



BOLSHEVIK MESSAGE

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Supporters of the Communist Party of Iran – abroad

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The Manifesto of the Constituent Congress of the Communist Party of Iran

One hundred and thirty five years ago, the Communist Manifesto, this first programme of the communist party of the world working class, declared the beginning of the epoch of the destruction of capitalism, and called on the working class to perform its historic role of emancipating itself and the whole humanity from all the miseries, hardships and oppressions which are the integral parts of a society based on wage slavery. The communist Manifesto exposed and condemned capitalism as the origin and the cause of survival of all the material and moral hardships and deprivations of the workers and the toiling and poor masses, as the cause of poverty, destitution, homelessness and war, social discriminations and political lack of rights, women's oppression, ignorance, superstitions, and prostitution, and all the hardships befalling the masses. The Communist Manifesto set the act of emancipation as the task of the workers, and declared the workers as the powerful advance-guard of the act of emancipation, and for the foundation of a new society and world, free of class exploitation and oppression, it called the world proletariat to international unity and to the accomplishment of the communist revolution. The Communist Manifesto assigned the conscious proletariat and communists to form the independent political party of the working class, the communist party, for the realisation of the communist revolution.

In the course of the last one hundred and thirty years, the various sections of the world working class, more than ever before, have entered the arena of the class struggle under the banner of communism. In the course of decades, communists and revolutionary communist parties repeatedly took the lead of immense workers' and emancipation revolutions and movements, and united, organised and led millions of workers and toilers in the various fronts of class and revolutionary battles in different countries. The great October Revolution under the leadership of Lenin and the Bolshevik party, a revolution which instilled the love and faith for communism and the communist party in the hearts of hundreds of millions of workers throughout the world, was the evidence of the legitimacy and truthfulness of the principles of the Communist Manifesto about the vital and irrefutable need of the working class for its independent class party. The October Revolution also proved the immense, immortal, and revolutionizing power of the working class, once it eliminates dissension and illusions in its ranks and becomes united around its communist party.

After decades of dissension and disunity in the working-class movement of Iran, the Communist Party of Iran has now been formed to realise the perspective which Marx, Engels, and Lenin have placed before the world proletariat. The Communist Party of Iran is fighting for the same aim for which the revolutionary communists throughout the world have been resolutely fighting since the time of the Communist Manifesto up to now. The Communist Party of Iran is a battalion of the world army of the working class which has set its aim and cause the victory of the social revolution of the proletariat and the formation of the new socialist society.



ANNOUNCEMENT

With the formation of the Communist Party of Iran, the Bolshevik Message, previously the paper of the Supporters of the UCM-abroad, will from now on be published as the paper of the Supporters of the Communist Party of Iran-abroad. It should be noted that for the moment, the Bolshevik Message does not necessarily represent the views of all the supporters of the Communist Party of Iran abroad. The supporters of Komala and UCM are now in the process of forming the single organisation of the Supporters of the Communist Party of Iran abroad and will announce its formation in the first opportunity.

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WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE !

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But our party, whether in the course of its formation or with regard to the existing conditions of its struggle, inevitably bears the imprint of the particular situation of today's world. The truth is that in its uninterrupted struggle, the world communist movement has not been following a straight ascending course, without any ups and downs. Communists have had many victories and valuable gains, but have suffered heavy defeats too. The history of the world communist movement, in particular after the October Revolution, expresses this reality that the bourgeoisie has been step by step organising its reactionary endeavour against the communist proletariat, on a world scale. Today throughout the whole capitalist world, all the states, parties, forces, and social and political institutions defending the old order, have united in a single undeclared party against communism. It is decades since in the capitalist world, from the imperialist countries of America and Western Europe to the newly independent colonies of Africa, from Latin America to South East Asia, from the parliamentary societies of Western Europe to the darkest bourgeois dictatorships in Iran, Argentine, South Africa and the Philippines, the bourgeoisie is perfecting and preparing the state instruments of class suppression essentially against communism and the communists. The propaganda of the bourgeoisie against the working class is essentially an anti-communist propaganda; the suppression of communism and the communist parties forms the first article of every anti-working class and anti-democratic law; prisons are essentially built and equipped to enslave communist workers and revolutionaries; torture-chambers and firing squads are set up, above all, to spill the blood of the communists; armies, secret and public spying networks, right-wing terror squads, Black Hundred bands, the official apparatus of religion, and hundreds and thousands of social institutions and establishments defending bourgeois private property, have all been concentrated in order to confront the communists and smash the communist risings of the different sections of the world working class. Today, under the circumstances where the working class is deprived of the means of organisation of its communist struggle on a world scale, i.e., the Communist International, hostility towards communism has become the international platform of unity of the bourgeoisie; and the war machinery of the world bourgeoisie against communism has been organised and set in motion by reliance on the economic support of the capitalism of the imperialist epoch.

But in the final analysis it has not been the suppressive might of the bourgeoisie that has caused the failures in the world movement of the revolutionary proletariat, since no force would withstand the united and organised strength of hundreds of millions of class-conscious men and women workers who are the producers of all the wealth and power of the bourgeois society. If today, at the end of the Twentieth Century, the "proletarian revolution of the Nineteenth Century" has not yet triumphed, this has been not because of the submission of the proletariat to the force of the bourgeoisie, but essentially because of the extensive prevalence and domination of bourgeois thoughts, ideas and policies inside the ranks of the proletariat itself; thoughts and policies which harness the proletarian movement from within, sow in it seeds of class conciliation, surrender and dissension, and bar it from turning into an immense and powerful world movement.

In particular during the last few decades, the bourgeoisie has been deceivingly confronting the proletarian movements, more than ever, under the name of Marxism and communism. Revisionism is the sharp weapon of the bourgeoisie against the working class and proletarian revolution of the present century, which not only has enabled the bourgeoisie to metamorphose the October Revolution and lead it to defeat, but every day draws the different sections of the world movement of the working class to submission and surrender to the bourgeoisie. Hence, if one hundred and thirty years ago Marx and Engels raised the banner of the proletarian party and the revolution against capitalism in differentiation with non-proletarian socialism, the communist party in today's world cannot be set up except in differentiation with revisionism, except in differentiation with the bourgeois forces, parties and powers which have deceivingly turned the name of Marxism and communism into a cover for defending the decadent capitalism of the era of imperialism. The communist party of our era can only rise from the heart of the struggle against revisionism, and only in this way, i.e., only through raising the banner of the independent cause, aims, and policies of the proletariat, will it be able to rally millions of the working class masses in its revolutionary and militant rank. If the Communist Manifesto had declared that "the communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas", today, in the era of the prevalence of the most degenerate revisionist ideas, it must be declared that "the communist revolution depends on the formation of such a party which itself is initially born, and develops, on the terrain of radical rupture with the revisionist ideas which are the legacy of the past defeats of the communist movement".

The anti-communist savagery of the bourgeoisie, which today has been organised on a world scale, and the decades of the destructive operation of revisionism and its harmful effects on the workers' and communist movement, confront the communist party of our epoch with particular objective conditions. These conditions necessitate that from the beginning, the communist party stands prepared for the most protracted and bloodiest battles against the rabid and organised bourgeoisie; that it trains and prepares its ranks for struggle and sacrifice under the most arduous conditions of police and military repression and suppression; that it establishes proletarian iron discipline within itself; and that all along it remains the symbol and manifestation of communist purity and steadfastness in ideology and politics, and does not cease for a moment to smash the bourgeois thoughts, ideas and policies in the working-class movement.

The Communist Party of Iran is such a party. This has been clearly proven by the realities of the Iranian revolution in the last five years and by the present characteristics and state of our party.

