



BOLSHEVIK MESSAGE

No. 2

Paper of the

"Supporters of the 'Unity of Communist Militants' - abroad"

July 1983

Editorial

Communist movement of Iran: a short introduction

One of the important characteristics of the present period, in the context of an acute world economic crisis and the dead-end to which world revisionism has been driven, is the beginning of a growth and consolidation in communist ideas and movements throughout the world. Such has been the case in Iran, in particular during the last four years, where a coherent communist current has developed in the course of a purposeful ideological struggle against non-proletarian impurities, and in the context of four years of intense class struggles. The period of the growth of this current has at the same time been the period of the decline and virtual collapse of petty-bourgeois ideas which had infested the workers' movement of Iran for a long time. In this article we shall briefly describe the developments in the communist movement of Iran in the last four years. The understanding of this history is of vital importance for the communists and workers outside Iran.

★ ★ ★

After the February Uprising in 1979, workers in Iran found themselves confronted with scores of political organisations which were calling themselves communist. But the theories and actions of these organisations were different from one another and in many cases completely against the workers' interests. These conditions had also allowed many forces of the bourgeoisie and other classes to work more extensively in the name of "communism" and as "supporters" of the working class, and thus draw the workers into submission and conciliation in the service of their aims, and to also bar the workers from attaining communism.

The existence of so much confusion in the ideas and beliefs of the forces who were speaking in the name of "communism", was making the agitation and propaganda of communism amongst the ranks of a young working class, which had the least historical knowledge of its independent interests and struggle, extremely difficult. To carry out their tasks amongst the workers, the genuine communists had to solve, on top of the problems which the accomplishment of the above tasks presented, numerous problems which the activities of the assorted "communists" had created in the mind of every worker; and in order to introduce communism, they had to first rescue it from beneath the rubbles; they had to expose the terrorist and guerrilla policy of this or that organisation pretending to be communist, the approval and conditional support of other so-called communist organisations towards the Islamic Republic and Khomeini and their coalition with the Mojahedin ... as well as explaining the innumerable treacheries of the Tudeh Party in the past and at present, the support of half of these so-called communists for Bani Sadr, and hundreds of questions of this kind.

But the belief in this reality that communism is the ideology of the working class and the science of

Extracted from Kargar-e-Komonist, Organ of the UCM:

Why Mojahedin are offended by the formation of the communist party ?

It is some time since a pamphlet entitled "The Summing-up of A Year of Armed Resistance" has been published by the People's Mojahedin. This pamphlet which is an attempt on the part of Mojahedin's leadership for the justification and theorization of a year's activities from July 1981 to July 1982, contains important points about the aims of the Mojahedin organisation, its strategy, its policies, the attitude of the Mojahedin towards other political forces and many other tactical questions. The mere existence of such questions in this pamphlet would be reason enough to draw the attention of workers and communists towards itself. But the presentation of a number of questions in this pamphlet - points which do not merely deal with the past but look into the future - and also the references by the Mojahedin Organisation to this pamphlet, so far, show that the above pamphlet must be regarded as a historical document which expresses the identity of the Mojahedin at this stage of its life.

The study of this pamphlet will better acquaint the workers and communists with the liberal and anti-democratic nature of the Mojahedin and will allow them, by observing this organisation's political unprincipledness, contradictions, ambiguous and many-sided policies, compromise, and submission to the bourgeoisie, to understand their historical position and tasks in the advancement of the democratic revolution, and the mobilization of revolutionary democracy under the banner of the minimum programme of the Communist Party. Also the study of this pamphlet will show to those who are fighting for the establishment of a democratic political system, that the realization of their aims is only possible in the light of the leadership of the conscious proletariat and its communist party and only under the banner of the minimum programme of the communist party.

It is because of the importance of this pamphlet that we shall try to examine the various questions

→ p.3

Inside

- ★ A brief history of Komala p. 6
- ★ Moscow and its allies change their tune! p. 7
- ★ A victory! p. 9
- ★ World news p. 9
- ★ 59 militants executed in Mahabad p.12
- ★ News from Kurdistan p.12

the conditions of emancipation of the working class, allows us to see that the majority of the organisations which were calling themselves communist, and working in the name of communism, were not communist. The loyal servility of organisations such as the Tudeh Party, Aksarriat (Fedaiien-Majority) and Ranjbaran, to the bourgeoisie is clear and disgraced enough to dispense us with a proof of their anti-working class nature. But the point is that many seemingly communist revolutionary organisations, despite their probable good intentions, were not communist either and even from the standpoint of the nature of their agitation, they did not belong to the working class.

All of these organisations were identifying themselves with the "people" and defending the "people"'s interests. Although they considered the working class too as part of the people, but they did not regard any distinct and independent aim and interests for the working class. Furthermore, by various justifications like, for example, "the stage of the revolution is democratic", "the main contradiction is that between the people and imperialism", etc., they repeatedly tried to prevent the workers from insisting on their independent class interests. What they were asking the workers to do was, not to intensify the "contradictions within the people" and sacrifice themselves for the sake of the "common interests of the people".

These populist organisations usually used to call the communists, deviationist and extreme left. This mis-propaganda, since it was being heard from old organisations, was itself preventing the communists from easily attracting the conscious and advanced sections of the workers towards themselves. Thus the "populist" nature of the so-called communist organisations not only explains their unpopularity amongst the workers and toilers but also the slowness of the advance of the real communists at the time of the domination of these organisations in the communist movement of Iran.

The emergence and development of populism in Iran, as the main obstacle in the path of the independent advance of the Iranian proletariat towards its independent aims, had definite objective bases:

Communism in Iran emerged and developed at a time when this country, as a capitalist country dominated by imperialism, was going through national-democratic movements. The defeat of the Constitutional movement in the early 20th century and the consolidation of the domination of imperialism over Iran, on the one hand, and the influence of the democratic movements in countries like China, Cuba and Vietnam, which were led by petty-bourgeois radical forces claiming to be communist, on the other hand, forced the petty-bourgeois democrats to take up "Marxism" as the only ideology capable of the victorious leadership of the revolutions of the epoch of imperialism. Thus Marxism in Iran was adopted from the outset by the revolutionary democrats and in connection with the needs of the democratic movement.

The Iranian proletariat, whose birth as the main exploited class dates back to the expropriations of the 60's (the Land Reforms), while going through the most intense periods of early competitions within its own ranks under the rule of savage imperialist reaction and violence, was not able to have an active presence in the arena of open class struggles. The workers' movement of Iran, before being a movement "for itself" was a movement "in itself". The absence of a developed workers' movement, and a movement "for itself", which would secure the active presence of the proletariat in the arena of the class struggle and ensure its continuation, allowed the class struggle in Iran to be completely overshadowed by the democratic movement. It was on the basis of these objective conditions that Marxism in Iran developed.

On the other hand, in the theoretical field too, Marxism in Iran did not find itself confronted with a revolutionary and coherent bourgeois ideology so that in the course of struggle against it, it would reveal its distinct class nature. The lack of presentation of

coherent and, in particular, revolutionary ideology on the part of the bourgeoisie, is in general the result of the doomed fate of this class, as a reactionary class in the epoch of imperialism. The bourgeoisie of Iran which in particular was not a consistent critic of feudalism, was unable to present a coherent and revolutionary ideology against feudalism, such that in the course of its inconsistent struggle against feudalism, it was finally under the politico-ideological leadership of the monopoly bourgeoisie that it became victorious. And hence Iran entered the era of imperialist reaction directly from feudalism, without going through a period of bourgeois-democratic transformation.

Thus, if Marxism in Europe, after the victory of bourgeois-democratic revolutions, was born in the critique of bourgeois ideology and succeeded in revealing its class nature in struggle against Proudhonism and anarchism (petty-bourgeois socialism); if Russian Marxism was able, before the democratic revolution in this country, to raise the independent banner of the Russian proletariat in the ideological field and thus complete the victory of Marxist theory in Europe; Marxism in Iran, without carrying out a serious theoretical struggle, without being able to reveal its distinct class nature in such a struggle, developed as a cover for petty-bourgeois democratism. Tudeh Party, as the left-wing of Iranian bourgeois-democracy, took up "Marxism" at the time of its formation in August 1941, and finally trivialized it to the point of a full-fledged liberalism. The democrats inside the National Front after 1963 once again adopted Marxism for the needs of the democratic struggle. Fedaiism emerged and became dominant as the "Marxist" expression of "consistent" bourgeois democratism. Even the People's Mojahedin, in their futile attempts to prepare a coherent and revolutionary ideology which would meet the needs of the democratic struggle, were forced into a clear confounding of Marxism, as the only "science of struggle", with the religion of the "Freedom Movement". Thus Marxism in Iran developed from the beginning together with spontaneous opportunism.

