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The Islamic Republic Regime: A Question of Stability



Today, the central question in any analysis of the situation in Iran is the question of the government's stability. Has the Islamic Republic regime established itself? Recent events might suggest as much -- Khomeini's recent 8-point decree, which, among other things, bans arbitrary searches and arrests, is seen by some as a move towards liberalization; at the same time, an "Assembly of Experts" has been formed to appoint a successor to Khomeini before his death.

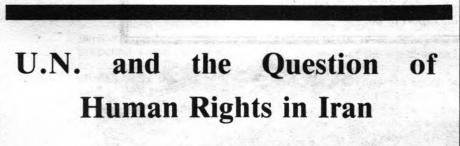
Power Struggle

A more careful analysis, however, reveals an on-going power struggle between two factions of the regime for full control of the government. This confrontation has resulted in many issues being forced into the open, which worries those in power even more; in a speech to Parliament members, Khomeini warned that "the biggest danger facing us today is the possibility that people might turn their backs on the government." The two groups struggling for control are the more traditional merchants, the "Line of Imam," against the "liberal" industrial bourgeoisie and members of the Hojatieh, the "New Coalition." The "New Coalition" controls the Council of Guardians under the Hojatieh, and the government bureaucracy under the "liberals," while Parliament is controlled by the "Line of Imam." Following the popular uprising of 1979 to overthrow the Shah, political power was siezed by the Islamic Republic Party, representing the same tendancy as the "Line of Imam." This ascendancy was made possible by the party's control of many nongovernment institutions, such as the Pasdaran ("Revelutionary Guards") and various "Islamic Associations." Indeed, the "Line of Imam" was powerful enough to end Bazargan's provisional government in November 1979, and to oust Bani Sadr from the presidency in June 1981. However, the "Line of Imam" proved to be incapable of solving the economic problems.

In the meantime, though, while deprived of political representatives, the "liberal" bourgeoisie took control of the government's rebuilt bureaucratic machinary, occupying managerial, ministrial and army posts. They were now in a position to attempt to manage Iran's crumbling economy, and allied themselves with the Hojatieh who control the "Council of Guardians."

The polarization of these two factions has resulted in ever-increasing conflict within the government itself. While Parliament has been examining ministers, the "Revolutionary Guards" have been changed from an independent institution to a ministry under government supervision. Bills

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THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC REGIME: A QUESTION OF STABILITY

...JUZZI ZIKITAI

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Has the Islamic Republic regime of Iran established itself?

U.N. AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN IRAN!

U.N. Resolutions on Iran; Why the U.N. mechanism fails to adhere to the principles enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?

INTERVIEW WITH ONE OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS OF O.I.P.F.G.

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SAMAD BEHRANGI

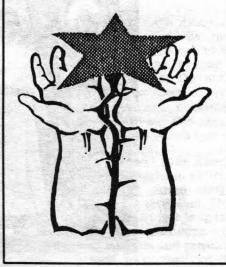
An iconoclast... The father of children's genuine literature, and the father of a new generation.

To envisage the horrid and gloomy scene of Iran under the Islamic Republic is very difficult if not impossible. The invincible faith of this regime in brutality can only be compared with the period of Inquisition. The intensity and frequency with which fundamental freedoms are being repressed, has become so habitual that such outrages fall into oblivion as if these tragic and heart-rendering occurance have no bearing on the conscience of humanity.

The Islamic Republic has made stumbling attempts to exhibit its political apparatus as being unvulnerable to the reaction of the International community. Although the phlegmatic attitude of the Iranian government has generated negative repercussion as to the efficacy of any measure, given their political isolation, the government authorities have failed to conceal their dread of criticism.

In light of the intolerable and unjustified silence of the mass media, progressive organizations have striven to portray the tragedy before the international community. The outcry of the Iranian people has hitherto gone unheard. Scattered and organized efforts have been undertaken by a great many organizations and personalities to raise human rights violation in Iran, but the issue has not yet received the attention it deserves.

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The Islamic Republic Regime: A Question of Stability

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for land reform and nationalization of foreign trade passed by Parliament have been vetoed by the "Council of Guardians." On the question of a successor to Khomeini, the "Line of Imam" favors Ayatollah Montazeri, while the "New Coalition" is calling for a 5-member council.

Khomeini himself has tried to maintain an apparently neutral position between the two factions; the question of how his successor is to be chosen has been turned over to an "Assembly of Experts." But events indicate that he has been leaning toward the "New Coalition"--he has instructed Parliament to consult with the "council of Guardians" so that bills passed would be acceptable to the council, and his 8-point decree in effect curtails the power of the "Revolutionary Guards," local "committees" and "revolutionary courts," and brings them under government authority.

Economic Conditions

In Spite of political changes, Iran is still a dependant capitalist economy linked to the world capitalist system. While different factions put forward different policies to solve the economic crisis, they all agree on the direction the economy has taken.

The government has begun reviving many projects halted by the uprising. A billion dollar contract has been signed with Talbot company of England to supply kits and spare parts for the Iran National car assembly plant. In February 1983, the Financial Times of London revealed that a sea liner had been purchased by Iran in order to facilitate transportation of British exports to Iran on a monthly basis, an arrangement which has strengthened the relationship between the two countries whose economic ties, according to the report, have been steadily increasing.

