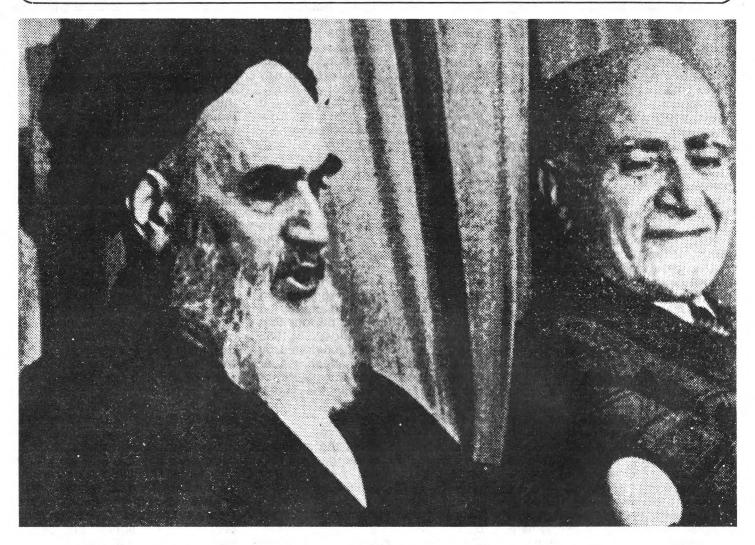
## **INFORMATION IRAN**

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## Who are the liberals in Iran?

During the Russian Revolution in 1905 and 1917, the position of the revolutionary forces and revolutionary leadership toward the "liberal bourgeoisie" was a key question. On this question, the true revolutionaries (the bolshevilks) demarcated from both the conciliatary elements (the menshevilks and socialist revolutionaries) and the anarchists. In Iran this question was even more important. The Russian revolutionaries called them "demagogues", supporters of "pacific resistance", those who were more afraid of the masses than of the tsar, who supplicated to the

powerful for their demands, "monarchists", etc. In Iran they are called "conciliators", "reformists", "false friends", "cowards", "monarchists", "constitutionalists", partisans of the "National Front", etc.

Who are the liberals in Iran?

Since its origin there have been two distinct lines in the Iranian democratic and anti-monarchist movement.

On one side, a revolutionary settling of accounts with the despotic fascist power, for a complete rupture with imperialist domination, for violent struggle to seize political power from the hands of the feudal bureaucracy for the benefit of the workers and labouring masses.

On the other side, a liberal line, the line of the monarchist bourgeoisie that has always tried to use the revolutionary struggle of the masses and their democratic aspirations for the profit of the national bourgeoisie, some sections of the urban petit-bourgeoisie and also liberal land-owners.

The leaders of this line have used their diverse liberal tactics with both the reaction and the masses. They

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have always tried to scare the reactionary governments and imperialist powers with the spectre of the anger of the masses and of revolution, to obtain, of course, their piece of the cake. They have also always tried to scare the masses in front of the guns of reaction with the aim of cooling their revolutionary enthousiasm, to be able to reap the rewards of their deals with the reaction.

In Iran, the liberals set their alarm clocks by the feelings of the masses, every time that the masses rose for democracy. Thus they woke from their profound sleep of compromises and went to beg for "freedom" and "liberalization", at the feet of their masters in government, all the while counselling the masses to behave in a reasonable way when the masses didn't listen to this call for reason, they lined up with the reaction to crush the revolutionary movement that was a threat for them too.

The liberals' alarm clock has also always been carefully set at the appropriate time to reap the rewards of the masse's revolt: when the battle led by the masses against the despots and fascists came to term they came out of hiding to seize the positions of power left vacant. Let's briefly retrace the facts and moves of these "honorable" liberals in the recent history of Iran.

In 1891: a contract between Nasradin Shah Qajar and a British company which thereby obtained all the rights to buy, sell, and distribute Iranian tobacco in return for an annual payment of 25,000 pounds sterling to the Shah and 15,000 to the government. This contract was rejected by the people: everywhere the masses rose up to combat the government and the company. The government was forced to cancel the contract in 1892. However this great victory did not transform itself into a struggle for the overthrow of the feudal power of the Qajar, for two main reasons: conciliation with the liberal bourgeoisie (mainly merchants at that time), with the reaction due to its fear of mass movements, and also the weakness of the revolutionary forces.

