

The Road to REVOLUTION

REVOLUTION-Program 2017

Preface

A glance at the current news is enough to see that conflicts and crises have increased massively. Whether in Syria, Ukraine or the Pacific, the economically strongest nations are clashing ever more violently and are continually trying to outdo each other. At the same time, neoliberal reforms are worsening people's living conditions all over the world and right-wing movements are trying to present themselves as an alternative. Added to this are the symptoms of the destruction of the environment and a climate catastrophe that seems hard to avert. Women's hard-won rights are under fire and millions of people, forced to flee their homes, are on uncertain paths to an even more uncertain future.

To see the evil of capitalism, however, it is sometimes enough to look out of one's own window. Why do some people have no work and have to collect deposit bottles or beg, while others end up working overtime in 40-hour weeks? Why do I have to study in a dilapidated school building while the state invests billions of euros in the military and war machinery? Why are we told that only organic products and branded clothes are good, when we can only afford to shop at discount stores? In order to understand that something here should change enormously, we do not have to look to the other side of the world but can start right on our own doorstep. Or who here hasn't looked in the mirror and struggled with increasing fears about the future or sexual norms? How long do you actually want to sit back and watch thousands drown in the Mediterranean Sea while at the same time more and more wars are started? How much further should the international shift to the right go and how much of the environment still needs to be destroyed before you start taking action? It is high time to act, because the danger - whether it is fascism, war or climate disaster - is high! Who's gonna start resisting it if we don't? And if not now, when? However, we have little chance if we are alone against the rulers and their instruments of violence. To overcome this, we have to join forces with others and organize ourselves. This can start at school, university, in the company or in the district.

However, since capitalism is an international system, it is not enough to be active only in the countries in which we live. Everywhere in the world where people take to the streets against crisis, war and exploitation, young people like us are in the front lines. Therefore, we should not only fight against local problems, but also express our solidarity with young people all over the world and unite our struggles on an

international level. This does not just mean that all progressive struggles in all countries are symbolically united, but rather that the liberation of all the oppressed - whether young people, wage-dependent workers, migrants or women - is the goal from an internationalist point of view.

To unite the many isolated struggles and offer them a perspective, we need a revolutionary manifesto that analyses the global situation, draws conclusions from it, raises demands and links them to the goal of socialist revolution. What you are holding in your hands here is the program of the international, communist youth organization REVOLUTION. It is a proposal to act, **around** which young people who want to make this world a better place can organize **themselves**. This program aims to respond to the political-economic changes of recent years. It tries to bring together people's daily struggles with these changes and, at the same time, to give them a perspective of a socialist revolution.

Only a liberated society, in which all people have a political say and the economy is planned democratically, geared to needs, not to profit, can put an end to war, exploitation, discrimination and environmental destruction. All that separates us from such a world is the fear of rising up!

Chapter 1: There is a Crisis!

Internationally, we are in a period of constant uncertainty. We are permanently exposed to the danger of new breakdowns of the economic system and the threat of new wars, combined with ever more serious attacks on us young people, workers and the oppressed. The financial crisis of 2007/08 continues to this day. In many places, various capitalist states are making bailout plans to end this crisis. We are witnessing a long-standing low-interest rate policy by the US Federal Reserve and the European Central Bank, government economic stimulus programs by the Chinese state¹ and the growth of new speculative bubbles. These measures only artificially delay the outbreak of further crises.

In recent years, the ways of shifting the burden of the crisis onto individual nation states have included increasing social cutbacks in economically weak, oppressed nations, as we can see in Greece, where credit is linked to direct sanctions to curb the general standard of living. But there have also been attacks on their own wage-dependent population in the leading economic nations, such as France, where labour regulations have been under massive attack for years to enable more efficient exploitation of workers and youth.

Finally, we are witnessing increasing competition between individual imperialist nations and blocs trying to limit the areas of influence of other states. Whether in the military battle for Syria and Ukraine or economically, through land grabbing² and the purchase of company shares, the conflicts are increasing. Conflicts over currencies and economic sanctions are also more frequently on the agenda. We are witnessing an increasing struggle for a new division of the world.

Thus, the crisis not only dominates the system but actually drives it further. What we are experiencing are not purely economic crises in individual sectors of the economy, no, this crisis is affecting the whole world and all economic sectors. On the surface, it is expressed in a slump in consumption, investment and low growth. In concrete terms, however, we are dealing with a crisis of over-accumulation.³ **This means, on the one hand, a decrease in the share of human labour in the individual product as a result of the constant pressure to modernise. This, in turn, leads to a fall in profits because labour is the source of profit. On the other hand, increased productivity leads to an increase in the overproduction of goods. This combination results in declining investment in**

¹ In the 2008 economic stimulus package alone, approximately 500 billion euros were eased.

² Land grabbing describes the (illegal) appropriation of land by international investors.

³ Overaccumulation describes the situation when too much capital has been hoarded (= accumulated) to be able to invest it profitably.

production and rising unemployment while capital floods into speculation in, for example, real estate and stock markets. This process leads to increasing global tension. Within the framework of capitalism, this problem can only be improved temporarily by the massive destruction of capital and production facilities⁴. The existing crisis management measures (economic stimulus programs, low interest rate policy, etc.) are responses that **can delay but never resolve** the crisis.

These clashes take place over our heads, but they meet with resistance among the exploited and oppressed. This series of gigantic historical attacks also brought the greatest forms of resistance to the streets of our world. In September 2016, 180 million Indian workers went on general strike to demand an increase in the minimum wage. Millions, especially women, demonstrated against the inauguration of Donald Trump.

But the clearest mass resistance was seen in the Arab Spring of 2011. The revolutions in the Arab world broke out because the increasingly miserable living conditions of the poor and workers led to indignation and dissatisfaction, while the rulers were pushed into further attacks; over 40 hunger revolts broke out during this period. The old regimes were overthrown, and the question of state power was posed on the streets. **This revealed that even the most authoritarian regimes can collapse under the pressure of social contradictions.** However, the fighters and their organizations were unable to raise anything more than democratic demands for rights such as free elections or even better living conditions. These demands had a cross-class character and were primarily oriented towards the fundamental questions of everyday life. But they were not able to give the movement a program that raised the question of power in the state and over production and thus call the **state apparatus behind the regimes** into question. It would have taken an organization that **could have developed the spontaneous consciousness of the masses into a clear program to crush the ruling class.**

⁴ The economic crisis of the 1930s was only overcome by the massive destruction of capital during World War II and the subsequent possibilities of reconstruction.

Chapter 2: Revolution and the Working Class

In capitalism there are two main classes. The working class (or proletariat) and the capitalist class (or bourgeoisie). The bourgeoisie is the ruling class in this society, it owns the means of production (factories, machines, etc.). The working class is essentially a class that owns no means of production. It is forced to sell its labour power to the capitalists, who acquire the surplus-value from it and thus exploit the working class. There can be no permanent conciliation between these two classes. Next to the two main classes, there are other classes and social strata such as the petty bourgeoisie⁵ or the wage-dependent middle strata⁶. It seems as if the state exists above society, independent from the classes, but in fact it acts in the interest of the ruling class and has an interest in maintaining the existing social system from which it arises.

As a youth organization, it is our task to organize young people. But as young people alone it is not possible for us to overthrow capitalism. Rather, this task falls to the proletariat. The last decades have brought significant changes in the situation of the working class. The majority of the proletariat today is no longer in Europe and North America but in Asia, Africa and South America. States like China have a working class of hundreds of millions. In Europe and North America, the working class has become more differentiated and is no longer primarily engaged in classical heavy industry. But all this does not change the historical task of the working class: the overthrowing of capitalism.

Of course, at the present time, the majority of the working class is not revolutionary and often has racist, nationalist, sexist, homophobic or similar prejudices. These are ultimately essential for maintaining the class rule of the capitalists, because they undermine the unity of the working class. But the orientation of communists towards the working class as the class that has to carry out a revolutionary upheaval is not built on the current prevailing consciousness. In a class society this is more or less an expression of the interests of the ruling class, which is why the struggle for consciousness must always be connected with the class struggle itself. The relevant question, therefore, is who, in today's social system, has the possibility on the one hand and an objective interest on the other to overthrow this system.

The working class, because of its position in the process of production, has the opportunity to hit capitalism where it hurts – where it generates profit. Strikes, factory occupations and the like enable the working class to stop the cycle of capital

⁵ A class situated between capitalists and workers who own some means of production but (mostly) do not exploit workers (e.g. farmers with land ownership or owners of their own hairdresser's shop).

⁶ Strata of the population that are wage dependent but not part of the proletariat (e.g. civil servant teachers, lower management, etc.).

and interrupt the smooth flow of the economy. **This can force important reforms to be implemented against the will of the capitalists, but the strike - especially a general strike - can also play an important role in a social revolution and the conquest of power.** The working class produces for the capitalists. The capitalists then siphon off the surplus value produced in the process and thereby “earn” the unpaid part of the labor, namely the value that is more than what the workers get paid. The legal equality of wage workers and capitalists in our society obscures this relationship and therefore this exploitation is "normal" for almost everyone. The task of communists is to expose this relationship and to win the working class for a revolutionary overthrow of these conditions. This task falls to the revolutionary party, whose strategic goal is to overthrow this society through socialist revolution. The party unites the avant-garde⁷ of the working class behind a revolutionary program of scientific socialism.

Therefore, the proletariat is the revolutionary subject and we fight for its conscious organization as a class. To achieve this as a youth organization we also represent a proletarian class viewpoint and primarily try to organize the youth of the working class.

