

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.

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