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Libyan workers revolution in danger of being smothered from within and from outside by imperialism- the fight for freedom continues



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Alert: Imperialism prepares military intervention against revolutionary Libyan masses

There are some of the capitalist leaders, currently vying for leadership of the Libyan workers revolution, and a small section of masses, who are calling for imperialism to set up a **'no-fly zone'** over Libya. This is a big **mistake**. The US imperialist military has made it clear that they will first have to bomb all the military installations across Libya, that is both in Tripoli as well as in Benghazi and other liberated areas. The effect of this would be to leave the revolutionary masses weakened and vulnerable to military invasion by all the imperialist and pro-imperialist forces (whether from India or elsewhere) currently massing off the shorelines of Libya. The Libyan revolutionary masses should demand of their class brothers and sisters in the imperialist centres and semi-colonies to send them anti-aircraft weapons, including the latest heat-seeking guided missiles to defend themselves against the murderous Gaddafi regime. Imperialism cannot give weapons to the revolutionary masses as imperialism wants control of the oil resources.

Imperialism will not be happy if the revolutionary masses in Libya defeat Gaddafi militarily, as this sets a precedent for how the masses should deal with their own capitalist regimes, not only in Tunisia and Egypt, but also the entire Arabian peninsula, Algeria, Greece, France and indeed across the world, even in the very USA. The masses have spontaneously gained arms but the delay in arming the working class in Tripoli, with the excuse of building up militias has two effects: first, the longer the delay the more the revolutionary masses in Tripoli are weakened; secondly the armed mass is now having their weapons placed under a central command of reactionary tribal leaders that are pro-capitalist and who are willing to cut deals with imperialism. If reports of US, UK and French military advisers being in the Benghazi region are true, then this policy of disarming the masses, under the guise of building up a 'central command' of pro-capitalist leaders, and of delaying to go to support the masses in Tripoli, is coming from them. In this context, the placing of militias who are under the control of the reactionary tribal leaders, to guard the oil installations, is preparation for a return of imperialism to take over and plunder the oil. If the masses still force their way and militarily defeat Gaddafi, imperialism would either directly intervene to save Gaddafi (through a no-fly zone and other direct military intervention) or they would intervene to attempt to crush the revolution.

Despite the words of Obama and the other imperialist leaders that Gaddafi should go, the practice is of an informal alliance of US and other imperialism with him against the revolutionary masses. The imperialist sharks want control over the oil, even if they have to make a pact with the butcher Gaddafi, or with any tribal leader who is willing to surrender the wealth the imperialism (in the case that they cannot directly defeat the revolution from the outside).

What is needed is for the working class at the oil installations and other industries to organize independently, setting up their own committees, with the central demand of expropriating all imperialist assets, placing them under workers control, contesting for their positions as part of the revolutionary movement. Armed workers militias should be centralized under the control of the councils of workers delegates. Now more than every is needed armed, international worker brigades to go to assist the Libyan masses fight imperialist intervention and to defeat the imperialist lackey regime of Gaddafi. We call for mass demonstrations against the pending imperialist invasion of Libya. [see our full position in our previous leaflets on Libya on our website] 5.3.2011



In the revolutions for food, housing, work and freedom, the working class needs to organize independently

No to imperialist intervention and continued plunder of Libya

In the heroic revolutions that have just started in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya and where the masses are starting to enter into manoeuvres of revolution in Bahrain, Djibouti, Algeria, Jordan, Yemen, Morocco, Sudan, Saudi Arabia (and the smaller emirates on the Arabian peninsula), thusfar there has been a crucial shortcoming, namely, that the working class has not been organised independently. In all cases so far the committees that have emerged have been dominated by the middle class and by capitalist parties. The Egyptian Socialists (part of the international of the British SWP) calls for revolutionary councils to be set up based on 'popular committees'- in these committees the middle class and working class sit together without the workers being organised independently. The Egyptian Socialists call for the wealth to be returned to the 'people'- in other words they are silent on the question of which class leads the revolution and how this return is to take place, namely that the working class not only should lead but has to take power in its hands to begin to take back the wealth from imperialism and the local bourgeoisie. The notion of 'people' lumps the local working class, middle class and capitalist class as if they are all one homogenous whole- as if there are no class differences between them. Thus when workers come to the 'popular committees' they do not come as workers or worker representatives but as part of the 'people' – subordinated to the interest of the middle class and capitalist class and thus subordinated to imperialism. It is not for nothing that the Egyptian Socialists say, 18 days after the revolution started in Egypt that 'Now we need the workers' for a 'general strike' to 'seal the fate of the regime' while the higher council of the popular committees represent the 'people'. In other words the workers are needed as a pressure tool for the higher council dominated by the middle class and the capitalist class to negotiate with imperialism.

What allowed the first 18 days of the revolution in Egypt to be dominated by the middle class and capitalist class was that workers were not organised independently, ie as workers delegates in their own councils as part of the broader movement- thus working class demands were subordinated to that of the middle class youth and capitalist class. The problem with the first 18 days was that they were not led by the working class.

What is immediately necessary, in Tunisia, in Egypt, in Libya, and elsewhere where the revolution against imperialism-capitalism is starting, is the setting up of workers councils comprised of worker delegates, coming with its demands into the revolutionary movement against the lackey regimes of imperialism- in other words, the broad revolutionary movement becomes transformed into a united front of the working class with its allies instead of being a broad amorphous movement where the bourgeois forces dominate, as they have up to now.

The first reason for this domination by the middle class is the self-limitation that the Socialist groups have imposed on the revolutions, namely a national vision of the struggle, that is to say, posing the task as changing the regime but not linking this task with the necessity to expropriate all imperialist assets and that of the local bourgeoisie, without compensation and having to establish workers' control. With the expropriation of



imperialist assets it directly follows a clash with imperialism, which immediately takes the struggle for working class power on a national scale into a struggle for Socialism on an international scale. In other words, it links the struggle for workers power on national scale in the semi-colonies, to the struggle for workers power in the imperialist centres. The policy of the British SWP and the Egyptian Socialists is the opposite- they separate the struggle in the semi-colonies from that in the imperialist centres. They call for nationalisation of the ruined factories and assets that were privatized- they make no call for expropriation of imperialism and the establishment of workers control- Gaddafi, Nasser and many others carried out nationalization which was really partnership with imperialism and without workers control. When workers went on strike under Nasser, some were executed- they were told by Nasser that 'you do not demand, we give'. Further and crucially the SWP and Egyptian Socialist are silent about the need for the Egyptian revolution to be sustained, means imperialism has to be overthrown in the imperialist centres such as the USA and the UK.

In fighting against the regime in Tunisia, Egypt, Bahrain, Yemen and Libya the middle class leadership have shown themselves incapable of fighting to the end against the regimes. In Tunisia and Egypt they have cut a deal with the old regime. Ghannouchi, the right hand man of the Ben Ali regime, although forced to resign, leaves behind others of the Ben Ali regime who are now in control while in Egypt Mubarak's generals are in charge (on behalf of imperialism). Both regimes have not lifted a finger against the imperialists and the local bourgeoisie who plundered the wealth during the decades of the dictatorship. Only token measures have been taken against a few of the Ministers and a small section of the elite. On the contrary the first steps taken have been to secure imperialist assets from being taken over by the working class. In Egypt Mubarak's generals have asked Mubarak's old cabinet, with some new faces from the 'opposition' to draft the new constitution – the masses are completely excluded- to add insult to injury the military will put this draft to a 'referendum'- in other words a bourgeois tool to pretend to involve the masses but in the end to give them very little choice. Mubarak and US imperialism will in fact draft the 'new' constitution. In Bahrain the 'opposition' is not even demanding freedom but a 'constitutional monarchy', in other words, they propose to maintain the repressive regime. In Libya, the tribal leaders who want to gain control of the revolution are flying the flag of the old monarchy and appear to have called in British and French military advisers to assist them. The ex-Minister of Justice in Libya, who claims to have joined the revolution, is already attempting to negotiate with the murderous Gaddafi, who has shot down thousands of the unarmed masses, to set up a 'interim government'. In Tunisia and Egypt there are 'Socialist' forces who up to now, have remained outside of the popular front regime (Tunisia) and outside the bonapartist regime (Egypt). In both cases the 'Socialists' raise the call for a Constituent Assembly but ignore the critical question as to who will convene it. The middle class and capitalist parties have joined the capitalist regimes in Tunisia and Egypt and have shown themselves incapable of meeting the basic demands of the masses for freedom, work, housing and food.

In short the middle class and capitalist forces have betrayed the revolutions and are siding with imperialism against the masses. The central question now is: what is the programme of the world proletariat for the revolutionary masses against those who betray from within? The middle class forces cannot meet even one demand of the masses- they continue to attack the masses with high food and oil prices, being unable to give work to the millions of unemployed, unable to grant the working class freedom to organize and free political activity, unable to involve elected representatives of the



masses, freely elected and subject to instant recall, to draft a new constitution or guarantee even the freedom to protest.

The first step that has to be taken is for the working class, employed and unemployed need to organise themselves independently based on workers delegates from the workplaces, setting up council of delegates where delegates of the unemployed, the rank and file soldiers also send delegates.

The central demand of the formation of these structures must be to do away entirely with the old regime and expropriating all imperialist assets and all the local bourgeoisie as they were the prime beneficiaries of the dictatorship. In a sense the working class organize themselves independently on a programme to do away with the old regime, forming a united front with their allies, the rank and file soldiers, poorest peasantry, revolutionary students and any sector of the ruined middle class that aligns themselves with the programme for destroying the old regime, establishing workers control and expropriation of imperialism (without compensation to the capitalists). With the working class organised independently, with its own structures, within the revolutionary movement it acts as a safeguard against the Trojan horses that imperialism is sending to 'join' the revolution- these bureaucrats join to save their own skin and in many cases to steer the revolution to maintaining a capitalist regime- with or without Gaddafi.

These steps need to be generalised across North Africa and the Middle East- away with all the monarchies and imperialist lackey-dictators. These steps need to be generalised into other semi-colonies and colonies and taken into the heart of the imperialist centres. The threat of the state to use armed force against the protestors in Wisconsin should be met with independent organization of the working class and an armed workers militia; the threat by the lackey of US imperialism in Zimbabwe to use the treason law against the reformist Gwisai and 51 others must be met with the independent organizing of the working class and the organising of a workers militia, etc.

Arm the masses

When Gaddafi and the French and Italian-backed mercenaries starting massacring thousands in the streets, the masses found arms and destroyed the state machinery. What the ex-Minister of Justice is doing, under the guise of setting up militias, is disarming the masses (by bring the arms under the central control of the tribal council and other bourgeois forces)- in other words he is delaying the sending of arms to the masses in Tripoli who are at the mercy of the butcher Gaddafi. Further, he is laying the basis for the re-establishment of a capitalist state, where the arms are under a central command to protect the assets of imperialism-capitalism. By these delays he is buying time for imperialism to manoeuvre to use all its allies and resources to attempt to strangle the revolution.

