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LONG LIVE THE JUST STRUGGLE
OF THE IRANIAN PEOPLE!

UNITY STRUGGLE VICTORY

THE WAR BETWEEN IRAN AND IRAQ: ISLAMIC FANATICISM OR A PROFITABLE IMPERIALIST WAR?

With the recent escalation of the 42-month old Iran-Iraq war, tremendous costs are suffered by the peoples of both countries. Tens of thousands of innocent civilians and forcefully recruited soldiers, mainly from the low-income sectors of the society, have been killed in savage mutual attacks. An enormous line of confrontation has been set up, in what is essentially a human wave attack, in order to gain a superior position on the battlefield.

Children as young as 9 years old are recruited for the war and with a few days of brainwashing and minor "military training", they are sent to the battlefield where their main function is to detonate the mined areas with their flesh so as to make a safe passageway for the tanks.

Several towns have been bombarded, some completely destroyed, and both sides have carried out their threats to increase attacks on populated areas. The murderous Islamic Republic regime of Iran has vowed to attack any city but the "holy" ones (where the shrines of religious figures are located) and the barbaric Iraqi regime has announced its willingness to bombard Iranian towns indiscriminately to safeguard against the "Persian threat".

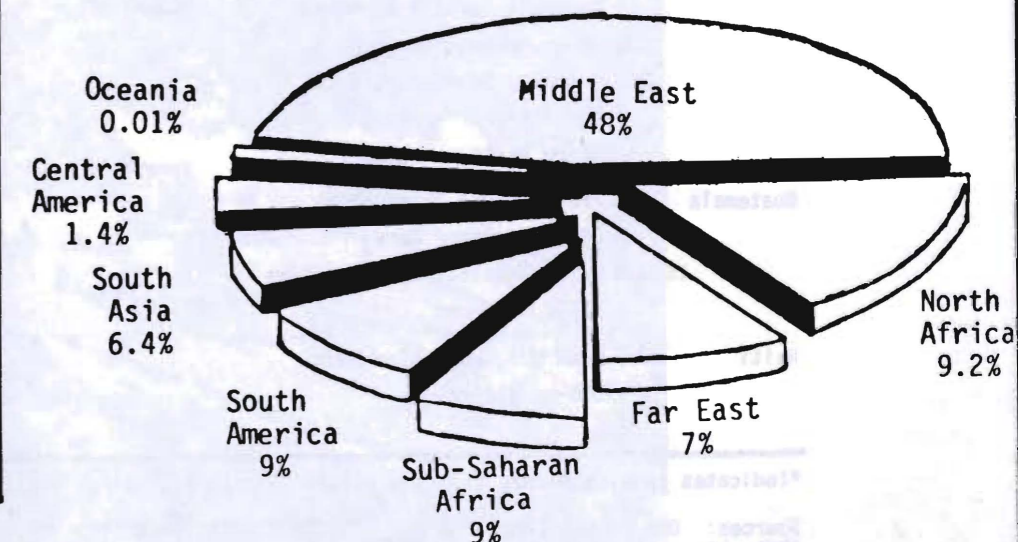
The killing of prisoners of war in cold blood, use of chemical weapons such as mustard gas and "yellow rain", millions of refugees with the inherent consequences of such status: health

problems, shortages of food, water, electricity, etc. have all become a routine manifestation of this horrible imperialist war.

A war of this magnitude has not been seen since World War II. The media depicts the war as a conflict between the governments of Iran and Iraq, leaving the directors of the war untouched behind the scenes—indeed one could not expect anything else. The importance of the Middle East for securing the "interests" of the major powers can easily be seen in the percentage of weapons delivered to the Middle East—48%—as compared to 9% to South America and only 1.4% to Central America. However, any analysis of the Iran-Iraq war that ignores the role of U.S. imperialism and other imperialist countries along with the revisionist Soviet Union is indeed worthless. The U.S. and its Western European allies and the Soviet Union continue to arm both sides while at the same

time their respective medias speak of the dangers posed by the war. An article in NEWSWEEK on March 5 states that the Reagan administration has asked Israel and South Korea not to deliver arms to Iran. In fact, arms deliveries to Iran are accomplished not only by Israel and South Korea, but also by the U.S. itself. The July 25, 1983 issue of TIME reported that arms deliveries to the Khomeini regime goes back to 1979 when the Carter Administration delivered \$5 billion worth of military supplies to the government of Mehdi Bazargan. In the summer of 1979 some American military advisors traveled to Iran to test-fire two Hawk anti-aircraft missiles for the Iranian Air Force. According to the same TIME report, one week after Carter's so-called boycott, some 300 U.S. and Western European companies contacted the Khomeini regime to supply all the supposedly

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Regional shares of the major weapons supplied to the Third World, 1970-79

WAR, CONT. FROM 1

banned items. This points out an important aspect and that is that U.S. arms are, in most cases, delivered to other countries through some mediator such as Israel or South Korea. This usually happens when the U.S. Congress puts a ban on delivery of arms or restricts amounts for some country solely for

the purpose of deceiving the American public. In these cases countries such as Israel take the duty. Table I shows arms delivered only to Latin America by Israel. The Chicago-Sun Times has reported that in FY 1983 some \$2485 million in military assistance was given to Israel. Some of this \$2485 million worth of weapons delivered to

Israel finds its way to countries such as Iran. It is of interest to compare the above amount to the \$166.3 million in military aid received by El Salvador. MIDDLE EAST magazine, in its October 1982 issue, reported that Israel had sold some of the weapons it captured from the PLO in Lebanon to Iran. In-

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TABLE I ISRAELI ARMS TRANSFERS TO LATIN AMERICA 1970-1980

COUNTRY	ARMS DELIVERIES	COUNTRY	ARMS DELIVERIES
Argentina	26 Dassault Mirage-5 Fighters* 22 Neshar Eagle Fighters 50 Gabriel Missiles Shafir Missiles	Honduras	12 Dassault Mystere Fighters* 4 Arava (STOL) Transports 1 Westwind Reconnaissance Plane 106-mm Mortars
Bolivia	6 Arava (STOL) Transports		14 RBY Mk Armored Cars
Chile	150 Shafir Missiles 1 Radar System 2 Reshef Class Patrol Boats		106-mm Rifles 5 Fast Patrol Boats (unconfirmed)
Colombia	3 Arava (STOL) Transports	Mexico	10 Arava (STOL) Transports
Dominican Republic	9-mm Uzi Submachine Guns	Nicaragua	2 Arava (STOL) Transports Rifles Ammunitions Patrol Boats Radios
Equador	10 Arava (STOL) Transports Ammunition Rockets Explosives	Panama	1 Westwind Reconnaissance Plane
El Salvador	17 Arava (STOL) Transports 6 Fouga Magister Trainers* 18 Dassault Ouragan Fighters* 200 80-mm Rocket Launchers 200 9-mm Uzi Submachine Guns Ammunition Spare Parts	Paraguay	6 Arava (STOL) Transports
Guatemala	11 Arava (STOL) Transports 10 RBY Mk Armored Cars 15,000 5.56-mm Galil Assault Rifles 4 Field Kitchens	Peru	Parachutes Radio Equipment Ammunition Small Arms
Haiti	600 9-mm Uzi Submachine Guns 106-mm Rifles	Venezuela	Bombs Rockets Tactical Communications Equipment

*Indicates rebuilt planes from the Israeli Air Force.

Sources: DMS Market Intelligence, FOREIGN MILITARY MARKETS: SOUTH AMERICA-AUSTRALASIA, 1981, p9; various issues of THE WEEKLY REPORT ON STRATEGIC LATIN AMERICAN AFFAIRS; and WORLD ARMAMENTS AND DISARMAMENT-SIPRI YEARBOOKS 1969/70 and 1971-1981.

