



Africa Workers Organizer

No 8 January 2011

***Egyptian revolution shows how to fight
against high food prices and unemployment***



Contents

1. Egypt- Bread, Work and Freedom- the spark for the world Socialist revolution
2. US imperialism launches the counter-revolution in Egypt
3. For a revolutionary general strike in Egypt, prepare the way for a provisional revolutionary government
4. Some lessons from Tunisia
5. Tunisia- the start of capitalism's 1989?
6. Bolivia- the need to defeat the treacherous leaders in the workers' movement

Contact details:

International centre: fltinternational@ymail.com

South Africa: workersinternational@gmail.com

Zimbabwe: workersinternationaleague@gmail.com

Website: www.workersinternational.org.za

Postal address: 1st Floor, Community House, 41 Salt River rd, Salt River, Cape Town, 7925, South Africa. ph [27] 822020617 ph 021 4476777 fax 0865486048



The Egyptian revolution-spark for the world Socialist revolution!

To get Bread, Work and Freedom the impoverished masses must take power in their own hands!

Bread, work and Freedom are the central demands of the masses of the whole world- the Tunisian and Egyptian (and now the Jordanian and Yemeni) masses are starting to show the way how to fight for it, namely through mass revolutionary action against brutal anti-worker regimes that are puppets of imperialism. The fascist attacks by armed thugs of the state on 2 Feb 2011 shows that the masses need to have armed self-defence and need to break from pacifism. Pacifism has been carefully planted from various angles by imperialism. The setting up of armed workers militia as part of extending the grassroots Popular committees is an immediate task. This requires an immediate direct appeal to the rank and file soldiers to break with the officer caste of the Mubarak-Obama regime, and for them to come over to the side of the revolution.

Further, the immediate task of the revolution is the setting up of soviets, that is, committees of struggle with worker delegates principally (but not limited to) from the textile, gas and oil, hydroelectricity and metal and armaments factories, from the large capitalist farms, including delegates from rank and file soldiers, delegates from the unemployed, students and ruined sectors of the lower middle class and poorest peasants (in the agricultural areas). Workers from every workplace in struggle should send delegates to these soviets. The workers militia, workers committees of self defence, should be part of these soviets, against the brutal, murderous regime. It is the Mubarak regime (on the instruction of imperialism- they used the same tactic in Tunisia) that was responsible to send thugs to attack the museum of antiquities and to attacks the houses of some of the middle class. This was an attempt to win the lower middle class away from the support of the revolution. The masses have already set up 'popular revolutionary committees'. These committees are pre-soviet-type structures that need to be strengthened and extended along the lines explained above to be centred on workers' delegates. Every effort must be made to fight the domination of the middle class. This can best be done by the adoption of a revolutionary programme.

Food: Giant monopolies like Cargill, Du Pont, Monsanto and of the US, UK, French, German and Japanese banks have bought up millions of tons of the world supplies of wheat, soy, maize, sugar and other basic food. This they keep in storage to create an artificial shortage to drive up food prices. They are deliberately starving not only the masses in North Africa and the Middle East but the masses of the world. At the same time, the US, German and French governments pay many of the local farmers NOT to produce- this is another mechanism to artificially create a food shortage. There is enough food to feed the world several times over but everywhere the big banks of the USA, France, Germany, keep the masses in starvation. The real cost of a barrel of oil is closer to \$4 per barrel but the same large banks of the world control the world oil supply and make super-profits from an inflated world oil price. BP, Exxon, Total, Shell, Texaco make the highest level of profits that they have ever made in their history.



The capitalist regimes of the world act on behalf of the giant monopolies to keep the masses in starvation, not lifting a finger against high food prices and crushing any revolt of the masses simply to eat. The latest phase of the world capitalist crisis is based on the forced starvation and early death of billions of the world's masses on a greater scale than ever before. The revolutions in Tunisia and Egypt is a response of the masses to the great desperation and starvation caused by high food prices and high permanent unemployment caused by world imperialism-capitalism.

The local food production has been collapsed or made dependent on imports from imperialist food companies. In Egypt there are about 6000 capitalist farms (many with links to the Mubarak dictatorship and imperialist companies) that produces much of the food locally while 3 million small farmers (fellayin) scrape a bare subsistence and are forced to seek work in the urban areas to survive. US companies are the main supplier to Egypt of wheat, corn (mielie) and soy products at greatly inflated prices.

Work: Another mechanism that the giant US and other banks use to increase their profits is by reducing the number of workers. Over the past 2 years alone over 100 million workers world wide have been dismissed. The remaining workers are forced to work as semi-slaves, having their wages and pensions cut. Millions of immigrant workers in Europe and the USA have been dismissed and sent home to starve. They have long set up special prisons to arrest and torture immigrant workers and to expel the excess numbers. There is at least 10% (probably over 20%) unemployment rate in the US, UK, France and Germany. Nowhere in the capitalist world have they solved the question of unemployment. Every year more and more are dumped into permanent unemployment. Everywhere the rate of unemployment among young workers and the lower middle class is more than double (if not triple) the average rate of unemployment. The youth have no future under capitalism. The immolation (self-burning) of Tunisian Mohamed Bouazizi, the 27-year old unemployed graduate, is the cry of the world's youth.

US imperialism has an agreement with the Egyptian regime for no tariffs from 'qualified industrial zones' (sweatshops where workers are super-exploited and are brutally repressed) on condition that a minimum of 10.5% of the inputs of all goods produced come from Israel. This shows that the Egyptian capitalist class and upper middle class are not only tied to the regime of Mubarak but are completely dependent on US imperialism. The Mubarak regime, the Egyptian and Israeli capitalist classes live parasitically off the semi-slavery of the Egyptian and Palestinian masses. The Egyptian capitalists supply cement to the Israeli regime for the walls and checkpoints that keep Palestinians in concentration camps.

It is no accident that Egypt has been kept as a producer of textiles, exporter of gas, electricity and a tourist destination. The entire Africa, all the colonies and semi-colonies around the world have been kept as exporters of cash crops, unprocessed raw materials and tourist destinations for the main imperialist centres. Mass permanent unemployment is a structural feature of capitalism in all semi-colonies and colonies around the world. By design the less skilled jobs are concentrated in the semi-colonies as a means of social and economic control by imperialism.

Freedom: The dictator Mubarak has often been chair of the OAU (Organization of African Unity) and of the AU (African Union) which shows that these bodies are there to ensure imperialist control over the masses in Africa. Brutal suppression of independent



workers self-organization is a hallmark of imperialist control across Africa. Military dictatorships and bonapartist republics are often sustained directly and indirectly by the Stalinist Communist Parties or fragments of them. The Egyptian and Tunisian Communist parties and their fragments have openly collaborated with military dictatorships against the masses, especially through their bureaucratic leadership of the trade unions.

Imperialist companies flourished under the brutal rule of Mubarak and his predecessors and have a vested interest in maintaining, if not the same dictator, then the dictatorship without Mubarak (making only minor superficial concessions to appease the masses). The gas reserves have been handed over cheaply to the US imperialist company Apache Oil, which from Egypt, exports gas to the USA, EU and Israel. While cheap gas and electricity is exported, the US imperialists want to import gas (at a very high cost) to run gas turbines for electricity in Egypt. On Friday 28th January 2011 when the Tuesday 25th January revolt became generalised, the army was immediately dispatched to protect Apache Oil and the Suez canal. The officer caste of the army are clearly under the direct control of imperialism. Despite this, Al Jazeera, El Baradei, the Muslim Brotherhood and some of the 'left' forces still portrayed the army as being a uniform block that supports the masses.

One of the biggest banks is the Egyptian American bank (which is more American than Egyptian in terms of real control). Deutsche Bank, Credit Lyonnaise, Paribas, Chase Manhattan banks all operate in Egypt, having control over the Egyptian economy. These imperialist banks all have made super-profits over the years on the backs of the Egyptian working class. These banks, the Apache Oil company and other capitalist companies all depend on their high rate of exploitation and high extraction of profits through a military dictatorship. The upper middle class has developed as a result of such brutal exploitation and are the main agency through which the US imperialists continue their control of the Egyptian economy. The upper middle class and Egyptian capitalist are thus tied to the dictatorial regime. To allow democratic freedoms such as freedom to organize unions, freedom to join their own political organizations, freedom of expression, direct democracy with right of instant recall, would immediately challenge the very basis of capitalist exploitation in Egypt and would challenge the control by imperialism.

When a popular front government won elections in Chile in 1972, they refused to even change the head of the army, calling General Pinochet 'democratic'. When the workers started to take over the copper mines, Pepsi and Chase Manhattan got together to plan to overthrow the government. In 1973 they launched a military coup with Pinochet at the head, supported by US imperialism all the way. Tens of thousands of activists and worker leaders were rounded up and killed. There are many examples around the world of US imperialism sustaining the most brutal anti-worker dictatorships- Israel, China and Saudi Arabia are just 3 examples of this. See how US imperialism defends their 'right' to extract profits. Other imperialisms are no less bloody. We all remember the million people killed by the French imperialists in Algeria up to 1956 when the masses were rising up against imperialist control.

US imperialism yearly gives over \$1,3 bn to the dictatorship thereby sustaining its brutal rule over many years. Can the Obama regime really be taken seriously that they want 'democracy' for the Egyptian masses whereas the brutal torture and murder of activists was something that they supported over many years.



A Constituent Assembly?

With US imperialism (and other imperialism), the military dictatorship and the Egyptian capitalist class having such vested interest in keeping the same relations of exploitation, can they really lead the way for an end to the dictatorship, for democracy? Can Suleiman, who was part of the PA talks giving up the right of return of 6-7 million Palestinians, really be trusted to lead the process to 'democracy'? Suleiman is a butcher, hand-picked by the CIA; he oversees the torture of CIA rendition prisoners, even personally taking part in the torture of the innocent. He oversaw the torture of prisoners who were forced to make confessions that Saddam had chemical weapons. US imperialism used these 'confessions' as proof to justify the invasion of Iraq in 2003. Suleiman's hands are covered with the blood of more than a million Iraqis. No wonder Hillary Clinton says that he is the one who is really in charge of Egypt. Suleiman has been assigned the task by US imperialism to drown the Egyptian revolution in blood. He is the one who US imperialism trusts to ensure a 'peaceful' transition.

