

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 is often 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 world's 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 of 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 particularly 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 is currently 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 protected 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!

Syria: The end of Assad and what awaits

*International Resolution of the independent communist youth organisation
REVOLUTION*

Assads Regime has fallen in December. This article looks at the history of the Syrian struggle as well as the ongoing developments since then.

With the start of the Arab Spring in Tunisia at the end of 2010, a Series of Uprisings started in North Africa and the middle East. This forced many governmental changes and also started civil wars, such as in Libya, where Muammar al-Gaddafi was overthrown. Similarly the Revolution came to Syria which later ended in a civil war, because the Assad regime's security cracked down bloody on protests. In consequence, armed rebel groups like the Free Syrian Army (FSA) began forming, which often included deserters from Assad's Syrian army. The different rebel groups received weapons form Turkey, the Golf Cooperation Council (UAE., Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Oman Kuwait, Bahrain) and some Western countries, and made advances in the beginning. The Assad Forces received Weapons as well as other Military and civil support from Russia and Iran at the time. Another actor appeared in 2013, the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS). Hay'at Tahrir al-Sham's (HTS) current Leaders had coordinated the expansion of Al-Qaeda in Syria with ISIS between 2012 and 2013, but later had a fallout with them. The fight against ISIS happened largely on shoulders of the Kurds and their Allies, because ISIS encroached on territory Ethnically dominated by Kurds - which was also one of the reasons the prominent US support of the Kurdisch forces was made possible. The successful fight against ISIS roughly created the boarders for the following years, as well as an autonomous Region of Rojava under kurdish control. Several ceasefires were brokered between Assad and oppositions groups. Over this Period more than half a Million people were

killed, 7,2 Million internally displaced and with a Diaspora of 8 to 13 million, the situation of the Syrian People dramatically deteriorated since 2011, 90% of the population in Syria are living in poverty.

Fall of Assad

The recent Fall of Assad happened due to an offensive from the Islamist and Syrian Nationalist Military Operations Command (MOC), which is Dominated by HTS. They wanted to Attack Aleppo at the end of 2023, but Turkey wanted to pursue negotiations with the Assad regime, which didn't lead to a result that was sufficient for Turkey. Today, we can say that Turkey likely gave the green light for the HTS operation; however, it does not have full control over them.

2023, HTS began looking for and creating Allies, by supporting the creation of the Southern Operations Room (SOR), which united 25 Militias south of Damascus. The groups of the MOC got weapons from Turkey from time to time, which further indicates Turkey's involvement in the offensive planned by the MOC on Aleppo. The resistance from Assad's forces started to crumble after Aleppo was taken. Four days after Aleppo, Hama was taken and only three days after that the MOC took Homs. The SOR took control of Damascus at the same day as Homs was taken. The capture of Latakia in the Alawite dominated west of the country, that borders with the Mediterranean, concludes the capture of the most important cities and regions of Syria in under a month.

With the capture of these important cities the large prisons that the Assad dictatorship had maintained were opened, so that the political prisoners could relish in the new regime change. The opening of the torture prisons was also a top priority in many military operations. The largest prison, Sednaya could hold up to 20.000 people, with the total amount of Syrians arrested since the begin of the civil war estimated to be in the 6 digits. Systematic killing and Torture of Prisoners was also practiced by Assad's Security Forces, with 11.000 being killed only from March 2011 to August 2013, leaving open the question of the total.

The successful overthrow of the Assad dictatorship, also seemed to be a surprise for the rebel groups. Indicator for that is the absence of a clear political program of HTS and it's Allies. The absence of a program is obvious in their handling of key questions such as their relations towards their neighbors and other Regional actors, such as Israel, Hezbollah in Lebanon, Iran, Russia, the US, the Kurds in an outside of Syria, and Turkey. Further the question of the Syrian Diaspora, relations to Ethnic Minorities and that of Elections are only slowly and timidly being Answered.

Internationally the fall of the 54 year long dictatorship of the Assad family has been celebrated widely, especially in the Diasporas around the globe. Many of the people that had fled the country, fled because of the Assad regime, directly or because of the civil war. This presents a Historic change for the Syrian people in Syria and in the Diaspora, as well as for regional actors that reformulate their influence on Syria and in the whole region. Additionally with the Overthrow of the Assad dictatorship many countries have paused the granting of Asylum to Syrians, only days after the fall of Assad. This could force people to return to Syria, even if their future is uncertain and could be endangered easily if the Provisional Government should fall.

What are the interests of the actors and the problems of the region?

Having a look at relations of the largest of the fighting groups in the syrian civil war and the recent overthrow it is very clear that the groups fighting have international backers. With Turkey being a large benefactor of the fall of Assad, their constant fights with the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF), which are dominated by kurdish forces, in north eastern Syria, indicate their interest in continuing to fight against kurdish self-determination. Clearly exposed with the attack of the Syrian National Army (SNA), a Turkish backed group, on the SDF in north Syria, at the same time as the beginning of the fight over Aleppo by HTS, which later lead to the fall of Assad. Further, the attempt by Erdoğan to negotiate with Assad in 2023 shows the attempts by Turkey to force a power shift in Syria, which ultimately happened through

the Overthrow by HTS. Turkey having international powers such as Russia and the US in its backyard didn't soothe the tension in and around Syria. Especially with the less than great economic situation in Turkey in recent times it is in its interest to expand its regional influence.

Russia which was and is a backer of Assad, has aided Assad with military support such as airstrikes on Opponents like HTS and stationing troops in the country. Russia also more recently granted Asylum to Assad in Moscow, after he fled the country. Russia's capability of supporting Assad has weakened in the last 3 Years due to the war in Ukraine. Russian Military bases stationed at the Mediterranean coast have strategic importance, because with their strategically and logistically useful locations, they enable Russia to conduct its imperialist interventions in Africa. Another actor that has lost a strategic ally is Iran. It lost its land connection to Lebanon and therefore the ease of transporting equipment into Hezbollah. Further it closely watches the actions of the Transitional Government towards Israel, with Iran wanting to maintain its Axis of resistance. Under Assad, Syria wasn't really hindering Iran, but it also didn't fight back against Israel, when it attacked Syria.

Taking advantage of the newly formed situation in Syria is Israel. It moved troops into the demilitarized zone in between the occupied Golan Heights and southern Damascus, so it could expand its settlements. This also could prepare an encirclement of Hezbollah in Southern Lebanon. Israel's Airforce also took on one of its largest missions where it bombed military infrastructure in Syria, claiming they are eliminating military capabilities for a potential threat. The fact that numerous civilians were killed in the process is something they are willing to accept. Furthermore, Israel repeatedly tries to exploit the Druze and Alawites for its own interests, thereby advancing the destabilization of the country.

