



BOLSHEVIK MESSAGE NO.4

Paper of the

"Supporters of the 'Unity of Communist Militants' – abroad"

September 1983

Translated from Pishro, the central organ of
Komala

ONE YEAR AFTER THE THIRD CONGRESS

In January and February 1983 the Second Plenum of the central committee of Komala and the Preliminary Seminar for the Formation of the Communist Party of Iran were respectively held. The following article which has been extracted from the editorial in issue no.5 of Pishro – the central organ of Komala – describes the proceedings and results of these two meetings and their importance in the building of the Communist Party of Iran - BM.

The attempts of the forces of the Programme of the Communist Party to remove the practical barriers and difficulties in the way of the practical formation of the communist party of Iran, have not been limited

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CHILE : workers' struggles and the bourgeois opposition

Recently, the Christian Democrat leader, Gabriel Valdes Subenacaseaux, called for the resignation of Pinochet and the replacement of his military government by a "provisional government of national consensus". The call came in a speech announcing the formation of the Democratic Alliance. As well as his own party, the alliance would include the Conservative Democratic Republican Right, the Social Democrat Current, the Radical Party (the Chilean member of the Socialist International) and the Socialists. Mr. Valdes outlined the immediate objectives of the new coalition: the resignation of General Pinochet, the holding of a plebiscite to create a constituent assembly which would take over the function of the military junta and draw up a new constitution, and the formation of a "provisional government of transition representative of national consensus" which would oversee the country's return to "democracy". The omission from the Alliance is the so-called Communist Party which allegedly proposes the use of violence against the military government and maintains its present alliance with MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left).

As the trumpet of the revolution is blown, the horrified liberals awaken in order to halt the movement of the revolution, and to go to sleep after its defeat.

If today the liberal Valdes and his accomplices dare call for the resignation of Pinochet, this clearly demonstrates that today in Chile, on the one hand, the proletariat and the oppressed masses are no longer complying with the naked and brutal rule of the bourgeoisie, and on the other hand the bourgeoisie is well aware that it is not able to protect capitalism in the hands of its military dictatorship. Consequently the liberals have taken up the task of the salvation of capitalism in their own special way. The very emergence of the liberals in the conditions of revolution throughout the life of capitalism has had no other objective but the exploitation of the democratic aspirations of the masses to protect capitalism from the strikes of the revolution.

A glance at the immediate objectives of the Democratic Alliance shows that by trying to turn the masses away from fighting against their chief enemy, i.e., capitalism, which is the origin and the cause of survival of all the ills of the capitalist society, such as poverty, destitution, and complete lack of rights, it is intending to reduce the goal of this movement to the mere replacement of the present disgraced and hated regime with the new and fresh representatives of capital, saving, at the same time, the main foundations of the apparatus of bourgeois rule, i.e., the professional army, police, parliament, and the bureaucracy.

The second group of the opposition, the pro-Russian Communist Party and MIR, despite its alleged advocacy of violence against the regime, stands

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only to the holding of these two congresses* in the last year, but alongside practising the particular tasks and responsibilities which rested with each of these organisations, they have taken other effective steps for the realization of struggle in communist and revolutionary areas, and the building of the party, in particular.

The continuation of these attempts, by convening its Second Plenum in January 1983, the Central committee of the Toilers' Party of Kurdistan (of Iranian Kurdistan) discussed and exchanged views about the urgent problems of the communist movement, in general, and Komala, in particular, and succeeded in throwing new light on all aspects of its revolutionary activity. The main questions which were discussed and reviewed in this setting, which lasted for over a week, were:

- The communist party; the necessity, prerequisites and barriers of its formation; the practical steps for the formation of the party; the place and position of Komala in the Communist Party of Iran;
- 2- The critique of the populist methods of work in Komala and presentation of communist methods of practice.
- 3- The revolutionary movement of the Kurdish people, its perspective, the review of the necessity of the class struggle of the working-class.

Although the reflection of all the discussions and achievements of the Second Plenum is not possible in this article and requires a separate examination, but because of the valuable role which the Plenum played in the presentation of correct and scientific solutions concerning the various arenas of revolutionary practice, we shall give a summary of these discussions below.

Endeavour to practically form the Communist Party in Iran is a task which rests on the shoulders of all communists and the forces of the Party programme, in particular the Unity of Communist Militants and the banner-bearers of the Party comment, therefore, in the continuation of the attempt of this party current to practically form the communist party, the Plenum reserved the first part of its discussions for discussion about the necessity, prerequisites and barriers of the formation of the Communist Party of Iran, the practice steps for building it, and the position and place of Komala in the Communist Party of Iran. In each of these cases the Plenum achieved concrete results.

While emphasising the necessity of building the Communist Party of Iran, in the interest of leadership of the class struggle of the proletariat for seizing the political power and achieving socialism and communism, the Plenum stressed that: "In every capitalist society where the class struggle of the proletariat is the basic force in progress, the struggle to build a party which represents the class independence of the proletariat in all aspects of the struggle of this class, becomes an imperative task of the communists." ("The Summary of the Plenum of the Central Committee of Komala in January 1983", p.4) Also emphasising that with the presentation of the "Programme of the Communist Party" which has led to the definite theoretical-programmatic victory of revolutionary Marxism over populism in the communist movement of Iran in the first years after the birth of the Party, the Plenum of the Communist Party of Iran had been lifted, it stressed the necessity of the critique of populist style of work and methods of practice and the adoption of communist style of work and methods of practice as the necessary condition in building the communist party of Iran. In issue No. 13 of "Fisheh", the text of the resolutions of the Second Plenum of the Central Committee of Komala in this connection, have been published separately.

At the end of the Plenum, in a joint session, the

Central Committee comrades of the U.C.M. and Komala discussed those aspects of the resolutions of the Plenum which were of a doctrinal and general character. These discussions placed special stress on the promotion and centralization of the results of the Plenum and the joint practical measures for building the communist party. In this joint session, the question of the practical formation of the communist party was discussed and examined, and a plan of action for taking practical steps for building the Communist Party of Iran was prepared and adopted, on the basis of which, a committee by the name of the "Organizing Committee of the Constituent Congress of the Communist Party of Iran" was formed at the central level of both organisations. The manifesto of the Organizing Committee was based on the following issues of "Fisheh". Thus another practical step was taken towards the establishment of the Communist Party of Iran.