In 1905 in Iran there was a wave from the base against tyranny and colonization. Crushed under unbearable living conditions, the masses revolted against the corrupt and despotic regime of the Qajar. The revolution lasted 6 years. It brought a reign of terror, it forced the revolutionary democratic tradition of

the people; but it did not lead a fundamental change of the semi-feudal semi-colonial Iranian society. Why? When the bourgeoisie, which had numerous links with the feudal rulers and the imperialists, had the leadership of the movement and had the choice between the masses and reaction: it chose reaction. When the urban middle and petty-bourgeoisie had the leadership, it collapsed due to its weakness. In 1908 it was too late for any of these classes to direct a democratic revolution. It would have taken a revolutionary proletariat which did not yet exist.

During the Second World War and the years following, conditions for a victorious democratic revolution appeared. The reaction had lost control of the situation. The working class was organized within the Tudeh party. The national bourgeoisie and the pettybourgeoisie also had their organizations. The international conjuncture was favourable. Again defeat! The reasons? Bourgeois reformism dominated the working class movement, the leadership of the Tudeh party and the National Front begged for reforms rather than organizing the revolution. This period that started in 1941-42 ended in 1953 with the coup d'état orchetrated by the CIA against Mossadegh, leader of the National Front. The majority of the opportunists within the Tudeh party escaped to Europe.

In 1963, again the people rose up. As there was no revolutionary organization to direct the struggle, the National Front reorganized and once again went begging for reforms. 1,500 people were killed in street combat and the Shah-Kennedy duo tightened its control on the country. During this period, the National Front's slogan was "Monarchy yes, Dictatorship, no." The monarchy and the dictatorship came throught reinforced.

In the latest episode of the Iranian revolution, we find the "honourable" reformists with the same line as in the 40's and 60's and also with the same authors: San'jabi, Bakhtiar, Bazargan, etc. Once again their alarm clock rang at the right moment and they got up to try to make a new deal with the reaction. They almost succeeded, but this time, rather than restraining their efforts, the masses intensified their struggle each time the liberals counselled them to behave in a "reasonable way".

This time the liberals entered the action in 1977 with a letter from the leaders of the National Front addres-

sed to the Shah, warning him of mass discontent and the danger of revolution if he didn't accord some "concessions" and a bit more "democracy". The Shah didn't listen to them and the masses moved forward. Letter after letter by bourgeois intellectuals were addressed to the Shah and his prime minister. But the Shah thought he could continue to reign with the same methods and he refused all concessions, which in any case, he has not in a position to accord. He replaced Hoveida with Amouzéar, a younger prime minister trained by the CIA. That didn't work. He installed the government of "national reconciliation" of Sharif-Emani. That satisfied most of the liberals. Bazargan supported it, the National Front declared itself ready to negociate with it. Bazargan asked the masses to be "reasonable" and criticised the securlar and religious radicals for their negative attitude toward the government. But the masses went ahead. A military government seemed to be the only way out for the shah and the USA but that didn't work. Finally one of the leaders of the National Front was chosen by the Shah to crush the mass movement. The liberals succeeded in closing their deal but they were too late. The revolutionaries were already strong in the movement and the working class was in the front ranks of the battle with the cry "Death to reconciliation, disgrace to the reconciliators" and "Down with Bakhtiar". They overthrew Bakhtiar's regime with their force. That was the only way to treat this old liberal and new reactionary who had "inadvertently" crossed the "subtle" boundary that separates the liberal bourgeoisie from the reaction in Iran.

The people made the revolution but a liberal was installed at the head of the government and another page in the history of the liberals begun. The liberals are in power but what are they doing with the power? Up until now they have tried to quiet the people, to disarm them, to tell them that the revolution is over; but the masses no longer listen: they continue revolution, forcing the government to withdraw its anti-democratic and counter-revolutionary policies (for example the Kurds have already won the recognition of their national rights). The masses are getting prepared for the next round when political power should fall into the hands of those who made the revolution: THE LABOURING MAS-SES, NOT THE LIBERALS.

