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## THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC GUNS DOWN ANTI-WAR DEMONSTRATORS IN BANEH

It is now sometime that the Islamic Republic, in the continuation of its oppressive policies against the workers and toilers of Iran, and in particular against the militant people of Kurdistan, has extended the reactionary Iran-Iraq war to Kurdistan. As a result of this policy, Iraqi war planes have repeatedly bombed Kurdish towns and villages. The last example of these air raids has been the bombardment of the city of Baneh on 5th June 84. According to a recent communique by the Representation of the Kurdistan Organisation of the Communist Party of Iran-Abroad, more than 650 have been killed, over 1000 have been wounded and a large part of the city has been razed to the ground.

Following this event, the enraged people of Baneh took to the streets in large numbers to protest against the reactionary war and the Islamic regime of capital. Two days after the bombardment, the city's deputy to the Majlis was twice attacked by the angry people, but each time he was rescued

from certain death by the Pasdaran. The regime's clergymen had become so frightened that they hid their cloaks and fled the city in disguise.

In order to take control, the regime's forces surrounded the city and fired at the war-stricken people of Baneh. Reports estimate the death-toll to be over 12 in this shooting whilst those arrested are around 25, and many people have been wounded.

In spite of all these pressures, the struggle of the people of Baneh is still continuing and the people of other cities in Kurdistan have expressed their sympathy with them.

This heroic resistance of the people of Baneh is yet another example of the general discontent of the Iranian people against the war of the capitalists, and is expressive of the general demand for the overthrow of this regime and the immediate ending of the war. The significance of this action lies

### COMMUNAL VIOLENCE IN INDIA

Religion is not the solution to workers' misery

In the last few months the news of armed clashes between the Sikhs and Hindus in the Indian State of Punjab, intervention of the Indian State and its attack on the Golden Temple in Amritsar which resulted in the massacre of more than 1500 people including the Sikh extremist leader Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, mutinies in some sections of the Indian army, resulting in the killing of one general and a few high ranking officers, and desertion of thousands of Sikh soldiers, have made the headlines world over. It is important that we take a look at this incident, to examine the underlying causes and define the tasks of the communists in relation to it.

Religion which throughout the course of history has always been a means in the hands of the exploiting classes in order to deceive and defeat the exploited masses and to protect the *status quo*, now has once again come to the fore to put its reactionary content

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## WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE !



# A look at the past

## On the occasion of 1st April

First of April is the anniversary of the official foundation of the Islamic Republic. Five years ago on such a day, Iranian people—jubilate of the victories that they had achieved in the struggle against the murderous regime of the Shah—flocked to the polling-stations. They participated in a referendum called by Bazargan's provisional government, said no to the monarchy and yes to the Islamic Republic.

In those days no one could convince an elated emancipated people who still held in its hands the guns it had seized from Shah's powerful army—that if it so freely leaves its fate in the hands of those who have lived all their lives by duping the people, serving for centuries the khans, landlords and kings, and who even before coming to power, had revealed their enemy's nature, the freedom, the situation would become worse than it was before. People used to say it is impossible for the situation to be changed to what it was previously!

Although those who knew beforehand that this was the beginning of a painful tragedy, did not they freedom, and shouldered their victims long before the "freedom spring" (1), to make people see the real face of the new rulers, they were too few for their cries to have any effects on the roars of exultations of millions of the freed people.

**"THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT IS NOT THE ORGAN OF THE TOILERS' REVOLUTION AND UPRISING BY ANY MEANS. THE HISTORICAL MISSION OF THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT—WHICH IS TRULY 'PROVISIONAL' FROM THE STAMPOUT OF THE LONG-TERM INTERESTS OF IMPERIALISM IN IRAN—IS TO SAVE CAPITAL AND IMPERIALISM FROM THE STORM OF THE REVOLUTION OF TOILING AND MILITANT MASSES OF IRAN."**

*The true communists exposed the bourgeois nature of the new regime from the first day—EM*

Now the hell which the representatives of the God of capital have built for the Iranian people on earth, has caught victim hundreds of thousands of the same people and their best children; and as though no more victims existed in the Iranian people... They have taken as much as they could, and it is high time that the same people rises and bring into the shameful history of the Iranian people.

Although today the recollection of the days when people went to the polls and voted yes for the government of Islam—which was exactly that, no less than nothing more. The days when they participated in demonstrations and gave their blessings to Khomeini and his aids, welcoming the arrival of his car in their millions, will make those who are mourning the loss of their loved ones regret what had happened and swear at themselves and the world. But those days must be told to the people so that they would remember what we communists were then telling them, what we were asking them to do and what they did and did not do... We must remind them of those days so that all those curses at their fate, would give their place to their anger and rage against the capitalist system and all its states; and all those regrets and remorse, would give way to a reverberating city and a firm resolution to change the existing order of things.

The story began from the years 76,77. Following a big boom in world economy, when Iran's revenue from oil was increasing several-fold in a few years—an unprecedented income whose owners no longer knew what celebration and festivities to spend it on—suddenly everything changed. The price of oil, which was the main part of Iran's national revenue, plunged from thirty odd Dollars a barrel to less than 15. The world economic crisis had begun and this was enough to put Iranian economy to its last throes. Successive rises in the national revenue which supposedly was going to let Iran compete with the industrial countries in the world—from the point of view of revenue—and hurl it from the other side of the "gates of advanced civilization" (2), decreased swiftly. It was not long, before the Government's huge budget—deficit—the same government that was giving interest-free loans to Britain, Egypt and Pakistan—disrupted all the day-dreams of the rulers. The schools, meals were abolished; industrial, development, and construction projects were halted; wage payments even in the private sector, which had grown at a fast rate as a result of contract work for the state, were delayed successively. All these were happening at a time when the banks and credit institutions, which had regarded this short-lived boom as permanent, were prepared to make everyone a car and house owner by monthly instalments of 100 Tomans (16), and everyone had his life on credit; at a time when immense state expenditures had thrown billions of Tomans into the hands of the consumers and market, and income from individual work, as well as drawing tens of thousands of workers from the Philippines, Pakistan and Korea,

*Unity of Communist Militants (Sahad)*

*From "About the sit-in of workers in the Labour Ministry"*

*March 79*

had drawn hundreds of thousands from the villages towards the cities and shanty-towns. Goods-imports had come up against the restrictions on credit, money and currency. Inflation was hitting every thing at a dizzying speed. The "Traders Chambers", state inspectors, and a salaried crowd which was lurking everywhere to impose fines on the profiteers and unlicensed dealers, could not do anything. Signs of mass discontent began to show up. People's and workers' protests began. The conditions in the slums and shanty-towns deteriorated and the struggles inside and outside the towns escalated.

Iranian bourgeoisie, which thanks to its imperialist-supported tyrants, did not have a need for political work, partnership and making plans for its future, and particularly in those few years all its time was spent counting the astronomical figures of the money that had found way to its pockets, and whose plans had been disrupted by the recent bad business, blamed the Shah for everything—the "incompetent Shah"—seeing the first signs of disorder. Their opposition increased in the context of the mass protest and the pressure of anti-fighters popularized the call for "free political atmosphere".

The always protesting workers who had been driven

to the edge, following massacres such as the Jahane-Cheet(3), and the special prisons set up inside the factories, and the people who still remembered the trial of Gholi-Bozorg(4) and the role of the prosecutor on the television screens and who had not forgotten the days of Rastakhiz Party(5) when Shah was shamelessly saying "whoever does not like it can go", took their retreat of the big dictator as a well-wish. With them, came the politicians, poets, artists and booksellers, who welcomed these changes and came out of their isolations.

The religious apparatus which had long been fortified as the main producer of the anti-communist vaccine, and thanks to the efforts of the newest generation of its ideologues—like Motahari and Shariati—who had truly consolidated religious principles against the atheist left movement, by taking advantage of the numerous educational and scientific institutions—organized tens of thousands of thousands of mosques, teams of mourners, propagandists, and Friday Prayers throughout the country—who at the same time regarded themselves as oppressed because of government's encroachment on the endowments and the affluent centres such as the Hall of Chods-e-Razavi—and finally the record of hostility of its exiled leaders with the Shah in the previous years, had the greatest potential, readiness and ability to fall ahead in the arena of this discontent, and it did.

In those days the well-known currents of the opposition were the National Front, the Fedaiien and Mojahedin. None of these had the organisational ability to play a role in this mass rising. Fedaiien's and Mojahedin's activities in prison and their organisations had suffered serious blows. The later events also demonstrated that in practice they too made their influence and popularity a prop for the control of power of Khomeini and the Islamic Republic. Because of good neighbourly relations between Tehran and Moscow, the Tudehies did not take a position against the rise of Khomeini. It was clear that Shah was not going to return. And afterwards, they vociferously declared the Islamic Republic as not only their tactic but also as their strategy.

Besides these, was the National Front which carried the memories of Mosaddegh. When people's protest escalated and the Shah's recourse to bullets, contrary to his expectations, made people ever more determined and poured them onto the streets, and when it was clear that the government could not remain as it was and had to be changed, the behind-the-scenes talks aimed at entrusting the affairs of the state into the hands of the leaders of the National Front—who were more Royalist than the others in the opposition—began. The National Front replaced Sharif Emami as Prime Minister; but his offers could not quieten the risen people either. It was a long time since the cries of death to Shah could be heard everywhere and the Prime Minister was not going to be accepted. So, more retreats before the people became necessary and it arranged that the National Front and the Islamic Front and the prestigious liberals who had not soiled their hands in open collaboration and association with the Shah, would take the running of things into their hands and set the face of Khomeini and the religious apparatus which had the greatest ability in taking away the question of political power from the agenda of the masses.

