

# IRANINFORM

A MARXIST - LENINIST REVIEW



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سازمان انقلابی حزب توده ایران در خارج از کشور

THE REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION OF  
THE TUDEH PARTY OF IRAN ABROAD

**"If there is to be revolution, there must be a revolutionary party. Without a revolutionary party, without a party built on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style, it is impossible to lead the working class and the broad masses of the people in defeating imperialism and its running dogs."**

**Mao Tse-Tung**

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**SPECIAL ISSUE ON WORKERS STRUGGLE IN SHAHI, IRAN.**

## LONG LIVE THE EVER-EXPANDING MILITANT MOVEMENT OF THE WORKERS!

The traitorous regime of the Shah has once again turned the movement of the heroic workers of our country into a bloodbath. This time, the scene of the regime's crime was the Textile Mill of the city of Shahi in Mazandaran Province.

Under conditions of soaring prices, a means used by the ruling classes and imperialism to plunder the interests of the masses, the workers of Textile Mill No. 20 in the city of Shahi, in Mazandaran Province, had for some time been protesting the scale and method of payment of their special benefits. The manager of the company, however, would give only empty promises to the workers, whose children were starving to death. However, it is not easy to deceive the exploited masses, determined to struggle. The workers called a strike on the 17th of Khordad (6-7-75) and closed down the press machine of the mill. The manager of the mill came to the press section to break up the strike and began cursing the workers, making wild threats. The striking workers answered him with their fists. After this defeat, the manager, according to the traditional methods of the agents of the regime, called in the police forces. The mercenary police forces entered the mill, attacked the workers, injured many of them, and made a number of arrests. The strike was suppressed temporarily, but the actions of the manager of the factory, the attack by the police, and the suppression of the strike, aroused a wave of hatred among the workers, who subsequently transformed their anger into organizing their forces to prepare for waging a new struggle.

Three weeks later, on the 10th of Tir (7-1-75), another strike, this time a general strike, spread

through the entire mill. In retaliation, the Chief of the mercenary police, with his "anti-riot" guards (who had been organized and trained for the suppression of the protest movements) attacked the line of the striking workers. This time, however, the workers, using the method of "tit for tat," heroically resisted the violent attacks by the police and gave a beating to the Chief of the police. The regime of the Shah, unable to crush the movement using the police guards, sent 1200 soldiers from the Shahi Garrison to the Textile Mill. The soldiers of the mercenary army occupied the mill and attacked the workers. The savagery of the army mercenaries unleashed the anger and hatred of the workers, built up over years of exploitation and oppression, and the workers heroically resisted and fought back against them. The criminal regime of the Shah used machine guns to attack the workers and an hour later the mill was colored red with the blood of 16 martyrs and 70 wounded workers. A large number of workers were arrested and sent to the Shah's torture chambers and the Shahi Textile Mill remained occupied for several days by the mercenary army.

News of the Shahi massacre spread to other cities -- Behshahr, Sari, Tehran -- and other places, inflaming the wrath and struggle of the masses. A few days later, the workers at the Behshahr Textile Mill went on strike to declare their sympathy and solidarity with their comrades in Shahi.

The massacre of the 10th of Tir in Shahi took place at the same time that the hated Pahlavi Regime was babbling about the "workers' welfare," "expansion of industrial ownership and sale of factory shares to the workers," "profit-sharing of the workers and their partaking of the special benefits of the factories," and "economic democracy." In reality, however, when the workers demanded the most basic necessities of their livelihood, the regime answered them with police,

"anti-riot" guards, and finally, a mercenary army and machine gun fire.

This struggle once again clearly shows that the treacherous regime of the Shah is inherently incapable of answering the most basic needs of the workers. This reveals the regime's weakness and incompetence and its complete isolation from the masses. This struggle, once again, unmasks the detestable face of the regime on a broad scale and causes the workers and the masses of the people to despise and detest the regime even more. The heroic struggle of the Shahi workers is an example of the courage, bravery, and militancy of the heroic masses of the workers under the most repressive conditions of fascist oppression.