The Communist Party of Iran has been built in the continuation of the triumphant struggles of revolutionary Marxism against the bourgeois and petty bourgeois illusions and confusions, and the revisionist thoughts which had imbued the left movement of Iran. The revolutionary Marxism in Iran took shape relying on a revolution which was calling the vanguards of the proletariat to the scene of struggle, and in a few years made a critique of the petty bourgeois socialism, claiming to be Marxist, in its methodological, economic, political, and organisational foundations, and firmly raised the independent banner of the communism of Marx, Engels and Lenin. The rapid formation and growth of revolutionary Marxism in Iran was the political and organisational reflection of the objective presence of the Iranian working class in the scene of the revolution; a class which for its advance and emancipation needed its revolutionary theory and advanced political organisation; a class which at the same time with its active presence in the arena of the revolutionary struggle, had provided the material grounds and the favourable conditions for the transformation of this revolutionary theory into a social material force and for the political and organisational reinforcement of its advanced forces and organisations. The Communist Party of Iran is the product of the efforts of communist revolutionaries who fought to rescue

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Marxism from beneath the weight of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois distortions, not only in the ranks of Komala and Unity of Communist Militants, which represented revolutionary Marxism in their official positions, but also inside the organisations of Peykar, Razmandegan, Revolutionary Unity, Revolutionary Struggle, and even the People's Fedaii Guerrillas. The Communist Party of Iran now represents the unity of advanced and conscious currents and forces who in the course of a united and common struggle, found each other and closed their ranks under a single banner. The Communist Party of Iran is the manifestation and representative of the programmatic, political, and organisational independence of the Iranian working class against all the parties and forces of the non-proletarian classes. The Communist Party of Iran is the united camp of all those Marxist-Leninists who have fought for achieving this class independence.

But the revolutionary Marxism of Iran has not been a theoretical movement alone; the Communist Party of Iran has been built in the continuation of the path of communist revolutionaries, and now includes those forces, who have had and have on their agenda the organisation and leadership of an immense living revolution. If the absence of an independent proletarian party prevented the categoric victory of the Iranian revolution, the growth and deepening of the proletarian and revolutionary movement against the most violent and extensive offensive of the bourgeoisie, owes itself to the activity of the revolutionary Marxists, which the Communist Party of Iran includes and is the representative of. From the beginning of the 1978/79 revolution up to now, the revolutionary Marxist forces, despite all the historical limitations which were restricting and conditioning their struggle, have resolutely withstood the onslaught of the bourgeoisie on the workers' and revolutionary movement and the democratic gains of the February 1979 Uprising. Our Party is the Party of Communist revolutionaries who did not fear and lose heart at the savagery of the bourgeoisie and the wavering and vacillation of the petty-bourgeois socialist forces, and everywhere, in the factories and workers' areas and assemblies, in mass strikes, demonstrations and sit-ins, in the revolutionary war of Kurdish people, and even in prisons and torture-chambers, and before the firing squads, were the propagandists and defenders of the independent interests of the proletariat, with firmness and an indestructible faith. The revolutionary Marxist forces who today make up the ranks of the Communist Party of Iran, are forces who did not succumb to the atmosphere of fear, passivism and apostasy ensuing from the black terror after 20th June 1981, and against all the disbeliefs, waverings, distortions and cries of despair of the defeated petty bourgeoisie, by a new determination and on the basis of the profound critique of petty bourgeois practical methods, set out to re-organise the communist movement, intensified their revolutionary war against the Islamic Republic at the head of workers and toiling masses in Kurdistan, did not stop for a moment from the struggle for building the Communist Party of Iran, and eventually in revolutionary Kurdistan, in the heart of the land which they themselves have freed and safeguard, relying on the strength of the masses and in their forefronts, founded the Communist Party of Iran. Our Party is the Party of forces who whether when the currents of the petty-bourgeois opposition such as the Mojahedin and Fedaiien were calling the masses to the defence of the Islamic Republic, or when the savagery of the bourgeoisie had drawn these currents to anarchism, liberalism and passivism, firmly and steadfastly followed independent proletarian policies and slogans and endeavoured for the organisation and leadership of the independent rank of the working class in the various arenas of the revolutionary struggle as far as giving their lives. The Communist Party of Iran is the Party of the staunchest, most untiring and most devoted communist workers and militants of Iran. The Communist Party of Iran is the valuable gain of the Iranian revolution which no force can take back.

But firmness in the ideological and political clarity, in the organisational power and strength, and in the mass influence of our Party, today, is only a favourable starting point for accomplishing the paramount and historical tasks that it has set itself. The Communist Party of Iran can and must become the mass party of the Iranian workers. Our Party can and must put an end, once and for all, to the sole domination of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois forces in the political scene of Iran and make the Iranian working class the powerful claimant of political power in the country. Our Party can and must be, at the head of millions of workers and toilers, the advocate and vanguard of the immense social revolution, which the complete destruction and annihilation of the putrid regime of the Islamic Republic and the establishment of the revolutionary democratic republic would be the most primary and elementary achievements of. Our Party can and must, relying on the strength of the revolutionary proletariat of Iran and shoulder to shoulder with the different sections of the world working class, in the context of the daily increasing bankruptcy and disintegration of revisionism throughout the world and the fatal economic crisis that has embodied the world of capitalism, set up the militant headquarters of the world working class, the new Communist International.

Our movement has travelled a difficult road, full of ups and downs; the road of the future is by far longer and arduous. The obstacles are many and huge, but the final victory of the Communist Party of Iran is inevitable.

We call on all the communists and conscious workers of Iran to join the ranks of this Party and struggle to accomplish its historical and proudful tasks.

L O N G L I V E T H E C O M M U N I S T P A R T Y O F I R A N !

L O N G L I V E S O C I A L I S M !

The Constituent Congress of the Communist Party of Iran

2nd September 1983

Long Live the Communist Party of Iran!

An interview with comrade F. Partow (part two)

This is the second and final part of the interview carried out recently by the Bolshevik Message with comrade F. Partow. It should be noted that this interview was completed before the recent formation of the Communist Party of Iran and therefore contains references to the future formation of the Party. This and similar points in the text must therefore be considered in the light of the above information.

BM: What is the place and importance of the Kurdish movement in the Iranian revolution and its role in building the Communist Party of Iran?

Comrade Partow: Earlier I talked of the polarisation of the national movement in Kurdistan. At present two different programmes for this movement, two forms of self-determination, which are represented by two influential organisations in the Kurdish national movement, have been put before this movement.

The first programme which in the final analysis wants to bring about some changes in the legal and bureaucratic relationships between the autonomous government of Kurdistan and the central government, is a liberal programme which has been put forward by the Kurdistan Democratic Party. This party has repeatedly displayed its compromising and inconsistent character on the specific question of self-determination, as well as its anti-democratic character.

The second programme is the Programme of Komala for the Autonomy of Kurdistan. This programme which is based on the voluntary union of nations, has put forward certain demands, in the context of the struggle for self-determination, all of which are based on the Programme of the Communist Party. The Programme of Komala for Autonomy stands for soviet democracy, universal arming, unconditional political freedoms, equality of men and women, the separation of religion from the state, the most advanced welfare demands for workers and toilers, and many other democratic demands.