# The land question in Iran

The question of land in Iran, is a fundamental issue in the development of economical and social aspect of the country. In the final analysis, not only the economical development is dependent on the land question but event the political progress and all the issues of democracy and political liberties are linked to this question. Further more, from the point of view of the working class which is preparing a more advanced political struggle, it is an important question, because in the fight for democracy against the bourgeoisie and the camp of imperialism, the working class has to unite with the masses of peasantry and fully support their democratic demands. This unity is of great importance since the national bourgeoisie with its liberal characteristic can any time adapt a conciliatory position towards the reaction and imperialism. This unity is for the purpose of a democratic revolution which would be further advanced towards socialism.

Acre	Population	nb. of centers	%	area of the centres
- 1	3,027,785	734,274	29.6	259,904
1 to 2"	1,543,214	322,193	13.0	443,704
2 to 5"	2,694,577	541,592	21.8	1,732,892
5 to 10"	2,262,704	427,934	17.3	2,953,476
10 to 50"	2,545,598	428,074	17.3	7,500,764
50 to 100"	1,257,009	16,269	0.6	1.073.722
100 +	62,385	9,553	0.4	2,452,929
	12,261,972	2,479,889		16,417,391

*This list was par	t of leaf	SACRES	OF PA	Iran	IL
Event					
Azarbaijan and Ku	rdistan	unrieina			
Oil workers' strike	uistan	uprising			
July 21th uprising					
Aug. 19th coup					
Brick-laying worke	er's strik	es			
June 5th uprising i	n Tehra	n			
January Qom upris					
Aug. 19 Rex Cinem					
Sept. 8th-Bloody F Nov. 4th-Tehran	ryday				
University			dama	nstration	
Dec.	1-4				
Dec.	10-18			struggles struggles	
Mashad	10-10	,		uprisings	
Martired	by			regime's	
Savak	N	,		gang	
Damanaturtinus	of	last	30	vears	
Demonstrations					

	erage area
1.6	0.35
2.7	1.37
10.5	3.2
18.0	6.9
30.7	17.5
6.5	16.0
15.0	256.77
	6.6

Date	Minimum
1946 1946 1952 1953 1959	Death 43,000 57 1,200 27,000 50
1963 1978 1978 1978	8,000 5,500 720 4,200
1978 1978 1978 1978	68 17,500 1,300 750
	9,200 35,000 4,900

It is difficult to get a clear picture of the villages in Iran since the regime had always distorted the figures and statistics.

With this point in mind, we refer to the figures released by the shah's regime in 1974. About 3.3 million families with a population of 17.3 million lived in villages 80% of this population, i.e. 2.6 million families with a population close to 14.7 million were involved in agriculture and cattle raising. 83.5% of the last group own their lands on which 2,479,889 agricultural centers are concentrated. The distributing of land is shown in the following table:

From the seven groups in the table, the first 5 represent the peasantry which some own and others rent their land while the last 2 represent the big landlords and feudals, part of them being capitalist and semi-capitalist units. The poor peasantry

The first 2 groups which work on small lands represent the semiproletariat in the rural area. More than a million families concentrated in these areas while active in handcraft industry, cannot support themselves, therefore they have to work as labourer in bigger lands for landlords or get involved in road construction as cheap labour. It is from the 4.5 million people of this group and peasants without land that the majority of the migrant peasants to the big cities or from one village to another have been formed.

To the 3rd group which has an average of 3.2 acres and cultivate about 60% of the land, also lives in poverty. They are getting some of their income from handicraft products and still cannot support themselves and have to work for other rich peasantry or landlords and also sell the labour force of their families. Therefore, we consider the first 3 groups among the poor peasantry.

