

Ukraine: A People's Peace, not an Imperial Peace

Joint declaration by ecosocialist, anarchist, feminist, environmental organisations, and groups in solidarity with the Ukrainian resistance and for a self-determined social and ecological reconstruction of Ukraine

The Swiss government will hold an international conference for a peace process in Ukraine on 15 and 16 June 2024 on the mountain Bürgenstock, close to Lucerne. The Ukrainian government supports this conference.

This conference is taking place in a decisive phase of the war. For months, the Russian invasion forces have been hitting gaps in the Ukrainian defences and pushing them back, with heavy losses of their own. The Russian leadership has announced a major offensive and is attacking the people in Kharkiv, a city of millions.

We support all steps towards a peace that enables the Ukrainian people to rebuild the country in a self-determined manner. Peace requires the complete withdrawal of the Russian occupying forces from the entire territory of Ukraine. With this in mind, we hope that the peace conference in Switzerland will contribute to the restoration of Ukraine's sovereignty.

The conditions for this are extremely difficult. The representatives of the Putin regime regularly declare that they do not recognise an independent Ukraine and deny the existence of the Ukrainian people. The Putin regime purses a Great Russian project, subjugates the people in the occupied territories with terror and aims to eradicate the Ukrainian culture. The ruling regime in Russia regularly commits war crimes against the Ukraine population.

The full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine, launched on 24 February 2022, not only calls Ukraine's independence into question. It also encourages other authoritarian regimes to threaten neighbouring populations, occupy territories and massively expel people. In order to avoid resistance at home, the Russian army is now also recruiting people from neighbouring countries and the Global South to serve as cannon fodder.

Due to the massive – and surprising – resistance of the Ukrainian population, the governments of Europe and North America began to support the Ukrainian army in its defence against the Russian occupying forces. However, they are backing Ukraine to assert their own interests in the global imperialist rivalry. The US aim to weaken its Russian counterpart while showing strength against rising China and setting the pace for the European powers which are both partners and rivals. But despite the US Congress finally approving a comprehensive aid package for Ukraine on 20 April 2024, which had been blocked by the Republican Party for nine months, the support for Ukraine has always remained selective and insufficient.

Similarly, the economic sanctions that have been imposed by the EU and US governments against Russia and the exponents of the Putin regime are selective, inadequately targeted, and insufficient. They do not prevent Russia from continuing to

export oil and gas, along with other strategically important raw materials, to fill its war chest. Some European countries have even significantly increased their imports of LNG from Russia since the start of the war. Others, such as Austria, obtain over 90% of their natural gas imports from Russia. The governments of these countries are forcing gas consumers to finance Putin's war against the Ukrainian population.

The Swiss government, the host of the peace conference, has not only been giving tax breaks to Russian oligarchs for decades, it has also refused to confiscate the assets of these oligarchs since the start of the full-scale Russian invasion. As a major hub of international commodities trading, Switzerland has offered Russian capital excellent opportunities to acquire wealth for many years. Many bourgeois politicians have gladly welcomed these businesses in Switzerland. Through the sale of dual-use products, Switzerland contributes to equipping the Russian war machine. And finally, the Swiss financial sector facilitates the trade of Russian oil.

Both in the US and in Europe, there is a growing number of voices in the political and economic establishment who want to tie their support for Ukraine to certain conditions. They aim to pressure Ukraine to cede large territories and several million people to the Putin regime. Such a peace, enforced by major imperial powers, would strengthen the Putin regime and fail to provide a basis for a lasting democratic reconstruction of Ukraine.

We need a peace that is based on, as well as supported by, the interests of the people and of workers in Ukraine and Russia. Such a perspective can only succeed if trade unions, women's organisations, environmental initiatives and various civil society organisations from both Ukraine and Russia play a leading role in the peace talks.

Occupation is a crime! We are guided by the principles of self-liberation, emancipation, and self-determination of working-class and all oppressed peoples beyond geopolitical considerations. In this sense, we also stand in solidarity with the Palestinian people, who have been fighting for their self-determination for decades. Likewise, we support the Kurdish and Armenian peoples and all other peoples threatened by occupation, national and cultural oppression.