All imperialist military bases and their military advisers should be expelled from the region.





Workers Control of the oil industry

Oil exports to US and other imperialism has re-commenced from the Benghazi region. The point is that the unelected tribal council is controlling the oil industry not the workers. The workers need to immediately place the oil industry under workers control. Thus the need for the immediate setting up of workers councils based on workers delegates who become part of the revolutionary movement and assert their demands there.

Imperialism sends their man, Chavez to strangle the revolution

Imperialism has sent the 'Brother leader' from Venezuela, Chavez, to try and strangle the revolution. Not long ago imperialism sent him to Colombia to point out where all the guerrilla bases were- Chavez told the resistance to give up. Many of them were subsequently killed by imperialist forces.

Chavez is sent by imperialism to try and achieve a 'negotiated settlement' which will, under the cover of anti-imperialist rhetoric, will re-establish the control by imperialism and a unity government with the Gaddafi regime, with or without Gaddafi. Imperialism wants to, at all costs, prevent an overthrow of Gaddafi through an armed revolution because this would be a signal to the masses in Tunisia, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Algeria, Jordan, and indeed to the masses of the world. If the 'peace' mission of Chavez fails, imperialism is preparing even for military intervention under the cover of 'protecting' their assets and citizens, or some other excuse.

The treacherous bourgeois liberals of the Cosatu leadership

The Cosatu leaders issued a statement which is very similar to that of the imperialist Hilary Clinton. Both are concerned over the loss of life of the 1000 protestors and both call for the right of peaceful protest. The Cosatu leaders go on in their statement to elaborate a long list of glowing achievement of dictator Gaddafi. What the Cosatu leaders question is why are the slaves rebelling when the slave-master is so good to them? According to the Cosatu leaders, Gaddafi killed 1000 people but he is really a good man. Further, the call of Cosatu amounts to a call, even after thousands have been mowed down in cold blood, for the masses to disarm and to be well behaved like the Egyptian masses and go unarmed into an open square and be at the mercy of Gaddafi and his French and Italian-backed mercenaries.

Thus by singing praises to the mass murderer Gaddafi, the Cosatu leaders are also preparing the way for a 'unity government' with Gaddafi himself. The Cosatu leaders are total lackeys of US imperialism- this is why they have not organised a single protest or rally in support of the Libyan masses. It completely escapes these great leaders of Cosatu that Libya has no unions nor are any strikes allowed. This does not matter as Gaddafi is good to his people.

The Cosatu leaders are signalling to the masses in South Africa that they will side with the state against the masses in time of revolution because the ANC and SACP are so 'good' to the masses.

The start of a revolution or an 'uprising'?

Al Jazeera and the other bourgeois press call events in Tunisia and Egypt a 'revolution' where the masses were disarmed and the middle class hijacked the struggle of the



masses for power, where the revolution was, for the moment, halted and the old regime retained. But in Libya, where the masses have gone the furthest to destroy the old regime, the start of the revolution where the masses have armed themselves, and have destroyed to the root the state structures, the capitalist press call an 'uprising'. They are trying to hide that for a real revolution, the masses have to arm themselves; secondly they hide that this revolution is against world imperialism by portraying the struggle as being only an uprising against a corrupt dictator. Thus they help to prepare the way for the tribal leaders and middle class to hijack the revolution and to re-establish the capitalist regime- a new dictatorship.

The party can wait for the masses but the masses cannot wait for the party [Trotsky]

It is our hope that, from the independent organisms of the workers that should be set up during the revolutionary processes, will arise the nuclei for a new working class party. We call for an international conference of revolutionary workers organizations and internationalist Trotskyists on the barricades of Libya to set up a revolutionary International. Forward to revolutionary working class parties as part of this refounding of the Fourth International.

01.03.2011

On the killing of shopsteward Petros Msiza and the mass dismissal of 1054 Samwu strikers by the ANC-SACP regime

Thursday 3 March 2011 marks a turning point in the struggle of the working class in South Africa. On this day one of the strike leaders, Petros Msiza, was killed after having been shot at close range by the hated police. The municipal workers are on strike after unilateral change of conditions of employment by the ANC-SACP regime in one of the key Gauteng municipalities.

In this one shot is summarised the entire situation of the working class. The police claim they were defending private property that was 'threatened' by the strikers. The 'private' property of the capitalists have been gained through stealing, exploitation of the working class, over many years, including under the hated apartheid (slave capitalist) regime. When we consider that the means of production, also private property, the mines, the capitalist farms, the large factories, the banks, the chain stores, are controlled by imperialism, and indeed, primarily US imperialism, the police are protecting the super-profits of imperialism against the working class. The imperialists make super profits while the working class are kept in starvation and subjection through the hated police of the ANC-SACP regime. This is in line with how Engels described the state as being 'bodies of armed men' of the ruling class, instruments of violence against the working class. The myth of a 'developmental state' as paraded by the SACP, is shattered. Starkly exposed in the true role of the ANC-SACP regime, namely that it is the lackey of imperialism.

Is it a coincidence that in Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, Bahrain, the client regimes of imperialism have killed protestors, have used live ammunition to mow down those who



threaten 'private' property? Is it a coincidence that the first target of the masses has been to destroy the police stations?

The overnight creation of the military police who come armed with live ammunition to demonstrations, who have been trained by the FBI, is part of a world trend by imperialism, of preparation for the fascist suppression of the working class. Imperialism realize that their client regimes are increasingly incapable of keeping the masses in check and that they have to turn to fascist methods to brutally suppress the working class. It is not for nothing that one of the central themes of the recent IBSA meeting was to encourage the strengthening of the police apparatus and of 'anti-terrorist' legislation. These client regimes are carrying out the wishes of their imperialist masters.

Thus we can understand why one of the central themes of the ANC election manifesto for the local government elections is bringing more police into the community and more police stations. These measures are not to protect the masses but to protect the 'private' property of imperialism.

The shooting of strikers, of communities without adequate housing, the brutal suppression of the unarmed soldiers protest, the shooting of the eyes out of 3 protestors in Hangberg, are all part of the same world trend of imperialism relying more on the fascist jackboot. The call for a judicial enquiry by the capitalist state into the killing of Cde Msiza by one of its key organs, will not lead to justice. How many thousands have been killed during 1985-1993 by the state and fascist gangs sponsored by Anglo American (and other imperialists), but the killers still walk free? [Thousands of the killers are used by imperialism as a private army in Iraq to suppress the masses].

It is time for the working class to revive industrial and community locals of worker representatives and alongside this to build workers self-defence committees. We support the call by Samwu workers for a review of support of the ANC-SACP in the coming municipal elections. We go one step further: We call for a boycott of the coming elections, ie a boycott of all the parties participating in these elections, be they ANC, DA, or anybody else. Let us mobilise from Cape to Cairo against all imperialist client regimes! Let us join hands with the working class in the imperialist centres against their own imperialist regimes!

The sudden postponement of the Cosatu Central Committee to after the municipal elections on 18 May 2011 is a manoeuvre by the ANC-SACP leaders to sideline the proposal of the Samwu NEC to raise the question of the support for the ANC.

We call for an urgent Special Congress of Cosatu to review the question of support for the ANC-SACP.

Down with the imperialist 'Growth Path'!

Down with the murderous police!

Forward to the unconditional reinstatement of all 1054 dismissed strikers and all strikers dismissed by imperialism over the years.



Forward to a workers tribunal to judge the killers of cde Petros Msiza!

Forward to a workers' summit (with delegates from the employed and unemployed) to centralise our struggles against the imperialist onslaught

Forward to a general strike against police brutality, high food, housing, electricity and transport prices!

Forward to a revolutionary working class party! Forward to the refounding of the Fourth International! Forward to Socialism!



Egyptian rank and file soldiers siding with the masses while the heads of the army are with imperialism

The proposed employment equity amendment is about strengthening the middle class base of the ANC not about dismissing workers

As a result of the world offensive of imperialism, due to their crisis of falling profits, tens of millions of workers continue to be retrenched. The same trend is felt here as imperialism continues with their campaign of slaughter against the working class through permanent unemployment, high transport, housing and high food prices. Like elsewhere in the world, the working class is beginning to resist these attacks and is beginning to break from the ANC-SACP regime that is the agency of the capitalist onslaught against the masses. The ever increasing wave of strikes, such as the public sector strike of last year, the mineworkers and municipal workers strikes are all an indication of this trend as



are the increasing number of protests for housing and water; the break with the ANC-SACP regime is also reflected in the hundreds of buses that had to be cancelled for the Cosatu 25th anniversary (which was really an ANC rally in another form) and the half-empty stadium when the ANC 2011 election manifesto was launched. The soldiers' struggles against the corrupt generals and the state also poses a massive problem for imperialism. In short, imperialism is facing a crisis of legitimacy of its regime in SA that is deepening rapidly.

Since 1994 the ANC has implemented Gear, Asgisa, the New Growth Path, really Structural Adjustment Programmes of world imperialism. These attacks on the working class have been spearheaded by Trevor Manuel and his Harvard gangsters. Millions of workers, thousands of teachers were retrenched while monopoly capital had their tax rate cut from 40% to 28%. The giant monopolies have made unheard of profits while the masses' suffering has increased. Life expectancy in South Africa is now less than that of drought-stricken Ethiopia. Between 1994 to 2010 unemployment among 'whites' have gone up from 55000 to 147 000 (and increase of 92 000), among 'coloureds' from 339 000 to 510 000 (an increase of 171 000), among 'Africans' from 3216000 to 5430000 (an increase of 2.2 million). [terminology and statistics from Stats SA used throughout for ease of reference although the figures are an under-estimation across the board]. Youth employment stands at only 13% of the 10 million between the ages of 15 - 24 having some form of work. Meanwhile the numbers with some form of employment has stagnated at about 12.5-12.8 million for the past 10 years. The ANC government is capitalist and not the friend or ally of the working class or any section of it (despite what the SACP and Cosatu leaders say).

The proposed employment equity amendments do not compel any employer to take on more workers- so 'equity' for the millions of unemployed is non-existent. This exclusion of the unemployed is something that the ANC and DA agree upon. So if the amendments are not really about the rank and file worker, what are they aimed at?

