

KAR INTERNATIONAL

The Monthly Selected Works of the Organization of
the Iranian People's Fedai Guerrillas (OIPFG)

VOL I, No. 11

December 1981

25

ASSESSMENT OF THE OBSTACLES IN THE WAY OF ESTABLISHING A "REAL POWER" AND MEANS TO ENCOUNTER THEM

Very few revolutionary forces can be found today, who would not acknowledge the historical necessity for the existence of a "real power," or a "revolutionary alternative," or a "real powerful pole" which particularly under the present conditions could be considered as the successor to the counter-revolutionary power and could promise and assure the people that their demands and ideals would be materialized in the case of their victory. It is this necessity and need which confronts each revolutionary force with the question of where this "real power" lies?

A number of people consider the coalition of all opposition forces, though incongruous, to be that very "power," and are of the opinion that moves should be made in the direction of gathering and uniting all forces opposing the regime of the Islamic Republic (especially its de facto forces who at the moment have a "considerable" mass base). A number of other people believe that participation in any coalition of opposition forces with any nature (of course with a critical approach) is desirable and attempts to radicalize that coalition should take place from within, because "the real power, (which is the same as the anti-imperialist-democratic front led by the working class) can not come to existence under the present conditions and non-participation in other fronts would mean abandoning the present scene of political struggle."

However, the Marxists have a different answer for this question. Lenin, this great Marxist, in the preface to the Russian

continued on page 2

An Open Letter to the People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran

The Iranian revolution is passing through decisive moments. During this very critical period and mounting crisis, the fate of the revolution requires a revolutionary approach from all revolutionary forces who are marching towards the victory of the revolution and the accomplishment of the just goals of our country's toiling masses with determination and true faith. The growth and deepening of the socioeconomic crisis and inability of the ruling apparatus to fulfill the most basic demands of the masses, has caused tremendous deterioration in the living conditions of the workers, peasants, and all toiling strata of our country. Poverty and misery, unemployment, high prices, vagrancy and... have reached unprecedented dimensions giving rise to the emergence of general dissatisfaction and evergrowing protest and justice seeking struggle of the masses.

The ruling apparatus, which for almost three years had done nothing but destroy the achievements of the revolution and create wide-spread misery, has now resorted to the harshest policy of suppres-

sion and repression, negation of the most basic political freedoms and finally torture and mass execution of revolutionaries in order to preserve itself and prevent the broad struggle of the masses. The Islamic Republic regime has now removed its demagogic mask and emerged to criminally massacre the masses.

But the heroic people who are desperate for freedom and independence and have not hesitated to strive and sacrifice anything for its achievement, now know well that if the ruling apparatus and this counter-revolutionary regime are sustained, they will be unable to achieve any of their hallowed goals.

The Islamic Republic regime, by criminally suppressing the foundations of the February insurrection and by practicing the policy of torture and execution in response to the just demands of the masses, is rapidly preparing the grounds for its downfall.

Our people, who sacrificed their most valued sons and daughters in order to be liberated from the claws of the Pahlavi's dictatorial regime and to overthrow the

capitalist system, certainly cannot tolerate another reign of terror and repression. We believe that the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed masses against the domination of oppression, fear, torture and massacre by the Islamic Republic regime is the most natural, legitimate, and certain reaction of the noble and revolutionary masses.

Mojahed Friends!

It is in light of such conditions that unity in action of all revolutionary, democratic, and anti-imperialist forces is an undeniably crucial necessity. Only such unity can organize the broadest, strongest, and victorious revolutionary struggle of our masses into a decisive struggle, and consistently guide it on a victorious path. We understand the vital importance of such unity and we strive with all of our ability to achieve it. Inspired by the interests of the toiling and deprived masses of this land and through our revolutionary experiences, we have learned that such unity cannot be based upon anything but the most profound and revolutionary demands of our masses.

continued on page 4

COMMEMORATING A GREAT FEDAI MARTYR

Comrade Eskandar, a close associate of Hamid Ashraf [a member of the OIPFG Central Committee martyred in 1976 by the Shah's regime], a close friend of Dr. Aazami Lorestani, the OIPFG's military coordinator in Kurdistan, an outstanding leader of the OIPFG military branch, and a member of the OIPFG Central Committee was martyred on Oct. 5, 1981. While

on a revolutionary mission on Oct. 5, Comrad Eskandar and two other comrades, Masoud Bariri and Alireza Safari, ran into a "Revolutionary Guards" squad car near Amol [about 100 miles north of Tehran] and fought heroically until their last bullets, when all three were martyred by the mercenaries.

When Comrade Hamid Ashraf was killed by the Shah's troops, nobody could believe his martyrdom. On that day Eskandar had said, "I cannot believe that our leader's strong body has fallen onto the ground." And today, for all those who knew Eskandar, his martyrdom comes as a surprise. Comrade Eskandar was a man who took up the gun when he was a young boy and fought side by side with Comrade Hamid Ashraf with the Shah's regime and masterminded the most complicated military



Comrade Eskandar

missions.

Comrade Eskandar was born in a peasant family in 1955. From his early ages he became familiar with the poverty and misery of the toiling masses. While a student, comrade Eskandar worked either in his home village or in the nearby city of Khoram Abad [in the west of Iran] and as a

continued on page 5

OPEC SUMMIT AND THE OIL MINISTER'S DISGRACE

After two and a half months, the oil ministers of OPEC member countries reconvened in Geneva on Oct. 28, 1981 to settle down the disturbed oil market. The disturbance was the result of Saudi's disagreement with other OPEC members on oil prices in the OPEC summit earlier in July, 1981. In the July summit, the Saudis were demanding a reduction of the base price from \$36 to \$34 a barrel in return for curtailing their production to remove the oil glut on the world market. Otherwise, the flow of Saudi's cheap and abundant oil on the world market would

have cut deep into the market of other OPEC members. In the July summit a counter proposal to Saudi's plan was introduced by which the base price would be cut to \$35 from \$36 a barrel and Saudis would, in return, curtail production and increase their base price from \$32 to \$34 a barrel.

Had this proposal been accepted by all OPEC members, considering the prevailing conditions in the oil market at that time, it would have pushed back the Saudis and would have forced them to

continued on page 6

THE REVOLUTIONARY FORCE'S ILLUSION ABOUT THE PRESENT REGIME IS FADING

on page 3

ASSESSMENT OF THE OBSTACLES IN THE WAY OF ESTABLISHING A "REAL POWER" AND MEANS TO ENCOUNTER THEM

continued from cover translation of W. Liebknecht's pamphlet: No Compromise, and No Electoral Agreements (Lenin, Collected Works in English, Vol. 11, pp. 401-403) in reply to the question states that: "... he (referring to Liebknecht always regarded the strength of fighters as real strength only when it is the strength of class-conscious masses of workers" (the emphasis from us). Lenin quoted this passage when he was engaged in an argument with Plekhanov, this well-known Russian social-democrat opportunist, over the old and deep-rooted issue of "coalition" or "technical agreement," or finally the gist of the matter, the issue of "compromise" with the Liberal bourgeois (and particularly the Cadets). This was due to the fact that the Mensheviks and Plekhanov were convinced that the "real power" lay within the "collaboration" of all forces who were fighting the Tzarist reaction. Their formula was very simple and extremely narrow: "The Cadets want to fight reaction, therefore ... agreements with the Cadets!" and this simplistic view and narrow scope were the distinctive characteristics of these opportunists who were subjected to Lenin's severe criticisms. Of course "Liebknecht (and also Lenin) does not in the least deny that agreements with the bourgeois opposition parties are "useful" both from the standpoint of obtaining "seats in the parliament" and from the standpoint of enlisting an "ally" (a supposed ally) against the common enemy-reaction. But ... he does not limit himself to those considerations "and proceeds to examine the problem, and with raising the following questions tries to probe the problem and to determine the exact class nature of that force: "He examines the question whether the "ally" is not an enemy in disguise whom it would be particularly dangerous to admit to our ranks; whether and in what way he actually fights against the common enemy; whether agreements, while being useful as a means of obtaining a larger number of seats in the parliament, are not detrimental to the more permanent and more profound aims of the proletarian party." Then Lenin continues and replies that "false friends are more dangerous than open enemies, since it is the false friend who obscures the class antagonism and party boundary lines" which will corrupt the class consciousness of the masses. Then he criticizes the Mensheviks: "... they fail to understand that the fight against the Cadets is a fight to free the minds of the working masses from false Cadet ideas and prejudices about combining popular freedom in the old regime."

Thus it becomes clear that Marxist-Leninism teaches us that this "real power" and the "other pole of power" are the working masses who have gained class-consciousness; in other words, they are the working masses who have recognized their friends and enemies, and can clearly distinguish the line between the revolution and the counter-revolution. This "other pole of power" is none other than the "left bloc," i.e. the proletariat and the democratic petty-bourgeoisie who has drawn a clear and decisive demarcation line with the Liberal bourgeoisie and all forces who have illusions about these notions.

Our ideal is also that, based on the decree of a historical necessity and considering the subjective conditions of the people (which reaffirms the necessity for such a bloc), such a bloc should come into existence and our primary concern should be to encounter and eliminate ob-

stacles in its path. However, the necessary condition to materialize this historical necessity, is foremost, the correct identification and recognition of these obstacles, then, finding the solutions to the problem and accurate methods of implementation of these solutions. In our opinion these obstacles can be summarized in two main categories: 1) External obstacles of the organization, 2) Internal obstacles in the organization.