Can El Baradei and the Muslim Brotherhood who live off the crumbs from the table of imperialism, be trusted to lead the process to end the dictatorship? The Muslim Brotherhood has joined 'negotiations' with the butcher regime; they even call for the assassin and mass murderer Suleiman to 'lead' the process. The Muslim Brotherhood leaders and all who are legitimizing talks with Suleiman, and the regime of Mubarak, have gone over to the side of the counter-revolution. They are signalling they will turn their backs on the revolution and assist in drowning it in blood. Can any of the parties of the middle class and capitalist class who are in the Egyptian parliament, living off the suppression of the masses, be trusted to end the dictatorship? If the counter-revolution gains ground then we can expect Al Jazeera and other capitalist press to remain silent on the killing fields as they have largely remained silent over the 6 million killed in the DRC while US imperialism and others plunder the masses and their resources.

The most democratic capitalist parliament should be based on direct representation of the masses, freely electing their own delegates, without any conditions of protecting any of those who gained privileges under the dictatorship such as the capitalists and imperialists. Can Obama, Suleiman, Shafiq, El Baradei, the Muslim Brotherhood, or any of the generals or any of the bureaucracy or capitalist parties, really allow the masses to vote in such a way that could take away their privileges?

Imperialism has given its answer already: On the 2nd February 2011 they gathered thugs and gangsters from all over the country (many had been released from prison) and bussed them in to attack the unarmed masses in Tahrir Square. The army generals together with El Baradei, the April 6 movement, together with the Muslim Brotherhood and the imperialist-funded NGO's and social movements joined hands to disarm the tens of thousands of protestors. The army generals instructed the soldiers to disarm the masses but when the thugs attacked they instructed the soldiers to do nothing. In other words, the tops of the army acted for those with vested interests to act to attempt to disperse the masses. The generals are with Mubarak, US imperialism, with the Egyptian capitalists. The rank and file of the army needs to choose. In many cases the rank and file of the army has chosen when a few days before they shot at the hated police. But US imperialism and the generals work day and night to secure the support of the rank and file of the army. It is not for nothing that \$1.3 bn of support from US imperialism every year is given to the military.



The use of the dregs of society (dehumanised scum who would sell their mothers for \$1) is a common feature of world imperialism when their rule is being threatened by working class revolution. Imperialism has used fascist methods in Spain in 1936, in France, in Greece, in Bolivia in 2008, in South Africa during the 1985-1994, in Cuba before 1959, in Argentina, Brasil and across South America in the 1970's, in the Philippines, in Indonesia, etc etc. The use of thugs is not unique to Egypt- it is a common tool that finance capital uses against the masses. US imperialism ordered the use of thugs against the protestors to smash the democratic aspirations of the masses. Is it any wonder that the Israeli President Peres and Wisner the ex US envoy, now based in Egypt, are calling for Mubarak to stay on. What can be more democratic than millions wanting to remove a dictator and to immediately elect a new leadership? Imperialism cannot allow democracy. They want to maintain a military dictatorship over the masses.

The reactionary role of Al Jazeera

Al Jazeera was formed by ex-employees of BBC. They were formed at a time when the BBC and world media were moving sharply to the right, becoming more conservative. Thus it is true that viewers get a wider view of events on Al Jazeera than other mainstream media like CNN and Skynews. This wider view allows a little bit more of events on the ground to emerge and thus this greater democratic expression must be defended from attacks from world imperialism. This does not mean that Al Jazeera is not capitalist and that it does not engage in self-censorship. They are capitalist, they selectively report on issues and they restrict themselves, only less than the main monopoly media. Throughout the Tunisian and Egyptian revolution (and other events) they have promoted the US regime as somehow being defenders of democracy, that are passive actors acting more or less to restrain Mubarak as if Mubarak was independent of imperialism. During the attacks by the police-led thugs on Tahrir Square on the 2nd February, the attackers were presented by Al Jazeera and other capitalist media as being 'Mubarak supporters and the fight was presented as being between pro and anti government supporters. During the fights Al Jazeera deliberately fuelled division among the masses by promoting a myth that the people now 'did not know who to trust'. The mass participation in subsequent demonstrations was a complete refutation of the myth that Al Jazeera was promoting. Their reporters marched with the thugs, obviously having seen their weapons and they made no attempt to warn the unarmed masses in Tahrir Square of this.

The events in Alexandria, Suez and Mahalla where the masses were much more militant, were downplayed. The working class in Mahalla have a history of militant fighting to take over the textile companies and place them under workers control. Such working class leadership for taking over the means of production is undoubtedly emerging but Al Jazeera prefers to promote bourgeois analysts and to suppress the workers view. This is censorship of the revolution and helps to politically disarm the masses.

Obama calls for the release of Al Jazeera journalists as he knows what a valuable role it plays in promoting the capitalist view. The continuing attacks on Al Jazeera shows that when imperialism wills it, they will act against even those who are partially democratic.

The need for a revolutionary working class party

The World Social Forum and its social movements have for several years promoted the 'anti-party' poison. In other words, they ride on the legitimate disgust of the masses for all the capitalist parties and conclude that the working class does not need a party. This view is also influencing the masses in Egypt not to form a revolutionary working class



party. But what is the basis of such a revolutionary working class party? Surely it is necessary for working class activists and their supporters to co-ordinate their activities on a regional and national basis, drawing the lessons from fights across the country, knowing that the murderous state, its intelligence forces, US imperialism, the Egyptian capitalists are all ranged against them. Surely it is necessary to draw the lessons from how imperialism has crushed other revolutions, drawing the lessons of where revolutions were able to succeed albeit for a limited time, of the leading role of the working class organised independently in its own self-organisation, of how imperialism are trying to strangle the Tunisian, Jordanian and Yemeni revolutions. Surely it is necessary to develop a programme of demands around which the masses can unite not only against the regime but also against the system that sustains the dictatorship against the Egyptian masses. Surely there is the recognition that the problems of the Egyptian masses are similar to the masses around the world. A tight network of fighters/activists on a national and international basis which really wants to provide leadership and learn every day from the masses, is nothing else but a revolutionary working class party. The setting up of an internationalist revolutionary working class party is a pre-condition for the success of the Egyptian revolution.

US imperialism, the social movements, Mubarak, the April 6th Movement, El Baradei, the Muslim brotherhood exploited the absence of a revolutionary working class party and worked to disarm the demonstrations. Thus even though millions turned out in the streets, the possibility of the working class and impoverished masses taking power was excluded from the start. The militant masses were reduced to beggars, begging US imperialism to please send Mubarak away. Such is the treacherous outcome of the enforced passivism of the masses.

Imperialism drew the lesson from Thailand where, for several months, the masses occupied the centre of Bangkok. Imperialism simply waited for the masses to tire before they launched the offensive to disperse the protestors in a bloody battle.

Bread, Work and Freedom are the central demands for the moment

The revolutionary working class party should be centred on the following programme: The raising of the demands for Bread, work and freedom are immediately local and international. It gives direction to the Egyptian masses, exposing that all the capitalist and middle class forces are incapable of achieving these and it lays the basis for the working class to take power with revolutionary means, not only in the semi-colonies such as Egypt but in the imperialist heartlands such as Greece, UK, France, Germany, Spain, Portugal, Italy, the USA, Japan. These demands would also give direction to the masses around the globe, not just in the region, that in order to get bread, work and freedom, the working class needs to take power through revolutionary means.

The popular committees need to be extended to include worker delegates from all factories; the rank and file soldiers should immediately break with their generals and the murderous officer caste, elect their own delegates and send them to the extended Popular committees; the unemployed, the students, the poor farmers (fellayin) should elect their delegates- form their own councils; the agricultural workers should elect their own councils; all the sectors in struggle should send delegates to regional and a national council, which should set up a revolutionary provisional government in opposition to the so-called 'unity' government of imperialist puppets.



International Socialism based on workers control, not national Socialism of the Nasserite type

Stalinism promoted national Socialism of a special type to justify the local middle class taking political power while acting as lackeys of imperialism. Nasser was just one of the African capitalists, like Mugabe in Zimbabwe, parading as 'African socialists'. Nationalization of textile, the Suez and other industries took place but these industries were placed at the service of world imperialism. In all such 'nationalizations' the workers had no control over their workplaces and production. The cotton exports were still sold for a song to British capitalists while the Suez canal was kept open to all cargo of imperialism.

The Egyptian working class taking control of their means of production, the capitalist farms, the gas, the electricity, the banks and other capitalist firms, is an important first step. But the best technology, the highest developments all reside in the imperialist centres. The working class taking over Egypt will be a magnificent step forward but to achieve Socialism requires workers revolution in the imperialist centres, such as the USA, UK, France, Germany, Japan. It is for this reason that the Tunisian and Egyptian revolutions are not 'Arab' revolutions but part of the world struggle against imperialism-capitalism.

What should the programme of the revolutionary provisional government based on the extended 'popular revolutionary committees' be fighting for?

1. The first is to call for the overthrow of the entire Mubarak regime, with the officer caste and the entire bureaucracy who kept up the brutal attacks against the masses on behalf of imperialism for all these years. It is important to go beyond just 'down with Mubarak'. Down with any interim government of El Baradei, the Muslim Brotherhood and fragments of the Mubarak regime. This 'interim government' is just another face for the continued rule of US imperialism.
2. We need to raise the slogans of Tunisia (and really the world working class) for bread, work and freedom. Nationalise the land. This means that the workers should seize all the capitalist farms, place them under agricultural workers control, seize the entire capitalist food production and distribution, placing these too under workers control. No compensation to the capitalists. This is the way to feed the masses immediately. Model worker collective farms should be set up; cheap credit and every assistance for farming equipment should be given to the poorest peasants. The re-allocation of the land should be jointly determined by committees of agricultural workers and committees representing the poorest peasants. The capitalist class have all become fat over the bones of the masses, all of them closely linked to the Mubarak dictatorship. The imperialist companies and banks operating in Egypt have long propped up the Mubarak dictatorship. They have kept the masses in unemployment and starvation in the land of plenty. It follows that to conquer work all capitalists and imperialist assets, including the banks must be expropriated without compensation to the capitalists, and placed under workers control. There should be no private ownership of the means of production, ie the large farms, large textile companies, the arms manufacturing companies, the banks, the hydroelectricity, the gas and oil companies, the large food distributors, all the large companies should be under workers control, This would lay the basis for immediate reduction of the working day, sharing the work among all who can work, without loss of pay. It is only a provisional revolutionary government based on the extended 'popular committees' that are centred on workers' and rank and file soldiers delegates, with delegates from the agricultural



workers and poorest farmers, the unemployed, students in struggle, that can implement the masses aspirations for bread, work and freedom. It is only a provisional revolutionary government based on the extended popular committees that can convene (if the masses so wish) a Constituent Assembly which is not tied by any strings to imperialism. US imperialism, their 'interim government' and their generals can only agree to an empty shell, an assembly closely tied to imperialism and capitalist interests. Can the 'unity' government break with the old regime and with US imperialist and capitalist interests? This is like asking a wolf to cease being a wolf. At the end of the day, the handful of wolves have only one goal in mind- to eat the sheep.

