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RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE GULF WAR

During the past few weeks, the Iran-Iraq war has obtained a new escalation. Following the bombardment of a Saudi tanker by Iranian planes, assault on oil tankers and merchant ships has become a new element in the war, and up to now about a dozen ships have been hit. Western correspondents report the incidents as though once again, the unbridled regime of the Islamic Republic has caused problems for the West. They remind the public how the peaceful tendencies of the West are portrayed by the Islamic regime as weaknesses and that the moment has come for the West to strengthen its military might in the Gulf to prevent the regime from playing such games.

But such an analysis is too superficial and journalistic. The truth of the matter is that the recent developments have taken place at a time when general protest against the war and the tendency to end the war is growing among the people in Iran. Everywhere, the masses are openly declaring their anger and protest; news received from many factories speak of workers heroically resisting the regime's demands for war-tributes for the capitalist war. Recently in Rasht, a city in the north of Iran, angry people stopped number of coaches taking new victims to the abattoirs of the war, and freed their teenagers from the hands of the murderous agents of the regime. Everyday, more youngsters refuse to go to the war fronts. The regime's agents hold funeral processions for the war victims less frequently, since every funeral is inciting a new wave of anger and discontent among the people. The deprived people are fed up with the war. In one word, the present situation in the war, could no longer divert the popular discontent against the war and there is no longer any voluntary desire among the people to join the war fronts. But at the same time the continuation of the war is the only remaining weapon of demagogy in the hands of the regime. Old demagogies have lost their effectiveness for the regime in the suppression of the masses.

The Islamic Republic regime has to provide a new pretext for the war to fan nationalist and chauvinist sentiments and illusions among the masses. It is precisely for this reason that the regime has seemingly widened the dimensions of the war and given it an international character, and now claims about waging war against other local states, the USA, and the West. The ruling clique in Iran now makes propaganda that it is no longer only Iraq that is fighting against Iran but that a whole spectrum of states in the Gulf, as well as the USA

and Western imperialism, are preparing themselves for war against Iran and in favour of Iraq. No doubt, this is another attempt to make up a cause for a greater number of people to enlist for the regime's summer offensive. On the other hand the fact that the other forces in the region, because of certain considerations, are not yet prepared to participate militarily in the war, and have so far limited themselves to diplomatic condemnations alone, and the fact that the Western alliance lacks a concerted policy on Iran - because of the particular interests of the countries involved - has given more room to the Iranian regime to manoeuvre, and also emphasises the point that these countries too are aware of the significance of the recent events for the Iranian regime. Contrary to what the bourgeois correspondents speculate, the recent events are not necessarily the prelude to a new war in the region, but are a new weapon in the hands of the regime for drawing greater numbers of the people to the war fronts, to continue its parasitic existence at the cost of the blood of tens of thousands of toiling people.

There is no doubt that the Islamic Republic's recent manoeuvres in the Gulf have definite economic repercussions for world capitalism; but today in Iran and the region the question of economics is a function of the political situation. In other words, the political stabilisation of the region, i.e., the suppression of the workers and toilers of the region, has much greater priority for the world bourgeoisie.

At the moment the future of any change in the situation of the Islamic Republic is uncertain for Western imperialism. Any move from above could unleash a mass movement from below and once more the question of political power could be put forward in the arena of class struggles. Since as

P. 11

Inside

MINERS' STRIKE IN BRITAIN	P. 2
LEBANON, PALESTINIANS AND ...	P. 8
INTERVIEW WITH COMRADE ALIZADEH	P. 6
NEWS FROM IRAN	P. 15

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE !

MINERS' STRIKE IN BRITAIN

'Coal Not Dole' - not the workers' demand!

The news of the miners' strike in Britain has gone beyond the boundaries of the country and has become one of the questions which have attracted the attention of the workers and people of the world. There is no newspaper that has not devoted at least one article about this question. The reason for this worldwide attention is that this strike is a mass strike waged by industrial proletarians - one of its strong sections - in the oldest capitalist and imperialist country of the world, at the height of the the most profound and longest crisis of the capitalist world so far, and against the effects of the crisis, i.e., mass unemployment for millions of workers.

This strike which began 13 weeks ago from the Yorkshire area of Britain, has now embraced more than 120,000 miners throughout Britain. During this period, the heroic miners, by organising immense and mass pickets at the gates of the mines which are still operating and in front of the steelworks (which have vital need for coal to keep the furnaces constantly warm), have forced the government to take off the mask of democracy and show its real class face. The paramilitary operations by the police whose numbers at the factory gates have at times reached several thousands, attacks on the picket lines and demonstrators and their daily arrest, the interrogation of the arrested miners about their political views, the controlling of the roads and motorways leading to the mines and demonstration sites, ... all these pressures have failed to dent the resolve of the miners to continue their struggle. The miners have ignored the famous Tebbit(1) Law on reducing the number of pickets to 6, which was passed last year, and showed that the power of working-class solidarity can break the sacred laws of the capitalists even in the conservative Britain. The strikers showed such a determination to struggle that the courts and the managers did not dare call on the police to enforce the decrees which the judges of bourgeois justice had issued against the strikers. They forced the capitalist media - from papers such as the 'Daily Express' to 'Sun', and the Radio and Television - to clearly display their real anti-working class nature and expose themselves before all workers by the extensive propaganda that they carried out against the strikers. In this struggle the miners' families have also actively participated, and by organising strikers' defence committees, raising money and collecting food for the strikers, and by their direct presence at the picket lines and in the demonstrations, have shown that the strength of the working class is not limited to the employed workers alone, but embraces the rest of the workers as well, including the workers' families and even children. With such heroism and gains, this strike really deserves the attention of the world's workers and revolutionaries.

For the communists, this strike is also important because it is a typical strike out of the immediate struggles of the workers in the metropolitan countries against the hardships that capitalism causes. Communists must pay particular attention to this strike. Firstly, so that they can impart correct working-class and communist slogans and leadership over this movement and similar struggles, in opposition to reformist and bourgeois leadership and slogans; and secondly, because this strike has put to test all the organs and groups which in

different ways relate themselves to the workers.

A glance at the news in the media and the press, or the official organs and publications of the various right and left parties, reveals that the indisputable leadership of this strike is in the hands of the National Union of Mineworkers - the NUM. The NUM's policy in this strike, its interpretation of the cause of the strike, the demands and slogans that it puts before the miners in this struggle, and the tactics that it calls on them to adopt, is a typical trade-unionist policy which has been more or less accepted and taken up by most of the left currents. Here we are not concerned with the small anarchist and semi-anarchist currents who define the workers' demands and slogans in this struggle as a communist revolution and an international general strike, and whose positions have no effects on the course of the struggle and its results. Although we can show the common basis of the seemingly oppositionist views of these currents with the position of the NUM and the lefts.

1- THE QUESTION OF MINERS IS BEING POSED IN A WRONG AND BOURGEOIS FRAMEWORK

In all the writings of the NUM and the left forces, the decision of the National Coal Board to close a large number of the pits and make tens of thousands of workers unemployed, has been attributed to the evil tendencies of Mr. Mc Gregor (the chairman of the National Coal Board who is American and this point is stressed quite a lot by the NUM and the lefts. As though, a British boss would be better than an American one), his hostility with the miners, and the policies of the ruling Conservative Party to destroy the nationalised industries and break the backs of the workers' movement in Britain, etc. As though if these factors did not exist, if Mr. Mc Gregor was from Yorkshire, or if, for example instead of the Conservatives, the Labour Party was in power, the question of making workers redundant would not arise! But the truth is something else. We are living in a capitalist society. A system in which the wealth produced by millions of workers, who are the immense majority of the society, is taken away by an insignificant minority, i.e., the capitalists and the owners of the means of production. In this system, production is for commodity, for sale, and for profit. If the production of a commodity is not profitable under this system, the capitalists and their state would reduce the production of that commodity or stop it altogether and make workers unemployed. The most important feature of this system is its periodical crises. After a period of capitalist boom (when unemployment is low, wages are relatively high and the workers' living standards are not under immediate threats), a period of crisis begins. The anarchy in the production of the previous period brings with it the bankruptcy and destitution of the crisis period. The capitalist economy becomes constricted. Many factories go bankrupt and close down; millions of workers become unemployed (not only in mines but in all branches of industry) and their standard of living, the social welfare, the national health, etc., receive severe attacks by the capitalists and their state, in order to prevent the fall in the profitability of capital. If the workers are not able to carry out an organised struggle with their independent class slogans

and programme (relying on the gains of the past generations of workers throughout the world) against the capitalists and capitalism, the capitalist states, in the continuation of their deadly rivalries for the control of the labour and commodity markets and in order to knock out the other rivals, will drag the whole world to war, using millions of workers and their families as cannon-fodder and destroying their towns and cities. They will thus provide the grounds for another round of accumulation of capital for the remaining section of the capitalists who have become stronger. All the events throughout the world, the closure of factories, the unemployment of millions of workers in all countries, local capitalist wars, the offensive by the capitalists and their states to reduce the living standards of the workers - in Britain, through the Conservative Party in power, in France with its so-called socialist government, in Poland with its so-called socialist system and the so-called workers' state, in Iran under the suppression of the bourgeois-religious government of the Islamic Republic, etc. - all reaffirm this truth. Capitalist crisis engulfs all countries and all branches - from U.S.A. to Britain; from Russia to China and Albania; from the mines to the docks and steelworks; from state-controlled industries to the private sector. The danger of closure of 70 coal-mines in Britain and the unemployment of 70,000 miners by 1988, can only be examined within this framework. The whole art of the capitalists, their states, their newspapers, their radio and television, and all those currents who do not wish to harm the capitalist system, is to hide the above facts from the working class. The NUM does the same. In the introduction of the pamphlet entitled 'Coal not Dole' which is the Manifesto of the NUM for this round of the miners' struggle, we read:

"The government and NCB are determined that 70,000 jobs and 70 pits will go. With them will go our villages. They are trying to destroy the nationalised industry past generations fought for."

In all of this 10-page pamphlet these points are repeated over and over again in different forms. But there is no word of the fact that the miners' redundancy threats are part of a general danger which threatens the whole working class not only in Britain but throughout the world; and the fact that their struggle must be part of a more general struggle, and their slogans and demands part of the general class slogans of the whole class today against this attack of capitalism on the workers. The first page of the NUM programme ends with this bourgeois-nationalist demand: 'Coal for the country, not dole for the miners'. We shall return to this point later.

