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WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' COMMUNIST PARTY OF IRAN

INTRODUCTION

Toufan is the Monthly Journal of the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran.

The English edition of Toufan contains selected articles from the monthly journal. This edition is being produced for the benefit of the fraternal English-speaking comrades and friends of the Iranian revolution.

Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran

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"Iranestan" or the Burial Ground of Imperialists and the Lackey Regime of the Shah

The heroic Iranian people have been in a state of permanent mobilization against the puppet bloodsucking coup d'etat regime for over a year. The storms of anger of our brave people will not allow the Pahlavi regime to have a moment of peace. No longer will the oppressed people keep the slogan "Down with the Lackey Regime of the Shah!" to themselves. The glorious and fighting slogan, "Down with the Regime of Pahlavi!", which is echoing all over Iran, has brought fear to imperialist reactionaries and their mercenaries of all hues. Our heroic people clearly have declared their hatred for the butcher regime of the lackey Shah and their determination to carry the struggle through until the downfall of the imperialist puppet regime. Every corner of the country, cities, villages, streets, factories, shops, universities, schools, offices, etc., are filled with determined fighters who, by defying death, are hitting at the rotten Pahlavi regime so as to destroy it and bury the imperialists and their native servants under its rotten rubble.

The imperialists and their native lackeys are conscious of the revolutionary determination of our people. But the imperialists do not leave the battlefield easily. Depending on the requirements of the situation, while continuously preserving their oppressive apparatuses and continuing to strangle the people, they attempt to safeguard their interests by resorting to demagogical means. It is for this reason that they add to their puppet shows, and this time present their servant under the mask of "democracy". The parliament, which has been the tool of imperialism, suddenly becomes "rebellious", and from different corners of this rotten house various elements voice their "dissatisfactions". To grasp the depth of the crisis of the regime it is enough to note that the crown prince, who has gone to the U.S. for "training", says that "my father has made some mistakes". Even the Shah, this dedicated servant of imperialism, who all his life has massacred our people, promises that he will "democratize" the butcher coup d'etat regime. But none of the promises and demagogy of the rotten Pahlavi regime can lull our people. The heroic Iranian people are more than ever aware of the degenerate nature of this rotten lackey regime, and the ongoing wave of the movement of our people is a firm indication of their iron determination to continue the struggle.

Besides demagogy, in order to save itself from the just wrath of

the people, the lackey regime attempts to carry out its usual programme of lies, slanders and threats. The shamelessness of this regime has reached such a level that it considers itself "nationalist and independent" and violently suppresses any voice for freedom, under the guise that it is against the "independence" of Iran. Ascribing the revolutionary movement of our people to foreigners and massacring the patriots under the name of "anti-national" elements, is the only "moral" justification of the actions of a fascist regime which has been imposed on our country by foreign imperialists in order to safeguard their plundering interests. The Shah, this open lackey of imperialism, following the implementation of imperialist conspiracies, goes so far as "warning" against the danger of Iran becoming "Iranestan".

But the revolutionary movement of the peoples of Iran once again has lifted the demagogic mask from the filthy face of the degenerate regime and has exposed its puppet nature. Today, everyone is aware of the urgent trips of Ardeshir Zahedi, this trained lackey of U.S. imperialism, to Iran. (Zahedi is the ambassador of the Shah to the U.S. — Tr.) A few days before the declaration of martial law, Ardeshir Zahedi rushed to Iran and presented to the Shah the orders of master Carter for the bloody Friday of September 8. (This is the day that the fascist regime killed between 3,000 and 6,000 people — Tr.) The ministry of foreign affairs of U.S. imperialism hastily approved the massacre which took place after the declaration of martial law, and even Carter himself disrupted the notorious Camp David Conference and personally congratulated the Shah for his "success" in crushing the just uprising of the people. Today, more than ever, the notorious role of U.S. imperialism in massacring the people of Iran, in directing the government decisions and in inauspiciously interfering in all aspects of political, social, economic and military life of Iran, is clear to everyone. The speed with which the upsurge of the masses has developed wiped out any possibility of covering up Carter's colonial relation with the Shah. The chieftain of U.S. imperialism, Carter, during the crucial moments of the mass movement of the Iranian people, has been forced, without the usual demagogical diplomacy, to openly interfere in the affairs of Iran by issuing his messages through

various channels or directly, by the use of the media, and in this way boost the morale of his local lackeys. To justify his all-round interference, he has once again emphasized the importance of the political, economic and military role of Iran in the plundering economic system of Western imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism. The existence of over 50,000 U.S. military advisors in Iran; the dispatching of destructive weapons to Iran; the merciless plunder of the labour and natural resources of the country; the interference of U.S. imperialism in the affairs of the people of the region by means of the lackey regime of the Shah, all clearly show the degree of importance of Iran for the imperialists, especially U.S. imperialism. The demagogic propaganda of the puppet regime cannot hide from the people of Iran the bitter fact of the dependence of the regime on U.S. imperialism.

Our people are well aware, and during their heroic uprising have clearly seen, how the coup regime receives its orders to carry out anti-people activities from U.S. imperialism, and in short it has converted Iran to "Iranestan" of the U.S.

Our Party, time and again, in its organs, has pointed out the true nature of the puppet regime and the nature of its demagoguery. The open interference of the U.S. imperialists in crushing the revolutionary movements of our people once again proves the correctness of the Party's analysis. But the capitulators and reformists have nothing to do with the objective facts. They have already made up their minds and have pinned their hopes on the "humanitarian" favours of the U.S. imperialists to establish democracy in Iran.

Basically, democracy is a conditional question, and if we are to consider democracy only in the framework of the interest of the national bourgeoisie of Iran, it would mean the establishment of the political, social and military atmosphere which favours the free and complete growth of internal capital (economy). Since Iran is a semi-feudal, semi-colonial country, where the dark dictatorship of the Shah holds sway, this is not possible within the framework of the regime. This regime, which has been imposed on our oppressed people by imperialism, specifically U.S. imperialism, through savage suppression of the people and the nationalist forces, including the national bourgeoisie, during the events of the bloody coup d'état of September 6, 1953, cannot continue its filthy life without the suppression of the peoples and the nationalist forces. Therefore, the question of democracy for the people and the nationalist forces in Iran in the present conditions is related to the nature of the present regime (and precisely this question).