3. expel all US military bases in Egypt; the revolutionary popular committees should take them over
4. shut down all the torture centres of the CIA in Egypt (and anywhere else) and all the rendition centres of imperialism.
5. total disbanding of the bureaucracy of the Mubarak regime, including the judges;
6. for the butchers Mubarak, Suleiman and the officer caste tied to imperialism to face a tribunal of the revolutionary masses;
7. An end to the state of emergency; for the freedom of the working class to organise and freedom of association; for the immediate release of all political and economic prisoners;
8. for the right of instant recall of any representative, for representatives to be elective; any representative should not earn more than the wage of an average skilled worker.
9. Tear down the Rafah border- the ending of the blockade on Gaza is an immediate democratic task. In 2008-9 the masses from Egypt helped to tear down the Rafah border; now the Palestinian masses can join hands with their Egyptian class brothers and sisters to get rid of the entire Mubarak regime.
10. The nomadic poor should have their demands addressed for work and land and services.
11. for the scrapping of the debts of the masses with the capitalist banks
12. The immediate return of all the treasures of the country that were stolen and that are today in the collections of Buckingham palace, in the USA, in France and elsewhere.
13. for the immediate right of return of all Palestinians and for all the walls and checkpoints that keep the Palestinian masses in concentration camps to be torn down.
14. for the immediate overthrow of all the repressive regimes in the region
15. appeal to the workers of the world to take up the fight against world imperialism-capitalism, to import the Egyptian and Tunisian revolution to their home soil, ie for the revolutionary struggle for the working class to take power on a world scale; for the working class in the USA to break with Obama, blocking all military and related supplies to Egypt and Israel.
16. For an immediate conference of all workers revolutionary organizations and internationalist Trotskyists in Egypt to set up a revolutionary International, which for us means the refounding of the Fourth International.
17. For a socialist federation of North Africa and the Middle East; down with Maastricht; forward to a Socialist federation of workers' states in Europe; for a socialist federation of workers states of the Americas; forward to a Federation of Socialist worker states of Africa; Forward to a Socialist federation of workers states of Asia and Australia.

6.2.2011 amended 7.2.2011



United States imperialism launches the counter-revolution to attempt to crush the heroic Egyptian masses

2.2.2011 updated 4.2.2011

The ANC government is a lackey of US imperialism

The ANC is a member of the same 'Socialist' International that the Tunisian RCD (of Ben Ali) and the Egyptian NDR (of Mubarak) was part of (The RCD and NDR were only expelled after the masses threw them out). The Labour party of Britain, which supported the invasion and occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan, is also with the same International. So too is the Pasok in Greece which is the current government which is cutting workers wages and their pensions. The ANC implements the policies of imperialism such as forcing low wage increases and labour broking onto the working class. They are the agents of putting up the electricity price so that Anglo American and the US banks make profits. They want to force R1 trillion (R1000 Bn) programme that is not needed, of nuclear power stations. They do nothing to curb high food prices. The ANC ties our local food prices to the California Board of trade so the banks can push up all our food prices. Cargill, Du Pont and others have bought up millions of tons of wheat, soy, maize, etc to create artificially high prices. The ANC is an agent of the US banks who even control our Reserve bank and who control most of the economy. This handful of rich getting richer while the masses suffer starvation and early death is the real legacy of Mandela and Slovo.

United State imperialism has been shaken by the heroic masses

United States imperialism has been shaken to the core by the revolutionary masses in Egypt and Tunisia. They realize that if their puppet Mubarak steps down now due to the pressure of the masses, all their puppet regimes in the region, if not around the world are immediately threatened by similar mass revolutionary risings. The Egyptian and Tunisian masses lead the way for the world proletariat. This is why United States imperialism, gathering all other imperialist forces behind them are determined to crush the Egyptian workers' revolution. This is why even yesterday (Tuesday 1.2.2011), when millions of the masses were in the streets they sent paid groups of thugs and agents into the streets to try to disrupt the protest. They wrote Mubarak's speech as a deliberate provocation, playing on the nationalist feelings of the masses, to sweep up part of the backward sections of the working class and trying to scare a section of the middle class into support for the regime or to turn against the revolution. On Wed 2nd February 2011 co-ordinated attacks by armed thugs, openly supported by the police, were launched on the unarmed masses in Tahrir square. They were trying to defeat the masses and were trying to give the impression that a sizeable portion of the Egyptian masses still support Mubarak. Al Jazeera and other capitalist press helped to create the impression that there was really mass support for Mubarak, and that Obama and US imperialism was not directing the actions of Mubarak but that Obama was really concerned about the suppression of the masses. The fascist thugs were beaten back by heroic resistance by the unarmed masses.

United States imperialism worked together with El Baradei, the Muslim Brotherhood, the April 6 movement and Mubarak to disarm the masses

Obama, El Baradei, the Muslim Brotherhood, the April 6 movement, even some supporters on the Socialist 'left', all praised the army. The army, together with some of



the members of the Popular committees (influenced by the 'leaders') worked together to disarm the masses as they entered the Tahrir Square. US imperialism achieved its objective, namely when millions gathered all over Egypt, they were all disarmed and thus the question of the masses taking power was made impossible. The army is not uniform, there is the rank and file and then there are the officers. The officers are all tied to US imperialism and thus to Mubarak. Conveniently army trucks were left abandoned for open use by the thugs. We cannot say that the army as a whole supports the masses. They do not. There are class divisions in the army and the base must be won away from the officers. US imperialism worked with El Baradei and the Muslim Brotherhood to divert the mass protest into an exercise to blow off steam. Obama and the United Nations say the masses can blow off steam but cannot take the power in their own hands by their own revolutionary action.

El Baradei plays a treacherous role. On Tuesday when the masses wanted to march to the Presidential Palace, he ran away and spent the day talking to the US envoy. On Wednesday when he knew the masses were unarmed and kept in the open prison of Tahrir square, he called on them to defend the square with their bare hands against thugs who were armed to the teeth. Tahrir Square served its purpose as a mobilising centre but now it has become a prison for the masses to be disarmed by the army and to be slaughtered by fascist gangs of the state and imperialism.

The way forward

- 1. Arm the masses:** Now that imperialism has sent armed gangs into the streets there can be no question of the masses being unarmed. The coming 24 hour curfew by imperialism is to prepare an attack on the rank and file militants who have really led the revolution. There needs to be an immediate arming of the masses to defend themselves against the fascist thugs of the state and imperialism. The masses can not go to the square anymore without arms. The fight needs to turn against those institutions that are planning and sending the armed thugs against the masses. The revolutionary masses need to send the masses to the barracks to fetch their family members who are soldiers. These soldiers need to break with the officer caste who are with Mubarak and who refused to defend the unarmed masses against the armed thugs. Metal factories and the arms factories, all possible work needs to be done for the masses to get arms to defend themselves from the thugs and the imperialists who are directing them. The United Nations cannot be trusted because the troops they may send will also sit with folded arms while the masses are attacked. Just ask the masses in Rwanda about the track record of the UN. Preparation must be made for the masses to learn how to defend themselves against the armed thugs.
- 2. Set up local, regional and national command structure.** The Popular Committees need to draw the lesson of their pacifism of the past and include delegates of the rank and file soldiers in their ranks, extend an armed workers militia as part of each committee. Ensure that there are workers delegates from all the factories and workplaces in their areas are represented. They should ensure that delegates of the unemployed and all sectors in struggle are part of their structures.
- 3. The national council of delegates from all the grassroots committees in struggle should immediately be called, which should set up a revolutionary provisional government.** This provisional revolutionary government based on the grassroots committees should spearhead the fight to defeat the counter-



revolution, to disperse every last part of the Mubarak regime and to take power into its own hands.

4. **Take over the food supplies and distribution.** The masses need to take over the existing supplies of food from the capitalist companies and call for support from the smaller trader. The capitalist supermarkets and all capitalist food distribution companies should be taken over. Food and its distribution should be placed under workers control (agricultural and urban workers).
5. **Any large capitalist company and bank that refuses to pay workers their wages must be taken over by the workers.** All the large companies and banks have made massive profits over the years because of the repressive Mubarak regime.
6. **Take over all public transport and capitalist company vehicles.** If there are reports of attacks by thugs, there should be a transport system to move defence committees quickly to the defence of the masses. It follows that the oil stocks must be taken over so that the workers defence committees are able to move at all times.
7. **International Solidarity:** The best international solidarity is for the masses of the world to draw the lessons of the pacifism of the revolutions in Tunisia and Egypt so far, and to launch similar revolutions against their own imperialist puppet leaders in the semi-colonies, and against their own imperialist in the advanced countries. There should be mass protests at every United States and Egyptian embassy around the world, voicing support for the Egyptian revolution and condemning the brutal counter-revolution of imperialism. Workers at the docks and transport workers should prevent any weapons reaching the murderous Mubarak regime. The masses in Gaza should unite with the Egyptian masses and tear down the Rafah border. Our war cry is: Hands off the Egyptian and Tunisian masses, hands off the grassroots committees of action. Down with Obama, Down with imperialist puppets everywhere!.
8. **We call for an urgent conference of revolutionary workers organizations and internationalist Trotskyists to be held in Egypt to refound a revolutionary International, which for us is the Fourth International.** Let us send workers brigades to support the fight of the revolutionary Egyptian masses at the barricades. We know that imperialism will try all their dirty tricks to kill off the revolution. Now is the time for the world proletariat to stand up and be counted.



Picket in Cape Town 4.2.2011 against all puppets of imperialism from Cape to Cairo and in support of the Egyptian revolution



For a revolutionary General strike in Egypt

Prepare the way for a revolutionary provisional government

31.1.2011

Since Friday 28th January 2011 there has already been a general strike underway in Egypt. The working class is leading the Egyptian revolution which is greatly supported by the unemployed, the poor peasants (fellayin), the oppressed nomadic masses and the mass of the ruined sections of the middle class. All of imperialism is closing ranks behind US imperialism to gain control over the revolution in order to crush it from within, while at the same time preparing, at the first opportunity to once again use brute force to attempt to weaken and crush the revolutionary masses.

