



BOLSHEVIK MESSAGE

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One year after the Founding Congress

The following article has been extracted, and in parts shortened from "Oktobi", the organ of the Communist Party of Iran - the Committee Abroad.

2nd of September is the first anniversary of the formation of the Communist Party of Iran, i.e. the party unity of all those forces, who long before the practical formation of the party, had achieved the fundamentals of party unity, as a single politico-ideological current. On the occasion of this day, and after the passage of one year in the life of the Party, it is appropriate to examine the historical necessity of the emergence of this Party and also the class position of the Communist Party of Iran.

At the most fundamental level, the appearance and development of Revolutionary Marxism in Iran, as

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The Founding Congress of the Communist Party of Iran - Aug/Sep.1983

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Four years of war, Four years of revolution

It all began on 21st September 1980. Iraqi planes bombed Tehran, Isfahan, Shiraz and several other important cities in Iran. This happened at a time when in the struggle between the Revolution and counter-revolution in Iran, the Revolution was going to make a serious settling of accounts with the bourgeois and counter-revolutionary rule of the Islamic Republic. After the defeat of regime's 19th August 79 offensive, Kurdistan was still fighting resolutely. One and a half years of struggle had taught the workers not to lay hopes in

the ruling regime and only rely on their own strength, the wave of protest movements was gathering momentum throughout the country, workers' strikes were escalating, the illusions of working masses in the regime were fading, and for many it had become evident that this regime is the guardian of bourgeois interests.

Under such circumstances, the bourgeoisie needed to open a new front against the Revolution. Iraq opened this front on 21st September 1980. The Iraqi army

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WORKERS OF THE WORLD ,UNITE !

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a capitalist country dominated by imperialism, has roots in definite historical periods. After agrarian reforms of the 60s, Iran joined the circle of imperialist-dominated countries where the class struggle and any kind of social development can only take place around the struggle between the working class and the bourgeoisie. Although the gradual appearance of the working class in the sphere of politics and class struggles had not turned this fact into a daily and tangible reality for everyone, this did not stop the search about the contradiction between the objective conditions of the working class and those thoughts and ideas which were being presented to the society in the name of the class struggle. Ideas which essentially originated from two sources which were apparently different but had the same class nature. During this period, two interpretations of marxism were prevalent: one interpretation was the open and uncompromising of the revisionist Party of Marxism which was presented in Iran by the Tudeh Party and its marginal circles, and the other was the interpretation of Marxian as given by the "Communist" Party of China - the "Mao Tse Tung thought" which had apparently formed the basis of the critique and exposure of the opportunism and treachery of the first version. But both these two interpretations of "Marxism", by denying the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, led to the essence of Marxism by propagandizing and agitating the unity of the whole people in the form of "anticapitalist fronts", "democratic-anti-imperialist fronts" and the unity of "four classes" and the overthrow of decadence and the establishment of a "people's democratic republic", "the non-capitalist way of development" and the "non-antagonistic solution" of people's internal contradictions, which were the subjective grounds of growth and development, in parallel with the growth of the working class as one of the two main classes in the society.

If in the course of a relatively long period, in societies where the question of "national liberation", "agrarian revolution" and "the overthrow of the domination of colonialism", had become the pretext for the trans-

formation of Marxism into the theory of petty-bourgeois - peasant radicalism with its lip service to the hegemony of the proletariat - the defeat of these interpretations of Marxism in a society where the class struggle against the bourgeoisie is the motive force of every historical development and the condition of its very necessity. The contradiction between this new truth - new in relation to the history of Iran and the old theories, is the secret of the birth and development of Revolutionary Marxism and the integration of all the currents of those petty-bourgeois currents which did not and could not link the cause of liberation to one definite class, i.e. the proletariat. But this contradiction did not appear gradually. And the true conditions of the class struggle and the class currents were more reflected immediately and directly in the minds of the most advanced elements of the working class.

On the one hand, there was also a need for a director - the 1979 Revolution - to demonstrate the strength of the working class and also all the cowardice and treachery of the petty-bourgeoisie and the liberal bourgeoisie, on the other hand, only a conscious struggle against the bourgeois interpretations of Marxism and the defence of its revolutionary and class principles - as the theory of the struggle and emancipation of a definite class - could revive the Marxist spirit of Manifesto and turn it into the bones of the main guards of the working class. The history of the past 5 years is the history of the process of conclusion of the two revisionist doctrines which have dominated the left opposition in Iran in the last decades. It is at the same time the course of the barrack-to-barrack advancement of Revolutionary Marxism against them. Modern revisionism, in the form of the most consistent representative, the Tudeh Party, which had innovated the theory of "anti-dictatorial united fronts", developed into the tool and defender of one of the most savage bourgeois dictators and the naked popular revisionism and the "Three Worlds Theory" represented by the "Ranjbaran Party", paid homage to the "First World".

During this process, the cru-

der revisionist tendencies which had demonstrated with the typical revisionist behaviour of isolation on tactical issues either finally joined the more mature representatives of revisionism or disintegrated as a result of the real conditions of the struggle of the working class. During the same period, through a purposeful though slow process, the criticism and exposure of revisionism, the Revolutionary Marxism arrived at the principles of the programme of the proletariat, the independent practical method of this class and the bases of the party under the working class; and developed from a political circle into a political - social current. The formation of the Communist Party is only one stage in the course of development of this new phenomenon in the history of the social life of Iran.

But it would be wrong to explain the emergence of Revolutionary Marxism and its development to a party, only on the basis of the peculiarities of a definite theory. Since the economic crisis which followed the Iranian Revolution and brought the working class to the forefront, was also the material ground for the defeat of reformist and revisionist illusions throughout the world. The era of boom and "economic miracle" from the mid '60s to mid '70s has ended. Now, throughout the world, the bourgeoisie is attacking the working class with all its might and is everyday adding to the misery of this class, i.e. poverty, unemployment, exploitation and political oppression. Under these conditions, the reformist and revisionist parties of the imperialist countries, by participating in cabinets, have openly demonstrated their class function as the main force of the bourgeoisie and the main enemy and stabilisation of the working class.

In the capitalist countries of Russia and its satellites, the "Communist" Parties have pulled off the mask of defending the workers' interests. The Polish Committee, which was the party of military dictatorship against the workers. The Communist Party of Russia, by ordering the attack on Afghanistan, just as it ordered attack on Hungary and Czechoslovakia, organises military suppression and massacre as the most decisive method of defending and consolidating the rule of Russian capital. The Communist Party of Vietnam is leading the

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repression of Cambodia. In those imperialist-dominated countries in Africa and Latin America which have been "liberated" under the leadership of revisionist parties, the working class is now experiencing an organised exploitation and suppression. The "Popular" Mozambique sends workers to South Africa to be exploited. The government of "Popular" Chile is surviving with the aid of Cuban army. The Communist Party of China too, by the antagonistic solution of the internal contradictions of the people, to the advantage of the bourgeoisie, has found the way of salvation of

These realities are the objective bases of the revival of Bolshevism throughout the world. How does this reality - the rebirth of Bolshevism - manifest itself? The traditional "Communist" parties are increasingly becoming smaller and smaller. The pro-Chinese and pro-Albanian circles and parties have disintegrated into tens of circles; even out of the Trotskyist currents there have emerged circles which call themselves Leninists, and there are also tens and hundreds of other circles who are emerging in this or that country in response to the problems of the present period. The Communist Party of Iran is also the product of this period of struggle for the rediscovery of the class identity of the working class throughout the world.

We said that the Communist Party of Iran is a socialist party which has asserted the class independence of the working class and the organic institution of this alliedside independence against all revisionist currents. This truth is not only expressive of the process of emergence of the party but also the truth of its present movement. One year after the Founding Congress, where does the Communist Party of Iran stand in relation to other forces claiming to be Marxist?

