

KAR

INTERNATIONAL

The Monthly Selected Works of the Organization
of Iranian People's Fedaii Guerillas (OIPFG)

Vol. I, No. 1

February 1981

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An Analysis of the Split in the OIPFG

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About KAR INTERNATIONAL

KAR INTERNATIONAL is a collection of selected articles and news items from KAR weekly [KAR in the principle 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 against U.S.-led imperialism.

KAR INTERNATIONAL was first published about one year ago 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.

Perspective of A Deep Crisis*

Two months ago, when the war between Iran and Iraq governments began, it was thought that a broad chauvinistic wave would ripple throughout society; and knowing the relative confidence of the masses in the government, at least for one more time, the war increases their faith. But now, so obviously we see that, that wave of nationalistic fervor which took over the people with astonishing speed in the first few days of the war, has died out. And contrary to what was expected, the war quickly changed the lives and beliefs of the masses. As their dissatisfaction increased, their faith in the government rapidly crumbled.

Under these conditions which can be labeled as a turning point in the people's attitudes toward the government, an analysis of the prevailing political situation, and a clear look at the future of the mass movement is of special importance. Without such an analysis we cannot take steps to fulfill our revolutionary tasks in synchrony with the speeding developments.

Nowadays, in every gathering place of the masses: factories, cafes, in gas lines, the lines for living staples, in buses and taxis; every discussion is related to the war. And wherever the masses are, we witness whispers which in some way express their dissatisfaction with the present situation. These people are not bourgeois or well-off elements whose liesurely partying life the revolution disarranged; but the same working people, who in their surging waves revolted against the staus quo and brought about a unique movement. The same working people, during the deep wide-spread crisis, resorted to an historical independent measure. By testing various forms of economic and political struggles, strikes, demonstrations, marches and rallies, they finally overthrew the Shah's monarchical regime with an armed uprising. The revolutionary crisis which led to the overthrow of the monarchical regime was formed by a deep political-economic crisis in terms of: increasing economic pressures on the masses, violations of the most basic rights and political freedoms, and finally imperialistic plundering of our country. The revolution once addressed the pro-

blems leading to such a deep crisis and the necessities which caused the revolution, but the course of events have taken a different turn. The government which came to power after the overthrow of the mercenary Shah, neither wished nor could address the masses needs nor the revolutions necessities. Now nearly two years after the February 1979 uprising, the masses in their own day-to-day living and experience, (to a great extent) learned that the government is not able to fulfill their wants and needs and to overcome the national crisis. For nearly two years the masses, who have been led by the government's promises, now realize that those are empty words. With the passing of each day, their living conditions deteriorate more and more and they are threatened by poverty and ruin. On these objective grounds and because of the present intensification of the political-economic crisis, along with the declaration of war; the process of the crumbling of the masses faith in the government is speeding up. Day by day their confidence in the government is evermore decreasing.

The government is not and will not be able to reduce a fraction from the dimensions of the present disastrous economic crisis and its consequential pressures. Rather, during this period the crisis is becoming more chronic and widespread. The disastrous consequences of this crisis for the masses are: unemployment, hunger, price-hikes, poverty and ruin. In the first issue of "People's Struggle", we analyzed in detail and gave the reasons for this inability of the present governing body to overcome the economic crisis. Recent experience has shown that, all the measures and reforms of the governing body have not reduced the burdens in this crisis.

Now the occurence of war is continuing to increase even more the dimensions of this crisis and its consequential pressures. The economy is basically dependent on the tremendous oil incomes, and now with a blow to this sector, it is completely in shambles. Although the conditions after the uprising and the present politico-economic crisis, have led to a considerable decrease in state income from this sector; it is still

* KAR No. 85 Nov. 20. 1980

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Perspective of A Deep Crisis

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one of the principle sources of state revenue. It seems that the state is teetering on the brink of complete bankruptcy, having difficulty with not only the war expenses, but also the cost of wages for workers and employees who are on its payroll. Amidst this strife, who else but the working class must be burdened in all kinds of ways with the costs of war and state bankruptcy? In addition, the economy as a whole is in recession and many bankrupt factories and production plants which were taken over by the state, are closed down or only semi-open. The war has destroyed some industries; and operations of some economic branches are totally or partially stopped. The number of unemployed is constantly rising and the prices of basic living staples are increasing astonishingly. The state has increased its pressure on the masses by adding excise taxes. These pressures have reached such dimensions that the masses, in spite of prevailing political repressions have openly expressed dissatisfaction with the present situation.

In such a climate of critical economic conditions burdening the masses, the internal crisis of the ruling body has reached its highest stage. After the takeover of the embassy of US Imperialism, the liberals who became completely exposed and disgraced, lost many of their high positions to clerical-bourgeoisie, and now are trying to take maximum advantage of the present politico-economic situation and the increasing dissatisfaction of the masses, to strengthen their hold on the state machine. Bani-Sadr, this cunning liberal, puts all the blame on the clerical-bourgeoisie and the reformist leadership of traditional petty-bourgeoisie. He speaks now, not from the position of the governing body which is not backed by the people anymore, but as an opponent to the government. He tries in a climate where there is no strong alternative of revolutionary forces in the society, to attract the masses to himself; and by relying on their support, to defeat his rivals. But at this moment, in the present political climate, if the liberals gain the upper hand over the clericals, one may certainly say that Bani-Sadr and other liberals will not be able to resolve the present crisis. The Islamic Republican Party (IRP) which has lost tremendously its broadbase among the masses, more and more resorts to power apparatus, and does not give in simply, to the liberals. By relying on those organs and institutions which support it and are approved by it, and on which it exerts more influence, it is trying to hold on to its position. But there is no doubt that the clerical-bourgeoisie has shown its inability to resolve the prevailing crisis and has reached a dead-end. And right at this moment, by utilizing the present favorable climate, the liberal rivals of the IRP are waging an extensive attack on that party. Everywhere the liberals and big-bourgeoisie comparades, such as Ghotbzadeh (this top-to-toe agent of US imperialism) who until yesterday was among the clerical-bourgeoisie in the Revolutionary Council; who as the head of Radio & Television (R&T) Office and the Foreign Affairs Ministry, was carrying out the unpopular policies of the government. He who founded censorship in R&T, is now becoming a "libertarian" and speaks against "power monopoly", "repressive atmosphere"

and "censorship" so that he, with demagogery, could regain his honor.