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Picking successor—Iranian leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini casts his vote during general election for an 83-man Assembly of Experts

The two major trade partners of the Islamic Republic regime have been Japan and West Germany. Nippon steel, Toyo-Kgyo and Nissan light and heavy weight trucks are some of the companies involved in trade with Iran, and work on a petrochemical complex in southern Iran, a project started during the Shah's time, has been resumed. A contract with PFAF of West Germany has also been signed to manufacture 100,000 sewing machines annually. Despite these as well as other projects, net private investment in the past four years has been negligible. Big capital in banking and insurance as well as big manufacturing is now owned and operated by the government which has been able only to prescribe short-term remedies. Financed by oil revenues, imports constitute the largest economic activity of the government. Only an estimated onethird of the productive capacity of the economy has been utilized, and most

Despite overwhelming evidence to the contrary, the regime has gone out of its way to propagandize the idea of accessible "self-sufficiency" in agriculture and industry. Newspapers carry stories of Iranian officials claiming that Iran will be "exporting computers" in five years, and the deputy minister of heavy industries has announced that "in the near future, export of goods will replace the export of oil." that will select his successor. No deadline has been set for issuing final results. If panel cannot agree on one man, a council of 5 or 6 may rule.

major plants, such as Iran National car factory, work only one shift.

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Rampant inflation has been a persistent problem for the regime. The official rate is 30 percent, based on pricing a bundle of goods at Islamic cooperatives. The unofficial rate is well into the 80-100 percent range, since prices on the open market are at least three to four times the official prices. Meat is sold for \$20 per kilo (\$10 per pound), while government-run distribution centers supply 1.5 kilos for a family of four per week at \$10. The price of a pack of cigarettes has reached \$10 on the black market. In many cases the government has been the source of inflation, as disclosed during a questioning session of the minister of agriculture by parliament members--the cost of fish imported from Sweden through Argentina had come to 77 cents per kilo; it was sold for \$5 in the market, and the price increase was explained to be due to a 200



The profligate clergymen; Ready to serve the republic of gallows.

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ONTERVIEW with one of the central committee members of 0.1.P.F.G.

Excerpts from a recent interview with one of the central

committee members of the Organization of Iranian People's Fedali Guerrillas.

How do you evaluate the current situation in Iran and what are the prospectives?

It is now over a year that the Islamic Republic Party (IRP), has put into effect an undeclared martial law. Where does this originate from? It stems from two factors: The deep crisis facing the regime and the mounting disconent of the masses and their disillusionment towards the regime. Finally to survive, the regime finds no other alternative but to imprison thousands of people and to execute tens of revolutionaries on a daily basis and establish unbridled and overt terrorism. If the regime had any presitge among the masses, it would stop such acts to preserve the appearance. After the June 20th event, the regime assumed that it could bring prevalent discontent under control by resorting to waves of terror, by filling prisons with revolutionaries, and expelling progressive workers from the factories. But after a while it became obvious that even those policies could not save the regime and on the contrary have made it weaker and more unstable. The reason is that the regime is in grips with irresolvable contradictions hastening it to the brink of collapse. These contradictions are rooted in the profound economic and political causes. Poverty threatens the lives of millions of toiling masses. Unemployment has reached up to 5 million. The wages of the few percent of toiling masses who are employed are decreasing drastically. Under such conditions, the regime has resorted to naked terrorism. The IRP has divested the most fundamental political and human rights. None of the governments in the world, even the most reactionary dictatorial regimes in Latin America, can be compared world can you find a regime which executes tens of revolutionaries everyday? This regime even ridicules science, and is attempting to destroy primary schools, nurseries, and replacing them with old-fashioned primitive religious schools. Where can you find a regime which would so much interfere with the people's private lives? Surely the reactionary government of Iran cannot get stabilized with the continuation of such policies. We will definitely witness a large massive reaction against these policies.

Once again we would like to know what the viewpoints of the OIPFG on the "National Council of Resistance" and the People's Mojahedeen are.

The resolutions of our first congress state that as long as the union of the liberals and the Mojahedeen is maintained, participation in this coalition is not permissable. The organization is willing to unite with the revolutionary forces, including Mojahedeen, on the basis of the minimum program of proletariat, in the democratic revolution. Probably, today after a year and a half, the Mojahedeen, on the basis of the minimum program of proletariat, in the democratic revolution. Probably, today after a year and a half, the Mojahedeen, have realized their mistakes. Prior to the June 20th event, we alarmed the Mojahedeen about the prejudicial results of their union with Bani Sadr (ex-president), and insisted on the establishment of a revolutionary alternative, the main basis of which would have been the OIPFG and the PMOI. This could have been the only revolutionary alternative at the time. The reflection of the union of Mojahedeen and Bani Sadr was manifested in their deviationism, the examples of which are their attempt to seize power from above, and a series of tactical armed movements which have had no significance. As a matter of fact they seem to be merely on a duel with the regime. Obviously our organization which defends the interests of the working class and toiling masses could not approve the union of Bani Sadr and Mojahedeen. But instead we propound a coalition of all revolutionary forces. We also advocate the tactics of general political strike and armed uprising and the minimum program of proletariat in the democratic revolution. The Mojahe deen has continued its deviated line. Instead of responding to the revolutionary positions and viewpoints of our organization, they have chosen illogical methods. After a 17 month delay in publishing their official organ, "MOJAHED", recently they have decided to republish it. Before doing this the activities of this organization inside the country were not consciousness awakening and were limited to duels with the regime. Now that they have become aware of other forms of struggle, for justifying their long silence, they

are denying the revolutionary steps taken by the revolutionary organizations, in particular, of ours. They do not pay attention to the fact that "KAR", OIPFG's official organ, has been being published under ruthless suppression. Yet the Mojahedeen are trying to portray this task as insignificant and worthless. The OIPFG as a part of the representatives and defenders of the working class has been able to propagate and promote its viewpoints among the people. The OIPFG as a Marxist-Leninist organization is trying to materialize the objectives of the present stage of the revolution.