The degeneration of the Communist Party of Russia and its transformation into a bourgeois party which was advocating class conciliation in the name of united political fronts, and the later completion of this opportunist outlook, with the aid of the ruling party in China - claiming to be communist - as far as the popular fronts and popular states; the Stalinism and Trotskyism which caused the complete plunge of the communist parties of Europe into social-chauvinism under the guise of anti-fascist fronts - which pushed the proletariat in Europe and other countries to refrain from struggling against their "own" bourgeoisie, making them the cannon fodders of the world bourgeoisie in the Second World War (with the exception of the revolutionary minorities which detached themselves from the degenerating International, most notably the Italian Left) and the influence of populist guerrilla movements in Latin America; all played their roles in allowing "Marxism" to be taken up as a cover for petty-bourgeois democratism. *but already in Russia!*

Restrictive attitude towards socialist ideology and its reduction to petty-bourgeois democratism made up the general mentality of the left movement in Iran, which took shape on the objective basis of the class struggle being overshadowed by the democratic movement, and in the specific historical conditions of the decline of the bourgeoisie and its complete poverty of theory.

But after the February Uprising, the workers' movement objectively separated itself from the democratic movement with its mainly economic and independent - though dispersed - demands and, despite the torpor into which the democratic movement had sunk, because of the absence of any kind of revolutionary leadership, it continued its growth and development. Along with this growth of its spontaneous movement, the working class began to understand and put forward its independent interests and the needs of its independent struggle.

gle, and realize the importance of unity in its ranks for advancing its independent struggle against other classes. The growth and development of the workers' movement in the realization and presentation of its independent interests and needs, while revealing its effects mainly in the surrender of the left movement to the spontaneous struggles of the class, had also the effect of accelerating the forming of the embryos of revolutionary Marxism against the opportunism dominant over the movement.

With the birth of revolutionary Marxism and its growth on the basis of these objective conditions, the period after the February Uprising has been the period of the confrontation of revolutionary Marxism and populist revisionism. As revolutionary Marxism increasingly consolidated itself, through a purposeful ideological struggle and in the context of an acute economic crisis and of the open confrontation of classes, petty-bourgeois radicalism more and more lost stamina and sunk into crisis. The drafting and publication of a proletarian programme by the Unity of Communist Militants in March 1981 and the simultaneous convening of the Second Congress of Komala*; the disintegration of the organisation of "Revolutionary Unity", with a faction of it upholding proletarian positions and joining the ranks of revolutionary Marxism; a similar break-up of the organisation of Razmandegan, with an effective section of it turning to revolutionary Marxism; more recently, the Kurdistan section of the organisation of Peykar joining the ranks of revolutionary Marxism (the organisation itself having suffered numerous splits); the virtual break-up of many other populist organisations; and the occurrence of a number of splits in the Organisation of Iranian People's Fedaei Guerrillas, etc., are all moments in the process of the crisis and disintegration of the populist organisations, and the growth and consolidation of revolutionary Marxism, during the post-February period.

In May 1982, the Programme of the Communist Party, adopted by Komala and the UCM, was published. This

* We have dealt with the history of Komala and the UCM and their role in the development of revolutionary Marxism in Iran in separate articles (See BM no. 1 and the article about Komala in the present issue).

from p.1

contained in it in the different issues of Kargar-e-Komonist and thus help our readers find out the real meaning of the Mojahedin's claims.

★ ★ ★

The adoption and publication of the "Programme of the Communist Party" in the Third Congress of Komala could not go without giving rise to hostile positions, denunciations, disdain and accusations by the various political forces, in particular the Islamic Republic's opposition. This was because:

Firstly - The Programme of the Communist Party, as the indictment of the conscious proletariat against the whole capitalist system, exposes the low, reformist and liberal aims of all those forces who, up to that juncture, had been able to hide their real aims behind "democratic and anti-imperialist" phraseology, in the name of the "people" and "people's struggle". The Programme of the Communist Party, by presenting a precise and clear picture of the ultimate aim of the proletariat - socialism - in opposition to the variety of its distortions, and by putting forward the most consistent democracy, is the document of the ideological-political independence of the working class which will no longer allow any class or any political force to deceive the working class and ride on its back by distorting the aims of the working

3

programme was the document of the victory of revolutionary Marxism against populist revisionism, and brought to an end a three-year period of the growth, domination and disintegration of populist revisionism in the communist movement of Iran.

The achievement of the fundamentals of the Leninist theory of organisation and communist methods of practice by the First Congress of the UCM, removed the last barrier in the way of the formation of the communist party.

Thus the fundamental development in the communist movement of Iran has been the growth of a party current which is endeavouring for the revival of Bolshevism. This victory of the Iranian proletariat has been achieved in the absence of an international communist authority, like the International, and at the heavy expense of the loss of life of thousands of comrades and the imprisonment of thousands more, by the bourgeois counter-revolution. This victory has not been achieved accidentally but has taken place in the context of four years of intense class struggles and the consistent ideological struggle of revolutionary Marxism. The world proletariat must be acquainted with every moment of these struggles and their achievements; workers of the world and their vanguards - the communists - must be introduced to all that has happened in Iran, to the struggles and achievements of one of their battalions and to the weaknesses and mistakes of this movement. These important gains and the immense growth in the consciousness of the Iranian workers during the last four years, have placed them in extremely favourable conditions for accomplishing their historical tasks and have made the workers' struggles in Iran into an important bulwark of the world revolution. Class solidarity with this movement and its reinforcement is the internationalist task of every communist and conscious worker.

Taghi

REFERENCES:

- 1- Besoooy-e-Sosyalism no. 2, (August 1980), the Editorial: "About Unity".
- 2- Kargar-e-Komonist no. 1, (28th January 1982), the Editorial: "About Kargar-e-Komonist".

class, by colourful theorizations and by resorting to the "specific peculiarities" of Iran and the Iranian worker.

Secondly - The publication of this programme, as a party programme, and not for example the programme of this or that particular organisation, is expressive of the determination of the supporters of this programme for the immediate formation of a Leninist communist party, a Bolshevik party. A party which has the task of organising and leading all the conscious workers against all the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties.

Thirdly - This programme was passed in the congress of an organisation that no serious political force can be indifferent towards the destiny, aims and the course of movement of Komala is not an intellectualist circle. Komala is not the organisation of some elements who have accidentally assembled together. Komala is an immense organisation, having the support of millions, with a clear history and an iron will, which cannot be recriminated by such labels as "practice-divorced intellectual", the "half-way supporters of the people" (!). The adoption of the "Programme of the Communist Party" in the Third Congress of Komala indicates that today communism in Iran is no longer a collection of coherent and radical beliefs but an immense social force. The pamphlet "The Summing-up of A Year of Armed Resistance" shows

Long Live the Communist Party of Iran!

4

that the Mojahedin Organisation too is amongst those forces who have been offended by the publication of the "Programme of the Communist Party", and the endeavour for the formation of the Party is not to their liking. "The First Officer and the Supreme Politico-Military Command of the People's Mojahedin Organisation of Iran" (and the future hope of the Mostazefan [the oppressed] of the world?)* has specifically tried, in the course of his detailed report, to blend his hostile position with accusations, labels and threats and also with the patriarchal attitude peculiar to the Mojahedin. Listen to this:

"Dear comrades, or, dear friends! The spirit of a nation is not a machine to be moved by shafts and pistons. The particular spirit and features of our society, too, are not determined and set in motion by you (i.e., us communists - Kargar-e-Komonist) and your intense and potent slogans. Is not the pitiful experience and the cretinous and ludicrous claims of the left-sounding opportunists** (...) enough? Ten years ago, they too had many misunderstandings as you have today. Among others, they thought that they had acquired the indisputable representation of the Iranian proletariat. They thought that they had to establish the communist party of Iran as soon and as urgently as possible. They thought that the petty-bourgeoisie had become proletariat! They thought that ..."

