

*Translated from Pishro, the central organ of
Komala*

ONE YEAR AFTER THE THIRD CONGRESS

In January and February 1983 the Second Plenum of the central committee of Komala and the Preliminary Seminar For the Formation of the Communist Party of Iran were respectively held. The following article which has been extracted from the editorial in issue no.5 of Pishro - the central organ of Komala - describes the proceedings and results of these two meetings and their importance in the building of the Communist Party of Iran - BM.

The attempts of the forces of the Programme of the Communist Party to remove the practical barriers and difficulties in the way of the practical formation of the communist party of Iran, have not been limited

only to the holding of these two congresses* in the last year, but alongside practising the particular tasks and responsibilities which rested with each of these organisations, they have taken other effective steps for the realization of struggle in communist and party fashion, in general, and the building of the party, in particular.

In the continuation of these attempts, by convening its Second Plenum in January 1983, the Central Committee of the Toilers' Revolutionary Organisation of Iranian Kurdistan (Komala) discussed and exchanged views about the urgent problems of the communist movement, in general, and Komala, in particular, and succeeded in throwing new light on all aspects of its revolutionary activity. The main questions which were discussed and reviewed in this sitting, which lasted for over a month, were:

- 1- The communist party; the necessity, prerequisites and barriers of its formation; the practical steps for the formation of the party; the place and position of Komala in the Communist Party of Iran.
- 2- The critique of the populist methods of work in Komala and presentation of communist methods of practice.
- 3- The revolutionary movement of the Kurdish people, its perspective; the review of the necessity of the adoption of new tactics and organisations.

Although the reflection of all the discussions and achievements of the Second Plenum is not possible in this article and requires a separate examination, but because of the valuable role which the Plenum played in the presentation of correct and scientific solutions concerning the various arenas of revolutionary practice, we shall give a summary of these discussions below:

1- Endeavour to practically form the Communist Party of Iran is a task which rests on the shoulders of all communists and the forces of the Party Programme; in particular, Komala and Unity of Communist Militants as the banner-bearers of this party current; therefore, in the continuation of the attempts of this party current to practically form the communist party, the Plenum reserved the first part of its discussions for discussion about the necessity, prerequisites and the barriers of the formation of the Communist Party of Iran, the practical steps for building it, and the position and place of Komala in the Communist Party of Iran. In each of these cases the Plenum achieved concrete results.

Whilst emphasising the necessity of building the Communist Party of Iran as the instrument of leadership of the class struggle of the proletariat for seizing the political power and achieving socialism and communism, the Plenum stressed that: "In every capitalist society where the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie is in progress, the struggle to build a party which preserves and represents the class independence of the proletariat in all aspects of the struggle of this class, becomes an imperative task of the communists." ("The Summary of the Results of the Central Committee Session in January 1983, p.4) Also, by emphasising that with the presentation of the "Programme of the Communist Party" - which has led to the definite theoretical-programmatic victory of revolutionary Marxism over populism in the communist movement of Iran - the first important obstacle in the way of the formation of the Communist Party of Iran had been lifted, it stressed the necessity of the critique of populist style of work and methods of practice and the adoption of communist style of work and methods of practice as the present necessary link in building the Communist Party of Iran. In this issue of "Pishro", the text of the resolutions of the Second Plenum of the Central Committee of Komala in this connection, have been published separately.

At the end of the Plenum, in a joint session, the

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Central Committee comrades of the U.C.M. and Komala discussed those aspects of the results of the Plenum which were of a doctrinal and general character. These discussions played an effective role in the promotion and concretization of the results of the Plenum and the joint practical measures for building the communist party. In this joint session, the question of the practical formation of the communist party was discussed and examined and a plan of action for taking practical steps for building the Communist Party of Iran was prepared and adopted, on the basis of which, a committee by the name of the "Organising Committee of the Constituent Congress of the Communist Party of Iran" was formed at the central level of both organisations. The manifesto of formation of this Committee has been published in this issue of Pishro*. Thus another practical step was taken towards the establishment of the Communist Party of Iran.

