Resolution on the war in Ukraine

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Russia's war against Ukraine has now been going on for just over three years. Although the crisis and conflict started already 2014, the attack we have been witnessing since the beginning of 2022 is an escalation that not only raises the question of Ukraine's independence, but also that of the redivision of the world between the major imperial powers. As young revolutionaries, we need a clear stance and course of action for one of the most violent wars since World War II. In this paper, we attempt to outline a thesis for the current situation. This is very important, as it is not unlikely that this year will be decisive for the Russian-Ukrainian war.

Military situation

The war in Ukraine has been frozen in a stalemate for some time, with little territory gains or loses. There are occasional advances on both sides, but since Ukraine's defeats in the battles for Bakhmut and Avdiivka, and the unsuccessful Ukrainian summer offensive of 2023, Ukraine is on the defensive. Positional warfare certainly does not mean that there are no high death tolls. Exact information is not available, but there are likely to be several hundred thousand casualties on both sides (most of them at the front). The war is strikingly reminiscent of the Western Front in World War I, where every meter of ground was gained at the cost of human lives.

Despite the West's hopes of enabling Ukraine to recapture lost territory by supplying high-tech attack systems (main battle tanks (Abrams, Challenger, Leopard), infantry fighting vehicles (various IFVs), aircraft (both old MIGs and more modern F16s), missiles (HIMARS, Storm Shadow, ATACMS) and artillery systems (Ceasar, M777, including cluster munitions), this has not yet been achieved. Instead, Russia is advancing bit by bit in this war of attrition, albeit at a very slow pace. Both Russia and Ukraine are struggling to compensate for the losses of soldiers thrown into the meat grinder of eastern

Ukraine. Although a general mobilization was announced on the Ukrainian side at the beginning of the war, it was never really carried out. The Ukrainian government was particularly reluctant to mobilize the well-trained and therefore most combat-ready generation of 18- to 25-year-olds. On the Russian side, there has only been a partial mobilization so far, and the need for soldiers is primarily being met by mobilizing volunteers, although how "voluntary" this isoften remains questionable.

The war in Ukraine is the war that has seen the highest use of technology to date. In addition to classic heavy military equipment such as artillery systems and tanks, drones are playing an increasingly central role in warfare and are becoming a frequently deadly terror for advancing soldiers. AI is also being experimented with repeatedly, for example for target selection. But how could a war of such intensity, surpassed only by the two world wars (in terms of the severity of the fighting), come about? To understand this, let's start with an overview of Ukraine's recent history and its relationship with Russian imperialism.

History of Ukraine

The Russian invasion of Ukraine in 2022 was not an isolated event, but the result of escalating tensions between imperialist blocs – the "West" and Russia – following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 and in the context of a global power struggle over the redivision of the world.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union, the young Ukrainian nation-state faced profound economic crises that led to chronic political instability. A small group of former functionaries deliberately exploited the remnants of the Stalinist bureaucracy to enrich themselves massively in the course of capitalist restoration and extensive privatization. In these new circumstances, a powerful new oligarchy emerged. Due to its close economic and political ties to Russian imperialism and a significant Russian-speaking minority in the south and east of the country, Ukraine found itself caught between pro-Russian and pro-Western oligarchs.

Unable to rise to imperialist power on its own, either economically or

militarily, Ukraine was forced to join one of the two blocs—the Western or the Russian—in semi-colonial dependence. The result was a state policy that oscillated between the two camps.

These internal contradictions were also reflected in the country's demographic structure: the south and east were strongly influenced by the Russian language, culture, and historical ties to Russia, while the west was dominated by a pronounced Ukrainian nationalism with a pro-Western orientation.

