

# Toufan International

The International Bulletin of the Party of Labour of Iran

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## The Third Congress of the Party of Labour of Iran (Toufan) Was Held

The Congress of the working class of Iran, the Party of all Marxist-Leninists, was held in secret and away from the eyes of the national and class enemies with the world-wide participation of cadres and representatives of the Party units.

Our Congress was held in secret because we are aware that there is no possibility for a revolutionary party that is antagonistic to the capitalist system to hold its congress publicly under the condition of bourgeois liberal democracy.

We will never be deceived by the propaganda about impartiality of bourgeoisie or about the existence of pure and unconditional democracy, and we will never send our comrades to the Guillotines of imperialism and reaction.

The Congress was held under the condition in which the imperialists, under the pretext of a fight against terrorism, have spread a wave of suppression and are taking away one after another the democratic rights of the people. The police and their accomplices have been trying to hunt the genuine communists using the assistance from pseudo-communist organisations.

The ruling class and the exploiters are aware that they must destroy the Marxist-Leninist organisations and parties in order to prevent the working class from arming itself with the knowledge of the class struggle.

Our Congress was held under the condition in which the ideological attacks on Marxism-Leninism have continued and the attempts to infect Marxism-Leninism with revisionism, Trotskyism, Kautskyism, reformism, or Economism, have intensified. At the same time, the flight to Marx and to the past is still going on, and the attacks on the progressive forces by the liberal bourgeoisie have increased through spreading nihilist and nonsense theories of Karl Poper and through theories that deny the existence of classes in the present societies, that remove class character from social concepts, and that negate the reactionary and parasitic nature of imperialism.

**Continued on page 2**

### Resolution

#### On the Referendum

(Adopted by the Third Congress)

Apparently, the goal of the Referendum in Iran that is raised by some section of the "opposition" is the seizure of the power and not condescension to the regime of the Islamic Republic. The seizure of the political power is the main question in any revolution or in any fundamental change in a society. When the popular and revolutionary forces seize the political power, they map out the political and economic structure and the methods for the future development of the society. The seizure of the political power must be the vision of any change that does not want to get stuck in mud or deviate. If history has proven this, then the type of government for which the people should sacrifice must become clear.

He who puts a cover on this important issue and

**Continued on page 4**

### Messages from Fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations to the Third Congress of PLI (Toufan)

The Third Congress of the Party of Labour of Iran has received many greeting messages from its fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations. These messages were read at the Congress and were received by the participants with warm and enthusiastic applause.

We express our deepest gratitude to our fraternal Comrades for conveying their messages of solidarity to our Party.

We will gradually publish the greeting messages to the Congress.

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*Message from Marxist-Leninist Organization  
 Revolution of Norway*

*Revolution!*

Dear Comrades,

The Norwegian Marxist-Leninists salute the Third

**Continued on page 3**

### Third Congress

The Congress was held at a time that the imperialists had invaded Iraq, had violated all international laws, had violated human rights, and had killed thousands of Iraqi civilians.

The Congress was held while the imperialists were preparing for the future invasions and were making plans to stay in the region for years to come.

Our Congress was held while the US imperialists was blockading Iran from all sides and, with the assistance from the Zionists, from Persian, Arab, Azerbaijani, and Kurdish national chauvinists and from Pan Turkists of Turkey were trying to inflict damage on Iran.

Our Congress was held while a corrupt Islamic regime was in power in Iran, a regime whose authorities' main concerns were accumulating wealth in their pockets, embezzling as much as possible, and preserving their powers at all cost. The factional fights between Reformists and Conservatives have ended with the Conservatives winning, and the government is unified now. However, the Mafia factions within the Islamic Republic keep fighting in order to gain power, to secure the interest of their groupings, to plunder the national and state financial resources, and to make traitorous deals with the US imperialists. These factions will cause disturbance for the ruling power. They are accumulating wealth for the day they have to flee and are preparing to reside in a cozy corner of Australia, Canada, or the US.

Our Congress was held while the workers, teachers, nurses, students, journalists, intellectuals, and writers were ridding their struggles from the influence of Khatami's reform movement and they were beginning to see that the Reformists did not approve any change that threatened the existence of the Islamic Republic.

Our Congress was held while the regime of the Islamic Republic was continuing to sign enslaving treaties with the imperialist powers against the interest of the Iranian people. The authorities of the Islamic Republic sacrifice the long term interest of the country for their immediate personal interests.

These exceptional conditions that demand enormous responsibilities set important tasks for the Congress.

The Congress should strengthen the Party's class and political stands according to these conditions and according to the Party's achievements for the purpose of strengthening the Organisation's organised struggles in the future battles. The Congress should investigate the present situation in Iran and the world, to evaluate the probable directions of the future developments and to

make plans accordingly.

