

TOUFAN



THE ORGAN OF THE IRANIAN MARXIST-LENINIST ORGANIZATION OF TOUFAN

امکان سازمان مارکسیستی توفان

Oct. 77

WORKERS, OPPRESSED PEOPLES AND NATIONS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

No. 120

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THE FIRST ENGLISH EDITION

121 Capel Road, Forest Gate, London, E. 7, England

TOUFAN AND THE NEWLY RISING REVISIONISM

The Iranian supporters of the "theory of the three worlds," in order to cover up their service to the sanctity of the Dollar and the gods of the "second world," and yet even worse to their fascist puppets like the Shah, accuse the Toufan Organization of reconciliation with social-imperialism.

It is characteristic of opportunism and revisionism to distort the realities, and these newly rising Iranian opportunists are no exception to this rule. Toufan Organization was born basically out of the struggle with "left" and right revisionism, and all the way throughout its existence, it has never ceased in struggling against revisionism and its offspring: social-imperialism. The ink on the paper of our Organization titled "The Newly-Rising Russian Imperialism," is still fresh--but the talk is not over struggle with social-imperialism, the talk is over this: that every organization or party which regards Marxism-Leninism as its guiding light and is faithful to revolution and revolutionary struggle, every organization or party that has not given way to the reconciliation of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie and the fascist reaction, to the reconciliation of the oppressed masses with the imperialists of the "second world"; every organization or party that has not gone under the "protective umbrella" of the U.S. animalistic imperialism and has not joined in with their revisionist theory, is a "friend" of social-imperialism even if it is its real enemy indeed.

The supporters of the "theory of the three worlds," these newly rising opportunists, should know that with slander and accusation, with threat and scare tactics, they are not able to find a place for their worn-out and anti-revolutionary "theory."

THE NATURE OF "THE THEORY OF THE THREE WORLDS"

The supporters of the "theory of the three worlds" know only this: to continuously and repeatedly beat on the heads of others like a hammer the differentiation of the world into "three worlds" so as to sink it in their brains. You explain and give them reasons that the differentiation of the world into "three worlds" is not scientific, does not have any class characteristic, does not recognize the fundamental contradictions of today's world, and in itself it is full of contradictions; but, they have nothing to do with your explanations and reasonings, they close their ears to your talks and their eyes to your writings, and instead, again in reply, they repeat what they have stated before to a boring degree, and it is this: that the world has three worlds and there is no talk over that.

For years, to propagate and advocate their "theory of the three worlds," they have blackened thousands of pages, and everywhere they have advertised their views, but if you write your view in rejection of the "theory of the three worlds," they accuse you of bringing the differences to the eyes of the people; if, based upon the principles of Marxism-Leninism, you show the incorrectness of this "theory," they label you as "dogmatic," "leftist," and even "trotskyist." This method of their work in the history of the communist movement is not unprecedented. Opportunists and revisionists have always accused Marxist-Leninists of being "dogmatic" and "trotskyist." Didn't the opportunists of the Second International accuse Lenin repeatedly of dogmatism? Didn't revisionists call Stalin dogmatic? Did Krushchev and his clique have any fear of giving labels of "dogmatic" and "trotskyist" to the struggle of Marxism-Leninism with modern revisionism in which the Party of Labor of

Albania and the Communist Party of China were in the forefront? Now, too, the supporters of the "theory of the three worlds" place the same labels on the real Marxist-Leninists.

The supporters of the "theory of the three worlds," who themselves have thrown the task of revolution out of their agenda, call you anti-revolutionary; those who have reconciled with imperialism and the world reaction, accuse you of "reconciliation" with revisionism and social-imperialism. But, these labels do not change the anti-revolutionary and anti-Marxist nature of the "theory of the three worlds."

The interesting thing is that the supporters of the "theory of the three worlds," because of the closeness of their "theory" with revisionism--and this closeness lies totally in revising the principles of Marxism-Leninism--seek help from the same method of work that revisionists have always used in order to justify revisionism. Revisionists, always justifying their revisionism, resort to the changes that have taken place in the world and to the creative nature of Marxism, and thus they claim their views are corresponding with the new existing conditions and their revisionism is the manifestation of "creativity" in Marxism-Leninism. The supporters of "the theory of the three worlds," also stick tight to the factors of change on the international plane and recognize the differentiation of the world into three worlds as completely corresponding with the existing developments. An Iranian supporter of this "theory" writes: "the idea of the three worlds scientifically clarifies all those developments that have taken place in the balance of forces on the international scale." His collaborator in one of the industrial countries says the same thing also: "In every historical era the communists must revise their tasks. We too, today, must search anew for how

and when the proletariat will seize power. Nothing has changed the fact that the proletariat will seize power, but, [how meaningful and revisionist is this but!--Toufan] from the point of view of tactics, the path that the proletariat takes toward the revolution, based upon the specific conditions of the world, must be once again analyzed and reevaluated."

What is this "specific condition of the world"? First of all, the differentiation of the world into three worlds of which "today its correctness has been proven" and there is no more why and how. Secondly, the competition of the two superpowers which has taken all of the world contradictions under its shadow and inevitably will end in a world war, and that among the two superpowers, the Soviet Union is the main enemy of the people of the world. Last, it is the struggle of the "third world" countries against the two superpowers, the countries that in the "specific condition of the world" today are the motive force of the development of society, the main force against imperialism and the two superpowers.