If Mojahedeen are true revolutionaries and true democrats, they should break down their union with the liberals and choose a program which would be in the interest of the strata represented by the Mojahedeen. If they are real democrats, they should choose a platform in which shattering of state machinery and dissolution of army are given priority. For one cannot believe in democracy at the same time defend the existence of an anti-popular army.

We once again remind the Mojahedeen as a revolutionary organization to revise their political stand in accordance with the lessons they have learned from the past. They should break down their union with the liberals and accept the political mobilization tactics as the main tactics in the current situation, and also accept a revolutionary plan of action for overthrowing the antirevolutionary and reactionary Islamic Republic regime.

Considering the alterations and the changes in the Middle East and also considering the recent imperialist aggression and invasion of your area, what are your evaluations of the present forces of the world arena?

As you know the epoch we live in, is the era of decay of capitalism, the era of proletarian revolutions and finally the transitional era from capitalism to socialism. This era is the most outstanding and tempestuous period of revolutionary movements. It is also a turning point in the thousands of years of history of deprived peoples who have risen to smash the chains of slavery and captivity, and free the world from oppression and exploitation of class society. As history has shown bourgoisie, as a reactionary and moribund class, has stood and fought against the dynamic revolutionary class, the proletariat, and the history's march toward socialism and communism.

This class, despite the developments of the last half a century which have culminated in its downfall in some regions of the world, is striving to hold on to power and survive.

Imperialism is facing deep chronic social crisis, and due to its internal contradictions has chosen the most reactionary policies against humanity. Imperialism has no other choice but to resort to militarism. Imperialism and Zionism have encroached on the people of the Middle East and made the most brutal attacks on them.

The recent developments of the Middle East transformed the political balance in favor of imperialism and reaction. This is the result of the weaknesses of the liberation movements themselves, and at the same time of the policies that have been practiced in the region. The lack of leadership of proletariat and also lack of a dominant revolutionary and decisive line are among the factors which have caused the weakness and dispersion of the movement in the region.

The war between Iran and Iraq and the policy of continuation of the war by the Islamic Republic is serving the Imperialist's intentions and zionish expressionsism. By imposition of this war. imperialism and Zionism tried to divert the public opinion from the Palestinion movement as the most powerful and organized movement in the region and to disintegrate Arabs. This policy paved the way for the imperialist and zionist's attack on the Lebanese and Palestinian movements. Now this is an indisputable fact the Palestinian movement has been forced to retreat at the present time. Undoubtedly, with a series of revolutionary political changes in the region, Palestinian movement can get a higher position. Although imperialism has

tried to attack the revolutionary forces throughout the world, it has been compelled to retreat in general. Currently, except for the countries which have irrevocably liberated themselves from imperialist camp and have moved towards socialism, all across Asia, Africa, America and Europe the struggle against imperialism is being continued.

Presently Latin America is the focus of the most critical struggle against imperialism, and the head of all bandits ot the world: U.S. imperialism. In El Salvador, Guatemala, Chile and etc. this struggle is getting close to a final victorial battle. In Asia and Latin America these struggles in all forms especially armed struggle

especially armed struggle are being carried on. There is no doubt that in spite of all attempts by imperialism to maintain and perpetuate itself, its eventual downfall will be inevitable.

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percent duty tax levied against most imports.

Shortages of basic necessities are compounded by housing shortages. In Tehran an average 2-3 bedroom apartment costs \$500 per month, in addition to a security deposit ranging between \$12,500 and \$25,000.

According to the annual report of the Statistics Bureau, Iran is faced with the shortage of 3.5 million houses, this figure will soon reach 4 million. At the present time, 13 million Iranians are homeless. The population of the country is 38 million out of which $\frac{1}{3}$ lack any housing.

While there are no official figures for unemployment, an estimated one third of the work force is presently unemployed. A bill has been passed "allowing" women to work part-time in order to create jobs for unemployed men. Many unemployed workers have joined the migrant labor market of the Gulf states; a recent Iranian government report estimates that Iran could earn up to one billion dollars in foreign exchange from the remittances of these workers.

The regime, hard pressed for foreign exchange to pay its huge imports bill, to finance its war with Iraq, and to cover the vrojected 1983-84 budget deficit, has embarked on improving its credit rating with western banks. City Bank has been paid \$125 million, Chemical Bank \$26.4 million, towards repayment on loans outstanding since the Shah's time, while Manufacturer's Hanover Trust, Chase Manhattan and Bank of America are still waiting. Agreements on the rate of interest on frozen assets to be paid to the Iranian government have not been disclosed.

