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COMMUNIST PARTY OF IRAN—THE COMMITTEE ABROAD

(2ND SERIES)
SEP. 86

ABOUT OUR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Today one can hardly find a serious communist organisation in the world which does not emphasize the necessity of forming a new revolutionary communist International and which does not make efforts for the realization of this long-standing cause of the communists. It is over 50 years, since the degeneration of the Third International, that the domination of revisionism over the world workers' and communist movement has struck hard blows on the progress of the world proletarian revolution.

Also in the absence of an international communist organisation of the proletariat, the current revolutionary and protest struggles of the workers and toilers in most countries of the world are being deviated and compromised by revisionists of all shades, and suppressed by the bourgeoisie. Workers in majority of the countries of the world are engaged in heroic, but isolated, struggles and are deprived of the practical and effective solidarity of their class comrades in other countries. The world struggles of the workers are being carried out without coordination, without connection with each other, and without making up conscious and planned links in the world proletarian revolution.

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Introduction

The following article, by comrade Khosrow Davar, was published for the first time in *Komunist* No. 23 (Nov. 1985), the central organ of the CPI. It deals with the infightings between two factions of the Iranian bourgeoisie, one defending private capitalism and the other nationalisation of factories and state capitalism, and analyses the implications of each of these two forms of capitalism and the accompanying discussions, on the life and interest of the workers. In this connection the article lays stress on the policies which the workers ought to adopt in order to further their own cause in the attitude to both wings of Iranian bourgeoisie.

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WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

ABOUT OUR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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All these facts call on all the internationalist and serious communists throughout the world to give particular attention to the cause of building the world party of communists and take conscious and planned steps to prepare the requirements of its formation. Before proceeding to explain our perspectives in this field, it is necessary first to take a brief look at the present state of the communist movement in the world. In our view the main factors distinguishing this situation are as follows:

1—Since the degeneration of the workers' state in Russia and the Comintern, revolutionary Marxism has had little intervention in the theory and practice of the workers' movement. Those who have managed to mobilize vast masses of workers and toilers in contemporary revolutions and protest movements, in the name of Marxism and communism, have in the main—in theory and practice—dressed the workers with all kinds of class conciliation, nationalism, parliamentarism and reformism, in place of the necessity of revolutionary class struggle and setting up of workers' states. They have dragged the workers from one defeat to another. Today the majority of the workers of the world identify communism with socialism either with what is happening in Russia, China, and the Eastern bloc or with the compromises and betrayals of the various revisionist parties and currents in the countries.

2—All radical-left tendencies and currents which developed since 50 years ago in demarcation with and distinction from the degenerate Russian revisionism and Social Democracy are facing an unprecedented crisis. Most activists of the Trotskyist, Maoist, Pro-Albanian, Left Communist and radical populist (in the dominated countries) trends are today seeing clearly that their theories and their interpretations of communist theory and practice

have been suffering from many fundamental defects and that these fail to meet the requirements of the organization of workers' revolutionary and class struggle. This ideological deadlock reflects itself clearly in the organisational crises of these currents. The organisational disintegration of most of the Maoist currents throughout the world, the acute crisis among the currents supporting Albania, successive splits within the Trotskyist and Left Communist currents are all evidence to this claim.

3—The world capitalist crisis, the bourgeoisie's attacks on the workers' movement and the deepening of the class struggle, on the one hand re-emphasize to a section of revolutionary intellectuals and workers, influenced by the above currents, that the present situation of human society can be explained only by the Marxist theory. On the other hand the question is increasingly posed in their minds that besides the explanation of the present situation, what is Marxism's proposed positive solution, theory, programme and practice in the present epoch for militant revolutionaries and workers? What are the causes and lessons of the previous defeats of the proletariat in Russia, China and Europe, etc? What is to be done today? In the attempts to answer these questions and in the context of the current acute class struggle in the world, a movement of reappraisal of the previous, mainly second-hand, interpretations of Marxism and a return to orthodox and classical Marxism has begun taking shape among some of the radical-left currents in most countries of the world. The movement to revive revolutionary Marxism is taking shape, and this is the reflection of the historical need of the working class for the theory and politics which will pave the way to and advance its protest and class struggles in this period of their escalation.

We consider our party as belonging to this movement of awakening of revolutionary Marxism. We as yet no communist current and organisation for a group or bloc of several currents) in the world has been able to turn into a theoretically and politically authoritative pole to give orientation to this today's movement of revival of revolutionary Marxism. The analysis of the causes of the defeat of the proletarian state in Russia, the deduction of positive lessons from it for the communist programme and practice, today's scientific investigation into the peculiarities of the existing crisis of capitalism, and its tendencies and probable developments in future, the programme and the principles of tactics of communists in the advanced capitalist and imperialist countries, in the Eastern bloc and in the dominated countries, etc, are all important questions to which convincing theoretical answers must be provided. Furthermore, the problem of putting forward tactics for the organisation of the current struggles of the workers to best receive the appropriate answer. The developing currents and tendencies within the international communist movement, each one to a certain extent and degree, have to thus clarify part of these problems, but one can still not talk of the existence of a current internationally which has the answers to these problems in a comprehensive way and which at the same time has turned into a tangible and decisive force in the workers' and revolutionary movement of one or several countries.

Under these circumstances one can distinguish the above-mentioned development and positive radical tendencies by the following characteristics:

1—Currents with a Trotskyist background: The first step forward by these currents is usually the development of a positive assessment of the Russian Revolution. They set aside the

theory and formulation which regards Russia as a "degenerated workers' state" and a "transitional system from capitalism to socialism", and insist on the capitalist nature of the economic-social relations in Russia and the bourgeois nature of the Russian state. Having taken up this outlook, these currents' assessment of the proletarian parties, the Stalinist parties and the Social Democrats has changed and they no longer consider them as "degenerated workers'" parties but as bourgeois.

2—Currents with a Maoist and pro-Albanian background: These currents usually begin to break with their previous positions by a consideration of the causes of the domination of revisionism over the Russian state and party in the time of Stalin—before Khrushchev. The other points discussed and criticized by these currents are usually the resolutions of the 6th and 7th congresses of the Comintern on the question of building anti-fascist and popular fronts with the bourgeoisie, giving up independent communist propaganda and agitation on the pretext of preserving these fronts and not driving away the liberal and progressive bourgeoisie, and imperialism's inability to develop the productive forces and capitalist relations in the metropolitan and particularly the dominated countries.

3—Currents with a populist background: These currents which grew for a period mainly in the dominated countries such as Iran, Turkey and Chile, now in their process of break with populism are emphasizing the non-existence of the liberal and progressive bourgeoisie, the necessity of independent organisation of the working class, of direct communist propaganda and agitation and the building of the communist party. At the same time one can note the increasing interest among these currents in discussions relating to the critique of Russia in Stalin's time and the 1930s.