Now, let's see, in "the specific conditions of the world" today, what road the supporters of "the theory of the three worlds" point to the proletariat to take. This road is drawn in a document by the central committee of one of the parties of the industrial countries and its general lines are as follows:

This document first reminds us that the struggle against the two superpowers (and not against imperialism), all in all and directly, has no socialist objectives, and this should be taken with the meaning that the socialist revolution, which according to Lenin is one of the characteristics of our time, and moreover of an industrial country, falls out of the agenda for

the proletariat. Further, the document continues:

"In the external front, the proletariat engages in unity with the bourgeoisie [imperialist--Toufan] in order to safeguard the independence of the country against the threat of our country being controlled by one of the two superpowers. [Emphasis is ours--Toufan.]

"The struggle on the internal front must be conducted in such a way that the front against the two superpowers can be strengthened. This front should in no condition be weakened by the effect of the struggle on the inside front.... today, all the activities of Marxist-Leninists, first of all, are aiming at strengthening the front against the superpowers."

A little further, it goes on as such:

"Today in our country it is the bourgeoisie that in the front against the two superpowers, decides about the situation of the country, he commands the army, the running of the country is in his hands, he holds the power in his hands, and he represents the country outside and determines the foreign policy. For this reason the proletariat, until he establishes his own state power, uses the state power of the bourgeoisie against the outside enemy."

These few sentences alone, that have been taken out of an official document, show clearly that the proposed line of this party, is not the line of the proletariat, but is the line of the imperialist bourgeois, and is the line of pulling the proletariat away to follow this bourgeoisie, and to safeguard the economy, policy, system, and ideology of this bourgeoisie. The proletariat, because of the existence of the two superpowers and in fact because of the existence of social-imperialism, "engages in unity" with its own bourgeoisie, stoops to its state power,

strengthens its army which is supposed to stand in front of the Soviet superpower, and tries its best so the internal front, which is headed by the bourgeoisie, does not become weakened. This means that the proletariat not only abandons the struggle for seizing state power, but also overlooks the struggle for trade unionist rights, as much as possible, in order not to weaken the internal front--which means not to weaken the bourgeoisie.

Such is the line of that party which calls itself "Marxist-Leninist," and has based this line on the "theory of the three worlds." It is obvious that this line has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung Thought. It is the view of the supporters of the "theory of the three worlds" that the entering of the Soviet Union in the camp of the imperialist countries, and its competition with the U.S. superpower for expansion of influence in the world (which inevitably ends in a world war), is sufficient for the downcasting of all the fundamental contradictions of today's world, or at least the contradiction between the two superpowers which overshadows all the others in the world, and that socialist revolution won't be on the agenda for the world proletariat. The "national" revolution would replace it, and therefore the era of "national" revolutions takes the place of the era of socialist revolutions. Great changes happen in the allies of the proletariat, and the imperialist bourgeoisie converts from the main enemy of the industrial country to its ally. The "third world" in the "theory of the three worlds" applies to underdeveloped countries. The states in power in these countries, almost all, more or less, have visible or invisible ties with imperialism and especially with the two superpowers, and their regimes, if not fascist, are extremely reactionary. Yes, this "third world" becomes the motive

force behind the development of today's society, etcetera, etcetera. It is obvious that all this is nothing but departing from Marxism-Leninism and falling in another newly risen revisionism and opportunism that the "theory of the three worlds" is its succinct and specific expression.

The "theory of the three worlds," with emphasis on social-imperialism as the main enemy of all the people of the world, must safeguard imperialism, and especially U.S. imperialism, from the upsurge of attack by the proletariat and the revolutionary masses. It must take the responsibility of securing the leadership, and safeguarding the areas under the influence of U.S. imperialism around the world, and must keep in power those fascist and reactionary regimes that are puppets of imperialism. Isn't this "creative" Marxism of the supporters of the "theory of the three worlds" expelling Marxism-Leninism and replacing it with revisionism and opportunism? Has the change from socialism to imperialism in the Soviet Union and its entering in the camp of the imperialist countries as a superpower messed up all the principles of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the masses, and from among them, the class struggle for proletarian revolution?

Comrade Mao Tsetung held that "either revolution prevents war, or war ends with revolution." From this sentence it can be clearly understood that communists must seriously prepare the revolution and bring it to stage of action and complete it. Such a revolution not only ends the national and class oppression but also prevents war, which is one of the bitter results of imperialism. Lenin's teaching in this field is also clear and concrete:

"The duty of the representative of the revolutionary proletariat, is the preparation of the proletarian world revolution, which is the only

way out of the calamities of a world massacre... this is internationalism, this is the duty of every internationalist, the duty of every revolutionary worker and genuine socialist."

The supporters of the "theory of the three worlds" forget this teaching of Lenin and do not even give heed to the teaching of Mao Tsetung, which they claim they follow. They are sitting, waiting for war, so first they would fight for "national independence," and then convert the national war to revolutionary war. They have thrown out the first part of Mao Tsetung's teaching in regards to "revolution prevents war," and have stuck themselves to the second part, that says, "war ends with revolution." They do not even carry out their international duties, because the international duty of every revolutionary worker, every party of the class of the proletariat, is preparation of revolution in one's own country, and on a worldwide scale.