2- WRONG DEMANDS AND WRONG SLOGANS!

Throughout the NUM's manifesto, i.e., the pamphlet 'Coal not Dole', it is attempted to present the question of miners' unemployment separate from the unemployment of all workers whether in Britain or throughout the world. The demands and slogans which are presented are demands which are concerned only with saving the British miners from the danger of unemployment. Three clauses of demands which the NUM has put forward and drawn the miners' behind them, are the following:

"1- Instead of starving the industry of funds, Government should pay subsidies per tonne at least at the level of other European coal industries.

3 *The money that goes into redundancies and closures should go into production.*

2- Imports should be stopped. Where coals, such as anthracite, are not presently available in great enough quantities, investment should be undertaken to produce them.

3- Exports should be increased. Europe is supposed to be self-sufficient in energy. Yet it imports over 70 million tonnes of coal, including large quantities from South Africa!"

Besides these demands, there are also other welfare demands and reforms in the conditions of work and production of the miners which have been presented ambiguously. But we shall consider these three demands which have greater importance:

1- In a capitalist society, attempts to keep the bankrupt and non-profitable factories open is not the task of the workers. This is not the slogan around which the workers must organise. Since if these factories were profitable the capitalists themselves and their state would do their best to keep them open. This demand is only an illusion; it deviates the workers' struggles and gives them a bourgeois conception of the question of unemployment. This demand makes the workers have the illusion that as though with some good management or reform and without fundamental changes in the capitalist system it is possible to achieve full employment; as though unemployment is not the product of the capitalist system but the result of some bad policies and management! A look at



Without correct slogans, even mass demonstrations of workers will finally end in defeat.

other branches of industry in Britain itself and the mining industry in other countries of Europe shows that the closure of factories, the closure of mines, and mass unemployment of millions of workers, is the general feature of our epoch and not a case particular to the coalfields. Workers must know that in a capitalist society - whether the state is the boss and owner of the factories, as for example in Britain with some branches of industry, such as mining, under state ownership, or in Russia and China where the state owns most branches; or whether the industry is mainly privately owned - they will not win anything from the struggle to keep the bankrupt and non-profitable factories and mines open and only their fighting energy will be used up.

2- The demand to curb imports and increase the export of coal is an explicit bourgeois-nationalist demand, which can also be used by the capitalist states to justify the escalation of wars over the appropriation of new labour and commodity markets. This demand which previously was put forward by the Trades Union Congress (TUC) in its more general form as "Buy British and Save Jobs", views the

LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM !

← effects of the world crisis of capitalism from the standpoint of a small capitalist. The slogan of small capitalists who cannot compete with their bigger rivals in world markets is always reduction in imports and increase in exports. By presenting this demand, the NUM which comes forward as a prudent capitalist, is only deceiving the workers. Workers must know that for capital and capitalism, the production of commodities (of whatever kind) must make the highest possible profits. Production is for profit. Investment will be made where the cost of production is less than other areas and hence where profitability is high. If the coal produced in Britain is cheaper, then the capitalist state will keep the mines open and its world rivals will be left behind. But if the produced coal is more expensive in Britain, then how is the NUM going to sell its goods in the scene of world rivalries? You see! When organisations which claim to be the leaders of the workers' struggles try to play the role of the capitalists and their states and speak in their language, they will encounter the same unsolvable problems as these capitalists do and will fall into contradictions. The NUM is bankrupt even as a capitalist!

On the other hand, let us suppose that the miners in Germany, Poland, U.S.A., Africa, Asia, etc., all took up this programming masterpiece of the NUM in Britain. They will regard the sale of their "own" coal in the world market as the solution of unemployment! Then the capitalists will celebrate! Because in order to sell their 'own' coal, workers must work harder everyday, produce cheaper coal (to beat the rivals), and hence become more exploited, and this is precisely what the capitalists of each country want. The solution to the problems of the workers is not to advise the capitalists where and how to invest and thus exploit the workers' labour-power better and more efficiently! It is not to act as advisers and consultants to the capitalists about the sale of the produced commodities, and it is not to compete with each other (whether at the national or international level). Their task is to unite with each other against the capitalists. A unity to force the hardships of capitalism's crisis, including unemployment, on the shoulders of the capitalists and not themselves. A unity whose final aim is the destruction of capitalism - the cause of unemployment and all the miseries of the working masses throughout the world.

It is not surprising that with such slogans as have been presented on behalf of the miners, the support for the miners has not been so effective even in Britain. Where the other unions have been forced to declare support for the miners, this support has been more of a token gesture and symbolic rather than effective support. A main reason for lack of wide-scale and mass support for the miners by other workers, is precisely the existence of such trade-unionist and nationalist demands in the ranks of the mineworkers. The rest of the workers cannot really see the miners' struggles as their own. Under such conditions why should a worker from the textiles, plastics, shipbuilding, or food industry, support a struggle whose slogan is to keep the pits open? Why should the unemployed workers sympathize with the miners and support their struggle when in all of the demands of the miners there is not a single word about them? The mineworkers in Britain must know that as the capitalist crisis brings the closure of factories, the unemployment of millions of workers, the reduction of their living standards and cuts in their wages will not be in one branch of industry or in one country but in all branches and in all countries, the fight against unemploy-

4 ment too cannot be waged by the working class in one sector alone.

3- CORRECT AND GENUINE WORKERS' ALTERNATIVES

The alternative of true communists to the question of the immediate struggles of workers at the time of capitalist crisis is something else. They say that the workers of every factory, every branch of industry and services and even unemployed workers and their families, must fight for such immediate demands which bring the whole working class face to face with the whole capitalist class and its state in the struggle against unemployment and the falling living standards. Demands for which the struggle could and must be waged in all branches of industry and not in a specific branch alone. Workers must fight for improvement in unemployment benefit and the reduction in the working hours, and leave the problem of the closure or functioning of factories and the sale of the produced commodities to the capitalists themselves. The 70,000 miners in Britain who today face the danger of becoming unemployed, must centre their struggles not on utopian and illusory demands, but on the improvement of the living conditions of the unemployed as a whole (whose ranks they will soon be joining) and the reduction of working hours. It is thus that the struggle of the miners and similar struggles will really become general and powerful struggles of the working class. All workers (whether employed or unemployed) would follow their struggles with interest and give them their practical support, leading them to junctural victories. Capital and the capitalists try to tear our class to pieces and destroy its unity. They place female workers against male workers, white workers against black workers, employed workers against unemployed workers, Polish miners against British miners, ... and try to destroy the unity of our class - the only guarantor of our victory. By struggling for those demands which are the demands of the whole of our class (from women and men, black and white workers, to employed and unemployed, miners and the steel-workers, etc.) We can give a general orientation to the isolated and fragmented struggles of today. It is only then that we can become stronger and force the burden of the crisis on the shoulders of the capitalists and their state. Workers will not gain from the struggles to keep the factories open. Unemployment benefit proportional to the cost of living and inflation must be paid to all unemployed workers at the expense of the state and capitalists. Relying on these demands, it is possible to generalise the struggle of the employed and unemployed workers, organise them in a nation-wide organisation, and impose the cost of securing the livelihood of unemployed workers on the capitalists. Such an organisation must put before the capitalists and their state general but concrete slogans and demands and mobilise the whole class for the struggle to achieve these demands. In our opinion the outlines of these demands in Europe could be the following:

- 1- The immediate reduction of working hours to 30 or 35 hours per week (2) for all workers, without any cuts in wages; and not as the NUM manifesto says: *'There must be orderly progress towards a four day week and a proper early retirement scheme.'*
 - 2- The payment of unemployment benefit for all unemployed workers above the age of 16, at a level which would secure a decent life for all unemployed workers; the exact level to be determined by the workers' own representatives elected by their general assemblies;
 - 3- Increase in wages for employed workers, and in the level of unemployment benefits, in proportion to the rate of inflation and rise in productivity.
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Instead of adopting the sectional, utopian and isolationist demands of the NUM, the British miners can today put forward the above demands and draw the real and practical support of the whole class for their struggles. The struggle in the framework of one factory or one branch of industry is doomed to defeat, but a general struggle can begin from the confines of a sectional struggle. The British miners today can become the vanguards of the working class in this field.

4- THE ORGANISATION FOR STRUGGLE

There is no doubt that communists must always propagandize for communism and mobilise the workers for the formation of a real communist party. Nor is there any doubt that communists regard the communist party as the highest organisation of the working class. But communists must also have a plan, correct slogans and suitable organisation for the immediate and daily struggles of the workers (who for the moment - at least in Britain - do not show much tendency for communism but are out in their tens of thousands in the struggle against the capitalists and the hardships caused by capitalism's crisis). A plan and organisation which would educate the workers in these immediate and daily struggles, expose the opportunist compromisers claiming to be the workers' leaders, tighten the workers' ranks, and push them forward in their struggle against capitalism.

As mentioned before, the NUM keeps the miners isolated by the trade-unionist demands that it puts forward and hence does not provide the conditions that could draw the whole of the working class in support of the miners. If during the economic boom of capitalism, workers could partially achieve their demands by trade-unionist struggle, today at the time of the deepest crisis of imperialist capitalism, trade unions fail to play any effective role in the struggles for general and class demands. The whole structure of the unions drives them to a sectional struggle (at best drawing the support of other sections for this struggle). Such an organisation and its methods of struggle are absolutely of no use to the workers and particularly the miners in their present struggles. For the struggle against destitution and unemployment, which is the problem of all workers, whether employed or unemployed, there is need for a general organisation. An organisation which by virtue of its nature and because of its aims, i.e., the struggle for satisfactory unemployment benefit, and the defence of the living standard of all workers, can organise the whole class. Against the sectional demands of the trade unions, conscious workers must endeavour to form an organisation of employed and unemployed workers



Miners' problem is not 'coal for the country' but a general struggle together with all workers - employed or unemployed - against the effects of capitalist crisis.

5 for the struggle against unemployment and all the hardships of capitalist crisis. Naturally, such an organisation will not have the restrictions that the NUM has; it can propagandize its aims in every factory yard, in every dole que, and in every pub; it can form and send its contingents everywhere and call the workers to the struggle. Only such general slogans and such general organisation can draw millions of unemployed workers to the front lines of the struggle in support of the miners and other employed workers and send shivers down the backs of Thatcher, Mc Gregor and all the assorted representatives of capital. Such an organisation will not let the capitalists use the unemployed workers as a threat against the employed workers. Yes, an "Organisation of Workers' Unity Against Unemployment" is necessary.

