

Our organisational policy among workers

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This article is a summary of the Politbureau's discussions about our policies of organizing workers. The discussions were a response to the Second Congress's request for clarification of our policies in this regard. Also, this is along the path of discussions about the principles of communist practice and various aspects of Party organizing activities in cities. The article consists of three main sections.

In the first section, we will deal with some introductory and general points. Some theses will be introduced to show some fundamental differences between our views on organizing compared with those of the "traditional left" in Iran. On numerous occasions we have said that the CPI is not trying merely to organize and represent a "radical policy" within the opposition. Rather, it wants to establish a genuine workers' communism in Iran and turn the working class into an active force for socialist revolution. CPI is a result of the process of radicalization of the revolutionary left in Iran that took place because of the 1979 Revolution. This process must continue to the point of a complete rupture from all of the non-proletarian traditions and ideas of the left. In effect, workers' communism must be founded on the basis of a different class (the proletariat). It can not confine itself to mere reform of the practice and theory of the "traditional left". Because the "traditional left" represented the left wing of other classes, its ideas, theories and practices are based on the social realities and political aspirations of these other classes.

Communism must make a complete rupture from this "left". All of the heritage of the non-proletarian left, the left wing of bourgeois-democracy and bourgeois-reformism, must be thrown away. We are not talking about ideas and beliefs alone. There is a long way to go from explaining ideological characteristics of Revolutionary Marxism to establishing workers' communism as a social force. Here we are talking about forming a different social action by a different social class. For

the past few years because of our discussions about the principles of communist practice and our efforts to mobilize the workers, we have attempted to make a different social action possible. We have tried to provide not only the principles of communist practice, but also the proper organizational means for the working class to act as a force for social revolution.

Reviewing problems and shortcomings in this regard, one will notice that foremost are the remnants of the ideas and traditions of the non-proletarian left. Our task is not just to criticize these petty-bourgeois ideas and traditions, but to provide an alternative. This alternative should reflect those political principles and social realities that have never been recognized by the "traditional left". In the first congress of UMC in our theses about the principles of communist practice, we noticed that the organizational theory of the populist left totally ignores communist organizing of workers for the purpose of a communist revolution. Populist left organizing activities among workers are reduced only to the anti-despotism struggle.

In the first part of the following article we will mention another shortcoming of the populist left. It does not have an accurate understanding of the character: of the working class, an objective phenomenon, as it is. To them workers are either the abstract "proletariat" of theoretical books, or "toilers, and the poor". What is missing is an objective, scientific, and realistic picture of workers as a specific social class with its own internal mechanisms and relations - a class that is a result of mass production. In previous discussions we have touched upon some aspects of the objective characteristics of the working class. The first part of this article will be devoted mainly to the same topic. The theses provided here are by no means complete. They include those aspects that are relevant to the discussion. They reflect some important demarcations from the non-proletarian left in regard to organizing activities among workers.

The second part of the article is a brief review of our past organizing activities. Here too, we will concentrate on those aspects that are necessary for a better understanding of our tasks today. The third section will outline our policy for organizing workers. The purpose is (here and in later writings) to provide our activists with a clear and common set of principles regarding methods of organizing workers and the process of expanding our activities among them. This article will provide an outline. Detailed explanations are the tasks of other writings and special radio programs.

Fundamental of Communist Activities Among Workers; Some Basic Facts

1. The working class is not a shapeless mass consisting of the sum of individual elements. Even in the worst conditions some forms of "spontaneous" organization exist. Communist organizing of the working class without recognition of, reliance on, and attempt to extend these forms is impossible.
2. The working class is not a rank without leadership. Under any circumstance there is an internal mechanism of leadership with its own network of leaders, regardless of whether party or non-party organizations are present. The communist party must, in the first place, be the organizer of these actual leaders of the workers.
3. Even when there are no workers' political parties, the working class is a river-bed for a range of active political ideas that are carried on by various strata of vanguard workers. The vanguard workers are the objective basis for political parties' activities among the working class. Thus, the foundation of communist organizing is not based on attracting individual workers to the party. It rather is to organize and solidify active trends with ideas and demands close and similar to those of the communist party. Such trends of radical-socialist and communist workers are already strong among the vanguard workers of Iran. The communist party must become the organizer, and the party mechanism for these trends.

The three above mentioned points are closely related and require explanation. One of the bases of non-proletarian leftist organizational views is a bipolar model of "party-masses". In this view one pole is the "party" - a condensed, disciplined, militant, and ready-for-revolutionary action organization. The other pole is the "masses" of workers an algebraic sum of individual workers, shapeless, isolated, oppressed, naive, and unaware of the causes of its poverty and sufferings. The party knows what the workers' problems are. It will enlighten them convince them that struggle is a must, then attracts them, one by one, to its organizational ranks and to an organized and disciplined struggle. This may seem like a simplified and exaggerated presentation of the organizational theory of the "traditional left" in Iran.

Nevertheless, it reflects the essence of it. The bi-polar model of "party-masses" has been the subject matter of thousands of pamphlets and articles published by the populist left in Iran. Such an understanding of the relationship between the party and the working class is nothing but the reflection of the social existence, the leadership mechanisms and the political struggle of the petty-bourgeoisie. These leftists, under the guise of communism, have advocated the political demands of this stratum.

In order to understand communist organizing of the working class, one must abandon this view. In order to carry out successful communist organizing of the working class, it is necessary to understand the objective characteristics of social classes and their organizing mechanisms. The above-mentioned theses point out that first of all the working class, even in the worst conditions, has some degree of organization. This is natural for a class that is the result of mass production. Once it is understood that workers' struggle did not wait for the workers parties to emerge and that everyday resistance to exploitation is part of workers' class-identity, it can be understood that such struggle will create some forms of organization and class solidarity. These forms have become a permanent social feature of the class. Abandoning individualism and defining self as part of a larger group is not designed by political parties. However, activities of such parties may have a serious impact on their dimensions and characteristics. "Spontaneous" organizations of the working class may take a variety of forms. The Family is the most primitive form of workers' organization. Family to workers mean something quite different from the bourgeois concept. Rather than being formed around ownership, it is formed around a living breadwinner and his or her everyday work. To organize and inform workers, one must understand that we are not dealing with isolated individuals, but with extended working families. This is only the beginning of the spontaneous organization of workers. Manufacturing and division of labor itself is a basis for workers interaction. Despite all of its calculated efforts, the bourgeoisie can not prevent political and social formations based on production on the assembly lines and in various parts and divisions of the factory. People who work together under similar conditions for long hours for someone else and receive wages for it, will necessarily get closer to one another and establish special relations among themselves. The production unit is a starting point for a number of objective solidarities among workers, regardless of whether a union or council exists. One permanent form of organizing within the working class, in which both family and job related relations play an important role is the workers' circle. The network of workers circles itself is a complicated and extensive phenomenon. It can range from a simple socializing

circle up to the ones that include vanguard workers and more or less defined political goals.