This is not the first time that the regime of the Shah has ordered his mercenary army to open up machine gun fire on the workers and shed the blood of the oppressed toiling masses of our country. The hated regime of the Shah, in the more than 30 years of its shameful existence, has brought nothing to the masses of our country except exploitation, oppression, suppression, repression, poverty, and disorder, torture, and death. The hands of this traitorous regime have been thoroughly drenched in the blood of the peoples of our country. Our people, all the revolutionaries, and the Marxist-Leninists will never forget this crime of the regime. They will transform their sorrow and their anger into a mighty force for an intense struggle against this regime and imperialism. It is the bounden duty of all Marxist-Leninists, all revolutionaries, and all patriots to express their hatred of this criminal act of the regime through all possible means and to demonstrate in their struggles their solidarity with the oppressed heroic workers of our country. The working class of Iran is a dear treasure of our people, it is the most persistent and most revolutionary class in our country. To defend this class means to struggle for a future without exploitation and oppression.

- DEFEND THE HEROIC STRUGGLE OF THE SHAHI TEXTILE MILL WORKERS!
- THOROUGHLY EXPOSE AND CONDEMN THE RECENT CRIMES OF THE MURDEROUS REGIME OF THE SHAH AND EXPAND THE UNITED STRUGGLES AGAINST THE SHAH'S REGIME AND IMPERIALISM!
- LONG LIVE THE MEMORY OF THE MARTYRED WORKERS OF SHAHI!
- VICTORY TO THE WORKING CLASS OF IRAN!
- DEATH TO THE MURDEROUS REGIME OF THE SHAH!

## FORWARD TO THE FOUNDING OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF IRAN!

As we review and study the heroic struggle of the Shahi Textile workers, several questions are raised: Why do the workers rise up in struggle? Why does the Shah's regime resort to reactionary violence to crush the workers' movement? And finally, what is the duty of the class conscious elements and the proletarian revolutionaries towards the militant movement of the workers?

The contradiction between the workers and the employers, which is, by its nature, an irreconcilable, antagonistic contradiction, gives rise to the economic movement of the workers of our country; and the intensification of this class contradiction in the last few years -- particularly as manifested in the low level at which wages are held on the one hand, coupled with skyrocketing living expenses on the other -- has given impetus to the struggles of the workers.

The capitalist maintains his class position through brutal exploitation of the workers. Every tooman (10 cents) he adds to his capital is laden with the pain and suffering of the toiling children, women, and men who work and produce from dawn to dusk, summer and winter, year after year. The greed and avarice of the capitalist to accumulate more profit, to increase the surplus value, forces him to keep the wages as low as possible, to increase the hours of work, to demand more output from the worker for each work hour, and.... This intense exploitation and oppression, which is part and parcel of capitalism, which is harsher, more cruel, and more vicious than all other forms of pre-capitalist exploitation, causes the proletariat to rise up in resistance and struggle. In our society, in which the bourgeoisie was basically formed in the

era of imperialism, in which the upper, ruling stratum, the comprador bourgeoisie, is tied by a thousand threads to feudalism and an autocratic monarchy in a semi-feudal, semi-colonial relationship, the degree of exploitation and oppression is even more intense and the burden of its weight is even more unbearable. The working class is not only subjected to the greed of the native exploiters, but must also face the avarice of the imperialist monopolists, who, in search of superprofits, have set out to conquer other lands and other markets.

Marx, by thoroughly investigating the social history of the world, showed that in the core of the exploiting systems, irreconcilable antagonistic contradictions exist between the exploiting and the exploited classes, between the oppressor and the oppressed, the ruler and the ruled, which will, necessarily, sooner or later, bring about the destruction of such systems and give rise to a new system which emerges on the ruins of the old.

The struggle of the Shahi workers against the injustices and the pressures of the Shah's regime (which represents the comprador bourgeoisie, the feudal landlords and the imperialists) results from the intense exploitation and oppression carried out by the ruling classes. This demonstrates the deep dissatisfaction of the Iranian proletariat with the existing system and reflects its militant determination to struggle for its rights.

The use of reactionary violence by the anti-people, anti-national regime of the Shah in this case, also, stems from the nature of the antagonistic and irreconcilable contradiction between the working class and the Shah's regime. Politics is the concentrated expression of class struggle, and every policy defends and serves the interests of a particular class or classes. The use of violence is the continuation of politics by other means. The Shah's

regime, like any other state, "...is a product and a manifestation of the irreconcilability of class antagonisms." (Lenin, State and Revolution) Lenin says, "According to Marx, the state could neither have arisen nor maintained itself had it been possible to reconcile classes. ...The state is an organ of class rule, an organ for the oppression of one class by another...." (Ibid.) The Shah's regime too, is nothing other than an organ of class rule, an organ for the oppression and exploitation of the peoples of our country by the comprador bourgeoisie, feudal landlords, and imperialists. The use of reactionary violence by the hated Pahlavi regime fully conforms to its nature as protector of the interests of the reactionary ruling classes and imperialism.