LEBANON: CHESSBOARD OF CONTENTION?

In our last issue of IRAN IN RESISTANCE, we emphasized: "...events in Lebanon are actually the result of a global strategy of U.S. imperialism which aims at the destruction and annihilation of revolutionary liberation movements around the world and to protect imperialist interests.. Within this strategy many elements can be detected, such as the use of military force, using every means to promote and strengthen the position of reconciliatory factions and elements within the liberation movements, coming to agreements and compromises with Soviet revisionists, economic pressures, (etc.). But the core of all this and the main element that dictates the function of all these is the creation of a "safe" atmosphere for exploitation... this militarism and this strategy of global aggression is not rooted in different administrations in the U.S. or their policies, nor is it rooted in the "conflict" between "East and West", but the true result and cause of such a strategy is the miserable condition of the capitalist system worldwide and its struggle for prolonging its existence on the one hand and the enormous increase in the activities and escalation of the liberation movements all around the world and dominated countries on the other hand".

Recent developments in Lebanon must surely offer a valuable lesson to the liberation movements of the world. This lesson is not entirely new, yet history has its own way of teaching those who, by the nature of their class base, learn it the hard way, and it has indeed been taught the hard way in Lebanon!

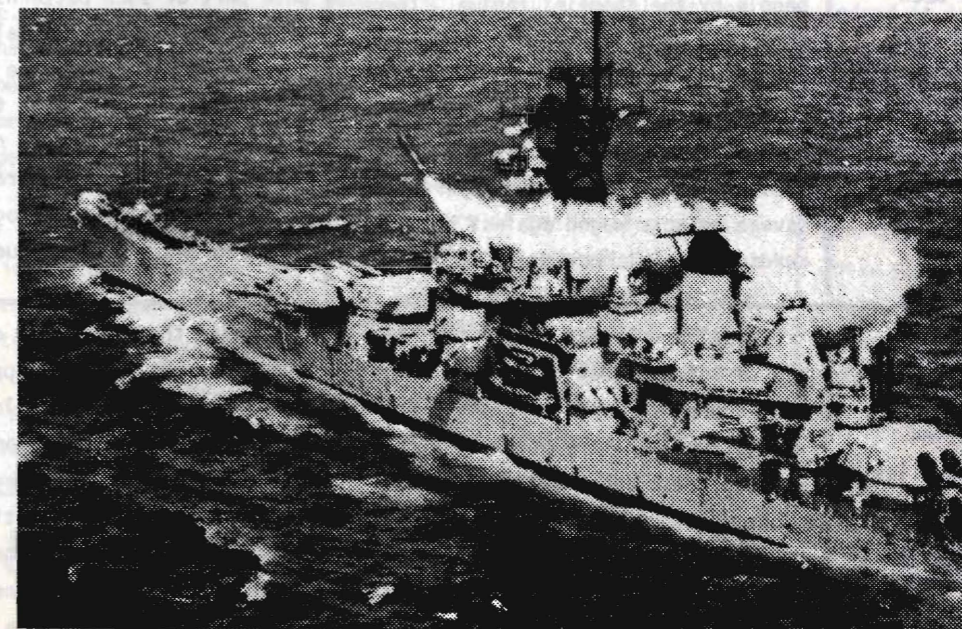
Where does Lebanon stand now, twenty months after the Israeli in-

vasion of Lebanon and the military defeat of P.L.O. forces? Its' southern part occupied by Israel, who has shown no intention of leaving soon; the self-proclaimed Phalangist Party that holds administrative power is trying to form a stable coalition with the reactionary Moslem leaders and at the same time bargaining with the ill-defined opposition leaders over the power sharing composition

of governmental posts; the Syrian regime is happy that they will continue to keep a foothold in Lebanese politics; and some disillusioned progressive political forces who think they have finally gained the upper hand in the latest round of confrontation.

Of course, no one can forget the "mighty" presence of the U.S. Sixth

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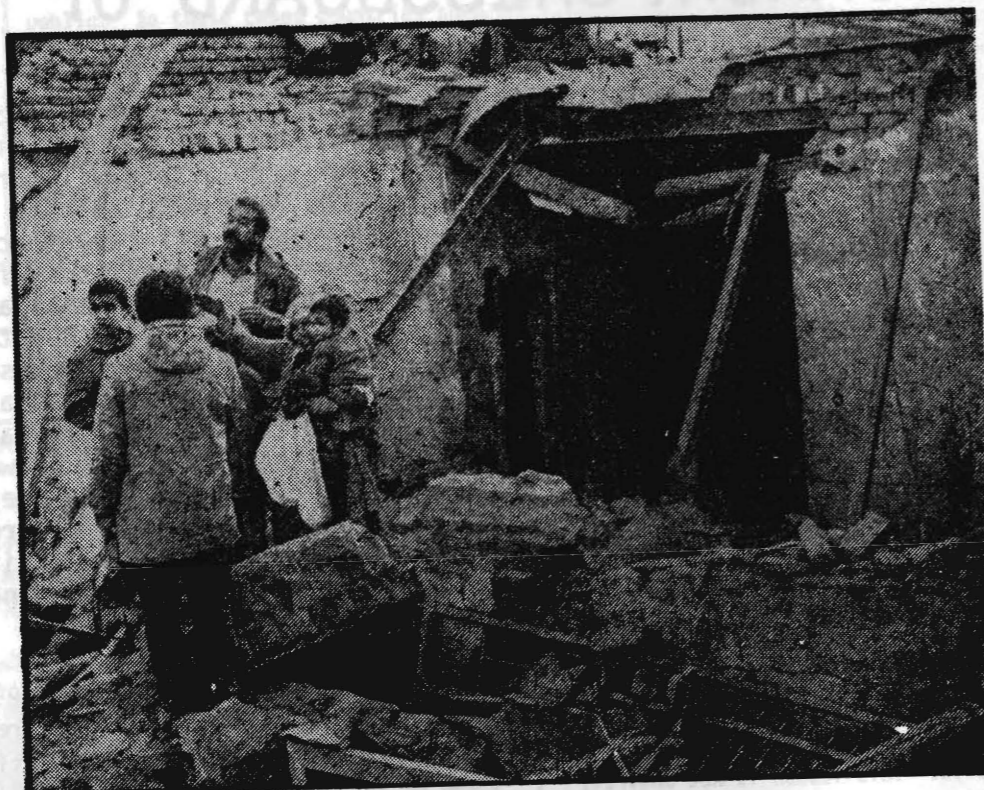
Battleship USS New Jersey

WAR, CONT. FROM 23

Iran - in the midst of the recent escalation of the Iran-Iraq war, the "Islamic Republic" newspaper of February 20 announced that agreement had been reached for the biggest economic contract between Iran and Japan to construct a steel mill at an estimated cost of \$5 billion.

The worldwide economic crises which imperialism is experiencing, forces dependent countries to share a very big chunk of it, and Iran has been taking its share of crises too. The Khomeini regime has predominantly used the Iran-Iraq war as a cover for high unemployment, high inflation, and shortages of basic needs. The war has allowed the regime to ration most of the people's daily needs and this represents a serious problem for imperialism in the event of a permanent cease-fire.