I should draw your attention to two points. Firstly, this programme is not a theoretical document, but the programme of a mass organisation for this movement. Relying on this programme, Komala is today participating in the Kurdish national movement, and to the extent that it has been able to insist on this programme, in opposition to the programme of the KDP, it has attracted the revolutionary elements in the Kurdish movement towards itself. Secondly, as a mass movement, the Kurdish national movement has its own peculiarities for victory. Though it is true that the escalation of the general movement in Iran, will provide very favourable conditions for the victory of this democratic movement, but this movement can reach its aim, i.e., self-determination, without the Islamic Republic regime having been overthrown in a revolutionary way - this being, of course, the precondition for the victory of every really democratic and mass general movement. The self-determination of the Kurdish nation, in whatever form and based on whatever programme, is dependent on the defeat and withdrawal from the Kurdish regions, of all the suppressive forces of the Islamic Republic or any other bourgeois state. The defeat of these forces, based on mass organisation and mobilization in the Kurdish regions, and the achievement of a particular balance between the military forces of the two sides is quite possible. I stress that it is possible, not that it is certain or the best situation. In the first step, the defeat of the suppressive forces of the Islamic Republic in Kurdistan, will create very favourable conditions for the escalation of the general movement in Iran, from the standpoint of political, military, and propaganda balance. In the second step, the acceptance of the Programme of Komala for the Autonomy of Kurdistan, as the best form of self-

determination, by the people of Kurdistan, will create a new balance of class forces between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in Iran, in the region, and hence in the world. A really revolutionary and a really democratic Kurdistan would be the best support for a victorious democratic revolution and for the all-sided class independence of the working class. A revolutionary Kurdistan would be the advocate and symbol of revolutionary democracy led by the communists, and a bastion for material and moral support for the class struggle of the working class. The extensive mobilization of Kurdish workers in party organisations, the existence of party schools, propaganda and agitational organs corresponding to the conditions of today, publications which with the best form of organisation call the working class to socialism, the incomparable increase in the strength of the communists in carrying out their class tasks relying on the democratic atmosphere of Kurdistan in contrast with the oppressive conditions in Iran, ect, ect, are those immediate facilities which are placed in the service of the socialist proletariat. These are not just pleasant, but unrealisable, dreams. The four-year course of the revolutionary struggle in Kurdistan has not only been a practical proof for these aims - who can forget the role of the revolutionary movement of Kurdistan in giving a bitter punishment to Khomeini and Bani Sadr on the morrow of the 19th August 1979? - But this is not all. Today, in the liberated areas of Kurdistan in our mass propaganda, we can present the Marxism of the Manifesto to the workers and toilers of Kurdistan. Today in Kurdistan we organise workers in communist cells. Through our publications and the Radio Voice of the Iranian Revolution, which is broadcast from Kurdistan**, we introduce Marxism to workers and toilers and call on them to get organised in their class organisation. Today the liberated Kurdistan is a base for communist activity throughout Iran. The most important organisational sessions, congresses, conferences, and seminars are held in Kurdistan. The revolutionary Kurdistan is a refuge for communists and revolutionaries who due to blows suffered by their organisations have been forced to leave their arenas of activity. But the range of our activities are not limited to the liberated areas. The Radio Voice of the Iranian Revolution** can be heard in many parts of Iran. Those publications of ours which are published in Kurdistan are not kept in Kurdistan but are sent to the various parts of Iran. You have to also bear in mind that the considerations due to secret work do not allow me to explain the various aspects of our activities in Kurdistan. Today in Kurdistan we are not just fighting, but try to carry out economic, social, political and cultural changes in the lives of Kurdistan's toilers on the basis of the Programme of Komala for the Autonomy of Kurdistan. Today we must organise mass sovereignty in Kurdistan, intervene in the productive relations, improve the techniques of production, organise revolutionary education, try the traitors and criminals, ect. You see that already, in a very limited, but indispensable, way, we are faced with the same questions which will confront the working class on the morrow of the revolution. These matters have not only promoted revolutionary Marxism theoretically, but have allowed our movement to have, as well as military commanders, also prominent agitators, propagandists, and organisers. →*

** On this day Khomeini appointed himself the Supreme Command of the armed forces and ordered a full-scale offensive against Kurdistan -BM.*

*** And now also the Radio Voice of the Communist Party of Iran, which was set up after the formation of the Communist Party on 2nd September 1983 -BM.*

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As you can see, for us it is not a child's dream that instead of our present small transmitter the large transmitter of Mahabad and Sanandaj falls into the hands of the working class; that the proletariat makes use of the television; that the party publications are published not by elementary instruments but by the most advanced techniques; that the revolutionary soviets embrace not a small area but millions of masses; that instead of the present armed organisation which is directly in the service of the working class, millions of Kurdish toilers become armed; that ... No, these are not dreams, but realisable aims. But, these are not ripe fruits ready to be picked. Their achievement depends on supporting the revolutionary movement in Kurdistan and the representatives of the workers in this movement, i.e., Komala, and also active participation in this movement. The victory is not certain but is possible. In my view, it is the internationalist task of all communists throughout the world to support this movement and Komala, in exactly the same way as Komala leads this movement from an internationalist standpoint.

BM: But internationally, the democratic movements such as the revolutionary movement in Kurdistan have not received the active and principled support of the communists. Could you tell us your views about this attitude?

Comrade Partow: The problem of the comrades is understandable. The examples of China, Albania, Vietnam and many other movements demonstrate that the participation of the communists in the democratic movements has led not to the communists putting their imprint on these movements, but these movements - which are essentially bourgeois-democratic - putting their imprint on the communists and their parties. The participation of the communists in the democratic movements has practically resulted in these parties turning their backs against proletarian internationalism; has resulted in the uninterrupted revolution being put aside and the "people's democratic republic", or whatever name that is given to a bourgeois republic, taking the place of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It has resulted in the contradictions inside the people - the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie - being regarded as non-antagonistic; and state-capitalism being presented as socialism, and so on. Should we therefore conclude that the active participation of the communists in these movements and their endeavour for leading them is wrong?

So far as it concerns the teachings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, the answer to this question is negative. They have written heaps of material to prove that the proletariat is the advanced fighter of democracy; that without democracy, transition to socialism is impossible; that democracy necessitates the destruction of the bureaucratic-military machinery; that the bourgeoisie is no longer the advocate of democracy; and that the working class must endeavour, at the head of all the oppressed, for a mass revolution and for achieving democracy as the pre-condition of transition to socialism. The idea of the hegemony of the proletariat in the democratic revolution and in all the democratic movements is one of the greatest teachings of Lenin. We have included this principle in our programme and defend it.

If any comrades are opposed to these teachings they must say so clearly. They must show where the mistake of the Bolsheviks and Lenin lies. Or the comrades may show by their assessment of the balance of class forces at the international level that if for example the idea of the hegemony of the proletariat in the democratic revolution was valid at the beginning of the Twentieth Century, now it is no longer valid. No doubt we will welcome such discussions. Marxism is not a dogma for us, and Lenin not an idol. But we expect the comrades

5 to understand our situation. Democratic movements and the Kurdish movement are not the products of our imagination. We have not labelled the polite nagging and oppositions of the bourgeois as a democratic movement. The national movement of Kurdistan is a revolutionary and mass movement in which the workers and toilers of Kurdistan have a determining role. This demands that communists put forward clear and realisable tactical guidelines, and our expectations are that our comrades positively suggest tactical guidelines to us.

But are we not closing our eyes to the defeated experiences of the past, by emphasising the place of the democratic movements, the democratic revolution and the role of the proletariat and communists in them? No, we are not. Not only have we not overlooked these experiences, but the study and critique of these experiences and the parties involved in them have made us more committed in defending Lenin's viewpoint.

