

Saturday

Org of Conference

Perm. Rev

- PC Report
- PRF Report

lunch

Discussion

- summaries

==

Sunday

Political Report

- PC
- PRF

lunch

Discussion

summaries

≡

Monday

Report on Nationalities

- PC
- PRF

disc.

lunch

disc

Summary

reports on women

disc

Tues

disc on women

cont'd

summaries

lunch

T & P

- reports

disc

summaries

≡

Wed

Org Report

disc

lunch

disc

summary

CC report

disc

Election

of

CC



1st day (acc. Doug)

Perm lev -

- no vote on line

- leadership to authorize
publication publicly

memo favored omitting this pt
from agenda

Org

- i3(?) not allowed in

(memo
although written from Texas was allowed)

- presiding comm = all
majs

- one person, one vote

majo doc available the day before

①

Sunday
7

Political Reports

① PC Report - Cyrus

more attention being paid to
Iranian T's

e.g. CP journal

other ops

shows effect of our work +
development of protests

all our opponents disagree with
our analysis of the radicalization

— corruption is fueling the radicalization

~~that we don't know~~

There will be ups + downs but
leading to a further polarization
gov't can't give the concessions
necessary to stop the radicaliz.

Tehran - water shortages 4 hrs week
food " last "
for 15th time since WWII - bread
lines

(2)

the new radicalization — by a new generation that didn't experience the defeats of 1953

up to 1960
- limited circles,
mostly outside Iran

decade after 1953 - broad student movement

but ~~the~~ slowly affected
~~the~~ ^{only} non-student layers

repression
→ pol. prisoners ↑ 4,000 → 100,000

==
now broad scale (among youth)
of discontent

weight of student movement today
= much bigger

until front vs repression

3 developments in Iran vs repression
much broader than ever before
can't predict the tempo of development
of this radicalization, but can say:
- in context of world rise of radic.

- radicalization of the youth has
bypassed the CP (although
the ~~the~~ CP is making
gains inside Iran

(3)

Marxists, - made some gains, but
take a sectarian stance towards many
important developments - e.g. workers

Two Main Tasks

a) quantitative growth of S.L.

∇ basic defaults
but program + finished

b) analysis of situation in Iran

any pol. us. that doesn't deal with
the situation in Iran will lead us
astray

- situation in Iran is changing

e.g. a demo 2,000 -
then 10,000 -

But ∃ gap between the openings
and capacity of S.L.

∴ - must break from the
intellectual approach of
just writing documents -

progres -
3 years ago - expulsions of PTs
from student fed.
only 27 against
today - PTs we fought for are
the majority

④

- need professionalization of SL cadres
- " - of writers

PRF Report - Ahmad

the PRF resolution - a programmatic resolution - related to the present stage of the S.L.

6 years ago - 4 people

Q of intervention in Iran is posed

- need a program -

radicaliz. -

- youth
- oppressed nationalities
- women

search for ideas

or what is our answer - is posed

PRF resolution - summary of -

- objective sit
- intl

industrial prod. - ^{has} tripled (1 center

if agric prod is counted || → 10 million

(5)

∃ ½ million immigrant workers
- (need for skills)

increase in city population
→ 50% now
1 million squatters in Tehran

T + P comes later in the agenda

- indep youth org. -

re major resolution -

at previous plenum - a decision
had been made that PRF resolution
would be a basis for disc

now, after 6 mos. - ~~the~~ the
major has ~~a~~ counter-resolution

What are the diffs w/ PRF resolu.?

∃ Deep diff. on what is a pol. res.

we think that at present stage
of S.L., Iranian T'sm - key
thing is to codify program -

Major doc has no central line,
just ^{discussions} various aspects of reality
- disjointedly // no axis
no program

⑥

- Q - ^{exactly} There does PC majo disagree w/ PRF resolution
- Why does PC majo think we don't need a programmatic doc

Discussion

Bah - PRF - gives no perspective
no analysis of current reality

Sia
→

- What is program -
we have a programmatic heritage
& diff's of this

PRF doc consists of:

- 1) brief summary (not so good of LTF doc)
- 2) sociological analysis
we don't need this

Q for us is: to link our program with the events in Iran

(7)