Pitiful experience! Cretinous claims! Ludicrous claims! The ever sooner and urgent formation of the communist party is a misunderstanding!

But the fact that such attacks flow out so freely and without any restrictions, shows that the Mojahedin's leadership has no misunderstanding, but, on the contrary, has profoundly grasped the point! Mojahedin's leadership knows and understands that now the formation of the communist party is a serious matter; it understands that the formation of the communist party is not to their advantage; it understands that a Bolshevik communist party will be a serious obstacle in the way of the distortion and reduction of the aims of the proletariat and revolution; it understands that a Leninist communist party will not permit the Mojahedin and co. to turn workers into the involuntary tool of their reformist policies. Mojahedin understand these; so must the workers.

Mr. Rajavi knows that the forces who today have resolved to form the Communist Party of Iran, have developed not in the continuation of the "left-sounding opportunists" (or, more simply, the populists) but in the course of struggle against them. He knows that the Programme of the Communist Party is not the outcome of the theoretical development of the "left-sounding opportunists" but the essence of a victorious struggle against them. He knows that the "left-sounding opportunists" who are so despised and cursed by him, have in practice shown that in aims and methods they have no serious difference with the Mojahedin; that they have never explicitly and clearly stood for socialism, and, furthermore, their intended socialism has not been anything other than the "Tohidae [Monotheistic] classless society" of the Mojahedin; and just as easily as Mojahedin give up the idea of the "Tohidae classless society", so they too turn their backs to their "socialism". Mr. Rajavi knows these, understands them and denies them. Instead of dealing with these facts, he is forced to hide the anger due to his weakness, behind a storm of abuse. But the question is not limited to abuse and slanders. Mojahedin are already promising that under their government we communists will be free, then and so far as, we firstly accept that their government is a free and democratic government and, secondly, stand by their version of "freedom".

"I heard that one of these groups has made a cri-

* Khomeini already being called the "present hope of the Mostazefan of the world"! - BM.

** A snide remark to the "Marxist-Leninist" faction which split from the Mojahedin Organisation in 1974 - BM.

ticism of the Council [the National Council of Resistance - BM] and the Programme of the provisional government and made some comments ...; and of course, once again, unfortunately (or fortunately!), from the standpoint of the proletariat and with the slogan of socialism! Again it is not clear to me how these gentlemen want to reach socialism by destroying the only democratic alternative at this stage. In any case, such claims bear little significance and few of our writings will be devoted to them in the whole process of our struggles. But while sincerely wishing that all the gentlemen really raise themselves to the level of the thought and practice worthy of socialism (of course not the socialism of Pol Pot), I say that if we (Mojahedin) were to believe, without any reason and social and practical proof, that whoever raised his voice and spoke from the standpoint of the so-called proletariat, is the real representative of the Iranian working class, in the same way, we would have to recognise Khomeini as the indisputable representative of God on earth and the Tudeh Party as the legitimate descendants of Marx and Lenin. But the bitter experience of both systems has taught us not to be so credulous, and for the same reason we have always been vigilant enough not to mistake the followers of the renegade Kautsky - including the Tudehiee and Aksarriatee twins - for the true successors of the Great men like Marx and Lenin. So far as you wish to become the social representatives of your opinions and beliefs, of course, there is nothing wrong with that; this is your right and on the condition that you stand by Iran's freedom and independence, you should be provided with all the democratic freedoms to establish yourselves and your beliefs ..."

If laughing was allowed in this country, at times storms of laughter would drown it. Amongst all these sad events, sometimes farcical incidents also take place. Yesterday, Hossein Rohani - the ex-Marxist Mojahed - was passing the verdict, on the Islamic Republic's television, that this regime is Islamic, and today, Mr. Rajavi - the monotheist Mojahed - has become the judge of who is the follower of Kautsky, and thus renegade, and who is the "legitimate descendant of Marx and Lenin"! Yesterday, Hossein Rohani was passing the judgement that the Islamic Republic regime is "popular", and today, Mr. Rajavi wants to determine who and which force is the representative of the proletariat!

Later on, without entering the argument over who is the indisputable representative of the gracious and merciful God on earth!, we shall deal with the point of who is the defender of the interests of the proletariat and why the Programme of the Communist Party is expressive of the aims and ideals of the working class. But let us first see why Mr. Rajavi has been offended by the Iranian communists? Why, in his view, the determination of communist revolutionaries for the formation of the Communist Party of Iran is a "misunderstanding"?

Mojahedin have been offended by the thought of the formation of the Communist Party because:

One - Mojahedin, like all the petty-bourgeois of the world, fear the class independence of the working class. Capitalism is a system whose motive force is the class struggle of the working class against the whole bourgeoisie. In such a system there always exists a social stratum which, by virtue of its particular position, oscillates between these two classes. On the one hand, it is threatened to bankruptcy and destruction by the big capital, and on the other hand, it is itself interested in the preservation of the capitalist system and the continuation of the exploitation of the working class. For this reason, the petty-bourgeoisie is prepared to resort to a political struggle against capitalist regimes provided that such a struggle does not destroy the whole capitalist system, i.e.,

← provided that it itself wields the harness of such a struggle. It is for this reason that when the working class becomes determined to struggle independently and against the entire capitalist system, it comes up against the barrier of the petty-bourgeoisie. The working class is admonished that such a struggle is "too left-wing", that the moment of struggle for the destruction of capitalism and the establishment of socialism has not yet arrived, that such a struggle damages the "people's unity", that the formation of fronts takes precedence to the party, that the time for the formation of the communist party has not yet come and that the determination to build the communist party is a misunderstanding.

It is for this reason that from Amaar Ozgan (the Algerian theoretician) to Rajavi, and from Rege Debres to the People's Fedaiien (Minority), all are opposed to the immediate formation of the communist party.

Two - At this historical juncture, in the context of the acutest world economic crisis, all the movements and agitations of the petty-bourgeoisie, throughout the world, have suffered defeat, i.e., reached their final conclusion. These movements have either been defeated as a political movement or, whenever they have become "victorious", they themselves have practically become the protectors of the same relations whose destruction they were advocating: from the inconclusive guerrilla warfare of Che Guevara in Bolivia to the continuation of capitalist relations in Angola, as a country dominated by imperialism, all demonstrate the intrinsic futility and sterility of these movements all over the world. Now the world working class is preparing to rise for the final battle against capitalism and imperialism and in this path it is trying to free itself from the grips of all the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois claiming to be the friends of the working class. The working class is learning that its emancipation can only be effected by itself and that the formation of the communist party is the precondition of this emancipation.

Three - People's Mojahedin have crept towards the bourgeoisie. Iranian workers are realizing that the "Tohidee classless society" is the same capitalist system in which the state is not allowed to levy taxation on the capitalists except with the permission of the "Bazaar Council", and workers are not allowed to strike except by the permission of the state! Workers are realizing that the "Tohidee classless army" that will gun them down tomorrow, is the same army of today which has been made "national and popular". They are realizing that the colonels of the Iranian army like the Moezzis and Farrokhs are those "Mojahed colonels", and the present regime's diplomats and high-ranking state authorities are the same "monotheist Mojaheds" who are allegedly going to free them from "oppression". Workers are realizing these and are showing their realization by separating from this organisation and by their profound desire for a really revolutionary organisation and for becoming organised in their communist circles.

Four - But the formation of the communist party is at the same time the end of the life of those currents who, up to now, in the name of communism, have tried to introduce Mojahedin as revolutionary and democrat and write in their praise. The formation of the communist party will no longer allow Mojahedin to pass off their friendship with another petty-bourgeois current as their democratism and profit from populist pettiness and narrow-mindedness.

The People's Mojahedin realize these points and that is why the formation of the communist party is not to their liking. Workers, too, must understand these points, agitate and propagandize them and welcome the formation of the communist party. We shall talk about the present tasks of communist workers in the building of the communist party, in this paper.