4—Currents with a Left Communist background: One of the first characteristic features of these currents is breaking to the maximum with the non-revolutionary position of the desire for and resorting to revolutionary interventionism in the current daily struggles of the workers in the metropolitan countries and support for national-democratic movements in the third-world countries. Attending to the necessity of drawing up a communist political programme and putting fore tactics in relation to the current situation of the workers are among the other characteristics of these currents.

At present we know and are in contact, to different degrees, with a number of communist currents from the above mentioned countries, in Asia and Latin America. Meanwhile we are aware of the fact that besides the positive points which we mentioned about these communist currents above, there are many questions and differences of views which must be clarified and discussed. What is important and should be recognised in the first place and under the present conditions is the process of re-awakening and resurgence of revolutionary Marxism on a world scale which is finding expression in the existence of these currents.

We consider it an important task of ours to get to know the viewpoints and practices of these currents, introduce our party's ideological-political and practical characteristics to these comrades, hold written and personal contacts and relations with them and have completely and free dialogue in order to clarify the areas of agreement and disagreement. It is for this reason that despite the fact that we are faced with numerous problems due to the hard conditions of revolutionary and communist struggle in Iran, we have devoted part of our energy to the translation and publication of our literature in other languages, to studying the literature of

these groups and organisations and having contacts and written and personal discussions with them. In our international relations we have the following considerations:

1—An organisational unity and formation of an international organisation without solving the most important questions which confront the world communist movement and without a comprehensive ideological-programmatic unity must be seriously avoided. An international organisational unity must be in the first place the result of theoretical and political closeness and agreement over the most important problems of the world communist movement today. The future International, while relying on the correctness and legitimacy of the revolutionary communist principles, of which Marx, Engels and the standard-bearers, must be the expression of the anti-revisionist struggles of communists under the present conditions. In our view giving any precedence to organisational unity over an ideological-political one is not fitting for revolutionary Marxists, but is a revisionist tradition and intellectual measure.

2—Abstaining from any sectarianism and pre-judgement in assessing each other in the mutual relationships. The characteristics of the break with the previous positions which we mentioned about these currents above provide sufficient points of strength for forming comradely relations. With regard to the historical factors and the present conditions, it is unlikely to find a serious communist current in some part of the world which had not, not so long ago, suffered from one of the deviations existing in the international communist movement. The past deviations and defects of each one of these currents, including ourselves, should be primarily discussed and criticized so far as this contributes to the understanding of the past deviations and increases and reinforces the

LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!

that the factories, over which they are fighting, are the product of our own labour which at one time have been acquired by them. What we want is neither this nor that but socialism and the social ownership of the means of production. The fourth and sixth articles of the Programme of the Communist Party of Iran have clearly expressed the position of the working class in relation to these problems:

"4-The capitalist system is the origin and the cause of survival of all material and moral hardships and poverty. It has created an insecure and disordered position of the workers, and tolling and poor masses throughout the world. This system is the cause of poverty, destitution and famine, unemployment, homelessness and war, social discriminations and lack of political rights, racial discrimination, national oppression and the oppression of women, ignorance, prostitution and addiction, and all the hardships befalling the masses.

The principal characteristic of this system is the transformation of labour-power into a commodity and the exploitation of wage-labour. In this system the major and the main part of the means of production and exchange is in the private ownership or under the control of a class which forms an insignificant minority in society and which, for gaining ever more profit, exploits the immense majority of society which consists mainly of proletarians and semi-proletarians who have to sell their labour-power, continuously or alternately, in order to survive. In this system the more and the harder the workers work and add to the social wealth, the greater social capital they acquire, and the stronger the capital becomes, and the greater social disorder and deprivations the vast masses of workers and toilers encounter..." (From the 4th article)

"6-The socialist revolution of the proletariat expropriates the exploiters and frees the means of production and exchange, which have been created by the labour and effort and at the expense of hardships and deprivations of millions of workers and toilers, from the private ownership and control of the capitalist class, and places them at the disposal of the workers. The social nationalisation of social ownership for private ownership makes it possible for the immense productive forces and the diverse material and moral acquisitions of the society in all fields of science, technology and culture, which in the capitalist system are employed only for the ever greater profit-making of capital, to be used in the service of satisfying the material and moral needs of the people. Competition is replaced by general cooperation and assistance, and organised

and planned socialist production replaces the anarchy of capitalist production.

In this way the social revolution of the proletariat puts an end to all forms of exploitation of one section of society by another and to the division of society into exploiting and exploited, and oppressor and oppressed classes, and secures the maximum welfare and the all-round improvement of the lives of the people. In this way the social revolution of the proletariat leads humanity to the new society. A society in which, along with the classes, the state too withers away and mankind will become, for the first time, the master of its own social organisation and so become free in the real sense."

(The 6th article of the CPI programme)

What we quoted from the Party Programme must be the answer of all workers to the above question. And now that the issue of factory ownership is hot and is being fuelled by others, it is necessary that every sentence of this section of the programme be taught to the workers in every workers' circles or gatherings, so that even the young workers may be able to express clearly the demand of his own class against the false defenders of the workers.

Moreover, the present quarrel within the regime over the ownership of estates, factories and machinery which are the product of the toil of workers, is in fact a quarrel to determine the expropriated of the future. The revolution, whether or not it can immediately establish the common ownership intended by the workers over all the means of production, will nevertheless mean the end of the "state ownership" and "private ownership" of the leeches who are today squeezing each other's throats within the regime. The very first waves of revolution against the Islamic Republic will sweep these people out of the way of the workers. And this revolution, this new wave of revolutionary action of workers and toilers, can be seen in the horizon. The factories and production and economic institutions once again will fall to the direct control of workers. The owners and managers - whether state and theoretic or private and 'gentleman' - will once again be looking for a hole to hide and a way to escape and will trample on each other. Workers should prepare themselves for such days. But both workers and toilers should be doing today in the midst of the rule of bourgeois-Islamic counter-revolution? What should be our position now?

It is true that what we are demanding, i.e., the revolutionary expropriation by the workers of the bourgeois and their associates and executives, whether state or private, cannot be immediately implemented today. But we must by no means conclude from this that the explicit voicing and the propaganda and explanation of our principled and class alternative should

also be postponed until the future. The principled reply of every worker to the question of ownership of the means of production must be what we said. And the conscious workers must give this class education to the workers from today. This education is necessary not only for what should be done tomorrow but also for clarifying what should not be done today. We do not want to, and the workers should not, turn into an army in support of this or that side of the fighting. And this is possible only when they know what their independent interests are.