Based on our positioning, supporting the Ukrainian resistance against the Russian occupation, we want to contribute to developing a common European perspective for radical socio-ecological reforms and ultimately for an ecosocialist transformation of the entire European continent in global solidarity.

By submitting this declaration for discussion, we want to contribute to a transnational process of understanding and political clarification among those left-wing forces throughout Europe and beyond that share these important convictions.

12 Principles for a Just Peace in Ukraine within a Europe based on Solidarity and Ecology

We, the undersigned organisations and initiatives, want to promote a peace process that adheres to the following 12 principles.

1. Achieving a socially just and ecologically sustainable peace requires the unconditional and complete withdrawal of Russian occupying forces from Ukraine, returning the entire territory to its internationally recognized borders.
2. Russia is systematically destroying cities, infrastructure, and the environment to demoralise the population and trigger a large wave of refugees. Against this daily terror, we demand that the “Western” governments support Ukraine in protecting its population and infrastructure against the bombing and missile attacks of the Russian occupying power. We are in favour of massive humanitarian, economic and military support for Ukraine from the rich states in Europe. The Ukrainian population urgently needs protection from Russian bombs and rockets.
3. We oppose attempts by “Western” governments, NATO and EU exponents to pressure Ukraine into making massive concessions to the Russian occupying power. We oppose the idea that Ukraine must cede several million people to the Putin regime. It is only up to the Ukrainian people to decide how to confront this atrocious situation of ongoing and possibly increasing occupation. We support the armed and unarmed resistance of Ukrainians against the Russian occupying power.
4. We demand that all Russians who refuse military service be granted secure residence status in the countries of Europe and North America. Mass desertion is important to weaken the Russian war machine.
5. We support the political struggle of Ukrainian trade unions, women’s organisations, and environmental initiatives against the neoliberal anti-labour policies of the government under President Volodymyr Zelenskyy. These policies undermine Ukraine’s socially broad-based defence against Russian occupation and render a socially just and ecologically sustainable reconstruction impossible.
6. We stand in solidarity with the anti-war movement, democratic opposition, and independent labour struggles in Russia. We also stand in solidarity with the oppressed nationalities in Russia who suffer particularly badly from the war and fight for their self-determination. It is their youth that is being exploited as cannon fodder by the Putin regime. These movements are a key factor for achieving a just peace and a democratic Russia.
7. Russia has imprisoned numerous people from Ukraine as political prisoners. Many have been sentenced to decades in prison and penal camps. We demand their unconditional release. We demand that the International Red Cross be allowed to maintain regular contact with all prisoners of war. The exchange and release of prisoners of war is a prerequisite for any just peace.
8. Russia must pay reparations to the Ukrainian people. The oligarchs of Russia and Ukraine must be expropriated. Their assets must be made available to the reconstruction of Ukraine and, once the Putin regime falls to the democratic development of Russia.
9. We demand that the “Western” governments immediately cancel Ukraine's debts. This is a crucial condition for the sovereign reconstruction of the country. The rich states of Europe and North America must set up comprehensive and broad-based support programmes for the Ukrainian people and the reconstruction of the country. This reconstruction must take place under the democratic control of the population, trade unions, environmental initiatives, feminist organisations and organized neighbourhoods in the cities and villages.
10. We oppose all projects of the European and Northern American governments, as well as international organisations, to impose a neoliberal economic agenda on the Ukrainian people. This would prolong and deepen poverty and suffering. We also denounce all efforts to sell off the property and assets of the Ukrainian population to foreign corporations. The recovery and reorganisation of agriculture, industry, energy systems and the entire social infrastructure must serve the socio-ecological transformation of Ukraine, not the supply of cheap labour, grain and hydrogen to Western European countries.
11. An effective military support of Ukraine does not require a new wave of armaments. We oppose NATO’s rearmament programmes and weapon exports to third countries. Instead, the countries of Europe and North America must provide the weapons from their existing, huge arsenals that will help Ukraine to defend itself effectively. In this sense, we demand that the arms industry should not serve the profit interests of capital – to the contrary, we want to work towards the social appropriation of the arms industry. This industry should serve the immediate interests of Ukraine. At the same time, for social and urgent ecological reasons, we underline the imperative of democratically converting the arms industry into socially useful production on a global scale.
12. We want to initiate a debate on a radical reorganisation of Europe. We want to contribute to developing a common European perspective for radical socio-ecological reforms, and ultimately for a fundamental ecosocialist transformation of the entire European continent in global solidarity. Within this framework, we support the will of the Ukrainian people to join the EU, even though we reject the EU’s neoliberal foundations that impoverish millions of people and promote unequal development in Europe. We take the perspective of an accession of several countries in Eastern Europe and South-East Europe as an opportunity to reflect together on how such a radical socio-ecological change can be initiated throughout Europe, including a common energy strategy, ecological industrial conversion, pay-as-you-go unfunded pension systems, social labour regulation, solidarity-based migration policy, interregional transfer payments, and military security along with the conversion of the armaments industry. Trade union, feminist, ecological, anti-authoritarian left and socialist forces in Eastern Europe should play an important role in this debate.