Let us deal with another point. Is it true that since, as Mr. Rajavi says, we "raise our voice and speak from the standpoint of the so-called proletariat, we are the real representatives of the working class"? The first question that arises is this: why don't the

5 Mojahedin themselves "raise their voice and speak from the standpoint of the proletariat"? The answer is that the Mojahedin essentially deny the existence of the working class as an independent class, having independent interests and in antagonism against the interests of other classes. For Mojahedin, society is divided into two sections of "Mostazefin" [the oppressed] who are Moslem and monotheist, and "Mostakberin" [the oppressors] who have deviated from the path of God. But this, which is the denial of the independent interests of the working class, has been the antiquated method of the capitalists in the course of the history of capitalism and in all the capitalist countries, for the deception of workers and the deviation of their struggle. The condition that an individual or a current is the representative of the proletariat, is that it believes that this society is a class society and that the working class has independent interests. This is only the necessary condition; but is not enough. A political current can be the representative of the working class only when it struggles against capitalism for the same reasons as the working class does by virtue of its objective position; when it fights for the aims and with the methods of the class-conscious proletariat.

In the Programme of the Communist Party we have clearly exposed the origin of poverty, destitution and all the oppressions befalling the workers. We have told the workers that the capitalist system is the basis of all these oppressions and have not like Mojahedin, attributed the origin of miseries to, for instance, a bad individual (Shah or Khomeini). We have shown the workers that the monarchist despotism or Islamic rule are the inevitable results of the capitalist system in this country and have warned them that any other capitalist regime too, (for example, the National Council of Resistance), would inevitably be despotic. We have shown the workers that to achieve freedom and democracy they must struggle against the capitalist system.

In the Programme of the Communist Party we have shown the workers why those who work have nothing and those who do not work own everything. The Programme of the Communist Party exposes the causes of the exploitation of the working class by the capitalists, and shows the way of emancipation of workers: Socialism!

The Programme of the Communist Party shows the workers that no force other than themselves can effect their emancipation and stresses that workers will be emancipated only when they become organised, form their united army and this army is led by a centre in which have assembled the most conscious, most experienced and most respected leaders of the workers; this centre is the communist party.

The Programme of the Communist Party teaches the workers that they are an international class. Their allies are the milliards of workers throughout the world. It shows them that they must fight for the same aim which all the workers of the world are fighting for, i.e., the overthrow of the capitalist system!

The Programme of the Communist Party is the identity of a current which has been fighting since 130 years ago - from the time of the Communist Manifesto - up to now; which has taken part in tens of revolutions, has guided the workers in the Paris Commune, has led the October Revolution, has set up workers' government, has formed tens and hundreds of workers' parties and organisations, has sometimes been victorious and sometimes been defeated, and each time has got up firmer and stronger.

The Programme of the Communist Party is the document of identity of a current which without any reduction and any concealment has set its aim a workers' government and now this current is becoming organised. The most conscious and active revolutionary workers and intellectuals are assembling to set up the single and nation-wide communist organisation, the communist party. Even the spectre of such an organisation sends shivers down the spine of the capitalists and all their aids and associates. They →

A brief history of the Toilers' Revolutionary Organisation of Iranian Kurdistan - Komala

In the first issue of the Bolshevik Message we gave a brief history of the formation and development of the Unity of Communist Militants, having as our reference the report of the Central Committee of the UCM to the First Congress. In the present issue of the paper we take a similarly brief look at the history of the "Toilers' Revolutionary Organisation of Iranian Kurdistan" - Komala.

★ ★ ★

The formation of Komala dates back to the autumn of 1969 when some Kurdish revolutionary intellectuals and advanced workers founded the organisation. The birth of Komala was in demarcation with revisionism, guerrilla warfare and petty-bourgeois nationalism. The founders of Komala formed the organisation after the defeat of the armed struggle of some Kurdish revolutionaries who had resorted to a series of armed operations, then prevalent among Iranian revolutionaries.

After the formation of Komala, its members and cadres set off towards the factories, work-places and villages for political activity and organisation among the workers and toilers and soon succeeded in drawing the support of large masses of workers and toilers towards themselves. But in 1974 many members of the Central Committee of Komala were arrested by the Shah's secret police, SAVAK, and imprisoned in Tehran, Isfahan and Sanandaj.

With the escalation of the struggles of the working masses throughout Iran in 1978, Komala took an active part in these struggles and obtained their leadership in many towns of Kurdistan.

The First Congress of Komala was convened in the late autumn of 1978. This Congress whose proceedings Komala later critically examined in detail, despite possessing many revolutionary points, was still unable to rid Komala of the chronic populism and Economism which were gripping it. Shortly after the Congress, and only a few days following the February 1979 Uprising, Komala publicly announced its declaration of formation for the first time. This was an important step in the life of Komala because in this way Komala declared its pledge and commitment for a consistent and continued struggle and presented itself as a revolutionary alternative in the arena of the political struggles.

Only 40 days after the February Uprising, the newly established counter-revolution launched its first attack against Kurdish workers and toilers who had not shown trust in the new regime and were imposing their own armed revolutionary authority throughout Kurdistan, by relying on the elementary forms of their mass organs. Conscious of the counter-revolutionary character of the Islamic regime from the outset, Komala, at the head of the revolutionary movement, resisted this attack of the regime

← execute the best elements of such a party - the revolutionary workers and intellectuals; they spread venom against it; they recriminate it; but their efforts are in vain!

We are many! And four years of intense class struggle and the amazing growth of the class-consciousness of the working class is the inexhaustible support for such a party. This party is being born!

F. PARTOW

January 1983

Kargar-e-Komonist No.5

6

magnificently. Six months later, in August 1980, workers and toilers of Kurdistan went through another trial in strength and revolutionary determination, when the Islamic Republic started a heavy offensive against Kurdistan. Komala mobilized all its energy and resources for a resolute resistance, demonstrating the tactical consistency of the communists in the struggle against the camp of counter-revolution.

The most important turning point in the life of Komala came in March 1981 when it held its Second Congress. This Congress deeply criticised the main ideological deviations dominant in Komala and formulated them as Populist Economism. The theoretical-political organ of Komala, Pishro (Vanguard), whose publication the Second Congress placed on agenda, later expounded the resolutions of the Congress. The Second Congress of Komala had a determining effect on the course and direction of development of the communist movement in Iran, reversing the ascending course of growth of the dominant populism, in favour of revolutionary Marxism. With the Second Congress, the most important communist organisation of Iran, which was leading a revolutionary-class war against the bourgeoisie for a long period and which enjoyed a mass base, acquired the programmatic principles of the communist party. This Congress had a direct effect on deepening the crisis of populism and in reducing the credit of the populist organisations. The simultaneous existence of the Programme of the UCM and the Resolutions of the Second Congress of Komala at that juncture, indicated that the necessary material for the definite defeat of populism had already been provided.

In its resolution concerning the unity of the communist movement, the Second Congress stressed the need for the existence of the communist party and considered the question of drafting a communist programme as the key link in the formation of the party:

"To secure the victory of the Iranian working class against the bourgeoisie, to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and to move towards communism, the existence of a Marxist-Leninist party is required that secures the ideological-political and organisational independence of the proletariat in all the spheres, stages and forms of its class struggle. The Iranian proletariat now lacks this militant organ of itself and hence the formation of the party constitutes the main task of the conscious vanguards of this class. At the same time, at the present conditions, the main link for the formation of the party is the drafting of programme."

(Resolutions of the Second Congress of Komala, March 1981, p. 22)

After the Second Congress, the practical endeavour for drawing up the programme of the communist party began. The sixth organisational conference of Komala in September 1981 assessed the Programme of the UCM as the only existing communist programme in Iran and assigned a number of the comrades to begin the necessary discussions with the UCM to prepare the first draft of the party programme. The final draft of the programme was approved in the Third Congress of Komala (1st of May 1982) and published as the Programme of the Communist Party. With the authority of the Third Congress behind the Programme, it was evident that communism in Iran was no longer merely a collection of coherent and radical beliefs but an immense social force. In the introduction to the "Resolutions of the Third Congress" Komala summarises the place and importance of the Congress:

"By adopting the 'Programme of the Communist Party', the Third Congress of Komala succeeded in taking the fundamental step in the way of putting an end to the ideological dispersion and organisational disunity among the Iranian communists and thus raising the banner of the

→

←

Leninist programme which no longer belongs merely to the Unity of Communist Militants and Komala but belongs to all the sincere and consistent communists and advanced workers of Iran. Also by adopting the 'Programme of Komala For the Autonomy of Kurdistan', this Congress most comprehensively formulated our programmatic and political gains on the question of Kurdistan and its particular conditions and thus provided a principled and firm basis for our daily agitation in Kurdistan."

