

Report To Supporters

Comrades:

It has been 3 months since the last issues of *KAR* were looted by the hated agents of the regime, and therefore, we are once again publishing the organizational organ. During this time, our contact with our comrades, the broad supportive forces and consequently with the broad vanguard masses was cut off, although the organizations "program of action", the first edition of which — *KAR* no.150 — was confiscated by the regime, was distributed. The supporters and different chapters of the organization strived to overcome this deficiency and published many local leaflets and newsletters, however, the red cord that was to connect all these activities was missing. Meanwhile, we published as many tracts and leaflets as we could. But since we should have acted according to the priorities, we employed all our power to compensate the organization. The reason is that, although the other aspects of action would have had some instantaneous and insignificant impacts, the publication of the organizational organ would have been delayed and this did not seem principled. Now in the first issue after the gap, it is our duty to report the developments faced by the organization, to the supporters:

1. How the assault took place:

The assault was started on Saturday March 12, and was ended on Tuesday, March 16. According to our information, Ahmad Ataollahy — in charge of printing and advisor to the central committee — was arrested on Saturday night. On the same night comrade Hamid Azadi — from the printing center and in charge of distribution of the paper — was martyred due to the regimes' assault on his house. The organization's printing center was captured by the regime on the same night. On Sunday night, the counting center was the subject of the assault. Comrades Abbas, Amir and Javad were martyred after killing the head of the local committee of the "revolutionary guard" and two regime's agents. On the same day, comrade Nezam — central committee member, in charge of workers committee and Tehran organization — was martyred while he had gone to check one of the distribution centers. On Monday morning, comrades Kazem — central committee member and in charge of the security committee — and Khashayar who had been informed of the assault were martyred while confronting the lackies of the regime. Before they left their home, they had both said: "Should Ahmad answer the phone, I will go to his home." On Tuesday, comrade Hadi — central committee member and in charge of military committee, supply department and financial affairs — received a message from Ahmad and went to the meeting place and was martyred. This concluded the assault.

It is obvious that Ahmad has chosen the road of betrayal and has become a regime's disciple. Our investigations have confirmed this. Ahmad was arrested about a month before the assault by the police in a street and gave his father's address and phone number. After that, he was rescued by one of the police comrades, working secretly in the police force. The police created a task force for the arrest of Ahmad and the aforementioned comrades. Ahmad, disregarding the leadership's direction to avoid contact with the families during the holidays, contacted his family and set a meeting with his mother. The police,

being informed of this, chased Ahmad and found access to the printing and distribution centers.

It is clear that Ahmad cooperated with the police immediately after he was arrested. It was only through Ahmad's cooperation that the fall of the printing center into the hands of the police could have been possible. The information that the regime had, could have only been obtained from Ahmad. Besides, comrades Hadi, Kazem and Khashayar went to their meetings as a result of contact with Ahmad.

2. The Road to Reconstruction The Organization, and the Existing Lines:

After the March assault, the organization succeeded in presenting the perpetuation of the assault. The organization also tried to analyze the assault, simultaneously with planning the future moves. Regarding this, the comrades of the minority tendency of the organization (the "Mn") who had propounded the "physical survival" line suggested a halt to all the organization's activities. After the attacks on Peykar and Mojahedeen, they believed that the police were relatively consolidated and that the organization had no particular security system. The "Mn" claimed: Considering that the police are relatively consolidated and that the regime has considerable information about us, and that our organization lacks a security system, and that the origin of the assault is not completely clear yet, it is necessary to cancel all of the outreach plans, local meetings and unnecessary connections in Tehran, in addition to disruption of contact with the assaulted centers.

Hence, they suggested to transfer the leadership to secure places and then to put debates on the analysis of the assault and how to redress it on the agenda.

But a short while after this suggestion, the "Mn" comrades, unilaterally and without notifying the leadership, published a pamphlet called "Evaluation and Perspective."