Out of the petty-bourgeois socialist forces, let us consider the Organisation of Iranian People's Fedai Guerrillas. We deliberately point out this organisation since this organisation

recently and after many surgeries (on its Programme) has finally declared that it is going to form the party of the working class and that it will look for the draft programme of these currents. The whole of this programme is the attempt of the "anti-American" and pro-Russian petty-bourgeoisie in Iran to fill the vacany place of the Tudeh Party by forming a respectable and a little democratic (new) Tudeh Party. Of course, the People's Fedai have travelled an arduous path for the rebuilding of a more respectable Tudeh Party. Due to the present political and social conditions and because of the presence of Revolutionary Marxism, they have been forced to put aside - with great regret - many of their anti-

democratic positions, and copy into their minimum programme, many of the demands outlined in the minimum part of the Programme of the CPUSA. Many of some of these democratic demands - however imposed, borrowed and decorative they are - in the "Draft Programme of the O.I.P.F.G.", as the rear-guard of the populist revisionist currents in Iran, is indicative of the number of petty-bourgeois currents and the number of the democratic demands of parts of the working class, at the time of the growth and development of a proletarian party.

Out of the many liberal "left" circles, let us consider the "Organisation of Communist Unity". We choose this organisation be-

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اوین ساله تسلیت هنرمندیت ایران گزینی پاد

THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE FORMATION OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF IRAN



پیغمبر
COMMUNIST PARTY OF IRAN
— THE COMMITTEE ABROAD

Sep 84

LONG LIVE SOCIALISM!

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From p.1

rapidly advanced in the southern regions of Iran. Cities of Ahadan and Khoramshahr, which were two important centres of workers and protest (movements), were evacuated and demolished because of war conditions. The war was used as a pretext by the Islamic Republic to step up the suppression of protests and strikes throughout Iran. Chauvinism became the national anthem of the bourgeoisie and rapidly overtook the ranks of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois opposition to the Mojahedin. Bani Sadr announced that they would dispatch all their militia to the warfronts. The Tudeh Party too, as the representative and direct agent of Russian imperialism, followed the Mojahedin in this sector in accordance with the "needs and expenditures" of the "Socialist" camp. The chauvinist wave also swept over many of the so-called "communist" organisations - from the pro-Russian Fedaiyan (Majority) and pro-China Red Guard to the Albanian Toofan and Union of Iranian communists; from the Trotskyist "Hezb-e-Kargaran-e-Enghelabî" to Kazmandegan, etc - by the slogan of "defending the independence of Iran", they had become a tool in the hands of the bourgeoisie.

Some other left forces speaking in the name of communism put forward the slogan of immediate insurrection against the war, "to turn the revolutionary war into a civil war", without considering the real balance of forces between the Revolution and counter-revolution, without bearing in mind the fact that the revolution, in its struggle for the internationalisation of the revolution of the masses, in the absence of a communist party at the head of the movement, would waste away the fighting energy of the proletariat in the service of coming to power of another section of the bourgeoisie.

Among all these, only a small minority of the communists called on the workers to defend the democratic gains of the Uprising - which they won by their own forces - against the capitalist war. They said "let the capitalists drop the bombs on themselves". They called on the workers to defend their revolution against the bourgeoisie of both countries.

But the voice of true communists was drowned in the unending uproar of the petty-bourgeois

forces. Revolutionary Kurdistan was attacked once again and more savagely than before. Thousands of the children of the toiling people were drafted and sent to front線 to be slaughtered and maimed in the interests of the bourgeoisie. Religious and nationalist propaganda were stepped up to justify the reactionary war. Bani Sadr - the President at the time and later after the Mojahedin - declared "I will not take boats off until Kurdistan is stabilized again". Workers' wages were cut under the pretext of the war, and conditions

attack the revolution in a way that was ideal and favourable to it and whilst the Islamic Republic was "taking care of the revolution in the north the Monarchist forces could gradually prepare the grounds for the final burial of the revolution. But the Russian imperialism which was cherishing the hope of gradually influencing the Islamic Republic and making it fit with its aims was displeased by the outbreak of the war and asked the two warring sides to reduce hostilities and begin peace negotiations, whilst at the same time it ordered its surrogate forces in Iran to support the regime in the war.

In spite of all these, the revolution continued. Kurdistan was by then become the invincible bulwark of all those who had not been overcome by the chauvinist wave.

After a short lull, workers' strikes had begun to gather momentum and this time with greater militancy and strength than before. The strike of 30,000 workers in the Iran National car factory and the strike of workers in Shazad and Behesht May as well as hundreds of other strikes demonstrated that the oppression and exploitation which imperialism and capital had imposed on workers and toilers for years had been so savage and intense that it means-not even such a powerful means as the war - was able to harness the revolt and protest of the oppressed and exploited.

All things were pointing to the fact that a new stage in the process of the revolution was beginning.

But those who were claiming the leadership of the ranks of the world bourgeoisie had their own position on the war! US imperialism, the main force of world imperialism opted a policy of silence towards the war. Any strike on the revolution and any action that could turn back the course of the revolution and return the paradise of capital, was undoubtedly regarded by imperialism as a positive step. The USA also had at the back of its mind, the establishment of the rule of its ideal political alternative i.e. the Monarchs and their Bakhtiar forces. From the viewpoint of the US, the invasion of Iraq could have liberated a region for its open allies to



in the work-places became militarized. And thus a new wave of the revolutionary movement which was going to place the question of political power on the agenda of the working and toiling masses, was temporarily pushed back as a result of the.

At the same time, the forces of the world bourgeoisie had their own position on the war! US imperialism, the main force of world imperialism opted a policy of silence towards the war. Any strike on the revolution and any action that could turn back the course of the revolution and return the paradise of capital, was undoubtedly regarded by imperialism as a positive step. The USA also had at the back of its mind, the establishment of the rule of its ideal political alternative i.e. the Monarchs and their Bakhtiar forces. From the viewpoint of the US, the invasion of Iraq could have liberated a region for its open allies to

Following the intensification of the attacks of the regime, not only against the camp of the Revolution but also against Bani Sadr and other liberals - which

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led to their purge from the government - the Mojahedin, who had supported Khomeini and the regime for so long, now turned against it and reacted to the orders of 20th June, and the ensuing days, when the Mojahedin's terrorist activities were at their peak, will always be remembered as the days when this verdict of Lenin was confirmed once again: "The execution of the two sides of the same coin". The period after 20th June saw the start of one of the bloodiest attacks of the bourgeois regime against the Revolution. Communist, revolutionary and workers' organisations and their leaders were practically broken up; thousands of political activists were arrested and summarily executed; and complete repression and terror was established over the society.

All these had their effect on the war. The Army and the Pandsan who had not been able previously to perform any concerted and organised military operation because of the rift that existed between the IRGC and the leadership of the IRP, soon after the dismissal of Bani Sadr and the domination of the atmosphere of terror and repression in the society, increasingly aligned themselves. The Iraqi army which had been weakened because of the defeat in the first 5-day seige of Khoramshahr, and the internal convulsion within Iraq itself, retreated with the first attack of the Iranian Army. The Iranian regime was overwhelmed by its military victories.