⁷ spearhead

Chapter 3: Imperialism – Capitalism at its Highest Stage

The world we live in is dominated by a few powerful nations and a world economy controlled by a few large corporations. Capitalism has reached its highest stage, Imperialism. Imperialism itself is a product of the capitalist economic system. It describes the increasing centralisation of production⁸, the result of which is, for example, the emergence of so-called multinational groups. These groups mostly originate in Europe, the US, Japan or China, but produce in semi-colonial countries in order to maintain lower costs of production. The world is almost completely subject to a uniform economic system, which leaves its mark on all regions. Over the course of this, an international division of labour is increasingly developing. The export of capital in relation to the export of goods gains a new quality with the dominance of capital exports, which in turn lead to the development of finance focused companies, i.e. the merging of manufacturing companies with banks. In the process, internationally active capital associations are formed.

The perfect division of the world among individual capital associations is complete. There is no raw material without an owner and hardly any place on earth that is not assigned to a nation. This increases the potential of cross-border battles. In the course of the 20th century, the colonial system was replaced by a system of international dependencies and indirect dominance. The former colonies are now mostly formally and politically independent, but still economically dependent on the imperialist nations. We therefore call these countries semi-colonies. For example, the European company H&M has its clothing produced in Southeast Asia at extremely low costs so that the product can then be sold cheaply all over the world. But those who produce the clothes, for example in Bangladesh, have neither enough money to afford this product themselves, nor the political power to change their working conditions. Imperialism is therefore the dominance of big industry over small and medium-sized industry on the world market. In the course of international competition, the number of competing large groups is steadily decreasing, with a few groups dominating the world economy. This centralization also creates the objective prerequisite for workers' control of production and the infrastructure for a socialist world system. But imperialism also brings with it the dangers of a new quality of historical crises, destruction of the environment and world wars.

In order to consciously maintain this international division of labour, most nations on this earth must be kept artificially underdeveloped. The colonial system of direct tyranny had to be replaced by a system of indirect dependencies and exploitation mechanisms due to the decreasing profitability of the colonies and the pressure of

⁸ Centralization of production describes the process of accumulating more and more capital in fewer and fewer hands (takeover of small companies, mergers, etc.)

national liberation movements. Development in the semi-colonies is deliberately prevented by the imperialist nations, e.g. by economic blackmail. The reason for this is that these countries are more useful as dependent raw material suppliers and low-wage locations than when they develop into competing nation states. At best, there is a dependent, one-sided industrialization. For example, Nigeria is one of the world's largest crude oil producers but has only four oil refineries of its own and cannot use the oil within its own economy but is forced to export. As a result, Nigeria remains heavily dependent on importing gasoline and diesel.

Imperialism creates a massive accumulation of money and wealth in extremely few hands. Where the claims of our program necessitate money, we stand for its financing through the massive taxation of wealth and capital.

3.1 The Battle for a New Division of the World

If we look at the powerful states today, we see increasing competition and disagreement. No force wants to leave the field to the other. Along with the Middle East, the Pacific is one of the new arenas of conflict in the new division of the world. There is currently a raging arms race between China and the USA over maritime sovereignty, especially around the South China Sea as the main international maritime trade route. Here, the smallest occurrences can blow up extremely quickly. The conflict over the Spratly Islands⁹, which has been going on since 2015, is just one example. Anyone who can count them as part of their own territory controls the sea route. Currently, Vietnam, Taiwan, China, the Philippines, Malaysia and Brunei compete here for the most diverse islands. The US plans to station more than 50% of its own fleet in the region by 2020 in order to secure its global political supremacy.

But who will be drawn into the wars of the rulers? In the event of a war, we young people are the first ones to be forced into military service. For soldiers, we demand full democratic rights, such as self-organization and to refuse orders. In the working class we strive for a broad anti-war movement that does not get caught up in bourgeois pacifism. For us, the supreme principle in the event of war between imperialist countries is the position of revolutionary defeatism. Revolutionary defeatism puts the defeat of one's "own" bourgeoisie and its overthrow by transforming the war into a civil war on the agenda. This is the only way we can fight off the policy of national unity so often used by reformist and petty-bourgeois forces on the pretext of the lesser evil. In military conflicts between oppressing and

⁹ The Spratly Islands are a multitude of disputed small islands and coral reefs in the South China Sea.

oppressed nations we stand on the side of the oppressed and campaign for the defeat of the imperialist states.

The current crisis is intensifying the struggles for economic influence and domination in certain regions of the world. They are logical consequences of the conflict of the continuous overaccumulation of capital and simultaneously limited territory. The compulsion to accumulate capital is a fundamental characteristic of capitalism. When the imperialist blocs reach their geographical limits, the struggle for a new division of the world sooner or later begins - whether through trade wars, targeted bloc building or military conflicts. Wars such as those in Syria and Ukraine, but also the increasing threat posed to North Korea by imperialist intervention, show how necessary it is to build an anti-war movement under the slogan "The main enemy is at home". It is the task of revolutionaries in the imperialist countries to fight against their bourgeoisie and slay the main enemy.

- For the dismantling of all imperialist military and economic alliances! For the defeat of imperialism - immediate withdrawal of all imperialist troops and their henchmen.
- -Not a single person, not a cent, not an inch of land for militarism! For the smashing of police and military apparatus and all private "security" agencies. For democratically legitimized workers' militias under the control of councils!
- Internationalism must become practical! Fight your own bourgeoisie and their state. For the defeat of one's "own" imperialist country!
- Destroy the arms industry! Nationalize their war profits and replace the missing jobs with new ones in the interest of the public.
- We're not paying for your crisis! Take the money from the profits of banks and corporations. Nationalization of all companies under workers' control who are not willing to implement that!

3.2 Free Trade and Protectionism

In the current crisis we also have an increasing division within the ruling class, which, on the surface, is expressed in the question of free trade against protectionism. This is happening both internationally and within the leading imperialist nations. Two of the most relevant examples are Brexit and various free trade agreements, such as TTIP, CETA and Co. Large sections of the workers' movement subordinate themselves to individual capitalist factions according to a policy of the lesser evil.

It is precisely on this question that the character of the imperialist world system, which is increasingly reaching its limits, becomes apparent. On one hand, it tries to implement the progressive tendency of standardization of international production, which is also an essential condition for the international control of production by the working class. However, at the same time, this is contrary to the interests of individual groups of capitalists and thus stands in the way of their very existence. On the other hand, this unification always undermines the fighting conditions and basic livelihoods of the working class. We do not answer the unification of production with the cry for national protection, since the international solidarity of workers and young people is a necessary prerequisite for the successful internationalist socialist revolution. However, free trade always serves the capitalists as an excuse to subjugate weaker countries and to undermine the hard-earned rights of the workers' movement. We demand the independent struggle of the workers' movement against both expressions of capitalist individual interests in the crisis.

This also applies to the question of the future of the EU. For us, the retrograde return to what appears to be an independent nation-state is flawed, as it fosters chauvinism and makes the necessary fight at European level more difficult. We oppose both scenarios of capitalist rule with the slogan of the United Socialist States of Europe. Thus, we fight for the destruction of the existing EU and its progressive replacement by a union of workers' states.

- Smash the neoliberal, militaristic and undemocratic project that is the EU. For the United Socialist States of Europe!
- For the dissolution of the World Trade Organization, the UN Security Council and all imperialist agencies! For reparation payments to the semi-colonial world and the cancellation of all debts .
- For international production and food standards, defined and controlled by organs of the workers' movement.
- The only way to combat their monopolies is by controlling the production of workers internationally, supported by the global rule of workers' councils!

3.3 National self-determination

With the rise of capitalism, a national internal market became necessary, which is why the first nations emerged together with capitalism and will eventually perish with it. But the uneven and combined development of capitalism and the advantage

of some countries over others also created a world market in which a handful of powerful imperialist nations determine, and benefit from, the fate of the vast majority of countries. As consistent anti-imperialists we fight against national and colonial oppression as for example in Kurdistan and Palestine. National oppression, like women's or youth oppression, is an instrument for concealing the true contradictions of capitalist society. It is expressed in many different ways, for example in the suppression of language or culture. It follows for us that we support the right to national independence where social movements raise it. This support, **however, is subject to two conditions:** the aim of nation-building must not be to subjugate ethnic or national minorities, and the demand must also be raised by large sections of the oppressed. In short, we recognise the right where **there is a movement of national consciousness in a particular region.** We do this because equal rights should apply to all and the oppressed masses themselves raise the question, not because we believe that a new nation state would solve all problems of the working class in semi-colonies.

In such areas, sections of the local bourgeoisie often stand with the workers, peasants and youth in movements against the effects of imperialism and often lead them. But, once the goal of national self-determination is achieved, the bourgeoisie will defend its privileges with all its might against the proletariat, even if they previously fought side by side against national oppression. The revolutionaries, most of whom are outnumbered on the ground, must not make the inclusion of communist mass methods (in contrast to the mostly predominant individual actions of small sections of the population) a condition of justification for resistance. The task is to support the legitimate resistance practically and politically and at the same time to demonstrate the necessity of proletarian revolution and thus also the need for leadership independent of the ruling class. One means of doing so is the anti-imperialist united front, which aims on the one hand to expose imperialism as the cause of national oppression and at the same time to separate reactionary leaders from the progressive movement. The example of Palestine shows that leading forces such as Hamas rely on the reactionary concept of Islamic theocracy and fight for repressive laws. More than that, they block a progressive and radical solution because their reactionary ideas, from antisemitism to sexism, do not show how the oppressed sections of the Palestinian population and the Israeli working class can fight together for their liberation. Even if we reject the political leadership, the resistance is legitimate and during attacks in the interest of imperialism we fight side by side with the leadership of the Palestinian resistance while maintaining our criticism and organizational independence. In doing so, we reject the means of the popular front, that is, the subordination of revolutionary communism to one wing or

the other of the bourgeoisie. We also reject the idealisation of guerrilla tactics¹⁰. We consistently fight for the political leadership of the working class and do not leave it to the bourgeoisie. This means that the struggle for national self-determination can only be won in the consistent struggle against the imperialist world system at the international level. Our perspective can never be subordinated to the movement and its state of consciousness, just as it must show that an alleged democratic, capitalist stage in the development of an independent bourgeois state is neither possible nor necessary. Rather, the bourgeois stage, i.e. the distribution of the large estate to the poor farmers, must already be led by a workers' government and seamlessly pass into the socialist stage, i.e. an expropriation of private property in the means of production.