The war has brought about changes in the attitude of the people in a negative way against clerical-bourgeoisie and the reformist leaders of petty-bourgeoisie and in a positive way towards the liberals. It also made it possible for the military to fall *in-toto* into the liberal's hands during the very favorable war-time build-up. The liberals in every conceivable way, took this opportunity to organize their armed groups. Now, anti-revolutionary forces, here and there in the country, are organizing and arming their groups. Sanjabi has armed several thousand people in Kermanshah. Foruhar, in a different way, is trying to arm his forces. Chamran is arming another group under his leadership. The reactionary heads of tribes and clans such as chiefs of Qashqae and Balooch, feudals in Kurdistan and other regions, each organizing fast, their own armed groups. Bani-Sadr more and more takes refuge in the Military, and IRP, in control of the Komites and Revolutionary Guards, is organizing the terrorist bands of thugs of fallanges in the so-called "Allah's Party".

With such a picture of politico-economic conditions in the society and with the climate of continuing war how could we expect that the present government could overcome the crisis? Or will one of its factions completely overpower the rest and calm the masses? The answer is negative.

Now the masses dissatisfaction is widening and their objections are not limited to a region, a city, or a stratum, but they are gaining generality and totality. The anti-clerical wave which has taken over the masses, is nothing but the inconfidence of the masses in the government. Let's not forget that the liberals and factions dependent on the big bourgeoisie, are trying to canalize this inconfidence of the masses, misleading them towards a struggle against the clerical cast and elements.

As the faith of the masses in the government is fast crumbling one must expect in the near future the growth and spreading of defiant waves of the masses. Up to now, the prevalent political situation in the society was that although the government was constantly facing internal contradictions, conflicts, and power crises, the confidence and belief of the masses enabled the ruling organ to continue to govern. But now, with the crumbling of the masses faith in the government, and increasing their dissatisfaction, a climate is appearing which pushes the society to a deep crisis. If we accept that the pre-uprising crisis was the result of certain cases which are still prevalent and only the confidence of the masses in the government held the government together; if we accept that the present government is unable to resolve the prevalent politico-economic crisis which gains new dimensions with the continuation of the war; and if the masses dissatisfaction is constantly increasing; then a perspective of a deep crisis is in front of us.

The sum of the politico-economic conditions of our society is reaching a stage at which the continuation of the conditions, the same as the past, becomes impossible. A third alternative is not possible, either the victory of revolutionary forces or a dictatorship of a para-military junta.

A Brief Assessment...

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tracts of one thousand of such reports in order to bring the comrades closer in touch with the importance of such reports.

It is worth noting that the following reports were provided in the month of October in contacts with the people of the lower middle class and poor southern regions of Tehran. They may, due to a fairly large number of these reports, represent the way of thought of these crusts of the masses. Based on their methods of thinking regarding the war, its causes and consequences, and their perception of the government, they may be categorized as:

1 - Those who fully support the government and its policies regarding the war. Their ideas are not homogeneous and are often varied. Some support policies of the Bani-Sadr's wing, and others support those of the Islamic Republic party. In this spectrum, the majority are those who accept Ayatollah Khomeini's decisions without any questioning. This group constitutes only ten percent of the total and interestingly enough as the war prolongs their numbers decline. Among these groups of the individuals, in spite of the propaganda concerning the take-over of Baghdad, trying of Saddam Hossein, war of Islam and blaspheme and...the overriding moods are those of chauvinistic tendencies and 'defense of the Islamic home-land'. The following excerpts will clarify their stance on the issue of war.

A fifty year old man said: "Why doesn't Saddam Hossein die? I hope God will kill him." And a thirty-five year old man said: "With the God's help, we will defeat Iraq, tkae over Baghdad and have a prayer there." Another passenger replied: "Iran must first repel Iraqi forces from our land, much less for doing more". Riding the bus, there was a sixty year old lady who overheard the news of the fire in Abadan and started crying loudly saying: "Long live Imam Khomeini; if he were not around, the Iraqi forces would have reached Tehran already". A sixty year old municipal worker while listening to the Khomeini's speeches on the radio said: "It's not worth having peace or cease fire, we are fighting for Islam, it's just worth running them off and executing Saddam." A twenty year old worker said: "Had it not been to our advantage Imam would not have started the war, we will do whatever Imam says. We should first regain our lost territories and then make peace and receive reparations from the Iraqis". A grocer said: "We shall have to fight to win...without arms one cannot fight. For the time being we should buy spare parts from West Germany and await what the future holds." An ironsmith worker believed that "whatever Imam, Bani-Sadr and Rajaii say are right. There has been a revolution and we should bear the consequences". A forty-five year old barber expressed that "because Iran plans to export the revolution, America has bolstered Iraq against us-we shall fight as long as Saddam and his party [Baath Party] exist."

Comrades should be alert that the individuals who are mentioned in these reports react so naively because of their unawareness of the true nature of the government. There are, however, those who (merchants, dealers of the bazaar, traditional petit-bourgeois and...) know-

ingly support the governments policies regarding the war.

2 - Individuals who have chauvinistic and nationalistic tendencies: This category, in relation to their attitudes towards the war, comprise a very wide spectrum -- they have the largest number (60-65%). Among them anti-government tendencies have, to some extent, divulged into that of anti-clerical. Many of these people blame the government for the devastations and for being the cause of the prolongation of the war. However, their main concern is to return to the post-war borders, recapture the occupied territories and to defend the mother land. One should notice that this type of attitude is also seen among the well-to-do class. A few examples of this category are:

A young worker was saying: "Yesterday when the embassy was taken, the Pope and the Bishops and...came today nobody cares for us. They only say, peace." Then added angrily, cursing those who propose peace, "what peace?" They have entered Ahvaz and still peace? "A thirty-five year old government employee said: "there is no use for war. Tommorrow, instead of paying us, they will just give us coupons. They should stop the war as soon as possible but only after Iraqis leave our land." A municipal worker believed "peace is good if Iraqis get out of our lands. War causes damages and death. Its continuation is all wrong."

During the funeral ceremonies for a group of war martyrs, a person exclaimed out of the crowd: "let these clerics die, too. They have turned the country into a mess. I wonder why they won't leave us alone", and the crowd did not show a negative reaction. Also, an old woman waiting in the line to buy eggs said: "they closed down universities, they killed the students; the Shah with all his power could not suppress the Kurds, now the mullahs want to do so! We spend all our time waiting in lines and are unaware of what goes on in the country, while the mullahs are shipping gold and money abroad. Our prophets such as Ali fought in the front-line of the battles, now these clergymen declare war while they are hiding in their homes themselves." A working woman in line for bread said: "they tell us not to form lines. Look what we have. We don't even have two extra loaves of bread, those who say such nonsense have stored plenty of rice and oil in their houses. We though after having the revolution the conditions would improve, but today we have to struggle hard in order to acquire butter, meat and cheese. Yet, previously, we didn't have so much difficulty". A woman in response to the lady who had said: "God willing, things will be alright", cried, "when will it be alright? We thought the prime minister would come and will help improve the situation, but when Rajaii took office the war started as well."