~~St~~ - cont'd

soldiers + allies of proletariat

& no qualitative distinction: ~~soldiers~~ police

(it all depends on how
the soldiers are moving

only PRF program for ~~soldiers~~ soldiers is
wage increases

no axis to PRF doc

7

PRF

- mapo doc has only 1# on peasantry

PRF program for land

- ~~domination~~ by govt of land ^{has} ~~is~~
replaced domination of feudal landlords

7

Bakunin
(PC)

a PRF doc on women, nationalities
we of mapo have dealt with these
in separate docs

- PRF doc not a political doc
no political axis -

PRF doc has nothing on the
conjuncture

(8) presented by
PRF is missing the opening of the
radicalization in Iran

quantitative expansion of SL = key
biggest obstacle = scholastic thinking
bending to pressures of
the intellectual milieu
rather than turning to the
tasks before us, it turns
to writing programs
- can lead to grouplets,
etc

& in order to justify
themselves, raises it's like
indep, soc. Azerbaijan
- we'll have plenty of time
to discuss this

Sh-

- ~~the~~ i.e. tries
- 1] to maintain unity of its
own class - broadening
out responsibility
 - 2] put burden re crisis on we
e.g. intensification
of labor
- e.g. bringing women into work force

(9)

Naz - principal diff is on importance
of having a program

PC map must say where precisely
they disagree with our program

- they have no ~~no~~ concrete
slogans

shift in ~~the~~ PC maps - now they say
there is a women's movement

Kia

Ali -

some edes have ~~boycotted~~ boycotted the SL for
one year, but as we have gone on
- door is open for them to participate

Amir -

need to have a program

Amir -

current crisis of Ir. govt.

- Conyer
- where is the proletariat ^(w/ peasantry) in the doc
it only looks at the sit. from the
pt of view of repression -
 - differentiation ~~is~~ \in peasantry
90% of peasants have ≤ 2 acres
repression isn't the only
factor behind radicaliz
 - re allies of proletariat
- important
because proletariat = a small
minority

Nolan
PKF
may retreat from earlier underground org pers.

Hand
may's
false to say prol. is missing from
the doc
PKF doc gives no axis
e.g. Threat of war has
same axis as
repression
no centrality of axis of
repression

(11)

PRF doc could have been written 10 yrs ago

- imp. to draw a balance sheet of
last 5 years

PRF underestimates repression

may - PRF doc is timeless

Kayda

in past 10 yrs -

course of radicalization
was → ultraleftism

But then - dead-end

new wave = around Q
of democratic rights

PRF doc is timeless -
o.o. n.g.

PRF doc

doesn't - nucleus Q -
raise - cannot sit
- repression

[underground Q]

Q = where to put its
cadres

PRF thinks - in discussion

(12)

- now things are developing in Iran
- even Ahmad now sees this

- but - + this is key
- he rejects the
org needed for this

earlier A had completely
rejected underground org
now - they are extending
~~proposal~~ of open youth org
to Iran

Fred -

-> majo has been trying to evade
the Q's -

GI's Q. - ^{quoted} ISWP doc. -

repression - ^{current} permanent factor
re army

[missing from majo doc =
concrete demands

Ali -

Ali

diff + between those who want a
program + those who don't
- but how to attract serious
fighters to S.L.

Bijan Maje

- prior to Sept 28 there was a
group ~~that~~ organizing to
overturn the leadership
- but it needed a political
cover - o.o. PRF does
PRF didn't address itself to
the present situation in Iran,
although, under pressure
it has adapted somewhat

PRF feeling pressure of exile

Q - strategy of building
a legal org in Iran

(14)

PRF has nothing to say on key Q
of getting closer to the sit
in Iran -

changes in ^{new generation of} students abroad
reflects broader changes in
Iran itself

past year - PRF has
wrecked SI activity

but, remedy for unprincipled ops
= political disc.

→ need a united professional org.

SUMMARIES

PRF - Ahmad

False disagreements

- claim that PRF doesn't see the
radicalization -

previously majo saw no movement
in Iran, so proposed an
underground org.