Iran has fought against further reductions in OPEC prices, because the previous \$34 a barrel ceiling permitted the regime to undersell its oil at \$27 on the spot market, a crucial advantage for Iran whose customers have to pay for higher costs of transportation and insurance from war-stricken Iranian According to the annual report of the Statistics Bureau, Iran is faced with the shortage of 3.5 million houses, this figure will soon reach 4 million. At the present time, 13 million Iranians are homeless. The population of the country is 38 million out of which $\frac{1}{3}$ lack any housing.

ports. The recent price reduction to \$29 per barrel, and lowering of Iran's production quota to 2.2 million barrels, will have severe effects on the regime's income and budget deficit.

Social Conditions

The economic hardships and extreme repression imposed by the regime have produced spontaneous demonstrations of anger and frustration, and discontent is widespread, as perhaps indicated by the morning after the announcement of the lifting of the ban on travel, when tens of thousands lined up in front of the visa and passport office.

Opposition to the first draft of the Labor Law by both pro- and antiregime workers has been even more overt. This law renders work as a private contract between owners and suppliers of work, with no government supervision, and even regime-run Islamic workers' councils have protested. Despite repressive government policies, labor strikes are not uncommon, and according to a report by the Organization of Iranian People's Fedaii Guerillas, in the past year an estimated 150,000 workers in more than 90 incidents have demonstrated against the regime's policies on firings, unemployment, cutting of benefits, and reduction of minimum wage.

Kurdistan

After the 1979 uprising, the different nationalities of Iran began to put forward their demands for national and democratic rights. The response of the regime was to militarily crush any movement on the part of these nationalities, Bani Sadr being one of the figures responsible for these attacks. In Turkmen-Sahra, the leaders of the peasant movement were arrested and "mysteriously" killed, and their bodies dumped beneath a bridge. The city of Gonbad itself, center of the Turkmen movement, came under shelling and bombardment by the regime's forces. In the south of Iran, the Arab people's cultural and poitical organization was met by the regime's deployment of paratroopers, and the bombardment of the city of Mohammereh (Khoramshahr) from the Shatt. In three days, nearly 2000 people were killed, and many more wounded.

The regime's attacks, almost six months after the uprising, resulted in such massive destruction of the major cities of Kurdistan that the resistance forces, for the sake of the people in the cities, pulled out of the cities into the surrounding areas.

Although resistance continues in the cities, most of the fighting has centered around the villages where Pishmargan (guerillas) live among the people. The Pishmargan have set up Kurdish-language schools in these villages, and opened "clinics." The regime's attacks against the villages are carried out by armored vehicles, helicopter gunships in support of infantry, and airplane bombardments and napalm attacks. When the regime's forces are able to capture a village, they execute anyone suspected of being a Pishmarge; if inhabitants are forced to evacuate the captured village, they destroy houses and livestock.

Although the regime has never permitted an international commission to visit its prisoners, the Pishmargan have repeatedly invited different international organizations to visit their prisoners. Badly wounded prisoners are released by the Pishmargan because

Currently progressive forces such as the Democratic Party of Kurdistan, Comelleh, the Organization of Iranian People's Fedaii Guerrillas, and the People's Mojahedeen Qrganization are fighting the repressive forces of the regime in Kurdistan.

Nowhere have the regime's attacks been more vicious, or the people's resistance greater, than in Kurdistan. To date, Kurdistan is the scene of a bloody war of genocide against the Kurdish people. At the time of the uprising, most of the Kurdish region was under the control of the people.

they are not able to provide the necessary medical attention; also released are soldiers who had been forced to come to Kurdistan and fight.

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A Question of Stability



IKAN-IRAQ WAR

The war between the governments of Iran and Iraq, now in its third year, has resulted in massive destruction of both countries' major industrial oilrelated facilities, and in enormous loss of life. Total damages are estimated to be at least \$200 billion, and at least 100,000 people are believed to have been killed.

The war has provided the regime with its most effective excuse for its own shortcomings. Any shortage of goods or denial of democratic rights is said to be due to the state of emergency engendered by the war. Work hours have been increased, and wages cut back, and public discontent is manipulated into support for the war; boys as young as twelve are being recruited to become soldiers.

The International Picture

The slogan "Neither East nor West" is still used by the regime to project a non-aligned image. Despite its anti-imperialist rhetoric, however, the regime is encouraging the everincreasing dependency of the Iranian economy on the capitalist economy. According to Mr. Hossein Kazemi. vice-president in charge of the International and Economic Affairs of the Foreign Ministry, up to 15 percent of Iran's trade has been with the Easternblock, 67 percent of trade has been conducted with the West; the remaining 18 percent with Third World countries includes purchases from subsidiaries of Western corporations. According to the US Commerce Department, US Sales to Iran in 1982

conclude that "the clerical regime in Iran has gotten on its feet and has been institutionalized and depersonalized."

Conclusion

With the continuing political, social and economic crisis, the regime cannot be said to have established itself. At the same time, the progressive

movement as a whole is in a state of disarray. Most of the leadership of revolutionary organizations, except for a few, have been captured, executed, or have left the country. While those organizations, such as the Organization of Iranian People's Fedaii Guerrillas, least badly hit have tried to reorganize and work among people in order to prepare them for a general political strike, many have also moved to Kurdistan and are engaged in active armed resistance. The Mojahedeen's offensive against the regime has been on the decrease. Some left organizations believe that the Mojahedeen's call for a final offensive against the regime on June 30, 1981 was premature, and lacked sufficient analysis of the subjective and objective conditions conducive for such an act (the same incorrect analysis led the Mojahedeen to support Bani Sadr), and it unleashed the regime's brutal attack on the revolutionary forces who were caught offguard.