Out of the other questions which needed to be examined and a correct solution found for, in connection with the practical formation of the Communist Party of Iran, was the question of the "position and place of Komala in the Communist Party of Iran". Therefore, this discussion, as one of the most important questions, in the absence of a correct answer to which any measure towards building the Communist Party of Iran would be incomplete and inadequate, was placed on the agenda of the Plenum and valuable results were achieved in this connection. The significance of the determination of the place and position of Komala in the Communist Party of Iran is particularly in that Komala as a communist organisation and one of the banner-bearers of the party movement in Iran, has a dual role; since, on the one hand, as a communist organisation in Iran, it is considered as part of the working-class movement of Iran and has tasks and responsibilities which confront any other communist organisation in Iran; and, on the other hand, as the manifestation and vanguard of the proletariat of Kurdistan, and as a result of it, it has particular tasks and responsibilities in the leadership of the workers and toilers of Kurdistan and the revolutionary movement of the Kurdish people for the achievement of the right of self-determination; moreover, a correct reply to this question guards the working class of the dominant nation in Iran from falling into the trap of any chauvinistic and great-nation tendencies and prevents the proletariat of Kurdistan from developing any narrow-minded nationalist tendencies and will thus increase the closeness of ranks of the working class. The Plenum made interesting discussions about this point and arrived at important conclusions which were later promoted and consolidated in the session of the central committees of the two organisations. A text approved in this connection by the Second Plenum of the Central Committee of Komala has been published separately in this issue of Pishro.

The second question which the Plenum placed on its agenda was the "critique of populist methods of practice in Komala and the presentation of communist methods of practice". On this point, the Plenum first discussed the doctrinal bases of this question and on this basis subjected the various fields of the practical activity of Komala (agitation, propaganda, organisation, secret work, soviets, revolutionary war, leadership, intra-organisational relationships, etc.) to criticism, review and correction. The results of the first part of the discussions which in fact formed a general preamble and introduction to the examination of the various arenas of the practical activity of Komala and which were approved by the Plenum, can be read in this issue of Pishro. We shall try to publish the other parts of the results of the Plenum in this field - most of which have been distributed inside the organisation in the form of tapes - as soon as possible.

* I.e., the Third Congress of Komala in May 1982 and the First Congress of the UCM in Sep-Oct 1982 - BM.

* See Bolshevik Message no.1 for the English translation of this manifesto - BM.

← The third point that was discussed by the Plenum was the "revolutionary movement of the Kurdish people, its perspective, the examination of the necessity of the adoption of new tactics, and organisations"; with respect to the revolutionary and vanguard role of Komala in this movement and the importance which this movement has had and still has in the continuation of the Iranian revolution, this section of the discussions of the Plenum had a particular importance and peculiarity. The revolutionary movement of the Kurdish people is a revolutionary, living and real movement which has roots in the national demands of an oppressed nation. This movement has material and objective bases which exist outside the will of this or that person, party or organisation, and so long as its social groundworks exist, no force can destroy it.

What gives the discussion about the revolutionary movement of the Kurdish people a particular character is the presence of Komala at the forefront of this national-democratic movement. Today not only everyone knows Komala as a Marxist-Leninist organisation and as one of the vanguards of the party movement in Iran, but the name of Komala has been intermingled with the name of the revolutionary movement of the Kurdish people, because, since the very beginning of the Resistance Movement*, Komala has been at the forefront of workers and toilers of Kurdistan with resoluteness and tactical consistency, and with its revolutionary leadership has endeavoured for the ever greater radicalisation of this revolutionary movement and for its linking with the nation-wide struggles of the workers and toilers of Iran and has more and more each day acquired the leadership of the Kurdish people in achieving self-determination and autonomy. Because of the participation of toilers - and Komala at the head of them - in this movement, Kurdistan has become the focus of the continuation of the Iranian revolution, the fortress of democracy and an important bulwark for the Iranian working class. So the critique and examination of the activity of Komala in the revolutionary movement of the Kurdish people during the last four years and basically the discussion about the nature and peculiarities of this movement, its perspective, strategy and tactics, will not only help the communists in the critique of their practice of struggle - which can help us in adopting the correct tactics and ensuring the continuity of the movement and its leadership - but possesses a nation-wide significance for the working class and its communist party. While emphasising that the national-democratic movement of the Kurdish people in the Iranian Kurdistan, like any other democratic movement which is in progress in the epoch of imperialism, forms part of the world socialist revolutions and will become ultimately victorious only under the leadership of the working class, the Plenum approved the necessity of endeavour to turn the "Programme of Komala for the Autonomy of Kurdistan" into the programme of action of the revolutionaries and masses of Kurdistan and the organisation and extension of revolutionary democracy in the liberated areas and the preparation and drawing up of laws and regulations related to the new social relations, on the basis of the principles and statutes of this Programme.