The proposed Amendments are not about dismissing 'Coloured' or 'Indian' or 'white' workers but about expanding the black middle class base of the ANC

For the sake of clarity we quote an extract from the proposed amendments:

"42. II Assessment of compliance

In determining whether a designated employer is implementing employment equity in compliance with this Act, the Director-General or any person or body applying this Act [must] may, in addition to the factors stated in section 15, take [into account all of] the following into account-

- (a) The extent to which suitably qualified people from and amongst the different designated groups are equitably represented within each occupational [category and] level in that employer's workforce in relation to the[-*
- (i)] demographic profile of the [national and regional] economically active population;*
 - [(ii) pool of suitably qualified people from designated groups from which the employer may reasonably be expected to promote or appoint employees;*
 - (iii) economic and financial factors relevant to the sector in which the employer operates;*
 - (iv) present and anticipated economic and financial circumstances of the employer;] and*
 - (v) the number of present and planned vacancies that exist in the various [categories and] occupational levels, and the employer's labour turnover;*



[(b) progress made in implementing employment equity by other designated employers operating under comparable circumstances and within the same sector;]

(Q) reasonable steps taken by an employer to train suitably qualified people from the designated groups:

(c) reasonable [efforts made] steps taken by a designated employer to implement its employment equity plan;

(d) the extent to which the designated employer has made progress in eliminating employment barriers that adversely affect people from designated groups; and

(e) [any other prescribed factor] reasonable steps taken by an employer to appoint and promote suitably qualified people from the designated groups."

According to StatsSA, in the categories of unskilled workers, plant and machine operators, craft and related trades, sales and services, 'African' workers are already at 80% of the national profile. [Craft workers are 71% 'African']. This means that no 'Coloured', 'Indian' or 'white' worker will be affected. In any case it is illegal for any worker to be dismissed to achieve an 'equity' target. Even 'Coloured' managers and professionals would not be affected as national profiles are in line with the 9% population proportion.

Significant disparities occur for 'white' workers in the following areas: skilled agriculture (33%); technician (27%), clerical (26%), despite 'whites' being only 9% of the population. These sectors form the base of the Solidarity union and explains why they oppose the proposed amendments. These figures reflect the heritage of the co-option of the 'white' working class by the capitalist class in exchange for assisting to maintain the system where the rest of the working class are virtual slaves. This is the heritage that Solidarity defends. What their racist leaders do not realize is that imperialism has no loyalty to any section of the working class- they are loyal only to profits. The current crisis in the world capitalist economy pushes the imperialists to make alliances with any social force to contain the coming revolution. That social force, for the moment, is the black middle class and the black bourgeoisie. The key factors which Solidarity ignores are :

1. Imperialism keeps Africa as an exporter of primary, raw materials- completely dependent on the imperialist centres for technology. This is reflected in among other things that only 20% of the workforce have a tertiary qualification- which shows that the economy is based on cheap labour with limited scope for skilled labour- a structural limit imposed by imperialism.

2. the stagnation of the SA and world economy means that new employment for skilled workers will be very limited. This will affect all workers, not only 'white'.

3. A proletarian (working class) response would be to call for equal pay for equal work, the shortening of the working day without loss of pay and for all the work to be shared among all who can work. This means breaking with the upper middle class and capitalist class be they black or white. It follows that the working class should unite across colour barriers, breaking with the Freedom Front +, the DA and the ANC-SACP. What is necessary is a united working class revolution against capitalism-imperialism locally and internationally. In this way, we unite the working class to fight to end 'white' privilege not through dismissal of 'white' workers but through real solidarity in the fight for work for all, which must mean the overthrowing of capitalist relations in South Africa, the rest of Africa and the world.

The amendments really concentrate on promotion into management positions.

This is the main reason why the racist DA is objecting to the amendment. The main base of the DA is the white middle class. Currently, **75.8% of all top management positions**



are held by the white middle class. In the main sectors of the economy, mining, agriculture, construction and retail, this percentage of top management who are 'white' is about 70%, ie for a 'group' that is only 9% of the population. This same white middle class was the backbone of the slave capitalist ('apartheid') regime- they built up their riches over the most brutal exploitation over the rest of the masses- this upper middle class is matched in their brutality and lack of humanity only by the Israeli elite. The base of the DA is threatened by the proposed amendments as it means an erosion into what they regard as their virtually exclusive terrain. As the economy is in stagnation, the only way that the ANC can expand its base is at the expense of the 'white' middle class. This is why the DA is so violently opposed to the proposed amendments. **This is why the DA is lying about the supposed dismissal of 'coloured' and 'white' workers- it is a cover to defend the massive numbers of 'white' middle class who continue to grow rich,** having 3 or 4 houses, mansions, live in luxury- the highest standard of living of any group on the planet, while the working class, including the 'white' and 'coloured' worker lives in starvation and deprivation.

Imperialism realizes that an 'Egyptian' explosion is coming to South Africa and indeed Southern Africa. For the coming explosion, so imperialism thinks, the black middle class would be more able to contain the working class- the past 26 years are a testimony to this.

Imperialism realizes that the ANC is losing support among the broader working class- this growing crisis of legitimacy could open up a revolutionary period once again in South Africa. There are at least 3 reasons why imperialism is committed to expanding the black middle class- firstly, by broadening its middle class base the ANC becomes less dependent on the working class. Thus the shrinking base of the ANC among the working class is compensated for and the increased middle class base would enable it to continue to play the role for imperialism of controlling the masses. If the DA had been in power nationally and had launched the same economic attacks on the working class as the ANC has done over the years, there would have been a revolution overnight. In other words the creation of a broader base for the ANC, expanding the black middle class, is a mechanism to attempt to postpone the coming revolution. Secondly, given the greater world trend towards fascistic methods due to the latest capitalist crisis that persists since 2007-8, this step prepares the way for more openly right-wing attacks against the working class. In other words, the adoption of more anti-worker and more reactionary policies by the ANC is being prepared. Thirdly, the opportunistic clash between the white middle class (DA) and the black middle class (ANC) reinforces divisions among the working class on colour lines- something that imperialism always promotes. Workers, generally, cannot be dismissed to achieve so-called equity targets; but in achieving new targets the capitalists, who really have the final say over who gets employed, will play the one worker against the other hiding behind ANC policy now as they hid behind NP policy for many years before that.

Racial practices were introduced by colonialism and by imperialism long before the rule of the NP in 1948. The majority of the population was reduced to semi-slaves by the capitalists so that they could better exploit the masses. The predecessors of the DA thrived on promotion of racial policies and extending them as long as possible. It was only the threat of revolution in 1985 that made the liberals become overnight 'champions' of non-racism- in essence democratic phraseology so that the capitalists would not lose everything and would stay in control.



With the formation of the UDF in 1983 the ANC formed an alliance with imperialism and the white liberals against the revolution. Those who fought for an independent policy of the working class to seize power as the only way to end racism, were hounded and sometimes killed by the alliance of imperialism with the SACP and ANC. We were told by the SACP (the Chris Hani's and Joe Slovo's) that it was necessary to put the black middle class (the ANC) as leadership of the struggle to end racism, when what they were doing was strangling the revolution.

Mandela in the June 1956 edition of Liberator newspaper, said that his interpretation of the nationalization clause of the Freedom Charter was that all monopolies should be broken up to create a black bourgeoisie:

'Whilst the Charter proclaims democratic changes of a far reaching nature, it is by no means a blueprint for a socialist state, but a programme for the unification of various classes and groupings amongst the people on a democratic basis. Under socialism the workers hold state power. They and the peasants own the means of production, land, the factories and the mills. All production is for use and not for profit. The Charter does not contemplate such profound economic and political changes. Its declaration "The people shall govern!" visualizes the transfer of power not to any single social class but to all the people of the country be they workers, peasants, professional men or petty-bourgeoisie.

*It is true that in demanding the nationalisation of the banks, the gold mines and the land the Charter strikes a fatal blow at the financial and gold-mining monopolies and farming interests that have for centuries plundered the country and condemned its people to servitude. But such a step is absolutely imperative and necessary because the realisation of the Charter is inconceivable, in fact impossible, unless and until these monopolies are first smashed up and the national wealth of the country turned over to the people. **The breaking up and democratisation of these monopolies will open up fresh fields for the development of a prosperous Non-European bourgeois class**'.*[our emphasis]**

The timid and cowardly ANC and SACP has agreed to Charters in various sectors for only 10-15% black ownership. Even the funds for this 'ownership' were borrowed at high interest rates from the very monopolies. Thus in reality the black middle class has been unable to transform the ownership of a single monopoly. Black 'empowerment' is just a front for continued exploitation of the masses. So this timid ANC, which has failed to transform the ownership of a single monopoly, now wants to make 80% of top management black. At the current pace this will take place over the next 50 years, if not longer. How will workers benefit from having a black manager as opposed to a white manager? It will be the same. The point is that the illusion will be created that somehow workers demands are being achieved, that somehow workers in general can escape poverty through being promoted; the truth is that only a handful will be promoted and the majority of workers will remain in conditions of great suffering; through this myth the capitalists, the imperialists, want to gain time to continue the plunder and super-exploitation of the masses.

The best land remains in the hands of brutal, racist capitalist farmers and imperialism. The commanding heights of the economy, the Reserve bank, the mines, the banks, the large factories and stores remain in the hands of the handful of capitalists and imperialists- the same who funded and supported the brutal slave capitalist regime of the NP against the masses. The ANC housing policy of the past 17 years have entrenched



the social segregation of the masses that imperialism has thrived on for more than 100 years.

The shooting and brutal murder of Samwu strike leader cde Petros Msiza by the ANC government marks a turning point in the struggle. The black middle class is showing that it can be as brutal as the white middle class in putting down workers protests. The ANC government is prepared to shoot workers down to advance the creation of a black capitalist class while entrenching racist divisions created by imperialism.

What the SACP's so-called Internal Colonial thesis (ICT) ignores when it says that the 'white nation' in South Africa is colonising the 'black nation', is that there are class divisions among the oppressed, just as there were class divisions among the oppressor. The upper black middle class has joined hands with the forces of imperialism against the masses. The white working class has proved a decisive ally in the class struggles against capitalism-imperialism.

When high-ranking member of the BMW brigade, Trevor Manuel, claims that Manyi did not know ANC policy, he is not being honest. The proposed amendment must have been scrutinised by the ANC structures. Both Manyi and Trevor Manuel are part of the upper black middle class and are united on the vision of Mandela and the ANC for the creation of a black capitalist class, who have grown rich based on contracts to build housing in the segregated ghettos, who have entrenched the rule of the giant monopolies on the best farm land, whose economic policies keep the bulk of the youth in permanent unemployment. The ANC commitment to capitalism implies a continuation of racism. This is why the ANC has not fired Manyi, who was merely implementing ANC policy in his own crude way.

It is the policy of 'Internal Colonialism' of the SACP, that has put the leadership of the struggle against racism into the hands of the black middle class. The SACP has always argued that the multi-class ANC leads the alliance. At the height of the resistance against the slave capitalist regime in 1989, the SACP argued in its document, ***The Path to Power***, that the black bourgeoisie could be won to the 'national liberation movement' and that alliances with 'all democratic forces' were not only necessary but without them the leadership of the struggle would be surrendered and would amount to 'workers suicide'. Joe Slovo in his 1988 paper, ***The South African working class and the National Democratic Revolution***, argued that a 'democratic state' was the shortest route to Socialism and that this state would be forced to implement 'measures that go beyond bourgeois democracy'.

