



BOLSHEVIK MESSAGE No. 7

Paper of the
Organisation of the Supporters of the Communist Party of Iran Abroad

Dec. 83/Jan. 84

Declaration About the Founding Congress and the First Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Iran

After nearly five years of the consistent and purposeful struggle of revolutionary Marxism for the elimination of the theoretical and practical barriers which existed on the way of the formation of the Communist Party of Iran, and following nine months of centralised activity by the Organising Committee of the Founding Congress of the Communist Party of Iran, the Founding Congress was held in late August and early September 1983 in the revolutionary Kurdistan, and founded the Communist Party of Iran. The Communist Party of Iran took shape in the continuation of those gains and by reliance on those class bulwarks which the revolutionary Marxism had won one after the other for the Iranian proletariat, from the start, and in the context of the Iranian revolution. The history of formation of this party, is the history of the conquest of these bulwarks. The smashing of the narrow and short-sighted views of the petty-bourgeoisie which was claiming to be Marxist, and the propaganda and establishment of the proletarian critique of capital and imperialism among a wide section of the vanguards of the communist movement of Iran in the first years after the Uprising; the raising of the independent banner of the proletariat in a revolutionary mass movement as extensive as the Kurdish people's movement and its leadership and organisation under this banner; the drawing up and declaration of the theoretical principles and fundamentals, and the aims and political slogans, of the proletariat in the form of a communist programme in March 1981, and the concretization and promotion of the latter to the level of the "Programme of the Communist Party" in May 1982; the profound critique of the methods and traditions of petty-bourgeois revolutionism prevalent in the communist movement of Iran, and the acquisition of the fundamentals of communist organisation and practice in Sep-Oct 1982; the mobilization and unification of the most advanced organisations and activists of the communist movement of Iran, the organisations of Komala and Unity of Communist Militants and also sections and fractions from the organisations of "Peykar", "Razmandegan", "Revolutionary Unity", "Revolutionary Struggle" and the "Iranian People's Fedaii Guerrillas", under the banner of the Programme of the Communist Party; these are all those firm and strong bases and foundation-stones which gave revolutionary Marxism in Iran the historic chance and opportunity to found the Communist Party of Iran on 2nd September 1983.

The Founding Congress of the Communist Party of Iran was the Congress of the activists and vanguards of the revolutionary Marxist current of Iran who had assembled, on the invitation of the Organising Committee, to found the Communist Party of the conscious proletariat and all the revolutionary communists of Iran, and to call, among others, their respective organisations to join this Party. The participants in this Congress included cadres from the organisations of Komala and Unity of Communist Militants, amongst whom were also the ex-activists of the organisations of "Peykar" and "Revolutionary

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Struggle", and also a comrade from a Section of the Cadres, Members, and supporters of the Iranian People's Fedaiye Guerrillas (Arka)".

The agenda of the Congress included the adoption of the Programme of the Communist Party of Iran; the approval of the Party Constitution and the "Statutes of the special rights and powers of Komala", as the supplement to the Constitution; the election of the Party Central Committee, and the determination of the tactical policy of the Party and Party publications. The Congress actively dealt with all of these discussions and debated and examined the problems submitted by the passage of time and the changing of the political conditions and situation of the society. Moreover Article 12 of the Programme, and the section on economic measures (in the minimum part of the Programme), were the subject of some changes in substance and were made more precise and complete. Although these changes did not alter the overall content of the Programme and its bases and foundation, but as a whole they led to the greater development, precision and comprehensiveness of the Programme of the Communist Party. The Founding Congress adopted the Programme of the Communist Party of Iran by unanimous votes.

In the discussion on the Constitution, the proposed text of the Organising Committee, which had been drafted in the framework and on the basis of the principles of communist style of work, and by making use of and receiving assistance from the Constitutions of Komala and the Unity of Communist Militants, was discussed and examined. In particular the Sixth Article of the Constitution concerning the "Kurdistan Organisation of the Communist Party of Iran", and the supplement to the Constitution, i.e., the "Statutes of the special rights and powers of Komala", were discussed and debated in detail and from various angles. This section of the Constitution, which has been formulated on the basis of the views of revolutionary Marxism on the national question, and the principled Marxist attitude to the obstacles which this question places on the way of the unity of the Iranian people, is in a precise and clear manner, the basis and necessity of the special rights of the Kurdistan section of the Communist Party of Iran, and on this basis defines the place of Komala in the Communist Party of Iran. The Constitution of the Communist Party and its supplement were also approved unanimously.

In addition to these two fundamental discussions, the question of membership at the beginning of the establishment of the Party, Party publications, and the tactical policy of the Party were also discussed by the Congress. In these cases some resolutions were passed and some arrangements were made. The Programme of Komala for the Autonomy of Kurdistan was also approved unanimously by the Founding Congress of the Communist Party of Iran.

The final task of the Founding Congress was the determination of the number and the election of the members of the Central Committee and its substitutes. The Congress elected fifteen comrades for membership in the Central Committee, and five comrades as the substitute members of the Central Committee, and ended its work successfully on 2nd September 1983.

In its First Plenum, held immediately after the termination of the Congress the Central Committee elected from among its members, the Political Bureau and the General Secretary of the Party. In this Plenum comrades *Abdollah Mokhtadi, Mansour Bekhti, Ebrahim Alisadeh, Hosro Avar, Javad Meskhi, Shoeb Zokati, Hassan, and Hamid Taghvate* were chosen as the members of the Political Bureau, and comrade *Abdollah Mokhtadi* was chosen as the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Iran.

POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF IRAN

6th September 1983

Manifesto of the Central Committee of Komala on the Occasion of the Declaration of joining of Komala to the Communist Party of Iran

After many years of the uninterrupted and untiring endeavours of the revolutionary communists of Iran, the single and independent party of the working class, the Communist Party of Iran, has been formed, and Komala, which itself was one of the standard-bearers of the path of the formation of the Communist Party, is now part of this Party.

Since its very inception in 1969, by realising the common destiny of the workers and toilers of Iran, Komala has insisted on the necessity and the need for the formation of a national party, party of the leading working class in the struggle for socialism and communism and which is the vanguard and advocate of the emancipation of all the oppressed and exploited in Iran. These consistent endeavours of Komala during 14 years of activity, whether in the ideological struggle for the rejection of non-proletarian tendencies and policies including the petty-bourgeois policy of guerrilla warfare, or in the political and organisational activity among the workers, both in Kurdistan and other parts of Iran, or, finally, in defending the independent rank of workers in the revolutionary movement of the Kurdish people and in consistently leading this movement, are all expressive of the firm resolution of Komala as a communist organisation for the formation of the vanguard party of the Iranian working class.

The experience of the Iranian revolution in 1979, and the need of the working class to continue this revolution, and to ensure the validity of Marxism in the arena of class confrontations, vindicated more than before the correctness of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and deepened Komala's understanding of Marxism. When confronted with the question of leading an immense mass movement, during the revolutionary period of the Islamic Republic, the onslaught of the Islamic Republic regime on Kurdistan on 19th August 1979, Komala realized more than before the non-acceptability of the Marxist ideas and theories which dominated the communist movement of Iran could meet the problems of the revolution. Those seemingly Marxist ideas, theories, groups and organisations defending them, although sometimes showed signs of revolutionism, each represented a different and a different working class but of other classes and strata whose interests were tied to capitalism and private property, to varying degrees. Against these groups and organisations, who were called on the working class to stop at the half-way mark of the revolution and compromise with capitalism and the exploiting classes and their defenders, Komala stood firm and strong and differentiated its rank from theirs.

Populist and petty-bourgeois organisations and groups, disguised in Marxist clothings, were displaying, under the hard conditions of every political sharp turn, their inconsistency in the revolutionary ideology and their aims and their common features with the defenders of private property and capitalism, their revolutionary strength was being depleted and they were leaving the rank of the revolution and joining the rank of the bourgeoisie. In contrast, Komala defended proletarian consistent democracy, subjected its past defects to a

Marxist critique, and became one of the conscious and firm representatives of the most oppressed revolutionary class which the course of the revolution, and its gains and defeats, had awakened. This class, was the working class which although was putting forward its class needs in a crude, faint and elementary fashion, but nevertheless its ideological, political and economic aims and demands were in the district of other classes and strata in the society.

The working class stood for the continuation of the revolution, and its independence. It was the first to be attacked by the Islamic Republic and all the open defenders of the capitalist system and imperialism. Under such circumstances, by understanding the needs of this class - an understanding which was gradually becoming more profound and all-sided - and in the face of the onslaught of the working class and the toiling and poor masses - whether those in power or the ones not in power, Komala stood up against all of them, and hoisted and kept high the banner of defence of the independent interests and rank of the proletariat.

Komala stood and fought against the offensive of the Islamic Republic regime on the working class and other masses of the people, with the resolution and firmness of communist workers and the revolutionary spirit of the people, when the bourgeois forces were fuelling the dissension and separation amongst the Kurdish, Turkish and Persian working class, the toiling and poor masses and toilers of other nationalities, and were pervading them with nationalist and chauvinist poisons. Komala insisted on the necessity of the political and ideological unity and singleness of the working class of Iran, and continued the struggle for the formation of the Communist Party of Iran - a party which would be the conscious manifestation of this general unity and singleness of the Iranian proletariat.

Komala was not alone in this struggle, but found its comrades, groups and organisations of the Unity of Communist Militants which had hoisted the banner of revolutionary Marxism and the independence of the class independence of the proletariat.

Thus, the continuation of the struggle of the working class and its communist vanguards freed the ideological, political and ideological Leninism, from the influence and domination of the false claimants of Marxism and communism, gave it a new life, and brought it close together the standard-bearers of this ideology, i.e., the Unity of Communist Militants and Komala, and that together they would continue the struggle for the political and ideological independence of the working class, for the formation of the Communist Party of Iran.

Through a new ideology and a new commitment to continue this path and its Third Congress, by adopting the Programme of the Communist Party in May 1982, demonstrated that Komala together with the Unity of Communist Militants had paved half of this noble path. The First Congress of the Unity of Communist

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Militants in September 1982 brought forth the most recent gains of Marxism in Iran, and the Communist Party of Iran, in the critique of the populist and petty-bourgeois methods of practice, and [so] placed the working class of Iran at the centre of the formation of the Communist Party.

Finally, at a time when as a result of the uninterrupted endeavours of Komala and the Communist Party of Iran, the political barriers to the formation of the Party had been removed, the Central Committee of Komala at its Third Plenum, by announcing that the time for the convocation of the Founding Congress of the Communist Party of Iran had arrived, asked the working class in the ranks of Komala about this matter.