A dual power already exists

Over Friday and Saturday the 28th and 29th the masses have defeated the police in the streets. Immediately the masses set up their own self-defence committees against the armed thugs sent by the state and imperialism to attack some homes of the middle class, as they had done in Tunisia, to justify the continued use of the police.

Revolutionary action committees, which the masses call 'Popular committees' led the destroying of the police stations, centres of torture supported by US imperialism, and disarmed the police. Sections of the army joined the masses to defeat the police. The army had been sent into the streets to intimidate and support the putting down of the masses but, without exception, the rank and file soldiers refused to shoot. In other words, the rank and file soldiers broke from the control of their commanding officers. US imperialism is desperately trying to regain control of the army using their most trusted sections of the elite Presidential guard to protect the main television station, and strategic areas like the gas and refinery installations from direct takeover by the masses.

The problem is that, for the moment, the heroic actions of the masses are not being co-ordinated. It is this vacuum that imperialism is trying to fill in order to strangle the revolution from within.

The call of the April 6 movement for a general strike for 1 Feb 2011 is an attempt by imperialism to gain control over the revolution

There is already a general strike, so why is the April 6 movement calling for one? Why is it that suddenly Egypt TV is starting to broadcast protests in Tahrir Square? The April 6 movement calls for a 'peaceful' transition to 'democracy', in other words, exactly the same call as imperialism puts out from the US, Britain and the EU. Imperialism has a problem in that the 'leaders' they are putting forward to strangle the revolution from within, played no role in the revolution from the beginning. El Baradei is the figure being built up by imperialism every day from all different angles. The Muslim Brotherhood leaders have now completely sold out to US imperialism by putting El Baradei as the 'leader' of the opposition and thus boosting his standing for becoming possibly the 'new' President of Egypt, a new manager for imperialism. The April 6 movement is trying to hijack the revolutionary anger of the masses, calling for a 'million people' march on Tuesday 1st February 2011. They want to create a platform where El Baradei poses as the 'leader' of the masses, making a few radical sounding statements to boost his credibility. They want to boost the so-called committees of ten, for them to get a 'mandate' to negotiate, which means they want to open the way for selling out the



masses. Of course, Egypt TV will broadcast this message, hoping that all the fighting masses in Egypt start to put their faith in El Baradei. We need only remember that after the groundwork done by El Baradei in creating suspicion that Saddam had chemical weapons (even if he did not go to the end and showed some public disagreement), imperialism invaded and slaughtered many hundreds of thousands of Iraqis, a slaughter that continues until today. The Iraqi regime is still a puppet of US imperialism. This is the heritage of El Baradei- no wonder imperialism gave him a Nobel prize.

Turn the general strike into a revolutionary general strike- prepare the way for a provisional revolutionary workers government based on the grassroots committees of action, the 'popular committees'

What the masses have conquered in the streets must not be conceded, not even one inch. This means that once again the masses must prevent the re-appearance of the police, they should be disarmed and dispersed. It is this hated police that has brutally killed over 150 unarmed protestors in 2 days- they cannot be allowed to return.

In opposition to the committee of ten of El Baradei, we call for the setting up of a provisional revolutionary workers government based on a national council of delegates from workers and soldiers who are part of the popular committees from all parts of the country. The rank and file soldiers should immediately form committees and send delegates to be part of the grassroots 'popular committees'. This national council of delegates from the 'popular committees' in struggle, should unite delegates of workers, rank and file soldiers, the unemployed, the poorest sections of the fellayin (peasants), delegates from the oppressed nomads, delegates from all sectors in struggle who have joined with the popular committees. It is this national council that sets up the provisional revolutionary government. It is only this council of delegates, who must be instantly recallable, earning the wage of not more than an average skilled worker and bound by a mandate not to have any secret talks, that can really represent the masses in struggle and take forward the current general strike up to the end. It is this provisional revolutionary government that can lead the masses to root out the Mubarak regime, from top to bottom, rooting out the entire bureaucracy. No-one that has served in the Egyptian parliament or its cabinet can be allowed to represent the masses in struggle; no-one who has been part of open and secret talks with Clinton, Obama or any agency of imperialism can be allowed to represent the masses. No-one who has been part of government talks with the Israelis and US imperialism over the Palestinian struggle, can be part of any revolutionary government. [This is important in the light of the revelation that all the Arab league leaders knew and approved of the sellout by the PLO leaders on the right of return and other questions]. No-one who supports the blockade on Gaza in any form can be part of the revolutionary government. No-one who supports the maintaining of the murderous police can be part of the revolutionary government. No-one who supports the maintaining of any part of the Mubarak regime and bureaucracy, can be part of the revolutionary government.

The tasks of the provisional revolutionary government

The central task of the provisional revolutionary government is to co-ordinate the preparation for the revolutionary dispersing of the entire regime of Mubarak, from top to bottom, and for all power to pass definitively into the hands of the grassroots 'popular committees'.

A call must be made for all rank and file soldiers who have not yet joined the revolution, to do so, forming soldier committees and sending delegates to the 'popular committees'.



The soldiers must break with the officer caste who gave the orders to shoot on the masses. These officers are the direct agents of US imperialism, the very group of capitalists who are keeping the Egyptian and world working class in starvation through high prices and unemployment, who daily dismiss immigrant workers in the imperialist centres and send them home to die of hunger. Once the support has been gained from the rank and file soldiers in sufficient numbers, the Mubarak regime should be dispersed without delay, even if provisional revolutionary government is still being formed.

At the same time, factory committees, which comprise delegates representing all workers must be set up at every workplace to prepare for workers control. This would place the armaments factories, the transport, the oil companies, the television and other media, the stocks of food, clothing, meeting venues, large accommodation etc, all at the disposal of the revolution. These factory committees should ensure they send delegates to the 'popular committees'.

Neither Mubarak nor any of his regime, nor El Baradei nor the Muslim Brotherhood can solve the problem of hunger and unemployment of the masses.



Part of the millions in the street against the US imperialist puppet regime of Mubarak



Some Lessons from Tunisia

The situation in Tunisia reflects the truism from the Transitional Programme: *'In periods of acute class struggle, the leading bodies of the trade unions aim to become masters of the mass movement in order to render it harmless...In time of war or revolution, when the bourgeoisie is plunged into exceptional difficulties, trade union leaders usually become bourgeois ministers.'* The UGTT leaders have been forced to pose as militant, as being with the masses, in order to from within the workers movement to carry out the wishes of imperialism to attempt to behead the revolution and turn the mass struggle onto the bourgeois terrain. Now that US imperialist agent Ghannouchi has allocated more posts to the bourgeois 'opposition', including the UGTT, the UGTT leaders now accept this. We were correct when we exposed that the government of 'salvation' as proposed by the UGTT was one which includes part of the old regime and which keeps the repressive apparatus intact. The leaders of the ITUC (International Trade Union Confederation) sent delegates to Tunisia to prop up the UGTT and to help impose the plans of imperialism. The call from the ITUC leaders was the same as the NPA and fake left: for a Tunisia Democratic and Social. By 'social' the ITUC was saying that economic reforms should be implemented but under the same capitalist regime as before. This provides a cover for the betrayal of the Tunisian revolution, in essence turning workers eyes away from taking power for a promise of 'economic reform'. This is the same policy of Ben Ali, ie that of US and French imperialism, but minus Ben Ali. How can the Tunisian working class conquer food and work without expropriating the Tunisian capitalists and imperialist assets, and placing these under workers control? How can workers eat if power is still in the hands of the capitalists (Ben Ali regime and imperialism) How can the interim government bring about any democratic change if it has any remnant of the Ben Ali regime? Ghannouchi and the entire Ben Ali bureaucracy must go!

The first plans of this new 'interim government' is to implement 'anti-terrorist laws', in other words to implement the same programme as the US puppet regime of Ben Ali. These 'anti-terrorist' laws are nothing but a strengthening of the capitalist regime to crack down better on the working class now. A crucial failing of the Tunisian working class has been the failure of the revolution to occupy and take over the means of production (the mines, transport, capitalist farms, capitalist industry, etc) and banks and to place it under workers control. Or more accurately, the UGTT leadership has encouraged workers to give up their control and take part in the 'Caravan for liberation' to act as a pressure tool for the petit bourgeois leaders of the UGTT and to divert the working class from building and strengthening their alternative power organisms (soviets). The Popular front of the trade union leaderships with the bourgeois lackeys of imperialism is what is attempting to betray the Tunisian revolution.

The isolation of the Tunisian (and north African) revolution from the imperialist centres by the forces of the World Social Forum, by the Stalinists, by the middle class left, is a crucial factor that hinders the current counter-offensive of the world proletariat.

Our programme for Tunisia remains in essence (see our statement of 25.1.2011):
φ Extension of the grassroots committees of workers and poor peasants to all parts of Tunisia, which should include delegates from the rank and file soldiers; for the extension of workers militia as part of these committees to all corners of Tunisia;



- φ For the formation of a national council of delegates from grassroots workers and poor peasants committees with delegates from the unemployed, from the rank and file soldiers
- φ All power to the grassroots worker and poor peasant committees
- φ Down with the interim government of the Ben Ali regime and UGTT break with the capitalists: expropriate Ben Ali, all the Tunisian capitalists and all imperialist assets and banks, without compensation to the capitalists, centralise and place under workers control (ie workers take over all the means of production); expropriate all the capitalist farms and joint ventures with imperialism, without compensation to the capitalists, place under agricultural workers control, nationalise the land and re-allocate land for the poor peasants based on joint decision of agricultural workers committees and poor peasants committees. It is only a revolutionary government based on the workers and poor peasant committees, uniting the masses in struggle in their ranks that can expropriate the capitalists and all imperialist assets and banks;
- φ Expel the UGTT leaders from the workers movement; for the UGTT to break with the capitalist regime of Ben Ali leftovers (puppets of US and French imperialism)
- φ For the immediate workers control over food distribution so that the masses can eat.
- φ Share all the work among all who can work
- φ Workers wages to rise when prices rise
- φ Equal pay for equal work in North Africa and Europe
- φ Expropriation in the imperialist centres of the imperialist companies that plunder Tunisia and North Africa and the Middle East. This can only be done by the working class taking power through revolutionary means in the imperialist centres.
- φ We need a revolutionary working class party in Tunisia as part of the refounding of the Fourth International. For an international conference in Egypt of revolutionary workers organizations and internationalist Trotskyists to prepare for the refounding of the Fourth International.