5- METHODS OF ORGANISATION AND DECISION-MAKING

Against unions' bureaucracy, workers must employ the freest and most democratic method of organisation. Workers' demands must be discussed in general assemblies, whether at work or place of residence, in pubs or workers' clubs, and ratified as resolutions. Recallable representatives must be elected by the majority of workers. The representatives' power must be limited to the execution of the decisions made in the general assembly. In negotiations with the government and the employers, the representatives must not breach the decisions made. Workers can force the employers to make the meetings open, for example by broadcasting the proceedings through a radio or by loudspeakers (similar to what the Polish workers did 3 years ago in their negotiations with the state). Under the false pretence of defending democracy, capitalists and their state are suppressing the workers. Such demagogies could be fought by exercising true and mass democracy. Workers must ask the different parties and currents which claim to be defending the workers and the cause of socialism, to support this organisation, and openly discredit those which refuse to do so.

6- NOT ALL BLAMES MUST BE PUT ON NOTTINGHAMSHIRE STRIKE-BREAKERS! (3)

No, don't make any mistakes! We are not for strike-breaking. We believe that no section of the workers should become a prop in the hands of the capitalists and their state to defeat the rest of the workers. Strike-breaking is the worst action that the workers can take against each other, and no section of the workers should allow the other workers to suffer while they go on working and receive wages (of course part of the wealth that they themselves produce). Like all conscious and true communist workers, we too were upset when Mc Gregor, realizing dissension in the ranks of the workers, declared the 1st of May a day off for the strike-breaking workers so that they could freely demonstrate against the striking miners. And we felt ashamed when a section of Nottinghamshire miners on this day, the 1st of May, the day whose history has been written with the blood of tens of striking workers on the pavements of Chicago, protested against their own comrades. It was sad to see how in the oldest capitalist country in the world, capitalists and their state have succeeded in making workers fight and despise each other on the 1st of May. But in spite of all this we want to defend the strike-breakers. Why? Since, besides being influenced by the bourgeois propaganda in the Radio, T.V. and the press and their demagogies, these workers are the product of years of sectionalism, Economism, compromise, and opportunism of

INTERVIEW WITH COMRADE EBRAHIM ALIZADEH*

about the causes of the recent clashes between Komala and Kurdistan Democratic Party, and the position of Komala about this incident

The following interview and the introduction have been taken from Komonist, No.4 - Central Organ of the Communist Party of Iran.

INTRODUCTION

Last month [Dec. 1983] the Kurdistan Democratic Party once again imposed an armed confrontation on the Peshmargas of the Kurdistan organisation of the Communist Party of Iran (Komala). This is not the first time that the KDP has resorted to such actions. But the scale and dimension of the human loss on both sides in this confrontation was by far heavier than the previous clashes, and tens of people lost their lives as a result of the bellicose and anti-democratic policy of the Democratic Party *...

The undeniable realities show that during the last few years, the KDP has not only been systematically engaged in intimidations and anti-democratic pressures against the toilers and Komala, but has also repeatedly resorted to direct armed operations, thus creating bloody confrontations. We are here publishing the facts and documents relating to the recent clashes that took place in south Kurdistan in order to inform the workers and people of Iran. But what should be noted is the main reason for creating such armed confrontations on the part of the KDP. Although this Party has each time started the war with Komala's forces under a pretext, or has later made up a justification for it, it is in fact its intolerance for democracy, intolerance for the awakening and political development of the working class and the toiling masses in Kurdistan and its attempts to forcefully intimidate them, and its intolerance of the political and organisational growth and increase in the influence of the communists' mass base in Kurdistan, which has been the main factor behind the creation of these clashes by the KDP as the party of the bourgeoisie of the Kurdish nation in the Kurdistan of Iran. In contrast, the working class has no need to engage in internal armed confrontations in Kurdistan, and the Kurdistan Organisation of our Party has repeatedly declared that it wishes to confront the KDP through political means, and Komala's Peshmargas will not be the initiators of clashes. At the same time it has clearly declared this truth to the working class and the masses, and also to the KDP itself, that it will not sit idle in the face of the military attacks of the KDP, and will defend its rights and the toilers' freedom and interests, with utmost strength.

Komonist

Jan. 1984

* During the course of these clashes 16 Peshmargas of Komala and 18 Peshmargas of the KDP were killed.

Question: Comrade Alizadeh, please tell us how the recent clashes between the KDP and Komala took place.

Answer: There is no doubt that there is a basic and fundamental ideological difference between us and the KDP, which distinguishes us within the Kurdish people's movement as the representatives of two classes. This difference arises from the fact that we and the KDP belong to two different social classes, i.e., the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

Therefore the existence of difference between our policies and those of the KDP is always an obvious and natural thing. These differences have politico-class roots and these policies have been completely distinguishable from each other in the various stages of the movement. Despite this, as the documented history of the last 4 years of the Kurdish people's movement testifies, it has not been us who have drawn our political and ideological differences with the KDP to military confrontations and clashes.

We have told the whole truth to the people about the recent clashes in south Kurdistan, and have described the events as they were. The KDP has clearly made up excuses in order to start the confrontations and attack us in that area. About 6.30am they surrounded a village where one of our Peshmargas' camp is sited, and made a non-democratic demand. They asked our Peshmargas to return the two Peshmargas who had left the KDP and joined us the previous day. Our comrades told them that only the question of handing over their guns could be at issue and not the return of the Peshmargas, and that in accordance with previous agreements they would return the guns. But the officials of the KDP who had prepared themselves for a confrontation, ignored what our comrades had said and shot dead two of our comrades who were talking to them. Thus the clashes started while the tops overlooking the village had been previously occupied by the KDP forces. The following day the two sides started talks in the Marivan area and agreed on a cease-fire. They also agreed that an investigation team be set up to find out the details of this incident and report it to the people and the two organisations. It was arranged that the representatives of the KDP, Komala, and the people of the village of Galieh, which was the scene of this incident, be the participants in this team.

A few days after this incident, while the cease-fire agreement had been signed and some negotiations had also started at the leadership level of both sides to put an end to these clashes, and both had emphasised [the need for a] cease-fire and the ending of the clashes, the Peshmargas of the KDP between two villages in the region, ambushed a unit of our new Peshmargas, whose training period had ended and were on their way to the Sanandaj area, and fired at them, as a result of which, except for three, the rest of our comrades were killed.

You see, the question is clear. The first confrontation occurred in the village of Galieh.

Irrefutable evidence exists to prove that our forces were attacked in that village according to a pre-determined plan. But in any case a cease-fire agreement had been signed over that incident and it had been arranged that the details of the matter be found out. But a few days after the first clashes, the KDP started a second confrontation in another area. And this happened at a time when it had committed itself to a cease-fire and that it would not escalate the clashes. It was only after these two clear attacks and the violation of agreements by the KDP that our comrades in the south resorted to a reciprocal offensive and attacked them in a number of points.

To sum up: the specific reason behind the recent

Clashes was none other than the non-commitment of the KDP to a bilateral agreement which had been reached quite some time ago. The agreement was that any Peshmarga is free to join any organisation he wants, but his guns must be officially returned to the previous organisation. It was by breaching this democratic right and violating the mutual agreement, that their forces surrounded our Peshmargas in the Galieh village in the Marivan area and tried to forcefully take back, against their wishes and free will, the Peshmargas who had joined us, and thus trampled upon the most elementary form of political freedoms and the clear content of the agreements.

In explaining the cause of this war, the KDP says that Komala's propaganda about the policies of this Party has been the cause of these clashes and similar incidents. This means that the KDP wants to answer our political discussions by bullets, since, in its view, the people of Kurdistan are not yet ready for political freedoms!

Question: What is the position of the Kurdistan Organisation of the Communist Party of Iran (Komala) about these incidents?

Answer: You know that following last summer's clashes in the Swisney region in the Sardasht area which led to the death of 6 of our comrades, an investigation team was set up to find out how this incident took place. Despite the fact that the details of the course of the clashes and its grounds had been clearly revealed, the team could not agree on the preparation of a joint text on the results of its findings, and consequently the representatives of Komala and the KDP in this team, had to present separate reports of the course of the clashes in Swisney, to the leadership of the two organisations. Since then the KDP has refrained from concluding the work of this commission and summing up its report, under different pretexts, and has followed a policy of killing time over this case. Therefore the signing of any joint peaceful document depends on a clear and fair declaration of position by the KDP about the work of the previous commission of enquiry. The people of Kurdistan must be sure that such mutual agreements do not remain on paper and that the two sides will be committed to them in practice. This is the first step that the KDP must take to improve its relations with Komala and restore people's confidence in the mutual agreements. In short, the main points of our policies towards the KDP in relation to the recent incidents are as follows:

Firstly, we do not accept any restrictions of the political freedoms in Kurdistan. We stand for the complete and unconditional freedom of expression and political propaganda, and consider these freedoms vital for the development of the movement in Kurdistan, for the promotion of the political consciousness of the masses of workers and toilers. We cannot accept that the democratic spirit of the movement in Kurdistan be taken away from it and the movement be pushed one step back.

Secondly, we shall not initially enter into fights with the KDP and will not be the initiator of the conflicts. But we shall certainly answer any armed offensive severely, and consider this our legitimate right.

Thirdly, we are not any longer prepared to sign peaceful statements with the KDP, unless we see a change of attitude in the policies of the leader-

7 ship of this Party towards Komala.

We want the KDP to unconditionally recognise, and observe in practice, the complete political freedoms, to show allegiance and commitment to the mutual agreements, to make its position clear about last summer's incident in the Sardasht region and express its regrets about that incident which in our opinion their forces were fully responsible in causing it. In addition we want the KDP not to harass our customs posts in the border regions, so that in joint meetings, agreement could be reached over the determination of common customs' regulations in Kurdistan and on agreeing on a single customs' system.

Question: How do you see the future of this situation and the relations between the KDP and Komala?

Answer: So far we have had three formal sessions with the KDP at the leadership level, and in all of these sessions we have tried to convince the KDP about the wrongfulness of the policy it has adopted towards the problems of the Kurdish people's movement. We have shown the greatest of well-intentions in order to end these clashes.