In this plan, too, previous agreements had been made in France among Khomeini, the religious leaders, the liberals, and all those forces who had authority over the army, police, SAVAK and the Imperial Guard. At a higher level, the heads of Western industrial

states in the Guadalupe Conference had endorsed their seal of approval on these agreements.

Now that this was the best solution, all the propaganda loudhailers inside and outside Iran began to push Ayatollah Khomeini's picture and voice into the eyes and ears of the people. Although the press were still in the hands of the same government, they knew well how to cast shadow on the news of the greatest workers' and mass protests and strikes, and pass off the movement which had begun, entirely as the movement of Khomeini's supporters, by publishing the news of the Islamic movement and the speech of some Moslem lecturer in a remote town.

Khomeini was saying "Shah must go", and his catchword was "unity of words". For many people who were shouting "Death to Shah", the words "must go", and particularly for those who stood for a republic, for those who wanted democracy and were crying out for freedom, and for workers who were writing "long live a workers' government" at the end of their leaflets, the words "unity of words" had a different meaning. Especially since the "unity of words" was not just empty-talk, and for some time already the religious black-handed hands, in the name of "unity of words" and by force of clubs and beatings, were in practice disrupting any courageous action and any protest in the positions of the religious leaders. The Tasa and Ashura(6) demonstrations in 1978, when the army withdrew, that that the organised stewards of the demonstration would themselves prevent the shouting of "Death to Shah", coupled with Bazargan's mission by state helicopters to end the oil-workers' strike, clearly revealed the extent of the three-sided agreements among Khomeini, the liberals and the strategists of the imperialist states; and showed how the agreements had already become plans of action. Nevertheless, the majority of people had fallen for Imam's "unity of words". Although hating religion and the Mullahs, many people—believing that "whoever comes to power would be better than the Shah"—tail-ended the Mullahs; and those who were greatly apprehensive of the fanaticism of the future religious

*Continued on p.8*



*February 1979 in Tehran—even the most heroic and bloodiest uprisings in the masses will not be victorious without the leadership of the conscious proletariat and its communist party*

## Down with the Islamic Republic regime!

## Communists in India :

### REVOLUTIONARY PROLETARIAN PLATFORM

We are happy to be publishing here an article from a communist group in India called the 'Revolutionary Proletarian Party', which we received some time ago. The article is from the first issue of the Bulletin of the RPP - the 'Revolutionary Proletarian'. Although the documents which we have received so far, do not give a complete picture of the history, course of development and methods of practical activity of the group, it is clear from the article that they are at an important stage in the process of unity and organisation of communist revolutionaries in India and that the history of the Indian Communist movement, comrades have been active in the various industrial centres of India for the last 2-3 years.

A look at the 'Policy Statement' of the group shows that the comrades' programmatic and political positions, or at least as far as many points of strength - especially in the attitude towards the various bourgeois and petty bourgeois currents operating in the name of socialism, whether in power or in opposition - also suffer from certain weaknesses. We shall consider some of the more important of these briefly:

Comrades correctly - though not adequately - point to the function of the party, but it seems that they have limited the party to an organisation of professional revolutionaries not working for masses: "Historically it is the duty of the Revolutionary Marxist to carry on relentless ideological struggle against all the reformists and deviationists and to forge a platform of all revolutionaries believing in armed proletarian socialist revolution to overthrow the Indian capitalist States; to create conditions by which the working class itself is able to act as an independent working class organisation and a revolutionary working class party can be formed in due course when the professional revolutionaries are no longer there of their own accord, as the ideological and organisational foundation."

(Policy Statement, pp.18-19)

Perhaps that is why they give a one-sided weight to the role of Trade Unions in the working class as well as in the political struggle of the working class. It seems they regard the role of the party as historically played in uniting the ranks of the proletariat, to the present time, and thus fail to see that today in the 1940s the need is no longer a spontaneous trend within the working-class movement and its principles and foundations are accepted by labour movements in general and are no longer dependent on it. In comrades' belief, the inherent and predetermined character of the party is that they act as the link between the class and its party. Moreover, by limiting such role to the only, comrades fail to see the communist movement as a phenomenon within the proletariat and that it is linked to the class in the same way as any other organisation is only linked to the class to the extent that they adopt the tactics put forward by the party. Finally, the assertion by the comrades that the party can have the role of organising the working class for the abolition of wage labour and the complete emancipation of the vast masses of the oppressed toilers" (Ibid, p.34) - in other words, the overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of proletarian dictatorship - is quite wrong. The, however radical and political they may be, are still non-party organisations and

precisely for this reason are not reliable and effective means for the class in the field of political struggle. In India, by distributing the above tasks to TU, comrades have effect diluted the role and necessity of the party.

In their analysis of the international situation, comrades do not recognise the existence of capitalist countries dominated by imperialism and the sphere of the export and immense profit-making of imperialist capitals, based on the intense exploitation of the cheap labour-power of the working class and other toiling masses. Here the preservation of bourgeois rule necessitates the establishment of the most savage dictatorial regimes. In this connection, the comrades therefore underestimate the revolutionary struggles for democratic rights that inevitably take place in these countries, involving not only the working class - which is the main target of this oppression - but also large masses of non-proletarian toilers and oppressed masses.

As for the agrarian question, comrades correctly assert that in India the agrarian question has already been solved from the economic standpoint, i.e., in the sense of the abolition of feudalism and the domination of the rule of capital over rural production, but they then conclude that "There cannot be any 'peasant struggle' as such because such struggles are waged against landlordism and feudalism to pave the path of bourgeois economic development ... (Ibid, p.vii). Concerning this, there are two questions of tactical importance which we would like to ask. Firstly, in face of the also role of development of capitalism in the Indian countryside, can it be said definitely that class polarisations within the rural population into bourgeoisie and a proletariat has reached its final stage? In other words, has the class issue of the agrarian question, like the economic aspect, also been concluded? Secondly, should not the demand for land among the peasants be a fundamental issue among the peasant masses? In our view, if the answer to these questions is in the affirmative, it is not a remote possibility, considering the close plans of development of capitalism in the Indian countryside - then the peasants have the potential to resort to a revolutionary struggle for the seizure of land owned by the big land-owners. In such a case, it will be the task of the communists not only to organize the rural proletariat in its independent class organisation but also to continually raise the necessary political solution to ending poverty and exploitation, but also to support the revolutionary and democratic aspects of the peasant movements against the bourgeoisie state. They must also adopt the petty-bourgeois ideas of equal division of the land as a way of ending exploitation and poverty.

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FROM THE 'REVOLUTIONARY PROLETARIAN',

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## The Aims of this Paper

Humanity today is living under a system of moribund world capitalism, which is undergoing an unprecedented crisis. It is characterised by spread of poverty, starvation, death and unemployment on a mass-scale. An all round human misery has been increasingly affecting not only the underdeveloped countries like Asia, Africa and Latin America but also the industrially advanced countries of Europe, America and even the so-called socialist countries of Russia, China and the countries of East Europe. The capitalist relations of production have not only proved to be fetters for any further development of the world, but also a substantial part of existing productive forces are kept unutilised and a huge amount of existing productive forces are being destroyed systematically through long-run out localised wars fanned and fuelled by imperialist super-powers by the supply of sophisticated arms to the contending parties. Simultaneously, the discontent and anger of the exploited oppressed masses against Capitalism and Imperialism are being expressed in the form of strikes, demonstrations, armed uprising and protest marches throughout the world. The spectre of Communist revolution is haunting world - Capitalism once again, after a lull of few decades since the second world war.

The post second world war era has witnessed the rise of two imperialist blocs, one headed by U.S.A. and the other by U.S.S.R. fiercely competing with each other to establish their hegemonies in different parts of the world for a redivision of the world market. This imperialist super power rivalry is very likely to cause total annihilation of mankind in the event of a nuclear world-war.

U.S.S.R., the first proletarian state in world history has degenerated into a State Monopoly Capitalist country and has not only abandoned the Russian proletariat during the post-revolutionary period of class-struggle, which it had to wage in near-isolation due to its own backwardness but also failed to extend its revolutionary influence elsewhere in Europe. The proletarian State in U.S.S.R. was replaced by a neo-bourgeois state born out of remnants of the Tsarist bourgeoisie combined with the petty-bourgeois elements of the Russian Communist Party, which was by then captured and controlled by petty-bourgeois elements.

The world proletarian movement became impotent for decades due to the political impact of this neo-bourgeoisie of U.S.S.R. which ruled under the leadership of Stalin in the name of Marxism-Leninism and followed a path of Class-collaboration of the proletariat with the national bourgeoisie in different countries. As a result insurrectionary proletarian movements against Capitalism in various countries e.g., Germany, Italy, Spain and China were brutally crushed.

The rise of People's Republic of China under the leadership of Mao-Tse-Tung with his reactionary theory of a "Four-class-bloc" against imperialism - Comprising national bourgeoisie, petty-bourgeoisie, peasantry and working class and his concept of Neo-Democratic Revolution (which essentially meant a bourgeois democratic revolution keeping the bourgeoisie intact) has actually consolidated the rule of Capital in China, simultaneously perfecting the Chinese Bourgeoisie State Machine and reducing the Chinese Proletariat to the position of mere wage labourers with even less rights on certain counts than the proletariat of a bourgeois

parliamentary democracy. The rhetoric of Marxism-Leninism and the pseudo-revolutionary jargons of Mao-Tse Tung thought had however a short-lived impact (compared to the impact of revisionist Stalinism which continues even today) over the world-proletariat and is presently on the wane.