This pamphlet, which represents these comrades' points of view, had been published as the "Open ideological struggle Bulletin No. 1", but was looted by the regime and was supposed to be republished as soon as possible. This was criticized by the comrades of the Majority tendency (the "Mj") as a factional act. In replying to these critics, the "Mn" comrades claimed: "It is necessary to organize independently for the revolution, and therefore the organization must welcome a political and organizational fraction. Otherwise the publishing of the pamphlet "Evaluation and Perspective" can be regarded as a split."

"Our congress," replied the "Mj" comrades, "clarified that the majority of the organization opposes factionalism, by rejecting "the right to organize a tendency" which is itself a prelude to factionalism. It is also premature to split under such conditions, for it will force the organizational masses to make a decision without knowledge of the two sides positions."

In order to prevent a premature split, the "Mj" comrades suggested to set a two-month period for ideological struggle and submitting of different points of view to the main body of the organization. According to this suggestion, at the end of the 2-month period — which was liable to be extended — the future form of the movement — joint struggle, factionalism, split, etc. — would be decided in a joint session. The "Mn"

comrades were first insisting on either imposing their factionalism on the organization or splitting. But after many debates in the central committee and the advisors meeting, with stress on the fact that the split was inevitable, accepted the suggestion. The "Mn" comrades criticized themselves for the unilateral publication of the pamphlet in the same session. They also claimed that they had never had non-organizational contacts and had not organized themselves independently and would not do so until the end of the period.

3. Open ideological struggle:

In compliance with the aforementioned decisions regarding enhancement of open ideological struggle, "Evaluation and Perspectives" was published as the Bulletin No. 1 of the debates. The "Mn" comrades also submitted a leaflet which was prepared in March for a declaration of their positions and the split. This leaflet, which was also endorsed by the martyred comrade Kazem, was published after the assault. There was then a pamphlet called "Leninism or Trotskism" published on behalf of the "Mj" comrades which criticized the positions of the "Mn" tendency.

In the submitted literature, the "Mj" comrades put stress on not admitting factionalism within the organization and believe that active survival of an organization requires a unique leadership and unique establishment under the prevailing dictatorship. They also believe that while open ideological struggle will be continued and the "Mn" comrades will be able to present their positions, they should move in accordance with the ratified policies of the organization and hence, the idea of an independent organization is nonsense. The "Mn" comrades put stress on factionalism and believe that they must be allowed to form their own political-organizational factions since independent organization is mandatory for realization of the revolution. They are willing to continue to work in the organization, only if the "Mj" comrades accept factionalism.

With all deficiencies and despite the fact that the "Mn" comrades, disregarding their self-criticism and commitments, went on to unilaterally distribute other pamphlets, the organization was experiencing open ideological struggle, and the organizational masses are now going to actively participate in this struggle. But the "Mn" comrades who, despite their pretention regarding concern over nationwide ideological struggle, apparently could not tolerate the enhancement of that struggle, and continued to unilaterally publish other pamphlets after "Leninism or Trotskism" was published. Finally four of the "Mn" comrades published a leaflet entitled "Socialist Action Method" signed by the Organization of the Iranian People's Fedaii Guerillas-the Revolutionary Socialist Tendency. This way, they once again deprived the organization

masses from the right to decide and denied our country's vanguard masses the right to choose and to know.

Obviously, from the beginning of the formation of this tendency, we knew that they could not eventually confine themselves to the organization's revolutionary trend, for there is no affinity between Leninism and Trotskism. Trotskism can not even be considered to be completely within the communist movement. But our knowing this was not sufficient. It was necessary to expose this tendency's points of view to the organizational masses. We should have let the organizational masses find out for themselves that the presence of this tendency in our ranks leads to nothing but our own liquidation. It was necessary to scrutinize the gaudy and flashy and sparkling slogans based on the realities of society and analyze their practical implications to clarify that behind all this gaudiness and sparkle there is nothing but passivism and subjectivism. It should have been revealed that those who speak of perpetuation of the revolution, advocate the cessation of the organization in practice. The tactics of those who speak of proletarian mobilization, are restricted to formation of workers action committees as underground committees which organize the vanguard workers for preparation for general political strike. (These are the same underground strike committees which were formed by the organization's workers' committee among the workers even before open propagation of its slogan was on the agenda). The tactics presented by those who portray the Mojahedeen as the "bourgeoisie's ortillergmen and consider them anarchists, include: throwing grenades and machine-gunning the regime-backed marches and funeral ceremonies. (All of these are official proposals of the "Mn" tendency which were presented in writing in the official meetings of the organization's committees). This is why we proposed to prevent the split and to organize open ideological struggle. We insisted on this demand and the "Mn" tendency was finally compelled to accept it although their desire was to split prior to the debates. But, they opportunistically kept enhancing their non-organizational contacts and unilaterally published other materials and perpetrated other acts with no affinity to revolutionary principles, — although they talk a great deal about principles — and eventually called themselves the "Revolutionary Socialist Tendency," and presumably relieved themselves.