But a 'democratic state' is a capitalist state, the bourgeoisie still rules. In other words the SACP was arguing that the workers should not take power into its own hands and that the capitalist state would begin to introduce Socialist measures. This goes directly against what Lenin wrote in September 1917 in his , ***State and Revolution***, namely that the attainment of a democratic republic marks the end of the revolutionism of the middle class and the capitalist class. The past 17 years show that the organised working class have been the champion of the fight to end racism and discrimination, such as the differences between workers wages in rural and urban towns, while the ANC-SACP in government is an opponent, joining the capitalists and imperialists in arguing that workers should wait, should accept lower wages, should wait for decades more for adequate housing, should wait indefinitely for the segregated ghettos to be abolished, that only 15% of ownership of the monopolies should be transformed, that 1000



municipal transport strikers be dismissed for democratic demands, etc, etc. In other words the notion of Joe Slovo and the SACP that the 'democratic' state would go beyond bourgeois democracy is shown to be a blatant lie- its is precisely the alliance with the black middle class and black bourgeoisie that is holding back workers democratic demands, that has led to murder of strikers and premature death of the starving masses in the land where imperialism rakes in unheard of profits.

In his 1988 paper, Joe Slovo argued for an informal alliance with Anglo American, using 'all means' to supposedly 'isolate the most reactionary sector', ie the Afrikaner middle class. With this he raised the Stalinist notion of supposedly 'reactionary' and 'progressive' factions of imperialism, whereas imperialism is reactionary through and through. It was Anglo American and imperialism in general that sustained the NP regime over the years. What Joe Slovo was signalling to Anglo American was that the ANC-SACP was prepared to displace the NP regime so that the ANC could become the new managers for imperialism.

Stalinism has used the same notion (of progressive and reactionary factions of imperialism) to justify support for the murderous Democratic party in the USA as they have supported other imperialists elsewhere.

The only way to achieve equity is to expropriate all imperialist and capitalist assets, without compensation to the capitalists, placing these under workers' control. It is only this step that can enable all the work to be shared among all who can work and place the resources of the land so that we can achieve **'from each according to his/her ability to each according to our needs'**. In this the ANC-SACP government, the lackey of imperialism, is the main obstacle and the united working class, across colour lines, will be the driving force. Only the working class in power, not through parliamentary means, can achieve the total abolition of racism, oppression and exploitation. Such a struggle begins on the national terrain but ends up with the working class taking power in the imperialist centres- this is the path to Socialism.

Workers need to break with the DA, Freedom Front +, ANC-SACP and all capitalist parties! Forward to a special Cosatu Congress to break with the capitalist ANC and SACP! Forward to a revolutionary working class party!
Forward to the refounding of the Fourth International!
Forward to Socialism! 12.3.2011



Women have played a major role at the barricades against imperialism



Arm the revolutionary masses in Tripoli for the final push to defeat Gaddafi and his imperialist backers

When the masses ousted Ben Ali and Mubarak, it was a blow against world imperialism that lives parasitically off the masses of the world through control by similar capitalist dictatorships. The international tide has swung in favour of the world working class. No longer can the imperialist do as they please. The masses that have started revolutions in Tunisia, Egypt and now Libya show that in order simply to eat we have to overthrow the capitalist regimes.

Since 2003 Gaddafi became the blue-eyed boy of US and UK imperialism. Imperialist agent Tony Blair visited Gaddafi many times acting as an agent for the US imperialist bank, JP Morgan Chase. It is the same bank that works with several other imperialists to push up the price of wheat (and couscous), to deliberately starve the world's masses, despite there being enough wheat to feed the world, in order to make super-profits. The beginning of workers revolutions in Tunisia, Egypt, Bahrain, Yemen, and now Libya, are beginning to put a stop to the murderous plans of world imperialism (the 'international community') that already starves more than two-thirds of the planet.

'Miraculously' the price of rice has come down, as imperialists move to contain the revolution that has started in North Africa from spreading to Asia- this victory of the world working class is due to the revolutionary masses in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya, who have paid with their lives to begin overthrowing their repressive regimes. The price of rice has come down not because the imperialists have kind hearts, no, it is because they live in fear of the world Socialist revolution.

The central task of the moment is to arm the Libyan masses and in particular the masses in Tripoli to finally defeat Gaddafi and his imperialist backers.

For the moment Gaddafi and his French and Italian imperialist-backed mercenaries appear to have the upper hand in Tripoli due to superior weaponry. We call on the revolutionary masses in Egypt and Tunisia to immediately transport the weapons you have taken from the police and army barracks to the Libyan masses to help defeat the hated Gaddafi regime. We call on the world working class to send armed workers brigades to help defeat the murderous Gaddafi regime. We call on the masses in Chad and Niger (where the mercenaries are coming from) to rise against the French imperialist puppet regimes.

No confidence to the officer caste of the ex-generals of Gaddafi or to the tribal chiefs to lead the onslaught against Gaddafi- they are more likely to cut a deal with imperialism to regain control over the revolution and then strangle it. Already imperialism is actively promoting the flag of the hated monarchy which repressed and killed thousands of the Libyan masses. There can be no return to any form of monarchy- this would mean the return of a bloody anti-worker dictatorship. Do not allow imperialism to impose the flag of the monarchy. It is time to raise the red flag, the flag of the international working class. The final push on Tripoli must be under the orders of the workers militia and revolutionary youth, not the generals or tribal chiefs. The workers should be independently organised based on councils of workers in the oil and other sectors, marching side by side with the rest of the revolutionary masses.

Imperialism realizes that it is discredited and cannot invade on its own; thus they are seeking the support of the AU (African Union) and the Arab League. The AU was



chaired by the very hated Gaddafi himself- the AU is a group of puppets of world imperialism- they cannot be trusted. The headquarters of the Arab League was supported all these years by the hated Mubarak. The Arab League is made up of dictators and imperialist puppets all of whom are being challenged by the masses- The Arab League cannot be trusted. Imperialism wants to use the Egyptian military to invade, not to defeat Gaddafi but to disarm the masses and to secure the oil installations once more for imperialism. We should not forget that the Egyptian military is still run by Mubarak's generals. These generals are on the direct instructions of US imperialism. Asking the Egyptian military to send military 'Aid' would be like asking George Bush (or the black Bush- Obama) to come and defend the independence of Libya- all they are interested in is the oil wealth of Libya. The US banks are already rubbing their hands at the 'investment' (plunder) opportunities that now open up on the backs of hundreds of martyrs.

We should not forget the role of the UN who disarmed the Palestinians in Beirut and then sat with folded arms while the Zionist forces committed the atrocities of Sabra and Shatilla. There are some of the bourgeois and middle class Libyans who call for the 'international community' to intervene. This would be a grave mistake as the 'international community' are not neutral. They sat with folded arms while US imperialists used China as a conduit to send hundreds of thousands of machetes to Rwanda in 1994. A million were killed while the UN and the 'international community' looked on. Since 1996 over 6 million were killed in the DRC while the imperialists plundered (and still plunder) the massive mineral wealth. The 'international community' sat with folded arms. The South African and AU soldiers went to guard the Anglo American installations while 6 million were murdered around them. No, the Libyan masses cannot depend on the 'international community'. The 'international community' invaded Afghanistan in 2001, today, ten years later, they are still terrorizing the masses there. The US imperialists invaded Iraq in 2003, they have taken the oil and they still occupy and plunder the country. These are the same imperialists who are starving the world. They cannot be trusted. We can only depend on the world proletariat, the working class of Egypt and Tunisia, not their dictatorial regimes (that sit minus the old dictator but have all the old killers and assassins in their ranks- trained in the schools of genocide in the USA).

We call for a revolutionary workers government based on workers committees and representatives of the revolutionary masses that break with the imperialists and the Libyan bourgeoisie.

We call on all the working class in Libya, the Egyptians, Chinese, Tunisian and others, to stay with your class brothers and sisters in Libya and fight and defeat the imperialist lackey- after all, we are fighting a common enemy- world imperialism, that starves us wherever we are. A victory for the Libyan masses opens up and shows the way to the masses of the world, in the semi-colonies and colonies and indeed in the heartlands of imperialism, how to fight for food, work and freedom. Already 100 000 are marching in India against high food prices. The masses in Greece are already raising the demands of the Libyan masses. Down with the Papandreu regime that opens the path for US imperialism to attack the revolutionary masses. Let us defeat the murderous Sarkozy and Berlusconi regimes. Break with Obama and the republicrats parties; Out with the Cameron and Merkel regimes. Down with all puppet regimes of imperialism, from South Africa, Zimbabwe, Swaziland, China, Bolivia, etc.



We call for an international conference of revolutionary workers organizations and internationalist Trotskyists on the barricades of Libya to set up a revolutionary International. Forward to revolutionary working class parties as part of this refounding of the Fourth International.

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website: www.workersinternational.org.za 25.2.2011



Egyptian masses
on the rise

The 10111 call centre workers are calling for help

The government expects the masses to telephone the emergency call centre number 10111 if a crime is being committed such as reporting a place where drugs are being sold from or when someone is being raped or when a worker is being robbed of his pay packet. However when you call in to 10111 most times you are put on hold for a long time, or when you do get through and report the crime, the police either do not come or when they do come, they come hours later, long after the deed.

On the other hand when workers are on strike and the boss calls the police, they come immediately. When a big business such as Pick 'n Pay catches an unemployed worker who has taken some food to feed his children, the police come immediately. The prisons are full of the unemployed, many who have 'stolen' food to feed their families. In Tunisia many of the unemployed, some who are graduates, sell fruit by the road side. When one of them had his fruit confiscated by the police for the umpteenth time, he set himself alight because he would rather die straight away than die a slow painful death from hunger. These conditions, where the rich have everything, where they put up food and petrol prices out of greed to make more profits, even though there is enough food to feed the entire world's population. The big companies like Du Pont and Monsanto control 95% of the seed in the grain market in South Africa. These are the companies that buy up the world's food stocks to create an artificial shortage so they can make super profits. It is this system of violence that the police prop up.

Capitalist governments like the SA governments try to cover up the real role of the police. One of the steps they have taken is to create the 10111 call centre, to give the illusion that the government is for all people and not only for the rich.