In the field of military work too, with our strategic aim in the revolutionary war of Kurdistan having become clear, the Plenum stressed the point that our political and strategic aim in this war is the smashing and expelling of the suppressive forces of the central government from Kurdistan and the

* A resistance movement which was started by the people of Kurdistan when the Islamic Republic launched a full-scale offensive to crush the revolutionary movement in Kurdistan, in August 1979 - BM.

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realization of the revolutionary democratic sovereignty of the Kurdish people on the basis of the "Programme of Komala for the Autonomy of Kurdistan", and our main tactic for reaching this strategy is continuous and purposeful offensive against the suppressive forces of the Islamic Republic regime. The results and achievements of the Plenum in this field too will be made available to the movement.

As well as the above discussions, the Plenum stressed the strengthening of democratic centralism, in connection with intra-organisational questions, and the necessity of giving ever greater order to organisational relations and exercising precise accountings.

Thus the Second Plenum of the Central Committee ended successfully in January 1983 and, with its valuable and revolutionary results, began a newer period of Komala's revolutionary activities whose positive reflection can be seen as the improvement of the methods of practical activity and the greater promotion of consciousness, militant spirit and discipline, in the ranks of Komala.

Another important gain of the revolutionary Marxism in the last year was the "Preliminary Seminar For the Formation of the Communist Party of Iran" which was held in February 1983 by the decision of the Organising Committee of the Constituent Congress of the Communist Party of Iran and with the participation of some comrades of Komala and Unity of Communist Militants and a number of comrades from the Communist Organisation of Peykar*. This seminar was being held at a time when the counter-revolutionary Islamic Republic regime had been daily stepping up its attacks and offensives against the ranks of the workers and communist revolutionaries; and as well as arresting, torturing and executing hundreds of communist militants, and holding television interviews with some traitors and vacillators who had preferred the shame of surrender to the bloodiest regime of history, to resistance and standing up against torture and execution, it had started another wave of counter-revolutionary and anti-communist propaganda, and was thus trying to declare that communism in Iran had been terminated, and wanted to assure the capitalists and imperialism that the danger of the formation of the Communist Party of Iran had been eliminated. Therefore the holding of this seminar with the participation of a considerable number of communist revolutionaries who are determined to build the communist party of the working class of Iran, was an evidence of the emptiness of the regime's propaganda and was a sign of the fact that today the revolutionary Marxist current in Iran has reached such a degree of its growth and development that no force can prevent its advance.

The questions which were discussed in this seminar included the following three topics:

- 1) The communist party
- 2) Style of work
- 3) Place of Komala in the Communist Party of Iran.

The specific peculiarity which distinguished this seminar from similar seminars and those common in Iran's populist-stricken communist movement, was the democratic atmosphere and the openness and communist sincerity of the participants in the seminar and their resoluteness in presenting their views, and their explicitness in confronting the views of others. In fact it can be said that after a sectarian and fanatical attitude towards the beliefs and views of others, as a prevalent tradition in the communist movement, a considerable number of the Iranian communists, without confining themselves in the narrow and restricted →

* See Bolshevik Message no.3 for the manifesto of joining of this organisation to the UCM - BM.

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limits of organisational interests, and divorced from any kind of petty-bourgeois narrow-mindedness, discussed and exchanged views about the urgent questions of the workers' and communist movement of Iran in a democratic and free atmosphere; and by the critique of the incorrect methods and traditions in their practice, tried to ever more eliminate the main obstacles standing in the way of the formation of the communist party, and by achieving a single, determined and solid will, to step towards the greater extension of the party movement and the practical formation of the Communist Party of Iran.