The Euromaidan movement in 2014 represented the culmination of these contradictions. The then Ukrainian president, Yanukovych, was a representative of the pro-Russian faction and, in the course of 2014, withdrew from an EU association agreement that had been initiated by his pro-Western predecessor. In response, nationalist forces demanding closer ties with the West took to the streets to protest against Yanukovych's policies. When his regime responded with violence and shots were fired at protesters, the leading right-wing and fascist forces of the movement attempted a coup against the Ukrainian government. It was deposed and replaced by a pro-Western government. This led to increased oppression of the Russian minority in southern and eastern Ukraine, whose language and autonomy were subsequently severely restricted. When resistance to these developments began to form in eastern Ukraine, fascist gangs attacked eastern Ukraine and were only stopped by self-defense forces of the Russian minority. This was followed by Russia's annexation of Crimea – to secure the strategically important Crimean ports, but also to protect the Russian minority – and the declaration of independence of the People's Republics of Luhansk and Donetsk by separatists.

The People's Republics subsequently waged a civil war against the Ukrainian central government that lasted until 2022. Even though the separatists were heavily dependent on Russian imperialism, while the central government was dependent on Western imperialism, the right to self-determination of the ethnical-russian separatists should not be undermined.

Peace efforts such as the 2015 Minsk Agreement, which would have

guaranteed autonomy and language rights, were repeatedly sabotaged. The rivalry between the West and Russia, but also the internal rivalry within the Western bloc between the EU and the US, did not contribute to a peaceful resolution of the conflict. Despite Russia's annexation of the People's Republics, the aspect of Ukrainian civil war continues with a different intensity.

The escalation of the conflict between imperialist blocs in and around Ukraine culminated in the Russian invasion of 2022. The West threatened to turn Ukraine into its own dependent semi-colony through armament and economic penetration—a perspective that Russia sought to prevent by force, fearing the permanent loss of its sphere of influence. However, initial successes failed to materialize, and resistance from Ukrainian forces led to the invasion has only gained little territory. Instead, it has claimed tens to hundreds of thousands of lives and turned large parts of the country into a battlefield.

The war in Ukraine has several layers that must be taken into account. The internal imperialist conflict between the West and Russia, the struggle for national self-determination within Ukraine, and thus also the continuation of the civil war, and Ukraine's own defensive struggle against the attack by imperialist Russia.

Russia's imperialist war of aggression

Russia's reactionary invasion of Ukraine in February 2022 has taken the already simmering conflict to a new level. This imperialist aggression now openly challenges the Ukrainian people's right to self-determination. The claim by some on the left that Russia has been "attacked" because NATO is increasingly encroaching on its sphere of influence is meant as an excuse for this aggression, but it only serves to highlight the inter-imperialist aspect of the conflict and the danger that it could escalate into an inter-imperialist war of unprecedented destruction.

What does Russia want?
The interests of Russian imperialism in Ukraine are clear: it is about securing

its so-called “traditional spheres of influence,” since Ukraine was an important component of Russian monopoly capital in terms of industry, agriculture, and raw materials—and, from the perspective of Russia’s ruling class, it should become so again. Russian-speaking minorities and historical ties are deliberately exploited to exert political and military pressure and create pretexts for aggression.

Since Russia does not have the economic and ideological means of the West – keyword “democracy!” – it is left with military strength to play a role in the concert of great powers and assert its influence. Its increasing aggression is an expression of its relative weakness, an attempt to assert its power claims and interests through increasingly brutal means.

The course of the war

On the one hand, the Russian army was unable to achieve a decisive victory against the Ukrainian army, which was heavily armed by the West and motivated by a desire for self-defense. On the other hand, the current war of attrition is increasingly becoming an economic issue. Russia is gaining ground because it has successfully converted its economy to a war economy. The quantitative supply of military equipment to the troops is becoming increasingly crucial. In this process, the Russian economy has clearly proven itself to be an imperialist power: the loss of capital and goods imports has been cushioned with only slight slumps. Arms production has increased by 68% and now accounts for 6.5% of GDP. After a recession in 2022, the Russian economy grew again by 2.8% in 2023. Of course, rising import prices and the war economy have also led to inflation of around 7%. As in every war, the main victims are the workers, who are struggling with rising living costs and limited supplies.