The replies of almost all comrades in the ranks of Komala, and of the members of non-members, Peshmargas or else, to the call of the Central Committee, were positive. They were all of the opinion that the Founding Congress of the Communist Party of Iran must be called for as soon as possible and that the organisation of Komala should join the Communist Party. This general positive response was not unexpected. It was the result of several years of ideological and political struggles of revolutionary Marxism in Iran; and various comrades in the ranks of Komala had been the marchers and vanguards of this path, and had made the sacrifice of blood and capital, the guarantor of the achievement of these working-class and communist aims.

According to the positive reply of this enquiry, following the convocation of the Founding Congress of the Party and the termination of the Communist Party of Iran, Komala should be duty-bound to announce the joining of Komala to the Communist Party of Iran and carry out the necessary organisational measures concerning this matter.

Therefore, now, after the victorious termination of the Founding Congress of the Communist Party of Iran, we declare that the joining of Komala to the Communist Party of Iran and as mentioned in the Constitution of the Communist Party of Iran, in the light of the influence of the popular and the influence of the Toilers' Revolutionary Organisation of Iranian Kurdistan (Komala) among the workers and toilers of Kurdistan and in the revolutionary movement of the Kurdish people, the Kurdistan Organisation of the Communist Party of Iran will be called Komala whose full name will be the Kurdistan Organisation of the Communist Party of Iran (Komala).

Also in order to remove the barriers which the national oppression created before the unity of the Kurdish and non-Kurdish proletariat, and with the aim of consolidating proletarian leadership in the revolutionary movement of the Kurdish people and of facilitating the joining of ever more extensive masses of workers and toilers of Kurdistan to the ranks of the Communist Party of Iran, the Communist Party of Iran recognises special rights for its organisation in Kurdistan (Komala). These special rights and power have been applied as follows:

The Special Rights of Komala (Supplement to the Constitution of the Communist Party of Iran).

Hence the Programme and the Constitution of the Communist Party of Iran, the Programme for the Autonomy of Kurdistan which the Congress adopted, are the guides of action of Komala as a part of the Party.

WORKERS AND TOILERS!

The formation of the Communist Party of Iran is a great achievement for the working class and all the toiling and oppressed masses throughout Iran including Kurdistan. The formation of this Party is a Party which is materialized in itself the need of workers and toilers throughout Iran for unity and singleness in the struggle against the capitalist system of oppression and exploitation - strengthens our movement and ensures the continuity of our struggle until the destruction and abolition of the oppressive and putrid system of capitalism and the establishment of socialism in Iran.

From now on, the Kurdistan Organisation of the Communist Party of Iran, in particular, and the conscious proletariat throughout Iran, and therefore stronger than before, will continue to accomplish its political and class tasks until the complete fulfilment of the Programme of the Communist Party, and calls on all the workers and toilers of Kurdistan to rally around it, become organised ever more in Komala and in their Communist Party, and consistently continue to the end the path which they have chosen for emancipation from national and class oppression. Victory is ultimately ours.

MILITANT PEOPLE OF KURDISTAN!

Komala has so far proved that it is the most sincere and consistent force which struggles for the achievement of the right of self-determination and the abolition of the national oppression of the Kurdish people. In order to continue the revolutionary movement of the Kurdish people and in order to realize the Programme of Komala for Autonomy of Kurdistan, rally around Komala, rally around the Communist Party and join ever more the ranks of the revolutionary struggle in Kurdistan!

COMRADES OF KOMALA!

With the formation of the Communist Party, ever broader perspectives are opening before us, and to the same extent more difficult, and at the same time, more noble tasks are being placed on our shoulders. The Central Committee asks you to prepare your lives to struggle in the ranks of the Communist Party of Iran, with the same proletarian iron resolution and determination as before. Your joining to the Communist Party must mean ever greater ideological firmness and steadfastness. We must continue our struggle against non-proletarian thoughts, ideas, and methods, ever deeper and harder work among workers and toiling masses and ever more extensive political and military activity and, in one word, untiring energy, liveliness and activity.

LONG LIVE SOCIALISM!

LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF IRAN!

LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT OF THE KURDISH PEOPLE!

Central Committee of the Toilers' Revolutionary Organisation of Iranian Kurdistan (Komala)

11th September 1983

Manifesto of the joining of the Unity of Communist Militants to the Communist Party of Iran

With the formation of the Communist Party of Iran, the 5-year-old activity of the Unity of Communist Militants as an independent communist organisation has reached its victorious conclusion.

The record of the Unity of Communist Militants, since November 1978 when it started its activity as a communist nucleus by the name of Sahand until now that it is joining the proud ranks of the Communist Party of Iran, is expressive of a struggle replete of ups and downs, but consistent and purposeful, which this Party has witnessed as an independent class of life for the realization of the independent aims of the working class of Iran. The formation and growth of the Communist Party of Iran is itself one of the manifestations of the powerful presence of the Iranian working class in the arena of the revolution, and of the favourable ground-works which this provided for the growth and development of vanguard communist organisations. The commitment of the Unity of Communist Militants to the programme of Engels, and Lenin made it possible for this organisation to become, in a movement which was widely under the domination of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas, thoughts and policies, a consistent standard-bearer of revolutionary Marxism against the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois distortions of Marxism and the false claims of communism. Struggle for achieving a Leninist programme that could be turned into the basis of the unity of the communists in Iran and the foundation-stone of the Communist Party of Iran, confrontation with the passivism apathy, academicism, and liquidationism resulting from the destructive dead-lock of petty-bourgeois socialism and the disintegration of the populist organisations, consistent struggle against the theoretical and practical heritage of opportunism, from theory to practice, as a method of practice, endeavour for ending the dispersion in the ranks of the workers' movement in general, and the dispersion of the ranks against unemployment in particular, under the conditions of the paralysing disunity, confusion and dispersion of the communist movement in Iran, and the consistent struggle alongside other communist revolutionaries, in particular in the ranks of Komala, for the formation of the Communist Party of Iran, such is the path that the Unity of Communist Militants placed before itself during the several years of its activity, and by the taking of each step, they more resolved in marching to the final destination.