The presence of such a mentality among the masses, partially illustrates the significance of the works done by the revolutionary forces. In dealing with this group of people, taking advantage of their positions against the government and their opposition to the war, there should be an effort by revolutionary forces to deepen this superficial understanding and, thus, carefully clarify the roots and the main causes of the war and their misery. And simultaneously

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Working Class Movement



The Struggle of the Workers of Iran-Gulf and the Cooperation of the Labor Ministry and the Committee *

In an interview with the workers of Iran-Gulf, the Islamic Republic Newspaper has been forced to reveal some realities. In the interview one of the workers has said: after the formation of the workers' council and encouraging the workers to increase productivity, production rose about 15 percent. However, the workers soon found out that as usual their hard work was filling the pockets of the owners.

Iran-Gulf is a private company manufacturing heating radiators and steel tanks for water storage. Ever since the time of insurrection the price of radiators has increased more than 100 percent. The employer had promised to pay workers about \$1.00 for every price increase of \$10.00. According to the interviewed worker even this promise has not been delivered accurately.

This reality clearly shows that as long as capitalism prevails and capitalists rule the society and own the factories, the slogan "production increase" put forward by the Councils [Councils run by the government], means filling the pockets of the capitalists and workers came to this realization in practice.

In response to the question: "what did the Council do to remedy this situation?" the same worker added that the Council which was formed after the insurrection did take some effective action, but because it [the Council] was regarded as *non-Islamic*, it was dissolved. The worker added "the actions which were taken in this case was to direct a complaint to the Ministry of Labor and other governmental agencies. But, unfortunately no effective action was taken by them and therefore, we were forced to move ourselves and prevented shipment of products from

the factory. But, the owner resorted to the Ministry of Labor and the Committee and nullified our action."

Once again, the unity and cooperation of the Committees and the Ministry of Labor in support of *Capital* has been demonstrated for a group of our workers. It was proved the Committees, that are generally run and supported by the Islamic Republic Party always and without hesitation support the capitalists against the workers and will continue to do that using excuses such as "non-Islamic".

* KAR No. 84, Nov. 13, 1980 [the Committees are organs that sprang up spontaneously during and immediately after the insurrection. In the period after the insurrection almost all of these Committees came under the control of the Islamic Republic Party and now operate as a repressive organ of the Party throughout the Country.]

The Workers of "Bafkar" Factory Counterbalanced the Managing Director's Deceit *

The workers of this factory accepted to work overtime for the war, provided workers' control were established, but the managing director gave up helping the war victims after all!

War brings up nothing for the workers and the toilers but impoverishment, high cost of living, and poverty. At the same time it brings blessings and comfort for the capitalists. They employ any excuse to fish in troubled waters. They plunder the workers everyday for

The Boutan Factory: The employer refused to pay the workers who were dispatched to the front *

As the war drags on, the workers increasingly feel the hardships of this war on their shoulders, and thus become more aware of the fact that this war not only does not in any way protect their interests, but will bring new pressures of price increases, shortages and poverty for them. The longer the war continues, and the more capitalists increase their exploitation of the workers, the more they become aware of the fact that this war only serves the interests of the capitalists. A fact that opportunists and compromisers such as "the central committee" are still unable to understand.(1.) The everyday events are still indicative of the fact that the capitalists are using the war against the workers. Tactics such as longer working hours, overtime with no pay, refusal to pay wages and fringe benefits, and the like have become commonplace occurrences to rob the workers. As the war continues, the

capitalists become more impotent and openly show their animosity against the workers. An example of such profit worshipping happened at the Boutan factory. The manager of this factory refused to pay the workers who were dispatched to the front. In early November twenty workers were being dispatched to the front came to the factory to say goodbye and pick up their paychecks. These workers, who had finished a twenty day training period, were given three days to attend to their personal affairs before going to the front. According to the agreement they were to be paid in full. However, they were only paid for the days they were present at the factory. These workers, at the last moment, before being sent to the front found out that:

Although they were forsaking their lives, the manager was not willing to pay their full salary as was agreed. Several of them, faced with this situation, asked for a loan. But the manager, who had no hope that they would return alive to work in the factory, refused. In any event, they went to the front, to a war that brings them and their families nothing but poverty, uncertainty and misery. But the manager *stayed* behind, so as to continue to exploit hundreds more like them, like a leach sucking their blood for many years to come.

1. The right faction of OIPFG also known as majority who split from the OIPFG early this summer.

*KAR No. 84, Nov. 13, 1980.

Workers of the FLOR Project Say: We Built the Refinery, And We Must Work There Ourselves * Continued on page 5

excuses such as war, blackouts and aid to war victims. They exploit the workers more everyday with their phoney humanism in the form of aid to war victims. By complimenting the workers for their extra work and production, they only fill their own pockets. They increase the work hours, they force workers to work overtime, they donate the worker's daily wages to the war victims account on behalf of the workers and finally employ every possible trick to increase the exploitation of the workers.

But the workers of the "Bafkar" factory proved that war and aiding war victims is just an excuse. What is being concealed behind this seemingly goodwill is more work and production. The truth is that war has given the capitalists the legal permission to plunder human resources under their reign.

The workers have realized with their flesh and blood that where the interests of the capitalists are at stake, humanism is forgotten, war is forgotten and everything else is shadowed by profit and capital and the militant workers in "Bafkar" after years of bearing the op-

pression of capital, now neutralize the capitalists' tricks. After they refused to work twelve hours a day they confronted another deceit. They were asked to work four hours overtime and donate their wages to the war victims. It is interesting to note that this suggestion was first made by a member of the Islamic Council. But, the workers offered to make the donations personally and when this offer was not accepted by the managers, it became evident that the capitalists' intention is not to aid war victims but rather to secure their own interests. The workers also offered to work overtime without pay provided that the total overtime production be delivered to the war victims and demanded to control the profit and production. The manager rudely shouted that this was impossible. Thus, the business of overtime lost its point and the manager gave up his initial humanism and patriotism. The workers proved the war is good only for the capitalists.

* KAR No. 84, Nov. 13, 1980

Peasant Movement

"The Bill of Land Distribution to Peasants" Is Still Up in the Air

Ayatollah Rabbany Shirazy, a member of the Guardian Council,**pounded recently in an announcement that at the present situation "the bill of distribution of land to the peasants" be delayed in order to prevent aggravating the disputes between the peasants and the landlords. In this announcement has come: "The Imam of the people [Khomeini], considering conflicts and disputes, has ordered that the case of land giving be stopped temporarily...and those who cultivated the lands last year, do the same this year, and if they have any disputes over the land, the rent, or the landlord's interest, they should refer to the religious authorities in the cities to settle the differences according to Islamic laws, until the near future when the Islamic parliament and the government will take the necessary steps about this problem and provide for the welfare of all the farmers.