The global character of Russian imperialism

Russian imperialism is not only active in Ukraine, nor even only in Europe. In the wake of the formation of blocs, proxy conflicts also increased in Africa. There, the Putin regime supports various armed groups, foremost among them the Russian “Wagner” mercenaries, who are accused of numerous crimes against civilians. Russian and Chinese imperialism are characterized by the fact that they do not seek to assert their spheres of influence by

supposedly upholding human rights and democracy, and do not attempt to prevent semi-colonial countries, which often have dictatorial regimes, from implementing authoritarian measures (even if the West itself often does so only symbolically). The domestic policies of dependent states are rarely challenged by these imperialists, which makes them appear to many as if they were friendlier and more respectful than the Western exploiters. However, it is only a matter of time before the bourgeoisie in Moscow and Beijing decide to demand their price. Putin and Xi are certainly no more humanitarian than the rulers in the West. National oppression in Russia The Russian state also oppresses national minorities within its own borders. Those who go to the front receive a good salary, and those who die receive even more money for their families. As a result, a lot of young men from impoverished regions, who are already severely exploited, are sent to Ukraine to fight and die. The regions most affected are those where oppressed minorities live. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Russian Federation was forced to give up territory. This makes it even more brutal in its clinging to the territories it still holds. This is the case in Chechnya, where two bloody wars have led to thousands of deaths because Russian imperialism wanted to prevent the Caucasus region from breaking away at any cost.

What must the left fight for?

From a left-wing perspective, the decisive task is to transform this reactionary war into a class war. Support for anti-imperialist forces in Russia is essential for this. While our goal is the overthrow of the Russian government through a democratic anti-war movement and the building of a broader socialist movement, we do not see the overthrow of Putin as a prerequisite for a Russian defeat. Rather, the prospects for his downfall increase with the military defeat of the Russian armed forces. In the context of Ukrainian resistance to imperialist aggression, we therefore support Russia’s military defeat and complete withdrawal from the occupied territories! Neither Russian nor Western imperialism can truly bring peace and independence. The situation today also makes it clearer than ever that capitalist states cannot solve the national question. In all countries, we must therefore preserve and build the independence of the working class. We

oppose the bourgeois state, but also Stalin's socialism in one country, with the call for a socialist federation in Europe and Asia. Instead of dividing ourselves and joining an imperialist "team," we want world revolution and the end of all imperialists!

Inner-imperialist conflict over Ukraine

The inner-imperialist conflict has become clearly apparent with Russia's invasion of Ukraine and the unprecedented economic and military support provided by the Western NATO states. In the course of the war, it has become increasingly clear that Western imperialism, led by the US, has an interest in weakening Russia as an imperialist rival. The accompanying democratic rhetoric of NATO is nothing more than a hypocritical farce.

Relationship to the main contradiction between the US and China
The outbreak of the war has further intensified the conflict between the US and China, which is currently shaping the world. In this conflict, Russia has become more closely tied to Chinese imperialism and the EU to US imperialism. Russia's imperialism lies in its military strength. From the perspective of the West and the US, this strength must be reduced to as little as possible, or even eliminated, for the coming conflict with China. The EU's ties to US imperialism were secured primarily through sanctions and the subsequent destruction of relations between EU states and Russia. Since oil and gas imports from Russia have been halted, imports of LNG gas from the US have skyrocketed.

Economic war
On the economic level, support for Ukraine has long since turned into an economic war against Russia. The aim is to isolate Russia from the global economy and thereby weaken it. However, the sanctions have hardly affected Russia, as the Russian economy was prepared for them and has increasingly been converted into a war economy. Above all, not only China but also a large number of semi-colonies have refused to support the sanctions, with the result that it is mainly the EU states that have had to bear the economic consequences. As a result, the EU, and Germany in particular, finds itself in an increasingly complex economic crisis. Rising energy and food prices and

high inflation rates are hitting workers and youth particularly hard. At the same time, the political response of governments to the crisis has been social attacks and cuts.