The question remains as to whether the "New Coalition" will be able to thoroughly incorporate the autonomous institutions into the state bureaucratic machinery and successfully liquidate the rival faction, or whether it will meet with fierce resistance from the "Line of Imam," in which case there is the possibility of a civil war. In several cities already skirmishes have occurred between groups with allegiances to the opposing camps. Until the conflict in question is resolved in favor of one faction or the other, and so long as the regime is unable to manage the economy or silence people's discontent and dissent, talk of the regime's stability is absurd.



According to Mr. Hossein Kazemi, vice-president in charge of the International and Economic Affairs of the Foreign Ministry, up to 15 percent of Iran's trade has been with the Eastern block, 67 percent of trade has been conducted with the West; the remaining 18 percent with Third World countries includes purchases from subsidiaries of Western corporations.

At the same time, the war has created an enormous refugee population. The regime is housing refugees in overcrowded tent cities, with no running water or sewerage. Medical facilities are non-existent, and cases of malaria have been reported. The refugees are jobless, and the regime's aid, composed mainly of charitable donations from people in other parts of the country, is barely enough to keep the refugees and their families alive. The regime has put the refugees into concentration camps in order to isolate them from the rest of the population, so that their situation and demands will not be known by others. They are dealt with by the regime as "traitors" because they did not stay and fight, and their smallest complaints are met with accusations of their being "Iraqi fifth columnists." Still there have been demonstrations of refugees in many of the camps against their treatment at the hands of the regime, for example in Fellahieh (Shadegan) as reported by the Organization of Iranian People's Fedaii Guerillas.

amounted to \$122 million, 80 percent of which was rice and grain.

The turn for the worse in Iran-Soviet relations, and the subsequent arrest of the reformist Tudeh Party leadership on charges of espionage, reflects the increasing influence of the "New Coalition" in the power struggle, since the "Line of Imam" has been inclined towards a tactical alliance with the Tudeh Party and toward maintaining "good relations" with the USSR. Further deterioration of relations between the two countries was marked by the closing of Tass offices in Tehran in April, and earlier on, a gas pipeline

project was halted, and the regime is instead negotiating with the Turkish government for a gas pipeline to Europe.

Political isolation due largely to the regime's dismal human rights record is still a major source of concern for the regime. The recent Tudeh Party arrests could be seen as a green light to the West for further normalization of relations. Perhaps such considerations have prompted specialists on Iran in the Pentagon and State Department to

I he recent Tuden Party arrests could be seen as a green light to the West for further normalization of relations. Perhaps such considerations have prompted specialists on Iran in the Pentagon and State Department to conclude that "the clerical regime in Iran has gotten on its feet and has been institutionalized and depersonalized."

Islamic Republic regime's present to a Kurdish father

SAMAD BEHRANGI: THE FATHER OF CHILDREN'S LITERATURE



Samad's picture is being carried by the people inspired by his revolutionary teachings in their march against the Shah.

Samad Behrangi; author and children's literary figure is the epitome of a revolutionary teacher in Iran.

Samad was born forty-four years ago in a north-eastern village of Iran. Like thousands of other children, the first face he was familiarized with was that of hunger and poverty. At eighteen he became a teacher whose major concern was to liberate the children's minds from the Shah's frivolous media and the prevailing stagnant and mummified culture, and to arm them with a progressive methodology to approach the social issues. This concern is reflected in all of his work.

Samad presented his brilliant ideas through his legendary characters in a simple language. His own life story was very much similar to that of his most famous legendary character: the Little Black Fish. "The Little Black Fish"; an outstanding masterpiece in

children's literature, the winner of Bolon international award in Italy in 1969, is the story of a fish that cannot tolerate his everyday boring life in the pond and wishes to find the sea. A remarkable feature of this book is that the different strata of the society are

Through this book among his many other works, Samad holds that contrary to the dominant beliefs, hatred should not be condemned in general. He teaches us that in order to love people it is essential to hate their adversaries.

DEATH CAN EASILY BEFALL ME. BUT AS LONG AS I CAN LIVE, I MUST NOT WELCOME DEATH. SHOULD I BE FACED WITH DEATH, WHICH I AM BOUND TO, IT MATTERS LITTLE, WHAT MATTERS IS THE EFFECT OF MY LIFE OR DEATH ON THE LIVES OF OTHERS. SAMAD BEHRANGI

portrayed by the sea creatures. For instance petty-bourgeoise traits are animated in a frog, as an amphibian. The frog is transformed into symbolic embodiment of petty-bourgeoise vacillations.

Despite the alarms coming from his "associates," the little fish starts his voyage to find the sea. During this voyage the little black fish teaches his friends many valuable lessons of patriotism, heroism, self devotion and struggle and finally sacrifices his own life while striving to rescue the others.

Samad himself sacrificed his life while striving to enlighten the children's minds. The criminal agents of the Shah's regime realized that the kind of the education that Samad provided for the children was detrimental to the very existence of their oppressive system, and drowned him in the Aras river in 1968.

Samad's blood flew in the Aras River and carried the message of his struggle with it.