A 'Tunisian' revolution can explode anywhere around the globe

A fundamental feature of world capitalist-imperialist domination today is the suppression of basic bourgeois democratic rights in the semi-colonies and colonies. The granting of full democratic rights means opening ground for competitors to imperialist domination to develop. In a world dominated by imperialism, capitalist development in the semi-colonies is thus based on the suppression of the indigenous capitalist class and middle class. The indigenous capitalist class and upper middle class, such as are allowed to develop, have no independent existence from imperialism- they are a product of class war when the indigenous masses rose against decades and centuries of colonial rule. The coming to political power of a section of the indigenous middle class as a means to subvert and prevent the working class from taking power (thanks to Stalinism), gave a new form of control to imperialism. All the regimes of the 'liberation movements' were bonapartist, posing as paternal figures or taking the form of military dictatorships- all of them appearing to stand above the class conflict but in the final analysis acting for imperialist interests, guaranteeing their domination of the masses.

After decades of experience of these bonapartist regimes in the semicolonies, there is a general realisation that they are anti-worker and transmission belts for the world capitalist crisis onto the backs of the working class and fellow poor. With large-scale destruction of the peasantry and the concomitant rise of the proletariat, capitalism has created its own gravedigger. The greater weight of the proletariat on a world scale, especially in the semi-colonies, is what gives the 'Tunisian' revolutions a solid basis and thus the tendency to go up to the end in the current struggles.



Revolutions are possible in Saudi Arabia and the Emirates, in China, in Zimbabwe, in Korea, in Russia, in Jordan, Yemen, Libya, against Israel etc. On the other hand the depth of the capitalist crisis also means that the working class in the imperialist centres are under unprecedented attack. As the inter-imperialist rivalry sharpens, some of the minor imperialists like Greece are being pushed down to become semi-colonies. The Ben Ali party (until it was belatedly expelled) was part of the same 'Socialist' International as Pasok, the current Greek ruling party that is carrying out the same offensive of the IMF against the masses (the same that the Socialist Party in France carried out yesterday, that the Labour Party in Britain carried out yesterday- which is carried forward by Sarkozy and Cameron-Brown today). The Tunisian masses show the way to the Greek, French and British proletariat and the European proletariat in general. The point is that for the masses to conquer bread and work, the working class has to take power by revolutionary means. But more than this, the relation of the imperialism to the semi-colonies is that generally the semi-colonies are kept as assembly plants, warehouses, and exporters of unprocessed raw materials for imperialism. It follows that, for example, a workers revolution in a semi-colony must be directly linked to the working class taking power in several of the imperialist centres in order for bread and work to be attained. It follows that the heroic proletarian revolutions in Tunisia and Egypt must be extended to the working class taking power through revolution in imperialist Europe and the USA, for example, for Socialism to be attained. This task poses the question of the setting up of a revolutionary International with section in the semi colonies and the imperialist centres as an immediate task.

The latest phase of the world imperialist crisis that started in 2008 is marked by hoarding of the world's food supply such as wheat, soy, etc to push up prices, it is marked again by artificial raising of the world oil price. These are desperate measures by imperialism to increase profits, no matter that billions of the world's masses are pushed into starvation and death. These are the objective conditions for Socialist revolution on a world scale.

While the capitalists go on their world counter-revolutionary offensive, Tunisia and now Egypt, marks a turn of the world working class towards a revolutionary offensive. The spectre of Socialism once again hangs over the heads of the capitalist forces.



Working class power is on the agenda in Tunisia, Egypt, Palestine and indeed around the world.



Tunisia: The start of capitalism's 1989? Away with the 'unity' government of imperialist lackeys!

Forward to a workers' and poor peasants government!

25.1.2011

Imperialism is manoeuvring to neutralise the committees of protection and supervision of the revolution

During the early stages of the current revolution the Tunisian masses set up their own organs of self-rule, called the committees of protection and supervision of the revolution. These committees are made up mainly from workers, the unemployed, the poor peasants and were based on the destruction of the police stations, disarming the police and the arming of the masses. Imperialism through their NGO's in Tunisia are signalling that they want to set up a governing council 'of protection' of the revolution. This is an attempt to hijack the revolution and to neutralise the revolution and rob it of its essence. Any council that proclaims to 'safeguard' the revolution must be based on delegates from all the grassroots committees, be based on the disarming of the police, disbanding of the army and the arming of the masses. The composition of all such committees and council, from top to bottom should exclude the upper middle class, any capitalist, any member of the officer caste of the army, and any careerists. Such council can only have meaning if it is based on the expropriation of all Tunisian capitalists and all imperialist assets, without compensation to any capitalists, and is under workers' control.

The threat of a military coup

The leadership of the UGTT (Tunisian Trade Union Federation), is engaging in a dangerous exercise of openly giving support to the head of the army, General Rashid Ammar just because he gave orders to the army not to shoot on the protestors. General was advised by imperialism not to fire on the protestors because the conscript army would have disobeyed him and gone over to the side of the revolution. The soldiers would not have opened fire on their own family members. Imperialism realised this and manoeuvred to keep control of the army. The leadership of the UGTT (and the left who support them) are playing a treacherous role, boosting the standing of an imperialist agent, General Ammar. If imperialism cannot control the masses, then imperialism may resort to a military coup. But this can only happen with a blood bath of the masses as the General's rule would be based on, not only the army, but the hated police. The General would not expropriate the Tunisian capitalists nor the imperialist assets. Being tied to capital, the General would continue the offensive of high prices and high unemployment against the masses- not a 'defence' of the revolution, but smashing it. More than ever the grassroots committees in Kasserin and other areas need to incorporate rank and file soldiers in their ranks, training and arming the masses, preparing to undercut and prevent a possible counter-revolution by imperialism.

Imperialism is preparing day and night to attack and defeat the revolution. We



call on the working class in the neighbouring countries: Algeria, Libya, France, Italy, Greece, Spain and beyond, in Morocco, Egypt, Turkey, Germany, UK, Portugal, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Rumania, Russia, USA to prepare to rise up in defence of the Tunisian revolution, against their own regimes. Out with all the dictators, whether military or posing as 'constitutional democratic'. Obama and Sarkozy have blood on their hands.

On the so-called 3-day mourning period

The illegitimate 'unity' government is desperate to begin to gain credibility and to hide its own lack of support among the masses. This is why imperialism instructed it to call 3 days of 'mourning'. They are meeting with their allies, including the UGTT leaders over this period to work out their next step in strangling the Tunisian revolution. Imagine, the killers of over 200 of the Tunisian masses are leading the call for the mourning of those that they massacred! Who can really take them seriously except traitors to the revolution. The first step that any democratic regime should have taken should have been to lift the curfew so that the masses can exercise their newly won freedom to associate with and meet with whomsoever they choose. They would also have disbanded the police, the very ones who perpetrated the murders and put them in front of a workers tribunal. The 'unity' government cannot even take these basic steps because their real aim is to strangle the revolution. The real aim of the curfew is to prevent the masses from meeting and from organizing themselves to take power into their own hands. There was no curfew for the family of Ben Ali when they left with 1 ½ tons of gold. The 'unity' government was complicit in this theft from the masses of Tunisia. This is why the central demand must be : **away with the 'unity' government of imperialist lackeys- Expropriate Ben Ali and all Tunisian capitalists! Expropriate all imperialist assets! Forward to a workers' and poor peasants' government!**

The Tunisian RCD regime is a lackey of imperialism

It is US and French imperialism that are primarily responsible for the starvation of the Tunisian masses. When direct colonial rule by French imperialism was no longer possible, under threat of revolution by the Tunisian masses, Tunisia was granted limited political independence in 1956. Management of the economy was handed over to a local elite while in reality imperialism remained in control of the commanding heights of the economy. This process was replicated all over Africa where the local middle classes usurped the revolutionary struggles of the masses.

The role of Stalinism (and the 'left' who capitulate to them) in supporting imperialist rule

The Stalinist Communist Parties (CP's) played an important counterrevolutionary role by refusing to call for the working class to take power into their own hands and supporting the local petit bourgeois (leading the national revolutionary movements) to become the new managers for imperialism. The pan-africanists who took over the countries, riding on the backs of the Africa masses, were also propped up by the 'left' around the globe, who labeled such leaders 'Socialist'. Even Mugabe, Nasser and Bourguiba (the first President of the RCD Tunisian government) were all labelled 'Socialist' back then by the 'left'. What was central to the control of the masses was the vision of 'national Socialism', in other words, the possibility of attaining Socialism in a



semi-colony without the working class having to take power in the imperialist centres. Further, the path to Socialism, so the CP's argued, required the rule for many years of the African middle class. Thus the politics of Stalinism and the capitulation of the world's 'left' to Stalinism is what sustained imperialist plunder in Africa over the past 60 years. Specifically, while the RCD sustained itself through a brutal police rule since 1956 (there are 150 000 police in Tunisia), imperialism also sustained the Tunisian regime through the support of the trade union movement, the UGTT, and principally the support of Stalinism (through the CP- the Ettajdid) and Maoists (PCOT) and the 'left', all of whom lead in varying degrees, this union movement. The UGTT leaders have consistently supported the RCD regime, through all the massacres of the masses over the years; they supported the structural adjustment programmes of the IMF, the collapse of self-sufficient agriculture as part of the demands of the imperialist WTO and even openly opposed this revolution of the Tunisian masses at the beginning. They agreed to send 3 leaders to be part of the 'unity' government of the RCD, until the masses surrounded their headquarters and threatened to overthrow all the UGTT leadership. Even while the masses were in the streets being shot down the RCD regime (after Abedine Ben Ali was told by imperialism to catch the next flight to Saudi Arabia), the officials of the UGTT were still saying that they were prepared to accept 'Prime Minister' Ghannouchi, himself an RCD minister since 1999. [Ghannouchi is a former director of the imperialist IMF-International Monetary Fund]. The leadership of the UGTT is one of the main pillars of imperialism to control the masses.

It follows that the most immediate task of the revolutionary masses is to extend the fighting structures of the Committees for the protection and supervision of the revolution to all workplaces, farms, mines, indeed all corners of Tunisia; these committees need to be centralised into a national council of committees of protection and supervision of the revolution, with delegates from regional and local committees, with delegates from all workplaces, delegates from the unemployed, from the poor peasantry, from rank and file soldiers. As part of these committees should be generalised armed workers militia which will lead the masses to defeat the armed bandits of the Ben Ali regime and completely disband and root out all the police stations, the bastion of Ben Ali and imperialist terror over the years.