We will now expand on these categories as follows: 1) External obstacles of the organization refer to those obstacles lying outside our organization and facing the movement in general, two aspects of which will be studied.

A. The truth is that an incongruous and unfortunate coalition of revolutionary democrats and Liberals has taken shape, and has begun its moves for quite some time now. This is the fundamental obstacle confronting the materialization of the "real power" of the masses. Because on the one hand it has posed as an alternative, which in our opinion does not have a bright and promising future, and on the other hand it has created immense obstacles and impediments in the path of the principal element of power, i.e. the working masses who have gained class-consciousness. As a consequence, irreparable damages have been inflicted on the consciousness of the masses. If we realize the nature of the Liberal bourgeoisie who has allied itself with the democrats, (and not have the illusion that it is an upper-strata petty-bourgeois or at least, based on its class base, it has leanings towards them), and also to consider its efforts in the past few years to obscure the class boundaries and to destroy the organization of Iranian revolutionary proletariat (in the period that the Liberals had a position of power), we can begin to understand the extent of confusion and chaos this coalition has caused in the minds of the workers and the extensive blows inflicted to the revolutionary struggle of the masses. At the present it is completely clear to us that in the minds of the workers two separate and particularly important questions have been raised: 1) Was all that struggle, self-sacrifice, trust and belief in the masses which we could see in the revolutionary democrats real? Are these the same militant forces who were anti-imperialist, against big capitalists and for many years struggled against the puppet regime of the Shah? If that is true, then what is the meaning behind this coalition? Is the fact other than what these Liberals did to suppress the masses and political forces representing them as well as creating all the obstacles in the path of their mobilization and organization? Wasn't it the Liberals who revived the decadent army and bureaucracy of the Shah and rescued the bankers and factory owners through different means, including through nationalization of part of their capital and made every effort to protect their interests? 2) Is it possible for the Liberals to come to their senses and to join the ranks of the masses? Isn't the case, that these revolutionary democrats, these heroic militants of the recent years, have shook the hands of the Liberals and have accepted their cooperation? Is the truth other than the revolutionary democrats moves in the interest of anti-imperialist struggles and the realization of people's ideals? Then, their approval of the Liberals definitely can not mean anything beyond that.

These two trends of thought will have very grave consequences for the revolutionary movement in our country. The

first trend creates a kind of suspicion, skepticism and mistrust towards the revolutionary movement. The second trend creates a kind of trust and belief in the counter-revolutionary forces. Both of these trends are detrimental to the revolution.

B. The dispersion and lack of unity (at least unity of action) among the working-class revolutionary forces itself results in two different negative effects. On the one hand, it weakens the possibility for a strong encounter with the above mentioned coalition and to positively influence it. On the other hand it reduces the possibility of establishing a strong alternative of Marxist-Leninist revolutionary forces within the movement. Both of these can have a damaging and irreparable effect on the convictions of the revolutionary masses, who have put behind a glorious uprising and have experienced the treachery of its leadership. Disillusion, despair, mistrust and a future without a bright prospect, is the least of the effects which could be expected under such circumstances.

2) Internal obstacles in the organization: A "trend" within our organization (though a weak one), is inclined towards coalition and collaboration with the Liberals in the form of entering the already formed coalition (National Council of Resistance), even if our organization's amendments to the "covenant" are rejected. In attempts to encourage this move, they reason that our not entering will imply the organization's "political isolation" and "political inactivity." This "trend" believes, that our not entering into this coalition (in which they believe the revolutionary democrats have the hegemony), will in fact demonstrate our disbelief in the revolutionary character of the "revolutionary democrats." In our opinion, this "trend" tends to turn its back on all our principles and bases of belief (need to determine the nature of the coalition, the realness of its struggle against the enemy, means and method of struggle and considerations for the long-term, more profound and permanent aims and objectives of the proletariat and etc.). It recommends our entry into such a coalition which under the prevailing conditions, will obscure and alter the balance of class power (the weakening of the Marxist-Leninists) and alter the border-line between the revolution and the counter-revolution. Moreover, without paying attention to the reality of our forces and our potentials (and that of all other Marxist-Leninist), it considers the coalition of proletariat with bourgeoisie in the dominated countries or imperialist countries during the attack of the fascists as its theoretical base which can not be called anything but intellectualism. This tendency stems from the intellectualist nature of those who represent it, occurrence of which in the political organizations of the working class, under the present conditions is not unexpected, since: "In a petty-bourgeois country, during a period of bourgeois revolution, where there are a lot of petty-bourgeois intellectuals in the worker's party, the tendency towards political subordination of the proletariat to the Liberals has a very real basis. And it is this tendency, rooted in the objective state of affairs, that proves to be the sum and substance of all quasi-socialist political chicanery on the subject of coalition with the Cadets" (Lenin, "Notes of a publicist"; Collected Works, Vol. 13, p. 64).

With regard to the above summary of means to recognize the existing main obstacles hindering the establishment of a

"Left Bloc" and the formation of the "real Power," we proceed to explore the existing possibilities and solutions:

1. Not to enter the coalition, yet to support their revolutionary moves: Despite the insistence of the "intellectual trend" within the organization, on the necessity to enter the present "coalition," and their expressed worries regarding the "political isolation" (or according to some, even the "glorious isolation") of the organization, we believe, that our not entering the "coalition," even though may lead to our temporary "political isolation" (which we are deeply convinced it won't, since we have the support of all the revolutionary forces and other organizations), but in the same token, will in fact serve to facilitate the materialization of the "real power." It will lead to the clarification and lucidity of the border-line between the revolution and the counter-revolution. In other words, to the recognition and distinction of the false friends from the true friends of the working class. Our reply to this "trend" in our organization is the same as the one given by the great Lenin to the Lieber of the Mensheviks regarding the same old and rooted question of "technical agreement" with the Liberals. Lenin in response to Lieber who "has most energetically accused me of excluding even the Trudovniks (the revolutionary democrats) from the bourgeois-democratic allies of the proletariat" (Concluding Remarks On The Report On The Attitude Towards Bourgeois Parties, May 14, at the 24th session of the congress, Collected Works, Vol. 12, p. 470), replies accordingly: "I did not speak of excluding joint action with the Trudovniks, but of the need to cut ourselves off from the Trudovniks' vacillation. We must not fear to "isolate" ourselves from them when they are inclined to drag along in the wake of the Cadets. We must ruthlessly expose the Trudovniks when they fail to take the consistent stand of revolutionary democrats. One of two things, Comrad Lieber—either the workers' party will pursue a genuine independent proletarian policy, in which case we allow of joint action with part of the bourgeoisie only with it, this section, accepts our policy, and not vice versa; or our talk about the independence of the proletariat's class struggle remains nothing but idle talk." Yes, now that the revolutionary democrats in Iran, are insistent on enlisting the Liberals to their rank and because of their illusionary notion about the Liberal's "extensive mass base," are willing to form a coalition with them even at the cost of abandoning the working class organizations and to overlook the detrimental consequences of their action on the consciousness of proletariat and other strata of the masses, we, while supporting all their revolutionary moves and attempt to materialize unity of action and recommending this to all our supporters, are not afraid to temporarily cut off ourselves from them and to criticize their deviant positions (something which has been underrated in the long period of our independent struggle and it should be criticized). We strongly believe that although this move in the short-run will leave effects (maybe seemingly negative) on the relationship among the revolutionary forces, but on the long-run from the point that it will elevate and promote the class consciousness of the working masses, then we would be ultimately and fundamentally stepping towards serving the goal of materialising the "real Power."

2. Efforts in the direction of establishing a
continued on page 5

News Briefs □□□

● Two Youngsters Burned to Death by the Regime

The Islamic Republic regime created another tragedy on October 17, 1981. The blood thirsty executioners of the regime burned to death two youngsters in an anti-people hysteria. The mercenaries of the regime set a bus ablaze in Shiraz (a Southern province of Iran) and locked its doors while escaping the scene. Two youngsters burned to ashes and a score of others were severely burned in the incident. This horrible crime reminds people of burning down the Rex theater in Abadan by the Shah's regime and of Hitler's gas chambers.

The regime tried to hide its red hands by attributing this crime to revolutionary organizations. Employing state-controlled radio, TV, press and all its propaganda apparatus blamed the Mugahedin for this crime.

By committing crimes such as this, the regime is trying desperately to curb the ever increasing popularity of the revolutionary forces on the one hand, and to justify its crimes on the other hand.

Furthermore, as a result of revolutionary forces activities abroad, organizations such as Amnesty International have been forced to take positions against the wave of criminal executions in Iran, and thus the regime is increasingly under pressure in the face of international pressures. By resorting to horrible crimes such as this one and blaming revolutionary forces for it, the regime hopes to find justification for its fascist and dictatorial measures.

It is worth remembering that if burning to death of 800 innocent people in the Rex theater by the Shah in Abadan saved the Shah's regime from falling, will similar measures such as burning to death of two innocent youngsters save the anti-people regime of the Islamic Republic.

(KAR NO. 133, Oct. 26, 1981)

● What Goes on In Evin Torture Chamber?

The Evin prison has now been turned into a slaughter house of revolutionaries and fighters who have no intention but to defend the people and to struggle for workers and toiling masses.