When the heroic workers of Shahi, confronted with intense exploitation and cruel, many-folded oppression, rise up in protest and go on strike to regain their lost rights usurped by the Shah's regime, when the organized power of the workers enters the stage of struggle, a point is reached where they stop working and are ready to sacrifice hours, weeks, and months of their wages. They have no fear of threats or expulsion and are even prepared to give up their lives in the struggle to win victory over their class and national enemies. At such moments, the Shah's regime, like all other regimes of the reactionary classes, in order to preserve the reign of the ruling classes and the imperialists, reveals its true, despicable face; its mask of "reforms" and "pro-worker policies" falls by the wayside, and its armed soldiers are sent to open fire on the strikers, to use reactionary violence to force the strikers to retreat and to break up the strike.

In our country, the proletariat and other revolutionary forces have learned through practice that they must use revolutionary violence to confront the reactionary violence of the ruling classes and

imperialism. The Constitutional Revolution was an outstanding example in which revolutionary violence was used to confront reactionary violence; and the Communist Party of Iran, in the first year after its formation, created the People's Army.

Although the revisionists of the Tudeh Party, these traitors to Marxism and the working class, were able to pull the working class and revolutionary movement of our country onto the obscure, narrow path of parliamentarianism for a while, nevertheless, due to the objective conditions and as a result of the struggle of the Marxist-Leninists and other revolutionary forces, today, the use of revolutionary violence by the revolutionary forces in the struggle against the Shah's regime and the reactionary ruling classes is widely accepted. For some time, now, the Central Committee Clique of the Tudeh Party, following the change in the policy of the Russian social-imperialists, has periodically clamored about the necessity of using violence. However, these renegades are only advocating the necessity of the use of reactionary violence, precisely in order to be able to justify the aggressions of their masters and gloss over the totally clear, overt collaboration of their fellow conspirators with the reactionary classes of some other countries, such as India, in suppressing the people's struggles. In our country, too, according to these renegades, the use of violence against the governing reactionaries would be correct only if a faction of the reactionary rulers were to oppose the other ruling factions, and only in the event that the activities of this faction were to serve the greedy interests of social-imperialism.

This conspiracy and double-dealing of the treacherous Central Committee Clique of the Tudeh Party has not been able and will not be able to convince the revolutionary forces of our country to substitute the coup d'etats of social-imperialism

for the necessity of using revolutionary violence against the reactionary ruling classes and imperialism. However, the victory of the road of armed struggle, which represents a great victory for the revolutionary forces and a great defeat for the revisionists of the Tudeh Party, is not yet complete. At this time, within the ranks of the people, an ideological struggle to deepen the understanding of the class content of violence is being waged; this is an indication of the deepening of the revolutionary movement of our country. This struggle is over the question of the violence of which class or classes of the people against which class or classes. Which class can and should exert and direct this violence? In our country's revolution, from among the classes within the ranks of the people, the working class carries the responsibility of leadership, for it is the class whose interests are opposed to preserving all systems of exploitation. And due to its position in capitalist production, it will be the class to call forth New Democracy and Socialism to replace the present decadent system. In spite of the quantitative growth of the working class, due to the backward state of the society, the great majority of the population is made up of the peasantry, which lives under severe exploitation and oppression. Thus, in order to fulfill its historic mission, the working class must unite with this great force and together with it, form the broadest united front of the people. It is only in close unity with the peasantry that the working class can gain the strength needed to have its leadership accepted by the national bourgeoisie and to unite the people and destroy the enemy. The insistence of the working class in this stage of the revolution on the slogan "Land to the Tiller" stems from this fact. Therefore, our answer to the question of the violence of which class and strata against which class and strata is this: The violence of the workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie, and national bourgeoisie

against the comprador bourgeoisie, the feudal landlords, imperialism, and the Shah's regime -- which represents these classes and protects the interests of imperialism. Under the present conditions in our country, when the proletariat is lacking its leading headquarters, the most pressing duty of the Marxist-Leninist organizations, groups, and circles is to establish the Communist Party. Without the Communist Party, the present mass movements and struggles will not be able to grow and gain the strength needed to overthrow the present regime, the close unity of the workers and peasants will not be established, the people's army will not be formed, the broadest united front of the people will not be created, and the revolution cannot be victorious. Only through establishing the Communist Party will the conditions for completing these tasks be prepared. This is why the task of establishing the Communist Party of Iran is the central task of the Iranian Marxist-Leninists. And the accomplishment of this central task will only be possible when the Marxist-Leninist organizations firmly adhere to the correct ideological and political line of the proletariat and lead the class struggle according to the objective laws of this stage of the revolution in our country. Only by adhering to a correct proletarian ideological and political line will the Marxist-Leninists be able to successfully carry out their tasks and once again establish the Communist Party of Iran.

