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Present Crisis and the Fundamental Tasks of Marxists-Leninists

Now the ripples of a deep crisis are appearing. Deterioration of economic conditions and spread of social chaos have brought extreme poverty and ruins upon our country's working people.

Economic recession, inflation, price-hikes, unemployment, shortages of living staples etc. are rampant everywhere. All over our country the indications of volatile class conflicts and antagonistic social forces, vis-a-vis each other, are visible.

Contention of various ruling factions is intensifying more and more, surfacing daily; and the gap between the higher-ups gets deeper. The flames of wrath and revenge from the masses who for twenty months were imagining their needs being answered by the ruling apparatus, here and there blazes. Political freedoms and democratic rights of the masses are violated and stepped upon by the government. The democratic rights of the oppressed nationalities are denied. Workers, peasants, toilers, merchants, artisans, students and women struggle against the suppression of their basic human rights. The class conflict is intensified to such an extent that the war between Iran and Iraq governments is secondary. At this historical juncture, momentous tasks are facing all the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists. Any kind of

inadvertent or evasive gesture towards these tasks will do irreparable harm to the body of the communist movement and revolutionary movement.

In the lead article of **KAR**, No. 87, (See "Perspective of a Deep Crisis" in **KAR International** Vol.I No. 1) we pointed to the present crisis and its perspective; and now with due attention to the importance of determining the tasks of Marxist-Leninists in the present crisis, we turn to the fundamental pressing question: **FUNDAMENTAL TASKS OF COMMUNISTS IN THE PRESENT SITUATION.**

The Iranian communist movement is taking steps toward the deep crisis under these conditions: its largest communist organization, due to domination by opportunism from the majority of its leadership, and a section of its body, has split and the precious time which must be spent on drafting a proletarian program, strategy and tactics, is wasted on the unimportant and nonessential questions posited by the opportunists.

Today complete dispersion and division dominate Iran's communist movement. Several organizations and tens of groups and circles, each is playing its own tune, and everyone is taking their independent course. On many fundamental and essential questions for the

movement, either there has not been enough discussion and ideological struggle, or there have strictly been no suggestions given.

In a situation where each distinct faction of bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie is offering a concrete alternative to the masses, and each is trying to deceive the masses in some way, the Iranian communist movement is unable to present a revolutionary alternative. Because of decrepitude and dispersion of the communists and the lack of their presentation of a revolutionary alter-

native, the distinct factions of the bourgeoisie are making incursions and broad masses are following them. However, if the communists are unable to present the masses with a revolutionary alternative, essentially no provision can be made to change the arrangement of class forces in favor of the revolutionary forces and avoid the reinstatement of a consolidated and strong anti-revolutionary force.

Today all the Marxist-Leninist circles are emphasizing the need to pre-

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The Liberals: Spurious Standard-Bearers of Freedom

Nowdays, the cry of the liberals for liberty are heard throughout the country. The liberals use various means of communication to demonstrate that they [the liberals] are opposed to the ruling Islamic Republic Party (IRP), believe in liberty and democracy. The liberals, who are very good at deceiving the masses, chose to campaign for "liberty" at a time when the masses' confrontation against the prevailing repressive policies (mostly instituted by the various organs

of the ruling IRP) have gained new momentums. Carrying the spurious banner of "freedom" and "democracy", the liberals have entered the scene to accomplish their treacherous objective in the name of "freedom" and democracy. But, the fact is that the liberals' desires for democracy sharply differ from that of the masses'. The liberals want the "freedom" to betray the people.

Freedom for the liberals means freedom for further exploitation and plundering of the workers and the toiling masses. Freedom for them means pillage by the capitalists, freedom to suppress the people's freedom, and freedom to strengthen the relation with the im-

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The War & Its Effects on the Workers Struggle

The commencement of war between Iran and Iraq marks the subsidence of the worker's economic struggle. In the primary stages of the war, the workers influenced by extensive state propaganda, political awareness and fanatical nationalistic fervor, were led to defend the capitalists. The workers' economic struggle, was thus overshadowed by the war. The capitalists and the government (as protector of their rights) have employed this opportunity to further their own benefits by issuing notices, concerning production, extenuation of work hours, and cessation of workers' benefits, lunch etc.

With the passage of time and the destructiveness of war, the workers are beginning to discern the nature of this war. They are coming to the realization

that this war will only benefit the capitalists of Iran and Iraq, and the imperialists. As the days go by the propagandas are becoming less and less effective. Presently, this suffering caused by war, unemployment, inflation and anti-workers law and new taxes weigh heavily on the workers, where as the revenues end up in the pockets of capitalists and imperialists. In addition, the great merchants of the bazaar benefit monetarily by hoarding goods and charging the consumers higher prices. The absence of any kind of law limiting these activities reveals that the government is protecting them.

Now, the workers have realized through daily experiences that this war is to their detriment and to the capitalists

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**The Terror of the El Salvadorean
People's Leaders is Reminiscent of
the Tragic Terror of Four Turkaman
People's Leaders**
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Present Crisis... continued from cover

sent a revolutionary alternative. But the basic problem of the movement is how and in what way such an alternative can be established? How can we overcome the decrepitude and dispersion of the communist movement and go forward with the fundamental steps in the direction of revolutionary leadership of the working class and working masses?

In our opinion during this upcoming deep crisis, *without defining the fundamental tasks of the communists* in the present revolutionary stage, without drafting a concrete program, strategy, and tactics, we will not be able to carry out this pressing question.

Due to the daily increase in the speed of political developments and the advent of a deep crisis, we must not only define our immediate political tasks, but also must find concrete answers to fundamental tasks for the communist movement in its present stage of revolution; for, quoting Lenin:

"In a revolutionary epoch it is impermissible to limit oneself to defining immediate political tasks, impermissible for two reasons. Firstly, in such epochs the basic tasks of the Social-Democratic movement are given first place, and they must be analyzed in detail, not as is customary in time of 'peaceful' and petty constitutional development. In the second place, it is impermissible to define the immediate political tasks, because a revolution is marked precisely by the possibility and inevitability of sharp changes, sudden turns, unexpected situations, and violent outbursts."

Lenin, *The Platform of Revolutionary Social-Democracy*, Vol. 12, p. 209 (Lenin's emphasis)

We also, before completely breaking with the opportunist faction under the leadership of the "Central Committee" in the Organization, must set for ourselves a goal. And as the first step in reaching this goal, we must make an analysis of the characteristic and composition of the present ruling apparatus. In the introduction to the analysis of the nature of the present ruling apparatus, in the winter of '79, we wrote:

"In a situation in which the complexity of class struggle poses everyday new questions for us in the social struggle and class struggle of the revolutionary forces, without a definite and clear answer to the question of ruling power in the country and determining the method of facing it by proletariat, we will be disqualified from achieving our revolutionary tasks. Not forgetting Lenin's repeated emphasis in saying, 'the basis question in every revolution is the question of ruling power.'

For according to Lenin, 'without defining this question, one can not talk of continuous participation in revolution and above all of leading it.' For, **continuous participation in revolution, means organizing the forces in a single direction—a concrete course whose goal is to take over the political power by the proletariat. All the activities and tactics of the communists are related dialectically to this goal to fulfill their real strategic meaning. All our tactics must in every step bring us closer to our strategic goal and prepare the ground for establishing the hegemony of proletariat in the people's movement. Only with an independent proletarian program and policy, the worker's class is transformed to an organized and independent force and holds high the red banner of proletarian movement in the forefront of the people's movement.**

(People's Struggle, New Edition, No. 1, p.10)

And for this reason, immediately after the "Central Committee's" split and its organizational separation, we set to draft a program, strategy, and tactics into the agenda of our organization's ideological struggle; and treated addressing this basic task as the second step and the second main link in leading Iran's communist movement. (Although due to the heavy burden of organizational work after the split and start of the war between Iran and Iraq, there came interruptions in this schedule, reflecting our lack of diligence in this matter, for which we should be criticized.)

Now that a deep crisis is facing us, the emphasis on the answering of this fundamental question is urgently gaining immense importance.