Various tortures, mockery trials, sentencing to death after the prisoner has died under torture, etc., are now an everyday occurrence at Evin.

No wonder that the Islamic Republic regime and Khomeini himself are fearful to allow international delegates to inspect prison conditions in Iran. It is no wonder that political prisoners are not allowed to be visited by relatives and friends. Obviously, if the news of these crimes are spread on a world scale Khomeini's "holy" mask will tear apart and will display his bloody pawns throughout the world. The following is a brief report on what goes on in Evin.

Evin is so overcrowded that cells are filled with few times larger than capacity. Every cell of 34 square meters houses 60 to 70 prisoners. Cell doors are locked at all times, they are unlocked four times a day and everytime for 10 minutes to use bathrooms and to wash dishes. The cells are overcrowded to an extent that there is no room to walk, exercise, and sleep. But the prisoners' morale is great. Often time, a prisoner is tortured continuously for 48 hours. A torture process starts out with taking the prisoner around the torture chamber and showing him/her various torture instruments. Next, the prisoner is blindfolded and often times fastened to a bed. The prisoner is then severely beaten. To die under torture is a usual occurrence, in which case, the prisoner is immediately sentenced to death and his/her dead body is shot at several times. Female prisoners are raped and their bodies are burned with cigarettes. Female prisoners are often tortured naked.

Other torture tactics include torturing the prisoner's relatives (spouse, sister and son) in the presence of the prisoners.

[KAR No. 135, November 11, 1981]

● Hospital or Torture Chamber?

The dark basement of Namdaran Hospital in Tehran has been turned into a torture chamber for revolutionaries. The basement, called "ward" is being protected by a number of guards at all times. After torturing the best revolutionary children of people in various prisons or "safe houses" or after beating and injuring them on the streets, they are transferred to "ward" to be temporarily treated so that they can stand more tortures. Only the authorized personnel of the hospital are allowed in the "ward" and that only when accompanied by several armed "guards." Only the mercenary guards are allowed in the "ward" at all times. They go to the "ward" late at night or early mornings and use a number of torture techniques ranging from beating to hair pulling while interrogating these prisoners. As soon as the condition of the prisoners improve a little bit they are transferred to a different prison. Hospital personnel are angered by these hated actions, but they have been threatened of detentions and dismissal.

[KAR No. 136, November 18, 1981]

● "Revolutionary Guards" open fire on the Workers

Workers of Iran Yasa, a manufacturer of tires, had gone to Banke Refahe Kargaran [Workers Welfare Bank] to apply for a loan. Since not everyone can get a loan, workers had waited in line the night before in order to take a number to be included in a drawing to be held the next day. At 6 o'clock in the morning, due to a large number of workers (about 1000) waiting, the line order could not be maintained. At this time a mercenary "Revolutionary Guard" opens fire on the workers. In this incident 3 workers suffered head and shoulder injuries. One of the injured workers is reported in critical condition. Workers were outraged by this act to the extent that forced the guards to escape the scene.

[KAR No. 136, November 18, 1981]

THE REVOLUTIONARY

continued from cover

Following is translation of part of an article which appeared in AL-HADAF No. 35 [The official organ of PFLP]. The article shows the change of the position of the People's Front for the Liberation of Palastine (PFLP) on the present regime in Iran. The article was printed about two months ago.

"The new cabinet establishes the hegemony of the religious politicians of the Islamic Republic Party."

"The invasion for the arrest and execution threatens hundreds of revolutionaries."

The parliament of the Islamic Republic has given the cabinet of Hojat Islam Bahonar its vote of confidence. It seems that this move is another development in the direction of establishing the hegemony of religious politicians in the ruling apparatus. Most members of the new cabinet are members of the Islamic Republic Party and it seems that at this point, it has been agreed upon that the prime minister should also be the head of the party.

The vote of confidence to the new cabinet was given at a time when the atmosphere of terror and repression is present in all cities and there is the threat of a civil war.

After the parliament issued its vote of confidence, there were hot discussions, mainly with regards to the dangers against the lines of members of the cabinet and other politicians. The content of these discussions reveal that there will be conflicts within the ruling apparatus and that these conflicts are indicative of lack of cohesion within the ruling apparatus while such cohesion is necessary more than ever in order to confront the left forces.

There were changes and accusations against some ministers. For example, Hojat Islam Mahdavi was accused of appointing to top positions some people who had been the subject of "clean-up operations" earlier. In addition, the new Minister of Education was charged that "according to a letter dating back to 1978 signed by the Minister, he had announced his loyalty to the Shah," and was considered to be a close associate of the Shah. The accused minister was not able to clear himself of the accusations. He only referred to the vain testimony of Ayatollah Beheshti who was killed in the bomb explosion at the headquarters of the Islamic Republic Party. The accusations were basically made by Sadegh Khalkhali who, in return, was accused of many charges. For example, the representative from Gonabad, in the northeast of Iran which its population are mostly Sunis, charged that when Khalkhali was the head of the office of drug control, he ordered mass executions in the region which created separation and conflict between the Shiat and Suni population. The same representative, for the first time claimed that the Shiat clergy created the office of drug

The Iranian Regime.

Dreams of Expanding Relations with Pakistan

Mir Hossein Mousari, who has recently been appointed as the Prime Minister of Iran in response to Pakistani President Zia-Al Hagh's message of congratulations wished an "expansion of relations between the two brother countries of Pakistan and Iran." (Kayhan Newspaper, Nov. 9, 1981)

The relations between the two countries has been good for some time now. For instance, a number of so-called revolutionary guards are undergoing pilot training courses and Pakistani military advisors teach the use of American weapons at Iranian military camps. Thus, dreaming of expanding relations between the two countries means a lot more than this. Such expansion would make it possible for Iran to purchase spare parts, weaponries, and so on from Pakistan. It is obvious that the

control not for the purpose of eliminating illegal drug traffic, but for the sake of cracking down on their political enemies.

The parliament also discussed Ayatollah Khomeini's speech in which he encouraged people to spy on one another, stating that, "be careful about your neighbors. Report any anti-revolutionary activity to your local revolutionary committee." In his speech Khomeini declared that, "if someone attempts to kill a Moslem, you are obliged to arrest and surrender the person before he commits the act. Otherwise, you will be considered a partner in the crime."

These type of statements could not be made by a leader who believes in his security and stability and does not feel threatened by the opposing forces. A regime which invites the people to watch their children and in case of their opposition to the regime, surrender them to the executioners of the "revolutionary courts," a regime which expects the masses to act as security forces has itself erected the building block of terror and repression and it is trying to isolate the revolutionaries from the people. Statements of this nature also reflect the ever-increasing fear of the regime of the struggle of the left forces.

Despite all this, Ayatollah Khomeini tries to ignore or underscore the opposing forces. He mentions that there is no reason for fear and that even a 12 year old child can install a bomb in Teherran. However, the fact is that during the Shah's dictatorship, the situation was very similar when the arrest or execution of tens of people was an everyday occurrence. The same thing is happening again.

Simply using the figures printed in the Iranian newspapers, in a period of one week, 129 people were executed and 561 were sentenced to prison terms. These people were members of the left groups and organizations, mainly the Mojahedin and also the organization of Iranian People's Fedaii Guerrillas and Peykar. Among those who were imprisoned or executed, according to the statement of the regime, there were 42 so-called "anti-revolutionaries" from the Kurdistan region.

Ayatollah Rafsanjani [Speaker of the House] tried to claim these killings and imprisonments as the demands of the people, thus putting the burden of responsibility on the people. He said that people demanded the execution of Mojahedin and return to Islam. He was thus trying to acquit the regime's "clean-up" policy. However, it is obvious that the policies of the religious politicians will not be successful. The left forces who are opposing the regime not only will not be eliminated by the "clean-up" policy, but will become stronger in their resistance against the new form of despotism.

*KAR NO. 133, Oct. 28, 1981

Pakistani army, like the Iranian army is dependent upon the U.S. for weapons, and since Iran cannot directly purchase from the U.S. because of its anti-imperialist slogans and therefore Iran is turning to U.S. puppets to meet its spare parts and weapon needs. It is of no surprise that Pakistan is declared as an anti-imperialist regime by Iran in order to set the stage for establishing extensive relations with Pakistan.

But the Iranian people will not be deceived by these tricks and recognize the regime of Pakistan as a U.S. element in the region and an enemy of Iranian people. Any type of relationship with the mercenary regime of Pakistan is enmity with the people of Iran.

[KAR No. 136, November 18, 1981]

Following the regime's crackdown after June 20, mass executions, widespread house searches, mass expulsions and arrest of workers, a reassessment of the working class movement is now a necessity. What follows is a report on the working class movement which is hoped to be useful in characterizing the present conditions of the working class movement. It must be said that working class movement has developed substantially compared to prevailing conditions of June 20, but it has not regained its pre June 20 strength.

DEFENSE INDUSTRIES

The primary targets of the regime's crackdown on the plants of Defense Industries have been the worker councils and revolutionary forces. In one of the plants the workers elected council was immediately replaced by a bogus council and in other plants Islamic Councils (bogus) are being formed. In addition, management of these plants has either resigned or been replaced by management loyal to regime.

Before the June 20 crackdown, the prevailing atmosphere in the Defense Industries various plants was one of open political discussion and debate among workers. After the crackdown, however, this atmosphere has broken and been replaced by an atmosphere of terror. The wave of mass arrests has now reached all plants in this industry and many have been arrested for no reason whatsoever. Most of the arrested workers are taken to be tried by court-martial.