#### The middle peasantry

The 4th group to some entend represents the middle peasantry. They hold an average of 7 acres of land and cultivate about 4. 5 acres of it. Over all, this section can not drive its income solely from the agriculture (with the most backward means of production). They almost produce enough to be self sufficient. Other sources of income come from the handicraft industry like rugs and other products. With the economical crisis, some of them join the ranks of the poor peasantry. Therefore the first 4 groups in total represent 9.5 million of the population of the villages (77% of the peasantry). The land question fundamentaly has to be directed to this 9.5 million and the big number of peasants who do not own any land. These are the acres that receiced all the misery and being cut in the middle of a never ending process of transforming from feudalism to capitalism.

#### The rural bourgeoisie

On the other side, all those holding over 50 acres (1% of centers) with a population of over 200,000, i.e. 2% of the above population hold 3.5 million acres of land, and 2.4 million acres of this land belongs to 9,000 families with a population of 60,000.

So the pictures look like the following 7,300,000 people (1.5 million families) own 2,400,000 acres; on the other side, 60,000 people (9,000 families) own the same amount of land as 60,000 landlords (i.e. 0.8% of the above population). That is why the land question is such an immediate problem to be solved.

Here if we add the numbers of peasants which have no land (and the industry cannot absorb them) to the poor peasantry, and thousands of acres which under differents names belong to agricultural cooperations, companys and have been taken away from the peasants or have not ben mentionned in the above figures to hide the true facts, then we clearly understand the sharp contradictions in the rural areas in Iran.

### The role of women in the struggle for independance and democracy in Iran

The question of Iranian women has caused much ink to flow lately. Bourgeois information media have used the latest demonstrations by Iranian women to propagate the idea of a return to the past in Iran, that the fall of the Shah's regime was worthless and that finally the revolution in Iran brings to light only one thing: the present regime is against the progress so appreciated by the Shah's regime!! As for the femenists Kate Millet style, they're working to better isolate the women's struggle against this "big chauvinist Khomeyni" and his whole clique, in this context it includes all Iranian men!

To understand the situation of Iranian women well and the role they presently play, which is very tightly linked to the struggle of the working class and of the Iranian people for democracy and independence, it is necessary to answer various questions: what were the conditions of Iranian women under the Shah's regime? What contribution did the women of the working class and of the people make to the overthrow of this fascist regime? What do Islamis laws "offer" women? Why it is necessary that they participate fully in the pursuit of the revolution of the Iranian masses for democracy and independence?

## The oppression and exploitation of women under the Shah's regime.

Under the Shah's regime and his so called "modernization", there was no question of considering women of the Iranian peasantry as being part of the active population. And what did "liberalization" mean for women of the working class? Lowes wages than men, which is something when you think of their horrendous wage conditions! As well, the women had no job security, and, of course, when pregrant, they had no revenue. Women getting married were just as much held in contempt, marriage requiring the father's permission, or, in his absence, his brother's regardless of the women's age! As for the women already married, she could only obtain her passport with the written consent of her husband! Prostitution and other degrading occupations were the lot of many women because of a lack of security and a high level of unemployment. So that's what the emancipation of women meant under the Shah's regime! Furthermore, the Shah's point of view expressed during an interview with an Italian journalist, say much about the "path of progress" concerning Iranian women: "In the life of a man, women only count for their beauty and grace and if they know how to stay feminine (...) you can be equal before the law but certainly not in the domain of capabilities. You have produced nothing equivalent to Michaelangelo or Bach (...), you have produced nothing great, nothing!"

### Women's role in the overthrow of the Shah's regime.

To understand the women's contribution in this great victory, it is important to cite living example of this participation. The role of women workers was among the most significant in the democratic antiimperialist revolution in Iran, a country where all strikes were illegal. In March 1971, the Shah's fascist police fired on the women workers of a textile factory in Tehran, also arresting several among them. In April 1972, a teacher, Ashraj Dehghani, was imprisonned because of her active participation in an armed revolutionary organization. In the Shah's prisons not only was she submitted to the most barbarous tortures but she also prepared and successfully carried out her escape from a maximum-security prison to rejoin the ranks of the clandestine

revolutionary struggle. The role of the students as much in Iran as in other countries was among the most important for the whole of the student movement. In February 1973, when the fascist regime tried to impose new measures of oppression and exploitation on the labouring masses, the students led a heroic struggle opposing them, leaving 28 martyrs including 5 women.