The Congress should draw up the Party's tactical lines according to daily growth of the worker-movement against the capitalist system and according to the struggles and national uprisings of the Iranian people against imperialism and reaction.

The Congress should review and judge the balance-sheet of the work done in all levels since the last Congress and, with attentions to its strong and weak points, draw up the path of the future work.

The Congress started its work knowing that these were difficult tasks.

The Third Congress of the Party of Labour of Iran (Toufan) started its work with the commemoration of honorary Chairman of the Party, Comrade Ghasemi, of hundreds of revolutionaries and communists who fell victim to the puppet regime of the Son and the Father (The Shah and his father), and of tens of Toufani comrades fallen in the regime of the Shah and the Islamic Republic. To reiterate their commitments to the cause followed by the fallen comrades of the Party- comrades who defied death and fell in an extremely unequal war against the domestic and international reaction and for the elimination of exploitation and poverty-generating capitalist system in the political geography of Iran- all the Party representatives at the Congress rose for a moment of silence in respect to all the fallen heroes who stood against the enemies and sacrificed their lives for the people.

After hearing the political report of the Central Committee and investigating it from different angles, the Congress confirmed the report and the CC's understanding of the situation in Iran and the world. The class analysis by the CC about the situation in Iran, about the composition of the regime of the Islamic Republic and its open antagonism with the immediate and strategic demands of the workers and labourers, about the US imperialism's domination-seeking strategy, about the war and destruction for re-division of the world by the imperialist states and finance-industrial oligarchy, and about the conflicts between the US and Europe over which currency, dollar or euro, should serve as the international exchange currency, over the domination of the East markets and the WTO and the UN, and over the judicial and penal issues, etc. were evaluated by the Congress as being correct. The Congress expressed its gratitude to the members of the CC for the action taken to strengthen the Marxist-Leninist norms and to elevate the Party's political and ideological prestige.

**Continued on page 3**

### Third Congress

The Third Congress received the revolutionary greetings from fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations. The solidarity messages from Africa, Asia, Europe, and Latin America and the message from the Conference of the Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations held in Ecuador indicate that our organisation has been successful in fulfilling its internationalist tasks and strongly holds the banner of liberation of the people and of the working class of all lands against imperialism and bourgeois reaction. Our Party is equipped with the scientific knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and, due to this credit, places itself among the world's growing forces. These messages express the world solidarity between the sympathisers of the emancipation of the working class who advocate proletarian internationalism and not national chauvinism or the reactionary cosmopolitanism.

These messages indicate that our Party is a communist party without chauvinism or narrow minded nationalism and it places the interest of class struggle and of proletarian revolution atop everything else. It is due to these credits that the Party is capable of flying the flag of international solidarity over the continents.

The Third Congress issued resolutions on national question, on nuclear development in Iran and the regime of the Islamic Republic's national treachery of retreat, on the privatisation of Iran's oil industry, on the occupation of Iraq, and on the occupation of Palestine by the Israeli Zionists.

The Congress sent solidarity messages to the workers and labourers, to women and youths, to the political prisoners, and to the families of the fallen Toufani comrades.

The Third Congress stressed as always the necessity of retaining the purity of Marxism-Leninism, of the Party's ideological unity, and of the organised Party struggles. The Congress emphasised the necessity of intensifying the struggle against the regime of the Islamic Republic and against the imperialist powers in order to secure further victories for the Iranian people. The Congress emphasised that the Party is fighting for the preparation of the fundamental change of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and of socialism in the political geography of Iran. The Third Congress investigated all its appointed tasks, made necessary decisions, and reelected the CC for another term. The Congress gave the elected CC the authority to implement the decisions made and the approved items. At the end, the comrade presiding over the Congress asked all the representatives to rise once again. Then the Internationale, the song of the communists of all

lands, was sung. With a high morale and full of enthusiasm and hope, the comrades reiterated their commitments to the continuation of the struggle against capitalism and imperialism and for preservation of the purity of Marxism-Leninism. The Congress finished its task successfully after several days of extensive work. We will gradually publish the political report, resolutions, and the messages of solidarity to the Congress.

### Messages of solidarity

Congress of the Party of Labour of Iran (Toufan), and wish the Party and its militants success in all fields of their difficult work.

Iran is geographically and strategically placed in one of the main imperialist "firing lines". The imperialist strategy of controlling the Middle East, the Caucasus and the Caspian Sea, cannot be fully achieved without subjugating Iran. So, the fight for sovereignty is part and parcel of the anti-imperialist struggle of the Iranian people.

After the Anglo-American onslaught on Iraq, and the vast problems which the patriotic Iraqi national resistance is causing them, Iran is becoming of even greater importance to the US aggressors. Therefore, they are openly threatening Iran with a military attack. If they should invade Iran, we are convinced that they will be destroyed by the resolute fury of the Iranian people.