Out of the other questions which needed to be examined and a correct solution found for, in connection with these practical steps for the formation of the Communist Party of Iran, the question of the "position and place of Komala in the Communist Party of Iran". Therefore, this discussion, as one of the most important questions, in the absence of a correct answer to which any meaningful and correct Marxist Party in Iran could be incomplete and inadequate, was placed on the agenda of the Plenum and valuable results were achieved in this connection. The significance of the determination of the place and position of Komala in the Communist Party of Iran is particularly in that Komala is a communist organisation and the banner-bearer of the communist movement in Iran, it has a dual role; since, on the one hand, as a communist organisation in Iran, it is considered as part of the working-class movement of Iran and has tasks and responsibilities which confront any other communist organisation in Iran, on the other hand, as the vanguard and vanguard of the proletariat of Kurdistan, and as a result of it, it has particular tasks and responsibilities in the leadership of the workers and toilers of Kurdistan and the revolutionary movement of the Kurdish people for the achievement of the right of self-determination and autonomy. The answer to this question guards the working class of the dominant nation in Iran from falling into the trap of any chauvinistic and great-national tendencies and prevents the proletariat of Kurdistan from developing any narrow-nationalist and chauvinist tendencies and thus increase the classness of ranks of the working class. The Plenum made interesting discussions about this point and arrived at important conclusions which were later promoted and consolidated in the session of the central committee of the two organisations. A text approved by this committee by the second Plenum of the Central Committee of Komala has been published separately in this issue of Fisheh.

The second question which the Plenum placed on its agenda was "the critique of populist methods of practice in Komala and the presentation of communist style of practice". On this issue the Plenum first discussed the doctrinal bases of this question and on this basis subjected the various fields of the practical activity of Komala (agitation-propaganda, organisation, secret work, Soviets, revolution, war, etc.) to criticism, review and correction. The results of the first part of the discussions which in fact formed a general preamble and introduction to the examination of the various arenas of the practical activity of Komala and which were published in issue No. 13 of "Fisheh", can be found in this issue of Fisheh. We shall try to publish the other parts of the results of the Plenum in this field—most of which have been distributed inside the organisation in the form of tapes—as soon as possible. →

* See Bolshevik Message no.1 for the English translation of this manifesto - BM.

The third point that was discussed by the Plenum was the "revolutionary movement of the Kurdish people, its participation, the examination of the necessity of the adoption of new tactics, and organisations" with respect to the revolutionary and vanguard role of Komala in this movement and the importance which this movement has had and still has in the continuation of the Islamic revolution. This section of the discussion of the Plenum had particular importance and peculiarity. The revolutionary movement of the Kurdish people is a revolutionary, living and real movement which has roots in the national demands of an oppressed nation. This movement has material and objective bases and is independent of the will of this or that person, party or organisation, and so long as its social groundworks exist, no force can stop it.

What gives the discussion about the revolutionary movement of the Kurdish people its particular character is the emphasis on the question of the formation of the national-democratic movement. Today not only everyone knows Komala as a Marxist-Leninist organisation and as one of the vanguards of the party movement in Iran, but the name of Komala has been intermingled with the name of the revolutionary movement of the Kurdish people, and since the beginning of the Resistance Movement*, Komala has been at the forefront of workers and toilers of Kurdistan with resoluteness and tactical consistency, and with its revolutionary leadership has endeavoured for ever greater development of the national revolutionary movement and for its linking with the nation-wide struggles of the workers and toilers of Iran and has more and more each day acquired the leadership of the Kurdish people in achieving self-determination and autonomy. Because of the participation of colliers and Komala at the head of them in this movement, Kurdistan has become the focal point of the formation of the Iranian revolution, the fortress of democracy and an important bulwark for the Iranian working class. So the critique and examination of the activity of Komala in the revolutionary movement of the Kurdish people during the last four years and basically the discussion of the more important results of this movement, its perspective, strategy and tactics will not only help the communists in the critique of their practice of struggle—which can help us in adopting the correct tactics and ensuring the continuity of the movement and the struggle—but it possesses a national-wide guidance for the working class and its communist party. While emphasising that the national-democratic movement of the Kurdish people in the Iranian Kurdistan, like any other democratic movement which is in progress in the epoch of imperialism and colonialism of world capitalist revolution, will become ultimately victorious only under the leadership of the working class, the Plenum approved the necessity of endeavour to turn the "Programme of Komala for the Autonomy of Kurdistan" into the practical action of the revolutionaries and members of Kurdistan and the organisation and extension of revolutionary democracy in the liberated areas and the preparation and drawing up of laws and regulations related to the new social relations, on the basis of the principles and statements of this programme.

In the field of military work too, with our strategic aim in the revolutionary war of Kurdistan having become clear, the Plenum stressed the point that our political and strategic aim in this war is the smashing and expelling of the suppressive forces of the central government from Kurdistan and the

* A resistance movement which was started by the people of Kurdistan when the Islamic Republic launched a full-scale offensive to crush the revolutionary movement in Kurdistan, in August 1979 - BM.

realization of the revolutionary democratic sovereignty of the Kurdish people on the basis of the "programme of Komala for the Autonomy of Kurdistan", and our main tactic for reaching this strategy is continuous and purposeful offensive against the suppressive forces of the Islamic Republic regime. The results and achievements of the Plenum in this field too will be made available to the public.

With the above discussions, the Plenum stressed the strengthening of democratic centralism, in connection with intra-organisational questions, and the necessity of giving ever greater order to organisational relations and exercising precise discipline, in the ranks of Komala.

Another important gain of the revolutionary Marxists in the last year was the "Preliminary Seminar for the Formation of the Communist Party of Iran" which took place in 1983 by the initiative of the Organising Committee of the Constituent Congress of the Communist Party of Iran and with the participation of some comrades of Komala and Unity of Communist Militants and many other comrades from the Communist Party of Iran. This seminar was being held at a time when the counter-revolutionary Islamic Republic regime had been daily stepping up its attacks and offensives against the ranks of the workers and communist revolutionaries; and as well as arresting, torturing and executing thousands of communists, it had also held television interviews with some traitors and oscillators who had preferred the shame of surrender to the bloodiest regime of history, to resistance and standing up against torture and execution, it had started another wave of arrests and trials—called "the pro-principles", and was then trying to declare that communism in Iran had been terminated, and wanted to assure the capitalists and imperialism that the danger of the formation of the Communist Party of Iran had been eliminated. Therefore the holding of this seminar with the participation of many other members of communist revolutionaries who are determined to build the communist party of the working class of Iran, was an evidence of the emptiness of the regime's propaganda and was a sign of the fact that today the revolutionary Marxist current in Iran has reached such a degree of international development that no force can stop its advance.