The objective and subjective conditions for carrying out this central task are becoming more favorable with every passing day, because:

**\*THE MASS STRUGGLES ARE DEVELOPING AND EXPANDING**

Without the mass struggles, without taking the orientation of integrating with and participating in these struggles, no effective revolutionary work can be carried out, let alone can the Communist Party be established. The mass movements and struggles,

particularly the struggles of the workers and students, have been continuously growing and developing in recent years. In the process of these struggles the masses have become more and more tempered day by day and their spirit of resistance and militancy has developed to the point where they go forward to confront the violent forces of the regime of the Shah.

Although the struggles of the workers have been basically spontaneous, they are indications that the class conscious elements of the working class and the Marxist-Leninist organizations are becoming more aware of their responsibilities towards these struggles and are increasing their influence in them. However, taking into account that the small steps which have been taken thus far are by no means sufficient, the necessity of explaining, emphasizing, and taking further practical steps in this direction is felt ever more strongly. As the class conscious elements and Marxist-Leninist organizations become more aware of their duties towards these struggles and try to carry them out in practice, as they are able to formulate in a living and lively way the needs of the classes and strata of the people and organize struggles to fulfill them, as they are able -- in an all-sided and thorough way -- to analyze and clarify these desires and needs of the masses in relation to the present system and in relation to why the ruling classes will never give positive answers to them, as the class conscious elements are able to work more actively to carry the mass struggles forward, as they are able to propagate among the toilers and other classes and strata of the people the necessity of organized political struggle to overthrow the present system through violent revolution, as they are able to more firmly grasp the matter of organizational work, particularly communist organizational work, and correctly combine secret and open work (which under the fascist conditions in Iran is extremely important)

and educate the masses as to the necessity and means of carrying it out, and, in short, as they are able to successfully carry out the matter of political exposures, and of educating and organizing the masses, the conditions for the development and expansion of the present mass struggles will become more favorable, the Marxist-Leninist organizations will be strengthened, the vanguard will become integrated with the masses, and thus one of the basic conditions for establishing the Communist Party will be more prepared. The slogan "Forward Towards Integration With the Mass Movements" arises from this necessity and directly serves the task of establishing the Communist Party.

**\*THE NEW COMMUNIST MOVEMENT OF IRAN IS DEVELOPING AND THE TENDENCY TOWARDS UNITY IS INCREASING AMONG THE MARXIST-LENINIST ORGANIZATIONS**

Without the unity of the Marxist-Leninists, the Communist Party cannot be established. In recent years, the ranks of the Marxist-Leninists, both inside the country and abroad, have expanded and they have become more strongly inclined to unite. At the present time, the struggle to carry out the central task of the Marxist-Leninists, namely to establish the Communist Party through the unity of the Marxist-Leninist organizations, has become the dominant feature of the new communist movement of our country. The struggle against sectarianism and "seeing one's self as the center," which are disruptive to the cause of unity and the establishment of the Communist Party, has been intensified, and is deepening ideologically with every passing day. With the growth of the mass struggles, with the attacks of the right and "left" deviationist lines on the new communist movement, day by day the Marxist-Leninists more fully realize the importance of working together and consequently of uniting to establish the Communist Party.

With each passing day the Marxist-Leninists more



fully realize the importance of concentrating their forces to struggle against the main enemy and to integrate with the masses; they more fully realize the importance of concentrating their forces in the ideological struggle against the basic deviations -- of which modern revisionism constitutes the main deviation -- and thus the conditions for unity are being more prepared. Although the overall conditions are becoming more favorable with every passing day, severe sectarianism and "seeing one's self as the center" still exist, necessitating that a resolute and extensive struggle be waged against them. Under the present conditions, when the mass movements are developing and the need for leadership by the Communist Party is felt more strongly than ever before, the struggle against sectarianism and "seeing one's self as the center" acquires even greater importance. By eliminating sectarianism and "seeing one's self as the center," the new communist movement of Iran will be able to take another great step towards establishing the Communist Party. The slogan "Forward Towards the Principled Unity of the Marxist-Leninists" has arisen from the need to carry out the central task of the Marxist-Leninists, and in addition to carrying forward the ideological struggle, it proclaims the necessity of taking common steps forward in practice.

