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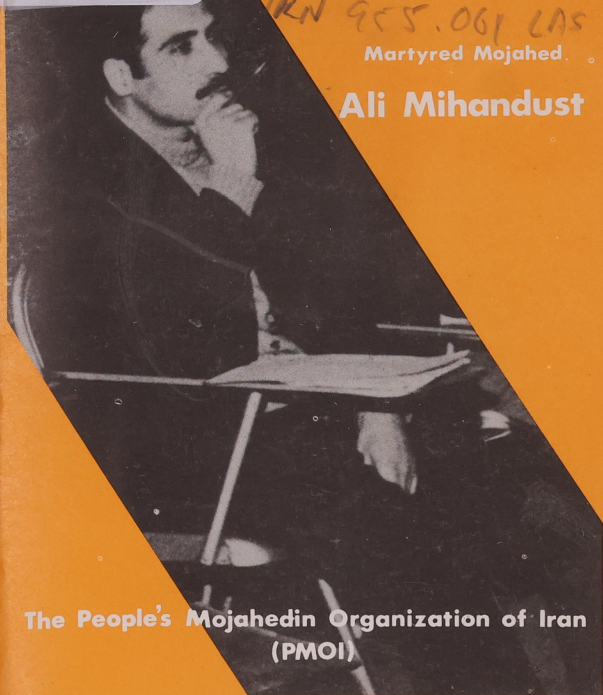
The People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran  
(PMOI)

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The Last  
Defense  
of

IRN 955.061 LAS  
Martyred Mojahed.

Ali Mihandust



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The Last Defense of Martyred Mojahed  
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First Edition 1980

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**A Brief Sketch of the Life of Martyred Mojahed  
Ali Mihandust  
Member of the Leadership Cadre of  
the PMOI**

Ali Mihandust was born in the city of Qazvin in the Iranian year 1323 (1944). Travelling to Tehran for higher study, he was in his last year at the Engineering School of Tehran University when he was arrested.

In search of ways to serve his country, he devoted himself to the study of political theories and sociological concepts. The knowledge he gained of the history of exploited nations and their victorious struggles enriched his exhaustive and painstaking analysis of our own society. He became aware of the necessity of adopting a scientific approach to the struggle against the oppression and corruption inflicted on the Iranian people by the imperialist-backed regime of the shah.

Mihandust played an influential role in the formation of the ideology of the PMOI because of his profound theoretical background. He believed it to be the sacred duty of every revolutionary to chart his precise position on the field of combat at every moment.



to make an accurate assessment of his own skills and his ability to take on responsibility, and then to strive with all his strength and will. A keen self-appraisal and evaluation of personal competence is vital for the revolutionary to undertake at each stage of action as the struggle develops, according to Mihandust's methodology. The ideological thinker taught that every human being, whatever his background, can join the struggle and advance on the path of evolution and self-development through a correct appraisal of his abilities, and that it is only through practical participation in the collective effort that the negative aspects in the character of an individual can be evolved out of existence.

Mihandust joined the leadership cadre of the People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran in 1349 (1970) and was responsible for the Esfahan and Mashhad sections for a period of time.

In Shahrivar 1350 (September 1971), during the regime's massive sweep against the Mojahedin, Mihandust and his fellow revolutionaries went into hiding. In their efforts to find him, agents of the Pahlavi dictatorship took his wife hostage, frightening his parents into revealing his hiding place, deluded by the SAVAK (secret police) ruse of promising a light sentence for their son. This promoted the heroic Mojahed's final message to father, mother and close relatives before he died:

"Be aware that this monstrous regime of the shah is the enemy of the people and its interests will never be aligned with yours. Do not let yourselves be tricked by the empty promises of the enemy. This incident is

just another proof of the fact that no human relationship is possible between imperialism and the peoples of the world. The only kind of relationships that can exist between them are either struggle or submission."

The prison interrogators tortured him brutally several times to force him to reveal the contact points and hideouts of his comrades. He refused to submit, dauntlessly defending the aims and ideology of the PMOI in the military court of injustice, practicing the discipline of armed revolutionary struggle to the very last. Sentenced to the firing squad, he died a martyr at dawn on 30 Farvardin 1351 (19 April 1972) together with three of his Mojahed brothers: Ali Bakeri, Mohammad Bazargani, and Naser Sadeq. Hail to a revolutionary brother who dedicated his intellect, his knowledge, and his life towards the goal of liberating our oppressed people.

## THE LAST DEFENSE OF MARTYRED

MOJAHED ALI MIHANDUST

In the Military Court of Injustice of the Pahlavi  
Regime

President of the Court, Mr. Prosecutor, Ladies  
and Gentlemen:

In complete agreement with the statements of  
my brothers Eng. Naser Sadeq, Mohammad Bazargani  
and Mas'ud Rajavi, I would like to present my position.  
Before beginning my actual defense, however, I would  
like to say a word about a couple of matters.

1) First of all, the kidnapping of Shahram  
(son of Ashraf Pahlavi, twin sister of the ex-shah).

In this action, no one was killed. And the only  
injury occurred to Shahram's bodyguard, because he  
failed to follow the instructions of our friends not to  
get involved. When he tried to interfere, he was shot at,  
at which point he was hurt. It was only later, when  
we were in Evin prison, that we heard he had been  
wounded and was in the hospital undergoing surgery.



We were also told that he had received a bonus of 20,000 tumans (Rials 200,000 or approximately \$3,000 at the going rate).

Even the papers, the same day, reported that only one person had been injured and that nobody was killed. This charge is something that has been added since then, to beef up our indictment.

2) Secondly, we come to the charge of spotting cinemas (to place explosives):

Let me say flatly, we never did any such spotting of moviehouses. This charge was put on the indictment sheet purely to suit the regime's propaganda purposes.