Without a doubt, the people of the world, and in their forefront, the proletariat, want revolution, a revolution that would liberate them from every national and class oppression. Such a revolution is directed against imperialism, especially the two super-powers, and against all the allies of imperialism and social-imperialism around the world. It is the duty of all the Marxist-Leninist organizations and parties to welcome this ideal of the people. It is only through fulfilling this duty that it is possible to free the proletarian class from the yoke of revisionism and organize them, gather the allies of the proletarian class around it, and, with resorting to all forms of struggle, especially armed struggle, start the final fight for defeating the forces of imperialism and reaction. Persistence in fulfilling this duty, and every kind of success in it, will strengthen the world peace. The point that today, the factor of war grows faster than the factor of revolution,

changes nothing in the course of fulfilling this duty. If, in the process of fulfilling this task, war occurs, the proletariat and the people will convert it into a revolutionary war.

Exposing the "theory of the three worlds" is not isolated from the struggle against imperialism and even social imperialism. The genuine Marxist-Leninists fulfill their revolutionary duty in the face of the newly risen opportunism and revisionism as they fulfilled, and are fulfilling, their duty in the face of modern revisionism.

COMMUNISM CAN NEVER BE ANNIHILATED

The heads of the Christian Democratic Party of Germany, on September 26, presented to the commission of constitutional law their demand for banning the activity of the Communist Party of Germany (M-L)--KPD/ML.

The Shah of Iran in one of his newspaper interviews condemned the heads of the European state for lacking the capability of running their own countries, otherwise like him, with establishing a fascist and blood-sucker regime they would have left no place for human beings to breathe. Now, the heads of the Christian Democratic Party want to remind the Shah that Hitler was a German and they, too, have the "capability" of running their own country.

For a long time now, in Germany laws and regulations are made in order to limit the rights and freedom of the people, in order to fascisize the society, and extensive propaganda has been waged for the benefit of fascism. The bourgeoisie with the dangerous crisis that it is facing, is not any longer even able to rule the society with the appearance of the bourgeois democracy, and has to slowly take off the mask of phony

democracy and show some corners of its fascist dictatorial face. The demand of the heads of the Christian Democratic Party is in this direction, and first of all, it is a direct attack on the German proletarian class and its vanguard, the KPD(M-L).

The KPD(M-L) is the party of the proletariat, it is a revolutionary party, a party that is the enemy of the capitalist system, the system that bears nothing for the toilers other than exploitation, inflation, unemployment and annihilation. The German imperialist bourgeoisie, which has put the heavy load and consequences of the crisis that the capitalist system is the cause of its manifestation and continuation, on the shoulder of the working class, wants to extinguish the struggle of the workers and intensify their exploitation. The German bourgeoisie wants to annihilate the revolution so it would not hear of its name anymore.

The experience of history teaches that the revolution can never be annihilated. The bourgeoisie knows this from experience very well and it is trying to delay its own death, as much as possible. Its attack on the KPD(M-L) is a proof of that. The German bourgeoisie has put the proletariat, many times, with the force of arms, in dirt and blood. In 1871, hand in hand with the government of Versailles, the German bourgeoisie rose to suppress the Paris Commune. In 1933, it banned the KPD and in the concentration camps, on the streets, and in the dungeons, it shot, hung its members and leaders or killed them under torture. In 1941, it rushed to Socialist Russia treacherously, in order to crush down the center of revolution, and in 1956, it again proclaimed the Communist Party of Germany illegal. But, can one annihilate revolution, socialism, and the party of the proletariat? Each time that the KPD was suppressed, it did not take long before it was borne again and started a new life

like a salamander, from its own ashes. The German bourgeoisie, now, again, is trying out what has been tried out before, and, again, is thinking of banning the KPD(M-L).

The interesting thing here is that the German bourgeoisie, who is viciously attacking KPD(M-L), shelters the revisionist "communist" party. Its reason is also very clear: the revisionist party of Germany has betrayed the German proletariat, has thrown away the banner of revolution, and is not the source of any danger to the bourgeoisie. On the contrary, it is the helper of the bourgeoisie in putting down the struggles of the proletarian class. Scorn to revisionism and revisionists!

Our organization, which itself is active in the very hard conditions of fascistic terror of the Shah and in deep underground activity, would like to express its fraternal solidarity to KPD(M-L). Although the underground conditions create many difficulties in the activities of the party, our organization is certain that KPD(M-L) will keep on continuing its revolutionary activities, because communists can never be stopped from revolutionary activity and communism can never be annihilated.

ON THE OCCASION OF THE 60TH ANNIVERSARY OF
THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION:

THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION WILL RETURN TO RUSSIA

Ever since the private ownership of the means of production was borne in society, ever since, that as a result of private ownership, the exploitation of man by man began, ever since, for suppressing and taming the exploited, a state which later evolved, was formed; ever since that time, the historical necessity of social ownership over the means of production and the

elimination of the exploitation of man by man and the seizure of the state power by the exploited, was also borne.

Throughout history, several methods of production, one after the other, were developed. The class struggle continued throughout all of these methods. It was only in the productive method of capitalism, that such a force came to life which could materialize the aforesaid historical necessity, and changed the private ownership over the means of production to social ownership, abolished the exploitation of man by man, and placed the state power in the hands of the exploited, and to be specific, took the state power from the bourgeoisie and used it against it and for its elimination.