Throughout these last 2 years, women have continued to play an important role in the new wave of struggles. But this time it hasn't been solely working women and intellectuals but also women 60 years old, housewives no longer able to put up with the isolation of the four walls of their kitchen, not able to let this murderous regime continue to crush the people. By the thousands they poured into the streets, first raised and armed with sticks. But some ask, why are so many women still wearing the veil in the demonstrations? Let a student of the university of Tehran answer us: "For us, wearing the veil is a way to protest against the regime. For one year the government didn't allow women who wore the veil access to school or university".

In Iran, what succeeded in destroying one of the most dictatorial and criminal regimes in the world? The movement of the real masses and there can't be such a movement without the participation of women who represent 47% of the population in Iran.

### Recent events, the Islamic road and the pursuit of the revolution in Iran!

For the first time, last March 8, women demonstrated in the streets



to celebrate International Women's Day. This right had been scoffed at for so long! However the overthrow of the Shah's regime does not necessarily bring about the end of the struggle for the recognition of equal rights for women or for all the demands of the Iranian people. Recently Khomeiny threatened to take repressive measures against women who neglected to wear the chador (veil). The Iranian women of the working class and people, supported by their class brothers, did not hesitate to answer this attack. By the thousands they came into the streets.... but to demonstrate against what exactly? A regime of men each as chauvinistic as the next guy with at its head this ignoble Khomeyni and his government, as so loudly shouted to so-called "avant-guarde" feminist Kate MIllet and the like? That was not the case: Iranian women demand the freedom of choice. Never having accepted the discrimination against those who wore the veil (under the Shah's regime), they would no more accept being forced to wear it! This revolt is not directed against men but rather against the Islamic pillory that Khomeyni is flashing at them. The Coran not only says how a good Moslem woman should dress, it also says that she should not work outside her home! The demonstrations by the Iranian women were successful in getting Khomeiny to back up. It showed the way to the working class and to the people in the struggle for the recognition of their rights and demands. It showed that only massive mobilization and revolutionary unity of the masses can bring victory and serve as a basis for the pursuit of the revolution in Iran.

We are still far from this truly democratic State that will guarantee all fundamental democratic rights in Iran, among others, equality in law and in fact of men and women in all aspects of life. Only the unified struggle of the working class, the peasantry and the Iranian masses will show the way to obtain these demands. Women are continuing and will continue to play an important role in this new phase of the struggle of the Iranian people.

As said Khoshow Roozbeh, leader of a revolutionary organization within the Shah's army during the 40's, at his "trial":

"Without the participation of women, the revolution cannot be victorious!"

### The Iranian people have shaken imperialist strategy in the Middle East

The recent events in Iran have shown how a determined people is capable of standing to face the reaction and win victories of historical importance. Braving the sophisticated arms of the Shah's fascist army, the Iranian masses ended up by winning out over an ultra-reactionary regime sold out to imperialism, especially Americain, realizing in one swoop a democratic anti-imperialist revolution which, even if it has yet to be consolidated, has seriously shaken the strategy of international imperialism, especially in the Middle East.

It is important, first of all, to note that the victory of the Iranian people constitutes an eloquent denial of imperialist propaganda which presents the revolts of the Iranian masses as instigated by religious fanaticism. The day after the overthrow of the Shah, American imperialism and the other imperialist powers hurried to advise the reactionary regimes of the Middle-East who are their allies, to keep a watch in the future so that "modernization" (read extreme exploitation of the labouring masses) does not raise "religious fanaticism". There is the clear proof that the imperialists and all reactionaries are incapable of properly interpreting social phenomena and history. What actually happened in Iran is the result of the exacerbation of the contradictions of the feudal-bourgeois Iranian society. It is the explosion of the anger and the people's hatred accumulated through many years against the dictatorial regime of the Shah and against imperialist domination.