The recent coverage of the war by the western media once again shows how carefully the hearts and minds of the public are manipulated. Most of the media are behaving as if they have just "discovered" a war of such magnitude in the Gulf. Well, over 1/2 million people have already been killed, several millions have been made homeless, the cost of the war has been estimated at \$1 billion a month by the NY Times (March 11), (Who earns it? Maybe this explains why the imperialist media has been reluctant to cover this war), yet,



one could hardly find any news about it a short while ago, but at the same time one had no difficulty at all to find out what Mr. Walensa had for dinner! The same blackout has existed and continues to exist with regard to the suppression of Iranian people by the Khomeini regime. There is hardly any coverage of, for example, the execution of more than 40,000 progressive political activists, imprisonment of more than 75,000, barbaric tortures used on prisoners, savage attacks waged against the Kurdish people's movement, etc.

Unfortunately, the majority of political forces and organizations seem to be following the same pattern; very little coverage has been given to one of the most important and extensive anti-imperialist struggles that is being waged by the Iranian people. We attribute part of such patterns to the misguided nature of imperialist neo-colonial policies and the complexity of its relationship with the Khomeini regime. However, we can not help but lay partial blame on the ignorance and practical pacifism of the progressive political forces on this issue.

LEBANON, CONT. FROM 3

Fleet with its 16-inch guns aimed at its victims from just a few miles away, and no one can ignore the putrifying smell of the bodies of once lively babies of Beirut, now lying slain alongside their families, under heavy layers of dust and brick.

Israel proclaimed, after the seizure of Beirut, that they would not stay there for long. The cost, from a political-military point of view, was too great and the ailing Israeli economy (dependent entirely on the U.S. who is itself facing a crisis) could not sustain the large expenditure of occupation. However, after the defeat of the P.L.O. in Lebanon

and under the occupation of Israel, there was the "golden" opportunity for bringing to power a long-time ally of Israel, the Phalangist Party. To make sure the new government would consolidate itself over time and at the same time preserve the military advancements made by Israel, Israeli troops were replaced by a multi-

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LEBANON, CONT. FROM 4

national "peace-keeping force", who performed exactly the same job as had the Israeli troops, only under a misleading name. It was both a face-saving measure for Israel and a symbolic indication of four "mighty" imperialist countries' commitment against the Lebanese people's progressive movement. This is indeed the typical role of such multi-national (read corporate) "piece-keepers", they either keep "peace" by suppressing any struggle for freedom, or they keep a piece of the land for multi-national corporations!

However, the imperialist think-tanks had underscored the anti-imperialist potential of the Lebanese people. It is true that the Lebanese progressive movement had witnessed the military defeat of their Palestinian ally, it is equally true that the "leadership" of some factions of the "opposition" such as Amal (much like Arafat) had exhibited enormously obedient tendencies towards imperialist "solutions", yet the very essence of the invasion of Lebanon and its aftermath had greatly added to the misery and suffering of the Lebanese people. The working class in particular had to face severe consequences of the war and confront a wide range of problems from unemployment to shortages of food to health problems, etc...

One has only to consider the socio-economic condition of the dependent capitalist system of Lebanon to appreciate the detrimental consequences of war on it. Lebanon's economy has "traditionally" performed the main function of facilitating the recircu-



lation of imperialist capital through banking and trade activities between Arab countries and the west; such activities sharply declined during the occupation of Lebanon. So did the already poorly developed industrial activities. In the area of agriculture, those lucky enough to yield a crop had to watch it rot because of a lack of transportation and the Israeli restriction on vehicular movement, simply because Israel desired to dominate the market with its own goods. To all these one must add the migration and refugee problem. Thus, the entire economy has collapsed, and as is always the case, it collapsed on the shoulders of the working class. All these factors contribute enormously to the already existing objective conditions for a change, and serve as a breeding ground for an even more intense, wide-scale resistance movement. However, objective conditions can only bear fruit if accompanied

by an appropriate level of subjective conditions (revolutionary leadership and correct organization of the masses); the latter, unfortunately, has not been defined by the Lebanese progressive movement. As is the case for many liberation movements around the world, as long as such a revolutionary leadership and mass organization is absent, a movement is doomed to be manipulated and face setbacks sooner or later, if indeed it is not completely defeated.¹

Lebanon is an example in this respect. The "opposition" is held together with ill-defined goals, lacking any clear strategy. Their breakup is as likely as their formation, depending mainly on external factors. Their policies are set on a daily basis, with forces like the Syrian regime determining their direction. Hafez al Assad, who came to power through a coup in 1970, despite

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**SELF DETERMINATION FOR LEBANESE
& PALESTINIAN PEOPLES**

NEWS FROM LATIN AMERICA

- The NY Times of Jan. 30 reported that the U.S. government has agreed to sell \$2 million in spare parts to the barbaric Guatemalan regime for its U.S.-made military helicopters.
- L. Craig Johnstone, director of the State Department's Office of Central American Affairs said that because the helicopter parts were sold for cash it did not fall under the category of foreign aid, and was therefore not a violation of a congressional ban on selling arms to the regime of Guatemala because of its violations of human rights. Very interesting! First you aid a military regime economically, providing the currency with which it buys arms! So far, the military regime has received a good bulk of its arms from Israel (whose military industries are closely related to those of the U.S. and South Africa), however, military helicopters are a deadly weapon in counter-guerrilla warfare and are urgently needed by the regime.
- According to the Wall Street Journal of Jan. 27, several Argentine military men admitted that the government had a direct role in the disappearances of up to 30,000 people in the 1970's. Disappearances of political opposition are very widespread in countries where puppet regimes have no choice but to resort to extreme brutality in order to maintain their parasitic existence and preserve their master's rule.
- The Wall Street Journal of Jan. 19 reported that thousands of Uruguay's workers participated in a general strike which closed the capital city of Monte Video for 24 hours. The workers defied military rule and



demanded improvements in living conditions and freedom for progressive political prisoners.

- A human rights group concerned with Latin America called Guatemala a "nation of prisoners". The report said that since Gen. Victores seized power 5 months ago, death squads have been reactivated and 4 to 6 bodies are found each day in Guatemala City. (Christian Science Monitor, Jan. 26)

- From October '79 to May '82 human rights organizations affiliated with the Roman Catholic Archdiocese have tabulated more than 35,000 murders of civilian non-combatants by the U.S.-backed military regime of El Salvador. In the same time period about 2000 Salvadoreans have "disappeared" following abduction by the government's security forces. Under the state of emergency, prison-

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MID EAST, CONT. FROM 13

- Saad Haddad, the butcher head of the right wing militia in Southern Lebanon died on January 14 of cancer. After the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1978, Haddad had occupied 15 miles of the border area with the help of Israel. His militia was trained and supplied by Israel and even wear Israeli army uniforms.

- The Israeli's have forcibly restricted vehicular traffic across Awali bridge, the only outlet for southern Lebanon's agricultural exports. This move is intended to flood the Lebanese market with Israeli crops. Israel is seeking any resort to relieve its economic crisis and cover the expense of its military occupation of Lebanon which, according to the Guardian, costs \$1 million a day. Inflation, according to the Israeli Bureau of Statistics, is 190% and is expected to double by next year.

LATIN AM., CONT FROM 6

ers may be detained without charges for "security-related reasons". The bodies of many of the civilians murdered by the U.S.-backed security forces indicate that they were severely tortured and mutilated before being killed. Virtually all prisoners at Mariona-where male political prisoners are held- say they were tortured by electric shocks, beating, simulated suffocation, and hanging by the wrists. These practices are so widespread as to be commonplace.

- Two supporters of Puerto Rican freedom and independence were found "guilty" of contempt of court on Jan. 20, because they refused to capitulate to the court. This brings the total number of such recent arrests to 9, none of which have been convicted of any crime but have been detained only because "authorities" (read CIA) think they may have some information regarding the combatant organization, FALN.

