystal clear, they are the ones who, due to objective conditions, are colliding with the masses more and more.

Arrogant petty bourgeois from the regimes' leftist apparatuses have long since given up Trotskyism for dead. But before this happens, their chiefs of the general staff of the bourgeoisie will get rid of reformism after using their services. They are an anomaly in history, while revolutionary Marxism is the future of the working class. Once again it is

time for 10 intelligent men who, as Lenin would say, are worth more than 10,000 idiots.

The working class needs to know who their allies and their enemies are; how the leaderships that lead them to the impasse of class collaboration act while the bourgeoisie prepares the counterrevolution and fascism to crush the masses.

The Fourth International is not dead. It lives in this sharpening of the conditions of crisis, wars and revolutions. The question now is that it must live in new revolutionary combat organizations. The time has come to put this task into action again. All our forces as a Trotskyist nucleus for the international socialist revolution are committed to it.

Drafting Committee of “The International Workers Organizer”

"The Ukranian question" - May 9, 1939

(Included in this edition)

"The Fourth International must clearly understand the enormous importance of the Ukrainian question in the destiny not only of Southeastern and Eastern Europe but also of Europe as a whole. We are facing a people that has proved its viability, that is numerically equal to the population of France and occupies an exceptionally rich territory and moreover, of the highest strategical importance. The question of the Ukraine's destiny has been posed in its full extent. A clear and definite slogan is necessary that corresponds to the new situation. In my opinion there can be only one slogan at the present time: For a united, free and independent workers' and peasants' Soviet Ukraine..."