The inability of the Trotskyist movement in the post-Trotskyist era to present any revolutionary alternative to Stalinism and Maoism has in its inherent petty-bourgeois world outlook which equated State Capitalism with 'Socialism-in-transition' and conceives a workers state without a working class in state power. Its failure to comprehend the necessity of smashing the bourgeois state machine in a socialist revolution has led it to characterise the Chinese, Cuban, Vietnamese and even the Communist States as socialist and designate these State-Capitalist Countries as Workers States. From a revolutionary Marxist Leninist standpoint Stalinism-Maoism-Trotskyism are the revisionist and a semi-bourgeois and petty-bourgeois and are deeply anti-proletarian by nature.

The world-proletariat, the only revolutionary class under the system of moribund world-capitalism, after decades of tail-ending of various bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties is once again attempting to assert itself on the world-political arena as an independent class-force. The revolutionary struggles of the proletariat in the form of mass movements against state-capitalism, particularly the struggle of the Polish workers against the repressive militarist government instituted by U.S.S.R. and the struggles of the proletariat on the world-scale.

In India the various so-called Communist and workers' parties have revised their petty-bourgeois class character by undertaking the administrative responsibility of running the bourgeois state machine by forming 'Left Front' governments in the provinces of West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura within the capitalist frame-work of the Indian State. These 'Left Front' governments by their imposition of additional tax burdens on the masses and unshackling of the bourgeoisie machine on the unarmd oppressed working masses during different occasions of their movements and struggles have not only abandoned the Russian proletariat but also failed to extend its revolutionary influence to the working-class cannot signify any bold of the ready-made state-machine and wield it for its own purposes". The bourgeois State machine needs to be smashed and destroyed. The variations in the names styling themselves as Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) have by blindly following the concept of "people's war", "four-class-bloc" and "New Democratic Revolution" and by their anarchist methods of so-called 'annihilation of class-enemies', have proved themselves to be the Indian version of populism in general and revisionism in particular. In this context, in the face of tremendous sacrifice of the cadres had led to the strengthening of the bourgeois state machine in India.

The Communist parties in India, true to their anti-proletarian class character have attempted to destroy the class-unity of the industrial working class by formation of rival Trade-Unions. The multiplicity of Trade Unions has led to the emergence of a striking power of the working class and as result, the strike movement of the Indian workers inspire of their remarkably long-drawn-out character, have failed to achieve any revolutionary results. The 1946-47 Railway workers strike, the Bangalore government workers strike, the Bombay Textile workers strike which continued for more than 2 years, the 1948-49 strike in point, the Indian proletariat is getting disillusioned with these petty bourgeois parties along with their so called class and mass organisations. Under such circumstances the only way to advance the struggle of the revolutionary proletariat in India cannot be over-emphasised.

(Continued on p.16)

FORGING LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!

government, were called by such rumours as "Iman is fluent in five main languages of the world and his wife plays the piano."

The people who had themselves given power to Khomeini, were fascinated by his power, and instead of welcoming the revolution, they welcomed him... After all, Khomeini had been labelled the most revolutionary man of the world, and Khalhali had said "Khomeini is more revolutionary than Lenin!"

When Khomeini was in France, a committee was formed to welcome him. This soon changed its name to the Revolutionary Council. When he came to Iran, just before the Uprising, counting on his mass support, he declared that he would name a government and introduced Bazargan's government. This group which constituted another cabinet—was supposed to safely receive the power from the previous rulers... But the February Uprising disrupted every thing.

People attacked centres which were supposed to remain untouched. Despite Khomeini's calls that "I have not given the order for Jihad and the army has joined us", the angry people captured garrisons, police stations, SAVAK centres, prisons and radio and television stations, one after the other. Although the uprising, by dismantling Bakhtiari's government, actually put into power Bazargan's provisional government, the situation had now changed and the earlier tri-partite agreements had to be altered accordingly. The religious leaders and provisional government's efforts had to be all devoted to preventing the advance of the armed insurrection. In proportion as the balance of power shifted towards the people, the role of Khomeini and the religious group which had greater ability in the deception of the people and the halting of the revolution—became more important, to the disadvantage of Bazargan's liberal government.

People showed that they had a greater revolutionary potential than to be content with the going of Ashari and the coming of the likes of Garansary (7) People were angry and could not be joked with. Only the deep illusions of the people in Khomeini and his infatuation could calm down a large number of the

"FOR MANY TIMES IN THE PAST, PEOPLE'S FADAEEN HAVE THEMSELVES INDEPENDENTLY DECIDED TO PUNISH THE TRAITORS OF THE REVOLUTION. BUT THEY THEMSELVES CARRIED OUT THEIR REVOLUTIONARY EXECUTION. BUT IF HE ARE NOT ACTING INDEPENDENTLY TODAY, HIS SOLE REASON IS THAT WE RECOGNISE A FUNDAMENTAL AND ESSENTIAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE NATURE OF YOUR GOVERNMENT AND THE PUFFET GOVERNMENT OF HOVEYDAH AND THE OLD REGIME. TODAY WE BELIEVE THAT IT IS THE DUTY OF ALL MILITANT AND REVOLUTIONARY FORCES TO ADVANCE, RELYING ON THEIR WEAPON, THE STRUGGLE FOR THE ELIMINATION OF THE KEY Pawns OF THE OLD REGIME, NOT INDEPENDENTLY BUT IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE GOVERNMENT."

From "Fadaiens' letter to Bazargan"

16th March 79

people and not let them demand their rights by their own force. Nevertheless, the Government was faced with severe problems, and as the complementary component of this demagogy and deception, it had begun the violent suppression of the militia, which included the movement in Kurdistan and the unemployed. Although with difficulty—but to a large extent the contrary of the revolutionary movement which had been achieved relying on the illusion of the largest masses of the people had in the "good intentions" of the new rulers, and on the activities of the organised black-hundred bases—which they did not then consider as part of the state. The referendum on 1st April was boycotted by communists and the leftist revolutionary forces, but the overwhelming unanimous majority of the voters voted for the Islamic

Republic in an unprecedented referendum. In fact the Islamic Republic was founded when its leaders had been able to contain people's insurrection. The Islamic Republic acquired legitimacy and was recognised by many foreign States. But in Iran, things were just beginning—workers wanted wages and power; they were demanding the continuation and recognition of workers' control rights and rights. People of Kurdistan had put forward their right—the right to self-determination—and their old demand—autonomy—and the continuation of the suppressive policies of the Shah by the new regime and the bloody events in Sanandaj (8), they had begun the real war against the Islamic Republic, in the first new year after the Insurrection. Throughout this period, Government's task was to deny its crimes and treachery and give promises to the people: "you must have revolutionary patience!"

Many people decided to have patience. Those who could not wait, changed the form of their struggle—under pressure—to legal demands and actions. And another section who would not be deceived by any means, was faced with Shelling and gun-fire in Kurdistan, and the so-called "black-bands" and so-called Revolutionary Committees in other areas. Among the workers the situation was the same. Workers gradually retreated from their political demands and turned to presenting economic and welfare demands to the state—the state which had named itself revolutionary. Complaints were being reported to various organs, one after the other, enquiring why the situation was still the same. As though the new government did not know it, and had not declared through Bazargan that "the situation must become normalised again."

In those days, many workers who considered themselves communist, related themselves to the Fadaiens, and the Fadaiens believed that the Government was revolutionary and national and must not be weakened. They used to say "Confrontation of workers with the Government intensifies the contradictions in the people's camp!" Fadaiens had introduced into their

songs, the slogan, "Drood, Drood, Drood—Drood, Bar-Kho-meini [Greeting, Greetings, Greeting-Greetings to Khomeini—BM] and were determinedly preventing the workers from radical action and insistence on their legitimate rights, describing them as too left-wing and anarchist. They were driving out of the workers' ranks the true communists who were crying out that "a government which becomes weakened by the realisation of workers' demands, should not insist on power", labelling them as Trotskyist, anarchist and hundreds of other names. Like their Tudehite organisers, they were reasoning that by defending Khomeini, they were not allowing a repetition of the Mosaddeghi's fall... Thus, much of the historical and world respect which communism had among the

Iranian working class, became a prop in the hands of Fadaiens and other petty-bourgeois left—so called "Popular"—currents, who were speaking in the name of communism, to bolstering Khomeini's regime and block the way of growth and spread of Marxism, under the most suitable conditions that the people's revolution had created. The later joining of the major part of these currents to the Tudeh Party and the Islamic Republic—and that at the height of Government's discredit—doubled the blow on the traditional influence of communists among the workers.

May Day that year—1979—was the biggest May Day celebrations of Iranian workers in history. Workers were demanding a 40-hour week, two days off, soviets, and in short, everything. The use which the deprived workers of Iran were making of the post-uprising freedoms, was terrifying for the bourgeoisie and its new government. After the Uprising, at the same time as offering promises to, and deceiving the people, the government was untiringly engaged in disarming them. It then set out seriously to cut the ground from under people's feet, by force of law, using the legitimacy that it had achieved. Instead of the Constituent Assembly, the regime had come up with the Experts Assembly (9), and was preparing the draft of the Constitution. In addition, people's resistance to the anti-progressive of Ghotbzadeh and Zabra-Rhannon, and simple-minded, untrained dagger-wielders could not deal with the people. Yazdi and Abou-Sarif had become the organisers of the new organ of suppression and exercise of force—the Army of Pasdaran.