- role of writers

- an old position of PRF

disagreements
≠ permanent disagreements

re major doc.
no demands re
- trade unions

re war?
- nothing

diff between a T + P doc
and a programmatic doc.
need demands vs being state

Cyprus -
origin of diff. - ^{March} = oppo to plenium doc
- revision -

- previously - re indicated with
 - major said there were opening
 - minor said there was extreme repression

(16)

womens, nat'l movements don't
really exist much today -

Some of the disc is fake

- saying program hasn't been
discussed

- e.g. war Q. -

can't be divorced from semi-colonial
aspect

we're against Shah's armaments,
wars

Iranian system doesn't have
the power to wage a big war

(+ anti)
repression is the thing that's going
on now — ⇒ center on

So - are we going to focus
on this, or on abstract

Q's - like if shah'd will we
still have capitalism

we need to discuss the real,
specific Q's we face re real changes
in Iran e.g. - immigrant workers
workers → cities

(17)

motions:

- 1) general line of major doc,
report + summary
(except section on tasks
- will be voted on later)

Ahmad

- we only received the doc
2 days ago

- should not vote
until after the
disc on women +
nationalities

Ahmad
will put P&F doc to a
vote after disc on women
+ nationalities

vote a) on whether to vote now 38-13

vote b) on motion ① 38-13
consult 9-0

PRF amendments on nat'l Q -

- 1) for an independent united socialist Azerbaijan
- 2) Democratic League of Azerbaijan ^{necessarily} shouldn't be characterized as Stalinist ~~report~~ - need a discussion on this

3rd Day

Discussion on Nationalities Q.

P.C. Majo - Report / Hussein

28 Sept. - Ahmad charged retreat of S.L. on nat'lities Q

majo doc - 8 parts

- 1) emergence of nat'l movements
- beginnings of nat'l movements in The East
- 2) Constitutional rev // tobacco movement
- 3) origin of nat'l oppression -
- 4) Kurdistan, Azerbaijan // oil Q
- 5) nat'l Q on world scale // basic principles
- 6) rev Marxsm + nat'l Q in Iran

7) proposals for mass action

8) emergence of a new radicalization

1) 1905 rev in Russia - gave impulse to nat'l movements in the East

↳ in a period of decline of cap'sm

Tobacco movement etc

- showed neither monarchy nor ^{nat'l} bourgeoisie could resolve

constit revolution showed role of anjomen (soviet type)

+ = (peoples militias)

post constt rev - modern Iran formed // Abolish monarchy
codified semi-col char -

basic trend of constt movement

→ unified market
centralized state

1945 - Re ~~1945~~

Democratic League

now 3 documents available

general principles - s-d | right to secede || applies to
single combat party WKs states

nat'l Q, ^(Iran) F rev Mkst line ||

proposal for mass action
- need for mass combat orgs.

most demands directed at Persian bourgeoisie, central state

freedom of language = most explosive Q -

Signs of awakening of [struggle]

- poetry readings
- azerbaijani poet ^(read) in Turkish

re PRF amendments - Bt Gyn will speak in disc.

PRF Report - Hassan

tribes Q - = poor peasants
emerging nationalities

Azerbaijan - re USSR

connected to political revolution -

can be a spark to pol. rev. - is under soc 93

[and
recess
pol rev]

united socialist republic of Mid East // the Arabs

Baluchis → linked w/ Indian Subcontinent

Kurdistan - indep Kurdistan

↳ related to expansion of rev. from Iran -

Azerbaijan

- northern Azerbaijan (= ∈ USSR)

nationally oppressed, though in diff econ conditions

self det of Soviet Azer -
in Lenin's program

- southern Azerbaijan - (= ∈ Iran)

ndys = directed by central state

- impact of example of USSR → | conditions in dev. Azer

Re Q of Dem League

↳ this is a historical Q -

(~~is~~ a diversion to make this a big Q)

Cyus - -- mins report positive
 -- OK to remove characterization of Dem League
 from the doc.
 -- don't think there was a w+fg in Kurdistan