- For the right of national self-determination. For binding votes on issues of national self-determination and autonomy in the region concerned controlled by organs of workers, farmers and the poor.
- Expropriate the national and international capitalists! Chase out the big landowners, occupy the land and collectivize it for those who need it. For the establishment of a government of workers, farmers and the poor.
- For international solidarity with the Kurdish struggle for liberation and the right of self-determination for the Kurds in Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria. For the defeat of the occupying armies. There can only be a real end to oppression through socialist revolution.
- Freedom for the territories occupied by the Israeli military! End the Zionist oppression and for the construction of a united, secular and socialist Palestine, in which members of different religions and atheists can live on equal terms. For a united socialist federation throughout the Middle East!

¹⁰ Military tactic in which the troops act in small, independent units, which attack quickly and retreat immediately, in order not to offer a (usually superior) army a target of attack.

Chapter 4: Capitalism: The gravedigger of the basis of life

The catastrophic effects of global capitalism can be seen not only on the social level, but increasingly also on the ecological level. While leading bourgeois politicians deny human-induced climate change, the effects are becoming more and more severe in many countries and parts of the world every year. But the danger of global environmental destruction is not limited to climate change. The acidification of the seas due to high concentrations of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere, global environmental pollution (especially by plastics), the global extinction of species or the disruption of the nitrogen and phosphorus cycle, especially through agriculture, are all threats to the environment that pose existential risks to human civilization. Although the consequences of human alterations to ecosystems are not yet fully understood, millions of people are already threatened by the destruction of their livelihoods. Although much of the environmental destruction is due to the imperialist nations, it is mainly the people in semi-colonies who are suffering massively.

The nuclear catastrophe of Fukushima in 2011 has once again dramatically demonstrated to us what destructive forces capitalism can unleash. According to the UN, 20 million people in four countries alone (Nigeria, Somalia, Yemen and Southern Sudan) were again threatened with starvation in 2017. Especially in the Sahel region, climate change threatens to exacerbate the hunger crises. In Bangladesh alone, about 15 million climate refugees are expected by 2050, and entire island states are threatened with extinction. These specific examples are representative of a global development that will intensify massively in the coming years.

Capitalism as such strives to make profits - everything else is subordinate to this sacred goal. However, this also means that under certain circumstances, parts of the ruling class can profit from ecologically meaningful economic activities. But even these areas are subject to the compulsion to accumulate capital under capitalism and thus ultimately lead to greater overall resource consumption despite higher individual efficiency. Capitalism is fundamentally designed to generate quick profits, which is the best way to outperform the competition. Long-term planning and an orientation towards ecological sustainability are foreign to capitalism. "Green capitalism" is not possible at the global level.

The current ecological movement is largely dominated by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois forces, which advocate either green technologies in capitalism (e.g. the Greens) or the rejection of technologies and a return to small, because supposedly "more ecological", production. Only a democratic and centrally planned economy is capable of integrating a comprehensive analysis of ecological problems into the planning of production and the further development of technologies. Our task is to

combine the legitimate struggles against environmental destruction and climate change with the fight against capitalism. Only in this way can we create an economic system that, based on a globally planned organization of production, can reconcile economic needs with ecological goals. Many people cannot afford the individualistic approach of consumer criticism and fair trade. Moreover, they are neither appropriate to the seriousness of the situation nor a viable path to an ecologically sustainable society.

We do not assume that the ecological crisis can be solved within capitalism, nor that the cause of the crisis can be found in industrial production itself. Rather, it is about using existing production methods within ecological limits for the benefit of humanity, instead of maximising profits. In terms of resource consumption and pollutant emissions, this means concentration and reduction to socially meaningful production, which can only be achieved through a planned economy.

We therefore demand:

- Massive government investment in the development of new environmentally friendly and CO2-neutral technologies.
- Scarce raw materials must not end up as (special) waste! Open the books of the industrial waste disposal companies. For a consistent, state-of-the-art recycling system.
- Fastest possible closure of coal and nuclear power plants and fracking facilities. Development of an energy network with renewable energies.
- Global climate justice! Let the imperialist states pay for the damage they cause! Against patents on food and technologies!
- Development of a free public transportation system.
- Nationalization without compensation under workers' control of all companies that refuse to switch to environmentally friendly technologies.
- Nationalization of all transport and energy companies under workers' control!
- Direct mass actions against fracking, pipelines, coal-fired- and nuclear power plants, if possible together with the workers!

Chapter 5: Who is this Youth?

Youth in capitalism is a specific phase in the development of the individual, between childhood and fully-fledged entry into the "world of work", in which the basic prerequisites for social participation, such as language, interpersonal relations and essential skills are established. Thus, for the youth of the proletariat it is a reproductive stage of life that serves to establish the demands of the work process. The youth of other classes, on the other hand, are trained in their class according to the requirements of their respective future.

In the process, youth emerged as a generalized phenomenon, i.e. as a cross-class phenomenon, for the first time in developed capitalism. This is due to the constantly increasing demands on the workforce in the course of regular technical innovations in production. The process of training usually takes place outside a specific profession and therefore does not produce any added value for the capitalists. This makes it very expensive and time-consuming for individual companies to take over the entire training (apart from particular specialisations), as otherwise they would be subject to competition from other companies that did not do so because the workers could simply switch to new capitalists. Therefore, the state, which generally represents the common interest of the capitalists, is forced to carry out this training, while the enterprises merely impart specialized knowledge.

This leads to two perspectives on youth. On the one hand, it is regarded as a phase of individual enrichment of knowledge, and on the other hand as unproductive and therefore not appreciated and therefore not remunerated. Youth is the reproduction of class society and the ruling consciousness. This is first and foremost entrusted to the bourgeois nuclear family¹¹ on which young people are financially dependent. In order to adapt the phase of development to capitalist demands, young people are also legally severely restricted, so they may not vote, may not completely decide on their own body, have no right to dispose of their property and are thereby subject to the paternalism of family, educational establishment and state.

However, the length of the youth is not always and everywhere the same. In many semicolonial nations, for example, we cannot speak of an extension of youth in the course of the crisis. There, the family is much more of a unit that takes on partial state tasks, such as caring for the sick and the elderly, but also larger parts of bringing up children. As a result, education can only be financed by the wealthier layers of the working class, the petty-bourgeoisie or the bourgeoisie. As a result, large parts of the youth have to go to work early. In many semi-colonial countries it is therefore not possible to speak of youth as a general fact. In the imperialist world

¹¹ Bourgeois family: See sections 6.2 Education and training

system, which systematically undermines the livelihoods of the overexploited workers, youth does not exist everywhere.

In imperialist nations we are witnessing a partial extension of youth. Terms such as "generation internship" speak for a gradual, extended transition to the working class in a largely unpaid manner - on average the wage for an internship is far less than the minimum wage. But also, young workers are increasingly employed as **wage pushers** via loan and temporary contracts, work contracts or even minor employments.

In contrast to other forms of oppression in capitalism, youth oppression ends with adulthood, but not abruptly with maturity, but only in the course of several years. Thus, legal and criminal equality on the one hand and economic independence on the other hand usually take place at different times. In addition, young people are often denied their ability to make independent decisions due to a lack of experience. Our aim is to abolish youth as a form of oppression - but not its positive achievements. We are thus fighting against legal discrimination, such as exclusion from the nationwide minimum wage. **The isolation of young people within their education must also be abolished in order to highlight the need and the overall social interest for some, while others can better combine their learning process with concrete and productive requirements.**

Chapter 6: Fighting the Oppression of the Youth!

As young people, we are subject to oppression at school, at work, in the legal system and in the family. If we are lucky enough to be born in a country where there is public education, we are patronized by teachers and prepared for "the labour market" by pressure to perform and competition. If we have to work at a young age, we get significantly lower wages and often have to work under the most difficult conditions. This is also one of the reasons why young people so often defend themselves against capitalism and its effects. Youth oppression today is closely linked to capitalism and can only be abolished by overcoming it. As a line of division within society, youth oppression is extremely useful to the ruling system. It exists in addition to the structural overexploitation (which exceeds a "normal" level) of large parts of working youth.

6.1 Equal Rights and Opportunities

Young people are subject to various forms of legal oppression in a wide variety of countries. We must not decide about our own body - our parents or legal guardians "take it over" for us. Our legal guardians may decide on our property until we reach the age of majority - **if we have the right to do so at all**. In almost all countries, the age of criminal responsibility is significantly below the age of majority. We spend most of our youth legally incapacitated, without the right to vote, without the possibility of a self-determined life. Reason enough to fight it.

The question of when, in our opinion, people should have achieved full legal equality, i.e. majority, cannot be answered across-the-board for all countries, irrespective of social and economic circumstances. In almost all countries of the world, however, it is clearly set too high and we are fighting to ensure that young people can **gain** their full rights earlier.

As young people we often have much less financial **possibilities** than the majority of the working class and are therefore often forced to spend our leisure time in public space without a meaningful infrastructure. Youth centres are often in short supply, other services are also scarce and usually guided from top to bottom, self-organization is often hardly possible. This denies us not only the opportunity to educate ourselves better and learn in our own way, but also the opportunity to organise ourselves socially.

We therefore demand:

- Earlier legal equality of young people, adapted to the situation in the respective

countries.

