

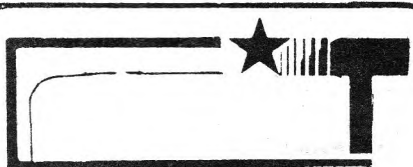
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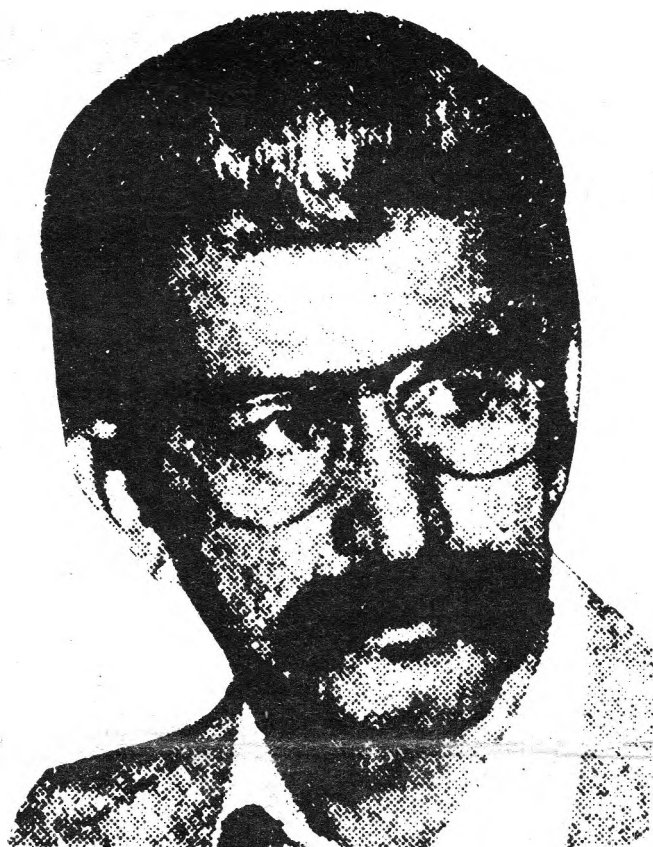
The Masses' March on the Islamic Republic Day !!

On April first a "solidarity" march was held on the occasion of "The Islamic Republic of Iran's" referendum anniversary. The invitation came from Bani-Sadr, Ayatollah Montazeri, the Islamic Republic Party and other governmental agencies. The fewness in numbers throughout the country of the participants in these marches, contrary to previous marches, is indicative of the fact that the masses are turning from the rulership which under the cover of "defending the poor and deprived", has not only failed to fulfill the masses' demand but instead, has increasingly pressured them, placing on their shoulders the heavy burden of poverty and misery resulting from the ruinous war.

Despite all propaganda on the radio, television and other government mass-media, insisting that the scarcity of participants was due to unfavorable climate and heavy rain, even those least aware among the masses realized quite clearly that reason lay in something other than rain and snow. Can rain and snow really stop masses? Were't these the same fearless masses who filled the streets in millions by Khomeini's invitation, under the tyranny of the Shah's "bullet rains", performing the most glorious demonstrations? But today the very same people, panicked by precipitation, stay home and don't take part in marches!! The fact of the matter is that back then Khomeini was on the same track as the people, stimulating them to struggle against the dictatorship and the strangling, promising them liberty and freedom from all miseries and anguishes of their toilsome lives. The masses too, believed that after the royal regime had gone down, by establishing the Islamic Republic, they will have a novel life, a life away from hunger, poverty, misery, and social insecurity, a life with no more worrying about the very bare means of subsistence, a life with no oppression as the response to their righteous demands. **People were seeing all their wishes and hopes in the Islamic Republic.**

Under these hallucinations, two years ago on the same day, millions of Iranian toilers full of hopes for better lives, confirmed the establishment of the Islamic Republic. Our organization explicitly declared its position on the referendum and wrote:

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Soltanpour, The Revolutionary Poet Executed

Note: Soltanpour was executed by the Islamic Republic regime on June 22, 1981. This article was prepared based on excerpts from various articles written by the OIPFG before Soltanpour's execution.

On Thursday, April 16, 1981, Saeed Soltanpour, the revolutionary poet and artist, who for years fought the Shah's regime and was imprisoned, has been snatched again and imprisoned by the Pasdaran Guards of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The Islamic Republic regime, in continuation of the policy of suppression and repression has shown the most animosity toward the revolutionaries and turned to the arrest and harrassment of revolutionary artists. But these as well as other repressive measures by the Islamic Republic regime cannot halt the development of mass protests and the awakening of the masses; and only shows the regime's despair and insolvency.

Saeed Soltanpour was born into a working family, in 1940. Being raised in an impoverished but cultured family, he learned about the suffering of his country persons.

After high school graduation, he took after his mother and became a teacher in Tehran (1960-74). Teaching in the poor districts [Poor districts are the shanty and mud houses in southern Tehran.] in Tehran spread the fire of his individual struggle to the broader class struggle. During the Teachers' Strike [Teachers Strike took place on May 2, 1961 in front of the Parliament. A high school teacher, Dr. Khanaly, was killed.] in which Dr. Khanaly was martyred, Soltanpour went from one school to another speaking boldly to bring a broad segment of the teachers into the struggle.

Theater, which he considered as a great base for enlightenment of the people, attracted him immensely. He entered and graduated from Anahita Art Institute and was an actor in Anahita Theater from 1960 to 1965. In 1965, he codirected with Mahin Oskooee Chekov's "The Three sisters". From 1965 to 1969, he studied systematically scientific theater in the College of Fine Arts of Tehran University, directed and staged V. Henchous play "Facing Death" and Ibsen's

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The Nature of the Bill of Retribution

In January 1981, we exposed the nature of the Bill of Retribution drafted by the Supreme Judicial Council and we published the first part of the reactionary bill. The reaction of most people was disbelief. The reactionary and barbaric nature of the bill was so obvious that the masses could not believe the Islamic Republic would legalize such actions, including stoning to death, the cutting off of arms and legs, the blinding of eyes, etc., all of which are supposed to take place in public. Similar acts by the government immediaty following the Shah's fall, had created such deep aversion and disgust among the masses that the government had quietly postponed implementing such actions.

However, after the government revealed the existence of such a bill and disclosed that it had already been submitted to Parliament, the people began to realize the depth of this tragedy.

The fact of the matter is that the 199-article Bill of Retribution, which is now in the ratification stage, is so reactionary and anti-human that it reminds people of the return of slavery and tribal life. It is difficult to pinpoint any specific articles as reactionary: the bill in its entirety is a tragedy!

In this article an attempt will be made to provide the reader with a general perspective of the most salient aspects of the Bill of Retribution.

Cases of Violation of Human Rights in the Bill of Retribution

1. The Bill ignores that the essence of punishment is the rehabilitation of the individual and society. It defines punishment as individual retaliation.

2. The social aspect of crime has been completely neglected so that punishment becomes a right of the next of kin, or the private plaintiff. This is a symbol of a return to the tribal age when feuds were the custom. (Article 7)

3. The Bill does not consider the causes of the crime nor does it make any effort to eliminate these causes. The sole purpose of the Bill is to eliminate *the criminal and treat effects, instead of the causes.*

4. The Bill of Retribution assumes that the human body and its parts are convertible into money. The idea of receiving blood money is based upon this kind of assumption. Herein is also revealed the class nature of this bill since it only serves the capitalists and land owners. Only they can afford physical retribution for crimes by paying fines in lieu of physical punishment.

5. By emphasizing confession as a

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The Ruling Apparatus and the Land Question Part III page 4

News Briefs

● "The Lives of Political Prisoners are in Jeopardy", Warn Mothers

While the "Council to Investigate Torture" appointed by Ayatollah Khomeini, After months of tumult has denied the presence of any kind of torture, political prisoners in Islamic Republic prisons are being subjected to the most brutal torture and severe beating by prison authorities. Political prisoners are not only denied visitation with their relatives but are shamefully mistreated and abused. A group of mothers who were finally allowed to visit their sons and daughters in captivity in Evin prison revealed the widespread use of the most barbaric tortures. The mothers of political prisoners, in an open letter to the people, warned that the lives of political prisoners are in jeopardy and asked everyone to protest mistreatment and torture of political prisoners.