The detailed assessment of the points of strength and weakness of the Communist Militants in these several years of struggle, and the explanation of the role and place of this organisation in the course of evolution of the revolutionary Marxist movement in Iran at the present time, must be left to another opportunity in the future. But the theoretical and political gains of Marxism which are reflected in the Program-Socialism (Towards Socialism), Kargar-e-Komunist (Communist Worker), Aleyh-e-Beekari (Against Unemployment), and the various pamphlets and leaflets; the political activity and self-devotion of the activists, members, and supporters of the Unity of Communist Militants in the different areas of the country; the struggle; and, finally, the present realities of

the communist movement of Iran, are now witness to the consistency and steadfastness of the communist revolution as a movement organised in the ranks of this organisation and who in spite of all the shortcomings and defects of themselves and of their organisation, in spite of the open savagery of the bourgeoisie and the sea of illusions, vacillations, disbeliefs, and the disheartening and proscribing preachings of the petty-bourgeois-socialist currents, remained faithful to their commitment to the interests and ideals of the working class and the proletarian revolution, and with an indestructible hope in the path which they had taken up, and fought relentlessly for the founding of the Communist Party of Iran.

Today, with respect to the unbreachable task of forming the Communist Party of Iran which has been clearly defined in the Programme of the Communist Party and the Constitution of the Unity of Communist Militants, and in accordance with the powers which the members of the organisation have entrusted upon the Central Committee, we formally announce the joining of the Unity of Communist Militants to the Communist Party of Iran and end our independent organisational activity.

The Communist Party of Iran is in particular the outcome of the endeavour of revolutionary Marxism in the new period in the life of the communist movement in Iran. Our Party is the Party of ideological purity and firmness, the Party of faithfulness to the revolutionary theory and programme of Marxism, the Party of internationalism and proletarian revolution, the Party of uninterrupted struggle against the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois distortions of Marxism, the Party of the unity of the Iranian working class against the most dissension-creating policies of the bourgeoisie, the Party of the advocacy of socialism and defence of democracy, the Party of mass armed resistance against the bourgeoisie, the Party of the most resolute communist revolutionaries and vanguard workers in Iran. We are proud to have fought for the formation of this Party from the beginning, and to have been among the first to join it. In other vanguard comrades of revolutionary Marxism in Komala and in the different sections of the Party, we have seen the barriers which that the open and covert enemies of the working class have placed on the path of the formation of the Party. No more political conclusion could be conceived for the Unity of Communist Militants than joining the ranks of a Party with whose name and for whose formation it came to exist.

At the beginning of the new chapter of our struggle as the soldiers of the Communist Party of Iran, we hold dear the memory of all of our comrades who have been sacrificed for the cause of socialism, the workers' government, and the formation of the Communist Party, in the corridors and rooms of the prison squads of the bourgeois regime of the Islamic Republic, and salute all those comrades who today in the prisons and dungeons firmly defend communism and the revolutionary ideals of the working class. Undoubtedly the memories and names of all the communist revolutionaries who fought and lost their lives in this noble struggle are

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LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!

POLAND - 35 years of workers' struggles (2)

The result of the post-war economic and social changes, and the accelerated industrial construction, carried out on the pierced shoulders of the workers, led to the creation of living conditions of the workers and the lack of any freedoms in the 50's. The Polish working class entered the arena of the struggle for "real socialism" and "real communism". These slogans found their concrete reflections in the demands for "self-management" and "democracy".

Among these slogans, the slogan of "self-management" is of significance as it has been repeated by the Polish workers at least 35 years with different practical contents and within different ideological, economic, and political frameworks in the workers' movement. It is in the economic policies of the "United Workers' Party" after 1956, in the economic tendencies of the Giersek government during the 70's and finally in the programme of the National Congress of Solidarity in the form of the "self-management republic". By examining the practical content of the slogan at different unturns and their respective frameworks, one could reveal the essence of the questions "in dispute" and find out that the interest of which has been defended by the slogan is given to these disputed questions.

What had been posed in 1956 for the Polish proletariat through the slogan of self-management, was in reality none other than the demand for "proletarian planning for the whole of social production" whose more concrete form of presentation included the participation of workers in every factory in the planning, and the subordination of managers to the workers (workers councils) at the level of each factory. The practical movement of the Polish workers for the realization of this demand, posed before the whole of social production, consisted in taking it, i.e., the seizure of political power and the form of organisation of this power, i.e., the workers' soviets.