The questions which were discussed in this seminar included the following three topics:

- 1) The communist party
- 2) Style of work
- 3) Place of Komala in the Communist Party of Iran

The specific peculiarity which distinguished this seminar from similar seminars and those common in Iran's populist-striken communist movement, was the democratic atmosphere, the complete transparency and sincerity of the participants in the seminar and their resoluteness in presenting their views, and their explicitness in confronting the views of others. In fact it can be said that after a sectarian and factional attack towards the radicals and leftists of other anti-popular traditions of the communist movement, a considerable number of the Iranian communists, without confining themselves in the narrow and restricted

→ * See Bolshevik Message no.3 for the manifesto of joining of this organisation to the UCM - BM.

For the Revolutionary Democratic Republic of Iran

limits of organisational interests, and divorced from any kind of petty-bourgeois narrow-mindedness, discussed and exchanged views about the urgent questions of the workers' and communist movement of Iran in a democratic and free atmosphere. By the title of the Seminar, "the socialist traditions in their practice, tried to ever more eliminate the main obstacles standing in the way of the formation of the communist party, and by achieving a single, determined and solid will, to step towards the greater extension of the party and the practical formation of the Communist Party of Iran.

While explaining and defining the communist principles and bases of forming the party, the Seminar approved the correctness of the views of the Organizing Committee of the Preliminary Seminar in the formation of the Communist Party of Iran is the existence of the able and dedicated communist vanguard for constituting the main organs of the party in a consistent and continuous manner, and emphasised the socialist and anti-nationality character of the Communist Party of Iran. Moreover, the all-sided and Marxist critique of the prevalent style of work in the populist movement of Iran and also by the explicit criticism of the style of work of Komala and the UCM and the Communist organisations of Iran, expressed the ability of establishing communist principles and statutes of practical activity and adoption of communist style of work in party organisations and groups. Also, one of the important discussions of the Seminar was devoted to a discussion about the place and position of the working class in the movement and confronts the chauvinist and nationalist views common in the movement. The essence and conclusions of these discussions can be seen in the speeches of comrade Abdollah Mohmedi.*

Thus, the Preliminary Seminar of the Communist Party overcame the important events of the communist movement of Iran during the last year. An event which demonstrated the resolute decision and will of the genuine communists of Iran for complete and categorical break with any non-proletarian class attachment and the adoption of the communist traditions and methods and the revival and replacement of Leninist traditions and methods of practice and finally the practical constitution of the militant organ of the proletariat, i.e., the Communist Party of Iran.

One other valuable outcome of the Seminar was the affirmation of this fact that the objective of building the Communist Party of Iran did not stem from the will or decision of particular individuals, groups or organisations who had set out to build the party on the basis of their willition, but that this objective was the result of the objective conditions and this necessity had been created not only by the existence of revolutionary conditions and circumstances in Iran but by the existence of these conditions throughout the world. We can say under such conditions the world socialism is faced with a massive economic crisis. A crisis that no one can hide any longer. Today the news of the bankruptcy of large international establishments, the closing down of factories, unemployment and expulsions, and the permanent strikes and movements throughout the world has become a daily matter for the people of the world. It is a long time that not only world capitalism is not able to control this economic crisis but that this crisis is going to lead to its deepest outcome, i.e., a political crisis. Under such circumstances revolutionaries and reformist parties can no longer meet the needs of the struggle of the working class, since, as the political stability of the society is disturbed and revolutionary conditions are created, the questions facing the working class are no longer confined to wage increases and improvements in living conditions, but the destruction of capitalism, seizure of political

power and construction of socialism have become its cause, and the social revolution is set on its order of the day. Today the working class is turing away and moving away from the bourgeois revisionist and reformist traditional parties which under the guise of Marxism and communism had colluded with the capitalist system and by preaching class compromise and inventing assorted revisionist theories such as the "theory of the stages of development" etc, were supporting the working class from its fundamental struggle against capitalism. In fact it can be said that a new period of the movement and awakening of the working class has started on a world level.

It is not accidental that in Iran too after decades of domination of revisionism over the communist movement in Iran, the Islamic Republic, against a sea of class enemies, to continue its advances so victoriously and with such growth and to brush aside the cover of oblivion and treachery from the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and by raising the voice of the working class in the name of the Communist Party to declare the class independence of the proletariat. It is clear that capitalism in Iran, too, as part of the world system of capitalism cannot escape from the economic crisis which has already enveloped world capitalism. The conditions we have been seeing are the precursors of similar crises in various forms in Iran. The February 1979 Uprising and the overthrow of the monarchist regime was the doomed result of such a crisis. The inability of the Islamic Republic regime to return the desired order of the bourgeoisie to the society and the creation of the necessary conditions for the renewing and replacement of capital in Iran were the other results of this crisis which in its continuation will certainly prepare the conditions for another uprising in Iran. In addition, four years of the attempts and stands of the clerical reactionaries to prevent the presentation of the bloody gains of the uprising, four years of bloody and open class struggles in Kurdistan, have not only provided favourable objective and material conditions for the formation of the Communist Party of Iran but have essentially turned the establishment of the Communist Party into a necessity, without the existence of which the decades' long tragedy of the absence of the communist party in Iran would be once again repeated.

Thus, the Preliminary Seminar of the Communist Party which overcame the continuation of the endeavours of revolutionary Marxism in the last year for the practical formation of the Communist Party of Iran, ended quite successfully.

In this way the communist movement is at present on the one hand faced with the task of extensive activity in the field of theoretical methods, and on the other hand is confronted with the task of preparing the last practical prerequisites for settling up the constituent congress, and in the near future is going to formally announce the birth of the Communist Party of Iran as the leading headquarters of the Iranian working class and revolution, to the world.

The Editorial Board

June 83

Picture No. 5

We, the SUCM-abroad, take full responsibility for all the transmissions, articles, news, etc., in the Bolshevik Message.

To contact SUCM in different countries, write to:

- B.P. NO.23, 75660, PARIS, CEDEX 14, FRANCE.
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- BOX 99, 434 CORN EXCHANGE BUILDINGS, HANGING DITCH, MANCHESTER, M4 3EY, ENGLAND.

* Comrade Mohmedi is the First Secretary of Komala - BM.

The 'alternative' of Mr. Rajavi for unemployed workers !

we too send a message addressed to the National Council of Resistance and its respectful officer.

Mr. Masoud Rajavi!