The biggest profiteers from the fall of Assad are the ones who are at the head of the transitional government in Damascus: HTS. They have risen from a regional actor in control of the Idlib province to a head of government, without a clear perspective but with the aim to stay in power, as islamists and nationalists. Their governmental structures in Idlib give them a blueprint to quickly unite the rest of Syria under their rule. They have announced that

all rebel groups should become a part of a newly formed syrian army of whom a HTS member is minister over.

The actor with a somewhat unclear future is the Kurdish dominated SDF and the region it controls. The SDF have expanded their territory over the Euphrates River and clashed with the SNA. Their political perspective for Syria is secular, democratic and federalized, which could be made compatible with the HTS perspective, or at least what has been visible of it. But the latest developments clearly show that Al Sharaa is more likely to reject a federalist Syria.

Parts of the SDF have also made publicly clear that they would support a HTS under Syria. At the same time support against the turkish attacks in Rojava remains unlikely by the new Syrian government. The SDF receives a large amount of military support from the US, hundreds of millions of dollars of equipment, and 900 to 2000 troops are stationed in Syria to support them at this point in time. The SDFs reliance on US support means their decisions are not completely independent of US interests.

Why did this happen now?

Main Supporters of the Assad regime are occupied with different conflicts that necessitate their attention more than the support of Assad. Hezbollah is fighting Israel, with their ground invasion and Leaders of Hezbollah having been killed by Israel in targeted attacks, leaving them weak. Pulling back large amounts of troops from Lebanon wasn't feasible for Hezbollah. Similarly, Russia is very occupied with the War in Ukraine, where it binds most of its military capabilities. Russia doesn't have the capability to support a weakened Assad with the military equipment needed elsewhere more urgently. Turkey on the other hand has the capabilities and desire to fill the power vacuum created by the fall of Assad, and the lower engagement from Russia. Identifiable through the support of insurgent groups that continually attack the SDF and Turkey's relation to HTS. Iran clearly doesn't have an interest in larger participation in the conflict with Israel, where they had many possibilities to enter more directly and didn't. Similarly, it didn't try to support Assad with large amounts of Resources, further indicating internal

instability. Other actors that have been in the region in the past such as ISIS have mostly been defeated and are too weak to pose a large threat at current time.

What will happen?

With the seizure of power by HTS and Israel's annexation of more territory in the Golan heights, it is not clear cut what will happen in Syria. Remnants of the Assad Government have agreed to work with the HTS administration to ensure public services for the next 1,5 years. With the persual of cementing their power it was announced that militias are going to be combined into a new Syrian Army, In the resent published Statements SDF agreed on beeing part of the army as its own military arm, but the Agreements and Statements are still uncertain and on thin ice."

The planning of elections has also been announced, with it taking up to 4 years to realize them, because they want to precede them with a census. More pressing questions, those of international relations have not definitively been answered, with the transitional government trying to not take a direct stance. An example of this is by suggesting to Russia that the relationship should benefit both parties. The bases at the mediterranean sea are of military importance, necessary for Russia to support and project its imperialist presence in Africa and for the naval presence of its black sea fleet, because parts of it were stationed there. The future of these bases will depend on the relation between HTS and Russia. To not lose their strategic access to Africa and the operations in Mail, Libya and elsewhere, a relocation to Libya could be possible, where Russia has a presence through the Wagner group, which supports Haftar. In Libya Turkey would also be the main external rival.

Iran being the less proactive power in the support of Assad, compared to Russia or any of the other imperialist and regional powers involved in Syria, such as Turkey or the US, could also be an indicator for Iran's future actions in Syria. The most important factor for Iran is the positioning towards Israel, and the possibility for supporting it's "axis of Resistance", by using the ground connection to Hezbollah for weapons Deliveries. If Syria where to

continue maintain the relationship it had under Assad, Israel occasionally attacking Syria without a response, and continuing to allow Iran to transport weapons to Hezbollah, the relationship would not change Dramatically. It has to be made clear that the so called axis of resistance was always far more focused on their own regional interest and in no way a reliable ally to Palestine as well as a true wall against western imperialism.

With Turkey being a probable supporter of the regime change in Syria, their actions and demands will play an important role for the actions in and around Syria, not only because Turkey borders Syria but also due to the amount of support Turkey supplies to groups in Syria, such as the Syrian National Army that has attacked the SDF with the beginning of the HTS insurgency. Turkey wants to destroy the YPG, which is a part of the SDF, and wants to destroy kurdish autonomy and regain land and control of different kurdish areas.

The SDF receives large support from the US in forms of Military equipment and Troops with the task of supporting them. Under the new Trump government it is much more likely a recall of the troops and military support is being prepared (similar to the last Trump administration). How this will develop and if the decision to withdraw troops will be similar to Afghanistan remains to be seen. At this point in time the US administration has not made any moves to do so - there was even a temporary increase in US troops. Communists generally support the withdrawal of imperialist forces from non-imperialist countries because their interests remain their own without any benefit for the people of the region. We also need to acknowledge the still ongoing fights and how to support the SDF against turkish attacks. The future position of the SDF is very dependent on the stance the new government has towards them, because attacks from Turkey and the Syrian National army are inevitable, and the possibility of a fight with the newly combined forces of the Syrian HTS government could pose a threat. The support of the population that the SDF has, especially in non ethnically Kurdish dominated regions are going to decide how successful a resistance from attacks the SDF is going to be. From past endeavors of the SDF the support is low due to them repressing demonstrations by the population of non ethnically Kurdish dominated regions, by shooting at them. Their former

role in the Syrian Civil War is also an important factor regarding non-kurdish sympathies for them. First choosing a non engaging “third way” between parties, as to stay out of the revolution in Syria and then at some instances allying with Assads Army has not made them a reliable ally for the Syrian people. At the same time the FSA and other oppositional forces have never considered independence and autonomy of the Kurdish resistance of any importance, so the problems lie deep.

New Developments around the declaration of the dissolution of the PKK (which has not happened as of now and does not include the structures in Syria who are officially independent) have to be viewed closely together with the developments in Syria.

HTS not having a clear political program and having changed their politics in the past, from trying to building up Al-Qaeda in Syria, after distancing themselves from them, and now their closer relation to Turkey makes a prediction to their future actions Difficult. The plans HTS has made with their respecting rights of minorities, could or could not include some form of self determination for the Kurds. A step in this direction was taken by including the SDF forces into the government led military – something that stands as a guarantee to not go more into the direction of the turkish states and its attacks of the region. This means a regional integration but also a commitment to kurdish rights in Syria.