Iran is presently administered by an archaic regime of religious oppression, trying to pose as «anti-Western» and «anti-imperialist». But this regime, if we are not mistaken, is eagerly implementing all kinds of market reforms and denationalizing the industry. It is also offering great benefits to exploiting transnational companies, like the Norwegian «Statoil».

The Iranian communists have undertaken the glorious, but demanding task of unmasking the mullah regime and at the same time defending the national independence and sovereignty of Iran, as well as giving internationalist support to the neighbouring peoples of Iraq - who every day are confronting imperialism and their collaborators with arms.

Revolution and socialism is the only long-term alternative for the peoples of the Middle East, as well as in the rest of the world.

We feel convinced that the ML of Iran will continue their work with courage, vigilance and maturity.

Down with US imperialism!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

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**On behalf of the Secretariat**

**Revolusjon Marxist-Leninist organization**

**Continued on page 6**

### Referendum

calls on the masses to take to the streets without a clear vision or deceitfully raises the demand for a "national unity" with anti-nationals and with the enemies of the people or complains about "national disunity" in order to cover up his own national disunity has the intention of molding an unacceptable vision for the people. Those who are following this goal are more interested in carrying out a coup d' etat. They want to ride on the wave of people's discontents and protests, to bring back the buried monarchy through Ukraineisation of Iran under the name of democracy, and to open the country to the colonialists once again. How is it possible to reach a national unity without clarifying the distinction between nationals and anti-nationals? How is it possible to call on people to protest against the enemy without clearly identifying who the enemies are?

It is clear that the old and rotten Khomeini's slogan of "All Together" is a reactionary, unpopular, and anti-national slogan and is in the service of changing the ruling counter-revolution to the defeated counter-revolution. It is clear that those who call for the Referendum do not want to be with all the people but want to be with the monarchists and lackeys of imperialism. Their "All" is different from "All the people". Furthermore, it is impossible to get the consent of an armed to the teeth regime for changing its constitution, the change that may facilitate its overthrow. No regime will consent to its own overthrow by any means, let alone by a referendum. It is impossible to carry out a referendum in the regime of the Islamic Republic unless its purpose is to gain only some concessions from the regime but keep the regime in power. In this case, the supporters of the Referendum are the supporters of the preservation of the regime of the Islamic Republic. In this case, the supporters of the Referendum are saying that the Islamic Republic is not hostile to democracy or human rights or the rule of people. At the same time, these supporters endorse the idea that regime has developed the capacity of reform overnight, that the 8-year experience with the Khatami's government has not been sufficiently significant, and that the episode of the unsuccessful reform must be repeated in order to play a game with the people. We believe that the purpose of telling these big lies is to throw dust at the eyes of the people.

It is a mere stupidity to think, especially in the situation where the political organisations are banned and the jails are full of political prisoners and the mass media are controlled by the state,

etc, that the Iranian people can overthrow the regime of the Islamic Republic by a referendum. Why some individuals buy such an absurdity? It is because the imperialists and their lackeys have planned a plot against the Iranian people and they need numbers!

The imperialists remind the authorities of the Islamic Republic of the fear of a revolutionary uprising of the people. In order to break the resistance of the Islamic authorities, the imperialists are trying to give them security, to rescue them, and to even use them against the revolution of the people. In order to give assurance to the Iranian authorities against the revenge-seeking feelings of the people, the imperialists are trying to attract the authorities to the peaceful transition of power, transition not to the people but to the monarchists and their bosses. This is the peaceful means that apparently wants to accomplish the mission of carrying out the Referendum without bloodshed.

The Communiqué on Referendum, Referendum in the framework of the Islamic Republic, shows the fear by the issuers of the people's uprising. It is practically a call to revive the monarchy as it lacks a transparent stand on political future of Iran in regard to imperialism and the forces that threaten the country's independence and in regard to the support for the majority of the society who are the workers and labourers of cities and towns. The call for Referendum is cooked up by the monarchists and conciliators who want to control the street demonstrations in such a way that they do not become a flood to uproot the monarchists. It is not significant whose mouth the call for the Referendum comes from. What is significant is the objective conclusion of such a counter-revolutionary call. It is preferable to the defeated counter-revolution (the monarchists) to gather a group of illusionists, "those who are extremely frustrated", and those who do not know why they are on the scene and what they want for the future. What is significant is that the reactionary monarchists and conciliators know what soup they have cooked for the people. The architectures of the Referendum are looking for those who are ready to be victimised by them. They have put into action their deceiving machine.

The supporters of the Referendum do not tell you that they are pro imperialism and Zionism, but they falsely present themselves as pro democracy and freedom and "national unity".