(Resolutions of the Third Congress of Komala, May 1982, p.1)

In the continuation of the path which the Third Congress of Komala had begun, the First Congress of the Unity of Communist Militants, held in Sep-Oct. 1982, succeeded in reviving the particular traditions and methods of practice of the communists: the Leninist theory of organisation and communist methods of practice. The recently held plenum of the Central Committee of Komala also commits itself to the establishment of communist methods of practice in the ranks of revolutionary Marxism. Thus the period following the publication of the Programme of the Communist Party has been witness to the attempts of Komala and the UCM, as two forces belonging to a single party current, towards the revival and establishment of struggle in party fashion and the practical formation of the Communist Party of Iran.

Up to four years of resolute resistance against the attacks of the bourgeois counter-revolution has enabled Komala to achieve the leadership of the revolutionary movement in Kurdistan and the support of millions of the working masses. From the outskirts of Kermanshah to the northern peripheries of Oroomieh, Komala has been organising and leading the armed struggle of the toiling masses in Kurdistan against the Islamic Republic regime - this last shot of imperialism against communism and revolution in Iran. The existence of wide areas which have remained immune to the counter-revolutionary sway of the bourgeois state, thanks to the heroism and sacrifices of the communist Pishmargas of Komala, has granted quite exceptional facilities for the Party forces in the work of agitation and propaganda throughout Iran. The

"Voice of the Iranian Revolution", the Radio of Komala, which was established in the Summer of 1982, is an example of one of these gains, guarded by the armed strength of the communists of Iran.

But Komala is not merely a radical force of the revolutionary movement in Kurdistan. Komala is a nation-wide communist organisation whose aims, policies and organisational scale, go far beyond the locality of Kurdistan and the national-democratic movement. Komala, as a communist organisation and on the basis of its programme (the Programme of the Communist Party), has set its task the organisation of the Iranian proletariat for the socialist revolution and active participation in the advancement of the world revolution of the working class. Komala identifies itself with a world class movement which for more than one hundred and thirty years has been fighting for the aims of the Communist Manifesto.

Years of conscious struggle by Komala for the critique and rejection of non-proletarian impurities from the ranks of the proletariat; years of purposeful attempts to achieve and preserve the independent interests of the proletariat not only in Kurdistan but in the whole of Iran; and years of resolute resistance at the head of a mass movement against one of the most brutal bourgeois regimes in history, have truly placed Komala at the forefront of the forces of the Party Programme and made it the main force fighting for the formation of the Communist Party of Iran. Conscious workers of Iran have realized and are realizing this truth in their thousands; so must the workers of the world.

Amir

REFERENCES:

- 1- A text provided by the Supporters of Komala in Britain (comrade J).
- 2- Pishro, nos. 1 and 2, June and August 1981 respectively; an article entitled: "From the 1st Congress to the Second Congress".
- 3- Kargar-e-Komonist no.7 (30th April 1983), an article entitled: "Some points about the agitational tasks of the communists towards the revolutionary movement of the Kurdish people". (by comrade M. Hekmat).

With the arrest of the leaders of the Tudeh Party, Moscow and its allies change their tune !

The exposure of the counter-revolutionary policies of all state-capitalist regimes such as Russia, China and Albania, and the political parties affiliated to them, is one of the important and vital tasks of the Communists throughout the world. In the Programme of the Communist Party adopted by UCM and Komala in Iran it is stated that:

"One of the principal obstacles hindering the class struggle of the proletariat for socialism, is revisionism. Revisionism is an international phenomenon, and although it might assume a particular form and substance in each country, it essentially means departure from the fundamentals of the revolutionary theory and programme of Marxism-Leninism and its bourgeois falsification which, in the political sphere, means the negation of the class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Revisionists and the various revisionist parties which in different countries are the intellectual representatives and the agents of infiltration of the bourgeoisie into the ranks of the revolutionary movement of the working class, have no other role but to drive the proletariat under the domination of the

bourgeoisie. Hence, from the standpoint of the revolutionary proletariat, the struggle for socialism is not separate from the struggle against revisionism and its various forms."

And:

"The domination of revisionism over the Communist Party of Russia has resulted in the defeat and retreat of the world working class from one of its important bulwarks. Now the bourgeoisie in Russia has succeeded in destroying the dictatorship of the proletariat and reviving its own political rule in this country. The Communist Party of Russia has become a bourgeois party and the bourgeoisie, by relying upon it, has foiled the initial advance of the Russian proletariat towards the construction of socialism and has established state monopoly capitalism in this country. Russia is an imperialist country and the Russian bourgeoisie at the head of one of the world's imperialist camps endeavours to subjugate weak nations and preserve and consolidate its own position in the imperialist division of the world, by relying on aggressive and militarist policies, and at the same time, in order to preserve its rule over the proletariat of Russia and of its dominated countries and to divert the workers' and revolutionary movements throughout the world, it attempts to conceal its imperialist and counter-revolutionary nature under the name of socialism and Marxism, by relying on the revisionist falsifications of Marxism."

→

This communist task is not just a theoretical one and it is absolutely important to show to the world proletariat how these bourgeois currents and forces conduct deceitful and anti-working class policies in practice.

The recent arrest of the leaders of the Tudeh Party¹ in Iran, their statements and the reactions of their "brother" parties throughout the world is just another piece of evidence to this effect.

Since the recent arrest of the leaders of the Tudeh Party in Iran and their subsequent "confessions"² a wave of protest has begun by these forces and currents. To begin with are the supporters of the Tudeh Party abroad who have claimed that the "confessions" of their leaders were made after they were subjected to severe tortures and nerve breaking chemical and medical treatments. This statement is widely repeated and publicised by almost all pro-Moscow, so-called, "communist parties" throughout the world, including the "Communist" Party of Great Britain (CPGB), Italian "Communist" Party, "Communist" Party of Germany, "Communist" Party of France, "Communist" Party of USA, "Communist" Party of Spain, "Communist" Party of Sudan, "Communist" Party of Portugal, "Communist" Party of Chile, etc., and many large and small bourgeois associations*, as well as the Russian state and CP itself. (The Trotskyist Workers' Revolutionary Party in Britain, too, having supported the Islamic Republic to the hilt for many years, has now started to change its tune to suit the circumstances).

But the irony is that until only a few months ago the Tudeh Party was legal in Iran and it supported the Islamic Republic regime in every respect including the arrest, torture and execution of the opponents of this regime - mostly revolutionary and true communists. It claimed and stated time and time again that all those being arrested and killed were counter-revolutionaries and subversive elements and the puppets of Yankee imperialism³. The Tudeh Party had gone much further than this and was one of the active forces helping the Islamic Republic in its ceaseless attempts to identify its opponents. In Iran it is even widely known and evident that members of the Tudeh Party were actively participating in questioning the political prisoners - mainly the true communists - in the regime's prisons.

After the arrest of the members of the Tudeh Party, all these forces⁴ "suddenly" discovered that torture is used in the prisons in Iran and the political prisoners are subjected to chemical and drug treatments in order to break their resistance and force them to confess.

In other words, as though all these torture devices and chemicals had just been imported by the Islamic Republic regime to be used against the Tudeh Party members!

For the true communists and revolutionary elements - even for the humanitarians - it is not the first time that they hear about torture and oppression of the political opponents of the regime in Iran. Since the very first day of its coming to power, the Islamic Republic regime has been daily exposed by the communists, as a capitalist and counter-revolutionary regime; a regime which has used every means in order to accomplish its task in maintaining the rule of capital in Iran and in crushing the revolutionary movement of the workers and toilers in Iran and the region. And for those who had an ear to listen and an eye to see this is a well documented and established fact.

But this new example of the arrest and torture of the Tudehees must mainly be used by the communists and revolutionaries in Iran and throughout the world to show to the world proletariat that:

The Eastern bloc states and "communist" parties and their affiliated CP's and political organisations throughout the world are bourgeois and counter-

* See Rahe Tudeh (nos. 45 and 46, June 83), the publication of the supporters of the Tudeh Party abroad (in Persian).

revolutionary. Their international policies and connections are there to serve the bourgeoisie in Russia and only when the policies of a particular state in other parts of the world turn against them and their interests do they speak against this state, and of course, in order to pave the way for their future manoeuvres in that part of the world.

DOWN WITH REVISIONISM!