Marx and Engels in the middle of the last century, with diagnosing the corpse of the capitalist society, put forth to everyone's eyes, this necessity that capitalism fosters its own gravedigger by its own being, that the proletariat by overcoming the bourgeoisie in a violent revolutionary way, will erect its own state, and with establishing social ownership, will sweep off exploitation from the whole world.

The Paris Commune was the proletariat's first try-out of this historical necessity. It was the first revolution that empowered the proletariat. "The Commune was essentially a working-class state, the product of the struggle of the producing against the appropriating class, the political form at last discovered under which to work out the economic emancipation of labor."

"Except on this last condition, the communal constitution would have been an impossibility and a delusion. The political rule of the producer cannot coexist with the perpetuation of his social slavery. The Commune was therefore to serve as a lever for uprooting the economical foundations upon which rests the existence of

classes, and therefore of class-rule." (The Civil War In France)

The Paris Commune, with its victory, made the body of the bourgeoisie shake and tremble. The spectre that was roaming throughout Europe, for the first time, uncovered and showed its face. "The old world writhed in convulsions of rage at the sight of the Red Flag, the symbol of the Republic of Labour, floating over the city hall." This first try-out of seizing the political power by the proletariat, did not take long before the French bourgeoisie, hand in hand with Bismark and the Prussian Army, drowned the Commune in blood. But, the historical necessity of the socialist revolution still remained.

The great October Socialist Revolution led by Lenin, once again, gave the power to the proletariat, and this time, to the Russian proletariat. It made the proletarian state strong and invincible. As a result of the victory of the October Revolution, the first socialist country in the world was borne, and with the establishment of the socialist system, a new epoch appeared in the world; the epoch of proletarian revolutions, an epoch throughout which "humanity frees itself from the yoke of the last form of enslavement, that of the enslavement of capitalism and wage-slavery...and when freeing itself from the yoke of slavery, for the first time it accomplishes real freedom." (Lenin)

In order to crush the victorious revolution, the enemies internally and the imperialists externally, hand in hand, attacked the young Soviets with the hope that this time too, they would be able to overthrow the proletarian state, and would reestablish the old system. But this time the heroic proletariat of Russia, rose up valiantly and safeguarded its own achievements. The world proletariat correctly recognized the Soviet Republic as its own offspring, and everywhere,

defended the cradle of socialism. The enemies of socialism, despite their immense force, this time, did not succeed and had to accept socialism by their side and gave in to coexist with it. The October Revolution became victorious, first of all, because the revolutionary working-class of Russia, was led by the leadership of a party like the Bolshevik Party, a courageous and daring party with iron-like discipline, a party that in the crucible of hard struggles, had been tempered and tested, and had the experience of two revolutions, a party that was founded by the great Lenin, the wise and genius teacher of the proletariat, who laid down its political and organizational principles in the conditions of imperialism, and step by step, led the party in the course of the hard battles and the final fight. The October Revolution became victorious and the state power of the proletariat became tempered and strong through the heat of struggle. But, the Russian proletariat was now facing a much harder and more complicated task than the seizure of the political power, especially in an underdeveloped country like Russia. This task was none other than the task of constructing socialism, which until then was unprecedented and without any previous model. The Russian proletariat had to show how the new society, of which it was going to lay the foundation, would fulfill the ideals of the toiling masses, and how it would open up a bright future for humanity. The Russian proletariat, by constructing the new society, had to show to the world proletariat and the toiling masses, how the proletariat could and must, along with carrying out the revolution, carry out its historical role, and create a new society, a society free from exploitation. The Russian proletariat, along with the vast masses of the peasantry, headed by Lenin and then Stalin, attempted to fulfill this great objective of the world proletariat.

On the way to constructing socialism, there were many obstacles and difficulties. The socialist revolution had succeeded in an underdeveloped country that, as a result of world war and internal war, was completely ruined. The internal and external enemies were trying in every way to stop the Russian toiling masses from constructing socialism and to take the society backward to regression. But all their resorts were, because of the clear-sightedness and strong will of Stalin, like waves confronting immense rocks, were broken up, and the toiling masses with an undefeatable determination, led by Stalin, carried out with glory and honor the great task that history had placed on their shoulders.

The October Revolution showed that if the bourgeoisie, without the proletariat, cannot turn the wheels of production which is the pillar of the capitalist society, the proletariat and the exploited masses can, without the bourgeoisie, turn the wheels of development of society and do it in the best possible way.

The October Revolution showed that although the past revolutions only gave the power from one exploiting minority to another exploiting minority, the proletarian revolution overthrows the exploiting minority from the pedestal of power, and gives the power to the exploited masses, through which the exploitation of man by man will leave the society.

The October Revolution showed that the proletariat can and must seize the political power from the hands of the bourgeoisie, and smash the machine of the bourgeois state, this tool of the bourgeoisie for suppressing the proletariat and other toiling masses, and replace it with its own revolutionary state, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and that the dictatorship of the proletariat is nothing but true democracy for the toiling masses.

The October Revolution showed that if in the past revolutions the ruling exploiter, exactly because of its exploiting nature, was unable to gather the toiling masses around itself, in the proletarian revolutions, the proletariat can organize the toiling masses around itself forever and with them construct the new society that from its roots and foundation, is different from the societies that have ever existed before.