One can add to the list of the workers' spontaneous organizational forms. There is a large spectrum of organizational forms between those of particular workers and a political party. This spectrum is not an obstacle to party organizing. Quite to the contrary, the political party of the working class cannot take a step forward without relying on these organizations. They are a part of the class identity of workers and facilitate party organizing of the working class. Other groups, such as peasants and city peddlers who do not have these organizational forms, are unable to present their interests within an extended party organization.

Secondly, the working class is not a shapeless mass. This is the bourgeoisie's perception of the working class that has been adopted by the petty-bourgeois socialist parties. Based on this perception, the populist parties, whenever addressing workers, use a language more attuned to children. The fact is that at any one time the working class is the river-bed of a number of political trends and resistance traditions; from anarchism to unionism, and from reformism to radical socialism. We are not talking about subjective preferences of this or that worker. We are talking about political trends that are riding on various forms of workers' spontaneous organizations and that influences their political consciousness and struggle. These trends are real. They lead to informal struggle fronts and political parties among workers with their own political line, mechanism for organized activities, leadership, and slogans. Such trends too, are a natural and permanent characteristic of the working class. They are the result of the working class's position as an exploited class and a reflection of its attempts throughout history to eliminate or reduce its suffering and pain. These trends are "spontaneous" not in the sense that elements of theory, awareness and thinking have had no impact on their emergence. Nor does it mean that organized trends have not attempted to strengthen the spontaneous movements throughout the life of the working class. But we mean that today, toward the end of 20th century, a party that wants to operate within the working class must consider these trends as a given and existing political character of the working class that is the result of a long history of struggle. Neither unionism nor communism are new traditions or ideas within the working class. Neither unionist nor communist workers are a new and rare phenomena. These are parts of the political struggle process of the working class and are reproduced by the internal mechanisms of the class.

All these trends have considered this "suffering" of the working class. They have emerged as an answer to the "suffering". The whole purpose of these trends has been to motivate the working class to act on their proposed answers. It is important to recognize that, regardless of the presence of political parties and the degree of their influence, various political trends within the working class are ceaselessly active. This is not the result of party organization, but the, starting point for it. A political party that wants to organize workers must know that it is not faced with virgin soil in the same sense that it is not faced with a mass of isolated individuals. The starting point is to organize activities and unite the trends within the working class that are close to the party's line. Organized activities of any party within the working class is formed on the basis of those trends that are close to it. Even the Communist Manifesto was not offered to a working class unaware of socialism. It addressed the existing, socialist trend within the working class. Communists did not introduce socialism to the workers movement. Rather, they constituted vanguard and conscious segment of the existing socialist trend. within the working class.

Thirdly, a working class with its own internal political metabolism and spontaneous organization is not without its own leaders. It is impossible to imagine a working class without its everyday struggle with the bourgeoisie. No struggle can take place without leadership. The bipolar model of "party-masses" completely ignores this. The populist leftist who interprets leadership to be "theory" and "awareness" can not understand that under any circumstances, the workers have their own leaders. They may be good or bad, revolutionary or reformist, may have a lot or a little influence. Nevertheless they act as leaders. They are leaders of that everyday, ceaseless resistance of workers against the bourgeoisie. They are the ever present, and direct leaders of workers. No party can ignore these leaders and try to mobilize the working class on the basis of its "historical mission" and the correctness of its own political line and slogans.

We will draw conclusions for our organizing policies in relation to the above-mentioned points. Here it suffices to say that communist organizing activity among workers necessitates considering all objective characteristics of the working class. In fact, for a real workers' party there is no other way. Spontaneous organizations of our class is a part of the reality of it. A communist organization of the working class must be based on, and consolidated with the spontaneous organizations. The workers' leaders are the backbone of workers' parties. The communist party must be foremost the party of these leaders. Finally, it will deserve the name of communist party only if it is the manifestation, a party organization of the radical-socialist and

communist trend within the working class, and is organized by this trend as a major organizational means in the overall struggle. We will return to these points.

4) Economic struggles are a vital and fundamental part of workers' struggle. It is the main source of gaining class consciousness. Only a party that is involved in, leads, and organizes workers' everyday economic struggle deserves to be called a "workers' party." A common characteristic of all non-proletarian left in Iran is to belittle the workers' economic demands and struggles. Interestingly, this has been justified as fighting against "economism". Maoist organizations have accused the CPI of "economism" because it demands the forty hour work week and unemployment insurance for workers. What is attacked by populists under the guise of "economism" is in effect an attack on the existence of the working class, and its most primary and continuous form of political struggle against the bourgeoisie and capital. In rejecting economic demands of workers populism resorts to the debate between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. It could not be more irrelevant. In the early years of the 20th century in Russia the communist segment of the working class, the vanguard and real leaders of the workers, themselves in the forefront of economic struggle of the working class, were critical of the trend within the working class that ignored the broader horizon of struggle for a change in political power. The Bolsheviks argued that workers must not abandon their role as leaders of struggle for democratisation of the whole society and confine themselves to economic struggle alone. As the society was on the threshold of a major revolution against the Tzar and despotism, this would have left the leadership of the masses in the political sphere in the hands of the bourgeoisie. Thus, it was two trends within the working class that debated over the importance of political struggle. The "anti-economism" struggle of the populist left that has basically substituted "people" for the working class in its theoretical and political views and in its social existence, is nothing but a pseudo-Marxist disguise to deny the independent identity and demands' of the working class.

We reject this "anti-economism" struggle tradition. We interpret the accusation that CPI is "economist" as a sign that we are a workers' party. Economic struggle is an inseparable part of communist struggle. An active presence on this front is part of our definition of communism. Except for revolutionary periods, most of the time the largest amount of the energy of the working class is devoted to the economic struggle. Through this process the leaders will emerge and the workers will recognize their own class identity and power. An organization that can not find a role for itself in the economic struggle of workers, by organizing, and gathering its

leading elements, is better off not to call itself a workers organization. Workers' communism in Iran, particularly CPI, must consider economic struggle as a pivotal activity.