(Kayhan Newspaper, Oct.26,1980)

We have repeatedly shown in our writings the bourgeois nature of the ruling apparatus' reforms in various cases after the insurrection. The government reforms regarding the land problem are of the same nature. The government which defends the capitalist system and the interests of the capitalists and the landlords, is not capable of solving the land problem in accordance with the interests of the toiling peasants; even when it passes bills and starts reforms under the pressure of the masses, it will face thousands of barriers in the execution of it. Mr. Rabbany's announcement is an example of this fact. He openly defends the interests of the landlords, and after years of bearing the oppression and exploitation of the landlords he still wants the peasants to wait, to forebear under difficult circumstances, to live in starvation, and cultivate more for the landlords.

In his announcement, Mr. Rabbany so openly defended the interests of the landlords that even the leaders of the Islamic Republic did not like it; a few days later the "Central Office of the Land Distribution" made a statement in which was said: "the land distribution has not stopped, but the process, should be continued more carefully".

The meaning of this statement is clear. It meant nothing but securing the interests of the landlords and trampling the rights of the peasants. It means solving the differences through a seven member committee, which is nothing but the continuation of those relationships which bring oppression and exploitation. To clarify the problem and the nature of the seven member committee, we will look at some examples.

The seven member committee, five appointed from the government officials and two others appointed from the peasants. In a statement on Oct. 26, 1980 the seven member committee warns the landlords of Sanandaj: "In 10 days from the date of the notice cultivate your lands with the help of the peasant brothers and in case of any

disputes with the peasants refer to the seven member committee only."

The landlords are warned "to cultivate their lands with the help of peasant brothers." Is there anything except defending the interests of the landlords in this announcement? The announcement clearly defends this point that the landlords should have their lands "in their control, and cultivate them with the help of peasant brothers", meaning that the oppression and exploitation of the peasants should be continued.

The seven member committee which is apparently responsible for implementing "the bill of land distribution to the peasants" is, in effect, asking the landlords and peasants to compromise brotherly and cultivate the lands like brothers. Since it is not the landlord but the peasant who should toil the land under the severest conditions, the disputes referred to by these gentlemen are over the rent, which according to Mr. Rabbany should be solved according to Islamic laws. We observe that the problem is not confiscation of the landlord's land, but it is that of dividing the harvest. Let's review another announcement of the committee which asks the farmers of Kurdistan "to cultivate those lands which were given to them by the revolutionary organs like the Reconstruction Holy War *** (Jahade Sazandegi) and the Revolutionary Guards." At first it seems that everything has been done, all the peasants have been given lands, and the only thing which has remained is cultivating them. But important problems regarding the equipment, supplies and financial support remain unresolved. The poor farmer who has only a piece of land, but has no seed, fertilizer, water

and agricultural equipment, has no alternative but to seek help from the landlord and other exploiters. This is the nature of the Islamic Republic's reforms.

The government is well aware of this fact but keeps making promises.

For example, the Agriculture Minister has said "It is natural that those farmers who are given lands have shortages of supplies and cannot cultivate and harvest the lands, and with the help of God we will give them financial and technical assistance and so on" (Islamic Republic Newspaper Nov. 2, 1980); but when will it be given? It is not clear, "with the help of God!" Some day it will be given!

Also, in the Islamic Revolution newspaper on Oct. 29, 1980 we read; "while approaching the wheat farming season, the farmers of Gurgan are faced with a shortage of chemical fertilizers. For this reason, the majority of the villagers have refused to farm any crops, after they could not get any fertilizer from the Reconstruction Holy War and fertilizer distribution companies. The fact of the matter is that they [government] want to put the peasants under pressure and crush their true peasant's councils. When peasants resort to revolutionary means or else the government is forced to distribute land, various forms of pressure is exerted on the peasants to the extent that the peasants will not be able to cultivate the land, due to lack of resources. Then government moves in with an ultimatum to the effect that if the land is not cultivated it will be taken back.

As an example "the land distribution committee in East Azaabayejan in a notice asked those villagers who have

migrated to the cities to return to their villages and cultivate their lands, or else their lands would be returned to the Islamic Councils of each village and the Reconstruction Holy War to be leased to competent individuals for one year." (Islamic Revolution Newspaper Oct. 29, 1980)

Aren't these so-called "competent individuals" the same landlords who have the necessary financial support for farming the lands? And aren't these warnings meaningful enough to show re-taking of the lands from the peasants? Isn't it true that the previous land reform under similar terms resulted in poverty and heavy debts for the peasant, and led to mass migration from the villages, leaving behind their lands? This is the nature of the government's land reform which is to be done.

Now, as each day passes in their everyday life and experiences, the peasants find out that the programs and bills, even if under the peasants' pressure result in distributing the lands, will not be helpful, and the land will be returned to the landlords as a result of lack of financial support and the pressures which are put on the peasants. The toiling peasants of our country learn that they should seize the lands from the landlords by revolutionary means, and like the fighting peasants of Turkaman Sahra they should seize and control the agricultural equipment of the landlord, too. In addition, the peasants should get organized, and put pressure on the government by their councils or their

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"They want to break up the unity of the peasants..."

Opression and Repression As An Excuse of Anti-Imperialist Struggle

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attacks against the progressive forces, but will never be able to successfully block the growth of the revolutionary forces. As it has been the case in the past, all reactionaries never learn from history.

In the following, we give a few examples from the more recent events to show the anti-democratic nature and counter-revolutionary policies of the ruling apparatus that particularly effected the masses.

● **TEHRAN**

In the middle of Imam Housian Square [a major Tehran square] a young person (while selling a progressive newspaper) was caught by the Pasdaran [revolutionary guards]. When he protested he severely recieved hard strokes with the fist, was kicked and hit with the stock of a rifle. Despite protest from the people who gathered there, he was taken as a captive.

● In Taj street, a struggler (a girl), was beaten and wounded by the Pasdaran but was able to escape with the generous help of the people.

● In Tajrish square, the Pasradan Troops tore the clothes of a girl who resisted being captured; she was then pulled inside a car.

● In Aryashar, Pasradan Troops opened fire on a youth who was distributing pamphlets, wounding him.

● **SHIRAZ:**

The Pasdaran troops of the Islamic Revolution attacked the students who gathered near the office of the Ministry of Education. Many were beaten and wounded during the attack.

● **RASHT:**

A crowd escorting the funeral of a martyr were attacked by the Pasdaran.

These savage assaults are just examples of hundreds of cases that in recent weeks have occurred in many cities. In all of these cases, the people by protesting, preventing and in some cases confronting the Pasradan, have shown their strong opposition and hatred against the repressive actions of the troops.