It is clear that our attempts at ending these confrontations are in complete accord with the interests of workers and toiling masses in Kurdistan. For us the question of freedom and democracy is not something that we can wash hands of. Therefore, as I said, we are not prepared to back off from our position that the KDP must commit itself to the preservation of the political and democratic freedoms in Kurdistan, and see ourselves dutybound to defend these freedoms and gains.

Therefore what the situation will be in future, all depends on what reaction the KDP will show towards this fundamental demand of the people of Kurdistan. Will the KDP continue to resort to force to restrict the political freedoms in Kurdistan, or will it accept the necessity of the existence of these freedoms? This is the whole question that the future of the relations between us and the KDP depends upon.

If the KDP binds itself to these commitments and accepts these freedoms in Kurdistan and commits itself to their preservation, not only can we have coexistence with it, and not only will this itself be a consistent guarantee for the prevention of confrontations with the KDP but we shall also be able to enter into effective cooperations with the KDP against the suppressive forces of the Islamic Republic.

The future of the question of democracy in Kurdistan also depends on the reaction of the masses in Kurdistan. The more sensitivity the masses of workers and toilers show to this vital question, i.e., the question of democracy in Kurdistan, and do not pass by it indifferently and see themselves dutybound to defend it, the stronger we shall become in the realization of this democratic demand. At the same time it is the duty of all of our comrades to facilitate the intervention of the masses in this matter, more than ever before, and to raise the level of the democratic demands of the masses, by their educational and continuous work, as has been the case in a number of villages of the area of the confrontations. The people of these villages have themselves effectively come to the scene and intervened in these matters, they have held many assemblies, have issued resolutions about these questions, and in their repeated

P. 14

For the Revolutionary Democratic Republic of Iran !

Lebanon, Palestinians, and the communists (2)

In the first part of this article - published in BM No.8 - after a short review of what has happened in Palestine after the Second World War, we analysed the economic roots of the Palestinian question. We regarded the formation of the state of Israel and the savage and inhumane expulsion of the Palestinian people from their homes, at the same time, as the process of the bloody birth of capitalism in that part of the Middle-East, and pointed out the similarities of this process with what has happened in Iran and the other countries of the region. We later dealt with the process of the political maturity and the rivalries of the local bourgeois and petty-bourgeois currents, and by citing some examples, stressed the similarities between this historical process with what is happening in, for example, Mozambique and the other countries which have newly won independence. In the last part of the article we considered the Western imperialist bloc's and Russian imperialism's interest in the Middle-East and tried to give a picture - however brief - of the competitions and interventions of these two imperialist forces in the course of events in Lebanon and the region, in the context of the successive defeats of Russian imperialism's diplomacy at the world level and the violent and unbridled offensive of Western imperialism - in particular the U.S.A.

Both parts of this article were written about three months ago and hence the developments that have taken place since then in the political scene in the Lebanon, the Palestinian movement and Israel, are not covered in the article. Nevertheless, we believe that the analysis given here and the conclusions drawn, need no alterations and the recent events only reaffirm the views expressed in the article.

ARAB AND PALESTINIAN WORKERS AND TOILERS AND THE POWER STRUGGLE AMONG THE VARIOUS BOURGEOIS CURRENTS IN THE REGION

What must first be pointed out is that the splits and disintegration in the PLO, the expulsion of Arafat, and the fighting among the various local and imperialist factions of the bourgeoisie in Lebanon do not have primary importance for the Palestinian and non-Palestinian workers and toilers of the region. The political, organisational, and hence, ideological defeat of the PLO cannot and must not be seen as the end of the struggle of hundreds of thousands of Palestinian workers and millions of Arab workers and toilers, just as the victories of the Israeli state, the Phalangists and U.S. imperialism have not been the victories of Jewish and Arab Christian workers and toilers. The PLO and the various Palestinian populist currents have never been the representatives of the independent interests of Palestinian workers and toilers and their victory or defeat cannot be equal to the victory and defeat of the Palestinian workers. For the Arab and Jewish workers and toilers, the rivalries and in-fightings among the various bourgeois and petty-bourgeois currents in the region, in general, and in the Palestinian movement, in particular, are only important so far as behind the covers of nationalism, Pan-Arabism, Pan-Islamicism, Zionism, "Arab Socialism", and Phalangism, the common class unity and essence of all of them against the interests of the workers and toilers of the region, could be shown.

It is nearly two decades that almost the whole Arab bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie has hidden its reactionary or reformist nature from the workers and toilers of the region behind the mask of creating a state for the Palestinians. Although this objective

takes on different forms - from the overthrow of the Israeli government and the throwing of the Israelis to the sea (this latter is now seldom heard and there is no word about another "Rejection Front"), to the formation of an independent Palestinian state alongside Israel, and finally the creation of an autonomous state in the West Bank of the River Jordan, in federation with Jordan and under the sovereignty of the butcher King Hussein, what forms the common feature of all these different alternatives is the recognition of the existence and survival of all the reactionary bourgeois Arab regimes in the region even those which have been directly involved in the suppression of the Palestinians (for example, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon). Also the other characteristic of all these prescriptions for the Palestinian workers is their almost complete silence over those democratic rights whose realization would shift the balance of class forces to the advantage of the working class. Democratic demands and rights such as the separation of religion from the state, the establishment of soviet democracy based on people's armed soviets, the complete equality of men and women, the unrestricted freedom of expression, belief, association and organisation ... a 40-hour week and two successive days of rest period each week, and full unemployment benefit for the unemployed, etc. The Arab bourgeoisie - Palestinian or non-Palestinian - knows too well how even the presentation of such demands would provide the grounds for the growth and extension of the independent movement of workers and toilers who would no longer recognise any national frontiers and would question the basis of capitalist relations in the region. At a time when the overthrow of the bourgeois state of Israel without the united, class, and independent struggle of all workers and toilers in the region - Jewish or Arab - against all the reactionary states in the region, seems an unlikely perspective in the near future, and even the possibility of the formation of a small independent Palestinian state alongside Israel is becoming less and less likely everyday, but from the standpoint of the working class and communists, the formation of a Palestinian state is not impossible in any case. This slogan which can be the slogan of any reformist bourgeois-liberal, can be realized to the advantage of this or that faction of the bourgeoisie in conditions of certain balance of class forces and bourgeois and imperialist rivalries in the region, and is in no way in contradiction with fundamental imperialist interests. In the pamphlet "A Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism", Lenin writes:

"It is only from the point of view of Imperialist Economism, i.e., caricaturised Marxism, that one can ignore, for instance, this specific aspect of imperialist policy: on the one hand, the present imperialist war offers examples of how the force of financial ties and economic interests draws a small politically independent state into the struggle of the Great Powers (Britain and Portugal). On the other hand the violation of democracy with regard to small nations, much weaker (both economically and politically) than their imperialist 'patrons', leads either to revolt (Ireland) or to defection of whole regiments to the enemy (the Czechs). In this situation it is not only 'achievable', from the point of view of finance capital, but sometimes even profitable for the trusts, for their imperialist policy, for their imperialist war, to allow individual small nations as much democratic freedom as they can, right down to political independence, so as not to risk damaging their 'own' military operations. To overlook the peculiarity of

political and strategic relationships and to repeat indiscriminately a word learned by rote, 'imperialism', is anything but Marxism."

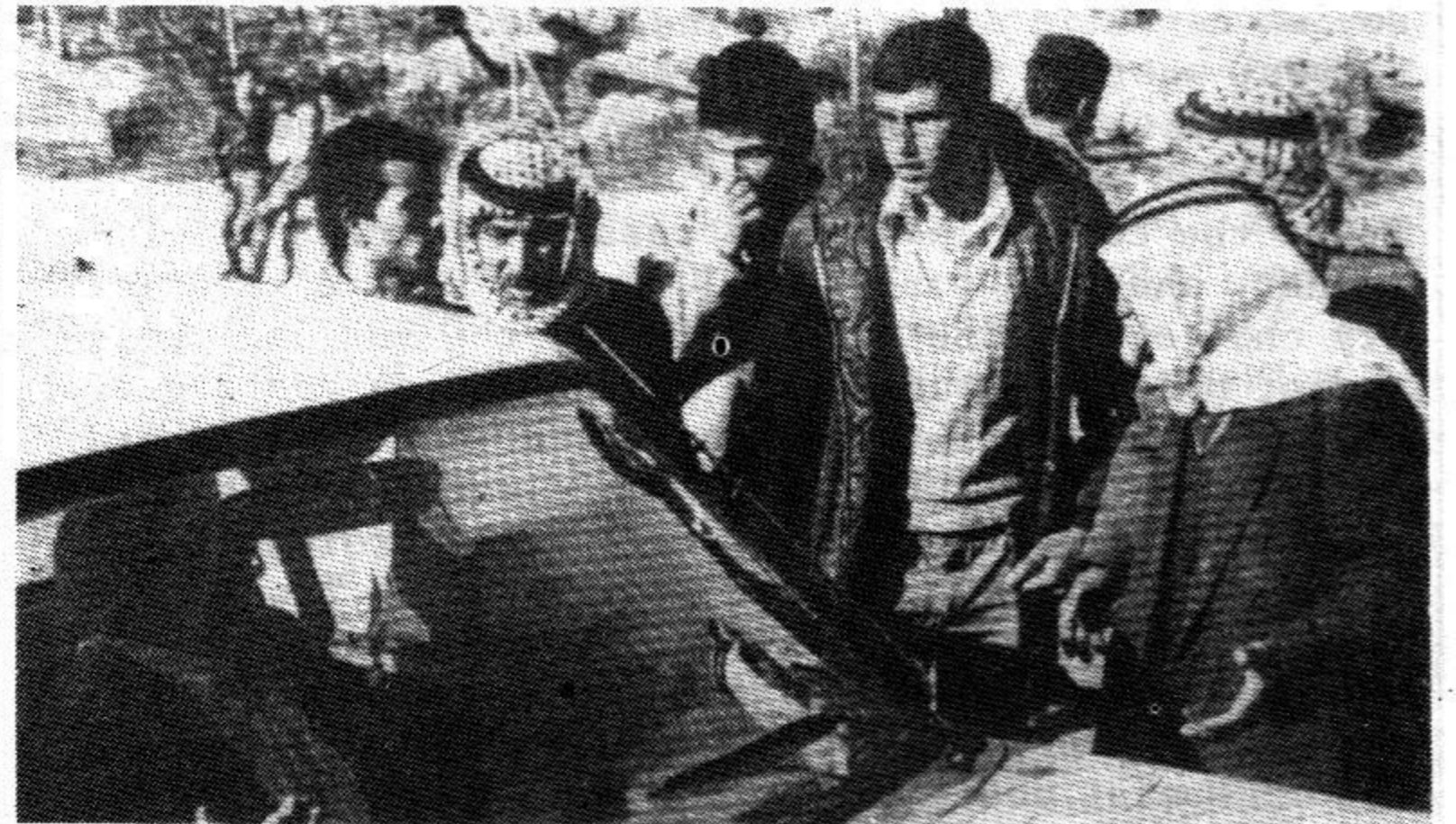
What is important in these words of Lenin for our present discussion is the possibility of the political independence of a dominated country from the point of view of finance capital and imperialism. The examples of the different large and small islands in the Indian and Atlantic Oceans which achieve independence from time to time, and also the example of the formation of the Bangladeshi state in the context of the the struggles and sacrifices of the Bangladeshi toilers who had been harnessed and channellized by nationalist ideas, are the contemporary evidence of this dictum of Lenin and our assertion.