In general, the establishment of "democracy" for the nationalist forces (and not people's democracy, which is a question of a different nature) implies the establishment of a genuinely nationalist state in Iran (which is not dependent on foreign imperialism and social-imperialism in any way). This can only be achieved by violent overthrow (and not by reformism and capitulation) of the puppet regime and the complete expulsion of imperialists and especially U.S. imperialism from Iran.

Except for certain forces which have participated in the recent revolutionary movement in Iran and have clarified their stand in relation to the puppet regime and imperialism, especially U.S. and British imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, the stand of the reformist Monarchists of the National Front of Iran is still unclear in relation to the bloodsucking coup regime and imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism. The National Front's slogan "Death to Imperialism!" sounds nice, but it does not explain which imperialists it is referring to.

Our Party holds the view that no genuinely nationalist force can, under the name of "democracy", within the framework of the present regime of Iran, participate in managing the state and be a partner in the rotten government of the Shah. Because

participation in a regime which is the defender of the interests of the imperialists, especially U.S. imperialism, means nothing but to serve the interests of imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism.

Of course, the imperialists and their puppets in Iran are not unhappy about the presence of the reformists of the National Front, because they need their presence in order to implement their demagogic programmes, including the proof of the "democratization" of the butcher regime. The U.S. imperialists may even bring the reformists into the government, at a certain stage of the development of the movement, in order to help crush the movement. In this case, as was mentioned above, whosoever associates with imperialism will be unavoidably in the enemy camp and will face the wrath of the people. But, in the present conditions, imperialism is in the grip of a deep crisis and as the objective experiences show, it is searching for a military solution in order to pull itself out of the crisis. In their criminal activities against the Iranian people, the U.S. imperialists are not alone and are enjoying the close cooperation of all the imperialists. The traitorous conspiracies of the fascist regime of Iraq against the ever-growing movement of our peoples, once again exposed the true nature of the regime of Iran and the holy alliance of U.S. and British imperialism. All the reactionary and anti-people regimes, from the fascist regime of Israel to the regimes of Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, etc., have been terrified by the revolutionary movement of the Iranian people and, with the signal from their masters, have come hand in hand to assist the bankrupt puppet regime of the Shah.

In spite of all their contradictions with each other, the imperialists have a common view on the one issue — suppression of genuinely revolutionary and anti-imperialist movements. The revolutionary movement of the Iranian people will leave its revolutionary imprints not only in the Middle East, but all over the world.

The open interference of U.S. imperialism in Iran, the collaboration of the U.S. British, French and Russian imperialists, the newly rising plunderer, China, and the reactionary regimes which are dependent on them in suffocating the Iranian revolution, the intensity of suppression and the savage massacre of the Iranian people by the imperialists, show the bankruptcy of every reformist theory, especially the anti-people "theory of three worlds". Everyone has witnessed the close and open collaboration of the so-called "first, second and third world" in support of the puppet regime of the Shah and in suppressing the revolution in Iran.

The imperialists and the reactionary puppet regimes, every one of them, each in its own way, has taken a stand against the Iranian people and in favour of the lackey coup regime. If the U.S. imperialists mercilessly massacre our people, then the Soviet social-imperialists, on the one hand, dispatch their running dogs, the traitorous "Central Committee of the Tudeh Party", to fish in troubled water with their seemingly revolutionary slogans; and, on the other hand, by various methods from the sale of weapons to concluding plundering economic agreements and political support, take the side of the puppet regime. The British imperialists, with the help of their agents in Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, etc., and the French imperialists, by restricting the activities and at the same time pressuring the opponents of the regime and the Iranian revolutionaries in France, come to the rescue of the regime.

The revolutionary movement in Iran has once again exposed the imperialists of all kinds and their lackeys on the world scale. Our heroic people are determined to put an end to the life of the criminal coup regime, and with it, end the filthy presence of the imperialists, especially the U.S. imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists, in Iran, once and for all.

The blood which has been shed by the martyrs of the Iranian people is the true testimony to the revolutionary determination

of our people.

LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT OF THE PEOPLE OF IRAN!

VICTORY TO THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT OF

Reformism or People's Revolution?

The conditions and situation of the world and all class societies reflect a critical development and a ripening revolutionary situation. It is now one year since our country, Iran, after many years of sporadic and momentary struggles, began a revolutionary fever. The heroic and oppressed people of Iran, with their unprecedented persistence in struggle against the Shah's regime during the past year, have added a glorious page to the history of the revolutions and liberation movements of the oppressed peoples and classes.

Besides the working class, other social classes have entered the struggle. The recent struggles have drawn various political forces into the political struggle, each of which certainly enters the struggle by keeping in mind its own socio-political class interests and having its own world outlook and experience.

"The United Forces of the National Front" are one of these forces too. The National Front, after years of silence and inactivity, has crawled out of darkness and, by its capitulationist programmes and aims, has concentrated all its efforts to tap the struggle and the storm of anger of the people. The National Front, with the basic slogans of attainment of all the freedoms that have been stipulated in the constitution, "return of all the legal rules of the country and the reconstitution of all the rights of the people and the full guarantee for safeguarding these rights" (Our emphasis — *Toufan*), and the slogan of "Shah must reign and not rule", etc., — has entered the arena. As stipulated time and again in their interviews and leaflets, the leaders of the National Front see the implementation of the "constitution and its supplements and the declaration of human rights", (Our emphasis — *Toufan*), as the only way of achieving their own declarations, that is: "adoption of an independent Iranian foreign policy" and "acquisition of the independence of countries released from all enslaving dependency on foreign dominating forces, safeguard of individual and social freedom and reconstitution of national rights". These liberal gentlemen have been following the same path for the past three decades.

The leaders of the National Front are "old hand" politicians; they have seen with their own eyes the twists and turns of struggle and have had their own share in defeats of the past movements. The National Front is well aware that the Shah is a running dog of U.S. imperialism and that all the economic, political and military aspects of our country and the oppressed masses of Iran, from the poor peasants of Sistan to the noble workers of the ghettos of Tehran, are enslaved in the imperialist claws. They are more aware of the U.S. imperialist policies in the colonial and neo-colonial countries than the youth and the revolutionary masses who are participating in the recent movement. Experience has shown the peoples that world imperialism resorts to all kinds of methods, wherever it is involved in plundering the peoples, by its method of neo-colonialism and seemingly "nationalist" native governments, in order to continue its colonialism and exploitation; from dictatorship, use of force, bloodshed, to the so-called "democracy" and "free election", etc., because, as long as the state machine is in the hands of the representatives of the reactionary classes and imperialism, every method, be it dictatorship or "free election", is in the service of the interests of imperialism and for the preservation of its rule.