Referendum without vision, without clear demands, without the backing of the armed masses, without the guarantee of its victory and of gaining its demands will be nothing but "Hakhaism".

**Continued on page 5**

**Referendum**

The people of Iran buried the rule of Hakha once. A motion that is quiet about the independence of Iran, about the US invasion and occupation of Iraq, about the reactionary attempts of the secessionists to divide Iran, about the Islamic Republic's shameful treaties with the imperialist powers, about the demands of the labourers and workers, etc. is a reactionary motion and should not be supported. The signature on the Communiqué of a few uninformed and foolish intellectuals from inside Iran and a few passive and depressed ones from outside the country does not change the nature of this reactionary motion that wants to replace the regime of the Islamic Republic and its "clear-sighted representatives" by the monarchists. The human rights flag of the supporters of the Referendum is not raised due to their humanity. Those who have agreed with the exploitation of man by man, who have endorsed the principle of private ownership of the means of production before even being in power, and who have predetermined Iran's economical system cannot be democrats or egalitarians and will not be for transparency and cordiality with the people. They have hidden their belief for bourgeois dictatorship under the cover of human rights. The allies of this Referendum are reactionaries including the monarchists, former Savak torturers, the founders of Rastakhiz party (the Shah's party), the theoreticians of the Shah's regime, the recommenders of the US invasion of Iran, and pro Iiad Allawi and Hamid Karzai and Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan. In sum, the supporters of the Referendum are objectively pro Shah and the US imperialists in Iran. But the Iranian people want to overthrow the regime of the Islamic Republic and to establish a regime that will have a clear stand against theocracy, imperialism, Zionism, the rule of the "supreme leader", the rule of "the king", and against monarchy as a rotten and obsolete and undemocratic form of government. The Iranian people want to establish a government that will be for democratic unity of all nationalities within a democratic Iran, that will elevate the form of the state to a progressive republic, and that will advance the history of the Iranian people. What people want to bring to the fore is a progressive republic and not the reactionary monarchy. If for some individuals this death dance stems from their confusion, for the monarchists it is a communiqué to bring the people to submission, and it must be fought against strongly.

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**Resolution on Iraq**

bandits from Iraq.  
 Our party believes that it is only through the process of participation in the anti-imperialist and national liberation struggle that the Iraqi communists can gain the trust of the masses and develop the liberation movement uninterruptedly towards socialism. Otherwise; the reactionary and fundamentalist forces will gain strength and will eventually mislead the anti-imperialist and anti-colonial movement in Iraq and will inflict irreparable damage to the movement.  
 Our Party condemns the farce elections in Iraq which lack any legitimacy and which are carried out by a colonial puppet government under the condition of occupation and military law.  
 We evaluate the participation in the elections as an attempt to legitimise the occupation of Iraq and as a betrayal of the national interests of Iraqi people.  
 To boycott the elections and to demand the unconditional exodus of the occupying forces is the correct policy by the communists and the patriotic forces in Iraq.  
 Our Party defends the armed struggle of the Iraqi people against the occupying forces and their small and large accomplices, and strongly condemns any attempt to disintegrate Iraq which is the will of the US imperialists and Israeli Zionists.  
 Our Party condemns the alliance of the Kurdish national chauvinists headed by Barezani and Talebani, the fake "communist party" of Iraq, the "worker-communist party" of Iraq which is a branch of Mansour Hekmat's ridiculous sect, the religious organisations and associations, with the imperialist occupying forces. We evaluate these forces as lackeys of imperialism and Zionism.  
 The experience in Iraq shows that the struggle against imperialism is inseparable from the struggle against national chauvinism, revisionism, Trotskyism, and Economism.  
**Long live the liberation struggle of the Iraqi people against imperialism and reaction!**  
**Long live the solidarity of the people of Iran and the world with the Iraqi people!**  
**We demand the unconditional withdrawal of all occupying forces from Iraq!**



**Communists**

The people of Iran carry a united fight against this reactionary US-made front and its class allies the monarchists, Tudeh Party, Fadaian Majority, the Bush-Sharon supporters, and all enemies of the people in the region.

Surely, no nation within Iran that has such a history of anti-imperialist struggle will accept this national treachery.

Our Party stands for a socialist Iran and recognises the rights of nations to their self-determination in the socialist republic of Iran. We believe that the complete elimination of national oppression, to the extent that it really exists and not to the extent the secessionists have exaggerated, is possible only in the framework of a socialist Iran. We are calling the labourers of Iran to join our organisation and fight against imperialism and domestic bourgeoisie of all nationalities within Iran. Only a united and socialist Iran can defend territorial integrity, political and economic independence, and viability of the country.