Despite these conditions, though, the workers have begun to break their silence. Writing on the walls are now reappearing and workers discuss political matters in small gatherings. In some plants workers

A REPORT ON THE WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT

have resisted to partake in forced elections. In Aircraft Industries for example, a candidate was elected to the bogus council with only 6 votes. Individual protests are now becoming mass protests in some plants. Protests are primarily on trade issues, but political matters and resisting expulsions are now of concern. Oppositions to members of the Islamic Associations [these are the Islamic Republic party's organs set up in various factories to control workers movement] is on the rise and workers use various tactics to isolate them.

GENERAL MOTORS

Following the explosions in the headquarters of the Islamic Republic party in late June, about 100 workers of the General Motors plant were arrested. They had been blacklisted since two years ago by the bogus council in the plant. The bogus council and the Islamic Association now have spread an atmosphere of repression in the plant. A delegate on behalf of the management has been sent to the United States to purchase raw materials. An issue of primary concern for the workers now is to avoid expulsion. Fear of expulsion has overshadowed everything else. In General Motors, too, workers' fear is fading and protests are being formed.

BUS TRANSIT COMPANY

After the events of June 20 [the regime's brutal attack on the revolutionary forces] members of the Central Council of the Bus Transit Company were arrested and the bourgeois liberal managers were replaced with the loyal managers which has resulted in increased cooperation of the management with the Islamic Associations to suppress the workers. Recently, a number of spies have been stationed in various divisions to spy on the workers. To complement this repression and to divide the workers the management has also resorted to some reforms such as payment of overtime to some workers.

Dissatisfaction among the workers is on the rise. This is being manifested in terms of opposing members of the Islamic Association and work stoppage. But these protests remain isolated and have not been transformed into a mass protest yet. Most workers here are not illusioned about the ruling apparatus and seem to believe that the regime's downfall is imminent.

PARS ELECTRIC

About 300 workers were arrested at Pars Electric Company. Of these, 6 were executed, some were dismissed and the

rest were imprisoned. Like other places, the bourgeois liberal managers have been replaced and bogus councils have been formed. Workers at the Pars Electric see Khomeini directly responsible for repression. Workers' primary concern here is to avoid expulsion.

BUTANE

Butane is a private company distributor of natural gas. Workers in this company enjoy special privileges compared to workers in state owned companies. For instance, they have received about 40 percent wage increase in recent months. This and other special privileges have caused a slowdown in workers movement in this company. The Islamic Association of Butane is not very active, whereas the workers council still exists. The company's production has increased from 600 natural gas containers to 4000, thanks to a steady flow of raw material from Japan and other countries. The events of June 20 have not brought about a significant change here. Workers of one division have recently staged a strike protesting delay in payments of their shares under the profit sharing plan.

DERAKHSHAN

A producer of plastic and related products, Derakhshan employs about 600 workers. After June 20, six workers have been charged with supporting the Mojahedin and been dismissed. Work week has been extended to 48 hours, but workers have opposed the move by signing a petition with 450 names on it, pushing back the management.

*KAR NO. 132 Oct. 20, 1981

An Open Letter to the People's Mojahedin

continued from cover

For this reason the "Covenant of the National Resistance Council" proposed by Mr. Bani Sadr which has unfortunately been accepted and supported completely by the People's Mujahedin, in such a manner that they (Mujahedin-Tr.) suggest it as the basis for the unity of revolutionary forces, certainly cannot fulfill the demands and needs of the workers, peasants, and toiling and oppressed masses of our country. This "Covenant" cannot be the basis for the unity in action of revolutionary, democratic, and anti-imperialist forces. Expressed in this "Covenant" is the framework of the same agreements of the architects of the Islamic Republic regime in Paris before the February insurrection, and you yourself know well that the creation of this regime of torture and execution from within such agreements is not an accidental incident. Such a "Covenant" certainly cannot fulfill the demands and needs of the workers, peasants and toiling and oppressed masses of this land. There is no doubt that to the extent that this "Covenant" emphasizes on the necessity for the establishment of political freedom it is and will be supported by us. But what the workers, peasants and toiling strata of this land demand is far beyond the framework of a Covenant that you suggest as the basis for unity and cooperation of all revolutionary, progressive and popular forces. Keeping in mind the goals of this stage of the movement, we consider it our duty to announce the following platform which is within the framework of the minimum program of the proletariat and, of course, not in complete conformity with it, as the common denominator and basis for the unity of all revolutionary, anti-imperialist and progressive forces. From our point of

view, this platform cannot be in discord with the program of The People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran, a revolutionary organization with such an honorable and bloody tradition. We deeply believe that revolutionary and progressive forces could certainly achieve their unity in action around a program which is in the direction of the interests of the revolution and includes the immediate demands of workers, peasants, and other toiling strata of our land. The main positions in our suggested platform are as follows:

Considering the fact that the Islamic Republic regime is considered to be the major obstacle to the achievement of anti-imperialist-democratic demands of the Iranian masses, there is no doubt that:

A) We cannot speak of the accomplishment of the anti-imperialist and democratic demands of the masses without the overthrow of the Islamic Republic regime and the establishment of a provisional revolutionary government which is the product of victorious uprisings of the masses and is considered the organ of the power of the masses.

B) Serving the most immediate and most essential demands of the masses, the revolutionary provisional government is obligated to implement the following urgent demands:

1. The formation of a democratic and revolutionary Constituent Assembly, based upon the right to universal, direct, equal, public and secret suffrage which truly expresses the determination of the masses and lays out the foundation for a new political system.

2. Guaranteeing political freedoms and democratic rights of the masses such as freedom of expressing thoughts and

writing, freedom of any organization and society (syndicates, unions, farm committees, councils, democratic focuses and . . .), freedom and equal rights for all religions, complete separation of religion from state, abolishment of any censorship, complete equality of man and woman.

3. Recognition of the councils of workers, peasants, urban toilers, councils of employees, schools and universities, councils of soldiers, officers and petty officers of the military.

4. A massive arming of the people for the continuation of the revolution and safeguarding its achievements.

5. Recognition of the right for self-determination for the oppressed nationalities and the end to any economic, political, cultural, and . . . discrimination.

6. Realization of the demands and needs of the workers, implementation of the forty hour work week with two days off per week, granting a month vacation per year, determination of minimum wage (in proportion to the workers' expenses), participation of the representatives of the workers in compiling labor laws.

7. Immediate struggle against high prices, and unemployment, and implementation of immediate measures in the direction of providing jobs, and housing for workers and toilers and also providing free health care and education for the people.

8. The expropriation of big capital and recognition of the controlling councils of the workers in the production units and establishments.

9. Democratic land reform and revolutionary expropriation of the entire means of production of the large land-owners and transferring them to the peasants through peasant councils and abolishment

of the entire debt of the peasants to banks, land-owners, and usurers.

10. Nationalization of foreign trade, all the banks and financial institutions.

11. Trial and punishment of all the dependants of the previous regime and also all the leaders and mercenaries of the present regime who have committed crimes and have betrayed the people's revolution.

12. Exposure and abolishment of all the enslaving treaties (economic, political, military and cultural) with imperialist countries.

13. Adopting an anti-imperialist foreign policy, unity and cooperation with socialist and progressive countries and supporting revolutionary and liberation movements of the oppressed masses and revolutionary and progressive forces all over the world.

**Even though this open letter was written to The People's Mujahedin Organization of Iran, the above platform could naturally be the basis for discussion of all revolutionary and progressive forces in the direction of achieving a joint platform.

THE ORGANIZATION OF IRANIAN PEOPLE'S FEDAI GUERRILLAS

THE WORKER'S PATH

THE ORGANIZATION OF IRANIAN PEOPLE'S FEDAI GUERRILLAS (MAJORITY-LEFT WING)

September 10, 1981

*KAR NO. 131 Oct. 14, 1981

WORLDWIDE EXPERIENCE OF IMPERIALISM: SUPPRESSION AGAINST GROWING CLASS STRUGGLE Egypt

In the past few weeks Egypt has witnessed a new upsurge in the class struggle and news from this country has made headlines all over the world. What may seem strange, however, is the Iranian regime's propaganda in condemnation of the anti-popular and suppressive policies of the Egyptian ruling regime! At first look, the regime may seem to be trying to expose the anti-popular ruling apparatus in Egypt and hence its widespread propaganda against the conditions in Egypt. A closer look, however, will reveal that the motives behind such propaganda are as anti-popular as the crackdown on the Egyptian people; and this is well understood by our masses, people who have their own everyday experiences in mind when they sit down to analyse news from popular movements elsewhere around the world.

Although the regime tries to portray the mass movements of other peoples such as to serve its own ends, its black censorship cannot conceal one conclusion, one that is abundantly borne out by all the news, both on the struggles of oppressed peoples, and on how they are quelled by reactionary regimes and imperialists. This conclusion is that all dictators and all oppressors resort to the same methods in the face of the historic struggles of the masses. It would serve us well to examine the methods employed in Egypt (to which Islamic Revolution is seemingly being exported!), and to show that if our Islamic Republic is any indication of what is to come, then there is no need to export the revolution, as the henchmen in Egypt have proved themselves sufficiently proficient in carrying out its tasks.