Parliamentarism, that is, basic dependence on elections for achieving democracy, is a crime and treachery in a country where imperialism and dark reaction control everything, and American advisors direct every retreat and attack of the military-police

**THE OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF IRAN!
DEATH TO IMPERIALISM, ESPECIALLY U.S.
IMPERIALISM AND ITS LACKEYS!**

(No. 13, October 1978)

machinery of the regime and its diversified politics. In today's conditions of our country, to limit the political struggle to activities "within the framework of the constitution" means nothing but to lead the movement astray.

Karim Sanjabi, the President of the Executive Committee of the National Front, in his interview with *Le Monde*, in September 1978, said: "The Shah has not changed his politics. In order to save his kingdom, if he is honest, he should show more flexibility. The monarchy constitutes the main issue. How should it be resolved? (Our emphasis — *Toufan*). These words are the manifestation of its capitulationist policies. It shows that the reformist bourgeoisie is involved in capitulation and suppression of struggle behind the backs of the heroic and self-sacrificing masses. It expects "honesty" from the Shah whose unlimited crimes have been condemned by world public opinion — so that his kingdom may somehow be saved!! Iran is such a semi-colonial country that over 50,000 American advisors are active in its numerous bases. In such a society, wouldn't the policy of defending the monarchy and the adoption of such policies which are not decisively and clearly against U.S. imperialism and imperialism in general (like the present policies of the National Front), be in the service of safeguarding the existing social system — that is, the system of colonialism and exploitation?"

Let us see what could be the response of imperialism to such capitulationist slogans and aims. Can imperialism, or particularly U.S. imperialism, agree with such slogans? Yes! Certainly yes! Because imperialism means plunder by monopoly, finance capital. It makes no difference for the imperialists what kind of socio-political form exists; it could be monarchy, republic or aristocracy. The imperialist system, this developed and experienced social system, adopts its exploitative and colonial policies to different political and judicial forms of various societies. And if we ask: Would the imperialists and, in particular, U.S. imperialism, tolerate the removal of the monarchy if it becomes necessary, our answer is yes!! Certainly yes! Because what is of utmost importance for the imperialists is to continue their plunder and *not to lose their colonies* and their profitable markets. Now it makes no difference what judicial-political form these colonies and dependent countries may have, as long as they do not cause a *serious loss*, they can be tolerated by the imperialists.

Marx, the founder of scientific socialism points out "*The state is the instrument of suppression of one class by the other*", and "*revolution means the smashing up of this hated instrument of class rule*". Therefore, without a people's revolution which smashes the system of colonialism and exploitation of imperialism and the ruling classes, no genuinely independent state, which is capable of safeguarding the independence of Iran and "the right of self-determination of the nations", can exist. As long as the matter of complete expulsion of the imperialists and social-imperialists from Iran has not been resolved, one cannot speak a word about the genuine independence of Iran.

The reformist leaders of the National Front, in order to carry out their capitulationist policies, conveniently forget the degree to which imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, influences all aspects of the life of our country. In Iran, the army of the Shah and imperialism, which is armed to the teeth, the police, gendarmes, and SAVAK savagely massacre our people in order to protect the rotten state machine. The leaders of the National Front are terrified to express this fact, that in the face of this great

apparatus of oppression must be placed the *armed people's army* which must smash the state machine. They are basically afraid of the word "revolution".

But, even according to the same bourgeois conscience and the same judiciary which the National Front believes in, the Shah and the ruling clique of Iran, for their massacre of tens of thousands of democratic men and women during the past year alone, must be hanged a hundred times. Now, how does your law, gentlemen pass judgement about the ruling clique and the Shah?!

The present bloody revolutionary struggles are the opening chapter of a revolutionary epoch of political and social development in our country. It is the beginning of that revolutionary storm that will achieve what the proletariat and the labouring masses of our country have long wished for. All that remains in the consciousness of the masses is that which they themselves have achieved in their daily battles. They will learn those things that they have achieved through the flames of their unshakeable and definite struggles. The true representatives and leaders, too, will rise from the same masses and their struggles.

Shah in Trouble

The Shah, this servant and lackey of the Washington bosses, has been driven to extremes. The demagogical measures taken by the government of Sharif Emami concerning the closing of a few gambling houses and liquor stores, and by the Rastakhiz Party of replacing the calendar with the old traditional calendar of Iran, the mockeries of the lackey parliament, the false and bloody promises of "freedom" and "democracy"; none have been able to save the rotten regime of Pahlavi and the reactionary classes dependent on imperialism from the crisis they are in.

The contradictions within the ruling classes have intensified. The palace of oppression is shaken, and every one of the lackeys of the royal court is running to save his own vile and filthy life. The threats of the Shah and the support of Carter, this representative of one of the most powerful, bloodthirsty colonialist powers, for the Shah, has not been able to resolve the contradictions within the front of reaction and has not been able to affect to the slightest degree the courage of the heroic people of Iran. The situation has reached a point where the obedient ministers of the empty regime, one after another resign and, like lackey Nehavandi, seek to build their phoney "parties" in order to further pursue their rapacious interests. The representatives of the groomed, anti-people parliament, one after another shriek out complaints or attack their opponents, presenting a "justice-seeking", "pro-people" facade. They attempt to wash their bloodstained hands of the slaughter which they themselves participate in. They are accusing the butcher Nassiri, who is as much a decadent thief as they themselves are, with embezzlement and misuse of power during his chieftainship of the SAVAK (which lasted for 14 years), and calling him to Tehran for interrogation.

The phoney "democratization", on the one hand, has faced the vigilant movement of the heroic people of Iran and, on the other hand, has become a contradiction to the interests of the imperialist masters; and has placed the dictator Shah and U.S. imperialism in a hot spot. The groomed government of Sharif Emami pretends to be "peaceful", and responsive to the demands and needs of the people. But the same government, despite its claims, has no choice but to allocate the biggest portion of the budget of the government to the arming of the mercenary army of the Shah and to keep the military expenditures of Iran even higher than those of the imperialist government of Britain, and in line with the U.S., the Soviet Union, France and Italy.

