

KAR

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Around the Slogan of "Death to the IRP, Long Live the Revolutionary Councils, Towards Constituent Assembly" Unite*

The Islamic Republic Regime has now put aside the deceit of a "legal base" and displays the rule of terror and oppression on the streets and even in the factories. In the last few days, the Islamic Republican regime has murdered hundreds of persons. It has even opened fire on protesting workers in the industrial town of Alborz near Ghazvin-some 100 miles West of Tehran.

day under the prevailing regime.

Now that the anti-revolutionary nature of the regime is becoming increasingly apparent, more and more people resort to avert struggle against the regime of oppression. The anticipated scenario of a mass revolutionary uprising is now becoming a reality. This new uprising and the revival of the mass movement is not based on the subjective demands and tendencies of any one group but arise from the objective conditions

prevailing in the society.

The entire economy is affected by an economic crisis. Scores of unemployed workers and peasants have besieged cities and villages. The pressures from the economic crisis have made life even more miserable for the masses. Poverty is now widespread while inflation is rampant. Rationing of staple goods and basic necessities and long queues to obtain them is exerting an increased pressure on the population. Additionally, millions of war refugees have joined the scores of unemployed.

Under the foregoing circumstances class contradictions have been intensified. The contradictions between workers and the capitalists, between the peasants and the landlords, between the merchants and the small retailers are becoming greater and greater. In sum, the contradictions between the poverty

and the wealth is taking new social dimensions.

The efforts of the anti-revolutionary ruling circles to curb the devastating crisis that threatens the very existence of the already precarious regime have not yet been successful.

Under such circumstances, the contradictions existing within the government have widened even more. Not only is this a reflection of the immediate crisis — i.e., the prevailing economic crisis, the dissatisfaction of the population, and the failure, on the part of the government, to meet people's most basic demands — but also this arises from a basic characteristic of our society, i.e. the tensions between revolutionary and the anti-revolutionary forces. This characteristic arises in any incomplete revolution when neither the revolutionaries nor the anti-revolutionaries

have been able to dominate completely.

On the one hand the masses defend their revolutionary gains, while, on the other hand the reactionaries try to take back those gains by deceit and oppression.

Under such conditions a political crisis is bound to arise in which rapid and sweeping change is inevitable.

The period we live in has been full of such sweeping changes. These have been the result of the growing consciousness of the masses. That people resort to resistance despite their confidence in and illusion about the prevailing regime is a reflection of the fact that people still possess a revolutionary morale and are determined to defend their revolutionary gains. This lingering revolutionary consciousness is what has intensified the basic contradictions

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May 30th 1980, Black Wednesday: a bloody day in the history of Khuzestan's Arab People.*

On May 30, 1980 the Islamic Republic regimes plot to suppress the Arab people of Khuzestan was carried out. This plot was put together under the supervision of General Madani, CIA mercenary, and the Islamic Republics choice for governor of Khuzestan, with the direct involvement of the Pasdaran, (so-called revolutionary guards), the city of Khorramshahr Islamic Committee (Komiteh) and the Amal organization (a right wing terrorist Shiite Organization in Lebanon). The bloody plot began at 4 a.m. and by the end of the day had left more than 200 dead and 500 wounded. On this day armed units, primarily of the Amal organization, led by Chamran (killed in the Khuzestan front last month), with masked faces and white bands around their heads, massacred many of the people of Khorramshahr, especially those of the Khout Sheikh region. They were supported by the heavy machinegun fire, hand grenades, and mortar shells of the Pasdaran. They did not even spare women and children. They disconnected telephone lines and controlled all

traffic to Khorramshahr. Schools and shops were shut down in Khorramshahr and Abadan. The Regime quoted Madani as saying at the "invaders" had come from Iraq, but that not one of these invaders was captured. Scores of Khuzestani working people were shot for traveling by boat to save the defenseless people of Khorramshahr. Armed men put "X" marks on the houses of Arab fighters so that they could be arrested and massacred. By nightfall 160 persons were arrested in Khorramshahr, Abadan, and Ahvaz.

Hospitals are filled with the wounded and the Pasdaran would not allow more wounded Arabs to be admitted. Khuzestani masses were overcome by revolutionary rage, and the air of Abadan was filled with cries of "Death to Madani". Military helicopters hovered over Abadan, and the people of Ahvaz burned Madani in effigy. The prisoners began to riot. On this day the media played its reactionary role by playing on the chauvinistic sentiments of

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A Brief Survey of the Workers' Movement in the Past Two Years

In the past year, our country's working class movement acted mainly in a spontaneous manner on a wide scale. Last year, the powerful path of the working class movement was formed in a situation where the proletariat was without militant leadership, that is the working class party. Under these conditions, our main task is to transform the spontaneous movement to a conscious and widespread movement, fuse socialism with the worker's movement, toward concrete tasks, and toward the historical task of the destruction of capitalism and exploitation.

However, to move towards these ends, it is extremely important to have a scientific and objective understanding of

the workers' movement, employ proletarian tactics to locate the working class position in the mass movement, and understand their forms of struggle and demands. By understanding this necessity we can step forward. This will be the first of several issues of KAR in which we will survey and analyze the workers' movement in the last year.

Following a short introduction, we will survey the worker's movement in the years 1978 and 1979, and analyze the movement. By presenting these analyses and also asking other communist organizations to consider and criticize them, we can take steps toward fusion with the working class.

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The Imposed War in Turkaman Sahra and the Murders of Turkaman Leaders

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News Briefs □□□

●The Crimes of the Islamic Republic Exposed.

The brutal massacre of the revolutionaries including the execution of the revolutionary poet Saeed Soltanpour (member of the OIPFG) after being tortured for three months has created a wave of protest and hatred among the freedom loving people all over the world.

The Iranian students including the supporters of the OIPFG held demonstrations in front of the Iranian embassies and consular offices in several countries.

Amnesty International

Amnesty International in a statement urged all freedom loving people to participate in a worldwide campaign against the recent massacre in Iran. The organization strongly condemned recent crimes of the Iranian government.

United States

Supporters of the revolutionary organizations including supporters of the OIPFG participated in a mass demonstration in New York City, Austin (Texas), Chicago on June 26, 1981 to protest the recent mass executions in Iran.

Western Europe

On June 24, about 400 Iranian students held demonstrations in Paris to expose the crimes of the Iranian government. Mercenaries of the Islamic Republic regime called Hezbollahy [partisans of God] attacked the revolutionary students but, the students resisted and fought back.

In a demonstration held in Hamburg, West Germany on June 24, the militant Iranian students including the supporters of the OIPFG took over the Islamic Republic's Consulate in that city. The West German police arrested several revolutionary students in a defense of the Islamic Republic regime. The demonstration and the sit in at the consulate aimed at exposing the brutal massacre by the prevailing regime in Iran. (KAR Special Newsletter No. 4, June 29, 1981).

●Iran Buys Arms from the "Great Satan"

The government of the Islamic Republic finally succeeded in persuading the United States to sell arms to the Iranian regime. General Zahir — Nejad — agent of the U.S. imperialism and the Commander of the Army signed a contract to purchase over a billion dollars of arms from the U.S. Additionally, the Islamic Republic regime recently received 10 F-4 Phantom Fighters from the U.S. in order to further oppress the Iranian masses, in particular, the heroic people of Kurdistan.

It is interesting to note that the contract is signed amidst the so-called anti-imperialist propaganda of the Iranian government. (KAR Special Newsletter No. 4, June 29, 1981).

●From Operating Room to Execution

In mid June 1981 a woman was shot in the eye by the Pasdaran [the so-called Revolutionary Guards] while selling paykar newspapers [the organ of the paykar organization]. She was taken to a hospital to be operated on. The Pasdaran attempted to enter the operating room to detain the woman, but were blocked by the physicians and nurses. The physicians insisted that they would neither allow the pasdaran to enter the operating room nor would they turn in the patient. While the physicians were confronting the pasdaran, few other pasdars arrived with an arrest warrant issued by the chief prosecutor's office to the effect that the injured woman has been sentenced to die in front of a firing squad. At this time the pasdaran forcefully entered the operating room and took the woman for execution. (KAR, No. 117, July 8, 1981).

●The National Unity of Women Condemns Executions

The National Unity of Women [Etehad-e Meli-e Zanan], a democratic women's organization established in March 1979 to fight for social democracy and equal rights for women, issued a statement denouncing recent waves of barbaric mass killings and executions.

In part of the statement we read: "Among the number executed recently, one encounters people who are famous for their struggle against the Shah's regime, and had been imprisoned without any clear charges months before the new wave of protests. Saeed Saltavpour, the well known poet and play-right is among them. However, their struggle against the Shah's regime is now considered 'bad record'".

In another statement the National Unity of Women appealed to struggling people to voice their hatred to anti-people methods adopted by the regime. (KAR No. 117, July 8, 1981).

●Families of Political Prisoners Attacked

In late June a group of families of political prisoners held in Shah's Evin prisons demanded visitation with their captive sons and daughters, but were attacked by tear gas and bullets. The group, numbering between 500 to 600 had been referred to Evin prison after days of searching for their sons and daughters who had disappeared in recent waves of protest. After waiting in a long line the families were read a list of prisoners that had been released and a list of those still held and were denied visitations. When the group insisted they were attacked by machine guns, tear gas and water cannons. (KAR No. 117, July 8, 1981).

●Lavan

On June 22, 1981 when the workers of oil industry complex in Lavan Island [in the Persian Gulf] entered the oil company cafeteria they noticed that walls of the cafeteria were covered with various slogans including a slogan that read: "Don't export oil, they use oil money to buy arms and kill the youth." The Island and the oil company authorities reacted violently and spread an atmosphere of terror all over the Island. (KAR No. 119, July 22, 1981).

●Revolutionary Worker Killed while Distributing Leaflets

A revolutionary worker of Tolid Daroo pharmaceutical company was fatally shot by a so-called revolutionary guard. The shooting took place while the worker was distributing leaflets.

The vanguard workers of Tolid Daroo issued a statement concerning the shooting. Part of the statement reads as follows: "... in recent months this is the second time that our militant fellow workers have been terrorized by the agents of the Islamic Society [government run societies to suppress worker's struggles]. The shooting to death of our fellow revolutionary worker reveals that these mercenaries are fearful of expansion of worker's struggles. It is our revolutionary duty to strengthen our united front against the brutal crimes of the Islamic Society. We demand the immediate arrest and punishment of the murderers of our fellow worker." (KAR Special Newsletter No. 4, June 29, 1981).

●Tolid Daroo Pharmaceutical Company

On July 14, 1981 the workers of one of the divisions of Tolid Daroo stopped working in protest to extremely hot temperature around their work area and demanded to meet with the manager of the division. The manager, fearful of workers protest, refused to meet with striking workers. The workers continued their strike and insisted on their demand for installation of air conditioning. Faced with the unity of workers, the manager first claimed that technically it was impossible to install air conditioning but when workers further insisted, he approved the installation of air conditioning in the division. The striking workers have warned that if the promise is not delivered in 10 days they would go on strike again. (KAR No. 119, July 22, 1981).

●Pars Electric Company

Following the arrest of the workers of the company's plant in Tehran, members of the Pars Electric Islamic Society [a government controlled body] in the company's plant in Karaj some 20 miles West of Tehran demanded the dismissal and arrest of revolutionary workers or what they termed "anti-revolutionary elements." Later the Islamic Society began arresting and purging the workers. The so-called revolutionary guards supported the Islamic Society by participating in the crackdown on revolutionary workers. In this move some of the bourgeois liberal managers were also arrested.

Following the purge, plant authorities distributed a petition asking for workers' support in obtaining the release of arrested managers, but workers refused to sign the petition and demanded the release of the fellow workers instead. (KAR No. 119, July 22, 1981).

●Concentration Camps Established

While the people's heroic struggles have reached a new high, the Islamic Republic regime has resorted to the most brutal forms of oppression. The oppressor forces of the regime ranging from the so-called revolutionary guards to terrorist gangs called Hezbollahy [partisans of God] have essentially taken over the streets in their attempt to contain the struggle of Iranian masses.

Despite all the brutalities committed by the regime, people's struggles are becoming even more widespread. All imperial jails — remnants of the Shah's regime — are full of revolutionaries. Stadiums and sport complexes have been turned into concentration camps. The huge Azadi sport complex near Tehran is the site where thousands of revolutionaries are being held.

All repressive and anti-people regimes use similar methods to contain people's movement. After General Pinochet's coup in Chile all stadiums were turned into jails. Similar method was used in Indonesia after the military coup to detain the communists.