What is being put forward in the state newspapers as two alternatives, is only one alternative - so far as it concerns us workers. I.e., the same capitalist ownership of the means of production which is to create profits for its owners and maintain our wage-slavery! ... Howsoever the private capitalist may cry out about the brutality of the Islamic Republic, the exploitation of the workers, and however much the IRP newspaper may preach on the anti-worker nature and charlatanism of the likes of Lajevardi and Elghanian, none should evoke the slightest sympathy of the Iranian worker towards itself. This is possible only if the communist worker does not keep being bothered by concerns about which one is talking and acting more to our benefit, make the workers conscious of what is absolutely in their interest. So it is from this point of departure and by a class appreciation of the question that we can pave our way forward, even at the present moment, by adopting the correct class tactic. Therefore, above all, we stress once again that the education of the workers with our basic class principles and interests and reliance on and commitment to these principles is the condition for adopting the correct class tactics.

Now once again by bearing in mind that our wage-slavery in the service of an exploiting minority is the root cause of all our hardships, and being aware of the anti-worker and exploiting nature of both the Islamic state and the private capitalists, ask yourselves which of the alternatives which are before us is more to the advantage of workers... i.e., whether the factories should be owned by capitalist individuals or they should be owned by the capitalist state?

The answer to this question now seems obvious. If there is still need, we emphasize again that basically and generally the working class has no particular interest in this or that form of ownership of the means of production by the state or private capitalists and will not support any one. Whoever views the question from the standpoint of the working class will have no other reply.

There are of course people who while claiming to view the question from the position of the working class say something else. For exam-

ple workers who follow the Tudeh Party, Fedai-een (Majority) and the like. While swearing at both gangs in the regime(!), they may call you to support and consolidate the faction which stands for the nationalisation of the economy and talk of this as a step forward for workers or for reaching socialism.

Fortunately the capitalists and capitalism have been disgraced enough by this revolution, otherwise people like the "Ranjbaran Party" and "Left Unity" would perhaps appear again to call you to support the other ("private capitalist") side - while swearing at both sides - so that in this way you would bring about the development of Iranian capitalism to the benefit of the working class.

Against all these and any other such theoreticians workers must say that firstly their socialism is different from state-capitalism and from the socialism as understood by the petty-bourgeois and bourgeois. And secondly they would not accept any promises about changing the system, without the dictatorship of the proletariat, i.e., the workers' state. Thus, from our point of view, neither the concentration of capitals in the hands of the capitalist state, nor the development of capitalism according to the American pattern is a step forward. The precondition for any fundamental change in our situation is that workers take political power into their own hands. Therefore what counts for us today as a step forward is none other than advancing towards political power. Or, in other words, what counts for us today as a step forward of the working class. This comprises the general spirit of all of our tactics in the present period and is a criterion for judging them. If anyone today can show that state-ownership by the Islamic Republic of all the country's production units, or conversely, their return to their private owners can increase the workers' strength in the field of the class struggle, in the slightest, or even change the balance of forces in their favour, then we shall have no fear of temporarily preferring one form of ownership to another.

Does this general reply mean that workers should remain passive in the quarrels that take place over the ownership of their factories? No it does not. The conscious and communist workers should try to make sure that this does not happen. This is a social question and a governmental crisis that directly concerns the workers themselves. This situation at the same time brings about appropriate conditions for the conscious workers to intervene:

1) When the internal crisis of the bourgeoisie heightens and the rivalries among the capitalist factions intensify before the eyes of the workers themselves, the field for workers' protest and political education among the workers widens to a certain

Down with the Islamic Republic regime!

For a Revolutionary Democratic Republic!

extent. When the bourgeoisie brings up the question of ownership of the means of production, the conscious and communist worker finds greater and better opportunity to explain the independent position and interests of workers. The bourgeoisie tries to involve the workers in the discussion on existing things, hoping that it may turn their power to a means in its factional rivalries. But the communist workers find a suitable environment for intervention. Questions posed by the bourgeois should receive their genuine and revolutionary replies.

2) In the context of confusion and confusion in the ranks of the bourgeois, we must intensify workers' struggles over the workers' independent demands. Although it is obvious that in the final analysis the various factions of the capitalists will take up a common position against the workers in the event of any extensive and powerful workers' protest, nevertheless the differences existing among them will allow the workers to take the first steps in their protests with greater speed and success. It is probable that in some cases the factions will try to make use of the workers' struggles and protests as a lever to put pressure on the bourgeoisie inside the regime and thus be able to appear before the workers as a united body. So far we have seen that the defenders of "state ownership" cannot as always condemn people's protest when the latter resort to direct action against the private owners of property and their encroachments. This possibility also exists especially in the workers' protests in units which have just been transferred to private capitalists or are destined to be. Likewise protests against the regime's Islamic Societies and Councils in units owned by the private sector will probably be met by indifference and inaction on the part of the management and employers. Holding no illusions in either the state or the private capitalists, the heightening of rivalry between them should be made use of to the advantage of realizing workers' demands, however litte they may be.

3) Workers' independence from the rival factions in the Islamic Republic does not at all mean that workers basically don't care about what happens to their factory or public institutions (such as schools, etc.), or that the consequences of these hand-overs neither harm nor benefit them. In other words when we consider the question in a specific firm or factory then the concrete and immediate interest of the workers comes in. Here too workers should definitely defend their independent immediate interests without worrying about how this may affect the fate of the fight within the regime over ownership. Our children need schools and we shall do whatever we can to prevent either the school-owners or the state from closing down and destroying them. Here we take direct action. The school must remain a school, even if this means that it should be occupied and taken over from below by the toiling people. The fact that in the process, the ministry of education in its

legal fight against the private owner of the school, gets the upper hand is secondary. Or suppose that the government wants to nationalize a private textile factory and hand it over to the military industry to be used as part of war machinery. We do not want this to happen and so we will protest against it and resist it. If our resistance amounts, in practice, to the factory remaining in the hands of its present owner, this will not worry us, and so on.

To sum up, in every concrete case we have to recognize the specific consequences of these transfers, know where the workers' interests lie and defend them. To have as our point of departure the independent position and interests of the workers is the method which allows us to react in the best way at every specific point in time, and for example put forward and realize, whenever we considered it correct, demands such as workers' control, management by councils, etc., in the midst of their conflicts.