As the only saviour of Iranian capitalism, you may be able to establish your status before the interested and influential world camps, but be certain that by continuing the path you have taken up you will not gain one iota of influence and credit amongst the Iranian workers and toilers. More than making the in-between forces "feel good" and forcing them back to their real class positions, the Iranian workers have taught lessons to the Iranian workers and has promoted and pushed them forward to the extent of realising their independent interests and aims and of acquiring their real class role and position. For four years the Iranian working class has been experiencing the most violent of crimes in the direction of the workers and business under demagogic slogans such as "sacrifice for achieving economic independence for Iran", "work and endeavour for national and economic development and self-sufficiency". You must produce me dead, the country is in "danger", and similar slogans which do not allow any other demagogic political forces and politicians to hide the "largeness of the capitalists' pockets" behind the seemingly nice slogan of "the economic integrity and independence of the country"; and to name the economic benefits of its 200 per cent, 300 per cent profit, "the productive development of the liberated Iran of tomorrow".

Messrs. bourgeois-alternatives! Believe that you have fallen behind history and have taken to the field too late. The days of Abdul-Nasser and Mousadegh have long gone. You are blinder both to your blind and safeguard the interests of capital and capitalism. The revolution is revealing and exposing class lines and polarizations amongst the different political forces, more and more each day, and making the conditions harder for the ruling forces. Each day the revolution is revealing this truth to the oppressed people of Iran more than any other time, that is, as it concerns their interests and demands – even immediate and transitional demands – not even iota will be reduced from the treachery and wickedness of the capitalist system. The people of Komala and the results of the necessities and the needs of the capitalist system in Iran needs the necessities which Khomini – like any other person or force who wants to preserve this system – must submit to and fulfil; if Mr. Rajavi's problem is the "idleness" of the productive power of the working class and the people of Iran, the millions of workers' families if he is worried about the economic and productive life and independence of the country and not the life and existence of millions of human beings who are the victims of the capitalist system in Iran; if he is complaining about the fundamental progresses of Iran and the achievements made in improving the life of millions of deprived and oppressed human beings who have never had any gains from the fundamental progresses of the motherland.

And ... finally, if Mr. Rajavi has been turned into a mature and realistic bourgeois from our point of view, this is something completely understandable. After all, in the "international equations of power" and in the eyes of the world poles who "make alternatives" and "recognise alternatives" such stands are counted and recorded, and if the "only bourgeois alternative" of Mr. Rajavi did not bear such considerations in mind and take up such positions, it would be surprising. But ... here it is necessary that

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* A famous phrase of Bani-Sadr addressed to workers when he was in power - BM.

** Declamations of Bani-Sadr when he was at the head of the Islamic regime's forces attacking Kurdish workers and massacring the Kurdish workers and toilers - BM.

Down with the Islamic Republic regime !

New comrades join the SUCM—abroad

During the last 2 years many comrades from the supporters (in Europe) of the political organisations in Iran such as the Fedaien, Organisation of Paykan, Organisation of Militant Workers, who had split from them, have either individually or in small groups joined the Supporters of the Unity of Communist Militants-abroad.

The following is the text of the manifesto of some ex-supporters of the Organisation of Iranian People's Fedaien Guerrillas in Britain, who recently joined the Supporters of the UCM, abroad - BM.

A new period of open class wars is starting throughout the world. This reality is manifesting itself in various aspects in different countries, from the political and economic crises in the imperialist countries to the intensification of conflicts among the imperialist states. Today we are faced with the deepest contradictions on a world scale. With the decadence of revisionism and the world economic crisis, the perspective of a new proletarian revolution can already be seen.

Russia and China, these claim to be the official representatives of socialism in international arenas, have been disseminating and pursuing, in the name of communism, the most anti-proletarian theories, policies, and methods. In addition, particularly in the imperialist-dominated countries, inconsistent and restrictive petty-bourgeois nationalism, and the name of Marxism, is causing new distortions and revisions in basic principles, the theory, and the bases of the practice of revolutionary Marxism, namely in the basis of populism, nationalism, and petty-bourgeois socialism.

We, the ex-supporters in Britain of the Organisation of Iranian People's Fedaien Guerrillas, by accepting the Programme of the Communist Party (adopted by Komala and the UCM) and realising its significance in the present period, consider our ranks as separate from populist revisionist tendencies for this reason, and from now on will practise our tasks alongside the Supporters of the Unity of Communist Militants-abroad and in its organisational framework. The main lines of our critical view of the Fedaien are as follows:

1- Fedaien has intense revisionist tendencies towards the Russian bourgeois-imperialist camp. As one of the faces of populist revisionism in Iran, Fedaien is the substitution of popular (petty-bourgeois) socialism for proletarian socialism; its distinguishing feature is the denial of the possibility of building a socialist system instead of its entirety, the denial of the existence of class struggle inside the "people's front", moral attitude towards internationalism, confounding the democratic and the socialist revolutions and the revolutionaries, regarding the power of the dictatorship of the proletariat, all of which lead to wavering before the ruling capitalist regime and to the non-proletarian critique of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties, etc.

2- Fedaien objects to capitalism but to its dependence on imperialism. This is a bourgeois-nationalist outlook which is specifically based on the Kautskyist critique of imperialism. Fedaien considers the hardships, poverty, destitution, and the lack of rights of the masses, not the result of capitalism as such, but the result of its dependence

on imperialism; and for the elimination of these hardships, it stands for the severing of this dependence.

The only revolutionary way of emancipation from the existing crisis, the general poverty and destitution, and the wages of the masses famine, is the overthrow of the basis of imperialism and dependent capitalism from the economy of the society (??), solving the problem in a revolutionary and democratic manner, i.e., extracting the initiatives to workers and peasants and all the toilers of the town and countryside, and the destruction of the old and reactionary system.

(The Programme of Action
of the O.I.P.F.G.)

When for them the "revolutionary way of emancipation from the crisis" means the destruction of the capitalist mode of production as practical necessity as the only solution to this crisis, Fedaien have never fought for socialism. The political existence of all kinds of Fedaien, from the beginning up to now, has revolved around the severing of dependence on imperialism. And this is the very point common to Fedaien and the Tudeh Party (2).

3- In the field of its political existence, Fedaien has always tried to negate the independent rank of the proletariat and substitute fronts in place of the communist party. (Refer to the "fronts" of Jazani "revolutionary wing", the party of Ahmad Zadeh, and the front of the Fedaien). In the period before the Uprising, Fedaien have submitted to the bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeoisie, and slogans such as "Greetings to Fedaien, Greetings to Mojahedin" are an expression of this.