Armament in Europe

The war in Ukraine has provided Western imperialism with a perfect opportunity for massive rearmament. Shortly after the war began, a $100 billion package for the German armed forces was approved. At the beginning of 2025, another package of $500 billion for the military and another $500 billion for infrastructure was approved. Through ring exchanges, old war material is handed over to Ukraine and replaced with new war material. This ring exchange is expected to be completed in 2025. Germany plays a central role in European rearmament: its large railway network and cross-border transport make it the logistical hub. The $500 billion for infrastructure is intended to make the infrastructure fit for further, larger, and heavier war transports. Disused tracks are being reactivated, switches that have not been used for a long time are being replaced, and electrification is being pushed forward. We also see the effects strongly in our schools. Whether at job fairs, where the German Armed Forces advertises killing, war propaganda on monitors, or visits by officers to our schools, all of this has increased in recent years. In addition, in Germany, people over the age of 18 are to be questioned about their fitness for war in order to establish a system of conscription. The new Merz government, but also the previous „traffic light coalition“ government, are moving toward the reintroduction of compulsory military service.

How should we respond?

As the youth and the working class in the Western imperialist states, we must resolutely oppose an inner-imperialist war! At the same time, we must also respect and defend Ukraine’s right to self-defense. But what does this mean in concrete terms? The most important task of youth and workers in the imperialist countries that want to drag Ukraine into ever deeper economic, military, and political dependence is to organize themselves in word and deed against this neo-colonial policy. We know that imperialism will not act in the interests of the nationally oppressed, but always in its own imperialist

interests, which is why we vote against supplying weapons under the conditions of the imperialists in their parliaments. Instead of this false solidarity, we demand genuine solidarity with the workers and youth in Ukraine and, as part of this:

- All debts must be cancelled immediately!
- Corporations such as Bayer-Monsanto, Rheinmetall, and those in the construction industry that directly or indirectly profit from the suffering of the Ukrainian people must be expropriated without compensation!
- Weapons and humanitarian supplies must be sent at no cost and without conditions, and the transports must be controlled by workers!
- Military transfers from the West to Ukraine should be part of a Western disarmament program! Take the weapons out of the hands of the imperialists and give them to the Ukrainians to defend their country!
- The operation of weapons must not depend on NATO instructors. Where possible, instructions must be documented in writing or on video; where instructors are needed, they must be released from their own military and placed under Ukrainian command!
- Workers‘ control is needed in arms production facilities and in the transport sector, so that it is not the imperialist states and their governments that determine how and where weapons are delivered to defend the Ukrainian people, but us, the workers and the youth!

Role in the bloc formation

The current world situation is in a fundamental capitalist crisis, which showed its first deep cracks in the financial crisis of 2008. This period of crisis, which is reflected in various ecological, social, military, economic, and many other escalations of the contradictions of the system, has now reached a new phase, which has entered a more open state, above all due to the war in Ukraine. This new phase is not “just” about economic crises or local wars—it is about the open, sometimes warlike, redivision of the world between the imperialist powers, led by the US, Russia, and China. The imperialist powers of the EU (especially Germany, France, and Italy) as well as Great Britain and Japan, once dominant imperialists, are in decline, must submit to others, and are desperately unable to reorient and reestablish

themselves.

Long-term crisis period since 2008

Since 2008, we have been in a prolonged period of crisis, characterized not only by a stagnating average profit rate, but also by a profound disintegration of global production chains. Numerous conflicts, some of them reigniting, such as in Syria, Libya, Kashmir, Sudan, and Myanmar, reveal the imperialist struggles that are partly waged by the major capitalist powers themselves, but even more often exacerbated and enabled by them. The rise of China and Russia as global competitors to the older imperialists changed the worlds political landscape long before the war in Ukraine. The imperialist powers are trying to expand or at least maintain their spheres of influence, as illustrated by their activities in Africa (e.g. Russia's role in the Central African Republic) and the ongoing war in Ukraine. The US ambitions to acquire territorial claims such as the "purchase of Greenland" from Denmark or the control the Panama Canal are also part of this imperialist realignment.

Block formation before the Ukraine war

Before the war in Ukraine, the central question was whether the EU would succeed in becoming an imperialist actor capable of acting independently and internationally. This was a particular threat to
the US, given the possibility of an alliance between Russia and China, which could have challenged
its position as the world's sole superpower. The expansion of military capabilities in the East Pacific
and clearer economic competition showed that the US was increasingly preparing for a confrontation with China as its main rival. The question arose as to whether other declining great powers, such as Japan or the UK, could manage to play a stronger role without being completely dependent on the US.