5) Communists have no interest other than those of the working class. The struggle to unite workers in any form, of which the party organization is only one, is an inseparable part of communist activity. A vital factor in communist organizing of workers by the party is a complete rupture with the traditional sectarianism of the petty-bourgeois leftists of Iran. Sectarianism is a characteristic of the populist left's organizing activities. But what is sectarianism? It is not to insist on political differences between various organizations. Neither is it defending and advocating views and policies that one believes in. It is, in general, separating the interests of the working class from those of the party. A sectarian can operate within the working class, not as a member of it, but as a member of a cult that the interests of this cult are different from those of the working class, and are considered of a higher priority. The political basis for sectarianism is the fact that the bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeoisie want workers united only up to a level that does not jeopardize their interests. A comprehensive unity of workers is destructive to these interests and must be avoided. A rebellious petty-bourgeoisie who under disguise of demanding socialism wants, at most, to overthrow a despotic regime or nationalize some banks or industries, and considers the working class an auxiliary force, is not concerned about the unity of the working class per se. To the petty-bourgeoisie the workers organizing and striving for improvement of their economic conditions, unions, and other social rights, is unnecessary and sometimes problematic. This view will treat the "party" as a sacred, above-class organization. To workers, organizing circles, fund-raising, factory committees, unions and councils is vital for the survival of the class itself. To petty-bourgeois socialists these are steps that almost elevate workers to the door step of the "party". Any form of workers organization and struggle, compared to the "party" is backward or transitory. "Party" is a competing alternative. To the extent that communism frees itself from the ideological heritage of petty-bourgeois socialism, it will be able to free itself from organizational sectarianism. To achieve a complete rupture from sectarianism, it is a must to have, a thorough critique of this heritage and, more importantly, a striving to make the party a place for unified action of communist workers. The more our party is deep-rooted among the radical-socialist trend, the less will the negative impact of sectarianism hurt it. Because, unlike "leftist political parties", communist workers are not infected by sectarianism. They appreciate the value of unity within their class. From unity of three workers in a circle, to a gathering of a thousand

workers in general assemblies; from solidarity of workers' families in a small lane, to establishing nationwide unions; from starting a cooperative, to building a party, all are forms of organization that can fulfill the aspirations of communist workers - the goal of a united and solidified working class to struggling against the bourgeoisie. The populist left accused a great majority of workers who were involved in the 1979 Revolution of being "economist" and "anti-organization". Indeed, they were the radical-socialists and communists, who could not tolerate sectarianism of the "leftists".

The communist party must become the guiding force and organizer of the working class, not its sole organization form. The feasibility of a socialist revolution, for which the party is a vanguard, is greater with a large variety of workers' organizations that aim to end the isolation of workers. The communist party is not an alternative to other forms of workers' organisations. It rather strives to expand such forms. For CPI, unity of the working class per se is a goal.

A look at our activities up to now

Once founded, the first major issue that our party faced was the rebuilding of our city units. There were two main concerns:

Incorporating principles learned from a critique of petty-bourgeois practice and enabling our units continuity under a very undesirable security situation and police oppression. Our primary goal was to build workers' organizations. We were not interested in "supporters"; "student", and "militia" organizations. We wanted to organize communist workers and unite them in the communist party. We wanted to establish and solidify the party's roots among workers. Building party cells in the workplace and living quarters of workers, encircled by a network of circles of communist and sympathizer workers, was accepted as the primary form of organization in cities. Moreover, by routine communist activities among workers, a task that every communist cell must be capable of doing, We tried to increase and expand the number of cells. At the same time, to enable the cells to reach a level of "self sufficiency" high enough to engage in all activities, under the general guidance of the party leadership; we sent them radio messages and party publications. Overall, on the basis of a critique of the traditional left, organizational policy, and

after a careful and realistic evaluation of our potential consideration and security issues, we drew general guidelines for a sound organizational policy compatible with our party's communist goals.

Security issues have a decisive impact on the form of our organizational activities. The detached organizing principle was our response to the security problem. According to this plan, to avoid possible damages, we abandoned horizontal connections between cells, composite organizational forms such as factory and borough chapters, and leadership units higher than cells. The cells were required to rely upon their own communist credentials, and clear definitions of routine communist activities. All cells were guided directly by the highest organizing authority of the party. The party leadership would provide its guidelines for agitation and propaganda via the radio and party publications.

A thorough evaluation of the achievements and weaknesses of our organizing activities during the past few years shall be considered on another occasion. Suffice it to say that overall it has been successful. Numerous cells and networks of communist workers and revolutionaries have been established in factories and workers' living quarters. The party got in touch directly with various segments of the working class. A considerable number of confident, discrete, and able communist workers and activists emerged within the ranks of the party. The majority of the party units that were established during this process have a worker texture. To these, we must add groups and circles of workers who, on their own initiative, have organized themselves under general guidelines provided by the communist party's radio. Moreover, during the last three years, a very difficult era, we have had continuity and a better security arrangement.

One can also talk about the problems and shortcomings in detail. Obviously, this is not the proper occasion. Nevertheless, we will devote a little more space here to the problems, because they will provide us some guidance for our future priorities and activities. Problems with respect to organizing activities are, generally, of two types. First, problems related to the implemenation of our organizing policy, in so far as the policy is defined and clarified. Second, problems resulting from a lack of well defined and formulated organizing policy. We confine ourselves just to providing some examples of problems related to the implementation of our policy. In our guidelines we emphasized expanding the spectrum of communist and sympathetic workers and organizing them in variety of ways. In practice, compared to organizing cells and networks of workers, this aspect did not receive proper

attention. A more effective involvement of the leadership would have been necessary to overcome this problem. In our policy, there was an emphasis on the importance of training activists for routine communist activities. Thus freeing them from the need for everyday guidelines from the "above". But, for a period this policy was not followed. We did not provide enough education and training. As a result, there was even an opposite trend. Activists and cells became more and more dependent upon everyday guidelines issued by the radio. Other shortcomings were the natural consequences of the detached units organizing principle. Insufficient propaganda activities at local levels is one example. Without a coherent party organization, capable of assigning experienced agitators to work with circles of vanguard workers, all of our dialogue with these circles took place at a cell level. Occasionally cells have complained about their inexperience and inability. This vacuum should have been filled with a more advanced radio program, propaganda articles in party publications, and especially, by publishing pamphlets on basic principles of communism and the party's line on critical issues. What we have done in this respect has not been sufficient. Also, security problems specific to the detached units organizing principle require more serious attention.

The second type of problems, however, is more important. Thus, the main purpose of this article is to provide a solution for them. For a systematic approach to our organizing policy, it would be appropriate to investigate our policy with respect to the theses provided in the previous section.

