

# A brief history of the Toilers' Revolutionary Organisation of Iranian Kurdistan - Komala

In the first issue of the Bolshevik Message we gave a brief history of the formation and development of the Unity of Communist Militants, having as our reference the report of the Central Committee of the UCM to the First Congress. In the present issue of the paper we take a similarly brief look at the history of the "Toilers' Revolutionary Organisation of Iranian Kurdistan" - Komala.

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The formation of Komala dates back to the autumn of 1969 when some Kurdish revolutionary intellectuals and advanced workers founded the organisation. The birth of Komala was in demarcation with revisionism, guerrilla warfare and petty-bourgeois nationalism. The founders of Komala formed the organisation after the defeat of the armed struggle of some Kurdish revolutionaries who had resorted to a series of armed operations, then prevalent among Iranian revolutionaries.

After the formation of Komala, its members and cadres set off towards the factories, work-places and villages for political activity and organisation among the workers and toilers and soon succeeded in drawing the support of large masses of workers and toilers towards themselves. But in 1974 many members of the Central Committee of Komala were arrested by the Shah's secret police, SAVAK, and imprisoned in Tehran, Isfahan and Sanandaj.

With the escalation of the struggles of the working masses throughout Iran in 1978, Komala took an active part in these struggles and obtained their leadership in many towns of Kurdistan.

The First Congress of Komala was convened in the late autumn of 1978. This Congress whose proceedings Komala later critically examined in detail, despite possessing many revolutionary points, was still unable to rid Komala of the chronic populism and Economism which were gripping it. Shortly after the Congress, and only a few days following the February 1979 Uprising, Komala publicly announced its declaration of formation for the first time. This was an important step in the life of Komala because in this way Komala declared its pledge and commitment for a consistent and continued struggle and presented itself as a revolutionary alternative in the arena of the political struggles.

Only 40 days after the February Uprising, the newly established counter-revolution launched its first attack against Kurdish workers and toilers who had not shown trust in the new regime and were imposing their own armed revolutionary authority throughout Kurdistan, by relying on the elementary forms of their mass organs. Conscious of the counter-revolutionary character of the Islamic regime from the outset, Komala, at the head of the revolutionary movement, resisted this attack of the regime

← execute the best elements of such a party - the revolutionary workers and intellectuals; they spread venom against it; they recriminate it; but their efforts are in vain!

We are many! And four years of intense class struggle and the amazing growth of the class-consciousness of the working class is the inexhaustible support for such a party. This party is being born!

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magnificently. Six months later, in August 1980, workers and toilers of Kurdistan went through another trial in strength and revolutionary determination, when the Islamic Republic started a heavy offensive against Kurdistan. Komala mobilized all its energy and resources for a resolute resistance, demonstrating the tactical consistency of the communists in the struggle against the camp of counter-revolution.

The most important turning point in the life of Komala came in March 1981 when it held its Second Congress. This Congress deeply criticised the main ideological deviations dominant in Komala and formulated them as Populist Economism. The theoretical-political organ of Komala, Pishro (Vanguard), whose publication the Second Congress placed on agenda, later expounded the resolutions of the Congress. The Second Congress of Komala had a determining effect on the course and direction of development of the communist movement in Iran, reversing the ascending course of growth of the dominant populism, in favour of revolutionary Marxism. With the Second Congress, the most important communist organisation of Iran, which was leading a revolutionary-class war against the bourgeoisie for a long period and which enjoyed a mass base, acquired the programmatic principles of the communist party. This Congress had a direct effect on deepening the crisis of populism and in reducing the credit of the populist organisations. The simultaneous existence of the Programme of the UCM and the Resolutions of the Second Congress of Komala at that juncture, indicated that the necessary material for the definite defeat of populism had already been provided.

In its resolution concerning the unity of the communist movement, the Second Congress stressed the need for the existence of the communist party and considered the question of drafting a communist programme as the key link in the formation of the party:

"To secure the victory of the Iranian working class against the bourgeoisie, to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and to move towards communism, the existence of a Marxist-Leninist party is required that secures the ideological-political and organisational independence of the proletariat in all the spheres, stages and forms of its class struggle. The Iranian proletariat now lacks this militant organ of itself and hence the formation of the party constitutes the main task of the conscious vanguards of this class. At the same time, at the present conditions, the main link for the formation of the party is the drafting of programme."