In my view, the opportunism of the above-mentioned parties did not start with their participation in the democratic movements. These parties were either directly under the supervision of the Comintern, or, after the defeat of the Comintern, they were the inheritors and carriers of the traditions of the Comintern. But except for a short period at the beginning of its formation, the Comintern defended an opportunist policy throughout the world, and these parties were in the first place influenced by this international opportunism and not by the democratic movements [in which they were participating]. Overlooking this fact, criticizing participation in these movements instead of the policy which the Comintern-affiliated parties followed in these movements, condones the Comintern and, at best, makes a critique of a local opportunism instead of an international opportunism. The critique of the mere participation of the communists in the democratic movements and endeavour to take their leadership, which is a Leninist position, implicitly forgives the anti-Leninist position of the Comintern.

But issuing the verdict of non-participation of the communists in the democratic movements, is not the proletarian alternative to the opportunist policy of the Comintern. National-revolutionary movements confronted the Comintern as a reality. On the basis of Lenin's theory of imperialism, these movements are inevitable and their persistence in the whole of the Twentieth Century is expressive of the correctness of Lenin's theory. The existence of many mass movements with democratic demands, indicates that these movements are not based on illusions; that the lack of political and civil rights, women's oppression, national oppression, religious oppression, and the most savage dictatorships, are the realities of these societies; that masses in large numbers, including the workers, rise to struggle against these oppressions. To understand these realities it is enough to leave aside the parliamentary apathy of Europe, study these movements as they really are, and once again acquire the scientific theory of the objective necessity of these movements as seen by Lenin.

Now the question is posed in this way: with respect to the fact that workers and toilers have an active role in these movements and in many cases are the determining forces of these movements, should the greatest efforts be made in order to gain the hegemony in these movements and thus overcome the half-heartedness and treachery of the liberal bourgeoisie and lead these movements to victory, or, by refusing to participate in these movements, to let the strength of the workers become props in the hands of the bourgeoisie? (Do we need to repeat these ABC?)

If we do not take part in these movements as a communist organisation and a communist party and do not try to achieve their leadership, keeping our hands well off the ground lest they become soiled with the dirt of

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For the Revolutionary Democratic Republic of Iran !

POLAND - 35 years of workers' struggles (1)

When, on 16th June 1983, the Pope stepped off his plane in the Warsaw military airport, Professor Jablonski, the Head of the Polish State told him:

"Your visit to Poland is indicative of the greater normalization of the situation in the country ... this visit will be an opportunity for giving unity to the nation on the most important problems."

(Le Monde, 18th June 1983)

This scene has all the components to which the bourgeoisie is today resorting more than anything else throughout the world: the army and suppression; religion and mystification; "normalisation" of the situation, and the sacred national unity in whose shelter the wheels of exploitation and accumulation of capital would turn once again, under favourable conditions. For anyone who is witnessing these days how even the French bourgeoisie is pleading for help from the Church and how Mitterand talks to the Pope about "international affairs" and flatters him by saying that "you are the Apostle of great ideals", the warm welcome that the "socialist" Polish state prepared for the Pope is not surprising at all. And one who remembers how only a few years ago 4 million people came out to welcome Khomeini and now the same people are eagerly demanding his overthrow and the Islamic regime which he brought forth, does not seek to find strange reasons to explain the welcoming of the Pope by the Polish people, and unlike bourgeois intellectuals - who yesterday presented the Iranian revolution as the "revival of Islam", the "Shi'ite Movement" and so on, and today are looking in the Polish history for the reasons for the "deep" Catholicism of the Polish people - does not create confusion in people's minds.

The reasons for this reality must be sought, simply, in the ever greater intensification of the class struggle and the different forms which these struggles assume. Today, it is clear that at the present juncture, the army has been chosen as the most suitable force for the solution of capital's difficulties in Poland. The Church and the syndicalist-reformist leaders of the Solidarity have on the one hand accepted this solution and are themselves practically helping to consolidate and preserve the status quo by endeavouring to impose their ideological-political framework on the Polish workers' movement and by curtailing it to a "rational" level, and on the other hand, exist as an "alternative" reserve force which, in the event that the revolutionary workers' movement steps beyond this "rational" level, and re-escalates, would remind the movement of the utmost limit it should reach - as they did so during the last few months before the military coup d'etat. An utmost limit which was in fact reflected in the programme of the First Congress of the Solidarity.

Whilst it is true that so far, from the analytical point of view, what has happened and is happening in Poland - whether from the standpoint of tactics of suppression and mystification or from the viewpoint of the alignment of the forces within the bourgeoisie or dependent on it - is the repetition of the antiquated drama, performed tens and hundreds of times already,⁽¹⁾ but it must be said of the present struggles of the proletariat in Poland that it is carried out in a new set of conditions. The workers' movement in Poland is obeying the laws which distinguish the present struggles of the proletariat throughout the world from the previous decades. At the same time the workers' movement in Poland is a living manifestation of the actualization of these laws and the existing tendency.

The birth of Solidarity as a trade association of workers, with partly political demands, and its later practical transformation into an alternative for political power (ideologically, programmatically and politico-organisationally) against the "Polish United

Workers' Party" indicates the beginning of a new period in the struggles of the Polish proletariat. Following almost thirty years of workers' struggles in Poland whose main characteristic had been their trust in the ruling party and its solutions for the realization of "socialism", now the Polish workers are widely supporting and joining a force which declares itself as inspired by the "moral values of Christianity", "national traditions", "workers' (trade) and democratic traditions", and the Pope John Paul II's "Treatise on the man's labour", and puts its "self-management republic"⁽²⁾ before "the People's Republic of Poland", i.e., a so-called "socialist" state. Irrespective of how much this force met or is meeting the real needs of the Polish proletariat - a matter which we shall deal with later - it clearly illustrated the complete break of the Polish workers from the policies which the ruling Party presented as "socialism" and "internationalism". The multi-million membership of the Polish workers in the Solidarity displays most saliently the depth of the practical deadend of the ideology and politics of the bourgeoisie ruling over Poland, and declares the beginning of a new period in the ideological, political, and fighting life of the Polish proletariat. A new period whose profound understanding is not possible without considering all-sidedly the present objective and subjective conditions of the struggle of the proletariat throughout the world.

After about a quarter of a century of economic boom and golden accumulation of capital, which itself was the result of the re-division of the world after WWII the increase in the export of capital and the exploitation of cheap labour-power in the dominated countries, and the Post-War reconstruction, etc., and after years of the indisputable rule of reformism and in particular revisionism in its different forms, the world of capital has now been faced with one of its most profound, extensive, and prolonged crises. A crisis which has led revisionism, which has acted as one of the major reasons for the lack of the direct presence of the working class in the political arena, into an ineluctable deadend. The coming to power of "Communist" and "Socialist" parties in France, Spain, Greece, ... and their austerity plans against the workers, the closer alignment of China and US imperialism, the collusion of the pro-Russian Tudeh Party with one of the bloodiest bourgeois regimes of the world for suppressing the Iranian workers and communists, the absolute intrinsic impotence of the guerrilla warfare in mobilising workers and toilers, particularly in the Latin America, and the transformation of their



POLISH STATE AND CHURCH WATCH OVER THE WORKERS

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representatives into the executives of the capitalist system wherever they have seized the power as exemplified by such instances as Cuba, Angola, Nicaragua etc., all are examples of the practical deadend of the different forms of revisionism. And what is happening in Poland, which is clearly demonstrating the political-class demise of "Russian" revisionism, is of great significance for Marxists. No more "Marxist" reasonings can now make the workers, who have risen everywhere in the world to break their chains of slavery, to support the camp of "socialism", to refrain from the class struggle, or to accept that what is happening in the Eastern bloc is socialism or socialism with "slight deviations"!