- Those who are allowed to work should also be allowed to vote! For the right to vote from the legal age of entry into the workforce.
- For the right of property and the independent disposal thereof!
- For self-determination over one's own body!
- For the massive expansion of youth centres and free access to a wide range of leisure and cultural activities for young people.
- Self-governed freedom for young people without coercion and control.
- Free access to extracurricular courses and activities
- For the economic independence of pupils, students and young people in education! For a minimum income, adapted to the living situation in the respective country through the taxation of wealth and capital.

6.2 Education and Training

In capitalism, the family is regarded as the "basic unit of society". This view is even reflected in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The classic bourgeois small family with a man as "head of the family" and the woman and children is the ideal after which to strive. For us young people, the family primarily offers paternalism and dependence, even though it is often the only emotional support we have - that is what makes this system so treacherous. For their parents, the children have to do free (house) work, especially in semi-colonies. Female adolescents are forced into their role in the household at an early age and often experience even greater deprivation of rights and greater dependency. We want to replace the bourgeois family as the norm with other forms of living together, where housework and bringing up children are distributed throughout society. However, this does not happen at the push of a button, but is a long process that we consciously **need** to drive forward even after a revolution. We want to put as many aspects of education and training as possible under the control of society and replace tradition and arbitrariness with planning and science.

Technical-industrial development has made it a necessity for capitalism that future workers achieve a specific education. However, a system geared towards profit will only ever provide us with as much education as is absolutely necessary for the system. A comprehensive and general education for all, geared to our interests, is therefore not possible under capitalism. In order to save costs and maintain social

inequality, a selection process is imposed wherever possible. After all, the ruling class needs a few clever minds on the executive floors, but above all a large amount of cheap labour. In times of crisis, even less money remains for education, so that the costs for it are increasingly outsourced to the private sphere, i.e. to our families and our own wallets. As a result, class-based educational inequalities are cemented even more.

In semi-colonies the situation is even worse. Often only children from ruling class families have access to education. Here, too, there is a link between the level of economic development and the level of education that young people receive.

In countries such as Japan or South Korea, however, the pressure to perform is so high and the climate at school so harsh (e.g. due to bullying) that suicide rates among young people are extremely high.

That's why we fight for:

- Free, comprehensive childcare around the clock.
- Free school and university education and its funding by the state.
- For the control of the curriculum by the workers' movement and by us young people.
- Compulsory schooling or compulsory training until legal majority.
- For a common school for all without social selection in childhood!
- For the establishment of pupil and student unions, where none exist! We too must defend ourselves against cuts, austerity measures and oppression in schools and universities!
- For massive investments in educational institutions.
- An end to pure teacher-up-front style of instruction! For a modernisation of the education system through involvement in the production and promotion of independent learning!
- For a complete separation of state and church – banning all religious schools!
- For the nationalization of all private schools! Education must be controlled by society!
- For the development of shelters for children and young people! No one should have to stay with their family if they don't want to!
- For the promotion of new forms of living together, for example through the expansion and further development of social housing!

6.3 Economy and Labour

Young people are much more affected by unemployment than the average population, and even the best education often offers no guarantee of a happy and fulfilled future. In countries like Greece every second young person is looking for work due to the economic crisis and the merciless austerity policy. For the first time since the Second World War, an entire generation in Europe has no prospect of a better life than its parents. When we young people find a job, we often get paid only a fraction of what our older colleagues get. Often there is no pay at all for internships and the like or we have to sell ourselves to temporary employment agencies and other scoundrels.

In existing trade unions, young people are usually severely under-represented and their concerns receive little attention. Here we have to fight for our position and organise more young people in trade unions in order to prevent an additional division of the working class and to be abused as **wage pushers**.

Child labour is still a sad reality in many countries of the world. There are likely to be about a quarter of a billion working children. Millions of young people worldwide are affected by poverty and hunger and have to fight for their survival in slums or on the streets. All this even though we have unprecedented technical and productive possibilities to feed all people in the world, for example. The current system offers us no perspective. For a meaningful future we must fight and defeat it.

- Equal pay for equal work and work of equal value - internationally!
- Reduction in working hours and allocation of work to all hands with full wage compensation.
- Minimum wage for young people and young workers, also for those who have not completed vocational training!
- For full and permanent employment of all young people after their training - in case of refusal of employment, a penalty payment!
- For the abolition of all quotas that restrict takeovers.
- Full economic rights - including the right to stop working - for young people!
- Campaigns for the trade union organisation of young people.
- Fair representation in trade union bodies, we do not want to be patronised.
- Prohibition and combating child labour - also through better pay for adult wage

earners!

- Massive state investment in education, social affairs, environment and health. For a state employment program - controlled by the workers' movement

6.4 Capitalism makes you ill

The daily performance terror (**The constant pressure to achieve targets**) makes us sick! Nearly one fifth of all young people are now particularly susceptible to mental illness. This is increasing, especially in the course of the crisis, as it is us young people who are particularly affected by increased insecurity, wage pressure and making the labour market more flexible in the interests of capital. Capitalist ideology tells us that everyone can do anything if they make the right effort. In reality, our chances are usually predetermined by our class background and other oppressive mechanisms. However, many of us think that it is not society's fault, but their own, which is why many young people suffer from low self-confidence and sometimes self-imposed performance terror. On top of that, due to the strict separation of work and education at school, few know what they want to become in this society and are therefore particularly susceptible to illness. Others break under the pressure of social ideals of beauty or sexual norms. Others are made sick by the stamp of disability. This can already happen with behavioural abnormalities. It is a social problem that can only be solved by conscious social integration and the full financing of treatment offers against mental and physical disabilities, the promotion of research and joint training offers. Because it is society that makes us sick!

We demand:

- Massive investments in education and health care with taxation of the rich - for demand-oriented personnel coverage!
- Away with the religious or other branding of disabilities. For a society that is oriented towards the needs of all and does not label and isolate people with special needs as "retarded"!
- Stop discrimination against people with "disabilities" and down with physical and social barriers in public space!
- Destigmatization of mental illnesses! Recognise psychological problems as a legitimate cause of illness. For broad information campaigns and better contact with those affected in schools, universities and companies!
- For the full payment of people who make a social contribution according to their

possibilities.

Chapter 7: Why a Revolutionary Youth Organization?

Our task as revolutionaries is to introduce a distinct anti-capitalism into the existing struggles and to reveal the half-heartedness and inadequacy of the existing leaderships. The fight against capitalism requires a revolutionary organization with a clear policy and a common understanding of it. In our ranks we welcome all those who are openly and honestly committed to this goal and want to make their contribution.

We young people are oppressed in the most diverse areas of this society, this even extends into the workers' movement and the left, which of course does not exist in isolation from the rest of society. We young people in particular often notice the sell-out of a movement in the interest of individual parts of the movement in the most diverse struggles. We must therefore also fight to be heard here and therefore organise ourselves as young people separately from parties and trade unions in order to be able to fight for our concerns without paternalism and oppression. REVOLUTION tries to be a mouthpiece for young people who, although most activists are on the streets, are **often** not represented in the negotiations.

Young people are often more militant, have experienced fewer defeats and have less to lose because of their bad situation and prospects. It is the task of the independent youth organization to combine the struggle of the youth with that of the working class. It is the working class through whose creative power wealth is created and the class that can end capitalism. But the young people have to find their own way to socialist ideas, how else are new and courageous activists to develop, if not through their own experiences?

Chapter 8: Fight against women's oppression

Systematic oppression of women, together with youth oppression, is the oldest form of social oppression in human societies. Together with the development of classes, the social oppression of women was also consolidated. Capitalism has thus not invented this oppression, but adopted it from old class societies, but also developed its own aspects. Women's oppression is directly linked to the existence of class societies, so we must not delude ourselves that we can do away with it without a general upheaval in social conditions.

But just because women's oppression is directly linked to capitalism does not mean that it would take the same form and the same sharpness everywhere capitalism exists (and this is the case almost everywhere in the world). In many countries of the so-called "Third World" we experience completely different forms of women's oppression than in the imperialist centres. Women in Saudi Arabia are under the immediate custody of fathers, brothers or husbands and may not leave the country without their consent, for example. Brazil's restrictive abortion laws force millions of women to have illegal abortions every year. These are estimated to cost the lives of 200,000 women a year (2014). Femicides¹² in Latin America, honour killings by male relatives or the "witches" burned in India are not uncommon. Female genital mutilation is a problem that is particularly prevalent in semi-colonies. Every year, up to 3 million women and girls are affected (2016) and not only the right to self-determination over their own bodies, but also their own sexuality is completely ignored. Moreover, this practice can lead to lifelong pain and even death.

In the so-called "Western" countries, women earn significantly less for the same work, are subject to sexist role models and still have to do most of the housework and raise children. There, too, they still experience harassment or sexualised violence. From a legal point of view, equality has been achieved to a large extent. However, the oppression of women is not only legally but also socially anchored, for example in the ideal image of the bourgeois nuclear family, which is why legal equality alone cannot lead to the abolition of social oppression. One of the most important aspects here is the still strongly existing economic dependence of many women, especially in the bourgeois family constellation. This means that if we want to combat women's oppression effectively, we must socialise domestic work and break with the gender division of labour. Some women have managed to occupy leading positions on the ruling class side. Angela Merkel and Co. show us that not "all women" have the same interests. Rather, oppressed and proletarian women

¹² Murder of women because of their gender

must fight together with their class brothers and sisters.

It also shows us, however, that purely legal equality does not yet mean real equality, but above all we can learn from the fact that we can also achieve limited improvements in this system (even if we should never rely on a lasting improvement through reforms). However, the women's rights achieved in many countries have always been the product of a social struggle. The rulers have never given us anything. At the beginning of the 20th century, the workers' movement fought for women's suffrage, and the women's movement in the 1970s largely completed legal equality. All these achievements had to be fought for.