All cities of Iran have been the battlefield of bloody fights

The oppressed masses and the heroic people of Iran will win in their struggle against this ruling clique and its imperialist masters only when they have felt the warmth of freedom by their body and soul, when they have established their own state where the democratic and toiling masses have become rulers, the toiling and poor people have become armed and vigilantly defend their victories and fruits of their revolutionary struggles. Our Party will not allow any group, clique, party or class to divert the revolutionary movement of our people by disseminating their reformist ideas. The same way that imperialism and reaction have their army and general staff, our labouring masses too must have their own army and general staff. Only the proletariat, under the leadership of its vanguard Party, the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran, can achieve the People's Democratic Revolution and lead the masses of the people in their millions to final victory.

People's Democratic Revolution is the only path to liberation of our people.

(No. 13, October 1978)

between the masses of the people and the security forces of the regime. On October 10, demonstrations were organized in more than 30 cities in Iran. In Sanandaj, the fascist police of the Shah machine-gunned the demonstrators and made martyrs of numerous people and injured many more. On October 11, the butchers of the regime opened fire upon protesting students at the University of Tehran and shed the blood of three patriotic students. On October 16, the 40th day after the Bloody Friday (September 8, 1978 — *Tr.*), the just demonstrations of the heroic people of Tehran were again drowned in blood and tens of thousands of people were martyred. On this day, demonstrations took place all over Iran, and the toilers of Iran wrote the red slogans of liberation on this land with their blood. The demonstrations commemorating the Bloody Friday left many martyrs in the cities of Dezful, Andimeshk, Minab and Zanjan, besides Tehran.

Already, one year has passed since the beginning of the heightening of the mass movement in Iran. One year has passed since September of last year, when the toiling and poor masses confronted the reactionary violence of the regime with their revolutionary violence during the course of the conspiracy of the government in destroying the houses outside city limits. During this period, ever greater strata of the people have joined the struggle. The crimes of the regime — on such occasions as the demonstrations of the students in December of last year, the demonstrations of Ghom, the heroic uprising of Tabriz . . . till the Bloody Friday in Tehran, and at the present time in all cities — which are being committed by the mercenaries of colonialism and international capitalism — have not been able to stop these struggles, even for a moment, or to lessen their depth and extent. Neither the mockery of "democratization" and "free political atmosphere", nor the parliamentary puppet shows, not even the peaceful shrieks of "worshipping the constitution" from the conciliationists of the National Front and its ilk, has been able to have any effect upon these struggles.

The powerful movement of the people has exposed all schemes of the revisionist traitors of the "Central Committee of the Tudeh Party", along with their "anti-dictatorship front", etc. International reaction, from the bloodsucking United States to the new tsars of Moscow and the Chinese charlatans, have all come to the aid of the Iranian reaction and the Shah.

But, the economic crisis, bankruptcy, political repression, and the pressure of colonialism and exploitation are the motivators of the unshakeable motion of the people in the course of a

political revolution aimed at the overthrow of the reactionary classes headed by the Shah in Iran. No force can stop this historical motion.

In October of this year, besides the mass demonstrations, the continuous strikes of the heroic working class of Iran were extended to the strikes of other strata of the people. During the month of October, besides all universities which were on strike, the majority of schools went on strike too; besides the bazar and many small shops that were on strike in protest, other strata of the people also engaged in strikes. On October 12, the personnel of the Hilton Hotel went on strike. The staff of many hospitals are on strike. The communications, telegraph and telephone workers are in the third week of their strike at this time. The customs staff is on strike, and numerous foreign commodities have rotted while waiting to be released. The strikes have spread to the staff of the Ministry of Finance, the staff of the University of Tehran and the Higher School of Commerce, the Bureaus of Public Notary, the staff of the newspapers *Keyhan* and *It'elaat*, the staff of the National Radio and Television, etc. Around the middle of October, the staff of the National Bank of Iran again started their strike. This is because the government did not implement any of its promises. This bank, being responsible for paying the salaries of government agencies, has put the government apparatus in a severe situation. Besides the National Bank, the staff of many other banks are also on a rotating strike. The respected teachers of the Ministry of Education are also on strike. The pillars of the government of the Shah and the domination of imperialism are shaky. The government and its lying apparatus are constantly declaring that the strikes are ending, but the truth of the matter is that even where strikes were ended, a new wave of struggle has started again. Iran is, more or less, under general strike.

The mockery of "democratization" has faced a complete defeat. Zahedi, this house-bred servant of Washington, has become a permanent traveller between Washington and Tehran, personally delivering the orders of master Carter to Mohammad

Reza Shah. At the present time, when all plots of imperialism for bringing stability to its domination in Iran have faced defeat, reaction sees as its last weapon the setting up of a military government. But even this method is not going to cure the disease of these evildoers. No amount of crime will make the heroic people of Iran retreat and stop their struggles.

But the struggle of the masses of the people, with all its extent and fierceness, does have a basic shortcoming, and that is organization and arms. To be organized and to be armed; this is the path that will lead the heroic struggles of the people to the final goal. Any conciliation, any compromise will only benefit reaction. The organizing and arming of the poor people can only be done by the vanguard party of the proletariat.

Therefore, the task of the communist comrades in these struggles is clear. Our Party must gain such influence among the masses of the people and such deep roots in the working class that will enable it to organize the toilers of Iran all over the country and guide them in a bloody battle against reaction and imperialism. The experience of the recent struggles has shown that no other force in the Iranian society is capable of fulfilling such a task. This can only be fulfilled by actively participating in the struggles. The whole of the Party must follow the practical example of those Party comrades who actively participated in the mass struggles, defended them with all their might, and propagated the correct slogans and correct views of the Party under the leadership of the Central Committee. Our Party is duty-bound to neutralize all plots of reaction to sow division within the movement and increase its influence among the masses, and particularly the conscious and honest workers. There is only one way to enhance revolution, and that is to participate in it. The mass movement is speedily surging forward and it is the task of the communists to deepen and extend the link of the communist movement with it and finally, with correct leadership, achieve revolution.

(No. 13, Supplement to Toufan, October 1978)

Development of International Situation

At the beginning of this month, the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies, under the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, held a conference to analyze the development of the international situation. A number of fraternal parties were invited to participate in the Conference to present their views and to participate in the exchange of views. It is clear that without exchange of views it is not possible to furbish a single line of the International Communist Movement. A delegation of our Party was invited to go to Tirana for this reason.