4- In the field of its social existence, for years of the revolution, has been continuous illusion-spreading towards the regime and the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties; support for Khomeini as the "anti-imperialist leader of the revolution" (3), support for Taleghani, support for Fedaien, Mojahedin and submit to the political appendages illusions about the liberals (the slogan of death to the Islamic Republic Party - and the party alone), open letter to the Majlis, etc. All the attempts of the Fedaien for the "independence of the proletarian cause" and the "reality of the revolution" - their open letter to the Mojahedin and their Programme of Action, which were written with the special haste of the Fedaien - which is holding to the Mojahedin at any cost. And in Kurdistan, the Fedaien, in a Menshevik manner, stand for the preservation of the "people's" unity and the continuation of the methods of the independence of the Kurdish proletariat from the bourgeoisie. The programme of Fedaien never speaks about the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism as the final aim and the solution of the capitalist system.

5- Fedaien explicitly demonstrates its world-class attachment in the Programme of Action. They ask the cooperation and assistance of the "socialist camp" (i.e., Russia, Eastern Europe, North Korea, Vietnam, and Cuba) for rebuilding the economy of the country (??), of course, reserving themselves the right of struggling against the ideological deviations (??) dominating the ruling parties in these countries. →

Parties which according to the Fedaien are the representatives of the international proletariat, i.e., the Brothers of the Tudeh Party throughout the world, as well as the International Communist Party (I.C.P.), and the party of Ahmad Zadeh, and others, have been eliminated. In Iran the views of the founders of this current about imperialism is the same theory of plunder and pillage which the whole Fedaii milieu has inherited.

(2)- The split of the Majority of the Central Committee of the O.I.P.F.G. was not because of the physical infiltration of the members of the Tudeh Party into the Fedaien, but had roots in the unity of the bases of views of Fedaien and Tudeh Party.

(3)- Refer to the first communiqué of the Fedaien which was broadcast on Radio Iran during the Uprising period.

from P.1

for the establishment of state-capitalism and the preservation of the ruling organs of the bourgeoisie. In fact the existence of these two main opposition poles in Iran, i.e., the pro-Western bourgeois改良派 (Komala and the pro-American Party and M.R.) and the pro-Soviet Communists Party and MRG, is the expression of the interests of two world imperialist camps: the American and West-European imperialism, on the one hand, and Russian imperialism, on the other. These two camps of world bourgeois-imperialist counter-revolution, despite their seemingly different political and economic views, have united under the need to suppress the genuine revolutions led by the proletariat throughout the world. Whilst the former, by preaching capitalism as the sole and eternal mode of production brutally crushes any revolutionary opposition, the latter, by putting down the revolution, has succeeded in setting off its state-capitalism in place of socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and thereby suppresses the revolution in the name of the revolution.

The history of many revolutions in the past and the half-finished revolutions in the present indicated this to be the blindest uprising of the masses, if not led by the independent organ of the workers, i.e., a true communist party, will be ultimately aborted and defeated. The bourgeoisie and its aids and associates know this truth well, so should the revolutionaries.

But the proletariat of Chile preserves its class independence by raising the banner of a communist programme and setting up its militant organ, i.e., a communist party, all its heroic and sacrifice would be lost for another round of the blind manipulation of the workers and toilers of Chile, under the rule of the fresh representatives of capital.

If one decade ago the bourgeoisie and imperialism were able to crush all resistance in Chile and establish their power in Chile, then in order, today the proletariat of Chile must prevent the repeat of this bitter experience by uniting its ranks in its political party, and by forming its mass organ of direct exercise of power.

Today the two world camps of counter-revolution and all their agents, political and military, address to the proletarian and oppressed masses that there are two choices open to them: either Western capitalism, or Russian state-capitalism. But we say to these lackeys and their masters that there is also a third alternative, i.e., the socialist proletarian revolution, opening up the programme of a communist party, and by establishing the communist party, aims for no less than socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The conscious struggle towards this great end has been started by the revolutionaries of the revolutionary proletariat in Iran, and the Iranian proletarian warmly extends its support and solidarity to the proletarian of Chile in this common and international struggle.

Banned

** Ayanehz was the title of the Shah - BM.

LONG LIVE BOLSHEVISM!

Organisations and groups which have joined Komala and UCM so far

The joining of other forces, besides Komala and Unity of Communist Militants, to the struggle to form the communist party has not been a one-stroke event, like, for instance, the call to hold a congress or a conference. For nearly two years, the Unity of Communist Militants and Komala have escalated the struggle for the actual formation of the communist party by having declared the steps which had to be taken in this path, one after the other, to whoever called himself communist. These two years have at the same time coincided with the process of the disintegration of some political organisations and the joining of other forces to the Party. The programme has been in some ways tied up with the conclusion of crises inside these organisations. Razmandegan split and became passive and some sections of it joined the revolutionaries. The Revolutionary Struggle, Pekar and some sections of it finally turned towards Komala and Unity of Communist Militants; Pekar split and became passive and exactly the same happened about a section of its activists. Thus, during the last one and a half years, the revolutionary and communist fractions of these organisations which did not share the pitiful fate of Razmandegan, i.e., pacifism, liquidationism, and academicism, essentially joined Komala and UCM, the last case of which was the joining of the Communist Organisation of Pekar to the UCM, along with the joining of their cadres and fractions. All these active elements in circles of the above and other organisations of the left movement of Iran in general, have individually joined Komala and Unity of Communist Militants. Although these elements and circles were not limited to the so-called "left", the majority of them, especially those of them, was from the forces belonging to this milieu.

Today in the ranks of Komala and UCM a large number of the activists, cadres, or even central committee members of Pekar, Razmandegan, Revolutionary Struggle, Revolutionary Struggle, and others are present and have strengthened the ranks of revolutionary Marxism.

Thus the joining of other forces to the Party Programme and the struggle for the formation of the communist party has practically resulted in the joining of these forces to Komala in an organised and fraternal form, or as single individuals and circles, to the two organisations which formally adopted the Programme of the Communist Party in Spring 1982, i.e., Komala and UCM.

... Thus the forces which through joining Komala and UCM have taken part in the struggle for the formation of the communist party are as follows:

1- From the Organisation of Razmandegan:

In the autumn of 1980, the Organisation of Razmandegan sunk into crisis and in the Spring of 1981, the process of splits and pacifism started in this organisation. The following sections from Razmandegan joined the ranks of the Party Programme:

A- A section of the Organisation of Razmandegan called the Revolutionary Marxist Fraction (Supporter of the UCM), which had published two issues of

"Communist Razmandegan", joined the UCM.