The main concrete forms that the demand for self-management was being proposed in the factories, and although the most vanguard elements of the working class had almost spontaneously realized the necessity of the extension and deepening of this demand for the whole of society, but the extension to new and complex relations which were taking form and, more importantly, because of Russia as a living model of "socialism" and the force which created this type of "socialism", these vanguard leaders could not base their solutions on an all-sided understanding, so that they could engage in a serious and deep analysis of this fact demonstrated itself in the different writings and assessment of the vanguards of the workers' movement in Poland in 1956. In a country where the workers' movement was organized by the daily Nowa Kultura on 20th October 1957, and after the October days of 1956, Gózdziak the organisational secretary of the factory in the Żeran automobile factory one of the most active and vanguard workplaces in the 1956 movement - explains a process during which factory workers who had started posing questions about the function of their factory ended up considering the whole question of economic planning and its alternatives. Although the workers' starting-point was initially mainly economic, they finally reached the conclusion that even one technical council is not effective for the coordination of the affairs and the workers' soviets must be formed that manage

the factory and supervise the management. The question of workers' councils in factories was soon transformed into the question of workers' soviets throughout the society i.e., into the question of political power. On its first issue on 6th January 1957, the daily Proletariat wrote an article in which it called for a "workers' soviet or soviet system" that if the soviets were to be the supreme organs in the factories, then the existence of a system of soviet workers' councils in the whole society would be necessary, in which case the previous bureaucratic apparatus would lose its necessity. But this system, and with such powers, could not be anything other than the organised proletariat as the ruling class, or in other words, the workers' dictatorship, and the Polish revisionists were well aware of it. Gomulka, who rose to power in the context of the "October days" of 1956, stated in his report to the Ninth plenum of the Party in 1957, that such system of workers' soviets "must manage the national economy, and to do this it must have in its control the means of central planning, banks, commercial resources and... in one word, all the powers of a state. The present state would become superfluous". Gomulka could not have better expressed the demands of the Polish workers for the ownership of the means of production.

In January 1956, the Polish State legislated a series of laws on workers' soviets and on self-management; laws whose sole objective was to empty the concept of soviets and self-management of the practical content which the Polish workers had given to them; and in turn transform them into means for promoting production. One day after returning to the Central Committee, on 19th October 1956, Gomulka stated in a speech on programmatical matters to the Eighth plenum of the Central Committee of the Party that the cardinal principle governing self-management and the participation of workers in the management of factories is the "cheerful, more, and better production" and later, in his report to the Ninth plenum of the central committee on 15th May 1957, stated that the soviets must not have any other functions than they are as solely economic organs. The capitalist nature of Gomulka's attitude and in general of all revisionists, and the nature of the question of soviets and self-management: all avenues must be tried to bar the proletariat from achieving political power and make it "produce cheaper, more, and better". These views objectively and practically manifest themselves in the forms of "legal powers and responsibilities of the self-management law" of October 1956 (December 1958). These "powers and responsibilities" cover numerous large and small problems which in fact have no other aim than the consolidation of Taylorism, which is presented under the cover of "socialist" phraseology. "The consolidation of social discipline and the propagation of attitudes on the part of labour and social property", and similar statements, clearly demonstrate the immense benefits which the Polish bourgeoisie is deriving from its state of ownership over the means of production, and its rule masqueraded as socialism.

In concluding the assessment of this period, it is necessary to make a note of that material force which held the intellectual and practical leadership of the movement in 1956. The consolidation of Taylorism, which is presented under the later changes in the Polish workers' movement, i.e., the preponderance of solely

economic demands in the struggles of the workers during the 70's and their submission to the non-proletarian forces in the 80's. The majority of the intellectual and practical leaders of the workers in 1956, were either old members of the Party or intellectuals and students who had witnessed, and some even participated in, the ups and downs of the Party during and after the war. Nevertheless, the Polish workers' movement which had taken form and extended in the 50's for the cause of socialism, because of lack of full cognition of the existing relations and its inability in presenting alternatives, could not lead in any of the ideological, political and organisational dimensions to the formation of a rank independent of the ruling class and its Party and finally led to merely a change in the Central Committee of the Party and to the imposition of short-lived and retrograde liberalisation of the Party. The Party or the independent organisation of the workers was posed by advanced elements among the workers but finally the trust in the Party and its policies prevailed.

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To be continued

1- Another one of the important issues raised in 1956, and also in the whole course of the Polish workers' struggles during these few decades, was the question of relations with Russia which itself requires an all-sided analysis and is not the purpose of this article.

2- The Organ of the Communist Intellectuals of Poland which began work on 6th January 1956 and in a short period obtained a circulation of 150,000. On 2nd October 1957 this paper was declared illegal.

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merged with the present victories of our movement, and the braveries, sacrifices and heroisms of these comrades will always remain dear with our class, as examples of consistent communist struggle.

The formation of the Communist Party of Iran is also a new beginning in the struggle against all shortcomings and weaknesses in our ranks. We shall endeavour to preserve whatever that we have been proletarian and valuable in the Unity of Communist Militants and place them in the service of the Party, and fight alongside the other soldiers and vanguards of the Communist Party against whatever that bears signs of weakness and shortcomings.

We call upon all vanguard and militant workers, all working and toiling women and men, and all revolutionaries, to join in the fight of the emancipation of the working class, to become organised in the Communist Party of Iran, and to continue the struggle against the moribund capitalism of the epoch of imperialism, victory will be that of the working class and its communist party.

LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF IRAN!

LONG LIVE THE CLASS UNITY OF WORKERS!

LONG LIVE SOCIALISM!

Central Committee of the Unity of Communist Militants.

11th September 1983

BOOK REVIEW

THE MYTH OF THE NATIONAL AND PROGRESSIVE

BOURGEOISIE

(PARTS 1&2), N. HERMAT - MAY 1979, APRIL 1980.