Similarly, their relation to regional actors such as Iran are still open. HTS in its proclamations and actions are conservative, clerical chumming up to the west. If we compare them to the – still relevant but in no position of power – regime of the IS in the region, we can see that the clerical fascist elements are not the policies on which the HTS builds up its power. The promise of a somewhat democratic, and dependable western ally that protects minorities is more prominent as the origin of HTS from the same ideological current as the IS. But even though it is not a fascist force, does not mean that we can trust their promises and not see the reactionary practices they have already set in motion, like the lacking support for different attacked minorities or postponing elections instead of holding them now. Although it took some time, there were revenge killings in the region targeting the Alawite minority

(the minority from which the Assads also come). After attacks by pro-Assad forces, the military and other armed groups intervened. A precise attribution of the perpetrators is difficult due to the chaotic situation, which makes independent research challenging. However, it is certain that parts of these groups were linked to both HTS and the SNA, and could be categorized as Islamist and nationalist forces. In total, 1,500 civilians were killed during these outbreaks. Despite this massacre, spontaneous demonstrations broke out in support of the Alawites, demanding an end to the killings.

What are the tasks of revolutionaries?

The ousting of Assad and the end of the dictatorship of the reactionary nationalist Baath Party (Arab Socialist Baath Party) represent a victory not only for the HTS-led coalition but also for the Syrian masses. They must now seize this moment to revive the struggle for the original democratic, social, and economic demands of the Syrian revolution. It is crucial to emphasize at this moment: No trust in HTS, no trust in the transitional government! Similarly, under the rule of an HTS-led government, whether it initially includes parts of the old state apparatus or even representatives of national or religious minorities, such a development cannot be expected. Any such government will be partially or entirely shaped by a strong Islamist-reactionary influence. Moreover, it will attempt to „resolve“ the political and social crisis of the country in coordination with Western powers and their financial institutions, as well as in the interests of its own bourgeois and petty-bourgeois clientele.

Therefore, revolutionaries must not place any trust or support in such a government. Instead, they must warn the rural and urban masses about its reactionary nature, help them make use of the current opportunities for their own political, trade union, and social organization, create forms of self-organization at the workplace and local levels, and, where possible, establish their own self-defense forces to organize security in both urban and rural areas. Moreover, it is clear that, in reality, HTS stands for economic liberalism. According to them, the economy of future Syria should be „a competitive free-market system.“

Therefore, it is all the more important that the existing social movements, trade union, and workplace structures in Syria—who gained organizational and assembly freedoms with the fall of Assad—use and expand the current opportunities.

The Arab Spring demonstrated what the fighting masses of workers and the oppressed are capable of, but also the reasons for their defeat. The spontaneous uprising of the masses and its spread in 2011 clearly showed in Syria that people were demanding a better life in freedom and were willing to fight for it, even at the cost of their lives. However, as the regime became increasingly brutal and murderous towards its own population, two key weaknesses became evident: there was a lack of centralization in the movement and a program that outlined how to fight for specific demands and what could come after the fall of Assad. While the working class carried the movement, it lacked its own, class-conscious vanguard and, therefore, strength.

Therefor the most pressing task for revolutionaries is to build a revolutionary party that is able to make sure that the fall of Assad and the seizure of power by HTS does not turn into another dictatorship. This should be done by developing a revolutionary workers Party, by creating a party out of the most determined parts of the fighters of the working class and the most advanced from parts of the intelligentsia and youth. This should be supported by building workers councils, as well as councils of the youth in and outside of Syria, these should challenge the power over the means of (re)production. The tasks of democratic and socialist Syria have to be fought in combination, therefore an independent constituent assembly that discusses the political and social future of Syria is to be Pursued. This Party has to win over and include the (fighting) minorities in the region as well, foremost the Kurds and the Druzes.

A constituent assembly would still be a bourgeois institution, but the fight for the working class and the building of a revolutionary party would have a better terrain to expose the antidemocratic character of the HTS and it's allies. In a democratic election the right for refugees to vote has to be ensured.

This assembly should include minorities and give nationally oppressed groups the possibility of self determination, regardless of how this self-determination is done, as a semi-autonomous region or as an independent country. The assembly should also support the struggle of the oppressed nation elsewhere, such as in Turkey or Iraq for the Kurdish and for the Palestinians in Palestine. For Syria this would also mean, the support of the Palestinian resistance and a fight against the oppression by Turkey, even if they played an important role in the overthrow of Assad.

The right to self-determination of oppressed nations and the possibilities for overthrowing regimes in the region, open the question of how such a success could be maintained. Imperialism or other Capitalist Hegemony would threaten the successes. By creating a socialist federation in the middle east and expanding the revolution internationally, the threat of deterioration can be avoided, due to removing the root of the cause of the system, which is private ownership of the means of productions.

Maintaining the right to return for Syrian refugees is an important task of the party, as well as the ensuring a safe accommodation and minimal income for those returning and already there. This and more generally the rebuilding of the country should be financed by expropriating the wealth of the Assad regime and from the ruling capitalists and large landowners. Further international aid should be provided by imperialist states without any condition. Continuing the sanctions on Syria would also complicate the rebuilding efforts and hit the weakest the hardest. Such tasks, of which only a few could be presented, are a collection of tasks that can't be performed by a bourgeois government: A worker's government is needed to accomplish them. Above all, the youth can play a key role in this. They were the ones who fought heroically on the frontlines during the Arab Spring. And even today, it is in their interest to fight for a future that they, along with the workers and peasants, can determine for themselves.

With the Fall of Assad many countries postponed the granting of refugee status to Syrians that fled the civil war or that were persecuted. With the shift towards the right, the aim of many bourgeois parties to do mass deportations grew more popular. Fighting these Racist policies is the task of

revolutionaries in the imperialist centers of power, Just like the fight against the sanctions and the interference of imperialist forces in Syria.

We as revolutionary internationalists share the excitement about the overthrow of Assad with the Syrian Masses around the world. But we are aware of the tasks to come to ensure a new, democratic, socialist Syria.

Beyond Yes and No: A Communist's Guide to Consent

By J.K. Singh

Talking about sex is hard—but talking about consent is even harder. Between poor sex education and misleading media portrayals, we rarely learn how to communicate boundaries and desires openly. A communist guide on the topic.

We are not taught much in sex education classes at school. We can consider ourselves lucky if we learn how to put condoms on bananas or get handed a tampon. But it's not really that helpful when you're trying to have sex. In class, the focus is on genitals, with the female ones often being misrepresented (for example, the clitoris is not a small spot that is veeeeery hard to find), and homosexuality, bisexuality and asexuality are not really touched upon. Intimacy, responsibility or feelings are hardly ever talked about. Instead, sex education falls back on the wide range of distorted representations of intimacy and sexuality in bourgeois society.