If during these conflicts, the fight between the capitalists heats up so much that by chance one of the warring sides finds it worthwhile to declare for a certain period that it is on the workers' side, then this is a compromise by the bourgeois state with the power of the workers, and would directly confront such bourgeois with independent workers' demands. Under no circumstances will the workers make themselves a prop in the fight of the capitalists over ownership. The reply to the Mullah who comes to the factory to call the workers to support the policy of nationalization or of keeping the factory nationalized, while giving all sorts of promises is the same under all circumstances. The same reply should be given to the private managers and employers who try to lead us on to their property and the workers to support them. In any gathering held to draw the support of the workers in this way, both these factions should be put in the seat of judgement. Workers' demands should be put before them: will the overdue wages be paid? Will there be a wage-rise? Will the sacked workers be reinstated? Will the right to the regular holding of workers' general assembly be recognised? Will the intimidation and conspiracy of the Islamic Societies and Councils be ended? etc.

Workers must know that any support for this or that form of bourgeois ownership of units and enterprises, will tomorrow turn into heavy chains binding their own hands and feet. Workers have no interest in the victory of any one of these factions. On the contrary, the intense fighting by the two sides over the ownership of the wealth which is the product of the labour of the workers and belongs to them, provides the ground in order to deal blows to the body of both factions. The preservation of workers' independence in this fight and the taking of advantage of the bourgeoisie's contradictions in order to extend the protest struggles must be the guiding line of communist workers under the present conditions.

Khosro Davar

Nov. 85

FROM THE PARTY RADIOS

VOICE OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF IRANVOICE OF THE
IRANIAN REVOLUTION

RESIST THE WAR MOBILIZATION

Workers! Oppressed people of Iran!

The military mobilization initiated by the Islamic Republic throughout the country continues. Compared to the previous attempts, the recent mobilization is more extensive and has more oppressive dimensions. Your protest and struggle against the despotic rulers is required now more than any other time. Last year the Islamic regime did all it could for an extensive mobilization. Conscription laws turned into brute police and martial laws, and bands in search of draftees were openly permitted to hunt down young people on the streets, in schools and factories. The government issued successive circulars to offices, industries and factories to dispatch part of the personnel to the front. In factories they put pressure on the workers by threatening expulsion and dismissal to send them to the fronts of the reactionary war. In various cities and states heads of government are engaged in the tender of dispatching processions of men of all ages to the slaughterhouse of war, and in so doing they have gone beyond every limit by intimidating, threatening and taking the people's livelihood to pawn in cities and villages. Finally, in their effort to mobilize, they decided to make use of the energy of women. Thus the Islamic Republic which owes a significant part of its reactionary existence to the open disenfranchisement of women, and to removing them from social life, has taken it into its head to directly involve the women as well in continuing its slaughter and oppression in the war.

The new mobilization that the Islamic government has set upon with the new encyclical by Khomeini, and by announcing new achievements in the war, would undoubtedly multiply the oppression of the reactionary war upon you people. With the mobilization the pressure for extortion has increased. The wages of the workers and the earnings of the impoverished people is being plundered in various ways, and the regime's agents and functionaries have intensified their efforts to authorize the atmosphere of intimidation and obedience in the city, factory, and district.

You, the oppressed people!

Endeavours for the new mobilization by the regime also display the fact, now more than any other time in the past, that the Islamic government cannot continue the reactionary war, unless it manages to do so openly and officially against you. The new mobilization is evidence to the fact that the government of the criminals, is entirely against you in continuing the war - it is evidence to the fact that, more than any other time, your protest and struggle is capable of rubbing the nose of this oppressive regime in the dirt, and puts the fate of the war in your hands. This endeavour should be broken down by your force, and it should display the will of you people to put an end to the war despite your enemy.

Stand up to the mobilization of the government and deprive it of the chance to engage in new slaughters. Stand up to the mobilization of the government

جان و مال مردم
باید در خدمت جبهه ها
یافتندAn example of
posters produced
and widelydistributed by
the Kurdistan
Organization of
the CPI - Karala.The top lines
quote the official
government newspaper:
"People's
Lives and Property
Must Be at the
Service of the
(War) Fronts".Below: "people
Don't Become
Victims of the
Capitalists'
interests.Rise Up Against
the War
Mobilization."

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and unify your ranks against its reactionary war!

On any street, in any district and factory stand up against endeavours towards mobilization, and prepare yourselves to declare the order of the immediate end to the war!

Freedom loving people of Kurdistan!

Resist, in your unified ranks, all pressure and infringement on your rights by the government under the pretext of war. Resist in your unified ranks the regime's conscription and refuse to submit to it. Give refuge to the deserters, and keep them safe from the regime's agents. If any of them were captured use the united force of every man and woman in the district or the village to release them from enemy hands through courageous offensives. Help the deserters. Encourage the soldiers to desert the barracks. And direct those who intend to join Komala ranks to find their way to our units and headquarters.

Resist extortion in the name of war, and stand up, in the factories, districts, schools and offices, as a united rank, against the regime's war propaganda. Use your experiences of mass struggle as well as your revolutionary initiative to nullify every effort by the regime in this area. Tell everyone that the Islamic government is openly against them in continuing the war. Tell them that we can and must, in the first revolutionary step, defeat the regime's mobilization through our resistance and persistence, and that we can and must display our will against the rulers. Let us rise strongly and unified, against the reactionary war, and to declare the command of the immediate end to the war.

Down with the Islamic regime!
Long live freedom and equality!

14/4/86

(Broadcast from the Radio Voice
of the Iranian Revolution)

ISLAMIC VEIL & REHABILITATION CAMPS

As you have heard, the Supreme Court of the Islamic Republic has drafted a bill to be ratified and put into effect. It says in the draft that "badly veiled" persons will be sent to special camps for Islamic education and reorientation. The cost of the period of internment should be paid, out of their own pockets and the government would accept no responsibility for their expenses.

Rafsanjani, the agent of capital and the advocate of the most reactionary religious ideas and traditions of the Islamic Republic, approved of this inhuman design in last Friday's public prayer session, prior to its being sent out to the parliament of mummified Mullahs for ratification by the clowns in the parliament. By so doing he has added yet another black leaf of infamy in today's world to the file of the Islamic regime, and displayed yet another example of the violation of the most basic human rights, and of women's human dignity and value.

Rafsanjani, head of the parliament of the most reactionary mercenaries of ignorance and capital, said in the burlesque of the Friday prayer: "We cannot tolerate that some loose, lecherous people should toy with the well-being of society, in order to weaken the family..." Yes, such is the non-sensical babbling of the head of the parliament and the number one man of a government which for seven years has daily trampled over the most basic freedoms and interests of the Iranian society; this is the saying of one of the criminals of the Islamic Republic who speaks of looseness and lechery while representing a parliament and a government which are among the biggest brokers of the wholesale auction of the oppressed and deprived women of Iran in internal or external slave markets!