Everyday, we witness the government of the Islamic Republic, under the cover of anti-imperialist struggle, preventing any collective mass movement. The government has tried to

destroy the smallest formations of mass organizations. The locally organized people's councils are now announced to be illegal by organs such as, the Committees, [controlled by the Islamic Republic Party] mosques and the local clergy. In schools, after enacting a process of questioning the beliefs of students, the dismissal of progressive teachers and the setting of a new requirement for the students to sign obligatory letters; the students are now prevented from organizing their own collective sports. The ruling apparatus, that is frightened of the formation of any assembly, and mass organization; by resorting to the most age old and backward tricks, wants to prevent the masses from activities initiated by themselves. A good example of these tricks: the searching of the purses of female students (pretending the need to search for cosmetics!), prohibiting the formation of local councils initiated by the people because of "the danger of infiltration of anti-revolutionary elements in these organizations", fabricating lies and accusations against the progressive forces by calling these struggling forces "anti-revolutionaries and the fifth column of the enemy". For example, The Pasdaran in Shiraz in its No. 87 proclamation wrote: "Fifth columns of the enemy under the cover of independent and treacherous groups such as PEYKAR, the Revolutionary Unity, People's Fedaiian Guerillas, and Hypocrites [the ruling apparatus uses this word when talking about People's Mojahedin Organization] etc. in order to create unrest in schools, and in public places; The Pasdaran thus announces that as soon as such persons are found, they will be arrested and will be taken over to the War Times Courts. The Pasdaran further warns that it will prevent any kind of march or sit-ins.

The ruling apparatus, being afraid of the growth of the revolutionary forces, and the masses' struggle had recourse to all these activities, but does not know that by these actions it will only disgrace itself. The ruling apparatus has forgotten that, the Shah also called the strugglers "foreign agents", anti-revolution, red reactionaries, and the enemy's fifth column. The ears of the masses are full of these stories, but they correctly comprehend who will actually stay with them and will continue to struggle for them, and who are actually the suppressors of their struggle. The ruling apparatus not only uses such names when talking about the progressive forces, but is ready to give these titles to anyone who opposes the repressive nature of this regime.

As we have repeatedly indicated, the present ruling apparatus thinks that with an intensification of their repressive activities can prevent the people from talking in public. These inwardly blind have forgotten that even, AZHARI military government, [the Shah's time martial law government] was not able to prevent the growth of the masses' struggle.



A workers' demonstration calling for the creation and strengthening of workers' councils.

Workers of the FLOR Project Say:

Continued from page 3

One day in late September, the army prevented the workers from entering the refinery. The officer told them "We have orders to prevent your entrance". After four hours, the workers were able to push the army aside and enter the refinery. The next day when workers were getting ready to leave the company, the representative of the oil

company made a speech saying that, some of the workers must be transferred. The workers objected to this and the meeting ended. But two days later the revolutionary guards came to the aide of the army, and stopped the workers from entering the refinery. The workers resisted, and one of the revolutionary guards uttered this famous line "You are counter-revolutionaries, you are Iraqi spies" and the Army commander added "We have orders to shoot", and in the mean time asked the Council to calm and disperse the workers.

That same day, all the representatives of governmental offices, including the representatives of the Justice Department, the state office and the revolutionary guards, gave speeches. In their reply the workers representatives said "you are working for the benefit of the capitalists, and not the workers, and at the same time you persuade the workers to go home". The next day, the workers gathered at the refinery's mosque. A representative of the Oil Company gives a speech telling them that 600 of the workers will be transferred and 300 will remain in the factory, 200 will go to the Abadan refinery, 20 to Shiraz refinery and..... Of course after a little thinking, workers realized his [oil company representative] real intention is to disperse the workers and break up their unity and not provide them with jobs. The struggle of these workers still continues, but ever since this confrontation they have not been paid.

Following the insurrection the workers of Flor Company who have been unemployed for some time, after several visits to the Labor Office in Isfahan, and giving a promissory note to work for four months were able to start work in the Isfahan refinery building. The 1200 workers elected a five-man council to represent them. During the insurrection foreign technicians left the country and work on the refinery building stopped. But the project workers continued their work and completed the building and the refinery started its operation.

When Moin Far [The Oil Minister] was visiting the Isfahan refinery he threatened to fire the workers, but was met with stiff resistance from them and their council. The workers knew it was their right to remain working, they asserted that "we have built the refinery and put it into operation and we should work in it."

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* KAR No. 84, Nov. 13, 1980.

Bill of Land Distribution...

Continued from page 4

other organs to obtain seed, fertilizer, water agricultural equipment, tools and other necessities.

* (KAR No. 84, Nov. 13, 1980)

** Guardian Council is an eleven member body appointed by the highest clergy (Imam) and the Majlis (parliament) whose main responsibility is to serve as a watchdog of the Constitution, i.e. to make sure that the country is run according to the Constitution and the Islamic principles.

*** The Reconstruction Holy War is an organization that is supposed to mobilize various strata of the society to reconstruct the economy.



An Analysis of the Split in the OIPFG

Continued from page 6

strategy and tactics will begin and be continued. During this process, there will be struggle against new forms of left and right opportunism and possible alliances will be formed. At the conclusion of this process, the Congress will be called and its resolutions will be recognized as the strategic ideological positions of the organization. The ideological - political sectors which are formed during the process will be dealt with in the Congress.

(The above sections were quoted from the Plenary Pamphlet)

In the above summarizations, paragraph C was approved. Paragraph A was the "Minority" position and paragraphs B and C (although there are some differences between them, they are essentially the same) express the "Majority" positions.

The contents of the Plenary discussions show that from the ideological and political points of view, they evaluated the fundamental roots of the crisis within the context of two contradictory views.

One was based upon revolutionary Marxism-Leninism and the other based upon opportunism and tailing after the events. During the process, the two currents would necessarily expose the contradictions at the time of confrontation between the different political issues. As you may have noticed, during the Plenary we declared that, following the insurrection, the current intensifying class struggle and the acute political situation will force us to organize and confront the ideological debate between the two currents concerning an analysis of the present situation, determining political strategy and necessary tactical tasks for Communists and, by answering the above necessary questions, will accomplish the evaluation of the nature and necessity for waging armed struggle (in the past) by Communists.

We announced this suggested line and program as the only way of "principled agreement" for the progress of ideological debate, which would guarantee our conscious participation in the unfolding class struggle in society and that will lead the way toward "principled agreement" between the current differences.

The second line, that was put forward by the "Central Committee" resorted to using abstract categories to "strengthen principles", achieving a minimum Marxist-Leninist ideological base (!!!) and for hiding their right-oriented stand. By using different excuses they eluded taking a specific position toward questions of program and tactics.