44 organisations, groups, media collectives call for: ***Ukraine: A People's Peace, not an Imperial Peace***

Five organisations jointly launched this declaration on 6 June 2024:

Sotsialnyi Rukh (Social Movement); Ukraine, Posle Media Collective, Russia; **Bewegung für den Sozialismus / Mouvement pour le Socialisme**, Switzerland and **solidarités** – mouvement anticapitaliste, féministe, écosocialiste, Switzerland, and **emanzipation** – Zeitschrift für ökosozialistische Strategie, Germany, Austria, Switzerland.

39 organisations endorsed the declaration by 6 July:

Réseau Bastille, France; Greenspiration, Canada; **SAP-Antikapitalisten / Gauche anticapitaliste**, Belgium; **Pour une Ecologie Populaire et Sociale- PEPS**, France ; **TPT-4 Fourth International Programmatic Tendency & magazine "4"**, Greece; **Comité français du Réseau européen de solidarité avec l'Ukraine (RESU)**, France; **Ukraine Solidarity Network**, USA; **Nouveau Parti Anticapitaliste - L'Anticapitaliste**, France; **Right to Resist**, Germany; **Arguments Pour la Lutte Sociale**, France; **mouvement Ensemble!**, France; **Irish Left With Ukraine (ILWU)**, Ireland ; **La Aurora** (organización marxista), Estado Español; **Sinistra per l'Ucraina**, Italy; **Centre d'études de d'initiatives de solidarité internationale CEDETIM**, France; **Initiatives Pour un Autre Monde IPAM**, France; **Assemblée européenne des citoyens AEC/HCA-France**, France; **Journal des alternatives - Plateforme altermondialiste**, Canada-Quebec; **SAP/Grenzezoos**, Netherlands; **Aftenergeia-political assembly** (Αυτενέργεια – πολιτική συλλογικότητα), Greece; **AntiCapitalist Resistance**, England & Cymru/Wales; **Ukraine Solidarity Campaign**, Britain; **Vi som støtter den nye venstresida i Ukraina**, Norway; **Fighback**, Australia/Aotearoa; **Tempest Collective**, USA; **Internationalistisches Zentrum Dresden / Internationalist Center Dresden**, Germany; **Alliance for Workers' Liberty**, Britain; **Revista Transversales** (transversales.net), Spain; **XESU-Catalunya** (Xarxa Europea de Solidaritat amb Ucraïna a Catalunya), Catalunya; **European Network in Solidarity with Ukraine and Against War (ENSU)**, Europe; **Ukraine Solidarity Campaign Scotland**, Scotland; **Solidarity, a socialist, feminist and anti-racist organisation**, USA; **autonom.infoservice - et venstreradikalt, autonomt medie**, Denmark; **Voices of Nations held captive by Moscow**, Russia; **Frælsisfylking Anarkistanna**, Denmark; **Comité de solidarité avec le peuple ukrainien et avec les opposant-e-s russes à la guerre (Vaud)**, Suisse; **Red-Green Alliance Enhedslisten**, Denmark; **News and Letters Committees, a marxist-humanist organization**, USA; **Zakhyst Pratsy All-Ukrainian independent Trade Union**, Ukraine.

