

## The Origin of the Unity of Communist Militants

The "Unity of Communist Militants" held its first congress during September-October 1982. In this congress many questions were examined. The criticism of the populist style of work, the emphasis on the preparation of the requirements for the convocation of the constituent congress of the Communist Party, the assessment of the present state of the revolutionary and workers' movement, the approval of the constitution of the UCM, and in general the perspective of the movements of communists in the new era of the life of the communist movement in Iran, were among such questions.

Below is a shortened version of a part of the report of the Central Committee presented by comrade M. HEKMAT to the first congress of the UCM which deals with the origin and history of the UCM<sup>1</sup>.

The report begins by laying emphasis on the fact that today the UCM is placed before the meeting point of two determining eras in its own life and that of the communist movement in Iran, and that the congress must profoundly pay attention to the characteristics of these two eras and particularly to those of the new era. The aim of the Central Committee in addressing the congress with a short history of the life of the UCM was mainly to analyze and enumerate the major characteristics of the activities of the UCM in the past and to give a clear definition of the major characteristics and links of the UCM's activities in the next era.

The initial stage in the formation of the UCM (then known as "Sahand") happened, four years ago, in a specific socio-political situation whose main and determining characteristics were the revolutionary conditions prevailing in the society and expansion of the theoretical and practical questions which the Iranian revolution had put before all communists in Iran. The other characteristic of this period was the absence of the independent rank of the proletariat which had led to its submission to other classes. This period also witnessed the formation of different groups and circles, a phenomenon which was itself another characteristic of this period. At the onset of its formation, "Sahand"

began its work by announcing itself as the supporter of another group by the name of "the Unity in Struggle for the Cause of the Working Class" (also known as "Arman"). "Sahand" had envisaged to provide the grounds for joining "Arman" by putting forward its views. The reason why "Sahand" originally began to work as the supporter of "Arman" was because it considered the views of "Arman" to be relatively in accordance with its own.

"Arman" was itself among many communist currents and circles known as "Line 3", which were formed at the time of the Uprising. "Paykar" organisation held the centre position, the "Union of Communists" and few other circles which later formed the "Revolutionary Unity" group were the right-wing of this spectrum. Against "Line 3", Three-Worldist organisations had detached themselves at the very onset and formed a specific revisionist current. Fedayeen too kept away from "Line 3" since the very beginning. "Line 3" was a populist "political-organisational" current whose identity was characterised by its criticism of the guerrilla warfare from a "political-organisational" point of view - itself being essentially a populist critique. In addition, "Line 3" did not have an approving stand towards Russia and had declared some "demarcations" against Modern revisionism and pro-Russian parties. "Sahand" as a circle viewed "Line 3" as the main terrain of the communist movement in Iran. "Sahand" assessed the left-wing of this current as vanguard. A faction which had more resolute stands on the alignment of revolution and counter-revolution. With regard to the texts published by this current, "Sahand" assessed "Arman" as the representative of the left-wing of this current. "Sahand" envisaged that by presenting its views, "Arman" would accept them and consequently pave the way for its ultimate joining to "Arman" and that thereof its course of movement would be defined within the organisation of "Arman". But this course of action proved to be wrong within the first few months and "Sahand" found out to have had illusions towards "Line 3" and "Arman". This misconception was due to "Sahand"'s

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wrong understanding of the mentality of the communist movement in Iran. Therefore "Sahand" as an organisation did not have a pre-conceived perspective for movement at the time of its formation. Nevertheless, the founders of "Sahand" had recognised populism as a petty-bourgeois outlook, they had realized the necessity for the theoretical, practical and organisational independence of the working class. This was because they had criticised the philosophy and methodology of Mao's thoughts, and the views of Lenin and Marx had formed their theoretical bases. Equipped with such theoretical foundation "Sahand" had right from the beginning started an ideological struggle against populist revisionism in order to separate the concept of socialism from state-capitalism, what populists present as socialism.

With reference to what was mentioned above, we could say that during its life, the UCM had passed a process of self-realization i.e., a process of learning from practice, concretizing its theoretical bases and consistently progressing its theoretical views to the point of deducing practical results. The report divides this process into several different periods, which we shall outline below:

First period: includes the period from the initial formation of "Sahand" circle to the time when it practically dissociated itself from "Arman". This period is distinguished by the attempts of the UCM to present its views without having put on its agenda any independent organisational practice. The separation of "Sahand" from "Arman" took place in November-December 1980. With the very understanding that "Sahand" had of programme and communist identity, it laid emphasis that its criterion for unity with "Arman" was on the bases of unity on programme and principal stands. "Arman" did not realize this necessity and so "Sahand" completely separated itself from it.

After its separation from "Arman" a broader perspective and more all-sided tasks were placed before "Sahand" (which was now known as the UCM) and like other independent organisations it acquired independent organs which had definite organisational body and practice.

Second period: this period encompasses

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the time between the separation of "Sahand" from "Arman" up to the time of the publication of the programme of the UCM. In this period the UCM not only succeeds in establishing its independent identity but it becomes recognised as the herald in the struggle against populism. It is in this period, that UCM also undergoes a quantitative growth and becomes a vanguard force in many different arenas of class struggle. "Besoooy-e-Sosyalism" (Towards Socialism), the theoretical organ of the UCM which was the result of the movement of the UCM to establish its independent identity played an important role not only in the qualitative development of the UCM but also in purging the communist movement in Iran from its non-proletarian impurities. "Against Unemployment" was the agitational paper of the UCM in this period, whose need was arisen because of the more extensive involvement of the UCM in the practical arenas of the movement.

Third period: this period contains the interval between the publication of the programme of the UCM and the programme of the Communist Party (i.e., the convocation of the third congress of Komala). The main characteristic of this period was that firstly the conscious attempt for building the party, the attempt for the transformation of a Leninist programme into the programme of a real force in the communist movement and the rallying of real proletarian forces around this programme was placed on the agenda of the UCM; and secondly the question of practice in a communist style was seriously put before the UCM. Moreover, during this period the UCM started publishing a new agitational paper, "Kargar-e-Komunist" (The Communist Worker). It was also during this period that the UCM and Komala began to have closer dialogues and thus paved the way for closer relations. This period ended with the third congress of Komala. It was a turning point for the UCM, because the congress had made it possible for the programme of the Communist Party to acquire a determining authority. After this period, a new era has opened up both for the UCM and the communist movement in Iran and new demanding

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tasks and outlooks are put before them ... The report of the central committee ends by emphasizing that the congress must revive the traditions of communist style of work and thus pave the way for the final unification of all the forces of the programme of the Communist Party, it further lays emphasis on the need for closer collaboration between Russia and the ICE as the way to achieve this objective and that this question as well as other questions in the communist movement can only be dealt with by understanding its historical role and its world attachment. An understanding which has in fact put before the communist movement in Iran the task to consciously strive towards the formation of the world leading organ of the proletarian - a new Communist International!