19th August 79 was the first nationwide confrontation

#### MOJAHEDIN'S TELEGRAM TO IMAM KHOMEINI

QOM—TO HIS BLESSED MOST REVEREND AYATOLLAH IMAM KHOMEINI IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MERCIFUL, THE COMPASSIONATE

OUR DEAR FATHER,

NOW THAT IRAN'S ISLAMIC AND ANTI-IMPERIALIST LIBERATING REVOLUTION HAS ONCE AGAIN ESCALATED IN ITS TRUE POPULAR COURSE, AND IS SET TO ERADICATE THE COLONIALIST AND AMERICAN ROOTS OF THE TREACHEROUS SHAH, AND TO PREVENT THE PATH OF THEIR RETURN;

YOUR MOJAHED SOONS AND DAUGHTERS, WHO ARE ABSOLUTELY FOR THE CONTINUATION OF YOUR ANTI-COLONIAL MISSION, DECLARE THEIR READINESS TO SACRIFICE THEIR INSIGNIFICANT LIVES — WHICH IS THE LEAST PRICE FOR THE EMANCIPATION OF THIS FATHERLAND AND ITS PEOPLE AND DOCTRINE — WITH ALL THEIR EVEN LESS SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL AND MILITARY STRENGTH.

AWAIZING THE DECISIVE DECREE OF THE IMAM IN ERADICATING ALL IMPERIALIST AND ZIONIST FOUNDATIONS.

PEOPLE'S MOJAHEDIN OF IRAN

5/11/79

This message was sent to Khomeini one day after the U.S. Embassy take-over — BM

of Khomeini's government with the people. Khomeini ordered all the ground, air and sea (1) forces of the Islamic Republic for Jihad against the people of Kurdistan who had started a full-scale war against the aggression of the regime; and dispatched an immense army to Kurdistan. Attacks against the press began throughout the country. Numerous gatherings were rapidly suppressed, and bookshops—along with the children of the booksellers within—were set on fire. Parally with these measures, the Experts Assembly inaugurated a campaign to legalise the domination of the "Valliy-faghah" [the Islamic Ru-

9 ler—BM] over people's lives and property, and approve of the laws on Had, Fas' ir, Rajam and Taqbihi (10), and the rules on abolishing the illicitness of the "spilling of blood."

The 19th August offensive could not and did not deter the people. After a short retreat, the wave of attacks reversed and people took up their protests once again, but this time having lost part of their illusions in the Government; particularly one section of it. Throughout this period, Ayatollah Taleghani (11) who had managed to separate himself from the other leaders by sitting on the floor in the Assembly, rather than on the chair; and who in response to pressures from the masses had talked a little about the councils and stroked the Mojahedin, had become a hope for the protesting people. But it was not long before he too in September directed his insults against the workers, communists and revolutionaries, and called on the people to seriously support Khomeini; and then died.

People's resistance was unexpected for the regime. In Kurdistan, people and armed Pasarmarjan responded with competence to the regime's dispatching of the army. General protests were escalating, relying on a more advanced level of people's consciousness, and things could reach dangerous levels. It was found necessary to increase the extent of demagogy and mollify the people. On 4th November 79, the American Embassy was occupied, and for a people who had taken American Imperialism as an enemy, the question was posed: is this government really what it claims to be—anti-imperialist and revolutionary?

Mojahedin and Fadaiens, and in general those petty-bourgeois currents—part of which was speaking in the name of communism and was influenced by Al-

Ahmad (12), more than it was by Marx—loudly replied to this question in the affirmative.

Following this new dor of illusion, on 17th November Khomeini's peace message was issued which was the result of the defeat and impotence of regime's suppressive forces in Kurdistan. A "Delegation of Reconciliation" travelled to Kurdistan, and the Kurdistan Democratic Party's celebrations completed the celebrations of the Experts Assembly inaugurated by legalising the domination of the "Valliy-faghah" in front of the

Continued on p.16

For the Revolutionary Democratic Republic of Iran!

## POLAND-35 years of workers' struggles (final part)

In previous issues of the DM we pointed out that the Polish proletariat's struggles at the beginning of the 180s possessed this fundamental distinction with its struggle of the previous decades that they decided in complete freedom to construct a ruling party in Poland. In this connection, we briefly examined the workers' struggles in the years before, and around the substance of their movement, the response given by the "Polish United Workers Party", and the gradual loss of confidence of the workers in the State claiming to be socialist. In the final part of the article, which is published in Poland, we shall examine the class nature of the Solidarity and the path which the Polish workers must be following.

The limited freedom which was achieved in the '70s in Poland, facilitated the link between the workers and intellectuals. The aim of the intelligentsia was to effect changes in the political and economic relations in Poland within the framework of preserving the ruling system, and since the experience had shown them that they themselves could not achieve this aim, they went for that social force which had the ability to confront the government and had already shown that it could force it to retreat. The reform and compromising nature of the main section of these intellectuals which found its coherent expression in the programme of the First Congress of Solidarity, had also previously appeared in the writings of the ideologues of this current. In an article entitled "Are we threatened by [Russian] intervention?", written by Jacek Kuron in 1980, he talked of the necessity of compromise among the social movements and their demand for independence before the State, and the survival of Party leadership over the administrative organs and also the army and police. "All that concerns internal policies must be settled through negotiations between the society and its independent and self-governing organisations, on the one side, and the government, on the other. Their institutional form, these negotiations will be expressed in a model of social relations." "Whathe other terms "A new model of social relations" is plainly the same model of western democracy which stands for the solution of various problems through negotiations and dialogue and can only be a compromise which essentially prevents the presentation of the main and non-negotiable(!) problems. Later in his article, Kuron adds: "Without this [new model], the questions which will inevitably emerge under the present conditions, will result in confrontations, leading to the unwanted danger of overthrow of the government." In fact like any other liberal he senses the unwanted danger(!) of Government's overthrow and wants to prevent it. But at the same time, like any other liberal, he is unable to realize the laws of motion of a revolutionary movement. He does not understand that this time round, the revolutionary movement of Polish workers firmly stands for the overthrow of the ruling class in Poland and only that force will have the ability to lead this movement which is the conscious expression of this demand, not only in an immediate perspective, but especially as a historical perspective.

Solidarity was not such a force

Solidarity leadership's embryo was conceived in 1976 by some intellectuals through the form of the "Workers' Defence Committees" (KOR). In its continuation, this movement led to the formation of committees which founded the free trade-unions.

Among them was the strong LITORAL committee, in which Walesa was also a member. In its manifesto, the Committee claimed that its aim was to help workers and other strata from their independent organisations, that it did not follow any political objectives, nor did it wish to take the political power."

In August 1980, at its first stages, Polish workers' movement gave its leadership to the above committees, which then had relatively greater theoretical coherence and organisational ability. Although at the beginning, Solidarity's leaders were able to harness the movement and take its lead, that essential law which governed this round of the workers' struggles in Poland, forced them to come forward step by step and present themselves practically as an alternative to the political power. On the workers' profound desire for settling accounts with the Polish revisionists, the words of Jajdiga Staniszkis is clear enough: "...workers were against them; that's it! And precisely this was distorted... in a way we turned them into liberals. At the end we heard them saying, for example, that 'the party's high-ranking members must not be excluded from the new trade-union; this would be a discrimination! But this was in no way how the workers talked at the beginning. Then they believed: 'why should we be against discrimination?' considering that they themselves had been victims of discrimination for years." As the above author points out, although this demand was liberalised and "rationalised", it did not disappear and through the various events, it finally forced the Solidarity's leaders in the First National Congress of their representatives to put their "Self-Governing Republic" as an alternative to the "Socialist Republic" of the "Polish United Workers Party". The critique that this congress made of the Polish situation did not deal with the content of the matter, but with the nature of the ruling system in Poland, and regarded the situation merely the result of the "totalitarian" policy of government. Furthermore, the root-cause of the contradictions was described as the link between the political and economic powers, without any references to the nature of this political power, and the interests which set it into motion. "A system in which the political power is tied to the economic power and the party continuously interferes with the running of enterprises: this is

the real reason for our economic crisis and also lack of equal opportunities in professional life."

The alternative put forward by Solidarity's Congress is another form of government, i.e., "a new socio-economic order which would reconcile planning, self-government and market laws." The Government and Party must keep away so that "people having professional and social authority would take up national economic positions", and "workers, too, through the formation of self-governing committees, would become the true managers of the enterprises." The separation of politics from economics, so that they the job of managers(!) to the workers—so that they would produce "more and better"—calling on people with professional and social authority—technocrats and managers—to take up responsible posts, all show clearly what interests lurk behind the programme of Solidarity's leaders; and this is at a time when in 1956 the Polish workers started precisely from the organisation of production and reached the question of political power and the subordination of managers to the workers, or in other words, the subordination of economics to workers' policies.

This alternative is not only retrogressive compared to the Polish workers' alternative in 1956—who clearly approached the question of economy and production, as an end-in-itself, as a matter in the service of, and subordinated to, the advancement of proletarian policies—but even negates the practical and spontaneous movement of the workers in 1980. In fact the workers' movement in Poland in 1980 showed how serious workers' movement in the present epoch is to varying degrees and forms, the bearer and producer of proletarian discipline in the service of proletarian politics, extensive democratic organisation for making decisions and adopting them by the decision-makers themselves, extension of workers' organisation

*Janusekley the prisonard - he could not have harnessed the workers' movement without the workers' illusions in Solidarity and the Church*

In all the affairs of the society...all appeared in rudimentary and spontaneous, but clear and irrefutable, forms during the strike days in Gdansk. Listening to the words of one of the residents of Gdansk that "if your money is spread around, you can be sure that one would start it", one cannot help remembering the words of Marx in the "Civil War" about the security of Paris at the time of the Commune. Once again the workers' government showed up its human face for a few days, but this time it was a society whose rulers for years have been exploiting and suppressing the working class, in its name and ideology; a system which demonstrated how it contradicted its own interests and the relations they want to build.