The victory of the October Revolution, was the starting point of a new epoch in the history of human society; it was the epoch of the downfall of the bourgeoisie and the epoch of the proletarian revolutions, the epoch of the final battle of the toiling masses for eradication of national and class oppression, for eradication of the exploitation of man by man, "the epoch of liberating revolutions in the colonized and semi-colonized countries, the epoch of the awakening of the proletariat in these countries and its leadership in these revolutions." (Stalin)

The victory of the Russian Revolution divided the world into two worlds: the world of socialism, in which the proletariat along with the toiling masses, for the first time in history became the ruling class, and the world of capitalism, which is the last remnant of the class society, and in which the bourgeoisie still has control over the orders of society. These two worlds, despite the developments that have taken place in the past 60 years in world history, have still remained. Lenin himself, after the October Revolution, speaks of the division of the world into two worlds, a division that has in it a class characteristic and reflects a new contradiction in the society. "There are now two worlds: the old world of capitalism, that is in a state of confusion but which will never surrender voluntarily, and the rising new world, which is still very weak, but which will grow, for it is invincible." The division of the world

into the two worlds, has still held its correctness and credit to this day.

The October Revolution was the offspring of the decades of class struggle of the proletariat. Socialism was the social system of the proletariat that was being constructed on the ruins of the capitalist society. The cradle of socialism and its achievements are dear to all the proletariat and the toiling masses. The world proletariat saw its future in the light of the October Revolution and struggled to reach for it. The achievements of the October Revolution, on the other hand, were tolling the death-knell for the imperialist bourgeoisie. If the bourgeoisie after the October Revolution, as a result of the defeat of its interventionist war, had to give in to the coexistence with socialism, it never stopped its animosity in trying to overthrow it.

The second world war showed the strength and consolidation of socialism against the dark forces of fascism, and also that if a serious danger threatens the newly-risen system of socialism, how the proletariat and the toiling masses of the world, will rise to defeat it. Imperialism, which wanted to use the war for weakening, and even annihilating socialism, once again was faced with defeat in its attempt, and yet even more importantly, socialism was no longer limited by the boundaries of Russia. The proletariat, in a series of countries, succeeded over the fascist, reactionary forces and all the supporters of imperialism, and took the power in its hands. With the victory of the October Revolution of the people of China, which was the greatest historical event since the first October Revolution, the world of socialism extended from the center of Europe to the Far East and the Pacific Ocean. One third of the earth's population was freed from all the darkness and decadence of the class society.

But, as the great Stalin fell to eternal tranquility, that strong and solid base, which the immense forces of reaction and imperialism could not capture from outside, was seized by the internal enemies of socialism. Khrushchev and other traitors, supporters of the capitalist society, with all the levers of the party and the state that they had concentrated in their hands, all at once turned their backs on Marxism-Leninism, and on the working class and socialism, and headed on the way to restore capitalism. From the country of Russia, this first socialist country in the world, an imperialist superpower emerged. The dictatorship of the bourgeoisie replaced the dictatorship of the proletariat. The betrayal and renegade actions of the heads of the party and the state in Russia, left to the wind all the decades of achievements of the proletariat and the toiling masses of Russia, the achievements for which millions and millions heroically struggled, and millions and millions gave their lives. The dimensions of the betrayal of Khrushchev and his clique cannot be measured by any standard in the world scale. This betrayal in the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in a vast and strong country, could not but bring bitter results, could not but retrograde the society on a vast scale, and indeed so it happened. The eastern and southeastern socialist countries of Europe--with the exception of the Peoples Republic of Albania, who heroically stood against the traitors and safeguarded socialism from the enemies' plunder--all the rest, like Russia, headed on the road of capitalism, and became economic, political, and military supplements of the Soviet superpower. The steel-like unity of the world communist movement was broken up and most of the communist parties deviated from Marxism-Leninism, and like the "communist" party of the Soviet Union, fell to revisionism, and now, they have even omitted Marxism-Leninism from their political and

ideological dictionary. The camp of socialism, which had extended from Central Europe to the Far East, and was a strong and widespread pillar for the victory of the socialist revolution in the world, was now swept off.

However, if the camp of socialism was swept off, the world of socialism has still remained. The People's Republic of Albania in Europe, the People's Republic of China, the People's Republic of Vietnam, and other socialist countries in Asia still shine like bright stars in the sky of human society. The division of the world into two worlds, as Lenin teaches, still holds true. The supporters of "the theory of the three worlds" try in vain to ignore the socialist countries in order to legitimize their division of the world into three worlds.

The road to revolution is a road full of twists and turns, filled with ups and downs. In this road, the revolutionary process sometimes also regresses, but the society's progress toward socialism still continues--continues because the change from capitalism to socialism is a historical necessity, and a historical necessity will inevitably find its way forward through hardships and difficulties, through progresses and retrogresses, with the hands of the masses; or, as Lenin says: "The world history is moving ahead, without any deviation, toward the dictatorship of the proletariat, but this movement is in no way easy-going, straightforward, and simple."

In Russia the great fruits of revolution were gone with the wind, but long live the socialist revolution! The Russian proletariat will rise up again and once more will place the socialist revolution on its agenda, and with the same kind of heroism and self-sacrifice as before, in carrying out this task, will not fear anything. Russia is pregnant with another socialist revolution, a revolution that will overthrow the newly

risen bourgeoisie and will establish anew the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is the commandment of history and its execution is certain and indispensable.