I would like to clarify just exactly what our aims were, based on the principal objective of launching urban guerrilla warfare as the point of departure for an overall armed struggle. Our tactical objectives in carrying out this plan were as follows:

a) Hitting the strategic centers of the regime and blowing up Zionist places connected with Israel and imperialist centers connected with the United States and Britain, and so forth.

b) Confiscating the property of banks, property which belongs to the people, property which has been extorted from the people; which we intended to repossess through the same use of force and to spend it in the way of liberating the people.

c) Hitting at the bases of power of SAVAK (the Pahlavi regime secret police) and of the police, to show that the enemy's power is superficial, through its arms like SAVAK and the police; to prove actually

that the regime itself is vulnerable and capable of being attacked.

Urban guerrilla warfare is essentially psychological, and its aim is just that, to expose the weakness of the regime and how it can be hit.

Take the case of the People's Fada'i Guerrillas (the Shihkal Movement), the pioneers of urban guerrilla action. This is their approach. Initially, through lack of experience, they suffered a serious setback. It had to be that way. They learned a valuable lesson. They went through a rough period of arrests and executions; they had their losses, but the organization survived. They gained from their experiences, and went on to greater success, and never again allowed themselves to get tripped up in the line of action.

Their successes in planting bombs, attacking police stations, confiscating bank property, hitting gendarmerie posts, and all that, are well known. On the outside, they continue to operate. Even those who are known to the police and SAVAK have managed to avoid arrest — like Hamid Ashraf, (Bahram) Zeibarom, (Bizhan) Saffari-Ashstiyani and all. Over the past year they have brought their level of tactical struggle to such heights that arrest for them is virtually out of the picture.

In our own organization, too, there are plenty operating undercover, and gaining strength. These and other revolutionary groups are growing from within, expanding their operations, and applying greater psychological pressure and intensifying urban combat

to the point where it achieves its objective of mobilizing the people as a whole, ready to pledge their support and commit themselves to the struggle. That will be the time when a truly revolutionary party can be brought into being.

For the time being, such a widespread organization like this is impossible. It can only be achieved when revolutionary praxis has reached a peak of action.

Our objective is this — not spotting cinemas, or anything like that.

By the way, on the charge sheet there was no reason stated for the allegation of killing the secret service guard [in the Shahram case] — or the 'parking attendant', as SAVAK insists on calling him.

**Presiding Official:** This point has already been discussed. There is no need to bring it up again.

**Ali:** On the contrary, we have to bring it up, since the fate of four persons relates to it.

**Prosecutor:** The reasons for the killing charge have been indicated in the dossiers of the four individuals who committed this act.

**Naser Sadeq** (one of Ali's co-fighters and fellow defendants): This is just a propaganda ploy. In the charge sheet, the prosecutor has not stated his reasons for making the allegation. At this time he must give his reasons or withdraw the allegation.

**P.O.:** This is not relevant to the charges made against you. In any case, the reasons will be provided.

**Ali:** Where is the plaintiff for the deceased? The fact is, this person was not killed. In Evin, we were told by the interrogators themselves that they had given him a 20,000-tuman bonus. Anyhow, what is his name, if we're supposed to have killed him? Where's his grave? Where are his particulars, his personal data? Where are the coroner's documents? Where's the evidence?

If, while we're grappling with the enemy, someone steps in to fight on the enemy's side, we will, naturally have to kill him. And we will, of course, certify freely that we have killed him. We're not out to do anything we wouldn't readily admit to. But the fact of the matter is that we did not kill this individual — what I mean is, he was not killed — and to assert this is to tell an outright lie.

3. A point which Mr. Sadeq neglected to mention was the matter of the SAVAK torture and indecent behavior towards Ms. Ashraf Dehqani. In the police headquarters, they ripped off her clothes and ogled her naked body. This was the vilest kind of mistreatment.

**P.O.:** That has nothing to do with your case.

**Ali:** I don't see why not! I have a wife and child. I'd like people to know just what kinds of violation of human decency we're dealing with.

**Naser:** These actions of the regime's hatchmen are an expression of what they really stand for.

**P.O.:** You be quiet. You've already made your statement.



Ali: Two attorneys for the defense gave their opinions on the nature of Marxism and of Islam, making their own kind of analysis, so to speak, of these two ideologies — which, in our view, is completely contrary to reality. So, we would like to give our own views of this issue.

We, and other groups which have been brought to trial in the past few months, have generally been accused of things like plotting to overthrow the government, or organizing or belonging to an anti-royalist group, or having communist ideas, or agitating, or whatever.

But the truth of the matter is that all of these charges skirt the real issue. Whatever the superficial differences between the various groups, they are all going after the same objective: that is, to overthrow the regime of the monarchy. Such groups include the People's Fada'i and the Mojahedin. What are we to make of this? Only that the ideology of all these different groups has one common base, namely to eliminate exploitation in every form. What I mean is, all the different ideologies have this one point in common.

Naser (to Ali): You better explain, otherwise, they're going to try to make propaganda out of it.

Ali: The common base of the different ideologies is the elimination of exploitation, but they do have their differences, as well. A revolutionary must learn the 'science of revolution' of his time. Science, theory, knowledge, all are acquired through contact with the outside world, through work (practice); which leads to further acquisition of knowledge sparking the process

of evolving awareness in the human mind.

This science takes its revolutionary form when it is used to change society. The science of revolution of our time provides just such a methodology as can be employed by those in the struggle to analyze their societies in a revolutionary scientific way, so as to be able to effect the necessary changes. Without a profound understanding of the 'science of revolution' in the present age, a true comprehension and qualitative-quantitative analysis of society is impossible.

Amongst the charges against us, is the accusation that our organization has studied the books of Mao Tse Tung and Che Guevara. Of course, that's true. Our key people have, in fact, studied these books — and they had to. The experiences of years of the peoples' tireless struggle, gained in liberation movements, are brought together in these books. For us who seek to launch an armed revolutionary struggle, it is absolutely necessary to study and learn from the experiences set forth in these books, so that we may be able to make use of them in the process of practice, as well as in determining revolutionary policy and strategy.

Imperialism has done everything in its power to block the publication of works which represent the radiant lives of great men who amassed valuable experiences. If the regime, and the prosecutor, feel that the experiences laid out in these books would lead people astray — that is to say, those who hold the reins of power and the representatives thereof, among whom are numbered the worthy prosecutor — then we would like to ask what writings do not have

this effect. Would they recommend *Zane Ruz*, for example, or *In Hafteh* (*Today's Woman and This Week*, two commercial pulp magazines)?