The existence of a group of countries in which the bourgeoisie is ruling in the name of the proletariat is more than and before anything else an emphasis of the inevitable victory of socialism. The essential characteristic of the bourgeois rule in this bloc is not only the existence in the ruling system of centralised planning as the prevailing tendency—which at the same time is the general tendency of the capitalism of the imperialist epoch—but also the continuation of this class to use its power to exploit and distort its ideas (social ownership of the means of production, planning to meet the needs of society, internationalism) into objectively bourgeois ideas of a final victory and complete establishment of socialism, ...). The bourgeois class which developed through the defeat of the proletariat in Russia and brought forth this "camp of the bourgeoisie" has not only carried the impact of the great revolution of Russian workers and their leaders—Lenin and the Bolsheviks—and also the influence of the Russian bourgeoisie has to relate itself to them. It is precisely for this reason that the precondition for the conscious movement of the workers and communists in Poland for the overthrow of the rulers of the capital, is in the first step the realisation of the process of defeat of the Russian Revolution and the loss of power from the hands of the Bolsheviks. This is the only way of recognising the specific form of capitalism in society like Poland which has been set up on the Russian model with the aid of the Russian revisionists.

Only in this way can the communists in Poland arm themselves in the struggle against the bourgeoisie. The other alternative, i.e., the "Self-Governing Republic" of the Solidarity leaders, which essentially draws from western democratic ideas and ideas of religion too. At the same time the understanding of this process means that it must not be repeated and will provide us with the answer to the question "What should the Russian workers and Bolsheviks have done to have avoided defeat?" A question which bears a world significance and which communists throughout the world must have the answer to.

By showing the nature of the relations in Poland, i.e., state-capitalism in the guise of social democracy, a critique of the various revisionist views which in various ways conceal this nature, communists in Poland must eliminate the subject matter in the way of Polish working class and take steps towards its organisation around a communist programme.<sup>(3)</sup> A programme which would rely on the latest experiences of the world working class and whose departure would be fundamentally different from that of the Russian revisionists. If the starting point of the revisionists in Russia—which has been consciously theorised as "socialism in one country"—was the saving of the "socialist bulwark" at any cost, and in fact at the expense of the suppression of workers in Russia itself, and propagands of compromise with the bourgeoisie throughout the world, the starting point of the communists now must be the seizure of socialist-power for the extension of the world revolution. The same must be which was started by the Bolsheviks, which armed the world proletariat with its militant international headquarters, and which was later developed by the revisionists. This alternative policy must be advanced more consciously and precisely, recognising and eliminating the obstacles on the way.

The hoisting of the banner of true internationalism at the forefront of the workers and practical movement towards it; the formation of a government of the workers' government through raising the consciousness and organisation of the proletariat; the deeper and mutual relations between the party and workers; the economic organisation of the workers on a way that on the one hand it would be essentially subordinated to the adoption of proletarian policies and not used as an instrument of the bourgeoisie, which on the other hand would provide and increase

Continued on p.19

## MAY DAY IN IRAN

Iranian workers began May Day at a time when the ruling bourgeois-imperialist reaction has created a real inferno for them. An inferno based on religious oppression, terror by the Islamic Black-hundreds, persecution, imprisonment, torture, execution of thousands of communists and militant workers, famine, mass unemployment and the Iran-Iraq war.

Initially, the Islamic Republic declared that in its view there cannot be a special day of celebration for the workers. Sar Hadizadeh, the regime's Minister of Labour, announced in his message to workers that "it is a sin to stop working on May Day, this day has been created by communists and is against Islam. There is no need to have a special day for the workers. Everybody is a worker, and for the toiling, patriotic and Moslem Iranian workers everyday is a May Day." But when faced with the extensive protests and militancy of the workers, the regime retreated and on the night before the May Day, the Minister of Labour appeared on TV to pay tribute to the

workers, without saying a word about his earlier announcements. To save its face, the regime itself organised a march on the May Day thus in effect recognizing the day as a holiday.

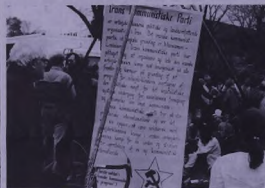
The Communist Party of Iran carried out extensive propaganda addressed to the workers from some weeks before May Day - mainly through the 'Radio Voice of the CPI', which broadcasts twice daily, and the Party publications - for the stoppage of work on this day, the boycott of regime's shows and processions, the presentation of two key slogans on this day, namely a 40-hour week and the freedom of political prisoners, and the holding of workers' own assemblies and gatherings, wherever this was possible.

The regime's backing down before the workers, showed that even in the absence of mass demonstrations and marches by the workers themselves, workers smallest protests - if carried on a general scale - is enough to force the capitalists and their state to retreat.

## Supporters of the CPI Abroad celebrated May Day

Supporters of the Communist Party of Iran took part in the May Day celebrations and rallies in Sweden, Denmark, W.Germany, Britain, France, Italy, Austria and USA. Thousands of copies of the May Day

message of the Political Bureau of the CPI in various European languages and Farsi were distributed on the occasion of this day.



Supporters of the CPI in a May Day rally in Denmark



Supporters of the CPI in a May Day March in Sweden

To contact the OSCPIA in different countries, write to:

- Gila, B.P. No.23, 75660, Paris, Cedex 14 France.
- Postlagerkarte, Nr.055266 B, 1 Berlin 120, W.Germany.
- G.K., C.F. 11-221, 00041 Roma Montesacro, Roma, Italy.
- O.I.S.F.W.C., Post Restante, 1045 Stockholm, Sweden.
- Postfach 800107, 5 Koln 80, W.Germany.
- Box 99, 434 Corn Exchange Buildings, Hanging Ditch, Manchester, M4 3EY, England.
- Poland, 2265 West Wood Blvd., #360, CA 90064, U.S.A.

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

Our address:

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## LETTERS

We have received a letter from a SWP\* member, part of which is devoted to a critique of the article "Cool not Dole" - not the workers' demand" published in BM No.9. The following is an extract from the letter and the BM's reply to it.

\*Dear comrades,

I have read with interest the article in Bolshevick Message No.9 about the British miners' strike. Your interest and intervention in the discussion of affairs and the freedom of political prisoners, and revolutionaries confine themselves to a critical analysis of what is happening in their own countries.

You correctly point to the weakness of the official NW arguments to save the British Capitalist, the purely token solidarity from leaders of other unions and the need for rank and file control of unions. These problems are not surprising given that the leadership of British trade unions is in the hands of reformists in the Labour Party or the Communist Party. What then should the relatively small numbers of revolutionaries be doing? You are correct to state that we must be constantly trying to broaden the political issues beyond the national interests of the workers. This cannot be done on a purely propagandist basis. We have to show that Marxist politics can relate to the day to day struggles of the working class. We know that socialism can only come about by the selfactivity of the majority of the working class. Such self activity depends on the confidence to act and the correct political leadership given by a revolutionary party. Confidence can only be built through struggle, not by decree. Revolutionaries must support and intervene in the fight to save jobs. You cannot totally eliminate this fight. The high levels of unemployment in Britain and other countries is one of the reasons why the working class has suffered from demoralisation, why on many occasions it has declined to fight. Yes, it is not our job to tell capitalists how to invest but we can demand jobs (and shorter working hours, higher unemployment benefits and higher wages too). If struggles such as the miners' strike are to be successful, revolutionaries, no matter how small in numbers, must be organizing attempts to take control of their strike at rank and file level and to organize picketing and other activities independently of the bureaucracy when necessary. We also have to argue at the same time that it is necessary to build a revolutionary party. Both arguments can also be had with the more advanced workers who take an interest in the strike but are not involved directly themselves. ..."

Yours fraternally,

G.U.

(A member of Oxford SWP)

### OUR REPLY

Comrade, you are correct in stating that "to broaden the political issues beyond the sectional interests of the miners..." We must not limit ourselves to work "on a purely propagandist basis". But this is what our article in BM No.9 is clear about. In that article we set out general concrete slogans which go beyond the boundaries of the or that factory and which can mobilize workers in-

\* The Socialist Workers Party in Britain

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independently of craft or industry. We outlined these demands as:

- 1- The immediate reduction of working hours to 30 or 33 hours per week for all workers, without any cuts in wages; ...
- 2- The payment of unemployment benefit for all unemployed workers above the age of 16, at a level which would secure a decent life for all unemployed workers; the exact level to be determined by the workers' own representatives elected by their general assemblies;
- 3- Increase in wages for employed workers, and in the level of unemployment benefits, in proportion to the rate of inflation and rise in productivity.

But a more fundamental objective which can be achieved only by work on a "purely propagandist basis" is the question of communist propaganda among the workers which so many left organisations, including the SWP, refuse to do. As communists, our permanent and unshakable task is to make the workers conscious of the causes of their slavery and hardships within the capitalist society; of their irreconcilable interests with the capitalists; and of the way of their salvation which can only be achieved through a communist revolution and the establishment of proletarian dictatorship (based on armed workers). Communist propaganda is not conditioned by ebbs and flows in the struggle, by any tactical questions or by any immediate tasks of the day. Without a permanent task, the Communist are not communist by definition. The Communist Manifesto declares: "Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims", but many left organisations refuse to speak explicitly of communism. They do not tell the workers that unemployment and all the hardships of the workers are due to the capitalist system itself and not the result of the 'bad' policies of this or that individual executive of capitalism. They direct all the hatred of the workers against the miseries of capitalism, towards one person (Max Gregor?) or one party of the capitalists (the 'Tories?'), and thus deprive the workers of consciousness in the causes of their miseries and the means of their emancipation. And all these under the pretext that "workers are not yet ready for it", "they would be scared off", and that it is necessary for their "minds" to be first prepared by "milder" propaganda, before they receive our final word - socialism - the time for whose propaganda never arrives. They thus talk of "socialists" instead of "communists". Instead of leading capitalists, etc. In this way, they reduce themselves to the level of the liberals, and submit to the bourgeois mentality of non-conscious workers. The true communists are usually labelled by these groups as idealist, too left-wing and voluntarist. In their opinion, such communists are mere optimists who believe in the illusions of the struggle and the low level of class-consciousness of the workers, and only shout irrelevant slogans.