In the wake of the crisis and reactionary developments in many countries, we are currently also seeing renewed attacks on women's rights. In Poland, the already retrogressive abortion law was to be further tightened in 2016, but this retrogressive tightening could be fought off by massive protests and women's strikes. This shows us that protest can also function in times of intensified class struggle from above. In all progressive struggles we must stand up for a connection of these struggles and the perspective of a worldwide socialist revolution. It's the only way we can end women's oppression once and for all.

- Equal pay for work of equal value, controlled by committees of working women. Trade unions must step up their efforts to organise women and campaign for this demand.
- For full legal equality of men and women in all areas.
- For the possibility of simple and rapid divorces, for equal rights of spouses.
- Organized self-defense of women against sexist and sexualized assaults also together with other oppressed groups and the workers' movement. No woman may be exposed to the risk of rape and abuse.
- shelters and counselling centres for victims of domestic and sexist violence and family oppression, including refugees.
- For the socialization of housework - free and comprehensive child care, laundries in apartment blocks and canteens in businesses, districts and villages.
- Free and unrestricted access to abortions. Free-of-charge access to hygiene products and contraceptives.
- For the full legal and physical protection of pregnant women in the world of work and education, as well as the possibility to educate children outside their own family!
- Against all cultural or religious practices that attack women's right to physical self-

determination.

- Sex work is work! Against procurement! Against the stigmatization of sex workers! For their unionization! Open borders for all and the control of the sex industry by the sex workers themselves help to combat human trafficking and forced prostitution!
- For dissolution of all sexist role models and clichés on a social and cultural level.
- Long live international solidarity: For a proletarian, multi-ethnic women's movement that includes all forms of oppression and addresses the problems internationally and fights together!

Chapter 9: Capitalism leads to Migration and Racism

9.1 Racism

Racism is a systematic oppression based on generalised attributions to national, ethnic or religious groups. These are usually classified according to external characteristics - especially in relation to the skin colour. Racism usually serves to subdivide into alleged superior and inferior people.

However, racism is not only about the open hatred from right-wing radicals and fascists. It is not the pure form of xenophobia that has existed in the most diverse class societies. Rather, it has its roots in the emergence of the capitalist nation-state. In pre-capitalist societies it was often possible to largely escape oppression in this regard by adopting the ruling religion, which is not so easily possible in capitalism. Today in the nation state we experience the subdivision into citizens and non-citizens, which is insurmountable for special groups, together with the legal and social distinction regarding wage levels, the right to vote, securing residence status, etc. Moreover, the expression of racism is constantly changing. While in the course of the decline of full employment in the imperialist nations of the European continent racist agitation was focussed on the so-called "guest workers", particularly since September 11, 2001 and the "war on terror" we have experienced a change towards anti-Muslim racism - or towards those who are seen as Muslims, irrespective of whether these persons actually are.

In the imperialist world system, racism legitimizes the super exploitation of large parts of humanity, mostly in semicolonial countries, and serves to undermine solidarity in large parts of the working class in the imperialist nations. Imperialism is a strengthening aspect here because the unequal development of imperialist and semicolonial states leads to a systematic devaluation of labour, i.e. wages in many countries are very low and continue to be pushed down by mutual competition. In times of war, racism often serves to legitimize the occupation of other countries - but above all chauvinism¹³ in the sense of the "unity of the nation". As revolutionaries we support all struggles that promote solidarity within the oppressed classes and drive a wedge between the ruling and oppressed classes. Our fight for the equality of all the oppressed must therefore be conducted from a global, internationalist standpoint.

Currently, the Black Lives Matter movement is the largest anti-racist movement in

¹³ Aggressive belief in the superiority of one's own country

the United States in decades. It unites the oppressed black population with progressive activists. Despite enormous progress and large demonstrations, it was not yet possible to sufficiently connect these struggles with those of the workers' movement. Here we as communists stand up for mutual solidarity and a revolutionary-socialist perspective. Like women's oppression, racism is closely linked to capitalism and can only be finally abolished once it has been overcome until then we fight for:

- Stop the division! Full citizenship rights for all where they currently live!
- Equal pay for equal work and work of equal value!
- For the right to self-defence against right-wing attacks and police terror! For the organization of self-defence structures of the oppressed together with the organizations of the working class, the youth and other oppressed groups.
- In the fight against state racism and the fascist gangs on the street, only a multi-ethnic workers' movement can help.

9.2 Asylum

In 2016, more than 65 million people were forced to migrate, the highest number of refugees measured to date. The causes of flight are manifold, ranging from war and displacement to discrimination and climate change and environmental degradation. Behind all these reasons is the systematic destruction of the planet (by industry and war) and the division of humanity by capitalism, which has been exacerbated by the crisis since 2007/08. So, the fleeing people are a result of over-exploitation and barbarism of imperialism.

In 2015, 1.3 million refugees reached Europe. In the process, they managed to tear holes in fortress Europe. Hundreds of thousands of people showed solidarity with the fugitives. The borders of the EU states were temporarily open. The different camps of the ruling class disagreed whether it was better to seal oneself off nationally or whether the borders should remain open for the free movement of goods.

The Refugee solidarity movement finally failed. It was not internationally coordinated and did not manage to unite the forces of solidarity behind a programme with a clear anti-capitalist fighting perspective. Since the movement mostly did not stand up politically for the fugitives, it left the political field to the right. That is why this polarization eventually led to a social shift to the right. What followed were constantly new racist asylum packages, increasing racist incitement

against "Muslim terror", arming of the European border regime, pacts with oppressive regimes (such as the EU-Turkey deal) and a racist mass movement on the streets, with a massive escalation of racist violence to murder and arson attacks.

We cannot rely on the bourgeois class state against such an offensive. Revolutionaries must at all times emphasize the need for self-defence through structures of workers, fugitives and the youth. In order to overcome the socially targeted isolation of fugitives, the admission of fugitives into the trade unions and full integration into the social and economic struggles are needed. Fugitives are an expression that this social system is not able to satisfy the needs of all people.

- Stop all racist asylum packages! For open borders and safe escape routes.
- Destroy fortress Europe! Smash Frontex¹⁴ and all national border patrol units! For the United Socialist States of Europe.
- End the special deals for combating the so-called "floods of refugees ", whether it be the EU-Turkey deal or the agreements with the Libyan coast guard in the Mediterranean.
- Against inhumane asylum conditions, for decentralised accommodation. Expropriation of vacant housing and development of social housing as shelters for refugees.
- Equal pay for equal work and work of equal value. Put an end to the ban on work for fugitives.
- For the joint struggle of legal and "illegal" workers! For a massive campaign to organise fugitives in the trade unions.

¹⁴ Frontex (short for "external borders") is an EU agency for the "protection" of the common external borders.

Chapter 10: The Advance of Right-Wing Forces

The advance of newer and older right-wing forces needs to be acknowledged. The economic crisis, and the resulting political crisis that followed, fuelled the Right. Be it Donald Trump in the USA, the so-called right-wing-populists in Europe, the neoliberal right-wing conservatives in South-America or forces like Duterte in the Philippines, Erdogan in Turkey or Modi in India – we can clearly see, that this is a global phenomenon. That makes it even more important to understand these forces in order to fight them.

In the current trade cycle many reactionary forces that are unsatisfied with the neoliberal fraction of the ruling class, use certain social clichés on the one side and racism on the other. That is how they succeed in mobilizing dissatisfied parts of the petite bourgeoisie, the middle-class and reactionary parts of the working class. Often, they present themselves as the underdogs who fight against the establishment, thereby concealing that they themselves are, in fact, part of the establishment and represent a fraction of the ruling class.

Once they are in the government, they advance policies of social attacks against the majority of the population. This is how the former outsider Donald Trump managed to win the election against Hillary Clinton. Sometimes these forces even manage to insert themselves into the core of the working class. After years of neoliberal politics under social-democratic rule, parts of the working class are often disgusted and look for an alternative in these forces. This is the **consequence** of the lack of a credible political Left that makes the fights against social cuts, exploitation and racism the central points of their Agenda.

In accordance with this trend there is a more and more authoritarian development becoming obvious in many countries. This can be seen through the expanding surveillance, the broadening of the competence of the police up to domestic military missions and emergency laws. Although this tendency is not limited to right-wing forces in power, as Hollande and Macron show in France, but it mostly signifies a growing anti-democratic tendency. Often the power is concentrated in the hands of fewer and fewer people. Sometimes even a single person (like for example Erdogan or Duterte) seems to be standing over a society, often carried by the military and/or the police. This is what we call Bonapartism. Big parts of the bourgeoisie are even excluded from direct participation at the table of power, although bonapartist forces are clearly defending the ruling system, capitalism.

Often, left-leaning people refer to **these** forces as ‘fascists’. Many are not far from being fascists, but for us fascism is not simply a harsher word for reactionaries. In

fact, fascism is the most radical and often last resort for capitalists to save their system and also a way to unify a nation and lead it into a war and eliminate all opponents. Above all, it is a reactionary mass movement consisting of Petite Bourgeoisie, middle classes, and reactionary parts of the working class, their goal is the break-up of the organized working-class-movement and the complete atomisation of the working class.

To do this it is necessary to leave bourgeois democracy behind and seize the power in the state. Fascist forces rely on means like violence on the street and terror, and not on legal means of civil parliamentarianism. The violence of the fascists is not limited to the Left and organizations of the working-class-movement, but is also directed against socially oppressed minorities.

Against all this we propose an organized self-defense of the people affected in alliance with the working-class-movement – without relying on the civil state. For the fight against these diverse reactionary currents a united front¹⁵ of the different organizations of the working class as well as a fight against the impoverishment of the population due to the capitalist austerity politics is necessary.

All these different reactionary phenomena have their social roots in the ruling social system. They are the most brutal expression of oppression, exploitation and war. As long as capitalism exists, the danger of fascism will never be eliminated. That is why our anti-fascism must always be anti-capitalist – we do not fight fascism with the means of the political Center but with revolutionary anti-fascism. Only the social revolution and the construction of a global, class-less society will offer the opportunity to once and for all put fascism onto the garbage heap of history.