**Victory to the democratic and anti-imperialist unity of the people of Iran!**

**Long live socialism!**

**Death to national chauvinism, the accomplice of imperialism and reaction!**

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**MESSAGE OF SOLIDARITY TO THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF IRAN (TOUFAN)**

**Central Committee**

**Party of Labour of Iran (Toufan)**

Dear Comrades,

The Communist Party of Japan (Left) conveys its warmest greetings of revolutionary solidarity to the Party of Labour of Iran (Toufan) as it holds its Third Congress.

You held your Founding Congress in 2000 after having made strenuous efforts to build a vanguard party of the working class by inheriting the revolutionary traditions of the communist movement in your country and on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. That was achieved in the process of a decisive ideological struggle against revisionism, against reformism and against the line of isolation from the masses. We salute all the efforts which you have made in struggling to build a party able to defend the interests of the Iranian people and lead them in their revolutionary movement, by sticking to the fundamental principle that the people are the motive force in the making of the world history.

The internal and external situation has entered on a new phase of its development in the postwar history. We witness a turbulent world stricken with wars, crises and revolutions. The peoples of the world confront and frustrate the ambition of U.S. imperialism which goes to wars of aggression for global domination under the condition of the collapse of the Soviet Union. The Iraqi

people's growing anti-U.S. armed resistance has made it obvious to everybody that U.S. imperialism is isolated and in decline.

U.S. imperialism labels Iran as one of the members of the "axis of evil," includes it in the targets of nuclear "preemptive strikes" and threatens it with military aggression under the pretext of stopping it from developing nuclear weapons. The Iranian people demand to defend resolutely the national sovereignty and independence, not to kneel under the pressure of U.S. imperialism and give up the national resources like oil and the market. We express our solidarity to your struggle against U.S. imperialism and for toppling the reactionary Islamic regime and establishing a free and democratic society in Iran.

In Japan, there is a growing anti-U.S. patriotic struggle. The Japanese people are fighting against the U.S. nuclear war preparations and against the Japanese anti-national ruling class which is subordinate to the U.S. We are determined as you are too, to fulfill our tasks of proletarian internationalism, being a part of the world anti-U.S. and anti-imperialist united front through our struggle in our own country.

The Communist Party of Japan (Left) was founded on November 30, 1969 in the wake of the rebellion against modern revisionism and Miyamoto (chairman of the then "Communist" Party) revisionism. This year marks the 35th anniversary of its foundation. On this occasion, we are conducting a commemorative campaign in order to celebrate the achievements of our late Chairman Masayoshi Fukuda. The purpose of the campaign is first of all to make our utmost efforts to regain our Marxist-Leninist backbone, by drawing a clear line of demarcation between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism in all aspects, and build a vanguard party able to serve wholeheartedly for the cause of the emancipation of the Japanese people. The second purpose of the campaign is to advance the people's struggle by leaps and bounds, by combining this task with the efforts to regain our Party's backbone, with the goal of carrying out a socialist revolution which shall expel U.S. imperialism from our country to win our nation's genuine independence and overthrow the Japanese anti-national monopoly bourgeoisie.

We wish you all the success in your Third Congress, which will certainly advance the building of the Marxist-Leninist party and the revolutionary movement in Iran.

**Long live Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism!**

**Long live the fraternal bonds between the Communist Party of Japan (Left) and the Party of Labour of Iran (Toufan)!**

**Central Committee**

**Communist Party of Japan (Left)**

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**پرولتاریای جهان متحد شوید!**

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### Communists

To them, the nations within Iran have no common history, did not live together for thousands of years, do not share happiness and sadness, do not share common victories and defeats, do not share a common culture of historical heritage or tradition, do not share a common economy, and have not participated in common uprisings and revolutions. The secessionists consider the different nations within Iran as strangers who live together by chance. They put their fingers on the differences and hostilities and they invent differences and enmity wherever they cannot find them. Didn't they do it in Yugoslavia, India, Bangladesh, the former Soviet Union, etc? Why not in Iran?

The Arab secessionists who have lost their senses by dreaming about Al-Ahwaz (Ahwaz is the capital of oil rich region of Khuzestan of Iran) draw their swords against the Persians, but are silent on the massacre of Arabs in Iraq. The colonial forces have come from several thousand kilometers and have destroyed Iraq in order to plunder its natural resources and Palestine has been occupied for decades and its people have been massacred times after time, but the secessionist Iranian Arabs keep quiet and their pride is not hurt. The anger of the Persian revolutionaries is boiling over the occupation of Arabian Iraq but not that of the Iranian Arab secessionists. The Iranian Arab secessionists do not call for the unity of the Iranian people to overthrow the regime of the Islamic Republic which would empower the Iranian masses to fight against imperialists' and Zionists' threats in the region. They wish to establish a second Kuwait in Khuzestan of Iran and register the oil rich region in the name of a sheikh who can claim independence with two million Arabs and who can arrange "democratic" elections under the supervision of the "neutral" observers of the United Nations and who can buy votes with the oil money.