But what must be the attitude of the workers and communist revolutionaries in the region towards this question? First of all, one point must be stressed and that is: what is not realisable and possible is the independence of capitalism and bourgeoisie in the dominated country from world imperialist capitalism. The formation of an independent or federal Palestinian state, so far as it concerns the shifting of the rulers or the ruling regimes, and as far as it merely changes the force of the bayonet of the bourgeois and reactionary governments of Israel, Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon, etc., on the throats of Arab and Palestinian toilers, with the force of the bayonet of a government led, for example, by Arafat or George Habash, cannot be a proletarian demand. The formation or non-formation of an independent state has relevance to the toiling masses so far as such a state plays a facilitating role in the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie as a whole, for the seizure of political power, and the mobilization of proletarian masses for the socialist revolution, or, in other words, whether by participating in this state through their soviets and armed mass organs, they could use it for the complete seizure of power and the establishment of the single dictatorship of the proletariat in one country or a region. The problem of the region's proletariat as a whole and the Palestinian workers in particular is not that instead of the states of Israel, Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon, a bourgeois Palestinian state becomes the organ of their class suppression. If it is true that under a bourgeois Palestinian parliamentary government, the Palestinian toilers would again be the subject of savage imperialist exploitation and reaction - something which is inevitable in conditions where the workers and toilers do not hold the political power, and the realities of countries such as China, Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, etc., testifies this truth clearly- then the Palestinian workers and oppressed masses do not have an iota of interests in the establishment of such a state, and must not fight for it. The problem of the Palestinian and region's proletariat is how they can move towards the destruction of the imperialist relations of labour and capital. How they can approach the political power, seize it and by setting up a workers' government abolish the imperialist relations of labour and capital. Therefore, from the standpoint of the Palestinian and region's revolutionaries and workers, the formation of a national and independent bourgeois state is not in fundamental contradiction with imperialist aims and cannot be part of the proletarian demands. Only those demands are really democratic and proletarian which stand for affecting changes in the mutual relations between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie; democratic demands which provide the preconditions of the struggle of the proletariat for the seizure of political power and the socialist revolution: These demands amount to the overthrow of imperialist violence and reaction and not the changing of the violence and reaction to its national and independent form.

Some readers of this article may say that what is being stated here is contradictory to what we had asserted in the first part of this article, namely, that the communists must support the struggle of the Palestinian nation for the achievement of the right

9 of self determination (see BM No.8). But these comrades must not forget that:

1- Communists are not nationalists, but internationalists. As a world current, they believe in this tenet of the Manifesto that "Workers have no country, and nobody can take away from them what they have not got." The communists of all countries and even those in the oppressed nations must always and primarily propagandize, organise, and struggle for a communist revolution. This is what gives to all of them the common attribute of being communist. Those who do not always and everywhere propagandize and organise the struggle for communism among the workers and toilers, are not communist by definition. No task of the day, no immediate and tactical question, must overshadow this routine, uninterrupted, and permanent task of the communists. But for accomplishing the communist revolution, communists must change the real conditions existing outside their minds. The splits and divisions created by the bourgeoisie in the world ranks of the working class must be overcome so as to unite the whole class. The divisions between men and women workers, between employed and unemployed workers, among workers having different religious illusions, among the workers of the different sections of the industry, and between the workers of the oppressor and oppressed nations, are objective realities which exist in the real world outside our minds, and are daily reproduced and fuelled by the bourgeoisie and the system it defends. The national oppression has created divisions between the workers and toilers of the oppressed nations and the workers of the oppressor



Palestinian workers crossing to Israel in search of work; their struggles are now part of the general struggles of all the workers and toilers in the region.

nations. In contrast to the bourgeoisie, communists and the working class have no interests in the suppression of any nation. National oppression is a wound which has been inflicted on the body of humanity, as a whole, and the working class, in particular. The political solution of the communists is not to overlook this fact, but to endeavour to eliminate it. The recognition of the right of nations to self-determination and the solution of the national question (up to formation of new independent states) would practically allow the workers of the oppressed nations to direct their struggles against their "own" bourgeoisie, behind all the nationalist calls of unity of the bourgeoisie, and to promote their independent and class consciousness and organisation. The recognition of this right by the proletariat of the oppressor nation confronts the chauvinism of the bourgeoisie of that nation, and also enables the proletariat of the oppressed nation to resolutely confront the demagogies of its "own" bourgeoisie and its calls of "national unity" and class conciliation.

2- The recognition of this right, especially in this epoch, does not at all mean that communists believe in the possibility of the development of capitalist relations independent from the world imperialist system. They should not only have no such illusions but must categorically struggle against these illusions in the ranks of the workers in the dominated countries →

← and oppressed nations. The recognition of this right by the communists has never been for the development of capitalism. Communists are not the reformers of capitalism. In recognising the right of nations to self-determination they are precisely after political gains for the struggle of the proletariat. It is for this reason that they do not put conditions on the recognition of this demand. They do not, for example, say that we will recognise the right of oppressed nations to self-determination, provided they do not decide to secede and form an independent state! Or that they would recognise their right on the condition that they made a revolutionary choice. In the course of history it has happened many times that an oppressed nation has made a reactionary choice, and this may happen again in future. If the proletariat of the oppressed nation lacks its independent class consciousness and organisation, if the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nation has sufficiently spread nationalist illusions among the workers, then it is certain that if the oppressed nation is given the right to determine its own destiny, its choice will not be at least revolutionary. Nevertheless, even under those conditions communists would recognise such a decision. The example of Finland is a classic example of the communist traditions on this question. After the October Revolution in Russia in 1917, Bolsheviks remained faithful to the clause in their Programme which obliged them to unconditionally recognise the right of oppressed nations to self-determination. They declared to all nations oppressed by Tsarist Russia that they could freely decide whether they wished to join the young Soviet Republic or form an independent state for themselves; whether they wished to stay with revolutionary Russia or secede from it. In contrast to other nations, the Finnish nation decided to separate from Russia. Under the conditions of the possibility of a revolutionary and progressive choice, they made a reactionary choice. But the Bolsheviks and the Russian proletariat did not suppress the Finnish nation and rightly did not want to aggravate the wound that Tsarism had created. They thus left behind a clear tradition of the attitude of the communists and the proletariat - in particular the Russian proletariat - towards the right of oppressed nations to self-determination, which can today become an example to expose the crimes of Russian imperialism in Afghanistan and re-emphasise the communist position towards this question.

With respect to what has been said so far, the defence of the right of nations to self-determination in the case of the Palestinian nation, also means that if, for instance, the Palestinian bourgeoisie accepted a compromise with world imperialism, and even formed a federation state with King Hussein and succeeded in drawing the support of the Palestinian workers and toilers behind itself, communists would recognise this decision. They would not defend it. From the beginning they would expose the reformist and anti-working class nature of such a state, but would still recognise it! It is true that the revolutions in Angola, Mozambique and China have resulted in the defeat of the proletariat (which could have been avoided if the world communist movement was not as disunited as it has been during the last few decades) but who cannot see that the elimination of national oppression in these countries has today allowed the workers and revolutionaries in them to recognise the dirty face of capitalism and the bourgeoisie behind the black and yellow-coloured skins of their respective regimes, and fight against them.

3- The defence of the right of oppressed nations to self-determination does not at all mean the defence of the struggle and policies of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois currents leading these movements. No communist should defend the PLO or the forces constituting it (including the PFLP) under the pretext of defending the right of the Palestinian nation to self-determination. In these movements the communists must support the genuinely communist currents (as Lenin says, even if they are in rudimentary form) and try to

10 raise their communist consciousness. We must note that being communist today - even in "rudimentary form" - has become tied up with not having illusions towards the so-called "socialist" countries, such as Russia, China, Albania, etc.

THE FUTURE BELONGS TO THE WORKERS AND TOILERS OF PALESTINE AND THE REGION

The Palestinian and the region's toiling masses must learn lessons from all the previous events and regard their struggles as part of the historical struggle of a world class. Their struggles are not the only struggles of the workers in history. This is not the only movement whose motive forces have been the toilers. For more than one hundred and thirty years the world working class has been involved in the various struggles. Most of what can be learned from the struggles of the Palestinian workers and toilers, the workers in Iran, etc., has been taught for years by communist revolutionaries, the leaders of the proletariat, Marx, Engels, and Lenin. The essence of these teachings is that whatever efforts the workers may make for emancipation from all kinds of oppression, exploitation, poverty, ignorance, religious superstitions and racial and national discriminations, these efforts will not produce results if the workers are not armed with the science of the conditions of their emancipation, i.e., communism. Once and for all, the Palestinian revolutionaries must accept this Marxist truth that in every revolution the leadership of the proletariat is the pre-condition of victory. No section of the capitalists and their associated political parties are revolutionary in our epoch. The petty-bourgeoisie and its political representatives, too, are vacillating, and any movement under their leadership will eventually end in defeat and submission to the bourgeoisie. Only the working class can and must lead every revolutionary movement.