In some cases hidden cameras were used illegally in the homes of the defendants by the FBI. The detained freedom lovers could be imprisoned for any length of time the "judge" decides.
Victory to the heroic Puerto Rican People's struggle for freedom!

- Robert E. White, the former U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador, said "Washington covered up evidence in the 1980 slaying of El Salvador's Roman Catholic Archbishop". (Wall Street Journal, Feb. 3) We add no further comments.

- More than 300 of the U.S.-backed rebels fighting against the Nicara-

guan government have surrendered to authorities in Managua under an amnesty program. (Christian Science Monitor, Feb. 3)

- Reagan is expected to tell congressional members that he will request \$8 billion in combined military and economic "aid" for Central America, as proposed by the Kissinger and Company report. (Wall Street Journal, Feb. 3)

- The report of the "National Bipartisan Commission on Central America" had nothing new. In fact, it was just a formality to win some "hearts" for the existing policy of the Reagan administration. The essence of the report is concerned with:

1-A massive \$8 billion military and economic aid package and a long term military commitment to the existing puppet regimes in order to suppress the mass movement.

2-"Destabilization" of Nicaragua if it does not show desirable tendencies towards the U.S.

3-A wider involvement of the various sectors of the ruling class (i.e. inclusion of the "private capitalist" sector).

4-Revitalization of the Central American Common Market in order to increase the plunder of wealth and exploitation of cheap labor, part of which is concerned with the creation of CADO (Central America Developmental Organization), a regional organization chaired by the U.S.

LEBANON, COIT. FROM 24

Footnotes for Lebanon: Chess Board of Contention

¹A detailed discussion of the reasons for the lack of a truly vanguard organization in many liberation movements is beyond the scope of this article, but one can merely cite some of the more important factors such as the pattern of class relationships developed under the domination of imperialism, extremely difficult circumstances of struggle makes communication and contacts limited, infiltration of revisionists into the movement, and the absence of an international body to consolidate and coordinate the liberation movements at the global level. One must not forget, also, the enormous experience and alertness imperialism has obtained in confrontation with liberation movements and their complicated apparatus which include "full-time" policy-making institutions.

²The May 17 accord practically gives Israel formal political and economic entry into Lebanon. Section 1, Article 8, for example, provides for "establishing a joint Liaison Committee of 3 parties: Israel, the U.S., and Lebanon". The accord also provides for "development of mutual relations between Lebanon and Israel, inter alia the regulation of the movements of goods, products and persons, communications, etc.", and "Liaison offices in the territory of the other party".

³It must be emphasized that at present the "P.L.O." does not define any revolutionary political line nor structural representation of the Palestinian people. There are several contradictory lines embodied in the "P.L.O." that cannot be united even upon the "minimum program" of a liberation front. For instance, the Secretary General of the P.F.L.P., Dr. George Habash, recently warned that Arafat was no longer representing a united Palestinian front.

VICTORY TO THE STRUGGLE OF ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD!

ON THE OCCASION OF INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY



The great women's march against the Zionist military parade held in the occupied territories. (Jerusalem, 1968).

On March 8th, 1907 the toiling women of America staged nation-wide demonstrations in order to achieve social as well as political equality in the United States. Three years later in Germany, on the suggestion of Clara Zetkin, one of the leaders of the German Socialist movement, the 8th of March was declared "International Women's Day" throughout the world. Every year on this occasion and in many corners of the world, women join their efforts with those of revolutionary movements to take greater steps for social justice.

Despite many years of struggle, women are still subjected to social, economical, political and historical prejudice and inferiority, around the world. While uttering empty phrases

about equal rights for women, the ruling capitalist classes around the world are actually trying to create a distorted and false image of women as objects of men's pleasures and satisfaction only, and in doing so they are justifying the existing social, moral and political inequality between men and women.

The mass media and other social institutions as well as religious dogmas are powerful tools of the ruling classes against the true identity of women as human beings. The mass media has created a commodity shaped image of women. They are depicted as objects of pleasure and are characterized as a mentally backward, unintelligent species. A woman is portrayed as being happy with this social

inequality and willing to be regarded only as an object worthy of providing services for men, being housewives and knowing and accepting their social boundaries created by male chauvinism.

But when all this is done by the bourgeoisie in order to degrade the human identity and value of women and their role in social evolution, there emerges a new understanding and value concerning the position of women in social life within the liberation movements headed by the working class all around the world. The role of women in revolutionary movements has created a dramatic transformation of their social identity.

Today, women participate actively

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WOMEN, CONT. FROM 8

in all spheres of liberation struggles. Their participation not only has changed their own understanding of the unjust relations that have enslaved them, but it has also dramatically changed the understanding of men about the true meaning of the family, and the relationship between men and women.

Within these movements, women have been able to regain their human and just position in social and family life. These movements which spring from social necessities and are faced with a common enemy, have created new values and characteristics for women that have resulted in the emergence of revolutionary women leaders and organizers. Within these movements, whose ranks are growing daily, women are no longer regarded as only child bearers and housewives, but they are regarded as comrades in arms with all other revolutionaries without whose contributions there can be no genuine victorious revolution.

Concerning the role of women in constructing the new society, Comrade Ashraf Dehghani, a woman who is a leading member of the I.P.F.G says:

"But when woman regains her class consciousness, together with a man who has found his class con-

sciousness, such class consciousness that will force her to crush the rotten system. Then she is no longer a "woman" with reactionary standards, rather she is a conscious human who struggles to create a society in which mankind will regain its true and glorious position. She will step forward with awareness of all the hardships on the way, and to reach her glorious goals, she will not be afraid of any difficulties.

Revolutionary men and women who stand in the fortress of struggle are humans who have reached their apogee. They struggle for the creation of a society where the question of how much freedom should be given to women or whether such freedom is good or bad is not asked at all, rather, all of mankind uses the fruits of life in an equal manner and struggle for its advancement, shoulder to shoulder."

In Iran, imperialism is well aware of the crucial role of women in the struggle against it. They well know that the participation of women in the glorious uprising of February 1979 played an important role. From the outset of its

coming to power, the Khomeini regime tried to keep women, a major source of opposition, out of the political scene. Yet everyday we hear of their glorious resistance, from the battlefields of Kurdistan to the torture chambers and execution courts of Khomeini's regime.

Faced with high unemployment, the regime has declared that women are to stay only at home; by doing this they have put women out of their jobs and thus, feebly try to cover up the real rate of unemployment and to prevent women's participation at all social levels, making full use of reactionary religious dogmas.

The same imperialism that ordered women to put aside their veils during the reign of Reza Shah (Shah's father), now orders them to wear the veil again and stay at home. The fundamental reason for such a change in tactics is to answer the needs of the capitalist system rather than improving women's position in society. This is true in any class society.

Indeed, any alternative for the emancipation of women without the destruction of class society is nothing but a deception that will enable their further exploitation.

The following is an excerpt from a message given by the Iranian People's Fedayee Guerrillas in commemoration of 2 great events - February 8, 1971 and the uprising of February 11 and 12, 1979.

زنده باد مبارزه مسلحانه، که تنه‌ها راه رسیدن به آزادی است!



Heroic People of Iran:

Once again, we are at the anniversary of 2 great events—February 8, 1971 on which date the armed action at Siahkal took place and the glorious uprising of the masses on February 11 and 12, 1979. It is our, People's Fedayee Guerrillas, custom each year on the occasion of these great days, in light of the lessons learned from the heroic struggle of the true vanguards in the jungles of Siahkal and the heroic attempts of the masses throughout the country, to explain, even though briefly, the situation we are in and reveal the struggling tasks which lie ahead of us. We believe that to learn the lessons taught by these 2 great events and use them in our practice is indeed a great way of commemorating those revolutionaries martyred so as to bring a better future for the working people.