It's really a disgrace. Great men who have changed history, who have striven to eliminate the exploitation of man by man, are censored, while tabloid scandal sheets and shoddy copies of cheap Western junk literature are pushed on us. And then we are put on trial for studying the revolutionary experiences of these great men!

Now, imperialism plotted and mounted a massive force to surround Che Guevara, and finally succeeded in killing him, all in the hopes of squashing revolution in the countries of Latin America, all because they thought that Che was exporting revolution from Cuba. However, when he was martyred, the revolutionary movement of Latin America grew even stronger.

In our own country, it's the same thing. The regime thinks that by putting the Fada'i Guerrillas up in front of the firing squad, it can silence the urban guerrilla struggle once and for all. But the opposite is true; with their execution, the movement has grown still stronger, so that today the attacks on banks and police stations have become a matter of everyday occurrence. And if you execute us, the Revolution will gain even greater strength, because this is simply a function of the natural laws of our society, where, however hard you try to kill us off, you cannot stem the tide of the revolutionary movement. In fact, your actions can only serve to accelerate the speed of the coming of the Revolution.

اليس الصبح بقريب

(Is the dawn not near at hand?)

As I said before, we must learn the 'revolutionary science of the time'. The fact is that no group or organization whatsoever can bring about social change and eliminate exploitation without knowing that science. We are all witness to the fact that the People's Fada'i Guerrillas were able to pioneer urban guerrilla warfare only by mastering the science of revolution ...

P.O. (mocking): Does the Qoran say anything about kidnapping, as well?

Ali: (unruffled and pressing on with resolution): As a matter of fact, it does. It says that wherever you encounter the exploiter you cut his throat . . . or you take him away as a prisoner. I refer you to the sura *Mohammad*, verses 1 through 5.

If the presiding officer would like to insist that this matter is not in the Qoran, then how do we interpret the expression, *[Then bind them fast [and hold them to seek grace or ransom till war itself lay down its burden.] Mohammad, 3 ]*.

That's precisely what we meant, when we sought to take Shahram hostage, with the aim of freeing our friends. We didn't succeed. After all, Shahram was pretty important for the enemy. If we had managed to get him, we would have had no trouble gaining the release of our brothers.

The Tupamaro guerrillas seized three persons in one week and took them hostage: An American torture agent in Uruguay, the Brazilian ambassador, and someone else . . .



The policy of hostage-taking is also clearly indicated in the Qoran, when it says to hold those taken until they are ransomed, with the explicit injunction that this condition is to last until 'war itself lays down its burden' and comes to an end. This was our plan for the future: to take hostages, ransom them for a sum of money to support the Revolution, and then release them.

Mao has a word on this, when he says, "As long as there are guns and they are in the enemy's hands, then do not put yours down."

We shall maintain our just liberation struggle, as long as the enemy exists and continues to aggress, and until exploitation disappears once and for all. This is the way of creation and the process of evolution of human society -- and there is no other way but this: the way of armed struggle to resolve the contradiction between the Truth and all that is other than the Truth (between *Haqq* and *baatel*, in Ali's Islamic terminology).

God's backing is with the revolutionaries. The Qoran states that the only way in which this contradiction can be resolved is through armed struggle.

When we analyze the world, we see it as governed by the Divine will, while other revolutionaries see the world as regulated by the primacy of matter. However, this issue presents no contradiction between us whatsoever under the present conditions [of struggle]. We and the revolutionary Marxists have a common objective, and that is the elimination of exploitation. So for this reason, we have undertaken the struggle with a

common strategy to deal with a common foe. It is through this unity of forces on the field of battle that we make the enemy tremble, an enemy which with desperate persistence tries to find ways to divide and scatter our forces. But the revolutionaries are too alert to fall prey to the plots of the enemy. Victory to the union of all combatants against imperialism in the arena of struggle!

Before I get to the main subject, I feel it necessary to make a brief comment on the prosecutor's assertion that Islam involves only the *jehaad* (spiritual struggle) against the personal ego:

Let me explain that in the *Nahjol-balaagha* (the compilation of the sermons and sayings of Hazrat Ali), three kinds of *jehaad* are cited. First there is the *jehaad* of the hand, where you take up a machinegun and you pump your enemy's belly full of holes. This was our objective, and our co-combatants outside the walls are keeping up this work.

Secondly, there is the *jehaad* with the tongue. This means that we must keep telling the truth with our tongues until our tongues are cut out. Third, we have the *jehaad* with the heart. Our hearts never make peace with the enemy, nor does our rancor towards him ever rest. If they seize our machineguns and cut out our tongues, they still cannot keep our hearts from pursuing *jehaad*.

Now we come to the matter of our motives and the elements which constitute our armed struggle

ethic:

- 1) The ideological motive
- 2) The social motive
- 3) The historical motive

Now I shall explain each one in detail:

### 1) The ideological motive.

At a time when the enemy of the people reacts to every action which threatens its existence, bringing ever more terrible methods to bear in suppressing the people, and at a time when the enemies of the peoples of the world are united in their engagement in the crushing and annihilating of movements (to liberate these peoples), the unity and solidarity of the revolutionaries and the combatants in the way of freedom becomes integrated with the ineluctable process which leads to ultimate victory. Therefore, in the process of struggle with the common enemy, the matter of ideological differences should be played down.

The primary objective of all combatants is the realization of the ideals of the people. For this reason, in the struggle of the people of Iran every struggle group and organization which strikes a blow at the enemy is in the same rank. And the rank of those pledged to the cause closes tighter day by day. By struggling in unity with revolutionary resolution, they ensure their own ultimate success.

In the words of the sura *Al-Saff (The Ranks)*, verse 3, "God loves those who struggle in His way, united in close ranks."

ان الله يحب الذين يقاتلون في سبيله صفا كانهم بنيان  
مرصوص

The objective of this stage of the struggle for all combatant groups is the total elimination of the exploitation of man by man. Therefore, the ideology of the struggle groups has a common base in this respect. This base is the quality of all the different ideologies which may be characterized as anti-exploitation.