-- re: indep united soc Azerbaijan
 Q = objective tendencies re this

└ past history in Azerb.
 has been → autonomy

want to leave open the Q of specific form
 that nat'l liberation will take -

••

Ahmad -

Cyus remarks - constructive -

∃ agreement - Kurdistan, Baluchistan

Azerbaijan = very imp, given weight of Az in Iran

earlier book - re nationalities + Iran -- was written
 for a specific period + Q's raised by national front

basis for independence in past history

- ref. Nationalities & Rev. - book

Rahman -

earlier position re w+fg - insufficient facts

~~w+fg~~
Kurdistan -

no basic diff between what happened
in Iraq w/ Barzani and in Iran

so but $\uparrow \neq w+fg$

Bangladesh - Rahman's $\neq w+fg$

~~Not ind sec Az~~

PTF extending themselves ~~to~~ beyond the
facts in raising this -

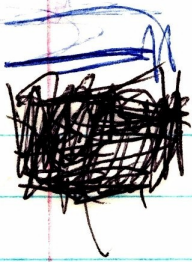
we must show not only tendency \rightarrow indep,
but also tend \rightarrow unity

~~Not~~

Not desirable = Q's like

- cen Az be viable economically

- historical Q's



Cyprus -

Ahmed said Dem League was revolutionary — not true

Ahmed -

re unity indep { have to raise Q's based on objective perspective
even if not get accepted

Bahar

- PRF cdes have good arguments

but - - their arguments are scattered

e.g. - T raised re Ukraine

- but UK # ag history

- T cited specific examples of
developments in UK

need more discussion — would be a
good, enriching discussion -

Amir -

dise today = concrete

(as contrasted to
yesterday)

// - Azer
- Dem League

This disc should
continue in
written form

Cyprus

important Q. -

= how S.L. takes positions -

~~the~~ PRF owes it to SL to clear up the previous charge of programmatic retreat on nationalities Q - by voting for the doc. -

want to discuss the Q of A3
- incl w/ ~~also~~ in Europa

Ahmad -

The slogan is essential to build S.L.

Azer (AmG)

major ~~ides~~ didn't have convincing arguments vs PRF
assertion of historical tendency → indep

Q of what Dem League said ≠ so imp

e.g. Awami League in Bangladesh
didn't call for indep

But PRF doesn't prove it either - just because
it was the case 30 years ago ⇒ today

(26)

united \Rightarrow socialist

since can't accept move back from irks state

need to prove that Azerbaijan is one nation

Summary

Hassan PRF

- independence
- unity
- socialist unity

~~///~~
Majo -

disc over programatic retreat is over

Why indep united Kurdistan
but not Az

2nd rev. - Kurdistan wanted indep

at present - If a present struggle in Kurdistan

~~we are not in~~

- we are not in principle vs breakup of
USSR federal structure - but vs imp doing it

- not in principle vs " but => real movement

- how to determine
from 3rd => U.S.I. A
=> facts

basic diff - they ~~start~~ start from program
we start from facts

So diff ≠ theory, program
but a Q of facts



3) major motions for document + ^{Parsons amendment +} oral report and
summary

~~38-13~~
38-13
9-

① PRF ~~proposal~~ = postpone vote until end of the disc.
- rejected 13-38 - 9

② So: PRF: ~~wants to~~ puts amendment to a vote first
13-38 - 9

Rofagha

(28)

④ Ahmad puts USI Ag to vote, not as an amendment, but as a separate point

13-38-13
9

~~4TH~~
DAY

WOMENS' LIBERATION
PC Majis - Sharabih

— until rise of w-l-m

extended throughout world

basis for w-l-m = contra: - what does exist || what could exist
in Iran, this contra is much more severe

— women entering labor force -
expectations ↑

today - we are witnessing the beginning of radicaliz.
of women at this early stage of radicaliz.
at present - involves mostly the educated
women of upper classes

(29)

majority of pop lives on countryside
family = production unit
relatively stable
changes due to modernization process

women workers \approx 15% of work force
- need permission of the husband

not enough experience with various developments
to write a complete program for women
- but -
2 various demands

preferential - admission to educ, etc.
full civil rights
vs discriminatory laws

Some opening signs of impact of w.l.m. ideas

- S.L. book on women = best seller

- ~~can do the~~ ^{openings} may develop for legal work on this in Iran

Key Task - accumulating women cadres

Re Diff's on This

Sept 28 doc - Ahmad charges a programmatic
retreat because only one sentence on women