The structure of the 10111 call centre reflects the violent role of the police against the working class

The administrative staff of the 10111 call centres are workers, not police. They take the calls and dispatch them to the emergency units, including the police. The call centre workers are brutalised and exploited by the management of the police. The militarization



of the police shows that the capitalists require a more brutal arm to keep the working class down. This increased brutality is part of a world phenomenon where the capitalists know that the working class is starting to resist the higher levels of forced starvation caused by the capitalists. The capitalists know they cannot depend on their lackey governments to control the masses as the working class is starting to see through them. This greater violence against the workers is also reflected in the harsh conditions that the 10111 workers have to face:

Understaffing: Each call centre has about 25 telephones but at any one time there are only 10-11 staff on a shift. The long waiting time before calls are answered is due in part to the queue often being much more than 100.

Old Equipment: The computers are old and often freeze;

No time to call back: If a worker calls with an emergency and does not have enough airtime, the call centre worker has to log out and call the complainant back in his/her own time. If the operator makes too many calls back to workers this time is deducted from his wages.

Pregnant workers are forced to work night shift

Anti-worker shift system: Workers work 8 hour shifts. On days when there is a shift change workers go virtually without sleep: if a worker works 6am to 14h00 and has a change of shift on the same day then he is forced to come back on the same day to work the 22h00 to 6am shift. Workers spend 2 hours or more getting home and are then picked up at 20h00 and then spend another 2 hours getting to work (the transport goes across the peninsula to pick up the staff for a shift. Thus the worker spends on that day less than 4 hours to do family tasks and rest. The workers are sleep deprived and prone to mental illnesses (people who are sleep deprived are more prone to commit suicide). Workers are always tired all the time.

Respond to big bosses but slow response to the working class: When workers called in to report thugs attacking immigrant workers, the police were slow to respond and often did not go. The police know where the drug merchants are but most are not arrested; call centre operators often have to repeatedly follow up on police over calls from working class areas as the police either do not go or delay to go by several hours. Sometimes workers call back reporting that no police arrived and the person being attacked has already died. The police respond quickly to big business.

No psychological counselling: Workers listen day in and day out to traumatic calls and details yet there is no provision at work for psychological counselling. Many of the call centre workers suffer mental illness.

When workers are sick they must still go to work: When a worker has a certificate to be off sick for a day, the management forces them to be back at work by midnight (if they are late shift).

Divide and rule: Management plays workers off against one another: workers who were employed recently are placed in higher grades, with higher wages than those who started years before them. Some of the workers recently employed are the first to be offered promotion. Several of the workers with longer service are still paid at lower wages and in lower categories than what they are supposed to be.

Police militarization being forced on to the workers: Call centre workers are forced into military-type parades at shift changes and are subjected to police discipline even though their wages are much lower than the minimum of the police (they are employed as public sector workers and are graded as such in terms of salary). The police discipline is used against the workers who are often humiliated by the police management.

The trade unions are reluctant to take up the struggles of the 10111 workers as they are tied to the state in one way or another.



Conclusions and the way forward

The real aim of the police is to suppress the working class, keeping us in a permanent state of hunger so that the capitalists can get richer and richer. The details of the struggles of the 10111 workers was given to the Independent Newspapers group but they did not regard it as important to publicize.

- As we cannot trust the police, the working class needs to set up street committees to organise self-defence.
- The broader working class needs to take up the cause of the 10 111 workers for better conditions and a shift system that considers their family life and which gives them adequate rest between shifts.
- It should be raised within the workers movement for the right to psychological counselling;
- Trade unions should be independent of the state; It follows that collaborators with the state should be expelled from leadership positions in the workers' movement;
- Equal pay for equal work
- Share all the work among all those who can work, without loss of pay.
- We call on the working class and the 10111 workers to work together in a programme of protest and mass action against their inhumane conditions.

Issued by 10111 workers support group 1st floor, 41 Salt River, Salt River 7925



The Libyan masses burn Gaddafi's Green book

The Libyan revolution has started as the imperialist shoot-to-kill policy backfires;

Tunisian, Egyptian and Libyan fever is spreading to Morocco, Occupied Palestine, Algeria, Sudan, Djibouti, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Bahrain, the Emirates, Iraq, Iran, China, Bolivia and Wisconsin (USA), for now

Since February 11th when the revolutionary masses in Egypt forced imperialism to give up its puppet Mubarak, world imperialism embarked on a massive campaign to contain the fallout from this setback for it. The clear message that the world proletariat has sent to imperialism is that they are no longer prepared to tolerate repressive regimes that keep them in permanent hunger, unemployment, homelessness and starvation. In order



to eat, have work, to have a home, the masses have to overthrow the capitalist dictatorships- this is the one message the world proletariat is drawing on an increasing scale. This is the message that world imperialism now combines to attempt to drown in blood.

Bitter rivals- French, UK, US, German, Japanese imperialism unite temporarily against the revolutionary masses. Even as they do so they stab each other in the back to extend their sphere of influence over the other as they vie to parasitically ride on the backs of the revolutionary masses to contain a Socialist revolution.

Thus since February 11th world imperialism has stepped up its campaign to contain the revolution with greater use of force, to drown it in blood if necessary as they are attempting to do in Libya for the past 5 days, with the use of live ammunition from machine guns, bombing from fighter planes and the use of mercenaries. There is a division of labour- the imperialists kill the masses where they have the greater influence: in Bahrain where the US 5th fleet is based, US imperialism issued orders for the protestors to be shot down with live ammunition; in Algeria 5000 protestors were surrounded by 35000 police, hounding and beating them up; in Libya, French and Italian mercenaries were used with Ghadaffi's troops to shoot down unarmed protestors with live ammunition, with machine guns, with the use of bombs from jet fighters.

But as in Tunisia and Egypt, when the imperialists sent in the army against the masses, the army split and the base (or a sizeable part of it) went over to the revolution. Two airforce colonels refused to carry out bombing of unarmed protestors; the police were smashed and some parts of the police joined the masses against some soldiers who were shooting at them. Whole divisions of the army has gone over to the masses. Benghazi, the second city of Libya where most of the oil reserves are, has been taken by the revolutionary masses. The battle for Tripoli has started and the masses are attempting to march on Ghadaffi's main base. Already workers at one of the main oil refineries are on strike.

The immediate programme for the Libyan revolution

The first point has to be the arming of the masses, the setting up of workers committees and an armed workers militia to defend the masses against the murderous state and the onslaught of imperialism. It follows that the arming of the masses must be accompanied with the disarming of the police and the dissolution of the army. The rank and file soldiers should elect their own committees and send delegates to the workers committees.

The strike of the oil workers should be extended to a political general strike with a single aim: down the entire regime of the Ghadaffi- all power to the revolutionary masses based on councils of workers delegates, who are instantly recallable and where no delegate or leader gets more than the average wage of a skilled worker. The imperialist oil companies, banks and other capitalist companies are the centres from which the counter-revolution is organised to kill the masses. All imperialist assets must be expropriated (including all companies that have been privatized), without compensation to the capitalists, and placed under workers control; immediate nationalization of all the land; the expropriation of all capitalist agriculture, without compensation to the capitalist, placed under workers control.



Libya's 'African Socialism' is African capitalism and nothing in common with Socialism

When Gaddafi launched his coup in 1969 he only partly nationalised the oil industry; thus under the cover of 'Socialism', imperialism still controlled the oil fields. No unions are allowed nor are any strikes- really a capitalist paradise. Gaddafi's reward for opening up Libya to greater privatization since 2003 like many other capitalist countries- several of the oil fields are now 100% owned by imperialism, including Shell and Exxon Mobil, was to receive a 2 year position on the UN Security council (2008-9). Gaddafi was also chairperson of the African Union. Currently, this butcher, this lackey of imperialism, having shot down hundreds of unarmed protestors over the past 5 days, is still a serving member of the UN Human Rights Council. This shows 2 things: one, the UN is an organization of butchers and murderers and cannot be trusted with ensuring the rights of the masses; secondly the role of the UN is to ensure the complete control by imperialism over every centimetre of the earth and in an instrument of violence against the masses of the world. Libya plays a role of receiving slaves and is a centre of human trafficking for cheap labour and slaves from the rest of Africa and from Asia, for supply to Italy and other imperialist centres. The UN turned a blind eye to this and still regards Gaddafi and his unelected governing council as champions of 'human rights'.

What is needed is not the raising of the old Libyan flag as imperialism now opportunistically wants to do, but we call on the masses to raise the red flag- the flag of the international working class in our fight for Socialism. The time is long overdue to expropriate the expropriators.

Problems of the Egyptian and Tunisian revolutions

The problems with the Tunisian and Egyptian revolutions so far is that the smashing of the police, which also resulted in substantial loss of life by the revolution, was not accompanied by the mass arming of the masses; this allowed imperialism to manoeuvre to hijack the revolution (for the moment) and turn it into pacifist 'caravans of liberation' [Tunisia] and an open prison for the unarmed masses in Tahrir square [Egypt]. Imperialism and its capitalist media [including Al Jazeera] flattered the middle class youth and systematically built up the middle class leaders to form a bonapartist popular front with the trade unions and the old regime in Tunisia and a military dictatorship with a toothless cabinet of capitalist 'opposition' and the old regime in Egypt. In Egypt the military dictatorship is even more directly controlled by US imperialism than the farce in the time of Mubarak.

Secondly, none of the groups made any efforts to call for or set up committees of workers delegates or to organise a political general strike, namely to unify the strike movement on a political basis against the old regime- this would have immediately set up the basis of workers power. Thus unelected youth activists and capitalist 'opposition' figures could hijack (for now) the fight of the working class for them to be co-opted in the capitalist system- the price is the strangling of the revolution so that imperialism-capitalism continues to control the wealth.

Thirdly, the fights in Tunisia and Egypt were kept on the nationalist terrain and ignored the fundamental fact that imperialism is really in control and the puppet regimes were merely managers of the attacks of world imperialism against the local masses. Thus the revolution was steered into the direction of changing a dictatorial manager for a more 'democratic' manager of the same imperialism.



The Egyptian Socialists (part of the Internationalist Socialist Tendency) directed the struggle for economic gains at factory floor level, whereas the task was posed of a political general strike which would have set the basis for workers to take power. They applied the same policy as the KKE in Greece, and the NAP in France and other reformists put in order to prevent the working class from taking power.

The model of 'democracy', the USA, US imperialism is cutting their expenditure by \$1 trillion (\$1000 bn), much of it are cutbacks on expenses for the working class- thousands of teachers are being dismissed, 24 million cannot even get a permanent job; medical aid contributions are being almost doubled- meaning a wage cut of up to 20% for many; monitoring of companies- on pollution, on profiteering etc, is being drastically cut; heating allowances are cut- meaning more will die of cold this year than before. Etc etc. At the same time huge tax cuts for the large corporations continue. Obama is forcing the US working class to pay for the bailing out of the very US banks that control the world including a large part of the Tunisian and Egyptian economy.