The conquest of Khoramshahr on 24th May 84 was the climax of this period of the war for the Iranian regime. Khoramshahr was re-captured but the regime had fired its last shot of chauvinism too. If until yesterday it was possible to see the Iranian toilers to the abattoir of the war, in their thousands, under the pretext of "defending the homeland", now this period was coming to an end. But the Islamic Republic regime had been too dependent on the war to live without it. The war continued and its battlefronts were stretched into the Iraqi soil. Since then, a war of attrition has been going on which is daily claiming the lives

of hundreds. The Iraqi regime which had initially entered the war with the intention of overthrowing the Islamic Republic or at least delivering heavy blows on it, and creating liberated zones for the forces of the monopoly bourgeoisie (Monarchists and pro-Bakhtiar forces), in the continuation of its policy of massive military defeats, and itself became a serious supporter of the "peace talks". Financial bankruptcy, an explosive political situation, and the danger of mass protests, all threatened the Iraqi bourgeoisie. But in Iran, even for its daily survival, an independent (see BM No.10). Secondly, both regimes endeavour to give an international dimen-



"Both regimes try to give an international dimension to the war. The so-called 'Tanker War' must be seen from this viewpoint."

continuation of the war. Today, sign to the war. The so-called "Tanker War" must be seen from this viewpoint. The Iranian regime needs this new factor to stir up nationalism and chauvinism among the masses and illusions among the masses. And the Iraqi regime is using this as a lever for exerting pressure on other Gulf states and major world powers in order to make them intervene more directly to end the war (see BM No.9).

The non-proletarian opposition forces in Iran, have so far committed several remarkable political coups. The Mojahedin, which together with their political allies have formed the National Council of Resistance, have now put forward the peace

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Down with the Islamic Republic regime!

There have been two other developments in the war which need to be mentioned. Firstly, the war has been used by the Iranian regime to expand its influence in the Kurdish regions of Iran and Iraq in order to use the war as a pretext for the greater suppression of the revolutionary movement in Kurdistan. The Iranian offensive at Mehran (April 11, 1983) and capture of the Iranian port of Oman base (July 23, 1983), the offensive on Paujin (October 19-20, 1983)... must be seen in this context. For its part, the Iraqi regime has indiscriminately bombed civilian targets in Iranian Kurdistan (see BM No.10). Secondly, both regimes endeavour to give an international dimen-

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A look at the past

On the occasion of 1st April

In the last issue of the Bolshevik Message, we published the first part of the article by comrade Khoussay Darat (member of the Political Bureau of the CP-I) on the background to the 1979 revolution in Iran and the events in the post-Uprising period, up to the US Embassy takeover on 4th Nov. 79. In this issue of the BM we are publishing the second part of this article, which was published in the next issue. The whole of this article first appeared in *Tarbi*, the central organ of the CP-I-Kommunist on 20th April 84 - BM.

Winter of 1980 was the time for presidential elections. A by-election from Isfahan, Rajavi was excluded from the elections. Jalaliddin Farsi (another presidential candidate-BM) was proven to be Afghani, and Hassan Habibi, the author of the draft of the Constitution, and candidate of the Islamic Republic Party and Tudeh-Leninist Party could not compete with Bani Sadr, and thus Bani Sadr became president.

In March 1980 (Iranian New Year) Khomeini issued a 15-point decree. This was a call to return the situation to what it was previously, a call for the termination of the revolution and a declaration against the revolutionaries and workers. Comrades called this decree "The 15-point New Year gift of Khomeini to Carter". Following this message, regime's new offensive reached its height in April. Universities were taken over, April 22nd was the day of the first attacks on the bases of the革命aries and communists' offices in the universities, and a nationwide attack on press and assemblies. At the same time, after a short break, the second round of the war in Kurdistan began.

Before this offensive, the question of peasants' councils in Torkaman Sahra and Gonbad (North East Iran-BM) were settled during negotiations between Bani Sadr

and Fedaiene and by the terror of some Fedaiene leaders. Bani Sadr, the chief of Staff, did his best, most in the suppressed attack against Kardalan and the massacre in the universities was only a part of his Ali-like firmness.

In spite of his counter-revolutionary line, Bani Sadr had serious differences with the IRP. Immediately after the Insurrection, the IRP was set up by Beheshti, Bahonar, Ardibily, Rafsanjani and Khamenei, to take up the main task of safeguarding the capitalist interests and suppressing the revolution and the workers' and communist movement. From the very beginning of its foundation, this party operated in accordance with the last experiences of the imperialists in the suppression of revolution throughout the world, and had a clear and coherent line towards all the questions of the Iranian revolution. The IRP knew well that nothing short of brute force could keep down the protracted masses, and from the very outset recognised clearly that the suppression of the revolution was the precondition of restarting production and economy and returning the conditions favourable for the profitability of capitalist production. Accordingly, regardless of how the liberal ministers and judges, individual capitalists and employers, agreed or disagreed. It even at times punished those employers who gave concessions to the workers, and established "Holleh"^{**} and "Yashili"^{***} Black-Handed bands, and so on, against the workers and revolutionaries.

In this respect the IRP precisely implemented the policies of imperialist capitals who were prepared and had the ability to spend a few years in Iran, opera-

*Imam Ali - one of the disciples whom Bani Sadr and Mojahedin revere-BM
**Literally, the "Party of God" and "Army of God" respectively-BM

ting on the wounds inflicted by the revolution, so as to turn Iran once again to the paradise of capital.

Bani Sadr too was the representative of capital and had dedicated himself to its salvation. He knew well that the revolution had to be stopped but imagined that by respecting law and order, putting managers and technocrats into work, and in short, by state intervention and intervening people to their routine life, all problems would be solved and any differences that remained would be settled through free discussions. Thus Bani Sadr and Co. followed the same line as the IRP but by a different method; a method which suited those sections of the capitalists who were more susceptible and did not have the capacity to endure more losses and disruptions in the economy, until the complete suppression of the revolution. Bani Sadr, with his optimistic solutions, at times caused serious headaches for the IRP and disturbed its expert plans. The IRP's opinion towards Bani Sadr was what Khomeini once expressed clearly: "Mr. Bani Sadr's knowledge is much more than his intelligence!"

The quarrels between the two sides had extended to the workplaces throughout and in different parts of the country they turned as fights between pro-IRP Islamic Societies and Bani Sadrist managers and technocrats. For a while workers took up the role of encouraging and strengthening this or that side, but gradually, with the loss of workers' organisations, the ascent of the workers' leaders and other serious blows, in the absence of their independent political organisation, and with the exposure of the real nature of the two factions, they were moved and motivated to the side-lines of the arena and took up the role of on-lookers.

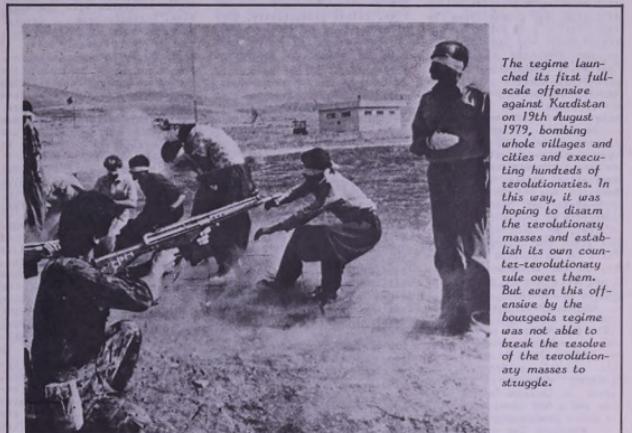
The quarrels between the two sides over how to suppress and end the revolution was not a small thing. After the Uprising, both the working class and the bourgeoisie knew that each had to prepare itself - one faster than the other - for an all-round confrontation and complete settling of accounts. On one side, communism and class-consciousness was fermenting and developing in

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(on the other hand) were consolidated. The Tudeh Party was still with the IRP, and the Fedaiene split, with the majority joining the IRP and the Tudeh Party.

The start of the war overshadowed everything. The struggle of the workers which was continuing mainly with economic and welfare slogans in a regional and defensive manner, came up against

The high prices and lack of basic necessities and rationing wholly changed the standard of living of the toiling people. Any demands for welfare conditions were ridiculed and profaned, under the pretext of war. Moreover, making decisions and adopting positions at the sharp turn of the war, threw another section of the political currents and their worker supporters into



The regime launched its first full-scale offensive against Kurdistan on 19th August 1979, bombing whole villages and cities and executing hundreds of revolutionaries. In this way, it was hoping to disarm the revolutionary masses and establish its own counter-revolutionary rule over them. But even this offensive by the bourgeois regime was not able to break the resolve of the revolutionary masses to struggle.