The "Majority" sector was accepting two different ideological views in their evaluation of the fundamental roots of the crisis in words, but not in essence, for their action, at exactly the time when the Plenary began to get to the solution of the crisis, it was obvious that they were seeking fundamental roots of the crisis through members of the organization within the movement and ignored the objective conditions of the working class, the class struggle of the toiling masses and the necessity for Communist leadership. In fact, the "Central Committee", in taking and propagandizing the positions that they did and still insist upon served to spread ideas which led to condemning the Iranian Communist movement to be separated from the spontaneous worker's movement. At the time of the presentation of a solution to the crisis, the spontaneous and protesting workers' movement and the pea-

sant's and people's democratic struggle to gain land and their rights of self-determination were forcing us to follow them.

Exactly for this reason, mobilizing and providing the forces in the organization to draft a strategic base, program and proletarian tactic is our most important task.

What could it have meant and still mean to talk ideological debates to re-evaluate past tactics as being the fundamental task of the organization, except to say that the representatives of these ideas were placing their sectarian interests over the fundamental interests of the movement and the interests of the working class, and that the confusion in their thoughts, which was a cover for pragmatists views within the organization was theorized and propagandized all throughout our organization. In a metaphysical way, the "Central Committee's" attitude concerning ideological debate has no proximity to a material understanding of the concepts of Marxist ideological debate. Misunderstanding to dialectics of mutual relations in the organization, ideological debate and the struggle of the working class in these acute circumstances is itself representative of the narrow-sighted and limited views of the "Central Committee" with respect to the long term interests of the working class and the masses' democratic movement.

Those who have achieved their original aims through anti-organizational factionalism after the Plenary (afterwards, two of the "Minority" comrades, one a member of the "Central Committee" and the other an advisory member, in accordance with Plenary resolutions, had to resign from the KAR editorial board in order to await the final decisions) found, more than ever, the scene suitable for their righteous aims. This time, by denying the Plenary resolutions which, through their own suggestion, were approved, they were purposely ignoring every kind of Communist principle and leading the crisis, in all its dimensions, to a point of explosion. Plenary resolutions stated that until the final formation of views during the process of ideological debates and until the political - ideological positions could be dealt with in a Congress that would be called for these issues, there must neither be position taking or analysis concerning either the past line of the organization or the present ruling circle. Instead, the political positions that were propagandized by the "Central Committee" through the use of different excuses and various covers and these comrades gradually and without consulting anyone, began to dismiss "Minority" comrades from their organizational positions and continued this practice without stopping. (All the printed analyses in KAR # 35 and in following issues concerning the ruling circle and the articles printed in the local organs are evidence of the "Central Committee" ignoring the Plenary resolutions. All those were written without consulting the opinions of any members within the organization.)

The internal struggle within our organization against the influence and spread of bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideology, which has been deliberately reflected as an ideological debate against the views of the "Central Committee" is in no way related to minute and trivial issues or limited to some organizational problems, but, because of its deep political and ideological origins, it manifests itself in all the fundamental and important issues in class struggle and theoretical and practical presentations.

The organization's political line and its positions on internal and external ideological debate, which should be determined and based on the need for a proletarian class struggle to guide the organization's activities and that of its supporters, was instead misguided and side-tracked by the "Central Committee". The comrades of the "Central Committee", either because of their lack of a stable position in relation to parties and main currents and the class nature within the ruling circle, or, at least so far, they have eluded outward acknowledgement that these exist, have shifted to the "right" and, at the same time, have adopted tactics based on sudden evaluations and temporary incidents. Such a situation has led the organization to adopt tactics and positions not in relation to the strategic goals and objectives of the organization but are based upon immediate interests and momentary rewards and benefits. Above all, the "Central Committee" is more concerned with gaining influence and establishing a "mass base" in the same way as opportunist European parties, than to think of the long term concerns and interests of the proletarian movement and mass movements. Thus, by going along with Bernstein's premise that, "The movement is everything but the goal is nothing," they have, in effect abandoned the fundamental principle of Communism, that is, that the liberation and victory of the proletariat and toiling masses is only possible through an independent proletarian course of action. Instead of relying on the proletarian class interests in their historical context, the "Central Committee" is searching for alliances with those on the top and is eyeing the different factions within the ruling circle. On the one hand, the domination of pragmatic views and the nature of the tendency to move to the "right" and, on the other hand, lack of reliance on the organized masses and ignorance of democratic centralism has come to be seen as the two distinguishing characteristics of the "Central Committee" in its ideological debate and the method of organizational and political guidance. The development of growing class struggle and the necessity to take up a specific and overt position on questions and acute political issues has been reflected in the evolution of two lines within the organization.

On one hand, the undemocratic and unprincipled actions of the "Central Committee", in establishing illogical relations between the "minority" and the "majority" currents within the organization, their reluctance to acknowledge the democratic rights of the "minority" in political, ideological and organizational matters, ignorance and lack of consideration for the opinions of the people within the organization in adopting and implementing the political line and program, repeatedly defying the rules and principles of the organization through using the Center's leverage and, on the other hand, and the most determining factor in our decision, the adoption of a method of compromise and submission in the class struggle and coalition with that powerful faction that happens to be gaining in the internal power struggle within the government, provoking confusion in the people, taking accelerated positions on theory and practice and heading toward opportunism and thinking more like the "Tudeh" Party; all this has made us bring into the open the internal struggle despite the opposition of the "Central Body" to this.

What we consider as an essential concern in the context of democratic

rights of the "minority" within the organization and that we consider as our fundamental concern, is an open ideological debate. We take it for granted that without bringing the ideological debate into the open, to fight with all our powers against the opportunism of the "Central Body", we will not be fulfilling our revolutionary tasks. In our opinion, open ideological debate can not only serve to present the ideological and political identification of the revolutionary wing of the organization within the proletarian - Communist movement, but also that it is primarily the only effective means of revolutionary struggle against containing the spread of the opportunist and revisionist tendencies and to protect the revolutionary current of our organization. Our goal is not mere criticism but that of isolating opportunism. This type of struggle is not based on prevailing bureaucracy in the organization but its base is a revolutionary one.

Such an undertaking by us is an effort to awaken and raise the awareness of the supporters of the organization and all those within the Iranian Communist movement who have a high regard for our organization. We believe that in a situation where factionalism is predominating our ideological principles, the foremost concern should be to disclose to the public the nature of the disputes and the approach of each of the two currents toward controversial questions. Thus, the public will be able to judge for itself.

