

# **IRAN<sup>IN</sup> STRUGGLE**

**UNION OF IRANIAN STUDENTS IN THE U.S. (UISUS)**

**Supplement No. 1**

**The Message of the Organization of  
Mojahedeen of the People of Iran to  
the Militant Students Abroad.**

**The Letter of the Organization of  
Mojahedeen of the People of Iran,  
in Response to the U.I.S.U.S.**

**March, 1978**

## Introduction

The documents that you read in this pamphlet are the most recent views of the Organization of Mojahedeen of the People of Iran (OMPI, a revolutionary communist organization) on the student movement abroad and some related subjects.

The once unified anti-imperialist movement of Iranian students abroad, and its organization CISNU, have undergone drastic changes in the past three years. The CISNU has split into its composing elements and some new tendencies have appeared in the meantime. As a result, now there exist several student organizations, each representing a tendency in the Iranian movement. And the splits have not yet been exhausted.

Any attempt to explain and analyze the Iranian student movement abroad in such a short space is futile. We hope to be able to present our analysis of the recent history and the current status of this movement and its different forces in the near future.

The Union of Iranian Students in the United States (UISUS), is a mass, anti-imperialist and democratic organization. Since we are convinced that the Organization of Mojahedeen of the People of Iran puts forward the correct line and appropriate tasks for our democratic movement, we are organizing our activities on basis of this line and these tasks.

DOWN WITH THE FASCIST SHAH'S REGIME,  
THE PUPPET OF US IMPERIALISM!

VICTORY TO THE IRANIAN PEOPLE'S  
NEW REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT!

Union of Iranian Students in the United States

March 1978

**The Message of the Organization of Mojahedeen  
of the People of Iran to the Militant Students  
Abroad:**

COMRADES, MILITANT STUDENTS, MEMBERS OF THE STUDENT  
UNIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS:

Along with our warm greetings, we wish you more success in your struggle against the puppet regime of the Shah and its imperialist masters, in defense of the democratic rights of the Iranian people and the struggle of the laboring masses and conscious forces of society, in support of the militant revolutionary organizations and groups, and in defense of the political prisoners.

We admire your spirited struggles, your political exposures, hunger strikes, demonstrations, occupation of the regime's embassies and consulates, and especially your violent, united, and organized demonstrations against the traitor Shah's visit to the U.S. and France (in November, 1977 - tr.). We are confident that the continual and persistent struggle of the advanced students against the rightist, collaborationist, liberal bourgeois currents within the student movement, its ever growing solidarity with the revolutionary movement and conformity with the objective realities of society will play a significant role in its upsurge and in cleansing and consolidating the ranks of the student movement.

Comrades,

In the past two years the Iranian society and revolution have witnessed encouraging changes and upheavals which nonetheless are sensitive and deserve our close attention. In this period the criminal Shah's regime utilized widespread man hunts, expansive preparations and new tactics to trap and murder revolutionaries and communists. But despite all these efforts, it once more failed to achieve its main goal, i.e., the destruction of the revolutionary and communist organizations and groups. The series of concentrated blows by the enemy which have resulted in the collective loss of many experienced revolutionaries and honest and steeled communists since spring, 1976, could not reach our organization and threaten it in this way.

These attacks were met and smashed by steel wall of resistance, vigilance and initiative of our organization's members and leadership. Immediately after the second wave of extensive blows to the Organization of the Iranian People's Fada'i Guerillas in July, 1976, the leadership of our organization prepared defense and preventive measures and plans. At the core of this plan was the evacuation of all the base-houses and storage houses, and the severance or alteration of all the fixed traces in a period of less than three days. We carried out this delicate plan in its entirety two times, once in early fall, 1976, and again in mid-winter, 1977. Under such circumstances there were moments when not even a single one of our comrades possessed a small safe room, and in the whole organization there did not exist even one fixed track. Under these conditions our comrades had to think of a different way to spend each night. Many of them spent the night travelling to nearby towns. They slept while travelling and headed back in the middle of the night. Thus the organization inevitably lost furniture, technical supplies, printing equipment and immovable property worth tens of thousands of dollars. All the organization's plans and programs were suspended until the setting up of new bases, solution of the problem of the cadres' security, and appropriate re-organization. Despite all this we were not unhappy in performing such a difficult and formidable task, and in