B- The Communist Militants Nucleus - a split from the Organisation of Razmandegan - joined Komala.

2- From the Organisation of Revolutionary Unity:

The process of developments in the Organisation of Revolutionary Unity is as follows: In Spring 1980 it split to three "views". The first view later joined the National Council of Resistance (under the name of "National Council of People's Emancipation of Labour"). The second view, which was nickname "the Computerists" gave up organised struggle. The third view disintegrated into the following organisational currents in Spring 1980:

- A- The section which joined Pekar.
- B- The section which joined UCM at that time.
- C- The section which joined Komala.
- D- The remaining section formed the new organisation of "Revolutionary Struggle".

In later developments, "Revolutionary Struggle" practically dissolved, a large section of it joined Komala, another section later declared its support for UCM, and the Revolutionary Unity itself dissolved in this way.

3- From the Organisation of Pekar:

The crisis of Pekar appeared in June 1981 and the process of the formation of the different factions and after the splits and pacifism in this organisation, the formation of new factions which split from Pekar formally through declaring its identity and having independent activity in the movement was the Communist Organisation of Pekar. This organisation joined the UCM a few months ago, as well as the Revolutionary Organisation of Pekar. The majority of the Razmandegan faction of Pekar, the Majority of the Razmandegan faction of the Kurdish section of Pekar partly joined Komala and partly the UCM. Also, from the Kurdish section of this organisation, from the fraction of "Communist Revolutionaries", some joined Komala and partly the UCM, some others joined the UCM through the Communist Organisation of Pekar. From the other fractions and splits of Pekar, circles and groups have joined UCM and Komala.

4- From other Organisations:

From the other organisations of the left movement too, particularly in Kurdistan, revolutionary elements have joined Komala, either individually or as groups.

[Extracted from Kargar-e-Komunist No. 2, July 83]

* Line-3 was the name given to those populist organisations which held positions against both Russia and China and also "rejected" the policy of guerrilla warfare - BA.

Long Live the Communist Party of Iran!

News from kurdistan



The news below have been extracted and compiled from the communiques (nos. 25-29) of comrade Yosef Ardalan, the representative of Komala abroad.

ATTACKS BY THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC REGIME

KAMYARAN 26.6.83

The forces of the Islamic Republic regime attacked the Peshmarga base and were confronted with the resistance of the Peshmargas. The Peshmargas carried out a great operation and killed a large number of the regime's forces and forced them to retreat.

MAHABAD 31.7.83

The forces of the Islamic Republic regime attacked the village of "Qazza Gheishagh" situated in the region of "Shar-Warran" in which they were confronted with the Peshmargas of Komala and Kurdistan Democratic Party of Iran who were based in this area.

Finally, after a long conflict, lasting from noon till night, the forces of the regime's forces were killed and the rest were wounded, one of the Komala Peshmargas was injured and also 4 of the inhabitants of the village were killed.

KOMALA'S OFFENSIVE

MAHABAD: Four Jashas taken prisoner by Komala Peshmargas

On the 24th, 25th, 26th of June, Komala Peshmargas entered "Mahabad" and delivered speeches to the people of the town. Then they searched the houses of a number of famous Jashas (Kurdish mercenaries), arrested four of them and took them out of the city as prisoners.

9 KOMALA PESHMARGAS TAKE CONTROL OF THE BANEH-SARDASHT ROAD

On 26.6.83 Komala Peshmargas took 5km of the "Banah-Sardasht" road under their control and laid an ambush for the enemy along this road. After a series of few-hour operations, 17 of the Islamic regime's forces were arrested by the Peshmargas and four army vehicles were set on fire. In this great battle, a quantity of ammunitions were captured by the Peshmargas, and none of the Peshmargas were hurt.

THE FALL OF A BASE IN KANYARAN

On 17th July 83, Komala Peshmargas - the Shahidan Kanyaran Hex - attacked and captured one of the Islamic Republic's bases, 6km from the town of "Kanyaran" in the borrough of "Baloocbeh". In this battle, a large-scale attack of the regime's forces and killed 30 of them in the base. The base was completely destroyed and razed to the ground. A quantity of ammunitions was captured by the Peshmargas, and one Peshmarga was killed.

Latest German translations



Die Frauenfrage
ist eine Arbeitserfrage
R. Dauer
Foto: Peter Röder
Veröffentlicht im Rahmen der 10. Internationale Konferenz der Komintern-Affiliaten

Warum beunruhigt die Gründung der Kommunistischen Partei die Modjahedin ?
F. Farzin

TURKEY: 2500 political prisoners on hunger strike

Since coming to power through the coup of September 12, 1980, the bourgeois military dictatorship of General Erven in Turkey has done all in its powers to repress and suppress its predecessor. It has had earlier carried out, in the service of capital and imperialism: the imposition of greater austerity and impoverishment on the working class and toilers and extensive repression and political reaction throughout the whole country. During this three-year period, the working class of Turkey and its communist vanguards have been the main target of attack by the military junta.

The extensive acts of oppression and denial of democratic rights throughout the country, such as the freedom of assembly, expression, press, the freedom of association, demonstrations, strikes, sit-ins, etc. and the imprisonment, torture, and execution of many militants has meant that the workers and toilers of Turkey now live in a state of complete repression and the principles of Turkey have been filled with thousands of political prisoners.

Again all this repression, new signs of resistance have recently appeared, and the latest courageous action by the political prisoners and their organisation is an example of this:

On 7 July 1983, 2500 political prisoners went on

a hunger strike in prisons of Metris, Kahabat, Sagmalcan and Sultanhane in Turkey. The state of health of many prisoners is worsening each day.

In order to get the attention of the public, the prisoners have managed to pass out a common declaration to their relatives. In this declaration they demanded:

- 1) an end to torture and oppression in prisons,
- 2) improvement of living conditions in prisons,
- 3) immediate free interviews with lawyers and families,
- 4) withdrawal of prison uniforms and return of civilian cloths,
- 5) right to keep books and writing articles.

Our latest information about the action of the prisoners, is that after about a month on hunger strike, the junta had to release the result of the strike is as yet unknown to us. During this protest some of the prisoners have died.

We extend our solidarity to the political prisoners of Turkey and their struggle for achieving the above demands.

FOR THE FREEDOM OF ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS IN TURKEY!