1. The pamphlet "Cells" is an indication that from the start we have been aware of the importance of organizing workers in a variety of organizational forms. But a review of our discussions and debates during the past three years reveal that we have not properly emphasized the pivotal role of the spontaneous organizations of workers, particularly circles, as a fundamental basis for communist organizing of workers. Our comrades have pushed cells and their surrounding networks single-mindedly. Even when aware of the necessity to strengthen other organizational forms, they have not paid proper attention to the presence of these forms among workers. One might conclude that socializing and forming comradeship relations with workers, creation of workers circles at all levels, and connecting vanguard and communist workers in a rather "loose" form are not considered by many of our comrades as "organizing" activities; that is, as long as they are not directly related to the cells and networks affiliated with the party. For those comrades the issue still is organizing "our own people", rather than strengthening various organizational forms of the working class and turning them into the means for infiltrating communist

ideas and policies. Another dimension of this problem is the insensitivity of some of our comrades towards attempts by vanguard workers to organize in non-party forms such as fund-raising groups, cooperatives, and unions. Our future policy must seriously consider a variety of forms for organizing the working class.

2. From the beginning we have emphasized the necessity to expand the spectrum of communist workers and particularly the party sympathizers. But it has not received proper attention from the angle that we are introducing today. One may say that so far we have talked about the workers' role and their place in the party's struggle, rather than the party's role and place in the workers' struggle. Today we must perceive the party and communist workers as an inseparable foundation that workers communism in Iran shall be built upon. The communist party must represent the political and organizational manifestation of this large spectrum. The party's power at any one time is as much as the workers' power. The party's power depends on clarity of its views, its internal consolidation, the availability of effective political tactics, solidarity with the masses, and ability to criticize non-communist and non-revolutionary trends within the working class. Our organizing task does not start with organizing communist workers within the ranks of the party. It starts rather with organizing the spectrum of communist workers in the arena of class struggle. Organizing them within the ranks of party then will be the natural result of the progress of this process. We must pay more attention to this aspect in the future.

3. We have had the same problem with respect to the importance of actual leaders of the workers. Generally, in relation to the extension of the party's influence among workers, we have emphasized the importance of the actual leaders of workers. (see e.g. Communist No.2). But an explanation of their place and role both in the life of party and in the mechanism of everyday struggle of the working class - as an organic part of our organizing policy - is rather new. Indeed, it seriously started with discussions about communist agitators. Our recent understanding of their role must result in more widespread practical conclusions.

4. We must substantially increase our sensitivity and activity with respect to the economic struggle. This has been one of our main weaknesses. Again, not that we have not emphasized its "importance", but we have not emphasized the vital and decisive role of this aspect of struggle in turning the party into one of the workers and their actual leaders. Extension of the active participation and intensification of overall sensitivity and awareness of the party with respect to economic struggle

is pivotal in our future organizing policy.

5. Our past documents testify to our awareness of the significance of the unity of the working class and to our demarcation from the traditional left's sectarianism. Yet, some more specific forms of sectarianism still persist in our ranks, particularly when dealing with workers circles that have disagreements with us. We need to devote more time and energy in criticism of this heritage of petty-bourgeois socialism. We need to extend interaction and communication between the party units and all segments of the workers movement.

6. We have made impressive achievements in accommodating our organizational forms to objective conditions and struggle needs of the working class, as well as to the prevailing political environment of society. The living quarters and workplace units and detached organizing units are some examples, yet, this is not enough. One can not claim that joining the communist party has become simple enough for militant workers. Our organizational forms and relationships have not yet made the party a natural and comfortable instrument for political struggle of vanguard workers. We must also take note of the lack of proper attention to the more "open" and informal types, particularly circles, of organizing workers. This will be a top priority in the future.

Outline of our future organizing policy

Our organizing policy will be a corrected continuation of what we have done so far. The main pivots of which are making it a workers party, connecting with actual leaders, relying on cells, and the detached units organizing principle. The following points shall help our comrades to have a more comprehensive and "political" understanding of our organizing policy goals. Also they shall attract our comrades' attention to those aspects that have been forgotten or have not received proper attention. Finally, these points shall help to clarify our future organizing activities and bring about a unified horizon for the party activists. Obviously, we can not go into detail here. Thus, in the remainder of this article we will first outline the main aspects of our current organizing policy, then we will discuss them in more detail. A discussion of specifics however, has to wait for other articles.

The main aspects of our current organizing policy are as follows:

1. Party organizing of workers in the first place depends on the ability of the party to unify and activate the radical and socialist spectrum of vanguard workers. This spectrum is the immediate foundation of the party within the working class and its link to the masses.
2. In the current situation, the proper form of organizing this spectrum is a network of workers circles. The party units shall play the vanguard role within the network.
3. With intensified internal unity of this spectrum and its increased involvement and leadership of the workers' movement the effect of the party's slogans and policies on the movement will drastically increase. This will enable the party to be more effective in leading ongoing struggles.
4. With elevation of the workers' movement and a tilt in the balance of power in favor of the working class in the future, new and more advanced forms of organizing of this spectrum will be necessary. To the extent that the party manages to politicize and solidify this spectrum and consolidate its leadership over the movement today, the organizational linkage of the party with a great majority of workers within the spectrum will be facilitated in the future.
5. The communist party right now is working to attract the most active and politicized leaders of this spectrum to its ranks and turn the party into their organization; that of communist workers.

1. Extending, consolidating, and uniting the spectrum of communist workers

As was mentioned earlier, in working within the working class, the party does not start from zero. It faces its own social counterpart, a spectrum of communist and radical-socialist workers, already present within the working class. Before anything

else, the Communist Party of Iran must link itself to this spectrum and become its organization.

What are the characteristics of this spectrum? By speaking of a communist or a radical-socialist trend within the workers' movement, which is close to the party, we do not mean those who see everything in the way that the party has explained it in its program and other literature. We are not talking about supporters of the party. It is a much larger spectrum of vanguard workers that is identified by the following main characteristics:

a) workers who regard themselves as communist or socialist, based on whatever theoretical analysis, as long as they consider capitalism as the source of workers problem and believe in its overthrow by means of a workers revolution and replacing it with a workers state.

b) workers whose ideal of socialism and a workers state is not a reduced one. Even based on limited observations, they are not ready to accept what is going on in Soviet Union, China, and the like, or the practice of Tudeh Party and its counterparts as examples of socialism.

c) Workers who are actively concerned about the condition of workers and their struggles on all fronts, those who put themselves in the forefront of every just protest of workers, and oppose any policy that would deny workers their rights or denigrate their social and humanitarian values. Those whose major motive in life is to improve the workers living conditions, social respect and political power for the working class.

d) Workers who suffer from the disunity in the ranks of workers. They try, ceaselessly, to find ways to unify workers, reduce competition in their ranks, and increase their class awareness.