The propaganda by the Azerbaijani chauvinists is so vast and so bogus that it makes a common sense individual sick. For example, they argue that over 60% of the population of Iran is Azerbaijani or Turk. Let us mention here that our Party is very proud that there are many members and supporters from Iranian Azerbaijan, and we encourage more Azerbaijanis to join the Party. They say that Norouz (the Iranian new year) was originated from Azerbaijan and is related to "grey wolves", that Zoroaster was Azerbaijani, that Babak Khoramdin was fighting against the Persians and for the self-determination of Azerbaijanis, that the Iranian Turk Afshin who defeated Babak was Persian, etc.

In all, the Azerbaijani secessionists try to connect the just struggle of the Azerbaijanis against the regime of the Islamic Republic to the reactionary movement for the division of Iran.

The Azerbaijani national chauvinists are not even honest in what they say; otherwise, they would have concluded that Golestan and Turkmanchai treaties (treaties to secede the regions in Caucasus from Iran) were colonial treaties that were imposed by the Russian Czars and British colonists. If the Iranian culture were not achieved by the thousands years of common activities of the people living in the big plateau of Iran but was the result of acceptance of the Azeri culture, then an Azeri must use this fact to promote the democratic unity of the nations living in the plateau. The fact is that people living in Iran respect the sons and revolutionary thinkers of Azeri descent such as Bagher Khan, Satar Khan, Khiabani, Heydar Amoglou, Arani, Amirkhizi, Kasravi, Shahriar, Hashtroudi, Khanlari, etc. These popular and shining figures belong to the common history of all nations living in Iran. One must not distort the activities of these figures in order to promote hostility and national discord and must not become a tool in the hands of secessionism and Pan Turkism. Where is the room for the secessionist argument when it is claimed that the majority of Iranians are Azerbaijanians?

In our opinion, the people of Iranian Azerbaijan should feel that they belong to Iran and should fight for the unity, not division, of all nationalities within Iran. They should mobilise the people for an anti-imperialist struggle especially at the time when the US imperialists are sharpening their killing machine in the region. The people of Iranian Azerbaijan must demand the exodus of the oil concerns from the Republic of Azerbaijan of the former Soviet Union. They must demand the expulsion of the military forces of the US and UK from the Republic of Azerbaijan and Iraq. They must bridle Pan Turkists who seek the annexation of Azerbaijan to Turkey. The Azerbaijani national chauvinists, having financial assistance from the imperialists and Zionists, try to fabricate documents and tie the sky to the earth in order to prepare the ground for the division of Iran. In their outside-Iran propaganda, one cannot find any statement in support of the working class, class struggle, anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist struggle, or a link between the struggle against national oppression and the general revolutionary struggle of the whole country. What characterises this reactionary movement is its propaganda to spread national hate. Its identity card of "national hate" is the membership card to this reactionary front.

**Continued on page 6**

### Communists

*Now we can say that this anti-revolutionary point of view has been exposed".*

He added:

*"This does not mean, of course, that the proletariat must support every national movement, everywhere and always, in every individual concrete case. It means that support must be given to such national movements as tend to weaken, to overthrow imperialism, and not to strengthen and preserve it".*

The alliance with Bush is in the service of strengthening and preserving imperialism in the region and in Iran. This alliance it is in the service of strengthening the criminal and oppressive forces that do not recognise the rights of any nation to self-determination, that violate the internationally recognised laws, and that are the military representatives of aggressors and dominators. The alliance with the imperialists is the alliance with the forces that have imposed themselves on the region in order to plunder the nations including the Kurds. One must be politically blind not to see this fact. It is here that the significance of the statement made by Comrade Stalin manifests itself and shows the level at which this statement is based on the revolutionary practice and the bloody experience of the communist movement.

The degradation of the leadership of DPIK, the leadership that has been praised by the organ of the Iranian monarchists and the informal paper of Pentagon KeyhanLondon, is not the first degradation. The leadership of DPIK has the same opinion as the Azerbaijani democratic sect. Look at the history's grin where the Kurdish and Azerbaijani secessionists are collaborating with the Persian national chauvinists! This collaboration stems from the dialectical ties between national chauvinism and imperialism. These groups prostrate to their grand ancestor imperialism because they find their common historical interests in strengthening their common ties. The division of Iran is a part of a policy of imperialism and Zionism in the region. By penetrating and strengthening their positions in the Caucasus region, the imperialists are getting ready to cause dispersion and enmity amongst different nations within the Iranian society. The military, political, theoretical, and historical training of the reactionary forces outside Iran is a part of their program. The policy of generating conflicts is not confined to Kurdistan alone, but covers Azerbaijan, Khuzestan, and Baluchestan. Under the cover of a fight for the "democratic right" of self-determination, the imperialists have activated their agents at the four corners of Iran in order to prepare the ground mentally first. Replacing anti-Islamic Republic, anti-imperialism,