As we move away from those days we find, more and more, the important role of these events in shaping the direc-

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tion of our struggle.

Let's remember the message that came from the barrels of the machineguns of those vanguards in the Siahkal jungles and were told to the Iranian people by their blood: under the blatant dictatorship, under the conditions of imperialist rule and its chained lackeys in our country, "announcing the war is the war itself". With the fire of the first bullets by the people's heroes, the frightened enemy, more than anyone else, publicized this event and brought the message to every corner of the country, warming the hearts of so many who were seeking a way out of the struggling deadlock which existed then. Siahkal was defeated, but its message was clear. Instead of only a few hands which took up arms at Siahkal, this time hundreds reached out to take up arms, and the organization which was defeated at Siahkal rapidly grew throughout the country and everyone understood that, in Iran's political scene, it could not be ignored, and the name and path of the Fedayee Guerrillas were recognized as an inseparable part of our revolutionary culture. The Siahkal vanguards told the people that, with imperialism and its armed puppets, people in dependent countries cannot speak without being armed and themselves, with their attack on the Siahkal station and giving their lives, showed both their path and their belief in this path. They had predicted everything and had very clearly stated that the path of the struggle is prolonged and difficult. But with revolutionary fervor they were hopeful of the fact that for each militant who fell, another hand would reach out to pick up his gun and the process of history proved the correctness of their revolutionary fervor in a remarkable way. The struggle which originated in Siahkal was continued by hundreds of urban guerrillas during the 8 years before the uprising and finally, on Febru-

ary 11 and 12, 1979, millions took up arms, arms which they had captured from the enemy, and the masses, who numbered in the millions, together with People's Fedayee Guerrillas, gave the slogan of "We will make all of Iran Siahkal". The defeat of Siahkal ultimately turned into victory. The masses, in the millions, would come to the battlefield and, by attacking military stations and capturing weapons, would show that they both knew the reason for the executioner's staying in power and also that the only path of the struggle for tearing apart the yoke of slavery is, namely, the armed struggle. This was indeed a victory, but at the same time resulted in the biggest defeat. People who had risen up during the uprising did not know the enemy in all its different forms. The rising people did not clearly know what should be substituted in place of what had been crushed. The rising people were deprived of any formal organization which belonged to them. This in itself was enough to give an opportunity for the enemy to attempt the biggest trick. The enemy, who infiltrated even inside our organization, in contrast to the uprising people was completely organized and cleverly executed its horrendous plans. The ignorant friends of the people who were short-sighted and opportunistic in nature helped this enemy in its mission. February 11 and 12, which should have been known as the beginning of the mass armed struggle was instead called the end of the battle, and the opportunists who had infiltrated the leadership of our organization, instead of taking the task of organizing the armed masses as the Siahkal heroes wanted and preparing the masses for future battles, in unison with the enemy shouted "we have achieved victory" and gave the advantage to the enemy who, with a new formation, prepared an all-out and much more intense attack on the peo-

ple's movement, and the result of what happened we are all witnessing today.

As the defeat of Siahkal resulted in the expansion of the Organization of Iranian People's Fedayee Guerrillas (this refers to the name of the organization before 1979—translator), the defeat of the 1979 uprising once more showed the correctness of the path put forward for Iran's revolution, and the heroic Kurdish people, with their battle of more than 4 years, have in practice shown that to achieve any freedom and safeguard any rights there is only one path and that is the armed struggle. Today everyone has understood the prolonged nature of armed struggle. The vanguard's mission is to show the masses, through its advocacy and propaganda, that the prolonged war, with all its dynamics and characteristics, is the only path to achieve victory and the people's democratic republic, and that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the only alternative to replace imperialist power. The Kurdish people's struggle turned the tactical defeat of February 11 and 12 into a strategic victory for our democratic and anti-imperialist movement... We tell all opportunists who, by using the February 1979 uprising, try to show the incorrectness of the path put forward by the Siahkal vanguards and to all those who deceitfully try to show that the Siahkal vanguards did not believe in the masses and their revolutionary powers, that the defeat of the February 1979 uprising and the armed resistance of the movement of the Kurdish people proved nothing but the correctness of the vanguards. They were not saying that under the blatant dictatorship there is no chance of movement and uprising by the masses, they were saying that under the blatant dictatorship of imperialist bourgeoisie, the masses do

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not have an opportunity to organize through peaceful methods and that the unorganized people's movement, no matter how vast and continuous, will be dispersed and shallow and will not be able to crush the enemy's power and establish the revolutionary power. They were saying that the process of armed struggle and, in the end, the prolonged people's war is what will give the vanguard the chance of organizing, the chance of contacting the people, and to the people, the chance of being organized. The correctness of these ideas, in the last few years, has been proven in a remarkable way. It is by relying on these lessons that we, People's Fedayee Guerrillas, are trying to struggle with the deceptive ideas of the new opportunists who, by using new tactics, advocate "quiet political work" and sit and wait for the uprising. By advocating and spreading these ideas and our practical attempts to spread the armed struggle throughout the country and by participating in all forms of the people's struggle in order to advance it and gather them in the main form of the struggle, namely prolonged people's war, we continue the path of the

People's Fedayee Guerrillas of Siahkal and the path of those heroic people of the February 11 and 12 uprising, and we prepare ourselves and the masses of our people to confront, evermore, the Islamic Republic regime and different imperialist chained lackeys.

- *Raise high the red banner of the Iranian People's Fedayee Guerrillas!
- *Endless salute to Siahkal's martyrs!
- *Toward the unity of all revolutionary forces and people of Iran!
- *Long live the armed struggle-the only path to freedom!
- *Down with the imperialist-dominated regime of the Islamic Republic!

With belief in the victory of our path,
Iranian People's Fedayee Guerrillas

News from Africa



A report published by the American friends Service Committee and the Washington Office on Africa and entitled "A Research Report on the Arms Embargo", charges that in defiance of a mandatory UN embargo banning the sale of "arms related material", the U.S. has dramatically increased its sales of military technology to South Africa over the last 3 years under the "Munitions List".

According to the research, the State Department authorized 29 export licenses for commercial sales of more than \$28.3 million in military equipment to South Africa during the fiscal years 81-83.

Besides the Munitions List, U.S. companies (e.g. AVCO, Teledyne, Bell, etc.) also sold \$566 million in aircraft and related parts in 1980-82. During the Reagan administration, the U.S. government has also supplied 25,000 electric shock batons to South Africa's apartheid regime for crowd control.

South Africa's main supplier of arms is Israel which has many joint arms manufacturing plants with South Africa which include nuclear weapons development, where South Africa provides the enriched uranium and Israel provides the technology.

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News from the Middle East



- Christian Science Monitor, February 15: The Pentagon announced plans to sell Turkey 15 F-4E jet fighters. Two days earlier, the Reagan Administration had notified Congress of its intention to sell 1,613 stinger anti-aircraft missiles to Jordan. The Christian Science Monitor of January 30 reported that the Pentagon is selling 1,600 anti-armor Maverick missiles to Saudi Arabia, to provide their F-5 fighter jets with stocks. At the same time, West Germany is in the process of selling \$5.5 billion worth of weaponry to the reactionary regime of Saudi Arabia.

- The BBC has reported that another U.S. naval force is moving towards the Gulf and that British ships were conducting military exercises in the region.