To conquer true sovereignty over their country and to overthrow the reactionary ruling classes are the aspirations that guided the actions of the Iranian masses. The peoples of the Middle East share those same aspirations because this is on of the regions of the world that has a major importance for imperialist strategy, and where imperialism, especially American, exploits and oppresses millions of workers by relying on ultra-reactionary regimes. For the American superpower and its allies of the aggressive bloc of NATO, to maintain their hegemony over the Middle East is a matter of life and dealth. They plan to achieve this by relving on the Zionist State of Israel and on the pro-imperialist Arab regimes of Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Jordan, etc. That is how, when they saw the situation get out of control in Iran, the American imperialists undertook numerous approaches with Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Jordan with he obvious aim of reinforcing their grip on these countries. The haste of the signing of the Begin-Sadat agreements has as sole objective the strengthening of imperialist control on the region, to accommodate itself to the situation created by the victory of the Iranian people. On the other hand. Soviet socialimperialism, claiming to be a "natural ally" of the Arab peoples, is feveriskly looking to put into effect its hegemonist plans in the Middle East by relying on countries like Iraq, Syria, Afghanistan and South Yemen.

The Iranian people have shaken up this whole imperialist strategy. They have shown the other peoples of the region that no force can resist a people in insurrection guided by a firm will to win freedom and democracy by opposing revolutionary violence with reactionary violence. The peoples of the Middle East will follow the example of the Iranian masses and if tomorrow they arise, it won't be to defend "religious demands" as the reactionaries claim, but to win freedom and make the revolution. Their only objectives will be to overthrow the various reactionary cliques in power in the region, to drive out imperialism and social-imperialism, and to bring the revolution to final victory.

The victory of the Iranian people is another encouragement to the

Palestinian people who will affirm even more their determination to struggle against Zionism and imperialism (especially American) up to total victory. In its struggle, it will always be able to count on the support of the Middle East peoples, the Iranian people and all the peoples of the world. The people of Iran have greatly demonstrated their support to the Palestinian people by demanding that the new government kick the Zionists out of Iran and by giving active support to the Palestinian resistance.

The Iranian democratic revolution is a major failure for all the imperialist powers in the Middle East. It is the beginning of the end for imperialism and reaction in the region.

#### (From page 8)

peoples' donations. Many shopkeepers have cut the prices of basic food and are selling them at token prices. Some merchants and small businessmen have turned their shops into food distribution centers; where eggs are sold at \$.05 each instead of the former price of \$.25-\$.30 each. Rice, sugar and cooking oil are also being sold at cut prices and sometimes the shopkeepers make up the losses from their own pockets.

In many neighborhoods in Tehran, Tabriz, Shirax, Jarhom and other cities the local committees have taken over distribution of scarce supplies of kerosene and gasoline and coal. In Mashad and Shiraz the people organized a system of rationning private car fuel so that the doctors and nurses would have enough gas to carry out their rounds and care for the many wounded in the streets.

Oil workers in Abadan and Ahvaz began to organize political councils in which the worker's deputies would make all decisions on fuel distribution themselves. Attempts to start up production in order to supply fuel to the military have been defeated and some fuel tanks and trains en route to military bases were seized by the workers in Arak and the fuel confiscated for distribution among the people.

Mashad and Shiraz are only two examples among many where the hospitals themselves have been taken over by the people and the doctors are providing free medical care. Especially in those cities where the army had attacked people not only in the street but in homes, schools and even inside the hospitals, neighborhood committees have organized and armed their own militia troops. In Mashad, for example, troops sprayed the hospital corridors with machine gunfire, even killing some of the children in these cities, the people have organized their own militias and revolutionary councils of youths, women, workers, teachers, and hospital staff.

Throughout the province of Fars, the people have been fighting the troops to the point where most of the army has been driven out of the area entirely. At the border of each city and town, local youths and university students have set up patrols to check the trafic in and out of town. High school students direct all trafic in major cities, even in Tehran, and also clean the streets and collect garbage.