The "Myth of the National and Progressive Bourgeoisie", published by the UCI in Iran as two separate pamphlets, deals not with the repetition of the general and basic categories and definitions of Marxism in the sense of an scholastic and academic attempt and as an end-in-itself, but with the struggle against the populist deviations, then dominant in the left movement in Iran, which had placed serious obstacles in the path of the extension of the proletarian movement. In this connection it lays stress on those analytical and key categories and concepts of Marxism which have been falsified and distorted by the representatives of the newly-arrived bourgeoisie of the Asian, African and Latin-American countries and their international allies - particularly the nascent schools of "under development" and the "economy of development" - and thus have practically been one of the effective weapons of the thinkers of world imperialism in confrontation with the proletarian movements throughout the world. The defeat of the proletariat in China, Cuba, Vietnam, etc. and in their continuation, the influence, today, of bourgeois outlooks in the struggles of the workers and toilers of Latin America, Asia, Africa, and the workers in the metropolitan countries, have been the result of the decades of domination of revisionism, on a world scale.

For the theoretical-political critique of views which believe that a section of the bourgeoisie in Iran is "progressive" and "national", and attribute a democratic and anti-imperialist character to it, the "Myth ..." begins with this fundamental and basic question: "Is any stratum of the bourgeoisie in Iran, in the final analysis, so interested in the destruction of the domination of imperialism and the complete elimination of its dictatorship, to take part in a revolutionary struggle against imperialism

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The Fifth of the National and Progressive Bourgeoisie (1)

Unity of Communist Militants

FORMATION OF THE "ORGANISATION OF THE SUPPORTERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF IRAN ABROAD"

As announced in the last issue of the *Bolshevik Message*, after the formation of the Communist Party of Iran on 2nd September 1983, the task of forming a single organisation of the supporters of the Communist Party of Iran was placed on the immediate agenda of all the supporters of the CPI abroad. The task of forming this organisation was accomplished successfully and we are now formally announcing the formation of the "Organisation of the Supporters of the Communist Party of Iran Abroad".

The formation of the OSCPIA was the outcome of a process in which the supporters of the Unity of Communist Militants and Komala fought against the various non-proletarian tendencies which were in different ways preventing the adoption of communist policies and practice. These tendencies, which existed not only in our ranks but in particular among the supporters of the populist organisations, advocated narrow-minded petty-bourgeois nationalism in place of proletarian internationalism; called for the formation of united fronts with the non-proletarian currents instead of preserving the independence of the proletariat in every democratic movement and in every joint action held over specific demands; instead of tackling the political and practical problems and treating the Marxist theory as a guide to action and for changing the real world, lapsed into academicism and isolationism; and, in the organisational matters, advocated elitism and non-compliance with the principles of democratic-centralism. The OSCPIA is therefore, in particular, the product of the process of the critique of populist methods of practice and the adoption of communist methods of work, whose principles were revised and re-established in the First Congress of the Unity of Communist Militants and later in the 2nd Plenum of Komala.

The OSCPIA includes all those comrades who were previously active either as the organisations of the supporters of Komala and the UCM abroad, or as groups and individuals who had separated their ranks from the various populist organisations and had turned to revolutionary Marxism, and thus to defending the independent interests of the working class. The OSCPIA is fighting towards the realization of the Programme and tactics of the Communist Party of Iran. It has thus set its tasks to introduce the Communist Party of Iran as the sole class organisation of the Iranian proletariat and as one of the battalions of the world army of the working class, to the communists and workers of the world; to propagandise the positions and policies of the CPI; to mobilise material and moral support for the CPI; and, in one word, to aid and defend the CPI in every possible way. The OSCPIA sees itself also duty-bound to give direct assistance and support to the workers' and revolutionary movement in Iran and in Kurdistan, and to mobilise extensive material and moral support for these movements. The OSCPIA also considers its internationalist task to support the communist, workers' and revolutionary movements throughout the world.

The OSCPIA is organisationally independent from the CPI and accepts responsibility for its own activities and practice. The OSCPIA will publish the *Bolshevik Message* as the central paper of this organisation, the tasks of which have already been outlined in the first issue of the paper.

The Executive Committee of the Organisation of the Supporters of the Communist Party of Iran Abroad

December 1983

We, the OSCPIA, take full responsibility for all the translations, articles, news, etc., in the *Bolshevik Message*.

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Contributions

We would like to thank the following for their contributions:

- Aban (Italy) A contribution of 25,000 Lire.
- Giovanna (Italy) A contribution of 20,000 Lire.
- Yashar (Italy) A contribution of 12,000 Lire.
- Roma 84, Alfanso Mostafa and Nadia (Italy) A contribution of 10,000 Lire each.
- Yosof (Italy) A contribution of 5,000 Lire.
- Mohammad, Ferydon (Sweden) A contribution of 1500 Kronas each.
- F.M. and S. (Sweden) A contribution of 1000 Kronas each.
- Mehnoosh and N.L. (Sweden) A contribution of 500 Kronas each.
- Comrades from Sweden A contribution of 15,000 Kronas each.
- Silvey (France) A contribution of 100 Francs.
- Anne (Germany) A contribution of 30 Marks.
- Akbar (Germany) A contribution of 10 Marks.
- A. (Norway) A contribution of 235 Kronas.
- Comrades from Barnsley (Britain) A contribution of 218 Pounds.
- Sahand and Nahid (Britain) A contribution of 25 Pounds.
- Peyman and Neda (Britain) A contribution of 12 Pounds.
- Comrade from Scotland (Britain) A contribution of 10 Pounds.
- Shiva (Britain) A contribution of 5 Pounds.
- Parviz (France) For medical supply