WORLD NEWS

ISRAELI STATE ATTACKS THE WORKERS IN ISRAELE

In early August, the Israeli government decided to cut wages by 17% per month to accommodate the excess costs of the occupation of Lebanon. The cuts are believed to be a 35 per cent on old-age pensions, a rise in women's retirement age from 60 to 62, taking a child allowance away from married grants and other benefits for the disabled. Patients would have to pay £5 for an initial visit to the doctor. There are rumours of introduction of wage indexation system, higher electricity prices and cuts in food subsidies. Israeli inflation is running at 10 per cent, exports falling and the number of payments in serious deficit.

Last year when Israeli army, in the interests of Israeli and Western imperialism, was savagely wrecking the shelter of Palestinian and Arab proletarians and oppressed masses, under their heads, the media were publishing this harbinger at the securing of the interests of Israeli people. Now with the world capitalism in the grips of an acute crisis and after occupying Lebanon for one year, the Israeli bourgeoisie is forced to attack the Israeli workers and the working class directly.

This new attack of the bourgeoisie will not only intensify workers' struggle in Israel, but will also provide the grounds for a class solidarity between the Israeli and Arab workers and toilers. They will know that neither of them has any interests in supporting the capitalist system. They will fight against the common enemy, i.e., the capitalist system and all the bourgeois states.

YUGOSLAVIA THREATENED FROM INSIDE AND OUTSIDE

The Yugoslav state, in the throes of its most serious economic problems after the Second World War, this summer has staged a series of political trials which could be regarded as a warning against the possibility of massive dissent because of falling living standards.

Several senior Yugoslav leaders have claimed that the country was now under pressure by the enemies of socialism both from within and from abroad.

Yugoslavia with about £25m debts to western imperialism and an unknown amount to Russian imperialism is today one of the bankrupt dominated countries in the world.

Now this "communist" state (as the world bourgeoisie, eastern and western alike, would like to call it) is threatened from inside and abroad. Yes indeed! The Yugoslav proletariat, fed up of worsening living standards and the capitalist system in Yugoslavia, is threatening the bourgeois state there; and the world proletariat "abroad" would do anything possible to aid their comrades in Yugoslavia.

MORE REPRESSION IN INDONESIA

On 4th August, the Indonesian government ordered the newspapers to stop reporting the summary execution of known and suspected criminals [against the existing order of course]. Local newspapers estimate that more than 550 people have been shot dead so far.

In this way the bourgeoisie in Indonesia has once again reaffirmed its loyalty to the capital's order of the day in the dominated countries, i.e., shoot to kill!

ZANU WILL NOT RULE FOR EVER!

Ever since the creation of Zimbabwe state every day it has become clearer that the political system and state in this country are nothing but a bourgeois and anti-working-class system. It has become clear that the class consciousness of the Zimbabwean workers and toilers in the absence of an independent proletarian class party and under the leadership of petty-bourgeois and "popular" fronts like ZANU and ZAPU was doomed to defeat. The colour of the flag has changed but there has been some changes in the relations between different factions of the bourgeoisie. But for millions of the Zimbabwean workers and toilers it is becoming clearer that not much has changed for them since "independence". The black representatives of the bourgeoisie before taking power made it sure that:

The foundations of the bourgeois state will not be touched. Parliament (as against direct rule of the people through armed Soviets) will stay. The bureaucracy and even well known "workers' leaders" of the bourgeoisie will stay. The irregular guerrilla army will be transformed to a well disciplined professional army (with the help and assistance of freedom loving officers of the British army!) through its integration into the old Rhodesian army. In short, Lord Soames return to Zimbabwe will bring great trust to the socialist attachment of his "Marxist" friend, Robert Mugabe! In the ceremony to mark the creation of independent Zimbabwe and in presence of H.R.H. Prince Charles, Robert Mugabe asked God to help him to conduct his mission to assist the people of Zimbabwe in the interests of world capitalism. Now Mr. Mugabe is talking of the eternal rule of ZANU through the parliament. "The things will stay fundamentally as they are for ever". Read this bourgeois vision of the world in Mugabe's own words when speaking at a rally in Harare's Parliament Square recently:

ZANU WILL RULE FOR EVER... A one-party state is good and right and that it should be... he further said that when ZANU-PP became the only political movement in Zimbabwe, only card-carrying members would be able to be members of Parliament.

(Guardian 8.8.1983)

RUSSIAN BOURGEOISIE SPEAKS THE TRUTH!

For decades now the party-bureaucrats and distinguishing themselves with the cloak of socialism and communism have been trying to convince the workers in different countries that Russia - or wrongly called Soviet Union - is a socialist country or a country run by a "degenerated workers' state" or bureaucrat. Now the sub-structure of the socio-economic relations are socialist, non-capitalist and something to be defended by workers world over.

Official CPS hold to the position that Russia is straight forward socialist and Trotskyists of different shades and hues (from the Spartacist League and Workers Revolutionary Party to the Revolutionary Communist Party in Britain, for example) stick to the notion of degenerated workers' state.

In this respect much has been said and written by true communists in order to analyse and prove the degeneration of the dictatorship of the proletariat and consolidation of the rule of capital in Russia, to prove that Russia is a capitalist state. On the other hand the development of capitalism in Russia, especially in this period of the crisis of world capitalism can push the Russian bourgeoisie to speak in first world language, not only in political fields but also in economic "regulations" concerning economic relations. The following report is an example of such bourgeois frankness of the Russian bourgeoisie:

A confidential study prepared for the Kremlin leadership has called for a fundamental reform of the country's political system. The 10-page study's main argument is that the existing system is now acting as a brake to further development.

The study was presented in April as one of a series of "closed-door" briefings organised by the Soviet Academy of Sciences, economic sections of the Communist Party Central Committee, and the state planning commission.

The Soviet economy, the study asserted, "has long passed the point where it was possible to regard it as a socialist economy". It said that some of the basic ideological assumptions have become dated or irrelevant. In particular, it challenged the notion that economic changes can be carried out "without social conflict" ... A fundamental restructuring of the system of economic management touches significantly on the interests of many social groups.

(4.8.83 Guardian)

A later report on 8.8.83 reveals the nature of these changes and the social groups affected by them:

A decree by the central committee of the communist party of Russia published by Pravda allows managers to dock employees up to one-third of their wages for sloppy work, cut holidays and such as "half for observation". This is aimed at drawing employees to work up to four months at reduced pay. The decree also doubled the required notice time for leaving a job without an officially accepted reason. A government memo leaked to the western reporters last week harshly criticised workers for "lou labour and production discipline, an indifferent attitude towards work, (and) a shoddy quality of work".