Lastly, we have to mention that even though we regret the influence of opportunism in the "Central Committee", we never forget Lenin's teaching that, "Even the best of the representatives of democracy cannot limit themselves to mourning for confusion of thought, doubts and loss of belief in principles, whereas Marxists search for class roots of such a social phenomenon." (Lenin: *Ideological Debate in the Working Class Movement*)

* KAR No. 61, June 3, 1980.

TO BE CONTINUED IN THE NEXT ISSUE.



A Brief

Continued from page 2

through clarification of the nature of the governments of Iran and Iraq and the true causes of the war, one may drastically influence their chauvinistic and nationalistic fervor.

3- Individuals with a correct perception and understanding (primarily sensory or deductive) of the problems of the war.

These individuals know that the existing war is a war of states and its continuation is detrimental to the masses of people in both Iran and Iraq and is beneficial to the U.S. and the comprador bourgeoisie. The problems of war and the resulting hardships are greatly influencing their insight. The following examples will illustrate the different opinions of these people:

A young worker said: "this is not a war; it is a massacre, peace should be attained in whatever way possible. The fact is that we have gained nothing but misery and ration lines because of this war." Another young man with Islamic tendencies claimed: "Do you know why don't go to war and fight? Because of my cousin. This knave is a millionaire. I swear to God that if he goes, I will go toom but you want me to fight and die and let them live? I personally went to twenty mosques and noticed that all of those who were enlisting were either unemployed or poor and miserable people". The bazaar people are dishonorable people. During the night they make their plans and in the morning they raise the price of goods. Our own Hadji [pilgrim to Mecca] made 1,500,000 rials by raising prices of his goods due to shortages caused by the war." A high school graduate explained: "The politics of the leaders require that whenever its popularity is about to wane, there should be an event to attract people's attention and distract them from current problems. Last year the embassy was taken over and this year, as soon as they realized that the popular support was diminishing, they strated the war. Now, they are using the war as an excuse to prosecute the communists and the Modjahedeens." A worker stated: "the difference between the present regime and the former one is that the latter, since it was more civilized, ate with silverware we would at least get the crumbs that were dropped on the floor, While thisone eats with one hand and holds the other one under it so that we don't even get the crumbs." An eighteen year old worker pointed out: "Iraq forced the war on us, and it turned out to be mostly damaging to us. Tommorrow we will need arms and we will have to settle our disputes and reconcile with the U.S. position." A fifty-five year old sanitary worker said: "the mullahs (Clergymen) caused the war and only poor people were killed They will tinally make a peace. It would be better, therefore, if they would reconcile as soon as possible, because less damage will be incurred." And he continued "the problem with these people is that they don't think, otherwise they could realize that this regime operates only to further its own goals and sacrifices the citizens."

A twenty eight year old driver complained, "all they say is Islam, people revolt to ameliorate their situation, now like before people are scared to talk because they would be tagged as anti-revolutionaries. Things are even worse now because of the war." A fifty year old grocer said: "I don't believe in this war. Nothing has changed since the revolution. With eight kids, the war and

the skyhigh prices, what am I to do? The whole thing is a big show, a fake. They just want to get rid of me and people like me and they enjoy it.

In front of the mosque, ration coupons were being distributed. Twenty workers were discussing the issues while waiting, the majority believed: "if the government supplied arms, we would all go and fight. If each person shoots one bullet the Iraqis will have to escape". A construction worker added: "We lose a great deal by engaging in the war. The onlt results are high prices, death and destruction. Interestingly enough all of those who perish in fighting are lower class people." An illiterate forty year old woman said: "What is so great about the war when the young people are sent to the front while they [government leaders] do not move themselves." To the question, "Isn't this the people's war?" she replied: "No, it is a war of the states. What is in it for us? Nothing except high prices and misery." A fifty-five year old shopkeeper who had come from Khorramshahr expressed: "The war is a direct reult of wrong politics and Iraqis aggression. There should be an immediate end to ti because it has totally paralyzed the people." A twenty-four year old dry cleaner said: "I don't know why the war started, but I know that we will gain nothing from it. Those who are standing away from it are the ones who will benefit." A construction worker states: "Neither the Iranian Mostazafs [Islamic term employed to name those people categorized as lower class and oppressed] nor their counterparts in Iraq support the war. The states started the war and we will gain nothing from it." Two elderly men riding a bus said: "It is a terrible situation; you can find nothing and you have to sleep at seven o'clock at night [because of the blackouts]". The other continues: "even if the state wins the war, the oppression will even be worse." A fruit seller exclaimed: "As soon as a danger of bombardment was publicized, the wealthy people covered their windows with dark paper, and hih in their houses, what about us who live in abject slums." Finally, and old driver said: "What are we to gain from this war that they are capitalizing on and propaganidizing about? Do you know why they are doing this? Because they can not meet people's demands. They are doing this to occupy people's minds."

The people of this kind are at the same time inclined to assimilate the revelation of facts about the nature of the government and the war, and serve as revealing agents themselves, in their working or living environment. It is necessary to change the sensory understanding of these people to fathoming the facts through deductive reasoning. It is essential to point out once again, that recently the occurrence of conflicts between middle class and lower class layers of society have been noticed in Tehran. According to the latest communications from the wartorn regions, the predominant sentiments are against the government and the formerly persisting illusion about the government have been shattered. At the end, several points shall be emphasized that our comrades should be aware of in the course of their confrontations. The passage of time and the continuation of the war has decreased the predominant chauvinism which was reinforced by the government and opportunists and will soon lead to their total annihilation. Seetors that promote this sentiment can be discerned in inattentiveness in consignment of resources and goods to mobile tents and crs, inalertiveness to alrms' lack of confidence in the media and the growth of discontentedness and its expression in meetings. It is evident that this kind of confrontation has decreased



dur to time factor. It can also be seen that the illusions of masses about the government have collapsed. Blind nationalism and defense of the country comprise the beliefs of the masses. The presence of active elements of our organization and extensive proganda of its goals and perspectives is extremely important. Because the survival and growth of this inclination added to ant-clerical sentiments which is growing among the masses provides favorable background for the emergence of liberals and dependent bourgeoisie in the absence of efforts of progressive forces. The positive point is that the explanations of our comrades concerning the nature of classes involved in the war comprise the predominant mood. This in itself represents a valuable asset in expanding the propaganda efforts and its results.

In many cases, the people have protested against pressures and suppressive measures of the government as seen in, for example, gas stations, bribery, oppression by the Pasradan or the revolutionary forces being attacked by police forces...in these situations, the followers of our positions must take part in these

positions and try to illustrate and direct these movements toward the goal of demonstrating the nature of the government and the reactionary nature of the war.