- The New York Times of December 26 reported that direct U.S. trade with Iran has been climbing steadily. According to the report, "more than \$1 billion worth of goods have been formally traded

between Iran and the U.S." between January and October, 1983. "Private economists familiar with Iran say the levels could be twice as high if indirect transactions through agents or other intermediaries are included."

- According to the Christian Science Monitor of February 14, two American nurses who worked in Lebanon as volunteers charged that the U.S.-backed Lebanese army, together with the rightist Phalange militia, intentionally shelled hospitals. They also confirmed that the U.S. 6th Fleet's shells hit civilian areas.

- It has been reported that on February 16, before fleeing from the advancing Druze militia, the Phalangist's lined up 117 Druze inhabitants in Kafir Matta and executed them.

- According to the Christian Science Monitor of Jan. 25, "Iraq has taken delivery of Soviet-made long range SS12 missiles" with an effective range of 500 miles, according to diplomatic sources.

This is not the first time the anti-people government of the USSR has sold its arms to the repressive regimes of the region. The USSR has long (since Stalin's death) sold out the genuine support of liberation movements for that of trying to "make the most of it".

- Israeli border policemen shot and killed a young Palestinian in the occupied West Bank town of Nablus. Such "incidents" are very frequent in the occupied regions and occur on an almost daily basis. However, such acts of atrocity, as part of the larger crime of occupying Palestine, will not for a moment discourage the heroic struggle of the Palestinian People for freedom for their homeland through a liberation war.

- On January 26 Iraqi warplanes flew over Tehran breaking the sound barriers, but did not open fire. This action by the Iraqi's and similar maneuvers by the Islamic Republic Regime of Iran are probably intended to find "motives" for continuation of the reactionary war which has brought misery and devastation to the working people of both countries. The total number of deaths in the war has been estimated at 500,000 so far.

- The "Arab League", of which many reactionary regimes of the region are members, has contributed \$200,000 to affiliates of Operation PUSH, the "civil rights" organization Jesse Jackson headed. Apparently seeing the effectiveness of Zionist lobbying, the reactionary Arab regimes are looking for a lobbyist of their own, and who better than Jesse?

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INTERVIEW WITH I.P.F.G. PART II

EARLY IN 1983, ATEFEH GORGIN, WIFE OF THE MARTYRED REVOLUTIONARY POET, KHOSROW GHOLESORKIE, INTERVIEWED FIVE POLITICAL FORCES IN IRAN, AMONG THEM THE I.P.F.G. SHE ASKED THE SAME QUESTIONS OF EACH AND PUBLISHED THESE INTERVIEWS IN THE BOOK "FASLI DAR GHOLESORKH". THE FOLLOWING IS PART II OF OUR TRANSLATION OF A PORTION OF HER INTERVIEW WITH THE I.P.F.G. IRAN IN RESISTANCE WILL PUBLISH THE I.P.F.G. INTERVIEW IN ITS ENTIRETY.

QUESTION: At the beginning of the takeover of power by the Islamic regime, the majority of political groups and organizations were demanding the dissolution or improvement of the army, but the majority of them were analyzing the committees or the revolutionary guards as people's organs. However, nowadays most of those organizations have reversed their position. They consider the committees and the revolutionary guards to be unpopular and the enemies of the people while at the same time taking no clear position vis-a-vis the army. What, in your opinion, is the basis of such policy reversals?

ANSWER: The adoption of such contradictory positions arises principally from a lack of understanding of imperialism's role in our country and a false analysis concerning the nature of the imperialist-dependent regime. Without a doubt, the practical tendencies of those forces who want an easy revolution!! also play some role. We believe that Iran has become an organic part of the worldwide imperialist system and as long as our society is dominated by imperialism, any regime that takes power would be dependent on imperialism. Moreover, according to Marxist principle, any regime relies on its repressive apparatus which in Iran includes the army and its remnants. They constitute the backbone

of imperialist rule. Therefore, from our viewpoint, the guards or any other apparatus of this sort are the remnants of the army and our position with regard to them is also clear. From our viewpoint, to end the imperialist rule, one must annihilate the army and its remnants as the backbone of imperialist domination. Therefore, we have never considered nor ever will consider the army, the guards or the committees as popular organs.

However, with regard to the assertions of some political forces which at times support the army and at times the "guards", one should say that at one point, they considered the nature of the Khomeini regime to be petit-bourgeoisie and therefore the guards and committees which were created by this regime were called popular organs and defended by these organizations. To complete the "revolution" in their opinion, they gave the slogan of the dissolution or improvement of the army. Gradually when the anti-people nature of organs like the Guards became clear and especially the regime's extensive attacks on the people through these organs was noticed, these organizations relinquished their previous positions, but their lack of understanding about the nature of the present regime and the imperialistic nature of the army does not allow them to take a

clear position vis-a-vis the army.

These forces have closed their eyes to the actions of the army in the past four years which have been nothing but the suppression of the people. According to their practical tendencies (which is the overthrow of the "Khomeini regime" without the destruction of imperialist domination and through the utilization of various "tendencies" within the army and from the top) they speak of the absence of "unity" within the army and that its "head" has been eliminated and there are also different "tendencies" within the army. Of course, these forces attempt to draw "the majority" of these "tendencies".

QUESTION: All the political groups and organizations believe that the majority of people oppose the regime and want its overthrow. If this is the case why then do the people not display any response and why aren't extensive mass movements seen?

ANSWER: Of course, one cannot speak of the absence of response on the part of the masses in an absolute sense. For despite all the regime's barbaric actions and the repressive conditions, the masses struggle in different forms, but as you said, an extensive mass movement is not seen.

Conditions similar to this existed in the Shah's period. However, to-

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day the masses have much more experience and consciousness and a stronger awareness than in the past. They also have a stronger (fighting) morale considering the fact that now popular armed struggle is waged in a region of our country. Of course to the same degree, repression is also more severe than in the past. In the Shah's period our great comrade, Massoud Ahmadzadeh, wrote: "the absence of spontaneous movements results not from insufficient development of contradictions, but from persistent police suppression and the inactivity of the vanguard". At present, the basis of the problem must also be found in the conditions of terror and the lack of a revolutionary leadership capable of mobilizing and organizing the masses and placing the vast prospects of the revolution in front of them.

This is so obvious today that no political organization could deny it and speak of the inadequate development of contradictions and the improvement in the economic condition of the masses. (The living standard of the masses is so miserable that these kinds of statements could not be made). In addition to this, these organizations saw the people pour into the streets and their struggle heightened as the barrier of dictatorship was somewhat broken, right at a time when they thought the contradictions had not been sufficiently developed.

Therefore, from our viewpoint, it is wrong to say that the people do not show any reaction. The masses abhor the regime to a great extent and express their aversion in various forms and support the armed struggle extensively. But if by "response", considering what happened previously in Iran, one expects mass demonstrations of 4 million people, this is an adventitious expectation. The people struggle against the regime, but to

pour into the streets in protest is dependent upon the rift in the repressive apparatus and the presence of (revolutionary) leadership. Essentially, the outward expression of people's struggles is not always similar. Depending on the situation, the masses express their aversion of imperialism in different forms.

QUESTION: There are some differences among the forces which opt for the overthrow of the Khomeini regime. Some of these differences are around the nature and composition of Iran's future political power and the leading force of the revolution. What is your opinion on these matters?