Um, what does that mean?

Whether in movies or series: intimacy is portrayed in extremes. Either the basis is love until the end of the infinite universe, or it's about proving one's own wo

rth by getting someone into bed. There's not much in between. Usually, of course, the man also knows what the woman needs. Without asking, he can just feel that the woman wants to be kissed and, through telekinesis, everything fits together seamlessly until suddenly you're naked – and the woman gets an orgasm from pure penetration. That's the “nice” version; after all, there are still plenty of moments where the woman says no, but the man of course knows very well that this is just a secret code word for “fuck me”. Accordingly, he acts on it, and as a spectator, you don't know what to do with the sexual violence you've just seen.

What can happen as a result?

In summary, that doesn't sound very sexy. And it isn't. The idea that you have to “conquer” your love interest leads to many problems in practice. This is how sexual boundaries are crossed and assaults occur. This can happen consciously, for example, if you do not take a “no” as a “no” because you believe that you have to convince the other person. Or unconsciously, when you just do it because you believe that asking is a sign of ignorance and weakness. Likewise, you feel pressured yourself because you are trying to live up to an ideal standard that does not even exist. Thus, sexuality degenerates into an individual performance in which you magically know what the other person is thinking and have to “prove” yourself.

But why is that so?

This is mainly because, in bourgeois society, sex is primarily there to ensure reproduction. For the ruling class, that means offspring to whom they can pass on their property (this inheritance usually takes place through the male line). For the working class, this further secures the existence of the family, which, among other things, is also the place where one can recover and reproduce one's own labor. This may sound quite outdated, but it is the basis on which much is happening today.

Under capitalism, 1. bourgeois states and large corporations are always in economic competition and therefore need as many new workers as possible on the market. And 2., especially in the oppression of women, that they must

be pushed into unpaid domestic work and the role of the educator, so that the capitalists have to spend as little as possible on reproductive work - otherwise they would make less profit. Thus, domestic labor is pressed into the private sphere. Both patriarchal inheritance and private reproductive labor ensure that women are supposed to fit into the typical bourgeois family, because only in this way can the man also inherit his property to "his children" and have a place to retreat to in the working class for recreation. Women are degraded to mere birth and child-rearing machines that don't need to enjoy sex. They are supposed to fixate on only one man, whom they love for life, and to justify the fact that they now also have to do most of the housework (in addition to their jobs) unpaid, they are portrayed as being worth less and more stupid. All of this is reflected in our society. Like housework, sex is increasingly being pushed into the private sphere. The 1968 movement played an important role in pushing back outdated sexual morals, but it was unable to address the fundamental problem. As a result, we now have a more open approach to sexuality in many areas, but this has also led to a liberalization of the sex market with all its negative facets.

This means that sexuality under capitalism is not intended for personal development. Even if it seems that as an individual you can enjoy unlimited freedoms, that is not the point at all. Rather, sexuality is strongly influenced by the fact that existing patterns of oppression such as racism, sexism and LGBTIA+ discrimination are reproduced, which actively prevent us from developing freely and reflecting prejudices. For example, women of colour are often exoticized or there is a very strong focus on the man as the initiator, while the woman is often a silent accessory. Our sex life is therefore always a question of our socialization and cannot be considered separately from society.

What can help?

Feminist movements have developed two concepts in this context. On the one hand, there is the "No means No!" concept. This is based on recognizing a "no" as such, without asking follow-up questions that can build up pressure (Are you sure? Don't you want to drink more?) and accepting the other person's boundaries. However, this concept also excludes a few important

things. In our society, we are socialized with certain role models. Not everyone finds it equally easy to say “no”. In addition, you only get feedback when it’s too late – that is when you are about to cross a line. That’s why the concept “Yes means yes” was developed. By actively asking a person what they want to do and if they are enjoying themselves, a violation of boundaries can be avoided more easily. Sexual acts are not just a one-way street, after all.

That’s easy to say, isn’t it?

Let’s be honest: actively asking is damn hard. The generally existing image of sex in our corner of society tells us that sex is always great and super hot, and that our value is determined by bringing our partner to orgasm without talking. As a result, sex becomes more of an individual achievement and not something that you share. On top of that, there are the stereotypical expectations. In male socialization, asking is considered weak – after all, a “real man” takes what he wants and thus shows his strength. Female socialization is characterized by playing an accepting role, after all, you have to please the guy.

Apart from that, depending on the situation, there are still fears of failure and the fear of being judged for one’s own needs. All in all, this results in a cocktail of doubts that is not easy to swallow. So no. Actively asking questions or talking about your own sexual desires is damn hard for many of us. It’s uncomfortable, embarrassing and you’re afraid. But it’s worth it. The only question is:

Where do you even start?

Confronting yourself?

Learning to reach sexual consent doesn’t happen overnight, it’s a process. Start by confronting yourself: examine your own needs, your own desires, your own limits. If you’ve never done this before, it’s probably quite difficult. Female socialization and some mental illnesses make it more difficult to deal with. In practice, this can mean asking yourself questions and answering them one by one. For example: Am I good at saying “no” and “yes”? Can I

accept myself? What do I actually feel like, what do I want to experience? Am I afraid of rejection? If so, what does that do to me?

In addition, it can help to put in the work to accept your body. Social beauty ideals can exert huge pressure: whether it's breasts that are "too large" or a penis that is "too small", 99% of all people do not feel comfortable in their own skin. This automatically also affects how we feel about others. You should be aware of this and start to critically question existing beauty ideals.

And lastly: seriously talk with friends about sexuality. It may sound strange to talk about it with people you don't want to be intimate with, but exchanging ideas with others can show you what boundaries look like for others or that you may not be alone with your fears and difficulties. This is especially difficult in male circles of friends, because there is a great inhibition to talk about feelings and especially in school sexuality is something that is used to distinguish oneself. But that can be dealt with too. It may help to discuss it in a conversation with a particularly good friend, as opposed to a group. If there is no way to talk to friends about it, you can look for other ways. For example, talking to your parents if they are relatively open-minded or, if nothing else works, you can also try to see a psychologist. Contrary to popular clichés, they are not only there for mental illnesses, but also for simple mental problems.

Even if it sounds exhausting, it is worth trying these steps and developing further. Finding out your own needs, limits and desires – and then being able to express them – is a good basis for seeking conversation with others.

Where do you start as a couple?

In reality, your heart is beating wildly and you're not quite sure what's happening and somehow you end up kissing. Or you're drunk at a party. But rarely have you taken the time to ask what the other person wants. You haven't learned that either. But it's not as hard as it may seem. A good starting point is to ask how well they can express their own needs and limits. In other words, how easy is it for them to say "no" in specific moments? Is it easy for them to do so, or would a hand signal be better? How do I know

what the other person likes? How do you get out of uncomfortable situations? What provides security? What causes fear? What is extremely embarrassing?