Comrades, the war has imported great speed to the conflict among classes and in this situation we and other progressive groups have grand responsibility. Our absence among the masses, the lack of propaganda surrounding the reactionary nature of the war, the unclear nature of their "liberalism" - the lack of clarity of positions such as Bakhtiar, Plaizban, Oveysi and other reactionary groups - all will prepare the ground for growth of anti-revolutionary illusions and the diversion of the masses.

It is essential that the followers of our line spread word about our standing and the reactionary nature of the war and the resulting misery.

1 - The author implies that the anti-imperialisy slogan used by the government heads are mere slogans. Indeed, the government policies (in this case the war with Iraq) serves the world imperialists only. Thousands of dollars must be spent to reconstruct what has been ruined.

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Ideological Struggle

Why We Revealed The Ideological Debates To The Public

Part I: A Summary Of Our Present Situation And The Deviation Towards The Right Within Our Organization.

It has been more than a year that we have been facing an internal organizational crisis on a political, ideological and organizational basis. After passing through the first round of contradictions and disagreements, which were primarily reflected between the "Central Committee" and the former editors of KAR and because of the insufficiency of the organization's internal debates concerning specific political questions about the "Central Committee's" line and program, they announced that the Executive Council of the organization could not practically be held.

Seven months ago, during the organization's Plenary, the fundamental roots of and solutions to the crisis were evaluated. At that time, ideological and political contradictions became evident,

causing the "majority" and "minority", in accordance with their positions and stands toward questions concerning the internal crisis, which have now taken a more specific formation. The Plenary resolutions, which were set out by the "majority", because of their deviated positions and in the absence of any principled agreement by the "majority" comrades, not only could not provide suitable grounds for the correct solution to the crisis within the organization, but also were based on instability and ambiguity which resulted from lack of knowledge and confusion on the part of a majority of participating comrades, regarding that content of principled relations between the majority and minority wings within the organization and this brought about such a situation and cir-

cumstances which spread the crisis to a wider extent.

In the Plenary, discussions concerning the reasons for the crisis and solutions for it were summarized into two basically different analyses with respect to the fundamental roots of the crisis, and this resulted in two policies and two totally separate and contradictory lines, as follows.

A) In the ideological debates that are being organized, we must follow the path of answering the urgent needs of the movement and manifest our aims, program, strategy and tactics in order to solve the crisis. In this process, we would re-evaluate the previous deviation during the setting out of goals, program, strategy and tactics, (stages of revolution, revolutionary program, etc.) The different views and deviations of the right and left wings will become clear and from this, the ideological - political alliances will be dealt with at the Congress.

B) The ideological debates must be organized with regard to the ideological line of the past, along the basis of "strengthening of principles." This strengthening is in order to achieve an

ideological basis of Marxism-Leninism. During this process, a manifesto reflecting the newly developed position will be established and regulated according to approval by the central body or Congress and will be announced to all the public. After finishing this process, we would then establish our goals, programs, strategy and tactics and call a Congress to approve them.

C) In order to solve the ideological crisis, there would be organized the two following and connected procedures, with emphasis on their priority and secondary importance.

1) The previous ideological system must necessarily be confronted on the basis of "strengthening of principles" and achieving a minimum base of Marxism-Leninism. Reaching this base is necessary for agreement in principled moves and progress in political unity and the establishment of a program and goals. At the end of this process, the changed ideological positions within the organization will be established and regulated for approval by the Congress.

2) In the ongoing process of organized ideological debate, the stratification of goals and a program of

Continued on page 6

The State and The people

Oppression and Repression As An Excuse of Anti-Imperialist Struggle *

From a war situation, the bourgeois governments will always derive a profit. Since the very beginning of the intensification of the current war between the two governments of Iran and Iraq, we have repeatedly indicated that one of the 'blessings' of this war for the capitalists and their supportive governments, will be the opportunity to intensify the creation of a repressive atmosphere, more censorship and further oppression. This is in respect to suppressing the masses' real democratic and anti-imperialistic struggle, naturally diverting the attention of the masses from such struggle, and above all to have a better chance to intensify suppression of progressive forces.

Now, everyday, we witness how the oppressive organs of the government have intensified their savage assaults upon the progressive forces, we witness how the limited numbers of progressive newspapers which until recently remained open have been forced to close. The regime makes uses of the war conditions, by bringing excuses, such as the need for preventing the widespread of rumors,

disunity of the people, etc. to further repression, and thus in addition to prohibiting the publications of many progressive forces, it has now announced that newspapers such as FARYAD GOUDNASHINAN [a cry of slummers] and BAZOO'Y ENQALAB [The Arm of Revolution] are illegal. The ruling apparatus has forgotten that, in the past, during the Shah's regime, revolutionaries such as FADAIAN and MOJAHEDIN, who risked their lives, also did not have government permits to print and distribute their publications. But by no means had even the Shah's regime, with its notorious suppression been successful in keeping the revolutionaries silent or to break their communication with the masses. Thus, today, how can the present ruling apparatus be successful while, due to culmination and deepening of the struggle of Iran's oppressed masses in each town, each dwelling, each quarter; in each factory and village; in each school and university, Fadaiian and Mojahedin are involved in revolutionary activities. We emphasize that although, today, the regime has intensified its savage

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A Brief Assessment of the Masses Viewpoints Toward the War*

As the devastating days of war between the governments of Iran and Iraq go by, its reactionary nature is revealed more than ever. The masses of the people, under the hardships of war and because of expositions made by the revolutionary forces, realize how much this war contradicts their interests and welfare. Despite endeavors by the bourgeoisie government and the opportunists to preserve and strengthen that mood, the blind nationalism and chauvinism that had climaxed in the early days of the war among the masses is declining. High inflation, scarcity of goods, rationing of fuel energy and foods, permanent discontinuation of electrical-power, homelessness and misery has adversely affected the government's propaganda for war. The masses, with the knowledge of the war's events and their observations of its consequences, come closer to the understanding that it merely serve the world's imperialists, and in this process they sense the government's hypocrisy.

The changes in the masses' minds, their viewpoints toward the war,

devastations, inflation, general scarcities, cold winter, their reactions to the government and its policies, are all reflected in their conversations throughout the country. The queues made for bread, meat, eggs, and those made at bus stops, clinics, and many others, are centers where the people exchange their views and discuss their problems.

The effectiveness of tactics adopted by any revolutionary organization is dependent upon a thorough investigation and analysis of the trends of thought governing different social classes. Hence, every supporting comrade, in addition to actively taking part in such street debates and making efforts to indicate their misconceptions through expositions of the prevailing conditions and by revealing the O.I.P.F.G.'s positions in order to help them gain a clear flawless understanding of the circumstances, ought to send us precise reports of such happenings and thereby keep the organization informed of the people's mental evolution.

As an example we shall reflect ex-

Continued on page 2