320 persons signed this declaration by 6 July 2024:

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State; **Hans-Dieter von Frieling**, Wirtschaftsgeograf, Germany; **Frank Slegers**, Grenzeloos, Netherlands; **Patrick Van Klink**, Climate activist, Grenzeloos, Netherlands; **Nathalie Alessi**, professeur, Belgium; **Brigitte Wilputte**, Retraitée - Membre actif de l'association mentionnée, "Pour l'Ukraine, leur Liberté et la Nôtre", Belgium; **Felipe Martínez**, Jubilado, Spanish State; **Carlos Carujo**, Editor, Portugal; **Antonín Hořčca**, pensioner, ecosocialist, Levice party, Czechia; **Alex de Jong**, co-director IIRE, Amsterdam, Netherlands; **Monique Dental**, Présidente fondatrice, Réseau Féministe "Ruptures", France; **Maximilian Westenthanner**, private person, Germany; **Gary Mickle**, member, Sennacieca Asocio Tutmonda (World Anational Association), Germany; **Wim Bot**, Policy officer, Fietsersbond, Netherlands; **Matteo Poretti**, Movimento per il socialismo, sindacalista Unia, Movimento per il socialismo, Switzerland; **Olga Husson**, retired teacher, France; **Aja Pille-Riin**, PhD student, France & Estonia; **Artyom Stassyuk**, Mitglied im Koordinationsteam, BAK Bytva der Linksjugend [solid], Germany; **Martin Baña**, historiador, Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina; **Michele Nobile**, Teacher, member of Utopia Rossa, Italy; **Dawid Zygmunt**, party member, Razem, Poland; **Kit Wainer**, doctoral student, Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona, Spanish State; **Sean Patterson**, PhD, candidate, University of Alberta, Canada; **Gregory Kalyniuk**, Independent Researcher, Canada; **David Elder**, anarchist, Australia; **Susan Pashkoff**, political Organiser, AntiCapitalist Resistance, Britain; **Corina Elmer**, pensioniert, Switzerland; **Maryann Abbs**, Climate Justice activist, Canada; **Mudassir Nadeem**, Student, India; **Sam Veremchuk**, PhD Student, USA; **Manuel Ferez**, PHD student, Universidad Alberto Hurtado Chile, Chile; **Laurent Vogel**, chercheur en santé au travail, Comité belge du RESU, Belgium; **Art Young**, Solidarity and socialist activist, Member of Independent Jewish Voices, Canada; **Dominic Akeret**, engineer, Switzerland; **Pete Klosterman**, supporter, USA; **Miguel Madeira**, Member of the Assembleia de Freguesia de Portimão, Bloco de Esquerda, Portugal; **Yelyzaveta Monastyrova**, Doctoral researcher, UK; **Karyna Lazaruk**, media researcher, Mediology, Germany; **Thomas Harrison**, New Politics editorial board, Tempest Collective, USA; **Nicole Roger**, retraitée, citoyenne du monde, France; **Mike Palamarek**, sessional Assistant Professor, Glendon College, York University, Canada; **Christos Stylianos Vazouras**, student, Greece; **Thomas Rieger**, Berater, Germany; **Natalie, Kopytko**, union UCU, University of Leeds, UK; **Monique Cordin**, institutrice retraitée, France; **Yuliya Yurchenko**, researcher, activist, Ukrainian, UK; **Stephen Komarnyckyj**, poet, literary translator, author, Germany; **Tom Madge**, animator, designer, teacher, artist, AnimateCity - Self Employed, UK; **Isobel Palmer**, Assistant Professor, University of Birmingham, UK; **Mikkel Ørsted Sauzet**, graphic novelist, Belgium; **Vincent, Artman**, Adjunct professor, Wayne State University, USA; **Daniel Wengelin**, citizen of Europe, Sweden; **Jokubas Salyga**, Assistant Professor, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley, USA; **Matthias Huffer**, Bildungsreferent, Germany; **Maria Sonevysky**, Associate Professor of Anthropology and Music, Bard College, USA; **Alexander Vorbrugg**, Senior researcher, University of Bern, Switzerland; **Marsha Rummel**, solidarity, USA; **Balasingham Skanthakumar**, Polity magazine co-editor, Sri Lanka; **Renate Hürtgen**, Historikerin, GEW, Germany; **Oliver Bolliger**, Grossrat Kanton Basel-Stadt, BastA! Basels starke Alternative, Switzerland; **Gini Lester**, retired, USA; **Daniele Fusco**, Movimento per il socialismo, Switzerland; **Paul-Francois