[KAR No. 111 May 27, 1981]

● Hunger Strike in Solidarity with the Irish People

The political prisoners of Ghezel Hesar prison in Tehran went on a 24 hour hunger strike in solidarity with the heroic people of Northern Ireland on the occasion of Bobby Sands' martyrdom. This is an indication of a deep solidarity between the people of Iran and all oppressed peoples of the world faced with anti-revolutionary regimes.

The Islamic Republic is staging a propaganda campaign in support of Bobby Sands and the Irish people. It is ironic that many political prisoners are on hunger strike in the prisons of this very regime protesting mistreatment and torture of political prisoners in Iran, while the regime cries out for Bobby Sands.

[KAR No. 110, May 20, 1981]

● Cab Driver Shot

A cab driver was shot and killed by a Pasdaran [so-called Revolutionary Guards] in the south side of Tehran.

People who witnessed the incident strongly protested this criminal act. Tehran cab drivers parked their cabs alongside the streets to protest in solidarity with the murdered driver. Due to widespread protest, the official newspapers of the regime had to report the incident, but did so in a distorted manner.

The Enghelab-e-Eslami wrote "a cab driver was shot and killed following an argument with a passenger over the use of the meter".

Later in a statement released by the District Islamic Committee it was charged that "the Pasdaran had become suspicious of the cab driver, who lacked the proper driving permit and documents, the Pasdaran attempted to detain him and shot him by accident".

Jomhoory-e-Eslami quoted the Tehran Cooperative Cab Company, stating that the murdered cab driver lacked the proper permit from the company and that he had no driving record with the company.

In a statement released by the progressive cab drivers it was revealed that the murdered cab driver had worked as a cab driver for more than 10 years and that he had all necessary documents in his possession at the time of the incident. The statement was accompanied by photocopies of driving records and documents of the murdered driver.

All the available evidence points to the fact that the driver was engaged in a political discussion with the Pasdaran passenger and was subsequently shot and killed.

This crime is further evidence of the general policy of the Islamic Republic which uses guns wherever there is the slightest opposition to the regime.

[KAR No. 110, May 20, 1981]

● Dead Bodies Displayed!

In Early April 1981 in Bijar [a town in Kurdistan province] a confrontation took place between Pishmargan [Pishmargan are those who readily sacrifice their lives] of the Kurdistan Democratic Party and the Pasdaran in which 19 Pishmargs and a number of Pasdars were killed.

On the following day the bodies of the martyred Pishmargs were dumped on several trucks and driven around town while Pasdars danced on the dead bodies. Following this inhumane act which lasted for four hours the martyred Pishmargs were given a mass-burial outside Bijar.

The residents of Bijar were outraged and angered by this criminal and savage act directed at the heroic people of Kurdistan.

[KAR No. 110, May 20, 1981]

● 10 Workers Shot to Death, 50 Wounded in Bloody Confrontation

On June 15, 1981 the Pasdaran of the industrial town of Alborz near Tehran issued a statement ordering all workers to participate in a rally featuring the governor of the province as a speaker. About 1000 workers opposed the forced participation in the rally from the beginning and took to the streets instead. Later other workers joined the march that numbered 5000 workers chanting "Death to Behesti". As the marchers continued their march to the nearby industrial town of Ghazvin about 100 Pasdars opened fire on the marchers killing 10 and wounding 50 of them. More than 500 workers were arrested.

This heroic action of workers in Alborz is an indication of workers opposition to anti-people policies of the regime. KAR No. 115 June 24, 1981

● Thief's Hand Cut Off

"A thief's hand was cut off as ruled by the Revolutionary Islamic Court of Kerman [a Southern province], newspapers reported last week.

This rule by the so-called revolutionary Islamic Court indicates that despite Iranian people's hatred for these medieval punishments, the Islamic Republic is determined to introduce such backward laws and punishments such as being practiced in Saudi Arabia.

We declare that these medieval measures, such as hand cutting, stoning to death, execution in public and many other savage crimes committed by the Islamic Republic in the name of "punishment" will not wipe out theft, prostitution and other offenses. The use of such measures against convicts is condemned. Theft, prostitution and other offenses in a class society are deeply rooted in the economic and social problems of society. Without elimination of the underlying causes, any attempt to eliminate symptoms is absurd.

It is a known fact that theft and prostitution in the past year in Iran have not been reduced, but have reached an unprecedented high despite those medieval measures adopted by the Islamic Republic.

The working class of our country is objectively observing that the regime is constantly pushing society backward by adopting laws that the reactionary regime of Saudi Arabia has adopted. While a fundamental solution to these social problems has been successfully adopted by socialist countries particularly Viet Nam, the Islamic Republic Regime, due to its anti-revolutionary and reactionary nature, is not capable to adopt such measures.

[KAR No. 109, May 13, 1981]

● Tribute to Bobby Sands

After 65 days of hunger strike Bobby Sands died in the prison of Britain imperialism. Bobby was not only an Irish fighter but a symbol of resistance and the struggle of all oppressed people dominated by world imperialism. His name will always be remembered along the other vanguards of the liberation struggle.

Our organization pays special tribute to the heroic persistence of this brave child of the people of Ireland and his comrades who are still continuing their hunger strike.

We support the demand of Irish working class and condemn reactionary policies of the imperialists, in particular, of the Britain's against the Irish people.

[KAR No. 109 May 13, 1981]

● El Salvador, Popular Armed Struggle until Final Victory

With increasing mass participation in El Salvador's civil war, the imperialists and their affiliated news agencies relying on reformist and collaborationist policies of some parties are trying to spread lies and false rumors in order to mislead world public opinion about the Salvadorean liberation war.

Recently, imperialist news agencies reported the possibility of negotiation between the Salvadorean guerrillas and the Junta. Two revolutionary organizations, namely Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front and the Democratic Revolutionary Front and the Democratic Revolutionary Front immediately denied such charges and declared that no negotiation between the government and the guerrillas will take place. The El Salvador's liberation war will only be victorious with people's victory and non-intervention in this Country.

[KAR No. 108, May 6, 1981]

● War Refugees Jailed

In late March 1981 war refugees residing in a small town in Lorestan province [in Western Iran] noticed that food supplies that were to be distributed among the refugees were being sold by individuals who are said to be representatives of the local Friday Imam [Friday Imam is the highest religious authority, appointed by Khomeini, who leads Friday mass prayers].

The refugees signed a petition in protest and sent it to government officials. The Friday Imam conspired with the town governor and arrested and jailed signatories of the petition. Later, in an attempt to reestablish his credibility, the Friday Imam released a statement in order to justify the act of stealing food from refugees supplies. Part of the statement reads: "With regard to excess food supplies that were beginning to spoil since refugees refused to use them, permission was secured from Ayatollah Montazeri [a possible successor to Khomeini] to sell them and use the proceeds for the refugees."

We ask why, if the food supplies are so spoiled that the refugees would not use them, how are people willing to pay for them on the market? The refugees ask why they ended up in prison while the Friday Imam got away with theft?

[KAR No. 109, May 13, 1981]

● Cutting off a Hand for Petti Theft

In early June 1981 the right hand of Aziz Seidanloo was cut off by the order of religious ruler of Behshahr in the North of Iran. The criminal executioner had to strike at Aziz's hand with a large chopping knife twice to complete the job. The victim was not given anesthesia to undergo this brutal and savage operation.

According to Kayhan newspaper's reports Aziz and two other youth had been involved in a shoplifting earlier, stealing a bag of rice, nine cans of vegetable shortening, and a box of detergent valued at less than \$150. Aziz and the other two had already served 65 days in jail and were later released on probation. Twenty five days after his release from prison Aziz was arrested in a confrontation between the Pasdaran [Revolutionary Guards] and the people and subsequently sentenced to lose his right hand. The cutting off of Aziz's hand under the pretext of shoplifting is a clear evidence of the Islamic Republic's terrorizing policies to contain people's opposition to the regime. KAR No. 115 June 24, 1981

WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT

Factory Islamic Society An Instrument of Deception and Conspiracy in the Hands of the Islamic Republic Party *

Throughout their struggles since the February Uprising, the Iranian working class have confronted anti-worker organs of various forms: the management, the Islamic Society, the Ministry of Labor, repressive apparatus, etc.

Since the Islamic Society only came into being after the Uprising, it is relatively unknown and thus, it is necessary to analyze and evaluate its functions.

After the Uprising, two bourgeois governmental factions, i.e. The liberals and the Islamic Republic Party (IRP), each tried to institute its own policies. The factories were no exception to this attempt.