This shady reactionary had

announced from the very tribune of the Friday prayer that every body can choose any number of the women widowed in the reactionary Iran-Iraq war for the purpose of "ceased marriage", only on condition that he can provide for their maintenance.

The lines of black clad women who, like slaves of thousands of years ago, are waiting to be chosen by the clerical or non-clerical Pasdars (so-called revolutionary guards) and hezbollahis, scodes the sensibility of any honourable person in society. Rafsanjani speaks of the lechery of individuals while he himself as well as all the officials of his government, turbaned or unturbaned, are the embodiment of lechery, as supporters and advocates of the most reactionary and shameful religious traditions! They support the family as men who are allowed to have four official wives and as many temporary ones as they wish to satisfy their animalistic lust-calling this the family. By the standards of the Islamic Republic, this anti-human, animalistic law is legitimate and serves the interests of the family and society, while even the freedom of dressing as they wish is regarded for the women as lecherous and harmful to the interests of the family and society.

Is it, then, Rafsanjani and the clowns of the Islamic parliament as legislators of a regime which condemns women to labour camps, live burial, and stoning to death, who should be penalized for propagating defecations and insults to humanity, or the women of the society who, under the dark reign of the Islamic Republic are subjected to the most savage attacks by the regime's agents, and are degraded by Khomeini, among the biggest brokers of the various pontiffs, members of the parliament, the hezbollahis hoodlums and stabbers? No doubt any freedom loving and conscientious person who has been

Communique of the 2ND CONGRESS OF THE CPI

Workers of Iran!

The 2nd Congress of the CPI was successfully convened in early March 1986.

The 2nd Congress of the Communist Party was an ordinary party congress, held two and a half years after the First Congress and the untiring efforts of this party in the various fields, during this period, in the service of the class independence, consciousness and organisation of the working class. The Congress was convened, moreover, under conditions in which the Iranian working class is still facing one of the hard periods of its livelihood and struggle; and the workers' movement is in great need of accelerating the process of strengthening and creating the factors of its advance and victory. At the same time the working class is being recognised and identified, more than ever before, as the pillar and inspirator of the entire revolutionary movement in Iran.

The Congress first dealt with matters concerning the recognition of the congress and the procedures to be adopted in its work. It honoured the memory of the comrades lost in the path of socialism and sent greetings to imprisoned communists and advanced revolutionary workers. It then proceeded to discuss and examine the most important issues concerning the communist movement and the Communist Party, the workers' movement and the political situation in Iran. In the discussion on the state and perspective of the Communist Party of Iran, the Congress discussed the factors and the political and social requisites for the realization of the social revolution in Iran. It particularly stressed the necessity of adopting and giving a firm base to such traditions and practical methods which would make the Communist Party the natural instrument for the unity, organisation and struggle of the practical leaders and activists of the workers' movement and the advanced workers of Iran.

Another issue discussed in the Congress was the appraisal of the various aspects of the current economic and political situation of Iran, the state of the Islamic Republic, the bourgeois opposition, the situation of the workers' movement, of the movement in Kurdistan, and the outlines of our tasks regarding the present situation.

The Congress also examined the Party's practice between the two congresses and the most important organisational problems which must be solved in the coming period.

The 2nd Congress dealt with the Constitution of the Communist Party and instructed the Central Committee to prepare the draft of the new party constitution on the basis of the orientations and discussions of the Congress, to be sent to all party members for comments and ratification.

The Congress instructed the new central committee to prepare and publish the essence of the discussions and results of the 2nd Congress on the basis of the report of the central committee to the Congress and the discussions and speeches which took place.

After the discussions, the Congress elected the central committee: 18 comrades were elected as members of the central committee and 5 comrades as its alternate members.

The 2nd Congress of the Communist Party concluded its work after 5 days, while representing the unity, political strength and the common will of the whole party for relentless struggle for the communist cause and the political tasks of the communists in the period ahead.

In its first session, held after the Congress, the central committee elected the Political Bureau and the General Secretary. Comrades Hamid Taghvaei, Shoeb Zakeri, Iraj Anarini, Mansoor Hekmat, Abdollah Mohtadi, Javad Meshky and Ebrahim Alizadeh were elected as members of the Political Bureau, and comrade Abdollah Mohtadi as the General Secretary of the party.

Long Live Socialism!
For A Workers' State!

Central Committee of the Communist Party of Iran

30/3/86

Closing Statement of the FIFTH CONGRESS OF KOMALA

Workers and Toilers!
Militant People of Kurdistan!

The Fifth Congress of the Kurdistan Organisation of the CPI (Komala) was convened in March 1986 with the participation of the elected representatives of the various sections of the organisation; members of the central committee of Komala and a number of observers from the Political Bureau of the CPI. The Congress ended after four days of intensive work.

Congress began with the singing of the Internationale and by observing one minute's silence in honour of the memory of comrades who fell in the path of freedom and socialism. Having reviewed and ratified the credentials of the representatives, the Congress endorsed the procedural rules and went into session.

The discussions in the Congress centred mainly around the issues raised in the report by the CC of Komala to the Congress and the tactical problems concerning the movement in Kurdistan.

The Congress examined the political-fighting, living and social conditions of the workers and toilers of Kurdistan, the general condition of the Islamic Republic, particularly the politico-military situation of the regime in Kurdistan, the probable developments in the course of the political events in Iran and the region, including the Iran-Iraq war, and our policies in relation to any of the above probabilities. It also discussed the present state of the Kurdish movement, the conditions and requirements for its advance and the perspective of its victory. Based on the above, the Congress determined the outlines of the policies of Komala in the coming period in the spheres of the advancement of the armed struggle and the revolutionary movement of the Kurdish people, the political and protest struggles of the masses, the economic and political struggles of the workers of Kurdistan and the manner of extending the party organisation among the workers and toilers of Kurdistan.

The Congress also discussed the issue of propaganda, organisational policies and the policy governing our foreign relations, and pointed out the basic orientations in the work of the next central committee and the entire Komala organisation.

One of the basic discussions of the Congress was the political and protest struggles of the masses in Kurdistan, with the workers at their forefront.

The Congress stressed that Kurdistan should assume the face of a land of united, monolithic and generalized mass resistance against the Islamic Republic, and that efforts to realize such a policy through the unification, organisation and promotion of the struggle and resistance of the masses and strengthening of the armed struggle, rests with the Kurdistan Organisation of the CPI.

The Congress emphasized that the economic and political struggles of the workers of Kurdistan must be given particular and serious attention. And through the promotion, organisation and linking of the activists and policies of Komala with these struggles, the working class in Kurdistan - as a serious class - should be practically turned into the backbone and the leader of the current struggles and the revolutionary and mass movement of the people in Kurdistan; something which is at the same time the surest guarantee to combat any form of passivism and withdrawal from struggle in Kurdistan's movement, and to make it victorious.