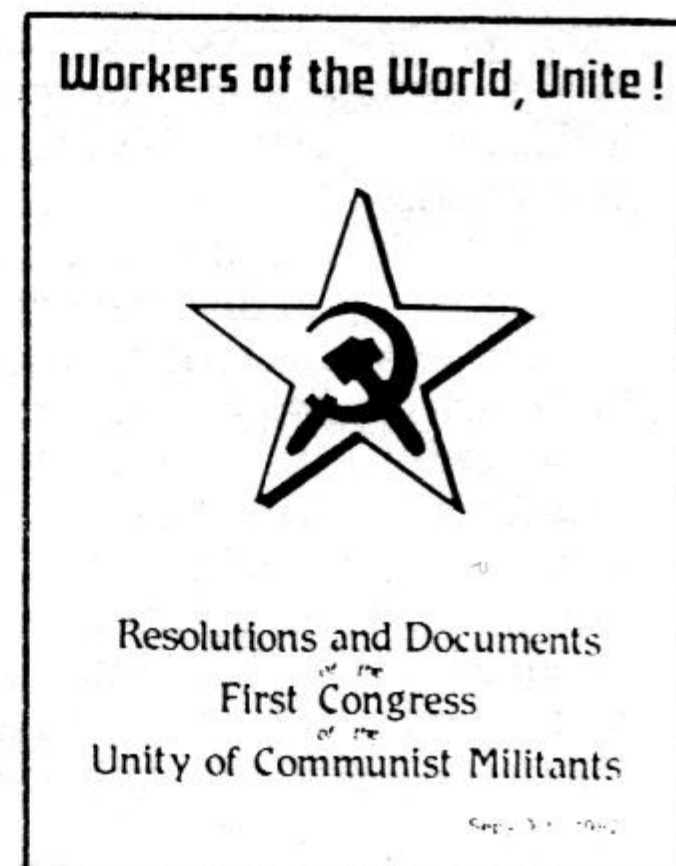
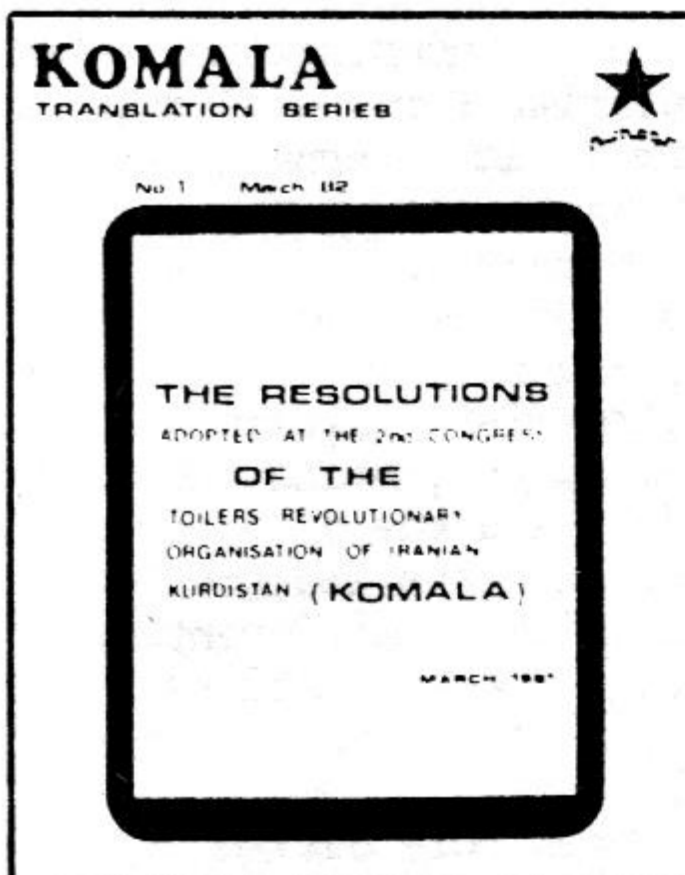
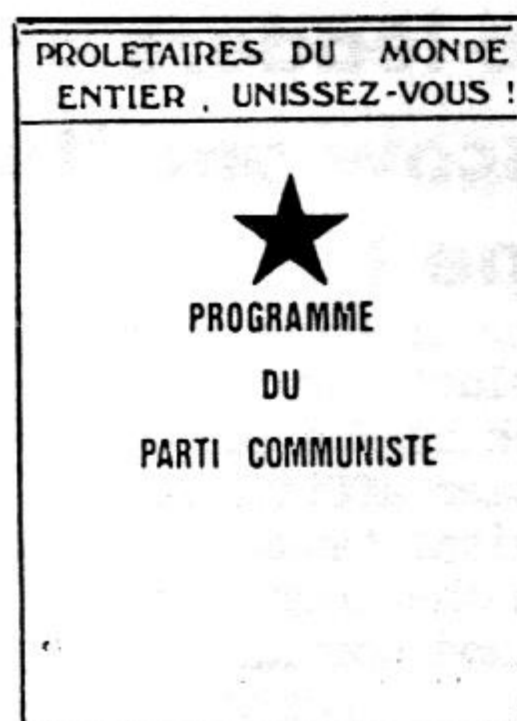
DOWN WITH THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC!

Jalal

NOTES

- 1- The official pro-Moscow party in Iran which has recently been dissolved by its leaders after their arrest by the Islamic Republic regime.
- 2- It is interesting to note that unlike some other political opponents of the Islamic Republic whose statements before and after their arrest and torture were different - i.e., they were against the Islamic Republic before their arrest, and after having been through the most brutal tortures in the prisons of capital in Iran, they pledged loyalty to the regime and praised it as "progressive and anti-imperialist", - the statements of the leaders of Tudeh Party in both cases were the same - i.e. before and after their arrest they expressed their loyalty to the I.R. and Khomeini!!
- 3- Other similar groups and parties like Fedaeen (Majority) also were conducting similar policies and activities in favour of the Islamic Republic and Khomeini.
- 4- Nowadays, the Moscow Radio (Persian Language programme), unlike the past 4 years which it used to praise the "anti-imperialist" and "popular" regime of Islamic Republic, is continuously talking about the inhuman and non-progressive policies of the regime in Iran.

READ KOMALA'S AND UCM'S PUBLICATIONS WHICH ARE AVAILABLE IN PERSIAN, KURDISH, ENGLISH, FRENCH AND GERMAN.



A Victory!

On 2nd May 83, 40 militant Iranian refugees initiated a sit-in and hunger strike in the office of the United Nations in Kerachi, in protest against the agreement reached between the Military regime of Pakistan and the Islamic Republic regime for the extradition of 250 Iranian refugees to Iran.

In a news letter dated 17th May 1983 and published by the Supporters of Komala in Pakistan, who were one of the main forces in the initiation and victory of this militant action, we read:

"In this victorious struggle they [the refugees - Ed] were not only able to attract world public opinion to the shameful agreement between the fascist regime of the Islamic Republic and the military regime of Pakistan about the extradition of the "convicts" but they also forced the Pakistani police and officials to deny the existence of such a conspiracy in their official negotiation with the United Nations and to assure them about the security of Iranian refugees. The Pakistani officials were also forced to deny the news about any attempts by the police to arrest and extradite 250 Iranian refugees back to the Islamic regime. Further, the refugees by starting an unlimited hunger strike forced the UN to give guarantees for transferring them to a third country if there were any dangers for the Iranian refugees in Pakistan, and also to provide facilities to improve the refugees' living conditions".

It must be noted that in the course of this militant action the office of the UN was practically closed.

In their news letter, the Supporters of Komala in Pakistan exposed the betrayals of the Supporters of Mojahedin acting under the cover of the "Centre for Refugees" who had not only refused to take part in the sit-in and hunger strike, but had also denounced this action of the militant refugees through their statement No. 1 dated 27th April 1983. The Supporters of the OIPFG (Minority)* also had tail-ended these liberals and in their statement dated 7th May 1983 expressed their unwillingness to take part in such actions because in their opinion it was not done in the proper way and through a formal invitation.

It must be mentioned that in support of this just and militant struggle of the refugees, some support groups were formed in Britain, Spain, France and Italy. Finally it is interesting to note that after the victory of the refugees' struggle, Mojahedin, in their paper "Mojahed", have claimed it as an achievement of their "activities". This is another piece of evidence demonstrating that with a bourgeois and liberal programme, Mojahedin have no alternative but to stand against the revolution and revolutionaries in practice.