ANSWER: During the past year, positive developments have occurred in the movement. Some of the forces which withdrew from the people's struggle and some others who did not adopt the regime's overthrow as a slogan, have been compelled by the objective circumstances to accept this slogan. But even if these developments constitute a positive leap, a negative element has also gained prominence. These forces, while accepting the regime's overthrow, but because of their practical tendencies and lack of understanding of the relation of this regime with imperialism, overlook the overthrow of imperialist rule. It is in this connection that differences arise about the leading force of the revolution. We believe that the proletariat can and should lead the anti-imperialist revolution of our people. Unless such leadership emerges, the overthrow of the imperialist rule is inconceivable. About Iran's future political power, there seems to be some agreement among the forces who believe in the overthrow of imperialist rule. They consider the future political power as an anti-imperialist power in which workers, peasants, and the petit-bourgeoisie participate. However, there are also forces who

consider the dependent bourgeoisie as part of the future political power. Considering the fact that the most important task of this political power is to end imperialist influence, what these forces want to bring into power would not be any different from what is in power now, in essence.

QUESTION: Some of the political organizations put the blame for the intensification of terror and repression on the Organization of People's Mojahedin or organizations who believe in the armed struggle and are present on the field of struggle. They are convinced that one must find the reason for this unprecedented terror in the extreme actions taken by these organizations. In your view, is this analysis correct?

ANSWER: This sort of statement is not new to us. Since 1970, when the armed struggle was initiated by our organization's founders, we have always encountered such propaganda. The originator of these statements is the Tudeh party. Everybody remembers when the people's Fedayee Guerrillas, ready to sacrifice their lives, began armed struggle against the imperialist-dependent regime of the Shah in order to break the deadlock of struggle and to establish links with the masses. Everybody remembers how the Tudeh party, while shedding crocodile tears for the martyred guerrillas, was trying to justify the criminal actions of the Shah's regime by saying that the armed struggle is responsible for the condition of terror and repression.

Now who except spiteful individuals could deny the fact that had it not been for the presence of the people's armed vanguards present on the field of struggle after the regime's general and savage offensive, what an unbearable situation would have been created for the people and how extensive the regime's success would have

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been in creating an attitude of despair and capitulation among the masses. After June '80 the very admirable thing that was done, especially by the People's Mojahedin Organization was the performance of armed operations. (However, the armed struggle of the Mojahedin organization is superficial, "tactical" and devoid of a revolutionary perspective.) The remarks about armed struggle being responsible for unprecedented terror are often heard from those who see no mission for themselves except opposing the armed struggle. But they saw once more that under conditions of imperialist rule there is no other path than the armed struggle and that other forms of struggle could also grow and become useful and effective only on the groundwork of this struggle.

Of course, it is true that with the growth of struggle, the imperialist rule has to show its savage nature more and more. It is also true that there is no other way for revolutionaries than to expose the nature of imperialism and its dependent regimes, to inform the masses about the reality however bitter, and to mobilize and organize them for transforming that reality. In a word, we are facing savage suppression in Iran not because of the armed actions performed by different forces, but due to the great revolutionary movement that our people have initiated in recent years and which has sent shockwaves throughout the entire imperialist world.

QUESTION: As you know, the regime's economic situation is very malignant. In a brief examination one could safely contend that the reduction in oil revenues, the stagnation of production, the astronomical costs of the war, inflation, unemployment and so on are factors which would bring about the regime's downfall. But why, despite all these problems, is the regime still in power? What is the main

factor in the survival of this regime?

ANSWER: The regime's economic situation, as mentioned, is truly malignant. Inflation, unemployment, ... are rampant. But then why does this regime not fall?

We think you have raised a very interesting issue which has disturbed many people, especially some of those so-called "overzealous Marxists". They reckon in their head that with the regime's economic situation, as a rule it should have broken up three years ago. They become bewildered from the contradiction between reality and their analysis when they see that the regime is still in power. The problem with all their analyses is that they do not take into account the dependence of this regime on imperialism. Logically, had all the problems that you mentioned existed in a normal organism to such an extent, they would have destroyed the organism. But this system makes it through the day into night because the economy does not stand on its own feet to be ruined as a result of these problems. The Islamic Republic regime can provide all the country's needs through dependence on imperialism. If we consider the regime's propaganda in the recent year, we see that it signs contracts with various countries to purchase goods and pays for them through foreign exchange, past reserves, the sale of oil or its direct exchange, or even the sale of gold reserves. All these actions would have been deadly for a capitalist economy, but the dependent capitalist system, despite these conditions, would survive half dead.

Those who do not consider the factor of imperialism in approaching the problems of Iran or see imperialism as a factor which somehow plays a role, are never able to find the real factor for the regime's survival. When we speak of dependence, without a doubt we have addressed the root of the problem.

This dependence poses itself from economic, political and military aspects. The suppressive power of the anti-people army constitutes the main factor in the survival of the imperialist domination.

QUESTION: After June '80 when the urban armed struggle took vast dimensions, especially after the revolutionary execution of the regime's leaders, some of the opposition forces, including the P.M.O.I., created the expectation that the regime would fall very soon. The P.M.O.I. also expected that the people, influenced by the urban armed struggle, would enter the battlefield in great numbers. But despite these initiatives, it seems now that the regime has been able to maintain itself and that the masses have not responded. How do you analyze this situation?

ANSWER: Speaking of the Islamic Republic regime's tenacity in a society in which struggle is not silent for even a moment and the masses, with a revolutionary fervor think of the growth of the struggle and of the regime's overthrow, is not very correct. It is even conceivable that the regime's inability in preventing the development of the movement forces imperialism to replace this regime with another one. But with regard to the P.M.O.I. or other forces who evoked the illusion of the regime's overthrow and victory in a short period, we must say that their strategy is merely to overthrow the Khomeini regime. They think that the fall of this regime is synonymous with the annihilation of imperialism and with the take-over of power by one of the popular classes, i.e. the democratic petit-bourgeoisie. On this basis, they see no need for armed struggle in the countryside and think the urban armed uprisings are sufficient for the overthrow of imperialist rule and thus are the only correct method of struggle.