So, in our view, the workers' movement in Britain suffers not from too much propaganda of communism but from lack of it.\*\*

\*\* In the near future we shall be publishing the English translation of an article by comrade Ahmad Taghvaei, entitled "Propaganda-as-a-Process", which is a critique of a certain method of propaganda which was one of the deviations in the practical activities of the communists in Iran. We recommend the reading of this article to the militants of the SWP in Europe, whose propaganda suffers from the same deviation.

As we said, we do not in the least reject the daily struggles of the workers, including the fight against unemployment. But what we do reject is the tail-ending of these struggles. Communist must intervene in these struggles in order to give them the correct organisation and leadership. They must try to raise the sectional demands of these movements to the level of general class slogans which not only can lead the workers' immediate struggles at any given moment to junctural victories, but which will unite the whole class against the bourgeoisie and its state, so that out of these struggles - even if they are not immediately successful - there emerges a more united and class-conscious working class. Our article in the last issue of the BM puts forward exactly such general class slogans which are not confined to the miners' struggle alone. At the same time, it proposes the non-party organisations necessary for carrying out the struggle for these demands. But your alternative of "fighting for jobs" and the slogan for this round of the miners' struggle - or as the SMP puts it more clearly, "fighting the pit closures!" - is the same slogan of the NUM. A slogan which instead of uniting the workers, disperses their ranks and sends them behind illusory objectives. As we said in our article in the BM, this slogan "divides the workers' struggle and gives them a bourgeois conception of the question of unemployment. This demand makes the workers have the illusion that as though with some good management or reform and without fundamental changes in the capitalist system it is possible to achieve full employment; as though unemployment is not the product of the capitalist system and the result of some bad policies and management!" (BM No.9, p. 3). The logical continuation of this slogan is to present "economic aid" to the bourgeoisie on how it is possible to make the pits

14 profitable again, which of course can only be achieved at the expense of the harshest exploitation of the miners and on their pierced shoulders. The demand to save jobs in the coalfields and keep the mines open, continues the struggle within the framework of the mines, and your defence of it is contradictory to your earlier claim in the letter that we must try "to broaden the political issues beyond the sectional interests of the miners". Instead of fighting to keep the bankrupt and non-profitable mines open, workers must put forward demands such as substantially improved Unemployment Benefit, which has the potential to mobilise millions of workers across factory barriers, and can also draw the support of the 3-4 million unemployed workers.

But you are also suggesting another "solution": 'rank and file control of unions'. Here, in the absence of any alternative slogans to the unions, you are asking the workers to back the executives of the same policies of the NUM, i.e., fighting to save the pits and produce coal for Britain. It is Economism and the tail-ending of the spontaneous movement to think that in the absence of correct slogans, organisation and leadership, workers' movement - even on a mass scale - can achieve any more than their did in for example Iran (1979), or Poland (1980). Instead of submitting to the divisive and illusory demands of the unions and asking the workers to take control of the strike and to fight independently of union bureaucracy for these slogans, we must organise the workers in independent non-party organisations, and impart communist leadership over them.

At the same time we should not forget that the most effective organ in the hand of the working class in its economic and political fight against the bourgeoisie is its class party itself - the communist party.

BM No. 2), were the refugees able to make the UN authorities accept to grant them a monthly financial help of 870 Rupees/about £46 and some limited medical and educational facilities. But even these have not been regular and adequate.

On the basis of the agreement of "Repatriation of Criminals", the Pakistani government can at any time arrest the political refugees and hand them over to the Iranian government. In such cases, imprisonment, torture and death awaits them. This is especially serious since good economic and political relations exist between the two countries. In April 1983, the official newspapers in Pakistan reported that on the basis of a list given by the Islamic Republic of Iran to the Pakistani government, the latter had decided to deport 250 Iranian political activists to Iran. Only under pressure of worldwide attention, did the Government apparently defer its decision and publicly deny the reports. More recently, an official newspaper in Pakistan, 'Mash-reqh-e-Kuwaite' - reported in its 1<sup>st</sup> April edition that, so far, thousands of Iranians who had illegally entered Pakistan have been detained. The number on an average, 15-20 of those who illegally enter Pakistan every day, are immediately sent back.

The recent sit-in by the political refugees in the UN office in Karachi, which was initially started in order to force the release of the friends of some of the refugees who are imprisoned in the Lahore and Karachi jails, was later joined by more refugees and put forward more demands. The number of the protesters at times reached as high as 65.

The UN officials in Karachi, in the continuation of their humiliating and passive behaviour towards the problems of the refugees, stopped all work and left

Continued on p.18

## IRANIAN POLITICAL REFUGEES PROTEST IN PAKISTAN

On 1<sup>st</sup> July 84 the Pakistani police violently attacked a group of Iranian political refugees who had set up a sit-in at the United Nation's offices in Karachi. After beating up one by one of the protesters, the police ejected all of them from the compound. The sit-in began on 1<sup>st</sup> June 84 in protest against the desperate and impoverished living conditions of the Iranian political refugees in Pakistan and in particular against the continued danger of their deportation to Iran under an agreement signed between the two governments of Iran and Pakistan, allowing the repatriation of political activists under the name of "Criminals".

At present there are officially from 2000 to 4000, or more, Iranian political refugees in Pakistan, who or more, have escaped the political persecution of the Iranian regime and, of necessity, have taken refuge in Pakistan. If in Iran, looting over the refugees, is the constant threat of the bloody claws and teeth of the Islamic regime of capital, from the moment they enter Pakistan through arduous and hazardous routes, they are faced with impoverishment and numerous legal deprivations. From the viewpoint of the Pakistani government they are not recognised as political refugees (the Government claims that since it has not signed the Geneva agreement on refugees, it has no such commitments). They are even deprived of the most elementary human rights such as the right to work, to study, or to emigrate to other countries. Only after continuous and hard efforts and a 17-day long sit-in and hunger-strike in May last year (see

From p.8



Summer 1978 - people of Kurdistan had no illusions in the new regime from the day it came to power

the U.S. Embassy... Another round of preparation of attacks against the people and revolution had begun.

Rohoon Davar

To be continued...

Extracted from Komunist No.7, 19th April 84

From p.7

Marx had maintained that the emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves. The world-Proletariat and along with it its Indian counter-part has learned from its own experience that whenever it is under the leadership of any other class or strata including the radical petty-bourgeoisie, its movements and struggles are doomed to devastating failure. The proletariat in its process of becoming a class-party builds up its own class-party. The task of the Revolutionary Marxists is to aid the proletariat (by arming it with the revolutionary principles and practices of Marxism-Leninism) to build up its independent revolutionary class-party distinct from all other parties of radical petty-bourgeoisie including those who call themselves Communists and Marxists. It is in educating the vanguard of this class in the essentials of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory, in exposing before this class the reactionary content of revisionism in the form of Stalinism, Maoism and Trotskyism, in emphasising the importance of the proletarian unity of the Proletariat with the oppressed masses particularly with the rural proletariat and poor peasants, in acquainting the proletariat with the struggles of the proletariat in various countries, in drawing revolutionary conclusions from the struggles of the world proletariat against world-capitalism and Imperialism that Revolutionary Marxists can fulfil their historic role.

The aim of the REVOLUTIONARY PROLETARIAT are precisely the same. Being the flag-bearers of proletarian internationalism, we hold that though primarily the proletariat of each country has to deal with its own bourgeoisie it makes all efforts to learn from the experience of the proletariat of other countries and must aid the proletariat of other countries in their struggles against

15 Notes

- 1-i.e. the period of short-lived freedom which was achieved just after the Uprising.
- 2-Rhetorics by the Shah.
- 3-A textile factory near Tehran where a strike and demonstration by the workers in 1972 was gunned down by Shah's troops.
- 4-A revolutionary poet who along with some of his comrades was tried publicly on television in 1974, and later executed.
- 5-The party established by the Shah after abolishing all the other parties.
- 6-Two Islamic morning days marking the anniversary of the death of the Prophet's grandson.
- 7-One of the high ranking army officers who led the first assault on Kurdistan shortly after the Islamic Republic was formed.
- 8-The first attack against Kurdistan by the Islamic regime, during which Sanandaj was bombed heavily for several days resulting in many deaths.
- 9-An alternative to the Constituent Assembly, where the candidates, were hash-picked by the authorities during its elections, and which had the task of approving the new constitution.
- 10-These mean "Hanging by Last", "Beating below the full amount prescribed by law", "Stoning to Death", and "Putting to Death", respectively.
- 11-The second most influential Ayatollah in Iran in those days.
- 12-One of the 'modern' Islamic ideologues.

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POLICY STATEMENT

Read parts of this Platform, Book, and other documents of the Revolutionary Proletarian Platform. They will help you to understand the aims and objectives of the Revolutionary Proletarian Platform. They will also help you to understand the role of the Revolutionary Proletarian Platform in the struggle for the liberation of the oppressed masses of the world.