Sadat, the murderer whose death caused such jubilation among the Egyptian masses, had a few months before his death called a referendum which resulted, as is always the case with dictators, in an over 90% approval of his administration. It is

interesting to note that the Islamic Republic's newspaper wrote, "The Egyptian regime has evaded the question that if 99.45% of the people have supported the policies of the regime, then how is it that

Of course, one should add that with the growth of struggles in Egypt, there will undoubtedly be an increase in the number of university "counter-revolutionary" elements who desire to contest imperialism and raise the awareness of the masses. Before long, the Egyptian henchmen, similar to their Iranian counterparts, will close down all the universities or think of a "cultural revolution."

Sadat believes such an insignificant minority capable of creating an "earthquake" or a "tornado in Egypt?" (Etelaat, Sept. 14, 1981). The similarities are astounding. The millions of votes, the "insignificant minorities" of one percent that cause "earthquakes" and "tornadoes," these are the same tricks that the Islamic Republic has used frequently, and significantly used only six days after the above article. Pulling out sixteen million votes from the ballot boxes is more like magic than reality. "Millions of supporters" and another "blow to imperialism and internal counter-revolution" on the one hand; "earthquake" caused by the "one percent," 18,000 political prisoners, over 3,000 revolutionaries executed, over 2.5 years of heroic struggle in Kurdistan, widespread popular support for the "counter-revolutionaries," empty balloting centers . . . and then 16 million votes . . . the similarities are truly undeniable.

Sadat and the ruling regime in Egypt suppresses the "one percent" dissent by methods well reflected in news published by the Islamic Republic regime. The September 15th issue of Etelaat reads: "Sadat postpones the beginning of academic year to purge revolutionary students," "The invasion of security agents into Egyptian schools and universities begins." And when these measures prove ineffective, we read again on Oct. 7:

"Two Egyptian universities, in which there are many Moslem students opposing the regime, failed to open for the Fall term . . ." Yes, dictators *do* think alike. The regime that is condemning the Egypt-

ian oppressors has itself surpassed them in suppression. The regime that spilt the blood of students on the campus pavement. The regime that closed down not two, but all the universities in the country because there were "too many students who opposed the regime." The regime that sent not only its "security agents" but all of its mercenaries from the Pasdaran to

Thus, the Egyptian regime continues to hunt down the revolutionaries. Considering the rate of arrests and expertise in that area, the Egyptian regime is no more than an untalented student compared to Khomeini's regime. If the criminal Egyptian regime arrests 1600 people in a month, Khomeini's regime executes in excess of 1600 people in the same period and arrests more than 18,000 political prisoners. If Egypt imprisons those who shelter fugitives for three years the Islamic Republic's government executes them. Lately, the latter government has declared that all those who help the fugitives in whatever manner will be executed and their property will be confiscated. If the Egyptian government can hold suspicious people in prison for 6 months without trial, the Islamic Republic readily sends them to the firing squads. If the Egyptian minister of the interior only lately ordered security forces to open fire, Khomeini's mercenaries and the Pasdaran have been answering protests with unrestrained and indiscriminate bullets for a long time.

continued on page 6

ASSESSMENT OF . . .

continued from page 2

the deprived and toiling masses? It was because that the Islamic Republic regime's policies have been in the interest of landowners, capitalists and the merchants all along and against the oppressed people of Iran. A glance at the last three years of the regime shows that the Islamic Republic has stood against people and revolutions in the name of people and revolutions, and has suppressed all the gains of the bloody uprising of February 1979.

After 10 years of revolutionary and ceaseless struggle, comrade Eskandar was martyred by the traitors of the Islamic Republic. He chose the red path of the workers and lost his life on it. Comrade Eskandar, the true child of the workers and toiling masses, is not among us any longer, but his path and memories will remain eternal. Tens and hundreds of other Fedaiis will step in the same glorious and honorable path on which he lost his life and each of them will become another "Eskandar."

eKAR Special Issue, a Supplement to KAR NO. 133
Oct. 28, 1981

the Hezbollah thugs into the universities.

Of course, one should add that with the growth of struggles in Egypt, there will undoubtedly be an increase in the number of university "counter-revolutionary" elements who desire to contest imperialism and raise the awareness of the masses. Before long, the Egyptian henchmen, similar to their Iranian counterparts, will close down *all* the universities or think of a "cultural revolution."

Wherever class struggle is on the rise, the anti-popular regimes resort to oppression, during which they benefit from the experiences of world imperialism.

"Sadat's regime continues to hunt down its 'opponents, opposers.' Sadat's party's publication, reported that eleven members of the Secret Organization of Egyptian Muslims were arrested today. With the inclusion of this figure, the number of people who were sent to jail last month added up to 1600." (Etelaat Sept. 24, 1981)

"The Egyptian government has implemented a new law by which those who shelter fugitives will receive a three year prison sentence. According to an emergency bill following Sedat's assassination, suspicious elements can be legally kept in government's custody for six months without trial." (Etelaat, Oct. 17, 1981)

Thus, the Egyptian regime continues to hunt down the revolutionaries. Considering the rate of arrests and expertise in that area, the Egyptian regime is no more than an untalented student compared to Khomeini's regime. If the criminal Egyptian regime arrests 1600 people in a month, Khomeini's regime executes in excess of 1600 people in the same period and arrests more than 18,000 political prisoners. If Egypt imprisons those who shelter fugitives for three years the Islamic Republic's government executes them.

FEDAII MARTYR

continued from cover

result, his life was intertwined with the toiling masses' life. He was not even 18 years old when he rose against injustice and exploitation and found Marxism-Leninism as the only ideology that could free the human race. He found out that the only way for eliminating injustice, freeing the masses from the yoke of exploitations and building a society with no class dominations was the red way of the workers and the toiling masses and a ceaseless struggle against imperialism, capitalism, and their supporting regimes. In 1974, as a member of Dr. Aazami's group, he waged his armed struggle against the Shah's regime. Later he moved to Tehran and joined the OIPFG and because of his military abilities, he assumed a very important position within the military branch of the Organization. Comrade Eskandar commanded and led a number of very important military operations just before people's heroic uprising in 1979.

When in 1980 the opportunism was taking over the Organization, Comrade Eskandar stood firm against the right opportunism and actively explained the revolutionary positions of the Organization. After the split, Comrade Eskandar became the Organization's military Coordinator in the Kurdistan province. For more than six months he fought, side by side the Kurdish masses against the criminal ruling regime.

As a result of seven years of revolutionary struggle he had become an influential and authoritative figure in the Organization. He was a symbol of a communist's honesty, sincerity, courage, revolutionary humbleness, cleverness and calmness. In one word he was a symbol of a people's Fedaii.

But why did Eskandar fight against both the traitor regime of Pahlavi and anti-people regime of Islamic Republic and recognized both regimes as the enemies of

bloc of proletarian revolutionary forces through negotiation of a platform should be promoted (which fortunately, so far, has had relatively successful results. Our joint platform with the Workers' Path and the Majority's Left Faction has been ratified.)

3. Struggle to reach a platform of united struggle with other forces who under the prevailing conditions and despite their inconsistencies have maintained a revolutionary stand.

4. To exert pressure on the revolutionary democrats from above (through negotiations) and from below (through propagating and promoting revolutionary position) to make them take and adopt revolutionary policies and positions.

5. To organize the struggle of the masses and to materialize unity of action among the masses. Because if establishing a "Left Bloc" is a necessity of present period, and if our policy has been adopted correctly, then it will prove its vindication, validity and accuracy during the course of the struggles and actions. Moreover, it will be capable of gathering all other revolutionary forces (including the revolutionary democrats) around it and to give a clear and single direction to their struggles.

KAR NO. 129 Sept. 30, 1981

FAILURE OF THE GAMBIAN COUP D'ETAT, FAILURE OF THE TACTIC OF INFLUENCE FROM THE TOP

About three months ago a coup was staged by the Soviet-backed Gambian Revolutionary Socialist Party, and was defeated by an absence of widespread popular support from the urban masses and also by military intervention from the government of Senegal. Although this event occurred about 3 months ago and may be widely forgotten, a delayed analysis of this historic event is essential both from the standpoint of evaluating the international strategy of the Soviet Union, and as a historical experience.

On July 30th, 1981, the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Gambia (a small country in western Africa) staged a coup with the aid of 500 gendarmes. Following the coup a National Revolutionary Council was formed. The coup leader, Samba Saniang, announced that the coup was necessary because of widespread corruption, tribalism, social injustice, malnutrition, etc. . . . all over the country. The National Revolutionary Council declared that it intends to control the economic affairs of the country and to build a "completely independent economy."

Following the announcement of the coup, Senegalese forces entered the Gambian territories under the pretext of the 1965 treaty between Gambia and Senegal which calls for the help of one country in the event that the other is endangered. Although it enjoyed the support of the gendarmes, parts of the armed forces and the beauraucracy, and some of the people and although it had armed one of the Gambian tribes, the National Revolutionary Council lost all of its positions, one after the other as it had no widespread popular base with which to confront the

Senegalese invasion. Saniang and a few other coup leaders took some of president David Jawara's family members as hostage, (Jawara was visiting England at the time of the coup) and escaped to Guinea Bissau. Most of the coup collaborators were arrested and a rule of suppression was established over Gambia. This was the second time in little more than a year that Senegalese forces had poured into Gambia to save their allied regime.