bearing its countless hardships and obstacles. The enemy's plot to penetrate other groups and organizations -- by obtaining fixed leads, following them quietly, and gradually trapping many cores and sections of the target organizations, until reaching the highest ranks of the leadership, and then destroying the organizations's leadership and its main networks in a series of sudden, effective blows -- could not be carried out against our organization. For this very reason, in this period as in the past our organization was never attacked through the discovery and seige of any of its members' base--houses. For reasons which in our view are mainly due to the underestimation of the enemy's tactical strength, negligence of the past and present experiences of the movement, and an arrogant and individualistic attitude in the face of the enemy's tactics and movement's urgent problems, other organizations suffered extremely dangerous blows by losing many militant and honest members. The enemy had been able to trap those revolutionaries in their base-houses through obtaining reliable leads or penetrating inside their organization. But now such tactics could by no means be successful when used against our organization.

For this reason the enemy was forced to search the streets. Suddenly the number of the enemy's patrols in the city (Tehran - tr.) was increased three or four times. One initial estimate shows that at this period, that is late 1976/early 1977, when the police had basically our organization's destruction on its agenda, the number of secret police patrols in Tehran exceeded 200-250, while before then this number fluctuated between 35 and 50. This period witnessed a sharp increase in the number of underground revolutionaries involved in accidental confrontations, captured in enemy traps on the streets, or individually arrested. In fact the police patrols were no longer acting blindly and in a haphazard manner, but most were organized in groups which, using different means such as photographs, films and informants, were specifically searching for one or two particular individuals. Each of these

groups possessed a great deal of information about the physical characteristics, the places frequented by, or even the style of walking of the desired persons. Comrade Bahram Aram, the distinguished and experienced member of our organization's central leadership, was martyred in this way.

During this time some members of our organization were identified, surrounded and gunned down by the enemy. They, however, were trapped not in their new base-houses or in connection with new fixed traces, but rather in isolated and accidental incidents. Some of the militants of other groups were also martyred or caught by the enemy in the same manner.

In every such incident, the enemy's savagery and its extreme fear of the revolutionaries' resistance led it to firing on number of passers-by. Its unfounded suspicions were also responsible for killing and causing other damages to common passers-by.

But the enemy's new tactics were finally discovered and neutralized as much as possible. Through patience, perseverance, and bearing many hardships, we gradually neutralized the series of dangers which threatened every single member of our organization. In this effort, the experience of those comrades who, having been identified and entered the enemy's trap, had been able to break the siege and escape its attacks, and thus made known to our organization the new methods of the enemy, were very effective.

At any rate, our organization has now left behind this stormy and turbulent period. But another storm is looming: The revolutionary storm and turbulence of the masses which is as promising and encouraging for us as it is dangerous and dreadful for the enemy, and which only the first signs of its appearance has shaken the Shah's puppet regime.

Our organization, while repairing the losses and damages of the recent blows, is also preparing itself to greet and welcome this storm with all its might.

This preparation takes place at two levels: At the theoretical level, i.e., resolving the political problems of the current stage of Iran's democratic revolution, summing up the experiences and results of the previous periods, investigating the criticisms applicable to some of the past views and methods of work; and at the practical level, i.e., devoting all the organization's forces and capabilities to political consciousness-raising work among the working class, work among the laboring classes and participation in their daily struggles. The active participation of our organization in the heroic movement of the masses in Tehran's outskirts\*, the participation of members and even executive officers of our organization in these struggles, learning from them and in turn giving these struggles leadership and political orientation is just one example of our readiness to greet the rising storm of mass struggles. This is also the beginning of that tremendous effort necessary for the development and consolidation of the new mass ideas and thinking within the organization.