Block formation after the outbreak of the Ukraine war

The war in Ukraine has dramatically changed the geopolitical landscape. The rift between the EU and Russia, which is a loss for both sides, is irreversible for the time being. However, it cannot be ruled out that this may change again at some point with changes in the imperialist world order. Russia is

now recognized by the US as a significant military power, with the primary goal of pushing Russia further away from the EU. In the period since the outbreak of the war, Russia has attempted to enter into a limited tactical alliance with China in order to maintain sales opportunities for its raw materials. The EU has completely subordinated itself to the US in this new bloc formation. It has not managed to continue the war on its own or play a decisive role in the negotiations to advance its own interests. Without the military and political support of the US, the EU is almost powerless in this conflict. The accession of Sweden and Finland to NATO also shows how much the EU is placing itself under the US to guarantee the security of its imperialist interests, as it would probably not be able to do so on its own.

Donald Trump's attempts to realign US imperialism

With Donald Trump's inauguration, a new phase in the redivision of the world began. Trump attempted to shift the focus of US imperialists even more strongly from Russia to China. The trade war, the increase in tariffs on Chinese goods, and the further expansion of military bases in the South China Sea, Japan, South Korea, and the Philippines illustrate this strategy. Trump wanted not only to contain China economically and militarily, but also to weaken part of the global production chains from China to the US. The goal is to make the US less dependent on the Chinese economy and at the same time create a new bloc of countries that would increasingly distance themselves from China and subordinate themselves to the US. Trump is also relatively open about trying to break Russia out of its alliance with China, while openly snubbing traditional US allies that he considers "worthless" in the fight against China. Examples include the EU and Canada.

The EU as the loser in these developments

The EU has emerged as the clear loser in the latest imperialist developments. In the conflict with Russia, it has become Ukraine's most vocal supporter, but it has no strategic means of its own to influence or end the war. Instead, it is forced to subordinate itself completely to US strategy without developing an independent political line. The Ukraine conflict has also shown that the EU is militarily and economically incapable of successfully pursuing its own goals. The EU has been unable to prevent Russia from continuing to operate on the

global political stage, Western sanctions have not been supported even by traditional allies such as Israel, Türkiye, or Saudi Arabia and are instead being carried out at the expense of the EU, and the EU is also powerless in negotiations. Its role is increasingly determined by the US, with the EU acting more and more as a mere assistant to the US in this new world order. Nevertheless, Trump's inauguration reveals the fragility of these imperialist alliances—and the question of European political unification is becoming increasingly urgent, as it is otherwise impossible for European imperialists to emerge as independent imperialist actors. This makes it clear that, despite emerging trends, we cannot make any definitive statements about the contradictory dynamics in the imperialist world system.

The role of national oppression

Since spheres of influence and territorial redistribution are often at stake, national oppression is articularly relevant. Even though we are not nationalists, we believe that every oppressed country should be able to decide for itself how it is governed. National oppression can often only be overcome by shaking off the oppressor nation. We see this in struggles such as those in Rojava and Palestine, but also in Ukraine. In Ukraine, this becomes all the more apparent as the war draws to an end.

Ceasefire and imperialist "peace"
Since Donald Trump took office in the White House, the US has been trying to end the war in Ukraine. Even during his election campaign, Trump promised to implement this on day one of his presidency. The calculation behind this is probably to invest resources in the Pacific and in a coming conflict with China rather than in a war that Ukraine is clearly losing. Instead, Trump is trying to detach Russia from China and at least keep it neutral in a coming conflict.