The list of questions can be extended by a few more. The rule here is: instead of assuming that you know what you are doing, just ask. On this basis, agreements can be made between people, such as non-verbal communication. Or you may find it difficult to take the initiative and appreciate it when someone else takes it and you want them to follow through – but intentionally and not just out of the blue.

At the same time, one should be aware that there are certain power relations that can distort the answers and stand in the way of dealing with each other as equals. These are often associated with existing mechanisms of oppression, such as sexism or racism, such as typical female socialization, which ensures that one is more likely to accept what the other person does. Other dynamics such as experience gaps, drug use, relationships of dependency (financial, for example) or a large age difference can also lead to one person being attributed more awareness and the other person simply subordinating.

This also means being aware that consent does not always ensure that everything goes smoothly. The “Yes means Yes”-principle is not an abstract, rigid set of rules in this context. While some things are clear, such as “No means No”, sexual consent actually describes a relationship between people who become intimate with each other and can therefore be practised and exercised in very different ways. It’s about trying not to reproduce violence and not just imposing your own needs, but doing what you enjoy together. It’s about knowing and taking into account that socialization and social patterns of oppression exist and can get in the way or make it difficult to access each other. Sometimes you only realize afterwards that the situation didn’t go the way you wanted it to. That can happen, even if you try your best. Sexuality is a field of tension and at the same time there are an incredible number of oppressive moments in our society. That’s why it’s also important to be willing to talk about what you’ve experienced afterwards, to accept criticism and to actively address things you were unsure about yourself. Sex can only be really enjoyable and beautiful for both parties with

a basis of cooperation, mutual consideration and trust.

All of this sounds exhausting and not romantic at all!

For some people, it is exhausting to deal with themselves and the needs of others. But if you don't like hurting others (which is perfectly ok, provided it happens within a consensual framework) and putting your own needs above others, then you realize that this is the most practical way. The idea of romance that we are taught in movies and Netflix shows is based on the fact that it crosses boundaries. And what is romantic about that? It just seems easier because you avoid the danger of getting rejected. Such statements are just statements with which one wants to be freed from responsibility.

So we all ask for consent and we have a liberated society?

No. Unfortunately, this is not the case. Some people benefit from the current social dynamics. They have no interest in changing anything because to end the root cause of these forms of oppression, they would have to give up their possessions and privileges. The idea that it is okay to sleep with people without asking them for consent stems from patriarchal-capitalist dynamics. And they are reproduced, for example through socialization. In order to change that on a fundamental level, we have to create new material conditions.

So we might as well leave it at that?

No. As revolutionaries, we know that we cannot simply live liberated lives in bourgeois society. After all, we cannot simply get rid of the constraints, such as the one of having to sell our labor power. We can't just wash away the way we were socialized and start over. But we can be aware of the mechanisms within bourgeois society. Actually, this is a must.

After all, we are fighting for a liberated society without exploitation and oppression. This works best when we fight for improvements in the here and now and try to deal with social discrimination, instead of postponing that until "after the revolution". That is why we demand, for example, socialization of housework, because it attacks bourgeois society's sexist

material basis and would be an enormous relief for the working class. Furthermore, as an organization, we have decided to actively include sexual consent as part of our debating practice and education. However, this can only be successful on a large scale if we remove the system's basis by banishing the bourgeois family and gender stereotypes to the dustbin of history! We can only do this in a system without wage labor, where decision-making is no longer in the hands of the (mostly male) ruling class. That is why we have to collectively take ownership of production, expropriate the core industries and place them under the democratic planning of the working class. Only in this way can we collectively determine the reproduction of labor and thus remove the basis for the double exploitation of women, sexism and role clichés.

Youth and Militarization

A resolution passed by the international delegates conference of the communist youth organization REVOLUTION

Declaring war on war: No to the increasing militarization!

There is war: whether in Yemen, Myanmar, Kurdistan, or Ukraine. Wherever war rages, it destroys our livelihoods, drives millions of people from their homes, and brings death. And in between destruction and weapons production, heated up by the interests of the profiting parties, we young people are the ones who have to cope with the consequences of this chaos. But simply hoping for peace will not help us, because warlike conflicts and military budgets have steadily increased in recent years. In particular, the Russian war of aggression on Ukraine represents a new quality of the conflict. This war is an escalation of the imperialist conflict between Russia and NATO and bears the danger of escalating even further. We say clearly: No to the imperialist invasion of Ukraine by Russia, for an immediate

withdrawal of all Russian troops! But equally, we oppose the influence of the NATO powers, which only want to expand their own influence at the expense of the Ukrainian population. because this conflict is inciting young people in particular. In the end, they only have two options: to fight at the front or to desert. We take the side of the Ukrainian youth and the workers' movement against the Russian war of aggression, with the aim of building up a resistance that is politically independent of NATO. The effects of the war do not stop at the borders of Ukraine or Russia, but are felt worldwide. The war is driving up inflation, causing energy and food prices to skyrocket. This should not be our future! But if we want to fight effectively against war and its consequences, we must first ask ourselves: Why does war exist at all? And why has there been an increase in warlike conflicts in recent years?

The strongest wins

The world we live in is completely subjected to capitalist production and the logic of profit. There is no land, no raw material on earth, that does not belong to a capitalist. This is a characteristic of the highest stage of capitalism, imperialism. Even if everything is divided, competition still exists between different capitalists as well as different nation states. They sometimes have no choice but to wage wars over economic routes (the West African coast), economic spaces (Mali), or geostrategic spheres of influence (Ukraine, Syria, Afghanistan) in order not to fall behind. In some crises, however, profits are too low for capitalists to want to invest in their own production, in which case it may be worthwhile for them to destroy competing productive forces in a war. In short, the policy of recent years is a sharpened form of economic competition, and war is ultimately the continuation of this policy by other means.

Capitalism has the compulsion to always accumulate ever more profit, to open ever newer markets, and to obtain ever cheaper labor. The imperialist blocs have the urge to escalate conflicts between them ever further in order to destroy competing capital and productive forces. Both will inevitably lead to war. If we are to fight against these forces, we must look at their role at all levels of the global system. Fighting wars is thus always synonymous with fighting capitalism!