So now, you may ask: What is exploitation? Exploitation means the appropriation of someone's labor for the exclusive use of oneself. Systems of slavery, feudalism and capitalism are each based on the exploitation of the slave, the peasant or the worker. However, in our age, that is to say, the period of domination by imperialism, exploitation has reached worldwide dimensions and is no longer confined to simply a limited area. Let me give you an example:

The monstrous, over-reaching military complex of U.S. capitalism, purely for the purposes of maintaining its own existence, finds itself triggering conflicts in every corner of the world, so that it can expend its production of rockets and napalm and Phantom jets and all on the heads of innocent people. We have witnessed the horrible tragedy of Vietnam and of Palestine and other parts of the globe. This system places weapons at the disposal of its dependent regimes in the Third World, like that of Iran, while absorbing the greater part of the national income of



those countries, an income which silent millions have toiled and suffered to earn.

This is how the worldwide system of exploitation works. Millions of human beings across the world break their backs in labor and the fruits of that labor are garnered by the thieves and plunderers of our age, for them squander on cabarets and high living, building magnificent villas and towering skyscrapers equipped with the latest in technology, central heating and cooling and fancy decor. They wallow like pigs in luxury and vice, and go after pleasure like the lowest of animals. Or else they bury their ill-gotten money, the fetish of our times, in banks and sit back to collect the interest. An example is the 18 billion dollars which the controllers of the Iranian regime have stashed away in foreign banks, wealth which belongs to the people. This is the plague that infests this century, which is one of the severest epochs of exploitation in the experience of mankind. This is the greatest problem of our age: the exploitation of man by man.

Now let us see how our ideology approaches this problem. Given the fact that the world is divided into two blocs, the exploiters and the exploited, if our ideology does not take this problem into account, it is of no value.

However, an important function of an ideology is precisely to deal with such issues. Islam, in the foundation of its school of thought and action, is profoundly against exploitation.

ليس للناس الا ما سعى

“There is nothing for man but that for which he himself strives to obtain.” [*Al-Najm (The Star)*, 39]. The Quran indicates the roots of class distinction which themselves cause the spread of corruption in human society, as the exploitation of man by man, and, in the final analysis, as the love directed towards wealth and property, towards money.

و تاكلون التراث اكلاما و تحبون المال حياجا

Sura *Al-Fajr (The Dawn)*, verses 19-20 tell us “how they devour lustily what is produced by others, and what love they devote to wealth and property” -- the same kind of love which imperialism devotes to its international plunder and sowing of corruption in human society in the present age.

The lives of the great leaders of Islam and their methods for resolving the contradictions existing in their societies, provide the best indications of how Islam is a school of thought and action opposed to exploitation. Ali, that great forefather of Islamic thought and practice, declared:

“There would be no poor left hungry, if the wealthy had not taken their share.” The profits of U.S. exploitation have been gleaned at the expense of countries plunged in poverty and starvation in the Third World.

There are endless examples to demonstrate the anti-exploitation characteristics of our ideology, but time does not permit me to elaborate them for you now. We've compiled a study on this subject, which hopefully our brothers on the outside will publish very soon.

P.O.: What is it going to be called?

Ali: *The Way of the Prophets.*

I just want to point out that the condemnation of that kind of usury which is expressed in the slightest form of appropriation of the production of the labor of someone else, is one of the primary injunctions of this school of thought and action. The Quran cites the contradiction which exists between the exploiters and plunderers down through the ages, but even more intensively today, on the one hand, and the masses of deprived people, on the other; this contradiction it terms *Haqq* (the Truth) versus *baatel* ('falseness', or 'otherness than the Truth').

The Quran stresses, furthermore, that this contradiction can be resolved only through armed struggle. Wherever the Prophet of God shows the slightest tendency to compromise, the Quran gives him stern warning. See, for example, the sura *Bani Esraa'il* (*The Children of Israel*), verses 74-75.

This ideology is an ideology of the mass, illustrated by the relationship between what is termed "the rope of the people" and "the rope of God" in verse 112 of the sura *Aal-e 'Emraan* (*The Family of 'Emraan*). The greatest mission of the trailblazers of humanity

has been to liberate mankind from the yoke of exploitation and oppression, as stated in the sura *Al-Nesaa'* (*The Women*), 74-76, while the passage along the strait-and-narrow path of human evolution to free mankind (*fakko raqabah* ["take the yoke from the neck", "liberate the enslaved", "awaken the consciousness"]) is referred to in the sura *Al-Balad* (*The City*), verses 12-13.

The liberation of mankind today means the liberation from the bonds of exploitation. Our ideology shows the way for the masses which have been subjected to the most brutal oppression and exploitation, viewing God as the prime mover and supporter of the victory of the masses. The sura *Al-Hajj* (*The Pilgrimage*), verse 39, tells us;

اذن للذين يقاتلون بانهم ظلموا وان الله على نصرهم  
لقدير .

"This is the inalienable right of the oppressed, to rise up in struggle; God is the power that comes to their aid."

In this ideology the emphasis is on the ultimate achievement through patient fortitude and revolutionary resolve, of triumph over the *baatel* (the 'false' pole of the contradiction) by the masses and the pioneering struggle groups which chart the way for them, when exploitation and oppression will be eliminated. *Bani Esraa'il*, verse 81, tells us.

قل جاء الحق وزهق الباطل ، ان الباطل كان زهوقا

(Say: The Truth has come and non-truth has



*vanished; verily falsehood can only pass away.)*

And *Al-Fajr (The Dawn)*, verses 1-14, declares that the dawn and the triumph will give the good tidings of the Truth.

Yes, indeed, the time will come when human beings will equally draw benefit from nature and society, a time when the noble talents of all human beings will be utilized towards perfection of humanity and the world, blossoming forth, reaching towards the highest goals.