THE U.S. AND THE "SECURITY" OF THE PERSIAN GULF

Once again in the newspapers of Iran, there is talk over the "security and stability" of the Persian Gulf, and about the designs of the White House in Washington "to use (the U.S.) ground forces with the support of the naval and air units, to defend the Persian Gulf," talk that "the U.S. gives high importance to the defense of the Persian Gulf and Iran," and the talk about the "instruction that was signed and passed by Carter in the last month to the effect that the U.S. government has regarded as one of its strategic priorities, to defend the Persian Gulf and especially Iran against external intervention," and it is clearly said that the possible attack is from Russia (Kayhan, September 1977).

Why does the U.S. policy, with such clarity, disclose the dependence of Iran on the U.S., and therefore speaks of the defense of Iran in order to guard the security and stability of the Persian Gulf? To whose benefit is the security and stability of the Gulf and from which country is threatening it?

1. The oil embargo, and the quadruple increase in the price of the oil by the Arab oil-producing countries, deprived the imperialist countries of the cheap fuel they used for decades. They showed their dependence, as far as securing energy is concerned, on the oil-producing countries, and from the point of view of politics, they were specifically disarmed on the question of PLO. From that year on, the price of oil increased and in the balance of payments, there

emerged a big deficit. This is why the industrial countries, in order to prevent higher prices for oil, and to reduce the degree of their dependency at the same time that they tried to economize in the consumption of this raw material, turned to other sources of energy, and especially new sources. At any rate, all these new sources --atomic, solar, wind, water, etc.--at the present time, from the economic point of view, and as far as the industry is concerned, cannot replace oil. Still decades are needed in order to be able to take care of the needs of the society with these kinds of new sources. Therefore, today, like yesterday, oil is the most important source of energy. Moreover, as the statistics show, the needs of the industrial countries for oil are on the increase, and in the next forty years, they will increase three to four times more than the present figure. The U.S., whose oil imports in the year 1973 were satisfying about 37% of its needs, must in the next two or three years satisfy 50% of its needs from imported oil, and this figure will increase more in the coming years.

The importance of oil as a basic source of energy and of other products, and the increase in its consumption in the industrial countries--this is the outlook for the next 50 years! Through such an outlook, the question of the Persian Gulf, its security and stability, becomes distinguished, and again, it is placed on the agenda of U.S. imperialism. The attention of the U.S. to this oil-producing region, is also caused by the fact that a great part of the oil reserves are hidden in this region.

2. But the production of oil and putting a finger on its reserves, are insufficient. It is also necessary to be able to take the produced oil to the consumer countries, and for this, it is necessary to secure a route for the passing of the giant oil-ships. The route of the

oil presently passes through the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, and the Suez Canal, and therefore, "security and stability" must be established in the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. In the case that produced oil is not proportionate to the needs, or cannot flow to the industrial countries, the economic wheels of those countries will stop. Thus, the gulf region, from the point of view of the production of oil and the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, and the oil route, have extraordinary strategic importance. In the case of the capturing of both or even one of the two by the enemy, the defeat of the industrial countries is certain.

3. "The security and stability" are presently established in the Persian Gulf (and the Red Sea), and the flow of oil continues to the industrial countries without any danger. But, the two superpowers that are preparing for war, cannot disregard the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea region in their strategic policies. In the competition of the two superpowers, the gulf region, for the reasons mentioned, occupies a special place. The U.S. superpower, who has the control of this region at this time, wants to keep off its rival social-imperialist from interfering in this region. But the Soviet social-imperialism is aware of the strategic importance of this region and gives it high regard in its own political, military, and even economic plans. This is why U.S. imperialism takes up the defense of the Persian Gulf and "against any possible intervention against Iran, will stand by the side of this country."

4. It is obvious that in all the countries of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, there is no place for the anti-imperialist, anti-social-imperialist revolutionary forces. It is the duty of these countries to suppress and crush these forces. The launching of the Shah's army in Oman for suppressing the Dhofari people, is a sample

of this. When the Shah of Iran speaks of safeguarding the "security" of the Persian Gulf by the countries of the Gulf, in fact what he has in mind is the "security" against the revolutionary forces, or else the Shah with billions of dollars worth of armament that he has bought and buys from the U.S. and other countries, is unable to stand even one day against the immense forces of social-imperialism of Russia. This is why it has become necessary for Carter "to issue a secret order about the defense of Iran and other middle-eastern countries and those countries who are the friends of the U.S."

The Iranian supporters of "the theory of the three worlds" who praise the strengthening of the military forces of the Shah and approve its purchase of billions of dollars worth of armaments, as though it is for the defense of the Shah-regime against the possible attack from the Soviet Union, actually approve the suppressing of the genuine revolutionary forces of the region.

"The security and stability" of the Persian Gulf that U.S. imperialism is after, are the security and stability of the reactionary sheiks and sultans, in order to continue the flow of oil to the industrial countries and to U.S. imperialism itself. The defense of U.S. imperialism of Iran against the possible attack of the Soviet Union, is nothing else but the defense of the benefits and greeds of imperialism against the Soviet social-imperialism. Such a security, such a defense, for all the people of the region, as well as the people of Iran, cannot bear anything but insecurity and depravation, and indeed, it could not bear anything otherwise.