While explaining and defining the communist principles and bases of forming the party, the Seminar approved the correctness of the views of the Organising Committee in that at present the key link in the formation of the Communist Party of Iran is the existence of able and dedicated communist vanguards for constituting the main organs of the party in a consistent and continuous manner, and emphasised the socio-historical necessity of forming the Communist Party of Iran. Moreover, by the all-sided and Marxist critique of the prevalent style of work in the populist movement of Iran and also by the explicit criticism of the style of work of Komala and the UCM and the Communist Organisation of Peykar, it stressed the necessity of establishing Leninist principles and statutes of practical activity and adoption of communist style of work in party organisations and groups. Also, one of the important discussions of the Seminar was devoted to a discussion about the place and position of Komala in the Communist Party of Iran and confronting the chauvinist and nationalist views common in the movement. The essence and conclusions of these discussions can be seen in the speeches of comrade Abdollah Mohtadi.*

Thus, the Preliminary Seminar of the Communist Party was another of the important events of the communist movement of Iran during the last year. An event which demonstrated the resolute decision and will of the genuine communists of Iran for complete and categorical break with any non-proletarian class attachment and the complete rejection of non-communist traditions and methods and the revival and replacement of Leninist traditions and methods of practice and finally the practical constitution of the militant organ of the proletariat, i.e., the Communist Party of Iran.

One other valuable outcome of the Seminar was the affirmation of this fact that the objective of building the Communist Party of Iran did not stem from the will or decision of particular individuals, groups or organisations who had set out to build the party on the basis of their volition, but that this objective stemmed from a historico-social necessity and this necessity had been created not only by the existence of revolutionary conditions and circumstances in Iran but by the existence of these conditions throughout the world. We are today under such conditions that world capitalism is faced with an immense economic crisis. A crisis that no one can hide any longer. Today the news of the bankruptcy of large international establishments, the closing down of factories, unemployment and expulsions, and the protests and strikes of millions of workers throughout the world, has become a daily matter for the people of the world. It is a long time that not only world capitalism is not able to control this economic crisis but that this crisis is going to lead to its doomed outcome, i.e., a political crisis. Under such circumstances the revisionist and reformist parties can no longer meet the needs of the struggle of the working class, since, as the political stability of the society is disturbed and revolutionary conditions are created, the questions facing the working class are no longer confined to wage increases and improvements in living conditions, but the destruction of capitalism, seizure of political

power and construction of socialism have become its cause, and the social revolution is set on its order of the day. Today the working class is tiring away and needs to separate itself from the revisionist and reformist traditional parties which under the guise of Marxism and communism had colluded with the capitalist system and by preaching class compromise and inventing assorted revisionist theories such as the "non-capitalist way of development" etc, were preventing the working class from resolute struggle against capitalism. In fact it can be said that a new period of the movement and awakening of the working class has started on a world level.

It is not accidental that in Iran too after decades of domination of revisionism over the communist movement, revolutionary Marxism has been able, against a sea of class enemies, to continue its advances so victoriously and with such growth and to brush aside the cover of oblivion and treachery from the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and by raising the victorious banner of the "Programme of the Communist Party" to declare the class independence of the proletariat. It is clear that capitalism in Iran, too, as part of the world system of capitalism cannot escape from the economic crisis which has already embodied world capitalism. For a long time we have been seeing the reflection of this crisis in various forms in Iran. The February 1979 Uprising and the overthrow of the monarchist regime was the doomed result of such a crisis. The inability of the Islamic Republic regime to return the desirable order of the bourgeoisie to the society and the creation of the necessary conditions for the renewed circulation of capital in Iran were the other results of this crisis which in its continuation will certainly prepare the conditions for another uprising in Iran. In addition, four years of the attempts and stands of the workers and toilers of Iran for the preservation of the bloody gains of the uprising, four years of bloody and open class struggles in Kurdistan, have not only provided favourable objective and material conditions for the formation of the Communist Party of Iran, but have essentially turned the establishment of the Communist Party into a necessity, without the existence of which, the decades - long tragedy of the absence of the communist party in Iran would be once again repeated.

Thus, the Preliminary Seminar of the Communist Party, which was convened in the continuation of the endeavours of revolutionary Marxism in the last year for the practical formation of the Communist Party of Iran, ended quite successfully.

In this way the communist movement is at present on the one hand faced with the task of extensive activity in party fashion and with communist methods, and on the other hand is confronted with the task of preparing the last practical prerequisites for setting up the constituent congress, and in the near future is going to formally announce the birth of the Communist Party of Iran as the leading headquarters of the Iranian working class and revolution, to the world.

The Editorial Board

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