On the one hand, the liberals enjoyed the closest connection with the "management" - the organ that regulates the production. On the other hand, taking advantage of the lack of true working class organizations, during the dictatorship and the resultant lack of organizational experience, and worker's religious beliefs the Islamic Societies were formed, thanks to the directive of the IRP.

Lack of proletarian class consciousness and deeply rooted religious beliefs contributed to a heavy recruitment of workers by these Societies at the time of the Uprising. In the beginning these organs were not consolidated and followed various lines, but gradually, the IRP took control of almost all Societies and transformed them into a center for the advancement of IRP policies.

Generally speaking, the functions of the Islamic Societies has so far included two areas: 1) cultural activities and 2) participation in management with the intent of taking over the management functions completely.

In the cultural sphere, these societies are a type of bourgeois cultural organ. Their cultural activities include establishment of libraries, provision and distribution of their own publications, and most importantly organizing speeches by inviting religious speakers. The essence of cultural activities is to spread IRP views, contribute to workers' illusion in order to keep the prevailing order undisturbed and help reconstruction of the dependent capitalist system.

In all lectures held by the Societies, exploiting the workers religious sentiments, vicious slanders have been directed against the revolutionary forces. Also publicized are notions of obeying the government, hope and optimism that the government will better the situation, raising production while expecting less. Thus, the Islamic Societies have done their utmost to prevent the workers from undertaking revolutionary struggle.

As another area of activity, the Islamic Societies have always wanted to participate in management completely. However, the extent of the Societies participation has been a function of the contradictions between the two major ruling factions. The aim of the Islamic Societies has been to "Islamitize management" and to replace "liberal" managers with "Islamic" ones, but, following IRP line, the purpose has not been to change the management system and the labor relations prevailing in the factories. The intention has been to take over the management function keeping the capitalist production order intact. With such orientation, the Islamic Societies have found themselves in front of revolutionary workers' councils which have had the objective of changing the prevailing system from a revolutionary position. Therefore, the Islamic Societies have consistently displayed enmity against revolutionary workers' councils and whole heartedly supporting the management confronting these councils.

In order to advance their policies, the Islamic Societies have adopted, on the one hand, the policy of infiltrating

the revolutionary councils transforming them into an affiliate council and dismantling the revolutionary councils with the purpose of suppressing the workers' struggles. On the other hand, the Society aimed at using the affiliated Councils against the liberal managers. Furthermore, the Islamic Societies have advanced their anti-worker and anti-revolutionary policies by creating a repressive atmosphere through expulsion and detention of vanguard and conscious workers. This facet of Islamic Society's activities has gained increasing frequency and prominence in recent weeks.

For a more precise assessment, we will analyze the functions and activities of the Islamic Societies in four distinct periods.

1. From the People's Uprising to the Embassy Affair

As we mentioned before, after the Uprising we encountered the formation of "Islamic Societies". These organs first were established in strategically important institutions such as the ministries, the Army and the factories. In this early period, these societies enjoyed relatively broad mass support. The Societies were highly heterogeneous and workers with an uneven level of consciousness took part in them. In most cases, the elements who assumed leadership had either no background in political struggle or were functionaries of the former regime. At the same time & while the line of the IRP was dominant in some cases the progressive and revolutionary forces and tendencies played a leading role.

In the midst of the wave of working class struggle, starting after the uprising and extending to the beginning of the Embassy takeover, the Societies played a passive role. They were not capable of directly facing these waves of struggle due to the intensity of struggle. The democratic atmosphere in society which existed at that time and finally the heterogeneous character of the Societies themselves. Since the Islamic Societies were religious organizations and not formed around the objective material interests of the working class, class struggle was mostly led by revolutionary workers councils. It is worth mentioning here that in that period some of the Societies which were led by forces such as the People's Mojahedin played a role in the worker's movement.

In this period, regular scheduled lectures, in many cases each week, were organized. Workers participated in large numbers. The Societies were also active during the election and referendum period. They focused their efforts around encouraging the workers to vote in favor of the government. The Societies played other roles such as mobilizing the workers for participation in

demonstrations in support of the government. Finally, in the midst of the suppression and slaughter of Kurdish people, the unconscious workers were agitated and mobilized to participate in this suppression.

In this period, the Islamic Societies, in spite of insisting on purging certain managers who were elements of the Shah's regime, emphasized the necessity of increasing production and reconstruction of the system. The Societies were seeking cooperation with management, but the managers, who depended on the power of liberals in the government, did not award them a major role. At the same time, the Societies tried to infiltrate



into the revolutionary workers councils and showed signs of opposition to these councils.

During the second half of this period, a deepening of class struggle, and the rising consciousness of workers as a consequence of their day-to-day experiences, led to an increasing separation of workers from the Societies. At the same time, the anti-revolutionary policies of the Islamic Republic Party became even more dominant in the Societies.

2. From the Embassy Event to the Ayatollah Khomeini's Speech in July 1980.

The events followed by the Embassy takeover which resulted in a gaining of power by the IRP also brought about some changes in the conditions and practices of the factory Islamic Societies.

At the beginning of this period, the anti-imperialist propaganda of the ruling organ, was followed by the masses who really believed in their own anti-imperialist and democratic struggle. The I.S. in this period became very active and under the guidance of the IRP attempted to call the workers into the streets.

Knowing the depth of the hatred of workers to imperialism, the intention of the I.S. was to prevent true revolutionary practice on the part of the workers.

Meanwhile, the lecture sessions continued. Since the intensive activities of the revolutionary forces, particularly the "Fedaain Khalq" (OIPFG) resulted in the promotion of revolutionary ties with the workers, false propaganda and shameless lies in these sessions more than any time before.

In some cases, the I.S.'s even attempted to identify and conspire against the vanguard workers.

In this period, the conflict between the I.S.'s included intervention into the management on their agenda. They were able to interview more or less in the decision making of the factories (relying on the strong position of the IRP in the government, and also having the workers behind them). It should be noted here that in confronting with the workers struggle, Islamic Societies were completely allied with management.

Since efforts by the government to destroy the workers councils did not bear fruit, the ruling organ tried to change the revolutionary content of councils by proposing the Islamic Councils.

In accordance with this policy, the I.S.'s directed all of their effort into confronting the revolutionary councils. This policy was continued very intensively later on.

The experience the workers obtained through observing the outcomes of the so-called "anti-imperialist struggle" of the ruling organ, gradually led to the expansion of an independent workers struggle. By the middle of this period, the I.S.'s confronted workers' struggle through repression. The I.S.'s lost their popular support to a large extent. Bani-Sadr's speech in September 27, 1980 further intensified this process.

3. Khomeini's Speech to the War

In July 1980 we witnessed further development of workers' struggle, and intensification of contradictions among the rival factions of the ruling apparatus. Furthermore, the IRP had become a dominant force in the government. At this time, Khomeini made a speech charging government officials and, in particular, the Islamic Societies with inaction and leniency. Khomeini's remarks were indeed an endorsement of Islamic Societies and aimed at granting greater authority to them.

In this period the Islamic Societies completely confronted workers, their struggles, and their true organizations creating obstacles for the working class struggles. Since they failed to advance their policies through deceit they resorted to repression, thanks to Pasdaran [the Revolutionary Guards]. During this period the Islamic Societies aimed at creating an atmosphere of repression and terror by expulsion of progressive workers and attacking the democratic gains of the masses. These policies stimulated workers' anger and hatred to an extent that they equated the Islamic Societies with SAVAK and moved away from them.

The Islamic Societies' confrontation with the management continued throughout this period by intervention in management function and discharging liberal managers.

The hostility towards the workers' revolutionary councils became evident to its fullest extent. The Society approved of a workers council only if the council was affiliated with the society and implemented anti-worker policies. Any

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PEASANT MOVEMENT

Part III

The Ruling Apparatus and the Land Question

Growing mass struggles; failure of the ruling apparatus' suppression policy, particularly the regimes' military defeat of August 1979 in Kurdistan province; disillusionment of the masses concerning the ruling apparatus and particularly the Bazargan government; and finally sharpening of the ruling apparatus' internal contradictions coupled with continued economic crisis jeopardized the state apparatus and led to the downfall of the Bazargan government. (Kar No. 99 Jan. 27, 1981)

Consequently, the government and the Revolutionary Council merged together and a step-by-step policy of reconstructing the dependent capitalist system came under attack.