Our organization will in the near future publish its members' initial reports of these struggles, and also its latest views about the developments within the movement and society. For this reason we leave further explanation and discussion on the above subjects to those publications.

---

\*In recent years, housing has become an acute problem for Iranian working people. The high price of housing and various oppressive regulations by the city governments have led many working people to build their homes outside the limits of major cities. While there they are deprived of the "amenities" of city life--whatever they may be!--they are not off-limits to the oppressive laws and repressive agencies of the regime. The regime's agents harass and blackmail these people and often raze their →

BRIEF REMARKS ON THE INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIETY  
AND THEIR MOST IMPORTANT RESULTS FOR THE STUDENT  
MOVEMENT

The growth of capitalist relations in the society, especially with the circulation of billions of dollars obtained from the sale of oil in the recent years, has gained extraordinary momentum. This growth has resulted in a more decisive polarization between various classes and strata of society, especially between the bourgeoisie and the laboring classes of people. On the other hand, the rise of these relations and the appearance of a wide stratum of middle capitalists (liberal bourgeoisie) who do not have an adequate share in the ruling power and the oligarchy of the Shah's clique, have put pressure on this ruling power not only from the masses of people, but also from a wide stratum of the ruling class, i.e., the liberal bourgeoisie. Thus today not only the survival and existence of the Shah's regime is threatened by the democratic classes of society -- the proletariat, the poor and middle peasantry, and the revolutionary urban petty bourgeoisie -- from a revolutionary angle, but this regime is also facing some opposition even on the part of the wide stratum of liberal bourgeoisie. Although these conditions are another indication of the inevitability of Iran's democratic revolution, and the fall of the Shah's power and the ruling oligarchy into the pit of destruction and annihilation, yet they present Iran's revolution and the society's revolutionary and communist forces with problems and dangers.

---

homes. Many times these heroic working people have fought the regime's agents who had come to destroy their homes. These clashes were particularly severe and bloody last summer (1977) in the outskirts of Tehran in which several people were killed, many persons, including agents, were wounded and a number of the city's offices and vehicles were burned or destroyed (tr. note).

At the center of these problems and dangers lies the ideological penetration of the liberal bourgeoisie and its political and organizational hegemony in the democratic revolution of Iran. This grave danger seriously threatens the true preservation and victory of Iran's revolution and must be dealt with through great and intense political and ideological struggle. Otherwise it will lead to the total and complete rule and dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in place of the rule of the people and the truly revolutionary and democratic forces of society.

Obviously, the liberal bourgeoisie will resort to each and every means, intrigue, and dealing in order to obstruct the revolution, take over its control and leadership, and prevent the complete overthrow of the Shah's regime and the criminal clique of the shameless middlemen of imperialist capital in Iran. Now among the representatives of this bourgeoisie, those who have penetrated the communist movement of Iran under the cloak of Marxism-Leninism are the most dangerous, and the struggle against them is the most difficult. The basis of their theories and views are:

1. Separating the struggle against the Shah's dictatorship from the struggle against imperialism and the treacherous clique of the ruling mercenary comprador bourgeoisie in Iran, in other words, leaving out this important point: that Shah's regime is not limited just to his dictatorship, but also includes the clique of comprador capitalists and reactionary puppets of imperialism.

2. Leaving out or rejecting the revolutionary road of overthrowing the ruling regime of Iran, and this important point: that the ruling regime in Iran will be completely overthrown only through the revolutionary violence of the masses, and their armed insurrection and struggle.

3. Leaving out the necessity of the hegemony of the proletariat in this revolution, and the inevitability of the unity of Iran's democratic

revolution with the proletarian revolution, and covering up this truth: that in the era of imperialism, of moribund and decadent capitalism, Iran's democratic revolution is part of the world proletarian revolution, and it finds its international allies not in the liberal bourgeoisie, but in the truly socialist countries, the conscious and militant proletariat of the advanced industrial countries, and the oppressed peoples in the countries under imperialist domination.