From the point of view of our ideology, this goal is God. We have a profound belief in the directional tendency of history and evolution, the directional quality of the creation, and in the regulation of the world by the Divine will. We also believe that man's position, as a part of being, vis-a-vis the law of evolution, is that of possessing primacy. For we have the conviction that the special characteristic of man is the possession of an individual will, such that, with respect to the call of creation, it is through this will that he is invited to evolve towards God; that he is free and can respond to this call in any way he likes.

The aware human beings of our age have committed their wills to the way of the prophets, who were the heralds of human freedom from every bond imposed by the reaction which enslaved, exploited and made the dictatorships of their ages. We too are committed to following this call -- this call which sounds deep within us, this beckoning from God that lies deep in the breast of the oppressed people, and deep within nature,

and is inherent in the evolutionary process of the world. We harken and we give our affirmative response. This call is the welcoming of revolutionary martyrdom in the way of the ideals of the people.

Yes, you could say, our ideology is one of revolutionary martyrdom -- a martyrdom of which Hosein, the son of Ali, was the standard-bearer. And now, today, the pioneering martyrs in the armed urban struggle are taking a further step on the exalted path of the liberation of the peoples.

Our desire is to be able to wage the battle in the way of these combatants, until once again the blood-ideology and the worship of God, in the true sense, is restored.

*In the slaughterhouse of love, just the good are slain.  
The cunning, wily foxes, they remain unslain.  
The one who strives in love's true way, has no fear of  
death,  
He already is a corpse, who is left unslain.*

[Quatrain by the classical Persian Moslem mystic poet, Abu Sa'id Abi'l-kheir, 4th century AH/10th century AD].

Now we come to the second motive, which is the analysis of the given conditions of society. Of course, brothers Mssrs. Sadeq, Mohammad Bazargani and Mas'ud Rajavi have already gone into this, but it will not hurt for me to briefly review the basic points.

## 2) The sociological motive

Towards the end of the nineteenth century and in

the early part of the twentieth, independence struggles began to develop in countries under colonialist domination, with the objective of freeing these lands from the foreign yoke. As these struggles grew and intensified, with the corresponding gradual forced retreat of the colonialists, the bonds of colonialism came to be severed, one by one; and the greater number of the countries of the world were able to achieve a measure of political independence. Now even the smallest countries, whether in Africa or elsewhere, have succeeded in attaining so-called 'political independence'.

However, can we truly call this 'political independence', when such countries do not enjoy real economic self-sufficiency? It looked as if colonialism had disappeared, but was it really so? Are Third World countries truly able to determine their own destinies now?

If the answer to such questions was uncertain at the beginning of the century, it is clear today, because of the heightened awareness of the masses and the expansion of the struggles of the various nations against foreign domination, against world imperialism and, most especially, its chief, the lord high plunderer America, which, in turn, has discovered newer and subtler ways of exploiting and plundering other lands.

Under the new conditions, it became impossible to dominate directly, for the presence of a foreign army in a country provokes general rebellion. The colonialists, who made out as if they had arrived to develop and

manage the country, but, in reality, invaded the place to plunder its natural resources, were now shown up for what they really are. Colonialism has now become outmoded. Hence, the new approach of creating an army in the given countries which could serve the purpose from inside, an army which was dependent on and derived its existence from the outside imperialist source. The idea is that imperialism has to maintain its essential objective of exploitation, right? The new twist has been to enslave the economy of the country to be exploited.

However, this time, with the increased awareness of the people, the revolutionary struggles in the exploited countries have taken on a renewed fervor.

The triumph of the masses and the breaking of the hold of imperialism, notably in countries like China, Vietnam and Cuba, has alerted the exploiters afresh that their lifelines can be cut and their time will soon be up.

But one could hardly expect those who have lived a life of parasitic privilege for so long at the expense of others, exploiting the masses of people through their labors, to be prepared to, all at once, give up the easy gains of their lust and greed. Not likely!

Imperialism has merely turned to new devices, in seeking to divert the revolutionary motivations of dependent countries by apparently playing down the contradictions in a given society. One of their techniques has been to promote programs having a superficially



reformist appeal in many countries which are on the threshold of the struggle against imperialism and its dependent elements, apparently succeeding for a time to set the movement of revolutionary struggle of the masses back somewhat.

The aim of these so-called 'revolutionary' programs is hardly to resolve the real and principal contradictions in societies of this nature. Rather it is a stop-gap measure to clothe the out-moded old form of exploitation in shiny modern dress. In our own country, the 'White Revolution', with its truly counter-revolutionary essence, provides a perfect example.

This brand of seemingly 'progressive' program which was effected in our country, could hardly be expected to deal with the fundamental contradiction existing in our society. On the contrary, it only serves to increasingly aggravate the stratification of the class system day by day. If, in the past, the landowner exploited the peasant, today the capitalist, whether domestic or foreign, puts direct exploitive pressure on the poor farm-worker.

Not only has our social situation not been improved in the least, but, in fact, just the opposite effect has obtained, where unemployment is spreading like the plague. Just take a look at the flood of migrants pouring daily into the cities from the rural areas, crowding the poor neighborhoods of the south of town, and you can get a good idea of what the state of our villages is.

Agricultural workers have been subjected to a

'modern' form of exploitation through projects like the agro-business plan, where the fruits of their labors are appropriated by speculators who flock into the villages with ingenious new ways of cheating peasants out of their land. Although theoretically the hold of big land-owners has been loosened and the ordinary peasant has a greater chance to have land of his own, whatever fields the latter can get his hands on, lack water and other vital facilities for cultivation, while the peasant himself has no way of getting the capital to compete in the new capitalist approach to development; he has to mortgage his land and place himself at the mercy of the banks, the bosses and the bribe-takers, in order to get a simple loan.

The contradictions in the villages grow more intense. With the so-called 'White Revolution', the distinction between classes becomes sharper and exploitation grows harsher and more institutionalized. Our country has been turned into a capitalist dependency, and its ruling elite have become no more than the instruments and agents of the comprador capitalist class.

However, do you really think that capitalism could find acceptance in our country without foreign support and direct assistance? Not for one minute! Because our brand of capitalism, in contrast with that of the capitalist countries of the West, is one which is, in content, completely dependent, possessing no independent essence of its own. It is, likewise, impossible to establish industry on an independent basis in such

a social situation. We are struck with having to be dependent on foreign capital for all our heavy industry.