The Congress stressed that the Kurdistan Organisation of the CPI must acquire such traditions and methods of work in the various aspects of its practical activities that every revolutionary and advanced worker in Kurdistan finds the Komala organisation a suitable and natural means for its struggle and organisation, and thus turn Komala into the organisation of the leaders and activists of the workers' movement and of the advanced workers in Kurdistan.

The Congress also approved of the general policy and positions of the central committee of Komala so far in relation to the KOP and stressed the necessity of continuing this policy in its various aspects.

Concerning the organisational policies, the Congress once again emphasized that the progress and victory of the struggle of the working class and the revolutionary movement

See p.21

THE INTRODUCTION TO: 'MARXISM & THE QUESTION OF RUSSIA' (BULLETIN OF VIEWS & DISCUSSIONS)

The following is the translation of the introduction to the first issue of the discussion bulletin "Marxism & the question of Russia" published by the CPI. The bulletin, which is in Farsi, is being published as a supplement to the theoretical organ of the CPI, Basou-e-Sowalim.

The present bulletin is a collection of the results of studies and investigations and also discussions and debates going on in our party on the question of Russia. What we mean by the "question of Russia" is not merely a recognition of the present state of Russian society and the attitude that this is to be adopted in relation to the ruling party there. A simple observation of the practice and policies of that party and a slight familiarity with the clear and explicit realities of the present Russian society is enough to show to whoever has not robbed socialism of its liberating and revolutionary connotation that Soviet Russia bears no sign of a socialist society. This, however, despite all its political significance and necessity, is not enough. We must proceed beyond this level and, on the one hand, by analysing the operation of the Soviet economic system, recognize the latter's class and social nature, show the necessity for the present practice of the Russian party and state; and on the other hand, by an assessment and critique of the developments in Soviet society after the October Revolution, and by recognizing the conditions of the class struggle in Russia and the basic causes which have led to the degeneration of the proletarian revolution and the consolidation of the bourgeois-imperialist state and system in that country, come up with an objective and profound explanation and analysis of the question. In this sense the "Russian question" is itself a many-sided subject, requiring study and investigation in basic theoretical categories such as the economic content of socialist revolution, the nature and form of the proletarian dictatorship, soviet democracy, the three-sided relationship party-state-class after the victory of the working class, the internationalist tasks of the proletariat which has seized power, and other questions at this level. The critique and investigations of the experience of Russian revolution can and must lead in all these areas to lessons and conclusions much deeper and more valuable than what the Comrade had for the world proletariat. The critical study of the Russian experience must not only analyse and explain the roots and basic causes - in distinction to effects and consequences - of the degeneration and defeat of the October Revolution, but, based on the above, show positively how and by avoiding which mistakes and overcoming which defects the Russian proletariat

could consolidate its victory, and what, for the world proletariat today, are the ways of avoiding a repetition of this experience. It must be shown which historico-social, economic and political conditions and factors in Russia and the world played the fundamental and decisive role in the defeat of the Russian proletariat, and which played a secondary and subsidiary part; and therefore in drawing upon the lessons of the Russian experience today which factors and aspects ought to be emphasized and towards which issues one must show vigilance and sensitivity and take account of in the socialist education of the proletariat and in advancing the class struggle.

Although the Russian question, on the scale indicated and as a Marxist problematic, has been discussed so far by various currents and thinkers, it has not yet received a clear and coherent reply based on a profound proletarian analysis and critique. The critical schools of Russia, besides the Trotskyists objecting to "state bureaucratism" and the "degenerated workers' state", in the main either reduce everything to the theoretical-political mistakes and deviations of this or that individual or faction dominating the Russian "Communist" Party; or in their analyses, through a determinist method, conclude the inevitability of the defeat of the October Revolution. Thus, although each of these brings out parts of the realities in exposing the nature of the system and party in Russia - being valuable and instructive from this point of view - from the viewpoint of the method of approach and the methodology employed to analyse and criticize the Russian experience, they are basically alien to the Marxist scientific methodology and method of cognition. Therefore the critical study and appraisal of the existing critical views on Russia has a special place in the scientific explanation and analysis of this question.

The questions mentioned make up the axis of the internal discussions and debates in our party on the question of Russia. No doubt these discussions and studies are not yet comprehensive and precise and must continue to be expanded and deepened. Nevertheless we found it useful and necessary to publish a selection of them, at their present level of progress, in a free bulletin, thus giving expression to the various views of the Party comrades and enabling a larger audience to intervene in and comment on them.

It is necessary to give an explanation about each of the articles in this bulletin. The discussion entitled "The Background to the Deviation and Defeat of the Proletarian Revolution in Russia" is the main part of the

PUBLICATIONS OF THE CPI

"KONONIST" is the central organ of the CPI published in Farai. The following issues were published from April to July 86.

Kononist No.25, April/May 86

Working class against the state's redundancy policy. **Iraj Asarain**

The impasse of dictatorships. **Habib Farzad**

On organisation on a dissociated basis. **Raza Moghaddam**

Communique by the central committee on the convocation of the 2nd Congress of the CPI

A look at relations between Mojahedin and the "ruling and vanquished counter-revolution". **Hamid Taghvaei**

May Day message of the CPI Politburo

A look at world's workers' demonstrations and struggles on May 1st

The closing communique of the Fifth Congress of the Kurdistan Organisation of the CPI-Komala

Kononist No.26, June/July 86

On the discussions of the 2nd Congress of the CPI. (Interview with comrade Mansoor Nekmat)

Organise a broad resistance against redundancies. **Naser Javid**

Islamic Republic and the spread of destitution. **Jafar Shafiee**

Report on May Day in Iran

"PISHROO" (in Kurdish) is the organ of the Kurdistan Organisation of the CPI-Komala. Issue no.18 was published in Nov/Dec85:

Is peace possible in Kurdistan? **Abdollah Mohtadi**

The spread of communism in Kurdistan is an undeniable fact. (Interview with comrade Ebrahim Alizadeh)

The Tudeh Party, Fedaiien (Majority) and the KDP exchange winks.

From p.4

and revolutionary struggle in the various countries of the world, the theoretical and practical deadend of most of the revisionist currents and the development of the various left organisations towards revolutionary Marxism are those objective and subjective factors which under the present conditions facilitate and accelerate the covering of this path for serious and internationalist communists. By taking principled and thoughtful measures, we must step on this honourable path as soon as possible.