Yes! a new period has started in the struggles of the world working class. "The fate of this period is not known for certain. But this period is a new and different period. Because, relations, categories, organisations, and individuals, and so on, all must define their movement, obtain their places, and be re-defined, on the basis of different and new laws of movement."⁽³⁾

It is for the better recognition and understanding of the characteristics of this period that the Marxist appraisal of the struggles of the proletariat in an arena such as Poland becomes necessary. But this in turn is impossible without examining the recent thirty years of the struggles of the Polish workers and their course of development.

The post-War struggles of the Polish workers up to now can be divided into three periods:

Up to '56 - The formation and establishment of the rule of the new representatives of the bourgeoisie - The 'Communist Party' - and the trust of the Polish workers in the ideology and policies of the ruling Party;

From '56 to '76 - The process of consolidation of the new period; the gradual break of the proletariat from the ideology and policy of the ruling Party and the growth of a tendency among the Polish workers for another alternative; the development of favourable conditions for the formation of another non-proletarian alternative;

From 1976 ... The complete break of the workers from the existing relations, in all their aspects (ideological, political, etc ...) and the beginning of the process of awakening of the Polish working class.

from P.11

not yield any profit unless their capital is set in motion by the labour-power. But the Chinese bourgeoisie has worked it out all too well. The official newspapers in China have recently waged a propaganda campaign to make the exploitation of the labour-power of the dispossessed rural proletarians as something natural and socially acceptable. The Chinese bourgeoisie, at the time of Mao, preached class conciliation between the "national" bourgeoisie and the proletariat using "Marxist" terminology, and now there

from P.12

people were killed and 3 houses damaged. The people of the area protested against this massacre, but in return the regime's forces answered: "whenever the Peshmargas attack the state forces near this village, we will bombard your village".

HEAVY BATTLE GOES ON IN THE NORTH OF KURDISTAN

On 7th September 1983 the Islamic regime's forces attacked several villages in "Anzal" near the "Urumia-Salmas" road and stationed themselves in the heights which gave them control of the villages of "Kooreh" and "Meskineh". Komala Peshmargas confronted the regime's forces and a heavy long battle took place. Peshmargas forced the enemy forces to retreat. ■

7 THE FIRST PERIOD:

The stratification of the means of production and the post-War accelerated industrial construction, led to great changes in capitalism in Poland. In 1938, the percentage of population who earned income as wage-labourers (excluding the agricultural sector) was 18.2% which reached 35.9% in 1949. By 1955 the volume of industrial production was 5 times greater than the pre-War period and in 1946 the value of the products of the state and cooperative industries became 83% of the total industrial and craftwork output. This level was to go up even further, according to the plans for the following years.

Moreover, a collection of new individuals had been created who within the existing relations would perform a new function in production: the managers and state bureaucrats.

The aim governing these changes was the foundation of industry and the extension of state capitalism.

These developments gave more complexity to the "new" relations, not only because they had been veiled with a new form of ownership and mode of economic organisation (centralized state planning) but because they were presented in the name of "socialism", and explained and justified themselves through it. "New" relations which the Polish workers' movement had to recognise and see behind all covers in order to change them.

Behzad

To be continued

NOTES

- 1- It is evident that in order to advance the political struggle of the proletariat, the role and operations of the different pawns and tactics of the bourgeoisie must be carefully examined in each concrete case. Later, we shall explain more fully the role of the Church and the Solidarity.
- 2- The programme adopted by the First National Congress of the Solidarity.
- 3- The concluding speech of comrade *Mansoor Hekmat* at the First Congress of the UCM.

is no reason why it should not be able, under the auspices of Chairman Teng Ziao Ping, to put on "Marxist" clothing once again and sanctify the purchase of labour-power and its exploitation by the capitalists. They have even discovered a term to do all that. The whole process of exploitation of the rural proletariat is described by the Chinese official press as one where peasant households "entrust their land for others to farm"! Another rustic attempt by the Chinese bourgeoisie to disguise the dirty face of capitalism in China. ■

We, the SCPI-abroad, take full responsibility for all the translations, articles, news, etc., in the Bolshevik Message.

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LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM !

from P. 5

the democratic movement, we may remain a virgin organisation which continuously boasts about its theoretical virginity and the absence of opportunism in its weak ranks, but this has nothing to do with the working class. In that case the workers have been placed under the leadership of the bourgeoisie and have tail-ended it. And those who pride themselves of their virginity are not political parties but word-monger circles. If we want to be communist, i.e., if we want to be the organ of the political leadership of the working class and not a literary circle, which is investigating about the ideal conditions of an ideal movement of the proletariat for socialism, then we must lead the working class which is extensively involved in these democratic movements, and by securing the hegemony of the proletariat over these movements, by realising a consistent democracy, prepare the most favourable real conditions for advancing towards the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must defend the Leninist position in the democratic revolution against the opportunism of the Comintern, the Popular Fronts, and the Anti-Fascist Fronts, etc.

But there is no doubt that we are not thus entering a battle in which our victory is assured. It is possible for our party to be influenced by the narrow-mindedness of these movements; it is possible that we will lapse into nationalism and opportunism. Very well, if we have no self-confidence, if the first confrontations with the bourgeoisie frighten us, if we are such a weak party that the potential danger of lapsing into opportunism has made us passive, we must say this loud and clearly, and instead of theorizing passivism, overcome these weaknesses. Such a party, a party which under the pretext of the danger of infiltration of the bourgeoisie in its ranks and of lapsing into opportunism, refuses to participate in these movements, must not claim that it is leading the working class for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the setting up of socialism, when the resistance of the bourgeoisie has become ten-fold. I believe that refraining from the proletarian support and leadership of the democratic movements under the pretext that the communist party will be in danger of losing its class independence, and thus leaving the proletariat in the hands of the bourgeoisie without any struggle, is, from the practical standpoint, as opportunist as the policy of the Comintern which with its "Popular Fronts" sent the proletariat behind the bourgeoisie.

You see, I am not denying this danger; the danger of lapsing into opportunism exists for us or any organisation which wants to lead a real mass movement. And the way to avoid this danger is to admit its existence, preserve permanent vigilance and endeavour continuously to purge the ranks of the party. We, for our part, have fought against such tendencies in our ranks and our First Congress was an important step in this direction. But we know that attempts to keep the purity of the ranks of the communist party is not a local and national affair. We are internationalists and stand for the formation of the International, the international party of the proletariat. But the absence of such an organisation under the present conditions does not change the international character of our struggle. Thus our hands are sincerely extended towards all our comrades throughout the world and we are ready to discuss all questions related to the world programme and tactics of the proletariat and the questions concerning the programme and tactics of the Iranian proletariat. We are already counting on the positive and effective role of the international communists on the communist movement of Iran and the Communist Party of Iran, and hope that our comrades throughout the world give assistance in every respect to the growth and development of the revolutionary Marxism in Iran. But at the same time we expect our comrades to understand us, and consider our real conditions. We are in a situation where most polemics have an immediate practical meaning for us. Therefore we expect that these comrades talk to us in our own way. If they see any mistakes in our movement, they should criticize these explicitly. But they should not

8 just say what must not be done but should also try to tell us what must be done. I believe this is the most effective way for deepening and developing revolutionary Marxism in Iran as a front of the international class struggle of the working class. This is the internationalist task of all communists throughout the world. Those comrades who in dealing with our urgent tactical problems, despise us, only point out the dangers; instead of productive attitudes towards our programmatic and tactical positions, search microscopically to find nationalist vestiges in our organisations; and instead of supporting the fraternal relationships between us and Komala and our joint efforts to overcome circlism and build the communist party, reproach us; these comrades, regardless of whatever good intentions that they may have, are calling us to pacifism and circlism. Such attitudes do not strengthen revolutionary Marxism, but weaken it. I accept that in introducing the various aspects of revolutionary Marxism in Iran, in particular in introducing Komala as an advanced organisation of revolutionary Marxism, we have not done enough. But fraternal relations require that our comrades in the different countries, ask for more information, documents and literature in the international languages, instead of making judgements on the basis of limited facts.