The events in Gambia demonstrated how deviant the analyses of the Soviet academicians and strategists are especially when it comes to balance of power, non-capitalist development, and tactics of influence from the top. One must have faith in the revolting masses and their truly revolutionary vanguard. The tactic of "influence from the top" has abundantly displayed its practicability as applied to Egypt, Somalia, the Sudan, and other African countries, and will further display its practicability in Afghanistan, Ethiopia, etc. The tactic of influence from the top can be effective as a minor factor and then only if the distinct laws of class struggle, as well as the role of mass revolution and the existence of revolutionary conditions are taken into consideration and it is employed as a tool at the service of popular revolution and revolution from below.

Senegalese forces had poured into Gambia to save their allied regime.

Gambia is a small country with a pre-capitalist system, heavily dependent on income from almond exports and tourism. With the drop in the export price of almonds and cereals on the world market, the worsening economic crisis in England to which the Gambian economy is deeply dependent, and decreased income from tourism, crisis engulfed the entire country. In the past few years unemployment rose in the farming areas and consumer prices increased sharply. Tribal differences inten-

sified the socio-economic crisis and was paving the way for a general crisis. In October 1980 the people stepped up the struggles. Unable to quell the mass movement, the Jawara regime asked Senegal to come to its rescue, as called for by the 1965 treaty (which they did). The movement was temporarily crushed. The underlying reasons for the economic crisis,

however, remained intact, and the mass movement came back to life.

With the failure of the July coup d'etat, suppression now rules the country and any expression of discontent or any demonstration is strictly outlawed.

The coup d'etat, which had popular and progressive goals, was unable to defend itself against the counter-coup. Only the first wave of attacks on the capital city was thwarted by the National Council loyalists. Following attacks by the Senegalese forces and followers of the president easily demolished the National Resistance

Council. This experience demonstrated once again that grabbing power in a Blanquist manner, namely without a strong popular support and popular initiative, even if it succeeds, will be short lived at best.

The ill-fated Gambian coup d'etat not only resulted in the stagnation of the mass movement in this country, but has had undesirable effects on the whole region: the Tanzanian regime, a prime candidate for "non-capitalist development" (!!) has condemned the coup attempt and has expressed its support for Senegal's action. Julius Nyerere, the Tanzanian president judged the Senegalese action as serving to unify the members of the Organization for African Unity. The neutrality of Mozambique and Zimbabwe was significantly a sign of disapproval for the Gambian coup. China sees the Gambian coup as a result of Soviet policy and supports Senegal's intervention. The racist regime in South Africa used this incident as an excuse to justify its reactionary invasion into Angola, sighting "the imminent danger of Soviet expansionism" in its media.

The Soviet Union's position is of interest here. They regard a coup d'etat as the "insurrection of the Gambian people." The New Times magazine, published by the Soviet Foreign Ministry, wrote in its 34th issue of 1981, "the Senegalese forces invaded the country to quell the *insurrection*." (page 15)

The events in Gambia demonstrated how deviant the analyses of the Soviet academicians and strategists are especially when it comes to balance of power, non-capitalist development, and tactics of influence from the top. One must have faith in the revolting masses and their truly revolutionary vanguard. The tactic of "influence from the top" has abundantly displayed its practicability as applied to Egypt, Somalia, the Sudan, and other African countries, and will further display its practicability in Afghanistan, Ethiopia, etc. The tactic of influence from the top can be effective as a minor factor and then only if the distinct laws of class struggle, as well as the role of mass revolution and the existence of revolutionary conditions are taken into consideration and it is employed as a tool at the service of popular revolution and revolution from below.

[KAR No. 134. November 4, 1981]

Egypt...

continued from page 5

Lately, the latter government has declared that all those who help the fugitives in whatever manner will be executed and their property will be confiscated. If the Egyptian government can hold suspicious people in prison for 6 months without trial, the Islamic Republic readily sends them to the firing squads. If the Egyptian minister of the interior only lately ordered security forces to open fire, Khomeini's mercenaries and the Pasdaran have been answering protests with unrestrained and indiscriminate bullets for a long time.

Evidently, the Egyptian government is an amateur in oppressing its masses compared to Khomeini expertise.

Although the struggles of Egyptian people against the regime is on the rise and the government will employ the Islamic Republic's expertise in the oppression of its people, it is interesting to observe the conflict between the two countries as it was reflected in an Etelaat article, with the title "The Sphinx Died":

"The more we compare and the more we study history, the more can we see the face and the voice of the Pharaoh in the person of Sadat. There is, however, a difference. The Pharaohs were not the puppets of a foreign nation. Sadat was as evil as Pharaoh and at the same time he was a puppet, a servant."

It is, therefore, a question of independence! And independence in the manner of the Islamic Republic regime! The oppressor should be independent and must be capable of oppressing the masses while

standing on its own two feet. It is in this sense that Khomeini is preferred to Sadat! Khomeini is neither pro-east nor pro-west. This is why Khomeini occupies the first position in torturing and executing the masses, he is an independent executioner. His suggestion to the Egyptian masses is to ouster the Americans and place someone like himself in power.

It is clear, however, that what is important to the imperialist is the suppression of the popular struggles, the liquidation of revolutionaries, and the dispersion of organized masses. It is not important whose hand it is exactly that spills all this blood. The Islamic Republic regime has revealed the reactionary point of view from which it criticizes puppet regimes such as Egypt's. They only want to change dependent henchmen like Sadat with independent ones like the Moslem Brotherhood.

(The hands holding the strings of this "independent" henchman are another matter!) They have neither doubts, nor any qualms about the necessity of murdering and suppressing the people, continuing oppression and dependency, and harnessing class struggle. The henchman must rule. And all is well as long as he receives his dues.

*KAR No. 134. Nov. 4, 1981

OPEC SUMMIT

continued from cover

adopt the proposal. The proposal, however, was rejected by the Iranian Oil

Minister Gharazi and as a result, other OPEC members' attempt to form a united block against the Saudis failed. The counter proposal was based on the argument that because of the dollar revaluation, a price reduction of one dollar per barrel would not result in any losses for OPEC countries.

The Saudi Arabia, on the other hand, used a nonsense argument, namely that any price increase would encourage explorations of other energy sources such as solar energy and coal, to reject the counter proposal.

While Iran was preoccupied with the political aspect of the issue, i.e., taking a so-called anti-imperialist gesture on the one hand, it was thinking about maximizing its oil revenue to advance its anti-people objectives on the other hand. Therefore, without considering the prevailing conditions in the oil market, the amount of imperialist's oil reserves and their conservation efforts and the relative positions of other OPEC member, vis-a-vis Saudi Arabia, Iran opposed any price reduction by resorting to nonsense and irresponsible "revolutionary" slogans without any substance. The Iranian Oil Minister, Gharazi, said, "Iran will not accept oil price reductions under any circumstances." (The Islamic Republic Newspaper Aug. 19, 1981) and thus created an obstacle for a united action of OPEC member countries against Saudi Arabia which would have made a price of \$35 per barrel possible. "Any price reduction is a treachery . . . and this is what the U.S. has in mind, i.e., to break OPEC

prices," Gharazi said. (Islamic Republic Newspaper, Aug. 19, 1981).

But after two and a half months since the July summit that the oil glut had been created as a result of Saudi's cheap and abundant oil exports and that the Iranian regime had sufficiently taken advantage of its phony anti-imperialist gestures and realizing that insisting on \$36 per barrel had even resulted in reduced revenues, the Iranian regime was prepared to accept the Saudi plan along with other members.

In this recent summit the base price was set at \$34 per barrel until the end of 1981 and Saudis announced productions curtailment from 10.5 to 8.5 million barrels to remove the oil glut.

It is interesting to note that Mr. Gharazi, who announced that "any price reduction is a treachery" and that "we would resist any price reductions despite Iraq's invasion," now changed his mind only after 9 weeks and accepted the Saudi plan or what he had labeled as, "what the U.S. had in mind," and resorted to "treachery."

Thus, the Saudi Arabian realized something that they did not know before, i.e., they are undisputed power in the OPEC. This will allow Saudis to advance their political-military objectives which are nothing but the objectives of the U.S. imperialism in the region with more self-confidence. The Iranian government's objections to \$35 per barrel was a reactionary position if not a treacherous one.

KAR NO. 135. Nov. 11, 1981

ECONOMIC CRISIS AND THE GOVERNMENT'S GROWING DECEIT

continued from page 8

Unemployment: the regime's solution to curb inflation

Even though there are no correct statistics in reference to unemployment and the regime has remained silent on this issue, it is obvious that millions of people are affected by it. Every day it is affecting the lives of more and more people with its cancerous increase. Due to unemployment, many have gotten involved in peddlery, hawking, theft, prostitution, and smuggling. The rates of crime, suicide, and divorce, which always intensify as unemployment increases, have reached new heights. The regime has done nothing to alleviate the problems, and in fact has only worsened the situation by aggravating the war and leaving two million refugees in the Southwestern part of the country. Even when the rate of inflation increases and causes "Their Excellencies" to react, they ignore the main roots of the inflation and enact certain reforms which cause further unemployment of the masses, and safeguard the interests of the comprador bourgeoisie class. The regime has been reducing the inflation through a relative decrease in public expenditures (except in profitable sectors such as construction), limiting money supply, closing down the factories, forcing retirement, employee buy out, massive expulsions, and generally anything which could lower the purchasing power of toiling masses. The regime's attempts have not been successful, and every year, even according to the doubtful statistics of the Central Bank, we have been facing a 25% rate of inflation. The regime blames retailers and occasionally imperialists who have exported their own inflation to Iran. Quite naturally, they can't get to the imperialists, hence they form special courts for trade union affairs, close down the retail shops, or penalize them, and thus cover up the multi-million dollar profits which big merchants make. Meanwhile, the inflation keeps suppressing the toiling masses because it is still in existence. But deceit continues and the Staff of Economic Mobilization with a great deal of publicity claims "success" in controlling the rate of inflation in some goods. Even though it might seem the "Their Excellencies" are right, it is not so in reality. It seems that they have forgotten that with the onset of the economic embargo, the majority of the goods, whether rationed or not, quite artificially and suddenly increased in price between 30-40%. After the end of the economic embargo last winter, the goods could be obtained at 30% lower than the embargo period. However, because these goods are now being sold again at the prices set during the embargo, it is a clear indication that even the prices of the goods which have apparently remained constant during last winter and this year, in fact increased by 30%.