Crisis

Crises act as accelerators in this process, as they increase competition between the individual factions of capital. So it is no wonder that military spending has skyrocketed in the last 10 years and international conflicts are on the rise again. After all, the global economic crisis of 2007/8 is still shaping current events. At that time, bailout plans were created for capitalist states to end the crisis. Thus, we have been witnessing a long-standing low interest rate policy of the U.S. Federal Reserve and the European Central Bank, government stimulus programs of the Chinese state, and the growth of new speculative bubbles. Instead of capital being destroyed in the crisis, its costs were passed on to the working class, and further crises were artificially delayed by means of the rescue plans. The consequences were massive impoverishment and indebtedness, an international shift to the right, and increasing competition. With the collapse of the international economy during the Corona pandemic, the situation has now worsened again – and the struggle for the redivision of the world has been further fueled. The main conflict here is between the U.S. and China, who are fighting over who will be the dominant force on the world map. At the same time, however, other forces are also getting into the mix, trying to save themselves from going under in the context of the competition.

Bloc formation and the threat of conflict

Thus, in the wake of the Ukraine war, NATO, which was thought dead, has re-formed – and even expanded to include Finland and Sweden. In addition, imperialist states such as Germany and the EU as a whole have moved closer to the United States in the wake of the war of aggression. Even if ultimately each side fights for itself, different blocs are forming in the current showdown. Not every power can be fully counted towards a bloc. The struggle for spheres of influence also generates forces such as India and Pakistan, which cannot assert their interests internationally on their own, but try to make the best of it through shifting alliances. However, even if the bloc formation is not yet complete, it is certain that confrontations will increase due to the sharpened struggle for control. Where the confrontations will take place is not clear, but looking at the bloc formations and the world economic

crisis, some regions more than others may become more and more the scene of confrontation. In addition to Ukraine, Taiwan is another country that is repeatedly targeted by the superpowers China and the United States. Taiwan is denied its national independence by the Chinese, because Xi Jinping, who is currently struggling with recurring unrest, is beating the drum of chauvinism more and more before the upcoming elections. In addition, China has been trying to establish a new Silk Road on land and water for several years, sometimes with great success, and is making many semi-colonial countries dependent on it. The dwindling power and influence of the USA in North Africa, the Middle East, and parts of Asia, leads to a power vacuum on the one hand, and on the other, leaves the door open for other imperialist powers. However, it should be clear to all of us that this struggle will not take place without military means.

More money for death

A look at arms spending also shows us this: in 2020, global military spending will reach a new record: according to the Stockholm International peace research institute Sipri, it will be \$1.981 trillion, more than ever before. That's \$5.4 billion per day and \$226 million per hour. If the amount spent per hour on military spending were spent on hunger in a year, world hunger could be eliminated in 15 years.[1] The United States spends 39% of all military spending worldwide (\$778 billion). Next in line is China, which within the last decade (since 2011) increased its defense spending by 76% to \$252 billion, covering 13% of global spending. Germany is also increasing its military spending, to \$52.8 billion, an increase of 5.9%, It has thus increased its spending even more than the U.S. compared to last year, ranking 7th behind China, India, Russia, the UK, and Saudi Arabia. Japan is another example of the ongoing militarization of the world. The country has already softened its pacifist foreign policy in recent years, and in 2022 it will again massively increase its military budget. The figures speak for themselves, and make it clear: the imperialist states are arming themselves and preparing for coming wars.

Future: Cannon Fodder?

All these developments show that „the good life“ is not automatically part of our future if we don't do anything for it. We young people, in particular, are frequently sent to the frontlines first, while a wave of nationalism tries to persuade us that it is in our best interests to die for the fatherland. However, we saw during the pandemic that nations do not act in our best interests. The economy was shrinking; the health sector was collapsing in many countries – but instead of investing in it, arms spending kept growing and growing. And this is just one of countless examples that should make this clear: the wars that are currently being waged are wars of capital. They occur in order for the ruling class to secure their own profits. But advertising and the obligation to die are routine for many of us. Because youth is an essential part of armies. We are not yet completely part of the productive process, can therefore be drafted without great losses for the economy, and often do not even have to be paid. The fact that the youth have no say in political issues and social decisions makes it deliberately difficult for resistance to arise or be formulated.