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From P.7

"under the leadership of the working class?" ("The Myth ..."(1),P.5). And it replies: "In our belief, from the viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism, the answer to the above question is negative. The economic foundation of the dependent capitalist system necessitates an ineluctable tendency towards naked and all-sided dictatorship; and, in a system where the capitalists in this system, regardless of which stratum of the bourgeoisie has come to power, so far as it has to realise the necessities of the rule of the total social capital under imperialist conditions, cannot be democratic; and the necessary democracy for the mobilisation of the working class towards socialism can only be achieved through a revolutionary movement, under the leadership of the working class, and against the bourgeoisie". (Op. cit. pp.6)

It is under the shelter of this medal of honour and the epithet of "national" that the workers are called upon not to speak about soviets and syndicates, accept lower wages, and work for longer hours so that the "national" industries develop, so that the "wheels of the economy get rolling", so that the "productive forces develop", and the "country becomes industrialised". And thus, the workers are practically surrendering to the economic advisers and executives of the bourgeoisie society.

What does the "national bourgeoisie" mean from the viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism? For us the answer to this question is clear. National and independent bourgeoisie can only be defined as the class reflecting the existence and operation of national and independent capital. The independence of capital does not at all mean independence in the ownership of the different forms of capital (money, instruments, commodities). Independence of capital can only be defined as the independence of national and profit-making by capital - i.e., the independence of the exploitation relation; and the capital independent of independent national capital can only be a capital which provides and maintains the conditions of its profit-making (i.e., the conditions of wage-labour exploitation and independence of national system). With this definition, the assumption of the existence of national capital and national bourgeoisie in the dependent capitalist system of Iran is fundamentally empty and meaningless." (Op. cit. pp.18&19)

The theoretical-political value of the "Myth ..." is in that it specifically shows how the populist organisations in Iran view capital not from the standpoint of Marxism but from the viewpoint of capitalist. They understand capital in its various forms of appearance, i.e., as money, means of production, and commodities. The essence of capital, which is the confrontation of wage-labour - i.e., labour-power turned into a commodity - and capital, is completely forgotten and the capitalist system reduced to a commodity economy and consequently the dependence of the capitalism in Iran is expressed at the level of technological, market, and monetary dependence, and at most, as the dependence of a commodity (and not capitalist) economy. Thus, in the field of political struggle, the victory of the revolution in Iran explained in terms of the abolition of this dependence and the establishment of national and independent capitalism.

In the continuation of this non-Marxist and bourgeois outlook, when capitalism is relegated to commodity production, no room remains for the Leninist view of imperialism, and this is defined and presented not as capitalism at its

The Communist Party of Iran is the political and nationwide organisation of the working class in Iran. The ideology of the Communist Party of Iran is Marxism-Leninism. The Communist Party of Iran has set its task the organisation and leadership of the struggle of the Iranian working class against the bourgeoisie in all its aspects, and on the basis of its Programme is fighting for the seizure of political power by the working class, the destruction of the capitalist system, the setting-up of socialism and moving towards communism.

The Communist Party of Iran believes in proletarian internationalism, and considers its task the solidarity with the struggles of the world working class, the struggle for the world unity of the working class, and endeavour for the formation of a new Communist International.

The first article of the "Constitution of the Communist Party of Iran"

from P.11

All all these events and developments in Kurdistan have been those who have tried to claim a share of the cake. Recent publications of the Mojaheden carry large articles describing the "valuable participation" of the Mojaheden, in the day to day struggle in Kurdistan and in particular their involvement in the battle in "Alan" region, north of Kurdistan. The falsity of such claims is crystal clear to the local residents who had themselves fought in the recent battle in the area. However, the Mojaheden's claims are not to convince the people of Kurdistan of their commitment for the revolutionary movement in there but is to suit their propaganda campaign in the West which is intended to make their international allies, the Social Democracy, believe that they too have influence in Kurdistan and should they come to power, they would easily harness the revolutionary movement in there. To such empty claims, the people of Kurdistan have their answer to offer, just as they are offering their struggles to the years-long claims of the Islamic regime about "cleaning Kurdistan from infidels".

Nooshin

from P.9

highest stage of development, but in its Kaskyite interpretation, i.e., as the foreign policy of the advanced capitalist countries, as a collection of economic, political, and cultural intrigues, and as a mechanism of extraterritorial "plunder".

The pamphlets of the "Myth ..." expose these bourgeois views of capital and imperialism and show how the illusions about national and independent capitalism serve well in the hands of the liberal bourgeoisie to harness the proletarian movements of our epoch. Although the discussions centre primarily on the critique of the non-proletarian views previously dominant in the left movement in Iran, they are nevertheless a critique of the fundamentals of these views throughout the world. They are of particular significance for the comrades in the dominated capitalist countries where illusions about "independent capitalism" and "democratic and anti-imperialist bourgeoisie" have become important obstacles in the way of the proletarian movements. We recommend the reading of these pamphlets to all communists throughout the world.

Behrooz

To be published soon :



PROGRAMME
OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF IRAN



PROGRAMMA
DEL
PARTITO COMUNISTA
DELL'IRAN



The Manifesto, Messages, and Resolutions
of the
FOUNDING CONGRESS
OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF IRAN

SEPTEMBER 1983

Approved by

The Founding Congress of the Communist Party of Iran
September 1983

APPROVATO DAL CONGRESSO FONDATARE
DEL PARTITO COMUNISTA DELL'IRAN
Settembre 1983

Recent Events in Kurdistan

During the past two months, the Islamic Republic regime has shifted the Iran-Iraq war from to the north of Kurdistan, and has also positioned large numbers of its troops and heavy artillery in that area. This new phase in the ongoing assault of the regime on Kurdistan is the continuation of its sporadic attack on the northern parts of Kurdistan which have not been under the control of the regime since 1979 Uprising. The regime has intended to make a decisive "victory" in the very short time left before the cold season.