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## Some publications of the CPI

**Komunist** is the central organ of the Communist Party of Iran published regularly in the Farsi Language. The following issues have appeared recently:

### Komunist No.9, 10th June 84

- The necessity to struggle against the entirety of the Islamic Republic Labour Law - *Kaz Mofradan*
- Bah-Kargar and Afghan immigrants: "Fascism, Nightmare or Reality?" - *Mansoor Heikmat*
- Whose interest does the opportunist position of Fedayeen (Minority) Serve? - *Shahib Zakaryae*
- Communique of the Central Committee of Komala on the conscription policy of the Islamic Republic in Kurdistan
- A look at the list of names of martyres published in the "Mojahed" and the letter of Party's Secretariat to the "Mojahed"

- Short notes
- In revolutionary Kurdistan
- In memory of fallen comrades

### Komunist No.10, 1st July 84

- June 81, the end of an illusion and the beginning of attempts for a new one - *Shahib Zakaryae*
- Syndicalism in red covers (a critique of the resolution of Razmandegan on red syndicates) - *Hamid Taghvae*
- Bahvi and the separation of religion from the state
- In revolutionary Kurdistan
- In memory of fallen comrades

**Fishro** in Kurdish is the central organ of the Kurdistan Organisation of the Communist Party of Iran - Komala. The following issue has appeared recently:

### Fishro No.6, 10th May 84

- The New Year message of comrade *Ebrahim Alizadeh*, the First Secretary of Komala, to the people of Kurdistan
- Part of the May Day message of the Political Bureau of the CPI
- About the Party's propaganda circles among the workers - *Mansoor Heikmat*

The Communist Party of Iran, the Kurdistan Organisation of the CPI (Komala), "Komunist" - the Central Organ of the CPI - and the "Radio Voice of the Communist Party of Iran" can be contacted at any of the following addresses:

- P.O. BOX 1409, 75144 UPPSALA 1, SWEDEN.
- POSTFACH 501142, 5000 KÖLN 50, W. GERMANY.
- SH.I. C.P. 1064, 10100 TORINO, ITALY.

- In reply to the call of Komala, large sections of the people of Kurdistan boycotted the election show of the regime
- Message of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Iran on the occasion of 8th March, the International Women's Day
- In memory of the Commune
- Song of the International
- A report from a tour by the Theatre Group of Komala

**Fishro** in Farsi (New series) is the central organ of the Kurdistan Organisation of the Communist Party of Iran - Komala. Its first issue was published recently:

### Fishro No.1, 10th June 84

- The victory of the revolutionary movement of the Kurdish people is dependent on the adoption of communist policies - *Ebrahim Alizadeh*
- Long live the power of soviets - *Khooroo Davar*
- Communique of the central committee of Komala on the conscription policy of the Islamic Republic in Kurdistan
- A brief note on the publication of "Fishro" in the present period
- News of the revolutionary movement in Kurdistan
- In reply to the call of Komala, large sections of the people of Kurdistan boycotted the election show of the regime
- Long live the memory of those who devoted their lives for the cause of socialism
- Short notes

### PAMPHLETS PUBLISHED BY THE PARTY

- 1- The principles and method of work of Party cells - adopted by the Political Bureau of the CPI
- 2- The Programme of Komala for the Autonomy of Kurdistan - adopted by the Fourth Congress of the Kurdistan Organisation of the CPI - Feb. 84
- 3- The Statutes of Komala's Peshmarga forces and work in conditions of revolutionary war in Kurdistan - Feb. 84.

From p.3

proletarian current which has a basically clear vision of the problems of the working class in India and internationally. The communist politics will have their effects on the events in India. The Indian comrades of the Revolutionary Proletarian Platform are a hundred times correct to state that:

*"The Punjab problem is inseparable from the problems facing India today. Unemployment, poverty, corruption, privatisation, lack of education etc., are the products of capitalist system, and its wesen and also development. These are the real problems that cannot be solved within the framework of capitalism. Unable to solve any of these problems, the various sections of the bourgeoisie are busy inventing ways to divert the attention of the oppressed masses from the real issues by criminal incitement to communal violence in which real victims are the poor oppressed masses of both the communities. In the absence of well-identified organized class and mass struggle, the real nature of 'Sikh Hindu' of the Sikh bourgeoisie is not yet revealed to the poor oppressed Sikh masses. The only way to expose Hindu and Sikh communalists is to organise united struggles of Sikh and Hindu oppressed masses against both factions of the bourgeoisie. This is also the way to end all narrow sectarian, regional, reactionary trends in Punjab politics and to restrain the sinister imperialist designs to make Punjab a military base.*

*To develop a revolutionary class-organisation of the proletariat is the historical need today. The proletarian way to give a reply to the reactionary, bourgeois conspiracy in Punjab today is the organisation of widespread class and mass struggle of the oppressed masses under the direction of a Marxist-Leninist class party of the proletariat." ("Revolutionary Proletariat", Issue No.2, June 84)*

*Bolshevik Message*

### Notes

- 1- The Encyclopedia Britanica - Fifteenth Edition, Volume 15.
- 2- Figures from the above source
- 3- It is interesting to note how the CP of India advised the central government of Ghandi in the prevention of the recent escalation of violence. In June, it urged the Government to:
  - "take drastic and effective measures to suppress communal violence and terrorism, to revamp the police force and intelligence and seal off the border." (Quoted from the "New Worker", No.334)
- 4- The Comintern made some mistakes in its approach to the question of religion and religious illusions of the masses as early as 1920. For example, in its summons to the BAKU Congress of the Peoples of the East, the Executive Committee of Communist International stated:

*"... The land which according to the Shariat [the Islamic principles and codes of economic, social and civil practice - BM] was common property, has been seized for themselves by the lackeys of the Tehran government... There is a totally wrong reference to Shariat and Islam. The Quran says quite the opposite, by its clear defence of private property, whether land or other forms of property. The Manifesto of the same Congress calls upon the peoples of the East to wage a holy war against imperialism. And this, not under the green banner of the Prophet, but under the red banner of the Communist International. (see the 'Congress of the Peoples of the East', English translation, New Park Publications)*

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## Contributions received

The Communist Party of Iran wishes to acknowledge the receipt of the following contributions during the months of May and June 1984:

■ Comrade mother	- France	£700
■ Comrade Shahrar	- W.Germany	10 Marks
■ Comrade Samaneh	- W.Germany	10 Marks
■ Comrade Ali	- W.Germany	30 Marks
■ Comrade Mania	- W.Germany	30 Marks
■ Comrade Nabi	- Britain	£ 30
■ Comrade Mohamad	- Britain (Nottingham)	£ 30
■ Comrade Peyman	- Britain	£ 6
■ Comrade Soroosh	- Britain	£ 5
■ Comrades in New York and Philadelphia	- USA	\$750
■ Supporters of CPI	- California	\$500

The Kurdistan Organisation of the CPI (Komala) - Representation Abroad - wishes to acknowledge the receipt of the following contributions:

■ Contribution of Norwegian People to the people of Kurdistan	3,400 Kroner
■ Comrade Jalal	- USA \$ 10
■ Comrade Foad	- USA \$ 70
■ Comrade Ted	- W.Germany A medical diagnosis instrument, with a value of 1,800 Marks

To help the Communist Party of Iran financially, please send cheques or money orders to any of the addresses of the CPI abroad, payable to *Andeshah*. Alternatively, credit the following account and send the counterfoil to the Party address:

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the Communist Party of Iran lost 18 of its comrades in confrontations with the regime.

During the first 2 weeks of June, Komala Peshmargas carried out military operations against the forces of the regime during which they killed 83 of government forces.

### THE HEROIC RESISTANCE OF KOMALA'S PESHMARGAS AGAINST THE LARGE-SCALE OFFENSIVE OF THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC ON SOUTH KURDISTAN

From 16th to 21st May, the suppressive forces of the Islamic regime organised a savage and extensive offensive against the Peshmargas and the toiling people in the region of South Kurdistan. Some days before the attacks, the regime had massed thousands of its troops and Pasdaran in the garrisons of the cities of Sanandaj, Marivan, Divandareh, Saghez and in the bases nearby. In the intense battles, which ensued, and continued for 5 consecutive days, Komala Peshmargas from 7 Peshmarga battalions resisted heroically in all fronts and organised operations over an area of several hundred sq. kilometers. In some fronts the battles lasted 15-20 hours each. In these offensives the regime used heavy artillery fire and also Human-Move tactics. Over 500 of its troops were killed and wounded and several personnel-carriers and heavy machine-guns were destroyed. Unfortunately, the Communist Party of Iran lost 8 of its militant comrades in these battles.

### MASSACRE OF THE PEOPLE OF DARKHANEH AND GHARAGHESHLAGH

On 4th and 5th July, the people of the villages of Darkhaneh and Gharagheshlagh (between Mahabad and Naghadeh) were attacked and massacred by the Islamic Republic regime. The regime's troops fired at the people in the villages and in the farms and killed tens of women, men and children. To create an atmosphere of fear in the towns, the reactionary mercenaries of the regime displayed the bodies of the killed in the streets of Naghadeh.