Over 30 topics were discussed at this scientific-political conference. The speakers spoke in the following order. Comrades: Nexhimje Hoxha (member of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania); Ramiz Alia (secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania); Agim Popa (chief editor of *Zëri i Popullit*); Lazari (member of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania); Fiqret Shehu (member of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania); a representative of the Communist Party of Germany (Marxist-Leninist); Ndreçi Plasari (member of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania); a representative of the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran; Omer Hashovra (member of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania); a representative of the Communist Party of Italy (Marxist-Leninist); a representative of the Communist Party of Spain (Marxist-Leninist); a representative of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist); a representative of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile; a representative of the Marxist-Leninist

Communist Party of Ecuador; a representative of the Communist Party of Brazil; a representative of the Communist Party of Japan (Left); a representative of the Communist Party of Mexico (Marxist-Leninist); a representative of the Red Flag Party of Venezuela; and a representative of the Communist Party of Portugal (Reconstructed).

Besides representatives of communist parties mentioned above, over 25 Albanian scholars spoke at this scientific session on various issues. Comrade Agim Popa, the editor of *Zëri i Popullit* and distinguished Albanian philosopher spoke on "The Marxist-Leninist Parties — the Leading Force of the Present-Day Revolutionary Movement" and Comrade Ramiz Alia spoke on "The Revolution — A Question Taken up for Solution"; following are some extracts from Comrade Ramiz Alia's speech:

"The Marxist-Leninist understanding of a revolutionary situation has nothing in common with the standpoints of all kinds of opportunists cloaked as 'leftists', of anarchists who, from positions of voluntarism, disregard the role of objective factors, and proclaim the launching of revolution possible at any moment, provided a handful of people ready to take up arms can be found . . ."

"Genuine Marxist-Leninists clearly demarcate themselves from the anarchist groups. They are also clearly demarcated from the opportunists, the Soviet revisionists, the 'Eurocommunists', etc., who not only do not prepare the masses for revolution, but even when revolutionary situations present themselves, hold the masses back and sabotage the revolution. The Chinese revisionists, in a completely pragmatic and

unprincipled manner, on the one hand use the slogan that the 'situation in the world is excellent' for demagogical purposes, while on the other, on the pretext that in some capitalist countries no revolutionary situation exists for the time being, they proclaim revolutionary situations impossible on principle in the present-day world, thus justifying conciliation of the exploited and the exploiters, of the 'third world' with the 'second world' and with U.S. imperialism."

"The facts show that there have been, are, and will be revolutionary situations, and that in particular countries they have been transformed into revolutions. If in certain other countries they have not been transformed into revolutions, this is explained with the fact that the revolutionary situation is only the objective possibility for the revolution. For this possibility to be realized, for the revolution to burst out and triumph, the *subjective conditions* are necessary, too."

The revolution "... cannot be carried through to final victory without the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist Party, which constitutes the number one subjective factor. Experience shows that in the conditions when the objective factor exists and the revolutionary situation is ripe, the role of the subjective factor is decisive for the triumph of the revolution. . ."

"... Our Party of Labour has close fraternal, internationalist links with the genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties of many countries of Europe, Latin America, Asia, North America, etc."

"These Parties are showing themselves to be Parties of revolutionary action, which have dedicated themselves with all their strength to the great cause of the working class, the cause of the revolution, socialism and the peoples' liberation. They have successfully withstood attacks from the bourgeoisie and the intrigues of various enemies, they have also coped with the undermining, splitting activity of the Chinese revisionists, who have tried to hinder the creation and consolidation of Marxist-Leninist Parties in many ways, to disorientate them ideologically and politically, and divert them from the road of the revolution."

The representative of the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran spoke on the question of proletarian internationalism and the necessity of the unity of the Marxist-Leninist movement on the world scale. Following is a summary of the speech:

"... Today's revisionists are playing a special role in defence of the bourgeoisie and in betrayal of the working class. We must fully expose them on the ideological and political front."

"The revisionists are attacking Marxist-Leninists from every direction, and, under the title of 'new conditions', are acting against Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Because of this, dealing blows against them and annihilating them is one of our primary duties. They are negating the revolutionary theories by making an issue of change in international forces. They revise the correct strategy and tactics of the revolution or in the sphere of philosophy and political economy, they revise social science. Marx and Engels, on the basis of the scientific proletarian ideology, considered the unity of the international proletariat and its mutual support to be necessary for the struggle to overthrow capitalism and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. The proletarians of the world must assist one another and establish a united front against capital. . . . For this reason they considered proletarian internationalism as one of the granite foundations of the scientific ideology of the proletariat, by which the proletariat can be led against the bourgeoisie. . . ."

"Proletarian internationalism is not only an ideological and political principle, but it is also one of the principal communist features. Proletarian internationalism is an indivisible part of

Marxism-Leninism.

For this reason, proletarian internationalism can only exist in struggle for the victory and defence of Marxism-Leninism. The international bourgeoisie and the revisionists see in proletarian internationalism an immense force of unity of the proletariat with its allies on the world scale in struggle against capital and for the overthrow of the capitalist system, and, for this reason, they do not hesitate to present dialectical and historical materialism as suspicious theses. Today, they openly claim that many questions of Marxism-Leninism should be revised. They pit 'nationalism' against proletarian internationalism. It is completely clear that in doing this, they seek to return to idealism from materialism and from dialectics to metaphysics and hence substitute evolution for revolution. All types of revisionists, whether social democrats, Khrushchovites, 'Eurocommunists', or proponents of the 'three worlds', are the most ardent defenders of the bourgeoisie and of imperialism and social-imperialism."

"For the Soviet revisionists and their fifth column parties, 'proletarian internationalism' means support of the Soviet Union. Of course, this slogan was correct when the Soviet Union was the only socialist country in the world. During this whole period, the Soviet Union, too, remained loyal to its internationalist duties and did not hesitate to assist the international proletariat and support the national liberation movements. For the Soviet Union, it was clear that socialism is not an end in itself. . . . But after the death of great Stalin, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union turned its back to Marxism-Leninism and stepped on the path of capitalism. It converted a once-victorious country to an isolated, decadent country which adopted the path of reactionary nationalism. Proletarian internationalism can be truly implemented when the struggle against this centre of counter-revolution has been carried out more vigorously."