On the importance of this subject Lenin wrote:

"So far, the basic tasks of the Social-Democratic proletariat in our revolution have not yet been elaborated by our Party as a whole. And without such an elaboration no mature, principled policy is possible, and no pursuit of the definition of 'immediate' tasks can be successful.

... We must examine: firstly, the nature of the present revolutionary situation from the standpoint of the general tendencies of social, economic and political development; secondly, the political grouping of classes (and parties) in Russia today; thirdly, the basic tasks of the Social-Democratic Labour Party in this situation and with this political grouping of the social forces."

Lenin, *The Platform of Revolutionary Social-Democracy*, Vol. 12, p. 210 (Lenin's emphasis)

In this circumstance with the advent of deep crisis, the Communists must urgently determine their main tasks for the present situation. As Lenin repeatedly emphasized, in such a situation without determining the fundamental tasks, one cannot lead the movement and determine the urgent tasks.

Due to the rapid daily events, we do not have sufficient time for a period of long theoretical work and all-around ideological struggle to come up with complete answers to one and each of the basic, main and minor questions. Today while a pile of undone tasks weigh on our shoulders and daily new events face us, in a short time, we must find concrete, clear and explicit answers to these tasks. Delaying these concrete answers, to a time after a long period of theoretical work and ideological struggle, is equivalent to inaction, to falling behind the mass movement and being metamorphosed to an appendage of petty-bourgeoisie crusades.

With attention to theoretical works and ideological struggles (even though incomplete) we have undertaken until now, we must present a summary, based on which the fundamental tasks and the urgent political goals of the communists in the present circumstances, are determined. So we could, on the basis of a concrete program and policy, expand and consolidate more and more our activities; improve our propaganda work and concentrate our whole propaganda system around concrete axis. Every word of the communists must be precisely selected, like an arrow hitting the heart of the bourgeoisie and trembling his back, not making him chuckle. This program must give a single specified direction to the activities of the communists, to lead and organize the struggle of the working class and working masses in the direction of the final goal of seizing the political power.

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The Liberals... continued from cover

perialism. For the liberals freedom means a free hand over the country's national minorities who live under injustice.

Freedom and democracy for the toiling masses, on the other hand, means suppression of the people's enemies; freedom to establish the people's councils; freedom for political activities of the revolutionary and progressive forces; freedom to take away freedom from the people's enemies. Freedom for the workers means freedom of taking over the capitalists ownership. Freedom for the peasants means freedom of taking over the landlords ownership and confiscating their lands and the right to freely organize their councils and unions.

In brief, the democracy that the liberals are talking about means the rule of the capitalists—that is the dictatorship of a few exploiters over the majority, but democracy for the toiling masses and above all for the working class, means the rule of overwhelming majority—that is the dictatorship of the toiling masses over the capitalists, the landlords, and the people's enemies.

With such a perspective, let's see if the experience of the toilers in our country has taught them differently. In the following we will discuss what liberals such as Bazargan, Ghotbzadeh and Bani-Sadr who are now the outspoken figures for the cause of the liberals, have done as participants in the organs of the ruling apparatus.

● Bazargan [the first prime minister appointed by Khomeini following the Shah's downfall, he is now a member of parliament]

We all remember that when Bazargan was in office he opposed the execution of the hated mercenaries of the Shah's regime such as Hoveyda [Shah's prime minister]. He had tried very hard to stop their executions. But since these elements were hated by the people, the ruling apparatus under the pressure from the masses had no choice but to execute them. Bazargan is also responsible for allowing Bakhtiar [Shah's last prime minister] to flee the country and be able to freely serve the imperialists' interests.

We all remember that when the workers and the toilers undertook to confiscate the factories and took over the production and distribution and when peasants took over the lands, Bazargan called these acts sabotage and destruction that will "weaken the government". Bazargan is the one who suppressed the workers' council claiming that they [councils] "improperly interfere" in the management duties. Bazargan is the one who wanted Capitalists such as the Rezaeis, the Khayamis and other capitalists who for years sucked the blood of the Iranian people to return to Iran and freely resume plundering and pillage. Bazargan wants freedom to meet Brzezinski and to establish friendly relationships with the U.S. imperialism. He assigned the U.S. spies and the allies of the Shah's regime to very important government posts.

Bases on these observations, it is clear that Bazargan wants freedom for the mercenaries of the U.S. imperialism in Iran, and for the dependent Capitalists and their supporters. His intended freedom is freedom of exploitation and plundering of the workers and the toiling masses, and of expanding and strengthening relations with the imperialism.

● Ghotbzadeh [Khomeini's director of National Radio and T.V., Minister of Foreign Affairs after the seizure of the U.S. Embassy. He does not hold an official position at the present time.]

Ghotbzadeh's intended freedom is freedom of hostages. We all remember that since the early days of the hostage crisis, he has tried very hard to free the hostages. He wants imperialist spies and top-to-toe U.S. agents free in Iran. He wants to renew and expand relations with the U.S.

Ghotbzadeh's name is a reminder of censorship and repression in the National Radio and T.V. Organization. While he was in charge of Radio & T.V., he dismissed and liquidated all progressive elements from the Radio and T.V. Organization. He opposed the formation of employee councils at the Radio & T.V. Organization. His daily threat against the press and his hatred for the workers, toilers and the progressive forces will not be forgotten.

Again, based on these grounds, it is clear that Ghotbzadeh also wants freedom for the imperialists' mercenaries in the country. He wants freedom for the dependent capitalists and their supporters. His perception of freedom is that of suppression of the toiling masses and the progressive forces; freedom to expand relations with the U.S. imperialism.

● BANI-SADR [The president and the head of the National Defense High Council]

For Bani-Sadr, this cunning liberal, freedom and democracy is not different from what was said for Bazargan and Ghotbzadeh. Bani-Sadr strongly opposed people's councils and regarded workers' councils as the number one enemy of the capitalists and disbanded them. Last Spring, when the leaders of the Turkaman's people were brutally massacred [see story on the murder of El Salvadorean...in this issue] he remained silent. He instead organized the brutal attack on Turkaman Sahra [Northeast of Iran] and Turkaman's peasants unions and councils.

The savage war against the Kurdish people was directly ordered by Bani-Sadr. Bani-Sadr called the last Spring's savage massacre in the universities "Supremacy of the Islamic Republic".

Bani-Sadr's intended freedom is freedom for those who recently participated in an unsuccessful military coup d'etat. In fact he, after speaking to them in a conciliatory manner, asked them to rejoin the army.

In his newspaper, under the President's Diary, he expresses his hopes for freedom as follows:

"Would it not be better if our great braveries [of our army] became people's pastime rather than executions and confiscations? (ENGHELAB ISLAMI, Dec. 4, 1980)

He meant would it not be better to free those who participated in the coup d'etat, those whom we know are the mercenaries and top-to-toe agents of the U.S. imperialism. He is saying that would it not be better if the capitalists and the landlords be allowed to freely own whatever they own.

To sum up, what Bani-Sadr is saying is that it is better for the masses to give up the execution of the imperialists' mercenaries and confiscation of the capitalists' and the landlords' wealth and become amused with the great braveries such as the bombardment of their cities and villages, the massacre of the toilers, the destruction of the factories and industries as a result of the reactionary war between Iran and Iraq.

Bani-Sadr who as the head of the executive branch, is responsible for the arrest of thousands of progressive and struggling forces, all of a sudden cries for

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WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT

The War & Its Effects on the Workers Struggle*

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advantage. For this reason they will no longer be fooled by the capitalist. Workers' Economic struggles have expanded since October. A new wave of struggles has started and it is no longer possible to disregard workers' rights, using war as an excuse.

Protests in individual and isolated forms have been replaced by group protests. From this same movement, a political objection against the war is evolving.

The following reports are illustrations of objections and struggles of workers in the early October period.