### MASS STRUGGLES AGAINST THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC

During the last two months, the toiling and militant people of Kurdistan have continued their struggle against the anti-democratic oppressions and actions of the Islamic Republic. The main form of these struggles, like the previous months, has been the struggle against the reactionary and anti-democratic policy of compulsory conscription for the army. These struggles have been in villages near Piranshahr, the Sarshir region of Marivan, Sooma (north of Kurdistan), Saghez, Divandareh, Salmas, the Mahal region of Mahabad, and the Alan region of Sardasht. Komala has published leaflets asking the workers and toilers to resist the policies of the Islamic Republic, protect the soldiers and the youth who have deserted the army barracks, and join the ranks of the armed forces of the Communist Party of Iran

\* \* \*

the building on the first day of the sit-in. Despite the refugees' repeated attempts to present their case to and negotiate with the UN officials, their demands remained unanswered. After a number of threats by the UN and Pakistani government officials that if the protestors did not leave the building they would involve the Police, the latter finally forcefully entered the building, on request from UN authorities, and as well as removing the furniture and belongings in the compound, beat up the protestors one by one and threw them out of the building. The UN and Government resorted to this shameful action in conditions of the complete absence of the news of this protest in the media and press outside Pakistan.

To date, the dire state of the Iranian political refugees in Pakistan and the danger of their deportation to Iran remains as before, and hence it is the duty of all concerned organisations and individuals to support the Iranian refugees by sending letters of protest to the various institutions as well as the UN offices in Geneva, Karachi and other



*Iranian political refugees in a sit-in in UN offices in Karachi*

countries, and condemning the UN action. The news of the conditions of the refugees and their demands must be reflected as widely as possible.

The Supporters of the Communist Party of Iran in Pakistan took an active part in the sit-in from the start. Supporters of the CPI in some other countries too carried out various activities in support of the refugees' protest.

Victory to the struggle of the political refugees!

Please send letters of protest to:

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees-Geneva  
TALAI DES NATIONS  
CR-121  
GENEVA 10, SWITZERLAND

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees-Karachi  
Karachi, Pakistan

and also to:

The Human Rights Commission  
Amnesty International  
The International Red Cross

## News from Iran

The following are the summary of some of the news broadcast on the "Radio Voice of the Communist Party of Iran".

### ■ REGIME'S DEMOLITION OF THE HOUSES OF THE POOR IS MET WITH PROTESTS

During the end of March and the beginning of April, personnel of the "Special Group" of the Islamic Republic, which is made up of Pasdaran, the police and the municipal workers, were ordered to demolish a number of houses of the toilers in District 10 of Tehran. The armed mercenaries of the Islamic Republic demolished the houses, by first ejecting the inhabitants of 20 houses without allowing them to remove their belongings. The residents were outraged and tried to stop the municipal workers from destroying their homes. Some of these workers were themselves gravely distressed at what they had been ordered to do; but under the threat of the armed agents of the regime, they were forced to carry out this work.

### ■ WORKERS OF THE SHADAN-POOR SHOE FACTORY DEMAND THE DISSOLUTION OF ISLAMIC SOCIETIES

The Shadan-Poor shoe factory has 600 workers. In March, following some earlier protests, the workers put forward the demand for the dissolution of the Islamic Society and Islamic Council in the factory. In a meeting called later, the workers expressed their hatred and detestation of these societies. The head of the Islamic Society who had reprised one of the protesting workers, started a fight with the worker. After this incident, the factory's managers decided to arrest and expel the worker, but were confronted with the general resistance and protest of the workers. According to the latest

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the well-being of the workers and the majority of society as far as possible; the adoption of tactics which would facilitate and shorten the path of achieving power by the workers; ... a party having these characteristics can lead the Polish workers' break with the ruling revisionists in this sphere to its logical conclusion—i.e., the formation of their independent rank—present them from falling into the trap of other bourgeois alternatives, show them the inevitability of victory, and install in them the motive of continuing the struggle.

*Behnash Kavrani*

### Notes

- One of the leaders of solidarity article is included in the "Documentary Material" (Problems Politiques et Sociaux, No.417)
- Polish sociologist who participated in the August 1980 negotiations with the state, as an adviser to the workers. (Problems Politiques et Sociaux, No.417)
- Relying on the experiences of the Polish workers and workers elsewhere, communists in Poland must teach the workers that no form of organisation can consistently realise even the economic demands, unless they are armed with their independent political organisation, i.e., their class party.

news, the fate of the Islamic Society in this factory remains uncertain. On the one hand the workers are firmly demanding its dissolution, and on the other hand the regime is trying to keep it.

### ■ A REPORT FROM THE EVIN PRISON

Today there are tens of thousands of political prisoners in Iranian jails, living under horrific conditions. One of these jails is the notorious Evin prison in the outskirts of Tehran. Various tortures are used in the prisons: from psychological tortures, mock executions and forced sleeplessness, to whipping by cable and hours of hanging by hands. The most common form of torture is the use of cables, which is continuously hit on the soles. Shah's SAVAK also employed this method. Hanging is also another form of torture whereby the hands are put at the back and the prisoner is hanged by his/her hands from the ceiling in the same position. This causes temporary paralysis and may also cause permanent paralysis in case of prolonged torture. Many prisoners die under torture. In one of the prisons, prisoners are not even given water for bathing. Hence skin diseases are rife, which is the case generally in all the prisons.

According to a report, until recently it has been common practice for the prison-guards to choose a number of prisoners to take part in the execution of their comrades. If the prisoners refuse, they are forced to witness their comrades' execution, even being forced to take the bodies to the waiting vans. In one instance, a girl comrade who refused to comply, was lined up alongside the others and executed. Many of the prisoners witnessing the execution-scenes, later suffer from nervous break-downs.

The resistance in the prisons is not as the regime describes it. The regime claims that "Evin's head is not reported to be in any proportion" of those who resist and remain faithful to their ideals, even as far as giving their lives, is much higher than those who repent a m m

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# In revolutionary Kurdistan

## BOMBARDMENT OF THE CITY OF BANEH AND PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE AGAINST THE REAC- TIONARY IRAN-IRAQ WAR

On 5th June, the Iraqi warplanes extensively bombed the border city of Baneh, killing over 650 people and wounding hundreds more. Almost half of the city was razed to the ground, and the city is now in ruins.

Two days after this devastating bombardment, the angry and militant people of Baneh converged onto the streets in various groups, to protest against this reactionary war and the Islamic Republic regime.

The angry demonstration of the people soon turned into a general revolt. People started singling out the regime's mercenaries and attacking them. Mullah Abdullah Sory, the reactionary representative of the city in the Majlis (Iranian Parliament) was badly beaten by the protesters; he received serious injuries and was transferred to the hospital. A number of other Mullahs and mercenaries of the regime were severely injured, and pictures of Khomeini and other heads of Government were set on fire. Horrified at these events, the Mullahs and the clergy hid their turbans and fled the city. The militant people of Baneh disarmed and killed a military-policeman and a number of the "Baseejis" (regime's mercenaries) and, armed with clubs and sticks, chased the regime's agents through the streets and alley-ways, stopping their cars and smashing them. The regime's men took refuge in the garrisons and bases outside the city, in fear of people's further attacks.

The next day, in order to regain the control of the city, the regime dispatched a large number of its forces from Sardasht to Baneh. They surrounded the city and fired into the crowds, killing 12 people. Around 25 of the protestors were also arrested. The people of other cities in Kurdistan have expressed their sympathy with the people of Baneh.

\* \* \*



Baneh - the scene after the bombing

## INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE OF BANEH

Following the publication of the news about the brutal killing of the people of Baneh by the Iraqi and Iranian regimes, some messages of sympathy and solidarity with the people of Baneh and the condemnation of both regimes' attacks have been published by various organisations and groups. These include:

- Socialist Workers Party (SWP) - Oxford and Derby Branches, England
- Confederazione Generale Italiana del' Lavoro
- Partito Di Unita Proletaria Per Il Comunismo (PDUP) - Italy
- Partito Liberale Italiano - Italy
- Democrazia Proletaria - Italy
- Della Unione Italiana - Italy
- Lega Italiana Per I Diritti E La Liberazione Pei Popoli - Italy
- La Lega Comunista Rivoluzionaria - Italy

and a number of others.

Also in Italy (Florence) the following organisations signed a resolution against the war, the Iraqi bombing and the Iranian regime's attacking of the anti-war protestors. The resolution also expressed solidarity with the people of Baneh:

- 1- LEGA SOCIALISTA RIVOLUZIONARIA (IV INTERNAZION-ALE)
- 2- DEMOCRAZIA PROLETARIA - FIRENZE
- 3- PARTITO RADICALE - Ass. ERNESTO ROSSI - FIRENZE
- 4- ASSOCIAZIONE degli STUDENTI del KURDISTAN all' ESTERO - (A.K.S.A) - ITALIA
- 5- PARTITO COMUNISTA ITALIANO - Federazione FIORENTINA
- 6- C.I.S.N.U. - Sez. ITALIA
- 7- C.I.S.L. - UNIONE SINDACALE TERRITORIALE - FIRENZE
- 8- Ass. Dem. degli STUDENTI GRECE di FIRENZE
- 9- CAMERA CONFEDERALE del LAVORO - FIRENZE

\* \* \*

## A SUMMARY OF ARMED OPERATIONS BY KOMALA'S PESHMARGAS

During May and June, the revolutionary Peshmargas of the Kurdistan Organisation of the Communist Party of Iran carried out 82 offensive actions against the suppressive forces of the Islamic Republic. In 29 of these operations, they destroyed, or inflicted extensive damages on the regime's garrisons and bases.

Also, the Peshmargas carried out many armed operations against the Islamic regime, on the occasion of May Day, in various parts of Kurdistan such as Divandareh, the Marivan-Saghez road, the village of Chal-e-Sheykhan, near Sanandaj, and in Baneh and Piranshahr.

During May, the Peshmargas of Komala killed or wounded 1000 and arrested 18 of regime's forces and confiscated many ammunitions. During this month

Continued on p.18

## **Victory to the Revolutionary Movement of the Kurdish Masses !**