Farhad Basharat
MAY 1986

At the moment we are in contact, to various degrees, with the following organisations. The addresses of the organisations are also printed for the information of the readers. So far, we have had public polemic and discussions

with some of these organisations and in future too shall try gradually to introduce them critically through the Bolsheviki Message. These organisations, in alphabetical order, are as follows:

● **COMBAT COMMUNISTE and ORGANISATION OF COMMUNIST REVOLUTIONARY INTERNATIONALISTS OF ALGERIA (CCRIA)**
29 Rue Descartes, 75005 Paris, FRANCE

● **MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY, USA**
P.O. Box 11942, Ontario Street Station, Chicago, IL. 60611, U.S.A.

● **ORGANIZZAZIONE COMUNISTA INTERNAZIONALISTA (OCI)**
Di Cristina Conchetta, C.P.448, 20100 Milano, ITALY

● **ORGANIZATION FOR A MARXIST-LENINIST WORKERS' PARTY (OMLWP)**
Boxholder, P.O.Box 5830, Chicago, IL.60680, U.S.A.

● **ORGANIZACAO COMUNISTA "POLITICA OPERARIA"**
Apartado 1682, 1016 Lisboa Codex, PORTUGAL

● **REVOLUTIONARY PROLETARIAN PLATFORM (RPP)**
N.K. Karunakaran, 21 Hari Building, Ambedkar Road, Parel, Bombay - 400012, INDIA

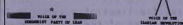
● **UNION OF COMMUNIST-LENINISTS OF ALGERIA (UCLA)**
B.P. No.97
75962 PARIS, Cedex 20, FRANCE

● **VOIE PROLETARIENNE**
B.P. No.5,
93401 St.Queen Cedex, FRANCE



From p.12

FROM THE PARTY RADIOS



ISLAMIC VEIL & REHABILITATION CAMPS

witness to the savagery and barbarism of the regime towards women, would pass the death sentence, and struggle for its enforcement, on the Islamic Republic - born from Rafsanjani and its Islamic parliament to its government, army, courts, pasdars, police, and stabbers alike.

Militant masses of the people! The Islamic veil is not only the token of the disenfranchisement of women, it is the emblem of the disenfranchisement of society as a whole.

The imposition of the veil, the attacks on women, do not concern women alone. This is an encroachment upon the most basic rights of all members of society! This is interference in the private affairs of the people! This is the imposition of forcible religious traditions! This is stifling freedom and democracy! - a cause concerning all the oppressed people of Iran, and first and foremost, the Iranian working class that is the most consistent defender of democracy and the most uncompromising social force against all oppression in society.

We must stand up resolutely to all pressures and trespasses of the Islamic Republic: we must defy, and protest against, this disgraced bullying in offices, in centres of work and production, on the streets, everywhere.

The people should not leave any act of oppression by the Islamic Republic against women unanswered, or to bypass any of these injustices with indifference. Everywhere they should together stand up against the humiliation of women and the breaching of their rights.

Freedom-loving people!

Freedom is your right. No one should be allowed to encroach on it. The hand of the aggressors should be cut off. Extend your united protests and resistance against forcible veil and against the attacks of the agents of this regime on women, and show this ferocious regime that you are not going to allow humiliation and degradation, or any encroachment upon the basic rights of women and the violation of the democratic rights of the people to go by unopposed.

Long live freedom!
Down with the Islamic Republic!

(Broadcast from the Radio Voice of the Iranian Revolution)



REPORT: Biweekly newsletter of the CPI-the Committee Abroad in English. Also published in German, French and Swedish.



Women
are
segregated
and
forced
to
wear
the
veil
even
at
the
workplace.

APPEAL FOR TRANSLATION

We need to translate some of our theoretical works into Spanish, Arabic and Turkish languages. We request the fraternal organisations and readers of Bolshevik Message, who can help us in this respect, to write to our addresses in Britain and Sweden.

The list of the documents which we need to translate into the above-mentioned languages are as follows:

- 1-The Myth of National and Progressive bourgeoisie (parts 1&2) - already available in Farsi, Kurdish and English.
- 2-Communists and the Peasant Movement After the Imperialist Solution of the Agrarian Question in Iran - already available in Farsi, English and German.
- 3-The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Popular Socialism of Iran - available in Farsi, Kurdish, German and soon in English.

▲ ▲ ▲

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To help the CPI financially, please send cheques or (international) money orders to any of the Party addresses, payable to **B.M. BAYAN**. Alternatively directly credit the following account:

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50-41-07, NATIONAL WESTMINSTER
BANK, 40 OXFORD ST., W1 BRANCH,
LONDON W1A 3BB, ENGLAND

CORRECTION

In BM No.5 the first few lines of a footnote to the letter by the comrades of the Revolutionary Proletarian Platform were missed out during layout. The complete footnote should have read:

*Comrade Ghosh resigned from the central committee of RPP last year over a number of political differences. Judging from a letter published by the comrade after resignation, the contents of the present letter cannot be wholly defended by him - Note by BM.

Also in the article "Critique of the Political Platform of the PCInt" printed in BM No.5, there is a line missing from the end of the 2nd column's third paragraph on p.9. The last three lines of this paragraph should read as follows:

"that you will have would be one of the new forms of 'consistent anti - democratism - its ' socialist ' form !"

▲ ▲ ▲

ADDRESSES OF THE CPI ABROAD

To contact the CPI (the Committee Abroad) please write to any of the following addresses:

■ BM BOX 3004,
LONDON WC1N 3XX,
ENGLAND

■ O.I.S., BOX 50040,
104 05 STOCKHOLM,
SWEDEN

THE KOMALA REPRESENTATIVE BUREAU ABROAD MAY BE CONTACTED AT THE FOLLOWING ADDRESS:

XROSOS
B.P. 95 93800
EPINAY SUR SEINE
FRANCE

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From p.22

struggles to dispersion and compromise. The concessions of the kind which Lord Joe Gormley, Lord Len Murray, Sir Bill Sirs and Frank Chapel have received from the British aristocracy, in return for their anti-working class services, are too mouth-watering to be forgotten by most of the present leaders of the unions. Those rank-and-file printworkers who, against the present leadership, have put up the following demands for the organisation and leadership of their struggle are quite justified in so doing:

- * Regular mass meetings to place demands on leadership.
- * The right to elect a strike committee that is accountable to strikers.
- * That we build and organise mass pickets with a direct appeal to the trade-union movement.
- * The leadership reaffirms that we want **JOBS NOT COMPENSATION!**

Furthermore, we suggest that like the Polish workers (during their struggles in 1980-81 against the Polish state) you demand that the negotiations between your leaders and representatives and the employers and the state be carried out publicly. This demand will put the leaders' acts and measures to the conscious judgement of all workers. The general unity of the support groups and the formation of the "Union of Printworkers Support Groups" is a very positive experience and action on your part in the struggle. If these support groups participate and have the right to intervene in the decision making of the strike itself, your organisation and struggle will acquire much greater unity and strength. You are not alone in this struggle. The workers' struggles in most other countries of Europe and the world are your support in this struggle. The Iranian workers (who are deprived of any social or unemployment benefit and even of the right

to have unions and organisations), facing the terrible nightmare of unemployment and poverty, are engaged in a bloody battle, under the hardest conditions, against the Islamic Republic and capitalists.