Ilis Rejaiee was appointed Prime Minister and Bani Sadr sulked. In September the two sides reached open hostilities with each other following the suggestion of these conflicts, all those groups and parties who wanted to have a share in the power, joined one of the other side. The relations between Mojahedin, Ranjbaran Party and Union of Iranian Communists** (on the one hand) and Bani Sadr

the strong barrier of the war and nationalist and chauvinist war propaganda. As these conflicts had ended, although this war was a war between two bourgeoisie, it would at the same time open a new front against the workers and people generally, so that the workers' living conditions and the conditions of the working class would be militarised, the economic pressure and the intensity of work would reach extreme degrees,

*The Pro-Chinese Maoist Party in Iran-BM

**One of the Maoist groups in Iran-BM

the lap of a regime which "though an oppressor, was nevertheless defending the homeland".

In March 1980, in Tehran University, clashes broke out between Mojahedin's militia and Bani Sadr, on the one side, and the Hezbollahis, who for some time had been receiving the official support of Beheshti, Rejaiee and the IRP - on the other. Later a team including Eshraghi, Kani and Yazdi, was set up to investigate the incident.

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For the Revolutionary Democratic Republic of Iran !

The intensification of the exploitation of Russian workers!

When the intensification of capital's world crisis and the ever-growing competition of different imperialist blocs makes the bourgeoisie in all countries to come up with ways of increasing the profitability of capital and intensifying the exploitation of workers, the revisionists who are following in the footsteps of the "socialists" too, have to present a clearer and more explicit bourgeois policies, in order to rescue the state monopoly capital in these countries.

In Russia, the reduction of investment from 32% to 10% in the last five-year plans points to one of the manifestations of capitalist crisis in Russia. Recently one bourgeois top economist and head of the Institute of Economics in Novosibirsk, Mr. Abel Aghabegyan, has given the following guidelines to the Russian bourgeoisie, in the trade-union paper, *Truth*, as a way of solving the crisis in Russia:

"Under these conditions, in order to reach the indicated of 42% in the National income, the labour productivity must increase by 2.5% to 3%. In other words, the normal growth of our economy depends on bringing about an increase of at least one and a half times in the rate of labour productivity."

Moreover, for reaching this aim, it has been agreed with the solution favourable to the bourgeoisie. According to him, in a tentative industrial sector, giving more powers to the factory management, on the one hand, and relating the workers' allowance to the increase in productivity, on the other

hand, produced positive results. He claims that the experience in the construction of the Siberian pipelines and other areas, have shown that the reduction of the work-force and the relative increase of sales raises productivity. Concerning the reduction of cost of production, it is said that reducing wages to production cost, would result in the reduction of the wastage of raw materials. Mr. Aghabegyan also says:

"In this way, any carelessness in the usage of material sources would result in a reduction of the amount of Ruble in the workers' pockets, and in return, any reduction in the material cost would result in an increase of profit and the ability of Russian capitalist to compete in the world market."

In addition, the Russian bourgeoisie has come up with other solutions to help the "respectable" managers of the (read: the Party's line) as well as large numbers of official and uniformed police and inspectors, would help his Ministry to maintain order and prevent corruption. Thus the domestic policy of the Russian bourgeoisie in the present crisis becomes clearer. On the one hand, the aforesaid nine managers to produce the same amount of gold with 284 workers as opposed to 1200 workers previously.

Today the Russian workers have to work 4 times harder in order to maintain a human standard of living. The capitalist crisis in Russia and the self-sacrifice of workers in the production process has one more, on one hand, forced the Russian bourgeoisie to more and more let its managers and lackies run the production affairs, and discipline the workers employed in production centres, and on

(Quoted from "Oktobre" No. 3, the organ of the Communist Party of Iran - The Committee Abroad)

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Resolutions of the Founding Congress of the Communist Party of Iran in English



The OSCPIA accepts full responsibility for all the translations, articles, news, etc., in the Bolshevik Message.

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First Congress of the Organisation of the Supporters of the CPI - Abroad

The First Congress of the OSCPIA was held recently. It was attended by delegations from the various parts of the Organisation, and some observers, among whom there were some comrades from the Committee of the Communist Party of Iran Abroad.

Eight months after the formal declaration of formation of the OSCPIA (see B.M. No. 7), it was the task of the Congress, i.e. the highest organ of the organisation to examine the results of our activities so far, define the basis of the activities of the organisation, and to decide on its tasks in the coming year and adopt the necessary guidelines and resolutions. Hence, the discussions of the Congress revolved around three major topics: the Executive Committee's report, the Constitution and the various resolutions.

The Congress began its work by hearing the report of the Executive Committee and after four sessions of discussions about the report whilst approving it, the Congress decided on the tasks of the organisation, the establishment of routine tasks, and in particular, the extension of the propaganda-agitational activities of

the organisation. The Congress approved the role and significance of the "Organisation of the Supporters of the Party abroad" on its attitude towards Iranian political-cultural circles abroad which do not support a particular political organisation in Iran; and on the attitude towards the activities of the counter-revolutionary forces of the USA, Britain and all other counter-revolutionary forces. On the relation of the organisation with non-Communist communists groups and organisations, the Congress recognised the necessity of forming a resolution, and mandated all the sections of the organisation to endeavour for the deepening of our knowledge and understanding of these organisations. The Congress also adopted a number of arrangements on the other external and internal activities of the organisation.

The next topic on the agenda of the Congress was the examination and adoption of the Constitution. On this topic, whilst emphasizing the necessity of an all-sided break with the federalist and circulant traditions of the past, the Congress stressed the need for organisational centralization. The Congress discussed and examined the proposed Constitution of the organisation and adopted it, after a number of amendments which made it more precise.

The resolutions which were on the agenda of the Congress, all related to the tasks of the Orga-

Read the Programme of the CPI



IN FRENCH



IN ITALIAN



IN GERMAN



IN ENGLISH

LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM !



In memory of the fallen comrades

Beginning this issue, the Bolshevik Message will devote a section of each issue to commemorating the fallen comrades of the Communist Party of Iran. This will include comrades who fell both before and after the formation of the party.

Since its Founding Congress in Sep. 83, and until now, the Communist Party of Iran has lost 260 comrades in Kurdistan and the rest of Iran.

In this issue, we are publishing a brief history of the life and struggle of comrades Bijan Chehrai, Monir Hashemi and Javad Ghaedi.

Monir Hashemi

Comrade Monir was born in 1954. She started political and revolutionary struggle in 1975. After the February Uprising in 1979 she joined Revolutionary Marxism and became a member of Unity of Communist Militants. She was arrested in June 82. Finally, after enduring 14 months of savage tortures, in the path of defending the cause of the working class and communism, she was executed before the firing squad of the Islamic mercenaries of capital.



Bijan Chehrai

Comrade Bijan was born in 1939 in one of the villages of Isfahan. He began revolutionary activity in 1955, and after many years of endeavour and struggle, he was arrested in 1972, and released in 1979.

Comrade Bijan was again arrested in Dec. 82, and after many months of endurance under savage tortures, was executed in August 83, before the firing squad of the mercenaries of capital.



Javad Ghaedi

Comrade Javad was born in 1952. He started political and revolutionary work in 1971. He was arrested in 1976. After being released from prison he continued his activity in connection with the Mejl-e-Sadra Organization. In 1976 he became a member of the Central Committee of the Marxist-Leninist faction of the Mejl-e-Sadra Organization. After the February Uprising, he joined Revolutionary Marxism and became a member of Unity of Communist Militants. He was arrested in June 82. Finally, after 14 months of savage torture and solitary confinement, and with a deep faith in communism and the emancipation of the working class, he was executed in August 1983, before the firing squad of the Islamic mercenaries of capital.