THE ARJ FACTORY

The problem began when the workers' representative and the managing director plotted to deny the 1.4 million dollar profit. In fact, they had previously declared that the factory had sustained a 7 to 8.5 million dollar loss. A representative of the Revolutionary Guards and the revolutionary prosecutor were consigned to resolve the problem and quench the worker's objections. The workers' representatives and the managing director continued to deny profit and the workers continued the protest. Finally, the former party resorted to closing down the factory. The workers, however, opened the factory on their own initiative and neutralized the enemies plot. At the end the prosecutors had no other choice but to relent (give

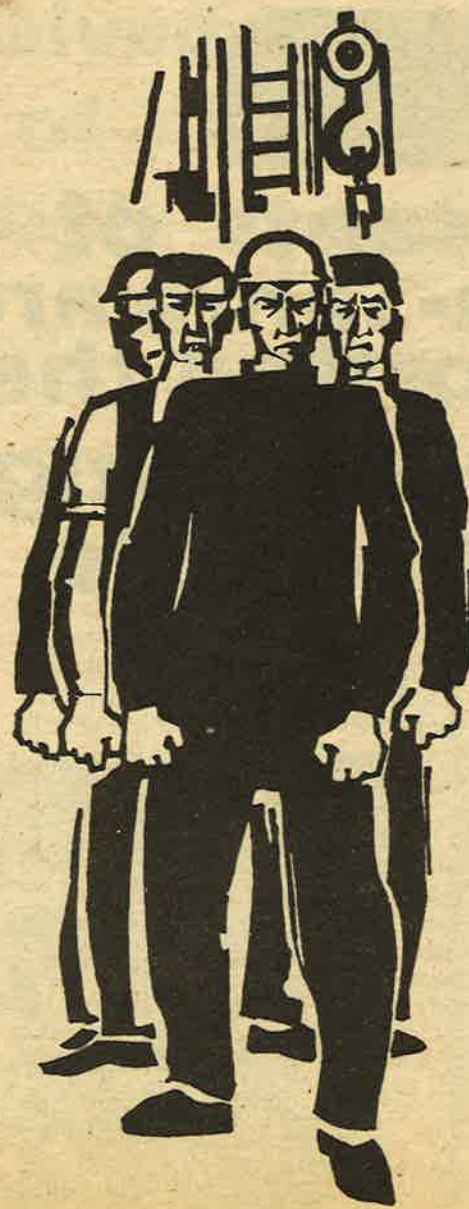
in) and agree to the fact that the factory had made a profit, but he felt that payment of dividends was illegal. In consequence, the workers in the shipment section of the factory refused to work. This problem was resolved when a trusted representative of workers persuaded them by suggesting that first a truly representative council should be formed and then the dividend would be distributed.

TEHRAN TEXTILE FACTORY (BAFKAR)

The job classification plan was one of the demands of the workers which they wanted to see carried out. The factory council has not taken any steps on this matter. Mr. Arab, the so-called workers' representative in the corporation, with the managing director has withstood the workers in every circumstance and have protected capitalists interests. Seven hundred of these workers, who qualify for retirement took their grievances to the managing directors office, but did not receive any kind of response. During the same week, a number of workers followed the example of their co-workers and contacted the council, demanding payment of the difference in salaries which was promised to them since 1974. The managing director, in response, closed his office and refused to meet the workers. The struggle still continues.

BAYER FACTORY

A great number of women compose the labor force of this factory and it



is their just demand to be provided with nurseries. The syndicate claimed that the demand is illegal. The women workers responded by staging a sit-in strike and voicing their demand. A new statement was issued at this time, declaring that instead of the dividend, the workers would receive two months pay without

benefits. The workers of a division opposed this statement and demanded a change in this rule. One claimed: "This is quite a situation; the soldiers are fighting the war and dying; while our dividends are diverted to the bosses' pockets; and as soon as we open our mouth, we are told, 'we're in the midst of a war.'" Another one stated: "Why is it that during a war, all the laws are against us and none against the capitalists."

IRAN-VALONOW FACTORY

Refusal to pay the September salaries as well as the dividend prepared the grounds for an opposition from the workers part. The employer promised to pay the salaries, but left the problem of dividends unresolved. The salary was paid twelve days late, but the workers continued to protest the employer's reluctance to solve the dividend problem. In confrontation, a worker told the employer: "You used the war as an excuse to cut off our food, our milk, did not pay our salary on time, and cut off our overtime and bonus. Now tell us how you have helped?!" Another worker agree "No food, no dividend. You expect us to increase productivity. It is as if all workers are taken hostage".

NEISHAPOOR SUGAR REFINERY

Two groups of workers are employed in this factory: Part time and full time workers. The latter group is paid every fifteen days. The factory managers failed to pay the workers even 12 days after the due date. On the first of November the part time workers stopped working after the break and took the issue to the factory office. They threatened that they will not resume work unless they are duly paid. The directors immediately promised to act accordingly in order to prevent the other workers from following suit. On the next day, the workers succeeded in receiving their salaries.

* KAR No. 91, Jan.1, 1981



War, Workers...and Councils*

The Iran-Iraqi war began at a time when the ruling apparatus' conspiracies were still being directed against progressive councils. The hostility against the councils engineered by the Islamic associations** [Anjomane Eslami] and management, but primarily led by the Islamic association, took a different turn after the onset of the war. For a short period of time revolutionary councils were relieved from the attacks, but about a month later the attacks on progressive councils were resumed again and were intensified gradually and are still continuing at the present time.

For a better assessment of the impact of war on workers' councils, it is necessary to consider two types of councils, namely the revolutionary councils and the state controlled councils. It is in light of an analysis of these councils that we can present a more objective picture of the impact of war on them and set forth future duties for the revolutionary councils.

Before the war the state controlled councils, whose members, consciously or unconsciously served the interests of the bourgeoisie, were trying hard to prevent workers' struggle against the management and the factory owners. They were trying to establish the desired "order" around the work place and the capitalists, in turn, kept exploiting the

workers. These councils that are primarily composed of the members of Islamic associations and individuals associated with the management tried to portray the struggle of the workers as being the result of deranging of a few trouble-makers and succeeded in firing conscious and progressive workers. Thus, wherever these councils existed, especially when the council was dominated by the members of the Islamic association, a repressive atmosphere prevailed.

The onset of the war overshadowed the activities of these state controlled councils. The bourgeois ruling apparatus has now set forth a new duty for these councils: to stir up and stimulate nationalistic emotions and mobilize workers for the war, a war that is the continuation of policies instituted by the governments of Iran and Iraq and it is a war between the bourgeoisie of the two countries. The state controlled councils hand in hand with the Islamic associations undertook "to mobilize the workers, to provide initial training and to dispatch them to the war fronts". Needless to say that even under these circumstances the state controlled councils did not give up their repression to make sure that progressive elements are not entered in the war mobilization process. On the other hand these councils did everything in their power to deceive

the workers in order to increase production.

Shortly after the onset of the war the contradictions between the liberals and the Islamic Republic Party (IRP) intensified again which was reflected in the factories in the form of a contradiction between the management on the one hand and the Islamic association on the other. The state controlled councils became a battleground for these two organs in their drive for influence and domination of these councils. The liberals and the IRP each attempted to dominate the state controlled councils in order to make these councils their own organ of influence in the factories. However, when they face the organized struggle of the workers, they set aside their differences and suppress the workers in complete unity.

The revolutionary councils which are made up of true representatives of the workers have advocated to defend the interests of the workers. Before the war, this goal manifested itself in preventing workers lay offs and dismissals, opposing anti-worker laws, creating a democratic atmosphere in the factories, etc. But after the war defending the interests of the workers took a different form. The revolutionary councils who have the organization of the workers in their mind in every move they make must

have acted in a different way.