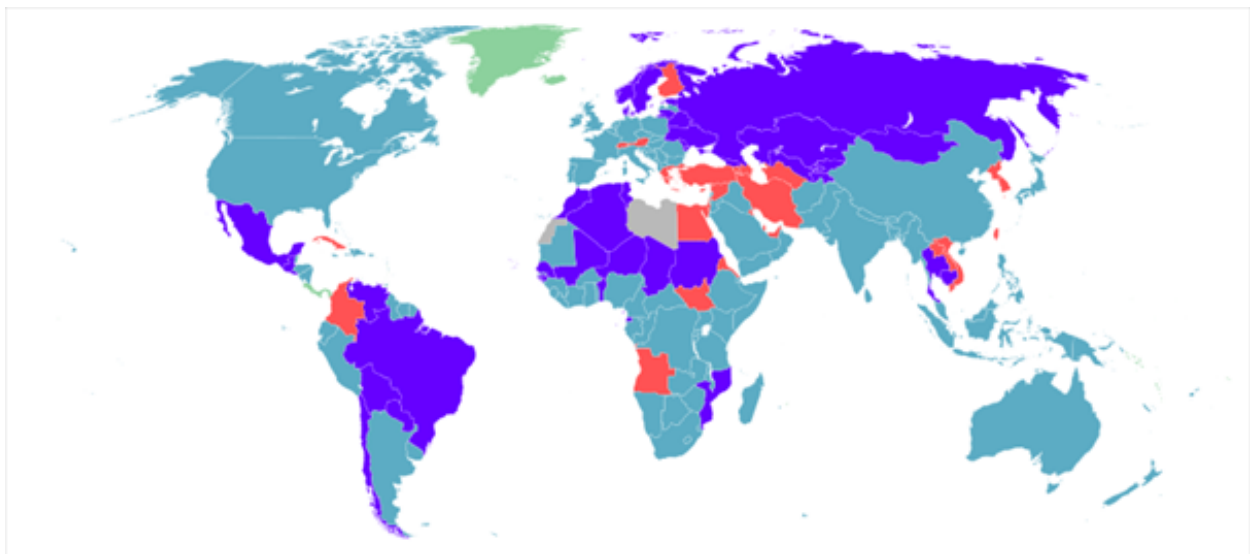
Bitter Truth: Youth in the Crossfire

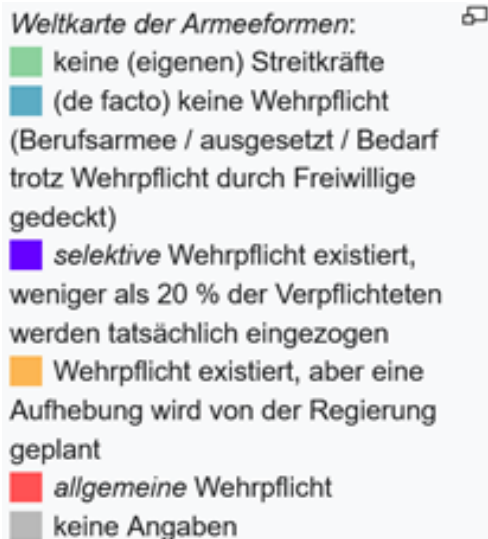
Currently, 250,000 children and young people around the world are deployed as soldiers in armed conflicts, both by regular armies and by rebel groups. They increasingly form an integral part of the military infrastructure, whether as regular foot soldiers, as spies, as information transmitters, or in other emerging activities. In addition, it is often forgotten that sexual violence is always on the rise in military conflicts and is also used specifically as a weapon of war. For example, 5 to 20 percent of child soldiers are girls, who are mainly used as forced prostitutes[2]. In this context, mass rape is the highest form of violence and unfortunately a recurring weapon, especially in massacres, wars against minorities, etc. Myanmar (2017), Ethiopia (2021/22), and the Democratic Republic of Congo (since 2007) are sad examples of our time, in which several thousands of women have been raped to break the will of the people and dehumanize them in the most brutal way.

Thus, in 2022, there are 67 countries in the world where there is compulsory military service[3]. It can be seen that most countries in the world have some form of army, but they differ mainly in the way they recruit. Countries

without conscription often have large recruitment campaigns and various offers that provide both affordable opportunities for education and the option to serve in the military for life. In addition, some countries have de jure conscription, which means that men, and in some countries women, must enlist in the military between a certain age and are recruited when „needed.“ Currently, however, sufficient volunteers enlist in most countries, so this is implemented in very few cases.

In Europe, only Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Estonia, Cyprus, Greece, Switzerland and Austria currently have compulsory military service, but in light of the Ukraine war, several more countries are considering reforming their military services. Latvia was the first country to introduce conscription at the beginning of July due to the war. A draft law on the matter is expected to be passed by parliament next year. The Minister of Defense Pabriks makes this clear in his statement about the reintroduction: „This should reduce the risk that Russia will attack Latvia at will „[4]. That other countries will follow is certain, in most countries of the EU (e.g. the Netherlands) the strengthening of their own armies has been discussed, and studies about the reintroduction of military service have been commissioned. Germany has not remained silent in the debate either. Voices have been raised from the ranks of all parties calling for the reintroduction of conscription, which in this context is a vote for the progression of militarization.





War to war: not a cent, not a human to militarism!

We don't want to be cannon fodder or watch as our livelihood is destroyed. Because wars do not only kill directly but also fuel the climate crisis. So what to do? We do not condemn it in itself when the youth take up arms to fight for their interests against capitalism, exploitation, and imperialism. When it comes to self-defense in contested areas, they frequently have no other option. From Kurdistan to Palestine, young people fight side by side in liberation struggles for their own interests, against occupation and displacement. This is not the same as the wars of the imperialist states for the profits of an elite.

If we want to oppose them effectively, we have to learn from history. Here, the October Revolution as well as the anti-war movements of the First World War should be mentioned as relevant examples, in which workers took mass organized action against the imperialist system. Only if we attack the problem at its roots can we be successful. In the October Revolution of 1917 a workers' state was established, which, in combination with the failed November Revolution of 1918 led to the end of the First World War. On the basis of these historical events, it is necessary to analyze the strategies used and derive from them methodical ways of overcoming imperialist wars and imperialism as a whole. Another important example are the Arab Spring uprisings, which are of great importance for anti-imperialism movements in semi-colonial countries.

However, simply analyzing and transferring the strategies and tactics of previous worker and youth movements is insufficient. We must apply the lessons we can draw from them to today's changed situation in international politics and the changed realities of the situation for the working class. But there remains the necessity of building a workers' and youth movement against imperialist conflicts! But how and where can we succeed in this? To be successful, such a struggle must necessarily take place on an international level. Clearly, those of us in imperialist countries must oppose the war interests of our own nation. But since imperialism is also a global system, we can only be successful if we also organize internationally. This means that a successful anti-war movement must be international and combine the struggle against the effects of war with the struggle against the capitalist system. In doing so, it is important that we do not allow ourselves to be divided by nationalism and still defend the right to self-determination of oppressed peoples and semi-colonies.

- For the smashing of all imperialist military and economic alliances! For the defeat of imperialism – immediate withdrawal of all imperialist troops and their henchmen!
- Against all imperialist militarization: Neither conscription nor professional army – for the self-defense of the working class! For democratically legitimized workers militias under the control of workers councils!
- Not a cent and not a human to militarism: Against all advertising for the military! Against any „rearmament packages“ and military budgets!
- Smash the arms industry! Nationalize its war profits and convert the war industry into a civilian industry.
- For the establishment of a global youth and workers movement against war and capitalism!
- For the right of self-determination of oppressed nations.
- For the right of self-determination of Ukraine, neither under control of Russia nor under control of NATO.
- Expropriate the war profiteers! All arms corporations under workers control.

- For the workers' right to self-defense! Disarm the bourgeois state!
 - No dying for imperialist wars: Against general mobilizations of the imperialist countries.
 - For the establishment of an international workers' movement opposed to war and capitalism!
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[1]<https://www.handelszeitung.ch/politik/welt-ohne-hunger-kostet-267-milliarden-dollar-810985#:~:text=Um%20in%2015%20Jahren%20den,650%20Millionen%20Menschen%20Hunger%20leiden.>

[2]<https://www.tdh.de/was-wir-tun/themen-a-z/kindersoldaten/>

[3]<https://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/1334153/umfrage/verteilung-der-laender-nach-status-der-wehrpflicht/>

[4] Translation from:
<https://de.euronews.com/my-europe/2022/07/27/welche-lander-in-europa-wollen-wieder-eine-wehrpflicht-einfuehren>

Resolution: Refugees Welcome, fight the causes of flight!

International Resolution of REVOLUTION, October 2015

More and more people are fleeing the civil war in Syria and from the breakdown of the Iraqi state. The refugee camps in Turkey and the states surrounding Syria have been overrun way past their capacities for years but recently pressure on the European states has increased as refugees make their way into the imperialist heartlands.

The first signs could be seen in Lampedusa or Calais - in the last month though the number of refugees has significantly surpassed the capacities of the camps and registration infrastructure provided by the bourgeois states of Europe. The barbed wire fences in Hungary and the other border states will not stop people who have come so far to escape Assad's barrel bombs and the terror of ISIS. Right now there are police and military stationed at the borders shooting teargas and rubber bullets at refugees trying to enter. The Hungarian military has even received permission to use firearms in a non-lethal way. That is what capitalist human rights look like when it comes down to it. The imperialist core of the EU is trying to make it seem like this is just Hungary's right wing, nationalist government going buck wild. But looking at the billions of Euros that have been invested into the Hungarian border this is hard to believe. It is just the scenario easiest to sell to the public while screening heartening pictures of individual activists who are trying to compensate for the shortcomings of the European governments, a task that can not be accomplished by them. At the same time the EU is preparing more coordinated military actions in the Mediterranean Sea to simply sink the boats trying to cross over to Europe.