ABUNDANCE AND PLENITUDE ARE CAUSING HARDSHIP AND HUNGER

If in socialism, the increase in production, abundance and plenitude, bring comfort and convenience; under capitalism, the increase in production causes economic crisis, hardship and poverty. When commodities are produced in abundance, more than the buying power, because there is no buyer in the market, they pile up in the warehouses and this results an economic crisis. Sometimes, even, the capitalist prefers to destroy the produced commodity in order not to reduce the prices and the profit made thereof. The worker, following the economic crisis, is entangled by unemployment, hunger and deprivation, because he/she has produced too much. The production of grain in the U.S. is a clear example of this fact.

The U.S. is the world's biggest producer of grain. There exist in the world now, five big multi-national companies that control 80% of the world's grain in their hands. Four of these five companies are American companies. The production of grain in the U.S. has been so high in the last two years that all the grain reserves have not only been newly fulfilled, but also there is an additional 90 million tons that there is no chance for selling, because there is no buyer. The weekly magazine "Business Week", shows the picture of a heap of wheat that as a result of the lack of storage space, has been left out to rot.

Because of the increase in the grain production, the price of wheat has declined in the last year as much as 80%, and from \$150.00 a ton, it has dropped to less than \$30.00. This situation for the grain producer who won't gain high profits, cannot continue. At this time, the U.S. government is studying to take measures to end present and future grain abundance and therefore end the steady decline in its price. These measures are headed in three directions: first,

to find new markets, and presently the U.S. is giving attention to the PRC, who after buying some amount of grain from Canada and Australia, is still in need of more grain. Second, holding negotiations with big grain producer countries such as Canada, Australia, and possibly Argentina, in order to keep the prices of grain on a designated level at about \$120.00 per ton. U.S. imperialism is trying, through maintaining its hegemony in this group, to secure its supremacy over the world grain market. Lastly, by reducing the level of grain farming, which the U.S. government and congress are studying.

Thus, the abundant production of grain in the last two years, and its stacking-up in warehouses as a result of the lack of a market to sell grain, have sharply reduced the price of grain. To prevent any decline in the grain price, it is necessary to lower production; and for lowering production, it is necessary to cut down the level of farming. But if the cut in production keeps the monopoly prices at a constant level still for the benefit of the big international monopolies, it also carries with it the danger of famine and hunger, because if in the near future, there should be an undesirable change in atmospheric weather, and the output of grain production would decline sharply, then there is the possibility that the world's people will be faced with a dangerous grain shortage. Some of the U.S. newspapers, following the idea of a cut in production, have already tolled the danger-bell of a future world famine.

The imperialists constantly cry over the poverty and hunger of the people in the underdeveloped countries. Here and there, they show the pictures of the hungry children with an empty bowl and begging eyes, who from hunger have only their bones and skin left to their bodies; they ask charity for these children and for millions of others like them. But, in order to give them

food, they must give some of their surplus production, they keep away the food products from the hungry, and let them rot or destroy them so they can hold the prices on the monopoly level. The additional and superfluous 90 million tons, can save millions of people at least for a year. But the imperialists do not have an ear for this, and it could not be otherwise.

Every year in the underdeveloped countries, the level of production of the food products is behind the level of consumption. According to calculations by "The Agricultural and Food Organization" affiliated with the U.N., in the year 1985, the underdeveloped countries, for securing a minimum condition of life for their population, will have a shortage of about 85 million tons of grain. U.S. imperialism with its agricultural plans such as "the green revolution" of agriculture, takes the agriculture of these countries toward bankruptcy, and as far as securing grain is concerned, makes a more critical condition for the people of these countries. Our country is an example of this, In the past, Iran used to secure bread for its population by itself, but today as a result of "the land reform" and plan for the increase of agricultural production, every year she has to import from the outside, great quantities of wheat, barley, rice, etc. Our country is no exception. The condition of all the underdeveloped countries is the same. In such a situation, the danger-alarm of the U.S. newspapers is not without a context in reality.

In the monthly Toufan #116, in an article under the title of "Agriculture: A Tool at the Service of Expansionism," we explained how U.S. imperialism has made a weapon out of grain for securing its imperialist benefit and plans. U.S. imperialism, who on the one side, cries for the "defense of human rights," tries to show itself worried for the violation of human rights, and on the other side is after snatching away even

the last life-giving pieces of food from the people in the world in order to carry out its anti-human economic, political and military policies. U.S. imperialism is the big enemy of humanity and is no less than its rival social-imperialism.

THE "THEORY OF THE BALANCE OF FORCES," A TOOL FOR AGGRESSION AND ARMS RACE

The two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the U.S., and their related military blocs, in order to continue their arms race, in both the fields of ordinary and atomic weapons, based on this, that the rival now has the lead, strengthen their military forces and expand their armament and complete the production of new weapons. They hold that there must be a balance and a state of equilibrium between the two superpowers and their related military blocs, so that such a state of balance and equilibrium would stop any one of them from enflaming the fire of war, and therefore the world peace would be preserved. According to this "theory," world peace is dependent on the "balance" of military forces, and if this balance is lost and the scale weighed more on one side, immediately the other superpower reacts to this, and for "the defense" of "peace and security," strengthens its military forces and arms, so that the balance would be restored. But the balance can never be lasting, even if it is for this reason that both of the superpowers are after expanding their areas of influence to the areas of the influence of the other, they both want to expand their hegemony to all over the world, and the moment that the balance is lost, the strengthening of the military forces starts again.