The foreign capitalists simply build assembly plants to put together the products of their parent industries, with no other aim than to fill their own pockets and those of their comprador dependents.

Do you think it is any particular distinction for us to merely put a body around an engine built by Hillman in England and call it a 'national industry', operated by 'the hands of Iranian workers'? And then to sell it for a price which is many times the production cost, in order to turn us into a consumer society? And, furthermore, through this approach, to make the exploitation of our workers all the more severe, as well as increasing the pressure on the emergent consuming class?

The potential for developing an assembly industry in our society also serves a world requirement. For example, as a way of dealing with the endemic unemployment problem. So the domestic problems in dependent countries are generally met through the creation of assembly plants, so that a big song and dance can be made about how advanced these economies are, as the imperialists seek, through the sowing of political illusions, to alleviate the contradiction between the deprived peoples and imperialism.

At the same time, imperialism is able to profit from the cheap labor provided in Third World countries, as well as the minimum of customs duties and taxes, without which benefit they could not get the low costs

and high profit margins they desire. Thus, they are able to pocket generous returns, along with their cohorts, the comprador capitalists. However, since the mother industry remains controlled by them, the plum of real progress in industrial development in dependent countries is, hence, ultimately withheld.

Most important of all, inevitably in order to forestall the possibility of popular rebellion in these countries, the need is created for a weapons arsenal, involving an industry which is virtually impossible for a dependent country to cultivate.

The need for military hardware is one of the characteristics of these societies. It is little wonder that the military allocation in the national budget of these countries is continuously on the increase. In our own country, it is the same thing; every year it escalates. In 1972, it constituted a full 42%, representing an increase of 23% over the previous year.

It is the people of Iran who bear the brunt of the burden of this expenditure. This a really painful fact. While thousands of poverty-stricken people living in the most abysmal deprivation in Sistan, must migrate hundreds of kilometers away from their homes and hometowns in the hopes of earning a wretched bit of bread and their children are sent out to graze like cattle, Phantom jets streak the skies over their heads and multi-million-dollar missiles glitter in their airports.

It might be said that the increase of budgetary allocations for military expenditures is for the purpose



of protecting the country from being overwhelmed by foreign hordes. But -- which foreign hordes? If this foreign element is a world-power, how can countries like ours stand up against it? Is the real danger lurking for the ruling elite of countries like ours, really attack from outside? -- or an uprising by their own suffering masses?

Experience has proven that in the eventuality of a revolutionary war of the masses against imperialism and its dependents, all these weapons are employed purely for the purpose of suppressing the revolution and the people. We need only look at the puppet government of South Vietnam for a good enough example.

So, these arms have been purchased by our ruling elite solely for crushing the people, and that's all. Now, where do the finances for this kind of thing come from? Most of it comes from the export of raw materials to capitalist countries. In countries like ours, the single-based economy is one of the reasons why growth cannot take place. In our own country the principal raw material is petroleum.

Yes, indeed, they take our oil, and in return, to protect the pipelines and all the other paraphernalia involved in oil extraction, plus the right to keep plundering this source, they need to create a security force, which is equipped with the latest weapons, just so they can protect foreign interests against the people of the country. And they are ready at any moment to go into action to crush any move for liberty. Can you find a finer example of real rapine and plunder than this -- in any

shape or form?

Then they all whoop and celebrate when oil production and the oil prices go up. Why do you suppose? Because they've guaranteed the budget base for their military expenditures. They get money from their oil bosses, and pass it on to their military ones. The ruling elite merely plays the role of a middleman in this operation. And it gets a good healthy percentage in the bargain!

Now, in addition to the matter of the so-called 'revolutionary reforms' which they carry on about in endless publicity campaigns reflecting what they claim to have done for the nation, I would like to deal with two new topics: one is the 'administrative revolution' and the other is the 'educational' one.

Here is a perfect place to show that, where the aim is to do anything but resolve the principal contradiction in the society, there is no possibility of dealing with the minor ones.

Since our ruling elite, in presenting its policy principles, is solely concerned with maintaining its program of exploitation, with no intention nor capability of resolving the principal contradiction, it cannot, therefore, by its very essence, deal with any other contradictions existing in the society.

A good example of this is the program known as the 'administrative revolution'. When the higher administrative echelons are tied in with the corrupt stratum and the comprador capitalist class, and constantly have their fingers in the till, helping themselves

to what rightfully belongs to the people, how can the lower echelons possibly be reformed? There is a contradiction here which cannot possibly be alleviated, unless the corrupt ruling elite itself is removed.

The aim of the 'educational revolution' is supposedly to reform the educational system, as well as to expand the number of universities and high schools. However, by raising the awareness of the young people, how do they expect to hold back the rise of the revolutionary spirit? Thus, the corrupt ruling elite is forced to confine education to a few classes in the society. Hence, the principal objective of the educational revolution is, of necessity, this very extension of class privileges to education by depriving the suffering less fortunate classes of the society.

This is because the result of the higher education system, as it exists at the moment, is to produce young people like us, coming here to this courtroom and standing trial. All who are being tried, have bachelor's and master's degrees. This is the end-product of the current system of education.

Of course, the regime is perfectly aware of this, and that is why it has moved to confine knowledge to a particular class. Thus, it does not hesitate to consistently raise tuition, with the projected increase of private school and university fees to exorbitant levels, while public schools are neglected and the level of instruction in them is kept down. The brighter and more qualified teachers are naturally attracted to the private schools, where they can get better salaries (say, from four to

seven thousand tumans [the equivalent of seven hundred to a thousand dollars at the time], while a newly hired faculty member at a government university receives a mere thousand tumans a month [or US\$ 150]). Consequently, state schools and universities are consistently poor in the quality of their instructional content.

Now, let's look at it from another angle. On the campus itself, the armed guards posted everywhere: Who are they serving, and why were they put there in the first place?

The so-called 'educational revolution' in the culture of our society is designed to promote bourgeois culture and to cultivate a blind aping of Western, and particularly of American, culture.