Current perspective
Since Russia is currently winning the war and Trump has already publicly committed himself to peace as an option on several occasions, Russia is in a very strong negotiating position and is demanding a lot. Given the current balance of power, an inner-imperialist peace would amount to defeat for

Ukraine in its struggle for national self-determination. Such a peace must be enforced even against Zelensky's collaborationist regime. However, Trump and Vice President Pence demonstrated Zelensky's dependence on and helplessness toward the US in early March 2025 when they humiliated him in a live broadcast. Despite support from Britain and France, the Zelensky regime has no choice but to submit to the US, accept the prospect of peace, and take the sellout of the country to a new level through the raw materials deal with the US. At the same time, Trump is leaving the European imperialists, above all Germany, France, and Britain, out of this development. This has called into question the traditional Western alliance and raises the question of a strategic reorientation for the politically weakened European imperialists. Overall, the likelihood of an inner-imperialist peace is high given the line taken by the US leadership, but Russia's demands are also leading to countervailing tendencies.

The character of this peace

What impact would such a peace have on the character of the war and the world situation, or what impact has the tendency toward peace already today? The level of inner-imperialist conflict will completely recede into the background at the moment peace is concluded. Indeed, it will even change its character with regard to Ukraine. The conflict over hegemony in Ukraine will become the imperialists' joint robbery of Ukraine. This does not mean, of course, that the imperialists will no longer compete, but they have divided Ukraine as their spoils and are now forcing this on the Ukrainian people. In all likelihood, Russia will be able to annex the territories it occupies, while the western part of Ukraine would become an even more dependent semi-colony of the West. The lion's share would probably go to the US, while the European robbers would have to content themselves with smaller pieces. For Ukraine, this would mean the division of its country, the permanent occupation of one part and the corresponding oppression of the Ukrainian population living there, the sell-out and complete dependence of the other part, with the accompanying impoverishment of large sections of the population. It is clear that the question of defending Ukraine's right to self-determination against this inner-imperialist peace of plunder will overshadow all other issues at the moment of peace and will be the sole focus. With the

current trend toward inner-imperialist peace, the question of defending Ukraine's national self-determination is coming to the fore. The very act of partition is a massive imperialist intervention. But even if an imperialist dictated peace is now the greatest threat to the workers, peasants, and youth in Ukraine, the trend could reverse again if no agreement is reached.

Significance for the world situation

On a global level, such a peace would initially strengthen Russia, although a break with China remains unlikely. Among the imperialists, the EU and the UK will be the big losers and, given their current weakness, will probably have to accept their snub in the short term. However, peace could lead to a strategic reorientation on their part. The arms race will not be stopped by peace, but will be further fueled, if anything. The rift in the Western alliance is already being used to justify arms packages of $500 billion and more, and with Europe's defeat, this trend will only increase. The danger of an inner-imperialist war will also increase in the medium to long term as a result of this peace.

Wars and anti-war movements

What must a successful anti-war movement in the imperialist centers look like? To answer this question, we must take a close look at the contradictions and problems, which can vary depending on the starting point. For countries such as Germany and France, the current priority is to focus on rearmament, to mobilize against it, and to use all means at their disposal to expose the link between military "support" for other countries and their own rearmament and preparations for war. The interests of their own countries in the context of bloc formation and spheres of influence must be actively highlighted. Pacifism and neutrality offer no alternative for us. Even though we reject the abolition of neutrality as a step toward militarization in some countries (such as Austria or Switzerland), we see this as a bogus debate. There are no neutral states on a divided earth. The reality is that our solidarity lies exclusively with the oppressed and workers of all nations. This means that we can see progressive elements in wars when they fight for emancipation. However, we never have any illusions in those in power, no matter which side they are on, who never seriously fight for liberation, even if they claim to do

so. We must weigh up the options: Is it possible, through revolutionary work, to direct struggles against one's own government and not only against the aggressor? What are the consequences of allowing one's own bourgeoisie to have its way if one does not oppose its armsbuildup and economic interests? These are questions that vary from situation to situation. The rule of thumb, however, is that one never sides with an imperialist state, and for us in countries like Germany or France, the main enemy is always our own government and our own bourgeoisie. In semi-colonies, on the other hand, it may sometimes be necessary to enter into temporary tactical alliances in order to wage an anti-imperialist struggle. This is the case, for example, in Palestine,
where we are fighting alongside the local bourgeois forces of resistance. At the same time, however,
we must reject their reactionary ideology and maintain an independent position of the workers.