- but V/F pol res was adopted by S.L.

now ^{they} ~~no~~ longer talk of programmatic retreat ~~— a serious change~~

- 1) compulsory education
- 2) enactment laws vs wife beating
- 3) ~~co-educ~~ ,
- 4)

1) compulsory education

changed English-Prussian trans

Eng says - men & women

compulsory educ for children - OK.

but re adults - no -

women want to govern their own destiny

o.o can't say compulsory -

what about working

- would you make that compulsory too

2.) ^{severe} laws vs. wife-beating

- we asked: how severe?

capital punishment? they said said

but... Mxsts are against capital punishment

3) co-educational schools

we said yes

PRF said - no, if co-ed, then some parents wouldn't allow the children to go to school

4) expansion of ^{labor} laws

(protective laws)

now that govt wants to bring women

into labor force - they abolish

e.g. night work

laws vs night work

Amendment = cover up, face-saving job

Your faction was not built on the amendment points

- your faction was built on programmatic retreat

- so purpose of amendments = to maintain your faction

~~and~~ dissolve your faction and we can discuss these amendments -

~~33~~

PRF Report - Turan

amendments deal with pts that are either not in the ^{major} document, or are not clear (vague) in it

1) compulsory education

1919 Bolsh laws - compulsory 8-50

2) end reactionary family laws

strict enforcement of laws vs wife-beating and child-abuse

Babak

Bolsh program

- context shows it was voluntary

OK on ^{2 womens} passport Q-

PC map doc says of a specific demand re women's as focal pt of mobiliz

- free women pol. prisoners

Key Thing = can we get an atmosphere of general agreement -

- some PRF members were against the PRF vote on the nationalities document ~~==~~ shows bankruptcy of PRF leadership ~~==~~

- we don't want to keep harping on what happened Sept 20 ~~==~~

Nazrene
re compulsory educ

Bahman -
wife beating = a crime
correct
but \neq a la Boston
~~the crime is not~~
indiv crime - vs ^{v.c.} organized crime

Ahmad -
re: vote yesterday -
the ^{map} document was not clear on some
key pts. - Kurdistan
agree to change autonomy to indep states -

14.8. Az would have cleared this up
rejected -

o.o couldn't vote for -

re W-L-M -

we propose our amendments -

but will vote for -

want a calm discussion

Bab -

- a calm disc = good -

- pol. basis on which PRF was formed ~~is~~ ^{is} not ~~just~~ just led now
o.o dissolve PRF

transform the atmosphere to cooperation

agree on compuls. educ for children

Ali - calm disc = good

early PRF docs said compuls educ for women

later changed (via English) to compuls for all

Aza -
re compula educ. -

Kateh -
re PRF change of programmatic retreat

Roya =

Alma =

Slam =
Q of timing
- demands coming out of experience itself

Bob =

PRF will vote for nationalities doc if introduced
indics ^{that they} will dissolve
we made an error in keeping edes out
- vote to let them in

(36)

Amir (PRF)

a turning point in disc
past 2 days - pol. disc.
indicate willingness to discuss
include incorporate some of our ideas
in the docs

- we gave our resolution 6 months ago
we ask ^{your} opinion of PRF political resolution

we raise the demands - e.g. compuls educ -
directed at govt -
govt can't fulfill

Nass

Dr. women should go to JMW conf
to expose Farah

PRF

what about the sections of PRF doc on women

also may's

in present context - compulsion has a bad name in India

free educ as a right - is a better formulation

Ryoo

if compulsory then what to do re women who don't want to go -

Homes
(Britain)

- welcome atmosphere of past 2 days
- can help unity of SL & between SL & cdes in Europe

agree w/ may's pol. res.

may's - a conjunctural resolution

PRF - a programmatic resolution

u^o proposes PPF vote for pol res
~~make the for PPF prog res~~
PPF put their program for for disc
for all Iranian T's

re educ / the demand should be directed vs The state
compel it to remove all obstacles to educ

could be a ~~misinformation~~
misunderstanding re laws on wife beating
- re power's of shah's state

the demand should be - removal of all
laws permitting wife beating, etc,

Summaries

PPF

amendments

education a.) children - OK
b.) compulsory - directed at 1) state
c.) 2) patriarchy that prevents women

family

a) b) OK
c) d) e) f) g) h) i) j) k) l) m) n) o) p) q) r) s) t) u) v) w) x) y) z)

abortion
a)
b)