In Shiraz and surrounding areas. virtually everything is in the hands of the people: all factories, services, water, and electrical power and trade. Local peoples' courts have brought Savaks and mercenary to justice and many Savaks have been hanged in Mashad, Kermanshah and Shiraz. In January, revolutionary students and youths, both Moslem and Marxist, stormed the Savak headquarters in Shiraz, broke into the prison and released a number of prisonners. The casualties were very heavy among the students, but because they were armed, they were able to inflict defeats on the police and Savaks.

Where the people are armed either with guns or their own hands weapons they have organized their own security committees. In Mashad, virtually everyone is organized into peoples' militia units, even with sticks in their hands as their only weapon, and they have forced the troops to stay outside city limits.

In Tehran, a major obstacle to the Bakhtiar government has been put up by the office workers and even the doormen in the government ministries. They have refused all access to the buildings by the Bakhtiar cabinet members! In the Foreign ministry, the employees formed their own action committee and began to draft articles of Iran's new foreign policy, breaking all relations with the reactionary governments of Israel and South Africa.

Workers in major industries and factories have begun to organize their own unions and associations. In many places, one of the demands of the workers is that they be allowed several hours a week for political meetings and discussions. In at least one Tehran factory, the workers demanded — and won — two hours off every day for political seminars. (Los Angeles Times, Jan. 19) When striking workers and their

When striking workers and their families run into hardships, local committees organize to produce extra supplies of food and clothing. Textile workers go to work for next to nothing, or on their own time, sewing clothes and people work day and night to produce hundreds of pounds of bread daily.

"Power station workers until recently were blacking out the city just before the military-controlled evening news came on television. Telephone employees have in-



stituted a daily cut in service, and a committee at the Central Bank has stopped the supply of money to local banks." (Los Angeles Times, Jan 19)

The power cuts were organized also to provide a cover for darkness for demonstrations and surprise attacks on the army after curfew hours were in force.

Virtually all local and provincial transportation is in the hands of the workers and local committees. Railroads, trucks and fuel tanks are supervised and organized by the people on the basis of areas in need of supplies for strikes and medical care.

Taba Hospital in Tehran has been renamed 17th Shahrivar Hospital after the date of the Bloody Friday (September 8) and the doctors and staff are offering free medical treatment.

In Abadan and Ahvaz, the entire population is organized around support for the oil strikers and all food and fuel supplies are rationed and distributed to maintain the workers strikes and assist their families.

These militant action committees, cooperatives, neighborhood councils, peoples' courts citywide militias are vivid exaciples of the creative and energetic initiative of the people. In countless ways, the entire population — but especially the students, youths and workers — are demonstrating that the people themselves are infinitely capable not only of running the country, but of organizing all the productive capacity of the country and its hard working citizens for the well-being and benefit of the people themselves.

These examples of organization and political control by the people indicate the extent to which millions of people are organizing their lives around this struggle, administering to the needs of the population in order to strengthen their ranks for revolution.

The workers' councils and people's militias and cooperatives are no substitute for political power itself. They are, however, powerful tools for difficult tasks ahead and they show the maturity and ripening of the mass movement as it gathers strength for future battles.

The unlimited vitality of the people has been released and their unity forged in these months of revolutionary struggles. The courage and militant fighting of the working people of Iran is writing bold new chapters in our history and offering inspiring examples to the peoples all over the world.

## People organize for revolution



### (February and January 79 period)

One way to understand the Iranian revolution is to know what people are doing on a very practical and every-day level during these very stormy times. For example, much has been written about the paralysis of the economy and the disruptions or cancellations of such essential operations as food distribution and fuel transportation. How are people solving these problems? How is it possible for them to conduct massive demonstrations and engage in direct combat with the army nearly every day?

If no one is capable of running Iran except the Shah, a council of fascist bureaucrats and thousands of American advisers, then how do they explain the fact that under their "administration" they have made an absolute mess of the entire political, economic and social fabric of Iran?

The second point we wish to make here is that they are showing that

they can organize and run the country even now. Examples of their activities are too numerous to detail entirely in one issue, but we will describe a few of them.

In many parts of the country, the people have organized cooperatives and "militant action committees" in their cities, town and neighborhoods for the distribution of food and fuel and even clothing. There are about 25 food cooperatives in Tehran itself, most of them supported by the