anti-Zionism, and class hate by "anti-Persian" hate is a part of this preparation. The national chauvinists instigate the nationalities within Iran against each other instead of mobilising the whole country against the present ruling class. The national chauvinists of Azerbaijan of Iran, who are strengthened by the break-away Republic of Azerbaijan of the former Soviet Union and by the government of Turkey and by the world reaction, have taken their lies to the point that they consider as Persians the large number of Azerbaijanis who are part and parcel of the oppressive machinery of the Islamic Republic. They deny that the father of Reza Shah (the Shah's grandfather) and the father of Farah Diba (the Shah's father-in-law) were Azerbaijanis in order to rewrite the history in the interests of Alieeves. The Azerbaijani national chauvinists label any Azerbaijani who participates in the oppression of any nationality in Iran as Persianised. According to their logic, there are essentially neither Azerbaijani nor Kurdish nor Arab reactionaries in Iran. The chauvinist theoreticians try skillfully to prevent the intensification of the class struggle within the oppressed nationalities of Iran by emphasising the "struggle is essentially against the Persian rulers". The Kurdish, Azerbaijanis, and Arab capitalists seek special exploiting rights on the basis that they belong to the oppressed minorities of Iran, and they hide this unjust demand behind the fight against the Persians. Their enslaving banner is marked with the slogan that the fight is between "the Turks and the Persians". The national chauvinists cut the tongue of any Azerbaijani or Kurdish or Arab labourer who protests their dividing policy and accuse him of either being an agent of the Persians or of being Persianised. According to them, the agitation for class hate must be substituted with the agitation for national hate, and the class struggle of the proletariat of nations against the bourgeoisie must be replaced by the "national" struggle of the bourgeoisies within the country. The demand for the union of socialist republics is replaced with the demand for the division of the country. In this process, the national chauvinists throw away the ideals of socialism under the pretext of "the time is not ripe" and under the deviated slogan "they must take care of the Persians first".

The Iranian secessionist theoreticians do not give any significance to the struggle of the existing and real body of Iranian masses. To them, there are different nations within Iran that live together coincidentally and that should have nothing to do with each other.

**Continued on page 7**



### Communists

common organisations will make it possible for the proletariat to wage a successful struggle against international Capital and bourgeois nationalism".

This national experience teaches that the nations of the Middle East must demand the right to self-determination of and by the Iraqi people and not by the colonialist forces. What we learn from this Conference is that the nations of the Middle East must demand the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination by themselves and not by the Zionist oppressors.

All those who support the continuation of colonialism in Iraq and Palestine are enemies of all people of the region. Let us take a look at the Iranian and Iraqi Kurdish national chauvinists. They all cheer and applaud for the ethnic cleansing of the Arabs in Iraq and in Palestine. The Kurdish leaders have hidden all their anti-human, ignorance, and political blindness behind the demand of the right of self-determination for the Kurds. These politically corrupt leaders believe that imperialism and Zionism respect the Kurdish nation and recognise rights for the Kurds as a nation. They do not want to grasp the fact that the imperialist butchers need paid assassins in the region. The sellout Iraqi or Iranian Kurds who are proud of being lackeys of imperialism and Zionism have accepted this "noble" job. These Kurdish sellouts lack any national dignity because they have become accomplices of the US imperialists who gave Saddam poisonous gas and Napalm bombs to destroy the Kurdish villages. The Iranian communist and revolutionary forces have never agreed with this secessionism and imperialist-Zionist plot that wants to establish a second Israel in the region, and they keep fighting forcefully against this reactionary idea promoted by the fifth column of the enemy in the region. It is clear that this fight should be carried out first on the ideological front in order to expose the lackeys of imperialism and Zionism in the Middle East, force the Kurdish leaders to uncover their alliance with the imperialists and Zionists, and enable the Kurdish people to gain knowledge about the true intention of these sellouts. We must clarify that these traitorous leaders have negotiated with and get their strategic line from the CIA and Mussad.

Recently, the leader of the Democratic Party of Iranian Kurdistan, DPIK has shamelessly sent a congratulation message to George Bush on the occasion of his reelection. At the time when all peaceable, progressive, democratic, and revolutionary forces of the world are expressing their disgust and concerns about the reelection of the representative of the oil and arms companies

of the USA, the DPIK is happy and expresses its joy over the reelection of George Bush! This party is happy because its leaders have met with the Pentagon and the CIA and have reached some agreements for carrying out sabotage in the region and are receiving generous financial assistance from the US. This party is implementing some of the imperialist-Zionist policy of division and dispersion in the region.