Stagnation in Industry and Agriculture

A paralyzing stagnation is present in industry. The main reason for this is the increase in the level of class consciousness of the people, especially the workers, and the intensification of the class struggle in general in all parts of society. Another difficulty has been lack of management and planning in securing raw materials, spare parts, etc. which

have further complicated the situation leading the industry into a deep crisis such that the industrial sector not only has it not been profitable, it has experienced a two billion dollar loss. [Etelat, Aug. 29]

At the present time, the factories are either shut down or producing at minimum capacity. There are no accurate statistics on hand with reference to this either. However, according to the limited statistics, one could estimate that production capacity is somewhere between 20-30%. Aliviri, a representative in the Parliament, claims that industry "in most cases is presently working at a production capacity of less than 50%, and those whose production increased might not be in the best interests of the country." [Etelat, Aug. 29]

This confession makes it look as if the dimensions of the tragedy have decreased, but it is clear that the intensification of the industrial crisis has made the regime reveal certain facts despite its deceitful policies. The situation is more or less the same in Agriculture. This is contrary to all the regime's claims about the intensified growth of agricultural production in 1980. The Chairman of the Plan Organization and Budget confesses that "despite an increase in the lands under cultivation in 1980, the production has decreased!! [Islamic Republic Newspaper, Oct. 15] This statement is an obvious indication of the fact that the regime is unable to resolve the question of agriculture. The regime has not implemented its promise of "Land to the Tillers", which has left the agricultural workers perplexed. In addition, there has been a lack of effective organization and planning in securing seed, fertilizer, fuel, and agricultural machinery. Due to these factors, in spite of the increase in cultivated lands, the production has decreased. The reduction in agricultural production has been so great that certain goods such as cotton, wool, and a variety of threads which were being exported in 1979, are not only exported, it has been necessary to try to import them in 1980.

It is obvious that the main reason for the significant drop in the value of ex-

ports is the increase in the price of carpets. Whenever this good is crossed out of the list of exports, the value of exports without carpets reaches the following amounts: \$409 million dollars in 1977, \$453 million dollars in 1979, and \$282 million dollars in 1980. But the

most substantial element catches ones attention is the 80% fall in industrial and agricultural exports. This regime in as far as its claim regarding self-sufficiency in these two areas. This economic deterioration has continued in 1981 also. Table 2 which shows the volume of exports and imports in the first four months of 1980 and 1981 is a clear sign of this fact.

If we compare the first four months of 1981 with the same months of the year before, we see that there has been a 26% increase in imports and a 45% decrease in exports. This happens because the government is short of foreign exchange and due to the ongoing war

from countries which are more politically stable. And poor Hashemi Rafsanjani [Speaker of the Parliament] who was seeking "political stability" through votes, a week before the election stated: "the governments that are willing to sign contracts with us are very sensitive about the stability of our government demonstrated by the number of popular votes cast." Despite the regime's claim of receiving 16 million votes, the oil companies still did not purchase oil from them.

Briefly, in addition to the social, political and cultural crises, a deep economic crisis is encompassing the regime. Liars such as Nabavi and Baanki would never be able to cover up this crisis and its significance. The ultimate solution to this crisis is totally in the hands of the future of the revolution and the end to the struggle between revolutionary and anti-revolutionary forces.

*KAR No. 134, Nov. 4, 1981

Table 2

Imports in the years 1980 and 1981 (March - June)			
1981	1980		Changes %
5.09	4.57	ton	11.2
4.66	5.89	Million dollars	26.4
Exports in years 1980 and 1981 (March-June)			
1981	1980		Changes %
91.9	-158.9	ton	-57.8
0.18	-0.4	Million dollars	-45

with Iraq, it has to produce oil on one hand, and on the other hand has to pay for the war expenditures which total about 300 million dollars per month. [Kayhan, Sept. 22]

It was no accident that the Central Bank banned the importation of goods from Sept. 15 to Sept. 28 and even now is making this importation difficult. By adopting this tactic, the regime is trying to limit the outflow of foreign exchange for purchasing different goods, so that it may continue its heavy purchasing of arms. If the regime is unable to purchase armaments, this could lead to its defeat in the war, and ultimately to its own demise.

The economic problems have been compounded by the oil glut on the world markets, and the reduced oil prices, the absence of political stability, and the lack of confidence on the part of oil companies as to the certainty of the

Tudeh Party...

continued from page 8

even ridicule Bazargan for supporting Madani: "Bazargan, who was invited to Khuzestan to check into Madani's actions had told the people: long live Madani, long live Madani. . .". But the Tudeh Party that has now started exposing Madani and Bazargan fails to mention that at the time when the two were in power, it would scream "long live Madani, long live Bazargan."

During the past two years the Tudeh Party has performed many such tricks and has not kept its kind words from any men of power. In Mardom No. 15, it calls a speech by Dr. Yazdi "a necessary action to mobilize the true forces of the revolution." This is at a time when the people ridicule Yazdi's American accent. The "Party" goes as far as vindicating the treacherous heads of the army. In Mardom No. 23 it uses the title "Chief of Staff is right" . . . and in confirming General Farbod it writes: "The duty of the army is to defend the borders of the country and the army should be popular and democratic . . .". This is just at the time when the army is murdering the Kurdish and the Turkaman people.

The Tudeh Party approaches Sadegh Khalkhali, this executioner of the Turk man and Kurdish people, this mad murderer and the executioner of tens of revolutionaries. It announces that the Tudeh Party will vote for him wherever he is a candidate (bulletin of the Central Committee of the Tudeh Party). This is probably not too strange at a time when the "militant candidate" of the "Party," in charge of the Party's provincial organization in Esfehan, turns out to be a SAVAK agent. Even here the "Party" is not sincere. Introducing this person the "Party" writes: "A militant worker, loyal to the ideals of his class, Comrad Gholam Reza Sahraki . . . a reliable and respectable character . . . (Mardom No. 45)

Anyway, the Tudeh Party continues flip-flopping, bowing to the men of power and sacrificing the masses in this way. The "Party" continues these policies after the downfall of the Bazargan Government.

To Be Continued

Table 1

	1979	1980	Changes %
Industrial ton	277299	48012	-83
Million dollars	41.0	21.3	-48
Agricultural ton	260820	77387	-70
Million dollars	329	197	-40
Carpet & Handicraft ton	7950	5030	-37
Million dollars	341	447	31
Mineral & Material ton	334328.8	150448	-45
Million dollars	110	26.5	-24
Total ton	885000	299	-66
Million dollars	795	730	-8

ports is the increase in the price of carpets. Whenever this good is crossed out of the list of exports, the value of exports without carpets reaches the following amounts: \$409 million dollars in 1977, \$453 million dollars in 1979, and \$282 million dollars in 1980. But the

flow of oil for the next year. British Petroleum and Shell who would normally buy 175,000 barrels of oil daily and Japanese oil companies who would usually purchase 230,000 barrels of oil daily, announced that they wouldn't renew their contracts and would purchase oil

IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE

Historical Precedents of Treachery by the Tudeh Party

PART IV

1) THE TUDEH PARTY AND THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC

The Tudeh Party's treacherous acts within the last two years are so clear and widespread that they cannot all be recounted in this article. However, by citing a few examples, we will try to show how the Tudeh Party has followed the line of obeying those in power and in doing so, how often it has flip-flopped.

After the nomination of Bazargan as the Prime Minister, the Tudeh Party congratulated this nomination and announced its readiness for "quiet" cooperation with the "revolutionary Provisional Government."

"Our party has supported and will support all progressive actions of the provisional government. We believe that such actions have existed in certain important aspects of the country's political life, and so our statements now should only be understood and studied in this context. We announce that we are ready to take part in commissions related to the Supreme Council of Revolution's Plans and, just as Mr. Bazargan has asked, to cooperate sincerely and away from any hypocrisy and noise" (Mardom, new period, No. 2). Thus the Tudeh Party announces its obedience to the men of power to the extent of cooperating "sincerely and away from any hypocrisy and noise." And then it continues, "We do not want (Bazargan's) government to be weakened. We would like the government to, step by step, on its way to complete the revolution until its victorious end, become strengthened" (Mardom, No. 43). However, when Bazargan's government falls apart, these kind words are replaced by "revolutionary anger," and the "Party," cleverly flip-

flopping, starts its exposure of Bazargan (It is interesting that the "party of the working class," and always limping behind the struggles of the masses, starts its exposure at a time when the people themselves are aware of the nature of Bazargan's administration).