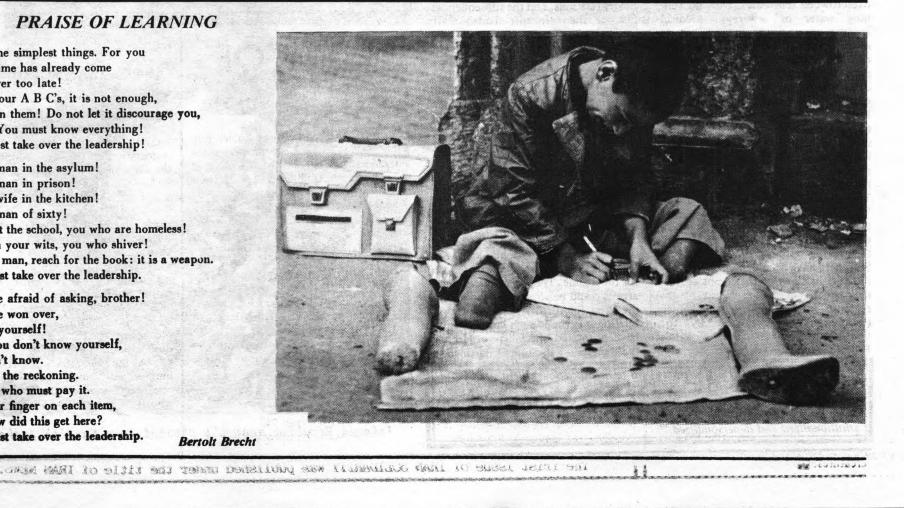
Three elements differentiated Samad from his contemporary writers: cognition, consciousness and willpower. He taught us to march forward in order to learn and to learn in order to march forward. He analyzed the roots of stratification and was determined to march against them.

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PRAISE OF LEARNING

Learn the simplest things. For you whose time has already come it is never too late! Learn your A B C's, it is not enough, but learn them! Do not let it discourage you, begin! You must know everything! You must take over the leadership!





Learn, man in prison! Learn, wife in the kitchen! Learn, man of sixty! Seek out the school, you who are homeless! Sharpen your wits, you who shiver! Hungry man, reach for the book: it is a weapon. You must take over the leadership.

Don't be afraid of asking, brother! Don't be won over, see for yourself! What you don't know yourself, you don't know. Add up the reckoning. It's you who must pay it. Put your finger on each item, ask: how did this get here? You must take over the leadership.

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U.N. and the Question of Human Rights in Iran

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The International Solidarity Front for the Defense of the Iranian People's Democratic Rights, (ISF-IRAN), submitted an exhaustive and definitive report on criminal violations of fundamental freedoms in Iran to the 38th session of the Commission on Human Rights in Geneva in 1982. On March 4, 1982 Resolution L45 was adopted whereby the Commission had requested the Secretary-General to not only establish direct contact with the government of Iran but to submit to the 39th session of the commission, a report on general human rights situations in Iran. The resolution had not gone beyond expression of "deep concern" at reports about the grave human rights situation in Iran. Neither had it taken into account the issue in its entirety.

Crimes of the Khomeini's regime, entitled an An Address to the 37th Session of the UN General Assembly. This comprehensive report coverig the period of of April 1981 through March 1982 was presented to the 37th Session of the UN General Assembly in New York, October 10 through December, 1982. The Iranian question was only raised in the statements of some delegates.

Since the Commission on Human Rights at its 38th session had decided to keep the situation of human rights in Iran under consideration, the issue was once again brought up at the 39th session of the Commission, leading to the adoption of a new draft resolution (E/CN.4/1983/L70) on the prevailing human rights situation in the Islamic Republic of Iran.

In pursuance of its activity ISF-Iran developed an addendum to the The following is the Commission's review of the issue:

Partial Report of the Special Rapporteur

Mr. S. Amos Wako, of the Commission on Human Rights on the violation of human rights in IRAN to the 39th Session of the Commission in Geneva (31 Jan. to 11 March 1983)

A large number of summary or arbitrary executions were reported to have taken place in Iran. The victims of these executions were reported to be opponents of the Government of the Islamic Republic, and persons involved with drug smuggling and selling, as well as persons accused of sexual and moral offences, murder and robbery. Ethnic groups such as Kurds and Turkomans, members of religious groups such as Jews and Baha'is, were also executed for alleged treason, espionage and collaboration with enemy forces. It was alleged that there was a systematic elimination of members of the Baha'i faith. Members and supports of organizations such as the People's Mujahaden Organization of Iran (PMOI) who were opposed to the regime were also executed.

In addition, victims included persons from different professional backgrounds and a wide range of the social sectors, as well as minors (including children as young as 13 years of age). Many were reported to have been executed after torture. Estimates of executions vary, according to sources, from between 4,500 and 20,000.