It is this central council of delegates of regional and local committees of the protection and supervision of the revolution that should take power into its own hands and constitute the workers and poor peasants'

government. This can only be based on the expropriation of the Tunisian capitalist class and all imperialist assets.

It follows that an immediate democratic task is also the expulsion of the pro-imperialist the UGTT, starting with Abdessalem Jared, and the purging of the Stalinist structure of the UGTT which is based on the bureaucratic control of a small unaccountable clique.

Ghannouchi is a veritable Prince Lyvov (a tool by imperialism to try and bring an end to the capitalist crisis of regime and prevent the working class from taking power)- he and his 'unity' government must go, and go now! Despite the actions of the masses the ex Communist Party of Tunisia, the Ettajdid, is



still part of the 'unity' government, claiming that Ghannouchi has no ties with the RCD- a better supporter of imperialism within the workers movement is hard to find. It follows that Ghannouchi, Mebazaa, Jared and all of the RCD and Ettajdid leaders should face a workers tribunal for their crimes against the Tunisian masses.

Imperialism always supports many horses (different political parties and or different leaders), so when one horse is discredited in the eyes of the masses they work to regain their control through their other agencies, that they have long been preparing.

The Tunisian revolution is being driven by the Tunisian working class who, having been repressed for many years, have broken with the regime, all the bourgeois political parties and the leadership of the UGTT. Against the Tunisian masses is world imperialism, all the bourgeois parties, the Stalinists and fake left, all of whom are centralised on a world scale. With the Tunisian masses is the world working class and the real possibility of the Tunisian revolution being exported not only throughout North Africa, the rest of Africa and the Middle East but into the imperialist centres. This is why French and US imperialism advised Ben Ali to catch to plane to Saudi Arabia. The very image of the masses directly overthrowing the Ben Ali regime and subjecting him and his cronies to workers' justice is what imperialism wanted to avoid at all costs- it would have provided the world working class with a crystal clear example of how to fight the world imperialist-capitalist onslaught. This is what the imperialists and their agents hide and what they want to undermine. The work day and night to cover that workers revolution, workers forming their own organs of struggle and direct revolutionary mass action to overthrow the lackey regimes of imperialism, is what is the only way, for the working class to stop the world capitalist offensive.

Overnight, the ones who had sustained the imperialist offensive against the working class, now pose as the most 'democratic'; they try to cover up their support for the Ben Ali dictatorship. They promise the world, as long as the masses do not take into their own hands, the assets of imperialism and the tasks of self-government.

Suddenly all shades of opportunists are coming out of the woodwork- all agents of imperialism- Raschid Ghannouchi from the Islamic party wants to run for President; Moncef Marzouki wants to become president. Abdesslem Jared, leader of the UGTT calls for a 'government of national salvation'. The United Secretariat of the Fourth International (USFI), which has work within the UGTT, supports the call for this 'government of national salvation'. When it suits imperialism they use secular leaders like Ben Ali to control the masses; in other instances they do not hesitate to use religious leaders to crush the masses, eg the Saudi regime, Osama bin laden and the Mujahideen in Afghanistan against the Stalinists invasion, etc. Imperialism sent Khomeini to infiltrate and behead the Iranian workers revolution of 1979 from within (30 000 militants were executed within 2-3 years of Khomeini taking the reins of political power). In other cases union leaders like Lech Walesa was used by imperialism to strangle the Polish workers revolution.

What unites R Ghannouchi and Marzouki is their call for 'peace' and 'an end to the violence', which in the current context means keeping the repressive



apparatus of the murderous regime intact and the prevention of the armed masses from carrying out workers' justice. They are competing to become the new managers for imperialism to control the Tunisian masses. They realize they have played no role in the current stage of the revolution and they are the ones who are proposing that the elections be postponed by 6 months to give them time to build up some credibility among the masses so that they can better betray them. The central UGTT leaders are calling for a 'Salvation government' with the likes of R Ghannouchi and Marzouki. In other words, they too support the retaining of the murderous police and the entire repressive apparatus. The USFI, by their support of the national and regional leadership of the UGTT, thus also support the policy of retaining the repressive apparatus of the state, of workers being a minority on committees dealing with the crimes of the Ben Ali regime, of bourgeois nationalization assets of the Ben Ali regime- ie not under workers control (the USFI does not come out in support of the expropriation of imperialist assets without compensation and under workers control). The USFI accepts the UGTT bureaucracy's definition of 'democracy' namely that the government is elected by the 'people' and controlled by the 'people'. The 'people' include the Tunisian upper middle class and the bourgeoisie, who have been the mainstay of imperialist plunder for the past 55 years. The UGTT definition of democracy in no way differs from the radical bourgeois of the French revolution of 1789. The USFI does not counter-pose the grassroots committees of protection and defence of the revolution to the current 'unity' government or the proposed 'salvation' government. In other words, the USFI ignores the past 55 years of Tunisian struggles and the past over 100 years of world working class struggles, and puts faith in the Tunisian bourgeoisie and middle class to lead the process, through the national government of 'salvation' against imperialism-capitalism. This is like a sheep calling in a wolf to help draft a policy against it.

The true capitalist character of the 'unity' government and the 'national government of salvation' is exposed through the central demand: Break with the bourgeoisie, which takes the form of : Expropriate Ben Ali, all Tunisian capitalists and all imperialist assets and banks, without compensation to the capitalist, to be placed under workers control! This is the only basis on which a government of the workers' and poor peasants can be formed. What is needed is a Soviet republic, not a return to 'parliamentarism' which is another form of dictatorship of the capitalist class and thus of imperialism. Imperialism controls the economy of Tunisia, they control the economy of North Africa, the world oil production and indeed the entire semicolonial world

While Tunisia produces 92 000 barrels of oil per day it only refines 32 000 of these and has to import most of its daily oil requirements. Even Iran, which is one of the leading producers of oil, it has to import its oil requirements. Thus it is a myth that OPEC countries control world oil production. World oil production is controlled by those who control the world's oil refineries; these are largely in the hands of imperialism. Through control of oil refineries, French imperialism, through Totalfina, still controlled the Tunisian economy. US imperialism also has a major share in the control of the hydrocarbons in



Tunisia. The US capitalist regime has had links with the Tunisian regime for 200 years. US and French imperialism compete with each other over control of the Tunisian repressive forces of the state. US and French imperialism have sustained since 1956 the brutal regime of the RCD. The privatization of state assets, the maintaining of Tunisia as a slave camp for US, French, Italian and German, Spanish imperialism; the free trade agreement with the EU that was due to come into effect in 2011 while Tunisia already has a free trade agreement with the US imperialism, all show that imperialism was really in control of Tunisia, through the regime of Ben Ali and the RCD. It is imperialism that regulates the size of the Tunisian middle class and that suppresses the growth of any independent Tunisian capitalist class. It was imperialism that was directly and indirectly responsible for the starvation of Mohamed Bouazizi and the hundreds of thousands, millions of Bouazizis in the region, across Africa, across the world. Now that their lackey has been discredited they work day and night to install a new capitalist regime that they will continue to control. Algeria, after 48 years of 'independence', still only has one product as export, namely crude oil. The whole of Africa and all semicolonies and colonies are either exporters of raw, unprocessed goods, or have become assembly plants and warehouses for imperialist-controlled production. Saudi Arabia is nothing but a slave camp of US imperialism that controls the oil production, sustains the brutal regime directly through US military bases and indirectly through the fascist Israeli regime. It is time to do away with all the brutal lackey regimes that control the masses on behalf of imperialism.

Imperialism is shaking. The Tunisian masses are showing the way to the workers of China, Japan, Korea, Saudi Arabia, Algeria, Bolivia, Mexico, DRC, USA, France, Romania, Russia, Zimbabwe, etc, how to fight and defeat the world capitalist offensive, namely through a workers revolution and revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist regime. Further, the relation of imperialism to the semi-colonies and colonies shows that in order for the world 'Tunisian' revolutions to advance to Socialism, they have to be extended into the imperialist heartlands, otherwise the imperialist counter-revolution will eventually, sooner or later, strangle the revolution. With the recent wave of revolts in Europe, in Greece, in France, Rumania, in Ireland, in Spain, in Portugal, there is nothing that scares imperialism more than the prospect of the working class in these countries breaking from the treacherous leaderships in the workers movement, smashing the capitalist regime and taking power in their own hands. A Soviet France, for example, would immediately spark workers revolution in all the French colonies and semi-colonies. For the starving workers in the backyard of the European imperialist powers to live, Maastricht needs to die. The working class in North Africa, Eastern Europe and the Middle East needs to unite with their class brothers and sisters in European imperialist centres- we are one class- one revolution. Forward to a federation of Socialist workers states of Europe. A Soviet USA would impulse a giant leap to Socialism as all the capitalist regimes around the world would immediately come under threat of workers' revolution. Any workers' revolution in an imperialist centre would shake the world capitalist regime and opens the path to Socialism. It is this prospect that makes imperialism, despite their differences among each other, to work together against the Tunisian revolution and indeed any 'Tunisian' revolution



on the globe.

The NPA, the USFI and other reformists call for the confiscation of the wealth of Ben Ali but do not call for the expropriation of imperialists assets. They do not raise in France, where they are based, that 'the enemy is at home!' and that the key to the Tunisian revolution is for the working class in France to take power. Thus they play the same class role as the Stalinists which isolate the revolutions in the semi-colonies from the revolution in the imperialist centres. The NPA raises economic demands whereas the key task at the moment is for the working class, organised independently, to take power in their own hands. The key for the revolution in North Africa is for the working class to take power in Europe, demolishing Maastricht and forming a federation of Soviet socialist states of Europe.

The character of the Tunisian revolution and who leads it

Peasant farmers make up less than 20% of the work force while 30 years ago they made up almost 50% thereof. Today 15% of the farmers own farms of more than 20 hectares each and produce 62.5% of total agricultural production. 85% of the farmers have an average of 6 hectares and eke out subsistence, producing 37,5% of total agricultural production. Several of the large farms are joint ventures with imperialist companies. Imperialism has relocated several of its metal component and textile factories to Tunisia, taking advantage of the cheap labour and the repressive conditions.

The rest of the workforce is made up of the service sector (mostly tourism) and industrial workers. This revolution has been led by the industrial workers and the unemployed workers and sectors of the ruined middle class (in reality a semi-proletariat). Tunisia illustrates that imperialist control of a semi-colony cannot grant full basic democratic rights; it also shows that the fight of the masses for full democratic rights must mean that only the workers can lead such a fight to the end and these rights can only be attained by the working class taking power.