These are the general and essential characteristics of the radical-socialist spectrum within the working class. Each of them demarcates the spectrum from a different tendency; from anarchism to reformism and those with illusions about various segments of the bourgeoisie. Despite the generality, these characteristics are sufficient to define this spectrum.

Does such spectrum really exist? Is it not a creature of our imagination? Such a spectrum exists and is very extensive indeed. Today radical socialism and communism is a live and active trend within the working class of Iran. They were distributing writings of Marx and Lenin to workers long before some leftist organizations appeared. These are militant workers who led the working masses in revolution against the Shah's regime. From the first day of the Islamic Republic, while the radical left was dominated by populist illusions, they began to mobilize working class for its independent demands. This spectrum grew rapidly during the 1979 Revolution and included the most active workers. After the revolution it stood up against all "Tudehist" policies of supporting the regime. Instead, it introduced the councils movements, strikes, and sit-ins. This spectrum got closer to the Third Trend to support its radicalism and criticize its sectarianism, adventurism, and its other petty-bourgeois aspects. These are workers who learned the lessons of the 1979 Revolution, advanced their understanding of Marxism, and experienced and exposed the bourgeoisie, petty-bourgeoisie, and their parties in the course of political action. Only a small segment of this spectrum, compared to its large size, has become members and supporters of the Communist Party of Iran. In addition to the substantial lessons of the 1979 Revolution and serious infiltration of communist ideas among militant workers in the past few years, the historical penetration of communism into the working class of the world has contributed to the emergence of this spectrum. The number of the workers who consider themselves communist, demand the overthrow of capitalism and establishment of a workers' state, try to take these ideas into the ranks of the working class in Iran. If not more numerous, certainly is not less than other trends and fractions such as unionists. The radical-socialist communist spectrum is a tangible reality within the Iranian working class. Communist practice and consolidate this spectrum. Up to now communism in Iran has grown from radicalisation of the "left movement" and has represented their interactions at the various levels of political activists. Now the purpose is to become a social force. Generally, the social basis of communism is the working class. But the party's connection with the working class can not be established via anything other than the radical spectrum within the class. In other words, the spectrum of communist workers is a vital and fundamental aspect in the emergence of workers communism in Iran. It is the class counter-part of Revolutionary Marxism and must find its proper place in the development of communism in Iran. While there has been major theoretical, tactical, and programmatic achievements and while the left in Iran has matured and developed to the point that a revolutionary communist party has been established, the direct class basis of communism, the most radical fraction within the working class, has been consolidation very little up to now. It has had a

weak practical connection with the process of development of communism in Iran. This gap and distance must be overcome, in one word, the next step in this process is organizing the actual social basis of the party, the radical and communist spectrum within the working class. The strength of this spectrum is the strength of communism and the party, even if at this stage and for some time to come only a minority of its active elements become members of the party. An extensive organizational link between the party and communist workers will be achieved rapidly under different conditions in the future. What is to be done for now, and due to the existence of the party it could be done on a large scale, is to build and solidify this natural basis for communism and the party within the working class. Our tasks in this regard are specific:

a) Consolidation of political and ideological identity of the spectrum. This is a major pivot of our propaganda task. As a result the communist workers must become aware of their identity, as distinct from other trends such as anarchism, unionism, and Tudehism. They must learn the theory of proletarian revolution and the lessons of the international struggle of the working class. Their Marxist ideology must be refined. In particular against decades of revisionist misleadership, this spectrum must more clearly recognize the internationalist character of the working class (as distinct from nationalistic motives) and socialist demands (as distinct from populist and stagist ideology which has been prevalent among the Iranian left in recent years) They must be able to offer ideological and political responses to the other trends, particularly reformists and revisionists. As a result of our work, they must see more clearly the horizon of proletarian revolution, its steps and fronts; and be able to better picture it for other workers. In summary, Marxism and its criticisms of and disputes with revisionism, and the worldwide lessons of proletarian revolution must be taken to this spectrum.

In later steps, when consolidation and self awareness has reached a more advanced level, the characteristics of this spectrum will become more specific. It must more and more identify itself with the party, and vice versa. It must consider the party as an organization, a mechanism and instrument of its own and be involved in it. It must consider the party's media as its own and follow it with care and sensitivity and adopt the party's slogans and policies.

b) The weight of this spectrum in workers struggle must increase. Politically, this means arming communist workers with proper and clear tactics, slogans and policies about various issues of the class struggle in all spheres. They must feel that

they have answers to the issues of the ongoing struggle. The party's sensitivity and quick reaction in analysing problems of the workers movement, and its timely stands on issues of the ongoing struggle will greatly enhance the position of communist workers among the masses of the working class and in the class struggle. In practice, this needs, foremost, uniting these workers so that they deal with issues in a unified manner (we will return to this point). Secondly, we need to sum up our activities of mass organizing of workers (both for action and in everyday affairs) and make it available to communist workers. By the same token, achievements and experiences of Iranian vanguard workers must be summed up and provided the workers of the world. Thirdly, these workers must take the initiative in establishing contacts, exchanging views, and cooperating with other militant trends, particularly the unionists.

c) The organizational form for this spectrum must have specific characteristics. It can not remain solely or mainly a political trend that relies upon spontaneous traditions. Such internal unity will be temporal, accidental and amateurish. Organizing within the party is one possible solution. But this is not the whole answer. Plus, it will not happen immediately. The issue at stake is those non-party forms of organization that are compatible with the ideological position, fighting ability, and organizing traditions of this spectrum on the one hand, and the political balance, and the police pressure of a bourgeois regime on the other hand. The most effective form in such situations, we believe, is that of networks of workers circles. We must establish a network of communist workers' circles. We will elaborate in the following, section.

2. Network of workers circles is the proper way of organizing large numbers of communist workers in the current situation

Uniting of the spectrum of communist workers can take a variety of forms. Organizing them in the party and its networks is one of them. But here, a large number of workers are concerned. we must concentrate on organizing of workers circles. Only a vast and united network of circles of communist workers will provide the proper basis for a more advanced and specific form of organization.

As was mentioned earlier, circles are a "spontaneous" form vanguard workers' organizations, in the sence that they are not a result of the organizational plans of political parties. It is a well established tradition and a natural part of the relations

within the working class. "Spontaneous", however, does not mean that they will emerge automatically. In fact the vanguard workers of Iran, suffering from the most brutal police state and being denied any form of legal organization for decades, have consciously adopted and established this form. For European workers unions are the common organizational form of struggle. For Iranian workers it is these circles. These circles do not have written by-laws, hierarchy, and blueprints. Rather, they are a network of workers that on the basis of common class interests, comradeship, mutual trust, and natural leadership of vanguard and experienced workers get together. They cover a variety of tasks, from teaching young and inexperienced workers to increasing the political and class consciousness of members, to active leadership of workers' protests and strikes.