4. Shamelessly placing Iran's liberal bourgeoisie--which is, directly or indirectly, utterly dependent on imperialist capital, and its contradictions with the proletariat and the laboring masses of society is intensified everyday--implicitly or explicitly among the democratic forces of society, thus hiding the treachery and capitulationism of this class in the democratic revolution. Also, paving the road for the capitulation and surrender of the democratic revolution by the liberal bourgeoisie through erasing the demarcation between democracy and liberalism and thus including the liberal bourgeoisie among the proletariat's allies in this revolution.

5. ....

For example slogans such as "the united front against the dictatorship", "change the Shah's dictatorship to the Shah's democracy", and "the national republic" are all liberal bourgeoisie slogans which contain all these blatantly capitulationist distortions.

Thus in the present conditions, when the liberal bourgeoisie is spreading its poisonous ideology amidst the masses and the politically conscious strata of society, when the communist movement of our country lacks the necessary relations with the working class movement and is in the worst state of dispersion, the necessity of active political--ideological--organizational work among the working

class, and the cleansing, consolidation and unification of the ranks of the communists, and consequently the necessity of fighting against the penetration of these forces (i.e., liberal bourgeoisie-tr.) in the revolutionary and communist movement, and exposing liberal bourgeois illusions are not lost on any communist or communist organization. Thus a united all-encompassing struggle against the revisionist, reformist, and treacherous trash of the Central Committee clique of the Tudeh Party\* and its formal and informal satellites, the struggle against religious reaction, against their capitulationism, reformism and reactionary provocations, and the propagation of the slogan of violent overthrow of the regime based on the armed insurrection and struggle of the masses should be the foremost goal of the ideological struggle of the communists and other consistent revolutionaries, and in this case, abroad, they should be the main goal of the political--ideological struggle of the advanced students, especially the Marxist-Leninist activists of the student movement. In reality, the struggle against penetration of the liberal bourgeoisie's ideology and the victory over all lines connected with it within the student movement abroad, are not insignificant. For

---

\*The Tudeh Party was formed in 1941 as an anti--fascist petty bourgeois party although sometimes calling itself the working class party. It had an important role in the struggle of Iranian people in the 1941-53 period. After the 1953 CIA coup it was practically dismantled: many of its honest members were killed or arrested, some of its leaders fled the country and some others betrayed the people and cooperated with the Shah's regime. The leaders regrouped in Eastern Europe and in the early 60's, the leadership sided with the Soviet Union in the Sino-Soviet split. Since then the Central Committee of the Tudeh Party is Iran's main revisionist party and the main Iranian agent of the reactionary and counter-revolutionary government of Soviet Union (tr. note).

under the present conditions this movement is the only above-ground section of our people's democratic movement and therefore, until the overthrow of the dictatorial regime's rule, any change in the balance of forces in this movement in favor of the proletariat and the consistent democratic revolutionary forces, or in favor the liberal bourgeoisie and its petit bourgeois cohorts within this movement has considerable significance in itself and also in terms of its effect on other parts of the democratic movement. Therefore, in our opinion, if the organization of the truly democratic forces of this movement within the framework of a more limited but truly democratic organization is better able to provide the conditions for the necessary resistance and struggle against the wave of liberal bourgeoisie within this movement, it is quite correct for the democratic masses of this movement to organize within such a framework and insist upon their principles rather than attempting to organize a wider organization in which the possibility of the usurpation of its leadership by the liberal bourgeoisie (or those forces which voluntarily or otherwise step in the same direction) exists. Of course the practical approach to this question always depends upon the balance of forces and a correct appraisal of them. And it is the conscious masses, activists, and farsighted and honest leaders of this movement who can, better than anyone else, understand this question and make correct decisions on it.