The Bill of Land Distribution (BLD) approved by the Bazargan government was not only capable of containing the peasant movements, but in the context of the above mentioned conditions the peasant movement enjoyed greater intensity and growth, thanks to the activities of the Communists and other revolutionary forces. In the Fall of 1979 the peasants of Fars [a Southern province], Kermanshah [in Western Iran], and Azarbaijan [in the North West] joined the movement to confiscate the land. Thus, due to exigencies of the Islamic revolution it became necessary to amend the BLD. The amendments were to lie drawn in accordance with the general conditions prevailing in the society. But various factions of the ruling apparatus neither had a common understanding of these conditions nor did they propose a unified solution to contain the growing peasant movement. Petti bourgeoisie represented by Reza Isfahani undertook to introduce fundamental changes in the BLD. On the other hand Ayatollah Khomeini declared that "there is no limit to ownership in Islam." * KAR No. 99, January 27, 1981

Where the Revolutionary Council could not support the landowners to the desired extent (due to societal factors) the matter was either postponed or appropriate amendments were introduced to rectify the situation.

In the period from January to March 1980 three amendments were passed in the Revolutionary Council each replacing the previous one. The purpose of these amendments were to make revisions where the rights of landowners were either underestimated or vaguely deprived. In what follows two examples will be given to clarify the direction of the changes and revisions proposed through these amendments.

First, the maximum land that landowners are allowed to have had been set to what is defined by local and regional standards (these standards can vary from region to region) as petty landownership. Subsequent amendments increased the maximum to three times of local standards. Second, it had been proposed originally that the Islamic state will decide, taking into account the "interests of the society", or installations and equipments of landowners should such installations and equipment be present on the land considered for distribution. Amendments were introduced to



correct such a vague language in the interests of the landowners as follows: "that portions of the land affected by the presence of such installations and equipments are excluded for distributions" and if such installations and equipments are directly used in cultivations the installations and equipments in excess of landowners need will be assessed and bought back by the state, otherwise the landowners can continue to own them.

These two examples indicate that the Revolutionary Council supported the landowners to the best of its ability. Where the Revolutionary Council could not support the landowners to the desired extent (due to societal factors) the matter was either postponed or appropriate amendments were introduced to rectify the situation.

Since the last bill approved by the Revolutionary Council is still regarded legal and was the center of a recent controversy within the state apparatus, it will be analyzed here.

Transferable Land

The BLD in its last form recognizes four categories of land as transferable:

- a. Barren land and pastures
 - b. Land developed by individuals or corporations, but that have been ordered by an Islamic court to be turned over to the government.
 - c. Wasteland
 - d. Active land
- [See Kar International No. 4 for definitions of these categories]

The lands in the first two categories (a and b) are at the disposal of the Islamic state and the principle governing the distribution of them is specified as follows: "the state is charged with the duty of distributing the land in categories a and b among individuals and corporations giving due consideration to the interests of the society and the needs and capabilities" of individuals and corporations receiving it." As can be seen the "interests of the society" is one basis for distribution of the land in the first two categories. Why do they use such a vague terminology where they should have been precise and to the

point? The reason is that Mr. Izadi's bourgeois bill of land distribution [See Kar International NO. 4] not only was able to contain the peasant movement but led to the peasant's distrust of the state which paved the way for the peasant's "willfull" acts. Therefore, a bill that made land distribution subject to the "interests of the society" making various interpretations possible would have 1) secured the unity of various ruling factions on the land question, and 2) give government a free hand to grant concessions when faced with growing peasant movement to confiscate the land and reconstruct the system step-by-step (contrary to Bazargan's quick and direct ap-

proach to reconstruction of the system). does not provide such an answer, but Ayatollah Beheshti says "the bill is designed to distribute land among those who are capable of agricultural work but not own land" (Jomhoory-e-Islami, Nov. 25).

The transfer of land under categories c and d is as follows: If the landowner is personally engaged in cultivation his share of the land would lie three times of what is defined by the local and regional standards as petty landownership. If he is not personally engaged in agriculture his share would be twice the amount regarded as the standard. In regions where there are landless poor peasants it is the duty of

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Another criterion for distribution of land in category a and b is "individuals and corporations need and capabilities" to prepare and cultivate the land. First of all both "need" and "capability" are relative terms. How "need" and "capabilities" are to be determined and who will determine them? Secondly, it appears that poor peasants do have a need, but given the barren land they are not capable of cultivating the land as such land require extensive investment. Whereas, corporations do have such "capabilities". Thus, the question is whether "need" has priority over "capabilities" or vice versa. The BLD

the landowners to turn over their excess land (in excess of the above-mentioned standards) to the peasants or the state will intervene to buy the land and distribute it among the peasants. This is what makes the present BLD different from the bill approved during Bazargan government, i.e. it sets a limit to landownership whereas the bill passed by the Bazargan government recognized unlimited private ownership of the land. But, in practice, since Ayatollah Khomeini has already ordered a ban on implementation of sections c and d of the BLD, the present bill is basically the same as the bill approved by the Bazargan government.

Factory Islamic Society

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council that moved in the direction of fulfilling the workers' demands was labeled as "Non-Islamic".

Combination of above-mentioned policies resulted in a loss of mass base for the Societies. As workers moved away from the Society, the drive toward legitimization of the Societies increased. Thus in August 1980 in the first meeting of Islamic Societies a resolution was passed demanding formal recognition and increased cooperation and coordination with Islamic Societies all over Iran.

4. After the War

The onset of war between Iran and Iraq stimulated a wave of nationalism throughout the society making everyone preoccupied with the war. Workers struggles subsided to some extent because of the war.

With the onset of the war the IRP undertook to mobilize people for the war in rivalry with the liberals who controlled the army. Following the IRP's line the Islamic Society, taking advantage of prevailing patriotism among the workers undertook to arm the workers for the purpose of protecting the factory and being dispatched to the war fronts.

Mobilization and arming of the workers made the Islamic Societies credible to some extent. But, after a short period of time as the inevitable results of the reactionary war such as, scarcity, inflation and unemployment became apparent, the working class began to doubt the nature of the war. False patriotism

subsidized and workers began to oppose participation in the war and thus the Islamic Societies became a target of workers opposition once again.

As the question of the war lost its significance and as the workers struggles further developed, the Islamic Society once again completely confronted the workers.

The Societies line after the onset of the war has been to encourage workers to produce more, expulsion of progressive workers and creation of a repressive atmosphere in the factory. Adoption of such anti-worker policies have turned almost all workers against the Society to an extent that the Society has no main base among the workers any longer.

In the period after the war and with a deepening of contradictions among the liberals and IRP, the confrontation between the Society and the management intensified and relying on IRP's dominant position in the government, the Society moved to discharge the liberal managers in some instances and take over the factory completely.

In sum, the Islamic Society is an instrument of the IRP furthering the bourgeois line of the IRP. Policies adopted by the Islamic Society to confront the workers and attack the democratic gains of the working masses, have made the Society uncredible and a target of the workers' struggles.

The workers are now objectively struggling against anti-worker and anti-democratic measures of the Islamic Society. * KAR No. 103, April 1, 1981

continued from cover

The Masses' March ■■■

The facts of life are showing these people, that every day and every hour that their dream of the I.R. is nothing but a mirage, and that this regime is incapable of satisfying their real demands.

"The Organization of the Iranian People's Fedaii Guerillas, has realized the necessity of declaring its distinct viewpoints about the suggested referendum by the provisional government... we support a republic whose form and contents assures benefits for the oppressed people of Iran... the foundation of any republic is its "Constitution", not its name."

The organization also commented on the conditions under which the referendum was taking place.

"... before any election the least requirement should be satisfied for a suitable and appropriate environment for polling. Without a democratic climate, all revolutionary forces and fighters freely explain their views and opinions to the public. At the time that reactionaries and remnants of the ex-regime are autonomously scrutinizing people's beliefs and have placed the revolutionaries under the heaviest pressures possible through threat, intimidation, insult, aggression, wounding or even murder. At the time... the atmosphere lacks the required democracy for a referendum... since we believe that any opinion-polling should take place under perfectly free and democratic conditions, and for the time being the government is neither able nor willing to guarantee political freedom for all the forces within the society. Furthermore, we believe the referendum question "do or don't you comply with the Islamic Republic", to be one-sided and despotic. Thus we hereby declare precisely and frankly, contrary to the opportunists and two-faces, that under such circumstances we boycott the suggested referendum."