But, when people have risen, none of these methods will stop the revolutionary struggle of the people. (KAR Special Newsletter No. 1, June 18, 1981).

●Execution of 14 year olds

The news of recent executions of 14 year old students by the Islamic Republic regime created a wave of hatred all over the world. In an attempt to nullify the effect of these brutal crimes, the Islamic regime set up a TV interview with the chief justice of the so-called Islamic revolutionary courts — Mohamadi Gilani. Gilani shamelessly said that all those executed were above 18 years of age. It is interesting to note that these young students were charged with carrying knives, salt and pepper while the terrorist gangs of the regime are armed with various kinds of weapons ranging from clubs and knives to machine guns.

Another point that was brought up in Gilani's interview was the fact that some students refused to identify themselves and yet were executed anonymously. Later their bodies were displayed for identification by their parents. In response to this brutal and inhumane act Gilani said that they had been found guilty.

These days the crimes of the Shah's regime are being repeated by the Islamic Republic regime, except this time the so-called revolutionary guards are firing the bullets who in fear of people's reprisal cover their faces with a mask to conceal their identity.

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Introduction

The working class was formed and grew under conditions of dependent capitalist development in Iran. Working class composition is such that only a small minority forms industrial workers. This fraction of the Iranian working class is located in heavy industries such as oil, gas, metallurgy, aluminum, etc. and is concentrated in the new industrial centers formed mainly during the 1970's. A large part of the working class is employed in small productive units as well as sectors such as road and building construction and civil services, formed by the growth of capitalism.

The internal composition of young Iranian workers has been shaped by the growth of dependent capitalism, the impact of imperialism and the expansion of imperialist investment, which resulted in massive emigration from the countryside to the cities. There is no doubt that their mobilization would bring about the quantitative growth of the working class. But at the same time, the existence of these forces who lack consciousness of their class interests has made the working class grow quantitatively, with relatively low qualitative development.

A general survey of the workers' movement shows that in years of suppression, due to the overall social, economic, and political conditions, the working class struggle, economically and politically fell behind relative to previous years, as the working class did not have its own organization. The growth of objective opposites in the last years of the dictatorship and the struggles taking place in the cities after 1976 mobilized massive social forces in our society.

However, because of the particular balance of social forces at this stage of the movement, the modern petty-bourgeoisie was leading the struggle. But the objective struggle of the working class shows that this class was strongly present in the movement after September 8 (Bloody Friday).

Workers' strikes that began in early 1978 around economic issues, developed after September 8; as the mass movement grew, their struggle changed qualitatively and was gradually elevated to massive strikes, such as the industrial oil workers who played an important role in the shah's downfall.

In spite of these realities, because of the objective conditions of working class forces in this stage of the movement, and because of the absence of a working class organization, and throughout the process of struggle leading to the Feb. 11 insurrection, the working class movement did not succeed in any sort of independent class identity. Nevertheless, Iran's working class gained tremendous experience in the revolutionary process. Indeed, the insurrection presented itself as a direct training ground for the working class.

In the revolutionary process, Iran's working class penetrated its great ability as far as possible, realized its own talents, and expanded its consciousness. In a word, the insurrection proved to be a vital means whereby the working class gained greater class consciousness, experience, and determination.

A Summary of the Working Class Movement in 1979

The shah's regime was eventually overthrown by great waves of massive strikes, demonstrations, and, in the last phase, by armed struggle. Although the working class lacked its independent class structure at this time, it played a crucial role. After political power was seized by the "organ of compromise", productive factories were engaged in

WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT

A Brief Survey of the Workers' Movement in the Past Two Years



continuous production by Khomeini's order. Workers began working again, but their struggle continued because the ruling circles were taking up not working class interests and demands but those of the capitalists and feudalists. The working class struggle possessed widespread dimensions after the insurrection, which brought valuable experience for workers. In their daily struggle, workers were gradually increasing their misgivings about the new government, and this was followed by the formation of their independent movement and new forms of struggle. In this process, their class consciousness moved toward revolution more than any other time.

In order to draw a line regarding the position and condition of working class struggle, we study the forms, demands and consciousness of the workers in the year after the insurrection.

Creation of councils, formed before the Feb. 11 political revolution, took place in most factories after the revolution as well. The working class began to form a new type of organization, in opposition to the yellow syndicates formed by the shah's regime. Activities of intellectuals in factories under a relatively democratic situation was a determining and favorable factor in the formation of these new organs. Worker's councils vigorously put forward economic and political demands. As such, the independent councils became the organs whereby worker's demands were raised. In some places, the singularity of workers' interests and the element of consciousness presented a superior form of workers' solidarity, such as the unity of councils in Tabriz and elsewhere.

The economic crisis, the escape of the capitalists, the overthrow of the shah's regime and the objection of the masses to the system of the bourgeoisie resulted in the closing of most of the factories, and industrial and construction projects were shelved. Therefore, after the uprising, the struggles of the workers focused on opening and returning to the factories, and being paid back wages by the owners.

In some of the factories where the owner has escaped, the councils demon-

strated their power with their control of the factories. Most of the workers fired during the shah's regime returned to their jobs. The expulsion of anti-worker personnel and mercenaries was another axis of the workers' struggle at that time. In this respect the unemployed workers were taking steps in the expanded struggle. The workers soon began to confront the government in their struggle. A series of demonstrations, sit-ins, etc., forced the government to pay unemployment benefits. The main form of struggle on that period was the sit-in.

On May 1st, 1979, the working class with its massive participation in the celebration of international workers' day, showed its class unity. The participation of thousands of workers in the communists' demonstration was a manifestation of the workers' awareness.

The dispersed struggle of the workers continued and it soon came into direct confrontation with the government. Although in June, the workers' demand for the 40 hour work week was not well organized, they brought this demand to the fore very effectively. The main form of the struggle in this period changed from the sit-in to the strike. With the fierce massacre of the Kurdish people and the attacks on political organizations and democratic freedoms (movement), the workers' movement temporarily subsided. But the following September, the workers' struggle saw moving forward again. Demonstrations by unemployed workers increased again, due to the governments' cutting off of unemployment benefits, of course, the occupation of the U.S. embassy diverted the proletariat from the economic struggle; at the same time, however the highly politicized atmosphere within the society did result in some measure of working class political activity. Here the working class largely followed one wing of the regime. Many workers participated in demonstrations under the leadership of the bourgeoisie and the compromising petty-bourgeoisie. But, the seeds of independent working class could be discerned in this period. An example is the well organized demonstration of the union of councils of

expanded organizations of the confederation of councils of East Tehran. At this time, the process of the workers' struggle was directed toward strengthening the councils; the workers anti-capitalism was bolstered and continued with such actions as expropriation of imperialist capital. For workers, therefore, rather than trust the government's so-called anti-imperialism; themselves engaged in direct action and in the process of this struggle found themselves in confrontation with the government.

By around January, the working class has lessened its uncritical thrust in the government. The struggle of the working class ascended once again. During February and March worker's struggled around issues of profit-sharing and wages' the struggle to increase the council's power was also taking place. In the process of this struggle, workers became conscious of the necessity for centralization and unity of councils. Some steps were taken in this direction. A notable example was the formation of the union of Gilan Councils. The end of 1979 saw the councils playing a major role in the leadership of most of the struggles.

To summarize, the spontaneous and autonomous movement of the working class, with its advances and setbacks characterized 1979. At first the struggles were directed mainly toward working conditions, resuming production and keeping factories operating. The absence of managers and capitalists in some factories resulted in council control of the factory. But this development was not conscious, deliberate one. The councils did not have the political consciousness that would make them aware of the need to replace the old system with the new, or to question the legitimacy of capitalism. Thus for the most part they carried out their activities imagining that they had (capitalist) government's support.

But all the while the workers were gaining experience in their struggles, especially when facing the government. While at first workers wrote letters, circulated petitions and appealed to the people and governmental organs, these forms changed and such "direct action" as the strike was taken up. The workers questioned the provisional government-led by Bazargan and opposed it on the basis of the intensification of the economic crisis, non-satisfaction of their demands and expectations, use of repressive methods, etc. Suppression of the Kurdish people and the assault on democratic rights by the Islamic Republican regime, and in turn the Kurdish people's resistance and their relative victory, intensified this. The contradictions within the government grew; due to the low level of connection between the communist movement and the working class movement. The Islamic Republic party succeeded in setting the liberals aside and creating illusions among the workers about its own nature. Although at this juncture there were more connections between the communist movement and the working class movement, these links were strong enough to prevent this.

But the changing course of political developments process of the struggle between revolution and anti-revolution, and the experiences resulting from it, contributed to the growth of workers' consciousness and resulted in fundamental changes in the awareness of this class. After a short while, further experience and struggles of the workers gave rise to a rapid decline in their trust towards the I.R.P.

The independent struggles of the workers were extended and based on this objective factor. The role of communists materialized more than before in the working class struggles.

Bobby Sand's Successor Hughes Dies *



With his heroic death after a 59-day political fast in England's prison, the jailed Irish freedom fighter Francis Hughes affirmed his loyalty to the Irish people's liberation cause.

Hughes was one of 440 captive fighters who following Bobby Sands' death vowed to continue fasting, one after the other, until Sands' demands were met.

Fasting by enchained Irish freedom fighters has become an effective political weapon in spreading the struggle of the Irish people and has turned into a difficult problem for the English Imperialists.

It has ripped open the steel walls of English Imperialist jails and unmasked their phoney democracy, revealing vicious Imperialism beneath. Coupled with waves of working class protests throughout the country, this action has dealt a heavy blow on English Imperialism. The Imperialist media, for instance, were forced to admit that 72 percent of the English people blame Thatcher for the events. This revelation is also a sign

of deepening internal conflict among the Imperialists.

In recent weeks people all over the world have come out to protest against Imperialism and to show their solidarity with the Irish people.

In Oslo, the Norwegian people threw stones at the visiting English Queen. In Italy there were protests everywhere. The Red Brigades blew up the English Chamber of Commerce to express their solidarity with the Irish. In Rome, demonstrators dashed with club-wielding police. In Portugal, a bomb exploded near the British Royal Club in Lisbon. In the U.S., aside from protest rallies in different cities, the Longshoremen refused to load or unload English ships for 24 hours. In the Middle East and other parts of the world working people, revolutionary socialist parties and organizations stressed their support for the heroic people of Ireland.

The speed with which the waves of struggle are spreading in Ireland is reminiscent of the enormous energy unleashed in 1979 when our country's mas-

ses came out in the millions to depose the Shah.

On the other hand, the fate of that movement, dictated by the absence of the revolutionary leadership of the proletariat, and the fact that the working class followed the lead of the middle bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie has taught valuable lessons to the Irish Liberation movement. The following questions are now raised as regards the Irish liberation movement:

- Where will the movement's present course lead to?
- What policies will the revolutionary forces of Ireland, especially the Communists, employ to mobilize and guide this popular energy?
- How far, and in what direction will the IRA (which is now leading this struggle) lead the movement?

In future articles we will devote ourselves to a comprehensive analysis in answer to these questions in order to provide an accurate understanding of the class characteristics of the leadership of the Irish liberation movement, including

its leading Organization or Organizations (including the IRA). We must point out, however, that the Irish liberation movement lacks the consistent and aggressive leadership of the proletariat, and that true and definite victory is not foreseeable in the near future.

Learning from the experience of Iran and other similar movements, the revolutionary communists in Ireland must be very careful to participate actively, effectively, and decisively in this movement. They must pay ample attention to the fact that Imperialism does not reside only in the British Royal Court, and that world Imperialism and the native bourgeoisie must also be dealt with.

* KAR No. 110, May 20, 1981

Excerpts from a message from Political Prisoners at Ghezel—Hessar Prison on the occasion of May Day*

A glance through the history of the workers in our country will reveal a wealth in struggles, bravery, and resistance. As awareness increases among the working people, so does the conspiracy and oppression used against them by the bourgeoisie.

In the process of their struggles, the workers and toilers of our country today are becoming increasingly aware that the reestablishment of economic and military dependency on the Imperialists, the renewal of contracts with multinationals (whose abolition was demanded by all the masses in the insurrection), the reconstruction of the army and SAVAK, are all attempts by the Islamic Republic regime to suppress the working classes and revolutionary forces.