Yes, indeed, foreign rule makes itself felt in every aspect of the life of our country, but the greatest spiritual effect this rule has had, is on the spirit of our national culture. The consumer economy is an outstanding example of the influence of Western culture on our society. Throughout the land the consumption of unnecessary, luxury items is being expanded at a feverish pace. This is the objective of imperialism and capitalism: on the one hand, perverting the ideas of the people, and, on the other, promoting luxury consumer products and tying everyone in to bank loans and installment payments.

That's right, the object is to drag our society down into the dust. Imperialism appeals to animal desires in the name of 'consumption', the consumption of foreign products, so that a people trades away its



material and spiritual values and becomes enslaved to it and its goals, as it instills its poisonous Western, American consumption values along with its products deep into a people's culture. The press, the cinema, radio, television and every instrument of tranquilizing people into falling in line with its approach.

A glance at the average weekly magazine or a TV program or two, can give one a clear idea of how deeply anti-human the content of this approach is. The imperialists want us to give up our traditional cultural values and abandon our right moral standards, as they march in and take over, whereby we end up giving up our own culture for the sake of the invader, who seeks to brainwash us, destroy our native talents and our human qualities, and turn us into lusting animals.

In our society, they narcotize our youth in an attempt to turn out a set of intellectuals who acquiesce to the Western values of the ruling elite; they stunt the growth of the noblest human ideals, and nip in the bud the potential of the poor for revolution and struggle.

An unending stream of deceitful propaganda forms a key factor in the inculcation process of this system, since, if they did not keep up the glossy advertizing, due to their very nature, they could not survive. Their press is completely shaped within the Western style of cultivating minds; in effect, they are completely **colonialized**; they are not permitted one iota of freedom to be themselves.

Freedom of thought, of expression, which is one of the most fundamental rights of mankind, as reflected in the United Nations Charter, is ruthlessly trampled underfoot. Dissent is answered with brute force and the point of the bayonet. The murder and torture of the revolutionaries is escalating at a rapid rate, because the aim of these revolutionaries is the attainment of the evolutionary path for the masses of the people and the obtaining of their rights.

The prisons grow ever more filled with revolutionaries. The tortures become ever more scientific. And the ceremonial trials condemn the prisoners either to death or to confinement with long sentences. Why? Because they're afraid.

Yes, indeed, they are doing all this, because their very lives are threatened by the existence of these freedom-fighters. Do you really think that a regime which rules its society by sheer brute force, imposing a system of courts and legislated laws which is nothing but a manipulated puppet on a string, has any other alternative than to hold its society at gunpoint?

Our people have tried every peaceful means, but when their every appeal to move towards reform is answered with the cannon's muzzle, they have no choice but to take up arms themselves and gain their rights by force.

The coup d'etat of 28 Mordad (19 August 1953) and the ruthless massacre of 15 Khordad (5 June 1963) are proofs of the fact that our people must engage in armed struggle, for only through this approach can

they be victorious.

The evolution of struggle in Iran, as with the struggles of all the peoples of the world, has escalated from a peaceful approach to armed, revolutionary wrath. The start of the decade 1971-81 coincides with the beginning of this historical stage in the struggle of the people of Iran. That is why we have taken up arms in earnest to chart the way of armed struggle for the Iranian people by stepping up the battle against the corrupt ruling elite.

Between us and you, Mr. Prosecutor, you who are the representative of the regime, only the bullet can govern. I have nothing to say to you. If someone happened to put a machinegun in my hand right now, I'd blast you to kingdom come. Of course, I don't mean you personally; I mean all prosecutors like you — and all the hireling elements of the regime. You are just a sample of this lot.

By embracing the ideology of revolutionary martyrdom, we are committed to performing our revolutionary duty. We are not afraid of death, but the death we cherish is that which comes in the way of the people.

### 3) The Historical Motive

Now we come to the third motivation, the historical one

Which way is the flow of history moving? Is it towards the annihilation of exploitation? Or is it more towards strengthening that mode of operation? Is

imperialism in the process of collapsing and passing out of existence? Or is it going to hold on to its rule and grow stronger and stronger?

If we have a look at the heroic struggles of the last half a century as they have been carried on in different countries against imperialism and its dependents, we are made aware of this truth: that, in fact, the bonds of exploitation are in the process of being torn away. We see that imperialism is no longer able to get away with plundering what belongs to the people and exploiting the toiling masses of the Third World.

Imperialism's retreat from its old style into its new form only shows how cunning and insidious this enemy has become, and how unwilling it is to give up its claims just like that. Thus, the confrontation between the masses of the Third World and imperialism is going to get steadily more and more intense. This development is inescapable, as the two protagonists become locked ever more deeply in deadly combat striving for victory.

The struggle is expanding day by day. And its tactical field of operations becomes increasingly more complex. Correspondingly the combatants become more seasoned and alert, adapting themselves to counter the tricky maneuvers which the enemy devises by evolving ever new tactics. With every experience gained, they use their store of ingenuity to grapple with the opponent. In the end, this fight, as history has demonstrated, will culminate in the ultimate triumph



of the masses. And this development is inescapable.

The system of creation and ineluctable movement of history tells us that the old powers are doomed to annihilation, as the new forces earn the right to life, to growth and to evolution towards perfection. Social laws are inseparable from natural ones. Imperialism, doomed because of the corrupt nature of the elements which constitute it, is today in the international arena encountering the wrathful resistance of the masses of freedom-loving people, who have armed themselves for the struggle.

"We want to show favor to those who have been counted as weak on the earth" — namely, the deprived masses — "make them leaders and inheritors of the earth; and make them the governors on earth, and show Pharaoh and his advisor Haman and their armies" — namely, imperialism and its dependents — "that which they feared from them." (*Al-Qesas [The Tale]*, 5 and 6)

However, one thing we should be very conscious of, is that in the conditions of our age, revolution and change in a society cannot be brought about overnight or through spontaneous generation. Struggle, like all the phenomena of nature, must pass through a series of steps, quantitatively speaking, in its evolutionary process, before it can attain a qualitative transformation.