Our Differences:

To further clarify the fundamental differences between the "Mj" and the "Mn" tendencies, we now outline the controversial issues that were discussed in the congress.

On the State of the Revolution: The "Mn" tendency defends the socialist revolution under the prevailing condi-

continued on page 5

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Report To

continued from page 8

tions in Iran and believes in the establishment of one-class dictatorship — the proletariat — *in the current stage of the revolution*. The "Mj" tendency, on the contrary, appraises the revolution to be a people's Democratic one, and believes in the necessity of establishment of the workers — peasants democratic dictatorship, which is itself a prelude for transition to one-class dictatorship, meaning the proletarian dictatorship.

On the Maximum and Minimum Programs of the Proletariat: While the "Mj" tendency holds that it is necessary to differentiate between the maximum and the minimum programs and to mobilize the proletariat's allies, the "Mn" tendency defends the transitional program for socialist revolution.

On the Socialist Camp: The "Mj" despite its clear cut line on revisionist deviations in the socialist camp, considers its socialist camp as an international ally of Iran's proletariat. But the "Mn" omits the socialist camp from the ranks of the proletariat's allies.

On the Potential of the Proletariat in the Current Stage of the Revolution: The "Mn" tendency propounds many slogans about the proletariat, but since it separates the proletariat from its allies, it practically eliminates the role of the proletariat from the revolution. "Mn" claims that it is not mandatory for the proletariat to unite with the petit-bourgeois strata and the toiling masses in order to carry out a victorious revolution and to seize power. Rather, "Mn" asserts, in case this task is not accomplished, the proletariat should carry out the revolu-

tion by itself and unite with these strata following the victory of the revolution. But, since the Iranian proletariat has not reached the required level of organization and consciousness, the "Mn" asserts: "Let the liberal-democrats seize power. The proletariat will take advantage of the legal atmosphere to organize and educate itself to overthrow the liberal-democrats." This way, the "Mn" practically eliminates the role of proletariat and waits for the "National Council of Resistance" to seize power, so that it would use the "period of legal atmosphere" to educate and organize the proletariat. The "Mj" tendency believes that despite the low level of consciousness and organization among the workers, they must be instigated to broad and active participation in the revolution and that the decisive victory

of the revolution must be planned for.

Clearly, these two trends, one of which is a defender of Trotskysm and one that is based on Leninism, can not be together in the same organization for a long time. However, we strived to expose the view's of the "Mn" tendency, the bankruptcy of which has been internationally declared, among the supporters through open ideological struggle and to prevent the "Mn" comrades numbers from exceeding the number of fingers on a hand. But the "Mn" did not tolerate this struggle and declared their split by publication of the aforementioned leaflets. Hence, four of the "Mn" comrades have no longer any responsibilities in the organization.

continued on page 4

Report

continued from page 5

This report on the recent developments facing the organization, more than ever, clarifies our current situation and the vital duties of the supporters. The premature split was imposed on us immediately after the assault which culminated in the martyrdom or arrest of many of our valuable comrades. Despite the existence of an intense atmosphere during this time, and despite the necessity for alterations and extensive preparation, and besides the advancement of open ideological struggle, the organization was able to reconstruct itself during this period. The organization's organ is once again being published and therefore our contact with the supporter comrades is being established.

*(KAR NO. 154, July 17, 1982)