We congratulate the militant refugee comrades for this victory, and especially send our warmest communist greetings to the comrades of Komala Supporters in Pakistan.

Bolshevik Message

* One of the 6 splits of the Fedaeen Guerilla Organisation.

WORLD NEWS

As the crisis of world capitalism deepens, the confrontation between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is also intensified. In different countries, this will take different forms and degrees of intensity. But the essence of the class struggle is the same everywhere: be it in the imperialist-dominated countries, or in the so-called socialist countries of the Eastern bloc; in Western imperialist countries with the right representatives of the bourgeoisie in power or in others having "left" and "socialist" governments. Inflation, cut-backs in social welfare, austerity measures, unemployment and oppressive policies, on the one hand, and the workers' struggles in different forms against all these miseries of capitalism, on the other, are the order of the day. The following news are just a very small fraction of what is happening daily throughout the world:

★ ★ ★

CLASS SOLIDARITY BETWEEN BELGIAN WORKERS

★ During last month we heard the news of the active and successful solidarity between the Belgian dustmen and fire-brigade workers against the bourgeois state and the army there.

The Belgian dustmen had gone on strike in a dispute with the government. As a result, loads of refuse had piled up in the streets and the army was called in to deal with the situation and clean up the streets so that the effect of the strike would be minimized. In a fantastic show of class solidarity, the Belgian fire-brigade workers stood against the army and used their water cannons in order to push back the army. The army had to retreat as the workers stood firm. When we add the heroic struggle of the Belgian steel-workers last year - which was sectionized and led to defeat by the unions - to this new example of workers' struggle in Belgium, then it becomes evident that:

a) Capitalism in Belgium is one of the worst hit by the world crisis in the western imperialist camp and hence the bourgeoisie has to take austerity measures more severely than in most of the other similar countries. This has resulted in the workers' fight-back and probably we will witness more militant struggles from the Belgian workers in the near future.

b) That the European workers are neither defeated nor passive. And even in the absence of a leading true communist party, their class instinct can produce such examples of class solidarity.

c) These objective conditions provide the best grounds for the development of proletarian ideas and organisation. An organisation and party which will lead and generalize all aspects of the struggle of the workers to the one common international goal - communism. We look forward for the day when the Belgian workers will throw away the most rotten garbage of the history - i.e., capitalism.

WORKERS' STRUGGLE IN CHILE

★ In the recent months, we have witnessed an escalation in the workers' struggles in Chile. Workers have taken to the streets expressing their discontent and anger against the austerity and suppression which capitalism imposes on them everyday. The protest marches of the workers in the south of Santiago, and street protests against the bourgeois military government of Chile in June and many other protest actions, show the extent of their militancy and readiness to rise against the rotten system of capitalism. The government of Pinochet has responded by shooting and rounding up workers. As for us, we consider it our task and the task of all the communists throughout the world to:

(a) Solidarise with the daily struggles of the Chilean workers against the bourgeois regime of

Pinochet;

(b) to point out, at the same time, that these struggles will not be victorious if they are not led by a truly independent party of the working class, as it was the case in Iran 4 years ago. History of the world working class has revealed that when the struggle of the workers is led by any other leadership - as it seems to be the case in Chile at present with the trade unions in control of the movement - it is doomed to fail.

BOURGEOISIE ALWAYS BLAMES AND ATTACKS THE IMMIGRANT WORKERS FOR RISING UNEMPLOYMENT AND USES THEM AS SCAPEGOATS IN ITS OWN INTERESTS IN TIMES OF CRISIS

★ The West German government has recently launched a repatriation programme for the unemployed immigrant workers. This scheme which is likely to be enforced from October 1st, will apply to workers from non-EEC countries such as Turks, Yugoslaves, and those from North African countries. The German government has proposed to pay a premium of 10,500 Marks (£2600) to every such worker and an extra 1500 Marks (£375) for each child, provided that they will never come back to Germany. For the initial 19000 workers the government will pay a total of 220 million Marks (£50 million) - part of their wages of the employment time - in this "incentive", but it will save 320 million Marks (£80 million), on the unpaid social benefits of these workers by the end of 1987.

WORKERS' STRIKE IN THE SO-CALLED SOCIALIST YUGOSLAVIA AGAINST THE MISERIES OF CAPITALISM.

★ At least 600 building workers went on strike in June in Yugoslavia's Kosovo region. The strike broke out at several sites of the Ramiz Sadika building works in the Kosovo capital of Pristina and the town of Podujevo. According to one of the directors at the building site the workers had complaints over wages.

AUSTERITY IS ALL THAT "LEFT-WING" AND "SOCIALIST" GOVERNMENTS OF CAPITALIST COUNTRIES CAN GIVE TO THE WORKERS IN TIMES OF CRISIS!

★ Portugal's new centre-left government has started its anti-working class policies by implementing tough austerity measures. From June 24th, consumers (i.e., workers mostly) have had to pay from 15 to 40 percent more for basic foods such as bread, sugar, milk, cereals and cooking oil. This new wave of attack by the bourgeoisie on the workers' standard of living has pushed the workers to fight for higher wages. According to reports, Portugal's railway workers have been on strike for 12 days on a demand for a 17 percent pay rise. This recent strike has just ended, with the management accepting the workers' demands.

BOURGEOISIE ATTACKS THE FRENCH WORKERS BY ITS "SOCIALIST" PARTY IN POWER.

★ According to the French minister for finance, France's new austerity measures will put 100,000 more people out of work. This is under conditions where unemployment in France has already gone over 2 million - i.e., 8.5 percent of the work-force.

DENIAL OF THE RIGHT TO STRIKE IN GREECE

★ On 1st June 1983, a bill was to be voted on in the parliament of Greece. Article 4 of the bill says that

a strike call in the public sector can only be effective if supported by an absolute majority of all union members, while a strike decision at confederation level by an absolute majority of representatives of constituent unions may be challenged by the leadership or 10% of the members of one of the member unions. The presentation and implementation of this bill will mean in practice the denial of any right of the workers to strike and an imposition of conditions where the workers will be forced to submit to low levels of subsistence and higher austerity.

from p.12

against the regime's forces. Finally these victorious operations ended around 8 o'clock at night. Throughout the day the forces of the regime stationed in the garrison, despite the existence of more than 60 bases inside the town, callously fired mortar shells onto the town of Mahabad as a result of which 10 people were killed.

A number of munitions were seized by the Pishmargas. In this battle 6 Komala's Pishmargas lost their lives.

2/5/83

★ On 9th May 83 Pishmargas of Komala took control of a section of the Baneh-Sardasht road between the two bases of "Beeks" and "Darsavin" and arrested an army sergeant. They also broke up the attack of the forces of the Islamic Republic which started from the two bases of "Kookhan" and "Hoorazeh" towards the place where the Pishmargas were stationed and made them retreat.

OTHER NEWS

(Extracted from "Communique no. 18")

11th May 1983

★ On this day the Central Committee of Komala announced in a communique to the elements of the Tudeh Party who had fled from the forces of the Islamic Republic into Kurdistan, as refugees, to report themselves to Komala's bases in the liberated areas in order to be able to work and live in these areas. This principled and correct policy is exercised in case of all those who take refuge in the liberated areas from the hands of the Islamic Republic regime. It is clear that if these elements decided to live underground and carry out their activities - i.e., collaboration with the Islamic Republic regime - we would deal with them in the same way as we have dealt with spying-networks of the Islamic Republic regime which have so far been formed twice in Kurdistan and discovered and neutralised by Komala's Pishmargas.

We have tested the correctness of the policy of security for the lives of the refugees in practice and will continue treating the refugees in a revolutionary and humanitarian way. At the present moment, a large number of people who had previously cooperated with the Islamic Republic and even prisoners who were arrested in the battles and then freed from Komala's prisons, are working and living in the liberated areas.

★ Two groups of women and men Pishmargas were armed in "Sardasht" on 2/5/83. Another group was armed in Mahabad on 1/5/83.

★ Eight prisoners of war who were in Komala's prisons were freed on 29/4/83.

★ A spying-network of the Islamic Republic regime was discovered by Komala's Pishmargas in "Sooma-Baradoost" and 3 of its elements executed. This is the second network which has been discovered during last year.