Tremlett**, Senior Lecturer in Religious Studies, The Open University, UK, Britain; **Ian Singleton**, writer, Professor, SUNY-Albany, USA; **Anne-Tracy Barros-Ruof**, retired, USA; **Tanja Lehmann**, Germany; **Paul Barros-Ruof**, individual, USA; **Denis Verstraeten**, militant, Gauche anticapitaliste, Belgium; **Thibault Bricheux**, French teacher, Brazil; **Larissa Bannwart**, marketing analyst, Brazil; **Edin Sumar**, Member, Anarchist Students' Union, University of Copenhagen, Denmark; **Vár Autumn Reinert Sommer-Winther**, Spokesperson, Frælsisfylking Anarkistanna, Denmark; **Cristino Alves Oliveira Cristino**, Professor, Escola pública, Spanish State; **Natalie Kononenko**, professor - retired, University of Alberta, Canada; **Alfred Lang**, journalist, Denmark; **Maryvonne Ardouin**, retraitée, France; **Marc Daniel Levy**, retraité, Aplusoc, France; **GINETTE LEWIS**, citoyenne, Presse toi À gauche, Canada; **Orest Martynowych**, historian/researcher (retired), Canada; **Helene Vadsten**, Local Board Member, Regional Board Member, The Red/Green Alliance (Enhedslisten), Denmark; **Sébastien Guex**, Prof. Université de Lausanne, solidaritÉS, Switzerland; **André Herzog**, teacher, Actor, Austria; **João Camargo**, researcher, Belgium; **André Frappier**, militant syndical et altermondialiste, Presse-toi à Gauche et Canadian Dimension, Québec/Canada; **Paul Brodoway**, observer, no organization, Canada; **Juliane Nagel**, Mitglied des Landtages, Sachsen, Die Linke, Germany; **Karin Lischke**, privat, Austria; **Roxanne Shalkouhi-Coutteure**, Feminist socialist activist, Gauche Anticapitaliste, Belgium; **Donna Koziak**, individual, Canada; **Inge Hansen**, librarian, autonom feminist from Denmark, Denmark; **Richard Hatcher**, community activist, ACR, England; **Allan Todd**, member of Anti-Capitalist Resistance Council, Anti-Capitalist Resistance, England; **Lida Somchynsky**, retired, Canada; **Jörg Becher**, Vorstand, Nord Süd Forum e.V., Germany; **Daniel Süri**, retraité et internationaliste, solidaritÉS Vaud, Switzerland; **Carmen, Duplain**, teacher, Canada; **Paul Crofts**, Independent Socialists in Wellingborough, Britain; **Justin Turpel**, activist, former Member of Parliament Luxembourg, Germany & Luxembourg; **Valerii Petrov**, political activist, Socialny Rukh, Ukraine; **Arnal Ballester**, illustrator, Catalonia (Spanish State); **Carolyn Zweifel**, Künstlerin, Switzerland; **Eric Mykhalovskiy**, Professor, York University, Canada; **Marianne Dithmer**, member of local government, Red-green alliance, Denmark; **Esteve Morera**, Associate Professor, Philosophy and Politics, York University, Canada; **Michael Tucker**, retired, ACR, Britain; **Benedicte Toftegaard**, Typograf, HK, Denmark; **Franklin Dmitryev**, National Organizer, News and Letters Committees, USA; **Eva Schörkhuber**, Schriftstellerin und Kulturwissenschaftlerin, PS: Anmerkungen zum Literaturbetrieb/ Politisch Schreiben, Austria; **Vyacheslav Bondarenko**, Researcher, Germany; **Valerii Petrov**, political activist, project coordinator, Social Movement, Ukraine; **Vitalii Dudin**, co-founder, 'Sotsialnyi Rukh' NGO, Ukraine; **Viktoriia Pihul**, member of board, Sotsialniy Pukh (Social Movement), Ukraine; **Maksym Romanenko**, physician, Social movement, Ukraine; **Lesia Alam**, feminist activist and humanitarian volunteer, Feminist Lodge, Ukraine; **Pavlo Bryzhatyi**, student of The National University of Ostroh Academy and activist of several Ukrainian left-wing organisations, NGO "Sotsialnyi Rukh" (Social Movement) & Independent Student Trade Union "Priama Diia" (Direct Action), Ukraine; **Artem Tidva**, trade union activist, Соціальний рух, Ukraine; **Lisa Majer**, Mensch, Germany; **Alex Zerkalo**, Politikwissenschaftlerin, Germany; **Katja Kuehn**, Ärztin, Germany; **Daniel Nitsch**, Politikwissenschaftler, keine, Germany; **Oleg Vernyk**, head of All-Ukrainian independent Trade Union "Labour defence" (Zakhyst Pratsy), Ukraine; **Matthias Schwerendt**, Privatperson, Germany.