- Defend all democratic rights! For a common right to vote, right to organize and right of assembly, freedom of speech.
- Fight against exploitation, austerity and oppression, to push back fascists and unify the working class.
- No trust in the capitalist state in the fight against fascism! Organized self-defense against fascists, racists and the reactionary civil state.
- No platform for fascists, for direct actions against their rallies and demonstrations – massive, militant and organized.
- Bans against fascists are too often used against Leftists and revolutionaries! We ourselves must break up fascist structures!
- For a united front of all organizations of the working-class-movement against

¹⁵ United Front: s. Chapter 16: Reformism and Left-Wing Populism

fascism and other rightists!

Chapter 11: Fight against Reaction, Fight for Freedom of Religion!

Religion is an important topic for a lot of people. In a world where poverty and injustice are a daily reality, the **belief** in a power of justice and good that reigns over the chaotic world of humankind, is wide-spread. Hence religion is an important factor in the lives of the majority of people, that includes the majority of working-class people and the youth. This will not change as long as we live in a society where hunger, war and hardship **have** not been abolished.

For us no religion is worse than the other. It is more of a question depending on social and political circumstances, to what extent religious ideas lead to ideologically reactionary movements. The intent of established religions though is always to reconcile class contradictions.

We stand for full freedom of religion but also for the right not to follow any religion – religion should be private. That means for us that religion may be practiced freely in the private sphere, as long as it does not go along with any form of oppression. The oppression that we experience in capitalist society lives on in religious communities because religious convictions cannot change the actual circumstances. It is not by chance that religious institutions in capitalism are often lead like huge capitalist enterprises in the interests of only a **handful** of people. They manifest the oppression and usually have clear connections to the state and the bourgeoisie. In times of crisis the state relies more on religious institutions in order to oppress progressive movements, or implements reactionary demands, like the abortion-ban.

We stand for a strict separation of state and religious institutions: no religiously inspired laws, no financing of religious schools, no mandatory religious classes, no display of religious signs in public establishments (like crucifixes in schools) and the disclosure of all financial sources of religious institutions.

Despite freedom of worship, nobody may be restricted in their democratic rights. We defend every person that is being discriminated against due to their religion and we stand up against every discrimination that is being justified based on religious convictions. Atheism is not **a condition of** membership for us. As long as one is a resolute fighter against oppression and capitalism, it does not matter which faith one follows.

- No to all religious laws or laws that are based on religious customs. For the overthrow of all religious regimes! For a full freedom of religion – but for the

abolition of all religious schools, courts of law and state institutions!

- For **full** freedom of worship **or** not worshiping with the active consent of all parties involved! For a right to self-determination over one's own body and the right to free choice of partner.
- For an end **to** all religious discrimination – for a right to **wear** religious symbols or not.
- Expropriate and nationalize the gigantic properties, estates, and enterprises of religious organizations – worshippers may continue to use their places of worship free of charge.

Chapter 12: Our Body, Our Sex – Our Rights!

As young people we see ourselves restricted in many areas of our lives, among others our sexuality. In many places sex before marriage is still frowned on or even subjected to harsh punishment. But these societal denunciations or even criminalization do not keep people from having sex. Rather they lead to an insufficient sex-education. That is why in many parts of the world not only social humiliation, but also medical danger goes along with sexual activity. In Africa 1.5 million people get infected with HIV each year (2016) and many hundreds of thousands die from it. **The Catholic church, with its rejection of methods of contraception, has a particular responsibility for these numbers.**

12.1 Sexual Self-Determination

The spread of commonly accessible contraceptives in Europe and North-America after World War II led to the relief of the burden of unwanted pregnancy for countless women. The contraceptive pill in particular had a positive impact. That is why we stand for an expansion of research into medically approved and safe contraceptives as well as free access to those – especially for youths since young people often cannot afford them.

Worldwide, there are schools with no sex-education at all and where it is provided it often reflects the civil sexual morality. Non-heterosexual and non-monogamous sexuality is barely covered, if at all, and if so it is frowned on.

In many countries the reactionary practice of forced marriage is still an important matter. There are more than 11 million girls yearly (2016) who are forced to marry before their 18th birthday. We fight for youths to freely choose their sexual and marriage partners and fight against all reactionary forms of forced and arranged marriages. Youths are legally banned from sexual intercourse in almost all countries in the world or at least limited. We stand up against these restrictions as long as it concerns mature individuals – which is not ensured by a legal age of consent.

At the same time it needs to be seen that an effective campaign against sexualized assaults is only possible when the affected persons are listened to. No means No and that needs to be acknowledged. Furthermore we aim to ask for consent before every sexual encounter. Thereby even a vocalized Yes can contradict the person's actual will in a certain power structure (economic or age-dependent subordination, social context, mental capacity, ...).

- Free access to contraceptives, for the expansion of research into non-hormonal means of conception!

- For an appropriate and mandatory sex-ed before sexual maturity and an equal display of all forms of sexuality and consensual sexual intercourse.
- Fight against all forms of forced marriage, for freedom of choice of partner.
- For the abolition of all laws that ban consensual sex between mature people, no age restriction in consensual sex!
- For sexual consent! Sexual practices only with active and equal consent of all parties involved!

12.2 LGBTIA-Rights¹⁶

Bourgeois sexual morality – deeply rooted in the concept of the civil nuclear family and the maintenance of social norms – often displays the sexuality of youths and women as passive and inferior. Women are often denied an autonomous sexuality. Rather they are to serve as passive sexual objects for men. Also, deviations from the ruling sexual norms are viewed as sick and reprehensible. These views are reactionary and unscientific.

In addition to the oppression of the expression of sexuality of youth and women, the class society condemns all forms of sexuality that do not fit into the ruling image of a monogamous marriage between a man and a woman. Homosexuality is still ostracized and is punishable by death in many countries. Also persons whose social gender does not match their biological sex, inter- and trans* people are disadvantaged and oppressed in society and work place alike. Often the right to self-determination over their body is limited, similar to the ban of abortion for women.

Along with other social forms of oppression this leads to gruesome impacts on the lives of affected individuals. For example, trans* women of color in the USA have a life expectancy of 35 years (compared to an average life expectancy of 79 years). Attacks against homosexual and transsexual people are often led by fascists – often enough with the blessing of state institutions, or even through them themselves. For example in eastern Europe the Orthodox church formed an alliance with ultra-nationalists and neo-nazis against the Pride Parades.

In the end, the split between sexuality and sexual identity is a split between working class and youths that we need to fight in order to unify workers and youths in the fight against capitalism. That is why we also fight the (petite) bourgeois ideologies, that claim to have the goal of an unrealistic equality within capitalism or even a

¹⁶ Abbr. for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans*, inter and asexual

struggle within the ruling class (similar to bourgeois feminism). The abolition of these forms of oppression can only go along with the conquest of this system.

- For equality in law and freedom to express all kinds of sexuality. Ban all discrimination based on gender or sexual orientation!
- For the right to medical transition to match the social gender identity – free of charge and without unnecessary bureaucratic acts!
- Intersex¹⁷ is an identity! Medical or cosmetic procedures only with the explicit consent of the people affected.
- Against the forced classification into man and woman. There are people who cannot or do not want to assign themselves to either.
- Against mandatory disclosure of one's sex in official documents! For the expansion of unisex-places in public spaces, like toilets and changing cabins.
- Against all forms of gender stereotype, discrimination and marginalization in youth movements and the working class!

¹⁷ People that are born with a combination of so-called male and female biological traits.

Chapter 13: Right to Intoxication?

The worldwide 'war on drugs' has brought unimaginable suffering to wide parts of the world. In Mexico alone it is thought to have led to more than 10 000 deaths in 10 years (2007-2017). Among these a large number of victims are probably young people who either joined cartels because of a lack of prospects and poverty or were caught in the crossfire.

The imperialist nations, above all the USA, this hypocritical war already been waged for decades, although there it showed no success to speak of. Instead, the criminalization of drugs boosts their price and provides huge profits to the cartels (which are nothing other than illegal capitalist enterprises). Because of the criminalization, the workers in the drug industry are massively affected by precarious and dangerous working conditions. Often, drugs are specifically being used by capitalist secret services in order to criminalize progressive movements and weaken their fighting strength, as was the case with the Black Panthers¹⁸ in the USA.

About a quarter of a billion people (2015) worldwide consume illegal drugs, the majority in semi-colonial countries. Drug use is a direct result of a life in a world of oppression, suffering and lack of perspectives – capitalism. But a criminalization of drugs does not lead to a solution of the problem. Rather it pushes drug addicts – mostly young people – to the edge of society and on the street.

The criminalization of drug users and petty dealers serves as a pretext for the criminalization of racially oppressed groups. In the USA the prison industrial complex has grown to tremendous dimensions and its profits amount to many millions of dollars.

We stand for the immediate legalization and de-criminalization of all drugs under the strict control of the state, thus the quality can be guaranteed and addicts avoid the danger of many risks – like the contraction of HIV. At the same time we demand educational campaigns in order to create a broader knowledge about drugs and their effects.

- End the imperialist 'War on Drugs'!
- Broad and accurate educational campaigns about the dangers and usage of drugs. For a legal access to drugs after passing an educational program that is free of charge and accessible for all. Extend the health system, rehab clinics and aid centres!

¹⁸ The Black Panthers were a group in the USA during the 60's and 70's, that had the goal to protect the Black population from police violence and had a social orientation.

- For a legalization of all drugs – production and distribution under state monopoly, controlled by producers and consumers.
- For an end to the prison industry – Social rehabilitation instead of prison sentences should be the focus!