APPEAL ! *

We have a deficit of \$20,000 in order to purchase winter equipment for Komala Peshmargas (anoraks, boots, warm cloths). For this purpose, the Communist Party of Iran (The Committee Abroad) has prepared special cards for financial contributions, with a value of at least \$10 each. We appeal to all the friends and sympathisers of the revolutionary movement of the Kurdish people and the Supporters of the Communist Party of Iran, to help us in this connection by buying as many of these cards as possible.

Please transfer the price of any number of cards (in Dollars- or its equivalent in other currencies) to the following accounts, and send a copy of the bank receipts to the addresses of "Oktobre". **

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*This appeal was published in "Oktobre", organ of the CPI (The Committee Abroad)

**Please see addresses of the CPI - BM

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- BM Box 1919, London WC1N 3XX, England
- Polard, 2265 Westwood Blvd., #360, CA 90064, U.S.A.

Celebrating the 1st anniversary of the formation of the CPI

During September, the Organisation of the Supporters of the CPI - Abroad celebrated the first anniversary of the formation of the Communist Party of Iran in France, Sweden and Britain. In London (1st Sep.), and Stockholm (2nd Sep.), meetings were organised which included speeches and discussions about the history of formation of the CPI and the present state of the workers' movement in Iran, film-shows about the armed struggle of the Kurdish movement in Kurdistan - containing scenes from the Founding Congress of the CPI - and a photographic exhibition on Kurdistan.

Messages of solidarity with the CPI were received from a number of organisations, among them, the comrades of the "Union of Leninist-Communists of Algeria" (ULCA). Below we publish the text of this message.

MESSAGE OF THE "UNION OF LENINIST-COMMUNISTS OF ALGERIA"(ULCA) TO THE COMRADES OF THE CPI

Comrades!

On the occasion of the 1st anniversary of the formation of the CPI, the ULCA sends its revolutionary greeting to take the opportunity to thank this happy occasion to pay homage to the memory of all fallen comrades who made the formation of the CPI possible and to reassert to militant comrades, the militants and sympathizers of the CPI, our solidarity with the vanguard political and military struggles, which we consider as ours.

In fact, the Algerian Leninist-Communists feel that the motion of the ULCA reminds us that: "We consider ourselves as revolutionaries, as the vanguard movement of Marxism-Leninism, as also a victory over revisionism which hypocritically speaks in the name of Marxism-Leninism in order to deceive the proletariat.

The constitution of the CPI is a living proof that neither the bourgeoisie nor the unscrupulous manoeuvres of reformism and centrism would prevent Communists from finally accomplishing their tasks. This is undoubtedly a precious encouragement for all the communists in Iran and abroad, in particular for those of us who like ourselves in Algeria are forced to work completely underground, and are faced with a merciless suppression.

Despite the length of the road which has been travelled since the formation of a communist party, solidly based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and with deep roots among the proletariat, the Algerian Leninist-Communists are determined to reach this ob-

jective at all costs. The proclamation of formation of ULCA at the meeting of the 1st National Conference, which was held from 15th to 19th July 84, brought together militants from Algeria and those abroad who were organised around "El-Oummi". It is just the first step in this direction, and we hope to take further steps in the coming years.

Conscious of the international dimension of our struggle, the motion of the ULCA reminds us that: "We consider ourselves as revolutionaries, as the vanguard movement of Marxism-Leninism, as the international level and we make a fraternal call to all revolutionary groups who share in our endeavour to open a constructive debate with the perspective of forming an international Leninist tendency". The ULCA also comes with enthusiasm its stand in favour of the necessity of rebuilding a revolutionary Leninist International.

We are conscious of the difficulties which we face and the way the formation of a revolutionary Leninist tendency at the international level, but are convinced that the determination of the revolutionaries who realise the historical importance of such an objective will play decisive role, so long as they are able to meet the requirements of the confrontation, clarification and exchange of experiences.

We believe that the theoretical and political differences which might exist between us could be progressively settled,

thanks to the maturation and the correct undertaking of the theoretico-political debate, which must be urgently started among all those who are striving to set up an international Leninist tendency, so that as far as possible do not concern differences of principle and strategy; a debate which, the ULCA believes, will be judged, above all, by the class struggle.

In the mean time, we are deeply convinced of the necessity to jointly try to find possibilities which are presented to us in different areas such as the struggle against repression, of which we are all victims in our respective countries, and the mobilisation against imperialist provocations which threaten the security of our people.

Long live the struggle of the workers and exploited masses of Iran!

Long live the heroic struggle of Komala's militants in Kurdistan!

Long live the CPI!

Down with the reactionary and fratricidal war, opposing the peoples of Iran and Iraq!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Long live the friendship of Iranian and Algerian Marxist-Leninists!

21/9/84

(Translated from the original French text -BN)

From p.20

ical advances, despite setting workers' goals, and starting the act of abolishing private property, was driven to defeat before its grand aim, and the bourgeoisie, by appropriating it, replaced the gains of the working class with its own private property, in the form of bourgeois state property, and revived its lost imperial power. We must add that the bourgeoisie defeated all the self-sacrifice and devotion of the workers and once again established the rule of suppression and exploitation over them?

The truth is that the Russian working class was defeated not in a face-to-face confrontation with the most bourgeois elements from within and by a bourgeoisie which was deceivingly speaking in the name of "communism" and "socialism". Revisionism was the most destructive weapon of the bourgeoisie in harnessing and defeating the immense movement of the Russian proletariat. The communist Party of Russia at the time of Lenin and the Bolsheviks, who were alive in order to struggle, for those whose hopes are for the future, these setbacks are only temporary stages in the militant life of the world working class, a struggle replete of ups and downs, and which will undoubtedly end in the final victory of the working class and the emancipation of mankind.

Long live for the communists of the world, the commemoration of the October Revolution, to be accompanied by a re-declaration of commitment to practising and following the path of the October Revolution and the Bolshevik Party, and the continuous exposure of the bourgeoisie nature of its false defenders who have put on the mask of "communism" on their faces.

The Communist Party of Iran, which has just left behind a militant life of over one year, is truly the manifestation of the will of the revolutionary working class of Iran for accomplishing this historic conception. The Communist Party of Iran is the true follower of the traditions of the Bolshevik Party and the magnificent path of the Great October Revolution. This has been clearly proven

Lenin, but the defender of the interests of a capitalist and imperialist country, under the guise of "marxism" and in the name of the working class. The present-day Russia, by intensifying repression and the exploitation of Russian workers and the workers of the countries under its domination, by dividing the ranks of the Communists throughout the world, that with all our strength, we shall endeavour to continue the path of the October Revolution and defend its valuable gains.

In memory of the October Revolution!

Long live socialism!

Long live the Communist Party of Iran!

Executive Committee of the Organisation of the Supporters of the Communist Party of Iran Abroad

Contributions received

The Communist Party of Iran wishes to acknowledge the receipt of the following contributions:

#Shahram	Britain	£13
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The Kurdish Organisation of the CPI (Komala) - Representation Abroad wishes to acknowledge the receipt of the following contributions:

#More	France	Fr200
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BOLSHEVIK MESSAGE

From p.18

news, it was expelling the residents of six villages in Piranshahr.