"Guarding the world peace" based upon arms race, is nothing new. What the big powers do not

even think of, is world peace. They need the arms race for maintaining and expanding their areas of influence. Such a race will also inevitably start a war. They only hide the preparation of war behind the cover of peace.

Carter, the U.S. president, increased the military budget of the next year up to about 120 billion dollars, with the excuse that the "balance" of forces between the U.S. and the Soviet Union is lost; he spoke of the necessity for an increase in armament, and outlined a plan for the neutron bomb and "cruise" missiles. Soviet imperialism, at the moment of receiving the news of the production of the neutron bomb and other missiles, announced that she too, had to place the production of modern missiles on its agenda. Both of the superpowers, especially the Soviet Union, continuously increase their armaments and the number of forces in their two imperialist military bases in the east and west of Europe. They both increase their naval forces in different oceans and seas, and are looking for new naval bases.

Thus, the arms race, based on the "theory of the balance of forces," continues, and every day takes the world another step closer toward the world war, the danger of war everyday increasingly threatens the people of the world with destruction and annihilation. After all, all the arms that are produced are to be used someday, and they will be used someday. Despite the arms race, the propaganda machines of the two superpowers, especially the Soviet Union, speak of "the reduction in the international tension," "the end of the cold war," "the settling in of the epoch of the international peace and security," and they hold "the European security summit conference." Soviet social-imperialism proposes "the Asian Collective System of Security," and beside all this, the "Geneva Conference" is

for years speaking about "disarmament." Between the two, certain agreements occur on the questions related to nuclear weapons and their carrier missiles, and they pretend that these agreements are in the interest of the world's peace and security, and that the future agreements will enforce them even more. These are all pretexts behind which they hide the arms race. The brawl about "the reduction of international tension," and "peace and security" is too much uproar about nothing.

Another intention related to the "theory of the balance of forces" is the maintenance of the existing conditions in the world, because the big powers, even now, "pilfer" and "pick" for each other, and if one of the two superpowers penetrates in the realm of the influence of the other, immediately thereafter, "the theory of the balance of forces" takes its effect. The superpowers accuse each other of intervening in the matters of other countries, they speak of a "return of the cold war," of a plot against "the reduction of tension," etc., and they warn each other of any intervention and exercise of influence. For example, the U.S., based on its policy of "defense of human rights," supports the Soviet and Eastern European dissidents, or Russia, with military "aid" to Ethiopia, expands its influence in this country, or by its "defense of freedom" of the masses of South Africa, prepares a foothold for itself in this region. This is how the balance and the equilibrium are destroyed, and the superpowers condemn these acts by relying on the "theory of balance," they accuse each other of intervening in the matters of other countries, and they claim that the other has damaged the balance of forces. The experience has shown that the necessity for maintaining the balance of forces, has always been used as a tool in the hands of the imperialist countries for the preparation of war and intervening, even militarily, in the matters of other countries.

When the Soviet social-imperialism holds that the solution to the critical problems and contentions, is only possible when "the logical balance of forces is established between the two superpowers throughout the world," when the Russian magazine "The International Life" claims that "it is the economic, military power and the international weight of the two superpowers that are primarily responsible for preventing war and determining the destiny of peace for all," they are indeed trying to justify their "theory of the balance of forces," and instill it in the minds of people, so that the people can not do anything to upset the balance of forces of the two superpowers, and endanger "the logical balance" between them. The two superpowers, indeed, with this "theory," suggest to the people and the revolutionary movements, that now there are two poles in the world, and that they must, in order to guard the balance of forces in the world, remain under "the protective umbrella" of one of the two.

The supporters of the "theory of the three worlds," who look with satisfaction everywhere at the presence of U.S. imperialism as though it is preventing the attack of the Soviet social-imperialism, sometimes even go as far as welcoming the presence of the U.S. army in their own country. The supporters of the "theory of the three worlds," who in order to confront Soviet, social-imperialism, strengthen the military forces of imperialism and include U.S. imperialism, asking the people of the "third world" to unite with imperialism, are actually carrying out the "theory of the balance of forces" in practice.

"The theory of the balance of forces" is a tool in the hands of the two superpowers in order to control the destinies of the people around the world, in order to solve the international problems according to their neo-colonialist benefits, and with their improper intervention, violate the

sovereignty of other countries. But the problem of war and peace in the world and the destinies of the people cannot be solved with the "theory of balance." The only way is the elimination of the two superpowers and imperialism and with them, burying all the "theories" that suggest and prescribe war, aggression, and intervention in the matters belonging to the people and other countries. Sooner or later, the people will traverse this road.

THE SEPARATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY
FORCES, BENEFITS THE REGIME OF THE SHAH.

GREETINGS TO ALL THOSE COMRADES WHO UNDER
THE DIFFICULT CONDITIONS OF THE SHAH-
REGIME, ARE STRUGGLING FOR THE RECONSTRUC-
TION OF THE WORKING-CLASS PARTY.

ONLY OVER THE CORPSES OF THE SHAH-REGIME
AND IMPERIALISM, CAN THERE BE HUMAN
RIGHTS IN IRAN.