The Democratic Party of Iranian Kurdistan stepped onto this dangerous slippery road from the day when it endorsed the division of Yugoslavia and closed its eyes to the tragedy of Bosnia and Kosovo and the colonisation of Croatia and Slovenia. Making alliance with George Bush' policy in the region is not the beginning of these sorts of activities by DPIK, but it is a formal declaration of them. It is also tearing up DPIK's cover of shamelessness.

Unfortunately, some of the democratic forces of Iran are conciliating with DPIK and think they have to make concessions and keep quiet in order not to hurt the relations they have with this party.

The fight against national oppression never means to make alliance with imperialism and reaction. The correct policy is the policy of continuous fight against national oppression, imperialism and reaction in the region. We must expose this party in a widespread agitative campaign in order to prevent this reactionary and secessionist party to deceive the Kurdish people and to take them to the US butcher house. It is only through the mobilisation of the Kurdish people and the progressive and revolutionary forces of Kurdistan that one can desiccate this imperialist plot in the region. If we leave a space to the reactionary propaganda of DPIK and keep quiet, we act in the service of Bush's and Sharon's policy in the region. Through an exposing propaganda, we will show the Kurdish revolutionary forces the dangerous results of the policy followed by the leadership of DPIK. It is the task of the revolutionary forces to assist the Kurdish people and enable them to rip apart the counter-revolutionary mask of the sellout leadership of DPIK. Any procrastination and liberalism and opportunism in this front will be disastrous in the future. No one can escape the huge wave of the struggle that has newly begun.

Comrade Stalin stated in **Foundations of Leninism**:

*"Formerly, the national question was regarded from a reformist point of view, as an independent question having no connection with the general question of the power of capital, of the overthrow of imperialism, of the proletarian revolution.*

**Continued on page 8**

# Toufan International

## The International Bulletin of the Party of Labour of Iran

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### **Communists and Secessionism!**

The Seventh All-Russian Conference of the Bolshevik Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the April Conference, was held in 1917. Comrade Lenin pointed out at the Conference:

*"The policy of national oppression, inherited from the autocracy and monarchy; is maintained by the landowners, capitalists, and petty bourgeoisie in order to protect their class privileges and to cause disunity among the workers of the various nationalities".*

*"The right of all the nations forming part of Russia freely to secede and form independent states must be recognised".*

*"The right of nations freely to secede must not be confused with the advisability of secession by a given nation at a given moment. The party of the proletariat must decide the latter question quite independently in each particular case, having regard to the interests of social development as a whole and the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat for socialism".*

At the Conference, Comrade Lenin condemned the "national cultural autonomy" and stated:

*"National cultural autonomy artificially divides the workers living in one locality, and even working in the same industrial enterprise, according to their various "national cultures"; in other words, it strengthens the ties between the workers and the bourgeois culture of their nations, whereas the aim of the Social-Democrats is to develop the international culture of the world proletariat".*

It is stated in the resolution of the Conference on national question:

"The interests of the working class demand that the workers of all nationalities in Russia should have common proletarian organisations: political, trade union, co-operative educational institutions, and so forth. Only the merging of the workers of the various nationalities into such common

**Continued on page 9**

### **Resolution**

### **On the Colonial Occupation of Iraq**

**(Adopted by the Third Congress)**

Whereas the US imperialism has barbarically occupied Iraq and has destroyed the livelihood of its people in order to seize the oil wells, to control the entire Persian Gulf, to advance strategically in rivalry with the other imperialist bandits, and to establish the "New World Order", Whereas the US aggression against Iraq has a colonial nature and is against all the internationally recognised norms and UN conventions,

Whereas the occupation of Iraq has no relation with democracy or human rights, and according to its nature, the US imperialists cannot bestow anything except destruction of the structure of the Iraqi society, murder and bloodshed, torture, and insecurity,

Following its correct policy, our Party strongly condemns the continuation of the occupation of Iraq and supports the resistance of the Iraqi people who defend their independence and territorial integrity and who have caused the US imperialists and their allies to encounter a serious crisis.

Our Party evaluates the valiant struggle of the people of Iraq as part of the anti-imperialist struggle of the people of the world to weaken the giant US imperialism, and it is our opinion that it is the task of all communists, progressive, and freedom loving people of the world to support the progressive revolutionary and anti-colonial struggles.

Our Party, together with the Iraqi independent-seeking and anti-imperialist forces, demands the unconditional withdrawal of all the occupying forces, and is of the opinion that the first step in forming a national, independent, and democratic government in Iraq is the expulsion of all imperialist

**Continued on page 5**

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