(39)

Q - P.C. opinion on PRF resolution -

Summary - Major

↳ children - OK

other pts new

other pts are in doc

Compuls. educ -

use educ is a right

votes = len of doc. including

↳ all amendments of PRF brought into doc thru
an editing com
(except compuls. educ.)

unanimous

(40)

Ahmed

will put PRF doc to a vote at
the end of T+P

Greetings S.W.P. —

5th Day —

discussions : major - PRF

recess : PRF mtg.

proposal : Ahmad as presiding comm for rest of convention
adopted

(41)

Proposals from Presiding Com

(1) Re Doc - nationalities doc

PRF amendments

- Baluch - s-d incl sep.

- Arab "

- Kurdistan indep united Kurdistan

- continuation of UIS Azerbaijan

other formulations - edited by
a special commission -

(2) Re: T. & P. - amendments

- fight vs. slanders -

incl vs. Reza B. -

discuss tomorrow

(3) Re after Convention

1) close disc

2) disc E leadership in 3 mos

3) PRF resolu. - initial ~~PRF~~ basis re program

4) statutes - // FI + SWP (temporarily)

5) PRF included in all levels, incl leadership

votes:

1) re slander vs Reza
- unanimous -

2) nat'l & ^{doc +} amendments -
- unanimous -

3) ^{five} org motions

Ahmad -

PRF has decided to dissolve -

- will participate as individuals in
the discussion -

- will give ^{PRF} funds to SL.

9:30 = tomorrow -

(43)

6th Day

T+P - Belman

new openings -

- first signs of radicaliz can be observed
 - in int'l context of upsurge
 - basic contradictions of dr. society
 - limitations (pol + econ) of monarchy
- weakness of Stalinist ideology -

SL growth - 300% - 2⁽⁴⁾ years

T'sm has become ^{at} center of attraction in the
opposition

- numerically T's are smaller
- but re political influence & attraction, SL is
greater

originally - SL ^{began as} ~~was~~ a wing in student movement
- then expulsions -

steps - strong center
theoretical journal
how to prepare for openings in Iran

re: students/youth
- we stand on worldwide rad.c of youth doc.

char. of the magazine
- orient to left wing of student movement
began around fights vs. Stalinists
after expulsions / indep stud. grps came about

axis of the magazine - revolutionary democracy
- recognized as a pole -
- a legal mag.

our proposal ≠ build a T org
but to build a legal, indep student org.

goal → cadres in Iran
main area ^{forming} for cadres = outside } a legal &

aim to build magazine supporter
grps into a national org.

tasks
- want → mag to a monthly // in fact this has been the case
- strong center // professional nucleus -

- underground wk in Iran -
- not ^{just} finding contacts, but building cadres
- 3 study gps

- Books

- Res. Rev - out of print

T.P.

young Lenin

Rev Betrayed

LTF Pol. Res.

Logic of Marx

} are all translated

other T articles

also eds in Europe have

- formation of a fraction to organize wk in Iran

- education of S.L.

- cadre school -

- defense of writers assoc. + similar

aim for a ^{1st} / conference re fight vs repression — → Dec
need to discuss w/CAIFI

Q - organizing sales // incl. in regions

organize various teams

- student teams

- underground teams - follow contact

regular mtgs & branches -

FI -

- what attracted SL to LTF was rejection
of g-war to Latin Amer

- want to expand links to FI

^{division}
- T's outside USA

- orientation to unify

purpose convention empower incoming leadership to work
out the various ways of developing collaboration -

end

Discussion -

Ahmad -

agree on radicalization -

- incl. all aspects of it -

Task = how to link up w/ —

reality = we have begun — w/ the publications
 ours is best in the whole opposition,
 including in comparison w/ bourgeois pubs

we have from the beginning, discussed the char. of
 the ~~magazine~~ ^{magazine} —

= organ of the T youth

this = way to bring about the link w/ Iran

e.g. - among writers I interest in the mag.