**\*THE STRUGGLE AGAINST OPPORTUNISM, PARTICULARLY MODERN REVISIONISM, IS DEEPENING AND EXPANDING**

Without a resolute and persevering ideological struggle against every kind of opportunism, the genuine Communist Party cannot come into being. The ideological and political line determines the nature of the party, and, consequently, its victory or defeat. Only a party which follows a proletarian ideological and political line will be able to fulfill its historic role. Such a line will not be acquired without participation in the class struggles and the struggle against non-proletarian ideologies and lines.

More than ten years of struggle by the Marxist-Leninists against modern revisionism, thoroughly exposing the Central Committee Clique of the Tudeh Party as the agent of Soviet social-imperialism, and criticizing the "left" opportunism of the so-called "Cuban Road," against left phrase-mongering, Trotskyism, etc., have ideologically further purified the ranks of the Marxist-Leninists and coordinated their steps and direction.

As this struggle deepens and becomes all-sided, as modern revisionism -- at the core of which is the revisionist party of the Soviet Union -- is more thoroughly exposed, as the nature of Soviet social-imperialism and the nature of its hegemonism becomes clearer, and also, as the "left" deviations are criticized, the ideological and political conditions for the formation of the Communist Party will become more prepared. Here it is necessary to persevere in the ideological and political line of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and apply it to the conditions of Iran and combine it with the present mass movements. This in itself directly serves the central task, namely, establishing the Communist Party.

Through the persistent efforts of the Marxist-Leninists, the favorable factors which we have described above, will day by day, become even more favorable. However, these favorable factors which form the growing aspect make up only one side of the contradiction; the unfavorable factors constitute the other side. And these unfavorable factors call for more resolute efforts by the Marxist-Leninists to establish the Communist Party. The lack of integration of the Marxist-Leninists with the mass struggles and movements, the dispersion of the Marxist-Leninist organizations and the existence of the tendencies of sectarianism and "seeing one's self as the center" which exist among them, and the influence of revisionism and "left" deviations in the movement are among

the unfavorable factors. And only through persistent efforts to overcome these unfavorable factors will the Marxist-Leninists be able to make the present favorable conditions even more favorable and bring the day of the formation of the Communist Party even nearer. One cannot just sit and wait for all the unfavorable factors to vanish. We must achieve unity on the basic and principal ideological, political points and relegate the task of solving the basic but non-principal points (on which struggle has been waged and will continue to be waged) to after the formation of the Communist Party. Only through establishing the Communist Party can the conditions for the solution of these points be fundamentally prepared.

In summary: The heroic struggle of the workers of the Textile Mill of Shahi represents another epic-making struggle in the brilliant history of the Iranian workers' movement. The heroic workers of Shahi once again showed in practice that the proletariat of our country is prepared to make the greatest sacrifices in the class struggle against the Shah's regime; and the proletarian movement in Iran, with all its difficulties and ups and downs, is militantly and relentlessly advancing; and not a single day goes by when the workers' struggle does not take place. These struggles, with all their grandeur and motion, are still like scattered streams, which, due to the absence of the Communist Party, have not yet turned into a raging river to uproot the whole system of exploitation of the ruling classes and imperialism. The mass struggles of recent years, more than ever before, more clearly and thoroughly demonstrate the urgent necessity of a serious, intense struggle for the formation of the Communist Party. Moreover, these movements, more than ever before, reveal the basic shortcomings of the new communist movement, including its lack of thorough integration with these movements and with the toiling masses, and its lack

of achieving the unity of the Marxist-Leninist forces. More than ever before, the objective conditions are prepared for carrying out the central task of the communists of Iran. We are certain that the militant communist movement of Iran, understanding these favorable conditions, and deeply grasping its shortcomings and the necessity of correcting them, will welcome these movements and intensify its activities to establish the militant leading headquarters of the Iranian proletariat.

**LONG LIVE THE MEMORY OF THE MARTYRED  
WORKERS OF THE SHAHI TEXTILE MILL!**

**THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC  
REPUBLIC IS THE DESIRE OF OUR PEOPLE!**

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