We must use the mechanism of these circles to unite this spectrum right away. It is worthwhile to note that we are not necessarily talking about circles who officially support the party. Networks of circles may be close to the party in varying degrees. In each circle there may be members of the party as well as those workers who still have some differences with us. The important point is to make these circles the proper mechanism for unity and activity of workers who have a radical socialist view and favor progressive policies for the workers' movement. Joining of these circles, or elements within them, to the party then depends on how good our mobilizing and organizing activities have been. Thus, our point of departure is not the degree of organizational closeness of these circles to the party, it is rather their communist character and the fact that they will solidify the spectrum and facilitate its active participation in the workers movement.

Organizing circles of communist workers is the focal point of our organizational policy. It is around this point that our party organizing policy - establishing party cells of workers in their living quarters and workplaces, and active involvement in the ongoing struggle and so on and so forth - will be properly located. It requires another occasion to discuss practical specifics of establishing and expanding these circles. Here, it suffices to bring up the following points:

- a. In establishing these circles, we must heavily rely upon the existing traditions amongst vanguard workers. There is no need for by-laws and prepared platform. The characteristics of communist workers, mentioned in earlier pages, are not a prerequisite for membership in these circles. They are rather the outcome of our educational activities in these circles. In reality a number of militant workers who, with varying degrees of ideological and

political awareness, consider themselves communist will interact with each other. Our first task is to consciously provide and continue these interactions. In each circle there will be workers with various levels of class consciousness. Some will be at the center and some at the periphery. Ideological struggle within the circle will continue in order to upgrade the ones on the periphery.

b. These circles are not official units of our organization, regardless of how well aware they are of their closeness to the party. This is advantageous to us as well. It will facilitate their continuity under the current situation and provide flexibility in working with other workers. Only a small percentage of the most active elements of these circles will end up in the party ranks. There should be no open and formal declarations. Even within the group there is a limited awareness of the purposeful character of the circle. The limit depends upon the level of politicization and activeness of its members. These circles must be founded and grow on the basis of natural relationships of workers. What distinguishes these circles from other forms of interaction among vanguard workers is not their appearance, but their political content. This shall be achieved by the work of our comrades and active elements within the circle.

c. A network of circles is not limited to the living quarters or workplaces, although naturally there will be spontaneously some concentrations in such places. We must try to extend the range of the network as much as possible. A network includes a number of these concentrations. There must be continuing interaction among them.

d. The party's ability to lead these networks is derived from its political hegemony, not its organisational authority - which does not make sense for this format. The network of circles of communist workers must be the general ground for activities of our propagandists and agitators.

e. Circles, compared to other forms that unite communist workers, are premature and limited organizations. In the current situation, however, this is the only real possibility for communist organizing of the working class on a large scale. The network of circles is a vital starting point. Iranian workers, who suffer from a lack of union traditions and communist party organizing,

will be able, with some effort, to preserve and continue this form under the existing political constraints of our society. Circles are an adequate response to the immediate organizational needs of communist workers. Moreover, they are much more resistant, in comparison with the more advanced forms, to police pressure and infiltration. This is due to the fact that they rely upon, and are a part of, the natural relations of workers. Without this minimum organizational form, the communist workers are unable to build and continue the more advanced forms on a large scale. Also, mentality of today's communist workers is such that the inter-dependence between them and the communist party has as yet to be clarified and established. More advanced and professional forms of workers' organizations require a tradition of deep-rooted organized communist mobilizing within the class. Finally, the network of circles is the best possible way of enabling the spectrum of communist workers to move to the forefront of workers struggle in the shortest possible time. Building of such networks will quickly generate an unofficial communist leadership for the workers' movement.

3. Party organizing; cells and circles

The question that immediately arises is whether our emphasis on circles as the main form of organizing activity means subordination of party organizing and limiting of the growth of party and the building of party cells in workplaces and living quarters of the workers. We believe the answer is no. By emphasising a more loose organizing of communist workers, particularly the network of circles, we have in effect provided a real basis for a faster growth of party units. Our efforts to increase party cells will be much more fruitful as a result of our emphasis on building circles.

Party organizing of vanguard workers depends upon our overall influence in the working class and the degree of consolidation and activeness of the spectrum of communist workers. Organizing the network of circles will serve the latter. We will not be able to establish a large and strong organisation within a dispersed and passive spectrum of radical workers. The party will take a small percentage of the most active leaders of the spectrum in its ranks. One of our shortcomings so far has been the lack of adequate work to generally unite the spectrum. This has the result

of limiting our cells and isolating them from masses of workers.

More importantly emphasizing work on building networks of circles of communist workers will bring a qualitative, in addition to the quantitative, improvement in our work with respect to the party cells. They will acquire new characteristics and capabilities. They will move closer to becoming an able comprehensive. Obviously, these workers who will realize the necessity of joining the party and who are capable of performing the tasks of member, must be organized into the cells which are the building blocks of the party. These cells must become, or try to become, the organizing and leading elements in the network of circles. Elsewhere we have talked about the cells being "encircled" by a large strata of sympathetic workers. Here we are talking about the cells being in the context of network of circles of communist workers. Building of these networks is as important as the building of the cells. The combination of the two will make extensive communist activity by the party a possibility. Without the chain links of the circles, the cells will be isolated, ineffective, and will suffer from a lack of proper ground for activity. Without the cells, it is practically impossible to build the network of circles. Even if such circles exist, it is not possible to attract them toward a clear communist policy and practice. In our organizing policy, cells are organizations within the network of circles. Cells are units of party organization, at the same time that they are centers of the vanguard workers in the network of circles. Members of cells are also members of the circle. Their responsibilities, however, are more than those of the workers who are not members of the party. Cells are central in bringing circles closer to the party, and the party closer to the circles. Cells are consciously trying to extend and activate the circles and clarify their political and ideological views. We want the cells to take the initiative in establishing circles, and upgrading themselves to the level that will enable them to exercise political authority over the circles.