The 320 signatories come from the following countries:

Argentina 1, Australia 2, Austria 6, Belgium 9, Brazil 2, Britain 21, Canada 26, Chile 1, Colombia 1, Czechia 2, Denmark 10, France 46, France & Estonia 1, Germany 46, Germany & Luxembourg 1, Greece 8, Hungary 1, India 1, Ireland 8, Italy 13, Luxembourg 1, Netherlands 6, Norway 5, Poland 2, Portugal 2, Russia 2, Slovakia 1, Spanish State 14, Sri Lanka 1, Sweden 3, Switzerland 38, Ukraine 10, USA 29.

An urgently needed transnational debate

This joint declaration is intended to achieve three goals:

1. To initiate a common process of understanding among the signatory organisations, initiatives and media collectives on how we can contribute to consolidating solidarity with the Ukrainian resistance.
2. To stimulate comprehensive discussions on national self-determination, inter-imperialist rivalry, geopolitical bloc thinking, rearmament, anti-imperialist and ecosocialist strategies and in general emancipatory working-class mobilisations, particularly within progressive social movements such as the feminist movement, the environmental movement, migration solidarity and trade unions.
3. To initiate a dialogue among the signatories for a more comprehensive programmatic and strategic understanding of an anticapitalist and ecosocialist transformation of the entire European continent in a perspective of global solidarity.

In a beautiful momentum of its own and in a spontaneous self-organised manner, comrades in numerous countries have translated the declaration into their languages to make it accessible to a wider audience. This was an impressive surprise. We now have the declaration in English, German, French, Castilian, Portuguese, Polish, Italian, Ukrainian, Greek, Russian, Danish, Norwegian, Dutch, Esperanto and Czech.

[Here you can find the declaration in all these languages.](#)

This echo and our international online-conference on 15 June reveal that there is a real need for joint transnational and continental discussions on how to effectively express solidarity with the Ukrainian resistance while fighting for a radical socio-ecological and even revolutionary ecosocialist upheaval on the entire continent.

We asked socialist, ecosocialist, feminist, non-authoritarian, anarchist, and radical environmental organisations, initiatives, media collectives and individuals in Europe and beyond Europe to sign this declaration by the end of June. Interested organisations, groups, initiatives, media collectives and individuals can still endorse the declaration. We will update the list from time to time. Please send confirmations of your signing to:

Joao_Woyzeck@proton.me and redaktion@emanzipation.org

Individuals, please, sign here: <https://forms.gle/EAPYSoJCHpWq4bHR6>

Thanks to everybody who helps to spread our political message.

In solidarity,

Joao Woyzeck for Movement for Socialism and Christian Zeller for emanzipation, 9 July 2024