Since January 4th, in several towns such as Kasserin, the masses defeated the police in the streets, disarmed them, destroyed the police stations and set up their own organs of self-rule, called the committees for the protection and supervision of the revolution. These committees took over the local regional UGTT offices and used them as organising centres. There seems to be confusion in the ranks of the working class (actively promoted by the Ettajdid, the PCOT, the USFI and Liaison Committee of 'Trotskyists) supporting the call for a government of 'national salvation', in other words, that they should not take power into their own hands but give it up to a new bourgeois government as long as it is not linked to the Ben Ali regime.

It is an immediate task to set up committees of protection and supervision of the revolution, in every working class area and every workplace, based on proportional representation, with a majority of workers on every structure, with the right of instant recall of all representatives, with workers delegates from the workplaces, representatives of the unemployed and delegates from rank and file soldiers that support the revolution. In rural and farming areas there should be councils of protection and supervision of the revolution comprised of agricultural workers and separate such councils for the impoverished



peasants. There should be a call for a national council of delegates from all the committees of protection and supervision of the revolution, to take power into its own hands, to co-ordinate the fight against the Ben Ali regime of the 'unity' government and against imperialism.

Outline of immediate democratic demands:

1. Down with the regime of Ben Ali that now parades as a 'unity' government minus Ben Ali;
2. break with the bourgeoisie and imperialism; this means the immediate expropriation of all assets of Ben Ali, the rest of the Tunisian capitalists and imperialist assets and banks, without compensation to the capitalist, placing these under workers' control; for a single state bank under workers control;
3. All power to the worker committees of protection and supervision of the revolution; all leaders should be elective, subject to instant recall and be paid a wage of an average skilled worker. For a workers' and poor peasants' government based on these committees (which must be independent of the upper middle class, the officer caste and the capitalists)
4. Immediately lift the curfew so that the masses can meet and organise freely;
5. free all the political and economic prisoners;
6. Immediate disbanding of the police, the entire repressive apparatus and all the institutions of the regime, including the bureaucracy, disbanding the army; immediate arming of the masses and the setting up of armed workers militia as part of the committees of protection and supervision of the revolution; [the attempt of the police to form their own union is merely to prevent them from being killed by the masses-if they want to play a progressive role, they should hand their weapons over to the workers militia];
7. that the rank and file soldiers elect from their ranks their delegates break with the officer caste that is tied to the Ben Ali regime;
8. reduce the working day and share all the work among all who can work (without loss of pay); wages to increase when prices increase;
9. cancel all the debt made to imperialism under the RCD regime;
10. nationalise all the land; expropriate all capitalist farms without compensation to the capitalists- set up model collective farms under the control of the agricultural workers- working according to a national plan under workers control; for cheap credit and assistance to the poor peasant; for the joint councils of the agricultural workers and poor peasants to allocate land for use by the poor peasant;
11. cancel all secret and open agreements with imperialism that keeps Tunisia as its slave camp and its political tool against the masses in the region, not least the Palestinians;
12. that the Ben Ali regime, the officer caste, the police and the leaders of the UGTT face workers' justice for their crimes against the Tunisian working class;
13. that UGTT be restructured along lines of workers' democratic control;
14. publish all the secret deals between the Ben Ali regime and imperialism; expel all imperialist agents and agencies from Tunisia;
15. establish committees on prices comprised of workers, the urban and



rural poor, to expose who benefits from high food and petroleum prices.

16. Equal pay for equal work for all workers in North Africa and Europe!

On the call of the USFI and the PCOT for the convening of a Constituent Assembly

Those who raise the call for a Constituent Assembly want to strangle the Tunisian revolution.

How is it possible that this 'unity' government that is tied by thousands of threads to imperialism, can convene a sovereign Constituent Assembly which is free from imperialist influence? This regime is the same that has massacred many over the past 55 years and that still shoots down protestors even now? This regime is backed by 150 000 police and world imperialism. Do you think that you can just sit around a table and persuade them to hand over the reins to a Constituent Assembly? This same imperialism cannot even ensure the return of the 6 million Palestinian refugees to their homes since their expulsion in 1948; this same imperialism is responsible for more than 6 million dead in the DRC while minerals are plundered even up until today; this same imperialism cannot even grant the Iraqis and Afghans the unfettered right to choose their own leaders, let alone have control over their own economies; this same imperialism organised a coup in Honduras a few months ago; they invaded Haiti over the bodies of the dying in a recent earthquake, and you think they will allow a peaceful expulsion of imperialism from Tunisia, and this on the doorstep of Europe? You are misleading the masses. This repressive regime needs to be removed by force, by revolutionary mass action.

Even if imperialism agrees that the entire regime steps down and all the members of your national salvation government can guide the setting up of a Constituent Assembly, how will you proceed? Already R Ghannouchi and Marzouki want the masses to wait another 6 months. The masses are starving right now. Your 'national salvation government' will be protected by the murderous police and according to your own programme, will not expropriate imperialism. Imperialism demands their profits and it follows that they will only get the required amount from increasing the level of starvation of the masses. Your 'salvation' government, with its police and repressive apparatus from the old regime, will be forced to crush the masses, once again- it will be providing salvation to the imperialists, not the working class.

Go ahead! Organise your Constituent Assembly right now! The masses will immediately vote for an end to the Ben Ali regime, for the expropriation of imperialism, for the disbanding of the police. This is why imperialism and the bourgeois parties are doing everything they can to postpone even this bourgeois elections. They cannot afford even full bourgeois democracy for Tunisia nor any semi-colony on the planet.

The masses are calling for the overthrow of the Ben Ali 'unity' regime right now. This is the way to conquer conditions for the convening of a sovereign Constituent Assembly. But once workers have taken power into their own hands, why should they hand them over to a structure that contains bourgeois parties, parties that want to become managers for imperialism, that cannot meet even a single democratic demand of the masses. The more your fight for a 'salvation' government that contains bourgeois parties and that will supposedly prepare for the Constituent Assembly, the more the masses will



realize that they need their own structures, such as the committees of protection and supervision of the revolution, soviet structures, to take power into their own hands.

The danger of the 'Caravan for liberation'

Marching on the central institutions in Tunisia is excellent but the leaders of the UGTT and the USFI have other ideas; they hijack the bold steps that the masses want to take, namely through revolutionary mass action to overthrow the 'unity' government of Ben Ali leftovers. They send the masses, unarmed, to blow off steam, to pressure the regime for their 'Salvation' government to take over (in other words for those sections of the middle class and the upper classes currently excluded, to get part, if not all of the juicy business of being in government).

Without lifting the pressure on the regime for one moment, there needs to be generalised the committees of protection and supervision of the revolution in all workplaces, farms and across all Tunisia, convening of a central council of all these committees, with delegates from the urban and rural workers, from the poor peasants, from all other sectors in struggle, from the unemployed, from the rank and file soldiers. It is this armed, central council or Soviet that should constitute itself in Tunis and disperse the capitalist regime of the 'unity' or 'salvation' government. The central call again must be to break with the bourgeoisie, ie expropriate all of the assets of the Ben Ali regime, the Tunisian capitalists and of all imperialists, without compensation to the capitalists, placing these under workers control.

Towards the refounding of the Fourth International

That the murderous RCD regime was a full member of the Socialist International for many years, shows that the Socialist International has nothing to do with Socialism but everything to do with maintaining imperialist domination on the planet. The support of the Stalinists, the CP's, for members of the Socialist International, such as the ANC and the Labour party of Britain shows that the Stalinists cannot be trusted; the capitulation of the NPA, the USFI and the 'left' to their own imperialist all shows that a new International is needed. The International Committee of the Fourth International (ICFI) presents a caricature of an International, calling in general for 'permanent revolution', offering no programme for the world proletariat on Tunisia, and only proclaiming that workers should join them and the holy spirit of salvation will descend on them.

We need to unite the vanguard in Greece, in France, in Tunisia, in Algeria, in Bolivia, in Mexico, in the USA, in China, in South Africa, in the DRC etc in one international. This is the way to take the heroic battles of the working class to victory. It is time to refound the Fourth International!

Forward to working class power in Tunisia!

That the Tunisian spark will set on fire the whole of Europe, Africa, Asia, the Middle East, the Americas, Australia!

Forward to an organizing committee to refound the Fourth International!

Forward to Socialism!



**Once more the Bolivian working class shows the path of struggle for the international proletariat
To defeat the attack of the capitalists, it is necessary to defeat the treacherous leaders of the working class!
It is necessary to generalise the lessons of the revolutionary combat in Bolivia for the world proletariat!**

The world capitalist crisis continues, the capitalists deepen their attack, they need to smash the proletariat, they need new wars and counterrevolutions. This epoch of crisis, wars and revolutions is sharpening more and more. It is an epoch of counterreformism, where the reformists can not offer any reform and what confronts the world proletariat at every step is revolution and counterrevolution.

Once more the Bolivian proletariat is the shows the way forward for the world working class. The character of its combat is deeply internationalist. **It has posed before the workers in struggle of the whole world that it not possible to win, nor to conquer the most minimal of the demands, without defeating the treacherous leaders of the working class who make pacts and support the bourgeoisie, its regime and its government. To achieve the most minimum demands of the working class, the working class must take power in its own hands.**

The combat of the Bolivian working class must become the beacon for the world proletariat to launch a revolutionary mass counteroffensive against the imperialist catastrophe.

As the world capitalist crisis deepens, as inter-imperialist rivalry sharpens, pushing the minor imperialists to the wall, temporary pacts between the imperialist rivals conspire to push up world food, petroleum and electricity prices as an artificial means to increase the rate of exploitation of the world working class. Although the French, US, UK, German and Japanese banks are bitter rivals, they work together through the cartel of Total, BP, Exxon Mobil, Caltex, Shell to push the price of a barrel of oil to over \$90 whereas its real price is closer \$4. When Morales increased the price of petroleum by 83% on the 26th December 2010 he was acting as the agent of imperialism to force the burden of the crisis onto the backs of the Bolivian working class. This increase came after a wave of strikes where the Morales regime forced a wage cut (a 5% increase of public sector wages). The workers marched on the union offices, kicked down its doors and expelled the main trade union leader, Montes, who was the champion of tying the workers to the regime and thus to imperialism.