Ukrainian refugees

There are currently 6.4 million Ukrainian refugees living outside Ukraine in Europe. They were driven from their country by the destruction and devastation of the war. Even more were forced to flee within Ukraine, from the east to the west. There are 1.2 million Ukrainians living in Germany alone, almost a million in Poland, around 370,000 in the Czech Republic, and tens to hundreds of thousands in almost every European country. However, we have seen that they were treated very differently from those who fled wars in Syria or Afghanistan in 2015, for example. From day one, they received work permits, social benefits such as „Bürgergeld" (social welfare program in Germany), and, above all, were housed in private accommodation. People who were not considered "rightful refugees" due to geopolitical interests of the EU countries, often suffer for years from employment bans, which force them to sell their labor on the black market and remain in camps where they are often subjected to abuse. However, the treatment of Ukrainians is not flawless either. They are affected by racist segregation in the labor market and the exploitation of their labor, as in the case of the meat company Tönnies, which also results from the obstacles in the recognition of

professional qualifications.

At the same time, the Ukrainian government is trying to make deals with other countries to force refugees who have evaded military service to the front lines. As a result of the crisis of the EU and its leading imperialist powers, Germany and France, the “privileges” enjoyed by Ukrainian refugees are now also hanging in the balance under a Merz government. Instead of defending these “privileges” for Ukrainian refugees, it is our task as revolutionary youth to positively dismantle the two-tier system among refugees by fighting against the racist division of workers and youth in general. We must consistently oppose the unequal treatment of our class brothers and sisters who have fled! The proletariat has no fatherland! And that means fighting for:

- Equal rights for all, no matter where they come from or what color their skin is!
- Decentralized housing through expropriation of housing companies under the control of tenants and the working class!
- Free language courses through taxation of the rich!
- Equal pay for equal work and a minimum income through taxation of the rich!
- The admission of refugees into trade unions – in order to implement these demands in a joint struggle!
- Open borders and freedom of movement everywhere!
- Full citizenship rights for everyone where they live!
  In addition, the specific situation of the war in Ukraine also makes it necessary to demand clearly and unequivocally:
- Against any deportation of conscientious objectors, whether to Russia, Ukraine, or anywhere else! For the right to desert!

Tasks of the revolutionary youth in Ukraine

The tasks of the youth in Ukraine are certainly the most difficult. On the one hand, they are confronted with Russia’s imperialist invasion and are forced, sometimes involuntarily and violently, into the Ukrainian army and to the front. At the same time, they face an authoritarian state apparatus that is extremely repressive against left-wing forces. The “Communist Party” has

been banned since 2015, and positive references to the Soviet Union and even the possession of Marxist literature are punishable by law. At the same time, the level of just self-defense of the semi-colony Ukraine against the imperialist great power Russia clearly prevails within Ukraine, even if this struggle iscurrently led by a reactionary bourgeois government.

The government cannot achieve independence

This government is by no means waging a consistent struggle for self-determination, but aims to subordinate itself to the Western military apparatus and makes its war aims largely dependent on the latter's interests. Instead of defending itself against the increasingly apparent joint plunder of Ukraine by the imperialists, it willingly allows the US and EU to plunder the country in favor of its own interests. The military "aid" provided by the West, which has resulted in three years of attrition warfare and now threatens to end in a "peace" that smacks of surrender, was from the outset a means of bringing Ukraine into economic dependence and securing the long-term exploitation of its natural resources and the labor power of its population. On the one hand, this was achieved by driving up Ukraine's debts even further (currently standing at USD 171 billion – approx. 96% of GDP). On the other hand, Western support was linked to the introduction of austerity measures, cuts, and, not least, land reform (on land that produces 30% of the world's wheat), which paved the way for Western capital to enter Ukrainian fields. Today, nine of the ten largest investors in Ukrainian land are registered abroad, including DuPont, Cargill, and Bayer-Monsanto. With the new raw materials agreement, the US has also granted itself the right to extract 57 mineral resources such as oil and gas, titanium, lithium, and rare earths. Economic subjugation also means political dependence, especially on the US, as demonstrated not least by Trump's change of course, the scandal in the White House, and the complete bypassing of Ukraine in possible peace negotiations between the US and Russia, in which, in case of doubt, Ukraine would have to make concessions to Russia in favor of the US and still be economically squeezed by the latter.