Chapter 14: Why We Need a Program

The program is the means by which our members are drawn into discussion of both ideas and practical activities. It is the codified experience of the organization combined with the historical lessons learnt by the international movements of labor and youths. But where does the program start? Capitalism makes its mark on every nook and cranny of the world. Crises and wars are no local phenomena anymore but an expression of the international division of labor. Accordingly, our conclusion must always go along with the international development.

In short, the program derives tasks for revolutionaries from social circumstances – it is a manual of action. For us there are two integral components in this program. First, the absolute independence from our oppressors, the capitalists, because they profit from this system and have no interest whatsoever in overcoming it. Second, the transitional method of the program.

The first Marxist parties, the social democracy at the end of the 19th century, traditionally had their program split into two parts. On the one side there were the so-called minimum demands like the 8-hour-day, separation of church and state and universal suffrage. On the other side there were demands that were feasible only in socialism but not, like minimum demands, already in capitalism.

In the program they did not explain further how to get from minimum to maximum demands, or how the gap between the two was to be bridged. Indirectly it was obvious that it had to be the socialist revolution. But in the beginning of the 20th century the parties adapted themselves to capitalism and maximum demands were soon nothing more than fine speeches.

That is how this separation in the program favored reformism and opportunism in social democracy. Accordingly, we set transitional demands against the strict separation of minimum and maximum demands. We thereby try to relate to the current consciousness of working class and youth – without adapting to it – and to tie it to the goal of the socialist revolution. The realization of transitional demands – like the distribution of work to all hands – is permanently incompatible with the capitalist class society that we currently live in. The perspective of a social revolution should not be a goal in the far future but the most progressive parts among youths and workers should become aware that it is a necessity already today.

But the program would be worthless if it remained a dead letter for the membership of the communist organization. For us it is more than a confession of faith. That is why we have democratic rights and duties that make a free discussion of political questions among ourselves possible. REVOLUTION is a democratically centralist

organization, which means in effect a free debate internally and an agreed position externally. For that it needs a group of activists who defend jointly made decisions.

This is necessary, since we recognise the weakness of revolutionaries to embed themselves amongst the workers and youth of the labour movement, which is led ideologically by reformist and openly bourgeois forces. This external presentation of unity could, however, lead to a breakup of the group if internal disagreements intensified. Therefore a number of democratic measures are needed. Two of those are the right to form a faction or a tendency¹⁹. Another democratic right is the right of socially oppressed groups to hold exclusive meetings. That is where oppression within the organization, or the organization's fight against this oppression, is to be discussed. The results have a great significance for revolutionary organizations.

In the current situation we are often concerned with defensive fights but even here it must be asserted that the solutions to problems of the present society can only be achieved by the overthrow of the ruling order. Courage and honesty are essential to win the trust of the most progressive activists first and the masses later – to say what is, remains the most revolutionary deed.

¹⁹ **Factions** and tendency describe associations within the organization, that want to fundamentally (**factions**) or partially (tendency) change the politics of the organization.

Chapter 15: Reformism & Left-Wing-Populism

We are not the only ones who devote themselves to the fight for a better world. The labor movement has bred a whole lot of different organizations that want to end this system or at least reform it in a more just way. The most influential ones try to reach this goal by means of reform.

The big social-democratic parties have been founded more than 100 years ago on Marxist foundations. They have distanced themselves from this tradition and mutated into essential pillars of this system. As we have noted in the previous chapters, this world has long been ripe for a new society but capitalism clings to life, doggedly. A central element for this is reformist organizations that try to broker a strategic compromise between working class and bourgeoisie. That way they necessarily find themselves on the side of the ruling class, because in capitalism it is impossible to unify the interests of workers and bourgeoisie. Supposed 'neutrality' always leads to the side of the stronger one, that of the capitalists!

In times of economic upswing these organizations – often tightly linked to the most influential labor unions – manage to push through positive reforms against capital. In the process they use more or less radical forms of action like strikes or demonstrations, although they always try to control them bureaucratically from the top. In times of crises – especially during times of fierce class struggle – they mostly play a reactionary role. They defend the bourgeois system against the working class.

When in 1918/19 the German proletariat was willing to carry out a socialist revolution, the Social Democracy managed to find its way to the top of this movement and led it to defeat, while at the same time revolutionary forces were fought fiercely.

All of that shows that we are not simply divided by disagreement over the means to an end. No, the differences are more substantial. The social basis of reformism lies in the imperialist super-exploitation of the semi-colonial world. With this super-exploitation and the consequential super profits²⁰ it is possible for the imperialist and some of the wealthier semi-colonial countries to pay higher wages to a certain part of the working-class. This part of the working-class is what reformism and its bureaucracy rely upon. Thus, the trade-union-bureaucracy as well as the tops of the reformist parties always have an interest to keep up the imperialist super-exploitation and capitalism itself.

Despite many of these essential differences, these forces form the leadership in many progressive struggles and movements and we cannot simply ignore them.

²⁰ Profits that exceed the 'normal' **extent** of exploitation and result from an **super**-exploitation.

Rather, we must aim at a collaboration with them without subordinating to their leadership. Only during action is it possible to viably promote our politics to their massive membership. Only through collaboration with these organizations will we manage to expose their wrong politics and win their membership to the revolutionary road. This approach is what we call the united front tactic.

Next to the classical social-democratic-reformist parties and youth organizations, new parties and organizations have formed during times of crises. With its betrayal of the Greek youth and working class, SYRIZA proved that the reformist Euro-Communism²¹ also does not have a different character from the classical (social-democratic) reformism.

We can also see that left-wing-populist forces win influence. One example is the Spanish party Podemos, founded by leftist intellectuals surrounding the university professor Pablo Iglesias. Podemos managed to present itself to a lot of progressive youths and workers during times of crisis as a viable alternative, but had no fundamentally better concept to overcome suffering than other left-reformist forces.

Left-wing-populism though is not a current within the organized working class but a cross-class movement. Organizations like Podemos, that are based on a critical mass from the Internet, do not even try to organize the working class with strikes and mass meetings as the space for struggle and political exchange.

In all these movements we are against all kinds of bourgeois domination through the established forces. We fight for common democratic structures of the movement in which freedom of criticism and direct democracy allows a powerful organization of the movement. In trade-unions we fight against the bureaucratic rule of the established union-leaders and for control by the rank and file membership. Only through a directly controlled, democratically legitimized leadership and an active membership can trade-unions also become instruments for the liberation of the working class and youth.

²¹ Euro-Communism describes a tendency (starting in the 1970s) in diverse western communist parties, that abandoned Stalinism in order to embrace more bourgeois democracies.

Chapter 16: Stalinism is Not Socialism!

In 1917, for the first time, the power in a country was seized by workers and farmers. The Russian October Revolution allowed the masses to rule over and direct their society. In the factories, committees consisting of workers decided over what to produce and how. In the countryside, the large landowners were expropriated and their former property was redistributed to the poor population. The legal equalization of women was established, the socialization of housework was started and the old czarist laws against homosexuality were abolished. This revolution was until now the biggest step ever taken towards a liberated society.

In vast parts of Europe (Germany, Austria, Hungary, Finland, Italy, ...) similar labor movements arose simultaneously, although they were mainly defeated by the betrayal of the social democracy.

Meanwhile, in Russia, a bloody civil war erupted that lasted until 1922 and saw a good dozen other states participating in the military attack against the revolutionary soviet power. The revolution remained limited to Russia, which was devastated after the world war and the civil war. The heroes of the October Revolution had fallen. Also the union between farmers and workers was broken up because the rural population had been violently forced to provide food for the cities. All of that led to the weakening of the working class which advantaged the rise of a bureaucratic class that opposed the workers and the development to communism. Their highest representative was Stalin.

The power was not exercised by the organized masses anymore but by a small privileged layer of officials of the party and the state. The revolutionary parts of the party were excluded, persecuted and murdered. The Soviet Union turned into a caricature of socialism. We clearly reject the development in the former Soviet Union as well as all regimes built after its image (China, Vietnam, Eastern Europe, Cuba, North Korea).

The working class in the Soviet Union was politically oppressed but at the same time the social production was based on nationalized property and planned economy. That is why we call these states 'degenerated workers' states' that we needed to defend against imperialism and capitalist intervention. The historically progressive ownership structures (the abolition of private ownership of means of production) could have only been defended against the ruling caste with a successful political revolution, that, contrary to a social revolution, would not need to change ownership structures.

Instead we saw a growing discontent against the dictatorship. The masses directed themselves against the ruling bureaucracy, but because of a lack of communist

perspective, they did not turn into a political revolution. Instead capitalism was re-established.

The lesson we learn from the past is that we need to stand up against any kinds of privileges for state and party officials. All officials may not earn more than the average wage of a skilled worker. The civil service may not be institutionalized but needs to be subjected to a constant change in personnel. All officials must be held accountable and be able to be voted in and out at any time. The structures of the soviet democracy had to be rebuilt in the fight against the old bureaucracy. Also the economic planning, that had been done by a caste of technocrats²² in Stalinism, had to be put under the democratic control of producers and consumers.

Consequently the Soviet Union proved that the revolution can never be successful when it is limited to single countries. Without the world revolution it is doomed to fail. The stalinist thesis of 'Socialism in One Country' only served to subordinate the interests of the world proletariat to the interests of the soviet bureaucracy. That had been made obvious during the Spanish civil war when the stalinists fought against the revolutionary-socialist transformation of the society on the front line.

In some countries, like Vietnam and China, we witnessed a massive restructuring of the economic conditions in the last couple of decades. Although the ruling 'communist' parties are still in place, capitalism has slowly been re-established. The stalinist claim that the ruling 'communist' parties were the best guarantee against the reintroduction of capitalism, has been exposed as a lie to justify privilege and bureaucracy.

But also where stalinism (sometimes presenting itself as 'Maoism') plays a leading role in current movements we use the same tactic of the united front, like we do with reformist organizations, because Stalinism is at its core nothing more than that.