Organization of Mojahedeen of the People  
of Iran

January 1978

## **The Letter of the Organization of Mojahedeen of the People of Iran, in Response to U.I.S.U.S.**

COMRADES, THE SECRETARIAT AND MEMBERS OF THE UNION  
OF IRANIAN STUDENTS IN THE UNITED STATES,

please accept our warm greetings.

We received your letter of September, 1977, which was written after "recurrent discussions about how to increase and expand the defense, cultural and propaganda activities around the new revolutionary movement....."

First, we would like to thank you for your acquainting us with your discussions and the current issues of the student movement. Now, concerning the points raised in the letter:

1) Concerning reproduction and distribution of our organization's literature you have asked "whether the U.I.S. should limit itself to reproducing and distributing your general, democratic works--or loosely, "non-ideological" works--such as "the News Bulletin", "the Appearance of Iranian Imperialism in the Region....", etc., or can it expand its range of activities to include the reproduction and distribution of all the publications of your organization, including your ideological-political works?" Unfortunately, the question is raised in a very



short and concise manner, so that we do not have exact information about the different aspects of the "vague and unclear problems" which you have encountered in the course of "recurrent discussions." Naturally, further explanations would have helped us to investigate the question in a more comprehensive way, i.e., taking into account the problems, obstacles and limitations of your field of activity, and also the considerable and reliable experience of you fighters of the student movement abroad. Nonetheless, in response to the above question we must say that we can not set any political restriction in principle on democratic organizations which declare their readiness to reproduce and distribute our organization's literature. Moreover, the communists always consider it their duty to expand their activities in democratic organizations to the degree, and engage in political and ideological consciousness raising work in those organizations to the extent that--in accordance with the class composition and the level of political consciousness of the organizations' members--the positions of those organizations ever more approach the policy and ideology of the communist organization or party and their democratic activities are directed towards strengthening the policy and political line of the communist organization. Thus we naturally welcome your intent to reproduce and distribute our organization's literature on a wider scale. In fact, when the question has been raised for your organization whether it can reproduce and distribute the political-ideological publications of a communist organization-- and here the Organization of Mojahedeen of the People of Iran-- and you predicate this task on the view of that communist organization, it means, among other things, that your organization has reached such a political-ideological level that it can support a communist organization through the reproduction and distribution of its works and that it is ready to participate in publicizing the line and viewpoints of that organization in some way. To elucidate the question further, we can approach it from another angle, i.e., through considering the program and orientation, the practical program, and finally the organizational framework and norms of your organiza-

tion. The political and practical program of your student organization can fall anywhere in the spectrum composed of the political and practical programs of (1) a general student organization (in which all students participate solely because of their common academic demands, regardless of their ideologies and political viewpoints), and (2) a student organization which has specific democratic positions on different domestic and international issues, such as the ex-united, world-wide confederation, and (3) the current world-wide student organizations, each practically affiliated with a different line and political-ideological view, and finally, in the last and most advanced position in this spectrum, the political and practical program of (4) a communist student organization.

So your organization will face tasks according to its position in the above spectrum. For example, regarding the distribution of a communist organization's literature, the organization of the first type does not have such a task. The same is true of the organization of the second type, which cannot defend only one political revolutionary organization because of the existence of different tendencies within it. Whereas the two more advanced organizations naturally engage in activities particular to themselves, i.e., the former (of the third type--tr.) supporting a particular political viewpoint and line, and to some extent\* supporting a particular ideology, and the latter (of the fourth type --tr.) propagating a communist policy and ideology. We think that these brief remarks provide the basic answer to your questions.

---

\*This extent is further specified by the more detailed characteristics of this organization and its exact location in the spectrum between the organizations of the second and the fourth types.