Let me return to the question of the tasks of the communists in relation to the democratic movements. The refusal of communists to support democratic movements specifically, and the democratic revolution in general, does not merely lead to an isolationist and passive policy.

The communists of the metropolitan countries, the communists of a handful of oppressor nations declare that they do not support national and democratic movements, i.e., movements against despotism and the violation of all democratic rights, including the right of self-determination of nations, i.e., the struggle against the most favourable conditions of imperialist exploitation; that not only do they not support them but consider them reactionary. What does this mean but submission to the imperialist bourgeoisie and lapsing into social-imperialism. Consider the ICC for instance. This is a typical example of a wind-bag, theory-maker, and at the same time, social-imperialist circle. The whole so-called theoretical efforts of this current, from new innovations about imperialism, which are only the repetition of very old absurdities, to discussions about the geography of the proletarian revolution in the present conditions, which is the explicit reflection of imperialist chauvinism and boasting about the progress of the West and the backwardness of the East, are only the embellishing of imperialism and covering up its contradictions. For example, the ICC considers the revolutionary movement in Kurdistan an imperialist war. Does not the ICC know that only the most reactionary defenders of capitalism, in their most rabid propaganda, say so? Does not the ICC know that not only the liberals but some of the present heads of the Islamic Republic admit that the Kurdish nation is fighting for its rights? Does not the ICC know that the continuation of four years of revolutionary struggle against the most violent of suppressions has today been an expression of non-confidence in and non-submission to the bourgeoisie, and the symbol of resistance against it, not only for the Kurdish workers but for the Persian workers too? It either knows or does not know. This makes no difference in the objective place of the attitude of the ICC towards a revolutionary and just movement, the practical support for which is the permanent task of the communists, i.e., joining the chorus with the most reactionary capitalist organisations in Iran, in the region, and hence the whole world.

I need not stress that I am not calling for the defence of every national movement. Democratic movements, including national movements, can become tools in the hands of compromisers, liberals and other reactionaries. For example, today the KDP has influence in the Kurdish national movement, or the PLO has an important role in the Palestinian national movement. No communist has the right to defend these forces under the pretext of defending the right of nations to self-determination.



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Communists are duty-bound to defend national-revolutionary movements, and the criteria of a national-revolutionary movement are clear. In my view, the proletarian position towards these movements is the unquestionable defence of the right of self-determination, support for the revolutionary leadership of these movements, and the consistent exposure of all the compromising and reactionary forces and organisations involved in these movements. From this same position, I consider the support of all communists for the revolutionary movement in Kurdistan and its revolutionary representative, Komala, as an unbreachable duty.

BM: What is the significance and role of the Communist Party of Iran in the international movement of the working class? And also, what are the key questions on which the formation of a new Leninist international depends?

Comrade Partow: Of course, one cannot talk at length about the significance of a party which has not yet been formed. Once the party is formed, once it has fulfilled its international duties, only then, and if it is necessary, must one talk about the significance of our party. Obviously it does not mean that we have no conception of the international position of the move we are making and of the tasks which our commitment to the Communist Manifesto assigns us.

We are internationalists and consider Iran as only one of the fronts of the class struggle of the world working class. We also believe that the Iranian proletariat is a battalion of the world army of labour. But the Iranian working class is not just an ordinary battalion. The Swiss, Swedish, and Bhutan's proletariats too are battalions of the world army of the working class. The significant point about the Iranian working class is that due to a set of economic, social and political conditions, it is nearer to the conquest of political power. This point alone is sufficient to draw the attention of the communists to Iran. But at the same time one must note that Iran is not Iceland, Seychelles or New Zealand. The Middle-East today is the focus of the most acute imperialist confrontations. Moreover, Iran has hundreds of Kilometers of common border with a powerful imperialist state - Russia. This strategical position of Iran, whilst showing the difficulties of the struggle which the Iranian proletariat has before itself, is also indicative of the significance of that struggle. Therefore, the establishment of a workers' government in Iran will have a determining effect on the balance of class forces at the international level.

On the role that the Communist Party of Iran can play in the growth and consolidation of revolutionary Marxism, I should point out that this party is being formed in the context of four years of acute class struggles. Four years, each of which, as Marx says, teaches the working class as much as twenty years. During these four years, the Iranian proletariat has been able to test the real nature of all the major classes and parties, the relations between the interests of these classes, their ultimate and immediate aims, and their methods of practice. The Iranian working class has left behind an insurrection and has confronted the different diversities of the class struggle: open struggle, secret struggle, peaceful struggle, war of resistance, parliament, the reactionary Iran-Iraq war, the transformation of the semi-democratic conditions into repression and so on; and along this path it has gained valuable experiences.

But these experiences have been gained at the cost of many mistakes and the lives of thousands of workers' leaders and communist revolutionaries. Our internationalist task obliges us to prevent the working class of other countries from going through this bloody and painful course. Revolutionary Marxism in Iran has paved the last four years with militancy. We have developed in opposition to the different forms of revisionism and opportunism, and have gained many achievements on this path. Our internationalist task obliges us to present these gains to the world working class.

9 The obstacles we have left behind during this period, are the present or even the future obstacles of a vast section of the world proletariat. We must help in the elimination of these obstacles with the least possible casualty. In order to be able to accomplish this aspect of our internationalist tasks in a planned, continual, and disciplined manner, we must form the Communist Party. Conversely our party organisation will enable the Iranian working class to learn the last word of revolutionary Marxism at the world level without itself being compelled to re-discover the discovered in isolation from its other world class detachments.

I will now deal with the second part of your question. We belong to a process of class re-awakening of the working class at the world level. We believe so not because we ourselves have reached certain perceptions and would like to generalize them in an arbitrary fashion, but because the objective world conditions demonstrate the necessity of this process. The crisis of capitalism has been going on for years and there is no sign of its receding. Unemployment, continuous attacks on the living standards of workers, the intensification of political oppression, militarism and the threat of a world war, all demonstrate the various aspects of this crisis. On the other hand, revisionism which is the most important and effective factor in the survival of capitalism in the world has reached its determining dead-lock. The bourgeoisie's abandoning of reformist mystifications, and ever greater recourse to force and suppression against the workers, has driven revisionism to an impasse. Moreover, the open rivalry of Russia for redividing the world, its endeavour to subjugate other weaker nations and the consolidation of the yoke of slavery in the old dominated countries, the intensification of oppression in Russia, and recourse to the most brutal methods to suppress the protest movements in the Eastern bloc, demonstrate the weakening of the ideological influence of the Russian imperialist bourgeoisie on the world proletariat. The Three-Worlds theory and the shameful defence by the Chinese bourgeoisie of the suppression of the protest movements in the imperialist-dominated countries, has abandoned the relative influence of the so-called Mao Tse Tung thought to the archives of history. The booming era of anarchist and Blanckist agitations has come to an end, too. The disintegration of tens of such organisations throughout the world displayed for the hundredth, and not the last, time the intrinsic sterility of petty-bourgeois revolutionism. This set of conditions compels millions of workers throughout the world to think about the way out of this system of oppression and exploitation, and the enquiring mind of these millions of workers is the indepletable source of the nourishment, development and blossoming of revolutionary Marxism, the science of emancipation of the working class.