The bitter experience gained from the last two years of the I.R. has disclosed too many facts for masses, resulting in their distrust of the republic. This is the real reason for the lack of participation by the masses in the march, a bitter fact that the I.R. leaders neither have the guts to admit, nor the power to cover up.

Also after the referendum in KAR no. 5 we wrote:

"The referendum was held in an undemocratic climate, where voters and advocates of freedom and democracy didn't have the slightest information about the constitution or the essence of the Islamic Republic.

Since the victorious uprising of February, people have been waiting for fundamental changes and revolutionary advances but have not gotten the minimum of what they have been expecting from the revolution. Now should they wait to see what sorts of changes will happen in their lives in the future? ..and what kinds of decisions will be made concerning the toiling masses' benefits and cutting off the hands of imperialism and the dependent elements? What is the "constitution's" assessment of workers' and toilers' demands? How much of the people's expected democracy has been accounted for? The quality of responses to these questions is determinant of the Islamic Republic's quality. It is obvious that so long as the contents of the I.R. are democratic and anti-imperialist, and the constitution is deeply concern-

ed about the toiling strata and class, it will be confirmed by the people and the progressive forces. Otherwise it won't get the people's support."

We've witnessed the way in which toilers' rights and demands were trampled upon: the "Assembly of the Founders" transformed into the "Assembly of the Experts", the reactionary constitution approved by the masses just because of their unconscious trust in the leadership. But these seducing leaders could not keep them innocent and unaware forever. The facts of life are showing these people, that every day and every hour that their dream of the I.R. is nothing but a mirage, and that this regime is incapable of satisfying their real demands.

The masses are vividly noticing that even though the royal regime has been overthrown and replaced by the I.R. they still live in the same poverty and misery: Oppressed people's democratic rights are denied and the toiling masses are being suppressed. Still, the tangible response to a righteous word is suppression, imprisonment, and torture. Revolutionary literature and publications are forbidden and thought of as savagely as punishable crimes. The real revolutionaries and fighters have been arrested, jailed and tortured. Still, the political freedoms, and democratic rights of the masses are being trod upon and the people are deprived of their right to decide about their lives. In short, instead of protecting the toilers, the Islamic Republic is patronizing the interests of the exploiters.

These stubborn facts are causing people's hallucinations about their compromising leaders to melt like snowballs in

the summer sun. They don't trust their leaders the way they used to and don't buy their promises anymore. The bitter experience gained from the last two years of the I.R. has disclosed too many facts for masses, resulting in their distrust of the republic. This is the real reason for the lack of participation by the masses in the march, a bitter fact that the I.R. leaders neither have the guts to admit, nor the power to cover up.

The masses "walking out" on the government from one side and waves of massive protests are being extended from the other, and in addition very intense conflicts continue inside the main wing of the ruling apparatus, all this has drawn a very dark portrait of the I.R.'s future.

The extended wave of massive struggles against the suppression and strangling caused by the "mace-bearers" in Ramsar, Qazvin, and other cities; the continuation of workers' struggles for their rights starting in the early days of the new year; the struggle and armed resistance of the Kurdish people in Kurdistan; increasing dissatisfaction among the war evacuees; mass movements in Azarbaijan, Luristan, Khorasan, Isfahan: all

these are indications of unprecedented intense class conflicts. We will be seeing more of the social protest in the future and undoubtedly, in this critical situation Khomeini's diminishing authority can neither control the conflicts among the "heads" nor keep massive movements

facts of life will unveil the so-called pseudo-revolutionary disguise of this government.

Let the opportunists unconditionally support the I.R. and give a positive vote to this republic after two years of delay, while the masses turn the I.R.'s in-

Let the opportunists unconditionally support the I.R. and give a positive vote to this republic after two years of delay, while the masses turn the I.R.'s invitation down and refuse to say "yes" to such a republic. The opportunists are only displaying their loyalty to their masters: the capitalists.

from erupting.

Let the rightists "neo-opportunists" of the "majority" faction who have the compromisers' flock close their eyes to the naked facts and deny what they were defending two years ago. Let them put cosmetics on the I.R.'s face. But the

invitation down and refuse to say "yes" to such a republic. *The opportunists are only displaying their loyalty to their masters: the capitalists.*

* KAR No. 104, April 8, 1981

"We Have Risen"*

I have a heavy heart
when I see my brother's face,
pale and drawn,
and when I see the old stove
in the barren kitchen,
which has not been bindled for a long time.

I have a heavy heart
when my little brother and
my younger sister
go to school with rag socks,
without having breakfast,
just with some pieces of stale bread in their pockets.

I have a heavy heart
when my father,
tired and broken up,
comes from the factory and goes to the tea house,
sits and thinks,
thinks and smokes cigarette halves,
and comes home so late
to lessen looking at us-
at my brother's pale and drawn face,
at our rag socks,
at my mother's tired look-
because of the suffering of indigence.

I have a heavy heart
when, at dawn,
I hear mother's whispering:
subsistence,
and my father's sound, soft and affectionate:

Sorry,
tomorrow.

And tomorrow is endless
for my mother.

My heart explodes.
I rise.
I proceed in the risen street
and see the risen masses
everywhere.
We have risen.
Pain has risen.
Wound, toil, and suffering have risen.
Toilers' slogan on lips,
toilers' wrath in fists,
and the toilers' red flag-
with a red sickle,
with a red hammer,
with a red star,
and with red arms-
in the near future.
We have risen.
We have risen.

* This poem was written by a student from Gha'im Shahr, a northern city of Iran. His father is a peasant and he is a supporter of OIPFG. KAR No. 103 April 1, 1981

Soltanpour, Revolutionary Poet Executed

continued from cover

"An Enemy of the People". The latter play strikes at the decadence and criminality of a capitalist society and with a revolutionary rancor exposes the journalists who sell out and become the flattering servants of the oppressors.

The student struggle was an integral part of his life. In the Takhty's funeral procession [Takhty- the Iranian Olympic Champion who was murdered by SAVAK in 1967] he disregarded the threats of SAVAK's Student Affairs Supervisory Office at the University, and organized an expose of the regimes crime. In the Poetry Nights [Poetry Nights- a safety valve for the intellectuals to air their ideas in a controlled environment] of 1968, under the spectre of dominant censorship, he boldly and pertinaciously in the face of danger, recited his blazing poems on Iran and imperialistic plunders, to raise the potential fervor of struggle in young artists and intellectuals to a new horizon in the perspective of Iran's poetry of struggle:

My Iran -

Iran of forgotten revolutions -

defeated,

silent,

*The hungry lion, asleep amidst
the uproar of Asia.*

He was amidst the people's struggle and that is why at the time when theater was a toy in the hands of the profit-hungry capitalists, he turned it into a base for people's struggle by moving from the closed circles of intellectuals to the open among the people. In the Bus Strike [Bus Strike- A broad-based strike in Tehran in 1969], shoulder to shoulder with the people, he protested violently. Later, he staged his own play, "The Station" which was aired only once on Tehran television and was stopped by SAVAK to go to the censor's archives.

In 1968, he founded "Iran's Theatrical Society" with Nasser Rahmany-Nezhad. The same year he staged Ibsen's "An Enemy of the People" again, Mohsen Yalfany's "Teachers", Brecht's "The Vision of Simone Machard", and

with Rahmany-Nezhad, Gorky's "Petti-Bourgeois". The performances of all of these plays were either interrupted with the arrest of the director, writer, and actors, or the theaters were fenced-off and shut-down by SAVAK. In 1969, SAVAK's Student Affairs Supervisory Office at the University, fenced-off and then shut-down the playhouse where "An Enemy of the People" was staged for eleven nights.

In 1970, SAVAK raided the backstage of the play, "Teachers" and right in front of the eyes of the protesting audience, handcuffed the writer and the director and took them to prison. In retaliation, the audience pushed on to the Irano-American Society and threw stones at it. [Irano-American Society propagated bourgeois American culture] Soltanpour and the writer of the play, in February 1970, rejected the jurisdiction of Shah's military tribunals and defended the people's rights. SAVAK, after three months, because of the wide-spread impact of the suppressive arrest on society, released him from jail. By now, he had already published a collection of poems, "Dying Voice" and a play "Hassanak" which both got in behind the iron walls of SAVAK's censorship.