For the enemy is strong, from the technical point of view, so this struggle needs time and plenty of revolutionary steadfastness and fortitude. The struggle of the Chinese people against the imperialism of

Japan and the United States and the domestic reaction took a good twenty-eight years; but finally, having yielded up its share of losses and sacrifices, it resulted in the victory of the great people of China.

The struggle of the Algerian people against the colonialism of France lasted seven years, but, in the end, after giving a million martyrs to the cause, a full tenth of the population of that country, they managed to bring French imperialism to its knees and ultimately drive it from their shores.

But more inspiring than any is the heroic struggle of the people of Vietnam, who first defeated French imperialism, whereby they succeeded in liberating a portion of their land from the foreign yoke; then, after throwing off French colonialism, they found themselves saddled with a monstrous new power, American imperialism, entering the scene. Now, America is striving in the most shameless way to wreak slaughter and havoc, yet, with all its awesome technical might, America hasn't a clue of what to do to get itself out of the mess it has found itself floundering in. There is no doubt as to the consequence, for all the technical know-how in the world cannot stand up to the power of the people.

قل جاء الحق و زهق الباطل ان الباطل كان زهوقا

"Say, Truth has come and falsehood gone away, and verily, falsehood must always be annihilated." (*Esraa*, 81)

من حد سنان الغضب الله قوى على قتل اشياء الباطل

"Whoever sharpens his lance in the way of God, to slay and to destroy injustice, is given power." (Tradition of the Prophet)

Yes, indeed, whoever is not afraid of the most hideous of tortures, has the might to bring Caesar himself down off his horse.

At this very time in most corners of the Third World, the liberation battle has begun or is going forward. The peoples of Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, the Philippines, throughout Southeast Asia, are achieving amazing victories. In Africa, the peoples of Rhodesia [the present Zimbabwe], Chad, Angola, Mozambique and other colonized lands are engaged in struggles in a like manner.

South of Iran, the Dhofar liberation movement is winning impressive triumphs. And most important of all, the revolutionary war of the Palestinian people against the Zionism of Israel and the imperialism of America, being led by the Palestine Liberation Organization, has reached a wave of success which is drawing the entire Arab world towards the struggle against the implantation of American interests in the Arab Middle East. The triumphs and rapid growth of this movement need no further comment. In other countries of the Third World, as well, the fight for freedom has just begun, and we are sure to see, in the near future, the victory of these various movements.

Yes, that's right, the East is glowing red. The peoples of the world are conquering imperialism. There is no power strong enough to stop the growth of the masses towards freedom. Ours is the grand age of the awakening consciousness of the masses, and this consciousness is the ineluctable infra-structure of evolution and the guarantor of final victory.

Now, what about the historical situation for the struggle in Iran?

As was said before, with attention to the fact that our people, over the past half century, have experimented with all the conciliatory means and have not met with success, the existing suppression has eliminated the possibility of any individual freedoms, and hence, we conclude that adopting the method of wrathful armed struggle is the obvious way out and the sole road left for the winning of the people's rights, which have so long been denied.

The main thing is that today, we are subject to a new set of conditions imposed by imperialism in certain countries of the Third World, including several of the lands of Latin America and a number of countries in Asia, in particular, Iran. For this reason, we observe that we are in a unique historical situation.

The police state which exists in such countries has destroyed the possibility for the people to develop a single progressive and revolutionary party which is capable of mobilizing the masses and leading them in their wrathful struggle against the enemy. Hence, a new stage in the struggle of these peoples has been



blowing up of imperialist and Zionist centers; and the confiscation of the property of banks, which belongs to the people, from the hands of the enemy; the taking of hostages to be held against the release of political prisoners and the gaining of other concessions from the enemy. These are some of the aims of the urban guerrilla fighter.

In this historical situation, the pioneers of urban guerrilla warfare in Iran are the People's Fada'i Guerrillas, the Siahkal Group, who have given 32 heroic martyrs in the course of a single year; they were the ones who launched this new season in the history of the people of Iran. Next in line are the Arman-e Khalq (People's Ideals) Group, who have sacrificed six fine martyrs: Homayun Katira'i, Hushang Targol, Bahram Taberzadeh, Naser Madani, and Hosein Karimi. Then there is the People's Mojahedin of Iran, who have given their first martyr in this honor roll, Ahmad Reza'i.

The People's Mojahedin of Iran, in embracing the ideology of martyrdom, know their duty, which is to serve as the point of thrust of the anti-imperialist armed struggle of the masses, opening the way for the people towards the Towhidi (Divinely integrated) society, classless and free. They know full well that the way ahead is hard and full of obstacles. We have accepted the fact that only by devoting our very souls can we advance on this path. We have known from the beginning that the movement would take its toll of many sacrifices, and we readied ourselves to be among the

first of these.

من المومنين رجال صدقوا ما عاهدوا الله عليه فمنهم من قضي نحبه و منهم من ينتظر .

"From among the believers, there are those who, with respect to the pledge which they have made to God, serve with loyalty. Certain of them have fulfilled their pledge and certain of them await their turn." [Al-Ahzaab, 23].



From left to right, Mojahed brothers: Martyr Naser Sadeq, Martyr Mohammad Bazad Rajavi, Martyr Ali Mihan dust, Mansur Bazargan, Mehdi Firouzian.

The people have up to now nurtured their children in their bosom, children who have grown up to be ready for martyrdom at the hands of the hireling regime. In the past year, over thirty young people in the revolutionary struggle of the people have been condemned to execution in rigged military courts or martyred in the field of action of the armed struggle. And countless hundreds have been subjected to torture by SAVAK and committed to prison to serve long sentences.

So you can see that the people of Iran have risen to secure their rights with bold determination. And until the enemy and the aliens are driven from their land, they will never relent in their continuing battle.

Armed struggle is the only way to liberate the enslaved people, who for long years have lived under the gun.

**Death to U.S. imperialism and its agents!**

**Hail to the martyred pioneers of the armed  
revolution of Iran!**

**Victory to the armed revolution of  
the Iranian people!**