The booming era of revisionism and opportunism has ended and the era of class re-awakening of the working class has begun. But this awakening will not come on its own, and is dependent on the consciousness of the communists to the features of this era and to the new tasks corresponding to this new era. For example if in the period of the boom and domination of international opportunism, i.e., in the days of the supremacy of the Comintern and the Cominform and the indisputable dominance of the so-called Communist Party of Russia, the set of conditions prevailing at the time compelled the communists, even at the expense of turning into small organisations, to defend the principles of Marxism, submission to this conduct under the present conditions and, worse still, its theorization, is an unpardonable mistake. If during the period of the offensive of opportunism, the defence of the past revolutionary tactics against new (relative to that period) opportunist tactics was necessary, in the present period the revolutionary tactics of the proletariat must be put forward positively. If in the past period, the exposure of the bourgeois nature of the Russian state was necessary, today this is not enough, and a programme for its overthrow must be put forward. In my belief, this is the necessary condition for the formation of a new proletarian International. The communism of the →

DESPITE THE SAVAGERY OF THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC REGIME, THE HEROIC RESISTANCE OF THE POLITICAL PRISONERS CONTINUES

On 22nd September, three political prisoners in the Tabriz Prison were involved in a fight with the prison wardens, as a result of which all three were immediately sentenced to death. The other prisoners protested against this decision, but two of the three prisoners were executed before a firing squad. The third prisoner who was continuously shouting "death to Khomeini" was shot in the legs. Outside the goal, the prisoners' families who had come to visit their relatives started a mass protest and blocked the Tehran-Tabriz road. But the Pasdaran did not give up their actions and with the most inhumane savagery and baseness cut the throat of the third prisoner in front of other prisoners. Notwithstanding this barbarity of the Pasdaran of capital, which was aimed at creating shock and horror among the prisoners and reducing their fighting morale, the prisoners continued their pro-

test actions inside the prison. As a result, the prisoners' were barred from any visits by their families for more than three weeks.

This latest crime committed by the Islamic Republic regime is only one example out of the many acts of savagery going on daily in Iran. Only a few months ago 14 prisoners were executed in Tabriz because of exercising. And in July the regime carried out a mass execution of 80 political prisoners in Tehran. (see BM No.5). Most of the massacres are done in secret and are not announced publicly.

But despite all the attempts of the Islamic Republic regime to suppress the workers and toilers of Iran in the service of capital and imperialism, its final demise is inevitable. That day when the prison-gates will be smashed by the power of the workers and toilers will arrive soon.

from P.9

Manifesto can and must enter the period of offensive and in the first step present to the world working class a programme for the overthrow of the world bourgeoisie in all its forms. A programme which is not only based on the fundamental tenets of Marxism but sums up the experience of the last over 60 years of the class struggle of the working class; a programme which is not only an indictment against capitalism but is against revisionism too. Today, an important section of the polemics of the communists throughout the world must be based on the international programme and tactics of the working class. But our tasks for the formation of the International are not limited to a theoretical struggle. The International is not the academy of the science of emancipation of the working class; it is the highest political organisation of the working class and its formation too is a new stage in the process of the class consciousness and all-sided class independence of the world working class. Hence the rejection and disintegration of the present opportunist parties, and practical and organisational confrontation with the influence of these parties on the working class of different countries is the internationalist duty of all communists. To talk of the International and internationalism and to leave in practice the proletariat to the opportunists and revisionists does not befit the real internationalists. What is the organisational form of confronting this opportunism and revisionism? I don't intend to give a formula. The formation of national parties may not be correct because of a collection of economic, social and political conditions in this or that region; it may be appropriate to form a communist party which has the task of organisation of the proletariat in several countries and in a region which is uniform economically, socially and politically. These points could be discussed but what I am insisting on is the need for immediate, planned and untiring practical confrontation with the opportunist parties. To the extent, that the communists have been able to reject the revisionists and rally the working class under the banner of revolutionary Marxism to the same extent they have not only armed a part of the proletariat for seizing the political power but have brought the world proletariat nearer to the formation of its international party.

The collection of the objective conditions has put a promising perspective before the revolutionary Marxists. There exist new conditions for setting up workers' governments and the International. At the present moment, everything depends on the understanding and adoption of the numerous tasks resulting from this new era; all depends on us communists becoming more disciplined, more organised and more political.

In order to meet the needs of the world proletariat which is awakening, in order to organise the working

class, in order to consolidate revolutionary Marxism throughout the world, in order to establish the closest relations among these organisations, in order to achieve the internationalist programme and tactics of the working class, and up to the formation of International, there is a world of tasks to be accomplished. We must set to work!

Contributions

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WORLD NEWS

FRENCH GOVERNMENT: THE "SOCIALIST" MUSKETEER OF WESTERN IMPERIALISM ACTIVELY BACK IN AFRICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST

★ During the last month the French troops, some commanded by the "Veteran" generals of the *legion étrangère*, have been actively involved in the fighting in Chad and Lebanon. With the aggravation of the world crisis the different imperialist blocs must ensure that they:

a) suppress as brutally as possible the rising struggle of the proletariat and toilers in their dominated countries,

b) protect their spheres of influence in the global imperialist division of the world, which was achieved after the WWII and mainly through the Yalta agreement,

c) try to gain control of some of the areas and markets in the world which are under the influence of the rival bloc.

The recent adventures of Western imperialism in Chad and Lebanon are in direct accord with the above aims. Last year, with the help of the Israeli army, the Western imperialists crushed the resistance of the dispossessed Arab and Palestinian workers and toilers in Lebanon. This was a show of military might as well as attempt to protect the Middle East as an indelible sphere of influence of the Western imperialism against the adventures of the weaker rival, the Russian imperialist bloc. And this year's dispatching of the Western-backed so called "peace-keeping force (including American, French, British and Italian which are using their military might on ground, air and sea to create a "peaceful" massive grave yard in Lebanon) is to consolidate the gains of last year's attack and to establish Lebanon as a firm base for the future "troubles" in the middle east. The resurgence of mass revolutionary movement in Iran against the barbaric regime of the Islamic republic could be one such possible case.

In Chad and central Africa the Western imperialist bloc is also trying to ensure that there too will remain one of its safe domains of influence. They have even shown that they will not hesitate to use direct military intervention if their local puppet regimes are not able to secure their interests. In the past, the French and Belgian armed forces were used to crush the insurrection of the people of the Shaba province in Zaire. Now the French paratroops are being used as a direct military force against the adventures of the Libyan government, which has participated as a client for the Russian bloc in this war.

The interesting point here is the capacity and the readiness of the French coalition government of the "Socialists" and "Communists" to defend the interests of the French and Western capital to the extent of using direct military intervention in another sovereign state. There are many lessons to be learnt from this event:

1- All the left and right representatives of the bourgeoisie once in power, have to act according to the needs of the rule of capital. At the time of crisis they will attack the workers and toilers wherever need be and as severely as they can. The left in power can be as war-mongering as the right in power. The present French government shows this fact quite clearly.

2- Today, it is the workers and oppressed people of Lebanon and Chad who are the target of the French army's assault, and tomorrow it will be the French workers themselves who will be the target

- as happened in 1968.

11 3- All those Trotskyist and "left" groups and parties who campaigned for the election of the "Socialists" and "Communists" in France are equally anti-working class and responsible for the today's massacres conducted by the French government in Chad and Lebanon.

THE OPEN FACE OF CAPITALISM IN CHINA

★ As the world capitalist crisis deepens, it becomes more and more difficult for the bourgeoisie in all countries of the world, to disguise its real class nature and interests as well as its attachment to this or that imperialist bloc. The Chinese bourgeoisie is no exception from this rule.