Now that the government is unable to provide for the needs of the people, the conflict between existing government factions is on the rise. The IRP (Islamic Republican Party), which has gained control over many positions of power in government, will refrain from no crime to maintain its gains. The Liberals are meanwhile trying to exploit the crisis before it gets too late, by mobilizing the people's discontent against the IRP, pointing at its methods of suppression, at the

same time that they deceitfully portray themselves as protectors of freedom, defenders of rights, and saviors of the economy. The Liberals hope that this trick will buy them popular support, enabling them to gain some ground against their rival factions in government.

In the meantime the Tudeh Party and the treacherous "Majority" are pulling on the workers' chains of oppression and urging them on behalf of Imperialism and dependant capitalists to dig their own graves by producing more and consuming less. In the name of anti-Imperialist struggle they conceal the suppression and the crimes committed by the regime.

With the conviction that one day the workers of Iran will in the forefront of the toiling peoples raise the red flag of victory over the rubble of the old system, and with cries of "Death to Imperialism" and "Death to Capitalists" bury the remains of the ruling counter-revolutionaries and all traitors to the cause of the workers: Hail to May Day, Death to World Imperialism, Led by U.S. Imperialism and its internal base in Iran.

Supporters of OIPFG.

* KAR No. 109, May 13, 1981

Message from Political Prisoners on the Occasion of May Day

We honor May Day, this great celebration of the workers of the world, away from the workers and toilers of our country and away from you, our comrades of the OIPFG. The first of May is the auspicious day when every year the workers the world over celebrate and reaffirm their pledge to struggle united to abolish the oppression of capital and of imperialism. In an attempt to mislead the workers, the Islamic Republic regime is planning to hold a ceremony "in honor" of the day. The workers of our land will either be forced to participate in these phoney celebrations under the anti-labor banner of the Islamic Republic, or face brutal treatment and imprisonment if they attempt to hold independent ceremonies. In conditions where the workers struggle is on the upswing and their protests and strikes are everyday answered by bullets from the "Pasdaran" (so called revolutionary guards), the reactionary war between the governments of Iran and Iraq has subjected them to unbearable miseries of rising prices, famine, and homelessness. In time of brutal suppression of the oppressed peoples of our country, especially the Kurds, and in a year in which the government has promised to provide security, to uphold the law to protect capital and to continue exploitation of the workers, the democratic

rights of the masses are violated in an atmosphere of terror, violence, torture, and executions. Jails are filled with revolutionary workers and those who fight for the freedom of the Proletariat, and the movement of the working people, in joining forces with the OIPFG and other revolutionary element, will become an enormous sweeping wave, bringing down the shakey pillars of the government.

We, the supporters of the OIPFG honor this great day; and from inside the prisons of the anti-popular Islamic Republican regime, we send our greetings to all workers and to the OIPFG, reaffirming our pledge to determinedly struggle for the achievement of the ideals of the working classes, and to reveal the deceitful plots of the Islamic Republican Party and the Liberals.

Death to World Imperialism led by the U.S. Imperialism, and its internal base in Iran. Hail to the red banner of the OIPFG.

Supporters of the OIPFG
Evin Prison

* KAR No. 108, May 6, 1981

Tudeh Party ■■■

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no longer acceptable to the people, more realistic individuals — e.g. the crown prince or probably Amouzegar, Ansari or at most Bakhtiar — should assume office before things get out of hand thus threatening the interests of the country even more? There is, of course, one condition, namely that the party should be allowed to have open activity and also offices! Is the important tactical slogan of the party anything but "Hail to Bakhtiar"?

Even when the movement was gaining momentum, the party did not stop its "principled" treason. They said that the Tabriz insurrection was the work of bums, thugs and Savak agents:

"The regime has resorted to its usual methods: It has tried to use the deliberate destruction wrought by its Savak agents to justify its barbarism, and harass and offend those who, enjoying their legal rights, were engaged in a completely orderly demonstration." (Navid Special Issue, No. 9, March 1978). (Later the party denied that it had said such a thing and claimed that it was the work of Savak. However, noting the party's past history — for example its stand on the 1963 uprising which was then characterized as reactionary, later as progressive — the authenticity of this quotation is not inconceivable). Furthermore, as millions of people were chanting in the

streets "Death to the Pahlavi rule" the party concluded on the basis of its "principled line" that the *overthrow of the monarchy is not necessary!*: "Should the overthrow of the Shah's despotic monarchy also mean the overthrow of monarchy in general? In our opinion, no. Even the overthrow of despotism may not yet mean the abolition of monarchy and the establishment of a republic, which is one of the demands of our party and the people." (Besoooye Hezb, No. 10, 1978). This was the party's stand during the time when the movement was at its peak. Thus, even in these last moments it perceived its treasons as "principled" and continued pursuing them. In fact prior to the Uprising, the party never went beyond the most outdated slogans of such

liberals as Sanjabi, Foroohar, Bazargan and even the traitor Bakhtiar, slogans like, "The Shah should be a king not a ruler" and so continued its record of treasons. Indeed, following the Uprising the "principled treasons" of the Tudeh Party have continued with new about-faces. These will be studied in the next issue.

To be Continued.

* KAR, No. 106, April 22, 1981



May 30th 1980, Black Wednesday: a bloody day in the history of Khuzestan's Arab People *

continued from cover

non-Arabs and distorting the facts.

The people started defending themselves with Molotov cocktails, hunting weapons, sticks and stones. Thousands of people from Abadan and Ahvaz set out to Khorramshahr to aid their brothers and sisters, but the security forces prevented them from entering the city. The Arabs of Shadegan set out on foot for Khorramshahr, which was in flames. Gas stations and capitalist-owned buildings set afire by the people overcome by revolutionary rage. Air Force planes bombarded more than 5 border villages. Gun shots could be heard continuously for 3 days. Martial law was announced in the city. The shooting was so intense that the people were not able to gather their fallen martyrs. They were not allowed burial ceremonies for their dead and were forced to bury them at their homes. Many bodies were drowned in the river. After 3 days of massacre, people dressed in black started walking toward Khorramshahr from Abadan and surrounding villages. They chanted: "We are Arab people, not Arabic speaking people", "Kurds and Arabs will unite and become allies" and "Iran is our home and motherland".

Near the Khorramshahr bridge thousands of marching people were sprayed with bullets. Six were killed and dozens injured. The marchers took refuge in the Shobair-Khaghani mosque. They demanded in a statement that Madani be removed and put on trial. They also demanded the punishment of the perpetrators of the bloody massacre of the Arab people and the release from prison of all political prisoners. While hundreds of thousands of the Arab working masses were prepared to go to any length to defend their just rights, the religious leadership (Shobair-Khaghani) wasted this great thrust by the masses. Some Arab prisoners were freed and Shobair Khaghani ordered the crowd to disperse. At the same time, a grenade exploded in the Jamee mosque of Khorramshahr; the real perpetrator was found only after five innocent people were put to death a few hours after their arrests.

The catastrophe caused by the Islamic Republic can only be compared to the massacres in Deir-Yassin and Tal-Zaatar of Palestine and those in Gharena, Ghaletan, and Indarghash of Kurdistan.

The roots of the conspiracy and attack on the Arab people:

An analysis of the actions by the government since the uprising of Feb. 79 in various areas such as Kurdistan, Torkman Sahra, Khuzestan, etc. reveals that what occurred in these areas and led to the murders of thousands of people, was not haphazard and without a programmed purpose. The new government was confronted by the revolutionary masses, and intended to retake the fruits of their insurrection and prevent the continuation and further deepening of the revolution. This policy was implemented in all possible ways and for all classes and layers of people from the workers, peasants and toilers to the oppressed peoples. Oppressed peoples such as Kurds, Turkmans, Arabs, Baluchis . . . who had for years been subjected to exploitation by the murderous regime of the Shah, were demanding their democratic rights now that he was



خلق عرب زیرشهادتترین فشارها، علیه تیمسار مدنی وسیاست های ضد انقلابی رژیم جمهوری اسلامی، به اعتراض برخاسته است.

gone. But the government only pretended to support the deprived and "Mostazafan" of society and has in reality suppressed them anywhere they have stood up to demand their rights. Only a few weeks after the Monarchist regime was toppled, the Islamic Republic massacred the people of Kurdistan (in Sanandaj, March 79), the people of Torkman Sahra (Gonbad, April 79), and Khuzestan (Khorramshahr, May 79). The new regime demonstrated its opposition to the recognition of the democratic rights of the working masses of Iran.

Oppressed peoples such as Kurds, Turkmans, Arabs, Baluchis . . . who had for years been subjected to exploitation by the murderous regime of the Shah, were demanding their democratic rights now that he was gone. But the government only pretended to support the deprived and "Mostazafan" of society and has in reality suppressed them anywhere they have stood up to demand their rights.

Around this time Amirentezam, the former spokesman for the Islamic republic government, who is now on trial on charges of spying for the U.S., said about the demands of the Arab people: "There are only a few thousand Arabs. If they talk too much we will throw them in the sea." Bazargan, the Imam's choice for prime minister called the Arab people "Arabic speaking people," shedding doubt on their national and tribal characteristics. The heads of the Islamic republic rigged plans for suppression by pointing out the differences between Arabs and non-Arabs, blowing the instigations by the Iraqi government out of proportion, and applying the "separatist" label to the Arab people who have repeatedly stated that they are only demanding their democratic rights within the bounds of the territorial integrity of Iran. Merchants and capitalists in Khuzestan (the majority of which are non-Arabs) accused the Arabs of seeking to throw non-Arabs out of Khuzestan! Suppression of the Arab people was initiated according to a calculated plan. The first attack on revolutionary forces in Khuzestan occurred on April 20th. On this day the well-organized armed attack on the OPIFG headquarters in Abadan left 7 comrades wounded and 39 comrades were arrested. During the next few days the cultural-military center of Khorramshahr (which was founded by Karami, the reactionary clergyman who supported the Shah, and dozens of backward youth) distributed a statement attacking the Arab people. This move enraged the people. The regime declared its decision to crack down on the Arab people by appointing Madani to the governorship of Khuzestan. His first step in suppressing the people was to announce in a meeting with the city government officials the evacuation of

the headquarters of Arab political organizations. This order met with popular resistance. But he had newer designs in implementing the Islamic Republics plans of suppression. On May 29 a clash occurred between the workers of the Khorramshahr terminal, who were sitting-in to demand their just rights, and the Pasdaran who were blocking the entrance to the customs area.

One of the Pasdaran guards was killed and a few others wounded. This event was the spark that the reac-

tionaries — Madani, the merchants, the heads of the Pasdaran and the committee (komiteh) — were waiting for. The clash was followed by the events of May 30th.

Weakness of revolutionary subjective conditions and the Influence of Reactionary Sheikhs and the Religious Leadership

Unlike in Kurdistan and Torkman Sahra where, due to long history of struggle, the progressive and revolutionary organization played a significant role in the leadership of the movement in these regions, in Khuzestan the movement of Arab people suffers from a severe weakness of subjective conditions. In the past years, progressive and revolutionary organizations have not been able to establish a mass base in Khuzestan and gain a significant prestige among the masses. Also, the revolutionary and progressive intellectuals of the Arab people have not been able to raise the consciousness of the masses due to a mixed population of Arab and other na-

tionalties in urban areas and predominantly Arab populations in villages and tribal regions. Thus, the reactionary Arab Sheikhs and religious elements have played a significant role in leadership of Arab masses.

Iraq's Reactionary Role and its phoney claim to support the Arab people

The Iraq's reactionary regime who is the oppressor of the Iraqi people and has taken away the workers and the peasants democratic rights have always taken advantage of the democratic demands of Khuzistan's Arab people to achieve its ambitiousness in the Persian Gulf region. To accomplish its goals, the Iraqi regime has posed as a supporter of the Khuzistan's Arab people and has actively supported the Khuzistan's reactionary Arab Sheikhs. But these have not contributed the Khuzistan's Arab people in their struggle for autonomy. On the contrary, the Iraqi efforts have been used as an excuse by anti-people regimes such as the Shah's and the Islamic Republic regime to suppress the Arab working class under the pretext of Iraqi infiltrations. Even though the conscious and militant forces of Arab people have become aware of Iraq's government deceptions, but due to lack of consciousness, and the absence of revolutionary organizations, the Arab population have not yet become aware of the anti-people nature of the Iraqi regime. In the absence of a strong support for the Arab people on part of the other Iranian nationalities, the Arab people have no choice but to rely on Iraq in their struggle for autonomy and democracy.

But, the ongoing war between Iran and Iraq has made people aware of the fact that neither governments have any concern for the lives of Arab masses. The Iran-Iraq war proved that the Iraqi's oppressor army is prepared to attack people's lives and shelters in order to safeguard the interests of the capitalist government of Iraq.