As a result of EU policy the hungarian government is now able to using the current "refugee crisis" in order to push through a variety of anti democratic and racist laws which will not only enable the hungarian police to search all places where they suspect illegal immigrants without any sort of search warrant. They have also now pushed through a law, making it a criminal offence to enter hungary illegally and set up a system of speed trials in order to deport and criminalize refugees. As an enormous number of refugees are young people and children they are also legally treating 14 to 18 year olds as adults to get rid of them. The ruling party in Hungary, FIDESZ under Viktor Orban, has been pushing through antidemocratic measures and austerity policies in the last couple of years and has recently lost its absolute majority in parliament[1]. Since the fascist party Jobbik are now the second strongest parliamentary force in the opinion polls, almost catching up with Fidesz[2], this might lead to a future coalition of Fidesz and Jobbik furthering the right

wing backlash.

The rest of the European countries is currently trying to make it look like they have nothing to do with the actions of the military or FRONTEX at the EU borders. The German and Austrian governments are praising their great “welcoming culture”, while closing the borders. Especially the weapon industries in Germany and France have profited from both the wars in Syria, Ukraine and Africa and the investments into border security.

The ruling classes of Europe have also found another way to exploit the precarious situation refugees are faced with when fleeing to countries like Germany. It is no coincidence that capitalists are all of a sudden calling for a work permission for refugees, the welcoming culture is limited to the principle that refugees are welcome as long as capitalists are welcome to exploit them. They hope to create a completely vulnerable, powerless strata of the working class which they can exploit as much as possible. We fully support the right of refugees to work and lead an emancipated life in the countries they had to flee to, but we need to force the unions into organizing a campaign in support of refugee rights as well as organizing refugees as fellow union members and workers.

As for the war in Syria it has also developed more characteristics of an imperialist conflict. The US are bombing oil refineries and sometimes even ISIS, the CIA tries to put forth a force acting in their interest, Russia is exporting aircraft, battle tanks and even personnel to Assad and regional powers such as Qatar and Saudi-Arabia are investing in the war as well. The rigorous continuation of this brutal conflict has led to a wave of refugees not matched in decades.

To meet the needs of these people, which is our duty since our wealth is founded on their misery, we need to coordinate internationally. We need to force the European governments into opening the borders, providing safe passage for every refugee and organizing sea rescue initiatives. We need to force them into providing appropriate housing, food and healthcare for everybody. We oppose the idea of creating „nicer“ forms of detention camps but we argue for the right of refugees to live in socially funded housing, not

segregated and hidden away from society but as an equal part of it. We need to fight against racism, the growing right wing in Europe and the ongoing attempts to divide us. Therefore, we also oppose every concept of discrimination between economic and political refugees – freedom of movement is everyone's right, no matter if they are fleeing war, hunger or poverty. We need to demand full citizenship for everyone, the right to vote, to work, to live wherever they want and the right to organize.

Right now we see the individual effort of thousands of volunteers and their great sacrifices all over Europe, which is admirable and a natural reaction to the suffering of others. But it is not a possible solution. We need to address the issues that are really responsible for this situation; the Assad regime which has slaughtered tens of thousands and displaced countless more, the imperialist governments and economies that are profiting from war, exploitation and poverty and finally ISIS who are a creation of imperialist interventions. We need to demand that they stand up to their crimes and pay for them. The struggle for the refugees is not fought or won in the camps, at the registration sites or borders. It must be brought to the streets, into the imperialist centers if we want to solve it. The war that has been brought upon the Syrian or Iraqi people needs to return to those who caused it, the bourgeois class.

Though the demands we are raising against the governments of Europe are based on the dire necessities of being a human, it would be foolish to expect the bourgeois states to try to fulfill them as they attack the very base of their power and wealth. The recent development, the crisis, shows with even more vigor that we have all the right to do so. This tragedy cannot be ended until we eradicate the real cause for it, the capitalist system. A social structure based on ever growing exploitation of the majority of people has not the potential to solve this crisis for it is the cause of it. If we want to help the refugees, if we want to fight the rising racist and nationalist movements we need fight capitalism as a whole and bring it down.

[1]

<http://www.zeit.de/politik/ausland/2015-02/ungarn-orban-verliert-popularitaet>

[2]

<http://www.spiegel.de/politik/ausland/ungarn-rechte-jobbik-partei-macht-auf-nett-a-1031915.html>

To the struggling Youth of Greece

We young students, workers and unemployed from all over Europe, but especially from Germany, declare our deepest sympathies and solidarity to you, the struggling youth of Greece.

We know how you have suffered under the crisis of the past years. And we know who's fault this is.

It's the fault of the Greek capitalists, but even more the big European imperialist powers with Germany at its heart who sent the Troika to Greece to impose cuts and attacks on the Greek working class and the youth of Greece.

In the past weeks we could see how the Troika tried to impose even bigger attacks. In the past weeks we saw how Merkel, Schaeuble and Co. tried to ashame the Greek people and take their dignity. They linked this to an outrageous hate campaign against the Greek workers and youth, they tried to let you feel isolated within Europe.

We want to let you know: You are not alone. We despise the German government, the EU bureaucrats and the banks and companies behind them as much as you do. We know as much as you do that it's their fault we are in a deep crisis.

Now they want to divide us to let you suffer first and then go on to let us suffer all over Europe.

But we say „OXI“. We say „NEIN“. We say „NO“.

For millions of workers and youth all over Europe you are an inspiration. There are many German youth and young workers who don't believe the lies of the media and politicians. Still, the long tradition of revolutionary thought is weak after decades of co-management and the rotten compromises of social democratic leadership. But there are a growing number of youth in Germany who recognize: „The main enemy is at home“.

We hereby declare to fight against this enemy, German imperialism and the capitalist rulers all over Europe, to help you breathe and fight against the capitalists in Greece more confident.

We want to encourage you to let them know on Saturday that Greece says „OXI“. OXI to the memoranda and OXI to the Europe of capitalist crisis.

We don't want the rulers to kick you „out of Europe“. Instead we want to kick them out together. Don't let us fight for national solutions. Let us coordinate, organise together for a struggle for the United socialist states of Europe. May the first flame of Revolution start from the rising fists of the Greek Youth!

REVOLUTION - international communist youth organization