The Obama Republicrat government pays the US monopolies to send outdated and old military equipment to Tunisia and Egypt. The Tunisian and Egyptian governments have over the years handed over many billions of dollars of the wealth of the masses to these US monopolies. Military 'Aid' is a cover for the plunder of the masses by US imperialism. Most of this 'Aid' does not even leave the USA but there is a constant outflow of wealth from Tunisia and Egypt for the old military goods. The very US banks and companies are the ones who have been dismissing Egyptian and Tunisian workers, who keep low skilled work in the semi-colonies like Egypt and Tunisia and who enforce a dictatorship at factory level, often with no union being allowed or a puppet state union to 'represent' the workers.

Over the years, imperialism has, through the WTO, has collapsed local food production and created a dependency on food imports. 86% of all arable land in the world is controlled by the monopolies. This creates the basis for the imperialists to raise the food prices, even though the supply is plentiful. In 2008 when the imperialists artificially raised food prices to make more profits, there were record supplies of wheat and other food. The price of red wheat went from \$3 per bushel to \$25 in 2008 when there was a record crop. The reason for the increase was not a shortage but because 64% of the world supply was held in one way or another by the imperialist banks, who withheld the supplies from the market and created artificial shortages and could push prices up. This is the same process now when the banks sit on huge stocks of food, deliberately starving the masses of the world to boost their falling profits. The growth of the Indian and Chinese middle class is given as a reason for the increase in price of corn and other foodstuffs. But studies show that demand has fallen by 3% for such food over the past 2-3 years.

There is enough building materials for all the masses of the world to be housed adequately yet hundreds of millions live in squalor- the planet is a massive squatter camp. The monopoly on building materials and land by the giant banks, the imperialists is what artificially keeps the price of housing beyond most people. Housing units that should cost \$2000 are sold for \$80000. The masses are deliberately kept homeless so the imperialist banks can make money from housing.

The first steps of the Ben Ali regime (minus Ben Ali) and the Mubarak regime (minus Mubarak) was to maintain the decades long state of emergency; they still arrest and



torture activists; they attempt to force workers back to work for the same imperialist companies that have brutalized the working class for several decades; they suppressed protest actions of the masses; the communist party –led unions are part of the government in Tunisia while the Muslim brotherhood and the April 6th movement lend legitimacy to the military dictatorship in Egypt. In other words the regimes have suppressed the very democratic demands that formed the basis of the revolutions. These regimes maintain the dictatorship of the imperialist companies that keep the world proletariat and impoverished masses in starvation, homeless and in permanent mass unemployment. These regimes allow the imperialist companies and banks to repatriate hundreds of billions of dollars while the masses are kept in poverty and dying of hunger. The military dictatorship makes noises of going after this or that official but refuses to lift a finger against the butcher Mubarak; Ben Ali was allowed to escape with 1500 tons of gold. Imperialism is reluctant to prosecute their former henchmen as this would create huge insecurity in the ranks of all their current puppets. So imperialism helps the killers escape.

The international tasks of the unfolding revolutions for food, work and freedom

The first task is for the working class in Italy, local and immigrant to call an immediate political general strike- Out with Berlusconi and his regime for their supply of mercenaries and other support to the massacre of the revolutionary Libyan masses. Out Sarkozy and his regime for the supply of mercenaries and their support for the suppression of the Algerian and Libyan revolutions. Out with Obama and his regime for their shoot-to-kill policy in Bahrain against unarmed masses- it is a shoot-to-kill policy against the world masses - extend the strike in Wisconsin to a general political strike across the entire USA. The central axis of the political general strike is down with the regime, expropriate Wall Street , the London, Paris, Tokyo and Berlin banks, expropriate all imperialist assets without compensation to the capitalists, place these under workers control- forward to a workers government based on the self-organization of the working class.

The imperialists have launched an offensive to deliberately kill off millions of the world's masses through starvation through unemployment and artificially high prices. This is a world war against the masses. The revolutions in Tunisia, Egypt and now Libya show that in order to eat, the working class must overthrow the capitalist regime, and go further, and need to take power in their own hands. On Sunday 20th February there were the starts of mass protests in China- protests were held in 16 cities and are still spreading. This is not a North Africa or Middle East revolution only but the start of the world revolution. The position of dependence of the semi-colonies on the imperialist centres mean that for the working class to achieve Socialism, the working class has to take power in the semi-colonies and in several imperialist centres. The Libyan revolution must spread to Italy and Germany; the Algerian and Tunisian revolution must reach France; the Egyptian, Palestinian, Jordanian, Bahraini, Saudi , Iraqi, Iranian, Chinese, Zimbabwean, South African, Mexican revolutions must reach the USA, and so on.

The Bolivian uprising in December 2010, when the revolutionary masses reverses a 80% increase in petroleum price with dynamite sticks in hand, show that a central task of the revolution must be to expel from the workers' movement any collaborationist leader; ie any leader who collaborates with a capitalist regime or any capitalist. It is not sufficient to build independent workers organisms while the treacherous leaders still hold sway over a huge section of the masses.



It follows that an urgent conference is needed to unite the revolutionary worker organizations and internationalist Trotskyist organizations to form a new International, which for us means the refounding of the Fourth International.

We call for exposure of the role of imperialism in the massacres, through protests at US, Italy and French embassies; let us take the flame of revolution to confront the capitalist regimes everywhere.

Call to defend Gwisai and 51 others

Gwisai and 51 others were arrested on 19th February 2011 by the hated security forces of Mugabe. We, the Workers International League (Zimbabwe) and the Workers International Vanguard League (South Africa) call for their unconditional release of all those arrested and for all charges to be dropped.

We call for the international working class to rally to the defence of the activists. In particular we call for workers at all Anglo American companies around the globe to consider strike and other protest action due to US imperialism being the main power that today controls Zimbabwe. The hated regime of Mugabe-Tshivangerai are the current brutal managers on behalf of US imperialism. Mugabe is the point man for JP Morgan Chase in Zimbabwe.

The arrests of the activists in Zimbabwe is an extension of the attacks imperialism and in particular US imperialism has launched around the world to try and prevent mass uprisings against their puppet regimes. Gwisai and others have participated in the fraudulent 'constitution-making' process of Mugabe-Tshivangerai, and has created illusions that the process could lead to workers liberation. Gwisai opportunistically seeks to ride on the back of the mass anger of the working class against the murderous regime, seeking a place within the capitalist system.

The arrests of Gwisai and others show that in Zimbabwe, imperialism will not hesitate to crush even halfway democrats. Such is the level of barbarism in the world today. When the revolution flares up again in Zimbabwe, and it will, if imperialism has no other choice, they will turn to Gwisai and others, to help contain the revolution.

The groundwork should be laid for a political general strike in Zimbabwe: Out with the US imperialist puppet regime of Mugabe-Tshivangerai! Expropriate all the assets of imperialism, without compensation, place them under workers control! Forward to workers power!

Equal pay for equal work across the Southern African region! Integrate all casual and immigrant workers into the unions! For a general strike across the region to defeat the swaziland and Lesotho imperialist puppet regimes! For workers and rank and file soldiers committees across the region! For workers' self-defence committees!

It is high time to build independent revolutionary working class parties across the region as part of a revolutionary International! We call on workers to break with the capitalist ANC regime!

issued by the WIL(Zimbabwe) and WIVL (SA)

The US and UK banks are the main backers of Mugabe and Tshivangerai, of Zanu-PF and the MDC! Expropriate all imperialist assets and place them under workers control!

When the MDC was formed it had members of the Zimbabwe Chamber of Commerce on its executive. The MDC was formed, being funded and supported by imperialism from the beginning. Imperialism was concerned



that Mugabe and the Zanu-PF could no longer control the masses on their own- imperialism needed a new party to help chain the masses.

What are the sanctions that are in place at the moment?

The only sanctions that are in place are limited travel restrictions on Mugabe and some of his elite. It is a myth that sanctions are there by imperialism because of Mugabe's human rights abuses. When the regime killed over 20 000 in Matebeleland in the 1980's there was no concern by imperialism over this massacre so why should they be worried about the harsh conditions of the working class now? Why is Mugabe launching his 'anti-sanctions' campaign now? It is because imperialism is scared that Mugabe and his regime may be exposed as their lackey- there is real fear by imperialism that the masses may rise up against him as they are doing in North Africa and the Middle East. An uprising in Zimbabwe now would set the whole region aflame.

The imperialist banks, from the US and UK control Zimbabwe today

The commanding heights of the Zimbabwean economy are still controlled by mainly by the imperialist banks from the US and UK. For example, Zimplats is 87% controlled by Implats which has major shareholders JP Morgan Chase, the Bank of New York, Deutsche bank, Old Mutual, etc. LTA Zimbabwe is 75% owned by Old Mutual, JP Morgan Chase, the bank of New York, Liberty Life, etc. Manica-Zim is 100% controlled by Bidvest which is controlled by Old Mutual and JP Morgan Chase; Stapleford Wines is 100% owned by Distell; Makro-Zim is controlled by US union basher Walmart; Old Mutual controls 44% of the Merchant bank of Central Africa; Portland holdings is controlled by PPC; Hippo Valley estates is 50.35% owned by Tongaat Hullet; Triangle Sugar is 100% controlled by Anglo American. All the companies have major shareholdings by US banks such as JP Morgan Chase and British banks such as Old Mutual. 80% of all the local tobacco production is still sold to British American Tobacco. The US and British banks also control the cotton and diamond production.

When Mugabe talks about 'expropriation' of foreign companies, what does he mean? He means that 50% or less of the shares be given to him, his family and the ruling clique. 'Nationalization' of this kind has occurred in Zambia and elsewhere where the local elite is given a stake in running the company. Firstly it broadens the base of the ruling party- already many cabinet ministers, their wives and family members are on the Boards of the imperialist controlled companies. More 'indigenous' control of the companies is a campaign by imperialism to buy off more of the middle class- to gain their support if there is a new uprising against the regime. Secondly the advantage that imperialism then has, is that the masses think the company is locally owned and they are more hesitant to challenge them. In Zambia under such 'nationalization' under the control of the ruling elite the workers are still exploited, underpaid and retrenched at will. Imperialism maintains their huge profits of billions they take out of the country every day, they give a few crumbs to the Mugabe elite who brutally suppress any demand of the working class for improvement in their living and working conditions. Further, such huge amounts are paid as compensation for the assets that governments have to take loans from the very imperialists they are supposedly 'expropriating'. So the imperialists benefit double from such 'nationalisation' that Mugabe is planning- first they charge massive compensation; second they get huge interest so the value of the loans are often repaid over 20 years, which means that they get back double the amount they charged. If there are any losses by the company the Zimbabwean government must pay the cost- which means that they will put the burden onto the working class with lower wages and more retrenchments.