The Tasks of the Revolutionary Forces

It is the task of the revolutionary forces to actively defend Arab people's right for autonomy. The revolutionary forces must participate in everyday currents and events in Khuzistan in order to draw a line of demarcation between revolutionary policies and national chauvinistic tendencies and expose dependent bourgeois policies and agitate the unity of Iranian oppressed peoples.

The revolutionary forces must try to promote nationalities rights for autonomy and clarify the Iranian masses' perception about the nationalities question. With the implementation of such a policy will the unity of Arab people with the anti-imperialist and democratic movement of Iranian working class and other Iranian nationalities be accomplished.



On the anniversary of the Bloody Wednesday we commemorate the martyres of Khuzistan's Arab people and express our support for and solidarity with the just struggles of the Arab people.

* KAR No. 112, June 3, 1981



After the glorious Uprising of February 1979, many of the dependent capitalists and big landowners of Iran fled the country. Others, however, went into hiding and waited in anticipation of an opportunity. This latter group along with the agents of the big landowners and dependents of the Pahlavi court soon discovered that the new regime not only has no objection to private property and the exploitation of the working masses, but they are themselves trying to reconstruct the dependent capitalist system, and that it is only the independent action of the masses which will strike fatal blows to their class interests.

At this time, after years of deprivation and injustice, the Turkman toiling peasants managed to confiscate the lands that had been taken away from them by the courtiers and high ranking military officers of the Pahlavi regime. They even took one step further and, with help from revolutionary forces, formed their own councils and farmer's unions to protect their hard-earned achievements against the conspiracies of landowners and agents of capital. It was obvious, however, that on the one hand the agents of the landowners would not sit still; it was also clear that a government that seeks to perpetrate the dependent capitalist system cannot witness silently the confiscation of the properties of big landowners by peasant councils. Moreover, the government deemed this as a pattern that could propagate throughout the country.

So the landowners agents continued to conspire: first, they had religious authorities declare that there was no confiscation in Islam. Next, they kindled ethnic discord among the Fars, Turkish, Turkman, Baluchi,....peoples. And when all these plots failed, they contrived a new plan. They formed a clandestine committee comprising of dependents of the Pahlavi court, agents of Hojabre Yazdani (a rich and influential capitalist with close ties to the former regime), and Hojjatoleslam Siami (representative of Ayatollah Shariatmadari). They armed a group of mercenaries to attack the headquarters of the Councils of the Turkman People, the heart of the Turkman-Sahra councils. All of these tactics were implemented with the blessing of the Pasdaran [Revolutionary Guards].

Finally, the plots of these criminals surfaced just before the anniversary of the Siahkal Resurgence [the first armed action by the O.I.P.F.G. that marked the beginning of the armed struggle in Iran]. The above mentioned committee declared, a few days before the February 8 event, that it intended to dismantle all the councils on February 9. On the other hand, on Feb. 6 the Pasdaran unit from the city of Gonbad issued, orders from Tehran, a declaration condemning the participants of the Feb. 8 march as defenders of imperialism and "social-imperialism". The march was denounced as a conspiracy, while the Councils' H.Q. had obtained permission from the Governor's Office prior to the march.

On the eve of the anniversary, the Pasdaran, under orders from Tehran, kidnapped four revolutionary leaders and founders of the Turkman-Sahra councils and murdered them a few days later. These facts clearly demonstrated that the government of the Islamic Republic was trying to repeat the Kurdistan atrocities in the Gonbad region and the Pasdaran are complying with the Islamic Republic Party's [IRP] wishes.

The conspiracy began with the attack on the Feb. 8 march. In order to launch attacks against the Turkman people in every possible way, the Tehran Pasdaran, in a slanderous and false declaration "revealed the murder of 12 Pasdaran brothers". The Feb. 9 issue of the Islamic Republic newspaper reflected

NATIONALITIES MOVEMENT

The Imposed War in Turkman Sahra and the Murders of Turkman Leaders

this news with a great deal of emphasis. The newspaper falsified the Turkman-Sahra events and called the Turkman people "conspirators and warmongers", while the landowners and local reactionaries (i.e. members of the clandestine committee) were praised as the "true Moslems" of the region!

The war spread after Feb. 9. At first, the Pasdaran were fighting the Turkman people; but after a ceasefire declared three days later, the Army stepped in with full strength. In a T.V. interview the Gonbad Pasdaran commander expressed his only regret: he did not have access to 50 mm guns to destroy the people's livelihoods to the desired extent!

Thus, all instruments of oppression (mercenaries, landowners, local reactionaries, and Army and Pasdaran commanders) joined hands to violently uproot the Turkman people and annihilate this focus of struggle and resistance. Their goal was to eliminate the heads of the councils, create an atmosphere of terror and intimidation, and annihilate the peasant's councils, create an atmosphere of terror and intimidation, and annihilate the peasants councils—the very foundations of people's rule.

The following is a glimpse at the crimes of the oppressors:

Murder of the leaders of the Turkman People's Councils

After the arrest of the four leaders of the Turkman-Sahra councils, comrades Derakhshandeh Toomaj, Tavagh Mohammad Vahedi, Abdol-Hakim Makhloom, and Hossein Jorjani, and their transfer to Tehran, they were returned to Gonbad on Feb. 17, to "complete the investigations". It is important to note that 5 days earlier Ayatollah Khalkhali [The Head of "Revolutionary Courts" and known as The Executioner Ayatollah] arrived in Gonbad to try those arrested, and our comrades were probably taken to Khalkhali to determine their fate. On February 18 their bodies were found under a bridge outside the city. The Medical Examiner reported that the four men had been executed after being subjected to brutal torture.

When the news of the incident was printed in the nations newspapers four days later, the initial reaction from both sectors of the government (i.e. the liberals and the Islamic Republic Party) was that of silence. Next, a cover-up story was fabricated that nobody believed: false accounts of confrontations between a

fictitious "Turkman Fedayeen Group" and the Pasdaran were circulated and used as justification for the "arrest" and subsequent murder of the Turkman leaders, but to no avail.

Oddly enough, Bani-Sadr appointed Abu-Sharif, commander of the Pasdaran as the head of the commission charged with investigating the case! The Commission travelled to Gonbad on the 26th of February, returning on the same day. The mass media, and especially the Islamic Republic newspaper, carried on the 27th a statement by the "Turkman Fedayeen Group". Bani-Sadr said on the same day that "there was the case of four persons getting killed mysteriously with rumors flying around the Pasdaran involvement. When I assigned the commanders of the Pasdaran, their first task was to investigate and act accordingly if the rumors were substantiated. It turned out, however, that there were two guerilla groups who had a confrontation and one killed members of the other". But no one believed this fabricated story.

After three days of fighting, it appeared that a ceasefire was agreed upon, and the Army moved in to "maintain order" in the city. In order to prevent any instigation, the Turkman's requested that the Army move in on Monday morning. In spite of this request, Army tanks rolled into the city at 6:30 p.m. Sunday, and the Pasdaran, protected by the Army, commenced the attack. The shooting intensified throughout the following days, while the Army tanks advanced into the city. The army cannons destroyed the Ministry of Education building and several other buildings. The Teacher-Education building and the Turkman People's Councils H.Q. were also left in a shambles. The Army deployed military equipment suited for a full scale war. From G-3's to RPJ-7's. From 50mm guns to 106mm cannons and Cheffain tanks were used to destroy the Turkmans. Not only the Pasdaran, but all sorts of armed mercenaries and reactionaries were involved in murdering the Turkmans and plundering their homes. The Pasdaran carried out a house to house search looking for Council activists, and arrested those they found.

Turkman districts of the city were fired at. Residents of a village watched as their homes were pillaged and then burnt. Some of the elderly, who had not been able to escape, were arrested, abused and tortured in order to get information about those who had left.

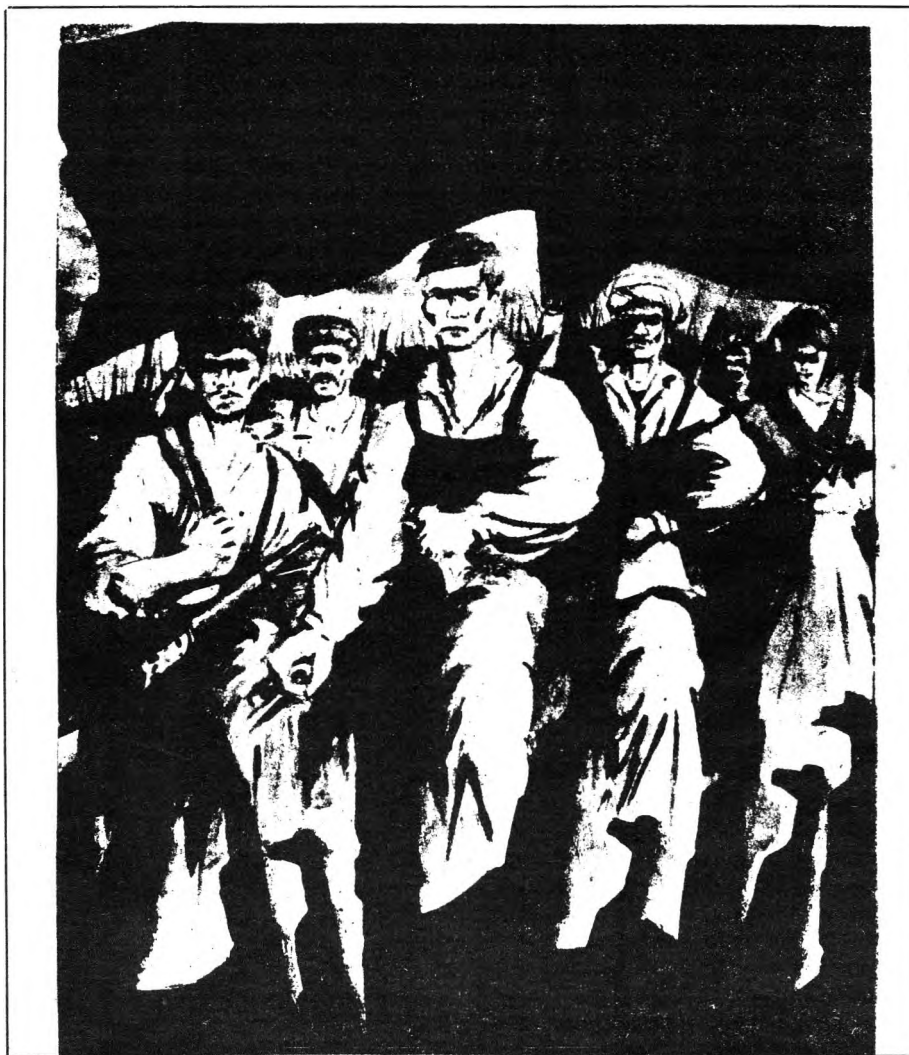
After midnight Tuesday, Feb. 12, the Turkmans who had stayed in town decided to leave for fear of their lives. But since the streets of the city were under constant heavy fire, the citizens found it impossible to leave their homes. They had to bore holes through the walls and travel house to house, leaving the city using the only bridge that could safely lead them out. Carrying their dead and wounded on their backs they retreated to the distant villages.

The Feb. 27 issue of Keyhan newspaper quoted Hojjatoleslam Tabatabai as making the following remarks about the number of war casualties: Exactly 36 Pasdars and others were killed, and 167 were wounded. As for the Turkmans, there were no accurate estimates since they are being cared for in the homes. The Gendarmerie and the city police, however, report their numbers at 67 dead and 81 wounded". The number of casualties is placed at much higher than this by members of a group of attorneys that investigated the incidents.

Kangaroo Courts Trials and Summary Executions

During the conflict and after its ending, "the Hit Squad of Pasdaran," stationed in Gonbad** and the rest of Turk-

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Turkman Leaders ■■■

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man Sahra, under Khalkhali's command, committed such atrocities against people's lives that were unprecedented since the Mongolian invasion of Iran. They ferociously raided people's homes hounding the dissenters and revolutionaries; who were then shot without undergoing trial and with Khalkhali's mere decree. Their bodies were dumped at every corner of town. It is interesting to note that the President and other officials were informed of these murders through Mehdi Tabatabai, Mazandaran's Public Prosecutor; however, they have not taken any action yet. Ettalaat daily paper, quoted Tabatabai regarding the incident as saying: "Having investigated the events of Gonbad for three days, reported Tehran about my findings: there were 36 dead (from the Revolutionary Guards). Also, 23 corpses were found, all signs indicating that they were shot at their upper chest area, similar to an execution. The President and the Chief Prosecutor were reported to about my inquiries; examination of the case is still in the process."