The onset of war which relieved the revolutionary councils from the suppression of the ruling apparatus to some extent and particularly where the circumstances were better prepared, the revolutionary councils undertook to organize the workers. The organizing was accomplished through various committees of military training, use of artillery, first aid, fire fighting, etc. Thus, while workers received necessary preparation in order to become armed, they achieved appropriate organization to isolate anti-worker elements. Workers' councils who had lost their power due to pre-war suppression, gradually regained their previous positions. But not long after the beginning of the war the servants of the bourgeoisie--the enemies of the revolutionaries--resumed their attacks on the workers' councils with increasing intensity. If pre-war attacks were primarily led by the Islamic association, but after the war attacks, when contradiction between the liberals and the (IRP) mitigated, both the Islamic association and the management hand in hand attacked the revolutionary councils. But the contradictions of the two factions [the liberals and the IRP] did not remain hidden for a long time. This time the

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PEASANT MOVEMENT

The Peasants of Turkaman-Sahra are Still Supporting the Collective Farming and the Councils*



The suppression of the toiling peasants of the villages of Turkaman Sahra is continuing with the assistance of the "revolutionary guards" [Pasdaran], land owners and feudals.

After the people's uprising, the toiling peasants of the village of Gezalche Pashmak of Gonbad [a city in Northern Iran] as the other deprived peasants of Turkaman Sahra, revolutionary confiscated the lands of big landlords and feudals such as Mohammad Faryahi and started cultivation under the collective system. But after the imposed war of February 8th of last year in which the ruling apparatus declared the illegality of the councils-the peasants stronghold against imperialism-and murdered four leading members and founders of the peasants' council in Turkaman Sahra, the harassment of peasants, the persecution, imprisonment and torture of revolutionary forces was intensified. The agents of

the government attacked the villages and terrorized the peasants in order to liquidate their councils and reclaim the confiscated lands. Gezalche Pashmak was among these villages. In the beginning the council of this village was cancelled by the Pasdaran. Pasdaran established another council and tried to employ Sistani origin inhabitants [the immigrant peasants from Sistan in Southeastern Iran] of another village, but the peasants resisted against all of these repressive measures. A few days later three members of a peasant council were arrested by the Pasdaran. But the peasants' resistance and protest forced the Pasdaran to release the arrested members.

With the beginning of the cultivation season, the peasants prepared the land for cultivation and on November 12th when they started cultivation, three of them were arrested by the Pasdaran and the "hit squads". Pasradan intended

to take possession of the lands, tractors, ploughs and combines but they were forced out by the united resistance and militant objection of the peasants.

The villagers of Turkaman Sahra are dissatisfied with the government more than ever. They are more determined in their demand for collective plantations under their own councils. Besides the anti-peasant steps in the village of Gezalche Pashmak, the government agents and landlords have taken new measures to reclaim the confiscated lands from the peasant councils. Here are some examples:

* Peasant council of the village of "Goochmorad" has been elected by the villagers themselves. But the "Bonyad Mostazafin" (B.M.) [the so called welfare foundation that consolidates the Islamic Republic Party's control over the best arable lands and a wide variety of profit making institutions such as hotels, factories, cinemas, etc.] has taken the possession of about 350 hectares [one hectare equals 2.47 acres] of the lands of the village.

* In "Selagh Gholytpeh", despite of the desire of the peasants' council, nearly

300 hectares of the land and agricultural equipment have been taken by the Mostazafin foundation (B.M.). This foundation has also taken back 200 hectares of the confiscated lands of the "Yase-tapeh" village. A big landlord of the region by the name of Gaffari has returned to the village and asked the villagers that his land be returned. He announced that he was ready to release one of the arrested peasants in exchange for the returned lands! But the peasants did not pay attention to him. Also in another village, "Igdar Sofla", about 100 hectares of land (an apple orchard) and some agricultural equipment, combine and tractors, have been taken from the toiling peasants by the Mostazafin foundation.

Moreover, some groups under the name of "hit squads" and under the cover of "struggle against smugglers" are hunting revolutionaries and peasant leaders.

* In the village of Pa-sang-Galikesh the "seven-member committee" [the government organ apparently responsible for implementing "the bill of land distribution to the peasants", see KAR INTERNATIONAL, No. 1, Feb. 1981, p.4] has tried to antagonize the relations between Sistani origin peasants and the Turkaman peasants. Unfortunately as a result of such conflict a peasant was killed and several others were injured. Since the peasants realized that this kind of conflict among the inhabitants resulted from antagonistic and anti-people policies of the feudals and the ruling classes, they staged a march with other villagers of the region to protest against the policies of the "seven-member committee".

* KAR No. 88, Dec. 11, 1980



Present Crisis ●●●

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With such perception at the present stage, the Organization has on its agenda the drafting of a program, strategy and tactics; and requests from all its supporters, all Marxist-Leninist organizations, groups, and circles their earnest responsible steps toward this course. Concentrating all their energies in this direction will expand an active ideological struggle around these fundamental and urgent questions. So we could, with the help of all honest communists, find correct, clear and explicit answers to these questions to upswing the people's movement. Addressing these fundamental and urgent tasks is the main link by which the communists can, having it in hand, take the movement another leap forward.

Since concentrating a portion of the energy of the comrades in the Organization is needed for summarizing, drafting and presenting such a program, it is possible that temporarily during the completion of this program, for a very short period of time, shortcomings and flaws will appear, especially in the publication of **KAR**. But, notwithstanding the appearance of shortcomings, the necessity of urgently answering the fundamental tasks of Marxist-Leninists at the present stage, has forced us to resort to such a decision.

We believe that urgently answering the communists tasks, not only compensates these temporary shortcomings, but will be a basic step in taking the movement forward.

To activate further the ideological struggle around these fundamental and urgent questions; we publish for the movement the following brief outline of the program whose completion is on the Organization's agenda; so with active, constructive and critical review from all the comrades we will succeed in this important matter.

One cannot organize and lead the masses on general and abstract ideas. To lead the masses necessitates the presentation of a concrete program. Only such a program and policy can convert the communists from unrelated small groups in an inorganized relationship with the masses, to a strong social mass movement in close contact with the masses.

The dialectics of revolutionary leadership dictate that to direct and lead mass movements in the present crisis situations, the requirements of each stratum and class must be concretely formulated in order to lead the masses - who during the dynamic developments are attracted to the movement - with concrete slogans from a specific program and policy in the direction of revolutionary goals.

Presentation of a specific program and policy - not as a subjective requirement, but as an objective necessity - at this stage of the development of the movement, is already confirmed. If the communists earnestly think of seizing the political power, then they should realize that their force is able to lead the masses and working class around a concrete program and policy. They should know against which social force to fight and how, with which forces and how far to be accompanied, and then which forces to isolate. Otherwise, they will be baffled in the intense class battlefield, forced to decide on tactics from one event to another, and compelled to follow the masses.

In our opinion, in the present circumstances, the communists must immediately move in the direction of coming up with a program, strategy, and tactics; determining their urgent goals by an analysis of the arrangement of objective class forces - although this move, due to insufficient ideological struggle and with the practice of class struggle, we will be able to correct our errors and com-

pensate for our shortcomings and mistakes. Let us transform the learning from our experience to self-criticism.

We are deeply convinced that if a communist organization earnestly believes in the question of seizing political power by proletariat, in the present circumstances, it cannot evade the necessity of the presentation of a program, strategy, and tactics.

Not being frightened by revolutionary action and acceptance of heavy responsibilities in a movement are the characteristics of any true revolutionary group. Procrastination and hesitation in answering the needs of the movement are not appropriate to a communist organization.

An Agenda of Marxist-Leninist Programs and Tasks:

Section One:

1. Analysis of socio-economic structure of the society.

- position of working class
- position of various peasantry strata
- position of petty-bourgeoisie and urban working people
- position of bourgeoisie

2. Present world situation, world contradictions and proletarian internationalism.

3. Determine the arrangement of class forces of the revolutionary, antirevolutionary and neutral forces; determine the major and minor reserved forces of the proletariat.

4. Class structure of people's democratic dictatorship.

5. Nationality question and agrarian question in the revolution.

6. Basic needs of workers, peasants, petty-bourgeoisie, youth, women, etc. in revolution.

Section Two:

1. Determine the nature and process of

the present crisis.

- nature and process of the present crisis in the imperialist world
- nature and process of present crisis in Iranian society

2. Analysis of internal contradiction within bourgeoisie and its future growth process.

3. Position and formation of the stands of the heads and representatives of reformist petty-bourgeoisie in the government.