An ideal picture in the current situation would be a large number of communist workers with the above mentioned characteristics, interacting via a network of circles. This network will allow radical communism to become an active and identifiable trend among workers, at least in major industries and large industrial centers. This will enable vanguard and communist workers to participate more actively in, and to lead the protest movements. The issues and aspects of class struggle in general, and the ongoing events in the workers movement in particular, should be discussed in these circles. Circles are schools for political and ideological education of workers. In these circles there are members of the communist party, as well as communist workers who still are not quite familiar with the party or still

have some differences with it on specific issues. All these views and positions should be discussed. Naturally the communist party's views, as a communist trend with views close to those of the workers, has a special place. These views will be supported or criticized in varying degrees by various members. At the same time, the network will provide a mechanism for joint action of communist workers in the ongoing struggle. The number of strikes and protests in which the network plays a vanguard and leading role should increase. Step by step, the self-awareness of the network, as a trend representing the progressive and radical demands of the working class, should increase. And it should move closer to the communist party and its party organizational form.

The task of our comrades in these cells is to explain and advocate the party's views and positions. Our comrade must make sure that circles learn of the party's views. They must distribute party literature within the circles and organize sessions to discuss the literature. They must make sure to collect and sum up the views and observations expressed by the workers and share them with the party. Also, they must work especially on those workers who are more progressive and closer to the party.

Cells capable of such activities are naturally more than simply units in living quarters and workplaces. Not all of the party cells are able to perform these tasks. In any case, none of them will be merely on the periphery of the circles. All cells should be organized party centers within the network. All cells should try to increase the party's influence and direct the networks toward adopting the party's line. In summary, in an ideal situation a cell must perform the following:

- a. Establish and expand the network of circles of communist workers. Unite and connect the vanguard and radical workers within these circles.
- b. Emphasize and identify the political character of the spectrum, radical and revolutionary socialism, by means of continuous educational work - teaching the fundamentals of Marxism and communist practice.
- c. Attempt to increase the influence of communist workers among the working class masses and to consolidate their leadership over the ongoing struggle.

d. Increase the sensitivity of the spectrum of communist workers to the views of CPI, continuously advocate and explain the party's policy and line on various aspects of the class struggle. Bring the spectrum closer to the party on political, ideological, and practical issues. e. Distribute party literature in workers circles and organize discussion sessions about the literature.

f. Inform the party about communist workers and their views, tendencies, and problems.

e. Prepare the potentially ready and active vanguard elements for joining the party.

4. Detached organizing, cells, and circles

In the present period the principle of detached organizing is still valid for cells and other party units. As far as the security concerns remain the same, in order to protect workers and activists and insure continuity, detached organizing will remain on our agenda. Party cells too, must follow this principle.

Detached organizing, however, does not apply to the network of communist workers' circles. They must be built on the basis of the natural relations of workers, and at the level of secrecy that is already a tradition among vanguard workers. There is no limit on the expansion of the networks. This does not mean that everybody can join circles or even know of them. It means that circles are not limited to a particular living quarter or workplace. Circles have no pre-defined size. They are not even limited to a single city or industry. Indeed, the network should welcome new additions from different industries. Each member should try, based on personal contacts, to bring in new communist workers from other sectors. Nobody - members or circles - should have exact information about the extent of the networks in other living quarters or factories. It is possible that some of the more active elements in the network will know there are some comrades in this factory or that city. But each circle's direct knowledge of the actual number and names of members of other circles must be limited and confined to the requirements of the struggle. Each circle is connected to others through those members who have established their own

personal contacts. Circles do not establish "organizational contracts" with each other. Rather, they will continue their contacts on the basis of the ordinary friendly relations among workers. It is important that these relations be lively and active, such that they provide political metabolism for a united view and action among the circles. These circles do not constitute an "organization", regardless of how politically organized the content of their activities might be. No worker related to these circles should consider herself an official, member of the party or an organization. They are part of a tradition of workers' friendships and a trend. Specifically circles of communist workers should not have any party affiliations (to the communist party) and should not present themselves as such. Their safe-guard against security problems is to interwine with, form ordinary relationships with, workers and to rely on the ethics of working class struggle. Once there is a change in the balance of power in favor of the working class, once the protest movement surges and revolutionary crisis heightens, these networks will naturally turn into an organized faction of radical-socialists within the working class and will be sympathetic to the party.

Instead of a formal and organizational interpretation of the purpose of the networks of circles, we shall advocate a political and militant one. The networks build a unique tradition of struggle among workers. Those who join must recognize that they have committed themselves as a revolutionary militant workers to a specific tradition and tasks. Some aspects of the tasks include attempt to increase their own, as well as other's, political awareness; to unite the class; to affect workers' struggle; to fight against anti-worker Islamic trends, to neutralize opportunists and revisionists, such as the Tudeh Party; to fight against individualism, pessimism, and passivism in the ranks of workers.

A network of circles may include a number of party cells in different factories and living quarters. This does not negate the principle of detached organizing. The principle deals with organization and security, not the pattern of living and social activity. Right now party cells interact within the workers' movement. Of course cell must follow principle of detached organizing within the network of circles. Party affiliation of a comrade and a cell must be kept secret, even from other comrades and cells within the same network (except when declaration of affiliations is necessary for those workers who are in the process of joining the party). Within the network, a party cell or comrade participates in the capacity of a network member. Supporting the party within the network is natural and does not, per se, reveal the affiliations of a comrade. Within circles, our comrades must keep the relationship

among themselves at this level. Each party member, when faces a comrade from another cell, will act like no more than a militant worker, sympathetic to the party. They have no responsibilities other than those of the vanguard elements of the circle. There is no need for establishing a special relationship, beyond that of sympathizers, among comrades from various cells. No cell shall consider the network of circles as its "own" domain, even if it is the active leader in establishing and expanding it. To assure continuation of the network, it is necessary to rely upon the ordinary relations and the tradition of spontaneous organizing among workers. Following these principles should minimize all risks.