Bani-Sadr, the collaborator in crimes, justifies the plots

Nowadays, Bani-Sadre has bolstered the banner of "Freedom" and denounces torture! He objects to the prevalent injustice and persuades people to strive against oppression. He has gone as far as calling his second year in the office as the year of "resistance" against exercise of force. Should we take a glimpse at his first few months of Presidency--while he enjoyed greater authority--it will become evident that his words and assertions are but meaningless rhetoric, designed to mislead the masses and for gaining their trust.

Bani-Sadr has played an insincere role in the events of Gonbad: The war Turkmans were imposed upon, and the repressive measures taken against their councils. At first, he takes part in the regime's plots by altering the news and tampering with the facts. In his paper, "Islamic Revolution," he publishes the fallacious report of Fedaii Guerilla disarming of two Gendarmerie posts in the vicinity of the Soviet borders! While well aware of the events that led to the tragic deaths of the four Turkman leaders, he also states: some link up the murdering of Turkmans to the Pasdaran; according to our scrutinies, however, they were victims of disagreements between two guerilla organizations.

Bani-Sadr's enmity toward the Peasant's Councils and the people of Turkman Sahra is well known. In fact, sensing the grave danger the Turkman Councils

pose against the bourgeoisie Government, in a speech in Khuzistan province, he said: "We shall search from house to house [to arrest Council members], and yet, that will be a small fraction of our determination." Ensuing the assaults on Turkman people's lives, in order to conceal his bloody hands, Bani-Sadr called for a debate on a television broadcast.** During the entire debate, he gave his utmost efforts to justify disarmament of the masses; and knowing "Central Committee" delegates' shaky positions, he pursued his views with greater insistence.

In his remarks, Bani-Sadr, explicitly revealed the antagonism he sustains against the Councils in Turkman Sahra. Addressing "Central Committee's" representatives, he said: "What sort of functions did you have in mind for these newfangled Peasant's Councils? Were they set to help solve their problems? Or, those of fighting the government? Hereby, Bani-Sadr, cunningly blames the fighting on the Turkman Councils. He should have been reminded that the Turkmans were forced to maintain a war, because of their demands for a revolutionary land reform. It was Bani-Sadr who, months after the war, flatly rejected the Councils.

Throughout the debate, Bani-Sadr avoided responding to the questions raised about the crimes in Turkman Sahra, which millions wanted to hear.

One year has gone by since the commencement of the war forced on the heroic Turkman people. It has been a year of hardships, filled with valuable experience for the Turkmans. They have realized that the pursuers of "Freedom" [the Liberals], are just as evil in their acts of repression as those of the "Islamic Republic Party," and that they are the two sides of the same coin.

The Turkman masses have found out well, that despite "Central Committee" opportunists' claims that "We shall fight side by side with the masses, wherever it may be, "in practice they have left them alone. In Kurdistan, Turkman Sahra, and...they "bargained" with the regime in lieu of fighting on the side of the masses.

Hence, the Turkman people will know that only by relying upon their organized forces, with the support of the peoples of Iran, and a genuine leadership lent by the revolutionary vanguards of the working class, they will be able to continue their struggle for land, water, a better life and procurement of their national rights.

* KAR, Special Issue on Turkman Sahra, Feb. 18, 1981

** Town in Northeast Iran (Part of the Mazandaran province).

*** The debate took place between Bani-Sadr and representatives of the OIPFG shortly before the split in the Organization.



The people of Kurdistan demonstrate to protest the killing of Turkman Leaders-Feb. 1980

Death to the IRP

continued from cover

within the government.

For two years after the February uprising, the masses gave unconditional support to the new government without seeing its anti-revolutionary character. Finally the masses have now begun to recognize the true anti-revolutionary nature of the government.

These new conditions call for new slogans, tactics and tasks. We must now propose slogans that question the very existence of the ruling apparatus. But, these slogans must be picked according to the present stage of the mass movement, situation of the ruling apparatus, subjective conditions of the masses, and the balance of the class forces. Thus it is not possible to call for the overthrow of the regime directly, rather we must begin from the weakest and the most vulnerable segment of the ruling apparatus. This weakest segment, i.e., the segment that is hated by a large portion of the population, is the Islamic Republican Party [IRP]. The IRP has blocked the growth of the class struggle and has constantly confronted the masses. Thus, the IRP is our most appropriate target under the present circumstances. Therefore, our slogan is: "Death to the Islamic Republican Party." This is not a premature slogan because masses are now adopting it. Also, the slogan can not be regarded as a reformist slogan because it is clear to everyone that the IRP has taken control of the three branches of the government, all major governmental posts, and all organs of oppression. [This refers to the fact that some groups called for the downfall of the IRP while liberal bourgeoisie were still in the government. Thus the call was seen as giving support to the liberals, thus being reformist].

Yet today, all opposition forces from revolutionary forces to anti-revolutionary bourgeoisie liberals accept this slogan. So what tactic should we adopt so that the slogan is realized and at the same time the revolutionary struggle of the masses is advanced? This tactic should be able — considering the level of mass movement, subjective conditions and balance of the forces — to advance the revolution one step further. In the light of the prevailing objective and subjective conditions already mentioned, this tactic is to propose the formation of a constituent assembly. With the adoption of this slogan we particularly disarm the bourgeois liberals because, with this slogan we can block any attempt to make reforms within the pre-

sent system. Instead, by calling for formation of a constituent assembly we can designate what mass organization should and could form a truly revolutionary and democratic constituent assembly. We must nullify reformist tactics of various bourgeois liberals who are fearful of mass movement and who propose piecemeal reforms in the present system implemented from above rather than from the grassroots. For example, Bani-Sadr has recently set forth a referendum to change some articles of the constitution. But this is a reformist slogan since it intends to implement change from above.

It must be noted that the formation of a constituent assembly is not an independent objective, rather it is a revolutionary tactic under the present circumstances. Calling for a constituent assembly does not mean that we believe in bourgeois institutions. We know well that a constituent assembly, from a historical perspective, a bourgeois phenomenon and that the era of parliamentarism and bourgeois institutions have come to an end. But, this does not mean that a constituent assembly has lost its effectiveness in particular cases.

We must not, however, limit ourselves to this slogan since, at a certain stage of the development of the movement, the bourgeoisie would also accept the formation of a constituent assembly. Therefore, it is necessary to set forth the formation of revolutionary councils and concurrent with it the formation of a mass militia. Without these further slogans the formation of a constituent assembly does not mean anything and it would serve only as a complement to the organs of repression, such as the army, rather than serving the interest of the revolution.

Furthermore, we must realize that we live in a revolutionary era in which rapid changes at any time might lead to masses revolutionary rule, thus bypassing the need for a constituent assembly. Thus we must prepare ourselves for forms of revolutionary struggle at a higher level. But, if under present circumstances and considering the subjective conditions, we call for formation of a constituent assembly it is meant to serve as a bridge to revolutionary rule. This slogan is a revolutionary slogan only and only if it is accompanied with deployment of revolutionary councils and democratic institutions, otherwise it would be a deceit.

* KAR No. 115, June 24, 1981

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Tudeh Party ■ ■ ■

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General Secretary of the party) approved the Shah's "White Revolution" even before it was implemented. Kianouri writes: "These countries (i.e. imperialist countries) have an increasing need for agricultural goods. Therefore an increase in the production of agricultural goods in undeveloped countries has increasingly become an inevitable necessity for the Metropolitan countries... This is the driving force behind the imperialists' approval of some actions on land reform and growth of agricultural production countries like Iran. (Donya No. 1, Vol. 2, May 1960: The policy of the current government of Iran on the agrarian question — Kianouri).

In a nutshell, Kianouri says that imperialism is forced to put our agriculture in order and develop it through land reform.

This "principled" approval of the "White Revolution" continued without even the slightest deviation for at least fifteen years.

The Tudeh Party also regarded the June, 1963 uprising as a reactionary movement and called it a "conspiracy of landlords and reactionary religious circles" (Broadcasts by Peyk, the radio of the Tudeh Party. Also see Iranov, *History of Modern Iran*. This Soviet work has been repeatedly approved by the party in its entirety). Keeping in mind that Ayatollah Khomeini was the leader of this movement, the 180 degree turn-about in Tudeh's position, through its unconditional support of the present ruling clergy in Iran, will become more obvious.

In 1968 the party wrote: "The fourth Five Year Plan (meaning the Shah's development plans) will be an important step in the industrialization of the country... It will be a mistake if proper attention is not paid to the positive aspects of developments in the country." (Donya, No. 3, 1968).

What were these positive aspects? The "development plans" impoverished the majority of the rural population. Peasants lost their lands and migrated to the cities. Farm corporations and royal estates used up all underground water resources in the rural areas. Their deep wells took all the water and the villagers went bankrupt as their farms dried up. All the toilers who migrated to the cities lived in absolute poverty and under the most humiliating circumstances. Everybody knows the meaning of the imperial "development plan"... now the Tudeh Party says that proper attention should be paid to its "positive aspects."

Again in 1972 the party approved governmental policies, saying "policies aimed at the industrialization of the country are more and more in line with the people's aspirations." They add: "In recent years, important victories have been won in industrial and electrical fields, the educational system has been organized and developed..." (Interview of Davood Noroozi, member of the party central committee in 1972).

Thus the party joined the ruling circles in eulogizing "His majesty's" policies in terms and language very similar to the official propaganda of the state-run radio and television.

The "principled" party goes so far as to write in 1972: "The government of Iran's policy with respect to international imperialist aggressions (in Middle East, Vietnam, ...) is relatively positive." (Same interview). Yes. From the "principled" viewpoint of the Tudeh party the Shah's foreign policy is positive: Gendarme of the area, suppressor of the peo-

ple, killer of the people of Dhofar, the main supplier of oil to Israel and South Africa; who turned Iran into an important American intelligence center...

Furthermore, these proclamations were made precisely when the Shah had completely and solely assumed the role of Gendarme of the area, and was preparing himself for the suppression of the people of Dhofar, threatening that "intervention of any foreign power in the area will face strong resistance." All of this propaganda was in line with the imperialist policy of "leaving the security of the area to its gendarme" and of confronting the presence of the Soviet fleet in the area. But the party considered Iran's foreign policy as "positive" and "a step toward political independence." There were many such analyses from the tudeh party.

The "principled" party goes so far as to write in 1972: "The government of Iran's policy with respect to international imperialist aggressions (in Middle East, Vietnam, ...) is relatively positive." (Same interview). Yes. From the "principled" viewpoint of the Tudeh party the Shah's foreign policy is positive: Gendarme of the area, suppressor of the people, killer of the people of Dhofar, the main supplier of oil to Israel and South Africa; who turned Iran into an important American intelligence center...

But the party did not stop at eulogizing "his Majesty's" policies. By forming what was called "The Teheran Organization" headed by the Savak agent, Abbas Shahriari, it helped send scores of militants to prison and before firing squads. At first glance it might be argued that the party should not be blamed for this; it certainly did not intentionally choose Shahriari as the head of the organization. But the fact is that only an organization plagued by opportunism, favoritism, and bourgeois attitudes can be so susceptible to Savak infiltration. (The extent of this infiltration became even more evident after the February 1979 insurrection, when every so often it was disclosed that a Tudeh party member had also been a member of Savak). Over the next ten years the traitors leading the party left Shahriari's hand free to hunt for revolutionaries, despite their clear knowledge of his deeds from frequent reports of sudden arrests of militants and numerous scandals. Among the "accomplishments" ("fruits") of this treachery was the arrest and ultimately execution of Bizhan Jazani (one of the main theoreticians of the Guerilla movement) and his fellow revolutionaries.

It is in these circumstances of continued treasons by the Tudeh Party in Iran (led by party leaders who have preferred peaceful and secure settlement abroad) that the new communist movement of Iran is formed and the O.I.P.F.G. is born amid blood and fire. This was not welcome news for the comfort-seeking party leaders. As though disturbed from their comfortable sleep and troubled by the discredit of their unabashed approval of "The White Revolution" they embark on a smear campaign. They unabashedly call our comrades "young cafe intellectuals" and players of a firecracker game. They condemn armed struggle in every possible way: "Under the slogans of armed struggle the ultra-left groups present an analysis that is entirely anti-marxist and anti-leninist, and is therefore extremely harmful to the revolution." (Radio Peyk, 1972).