4. Position, stands, and the growth process of the movement of petty-bourgeoisie outside of government.

5. Position, stands and movement of social-reformists and left revisionists.

6. Position of Marxist-Leninist organizations and groups.

Section Three:

1. Determine the forms of struggle of masses, their development, the main form of struggle of masses and the focus of the mass struggle.

- workers struggle
- urban working people's struggle
- struggle of various peasant strata (rural class struggle)
- struggle of the petty-bourgeoisie strata

Section Four:

1. Determine the arrangement of political forces and proportions of class forces.

2. Determine position and stands of the communists and their attitude towards:

- bourgeois parties
- governing power
- petty-bourgeois circles and parties

3. Determine the position and attitude of the communists towards:

- unity in the communist movement
- unity in the people's movement

4. Determine concrete slogans for workers, peasants, working people...

5. Determine slogans for nationalities.



The Terror of the El Salvadorean People's Leaders is Reminiscent of the Tragic Terror of Four Turkaman People's Leaders *

The murderous killing of four of the revolutionary movement leaders of El Salvador, on November 29, has caused waves of hatred and abhorrence across the world. The internal and worldwide reactions toward these crimes were so extraordinary and extensive that the government and the Army officials "have strongly denied" the charges against them; they have ascribed the killings to a terrorist group named "Maximilia Noher Nonzer" in order that they may conceal their bloody claws.

Though to the people of the world the killing of four El Salvadorean leaders is another feature of the repressive and murderous policies and, concurrently, indicative of the severe decline of El Salvador's puppet government, to the Iranian people it is a reminder of the murdering of four Turkaman-people's leaders: Comrades Toomaj, Makhtoom, Vahedi, and Jorjani by the Islamic Republic. The similarity of the two incidents is so great that one may tend to believe the government of El Salvador and the Islamic Republic have followed the same prescription.

Let us take a look at the sequence of the events in relation to this crime: Initially kidnapping of the revolutionary leaders; following, their torture and execution and abandoning their bodies on the highways of capital's outskirts; subsequently, issuance of leaflets by Maximilia Noher Nonzer—a rightist paramilitary group claiming responsibility for the killings and then "denial of charges" by the government ranks regarding the murders declaring: "Believe us, we have not had anything to do with it", and most ridiculous of all, expression of anxiety by the United States Ambassador to El Salvador concerning the death of the "leftist" leaders! And ultimately, El Salvadorean government's anticipation that the people may believe all such scenical acts and deceptive remarks.

But, what had happened in Iran ten

months ago? Four of Turkaman people's leaders were kidnapped by the revolutionary guards and a few days later their tortured and executed corpses were dumped on "Jangale Goulestan" road close to "Boujnoord"², later the government announced that a paramilitary group called "Turkaman people's Fedaii" has accepted responsibility for the murdering of these leaders. The government officials, the Pasdaran (Revolutionary Guards), and the president "strongly denied" any participation in the killing and, of course, did not express any words of regret regarding the trag-

edy. Here again, the "revolutionary" government expects the people to believe their claims. A glance at these two events, 20,000 kilometers apart and occurring within ten months' period, proves everything to be identical and that the copy corresponds with the original! Surprisingly, the anti-popular forces in their murderous plots follow the same methods. But just as the Turkaman people, the Kurdish people, and, in short, all of the Iranian people have refused to believe their government's explanations, neither have the El Salvadorean people been convinc-

ed by their government's shows. However, there is one important distinction between the two cases: The El Salvadorean revolutionary movements did not become giddy upon impact, neither did it adopt inactive and conciliatory positions, similar to "Central Committee" opportunists; it did not make any justifications for the government's actions, neither did it ask them to "persistently pursue the causes of the case."

Instead, their unique revolutionary struggle was intensified, and the killing case was used as a cause to arouse the wrath of the masses of people directed toward the El Salvadorean regime and the U.S. Imperialism. Through their concerted and determined actions, they inflicted severe and invaluable blows to the national guard forces. Since November 29, we have witnessed a dramatic surge in the revolutionary struggle of the El Salvadorean people through the leadership of "Revolutionary Block".

The news agencies reported "that several huge explosions have shaken the city of San Salvador, following the killing of the four leftist revolutionary leaders". The El Salvadorean military regime has been under daily attacks ever since.

It is a reality that the anti-popular regimes utilize every counter-revolutionary experience at their disposal for suppressing the masses of people in order to protract their shameful ruling. However, here is a great teaching of the history: In the course of the history, peoples' struggle is the determining factor. They will ultimately abolish the anti-popular regimes and establish toilers' government by means of taking advantage of the worldly experiences of the proletarian movements, and by relying upon the global unification and proletarian internationalism.

* Kar No. 89, Dec. 18, 1980

1- Turkamans reside in N.E. Iran.

2- Small town in N.E. Iran.



Retrogression of the Central Committee

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revolutionary tolerance and sacrifice of the working class in the most unbearable work conditions, explains the development of awareness, revolutionary intelligence, and deeply responsible understanding of our country's heroic working class. This revolutionary responsible understanding provided a lesson for all workers and all proletariat in our country." Any one can recognize the deep decline of these false supporters of the working class from these sentences. Bourgeoisie is happy with this propaganda. It is the Central Committee's view that submitting to severest exploitation under very poor conditions with the minimum wage and benefits, being exhausted physically under the factory's grinding gears simply to increase production to benefit the capitalists, is the "revolutionary responsible understanding" of the working class. It seems that the most unconscious and unaware layers of the proletariat are the most revolutionary workers according to our social-chauvinists.

In the beginning the idea of increasing the production was introduced with deception by the Central committee. In

their organ No. 59 these opportunists proposed:

"When the true worker's Council is governing the factory, *the workers should increase production and productivity to prevent sectarian propaganda of their enemies*" (The emphasis is of the opportunists).

As this proposition had been set forth without any analysis, "the existence of the true Council" as a precondition to increase production was subsequently eliminated without any analysis also.

The Central committee in its organ No. 70 in an article titled "the Critical Review of the Labor Law" in response to the Islamic Council Congress who propounded: "in regard to the country's need for independence and self-sufficiency a 48 hour work week is prescribed", writes:

"In order to be self-sufficient and to struggle against dependency to imperialism it is of course necessary to work more but this does not mean to exert pressure upon employed workers..." And thus, by stepping upon the basic principles of class analysis and their own

word in regard to the necessity of existence of true councils, they invite the workers to increase the production to fill the pockets of the dependent capitalists and consequently increase the profits of the imperialism. But, they [the Central Committee] do propose that the increase in production should be accomplished by hiring unemployed workers and not exerting pressure on presently employed workers. (Considering the Central Committee's later positions, it seems that the foregoing position is taken out of compassion and pity rather than from a class standpoint.)

With the onset of war everything is becoming clear and the implicit friendship agreement between the opportunists and the bourgeoisie is being unveiled. The bourgeoisie is clearly talking about more production "without any expectation" [on part of the workers] and "advantages of war". The Central Committee is competing with the bourgeoisie and government organs to promote these bourgeoisie ideas. In an article the Central Committee supports the workers of Isfahan Sugar plant because they submitted to work four hours overtime without pay

The Central Committee also supported the workers of Ama Company because they are working over the weekends to comply with employer's demands. The Central Committee views these actions as the symbols of development of awareness of the workers. Thus, in their later move, the opportunists dropped the condition of hiring unemployed workers from their earlier proposition and explicitly asserted bourgeoisie's demands.

It is certainly a fact that the social chauvinists are not only making themselves content with following the bourgeoisie, they even want to flatter the bourgeoisie and the ruling apparatus by all means possible so that the ruling apparatus may extend its favor and mercy to them. And, thus, they use the blood and the flesh of the workers to accomplish their objectives. In their organ they shamelessly wrote about the workers of a company: "Workers are working hard in hot and closed stuffy air in front of the furnaces in two shifts of 11 hours and 13 hours under the most intolerable conditions.....this revolutionary responsible understanding pro-

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NATIONALITIES MOVEMENT

Part Of OIPFG's Statement On:

The Kurdish People's Resistance Movement and the Unjust War Between Iran and Iraq*



The crimes of the Islamic Republic in Kurdistan under which the Iraqi regime is now able to feign, in its propaganda, that they [Iraq] fight the Iranian government only to "free" the Kurdish people and the other Iranian masses.