The Palestinian working masses must learn not to sacrifice the independence of the proletariat for "people's unity" and "people's interests". They must know that whoever and whichever political current that invites them to wash hands of their independent class interests and not fight for socialism, under the pretext of national unity, people's unity, and the struggle for the Palestinian Fatherland, is not their friend but their enemy. Palestinian revolutionaries must no longer allow any petty-bourgeois petty-politician to make them compromise with bourgeois reactionaries such as King Hussein, King Khaled, Hafez Assad, Andropov (and now Chernenko) and Khomeini. They must know that they must fight for their interests wherever they live. Whoever preaches to the Palestinians living in Lebanon, Jordan, Syria, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates that for the sake of national interests they must give up the struggle against the bourgeois governments of these countries and wash hands of the struggle for their democratic and class demands so as to supposedly achieve these rights in their Fatherland, such people are the enemies of the Palestinian workers and toilers. For that Palestinian who has lived and worked for years in Jordan, Lebanon and Syria, the struggle to end national oppression is nothing but the struggle for genuinely democratic and revolutionary rights in the place he already lives. The Palestinians living in Lebanon, Jordan and Syria must know that the struggle for the right of the separation of religion from the state, equal rights for all citizens, the elimination of racial, sexual and national oppression, equality of men and women, the demand for a revolutionary government based on armed soviets of workers and toilers, etc., are not rights and demands the struggle for which must be limited to the fight against Israel. On account of the objective conditions, the Palestinian workers who were driven out of their lands and have now settled in Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan, must fight against the bourgeois governments of these countries to achieve



their demands. The fact that they are exploited by a certain section of the world bourgeoisie, along with their other class brothers and sisters in each of these countries, and that their struggles are directly suppressed by a common bourgeois government, means that their struggles must be linked to the struggles of the workers and toilers of these countries, whether Christian, Jewish, or Moslem, Arab or non-Arab. This is the objective basis of their class unity in the struggle against the whole capitalist class.

In the name of a religious and national-Jewish government, the state of Israel does not recognise the democratic rights of the Palestinian workers. It makes recourse to the dirtiest and most shameful methods for the suppression of their struggles. By resorting precisely to this religious and national chauvinism Israel has for years kept the Jewish workers under war conditions, has forced them into long compulsory military services, has turned their children into cannon-fodder for Zionist capital and confronted them with their Arab class brothers and sisters. Workers in the region must fight against this state and for its overthrow. But the struggles of the Palestinian workers must not be confined to this struggle alone. Is there not a religious government in Saudi Arabia? Does the right to form workers' associations exist in that country? Is it not true that in Lebanon the state power is divided among the Christian, Druze and Sunni-Moslem bourgeoisie? Is there not a naked bourgeois dictatorship ruling over the lives of the people in Syria? For the Palestinians living in these countries, the main essence and nature of all these oppressions is the same: the dictatorship and oppression of the capitalism of the imperialist epoch. Here no serious anti-imperialist struggle is possible without a simultaneous struggle against Israel and all these reactionary Arab states. The workers and toilers of Arab countries and the revolutionary workers of Israel must know that their most effective anti-imperialist struggle and support for the Palestinian workers can only be carried out in the form of their uninterrupted struggles against their own bourgeois states and for the establishment of revolutionary and workers' governments in these countries. Any other alternative is illusive, utopian, and in the long term, against the workers' interests.

The revolutionary proletariat of Palestine must find its world allies and recognise its false friends. Those currents in Europe and throughout the world (whether the large and small parties defending Russia, the assorted parties and currents defending China or Albania, the European Social-Democracy, or the various Trotskyist organisations) who in the name of defending the Palestinian workers, support Arafat, Abu Musa, Habash and so on, are not their friends. The world allies of the Palestinian workers and toilers in their present struggles are those forces who, relying on proletarian internationalism, do not flatter or write in praise of the rainbow of petty-bourgeois currents claiming to be

from p. 1

yet there is no bourgeois-imperialist opposition which would be acceptable for world imperialism, the latter seeks its interests in the preservation of the status quo. On the one hand the present bourgeois oppositions have been broken organisationally and on the other hand, they lack mass moral support. It is on account of this that the imperialist powers have to preserve the present regime, though it is not the most favourable long-term alternative for it. Nonetheless, the regime's relative successes in suppressing the mass movement and its conclusion of economic and military treaties with imperialist states, including the USA - in some cases through intermediaries - are obviously welcomed by the West. Therefore, at the present circumstances, so long as the Islamic Republic's manouvres lead to the suppression of the opposition and mass movement, they will override any other considerations by the



Workers of the Israeli El Al airlines clash with the police at Tel Aviv airport. Workers of the region must unite to fight their common enemy: capitalist and imperialist oppression!

the leaders of the Palestinians' struggles; and who by insisting on the independent interests of the Palestinian workers and pointing out the real roads to victory, have not sacrificed the Palestinian workers' struggles for short-lived and brief popularities.

The Palestinian and Arab workers and revolutionaries must fight for the formation of the communist party, i.e., the militant political headquarters of the struggles of the working class. The communist party cannot be replaced by any other organ or organisation. Without the communist party, every armed struggle, however courageously and heroically it may be fought, so far as the workers' interests are concerned, will end in defeat. The communist party is necessary. Without the communist party, the workers and toilers of no part of the world and in no struggle can be victorious. A party which takes form against all the false defenders of Marxism and communism and consistently fights against these deviations in the workers' movement. An internationalist party which regards itself as a battalion of the world army of the proletariat and endeavours for the formation of the international headquarters of leadership of the world proletariat, the world communist party. A party which does not promise the workers the establishment of communism and peace only in one corner of the world, and which organises and leads them for an uninterrupted and uncompromising struggle until the complete destruction of capitalism and imperialism throughout the world (which is the cause of all the hardships of humanity).

If the needs of world imperialism drove the Palestinian masses out of their lands and dispersed them as wage-labourers in a number of countries throughout the world. If the Palestinian and Arab bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie for years dragged the Palestinian masses behind utopian demands, instead, the Palestinian workers and revolutionaries, wherever they are, must aim all their class hatred and strength against the whole capitalist system and imperialism. Wherever they are, they must show that they are able gravediggers for capitalism.

Jalal Hatefi

world bourgeoisie.

But the recent events, just like the scenario of the American hostages, may only prolong the shameful life of this regime for another short while, and will not be able to dampen the determination of the workers and toilers and the deprived people of Iran, to continue their struggles until the overthrow of this regime. Today, in contrast to the February days in 1979, the working class in Iran is equipped with its own independent class party - the Communist Party of Iran. A party which by mobilizing all the workers and toiling masses behind its banner will lead them in the overthrow of this regime and the establishment of a revolutionary-democratic republic, based on people's armed soviets!

Taghi Dabiry

the unions and most of the parties and currents which claim to be defending the working class. They have been trained by the likes of the NUM, the Militant Tendency, the Labour Party and the "Communist" Party of Great Britain(4). Yes! When for years the NUM and TUC put forward such bourgeois-nationalist economic plans to 'solve' the crisis; when they do not let the workers think of political struggles against the bourgeoisie and its state; when the Labour Party, the Militant Tendency, the CPGB, etc., are defending parliamentarism and false democracy to the core, why should one not expect dissension among the workers? When all the attempts of the NUM is to secure the jobs of the miners in Britain, these workers, who are already employed, ask themselves: why should we go on strike? Nottinghamshire workers have heard how Len Murry, the General Secretary of the TUC, has formally asked workers in other branches of industry not to spread the strike and not harm the state. They have also seen how small and large left parties and currents are always sitting silent, waiting for the moment when the unions would do something or the workers themselves would start some action, and then only to tail-end it and make empty declamations on the side-lines; and when the struggle is finally defeated (which often is the case! Since the struggle is sectional; since it is Economist; since it is reformist; since it has no programme; since there is not a united nationwide organisation; ... and since, above all, there is no real communist party - the party of the communism of Marx and Engels) they return to their homes, to their study rooms or university and college halls, or start bargaining in the union branches, local governments and in the parliament corridors. The workers saw that when two years ago, 10 million Polish workers, including Polish miners, resorted to a relentless and heroic struggle against the anti-working class Polish state, and the surrogate Generals of Kremlin bloodily suppressed their struggles, how Messres Mic McGahy and Arthur Scargil stayed silent, and how the party of Mr. Mic McGahy (CPGB) called the Polish workers as having been deceived and puppets in the hands of western imperialists, and defended the executioners of the Polish workers including the Polish miners. They see how the so-called socialist state of Poland - which Messres Scargil and McGahy defend is now continuing the export of coal to Britain, serving as one of the factors in defeating the striking miners(5). When such gentlemen, whether in the unions or in parities such as the Labour Party or the CPGB, have never questioned the whole of the capitalist system and have never called the workers as a class to shake the foundations of the parliament (which is only founded on the lack of consciousness and organisation of workers) and the foundations of the bourgeois state, should we not expect at least a section of these workers to have illusions in parliamentary democracy? Or to have faith in the government elected through this system of parliamentary democracy? Should they not believe the news and propaganda of the Radio and Television controlled by this system and be after their own personal interests? When all workers, including the Nottinghamshire miners, see how Mr. Arthur Scargil patriotically describes the miners' struggle as a 'battle for Britain', why should they not defend Margaret Thatcher and her puppet manager Mc Gregor, when they know that Margaret Thatcher fights with greater zeal for Britain and shouts even more nationalist slogans? The Nottinghamshire miners quite rightly do not recognise such people and

their assorted parties as their leaders. But while rejecting these 'leaders', they are throwing themselves into the arms of the worst representatives of capitalism in this country, thus serving as a tool in the hands of the Conservative Party. And this is shameful, is against the workers' interests, and will finally lead to the Nottinghamshire miners' own defeat. Remember how the strike-breakers during the steelworkers' strike in Britain, three years ago, themselves soon became victims of capitalist crisis and were thrown to the ranks of the unemployed. The strike-breaking miners of Nottinghamshire must know that the problem of the unemployed workers is their problem, too. And if they do not today join a general struggle against the effects of the crisis, including unemployment, tomorrow the same capitalists and their state will use the unemployed workers of other mines to reduce the employed miners' wages. These workers must know that their only alternative is their unity and organisation. Dissension in the ranks of the workers is against our interests and to the benefit of the capitalists.

Long live the international solidarity of workers with the struggle of the mineworkers in Britain!