The character of such a revolution is unclear, a revolution for which armed struggle is "extremely harmful." But it appears from the party's analysis that it is only harmful for the imperial "White Revolution," since the party writes: They (i.e. the "leftists") do not want to accept the reality that land reform, rapid industrialization of the country, *acknowledgement of women's rights*,... are in the final analysis, part of the urgent needs and desires of the people." (Donya, No. 1, 1973). The party unabashedly approved the Shah's policies, calling for example, the ever-increasing transformation of women into capitalist commodities and the propagation of the corrupt values of the imperialist world, "the acknowledgement of women's rights." In effect they are saying, "Now that the Shah is satisfying the urgent needs and desires of the people one should not obstruct this drive with armed struggle since he may become

Iran, while supporting *progressive* policies aimed at destroying the feudal system, industrializing and modernizing the country... will struggle to gain the right of our party and other democratic organizations to engage in legal activities *within the constitutional framework*. (Mardom, No. 69, July 1970). The party went so far as to ask for a change in governmental policy: "The people of Iran should struggle to force the ruling apparatus to change its policy. This has become an immediate task now more than ever before." (Mardom, July 1972).

The meaning (message) of this new stand is quite clear: There is no word about changing the regime, changing some of its figures or overthrowing the Shah. The progressive policies of the Shah continue to be eulogized and remain unchallenged. With this context intact, the party has now decided that the people should struggle and force the regime to change its policy. This is nothing but the slogan: "The Shah should be a king not a ruler." [King is used here in the ceremonial sense of the word such as in European monarchies.]

Realizing that the conditions were about to change the party made another about-face and became an opposition. Yet it still continued its "principled line", limiting itself to the politics of approving and even eulogizing members of the ruling circles. The party wrote: "There are groups and elements within the ruling apparatus who, depending on the situation and the course of developments, may support this or that progressive stand, anti-imperialist slogan, or democratic demand. We believe that there are considerable forces within the ruling apparatus, each of whom are opposed for a definite reason, to the continuation of the current regime. They are ready to co-operate [for a change] if hopeful prospects are seen. (Donya, No. 7, 1975). And also: "The Tudeh Party, as the party of the working class of Iran, naturally prefers the healthier and more realistic faction of the ruling apparatus to the present corrupt and pro-fascist clique which has endangered the interests of the country. We consider it so important as to make this kind of transfer of power, *the day's tactical slogan* (Donya, Special Issue No. 5).

Let's try to clarify these implicit statements. What the party is saying is that one should look for a "healthier" and more realistic "faction within the ruling apparatus (i.e. within the Shah's clique): groups and elements who, "depending on the situation and the course of developments," will support progressive stands. (The party emphasizes that these groups and elements make up a "considerable force"). Who are these elements and groups? Are they Amouzegar, who is "healthier and more realistic" than Hoveyda, or probably somebody like Ansari. [Amouzegar, succeeding Hoveyda, was the last Iranian Prime Minister before the first uprisings began in 1978. Ansari, one of the most corrupt Iranian officials, was Minister of Finance under Amouzegar. He was one of the first to flee Iran during the revolution and succeeded in transferring one of

disappointed and no longer satisfy people's needs." The party is still continuing its record of treachery.

The party's struggles against the Shah's regime.

Having examined some of the treasons of the Tudeh Party let us now turn to the party's "struggles" against the Shah's regime.

In 1970, during a time of harsh political repression, when the armed struggle was in its formative period, the party writes: "Which legal authority of the country has ruled that the Tudeh Party of Iran is illegal? In which court of law has it been proven that the ideology or the conduct of the Tudeh Party of Iran is, in accordance with the 1931 law, [the law that banned communist ideology] a communist (or participatory) ideology or is opposed to constitutional monarchy? (Mardom, No. 61, July 1970).

The Tudeh Party unabashedly begged the regime to let it have open and free activity. The party did not question the competence of the legality of "the country's legal authorities" (e.g. the regime's military courts), or the legality of the 1931 law; it only tried to gain permission to work openly in the country. It is no wonder that they said: "Who has claimed that our ideology is Eshteraki (Communist)? Who has claimed that we are opposed to constitutional monarchy? We strongly deny these." The party is right. It was unjustly slandered. The

Some party leaders, for example, Yazdi, Bahrami, Alavi-ye Shermini, etc., claimed loyalty to the Shah.

Shah would have been cruel and ungracious to consider the party communist and anti-constitutionalist in the face of all the party's policies and about-faces, which point to its readiness to accommodate to the regime at any cost. However, unable to gain anything from these flatteries, the party turned to struggle. They wrote: "The Tudeh Party of

the largest sums of money out of the country for his personal use, as indicated in the disclosures made by the Central Bank of Iran.] Turning to elements not within the ruling apparatus, who can become candidates, did the party have anybody other than Bakhtiar in mind? Isn't the party saying: Since the Shah is

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position of its components tendencies, not only did not want, but also could not address these demands. In other words, the Chilean experience is another example of the defeat due to the lack of a revolutionary leadership in the world's history of the working class struggle.

DID THE REFORMISTS LEARN THE ESSENTIAL LESSONS FROM THE CHILEAN EXPERIENCE?

It would be wishful thinking if we think that the concrete Chilean experience taught the essential lessons to the reformists, at least in Chile itself if not in the world arena. Three years after the bloody coup d'état of September 1973, the Communist (read reformist) Party of Chile published a pamphlet, titled *Ultraleft — The Trojan Horse of Imperialism*. The historical data and the pseudo-analysis, given in this pamphlet, are so much distorted, stinky and misleading that even the Tudeh Party which burdened itself to translate and publish it, embarrassed of the title, coined the title *Allende's Role* and presented it to the market without its trade-mark, "Tudeh Party Publications" on the cover.

All over this dubbed pamphlet, what is missing is a scientific analysis of the past events and presentation of a revolutionary agenda. But instead, what is making the pamphlet is blatant lies, charlatanism, politicking in the bourgeois sense of the word, and falsification of the fundamental concepts of Marxism-Leninism. In this pamphlet, time and time again, the MIR is accused of "plotting" to overthrow the Salvador Allende government. This is a tradition among the reformists to label any step the revolutionary Communists take in the direction of an independent mobilization of the working class, a "plot" in the direction of the immediate overthrow of such a government. But for the Chilean revolutionary Communists, taking steps in the direction of an independent mobilization of the working class does not necessarily mean presenting the slogan of immediate overthrow. Comrade Miguel Enriquez — a member of the MIR leadership and the great revolutionary who was killed after the coup d'état in an armed battle with Pinochet's executioners — in August, 1972, in an interview with a reporter of *Today's Chile* newspaper, summarized the tasks and perspectives facing the Communist revolutionaries under the MIR leadership, in the following way:

"In the first place, the goal of the revolution is moving toward the destruction or substitution of a concrete system of dominance. This necessitates an attack on the total interests of the dominant class. The dominant class does not constitute merely a few owners of production means, it is a complex and social and political aggregate of which the components should be viewed simultaneously as a whole. The question, now under consideration in Chile, is very much the same. Some of the present tendencies within the UP have taken a policy which skills attacking section of dominant classes. In delineating the enemy, the UP limits it to certain components of the dominant class and does not consider the dominant class in its totality as class enemy. Thus, at the present stage, by an incomplete delineation of the enemy and by attacking certain components of it, the UP, in action, strengthens the remaining components. Therefore, at the present

stage, the UP even advocates to support and strengthen certain components of bourgeoisie. From the viewpoints of revolutionary classes and their allies, there are two errors in the above analysis. The first one stems from an erroneous treatment of the enemies of the people. To attack only certain components of agricultural bourgeoisie that is Latifundists, and at the same time to defend the remaining parts of bourgeoisie, is an obstacle in the mobilization of the poor peasantry as a whole. The poor peasantry is a totality constituting agricultural proletariat, semi-employed, the lower ranks of agricultural proletariat and the poor peasants. Thus, this error leads to abandoning large forces of these strata. The same problem applies to the urban workers and also to the workers of the 91 firms (which are being transferred to the "state sector") are encouraged to join the struggle. The remaining workers in the large-, medium-, and small-scale firms will not be mobilized. And for them, only leaflets and suggestions are given for the adoption of a joint policy among the medium- and small-scale industries. The second error in the analysis of the UP is on the main attributed to copying the analysis of revolutionary classes in Europe. In this case, the impoverished urban strata with which, the industrial proletariat must certainly ally itself, is not taken into consideration and consequently they will not be given political direction."

As we pointed out before, a year before the bloody coup d'état of September 1973, the above quotation from the MIR's analysis clearly describes Chile's class composition and working class strength in the process of class struggle. This analysis, originated from the nature of the current class struggle, and later on, proved to be correct. But it is important to see the reformists' accomplishments after 3 years since the coup d'état:

"It is no longer a secret to anyone that it was unwise to oppose the establishment of unity among the National Unity (the Popular Unity) and Christian Democrats. It was apparent that the Christian Democratic Party is a party of poly-classes. In addition to the representations of the monopoly oligarchy, there is a vast body of small- and medium-scale sectors of bourgeoisie with democratic tendencies, middle strata, peasants and workers in that party. If we look at this party to conceive it dogmatically as a single entity; then, this conception would facilitate the activities of the bourgeoisie's reactionary groups under Frei's leadership." (—: *Ultraleft — The Trojan Horse of Imperialism*, p. 10)

We see that in order to theorize their utterly erroneous views, the reformists go deeper in the swamps of opportunism and forget that in considering bourgeois parties, what is a determining factor in them for the proletariat, is their dominant policy and not the components of their poly-class structure. It is a matter of principle in itself that proletariat should take steps toward the middle strata of the working class which are organized in such parties. But this is only possible by presenting a revolutionary agenda which includes the

historical demands of these strata and not by wheeling and dealing with the leadership of these parties.

Reformist gentlemen! How many times before in history have you forgotten this Leninist position that:

"If you do not point out that at present time, the interests of which classes and what special interests are dominating the nature of various parties and their policies; in reality, you have not applied Marxism, but with your efforts, you have rejected the theory of class struggle." (Lenin: *The Method of Treating Bourgeois Parties*)

But what is of special interest — in the reformists' pseudo-analysis of the period of the UP government and their pertinacious theorization — is their tragic views on the bourgeois army and its role in the process of class struggle in the countries under domination. Look, how the reformists baptize the bourgeois organ of suppression.

"At that time, the popular movement was heading in the direction of strengthening the positions of the constitutionalists within the Armed Forces. These forces remained faithful to the people's government and resisted in the face of the fascists' efforts to encourage them to support the oligarchy power and imperialism.

...on one hand, we have the suggestion of a revolutionary agenda for bringing proletariat's allies into the arena of a single struggle; and on the other, the acceptance of a passive survival, limping behind the masses struggle, and also crawling under the banner of others who have power. For the reformists, not only the tragic Chilean experience, but also the experiences of class struggle all along the history of mankind, is nothing and will not amount to anything but scattered and disjointed data, based on which, one must place on a pedestal "the theory of class collaboration."

While the government was leaning on the support of the constitutionalists, it was trying to let the Armed Forces participate in solving the nation's economic and political problems." (—: *Ultraleft — The Trojan Horse of Imperialism*, p. 32)

Of course here the reformists' reference to the participation of Armed Forces "in solving the nation's economic and political problems," is but an invitation to the generals such as Pinochet, who a few months later became the executioner of the Chilean workers and working class. An invitation which meant joining the coalition cabinet and not taking steps in the direction of forming the councils of soldiers and the Army's revolutionary personnel. For, in the vocabulary of the reformists, a discussion on work among soldiers and the Army's revolutionary personnel and the establishment of the Councils of soldiers, are tantamount to taking the road of the "ultraleft". When it is possible to have an understanding with a constitutionalist general like Pinochet — or in our own country, with brigadier general Madany, the executioner of the Arab people in Khoozistan — then why bother to organize the Army's revolutionary personnel and soldiers?