This false statement is set forth by a regime which has demolished thousands of villages in the Iraqi Kurdistan, left hundreds of thousands of the working people of the Iraqi Kurdistan homeless and wandering in Iranian border cities. They have also slaughtered hundreds of Kurdish and

the liberals and their spurious slogans but also those who spuriously struggle against liberalism and thus serve the interests of the bourgeoisie.

The opportunists of the Central Committee** in practice help the liberals. The Central Committee on the one hand supports a faction of the bourgeoisie who tends towards repression and violations of people's every democratic right and thus drive the masses towards the liberals. On the other hand they support Bani-Sadr and thus strengthen the liberals stand.

The opportunists of the Central Committee differentiate between Bani-Sadr and the liberals. They call Bani-Sadr a democrat who defends "freedom and independence". But, the fact of the matter is that Bani-Sadr, this "democrat" and "defender of freedom and democracy" is a defender of the reconstruction of the dependent capitalist system. He is a very enthusiastic supporter of the reconstruction of the "Imperial Army"; he is a defender of those who participated in a recent coup d'etat; he is a defender of establishing and expanding good relationships with the imperialism. Bani-Sadr is the enemy of the councils being organized by the workers, peasants, and revolutionary cadets. With respect to trampling the rights and political freedom of the masses and suppressing the Kurdish and Turkaman masses, Bani-Sadr is a close ally of the ruling IRP.

Bani-Sadr who is regarded as a democrat by these gentlemen [the Central Committee] as a democrat is fearful about the masses' movement. He has become a connecting link for a wide range of liberals and big capitalists. Behind him are elements such as Bazargan, Ghotbzadeh, and the mercenary generals of the Shah's regime. Thus, by calling Bani-Sadr a democrat, the Central Committee serves the interests of the liberals.

On the other hand, the Central Committee supports the ruling IRP and calls its leaders, Beheshti and Rafsanjani "revolutionary democrats". The Central Committee, these enamored for lawful political activities, asks the leaders of IRP very politely to permit other groups such as themselves - the new liberal reformists - to perform a contributory role in the nation's affairs.

By recognizing Bani-Sadr as a democrat while calling Beheshti and Rafsanjani revolutionary democrats, the Central Committee proves to be han-

Arab revolutionaries in Iraq. Therefore, it is obvious that the claims of the Iraqi government and its mercenary agents in the Iranian Kurdistan will never be able to deceive the workers of Iranian Kurdistan who have close ties with the Kurdish workers across the border in Iraq. Moreover, while attacking the working peoples of Khuzistan by means of Napalm bombs, medium and long range missiles and heavy artillery, the Anti-popular Iraqi regime's army continue the bombardment of the cities of Kurdistan. In early October, the Iraqi jets martyred thirty and injured tens of others by bombarding the city of "Sardast". This government is also giving military and financial aid to such agents as: Oveysy, Palizban, Bakhtiar and their supporters; While, we surely know that these aids would be used against the Kurdish people and all other masses of Iran.

Certainly the anti-popular regime of Iraq can never be the protector of the people's of Iran, especially the working people of Kurdistan; however the Iraqi regime cannot afford an extensive attack to the borders of the Iranian Kurdistan, for the following reasons:

1 - It is not able to continue the war in a number of expanded fronts.

2 - Because of its engagement with revolutionary forces inside the Iraqi Kurdistan.

3 - Due to the fact that the Kurdish people and their hero "pishmargs" have gained important political and military experience during their epical resistance against the savage attacks of the Islamic Republic government and are certainly able to well apply these experiences against the intrusions of the Iraqi regime.

The tactics of the Baathe regime of Iraq in the Kurdistan region has two consequences: First, the Islamic Republic army units dispatched to this region to suppress the Kurdish resistance will be forced to remain in this area, thus reducing its fighting capacity in the Khuzistan front. Second, the presence of Islamic Republic army strangles the Kurdish movement and prohibits a United action of Iranian and Iraqi Kurdish movement.

Presently, there exists a heavy duty before the progressive and revolutionary forces. The Kurdish People's Resistance Movement--which is the shining star of the anti-imperialistic-Democratic struggles of the Iranian

disappointed to set forth an objective analysis of the outlook of the power struggle between the power factions. They are bound to swing like a pendulum between the two.

Communist forces in their continued struggle for democracy and political freedom and against the anti-democratic and prevailing repressive policies, must not only attempt to expose and isolate the liberals and the reformist liberals of the Central Committee but also help the true revolutionary democrats such as the People's Mojahedin towards revolutionary democratism more than ever before. The Communist forces must attempt to prevent People's Mojahedin from rolling into liberal positions so that we less than

masses--must be supported and also the intrusions of the Baathe government of Iraq into Kurdistan must be opposed.

It is our conviction that any tendency, conscious or spontaneous, that underrates the Iraqi aggression in Kurdistan or uses this regime to oppose anti-popular movements is, in fact, aiding the downfall of the Kurdish resistance movement. This tendency ignores the revolutionary duty of supporting the Iraqi revolutionaries and enhances the Islamic Republic's deceitful propaganda campaigns as well as campaigns of opportunists who have betrayed the resistance movement.

We believe that, due to present circumstances, the progressive and revolutionary groups must devote a portion of their militia to confront Iraqi aggression in Iranian Kurdistan.

The OIPFG, Kurdistan branch, declares that due to our revolutionary and international duty and as a result of the prevailing crisis in Kurdistan (Iran), we will cooperate and harmonize our efforts with all revolutionary groups in Iran and Iraq in fighting aggression in Kurdistan. We hope to achieve this goal with the aid of people's militia groups.

Kurdish people!

Revolutionary forces!

We are demonstrating that wherever a people's militia, led by revolutionary forces exists, any aggression will be withstood; we also want to show that the claims of the propaganda apparatus of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the opportunists of the "Central Committee-Majority" is baseless and hollow.

We are convinced that by relying on the strength of the toilers the Kurdish movement will emerge triumphant from these tests and will defeat the imperialists and the enemies of the Iranian people.

Long live the unity of anti-imperialistic-democratic struggle of Iranian and Iraqi people

Long live the unity of the Kurdish struggle movement and the nationwide movement of Iranian peoples under the leadership of the working class.

Down with the World Imperialism led by the U.S. Imperialism and its internal base.

* KAR No. 89, Dec. 18, 1980

1 - Pishmargs are those who readily sacrifice their lives.

ever observe Mojahedin's altered positions such as their position with regard to Ghotbzadeh's arrest which was an obvious sign of alteration of the line between democratism and liberalism. A position that will never be accepted by the revolutionary forces.

We firmly believe that under the existing conditions, it is the duty of the Communists to extensively expose the deceiving and spurious nature of the liberals' campaign for freedom while continually struggling against the prevailing repressive policies instituted by the ruling IRP.

* KAR No. 89, Dec. 18, 1980

**Central Committee is the right faction of the OIPFG who split from the organization in mid last year.

The Liberals

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"liberty" when a mercenary such as Ghotbzadeh is arrested. Bani-Sadr wants freedom for his allies and supporters of the imperialism. Bani-Sadr, who as the president and the coordinator of the judicial, executive and legislative branches of the government has a hand in the assaults against the democratic rights, and placing a ban on all progressive publications, all of a sudden demands freedom of press when a liberal newspaper, MIZAN, [Bazargan's newspaper] is under attack.

It becomes evident that Bani-Sadr's intended freedom is a freedom for the imperialists' mercenaries and for the dependent capitalists and their supporters. His intended freedom, is a freedom of exploitation, plundering and pillage of the workers; freedom of suppression and strengthening the relation with imperialism.