"The provisional government, after the countless damages that it had caused the revolution, collapsed" (Mardom No. 131). And in Mardom No. 331, it states, "We will expose the followers of Breczinski's line in all disguises in the future" (referring to Bazargan's meeting with Breczinski in Algeria). Thus Bazargan whom the "Party" intended to "quietly" cooperate with becomes counter-revolutionary.

However, the interesting fact is that while Bazargan has been abdicated, Khomeini, who is the cause and supporter of these "countless damages" is still in power, and so the Tudeh Party blames the revolution and the people for all this: "Alas, the Iranian revolution, by appointing you (Bazargan) as the prime minister of the provisional government has made such a great mistake in the face of history" (Mardom No. 300).

Such flip-flops are so common for the Tudeh Party. For example, the Tudeh Party applauds the appointment of Nazih (a bourgeois liberal): "Fortunately, the revolutionary provisional government, among the many appointments which are rightfully expected, has shown its competence by appointing a well-known nationalist figure to head the National Iranian Oil Company. This appointment brings hope and expectancy" (Mardom No. 1). This "well-known nationalist figure," too, is condemned by the "Party" when he loses power and the masses be-

come aware of his counter-revolutionary nature: "Dissatisfaction of many political and social sectors which has recently been culminating and which has caused the dismissal of Mr. Nazih . . . is genuine" (Mardom No. 58). The "Party" even writes: "Today one can more openly talk of individuals such as Moghadam Maragheh and Nazih who, until yesterday, considered themselves the pillars of the revolution." However, the Tudeh Party fails to mention who considered individuals such as Nazih "the pillars of the revolution" and introduced them as "well-known nationalist figures."

In another case, the Tudeh Party, until the last moments of the escape of the treacherous General Madani (an admiral of the Shah's regime also in power in the Islamic Republic) spoke well of him. Madani announces in an interview: "We will not intervene to suppress riots such as the one in Dhofar as the Shah did. However, if a people who have lived many years under the whip of the colonial rule request our assistance, we will certainly consider it our duty to assist them within the framework of the laws." And the treacherous Tudeh Party writes: "This is an explicitly anti-imperialist/anti-colonial response in solidarity with the liberation movement of people who have lived many years under the whip of the colonial rule, and one cannot expect anything else from Admiral Madani" (Mardom No. 12).

Yes, one cannot expect anything else from Admiral Madani, who puts on the fake mask of the support of the people and promotes his suppressive policies. At the same time, one cannot expect anything from the Tudeh Party other than fawning

while he is in power, even though Madani is none other than the imperial general and the suppressor and butcher of the Arab people in Khuzestan (southern province in Iran). Not only does the Tudeh Party call General Madani anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist, but it also considers him the cause and supporter of construction and development of Khuzestan (see Mardom Nos. 12, 54, 104, 118, . . .). Not only does it state its worry about acts of sabotage by counter-revolution (probably the Arab people and progressive forces) against the positive and helpful steps taken by the General (!), but also, when this imperial butcher calls the army "defensive and nationalist," the Tudeh Party happily greets him and confirms: "The defense minister, General Dr. Ahmad Madani, has repeatedly condemned the treacherous and anti-nationalist policies of the previous regime . . . and has assured that the Iranian army will be a defensive and nationalist one . . . The actions of the provisional government with respect to this are wholeheartedly confirmed by us" (Mardom No. 1).

Thus the Tudeh Party endorses the suppressive army and (thus) the murder of the Arab, Kurdish, and Turkman people, and all these are under conditions when the first issue of Kar in March of 1978 exposes the Imperial General. The Tudeh Party remembers to expose Madani only after he is exposed to everyone, lost power, and escapes. They write: "Ahmad Madani . . . was in contact with American spies" (Mardom No. 150). See how "General Dr. Ahmad Madani has been changed to Ahmad Madani. In Mardom No. 301 they

continued on page 7

ECONOMIC CRISIS AND THE GOVERNMENT'S GROWING DECEIT

General crisis is presently surrounding the Islamic Republic Regime and if it continues, will bring an end to this regime's shameful history in the near future. As before, the regime claims deceitfully that it will overcome all the problems. Interestingly enough after lying and deceiving for two and a half years, the "top officials" of the regime have gone as far as denying the existence of any crisis!

A clear example of this series of absurd efforts to cover-up are the speeches given by Nabavi (the supervisor of the staff of Economic Mobilization) and Baanki (the Chairman of the Plan Organization and Budget in the seminar of the Staffs of Economic Mobilization of the provinces. Truly they have set a new record in mendacity. For instance, in his speech, Nabavi first claims the "the Central Bank's statistics show 2% inflation since March." [Etelaat, Oct. 15] On the same day he stated that the inflation had increased by 2% [Islamic Republic Newspaper, Oct. 15], a good illustration of the Persian saying: "Liars have bad memories." In a television interview a week later he says: "The inflation has been 7% in the past six months" (Oct. 30). Alongside this statement we have the Central Bank's statistics, compiled by the agents of the regime and no more indicative of the true inflation than the above statements, which shows: "In the first six months of this year (March

through August) the price indicator of goods and services has an average 25% increase in relation to the same period a year before." [Etelaat, Oct. 20]

Baanki, has outdone even Nabavi in mendacity. He audaciously stated: "Despite low production and low incomes, we do not have an economic crisis." [Etelaat, Oct. 20]

He utters these childish words when most of the countries and forces around the world have started a countdown for the downfall of the regime due to the economic and political crises it has generated. Of course, many people might laugh at his ignorance after hearing the above statement. In our opinion, this statement was not uttered out of ignorance, but was simply another attempt at deceit. Baanki has a doctorate degree in economics and is very well aware of the fact that an increase in unemployment (decrease in incomes) and a drop in production definitely signify an economic crisis, especially when a double digit inflation is present also.

The dimensions of the present economic crisis have expanded so greatly that the regime's deceitful attempts at covering up the problems are akin to putting band-aids on a gaping wound. The toiling people feel the inflation, the unemployment, and the recession with their flesh and blood. The lies of the regime's servants only add insult to injury.

continued on page 7

About

KAR INTERNATIONAL

KAR INTERNATIONAL is a collection of selected articles and news items from KAR weekly [KAR in the principal Iranian language means labor] the organ of the Organization of Iranian People's Fedaii Guerrillas (OIPFG), translated and adapted by the supporters of the OIPFG for progressive and anti-imperialist forces in the U.S.

By translating the works of the OIPFG we hope to better acquaint anti-imperialist forces with the revolutionary movement of the people of Iran and the viewpoints of the OIPFG and thus contribute to world's working class movement and the struggle of oppressed masses against U.S.-led imperialism.

KAR INTERNATIONAL was first published in early 1980 as a quarterly journal. But, its publication was ceased temporarily due to technical problems in printing and distribution.

In this new format we hope to have eliminated most of the problems experienced in the first stage.

We take full responsibility for the selection and translations of articles from KAR weekly. Any shortcomings due to the quality of translation is ours and not of the OIPFG.

THE ORGANIZATION OF IRANIAN PEOPLE'S FEDAII GUERRILLAS was formed in 1971 under the most barbaric dictatorial regime in history. 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 members and the leaders of OIPFG were subjected to the most brutal tortures, mass killings and executions, but nevertheless the OIPFG staged the most heroic struggle ever against the criminal regime of the Shah and proudly carried forward the red banner of the Iranian proletariat across the land.

Years of heroic struggle during the people's insurrection, made the OIPFG the largest mass organization within the communist movement of Iran.

After the downfall of the Shah, the Islamic Republic regime was established on the basis of masses' religious illusions. Once in power, the

Islamic regime brutally suppressed the just struggles of the peoples of Kurdistan and Turkman Sahra. Later the Islamic regime extended its reign of terror to all regions of the country and all strata in the society including the workers and the peasants. During the entire period since the installment of the Islamic regime, the OIPFG stood firm in defense of the toiling masses' basic rights and, thus, was able to expand and deepen its mass base particularly among the workers and the peasants. Terrified by increased popularity of the OIPFG and other revolutionary forces, the regime resorted to large scale arrests, imprisonment, torture and executions. In June 1981, with the intensification of contradictions between the bourgeois liberals and the cleric factions within the ruling apparatus and the subsequent ouster from power of liberals led by Bani Sadr, the Islamic regime increased the wave of terror to an unprecedented level. More than 3000 revolutionaries, including the Fedaiis have been executed so far without trial.

Today it has become evident for the majority of Iranian people that the Islamic regime is neither willing nor is it capable of taking any step in the interests of the masses. The consequences of nearly three years of the Islamic regime's rule are nothing but 30 percent unemployment; 100 percent inflation; 60 percent drop in industrial and agricultural production; devastations caused by the reactionary war with Iraq; preserving relations with imperialism; nationwide shutdown of universities; censorship of the media; suppression of national and religious minorities and suppression of women's rights. Today any protest is dealt with imprisonment, torture and execution.

Based on a concrete analysis of the bourgeois nature of the Islamic Republic regime, the OIPFG has come to the conclusion that the present regime must be overthrown and be replaced by a revolutionary government in a free and independent Iran.

Supporters of OIPFG in the U.S.