"The other group of the revisionists, the followers of the 'theory of three worlds', which is founded by the leadership of the Communist Party of China, more stubbornly and shamelessly than other revisionists who have revised the principles of Marxism-Leninism are attempting with the help of this 'theory' to distort the nature of financial monopolies, imperialism and the international bourgeoisie and, under the title of 'Soviet social-imperialism, the main enemy of the world' are presenting theoretical justification for their aims. They openly declare that the proletariat and the working class parties should cooperate with their native bourgeoisie, world imperialism and reaction, that the national liberation movements and oppressed people who are fighting exploitation and colonialism too, should seize their struggle and unite with the international bourgeoisie and imperialism and, in the contention which is taking place between imperialism and social-imperialism, for the division of the world, should become allies of imperialism. It is for this reason, for instance, that for the past 8 years they have been actively supporting the notorious fascist regime of the Shah, which has been put in power by U.S. imperialism. Their aim, in the past and at present, has been to disrupt the unity of the proletariat. Their politics, in the Marxist-Leninist movement, during the years, resulted in the coming into being of numerous opportunist groups which, under the name of Marxist-Leninist, struggled against the proletarian parties. . . ."

The representative of the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran concluded his remarks by emphasizing the need for strengthening and consolidating the relations between the fraternal parties.

(No. 13, October 1978)

Second Congress of the Communist Party of Japan (Left)

Toufan has the honour of bringing the joyful news of the holding of the Second Congress of the Communist Party of Japan (Left) to its readers. The comrades of the Communist Party of Japan (Left) have carried out protracted, difficult and face-to-face struggle against the Chinese revisionists.

Below, we produce the letter of the Chairman of the Central Committee of our fraternal Party, which gives the news of the holding of the Congress:

September 30, 1978

To the Central Committee of the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran
Dear Comrades:

We are happy to inform you that the Second Congress of the Communist Party of Japan (Left) was successfully held. The Second Congress of the Communist Party of Japan (Left) gloriously concluded the tasks on its agenda of defining its programme, amending its Constitution, approving the Political Report, and electing the new Central Committee.

With regards to the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism, especially the vigorous struggle against the Chinese revisionists — who with every passing day further capitulate to U.S. and Japanese imperialism and oppose the revolution in Japan and the world — we consider our Congress to be a victory.

Dear Comrades, we were honoured to receive your message, which was filled with revolutionary fervour and proletarian internationalist spirit. Your message, which was read at the Congress, was enthusiastically received by all the delegates. In the name of all the delegates to the Congress, on behalf of the new Central Committee and all the comrades of the Party, we present

our appreciation for the fraternal support of the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran for our Party and its Congress, on the basis of proletarian internationalism, and send you our revolutionary greetings.

Dear Comrades, our Party, inspired by the decisions of the Second Congress and by relying on the Japanese proletariat and the revolutionary masses, is struggling for proletarian socialist revolution through the overthrow of Japanese imperialism and the expulsion of U.S. imperialism from Japan. Our Party will resolutely carry out its proletarian internationalist duty, the struggle against U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, the struggle against modern revisionism, especially the Chinese variety which, by preaching the counter-revolutionary theory of the "three worlds", is attempting to put a stop to the struggles of the people. In the process of this fight our Party will increasingly consolidate its unity with the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties, with the Party of Labour of Albania at their head, and will assist in the development of the international communist movement.

LONG LIVE INVINCIBLE MARXISM-LENINISM!
LONG LIVE WORLD PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION!
LONG LIVE THE UNITY OF THE FRATERNAL MARXIST-LENINIST PARTIES!

Masayoshi Fokouda
Chairman of the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of Japan (Left)

(No. 13, October 1978)

The Only Solution to the Problems of the Middle East:

Revolution under the Leadership of the Proletariat

The fascist Egyptian regime took another step in the path of betrayal of the interests of the Arab peoples, especially the Palestinian and the Egyptian peoples, in its participation in the Camp David Conference. By holding the Camp David Conference, the U.S. imperialists, whose only aim is to conspire against the world's people, are attempting — this time with the help of Sadat, this shameless lackey — to strengthen their plundering positions in the region. Using trickery, the imperialist press made every effort to present the Camp David Conference as a step towards "peace". But all their tricks could not cover up the political bankruptcy and the real aim of U.S. imperialism and Sadat's treachery. A few days before the end of the Conference, the Western media, with a calculated plan, through its widespread propaganda created such an atmosphere that it was impossible to imagine that any kind of agreement would result from the Camp David Conference. But all of a sudden at the end of the Conference, the imperialist propaganda media, with full force, spoke of the "victory" of the Conference. This dirty political trick was organized in the atmosphere of "hopelessness and disappointments", to present the results of the Conference as a "victory" and a "positive" development.

Generally speaking, the defeat or the victory of a Conference is a relative question and above all depends on the nature of the participants and the aim and the issues under consideration.

Of course, the U.S. imperialists, through their news agencies and media around the world, want to create the illusion that the participants in the Camp David Conference were politicians whose only thoughts were of "peace" and an "honest" solution to the Middle East problems. But what are the facts?

There are two sides to the problem of the Middle East: on the one side we have the Arab peoples, with the Palestinian people at

the head, who have been shouldering violent imperialist and social-imperialist oppression. On the opposite side stand the imperialists, especially U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, who, by every means, including the establishment of and support for reactionary and anti-people regimes, mercilessly plunder the labour and the natural resources of the Arab peoples.

From the point of view of the peoples of the area, the solution to the Middle East problem means the outright expulsion of the imperialists, especially U.S. imperialism and its fascist Israeli running dogs, and the Soviet social-imperialists, and the establishment of progressive governments in the Middle East, especially in the whole of Palestine. This can only be achieved by mobilizing the Arab people in their millions and waging people's war under the leadership of the proletariat, because at this time, all the regimes in the Arab countries, even the most "progressive", are shamelessly sacrificing the interests of the Arab peoples for their own narrow interests and those of their imperialist backers, and they do not hesitate even for a moment to conspire against the Arab peoples and mercilessly crush their heroic uprising, especially the uprising of the heroic Palestinian people, and go from one phoney "unity" to another phoney "unity". Only the proletariat has no interest in making unprincipled deals with the imperialist plunderers, and by its principled and revolutionary policies can once and for all solve the Middle East problem in favour of the Arab peoples and the peoples of the world and take a step towards satisfying the interests of the peoples of the Middle East.

Now, the solution to the Middle East problem, from the point of view of the imperialists, means nothing other than the creation of the economic, military and political conditions which are

necessary in order to continue and consolidate the imperialist presence for the vicious plunder of the natural resources and the labour of the peoples of the Middle East. Therefore, at the Camp David Conference, which was held by the representatives of the most reactionary regimes, that is, Carter, Begin and Sadat, the Middle East problem could only be considered resolved from the point of view of the interests of the imperialists, especially U.S. imperialism. From this point of view, the Camp David Conference can be considered a "victory". But this "victory", like the other "victories" of the imperialists in history, carries with it the seed of defeat.