Payam gps = axis -

- a youth org ~~will~~ can come out of a conf of Payam

int'l support = imp for morale of those in Iran
 + = factor staying hand of the govt.

Payam - must reply to govt attacks vs T's

Q of overthrow of the Shah

ultraleftism is declining

Marxists - 3 shakeups - position on China

Payam should discuss this ↗

undergroundism - what is meant by this -

study gps / nuclei - should be formed
around Payam

This is way to view the youth org -

the main task = development of Payam -

Re: Europe cdes

can propose a merger of Payam + Kadikar

Re: conf vs. depression

- good idea

- but also: Q - other forces -

// but this is
secondary re
Payam

~~the~~ Gyms -

development of a new leadership around Payan

age @ - - one opponent ggs - "old youth"

↳ impact -

e.g. in Iran people starting to learn of a new generation of leadership outside

contacts ∈ Iran are all ^{very} young

∈ Iran, - ∃ small student study ggs

∃ contacts

∴ Q = What do we do with these contacts
≠ sending cdes → Iran -

Q of cadre school - e.g. they come for a few months

Payan = best publ. -

Payan ggs = socialist educ. ggs. -

branches must discuss interventions -

need to professionalize functioning
 - e.g. written reports
 - need student fractions -
 need to develop new roles

anti regression activities - not counterposed to Payan gps
 - possible stn. unions

re out: - regression conf.
 - the views we previously fought for on Right vs regression
 are now the majority views
 o'c conf. -
 need a bulletin in ~~Porter~~
 & an organization around it
 - (e.g. steering committee
 regular confs.)

re Reza
 we want to be known as the people who launched
 the struggle vs the slanders -

expansion -
 typewriters

Rahm =

openings for our ideas as a result of disintegration of confed. -

pro g war ops ↓ ; splitting

re Bayan II youth

→ youth org

~~Mozgh~~

orientation ⇒ Iran

⇒ deemphasis on outside activities

underground ⇨ based on ^{detour} repression, but on radicaliz

~~Nasr~~

past debate on underground.

but ∃ unclarity

- re central objective

re student -

Q of stage: I think we're ready for a youth org now

re Reza

- propose print Reza's defense



Mamahi

^{Texas} reversal of relationship: T's - Maoists

previously - g-war popular

defense of dems
= minority

now - the reverse

different problems in US South as compared to West

students are looking for their own organs not identified with a particular current -



Hominis (Europe) -

we are becoming happier as conv goes -

We had 3 Q's

- 1.) Why hadn't we been included from the beginning
- 2.) why a faction fight -
- 3.) Why Q of unit of Iranian T's was not posed in any of the written documents

but, now these difficulties are cleared up

Re T+P -

most important Q = unit. of Iranian T's

we should work on 3 pts. -

1) program for rev. in Iran - work on

2) don't wait for program

- on most Q's - I agreement

so imp. = present orientation -

there isn't much difference on this

3.) begin co-operation right now

- student movement

- broad front vs. repression -

- should aim for int'l cooperation

on this

- ^{re:} aim for hegemony over Iranian radicaliz. ^(Iran)

- prepare study gps - of people who come out to study for several mos.

for this - propaganda orgs = key

Payam = in reality soc. youth

= has concentrated mostly on repression

but - and especially now, - can't be limited to that

should ^{have an} exchange of cadres re the journals

- make Karditer the theoretical journal -
- make Payam the student journal



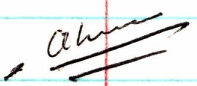
- (Karditer)



gen agreement on radic inside & outside

Bulman - said content of Payam = rev. democracy

- this is confusing - what is meant by this



youth org. -

Siand

- financial Q. -

- youth org Q.