From before 1980 up to this moment, imperialism kept their assets in Zimbabwe because the masses believed in the 'Socialist' Mugabe. They made huge profits; the imperialists only started to collapse the economy from 1997-8 when the masses were no longer prepared to tolerate the worsening conditions imposed by the IMF (the imperialist banks- the friend of Mugabe and Tshivagerai). Only when the masses rose up and imperialism was in danger of losing everything if the workers took over, then capital took out some of the money- this was the same in 'apartheid' South Africa- when the 'apartheid' regime had smashed the resistance movement, imperialism poured money into the country- they did not care about 'human rights' in fact they knew the worst human rights abuses were being implemented by the regime- still they invested billions. They only started to



take their money out when the masses rose from 1985-1993. Then Mandela-Slovo signed away the rights of the masses, agreeing that imperialism still control but now there should be new black managers- to give the impression of local control. Thus the point of 'sanctions for human rights abuses' are a myth. In Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, Saudi Arabia, unions are suppressed, workers are executed and imperialism invests billions- they considered these regions safe for profits because the workers movement was smashed. They only take their money out of Libya now because of the threat that the working class may take over everything. Imperialism still controls the commanding heights of the Zimbabwean economy.

The reason why Mugabe is launching his 'anti-sanctions' campaign is for him and his elite to get a bigger share of the wealth that imperialism is plundering from Zimbabwe (and from the entire region). It is a measure by imperialism to increase the stake of the middle class in the system and to cover Mugabe's role as the main agent through which imperialism plunders Zimbabwe. That is why when a few farms are given to a section of the black middle class who support him, they have chased off the workers and where the workers have been retained, they are still exploited by the new black managers. In other words, in his role as manager for the imperialist corporations Mugabe is demanding an increase in the crumbs from the continued exploitation of the working class, which he strictly enforces. He has turned Zimbabwe into a colony of the USA- the Zimbabwean working class have become the direct slaves of the imperialist US banks- this is what the dollarisation of Zimbabwe means.

The way forward

The same US and UK imperialist banks control the entire Southern African region, from South Africa to the DRC and beyond. In South Africa millions of Zimbabwean workers are exploited as semi-slaves for the same Anglo American, US and UK banks that control Zimbabwe. The biggest danger to the working class in the region is the treacherous leadership of the workers' movement, who refuse to launch any real fight against imperialist exploitation and who keep the workers movement divided country by country, who isolate the revolutionary masses of Madagascar, who allow the continued exploitation by imperialism. The central demand which unites the working class in Zimbabwe and across the whole region is for the complete expropriation of all imperialists assets, without compensation to the capitalists and for these assets to be placed under workers control. Based on this workers should form general strike committees at all workplaces. In order to eat, to have work (to share the work among all who can work), to have housing, to have freedom the working class needs to mobilise for a general strike in Zimbabwe and across the region. We should expel the worker leaders who oppose the call for expropriation of imperialism, those who want to keep their ties with the capitalists. We demand the immediate and unconditional release of the reformist Gwisai and 51 others. Their arrest shows that imperialism is worried that 'Egyptian and Libyan fever' may reach Zimbabwe and that they will do everything to crush and pre-empt it. Only the working class can deal with imperialist lackeys like Mugabe and Tshivagerai and indeed with reformists and class collaborators like Gwisai. The working class should set up self-defence committees as part of the general strike committees, to defend themselves from state attacks.

At the same time it is necessary for the working class in the US and UK to organise and mobilise against their own imperialists.

Forward to the refounding of the Fourth International!

Forward to working class power in the semi-colonies and imperialist centres!

Forward to Socialism!

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www.workersinternational.org.za



Tear down the Bush-Mubarak-Obama walls, starting with the Rafah border

17th Feb 2011

In 2006 when the Palestinians in Gaza and West Bank, under 'international' supervision (which included US imperialist ex-President Jimmy Carter), elected a Hamas-led government, the might of the Zionist state, US imperialism and Mubarak, were launched against Gaza to illegally blockade it. This blockade is still in place even now. An illegal wall runs through the West Bank and there are hundreds of checkpoints that keep Palestinians in concentration camps. Concrete for the checkpoints and walls and the Rafah border was supplied in part by the Egyptian capitalists who include the heads of the military. Six million Palestinian refugees have been kept from their homes since 1948. The UN has done nothing to secure the democratic rights of the Palestinians for the past 63 years; what hope is there that they can assist in any way to secure the wishes of the Egyptian revolutionary masses?

The military junta claims that the Egyptian revolution has been 'bloodless' yet about 600 of the masses were murdered by state forces. These killers still are free. The military of Mubarak kept the Rafah border closed while the Zionist regime launched 'Cast Lead' killing over 1000 innocent Palestinians. The military of Mubarak kept the Rafah border closed for the most part since 2006, thus playing a key role in the illegal and murderous siege against the over 1 million Palestinians in Gaza.

In 1989 the Berlin wall, the symbol of partnership between Stalinism and world imperialism to keep the revolutionary masses of the world separated and a large section under conditions of brutal Stalinist dictatorship, was torn down by the revolutionary masses. The time has come to tear down the symbol of capitalist dictatorship, of brutal imperialist suppression of basic democratic rights, the walls of Bush-Mubarak, Obama, starting with the Rafah border. There are other capitalist arrangements around the world, such as between Turkey and Syria, where there is no border.

We call on the Palestinian masses, supported by the Egyptian, Jordanian, and all the masses in the region, to begin tearing down the Rafah border and all other walls and checkpoints that keep Palestinians in concentration camps. Let the rank and file of the Egyptian army show that they are no longer part of Mubarak's army and support the freeing of the Palestinian masses. Let the rank and file soldiers show that they are not obeying orders from US imperialism; let them help dismantle the Rafah border and all the secret CIA and rendition prisons in Egypt.

That Hamas and Fatah both suppress the demonstrations of Palestinians in support of the Egyptian revolution shows that both are in the final analysis lackeys of US imperialism. It is high time that a Palestinian revolutionary working class party is established as part of the same international that the Egyptian masses and the world proletariat needs.

Let the working class and allies in the USA, UK, France and other imperialist centres rise against the imperialist wars of plunder in the Middle East and Africa.



Down with the Rafah border! For workers and rank and file soldiers committees to prepare for a revolutionary general strike to do away with every last vestige of the hated Mubarak regime.

Organize a Congress in Tahrir square of workers delegates with delegates from the rank and file soldiers, from the poor peasants, from the unemployed, from the revolutionary youth, from the Bedouin masses, to formulate the demands and programme of action of the masses and to set up a provisional revolutionary government based on the workers strike committees and revolutionary councils of action of the revolutionary masses (including the rank and file soldiers, poor peasants, youth, unemployed, Bedouin masses). Down with the military dictatorship! All power to the revolutionary councils and strike committees of the masses, centred on worker and soldier delegates!. It's time to raise the red flag in Tahrir square and in the thousands of Tahrir squares across the planet.

To take the fight for food, work and freedom in Egypt forward to Socialism requires a national and international co-ordination of the revolutionaries in Egypt and on a world scale. We need to form a revolutionary working class party in Egypt as part of a revolutionary International, based on the lessons of the past revolutions in the world. For the purpose of setting up a revolutionary International we need a conference of revolutionary workers organizations and internationalist Trotskyists in Egypt. This is the process of the refounding of the Fourth International.

For a federation of Socialist workers states of North Africa and the Middle East. Let us kick out all imperialist puppets from Cape to Cairo, from Budapest to Beijing, from Buenos Aires to Mexico. Down with all imperialist puppets the world over! Down with all the imperialist regimes! Forward to workers power! Forward to Socialism!



Libyan rank and file soldiers join the revolution



Out with the military dictatorship and the entire regime of Mubarak; out all the capitalists- parasites and lackeys of US imperialism! It's time for the workers and unemployed to take over! Food, work and freedom now!

We salute the masses in Egypt for forcing out the puppet of US imperialism, Hosni Mubarak. Imperialism had not given in up until the 11th February because they knew that the masses around the world would be emboldened. Imperialism was forced to give in due to the threat of workers smashing the regime (the presidential palace, the government and parliament buildings were surrounded by the masses) and taking over all the means of production. The path is open for the overthrow of any imperialist puppet in the whole world. The revolution in Egypt shows that for the masses to eat, to get work, to get freedom, they have to overthrow the capitalist regimes that keep the billions of the world's masses in permanent hunger, unemployment and semi-slavery.

But what has happened on Friday 11th February 2011 is a handing over of the revolution to a military dictatorship by the treacherous leadership of the masses, the Muslim Brotherhood, a section of the youth leaders, El Baradei, the Nasserites, and the leadership of the trade unions, whether 'independent' or of the state-linked FETU. The military council and constitutional court head are part of the assassin regime of Mubarak that the revolution aims to do away with. The very regime which has kidnapped activists (and still does) , tortured countless numbers of workers and militants, which maintained the murderous blockade on Gaza, which has kept the millions of Egyptian masses in hunger and starvation, that has suppressed workers organizations, has been entrusted by the treacherous leaders of the masses to oversee an 'orderly transition to democracy'. From the beginning working class demands have been suppressed by the reactionary leadership in Tahrir square. US imperialism worked night and day to gain and maintain control of the leadership of the masses. Slogans were kept on a nationalist terrain; the Egyptian flag, the symbol of the Egyptian middle classes and capitalist class was promoted; the capitalist media, including Al Jazeera, carefully built up the bourgeois and petit bourgeois (middle class) voices within the masses while suppressing the slogans and demands of the working class. When workers started to enter en masse into the combat with their slogans, when the foundations of the capitalist system was threatened, imperialism struck a deal with the leadership of the masses, principally the Islamic capitalists and middle classes and other Egyptian middle class and capitalist class formations, to head off the revolution. Even though imperialism disciplines and represses some bourgeois and petit bourgeois (middle class) nationalist parties when they rule through brutal dictatorships like the National Party regime in South Africa from 1948-1994 and the NDP of Mubarak in Egypt since the days of Sadat, when faced with working class revolution, imperialism forms pacts with the middle class against the revolution, like they did in 1994 with the ANC in South Africa and now with the Muslim Brotherhood and others in Egypt. The true colours of Hamas is once more reflected in their partnership with Fatah against the demonstrations by the Palestinian masses in Gaza and West Bank in support of the Egyptian revolution.

The first steps of the military dictatorship in Egypt was to ban meetings of workers and strikes, to disperse the masses in Tahrir square, keeping in place the same state of emergency that Mubarak kept in place for 30 years. The Muslim Brotherhood leaders, El Baradei, the section of the youth, the Nasserites, the trade union leaders, by their



support of the military dictatorship, have joined hands with imperialism against the revolution. This is why imperialism did not immediately drown the revolution in blood, because they were sure of the support of the middle class and capitalist leaders within Tahrir square.