5. Circles of communist workers and involvement of the party in the ongoing struggle

Growth of circles of communist workers should provide a real and appropriate means for the party's effective involvement in the workers ongoing struggle. In discussing the party's role in workers' struggle so far, we have emphasized one pivotal aspect: the importance of actual leaders of workers. An organization hopes for a meaningful leadership of the protest movement only if the actual leaders and mobilizers of workers have joined it. Without these leaders, no secret cell or center can lead a movement. That is why nowadays most workers' protests are not led by political organizations, but by independent and influential individuals. These individuals may be sympathetic to an organization, but seldom derive their leadership authority from that organization. Whatever leadership is being exercised in the ongoing protest movement is mainly provided by the existing workers circles. We must recognize this fact and base our work on it. The communist workers are right now the vanguard the protest movement. They lead the movement by relying mainly on their own individual wisdom and initiative. Organizing the spectrum of communist workers in a network of circles, activating the circles, discussing proper methods of leadership and advocating broader joint actions among the circles are some of the best ways to strengthen communist policy in the ongoing struggle. We do not wish to stamp our party's emblem on the worker's protest movement. Rather, we want these movements to benefit from an increasing amount of communist leadership. We want a wider acceptance of our slogans and policies by the leaders of this movement. We want the communist workers to lead the movement whether or not they are members or sympathizers of the party. Prior to considering the leadership of the movement by the party, we must consider the leadership of the movement by the spectrum of radical-socialist and communist workers. This is the

first step. Converting the two leaderships into one, that is creating a situation in which a communist leadership becomes a leadership according to the standards, slogans, and policies of the communist party, requires us in our work to bring the spectrum of communist workers closer to the party. For involvement in the ongoing struggle of workers on a large scale there is no shortcut that could ignore this spectrum. To the extent that party units such as cells and their connections include actual communist leaders, our involvement will be direct, organizational, and complete. Wherever workers who lead the movement rely upon their own understanding of our slogans and policies, but have no organizational links to the party, our involvement is indirect and political. In its guidelines and directions concerning the ongoing struggle, the party should address the entire spectrum of communist workers. We will try to make sure every communist worker that joins the struggle is informed about the party's views and positions. We will try to convince as many workers as possible to the correctness of our views, and act on the basis of these views. At the same time, we should utilize our potential and social capabilities to directly provide a communist leadership for the movement wherever possible. Today, however, this is rather unlikely. It is more likely that communist workers generally sympathetic to the party, on their own initiative but under the general political guidance of the party, will participate in the movement. We must systematically strengthen and organize such participation. This purpose will be served primarily by expanding the network of circles through strengthening joint actions among communist workers, and by bringing these workers politically closer to the party. Once this is achieved we do not need to be worried about our organization's activism and the party cells' lack of influence. Being in the forefront of the struggle is an everyday affair for our comrade workers in these circles. They know all the tricks and secrets of the above-ground activities. What we can add is the political line, clarified ideology, and power of action by linking those comrades via circles. This will enable the party to work closely with them. In this process the party units should become more effective and include more workers in their ranks, while communist and militant workers should advance their political awareness. Our involvement, as a leading party in the workers protest movement should follow this process.

6. Growth of party organization

It was mentioned earlier that the priority of establishing non-party circles of communist workers does not mean contracting, or even de-emphasising expansion

of party cells. Contrary to that, we are looking for a real way to expand the party organization. As long as we ignore the trends and functions within the working class and consider workers as individuals our growth will be very slow, and more importantly, we will not necessarily attract leaders of workers to the party. We do not reject working with individual workers. We believe the only way to attract individual workers here and there to the party, is to connect them to a militant group within the class, thus activating them as parts of a lively workers' movement.

In our everyday work in factories and living quarters we come across many workers who are inexperienced and not very active but who have a lot of interest and potential. Our policy is not to elevate everyone of them to the level of a party member. It rather is to lead them into the current of class struggle, and to increase their political awareness. The network of circles of communist workers is the proper place for the education of these workers. On the other end of this trend, the communist party should attract the most active, experienced and progressive elements of the class into its ranks. Therefore, our organizational growth is a function of the expansion of this spectrum. By working routinely with every worker in factories and boroughs, we consciously attract new members to the spectrum. In this way we drastically enhance our ability to organize workers at various levels. In a narrow sense, the party is the organization of actual leaders. In a broad sense it is the political manifestation of the spectrum of communist workers. It is the organization of all workers who somehow follow communist views and policies. Every worker should find a place in our organization.

Therefore, organizing activities of the party cells are varied and extended. They include attracting inexperienced workers into the circles, attracting influential leaders to the party. Organizing routine activities of the circles, managing joint action of leaders of the protest movement in different factories, and organizing activities of party members within the circles. Our success is not measured by the growth of the party organization alone. Expansion of an organized spectrum of communist workers, routine and regular activities of circles, and strengthening of the political and practical links of these circles to the party must also be considered.

7. Some points about the problems of transitional periods

In adopting this new organizing policy, party cells and units will face certain issues. Some of the cells are not capable enough to play a leading role in the networks,

while some others already are doing so. Establishing a proper relationship between the expansion of the circles and the detached organizing principle of cells requires a well-thought-out transitional plan. There will be a need for re-organization in some units. Most of these problems should be resolved by means of direct contact of our comrades with the party leadership. We do not intend here to provide specific guidelines for these problems. Yet, it is helpful to mention some general points:

a. Cells with limited ability, while contributing routine work in the living quarters and work places, can participate in the network as a simple circle. Establishing extended circles is on the agenda for these cells who are capable of handling it.

b. In many instances the leading center of a network is not necessarily one of our party cells. Influential and experienced workers with no party affiliations, or a combination of these and party members, may become the leading center. This is not a problem. In fact this is a natural and necessary mechanism for the organizing approach that we have so far discussed. We must try to fully inform and convince these influential workers about our views. Attracting comrades of their calibre to the party is very important. We must emphasize, however, that their membership in the party must not result in the slightest decrease in their activities as actual leaders.

c. The leading centers of networks are new party cells, different from those in living quarters and work places. They are the embryonic forms of the party's leadership committees of factories, sectors, and boroughs. We must try hard to establish cells capable of being leading centers. These centers must be in close contact with the party leadership, regardless of whether they are party cells, have no affiliations with the party or are a combination of both. Their views and observations are very special to us and will definitely be reflected in various levels of party structure.

d. All comrades, particularly in urban areas, should study and understand the principles of organizing workers in these circles. The ongoing experiences should be summarized and should be provided to other comrades by the Voice of the Communist Party radio and the 'Komonist' newspaper. However, a significant part of the education of our comrades should take place at the site of action by observing and analysing the behaviour of experienced, actual leaders of workers. What the party activists must learn from the spectrum of communist workers is no less significant than what they should teach these workers.

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The organizational form for the spectrum of communist workers that we are advocating today are no doubt primitive and transitory. In the process of deep-rooted systematic work within the working class, the party must attract and organize these workers into its own ranks. The primitive and transitory steps, however, are a prerequisite for fulfillment of such a goal. Once we have successfully provided a political identity for the radical workers, united them, and have strengthen their political and practical linkage to the party, then we should move to large scale organizing of committees and other units in factories and boroughs, especially if there is relative improvement in the political climate of the society. Then the task should be greatly facilitated, because of the party's political influence over the spectrum. The pivot of our new organizing policy which is the main point of this article, is to consolidate the position of radical and revolutionary communism within the working class, by forming a rather organized spectrum of communist workers. This is a prerequisite for any large scale party organization.

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Translator unknown