The Islamic regime must not be allowed to go ahead with its plan freely. Communists and workers throughout the world, and anyone whose conscience is hurt by this reaction of the Islamic regime to the people of the country, must expose these counter-revolutionary attempts of the regime, and give support to the struggle of the people in Kurdistan. The people of the villages which have been given refuge to leave their homes must know that they are not alone in their fight against the regime. Solidarity with the struggles of the Kurdish people against the plan of compulsory immigration

The Organisation of the Supporters of the CPI-A abroad and several Kurdish Solidarity Committees in Europe and U.S.A., and a number of other organisations and institutions organised rallies in solidarity with the struggle of the Kurdish people against the reactionary plan of the regime to forcefully immigrate the people of 100 villages in Kurdistan:

Paris: on 14th Sep., with the initiation of the Kurdish Solidarity Committee with the struggle of the Kurdish people against compulsory immigration*, a protest march was organised from the Republic Square towards the Bastil Square. 400 people took part in this march.

Stockholm: with the call of the "Kurdistan Committee - Sweden", a protest march was organised towards the Parliament. About 250 people took part in this demonstration.

West Berlin: a picket was held in front of the "Broken Church", on 8th Sep., by the invitation of the "Coordinating Committee of Progressive Students in Stuttgart". In "West Berlin" in which 200 people took part. This action was also supported by the Association of Kurdistan Students Abroad (AKSA) and the "Representation of Free Students of the University of Berlin".

***Los Angeles:** on 17th Sep., a picket was held in front of the Amnesty International, with the initiative of the "Solidarity Committee with the Kurdish People".

Montreal: a march was called by the "Provisional Committee of Iranian Refugees (Canadian branch)" for 1st Oct. Despite coinciding with a transport strike in the city, the demonstration was attended by about 90 people. At the end of the march a resolution was passed which was handed over to the Amnesty International offices.

London: on 27th Oct., about 300 people attended a demonstration which passed through the main centres of London. Among the organisations which had called the demonstration were the Kurdistan Committee in London, AKSA, and the Kurdistan Solidarity Campaign.

A SUMMARY OF THE ARMED OPERATIONS OF KOMALA'S PESHMARGAS

Between 18th Aug. and 16th Sep. 84, the revolutionary Peshmargas of the Kurdish Organisation of the CPI (Komala) carried out 100 actions against the suppressive forces of the Islamic Republic. During this period the Islamic regime attacked the towns and Peshmargas on 10 occasions. These attacks were met with heroic resistance and counter-attacks of the Peshmargas. These operations took place mainly in Sardasht, Mahabad, Saghez, Baneh, Urmia, Sanandaj, Alan, Piranshahr and Oshnevieh.

Ten communist militants lost their lives in an 8-hour battle.

On 24th August a number of units of the "Komala" of the "Dahlo" battalion, together with the commander of the battalion and two members of the Kermanshah Committee of the Kurdistan Organisation of the CPI (Komala), who had stayed behind for the battle, were attacked from the hill-tops by the regime's forces. Comrade Hassan Shabani, member of the CPI, and the commander of the battalion, was the first victim. The Peshmargas twice attempted to climb up hill and break the line of attack, but each time were forced to retreat, suffering a number of casualties at the same time. The clashes which had started from 11 o'clock in the morning continued until the end of the night. Throughout the battle the regime's forces brought in large reinforcements from their bases and tried to advance on our comrades a number of times but each time were heroically resisted and

suffered heavy losses. Finally, the Peshmargas broke through the ranks of the enemy and thus the battle came to an end. In this battle 10 comrades, among them 3 members of the CPI, lost their lives.

The capture of the great Chalan-gar garrison.

On 11th Sep. Komala Peshmargas succeeded to capture this garrison in less than an hour. They carried out this operation in commemoration of the death of 10 communist militants of the "Dahlo" battalion. In this operation, 3 of regime's forces were killed, 27 arrested, and a large number of equipment and military equipment were captured. This garrison is situated amongst tens of regime's bases and garrisons and was captured at a time when the regime had already ordered its forces on a war alert!

Celebrations on the occasion of the first anniversary of the formation of the CPI.

During September, Komala Peshmargas, the people of several villages in Kurdistan celebrated the first anniversary of the formation of the Communist Party of Iran.



The cover page of "Oktobe" - Organ of the CPI - the Committee Abroad

BOLSHEVIK MESSAGE

From p.7

The new year (1981-82 BM) was declared by Khomeini as the year of the revolution and freedom斗争. Thus the question of President's political competence was debated in the legislative assembly. Mojahedin had started their agitation in the cities. The President would not sign the laws passed in the assembly. Bani Sadr, who was a member of the Basij proposed another referendum... In mid-May, Mojahedin, in a letter, requested that they be allowed to see the great-father, Imam Khomeini; but Khomeini refused, on the pretext that they are armed. It was ob-

The populist organisations at this juncture were going through organisational crises, and could not fulfil their original roles. They had suffered successive political attacks, repeated zigzags and were impotent in taking up positions on such acute questions as the war, and in general, due to the historical deadend of populism, they repeated the errors of marxism. And the communists, though having clear positions, were not an effective force, except in Kurdistan where they were engaged in an armed war. After repeated attacks by the regime, and the militarisation of the

On 28th June, following an explosion in the offices of the IRI, suddenly half the Party's leaders went to Heaven. The savagery of Bani Sadr reached its peak. People who were not lookers, waiting for a radical change, completely withdrew from the scene. The period of mutual terrors had begun. Later, Rejaije and Bahmar also joined the other leaders of the Party. In both of these wars, the regime was at the same time very consciously attacking the people and their rights, and lost no chance to force them as far back as possible. The period of terrors had brought about such conditions as public beatings, expulsions, arrests in factories and public schools and institutions, and the disappearance of people, had become normal things.

The October of that year, Khomeini became president, and thus Mojahedin's optimism and people's vain hopes were dashed. Bani Sadr and Rajavi went abroad, and one of the sides, the same side which without any vacillation or illusion, rightly followed the policy of the people and anti-imperialism, took direct control of all the levers of power. The government from then on, was the government of bayonets and bullets and nothing else.

Khosrou Davaei

To be continued....

We wish the improvement of Ayatollah Khomeini's health

The news of Ayatollah Khomeini's illness has thrown the

people of our country into a deep sadness and sorrow. The

elements dependent on imperialism, and the capitalist class of

Iran, who have now gathered in the Revolutionary Council,

the Army, and the Liberal grouping, have seized on this chance and

are preparing for the complete seizure of power and the

consolidation of their domination over the imperialists.

The US imperialists, its friends and spies, and all the parties and circles of liberal capitalists out of those in government are hostile towards Khomeini more than any one else. That is why his illness, especially at a time when the anti-imperialist struggle of the masses of our country have acquired a new escalation, has (on the one hand) caused the rejoice of the enemies of the people of Iran, and (on the other hand) the apprehension of our people, all communist revolutionaries and other militant and anti-imperialist forces.

The Organisation of Iranian People's Fedaei Guerrillas, while stressing the necessity of the unity of all the militant and anti-imperialist forces with communist revolutionaries who have employed all their strength for smashing the anti-people front of the liberal capitalists and their imperialist backers, wishes the ever sooner improvement in the health of Ayatollah Khomeini.

The Organisation of Iranian People's Fedaei Guerrillas

Friday 25/1/80

(Leaflet produced by the Fedaeen - BM)

vious that a serious settling of accounts was forthcoming.

On 20th June, Mojahedin and the supporters of Bani Sadr started a demonstration against the execution of Bani Sadr and the IRI. The crowd shouted death to Bani Sadr, death to the party of club-wielders, and greetings to Bani Sadr. They dreamed of another uprising; things led up to armed demonstration and clash with the security forces. People knew Bani Sadr well, and did not show much interest in Mojahedin either who until yesterday had defended the government and wanted to establish the same rule of God's doctrines once again.

work-places, workers were placed under severe pressure, and because of the absence of a workers' alternative, they were practically the spectators of the bloody fight and settling of accounts of the two sides over the governmental power.