The first step of the military dictatorship was to call in the US fleet to protect the Suez canal from the revolutionary masses. The first step of the military dictatorship was to order workers back to work in the same exploitative conditions which is controlled primarily by US imperialism, and the small Egyptian and Israeli capitalist class which has no independent existence from imperialism. (the sweat shops in Egypt which produce for British and US imperialism have at least 10.5% inputs from Israel). The military dictatorship is a total lackey of US imperialism and is preparing the way not for 'orderly democratic transition' but to drown the revolution in blood to re-establish the absolute dominance of imperialism. The first step of the military dictatorship was to continue the siege on Gaza, thus continuing to support the genocide against the Palestinians. In essence the military dictatorship continues the policy of Mubarak but without Mubarak. The so-called council of unelected 'trustees' is nothing but a cover to give legitimacy to the continued dictatorship of imperialism while they suppress the revolution.

What is needed is for the working class to establish its own organs and to take power in its own hands, expropriating all imperialist assets without compensation to the capitalists; what is needed is to extend the revolution into the USA and UK and other imperialist centres, extending to end with the world capitalist system where a small parasitic caste of capitalists do nothing but live off the poverty and exploitation of the masses of the world. What is needed is to overthrow world imperialism capitalism and for the working class to take power in its own hands. Socialism is on the agenda on a world scale. The alternative is the continuing barbarism of capitalism.

The rank and file of the army need to be won to the side of the masses; the officer caste is with Obama, Mubarak's regime and the handful of rich capitalists (both Egyptian and Israeli)

Since the 28th January when the regime sent its police to try and drown the resistance in blood, a huge section of the rank and file of the army broke from Mubarak and many fired on the police. It is this that made US imperialism withdraw the defeated and broken police from the streets as their continued presence would mean a mass rebellion of the rank and file of the army against the state. In a bid for US imperialism to regain control of the rank and file of the army, they, through the heads of the army issued an order which the rank and file soldiers were already implementing, namely to not shoot on the masses. The myth that the army is one uniform block and that the generals of Mubarak-Obama were with the masses, was promoted from within by the Muslim Brotherhood leaders, El Baradei, the April 6 movement leaders and even some Socialists. But the 2nd February, when hired fascist thugs of the regime attacked the unarmed masses, started to reveal the class divisions in the army. The general and officer caste of Mubarak-Obama gave the order for the thugs not to be stopped or disarmed, while at the same time the disarming of the revolutionary masses was determinedly carried out.

When workers started going on strike and demanding that the bosses and managers linked to Mubarak must go, US imperialism decided that it was better to make a concession (asking Mubarak to resign) rather than to lose everything. In times like these, imperialism will make the most radical democratic noises as long as their agency, in this case, the generals and officer caste, remains in control. Thus part of the leadership of



the masses, the leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood, El Baradei, the April 6 movement leaders make a pact with imperialism against the revolution. The class base of these movements rests on the Egyptian middle class, the petty traders and capitalist class. On Thursday 10th February the impotence of the policy of disarming of the masses by their middle class leaders was exposed- imperialism rejected until then that Mubarak resigns. Suddenly the April 6 movement made a call for a general strike. This shows that the middle class is always prepared to ride on the backs of the working class to achieve their objectives, namely a stake within the capitalist system. The control of the streets by the masses, the beginning of workers control in the workplaces is already a million times more democratic than any capitalist country in the world. Under such conditions we will see the middle class turn their backs on the revolution in greater numbers.

In 1979 imperialism planted Khomeini in Iran to kill off the revolution from within. In a space of 2 years more than 30 000, the flower of the Iranian revolution, were killed off by the Khomeini counter-revolution. Already US imperialism has ordered the 'disappearance' of hundreds, if not thousands of the grassroots activists in Egypt while the leaders make deals over their bones. Imperialism cannot allow real workers control over the Suez as one of the main arteries of capitalism would be closed. The enemy is at once the regime of Mubarak and world imperialism.

The way forward

It is necessary to call a revolutionary general strike against the military dictatorship to pave the way for power to be taken into the hands of the working class and its allies. It is necessary to build workers general strike committees based on workers delegates from every workplace, extending and broadening any existing revolutionary action committee, from every block and every industrial area, including from all the 6000 capitalist farms. These councils and committees should be built on the central demand that the military dictatorship and the entire Mubarak regime has to go and that all capitalists and managers linked to the Mubarak regime must go and every capitalist workplace, capitalist farm and bank must be placed under workers control- this is the only way to conquer food, work and freedom. At the same time delegations must be sent to all barracks to call on the rank and file soldiers to break with the officer caste of Mubarak-Obama and to join the revolution. Workers and soldiers committees, where delegates must be elective and subject to instant recall, should be the centre of the revolution. The self defence of the masses must be based on workers militias under the control of the workers and soldiers councils. Not a single weapon should be handed over to the generals and officer caste of Obama-Mubarak. Only working class leadership can give the Egyptian revolution victory. None of the petit bourgeois (middle class) leaders will go all the way in the revolution. Workers, poor peasants, rank and file soldiers, the unemployed, the revolutionary youth need to send delegations with their demands to reinforce the demonstrations at Tahrir square, to contest and defeat the treacherous petit bourgeois and capitalist forces. Organize a Congress in Tahrir square of workers delegates with delegates from the rank and file soldiers, from the poor peasants, from the unemployed, from the revolutionary youth, from the Bedouin masses, to formulate the demands and programme of action of the masses and to set up a provisional revolutionary government based on the workers strike committees and revolutionary councils of action of the revolutionary masses (including the rank and file soldiers, poor peasants, youth, unemployed, Bedouin masses). Down with the military dictatorship! All power to the revolutionary councils and strike committees of the masses, centred on worker and soldier delegates!. It's time to raise the red flag in Tahrir square and in the thousands of Tahrir squares across the planet.



To conquer work: open the doors of all workplaces to the unemployed, shorten the working day without loss of pay. To conquer food, workers control over the 6000 capitalist farms and the capitalist food distribution network. Workers control will ensure that the masses get food. Workers need to break with the leaders of FETU (the newly formed Egyptian trade union federation)- the leaders are linked to the CIA controlled AFL-CIO. The workers in the 'independent' unions must break with 'economism'. The only way to conquer the demands of workers is for the working class to take political power, disbanding and shattering the entire bureaucracy of the Mubarak regime. Such power can only be based on the workers and soldiers councils and supported by the councils of poor peasant delegates This is the basis for a provisional revolutionary government that should lead the struggle for food, work and freedom. Down with the military council of Obama-Mubarak! The land should be nationalised and the councils of agricultural workers and councils of poor peasant (fellayin) delegates should jointly determine the reallocation of land. Cheap credit and farm implements to be given to the poor peasants while model farming collectives are set up on the capitalist farms. There should be an immediate list made of all the names of the disappeared so that they can be traced and the torturers and killers be brought to workers justice. The poorer sections of the middle class should be encouraged to support the workers taking power as this is the only way they can achieve their demands for work and an end to slavery to the capitalist banks.

Imperialism has already learnt from the Egyptian revolution: in Yemen they organised thousands of thugs to have a counter-demonstration against the revolutionary masses; in Algeria they sent 35 000 police to control a mass of less than 5000 protestors, trying to pre-empt a revolution. Suddenly food is appearing and at cheaper prices; suddenly whole cabinets are being fired such as in Jordan to contain and head off the revolution. But the wave of the world fight-back by the working class is spreading across the planet, despite the reformists wanting to limit it to the 'Magreb' or an 'Arab revolution'. A million have already marched against Berlusconi in Italy. Millions more across the globe are stirring; the masses are saying, we must rise up like the Egyptian masses do.

Egypt, Algeria, Yemen, Jordan, Tunisia, Morocco, Mauritania, Oman, the Emirates, Libya, Madagascar, Zimbabwe, Bolivia, Korea, Malaysia, Indonesia, Hungary, Mexico, Guadeloupe, China etc and all colonies and semi-colonies have been kept in a state of economic dependence on the imperialist centres. For the working class to conquer Socialism requires that the working class take power in the semi-colonies and colonies (kicking out all imperialist puppets) and that the working class take power in the imperialist centres. Let the Algerian revolution set fire to Paris! Let the spark in Cairo spread to Wall street, London and Buckingham Palace!

A central task as well is to unite the world working class against the most undemocratic regime in the world, the fascist Israeli regime, which keeps over 6 million Palestinians from returning home. The Egyptian and Israeli capitalists are lackeys of US imperialism that keep the Palestinian masses and the entire working class in the region divided and in chains. We condemn the poison chalice offered by the South African government to the Egyptian revolution. They offer to strangle it in the same way that the revolution has been strangled in SA by maintaining the interests of imperialism. The ANC-SACP signed a deal behind the backs of the masses to keep private property relations intact, even if the millions vote for expropriation of the imperialists, a constitutional court of 10 judges can rule against us. Ominous is the call by the SA government that the new Egyptian

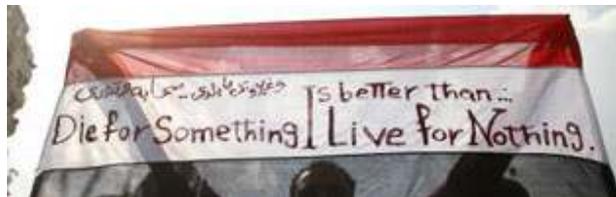


regime should maintain 'peace' with their neighbours. This is a counter-revolutionary gesture that mouths the same call by Obama that the transition be 'orderly'- in other words, to maintain 'peace' with Israel, which means to sustain the genocide against the Palestinians. It is high time that the Egyptian and Palestinian masses unite to tear down the Rafah border and once and for all end the murderous siege on Gaza. It is time for the exploited masses in the region to tear down all the walls and checkpoints that keep Palestinians in concentration camps, to overthrow the murderous fascist regime of Israel and open the way for the return of all 6 million Palestinian refugees to return home.

To take the fight for food, work and freedom in Egypt forward to Socialism requires a national and international co-ordination of the revolutionaries in Egypt and on a world scale. We need to form a revolutionary working class party in Egypt as part of a revolutionary International, based on the lessons of the past revolutions in the world. For the purpose of setting up a revolutionary International we need a conference of revolutionary workers organizations and internationalist Trotskyists in Egypt. This is the process of the refounding of the Fourth International.

For a federation of Socialist workers states of North Africa and the Middle East. Let us kick out all imperialist puppets from Cape to Cairo, from Budapest to Beijing, from Buenos Aires to Mexico. Down with all imperialist puppets the world over! Down with all the imperialist regimes! Forward to workers power! Forward to Socialism!
13.2.2011 amended 14th February 2011.

Our programme is explained in detail in our previous statements on Egypt and only a summary is presented here.



signs of the times



The masses reach out



Bahraini masses rise



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[other].....R160
- c) Rest of Africa.....R300
- d) Outside Africa [rest of the world]

\$100

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