REVOLUTION IS THE ART OF UNITING FORCES AND NOT JOINING OTHER FORCES

As mentioned before, the concrete Chilean experience is one of the hundred examples in the arena of the working class struggle, which shows the conflict between two lines, two tendencies and

two policies on the question of seizing power. In doing so, on one hand, we have the suggestion of a revolutionary agenda for bringing proletariat's allies into the arena of a single struggle; and on the other, the acceptance of a passive survival, limping behind the masses struggle, and also crawling under the banner of others who have power. For the reformists, not only the tragic Chilean experience, but also the experiences of class struggle all along the history of mankind, is nothing and will not amount to anything but scattered and disjointed data, based on which, one must place on a pedestal "the theory of class collaboration." In the concrete Chilean example, the opportunists are trying hard to hide behind Socialist Salvador Allende, and to shrug their shoulders in evading their past and present responsibility in the defeat of the UP and the attack from Pinochet's vampires. But for the revolutionary Communists, the positions of Allende are assessed only within the framework of what he was, namely a member of the Socialist Party of Chile; and not more than that. But those who claim fraudulently they are carrying the red proletarian banner and in the past and present call their party the "Communist Party of Chile," the "New Party of the Chilean Working Class," must themselves "address" their own "errors" (committing them is bad, but trying to theorizing these "errors" is even worse). The actions

of Socialist Allende were the manifestations of what he believed in. He never made bigger claims and with his heroic death, he paid for his belief. But, you reformist gentlemen! Is not it better instead of chorusing an eulogy for Allende, to talk about yourselves?

The Chilean Communist revolutionaries under the leadership of the MIR made the most efforts in learning from the painful experience of September 1973. Their eight-years of actions, since the coup d'état, is itself an expression of this learning. Nowadays in Chile, the MIR is not the small organization which 13 years ago followed the Communist (reformist) Party of Chile, the Party which was vastly dominated by opportunism. The MIR has demonstrated itself as the embodiment of a revolutionary alternative in the arena of the struggle of the Chilean working class and other toilers. Now in every factory, every machine-shop, among the poor farmers, one could get to know of the MIR. The MIR does not waste a single moment in the course of the struggle for an independent mobilization and organization of the working class, for the important historical task of organizing and bringing the allies of proletariat to the arena of struggle, for utilizing every potential untapped power of the toilers in the direction of struggle for the formation of a Chile, free from oppression and exploitation, a Socialist Chile. For, the MIR believes that: Revolution is the art of uniting forces and not joining other forces.

IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE

Who is "The Trojan Horse of Imperialism and Anti-Revolution" * Part 2

A Glance at the 3-year Government of the Popular Unity (UP) in Chile

The revolutionary crisis, following the ever-increasing economic crisis in Chile in the late 60s, took enormous dimensions similar to the pre-revolutionary situation in this country of 11 million people. The reflection of this crisis was apparent in the inability of the "higher-ups" to present a single candidate for the 1970 presidential election. The inner crisis split the ruling bourgeoisie class into two factions: Jarpismo (the dominant faction of the National Party under Onofre Jarpa's leadership) and Freismo (the dominant faction of the Christian Democratic Party under Eduardo Frei's leadership). Also, each faction was unable to present an alternative for unity among themselves; and to face the prevalent socio-political crisis in the country. Based on the spread of the working class movement and differentiation and radicalization of certain strata in petite-bourgeoisie, the UP offered a petit-bourgeois alternative by presenting Salvador Allende as a presidential candidate. This alternative — an expression of coalition among remnants of an historical block consisting of middle-bourgeoisie, reformist petite-bourgeoisie and reformists from the working class — won a landslide victory.

After this step in victory, for the sake of self-preservation, the UP applied its utmost effort to have a coalition with a segment of big-bourgeoisie. This effort was understandable for the UP had gained control over one of the organs of the state apparatus, namely the government, through elections. To legitimize such a course of power seizure, the continuation of bourgeois order was necessary. The reflection of the UP's effort on this matter can be clearly seen in the measures taken by Salvador Allende's government in planning wishy-washy economic programs such as reducing the number of companies which were promised to be nationalized from 253 to 91, ratifying estates of over 80 basic hectares of arable land for expropriation in 1972, and forming a semi-military cabinet, constituting the Chilean mercenary generals in October 1972 and August 1973. For all these incessant efforts, a price must have been paid. Paying such a price could not lead to anything but strengthening segments of the big-bourgeoisie, legitimizing the sabotaging activities of bourgeois political parties and the Army's mercenary generals; in one phrase, preserving what was inherited from the elections, namely the bourgeois state apparatus. Adoption of such policies could only lead to the weakening of the mass-base of the UP; and, finally to the fall of Salvador Allende's government.

On the other hand, due to the prevalent democratic conditions, the power and strength of the workers and the working people was on the rise and as a decelerating factor, slowed down the

total realization of these policies. Such power and strength were leading the masses in a direction other than the one taken by the reformists. The popular movement of the working people, for the realization of their demands was diverging from the limited reforms in the framework of the UP; and it was forcing the government of Salvador Allende to recognize the independent advances of the masses.

The peasant movement — under the leadership of the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) went faster and further than the government's ratified program on agrarian reforms, by taking over and expropriating the lands. The ever-increasing spread of the workers movement led to more than what the government had already accepted, to confiscate the multi-national corporations. The masses, by daily increase in mobilization, independent of the government, were striking at the capitalistic mechanism; and in doing so, they were confronting all government efforts for class collaboration with the ruling class. Although in the beginning, in the face of the advances of the working people's movement, the UP was resisting and even occasionally resorting to the suppressive forces; but ultimately, was forced to recognize it. This recognition which was in the form of de facto approval of the expropriating measures, state interference in the affairs of production and commercial firms, and buying-up corporate shares was due to the extraordinary spread of the popular movement. Consequently the masses were seeing the government not ahead of them, but behind them. The Allende government was not strengthening itself by the popular movement. To the contrary, at the same time it was resisting the popular movement, it was weakening itself. This resulted in a cleavage among the political parties forming the UP.

Thereby the UP could not address the consequences of its own political policies; for those policies — with their inherent petit-bourgeois origin grounded in the advanced capitalist relations — on the main, were limited to the sector of consumption rather than production. The ruling class, despite loosening its grip on the government and subsequently damaging its interests, could reorganize fast to begin its counter attack. This was possible due to the fact that this class as a ruling class remained almost intact in the social arena and held control of the basic sectors in production, commerce and distribution. Under the control of the ruling class, there were a large number of factories, arable agricultural lands (over or between 40 to 80 hectares in area), the savings associations, mortgage companies, construction and contracting companies, etc. Politically, it also had an impressive power. Its parties and political organizations, owning a tremendous system of publications and propoganda, were active with no

restrictions. And not only this, it also had the majority in the Parliament, the control of Judiciary power, the Office of the Treasury, and the Armed Forces Staff; and the support of U.S. imperialism and Brasil's gorrillas. Thus, the ruling class was able to hold onto the key positions in the industrial and agricultural systems, and by resorting to stock exchanges and expansion of the black market, along with the sequestration of foreign credits; could force up inflation to an awe-some level. The petit-bourgeois base of the ruling class, too, discouraged by the Allende government's weakness, was looking for another alternative.

During 1971, the big-bourgeoisie succeeded in attracting a large segment of the upper part of the Chilean petite-bourgeoisie. The reflection of this could be seen in the famous demonstration of "pots and pans" in Santiago, which was led by the reactionary women's organizations in December 1971, and in the victory of an interim election held the same year. But still, the factions of the ruling class were not able to present a single alternative. In the middle of 1972, the conflicts among the factions of the ruling class can be seen on the one hand, in the efforts by the Christian Democratic Party to reach some kind of collaboration with the UP; and on the other hand, in more measures of sabotage by the National Party faction, which led to the formation of the reactionary black organization of Patria y Libertad.

With these problems and difficulties, instead of leaning on workers and the working class in cities and country-sides, as well as the lower ranks of the Armed Forces, the UP was looking for a sanctuary somewhere else — that is in the state bureaucracy and the Army Command Staff. In addition to giving legitimacy to the latter groups on a dialy basis, the UP increased the control system of the bourgeois state; and in so doing, it was weakening its role as the catalyst and mediator of the various class interests. In the course of an alliance with a section of the big-bourgeoisie, by kissing the feet of the bourgeois state apparatus, the reformists were ready to give any concession to the ruling class at the expense of the interests of the working people in the society. And at the end, it was the same state apparatus which took the task of overthrowing the government of the reformists.

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The final trickery of big-bourgeoisie, of totally usurping the state apparatus using peaceful means, surfaced in the semi-military cabinet which was dominated by the Freismo faction, and accepted by the UP. The early 1973, the semi-military cabinet planned to return the expropriated factories to the capitalists and to limit the control power of the Price and Supply Committees (JAP) which were formed under the pressure from the popular movement. A broad base offensive movement was organized by the working people under

the leadership of MIR; and in its course of development, it neutralized the above plan. The UP's retreat, along with endorsement of this neutralizing step, led to the landslide victory for the UP in the March 1973 election.

In the period between April to June 1973, the popular movement found new forms of organizations. Large segments of the UP were getting more radicalized and the controlling Price and Supply Committees were ever strengthening. In the industrial regions, under the leadership of revolutionary Communists, and despite the oppositions by the reformists, Workers Councils were formed for the support of take-over and expropriation of factories, and also prevention of terrorism by the bourgeoisie's black goons. Around the nation, there flourished the local Councils of the Working People, which constituted the representatives of workers, peasants, soldiers and students, under the workers' leadership. These Councils, which were based on geographical divisions, created newly-formed relations among themselves. Right along with popular political activities came also the work of armed preparation in defense of the achievements.

The big bourgeoisie, alienated from soliciting all its trickeries and fearful of the expansion of popular movement, lost any hope of removing Allende by voting procedures; and the only alternative, which both factions of

bourgeoisie could see for themselves, was to overthrow Salvador Allende with the help of the Armed Forces. In June 1973, an unsuccessful military coup, led by the black organization Patria y Libertad and carried out by a section of the Third Armored Division, was the first warning. But the acknowledgment of the UP was nothing more than the old sermon in saying: "During her history, the Chilean Army has proved that it never takes sides." But three months later, in September 1973, a coup d'etat was led by General Pinochet, the ex-member of the UP's semi-military cabinet and the butcher of the Chilean people. Once again, this principle was proved that in a class society, taking the rubbish of neutrality is tantamount to being drowned in a swamp of stupidity and ultimately in treason.

The reformists, both in Chile and around the world, accuse the Communist revolutionaries under the MIR leadership of labels such as "ultraleft", "a barrier, a spoiler in the alliance of the UP and the segment of bourgeoisie under the leadership of Christian Democratic Party." This accusation is only a smoke-screen to obscure the depth of the swamps of treachery in which they are paddle-poodling. In reality, the barrier against the fulfillment of this alliance was not the "ultraleft's" activities, but the accumulated historical demands of the Chilean toilers on the ground of class relations. The UP, considering the com-

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Historical Precedents of Treachery by the Tudeh Party Part 2:

In July of 1946, the Tudeh Party led a massive movement of the Southern oil workers against British imperialism — the primary demands of the workers were the non-interference of the British Oil Company in the internal affairs of Iran and the dismissal of Mesbah Fatemi, the mercenary Governor of Khuzestan — to a compromise with the Ghavam government. As a result, two of the "party" leaders, Radmanesh and Roosta, were sent to Khuzestan along with a delegation to suppress the movement.

In another instance, the party called the massacre of the people in Tabriz and the extermination of the remnants of the Azarbaijan Democratic Party (A.D.P.) "a beneficial retreat"... Finally the A.D.P. Central Committee decided to favor peace over dispute, and dropped its resolve to resist, in order to avoid war and preserve the internal peace that is useful in maintaining world peace. In view of the beneficial consequences of this action, it should be supported since a beneficial retreat is more desirable than a harmful attack (Mardom NO. 4, first year, 5th period). Yes, "the peace seeking Tudeh Party" has always throughout its existence, supported peace at whatever price, whether through the suppression of the people's movement, the massacre of Tabriz militants or the popular distrust of Communism. This party has always preached peace among classes, between worker and capitalist, peasant and land lord, exploited and exploiter. For sure a "party" that calls the fight between the mercenary army of the Shah and the Tabriz militants a "fight between brothers." That is certainly dangerous for world peace!

But in spite of all this condescension and flattery, the reactionaries and imperialists did not even remain faithful to their agreements with the Tudeh Party, and three months later threw all the Tudeh ministers out of the Cabinet. Furthermore, they prevented aspiring "leaders" of the Tudeh Party from entering the fifteenth Parliament.

But again it did not stop its condescending conduct toward the upper echelons of the hierarchy and even went so far as to praise the treacherous Shah: "We strongly refute our enemies accusations that we are opposed to the constitutional monarchy. With his support of freedom and the constitution, his majesty, the young Shah of Iran, has every possibility of being respected by all lovers of democracy...." (Mardom, Jan 5, 1947).