The working class revolts in Madagascar, Guadeloupe, Martinique, and more recently in Greece, France, Britain, Rumania, Ukraine, Thailand, Tongva & Linzhou, South Africa, Mozambique, Tunisia, Algeria, Kyrgyzstan, reflect a change in the mass psychology of the world proletariat. There is a growing realization of the irreconcilability between the working class and capitalism-imperialism and the growing realization of the treacherous role of the leadership within the workers' movement. The masses are increasingly realizing that these leaders in the workers' movement are the main agents of imperialism for controlling the masses. The masses have long been prepared to fight to the end against the imperialist onslaught but each time their leaders hold them back and allow the burden of the capitalist crisis to be placed on the backs of the working class. After an extended period when hundreds of millions of workers have been dismissed without a fight by the working class organizations, the outbreaks of working class revolts show that the masses are breaking from their traditional leaderships. Imperialism is desperately trying to build, rebuild new concentrations of counter-revolutionary leaderships that could again betray from within. Such attempts need time and while the grip of imperialism is being broken they turn to increasing fascistic methods to smash the working class. What is new in the current class war is that in Bolivia, the masses have begun to expel their worker leaders, kicking down the doors of the



union offices, sticks of dynamite in hand, demanding that a general strike be called. What the vanguard in Bolivia is expressing is a realization that the treacherous worker leaders are propped up by imperialism, by force, and that the task of removing such leaders requires the armed resistance of the working class, in other words, the fight to remove the treacherous leaders in the workers movement is a fundamental task of the fight against imperialism. Further, the task of preparing a general strike, goes hand in hand with the task of building an armed workers militia. When imperialism realized that the industrial workers were going to join the mine workers, dynamite sticks in hand, in a strike on Monday 3rd Jan 2011, under the slogan of 'Evo and Goni, the same crap!' [Goni was the previous President ousted by the revolutionary masses in 2005 while Evo Morales is the current President], the masses having expelled the leader of the union bureaucracy, they realized that they were faced not with an economic strike but a political general strike which would have split the army, with the lower ranks joining the workers and the officer caste being exposed as being total lackeys of imperialism. A workers revolution, taking over all imperialist assets, expropriating them, is what imperialism realized they faced. This would have been a beacon to the world proletariat about how to fight high prices, cuts in education, cuts in wages and pensions, mass unemployment. This spark in El Alto could have set fire to Caracas, Habana, New York, London, Paris, Berlin, Tokyo, London, Athens, Madrid, Belfast, Tunis, Algiers, Palestine, Beijing, if not many other corners of the planet. It have been a qualitative change in the world's balance of class forces in favour of the world proletariat. This is what forced imperialism to instruct Morales to cancel the petroleum price increase; this is what forced imperialism to instruct the trade union leader Montes to 'resign' as if he had not been expelled; anything for imperialism to regain the initiative and control once again. The LOR-CI poses as being for the Fourth International but playing the role of Stalinism, turning the workers fight for power into a fight for temporary economic demands.

The LOR-CI poses the question of 'soviets' in the form of a struggle to set up 'factory committees'. But every workplace has a committee of the COB. This means that the fight of independent workers councils (soviets) can only be posed in the form of a fight for the expulsion of the union bureaucracy from top to bottom and linking this with the task of the moment of setting up workers militia at every workplace as preparation for the COB to take all power in its hands. This means creating a dual power which takes the struggle for workers power as its central task. We should guard against those who come among the working class who call general stoppages and marches under the banner of 'general strikes' but who really want workers to blow off steam, to tire us and not to take over the factories, the land, the banks and mines.

We are reminded of the first workers state conquered in October 1917 in Russia. The imperialists launched a war on virtually all fronts to attempt to smother the Soviet Union. Such a prospect would await a Bolivian workers state. The conquest of power in the Soviet Union created a holding point from which the Bolsheviks hoped that the socialist revolution would succeed in one or more of the imperialist centres. This would open the path for the development of Socialism. Such is the perspective if workers were to take power in Bolivia; socialism would only be conquered if the working class takes power in one or more of the imperialist centres. Thus the fight for workers power in Bolivia goes hand in hand with the immediate call for an Organizing committee to refound the Fourth International, meeting in Bolivia uniting fighters from around the globe, not least from the French workers, the Greek vanguard, the Palestinian working class youth, the British and Irish working class youth, the working class youth from Tunisia and Algeria, among others, who share the same programmatic perspective outlined above. We must guard against the World Social Forum perspective who separate the struggles in the semi-colonies, such as Bolivia, from the struggle for the working class to take power in the imperialist centres, such as France and the USA.



In Greece, France and in the whole Europe it is necessary to fight as in Bolivia!

This is the way for the Europe and working class that is resisting and confronting the attack from imperialism in crisis. Even with the enormous combat of the exploited masses in France, Spain, Britain, Italy, Ukraine and Greece, the working class was not able to defeat the attack from the bourgeoisie. In Greece, the exploited masses carried out 8 huge general work stoppages although the Papandreaou's government continues to deepen its anti-workers offensive. This is because the workers' bureaucracies and aristocracies, together with the Stalinists of the CP (KKE) and the renegades of Trotskyism have divided the European proletariat country by country, to submit it to the policy of pressure on the governments to make them "rectify" the attack. Traitors! The Greek masses are already taking the same conclusions than the Bolivian working class: **To defeat the attack of the capitalists it is necessary to defeat the bureaucracy, the CP and the reformist leaderships! It is necessary to commence the struggle for the working class to take power into its own hands.** Defeating the treacherous leaders, expelling them from our struggle organizations, is the way to conquer the unity of the workers' ranks, we will defeat the governments of the imperialist bourgeoisie and we will destroy the imperialist Europe of Maastricht with a single socialist revolution. The struggle of the European working class must win! The Bolivian working class has posed for the French workers to expel the union bureaucracy of the CP, Lutte Ouvriere, NAP and to occupy the workplaces as in May 1968. But this time the French workers should take power in their own hands, calling for workers across all the French colonies and ex-French colonies to expropriate all imperialist assets, without compensation, under workers control and thereby conquer bread and work, real independence from imperialism.

The working class of the imperialist countries have the key for the defeat of the imperialist plunder of the colonial and semicolonial world and the military occupations as in Iraq, Palestine, Afghanistan and Haiti. It is necessary to fight in the whole world as the Bolivian working class does!

It is necessary to generalize and to expand the combat of the Bolivian workers to the whole America! For the revolution to come back!

In Bolivia, the proletariat has declared war to the farce of the "Bolivarian revolution" of Chavez, Castro, Lula, Kirchner and Correa, expropriators of the workers' and peasants' revolution. They made pacts with Obama and imperialism and allowed the massacres in Colombia, military coups as in Honduras and they support the imperialist occupation of Haiti, contributing with "Bolivarian" troops. Today they command the attack against the exploited masses. The Bolivian working class has unmasked them. It is necessary to break with the Bolivarian bourgeoisie in the whole continent to defeat the offensive of Obama and imperialism! Down with the leaderships that support the Bolivarian governments!

The Bolivian working class fights in El Alto and La Paz but it also combats in Argentina as the vanguard of the struggle for land and decent housing. In Soldati, the first days of December, thousand of working families occupied the lands of Parque Indoamericano to conquer decent housing. They attacked the property of capitalists to resolve this elementary demand of the whole working class. The Bolivarian government of C. Kirchner, together with the fascist governor Macri, sent the police repression and the fascist gangs to smash the workers. The Bolivian, Peruvian and Paraguayan –the heart of the working class- together with the Argentine workers, resisted the attack of the bosses with their self-defence. The state assassinated two Bolivian and one Paraguayan fellows. Before this enormous combat of the South American working class, fenced and isolated by the bureaucracy both of the



CTA and of the COB, the government of Evo Morales attacked the Bolivian workers as “criminals” “come back to Bolivia and we will give you land. Lies! Evo Morales is responsible of the rich land of Bolivia to still in the hands of the landowners thanks to his pact with the fascists of the Media Luna. He makes pacts with the landowners and repress and hunger the workers and poor peasants! This counterrevolutionary attack of the Bolivarian government of C. Kirchner in Soldati, is what encouraged Evo Morales to launch his gasolinazo. Although, he found a third attack of the revolution, this time against the “rosca” of Morales.

The Bolivian working class is confronting the farce of the Bolivarians to make the revolution come back. Their combat is for the coming back of the Argentina of 2001 but this time for the working class to take power in its own hands; the workers’ and peasants’ commune of Oaxaca to be extended to all Mexico; the anti-imperialist struggles of the Venezuelan masses to extend to expropriate all imperialist assets without compensation, under workers control; to let the workers’ and peasants’ Peru rise up for workers’ power; for the US working class to stand up breaking with Obama, taking power in its own hands and thereby freeing the world proletariat.

In the present struggle of the Bolivian working class, the revenge for the killing of the workers in Parque Indoamericano began; as well as the revenge for the assassination of more than 30.000 Mexican workers; of the Honduran resistance; the massacre against the immigrant workers in Rio Bravo; of the Colombian resistance. The combat of the Bolivian proletariat has also begun to break the fence imposed by the ‘Bolivarians’ imperialist agents and the reformist leaderships against the workers’ and peasants’ revolution. This is the way to break the fences around the revolution in Madagascar and the heroic Palestinian masses that confront, under siege surrounded by walls, the Zionist-fascist state of Israel, gendarme of imperialism!

The combat of the Bolivian proletariat must be a spark for the Cuban masses for them to defeat the capitalist restorationist attack of the Castro brothers and their 500 thousand dismissals and the privatizations, which are all objectively in the service of imperialism. These are the forces to defeat the military occupation of Haiti and defeat imperialism across the whole continent.

Down with the pacts of the ‘Bolivarian’ bourgeois governments with imperialism! The workers’ and peasants’ revolution must come back on the whole American continent! Expropriate all the multinationals! Down with the farce of the “Bolivarian revolution” of Evo Morales, Castro, Chavez and Kirchner, expropriators of the Latin American revolution!

The workers organizations of the world must be on high alert. We are all Bolivian workers! We must be on alert for any counterrevolutionary attack from imperialism and the ‘Bolivarian’ armed forces against the proletariat of the Altiplano.

All the forces to Bolivia for a continental congress in El Alto to conquer the internationalist unity of the working class and to defeat the offensive of imperialism and its ‘Bolivarian’ servants!

**All forces for a world Congress in Bolivia to refound the Fourth International!
For the working class to live, imperialism must die!**



Egyptian workers and rank and file soldiers show the way to fight imperialism