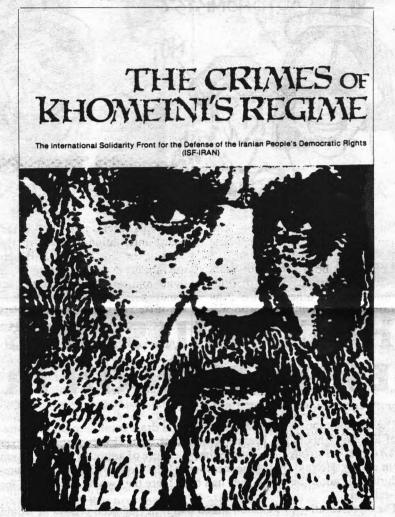
It was reported that in many cases executions were carried out without trial. Even in cases where trials were held by the Islamic Revolutionary Tribunals, procedural safeguards for the rights of the accused and for fair trial were totally lacking. Provisions of the post-revolutionary constitution which guarantee many of the rights of the accused and even the Regulations of the Procedure of the Islamic Revolutionary were not observed. Arrested persons were held incommunicado, without being told the charges against them and without access to a lawyer. No adequate defense facilities were provided before or during the trials. No cross-examination of witnesses was allowed, trials were often held in camera and executions were carried out immediately after the sentencing. There were also cases in which persons were executed after being retried on the same charges.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 8

The following sources furnished the Commission with documents:

- 1 Amnesty International, London, England
- 2 International Solidarity Front for the Defense of the Iranian People's Democratic Rights, (ISF-IRAN), Paris, France, New York, USA,
- London, England
- 3 People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran, Paris, France 4 International Commission of Jurists, Geneva, Switzerland
- Thiernational Commission of Jurisis,
- 5 Baha'i International Community
- 6 Mouvement de la Resisance nationale Iranienne, Paris, France

"The International Solidarity Front for the Defense of the Iranian People's Democratic Rights" has published many documents. Among them "THE CRIMES OF KHOMEINI'S REGIME" is one of the best sources available on the suppression of democratric rights under the Islamic Republic of Iran. This 189 page book contains information on political prisoners, oppresion of women, repression of national minorities, the denial of the right of religious minorities, the denial of workers' rights, suppression of art and literature and the suppression of political parties, etc.



"THE CRIMES OF KHOEMINI'S REGIME can be ordered from ISF, P.O. Box 703, Valley Cottage, N.Y. 10989 Please send \$5 plus \$2 for postage to ISF.

SAMAD BEHRANGI

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 6

In another one of his brilliant works "Oldoz and the Crows", he shows us that the social ills should be healed in a radical manner. When the legendary crow is criticized by his friend, for stealing cheese, he explains his living conditions to him and proves that he has no other alternatives. In most of his works, the protagonists escape from the sphere of confinement and reach the sphere of freedom: the crow finally flies away and the little black fish eventually finds the sea. This is how Samad used his lofty mind to help the children to open their minds to the social problems and to show them the road to freedom. Today the voyagers of the Samad way, the seekers of the sea of progressive education, the revolutionary teachers, are being faced with prosecution, barbaric tortures and summary executions by the Islamic Republic of Iran. But the Iranian revolutionary teachers will continue to use their great source of enlightenment in their struggle against the brutal regime until the sea is freed from its destructive creatures.

A SHORT HISTORY OF O.I.P.F.G.

The Organization of Iranian people's Fedaii Guerrillas was formed in 1971 under the dictatorial regime of the Shah. SAVAK, the secret police of the Shah in collaboration with the CIA made every attempt to eliminate the organization, but failed.

Over the years since its inception, the O.I.P.F.G. has unwaveringly defended the interests of the working class and the toilling masses of Iran. Having employed clear and firm demacration against right and left revisionism, the O.I.P.F.G. is now the largest mass organizations within the communist (left) movement of Iran.

ABOUT IRAN SOLIDARITY

IRAN SOLIDARITY, a bimonthly publication prepared and presented by the Iranian Students Association in the U.S. supporter of the Organization of Iranian People's Fedaii Guerrillas (OIPFG), is an attempt to educate the public opinion and better acquaint progressive organizations and personalities with a wide spectrum of social issues on Iran. It is also an effort to shed light on the historical, socio-economic developments, and contradictions within Iranian society.

After the downfall of the Shah, the Islamic Republic Regime of Iran headed by Khomeini began to practice the same coercive policies. Having taken advantage of religious illusions of the Iranians, Khomeini's regime established a regime of terror, torture and execution. The regime's intention was and is to wipe out all the opposition forces.

During the entire period since the establishment of the Islamic Republic Regime, the O.I.P.F.G. has stood firmly in defense of the Iranian peoples' basic rights, enabling it to broaden and deepen its mass base. Today the O.I.P.F.G. carries out the leading revolutionary line throughout the country and is the only underground organization whose periodical publication is distributed all over the country.

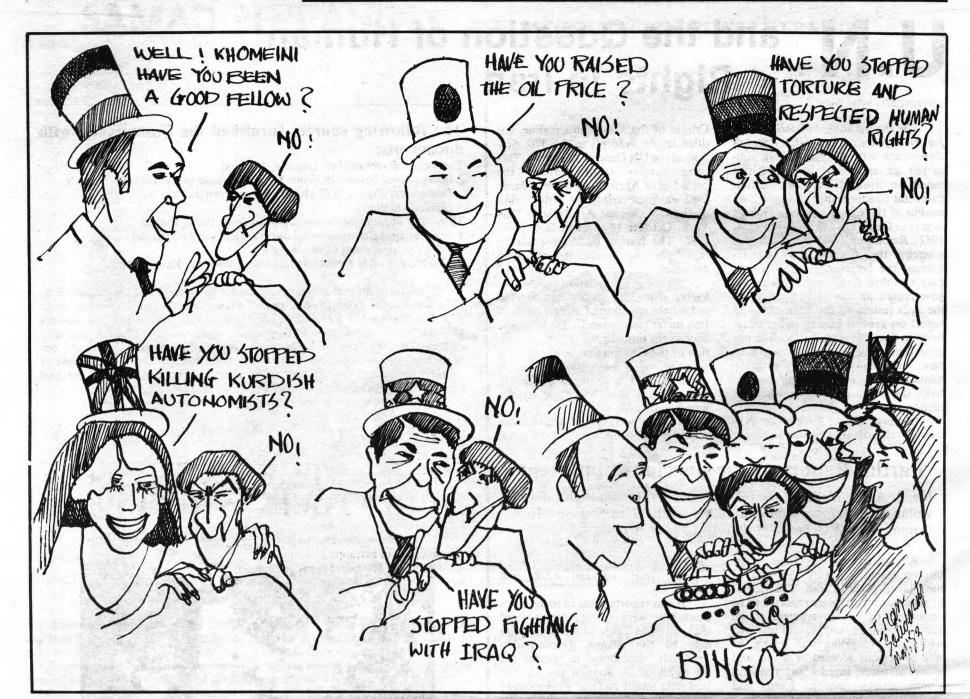
To obtain more information on the O.I.P.F.G.'s publications, please write to:

KAR COMMITTEE, INTERNA-TIONAL P.O. Box 540 New York, New York 10185 We will also strive to introduce the struggles of the Iranian oppressed people against reaction and foreign domination.

As the title, IRAN SOLIDARITY implies we wish to consolidate and reinforce our solidarity with all those who fight oppression and exploitation.

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The frist issue of IRAN SOLIDARITY was published under the title of IRAN NEWS.



THE COMMISSION'S RESOLUTION ON IRAN

U.N. and the Question of Human Rights in Iran

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

The Commission adopted without a vote a draft resolution on the situation of human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran. However, the observer for *Iran* expressed strong objection to the procedure of adopting the resolution without a vote. He said that some members of the Commission were not present during the adoption and if they had been there they would have asked for a roll-call vote.

The representative of *Pakistan* stated that if he had been present he would have voted against the draft resolution. He requested reconsideration of the matter. The request of the Pakistani delegation was supported by the delegations of *Tanzania*, *Bangladesh* and *Libya*.

A roll-call vote was then taken, and the draft resolution was adopted by 17 votes in favour to 6 against, with 19 abstentions. The result of the vote was as follows:

In favour: Australia, Canada, Costa Rica, Fiji, Finland, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Ghana, Ireland, Italy, Jordan, Netherlands, Rwanda, Togo, Uganda, United Kingdom, United States.

Against: Bangladesh, Cuba, Libya, Mozambique, Pakistan, United Republic of Tanzania.

Abstentions: Argentina, Brazil, Bulgaria, China, Colombia, Cyprus, Gambia, India, Japan, Mexico, Philippines, Poland, Senegal, Ukraine, USSR, Uruguay, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zimbabwe.

Under this resolution the Commission:

Pursuant to the adoption of E/CN.4/1983/L 70 Resolution concerning human rights violations such as summary or arbitrary executions without trials, the government of Iran declined to respond to the request of the Commission as to the possibility of a visit to Iran by the U.N. envoys.

COMMENTARY

In spite of ample evidence as the persistence and deterioration of human rights violation, despite the Secretary-General's failure to contact the Iranian authorities, and notwithstanding the Special Repporteur's report on specific cases of violations, the Commission on Human Rights at its 39th session has once again failed to deal even with the average reality and the totality of human rights in Iran. Surprisingly enough, the totality of E/CN. 4/1983/L70 Resolution is even more lenient than Resolution L45, as if improvements were made in the area of fundamental freedoms or the abyssmal ignorance and arrogance of the Islamic Republic diminished.

The Commission bound by diplomatic discretion and conservatism has

- Expressed its profound concern at the continuing grave violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms in Iran as reflected in the report of the Secretary-General, and particularly at the evidence of summary and arbitrary executions, torture, detention without trial, religious intolerance and persecution, in particular of the Baha'is, and the lack of an independent judiciary and other recognized safeguards for a fair trial;

— Urged once more the Government of Iran, as a State party to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, to respect and ensure to all individuals within its territory and subject to its jurisdiction the rights recognized in that Covenant;

- Requested the Secretary-General or his representative to continue to direct contacts with the Government of Iran on the grave human rights situation prevailing in that country, including the situation of the Baha'is;

- Requested also the Secretary-General or his representative to submit to the Commission at its fortieth session a comprehensive report on the direct contacts with and the human rights situation in Iran including conclusions and suggestions as regards the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms in that country;

- Requested once more the Government of Iran to extend its cooperation to the Secretary-General or his representative; and

- Decided to continue consideration of the human rights situation in Iran at its fortieth session.

not condemned the Islamic Republic but remained content with the expression of "profound concern" towards the inhumane acts of the government of Iran, toward the outcry of the Iranian people who are being tormented, tortured, executed and humiliated merely for their opposition to the encroachments on their basic rights, the rights which the Commission supposedly upholds and defends.

Emphasis should be put on the fact that the U.N. mechanism is only one of the myriad means which may be explored to expose the inhuman policies of the Islamic Republic of Iran. It must be borne in mind, however, that the motif of those who develop authentic documents goes far beyond the U.N. mechanism whose function is bound by procedural entanglement.

It is needless to say that we seek not only the profound sympathy but active solidarity of international public opinion to condemn the brutalities that are perpetrated against the oppressed Iranian people. We strongly believe humanism cannot deny our people its support.

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