

**INTERNATIONAL  
IMG  
MARXIST GROUP**

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To:

Was Tun, Rotfront, Le Gauche/Rood, Klass Kampen, Combate, Rouno, Socialist Republic, Bandiera Rossa, Combate Operario, Internationalen, Le Breche/Bresche, Direct Action, Socialist Action, Matzpen, Sekai Kakumei, Opcion, Combate Socialist, El Socialista, Que Hacer, The Militant, Socialist Voice, Lutte Ouvriere, Bandera Socialista, Combate Socialista, Socialist Challenge.

Dear Comrades,

Please find enclosed the first edition of Che Baya d Kard (What is to be Done), a revolutionary socialist newspaper which commenced publication in Iran on Saturday 20 January 1979. The paper has been launched by Iranian supporters of the Fourth International in Iran.

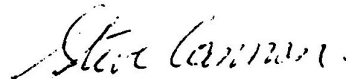
I enclose also an English translation of the editorial in this issue. Other articles include; The Shah has gone! Down with the monarchy!, An appeal by revolutionary socialists to soldiers, Socialist Democracy and Bourgeois Democracy, United Secretariat statement of Iran.

As the editorial states one of the main aims of the paper is to bring about the speedy unification of all revolutionary socialists in Iran.

10,000 copies of this paper have already been distributed on the streets in Iran and a further 5000 are being printed.

We request that you publicise the appearance of this paper in your journal along with the contents of the editorial if possible.

Revolutionary greetings,



(Steve Cannon for IMG National Secretariat)

(What is to be Done)

Paper of Revolutionary Socialists.

THE DEATH AGONY OF THE MONARCHY AND THE TASKS OF  
REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISTS

The Pahlavi Monarchy, the central bastion of all internal and foreign reactionary forces in Iran, is passing through the final stages of its death agony. The extensive institutions of the Shah's empire of terror and repression have been smashed one after another by the impact of the relentless struggle of the masses. Mohammad Reza Shah the central cog in these ruling institutions has been put to flight and has taken refuge in the arms of his masters.

While the ruling ~~bourgeois~~ classes and world imperialism have become paralysed and powerless in their attempts to find a way to give an answer to the growing discontent and anger of the masses, the oppressed masses of Iran, and at their forefront the working class, have made spectacular advances in generalising, unifying and politicising their struggle, and are heading towards the final and historical confrontation with the dictatorship of capital and the ruling institutions of repression.

The hour of Iran's new revolution is approaching. The powerful waves of this revolution are ~~surging~~ surging forward one after another, each one more powerful than the last. The new wave, characterised by the presence of the working class, has turned imperialism's "island of stability" into the centre of the earthquake of world revolution. The cities of Iran are once again speaking in the language of

the Constitutional Revolution and the period following the flight and exile of Reza Shah. Iran is now at the threshold of an era in which the cleansing of society from all aspects of dictatorship and reaction are on the agenda.

The unprecedented growth of this mass movement has shown that nothing can suppress a people determined to put an end to dictatorship. Despite the fact that the mass movement has awakened after a long night of 25 years of Pahkalavi repression, and has had to face one of the most ruthless institutions of repression, it has been able to progress growing in strength from day to day shaking the whole foundation of the monarchy.

The oppressed masses who were denied the most elementary rights of expression and organisation; who had lost all their former conquests; whose most devoted and militant members had become prisoners of the regime's torturers; who had been chained for a quarter of a century and lacked the slightest practical experience of struggle and organisation have in the space of less than a year mobilised such a massive force that the whole world has been taken by surprise.

In confronting this mass movement the monarchy has resorted to every act of brutality and genocide. But every time it has brutally suppressed the movement hoping to have stemmed the tide of revolution the movement has immediately reappeared in an even more powerful and massive form. Every time the dictatorship has tried to provide the ruling class with the opportunity for a breathing space and preparations for a counter-revolution it has soon found itself confronted by a more militant movement.

After every brief lull the movement ~~has~~ has reappeared with renewed vigour and the oppressed masses have once again taken their historic path finding ways of ~~the~~ advancing one more by adding new dimensions to their struggle and deepening their demands.

The ruling class has finally realised that its forces of repression are no longer effective. With guidance from ~~the~~ imperialism it is now therefore preparing a trick. The formation of the Bakhtiar Government and the Shah's flight are ~~clear~~ signs of a plan intended to block two fundamental tendencies within the anti-dictatorial struggle and to divert the mass struggle from its revolutionary path.

On the one hand the inseperable link which exists between dictatorship and the monarchy in the Iranian state has fused the struggle for democracy with the struggle against the monarchy itself. "Death to the Shah", the slogan under which many of the anti-dictatorship mobilisations have taken place, is the first sign of this fusion.

On the other hand the strong bond between Iranian capitalism and the monarchy has given the anti-dictatorship struggle an anti-capitalist character. The entry of the working class onto the scene of political struggle has made the possessing classes of Iran and their imperialist supporters aware of this tendency. ~~The working class is attempting to harness democratic~~

The regime is trying to harness democratic aspirations through the Bakhtiar government by giving some concessions

(limited abolition of censorship, curbing of SAVAK's powers, legalising some political parties etc.) and promising other reforms (such as free elections etc.). In this way it aims to take the edge ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ off the anti-dictatorship ~~struggle~~ movement and save the monarchy, the basic foundation of the strength of the state, and hence save capitalism. Promises of a return to "Constitutional Monarchy" ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ were ineffective. The Shah has therefore been sent on "holiday" to prevent the further progress of the mass movement along the path of a revolutionary overthrow of the monarchy and the power of the ruling class. In order to ensure the success of this plan they even threaten the mass movement with a bloody coup: Either the Bakhtiar Government or ~~the~~ military rule! This is the ruling classes answer.

But the oppressed masses will not be fooled by such threats. They haven't given thousands of lives to keep the same regime in power, to have the same imperial army "maintaining law and order", to leave the possessing classes in their place. They will continue until the complete overthrow ~~of~~ of the monarchy and the establishment of a government~~s~~ of workers, peasants and other toilers. This is the only solution to Iran's present political and social ~~of~~ crisis. The most important task of revolutionary socialists is to help bring about such a solution. Through our intervention we must ensure that the overthrow of the Pahlavi dictatorship is linked to an attack on the capitalist system and the bourgeois state. Our most immediate task in this direction is to fight for the complete overthrow of the monarchy and all the social and political foundations ~~which~~ on which its power is based.

We - a number of different revolutionary socialist groups formed inside and outside Iran and now in the process of ~~the~~ fusion —