²² Technocracy describes the rule of 'experts' from scientific and technological fields.

Chapter 17: Anarchism

Like us, anarchists often strive for a society free of class, state and oppression. Many of them also advocate a revolution against capitalism and some of them also refer to the working class, when thinking about how to achieve this. But in decisive points we do not share the strategic orientation of anarchists. What all anarchists have in common is that they reject any form of state. We assume that after a successful revolution the old society will not simply die off by itself but will strive to reverse the revolution. This is demonstrated by the history of all revolutions so far. After the revolution we want to create a proletarian semi-state, organized in councils (soviets) and supported by a worker's militia for armed defense against the counterrevolution. This half state defends the class rule of the proletariat and represents the interests of the majority of the people. Since it is the only state with the possibility of dying off, because of its own mechanism and organization we call it a semi-state. Additionally, Anarchists reject all parties. They believe that parties (no matter which class viewpoint they adopt) are authoritarian and an instrument to manifest the rule of a small minority over the whole class. Apart from the fact that in the past there were also anarchist organizations that distanced themselves only in name from parties (like the FAI in Spain²³), we assume that for the conquest of power the most progressive parts of the working class must be organized in a party in order to win the entire proletariat for communist ideals. A spontaneous emergence of communist consciousness is not possible in a society ideologically dominated by the bourgeoisie. Many anarchists also overemphasise isolated "radical" actions to swing the consciousness of the majority towards a revolutionary perspective. This "propaganda of action" replaces the collective actions of the masses through the actions of an already convinced minority. Instead of trying to win the majority politically, it tries to "shake them up" with particularly radical actions. Although we do not reject direct actions and violence in principle, we try to make them accessible to as large a mass as possible. Only through conscious participation can the working class and youth learn to actively struggle against the capitalist system. The overthrow of capitalism can only be a conscious act or it will be unsuccessful. There is often an absolute rejection of any form of authority and leadership among anarchists. Instead of democratically elected and accountable leaders, undemocratic and untransparent cliques that guide politics are encouraged. This rejection of democracy also leads to the fact that the loudest, most self-confident, as well as the activists with the most time on their hands, have the most control over the movement. Nevertheless, if it makes sense, we work

²³ . The Iberian Anarchist Federation (FAI) was an anarchist organization of Spain in the 1920s and 30s that held the leadership of the anarcho-syndicalist trade union CNT.

together with anarchists and try to prove to them our convictions and program through practice. Within anarchism - which encompasses a multitude of currents - there are currents that are politically closer to us, such as anarcho-syndicalism, which seeks to build revolutionary anarchist trade unions. They actively and consciously refer to the working class and the struggling youth as revolutionary subjects. But even this current of anarchism has historically shown its bankruptcy in the Spanish civil war and therefore represents for us at best an approach to revolutionary communism, but in no way a current to be equated with it.

Chapter 18: The revolutionary transition towards another society

For the longest time in human history, there were no classes. It was only with the establishment of settled communities, the development of a certain material security and prosperity and the beginning of the division of labour that the foundations of inequality and class rule were laid. Since then, every social change has taken place against the brutal resistance of the previously privileged classes. This will also hold true for the abolition of capitalism. Capitalism has brought out the contradictions between the main classes and the disintegration of society into these two classes more clearly than ever before. The proletariat and the capitalists are incompatible with each other, the class contradiction has reached its highest level. An infinitesimally small fraction of people control huge parts of the world's wealth. In contrast to all previous social formations, the goal of communism is to abolish the division into classes, along with all social oppression. The most important step here is the expropriation of private property in the form of the means of production. We regard the revolution as a conscious step of the workers, youth and oppressed to end all forms of oppression and exploitation. In capitalism, real power is not in the hands of elected parliaments, but rather in the hands of unelected bureaucrats, bank and corporate bosses, as well as the leadership of the police and military. This has consequences. For example: Violence is a necessity in many situations, but it must be related to the consciousness of the class. We reject the fetishization of violence, as well as its categorical exclusion - because it is a social relation that is systematically applied against the oppressed classes. We advocate the position of as much violence as necessary, as little as possible. The task of revolutionaries is to secure the argument for self-defence and self-empowerment of the class through democratically legitimized organs (strike and action committees, self-defence structures and the like) in each struggle. They must achieve a militant intensification of the struggles against the prevailing conditions. The clearest expression of this can be found in councils. Councils are direct organs which are present in districts, villages or enterprises and can take over the administration of society instead of the bourgeois state apparatus. The council representatives, elected in local meetings, are directly accountable to their people and can be voted out at any time. They meet in regional and national assemblies and determine politics there. We reject the bourgeois state's monopoly on the use of force. So we fight for organized self-defence structures in cases such as those of threats by fascists against refugee shelters, and we build up pickets, which enforce the closure of the production for the whole period of the strike, if necessary by force. We also reject reliance on the criminalization of reactionary organizations by the bourgeois state, as it fuels trust in the government and does not even touch the roots of these groups. At the same time, state bans can also affect left-wing organizations, which is why the bourgeois

state should be given as little leeway as possible here.

The councils should be places of the most open workers' democracy, here free discussion should apply to collective action. Here the discussion in favor of a revolutionary program must be an indicator of the development of consciousness in the class. For us, this council system represents the embryo of the workers' state, the rule of the absolute majority of the world over a minority, those who are currently at the top of this system. For them we have no new improvements to offer, for the absolute majority of the world we do. The council-democratic semi-state must therefore be the rule of the majority against the interests of the bourgeois minority, also called the dictatorship of the proletariat. It must hold down the counterrevolutionary organizations, if necessary by force. But the goal of this state also always has to be its own abolition, so that the transition to a liberated society of equals, in which every human being can live according to their respective abilities and needs, can begin. This is why we must fight in the strongest possible terms against the emergence of a new privileged caste, a bureaucracy. To assure this we are already advocating today the eligibility and deselection of the delegates, as well as an average skilled workers' wage, full accountability and a binding principle of rotation. The current revolutionization of media technology, like the Internet, is a huge tool for such a working class democracy, but it can never completely replace democratic discussions and mass meetings. As long as the capitalist system has not been overthrown globally, the material preconditions for the state dying off cannot be completely fulfilled. The replacement of the proletarian semi-state by socialism (the transition society towards communism) can therefore only be carried out within an international framework.

Chapter 19: The Youth International and the Fifth International

REVOLUTION advocates the international organization of youth. This results from the special oppression of youth and the international character of capitalism. We are those who suffer from special disenfranchisement and low wages. We are the ones who are forced to die on the front lines of the wars of this world. Our self-organization is necessary to guarantee that the revolutionary youth will have a voice in the coming social struggles. At the same time, we want to win young people for the revolutionary struggle for a liberated society. The youth cannot fight this struggle alone. This requires the organized working class under the leadership of a revolutionary international party.

We are an independent youth organization, which means that we are financially and organizationally independent, being able to have our own experiences and make mistakes while finding our way to revolutionary politics. However, this does not mean that we are passive in the act of building a new International, which we think is needed. For this reason, we currently have a fighting partnership based on political solidarity with the League for the Fifth International (LFI)²⁴. This is based on programmatic and methodological agreement. Because of the crisis of the international leadership of the working class, our support for precisely this party building has to be on a programmatic basis.

The successes, but also the failures, of the first four Internationals²⁵ give us insight into important aspects of revolutionary politics. The most essential of these are: the focus on the working class as revolutionary subject and its leading fighting parts; the necessity to smash the bourgeois state and to replace it with a socialist workers' state, based on the mass action of the working class; the organisation of an International based on an international democratic-centralism and internationalism as a method of understanding local events in the context of the dynamics of the international class struggle; the recognition that an organization in form of a party must consist of activists who carry revolutionary-proletarian politics into all spheres of their lives; as well as the theory of permanent revolution²⁶ arising from the

²⁴ The section of the LFI is in Germany the group workers power, in Austria the workers* standpoint.

²⁵ The first international association of organizations of the workers' movement was the International Workers' Association, in which Karl Marx played an important role, which was dissolved in 1876. The second (or Socialist) International was founded in 1889 by the socialist and social-democratic parties, but disintegrated at the beginning of the First World War. The Third (or Communist) International was founded in Russia in 1919 during the October Revolution, degenerated Stalinist in the 1920s and was finally dissolved by Stalin in 1943. The Fourth International was founded in 1938 with Leon Trotsky's leading participation, degenerated and disintegrated in the 1950s

²⁶ Leon Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution states, among other things, that in countries that have not yet undergone complete bourgeois development (democratic rights, national independence, division of the country, etc.), it is no longer realized by their own capitalist class. Only a proletarian revolution will implement these necessary developmental steps at the beginning of socialist transformation.

analysis of the imperialist world system and the fact that socialism is not realizable in only one country. The struggle for leadership of the class must be fought consistently, and this requires the development of a revolutionary manifesto. Armed with such a manifesto, a series of tactics are needed to build up the organization. REVOLUTION does not view itself as a linearly growing nucleus of a new youth International, therefore we are looking for partners to create it and propose our program as a basis for discussion. The Socialist Youth International and their publications²⁷ in the course of the First World War showed that in times of a right-wing development of reformism the slogan of the Youth International can become a true mass tactic. Following these words, one can only say: We have nothing to lose, but a world to win - for the socialist world revolution!

Chapter 20: Get Active!

You like our manifesto and want to talk about it? **Then get in touch with us!** We are currently active in different German cities and Austria and are actively participating in left wing demonstrations, organizing our own events and meetings where we discuss current political developments and start our own campaigns. **So: If you are – like us – unhappy with the way society works, and want to change it, get in contact with us. Together we can overthrow this system!**

²⁷ In 1907 the Socialist Youth International was founded as a union of socialist youth organizations, during the First World War it remained faithful to its anti-militarism and published an illegal newspaper, the "Jugend-Internationale".