In 1970, with the underground publication of the book "One Type of Art, One Type of Thought", he stood fast and rational in commenting against the criminal regime, against capitalism, against bourgeois culture, against prostituted intellectuals and against the Queen's Arts Festival [Queen's Arts Festival- A costly annual gala for world bourgeoisie] which imposed heavy costs on the skinny shoulders of the masses.

In 1972, one month before the opening of "The Visions of Simone Machard", for the offense of the second edition of "One Type of Art, One Type of Thought", he was detained for forty-five days. He was jailed in Komiteh [Komiteh- A political prison in Tehran] in a cell opposite a torture chamber and later in Qezel-Qaleh (Roan-Fort) [Qezel-Qaleh- A political prison in Tehran] with on-off torture rationing. Right after being released, he staged Brecht's "The Visions of Simone Machard". In this play he slipped in with rare courage, the scene from the Shah's coronation [Shah's Coronation- The pompous celebration of the Shah's coronation] and his military

tribunals, by artistic background sets and high stormy sounds: screams against the coronation mixed with clanging of soldier's and people's empty canteens and pots. The play portrayed the struggle and resistance of the people against the enemy of the people and created a defiant fervor in the audience. SAVAK fenced off the playhouse after only three nights of performance. But, apprehensive of the people's gate-crashing the playhouse and the protest by the students, SAVAK retreated and the play went on for another fifteen nights. Every performance night portrayed the intense naked struggle between the people and the Shah's bloody regime. Finally SAVAK, with the College's cooperation, closed down the playhouse.

As soon as the OIPFG, this center of the most militant Communists in Iran, opened up a new front for struggle, commencing with Siahkal, [Siahkel- a town south of the Caspian Sea where the first armed struggle started] Soltanpour joined the numerous supporters of the new revolutionary movement in Iran and became the poet for the revolutionary martyrs.

In 1974, he was arrested for the offense of publishing a collection of poems called, "The Jail Songs". The book, in solidarity with the martyred Fedaii's tried to awaken the people by depicting tortures and torture chambers in the Shah's jails.

From the very beginning of his arrest he stood fast in the face of the SAVAK's executioners. This time, the executioners thought of him as the follower of OIPFG; consequently they gave him tens of times, along with other OIPFG comrades in Komiteh's cells, for seven months, confessional, revenge and ration torture. They bedded him in a Police-SAVAK hospital for twenty-one days, half conscious. With untreated, injured feet, he was brought back to Komiteh for more torture. He was sentenced to three years in prison by the Shah's military tribunals, and was sent to Evin and Qasr (Palace) [Evin & Qasr- Two political prisons in Tehran, the former is one of the most notorious prisons in the world]. The poems in "The Jail Songs" and "From Slaughterhouse" were written in prison during this period:

*"I am burning with torture
fever; further,*

*inflamed by blood-dripping
suns."*

He was released from prison on July 10, 1974. immediately he entered into the pulsating atmosphere of the struggle, signed Writers Guild Letter of Protest [Writers Guild: Letter of Protest, Poetry Nights. The association of the artists of Iran which sent letters of protest to the authorities and held poetry nights for the people] and shouted his fiery poems in front of the audience, as the first fighter in the Guild's Poetry Nights. He opened up his reading by "Free political prisoners", then recited his stormy poems. He spoke of an imminent "revolution", unity of the working class, and the party of the working class. By praising the revolutionary martyrs and imprisoned fighters, he neutralized the regimes trickery of profiting from these Nights as a show of the Shah's open society.

For thirteen months he traveled to all the major European cities to attend vigorous meetings, press conferences and TV interviews, to expose the regime, to report the glorious people's uprising, and to explain the role of OIPFG in the movement.

Comrade Soltanpour's life was full of struggle and fervor, and with his return to Iran, he put himself even more at the service of the revolutionary movement. He founded the worker's documentary theater, after the Uprising [The Uprising- The February 1979 uprising against Shah's dictatorship] and directed plays such as "Abbas Agha, the Worker at Iran National", and "Down with Imperialism". In these plays he combined art with class struggle to such extent that the audience is attending a worker's demonstration.

It is over a month since the lawless arrest of Saeed Soltanpour, the revolutionary poet and artist by the Islamic Republic regime. While the news of the arrest of this fighter is circulated all over the world, the Islamic Republic know well that Saeed Soltanpour has a special popularity among his country persons, due to his struggle against the Shah's regime and his faith in the masses, and for these struggles he is a world figure.

In the red and firm fort of the OIPFG, Comrade Saeed is a fervent and unvacillating fighter who fights with a deep love for the working class and all toiling masses; and plans persistently for awakening and mobilizing the masses in the direction of final victory.

* KAR No. 47, 106, 107

Tudeh Party ■■■

continued from page 8

[Names of the two Northern and Western provinces in Iran] people gained victories and progressive local governments were established. In Khorasan [North Eastern province] militant and patriotic military officers revolted. In Mazandaran militant workers took up arms and fought against the reactionaries. In Khuzestan and other oil-rich areas workers and toilers started a heroic struggle against reactionaries, British imperialism and their agents. Poverty, feudal exploitation and the hardships caused by the war pushed the peasant masses towards struggle. The ruling class and British imperialism faced overwhelming pressures as a result of widespread struggle, leading to the collapse of Sadr's government [Sadr's government proceeded Gavam's government] in the winter of 1946. Under such circumstances the unified struggle of the heroic oil workers, supported by workers all over the country, played a decisive role in the fate of the working

class and people's struggle against British imperialism and the ruling system.

At this critical moment, the ruling class brought to power its cunning mercenary, Ghavam who, with the aid of the parliamentarist and reformist policies of the Tudeh Party, was able to safeguard himself as well as his imperialist power. Ghavam's policies were similar to the deceptive and cunning slogans of Sharif Emami [The Iranian Premier before the fall of the Shah] who claimed his government was "a government of national reconciliation."

The Tudeh Party characterized Ghavam as a "democrat and an anti-imperialist." The flourishing of democracy in our country has caused great concern and worry for imperialism. Today, the premier [Ghavam] is the most prominent figure in such militant a movement." (Rahbar-Daily Organ of T.P., Sept 1946)

In short, Ghavam, imperialism's

spy, had assumed the leadership of democratic struggles so well that imperialism had become greatly concerned and worried! Furthermore, the party

betrayed the people's struggles especially that of the oil workers in an effort to gain parliamentary and cabinet seats.

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The Nature of the Bill of Retribution ■ ■ ■

continued from cover means of proving guilt, the Bill has prepared the grounds for torturing individuals in order to force them to confess.

6. In this bill, the value of a woman is assumed to be half that of a man. In the case of voluntary manslaughter, her testimony is of no value. In the case of the murder of a woman by a man, the family of the woman must pay the murderer half of his blood money before retaliating. Otherwise, there will be no retaliation against the murderer; he just has to pay the blood money of the woman (which is half that of a man). [Article 5]

kar 15: retribution

7. There is a direct relationship between the implementation of the Bill of Retribution on the one hand and the wealth of the victim or the murderer on the other. In other words, the implementation of the Bill is very selective. A wealthy murderer can always escape punishment by paying blood money. If the victim's family is wealthy, the murderer will definitely be punished. In the case of poor people, the situation is completely reversed. [Articles 5 and 8]. This once again reveals the class nature of this Bill.

8. In the Bill of Retribution forced murder still demands retaliation. Thus, if a commander orders his soldiers to shoot during a street demonstration, in the case of an investigation, the soldiers who had to follow the orders of their commander can be sentenced to execution (retaliation), while the commander will be only sentenced to imprisonment. [Article 4]

9. According to the Bill it is permissible to kill one's own child. In other words if the father or paternal grandfather murders his child (even if the child is fifty years old) he will be exempt from retaliation. [Article 16]

10. According to the Bill of Retribution, people can be killed if they are accused of insulting the prophet or the saints while the murderer will be exempt from the punishment. [Article 23] This article is basically a tool for bloody suppression of all those who are, politically or ideologically opposed to the government. It will multiply the acts of terrorism to an even greater extent. In the past two years we have witnessed many cases of similar plots.

11. The proposed code, being based on a principle of retribution, in fact creates a new crime. Instead of rehabilitating society, it increases parasitism. If this law is implemented, it will create an army of handicapped.