It was only after these "mild denials of affection" the party made an about face and began to criticize Ghavam. But again it did not stop its condescending conduct toward the upper echelons of the hierarchy and even went so far as to praise the treacherous Shah: "We strongly refute our enemies accusations that we are opposed to the constitutional monarchy. With his support of freedom and the constitution, his majesty, the young Shah of Iran, has every possibility of being respected by all lovers of democracy...." (Mardom, Jan 5, 1947). Tudeh's only explanation for this eulogy and treachery can be the Shah was young and was deceived by the imperialists; there is no other way to avoid the responsibility for this treachery.

But while easily praising Ghavam

and the "Young Shah" the Tudeh Party described Mossadegh as "the mercenary of the U.S." The Party had formed a Coalition with the "Iran Party", considering it as a bourgeois nationalist party and knowing very well the role of the national bourgeoisie at that historical juncture. Yet on Mossadegh it proclaimed that: "Mossadegh plays the role of a middleman; he openly betrays the interest of our people. Stabbing our people in the back in order to maintain the influence of reactionaries and imperialists." (Mardom NO. 97, year 1951)

At that moment Iran was under the control of British Imperialism, and U.S. Imperialism had started its attacks aimed at controlling Iran's natural resources, wealth and markets. Having correctly understood the contradiction between these two imperialist powers, Mossadegh pushed for nationalization of oil, thus leading the U.S. to take a neutral and even semi-supporting stand on the oil nationalization issue. (Of course Mossadegh's concessions in his relations with the U.S. should not be forgotten; nevertheless his actions were guided by a generally correct understanding.) Meanwhile the Tudeh Party branded Mossadegh as an American Sympathizer: "News and Information published in Iran and abroad demonstrate that Mr. Mossadegh is colluding with U.S. and British Imperialist on the oil issue and other important political issues of the country." (Navid-e-Ayandeh NO. 503, 1952). Furthermore the slogan of oil nationalization was said to be of American design. (Mardom NO. 5, June 1951). While the bourgeoisie's slogan was "Nationalization of oil," this "working class party's" outdated slogan was "Nationalization of Southern oil."

This policy toward Mossadegh, that lasted until the summer of 1952, did considerable harm to him. It was only after the uprising of the 30th of Tir that the party made another about-face and supported Mossadegh. However, this time the party followed the "Mossadegh line" unquestioningly and without being

critical and aware of some of his mistakes.

During this period the party again continued its "principle policy" of following the tail of the bourgeoisie, which culminated in the historical treason of August 1953, when, during the progress of the CIA-backed coup, the leaders of the party (whose membership was over 100,000 by this time, together with numerous sympathizers and a powerful military organization) made no attempt in preventing the coup, under the pretext that they did not want to act without Mossadegh's permission. Later on in an effort to use Mossadegh as a scapegoat the party proclaimed that it had contacted him several times declaring its readiness to resist the coup but that Dr. Mossadegh had refused any

assistance from the Tudeh Party, saying that "Everything is under control." (The Tudeh Party of Iran and Dr. Mohammed Mossadegh). Note the following irony: a "working class party" is informed about the imperialist coup and despite having the strength and readiness to fight against it, waits for the bourgeoisie to order the attack. To better understand the extent of the historical treason of the Tudeh Party and its leaders, one must know that the party's large military organization remained completely intact until a year later and that furthermore, at the time of the coup the personal guard of Zahedi (the coup commander) and the head of the radio station (which played a decisive role for the junta) security guard were both members of the Tudeh Party, then under the command of N. Kianouri (The current general secretary of the party.).

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The treacherous party leaders fled the country leaving the party sympathizers and rank and file surprised and confused. Many party members and sympathizers resisted the new regime and remained faithful to the people up until their martyrdom by the fascist regime of the Shah, as it tried to consolidate its power. We commemorate them. *Kar. NO. 105, April 16, 1981.

**All the publications from which quotations have been extracted, except where otherwise stated, are official organs of, or affiliated with the Tudeh Party.

★★★★★★

The Tudeh Party did not react against the imperialist coup of August 19, 1953. It went no further than staging ad-hoc meetings and distributing leaflets despite dissent within the rank and file and the intact state of its military organization. When opposition to the party's policy grew, its rank and file were repeatedly barred from discussing this policy during the coup period. Later, in an effort to justify its treachery, the party claimed that the *objective conditions were (and are) "not favorable" for military action.*

The imperialist coup of August 19, 1953 was a turning point in the treacheries of the Tudeh Party. From then on a new chapter of its treacherous "principled line" began. Some treacherous party leaders, among them Kianouri and Jow-dat, fled abroad as soon as possible. Other "leaders" who were unable to flee were arrested. Most of them succumbed. They betrayed their comrades, or opted for political prostitution or espionage. Some even became consultants to the police and the government. Some party leaders, for example, Yazdi, Bahrami, Alavi-ye Shermeni, etc., claimed loyalty to the Shah. Ghoreyshi,

Kianouri's right-hand man became a *police consultant*. Siamack Jalali, member of the central committee of the youth organization, and Ali Mottaghi, member of the state committee, also "loyally" co-operated with the police, and later became prominent government officials. Abbasi (from the military organization) betrayed the confidentiality of its membership rolls. His actions led to the arrest of over 600 members, 27 of whom were executed. There were, however, also honest leaders who, side by side with many of the party's rank and file and sympathizers, fought against the regime and remained faithful to the people until their death. We commemorate them.

Continuing its treachery, the party's central committee, now formed abroad, publicly admitted in 1957 that it had "no organization of any sort" in Iran. But lack

of organization was not a problem in preventing the Tudeh Party from continuing its deceptions; the "party" felt obligated to continue its "principled line" abroad!

The party's analysis of the imperial "land reform" program clearly shows that it has always been a flatterer of the ruling circles.

At a certain stage, (due to the expansion of monopoly (imperialist) capital), feudal relations of production in dependent countries become fetters to the further expansion of monopoly capital. Feudal structure slows down the circulation of capital and more importantly, limits it to the urban areas. The countryside cannot absorb imperialistic capital and commodities. At the same time, the rural labor force that has to be used in assembly-type factories, production of consumer goods, mines, extraction and production of raw materials remains unexploited and wasted. Imperialism resolves this contradiction "from above" through "land reform," thus creating favorable conditions for the further expansion of the imperialist market in a safe, uneventful manner. The landlords would be quite willing to become comprador capitalists and remain partners in the exploitation of people if they were offered considerable privileges (for example, payment for their lands). It is therefore obvious that the "land reform" was not implemented to "advance Iran's agriculture," to "develop the productive forces," to "modernize the economy and production" or to "satisfy the urgent needs and desires of the people." Rather, it was implemented in order to accelerate the circulation of monopoly (imperialist) capital and to create a more dependent economy.

But in 1959, Kianouri (now the

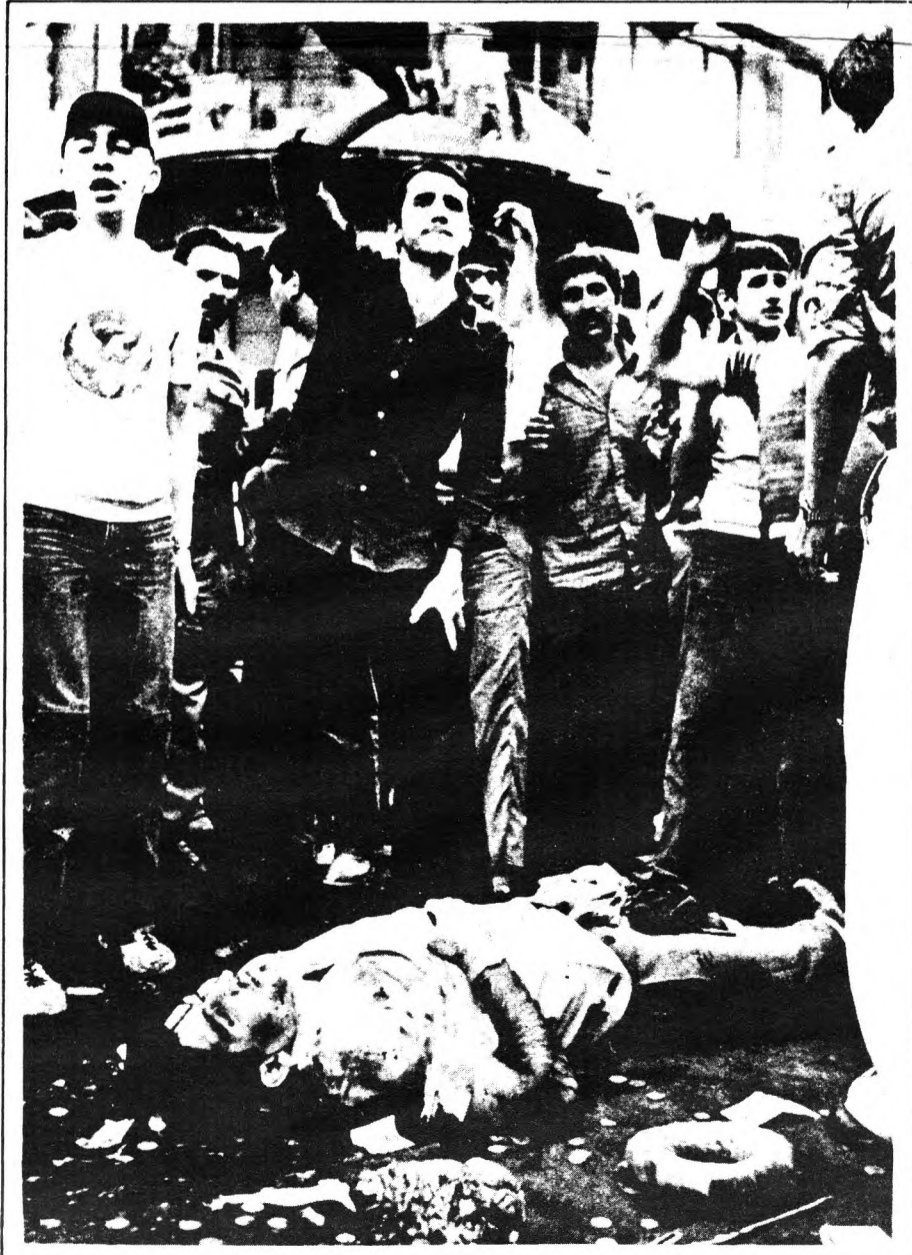
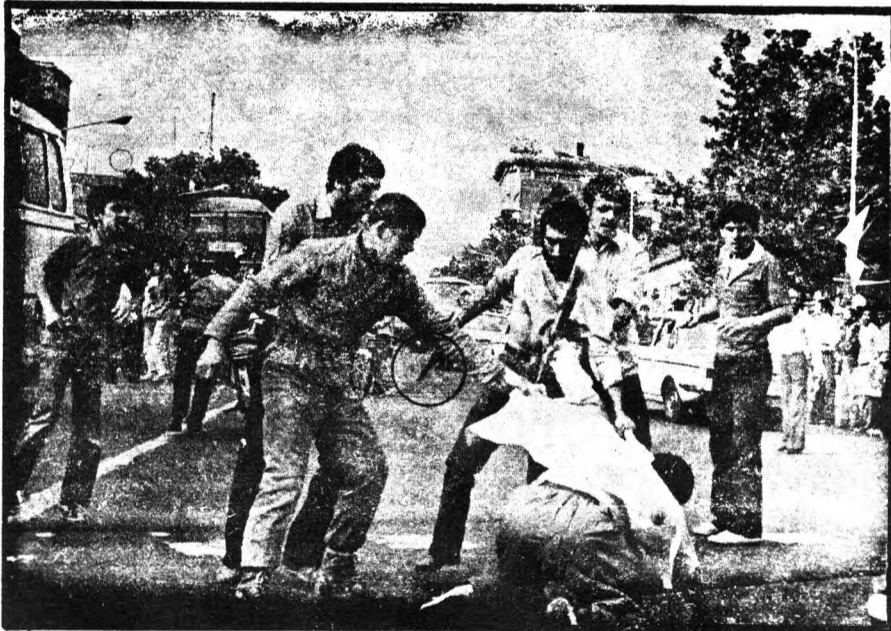
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پتک است خون من، دردست کارگر
داس است خون من دردست بزرگر



سازمان چریکهای فدائی خلق ایران

Saeed Soltanpour speaking at a rally last year



Scenes from the so-called revolutionary guards attack on the people on June 21, 1981 in Tehran