Contributions

We would like to thank the following for their donations and contributions:

- Comrade L. (USA) For her assistance in the final editing of the pamphlet "Two Factions..."
- Dr. s (Germany) For his supply of medicine.
- Nahid (Britain) For her artistic assistance.
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- Comrades in Germany A contribution of £246
- Sianak (Sweden) A contribution of 600 Kroner.
- Abbas (Britain) A contribution of £50
- Rashid (Britain) A contribution of £30
- Sahand (Britain) A contribution of £10
- Afshar (South Yorkshire - Britain) A contribution of £ 5
- Barbad (Britain) A contribution of £ 5
- Toraj (Britain) A contribution of £ 5

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"BRITAIN : the real reason behind the BL action"

During last week, thirteen workers were sacked from the British Leyland Cowley Plant. This event, irrespective of the Management's claim that these workers gave false information on their application forms, and also whether the workers were really political activists or not, came with it a specific message.

This is not the first time, the bourgeoisie has attacked workers, nor will it be the last time, but it indicates that the bourgeoisie in metropolitan countries too, is now taking greater care in preparation for a new onslaught on the working class.

The fact is that because the crisis of world capitalism is deepening, the bourgeoisie finds it necessary to pursue the only possible policy, which is to crush any resistance from the working class. In London, workers in the metropolitan areas of the United Kingdom have been living in conditions of black terror, where the bourgeoisie has used all the means at its power to deny workers any democratic rights. Workers in these countries have not been allowed to enjoy basic "democratic" rights, of the kind which exists in metropolitan countries.

Now because of the current crisis of world capitalism, the bourgeoisie is more and more resorting to direct suppression and the denial of democratic rights in the metropolitan countries and the advanced countries in the past few years these countries are being gradually undermined and eroded.

During this process, the economic and political position of workers will deteriorate and workers in metropolitan countries too, will realise the true nature of the capitalist system and its policies.

To fulfil their role in this process the Management of the Cowley Plant have sacked 13 workers, whilst they claim that their actions were dictated by the discovery of falsified information having been given by certain employees, this being repeated paragraph by the bourgeois media. In addition, this will have consequences for those who seek to find employment at BL in future.

This is a warning to the working class of the world, that as the crisis grows more profound, the bourgeoisie all over the world is prepared to fight the working class and its organisations.

Only last week the regime in Chile murdered 20 students, the regime of Iran continued attacking towns and villages of Kurdistan, and the biggest ever American "military exercise" in Latin America, started in Honduras, and the US Marines are preparing to attack the working class.

Workers of the Cowley Plant and throughout the world must be aware that the bourgeoisie is preparing more and more to maintain its position. The conscious workers and revolutionary Marxists must also learn to organise themselves and defend and fight for independent class interests.

Class solidarity with workers and communists in Iran

We hereby would like to acknowledge the practical class solidarity that the international communists, in particular the communists of the Comité d'Action Internationale (part of the International Marxist Group), despite the programmatic and tactical differences that they have with revolutionary Marxism in Iran, have rendered to the struggle of the proletariat and its communist vanguards in Iran.

Bolshevik Message

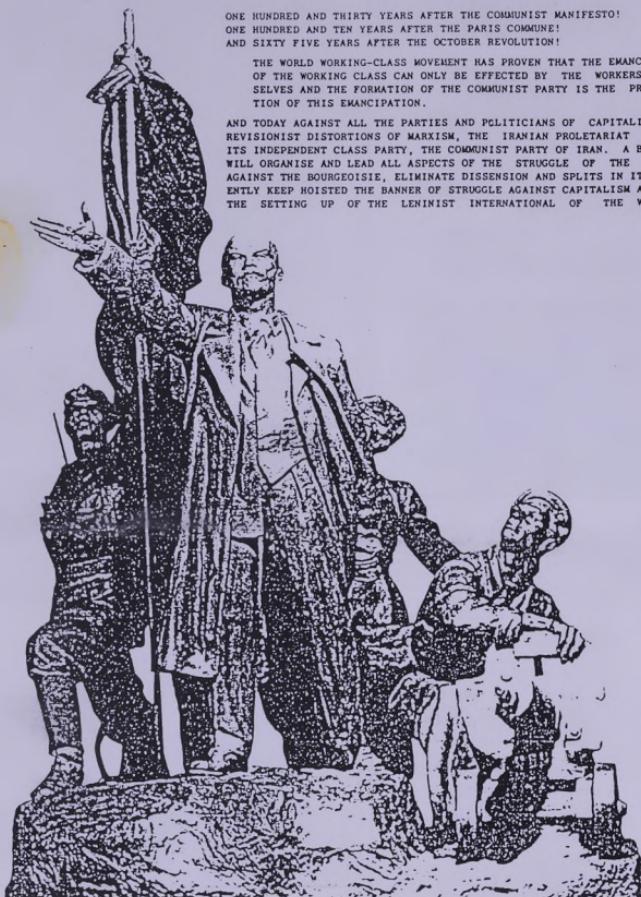
WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE !

ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY YEARS AFTER THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO!
ONE HUNDRED AND TEN YEARS AFTER THE PARIS COMMUNE!
AND SIXTY FIVE YEARS AFTER THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION!

THE WORLD WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT HAS PROVEN THAT THE EMANCIPATION
OF THE WORKING CLASS CAN ONLY BE EFFECTED BY THE WORKERS THEM-
SELVES AND THE FORMATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY IS THE PRECONDI-
TION OF THIS EMANCIPATION.

AND TODAY AGAINST ALL THE PARTIES AND POLITICIAN OF CAPITALISM, AGAINST ALL THE
REVISIONIST DISTORTIONS OF MARXISM, THE IRANIAN PROLETARIAT IS ABOUT TO SET UP
ITS INDEPENDENT CLASS PARTY, THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF IRAN. A BOLSHEVIK PARTY WHICH
WILL ORGANISE AND LEAD ALL ASPECTS OF THIS STRUGGLE. ON THE IRANIAN PROLETARIAT
AGAINST THE BOURGEOISIE, ELIMINATE DISSENSION AND SPLITS IN ITS RANKS AND CONSIST-
ENTLY KEEP HOISTED THE BANNER OF STRUGGLE AGAINST CAPITALISM AND REVISIONISM UNTIL
THE SETTING UP OF THE LENINIST INTERNATIONAL OF THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD!



Forward to the Establishment of the Communist Party of Iran !