12. The code covers a number of contingencies. For the severance of a right hand, the assailant's right hand must be severed. If the assailant does not have a right hand, his left hand may be severed. If he does not have a left hand either, his foot may be severed. In case of damage to an eye, if the assailant has only one eye, that eye must be blinded. [Article 70]

13. According to the Bill, if a person is sentenced to several penalties. Contrary to the laws of the rest of the world (where only the highest penalty will be implemented) all the penalties will be implemented. For example if the penalty includes whipping and stoning to death, the assailant will be whipped first and then stoned to death. [Article 110]

14. The proposed code, in many of its articles, discriminates against the non-Moslim citizen of Iran and reduces his rights to half or even less those of a Moslim citizen. [Articles 100,151]. In other articles of the Bill, in order to avoid public condemnation the principle of discrimination against non-Moslims is stated implicitly.

15. According to the Bill, a man can murder his wife and her companion in the case of adultery. He will not be punished.

16. The code does not provide for any punishment in case of the murder of an individual who is mentally ill.

17. According to the Bill, married men and women will be stoned to death for adultery. The sentence will be implemented with full medieval ceremony. [Article 100]. The Bill describes the penalty as follows: "The man up to his waist and the woman up to her chest will be placed in a ditch and then stoned. The stones should neither be too big nor too small." Big stones kill too fast.

18. The sentence for consuming alcohol for the first time is whipping. However, the third time that a person is accused of drinking alcohol, he will be sentenced to death.

19. The Bill even describes the details of the whipping [Articles 112, 130].

20. The Bill of Retribution states that all the penalties should be implemented in public. The Islamic Judge should notify the public of the time of the event. It is necessary that at least three Muslims be present during the ceremonies.

The fact of the matter is that the 199-article Bill of Retribution, which is now in the ratification stage, is so reactionary and anti-human that it reminds people of the return of slavery and tribal life. It is difficult to pinpoint any specific articles as reactionary: the bill in its entirety is a tragedy!

21. A person who falsely accuses others of adultery or homosexuality, will be whipped 80 times. If the same crime is repeated four times, he will be killed.

22. In all the above mentioned

cases, guilt is proven through confession or witness. It is enough for two Islamic Committee members or Revolutionary Guards to falsely testify against a person to endanger his life.

23. The Bill has revitalized the criteria which were used in tribal society to prove a crime: namely confession and witness.

24. It is interesting to note that the proposed code, in many cases, is in conflict with the Constitution which was ratified by the same ruling organ! The code has explicitly violated article 14 of the Constitution (dealing with the obligation of the government of the Islamic Republic and Moslims to treat fairly non-Moslim citizens and observe their Constitutional rights), article 19 (...the Iranian people if any tribe or sect, have equal rights. Color, race, language, etc. will not be a basis for privilege) and article 20 (all Iranian citizens, including men and women are equally supported by the Constitution).

Finally, the content of the proposed code is so backward that no foreign country will accept the jurisdiction of this law. It is expected that if the code were passed in the Parliament, many foreign governments, in order to support their nationals in Iran, will ask for the implementation of their own laws or for

special regulations to guarantee the rights of their citizens. This is contrary to the independence of Iranian people.

* KAR No. 111, May 27, 1981

WHO IS "THE TROJAN" ■ ■ ■

continued from page 8 of the Right-Splinters, No. 94, p.15). It should be mentioned that this eulogy for the Pasdaran Guards is on the same page, as the news on Kurdistan: "On January 7, 1981, when the Pasdaran Guards arrived in armored cars with offensive looks on their faces, the people who were standing in line to buy gas in storage tanks, fled. Meanwhile a thirteen year old boy who did not flee and was gazing at the movement of the Guards, was ploughed down by the barrage of bullets and died instantly." (Apparently, this time the paste-up editor of the paper really slipped!)

You see there is no end to this nonsense list, to quote Comrade Lenin, "One of the peculiarities of the 20th Century is that its opportunism is world-wide."

We have already mentioned what is clearly discernable in the internal conflict of the world's workers movement. Also, we showed that this internal conflict takes on different covers in different countries. Often it is manifested in the choice of whether or not one must support one's "own" bourgeoisie in an imperialistic or reactionary war. It appears also in the acceptance or rejection of the necessity of violence in social development; in the consent to or denial of the enforcement of dictatorship of proletariat following seizure of power; or finally, in the refusal or acceptance of "the course of noncapitalist development." All in all, these are the reflections of a long-recorded conflict at the juncture of two viewpoints. One viewpoint, arising from a petty bourgeois origin or "labor aristocracy," takes a safe course of action and, in raising any social or even ethical question, thinks of the survival of its "elites" under any condi-

tion and at any price. In contrast, the other viewpoint, in consideration of the historical class interests of the proletariat, "never ceases, for a single instant, to instill into the working class the clearest possible recognition of the hostile antagonism between bourgeoisie and proletariat." (Marx-Engles, *The Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Selected Works, Vol. 1, p.137) It takes steps in the direction of seizing power, "smashing immediately the old administration apparatus, and starting urgently the construction of the new state apparatus as the direct response to

the revolutionary proletariat's turn." (Lenin, *State and Revolution*)

Now with these two tendencies in mind, one could recognize the position of those who play the role of "the Trojan horse of imperialism and counter-revolution." Is it really the Communist revolutionaries who play this role, or the reformists who are frightened away like "devils from the name of God," from the seizure of power by the proletariat and from the presentation of a revolutionary agenda in the direction of such seizure? Is it the Communist revolutionaries, the German Spartakists under Rosa Luxemburg's leadership, the Bolsheviks under Lenin's leadership, Vietnamese

Is it really the Communist revolutionaries who play this role, or the reformists who are frightened away like "devils from the name of God," from the seizure of power by the proletariat and from the presentation of a revolutionary agenda in the direction of such seizure? Is it the Communist revolutionaries, the German Spartakists under Rosa Luxemburg's leadership, the Bolsheviks under Lenin's leadership, Vietnamese Communists under Ho Chi Minh, the Cuban revolutionaries under Fidel that play the role of "the Trojan horse of imperialism and counter-revolution" or the reformists in Indonesia responsible for the massacre of one million Indonesian Communists; the Egyptian reformists prostrating perplexedly to Nasser's feet and even dismantling the Communist Party of Egypt; the Chilean reformists voting affirmatively to the presence of General Pinochet — the murderer of the Chilean workers and working people in the semi-military Cabinet of Salvador Allende a few months prior to the bloody coup d'etat of September, 1973?

Communists under Ho Chi Minh, the Cuban revolutionaries under Fidel that play the role of "the Trojan horse of imperialism and counter-revolution" or the reformists in Indonesia responsible for the massacre of one million Indonesian Communists; the Egyptian reformists prostrating perplexedly to Nasser's feet and even dismantling the Communist Party of Egypt; the Chilean reformists voting affirmatively to the presence of General Pinochet — the murderer of the Chilean workers and working people in the semi-military Cabinet of Salvador Allende a few months prior to the bloody coup d'etat of September, 1973? Really, which one deserves more to carry the "honor" of "the Trojan horse of imperialism and counter-revolution?"

Since one the the "attributes of the opportunists and reformists, is their inherent obtuseness" in the analysis of events to the extent that they distort what they have been and already become, it is necessary here to look at the example "based" on which the reformists, attacking the Communist revolutionaries, out-perform each other. We must pay attention to the Chilean experience for yet another reason. Presently, this experience and the public positions taken by the Communist (read reformists) Party of Chile on the Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR) and Salvador Allende's government, have gained special status in the polemics in our country's Communist movement. Now, the rubbish (of course, with great distortion and the counterfeiting of historical facts related to the events in the time of Salvador Allende's government) of the reformist Party of Chile about MIR is being used by "Tudeh Party" and "Central Committee" of the Right-Splinters against revolutionary Communists, especially the OIPFG.

To be continued...

* KAR No. 103, April 1, 1981

IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE

The Tudeh Party has always claimed that its analysis and tactics are based on "systematic policies" and "doctrinal politics". These days "the majority" [The right wing opportunists who split from O.I.P.F.G.] in unanimity with the Tudeh Party is of the same voice: that Tudeh's claims are one of its virtues. "The majority", through this process, is misleading and thereby preparing its sympathizers for a dictated alliance with the Tudeh Party.