It is now clear to everyone that the Camp David Conference was held especially to carry out struggle against the development and growth of the revolutionary storms in the Middle East and Africa and in order to consolidate the military and plundering position of U.S. imperialism. After the conclusion of the Conference, lackey Sadat clearly spoke of the increasingly free hand and role of the Egyptian army in African affairs. During the Conference, Israel granted some "concessions" to Egypt, such as the relative evacuation of Israeli forces from the Sinai, with U.S. imperialist mediation. Lackey Sadat, in order to consolidate his position, will try to show off this "concession" to the Egyptian people and to cover up his bloodsucking regime with the mask of "victory".

The Camp David Conference once again shows the thorough bankruptcy of those opportunists who put all their energy into proving the "downfall" of U.S. imperialism. According to the logic of the opportunists and the traitors who believe in the "theory of the three worlds", the betrayal of the interests of the Middle East and African peoples by Sadat, and also the cooperation of the fascist regimes of the U.S., Israel and Egypt in crushing the revolutionary storms of the peoples, is "positive", because, allegedly, it "opposes" the influence of social-imperialism!

Marxist-Leninists never deny the fact that social-imperialism takes advantage of contradictions in the world. Soviet social-

The Storm of Working Class Strikes

The democratic movement of the heroic Iranian people is moving forward with ever more vigour. The glorious working class of our country, too, is actively participating in this movement and is advancing on the road to revive the glorious epoch of the United Council of Workers of Iran. The heroic working class of Iran, under the leadership of its vanguard Party, will certainly destroy the foundation of this barbaric state and will build on its ruins a new world, a socialist world, in Iran, and will move forward on the road of building a communist world.

The workers' movement in Iran at this time is, in the main, spontaneous. The links of the communist movement with it are still quite weak. But the Iranian proletariat has a glorious tradition of organized struggle, and there are many workers who have the experience and the capability of becoming communist cadres of high quality. These workers enjoy the trust of the masses of workers. The task of the Party at this time is to seek out this more conscious stratum of the workers and organize them into the vanguard Party of the Iranian proletariat, the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran. But this task cannot be carried out without active participation in and support for the workers' struggle. The Central Organ of the Party, *Toufan*, has been regularly distributed ever more widely under the most oppressive conditions, for over a year. The banner of the Party is increasingly in need of greater numbers of conscious proletarians in order that it can be raised even higher.

Today, the regime of the Shah and imperialism is facing the daily rise of the mass movement. In the heart of this movement, a force is growing and advancing its class consciousness, which is

imperialism attempts to infiltrate the national liberation movements with the help of its agents, to pass itself off as "anti-imperialist" and a "defender" of the peoples so as to use the anti-imperialist movements for its own plundering interests. The difference between U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism does not lie in their nature but in their methods of work. If the Soviet social-imperialists demagogically speak of "defending" the cause of the Arab peoples, it is because they want to place themselves on their side so they can deal them a better blow. Soviet social-imperialism suggests a Geneva Conference for the implementation of its own plundering aims. Those who try to prove that social-imperialism is "more fascist" than U.S. imperialism, are in fact deceiving the people and are in practice doing service for U.S. imperialist interests and the newly rising plunderer, China. The advocates of the "theory of the three worlds", who propagate such views, have no place amongst the people. The ongoing denunciation of them as the agents of imperialism and of the newly rising Chinese bourgeoisie in the workers' and national liberation movements is one of the urgent tasks of the proletariat and genuine revolutionaries.

The oppressed peoples of the Middle East, with the heroic Palestinian people at the head, firmly reject any imperialist solution, and, in face of the treacherous conspiracies of the imperialists and their lackeys, do not sit idle.

The Camp David Conference and Sadat the traitor will have the same currency as other conferences the imperialists held with Farouk.

DOWN WITH THE CONSPIRACIES OF THE IMPERIALISTS AND THEIR NATIVE LACKEYS AGAINST THE PEOPLES!

LONG LIVE THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF THE PEOPLES OF THE MIDDLE EAST AND THE WORLD!

(No. 13, October 1978)

worthy of leading this movement through to the end, until the overthrow of this dependent rotten regime and the establishment of a democratic people's republic. The working class of Iran is participating with growing force in the mass struggles and, at the same time, is advancing its own independent struggle against capital and capitalism in the factories. The leaflets which are being distributed by the revolutionary workers are a reflection of the high level of consciousness of the working class of Iran. It is the duty of communists to take maximum advantage of the favourable conditions for the cause of the people, the working class and the Party.

Large numbers of factories are on strike and shut down at the present time. The number of striking workers increases daily. Even in a number of factories where strikes had for some reason come to an end, once again the workers have gone on strike. Large numbers of factories between Tehran and Karaj are closed because of strikes. At the time of publication of this issue, the workers of Daryoush Electric Co., Kashan Velvet, Behshahr Industrial Group, and the workers of Albourz Industrial City have started their second week on strike. There are very few factories in Iran that have not been in the grip of strikes. From the heroic workers of Isfahan Steel Mill, Abadan refinery, and the workers of various industrial centres of Tehran and its suburbs to the heroic workers of the Norther weaving factories, Tabriz Machine Tool Plant — everywhere — the industrial proletariat has raised the red banner of strikes and class battle, and it will not be long before these sporadic strikes become converted into general strikes. The spontaneous movement is

advancing and with it the responsibility of the communists increases. The long years of delay in the reconstitution of the Party have put on the shoulders of our Party a heavier and more crucial responsibility. The wheels of history will never stop for those who have stayed behind. Every one of our comrades, with their bravery, sense of self-sacrifice and their deep faith, has the task of acting daily with more courage and strength. They must act with more speed, precision and tact. Our path is correct and we are capable of attracting more vanguard elements of the proletariat and with them the masses of the workers. Deeper ties with the working class, active support and participation in its struggle, attraction of the best and most conscious elements of the workers to the Party — this is the task which is facing the communists in the workers' movement.

For the information of our readers, we produce below a leaflet which was distributed at the Tabriz Machine Tool Plant by revolutionary workers there, and a report about the strike at Iran National Factory.

Declaration of Revolutionary Workers of the Tabriz Machine Tool Plant

Brother and sister workers:

We carried out a strike, through which we were able to acquire some of our rights, and this was an inspiring victory. It is known and can be observed by everyone that after the strike the management of the factory is quite active in trying to make us sorry for our action and cause discouragement amongst us. To do this, first of all, in various ways, they issue threats that they will blacklist and make life miserable for some of the fellow workers for starting the strike. They even want to fire a few workers in order to cause fear amongst us, of whom Khosrow Abdulah Zadeh, the terminal supervisor is the first. The other method they use to discourage us is by obstructing our demands. The issue of a union, which we demanded four weeks ago and have not heard anything on up to now, is an example of this.