For our part we are trying to help bring about a conscious unity between these dispersed struggles of the workers in Iran and the other countries of the world and aid the building of a real workers' and communist international organisation. From the very beginning we have covered the news of your struggles in our publications and made them known to the Iranian workers through our radios (stationed in Kurdistan-western Iran and safeguarded by the armed forces of our party). Moreover, our members and supporters abroad try to convey the news of your struggles to the left, progressive and workers' currents and individuals of the respective countries. Some of our comrades are participating in your support groups and make efforts to give whatever help they can to the advancement of this struggle. The pages of our publications, and our radio transmitters are available to convey the news of the struggle that you wish to be heard, to the workers in Iran and the Middle-Eastern region. Also our comrades abroad will willingly distribute the news that you want, in the local languages of several countries.

Besides the publication of the news of your struggle we shall be happy to help you, as far as possible, in any other way which you expect of us.

VICTORY TO THE PRINTWORKERS' STRUGGLES IN BRITAIN!

Copy to: "Union of Printworkers Support Groups"

Communist Party of Iran - the Committee Abroad
8/7/86



Late night on the highway at Wapping: police harass demonstrating workers.

From p.14

of the Kurdish people depends on the existence and extension of a strong communist organisation. Hence the Congress once again laid stress on extending the party organisation among the workers of Kurdistan and on consolidating and expanding the gains of the Communist Party, achieved so far, in the sphere of organisational problems, and also on planned activity, commitment to principles and increasing inner-organisational education.

The last point on the agenda of the Congress was the determination of the numbers and the election of the members of the central committee and its alternate-members, during which 12 comrades were elected as members of the central committee and 3 comrades as its alternate-members.

The Congress instructed the central committee of Komala to publish the essence of the discussions and the results of the Congress*.

Fifth Congress of the Kurdistan Organisation
of the Communist Party of Iran-Komala

*A summary of these discussions was published in May 86 in Farsi.

MESSAGE TO THE NEWS INTERNATIONAL PRINTWORKERS !

The following is a reprint of the message recently sent by the CPI-the Committee Abroad to the striking News International printworkers in Britain - B.M.

Comrade Printworkers!

More than five months have passed since the start of your struggles against the expulsion of 6000 workers of the News International. Five months during which the Thatcher's government has not ceased for a moment to utilise the force of the police, the law, the courts, prisons and the media in defending the capitalist Murdoch in firing you and adding to the profit of his capital. At the same time, during this period, with a consistency and bravery befitting our class, you have stood up and fought against these attacks and for achieving your rights.

Your expulsion is not the only, and not the first, attack by the capitalists and their states on the working class in this period of world crisis. In Britain itself the mass expulsion of steelworkers in 1980 and 1981, the closure of the coal mines and sacking of thousands of mineworkers after a year of their historical struggle, and the restriction of union rights and the right to picket and strike are only examples of this series of attacks. Throughout the world, in USA, France and many other countries, the capitalists and their states in the name of rationalisation, reindustrialisation and the flexibility of the work contract, have resorted to the mass expulsion of the workers, the lowering of their living standards and trampling on their democratic rights. In Iran unemployment, poverty and hunger and war and massacre run amok, and the workers are faced everyday with new attacks by the capitalists and their Islamic state.

The capitalists and their states pretend that this miserable state of affairs, the mass unemployment and destitution of workers is an accidental and technical matter and that the existence of crisis has no connection with the capitalist system. But we know that the same situation existed before the first and second world wars too. This situation is the result of the cyclical crises of the capitalist system which grip the workers and humanity once every several decades, each time more ruinously and devastatingly than the one before.

Everyone knows that you printworkers who are the publishers of consciousness and knowledge have no opposition to new technology but want the employment of new technology to lead not to the unemployment and destitution of workers but to the reduction of the working hours without cuts in wages, and to an increase in the general welfare of humanity. In contrast, Murdoch and his class brothers, whose *raison d'être* is the production of ever greater profits, have employed the new technology for the profitability of

capital and the unemployment of workers. This is the logic of the capitalists.

After over a hundred years of struggle, we workers know that the elimination of all these hardships of capitalism is possible only by the destruction of this system and the setting up of workers' state and socialism. But we cannot wait until the final battle, you have correctly and with full legitimacy stood up against this new wave of expulsion.

Your demand for employment, for jobs, is the most dignified and respectable demand of creative human beings. You do not want to be the parasites of society and a burden on others like Murdoch, Thatcher and all those belonging to their class. You are rightfully struggling for this demand. At the same time we must bear in mind that however consistent we may be in the fight to save jobs within this system, at the end of the day, many workers, including the printworkers, will become (or are already) unemployed. Everyone of you certainly know among your families, relatives or friends, of people who once worked in the steel industry, ship-building, etc., and who are now in the ranks of the millions of unemployed. They too fought for keeping their jobs, but in the end many of them were made unemployed. They received some compensation money, with which they managed to make ends meet for one or two years, but now this has dried up and they are in the dole queues. You correctly state that what you want is not more compensation money but the right to work and keep your jobs. With due respects to your own experience, let us suggest that you add to this logical demand of yours the demand for an unemployment benefit equivalent to the average wage of an employed worker, for all the unemployed, including those comrades among your own ranks who may possibly lose their jobs. And finally, against this anti-human logic of capitalists such as Murdoch who have turned advanced technology into a menace to our lives, you can put forward the demand for a 35-hour week without cuts in wages, just like the German and Danish workers.

You who are shouldering the prideful banner of the struggle of the steel-workers, miners, and the Forge Master and Silentnight workers, by putting forward these demands can arouse the active solidarity and support of the workers of other industries and the unemployed workers. Then they will look at such demands and such a just struggle not as your struggle but as their own. Putting forward such demands would prevent the present leadership of the strike and other unions to present your struggle as confined to a specific trade and thereby isolate it and draw it to defeat.

We are aware of the compromises and betrayals by a great many leaders of your unions. It seems that their job is basically to lead the workers'

See p.21

FREEDOM, EQUALITY, WORKERS' STATE !