The youth must take up the struggle themselves, together with the workers!

However, this must not mean that the Ukrainian youth do not fight the just struggle for national self-determination. It also means recognizing within Ukraine that Ukraine has a right to obtain the weapons necessary to wage this struggle. We are therefore not calling for any acts of sabotage or similar against the Ukrainian army. This in no way means capitulating to Zelensky's pro-imperialist and anti-worker policies. They and the Ukrainian ruling class are the ones who suffer least from the war, indeed they even profit from it, for example by leasing farmland and other deals, and live in relative safety from the actual fighting, while the working class and youth fight on the front lines, have fled, or are inadequately rotected or not protected at all. The struggle of Ukrainian youth must also include defending and fighting for trade union rights. In the workplace and wherever possible, and where they still exist (many schools have already been destroyed in the war), they must also fight for better living conditions and democratic rights in schools. This is not in contradiction to defending against the Russian aggressors. Rather, it strengthens the resilience and morale of the population. These struggles must also be waged on the front lines. Wherever there is harassment by officers, senseless maneuvers, or collaboration with neo-Nazi battalions, it is necessary to resist. Out of these struggles, it is necessary to form soldiers' committees that can build a counterpower, fight against the disarmament of Ukraine in the event of an imperialist peace, and be in a real position to drive the Western imperialists out of the country. In the context of an impending imposed peace, it must be clear that we oppose the Zelensky regime and have no confidence in this government. However the country is divided up among the capitalist associations, there needs to be an independent working class that opposes the interests of the West and takes the defense against the Russian aggressor into its own hands!

It is therefore necessary to fight both for the consistent struggle against imperialist subjugation of
Ukraine and the consistent defense of its right to self-determination, as well as for the independence
of the working class and youth in the struggle for self-determination. This would lay the foundation
for fighting for further demands that must now also be raised:

- Full support for Ukraine's right to self-determination! Agitation, revolutionary propaganda, exposing the character of the war, which not only attacks Russia and NATO/US/EU, but also clarifies the war aims of the Ukrainian government.
- The weapons for the just struggle must be accepted, but the conditions attached to them must not!
- For effective protection and defense of the civilian population by the government and army!
- Fight for control over weapons and scarce goods in factories, cities, and villages, and if possible, build militias. In case of doubt, these must also be prepared to defend against right-wing nationalist and fascist commanders and forces, and actively exclude them!
- Workers should work for the establishment of workers' control over the maintenance and production of military equipment. Ukraine must be able to acquire and produce weapons itself, without being dependent on Western supplies!
- Anti-militarist and anti-imperialist agitation directed against the Russian occupation soldiers. Resistance to the consolidation of the Russian occupation!
- Fight against the restriction of democratic rights and attacks on workers' rights by the Kiev regime!
- Recognition of the rights of all non-Ukrainian-speaking minorities, against their cultural or political oppression!
- For the right to education in their mother tongue in Ukrainian schools for all non-Ukrainian-speaking minorities!
- Against the abduction and forced recruitment of Ukrainian youth to send them to the front, for the right of Ukrainian youth to leave the country! For agitation among youth on why it is necessary to fight for the interests of youth and the working class and to pursue revolutionary politics within the army!
- For the full right to self-determination of Crimea and the "People's Republics" (including their right to join Russia or become an independent state)! For the recognition of full rights for Ukrainian-speaking minorities in these regions! Ultimately, a socialist federation of workers' states is needed to prevent the nationalist ruling classes from stirring up hostility in their interests.
- For the expropriation without compensation of land and means of production from all foreign investors – Immediate debt cancellation! Reconstruction of schools, social institutions, and the entire country under the control of workers and youth!