It is now very clear where liberals such as Bazargan, Ghotbzadeh and Bani-Sadr stand. But, why have they now become crusaders for freedom and democracy? These cunning liberals have realized that due to the prevailing anti-democratic policies, suppression, oppression and repressions, the IRP is losing tremendously its broadbase among the masses and thus the time is right for them [the liberals] to move in and campaign for freedom and democracy.

WHAT SHOULD THE IRANIAN REVOLUTIONARY FORCES DO?

In these circumstances in which the liberals by hiding behind libertarian slogans and adopting deceitful policies attempt to attract the masses, a very important task of the Iranian Communists is to expose these anti-revolutionary liberals and their spurious libertarian campaign. We must explain to the people that the liberals are also traitors to the people and their politico-economic interests are tied to the interests of the imperialism and that their cry for freedom means freedom for further treachery. But we must also understand that our attempts to expose and isolate the liberals can only be successful if we continually struggle against the repressive nature of the policies instituted by the ruling apparatus.

We insist on taking such a policy because we not only expose and isolate

Why We Revealed the Ideological Debates to the Public*

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developed to some degree so that it can be manifested in two ideological systems and two lines on, political and practical questions. Until now, we are applying ourselves to this revolutionary task in a struggle within the organization, but it is very clear that, with any small difference, there can't be an open debate, because the anarchy which exists in ideological debate must not be replaced with organizational ideological debate, opening ideological debate and organizing it democratically not only can make clearer the lines of ideological political boundaries in many of the problems which are still unclear, as well as the ambiguity in many of the issues, but also it is an essential step to strengthening democratic centralism and struggle against opportunism in the organization, and it will, in a principled way, move toward achieving unity in the Communist movement.

In our opinion, the main content of ideological debate, those factors which have become clear at this time, as well as ones which will become clearer in the future, will lead to an alignment of forces within the movement and, with further evaluation of class struggle, the most decisive and the clearest line of demarcation between revolutionary-Marxism-Leninism and opportunism will be drawn, concerning an analysis of the objective relations of classes, determination of the nature of the ruling circle and strategy and tactics of proletarian class struggle at the present time.

We, representing the minority of the organization, when we still were going to hold the first Plenary of the

organization, offered a draft to the "Central Committee" and also to the Plenary, for an open ideological debate and we repeated, in writing, the same of for almost three months ago, in a more obvious way, but the central body, using the excuse that open ideological debate would develop into mental disturbances for the body of the movement, refrained from accepting or even considering the matter. These comrades, in conformity with the policy and spirit of their political circles, called it harmful to the movement and the organization. Lenin, in 1901, at a time when the struggle against economist ideas was the main part of ideological debate in the Social Democratic movement of Russia, responded to the Russian economists' criticism of *Iskra* and pointed out a very important criticism which had especially attracted the Central Committee comrades' attention in the past. Lenin emphasized the important issue at the time, that ideological unity of the Russian Social Democrats still had to be prepared.

Lenin considered that the fear by the economists of open ideological debate, which was in dispute, was a necessary matter and to improve the matter, in the official organ of the Russian Social Democratic Party meant that *Iskra* was insisted upon and he said, "But although we discuss all the questions from our distinguishing point of view, in our newspaper we would leave a place for polemics among the comrades. Free polemics are necessary and ideal and will occur in the top layers of all Social Democrats and Russia's conscious proletariat. It will make clear the depth of the differences which there are, for this causes discussions about problems under con-

sideration and gives all the aspects in order to struggle against extremists who not only represent different ideas but also represent different magazines, or are 'experts' in the revolutionary movement, and who are likewise unavoidably affected by this. Actually, as we said before, we believe that one of the movement's weaknesses is the lack of free polemics among the explicitly different views, with those striving to hide the differences on fundamental questions. We will not go into details on all of the questions and views that we are going to proceed with in our newspaper, because this program will spontaneously draw conclusions from the general concept that a political newspaper must be the newspaper which is now publishing under the present circumstances." (Lenin, "The Editorial Board of *Iskra*).

However, more than anything else in this period, the comrades of the "Central Committee" prefer the "striving for hiding differences on the fundamental issues". The reasons given by the comrades in the central body concerning our suggestion for organizing an open ideological debate, was, besides what has already been mentioned that the enemy would benefit from the differences. In fact, the "Central Committee" in their denial based on the ideology, gave the same reasons that the Russian economists gave. The Russian economists, in a letter regarding the polemics printed in *Iskra*, said, "*Iskra* does not look toward the Social Democratic organization, whose opinion concerning the progress of the Russian workers' tasks do not match their own, in their preoccupation with discussion, it occasionally forgets the truth and with unlimited fault fin-

ding of unrealistic out of context statements, has attributed us some opinions that we don't believe, and they emphasize differing points, most of which do not have material significance, while they obstinately ignore the many points of agreement. In this, we mean the way *Iskra* has responded to Rabocheye Dyelo. *Iskra's* continuous tendency towards controversy is mostly because of the exaggerated significance that it gives to the role of 'ideology', (programs and theories) for the movement." (Taken from a letter to the Russian Social Democratic Newspaper, quoted from Lenin's article under the title, "A Word to Defenders of Economism.")

However, Lenin wrote a reply to a letter from Russians in exile and to all those who were raising the issue of the state taking advantage of the existing differences among the Social Democratic movement, and who used this as a reason for denying open polemics.

Yes, we opened ideological debate, despite the opposition by the "Central Body", on the basis of Lenin's idea and also on the basis that "Before we are able to be united, so that we may unite, we must first make clear distinguishing and clear boundaries."

In our opinion, we believe that open ideological debate is based on principles regarding the basis for internal unity for one Marxist-Leninist organization. There cannot be any ignorance concerning these bases, even under the excuse of maintaining superficial unity, unless drawn to the kind of opportunism that the "Central Body" has embraced. In any other case except this, Lenin says, "Our unity would merely be imaginary and would cover the confusion, putting off the solid groundwork necessary for unity."

*From KAR No. 62, June, 1980

Retrogression of the Central Committee

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vided a lesson for all workers and all proletariat of our country."

Further explanation is not necessary. The retrogression of the Central Committee, that has accelerated due to the war between Iran and Iraq, is a clearly apparent from the above quoted expressions. The expressions that approve the most barbaric exploitation of the workers under the most unbearable conditions are certainly hated by every communist and supporter of the working class.

Another example is the social-chauvinists reporting of events in Kurdistan in their weekly organ. In the Organ Sarasari No. 81 they report of several attacks by the Kurdistan Democratic Party**[KDP] on government troops dispatched to the border towns in Kurdistan province. [These troops are dispatched primarily to crush the Kurdish People's Resistance Movement and not to stop the Iraqi invaders] In this same report they make an attempt to coincide KDP attacks with Iraqi air raids on government troops following of which government troops retaliated by attacking several villages with artillery.

Obviously, the Central Committee is trying to take advantage of bourgeois journalistic methods, i.e. presenting hand-picked news items to relay to the reader that, 1) the forces of Kurdish People's Resistance Movement attacked government troops who were dispatched to defend the borders against the Iraqis and that, 2) the Kurdish forces are so closely related to Iraqis that they even coordinate their attacks on the government troops. On the other hand the Revolutionary Guards, these so-called

progressive and anti-imperialist forces and the army, this co-called revolutionary defender of the country have unwillingly been forced to destroy a village completely. What the Central Committee is doing is killing two birds with one stone. First, they try to portray the political forces of the Kurdish people as anti-revolutionary and puppets of the Iraqis and second they sanctify the suppressor Revolutionary Guards and the anti-people army and present them as anti-imperialists.

This is just another example out of many. It has been the policy of the Central Committee to present the Kurds as the operation base of the imperialist elements such as Bakhtiar and that the Kurdish political forces who have a large following among the masses are under the influence of the Iraqis. We ask: if this is the case why the Iraqis do not dare to attack Kurdistan and create their desired liberated area?

It is now evident that the Kurdish people justly associate the Central Committee with the hated, traitor Tudeh Party and they have already shown their discontent with these treacherous acts by attacking the Central Committee's offices and meeting in several towns in Kurdistan.