The coming winter, which will be accompanied by heavy snow fall in Kurdistan, will deprive the regime of its logistic facilities in the area and hence would restrict the communication between its military units and the command personnel on the field. To alleviate its casualty, the regime has no option but to retreat its forces to fortified garrisons in safe areas. As a result of this natural disadvantage to the regime, which has already inflicted some restraint on its demoralised personnel, more than two bases to the south of Kurdistan have been captured by the Peshmargas of the Kurdistan section of the CPI (Komala). In October, the base of "Gordan" which is 7km from the Sapehr (Sanandaq) road and situated in an occupied area, was captured. Following that in less than 15 days, other bases namely "Avihan" in Sanandaq area, "Garan" base in Divandareh, and "Nedji" base in Baneh were captured by the Peshmargas of the Kurdistan section of the CPI (Komala). The advances made by Komala Peshmargas took place at a time when the regime had intended to "settle for ever" the question of Kurdistan, a matter for which it was even prepared to sacrifice heavy loss of lives. And indeed during the last two months the regime has demonstrated its willingness to sacrifice large numbers of personnel. Only in contact with the Peshmargas of the Kurdistan section of the CPI (Komala) during this period, it has lost over one thousand of its troops, a death toll of 40 times more than the casualties on the Peshmargas. To compensate for these heavy losses and to break the unwavering morale of the militant people of Kurdistan who are not bowed to the pressures of economic blockade, mass deportation, massacre, mass executions, hunger and lack of basic sanitation, etc., the regime has resorted to continuous shelling of villages, and to the use of chemical bombs. On 23 October 1983, the village of "Bayenjan" in the "Sarshiv-Sapehr" area of Kurdistan was attacked by two fighter planes of the Islamic Republic. The village and its surrounding areas were subjected to chemical bombardment. As a result of this savage and anti-human act, a number of the villagers were killed and the rest of the inhabitants including women, men, children, elderly now suffer from poisoning which has caused sickness, nausea, dizziness, suffocation, pain in the eyes, and acute inflammation of the skin.

The people of Kurdistan not only have not yielded to these atrocities, but have made even more epic in their struggles. One such recent act of heroism happened in the "Alan" area, north of Kurdistan, which has been extensively shelled by the regime during the third week of November; the local residents and in particular the residents of "Bogewi" and "Gavishan" villages participated in a wide range of activities

in the war, ranging from forming logistic teams, transporting ammunition to the front and taking the injured to the rear, to the active participation in the battles. Their involvement undoubtedly played a determining role in inflicting high casualties on the regime and disrupting its advance eventually. When the regime succeeded to seize the besieged village, all the residents of the village left in protest. This is yet another proof of the firm faith of the people on the political grounds for the revolutionary movement in Kurdistan exist and the class-political motive forces of the revolution are not washed hands of continuing the struggle, it can not be questioned by any military pressure.

As a result of the intense and heavy attacks on Kurdistan, the regime has caused widespread and extensive homelessness, and as a result of the forcible evacuation by the regime of the people living in the border areas, and in the Iran-Iraq war zone, the question of refugees has become yet another gloomy episode in the five-year old war in Kurdistan. In this connection a Relief Committee has been formed in the Iranian Kurdistan. "The Committee to Support the Refugees of Kurdistan" has set its aim to deal with the situation of the refugees who have fled from their homes and are now living under severe conditions. In his latest communique, the Committee spokesman said: "The Kurds to the Kurdish area, and by transforming Kurdistan into the battlefield for this unwanted war, the Islamic Republic regime has recently forced a section of the Kurdish population who lived in the proximity of the border areas, to leave their homes and live homeless and under severe conditions. Some of these refugees have been able to find shelter with the help of their relatives and friends and have escaped hunger and cold. However, other include men, women, children, and elderly, are at the moment staying in the mountains under the most arduous conditions. Especially in the winter, they are seriously threatened by hunger and a variety of diseases, and now even their lives are in jeopardy."

But despite all these bloody and at the same time, epic-making events in Kurdistan which has now been transformed into a militarised zone, the Communist Party of Iran held its Founding Congress in the liberated areas. This historic event has been welcomed by workers and toilers of Kurdistan who have realised that only communists are the leaders for emancipation from all these miseries. Following the conclusion of the Founding Congress of the Communist Party of Iran and the announcement of the formation of the Communist Party of Iran, celebrations were held both in the liberated and the occupied areas of Kurdistan. Among these were the celebrations held in villages of "Sarshiv-Sapehr", "Darman-Avi", "Garleh" in the liberated areas and in the village of "Gavishan" situated near the "Kamyaran-Sanandaq" road close to one of regime's bases. The celebrations at that village ended with the song of the International. Comrade Abdolhik Montazeri, the General Secretary, then delivered a speech on 7th September in "Alan", the very area which 20 days later was severely shelled by the regime's artillery. The regime's attitude to the unrelenting resistance of the local residents and Komala Peshmargas. continued on p.10

Victory to the Revolutionary Movement of Kurdish Masses !

Workers of the World, Unite !



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.

From the "Manifesto of the Founding Congress of the Communist Party of Iran"
2nd September 1983

LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF IRAN !