(Resolutions of the Second Congress of Komala, March 1981, p. 22)

After the Second Congress, the practical endeavour for drawing up the programme of the communist party began. The sixth organisational conference of Komala in September 1981 assessed the Programme of the UCM as the only existing communist programme in Iran and assigned a number of the comrades to begin the necessary discussions with the UCM to prepare the first draft of the party programme. The final draft of the programme was approved in the Third Congress of Komala (1st of May 1982) and published as the Programme of the Communist Party. With the authority of the Third Congress behind the Programme, it was evident that communism in Iran was no longer merely a collection of coherent and radical beliefs but an immense social force. In the introduction to the "Resolutions of the Third Congress" Komala summarises the place and importance of the Congress:

"By adopting the 'Programme of the Communist Party', the Third Congress of Komala succeeded in taking the fundamental step in the way of putting an end to the ideological dispersion and organisational disunity among the Iranian communists and thus raising the banner of the



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Leninist programme which no longer belongs merely to the Unity of Communist Militants and Komala but belongs to all the sincere and consistent communists and advanced workers of Iran. Also by adopting the 'Programme of Komala For the Autonomy of Kurdistan', this Congress most comprehensively formulated our programmatic and political gains on the question of Kurdistan and its particular conditions and thus provided a principled and firm basis for our daily agitation in Kurdistan."

(Resolutions of the Third Congress of Komala, May 1982, p.1)

In the continuation of the path which the Third Congress of Komala had begun, the First Congress of the Unity of Communist Militants, held in Sep-Oct. 1982, succeeded in reviving the particular traditions and methods of practice of the communists: the Leninist theory of organisation and communist methods of practice. The recently held plenum of the Central Committee of Komala also commits itself to the establishment of communist methods of practice in the ranks of revolutionary Marxism. Thus the period following the publication of the Programme of the Communist Party has been witness to the attempts of Komala and the UCM, as two forces belonging to a single party current, towards the revival and establishment of struggle in party fashion and the practical formation of the Communist Party of Iran.

Up to four years of resolute resistance against the attacks of the bourgeois counter-revolution has enabled Komala to achieve the leadership of the revolutionary movement in Kurdistan and the support of millions of the working masses. From the outskirts of Kermanshah to the northern peripheries of Oroomieh, Komala has been organising and leading the armed struggle of the toiling masses in Kurdistan against the Islamic Republic regime - this last shot of imperialism against communism and revolution in Iran. The existence of wide areas which have remained immune to the counter-revolutionary sway of the bourgeois state, thanks to the heroism and sacrifices of the communist Pishmargas of Komala, has granted quite exceptional facilities for the Party forces in the work of agitation and propaganda throughout Iran. The

"Voice of the Iranian Revolution", the Radio of Komala, which was established in the Summer of 1982, is an example of one of these gains, guarded by the armed strength of the communists of Iran.

But Komala is not merely a radical force of the revolutionary movement in Kurdistan. Komala is a nation-wide communist organisation whose aims, policies and organisational scale, go far beyond the locality of Kurdistan and the national-democratic movement. Komala, as a communist organisation and on the basis of its programme (the Programme of the Communist Party), has set its task the organisation of the Iranian proletariat for the socialist revolution and active participation in the advancement of the world revolution of the working class. Komala identifies itself with a world class movement which for more than one hundred and thirty years has been fighting for the aims of the Communist Manifesto.

Years of conscious struggle by Komala for the critique and rejection of non-proletarian impurities from the ranks of the proletariat; years of purposeful attempts to achieve and preserve the independent interests of the proletariat not only in Kurdistan but in the whole of Iran; and years of resolute resistance at the head of a mass movement against one of the most brutal bourgeois regimes in history, have truly placed Komala at the forefront of the forces of the Party Programme and made it the main force fighting for the formation of the Communist Party of Iran. Conscious workers of Iran have realized and are realizing this truth in their thousands; so must the workers of the world.

Amir

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- 3- Kargar-e-Komonist no.7 (30th April 1983), an article entitled: "Some points about the agitational tasks of the communists towards the revolutionary movement of the Kurdish people". (by comrade M. Hekmat).