With the examples given in this article, we believe, that the retrogression of the Central Committee deep in opportunism was demonstrated very clearly.

* Kar No. 85, Nov. 20, 1980

**This party is among the Kurdish People's Resistance Movement demanding autonomy for the Kurdistan province.



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War, Workers...

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contradictions were surfaced with greater intensity. With IRP gaining an upper hand in the ruling apparatus, the liberals took a spurious libertarian gesture to weaken the IRP. Thus in most factories (particularly in government-owned factories) the management undertook to attack the Islamic association and therefore, refrained attacking the revolutionary councils to isolate the Islamic association. Now three months after the beginning of the war, due to anti-clerical atmosphere within the factories the Islamic associations have been weakened to a great extent.

In general, intensification of contradictions between management and the Islamic association on the one hand and new formation of workers' struggle after the war due to economic crisis and back-breaking poverty on the other,

have not only resulted in mitigation of attacks on revolutionary councils but have created conditions that are appropriate more than ever before, for the activities of the revolutionary councils to flourish. Now that the possibility of dismissing workers, closing down factories and...is eminent in the near future, the revolutionary councils must rush ahead forcefully. Now that the management and the Islamic associations fearful of revolutionary councils increasing influence, have resorted to overt attacks and conspiracies the revolutionary councils must expose all anti-council elements. They must stage an offensive against the capitalists' obstinacy and defend the interests of the workers.

* KAR No. 91, Jan. 1, 1981

**Islamic associations are IRP's organs formed in every factory, university, school, and government office to implement IRP's policies and expand IRP's influence.

IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE

An Analysis of the Split in the OIPFG Why We Revealed the

Ideological Debates to the Public* Part 2:

“Without Revolutionary Theory There Can Be No Revolutionary Movement” (Lenin)*

In a period of over one year following the insurrection and the overthrow of the Shah's regime, an evolution of class struggle and the culmination of the movement, particularly the working class movement, is one that we all are witnessing more and more in the strikes and offensives by workers against the bourgeoisie, the obvious widening moves by the peasants, who are taking away the landlord's territory, the continuation of the people's democratic movements, especially the Kurdish people's resistance movement and the bloody heroic struggle and resistance by the students to protect and defend the revolutions achievements, are clear and undeniable facts about the masses' deepening and widening struggle. The fundamental causes of such phenomena must be looked for in the intensifying class contradictions, the growth of political-economic crises, the class nature of the ruling circle, its actions and the resulting intensifying suffering of the workers and peasants and their overall impoverishment and lack of meeting the needs, increasing day by day, of our

country. On the other hand, in this period there happened to be a relatively democratic situation that made it easy for the many left groups and cells to announce their existence and present Marxist ideas.

Propagandizing and propagation of Marxist-Leninist ideas and the vast publication of classical works has attracted a considerable number of the different social forces, such as university students, high school students and also a vast force from the workers, towards Marxism and Iran's Communist movement. Such a situation has also caused the quantitative growth of groups and experienced organizations, to the extent that within the present Iranian Communist movement there has been a move away from a limited intellectual current and has gradually gained a powerful political shape.

However, it can be said that in the period after the establishment of the Islamic Republic, until the present, the Iranian Communist movement has considerably gained in quantity along with the masses and the working class move-

ment, but has remained at a low qualitative level.

From any perspective and on all theoretical-political and organizational bases, the movement has important weaknesses and is encountered with minor tasks, factionalism and diversity so that its internal currents could not relate the fundamental order of Communist activities and movement of the masses as a whole, although a political, crucial, and changeable situation dominated our Communist movement in the same way that right wing opportunist tendencies and, also an orientation towards ultra-leftism has rendered large strikes against the anti-imperialist and democratic nature of the working class and the Iranian people's movement. Unfortunately, we have witnessed fluctuations which placed our organization, particularly, under the effects and actions of the opportunist wing, led by the majority of members of the "Central Committee", and this opportunism was the distinguishing characteristic.

The conclusion we are forced to draw from this nonprogrammed and unplanned acceptance of large numbers of forces has been a penetration from various deviated tendencies, bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie ideological elements, ambiguity and darkness, which have left a shadow on the activities of the more leftist currents, regarding many ideological-political issues. These circumstances have not only been matched with the relations among Marxist-Leninist groups and organizations but even further, with the internal conditions of many of the organizations. With this is an undeniable truth, that is to say, in this situation, that the ruling circle, because of its class character and nature, has been unable to meet the demands of the people and remove their economic and political needs and also cannot end the crisis. The seriousness of-

the crisis has worried the political ruling circle more than ever. The growth of dissatisfaction among the masses has brought larger numbers of them towards revolutionary organizations and currents. The lack of trust toward the ruling circle has been intensified and, proportionately, brought heavier responsibilities upon the struggling Communists in the mass movement. On the other hand, the above contradiction and weakness within the Communist movement has prevented them from performing all aspects of the tasks that were given to them.

With a little notice, the face of the Communist movement of Iran will recognize the same truth. Acceptance of the weakness in the Communist movement is an acceptance of a matter which does not yet clear the way, in reality, for overcoming it. Thus, it must be said that this discussion is not an explanation of the current realities but is rather a way of changing them. It is evident that, without moving forward to ideological-political unity there can not be anything said for organizational unity and establishment of a single organization consisting of Communist revolutionaries as well as a working class party, and this cannot begin to be possible without ideological debate and explicitly distinguishing the boundaries of ideological political lines within the Communist currents.

Such struggle can be accomplished using various methods, but we believe the first important step toward positive change, in order to unite the Communist movement in Iran is to strive for the presentation of a practical way for an organized ideological debate among the Communist forces regarding the most urgent questions of class and the historical struggle of Iranian workers. Of course, within the organizations and currents, this has to be done on a level upon which the ideological contradiction is

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Retrogression of the Central Committee*

"The war has speeded up this development and transformed opportunism into social-chauvinism, transformed the secret alliance between the opportunists and the bourgeoisie into an open one..."

Opportunism and social-chauvinism have the same politico-ideological content-class collaboration instead of the class struggle, renunciation of revolutionary methods of struggle, helping one's "own" government in its embarrassed situation, instead of taking advantage of these embarrassments so as to advance the revolution". (Lenin, CW, Vol.21,p.310)

The social chauvinists of the Central Committee who went through their retrogression quickly, right now are moving closely behind the bourgeois ruling apparatus. They are no better than the Tudeh party, who is their true teacher. They see their duty as one of sanctifying the bourgeois ruling apparatus. They are attempting to keep the masses, workers and toilers, who are losing their misconception about the government, in bourgeoisie's trap a while longer. They endlessly try to justify all the anti-people and bourgeois policies of the ruling apparatus. When the same ruling apparatus takes an action against the Central Committee itself, with "ingratitude" of course, they attribute the ruling apparatus' actions to "suspicious hands", "unknown powers" of imperialism, phantoms, etc. They are preventing the

alteration of the masses' misconceptions about the government.

In this article we will not try to explain and investigate the fundamentals of social-chauvinism or have any ideological encounter with the Central Committee (these encounters have occurred repeatedly and will always continue). Instead we will try to give some simple examples concerning the retrogression of the Central Committee towards the class collaborate. With these examples once again we prove our assertions and the fact that: "The war has speeded up this development and transformed opportunism into social-chauvinism, transformed the secret alliance between the opportunists and the bourgeoisie into an open one..."

One does not need to search a great deal to find examples, as every section of the Organ Sarasari, the Central Committee's organ will give one. Opportunism is evident from every line of this newspaper. For example, in the Organ Sarasari No. 81, under the heading of "the Workers of Glass and Gas..." they write:

"With the onset of the imposed war, the workers are working hard in hot and closed stuffy air in front of the furnaces in two shifts of 11 hours and 13 hours under the most intolerable conditions- while due to the war all air vents and any other holes and outlets must remain closed to prevent light glow. This

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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 Guerillas (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 darkest years of the Shah's regime and the crucial role it played during the people's insurrection, made the OIPFG the largest mass organization within the Communist movement of Iran.