2) We will discuss our views on the principal issues of the student movement on another suitable occasion in our future publications. But we think for the moment it is necessary and possible to briefly mention a few points:

A) The developments of the student movement in the past two years can be thus formulated: its ever more defined orientation towards concordance with the new revolutionary movement and its needs and necessities, more pronounced polarization and more specific political-ideological demarcations among the different forces in the student movement, and struggle against rightist and collaborationist lines. These developments serve the Iranian people's new revolutionary movement and speak of a more pronounced orientation towards the democratic revolution of Iran which, reciprocally, can result in solving many of the student movement's problems. These developments, which concretely stem from the internal developments of society (polarization of classes in society and its new formation) and the revolutionary movement (the specific political and organizational rise of the forces of the popular classes and strata), are of utmost importance and require even more efforts by the advanced students, particularly the communist activists of the student movement, to give a more correct and decisive direction to this movement.

B) The rise of liberal bourgeois currents in the society in the past few years and, consequently, the infiltration of liberal ideology and line in our country's revolutionary and communist movement are the most important dangers threatening the movement of the toiling masses of people, and therefore the student movement abroad. These liberal bourgeois currents, whose most important political-organizational manifestation is the Central Committee of the Tudeh Party, are bent on poisoning the masses' thinking and disseminating their revisionist, reformist, collaborationist and capitulationist illusions in so-called communist and also religious covers. The importance of this danger becomes obvious when we note that our country's communist movement, despite its high quality and its great potential, on the one hand lacks the minimum necessary link with the movement of the working class and, on the other hand,

is in an extreme state of dispersion and disunity. Naturally under these conditions-- when the liberal bourgeoisie has increased its political-ideological influence and has thus embarked on poisoning the thinking of the toiling masses and the politically conscious strata of the people, and, with the help of the wavering and liberal elements in the revolutionary and communist movement, i.e., the fifth columns of the liberal bourgeoisie within the movement, has even succeeded in turning its political--ideological influence into organizational influence and also in creating new organs--the necessity of active political-ideological-organizational work among the working class and the cleansing, consolidation and unification of the ranks of the communists and, consequently, the necessity of fighting against the penetration of these forces in the revolutionary and communist movement and exposing liberal bourgeois illusions are not lost on any communist or communist organization. Thus a united and all-encompassing struggle against the revisionist, reformist and treacherous trash of the Central Committee clique of the Tudeh Party and its formal and informal satellites, the struggle against religious reaction, capitulationism, collaborationism and reformism, and the propagation of the slogan of "the violent overthrow of the regime based on the armed insurrection and struggle of the masses" are the foremost aims of the ideological struggle of the communists and other consistent revolutionaries--and in this case, abroad, they are the foremost aims of the political-ideological struggle of the advanced students, particularly the Marxist-Leninist activists of the student movement.

C) Also, the struggle against any kind of ideological capitulation in the student movement, including the struggle against the view that due to their secondary and rear guard position the political-student--intellectual forces abroad can not or should not take stands regarding the political-revolutionary forces inside the country, is another task of the activists of the student movement, especially the communists.

In fact, propagating views such as "they (the students) have no need to distinguish between different trends" or they should not choose a specific ideological direction means nothing but preaching "an unprincipled and unserious attitude" in the student/intellectual movement abroad.

Thus, especially under the present circumstances, any compromise in this respect, i.e., failing to specify political-ideological borderlines in the student movement under the guise of preserving unity, etc., means nothing but helping the spread of the influence of bourgeois ideology and policy in the student movement. And contrary to what some people believe, clearer demarcations not only do not hurt unity, but rather strengthen the principled unity of the student movement in favor of the communists.

Comrades,

Our views and considerations on the student movement and its current problems do not end here. We will talk on this matter again in the near future.

We shake your hands and wish even greater success and progress for the Union of Iranian Students in the United States.

Organization of Mojahedeen of the People  
of Iran

December 20, 1977



ORGANIZATION OF MOJAHEDDEEN OF THE PEOPLE OF IRAN

ADDRESS:

P.O.BOX 246  
CRATER ADEN  
PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

BANK ACCOUNT:

ACCOUNT NO. 59397  
STREAMER POINT BRANCH  
NATIONAL BANK OF YEMEN  
PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

U.I.S.U.S.  
P.O. BOX 744  
BERKELEY, CA. 94701