Today, China belongs to the camp of world imperialist counter-revolution and is the standard-bearer and the levering point of "Three-World" revisionism and alongside American imperialism is mainly the defender of the most naked forms of bourgeois reaction. The Chinese State and Party have been the supporters of the most reactionary bourgeois parties in the metropolises, the Conservative Party in Great Britain being only one example. The foreign policy of the Chinese government on the dominated countries too has been in full accord with its alignment with Western imperialism. Any anti-American insurrection or movement in dominated countries is, in the opinion of Chinese State, reactionary or at best suspicious since it can be manipulated by the Russians. Support for the South African puppet front of UNITA, approval of the suppression of the insurrection in the Shaba province in Zaire by the French and Belgian armed forces, support for Sultan Qabus in Oman and the approval of the suppression of the movement in Zaffar by the British and Iranian army, etc., are just few examples of the alignment of the Chinese bourgeoisie with the US bloc and the counter-revolutionary policies it has conducted.

Also at home, the Chinese bourgeoisie has overtly revealed its class nature. It has turned China into an open and massive labour and commodity market for the Western imperialism. Hundreds of millions of Chinese proletarians and toilers, far from having any share in the political power, are being brutally exploited and suppressed, and it is ensured that their labour-power is sold to the Western capital at a very cheap rate. That is why China is today a paradise for the Western and Japanese imperialist bourgeoisie.

During last month alone, the Chinese state has:

1- Lifted a ban on imports of US agricultural products and has signed agreement to buy advanced technology from the US.

2- Signed an agreement with a British oil company, Cluff Oil, for investments in the South China Sea offshore oil production. Cluff Oil is a member of a consortium involving Idemitsu Oil of Japan and Natomas of the US.

3- Signed a contract with Anderson Stretchclyde, the Scottish mining equipment manufacturer - which was taken over this year by the South African dominated Charter Consolidated.

In the countryside, the General Secretary of the so-called Communist Party of China, Mr. Hu Yao Bang, whilst on a tour in the north West Shaanxi province has been telling the peasants to work hard and enrich themselves. He has said that:

"Whoever plants it, can own it" and has further promised the rural bourgeoisie in China that: "This is to be kept unchanged for a long time, and the children can inherit."

As a result of such guarantees for the private business in China the demand for credit and capital has increased dramatically. According to the Guardian 14th September 1983, the interest rates charged on the underground money market may work out as high as 60 per cent a year. These private businesses which are officially called "specialised households", can-

News from Kurdistan



A SUMMARY OF THE EVENTS IN KURDISTAN DURING THE SUMMER PERIOD:

During the three months of Summer, Peshmargas of Komala (the Kurdistan Organisation of the Communist Party of Iran) have made many offensives against the regime in some of the towns of Kurdistan, in the garrisons and bases, on the roads and communication lines, etc. In all, the Peshmargas have carried out 60 large-scale offensives, and 72 small operations. As a result of these attacks a number of bases have fallen into Komala's hands including the "Jafar Abad" base near the town of Beejar, the "Arandan" base near the garrison of the Division of Sanandaj, the "Balouche" base 6km from the town of Kamyaran, and the barracks near the village of Masan.

Also during last Summer, Peshmargas of Komala resisted 31 attacks of the regime among which were the six-day battle of "Anzal" in the north of Kurdistan and the heroic battle in "Mokryan" in which the Peshmargas killed more than 350 of regime's forces. In these battles, and also in the battles of "Khor Khor", "Divandareh", "Sor Sor", "Kamyaran" and the "Maran" of Sanandaj, a total of 3,500 of the regime's forces have either been killed or injured. So far, 180 of the regime's forces have been arrested and large quantities of ammunition have been seized. During these three months, 58 Peshmargas of Komala lost their lives, but 500 more comrades joined the ranks of Komala's Peshmargas.

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The following news are only a selection of the events of the extensive revolutionary war going on in Kurdistan. They have been extracted from the communiques of the representative of Komala abroad:

5,000 OF THE REGIME'S FORCES INVOLVED IN A LARGE-SCALE OPERATION

The area of "Mokryan" went through three days of intense bloody battles (4th-6th September) when the Peshmargas confronted the 5,000 - strong occupying forces of the regime which had attacked, from 4 fronts, the villages near Saghez and Mahabad. The battle took place from the "Kondalan" village near the Baneh-Sardasht road to the villages near the Mahabad-Sardasht road. The Peshmargas fought heroically against all the attempts of the occupying forces. 550 of the regime's forces were killed in this bloody battle.

2,000 OF THE REGIME'S FORCES ATTACK KAMYARAN

On 17th September 1983, more than 2,000 forces of the regime were mobilized against the "Sor Sor" area of Kamyaran. A heavy battle of more than 15 hours raged between the Komala Peshmargas and regime's forces in an area of ten kilometers.

The regime's forces bombarded the area by heavy artillery and three helicopters. The helicopters were disfunctioned and forced to leave the area after being hit by Peshmargas's anti-aircraft machine guns. The Peshmargas succeeded in forcing all the enemy forces to leave the area. One Peshmarga was killed in this battle.

EXECUTION AND INTIMIDATION OF THE PEOPLE BY THE REGIME

During September 83, the Islamic Republic's forces

together with the aid of Jashs (local mercenaries of the regime) and the Ghiadeh Movaghat (the Provisional Command of the KDP of Iraq) spread their attacks and intimidations of the people in several areas. We give below, just some of the news of these atrocities of the regime:

1- On 10th September, the Pasdaran, Jashs and forces of the Ghiadeh Movaghat attacked the town of Oshnoviyeh and started to intimidate the people and search their homes. During this house search, they forced 5 people out of their houses and executed them in public. Among the executed was a 60 year old man.

2- In the continuation of its massacres, the regime attacked the villages of "Sofiyah" and "Behnavan" and intimidated the people, during which one person from Sofiyah and two from Behnavan were killed. A group of Ghiadeh Movaghat forces lined a number of the youth by the wall to be executed. However, the militant women of the village, as we have witnessed on several other occasions in Kurdistan, attacked the Ghiadeh Movaghat forces to prevent the execution from taking place. They succeeded in helping the youth to escape and also forced the Ghiadeh forces to leave the village.

VILLAGE RAZED TO GROUND BY THE REGIME'S FORCES

In the continuation of its policy to crush the revolutionary movement of Kurdistan, the Islamic Republic of Iran, recently sent its forces to the village of BES in Divandareh and turned the whole village into rubbles. They forced the inhabitants of the village to move to the surrounding base of "Sharif Abad" without providing any living facilities. Recently the people were provided with tents by the regime. However, in opposing the whole attack of the regime, the people decided not to use the tents, and have instead demanded payment towards the damage caused by the regime and a return to their village. The regime responded by saying that it is prepared to pay towards this damage only if the people arm themselves and fight against the Peshmargas. Up till now, the people have heroically resisted this reactionary policy of the regime and despite living under very hard conditions, are still continuing their heroic resistance, with a high morale.

BOMBARDMENT OF THE SARDASHT AREA

On 15th September 1983 the regime's forces bombarded several villages of the "Nalen" area in the Sardasht region as a result of which a woman and 3 more

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Solidarity with the people of Kurdistan

Following the execution of 59 civilians in Kurdistan on 2nd June 1983, we received some messages of solidarity with the Kurdish people and the communists in Kurdistan which were acknowledged in BM No.3. Since then we have received further messages of support from the following organisation in Italy which we hereby acknowledge:

- Gruppo Antimilitarista 26 marzo
- Gruppo Disoccupati di Torino
- Nuclei Leninisti Internazionalisti
- Centro D'Iniziativa Marxista

Victory to the Revolutionary Movement of Kurdish Masses !