- key = youth orientation - no diff on this
Q of tempo // form

over
7

Hama -
~~_____~~

3 among new radicals in Iran 3 many who want
to function in Iran - ∞ underground
must take this into account

~~_____~~

Paym - can tell what it is from the articles
that have appeared

Azer
(Europe)

Q of unif

- our sit = diff than, e.g. Canada
Mexico
Spain
where there is a day-to-day experience

diff. developments

- S.L. - expelled from confederation
- Europe - tendency to confederation

(Seattle)

Payam - circ 2-2500

Sales - at homes

(many people don't want to buy it in public)

How is Payam known? - it is known as the organizer of the fight vs repression

disc. of youth org = over char. of Payam -

= known as fighter vs. repression and vs the undemocratic methods of the Maoists

57

57

~~()~~

in Iran - many students receive pub. of the
guerrilla ops or CP or nat'l front

~~(SF.)~~

~~(Fla.)~~

~~Nader ()~~

SUMMARY

writers // defensive struggle

re: tasks

1) illegal nuclei -

- building rev. nuclei & Iran has always been our task -

- our central task was always bldg ptz & Iran but up to now best opportunity for cadre was outside

- why study ggs -

- in present stage of radicalz

- can't exaggerate

I general mood of dissatisfaction, but it is terrorized // rev. cadre doesn't "swim like a fish in water"

- our proposal to those moving to T'sm is to study it & protect yourselves

- so - what is the change?

- only that now - I real opportunities even though limited -

- what would be effects on S.L.

can't overestimate radicaliz. abroad
 - ^{what exists} T is still attraction by ones + twos

Q is: under what name will be active?
 - Payan has come into being

So the cdes who question - their proposal
 boils down to a conf. of Payan ggs
 - but we're not at that stage -

re: ap's - rev. democracy or consistent democracy

does this exclude T st articles? - no

should include more debates w/ our opponents
 on all Q's

Tasks

- build Payan ggs // geographical expansion
- strengthen center
- theoretical journal // postgame
 - pamphlets
- fraction for T w/ E Iran
- conf. vs. repression - will lead → geog. openings

PH

60

- branch mtgs - must have (= very imp)
discs on all interventions

- get Payan into libraries
\$10,000 fund drive → Christmas

- indep. gpps that develop + get in touch w/us

Vote:

Unan. except 3 non-voting

reg ⁽⁴³⁾ ~~43~~ - 0 - 0 - 3

consult: 7 - 0 - 0 - 0

(6)

BALANCE SHEET

STATEMENT - Ahmad -

28 Sept. doc. - my doc - ① criticisms =
+ presentation of Q. of nationalities & women
said - there was a ~~to~~ retreat

② on tests

- ide of writers

- inter. re students -

~~the~~ Payan -

PRT was formed

after expulsions : PRT → PRF

1 mo. ago - major doc on nationalities & women

were presented to the disc.

until then, it wasn't clear in writing that Sept 28 criticisms were being met

So disc of Sept 28 + program began only 1 mo. ago

but - in oral disc & at convention
it became clear that there ~~was~~ ^{was}
agreement on women, nationalities

educ disc. on perm rev showed no
diff on theory of perm rev.

re: writers - tasks doc showed no diff.
& way Payan handled Q
of the writers

re: Reza - clear on basis of yesterday
motion

pol basis of a tendency was
withered away

re youth org. I diff. -
but not => tendency

re: org Q's: - taking back expelled
ides
+ other measures -

So PRF dissolved

(63)

The org. doc. is withdrawn -

- The proposals are correct
but tone was wrong -

So now we move forward

Satter League has passed a ~~test~~ test

all the charges one vs the other are
now things of the past -
- part of history -

Now - party building
ex PRF ches will be model pty blders

The other issues = Sov disc on
leadership level

old PRF pol doc = has a new name
= 1st draft of program
approved by the convention

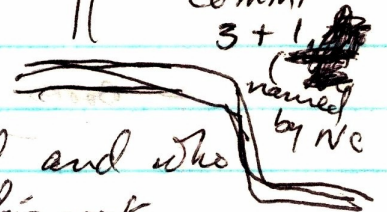
ELECTION OF LEADERSHIP

N.C. - 19 (no alts) (old ^{NC} was 11 full, 4 alts)

will have 24 exPRF

// + central comm. 3+1

Considerations -



1) what kind of tasks lie ahead and who should be on to lead this work

2) disc on program

3) collab. w/ ideas in Europe -

nominees ^{for NC} include 3 women

nominees for CC include 1 woman