★ ★ ★

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!

Translated works of the UCM

- 1- The Iranian Revolution and the Role of the Proletariat (Theses)⁺, M. Hekmat, H. Taghvayee (Yashar), M. Hooman, (November/December 1978).
- 2- Manifesto of the UCM (What it says, and what political system it is fighting for in the present situation)^{**}, U.C.M., (February 1981).
- 3- Programme of the UCM ^{**}, U.C.M., (March 1981).
- 4- The 1st of May and the Tasks of the Iranian Workers^{**▲}, U.C.M., (May 1981).
- 5- Manifesto of the UCM About the "Present Situation, its Perspectives and the Tasks of the Communists"^{*}, U.C.M., (June 1981).
- 6- The Content of the Victory of the Democratic Revolution of Iran, M. Hooman, P. Azad, M. Hekmat, (July/August 1980).
- 7- The Myth of the National and Progressive Bourgeoisie (No.1), M. Hekmat, (May 1979).
- 8- The Myth of the National and Progressive Bourgeoisie (No.2), M. Hekmat, (April 1980).
- 9- Populism in the Minimum Programme: A Critique of "What the Fedaeen-e-Khalgh Say", M. Hekmat, (January 1981).
- 10- War, Theory and the "Theory of War", M. Hekmat, (October 1980).
- 11- Social-Chauvinism: Razmandegan Under the Banner of Kar 59, N. Javid, (October 1980).
- *12- Anarcho-Pacifism: Paykar with the Wooden Sword. F. Partow, N. Javid, (October 1980).
- 13- About the Manifesto "The Invasion of the Iraqi Regime and Our Tasks"⁺, M. Hekmat, (October 1980).
- 14- "Programme of the Communist Party" adopted by Komala and the UCM.^{**■} (May 1982).
- 15- Resolutions and Documents of the First Congress of the Unity of Communist Militants,^{*} (September/October 1982).
- 16- Two Factions within the Bourgeois-Imperialist Counter-Revolution, M. Hekmat, (part 1 July 1980, part 2 August 1980, part 3 January 1981).
- 17- The Question of Women is a Question of Workers^{**}, K. Davar, (March 1982).
- 18- Why Mojahedin are Offended by the Formation of the Communist Party?^{**F}, F. Partow, (January 1983).

* Also available in Fench.

+ Also available in German.

** Already published in French and German.

■ Also available in Kurdish.

▲ Also available in Turkish.

We would like to thank the following for their donations and contributions:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| • Charlie and friends (Britain) | For their valuable assistance and solidarity |
| • Dr. M. (Germany) | For his medical assistance and a supply of medicine which was sent to Komala's hospitals |
| • Morteza Moshiri (Britain) | For his technical assistance |
| • Rashid (Britain) | A contribution of £270 |
| • Sahand (Britain) | A contribution of £ 10 |
| • Farid (Britain) | A contribution of £ 6 |
| • Hamed (Switzerland) | A contribution of 30 Francs |
| • Comrades in Wales (Britain) | For all their help and contributions |
| • Jamshid (Britain) | For his artistic assistance |
| • Barbad (Britain) | For his artistic assistance |

We the SUCM-Abroad take full responsibility for all the translations, articles, news, etc., in the Bolshevik Message.

Our address:

**BM Box 3004,
London WC1N 3XX,
England.**

LATEST ENGLISH TRANSLATION



Translation Series, No 13
May 1983

TWO FACTIONS

Within the Bourgeois-Imperialist
Counter-Revolution

Unity of Communist Militants

[Ettehad-e-Mobarezan-e-Komunist]

59 MILITANTS EXECUTED IN MAHABAD

During the last 4 years the Islamic Republic regime has not refrained from any violent action in the suppression of the just struggles of the Kurdish masses: from extensive arrests and deportation of the families to horrific bombardments and massacres in the towns and villages of Kurdistan.

In the continuation of its intensified attacks in Kurdistan, in order to make up for its defeats in the battle fronts, the Islamic Republic regime of Iran is now carrying out a horrific wave of murders on an extensive scale.

On 2nd June 1983, 59 people of Mahabad were executed. Some of the executed had previously been sentenced to 3 to 10 years' imprisonment by the Islamic Republic courts. But they, too, were executed to complete these murders, the Islamic Republic regime put on show a few scenes of this mass and horrific execution on Mahabad television on the same night.

Also, on 28/5/83, 12 families in Mahabad were deported and 37 other families were threatened with deportation. At present the town of Mahabad is going through an atmosphere of horror, fear, anger and hatred towards the regime and is witnessing protests and sit-ins.

To protest against this action of the regime

and also to commemorate the 59 executed, 7th of June 83 was announced by Komala and other forces to be a day of closure of all the factories, offices, schools, bazaars and other institutions in Kurdistan.

As we were going to press, we heard that this action had successfully been carried out all over Kurdistan.

★ ★ ★

Today the Kurdistan of Iran is passing through critical moments and every action by communist and revolutionary organisation and individuals would be effective in opposing these reactionary actions of the regime.

We appeal to every communist and revolutionary organisation and individual to:

(1) Condemn this reactionary action of the Islamic Republic regime of Iran (By publishing this news etc.).

(2) Send solidarity messages to the people of Kurdistan and Mahabad.

(3) Send donations and medicines for the hospitals of Komala.

ADDRESS FOR CORRESPONDENCE :

1- POSTFACH 800107, 5000 KÖLN 80, WEST GERMANY.

2- BM BOX 3004, LONDON, WC1N 3XX, ENGLAND.

BANK ACCOUNT FOR DONATIONS:

KOMALA ACCOUNT, ACCOUNT NO. 03930114, NATIONAL WESTMINSTER BANK LTD. (50-41-07), LONDON W1.

News from Kurdistan

The news below have been extracted and compiled from the communiqués (nos. 18-20) and Telex communiqués by comrade Yosef Ardalan, the Representative of Komala abroad.

ATTACKS BY THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC REGIME

During May 1983 the regime attacked the towns of "Sanandaj", "Sardasht", "Laylakh" and "Saghez".

★ On the 29th April 1983 the government forces started an extensive offensive from the two fronts of (Bayn-choop-Kochak charmak) and (Bazi Rava-Gazan) 50 kilometers north of Sanandaj. This attack was met by the reciprocal resistance and offensive of Komala's Pishmargas. In this battle which continued until the 2nd May 1983, the government forces suffered great losses despite being equipped with more than 1500 guards, tens of mortar shells, and 50-calibre machine-guns and four helicopters. In this battle at least 160 of regime's forces have been killed and one helicopter destroyed with its two crews killed but the Pishmargas took possession of its contents which included a considerable amount of munitions.

★ Comrade Abdolkarim Shafeye, one of the supporters of Komala who had been arrested two years ago and most savagely tortured by the Islamic Republic regime during this period, was executed by the regime.

7 May 1983

★ 9th May 83 - The forces of the Islamic Republic

regime including Jashs, Pasdaran and the army attacked the village of "Goriche" in the "Barpelle-e-Saral" area and were met by the reciprocal offensive of Komala's Pishmargas. After seven hours of heavy fighting the forces of the regime were forced to retreat. At least 30 of regime's forces were killed in this confrontation. The bodies of some of them were left behind including the body of the famous Jash of the area. Pishmargas took possession of many munition and medicine. None of the Pishmargas were injured in the battle.

KOMALA'S OFFENSIVES

During May 1983, Komala's Pishmargas have confronted the forces of the Islamic Republic regime and made advances in the following areas: "Mahabad", "Bookan", "Oshnoviyeh", "Sanandaj", "Sardasht", "Saghez" and "Marivan".

★ Komala Pishmargas succeeded in carrying out an extensive operation named the "Sharifzadeh Operation" inside the city of Mahabad in commemoration of the anniversary of the death of Esmael Sharifzadeh.

On this day at about 11am Komala Pishmargas first took control of the area "Koochehayeh Hashtmetry" situated between the garrison and the town. They took control of all the roads into the town so that the communications between the garrison and the town were completely cut off such that munition and military aid could be transported from the base to the town only by helicopters. During the battle, Pishmargas' strength and efficiency were greatly increased by the support they received from the people. A number of youth of the town took up arms and fought together with and alongside their comrade Pishmargas

→ P.10

Victory to the Revolutionary Movement of Kurdish Masses !