Following these incidents, Bani Sadr was ousted from his post as the Chief of Staff. On 21st June, the people of Tehran, who had been supporting Bani Sadr. He then went underground, his wife was arrested, his offices ransacked, and his private guard was dissolved. In those days the Hezbollahis ruled by themselves.

THE BEST WAY TO HELP THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT OF THE KURDIAN PEOPLE IS TO HELP THE KURDIAN ORGANISATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF IRAN-KOMALA.

FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS FOR KOMALA MAY BE CREDITED TO THE FOLLOWING ACCOUNT:

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News from Iran

**Long live the workers
of Canada-Dry! -Tehran**

The "Canada Dry" factory is situated on the Old Karaj Road and has 3000 workers. In July, 63 workers of this factory protested for their demands which was the replacement of the job classification plan and the full payment of the productivity allowance (the amount of this allowance which was 2000 Toomans - £170 - every three months, was reduced to 900 Toomans - £75). This fixed a final date for the demands to be met and presented it to the management. When the deadline had expired and no actions had been taken towards meeting the new demands, they decided to go on strike.

The strike started and shortly after, a group of representatives of the Public Prosecutor's office, led by the famous executioner "Lajevardi", arrived in the factory. They tried to talk the workers back to work. The workers stood firm on their demands and took no notice of their talk. Lajevardi, realizing the state of unrest amongst the workers said: "The Islamic government is at war and you have no right to ask for these demands. Go back to your jobs, otherwise, I will order your execution". Following this intimidation, clashes broke out between the workers and the Pasdaran. They immediately surrounded the factory and closed all doors on the workers. The factory hall had been filled with tear gas and smoke. Workers took cover behind the lorries. They then had to go onto the rooftops and started to defend themselves against the Pasdaran's bullets and fire by breaking glass bottles at them. Workers were trying to spread the clashes outside the factory and onto the streets, but were not successful because of the extensive offensive and encirclement by the Pasdaran. As a result, a number

of workers were killed and some were arrested.

The strike continued for one week, after which, on 18th July, the strikers gathered once again in the factory and offered a date for the realization of their demands. At this time a large number of workers from other sections of the factory joined the strikers, such that the whole factory was on strike.

The management and the Pasdaran who were trying to prevent the strike by giving promises, were confronted with a firm reply from the workers: "We won't work until we get a wage rise". They also demanded the freedom of political prisoners, the unity and consistency of the movement, and the withdrawal of the religious leaders from the workers.

Some moving atrocities of the Islamic Republic

Workers of 'Iran-Do-Charkh', communists, and strike

On 6th June, leaflets by the "Supporters of the Communist Party of Iran" were distributed in the factory about the demands of "productivity" and the rights of the workers. Immediately after this, the Pasdaran stopped the factory coaches on the roads and carried out body searches of the workers. A number of the workers were arrested for carrying leaflets. The next day, workers protested against the arrests of their comrades. Clashes broke out between the workers and the armed Pasdaran. The Pasdaran fired on the protesting workers. During this incident 47 workers were arrested.

On Saturday 9th June, the workers once again assembled at the work-place and declared a strike in protest against their comrades' arrest, and demanded their immediate release. Shortly

after this, the Pasdaran arrived at the factory and forbade the workers to returning to work. But the strike continued all day, and three more workers were arrested. At the end of the day, the Pasdaran stopped the coaches which normally transported the workers home and said to them: "You have no right to use the factory facilities since you have not worked today". Once again fighting broke out between the workers and the Pasdaran, and a number of workers were arrested. At this time, the workers finally succeeded in using the transport services on that day. The 47 arrested workers were also released the next day.

During the period of this strike, the workers of other factories such as "Molam Moket" (a carpet factory) and "Parsa Electric" supported the protest action of the "Iran-Do-Charkh" workers.



From p.5

ween the doors and his fingers were cut off. A group of Pasdaran went to the "Shahr-e-Naz" Park and hit the people who had come to the park for a day out. In the "Molat" Park, they hit a pregnant woman and injured her protesting husband. They attacked a woman in one of the streets and with extreme cruelty pulled out her nails in public. She fell on the ground with her body covered all in blood.

On the other hand, the cooperation and solidarity of the people with those who were being attacked was outstanding. To protect the workers from the attack of Pasdaran, the drivers took them away from the area. The doors of many houses were being left open so that those being followed could take refuge. In the "Resalat" street, two girls were arrested by the Hezbullah while crossing the road. The two girls resisted and got out of the bus. The Hezbullahis, who were on motorcycles, followed the bus. But the passengers persuaded the driver not to stop at any of the stops, until the bus arrived at the terminal. The bus arrived at the terminal, the Hezbullahis surrounded the bus and asked the driver to open the doors. But the driver and the passengers decided not to open the door and repeatedly protested to the Pasdaran. Eventually, not able to enter the bus, the Hezbullahis with unity of passengers, the Hezbullah committed another savage crime. With the help of the guards from the "Committee", they turned over the bus, as a result of which two passengers were killed.

To help the Communist Party of Iran financially, please send cheques or money orders to any of the messengers of the CPI abroad payable to Andeeshan. Alternatively, credit the following account and send the bank receipt to the Party addresses:

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In opposition to all these

bourgeois alternatives, communists must be formed. Completely rejected and defeated by the decisive majority of the masses, today, in contrast, none of the bulwarks of the revolution still remained, the workers' illusions in the regime had not yet completely disappeared, the party of the working class had not been formed, chauvinism still had a base among the working class, the slogan "The war must be stopped" was rejected and defeated by the decisive majority of the masses, today, in contrast, none of the bulwarks of the February Uprising remain, the regime is completely isolated, chauvinism has lost its main influence, the Central Committee Party of Iran, the party of the working class, has been formed. Under such circumstances the policy of the proletariat is formed on the basis of the slogan "The war must be stopped at once!" By this slogan the communists proletarians are inviting the masses to insurrection for the overthrow of the Islamic Republic. The immediate cessation of the war is not for us tantamount to the holding of peace negotiations between the representatives of the two bourgeois states, but is an open call for the overthrow of both regimes. The peace we are seeking is only achievable in the light of the insurrection of workers and toilers and the establishment of a revolutionary Democratic Republic. The Revolutionary Democratic Republic ends the war in order to pave the way for the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism. The present Central Committee Party of Iran is demanding an end to the intensification of the class struggle in the region and particularly in Iraq and will be a beginning for an immense revolutionary wave for smashing the power of the bourgeoisie in this region of the world. In the hope of that day!

Alli Katamy

16/9/84

The Tudeh Party and some other organizations in this current, having become disfavoured by the masses and following in the footsteps of the Russian state, have adopted a neutral position, in spite of opposition to the war and are calling for negotiated peace. This position is shared by the socialist-democratic wing of world imperialism, including the French imperialism, who have huge financial interests in Iraq and must be seen as a supporter of peace. They are also backing Iraq in this war.

The US is continuing its policy of silence on the war. From the viewpoint of USA and a section of world imperialism, the war must continue to the extent that the question of political power in Iran is settled in favour of their ideal political alternative, and the bourgeoisie has become able to begin a new cycle of exploitation. The powerful shoulders of a defected working class. Whilst US imperialism and other forces in its camp are opposed to the extension of the war to the Gulf itself and the spread of the pan-Islamic propaganda campaign of the Islamic Republic, the US bourgeoisie, by providing arms to both sides and establishing closer economic ties with them - especially with the Islamic Republic - they approve of its continuation.

In revolutionary Kurdistan

"FORCED IMMIGRATION"- THE LATEST REACTIONARY PLAN OF THE REGIME AGAINST THE PEOPLE OF KURDISTAN

According to Communiqué No.78 of the Representation of the Kurdish Organisation of the Communist Party of Iran in East Asia abroad, the Islamic Republic regime has warned the people of 100 villages in the Sardasht area to leave their villages and immigrate to other areas. This policy of compulsory immigration is part of the plan of the Islamic Republic to exert pressure on the poor masses supporting the revolutionary movement of Kurdistan, and to weaken the mass influence of this movement. Compulsory immigration and deportation and forcing people to leave their accustomed areas is a policy which has been employed many times before by the oppressors of the toiling masses.