Here an attempt is made to demonstrate concisely (since a great deal has been written in this regard) that the Tudeh Party's "systematic policies" have actually been geared toward treasons against the people and the working class: *the "doctrinal politics" of this so called "working class party" only serves the interests of the incumbent political elite.* The Tudeh Party has not only failed to follow a systematic and doctrinal path in its analyses and policies, but even in its talking of sensitive and critical issues it has displayed inconsistent positions by making 180° turns in its stance. In this article we will also refer to a handful of the hundreds of cases of the Tudeh Party's opportunistic outlook and policies.

The Tudeh Party's organization is neither a product of a critical era of struggle against the dictatorship and oppression, nor that of a process of heightened class conflict. But rather, it was formed in 1941 as a by-product of a set of circumstances which resulted from Reza Khan's deposal and the second imperialist World War. Because of these very reasons the founders of this so-called party had not gained experience through a process of struggle. This led to encroachment, and an inveterate growth of opportunism within the organization. But the prevailing social crisis and the attraction of millions of people to the

scene of class struggle under circumstances where a genuine working class party was lacking, gave rise to a situation whereby this "party" under the protection of its democratic slogans, was able to attract a large constituency. It is this fact, namely the presence of a vast number of mass followers, which, ironically, has given a historical character to the treasons of the Tudeh Party. The Tudeh Party, in its first years of activity, *blindly* followed the Soviet policy under the banner of internationalism: at that historical juncture of the second imperialist World War, due to an alliance between Britain and the Soviet Union, the Tudeh Party over-looked the fundamental contradiction between the Iranian people and British imperialism not only by its failure to fight against the latter but even more tragically by impeding the development of popular movements against it. Instead the Tudeh Party attempted to secure, through compromise with British imperialism a few prerogatives. For instance, Ehsan Tabari, one of the leaders of the "party", advised the incumbent government on the manner in which it could betray the people. This is clearly evident from the following passage:

"A group to which I personally adhere to is of the opinion that the government should, as soon as possible, open a dialogue with the Soviet Union on the one hand and the American and British Companies on the other for granting concessions for oil exploration and extraction respectively in the Northern and Southern parts of Iran... In a similar manner that *we consent to the Britain's privileges and interests in Iran and do not oppose it we should admit the Soviet Union also has legitimate security interests in Iran.*" (Mardom, 1944, emphasis added)

Historical Precedents of Treachery by the Tudeh Party

* KAR No. 105, April 15, 1981

Part I

Note that Ehsan Tabari (the Tudeh Party) maintains that British imperialism has some legitimate and reasonable interests in Iran, thereby advising the people's enemy to open a dialogue with the American and British Companies for Southern oil concessions.... (This is a clear evidence of the fact that the Tudeh Party does not consider the Shah's treasons as adequate against the Iranian people. The Tudeh Party not only failed to oppose British interests, but rather for a long time did not undertake any action against that imperialist power. For example, as late as 1945, the "party" continued to hinder the growth and expansion of working class organizations in the British occupied oil-rich regions of the South.

The ramifying consequences of this

[members of the Tudeh Party] in the government, the treacherous Tudeh party began a policy of eulogy and tribute to Ghavam, a trained spy of British imperialism, and they represented him as an "anti-imperialist" element, the pioneer of democratic development in Iran.

"We are of the opinion that Mr. Ghavam basically differs from all the post Sharivar politicians. For he has not planned to strengthen but rather has combatted inauspicious Colonial politics. This is what distinguishes him from the majority of Iranian politicians. This is what draws liberal's attention toward him." (Rahbar, 4, 1946, NO. 82)**

To better understand the party's treachery in this conjuncture the prevailing conditions and the reasons for the appointment of Ghavam have to be analyzed.

The Tudeh Party's organization is neither a product of a critical era of struggle against the dictatorship and oppression, nor that of a process of heightened class conflict. But rather, it was formed in 1941 as a by-product of a set of circumstances which resulted from Reza Khan's deposal and the second imperialist World War. Because of these very reasons the founders of this so-called party had not gained experience through a process of struggle. This led to encroachment, and an inveterate growth of opportunism within the organization.

opportunistic "doctrinal policy" were manifest in their participation in Ghavam's Cabinet. [Ghavam's cabinet was formed in Sharivar 1320 (September 1941) after the occupation of Iran during World War II] Following the participation of Yazdi, Esqandari and Keshavarz

ed. The intensification of popular struggle in the period 1945-6 had threatened both the central government and British imperialism. In Azarbaijan and Kurdistan

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WHO IS "THE TROJAN HORSE OF IMPERIALISM AND ANTI-REVOLUTION"?- PART 1

Although these days, for our social-reformists - these traitors to the working class - it is fashionable to assign phrases such as "ultra-left" and "the Trojan horse of imperialism and counter-revolution", to the communist revolutionaries, this treacherous stockpile of misrepresentation and concoction of historical facts has long been a precedent in the annals of world worker's Communist movement.

In the struggles of working classes all over the world for more than 130 years after the publication of *The Manifesto of the Communist Party*, all that is clearly in sight is the permanent antagonism between two trends, two lines, and two tendencies. One tendency - established on the foundation of the works of the great teachers of scientific socialism - upholds that "the Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions." (Marx-Engels, *The Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Selected Works, VOL I, p.137). And in this connection, what is always kept in mind is the taking of steps in the course of seizing power by the proletariat and smashing the bourgeois state apparatus. While the other tendency only cares for

its own survival and profits from the crumbs off the bourgeoisie's table of plunder thrown at it. The reformists have always paid the price for survival by accepting any condition, any cost and any pretense such as "legitimacy", "legality", "preventing pettibourgeois and bourgeois from running away", "defense of the father land" and finally "the course of noncapitalist development". What is facing the traitors to the working class, is how to survive, which is nothing at all close to seizing power by the proletariat! According to them, acceptance of the latter means slipping into "ultra-left" tactics. The price of this "survival" is well paid by reformists. In Germany, under the leadership of the renegade Kautsky, the many false representatives of the working class voted for war credit in the imperialist First World War. In Russia, after the February Revolution of 1917 the reformists participated in the Krensky Cabinet, presenting a statement to the proletariat to the effect that it was premature to include in the agenda the question of socialist revolution, smashing the bourgeois state apparatus and seizing power: they must wait two decades for the full development of capitalism in Russia. In Iran too, the

reformists, acting with servitude and mendacity toward the bourgeoisie, blurted out that "stringing Communist to Iran's Tudeh Party is wrong and far-from-reality. It is an attempt clique to frighten the Iranian capitalists and merchants. Iran's Tudeh Party is a party which supports the constitutional monarchy and the Constitution." (Rahbar [leader] Newspaper, No. 280, April 27, 1944).

In the reactionary war of 1969 between the bourgeoisies of El Salvador and Honduras, the Salvadorean reformists supported "own" bourgeoisie under the demagogery, "the fatherland is in danger!" Again in Iran, during the Shah's semi-fascist rule, the reformist Tudeh Party endorsed his reforms and in the course of "exposing and isolating the ultra-lefts" argued that "they do not want to confront the fact that this land reform, this stepping-up of industrialization, this recognition of women's rights, all in the final analysis are part of the urgent demands of the Iranian people." (Donya [World] Journal, No. 1, 1973). In Argentina under the bloody boots of dictator Videla, the butcher of the people of Argentina, the activities of all revolutionary and worker's parties or organizations, with the exception of the "Com-

munist (read reformist) Party of Argentina, were banned. The Party in return, under the pretense of treacherous and timid phrases, argued that "the tendency in Argentina is toward democracy, while all around her fascism is in power. For this reason the military junta in Buenos Aires does not ban political parties. The Junta perpetually speaks against corruption and seeks return of democracy!" (Interview with the Deputy of Youth Organization of the "Communist Party of Argentina" in the Spanish Magazine *Camio*, No. 262). In France, in refutation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and in flattery of the bourgeoisie, George Marchais, General Secretary of the "Communist Party of France" enunciated in a report to the 22nd Congress of the Party, "If the dictatorship of proletariat for the determination of political power in socialist France for which we are fighting, is not seen in our draft document, it is because this phrase does not express our political reality, the reality of what we suggest to the country... Dictatorship, automatically reminds us of the fascist regimes of Hitler, Mussolini, Salazar and Franco; and this is not what we wish for." Again in Iran - and this time, from the mouth of the newly-arrived reformists of the "Central Committee" of Right-Splinters:

"Ayatollah Montazeri mentioned on January 19th, 1981, during his visit with Pasdaran's education officers, that the guards must be heavily armed... What is only a manifestation of that reality which cost us irreplaceable losses and damages." (The Nation-Wide Organ

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