Friends, the old and experienced workers are well aware that nothing can be achieved by talking or writing letters to the Ministry of Labour or other departments. The management is making all the attempts so that, in their words, we act within the law, so that they can make our life miserable. We should resist them. Otherwise our wages will be even less than before and many of our friends will be helpless and lose their jobs. We should show them that if they try to make us shut up we will

Glory to the Political Prisoners

The heroic political prisoners of Iran, these valiant sons and daughters of the people who have turned the prisons of the butcher Shah into a stronghold of mass struggles, are still under the pressure of the butchers of the regime. Contrary to the hullabaloo of the propaganda apparatus of the regime concerning "freeing political prisoners", which the imperialist mass media also backs up, the situation of the political prisoners of Iran has not changed at all.

In the midst of the propaganda hullabaloo of the regime, Baheri (Minister of Justice — *Tr.*) — this traitor to the ideals of the working class and people of Iran who has become a hot defender of the lackey regime of Pahlavi — after discussions with Lahiji, on October 10, declared that he does not consider partisans and communists as political prisoners. Justly so, mother nature has not seen such vile elements!

Neither the phoney hullabaloo of "freedom", nor the pressures have prevented the struggles of the sons and daughters of our people in bondage. This is how the political prisoners of Iran began their week-long hunger strike on Thursday, October 12, and declared their solidarity with the heightening movement of the people:

shout even louder. No matter what kind of tricks and conspiracies they hatch up, they should know that the workers have become conscious and are aware that rights are not given but have to be attained.

Friends, our present problem is more important than at the time of the last strike. Once again we must unite, and at 11:00 a.m. meet in front of the employment office so that we can, first of all, prevent the firing of our friend, Mr. Khosrow Abdulah Zadeh. They think our friend has no one and they can crush him. Gentlemen, you are not aware of the level of friendship amongst the workers. We shall now show you. Secondly, the issue of our unions must be cleared.

Friends, until our demands have been considered, we will not go to work.

Until victory!

Bosses Fear Workers' Wrath

... From Friday, September 21, the workers of Iran National went on strike. The workers of the northern wing of the factory, about 4,000 strong, with hammers, wrenches or anything else that they could grab, poured out of the factory. The reason for this was that with the declaration of Martial Law, the factory was operating on two shifts of five hours each. With the change of hours of curfew, the shifts changed to six hours and then to seven hours. The factory decided to make the workers work 12 hours instead of seven hours on Thursday, so that it could make up for the remaining one hour, in spite of the fact that the workers were producing the equivalent of eight hours' work in seven hours. The workers did not accept this and stopped working."

"During these events, the windows of many buildings were smashed, and the engineer of the upholstery division also got a good thrashing because he had insulted the workers, and was shut up after this. The workers went to give a thrashing to Molavi, the president of the yellow union, but he had slipped from their hands. The workers confronted Khayami (the president of the factory).

"Khayami escaped the wrath of the workers by pleading that he had nothing to do with this (the 12 hours' work), and blamed it on Molavi, and denied that he had ever suggested such a thing. In short, with one move of the workers, everyone retreated and the workers continued their work on the same basis as before. . ."

(No. 13, Supplement to Toufan, October 1978)

The aims of the hunger strike were declared by the political prisoners themselves to be:

1. Unconditional support of the wave of protests and strikes of the people of Iran;
2. Sympathy with the families of the martyrs of the movement;
3. All-round protest against and hatred for the ruthless massacre of defenceless people;
4. Condemnation of the criminal clique of the anti-people regime;
5. Commemoration of the memory of the people's martyrs.

The communists of Iran, who have many comrades amongst the political prisoners of Iran, declare their all-round support for this hunger strike, and with all their might will propagandize the struggles of these heroic sons and daughters of the people and will attempt to free them from the bondage of the claws of the bloodthirsty butchers of the Pahlavi regime.

GLORY TO THE POLITICAL PRISONERS!

(No. 13, Supplement to Toufan, October 1978)

The "Freedom of the Press" and the Freedom for Bayonets

There has been such a hullabaloo about "free political atmosphere" in Iran! So many impossibilities become possible under such a "free political atmosphere"! The "freedom of the press" is one of these Shah-inspired gifts of this "free political atmosphere" to the people of Iran. Before, it was customary that the censorship of articles in the open press would take place by managers and those responsible, or at times by the "sharp" eyes of a SAVAK agent in the guise of a "poet" or else in the employment of that newspaper. In the "free political atmosphere" it was not possible to condone the censorship of the press. Particularly when the contradictions within the ruling circles had made attacks on the "rulers" and "high-ranking" people against censorship to become the style of the day. From the representatives of the groomed parliament to Aminis, and even Sharif Emami, all had to confess out of necessity that censorship exists and has caused a lack of confidence on the part of the people and the foreign press towards the government apparatus. Certain naive people believed that, as a result, censorship will be lifted and the "free political atmosphere" will become a reality! But soon they were woken up from their dreams, and the occupation of the offices of *Keyhan* and *It'ilaat* (which are not by any means pro-people) by bayonet-holding soldiers of the Shah confronted them with reality. These two "respected" newspapers were occupied because they published a picture of Ayatollah Khomeini and reported about certain

demonstrations! The "free political atmosphere" of the Shah cannot even bear that *Keyhan* and *It'ilaat* extend their limits out of the bounds of "His Majesty's sermons"!

Of course this measure of the government was protested by those honest staff members and reporters who work in these institutes, and all staff of both institutes went on strike. As a result, the two evening newspapers of Tehran were not published. This strike began on October 11. The staff of both institutes declared their demands in a leaflet as follows:

1. Complete abolishment of censorship;
2. Non-acceptance of the slightest order or manipulation of the news by the government or "responsible people";
3. Complete freedom in presenting the news;
4. The publication of the detailed story of the occupation of the two institutes by the army in all press and television.

The government has temporarily retreated out of necessity and accepted the first three demands of the journalists, and the journalists have also dropped their last demand. But it is obvious that the dark reaction of Iran represented by the Pahlavi court will use the smallest occasion to strangle any voice of opposition. Freedom of the press will become possible only after the overthrow of this criminal regime.

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