The latest reports by the Representation of the Kurdish Organisation of the CPI abroad, speak of the deportation of the people of 6 villages in the Piranshahr area, which in all have a population of 535. Three of these villages have been set on fire and only a burnt rubble remains. This is the actual perspective which is awaiting them.

But the people of Kurdistan have not sat idle before these anti-human policies of the regime; they are resisting and protesting. According to the Report, the representatives of the people of these areas went to Urumia and officially protested to the authorities against

these crimes.

Also in Sardasht, on 20th August, the people of the 100 villages, the representatives of the people of these villages, the commanders of the Pasdaran and the city Garrison, and some other officials of the Government participated, the authorities, under the pressure of mass protests, proposed a new plan to deport the "falsa'af" ("aliens") to their forced immigration.

"Firstly, people should not allow the Peshmargas to their villages, and must not have any contacts with them; Secondly, the people should co-operate with the regime and give it information about the Peshmargas; Thirdly, people should give assurance that shots would not be fired at government forces from their villages."

The government officials stressed that if these conditions are not observed, they would expell the inhabitants of the villages and destroy their homes. But the militant people of the villages did not accept any of the regime's demands and continued their resistance.

The people of Sardasht and Baneh areas have organised a united and uniform struggle against this policy, and announced that they are not prepared to leave their homes under any circumstances, and the regime can only succeed to implement its policy over their dead bodies.

The pressure of the masses' struggle at home, and also the international pressures, frightened the Islamic Republic such that Moavsi, the Prime Minister, had to publicly deny the news of forced immigration. He said in a press interview: "The question of forced immigration is a rumor made up by the gourpots! We only want to send the inhabitants of some villages to other villages, by their own will!"

But the same day that the regime was deceptively denying this

Continued on p.14



The historical march of the people of Saghez and Baneh in support of the people of Marivan - July 1979

Victory to the Revolutionary Movement of the Kurdish Masses!

From p.3

People have always used the most "left-wing" positions and the other circles of this spectrum were crying out, they have expressed with innumerable and gestures. What has happened to them during the last year?

In the various issues of "Radio Voice of the Revolution" the slogan by sanctifying bourgeois democracy as the only form of democracy - in a way that even Kautsky would be ashamed to do - and by formulating the theory of completely leaving the leadership of "the future political revolution in Iran" in the hands of the petty-bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie such that Martov and Martynova appear more left-wing - they have started their open servitude to the National Council of Resistance...

Let us now consider one other aspect of the life of the Communist Party of Iran, i.e. its significance as a precondition and a determining component of the proletarian alternative against the Islamic Republic regime. Out of the bourgeois "anti-imperialists", take the National Council of Resistance. Let us suppose that among all other bourgeois oppositions of the Islamic Republic this current was "more respectable" and less discredited. The present situation is a clear exposure of this current's anti-imperialist mask. During the past year, the NCR has added to its anti-democratic programme, its open and formal compromise and alignment with the imperialists. Today the NCR, through Rajavi, promises the imperialist anti-imperialist circles that if they rely on the NCR, the "naughty acts of 1979 in Iran would not be repeated", and that the NCR would be the guardian of internal peace,

and the security of the region, under the "dictatorship of the public". The NCR is now begging power from the imperialist circles and shares in the fear of the Lords of capital of a mass revolution in Iran. Consider these developments and remember that throughout its history, the Communist Party of Iran has been the propagandist and harbinger of socialism, revolution and democracy. All Party publications, the two Party radios and all of our comrades have been calling them back to their class organisation, and also to insurrection and the overthrow of this regime. Moreover, today our Party is the uncompromising leader of an actual and living revolutionary-democratic movement. Today only the programme of the CPI has no reference point for assessing and recognising any current claiming to be Marxist, but the practical-organisational strength of the CPI is also the criterion of the strength and influence of the organised vanguard of the working class and their ability in leading the Iranian revolution.

At the present conditions, no one can be a defender of proletarian dictatorship and socialism, strive for it, or even take steps to realise it and not support the Communist Party of Iran. No one can be opposed to the transfer of power from above the masses, be a true defender of the revolution of the poor and the initiative of millions of

etc., "Radio Voice of the Communist Party of Iran" and "Radio Voice of the Revolution", which broadcast daily from Kurdistan.

masses, and not support the Communist Party of Iran. All conditions are expressive of the fact that once again the breath of political power will be brought onto the streets. Once again the question will be posed: Will the working class and toiling masses become a prop for the coming to power of this or that faction of the bourgeoisie? Will they by overcoming the bourgeoisie, impress their stamp on the Iranian revolution? Which organisation but the Communist Party of Iran wants to and can organise the resolution of workers and toilers for their emancipation?

On the eve of the first anniversary of the formation of the Communist Party of Iran we repeat: "The Communist Party, the vanguard party of the workers of Iran, has held this position as the most important factor which makes possible the decisive victory of revolutionary democracy in the forthcoming resurgence of the revolutionary movement. A party which strives to organise the independent rank of workers around their fundamental and class interests. A party which without any illusions has hoisted the banner of the independence of the working class. A party which knows the oppressive and deceptive nature of all the parties and forces of the bourgeois class - whether they are in power or in opposition - and consistently exposes them before the working masses. Such a party, at the same time, brings to the arena and educates the working class as the leader of revolutionary democracy."

Vartan Shahonian

Addresses of the CPI

To contact the CPI, the central organs of the CPI ("Kommunist" and "Besoy-e-Soyyalman"), the Radio Voice of the CPI, and the Radio Voice of the Revolution, please write to any of the following addresses:

*RM Box 3123, London WC1N 3XX, England
*S.H.I., C.P. 1064, 10100 Torino, Italy
*Postfach 501142, 5000 K6nigswinter, Germany

Also, to contact the Committee of the CPI abroad, you may write to the following addresses, as well as to the above addresses:

*O.I.S., Box 50040, 10405 Stockholm, Sweden
*BM Box 3004, London WC1N 3XX, England

In memory of the October Revolution



The following is the text of a leaflet which was recently published by the Executive Committee of the OSCMA in commemoration of the October Revolution. The original leaflet is in Tsats-BM.

Sixty seven years pass since the October Revolution. With the October Revolution, the working class, once again after the Paris Commune, captured the political power in another part of the world. The October Revolution, on the one hand showed to the world working class its immense power, and on the other hand, proved the impotence and futility of the violence and suppression of the bourgeoisie against the united and organised will of millions of class-conscious men and women

workers. The October Revolution instilled the love and faith of communism and the communist party in the hearts of hundreds of millions of workers throughout the world and was the evidence of the legitimacy and truthfulness of the principles of the Communist Manifesto about the vital and irrefutable need of the working class for its independent class party. The October Revolution, at the same time, showed the self-sacrifice and devotion of the workers in the path of emancipation from the chains of the capitalist system of exploitation and slavery and the establishment of a new socialist society.

Without doubt, the most determining factor in the victory of the October Revolution was the existence of the decisive leadership of the Bolshevik

party at the head of the conscious and organised proletariat of Russia. All through the various periods of the revolution, the Bolshevik Party placed the fundamental aims, slogans and interests of the proletariat and Revolution at the forefront of its struggle and consistently and irreconcilably fought for their realization; it made the proletariat and toiling masses conscious of their real demands and interests, and finally, at a sensitive and determining moment, called the workers to an armed insurrection against the bourgeoisie, and led the working class in this insurrection.

But what happened that the communist proletariat of Russia, despite all its histor-

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