Jalal Hatefi

NOTES

- 1- The ex-Labour Minister of Mrs. Thatcher who was infamous for his overtly anti-working class policies.
- 2- Obviously this weekly working hours must be precisely calculated by considering the rate of unemployment and the productivity due to technological progress. This is something which the European comrades must do. These working hours must be so determined that if supposing the working class seized the political power tomorrow, they would be able to abolish unemployment by reducing the working hours to this level.
- 3- Throughout this strike a few thousand workers in Nottinghamshire pits (and not all miners in Nottinghamshire) did not join the strike. On some occasions there were some confrontations between these workers and the striking miners. These workers have been labelled as scabs by other miners and the left currents.
- 4- The pro-Russian party in Britain, officially recognised by Russia. The CPGB is the twin party of the Tudeh Party in Iran whose bourgeois-reactionary nature is known to all. Mr. McGahy, the Vice President of the NUM, is one of the old and known members of this party.
- 5- During the course of this strike, the Polish state has continued the export of coal to Britain, and, according to some reports, it has even increased its rate. This act has delivered severe blows on the miners' struggle in Britain.

The OSCPIA accepts full responsibility for all the translations, articles, news, etc., in the Bolshevik Message.

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England

Some publications of the CPI

Pishro is the central organ of the Kurdistan Organisation of the Communist Party of Iran-Komala, published monthly in the Kurdish language. The following issues have been published so far:

Pishro No.1, 22nd October 1983

- The place and position of Komala in the Communist Party of Iran (one the basis of three speeches by comrade Abdollah Mohtadi)
- Some of the resolutions adopted in the Third Plenum of the Central Committee of Komala.

Pishro No.2, 21st November 1983

- Declaration about the Founding Congress and the First Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Iran
- Manifesto of the Founding Congress of the Communist Party of Iran
- Resolutions and messages of the Founding Congress of the Communist Party of Iran
- The declaration of the joining of Komala to the Communist Party of Iran
- Interview with comrade Ebrahim Alizadeh, member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Iran, by Radio Voice of the Iranian Revolution
- Some reports about the military operations of Komala in the last few months and about the Alan war
- A poem entitled "Comrade Marx"

Pishro No.3, 21st December 1983

- What the development of the movement in Kurdistan depends upon - *Jafar Shafiee*
- Bourgeois opposition - in fear of the revolutionary movement in Kurdistan - *Abdollah Mohtadi*
- Resolutions adopted by the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Iran about:
 - The place of the proletariat in the Iranian revolution
 - The National Council of Resistance
 - Unemployment and the expulsion of workers
 - The tasks of the communists in the struggle against the Islamic Labour Law
- The manifesto of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Iran about the plan of the National Council of Resistance for the autonomy of Kurdistan
- A sum-up of the military operations of Komala's Peshmargas in the month of December and during summer and autumn
- Messages of the Political Bureau of the Party and the Central Committee of Komala to the comrades of the Southern regional Committee
- Some reports
- In memory of the 1905 Moscow rising

Pishro No.4, 20th January 1984

- National Council of Resistance and the right of political activity - *Jafar Shafiee*
- The announcement of the ending of the Second Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Iran
- Interview with comrade Ebrahim Alizadeh (member of the Political Bureau of the CPI and the First Secretary of Komala) about the recent clashes between Komala and the Kurdistan Democratic Party, and the position of Komala about this incident
- About the military activities of Komala's Peshmargas and mass struggles in revolutionary Kurdistan

Pishro No.5, 19th February 1984

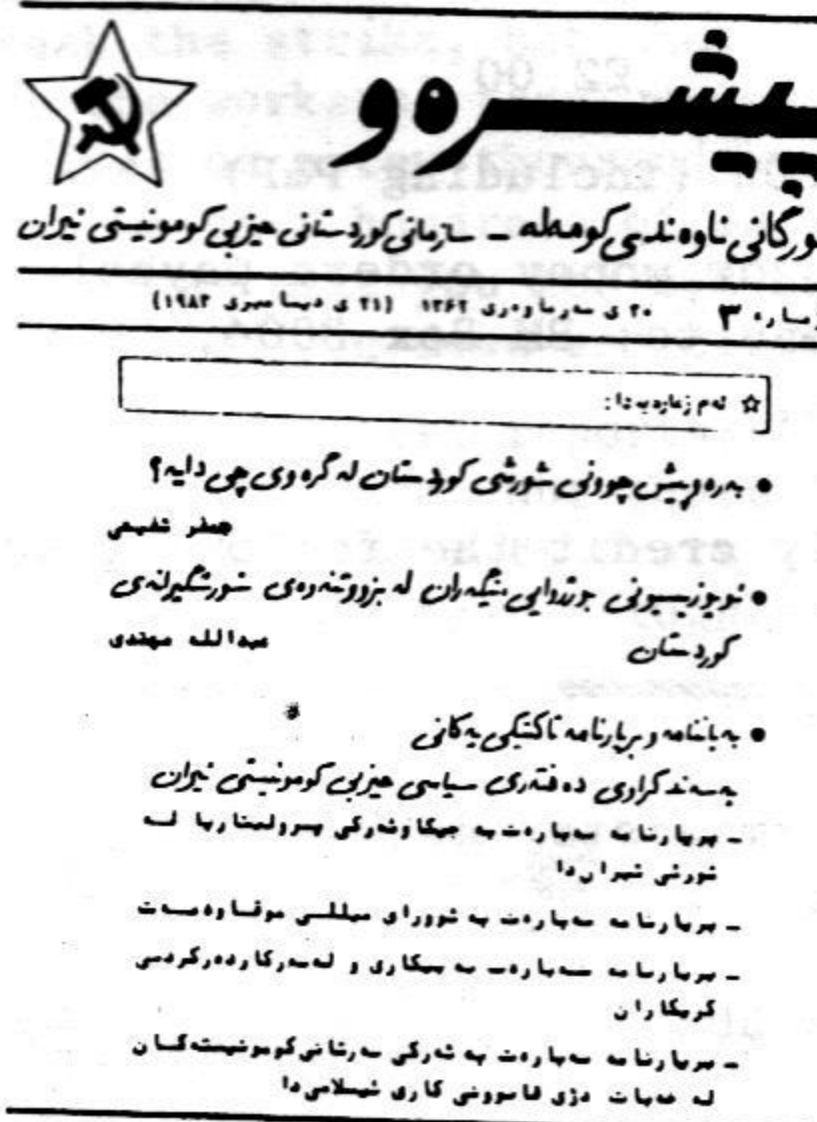
- The announcement of the ending of the Fourth Congress of the Kurdistan Organisation of the CPI - Komala

- Message of the Political Bureau about the Fifth Anniversary of the February Uprising
- An interview with comrade Ebrahim Alizadeh
- A talk on the occasion of Komala's Day

Komonist is the central organ of the Communist Party of Iran published monthly in the Farsi language. The following issues have appeared recently:

Komonist No.6, 21st March 1984

- New Year message
- Long live the Commune
- About the danger of activism in Party cells - *Mansoor Hekmat*
- Message on the occasion of 8th March - Women's Day
- On the anniversary of the death of Marx
- Two resolutions from the Fourth Congress of Kurdistan Organisation of the Communist Party of Iran - Komala
- Interview with comrade Jafar Shafiee, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Iran and member of the Central Committee of the Kurdistan Organisation of the CPI - Komala, about the political situation in Kurdistan during last year
- In revolutionary Kurdistan



Komonist No.7, 19th April 1984

- A look at the past, on the occasion of 12th Farvardin (1st April - the foundation day of the Islamic Republic) - *Khosrow Davar*
- The manifesto of the 1st of May - *Naser Javid*
- About the merging of open and secret work - *K. Davar*
- A brief look at the history of the 1st of May - *Azar Majadi*
- A 40-hour week and two days off, the urgent demand of the working class - *Shoab Zakaryae*
- To the Party comrades in the city secret organisation
- In revolutionary Kurdistan

Komonist No.8, 21st May 1984

- Editorial - The National Council of Resistance and the question of insurrection - *Mansoor Hekmat*
- A brief consideration of the medieval essence of the Islamic Labour Law - *Hamid Taghvae*
- A look at the recent struggles of the mineworkers in Britain - *Azar Majadi*
- In revolutionary Kurdistan
- In memory of the fallen comrades

from p. 7

visits to the representatives of the KDP and Komala, have declared their demands for an end to these military clashes and confrontations between us and the KDP, as well as their demand for the recognition of political freedoms and the freedom of political propaganda in Kurdistan.

If this movement is continued by the toiling and oppressed masses of Kurdistan, and if these actions become mass actions and are generalized throughout Kurdistan, lasting assurances will certainly be created for ending any kind of armed confrontations, and the movement in Kurdistan will thus take another step forward.

* Comrade Ebrahim Alizadeh is the First Secretary of Komala and member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Iran

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The Communist Party of Iran, the Kurdistan Organisation of the CPI (Komala), "Komonist" - the Central Organ of the CPI - and the "Radio Voice of the Communist Party of Iran" can be contacted at any of the following addresses:

- P.O. BOX 1409, 75144 UPPSALA 1, SWEDEN.
- POSTFACH 501142, 5000 KOLN 50, W. GERMANY.
- SH.I, C.P. 1064, 10100 TORINO, ITALY.

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- "Contribution of the people of Norway to women in Iran on the occasion of 8th of March" 3,850 Kroner
- Comrade Y. Bayani - Canada 250 Dollars
- Contribution to the people of Kurdistan by "Iranian Students in the University of Rutgers - New Jersey" - USA 70 Dollars
- Comrade JM - France 25 Frk
- Comrade R.N - France 50 Frk
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- Comrades D, A, and A - Britain £10 each
- Comrade F - Britain £3.20
- Comrade P - Britain £5
- Comrade Morteza Moshiri - Britain £10
- Comrade Ghahraman - W.Germany for his gift
- Comrade M - Italy for his gift

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- Box 99, 434 Corn Exchange Buildings, Hanging Ditch, Manchester, M4 3EY, England.

News from Iran

15

The following news are the summary of some of the workers' news broadcast on the "Radio Voice of the Communist Party of Iran".

■ A TWO-DAY STRIKE BY WORKERS AT THE AHVAZ SUGER REFINERY

In March 84, 300 workers at the Ahvaz suger Refinery (South-West of Iran) stopped all production, demanding the payment of their overdue wages. The authorities responded against this demand by saying that "whoever stops the work in the factory, is a counter-revolutionary and we shall take him to the war fronts." Workers stood firm and reiterated that: "Even if you kill us we will not go to the war fronts; you must give us our overdue wages".

In the continuation of their strike, the workers staged a sit-in at the factory gate and blocked the movement of cars and trains and shouted "Death to capitalism". Ten days after the strike, the workers occupied the factory's Personnel Office and took two of the officials hostage. As a result of this militant struggle of the workers, the Islamic Republic authorities gave in to the demands of the workers, and paid all their overdue wages.

■ WORKERS' PROTESTS AT THE ZAMIAD FACTORY - TEHRAN

In March 84, the workers at Zamiaad factory (a van manufacturing factory) in Tehran ceased work in protest against the new policy of the management to stop paying them their 'bonus' (i.e., a portion of their own wages). The workers demanded that a General Assembly should be held where the manager should explain the reasons for not paying the workers their 'bonus'. In the General Assembly, the

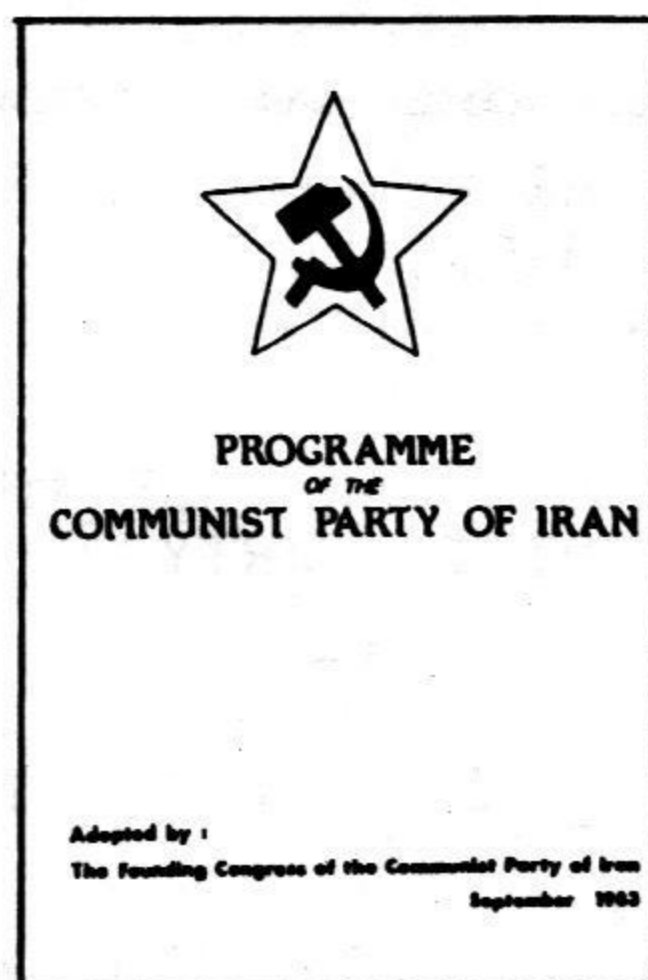
representatives of the Islamic Society, and the factory executive director, all tried to some how deceive and dissuade the workers from their struggle. In his speech, the factory director reminded the workers of the war conditions and asked them to forget about their 'bonus'. Whilst ridiculing him, the workers insisted on their demands, but since this struggle had coincided with the Iranian New Year holidays (March-April 84), the workers demanded that the management pay their 'bonus' after the vocation. News about the results of this struggle are not available.

■ STRUGGLE OF WORKERS AT RAY TEXTILE FACTORY AGAINST WAR-CREDITS

In March 84, the workers of all three shifts at Ray Textile factory (near Tehran) started a protest. They demanded that they should be paid the monthly housing and child benefits for March, which the employers had said would be contributed to the war fronts. Their strike lasted 5 days. Since the very first day and throughout the strike, the management and the agents of the Islamic Societies who had been frightened by the united and militant ranks of the workers, started to negotiate and promised that workers' demands would be considered. But seeing that the workers were determined to continue their struggle the guards of the Islamic regime's so-called Revolutionary Committees were called, who, armed with G-3 rifles, surrounded the factory. One of the guards started to talk to the workers in order to break the strike, but when his words had no effect on the workers' resolve, he threatened them: "The lives of a few thousand workers do not matter to us, we have hundreds of martyrs every day. Let us assume that you too had been killed. We can easily shoot you down and close the factory".

According to the latest reports, the workers have now returned to work, but there is a new resolution among the workers to start a new round of more united and organised struggles.

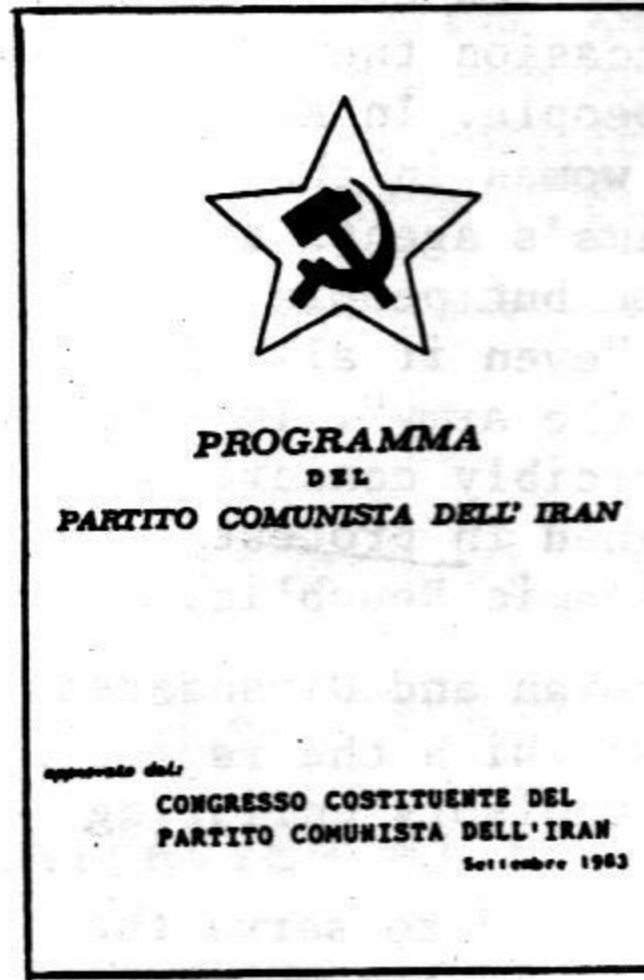
Read the Programme of the Communist Party of Iran!



In English



In French



In Italian



In German

In revolutionary Kurdistan

16

It is now 5 years that Kurdistan has been bombed and pounded by the Napalms, rockets, and mortar and cannon shells of the capitalist Islamic Republic regime. By its repeated expeditions and continuous offensives against Kurdistan, by the massacres and carnage that it has carried out in Kurdistan's towns and villages, and by the most savage of crimes and the intensification of national oppression, the Islamic Republic has been trying to enforce its reactionary rule over the revolutionary people of Kurdistan.

During the past two months, the armed forces of the Islamic Republic have been continuing their harassment and persecution of the people by their policy of forced arming of the people as Baseej units (Mobilization) to fight the Kurdish militants, or serve as soldiers for the Islamic Republic in the reactionary Iran-Iraq war. But as previously, the residents of the cities and villages have refused to give in to this policy of the regime and have either laid down their arms, or joined the ranks of the Peshmarga forces with their guns.

The following news have been taken from the communiques of the Kurdistan Organisation of the Communist Party of Iran - Komala (Representation Abroad), and the news daily broadcast on the 'Radio Voice of the Communist Party of Iran', which can also be received in Europe.

★ ★ ★ MILITARY OPERATIONS

During April and May, Komala Peshmargas organised at least 37 military operations against the regime's forces, and the regime too mobilised its troops for about 20 assaults on the villages and Peshmargas. Regime's casualties in these clashes have been reported to be at least 248 killed and wounded, whilst 7 Peshmargas have lost their lives. These conflicts have been mainly around the towns of Sanandaj, Baneh, Mahabad, Piranshahr, Divandareh, Sagez, Marivan and Sardasht.

MILITANT PEOPLE OF KURDISTAN HAVE FOILED REGIME'S POLICY OF FORCED CONSCRIPTION

During April the regime attacked villages in the borough of Afshar, in the suburbs of Sannandaj, and in the borough of Lajan, to take new conscripts to the war fronts. But on each occasion they were faced with resistance by the people. In Afshar, clashes broke out between the women in the village and the army. The regime's agents attacked the villagers with rifle-butts but people did not submit and continued shouting "even if all of us are killed, we will not go to the army". In Sanandaj 70 people who were forcibly conscripted, laid down their arms and resigned in protest against the policies of the Islamic Republic.

Also, 174 people in the Bookan and Divandareh areas have laid down their arms which the regime had given them during their compulsory enlisting to the army.

In Lajan, the villagers resisted to serve the regime though they had been intimidated by armed guards. In retaliation, the army chief later

ordered the bombardment of the village. In some villages in Sanandaj and south of Kurdistan, all inhabitants have laid down the arms given to them by the regime.

BOYCOT OF THE REGIME'S MAJLIS ELECTIONS IN KURDISTAN

The first round of the elections for the Majlis (Iranian Parliament) began on 15th April in Iran. In spite of all the propaganda carried out by the regime including Khomeini's message to the people of Kurdistan on this occasion, there was a wide-spread boycott of the elections throughout Kurdistan. During the elections, the regime had resorted to every kind of intimidation to force the people to vote. For instance, it had announced that food-ration coupons would be stopped for those eligible electors who refuse to vote - including children under the age of 16. The regime had even surrounded some villages by armed guards to intimidate the villagers to vote.

The results were a severe blow to the vain attempts of the regime. In some ballot boxes there were less than 5 votes and in some villages the voting did not last even ten minutes, since the officers in charge of the elections, fearing attacks by Peshmargas, left the villages with haste.

The boycott of the elections by the people of Kurdistan was quite expected, and is yet another example of the extensive scale of the resistance and struggle of the oppressed and deprived masses of Kurdistan.



August 1979: the people of Marivan demand the withdrawal of the Islamic Republic's army and Pasdaran from the city. The banner reads: "We shall make Kurdistan a grave-yard for the reactionaries".

THE BEST WAY TO HELP THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT OF THE KURDISH PEOPLE IS TO HELP THE KURDISTAN ORGANISATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF IRAN - KOMALA.

KOMALA CAN BE CONTACTED AT ANY OF THE ADDRESSES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF IRAN.

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