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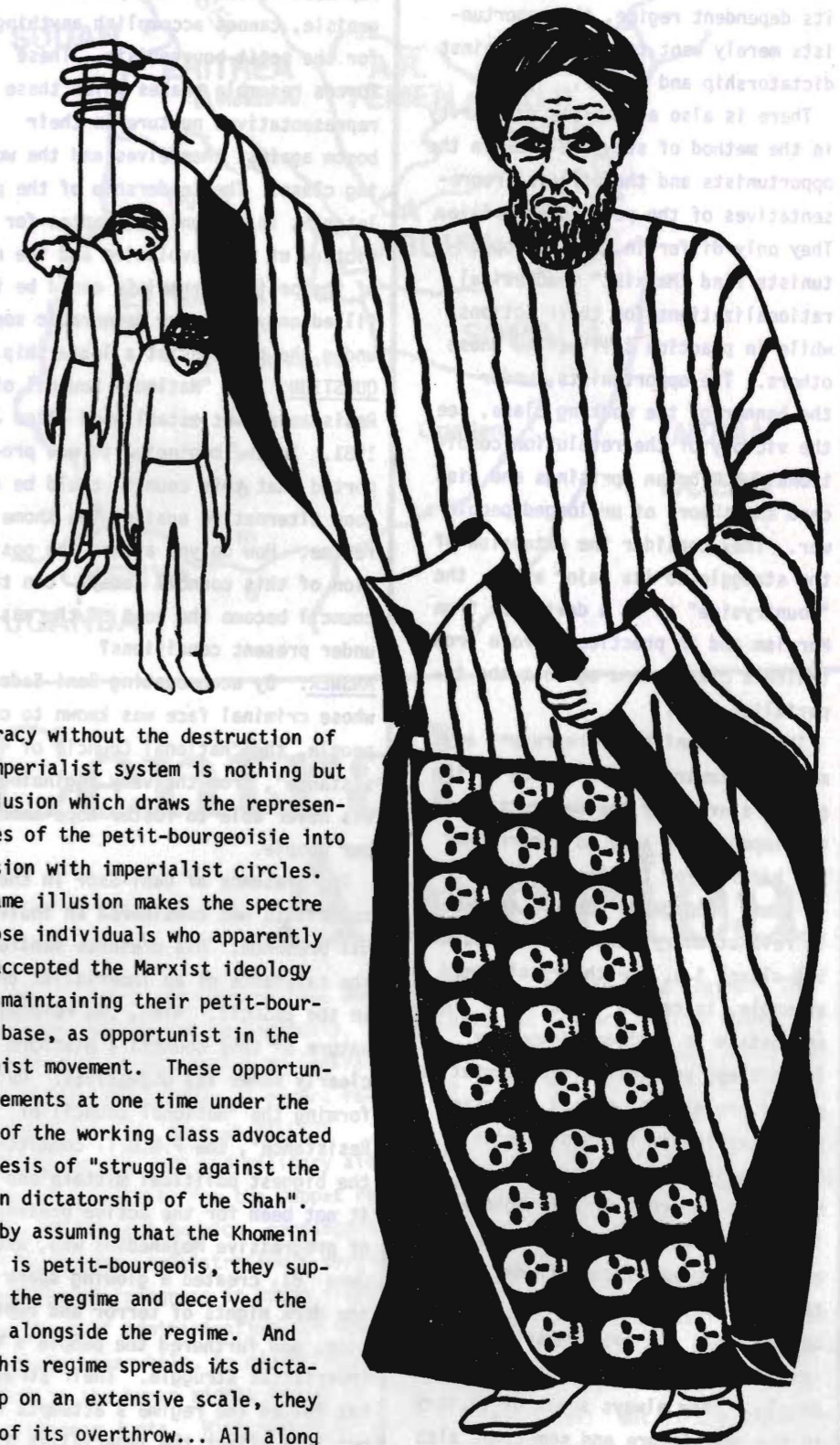
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Based on such thinking, after sizeable forces from Mojahedin entered the field of urban armed struggle and achieved various successes, from their point of view, everything was ready for the fall of the regime and the takeover of power by the Mojahedin.

This is the foundation of the notion which motivated the Mojahedin to evoke false hope among the people. This is an illusion with which the petit-bourgeoisie in Iran is obsessed. The petit-bourgeoisie, vis-a-vis the dependent capitalist system, faces a conflict which it cannot resolve.

On the one hand, it witnesses how as a result of the expansion of the imperialist investment, especially after the Land Reform, it has been in business and has grown tremendously. On the other hand, it sees how the same expansion of investments has despoiled it to a great extent and even threatens to ruin it. On this basis, even if the petit-bourgeoisie's interest is in the destruction of the dependent capitalist system, it cannot comprehend this by itself. Petit-bourgeoisie is also under a lot of pressure from the situation of terror implemented by the state which is protecting the imperialist investments (by the dependent capitalist state). Therefore, in Iran, the petit-bourgeoisie desires democracy more than anything else. It wants a regime which frees it of the pressure of imperialist investment and provides for it the ground for a very brisk business.

As a result, to achieve democracy, the petit-bourgeoisie would fight against any dependent regime with which, as we already know, terror and repression is kneaded. However, it does so without opting to destroy the whole system. But the establishment of



democracy without the destruction of the imperialist system is nothing but an illusion which draws the representatives of the petit-bourgeoisie into collusion with imperialist circles. The same illusion makes the spectre of those individuals who apparently have accepted the Marxist ideology while maintaining their petit-bourgeois base, as opportunist in the communist movement. These opportunist elements at one time under the guise of the working class advocated the thesis of "struggle against the one-man dictatorship of the Shah". Then, by assuming that the Khomeini regime is petit-bourgeois, they supported the regime and deceived the people alongside the regime. And when this regime spreads its dictatorship on an extensive scale, they speak of its overthrow... All along they overlook one thing, i.e. the annihilation of the whole imperialist-dependent system. Although

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their main enemy is imperialism and its dependent regime, the opportunists merely want to wage war against dictatorship and terror.

There is also a complete similarity in the method of struggle between the opportunists and the official representatives of the petit-bourgeoisie. They only differ in that the opportunists find "Marxist" theoretical rationalizations for their actions while in practice tail behind those others. The opportunists, under the banner of the working class, see the victory of the revolution conditional upon urban uprisings and discard the theory of prolonged people's war. They consider the extension of the struggle to its major arena, the "countryside" to be a deviation from Marxism and in practice refrain from taking a clear stand against the imperialist army.

The opportunists misrepresent any movement toward the formation of the people's army for the destruction of the imperialist army as "anarchism" and harmful for the "proletariat". In their propaganda uproar, the only revolutionary theory of the working class, i.e. the theory of armed struggle, is called "populism". The enthusiasm to achieve "democracy" leads these proclaimed representatives of the proletariat toward rejecting the necessity of the proletariat's hegemony in the revolution... One must find the root of all these views in the framework of the petit-bourgeoisie's material conditions. The theories that are formulated by the opportunists are not compatible with reality and cause confusion among the people. They always speak of victory in the near future and sometimes also set a short period to reach victory. All these petit-bourgeois illusions could be furnished or contained only under the proletariat's leadership.

The imperialist-dependent forces which sometimes are depended upon by the representatives of the petit-bourgeoisie, cannot accomplish anything for the petit-bourgeoisie. These forces resemble snakes which these representatives nurture in their bosom against themselves and the working class. The leadership of the proletariat is the only guarantee for the victory of the revolution and the needs of the petit-bourgeoisie could be fulfilled only in a new democratic society under the proletariat's leadership.

QUESTION: The "National Council of Resistance" was established after June 1981. In the beginning it was reported that this council could be a good alternative against the Khomeini regime. How do you assess the position of this council today? Can this council become the hope of the masses under present conditions?

ANSWER: By accomodating Bani-Sadr, whose criminal face was known to our people, the "National Council of Resistance", from the very beginning, was never able to foster hope among our people.

The presence of Bani-Sadr in the council is not considered an individual presence. His presence manifests the existence of an imperialist trend in the council. Also, the reformist nature of this council's platform clearly shows its objectives. By forming the "National Council of Resistance", the P.M.O.I. committed the biggest political mistake and had it not been for the active presence of progressive Mojahedins who, after June '81, created a glowing spark in the dark nights of terror and repression, and furthered the people's anti-imperialist struggle. Their struggle has foiled the regime's attempts to put into effect the imperialist plans of evoking an attitude of despair and capitulation among the masses and of creating stability for imperialist investments. By extending

the major arena of the struggle to the countryside through utilizing all the power and enthusiasm of its cadres and supporters, the P.M.O.I. was, and is, able to give the anti-imperialist struggle an enormous scope. But they pursued a line which wanted to take political power through eliminating the heads of the regime with the cooperation of the imperialist army. The conception of such a strategy is deadly for a revolutionary force. At present, the P.M.O.I. stubbornly defends the "National Council of Resistance". Its optimism towards imperialism has caused this organization not to draw near its real and steadfast allies, i.e. the communists. The process of events will teach the P.M.O.I. that if it wants to pursue its ideals and to guard the blood of martyred Mojahedins, it must leave the ranks of dependent forces as soon as possible and no longer mix up the people's ranks with that of the enemy.

QUESTION: Why are none of the known left organizations part of this council?

ANSWER: Keeping in mind the views we have enunciated so far, we can answer your question briefly. Aside from the reformist platform of the "National Council of Resistance", the presence of Bani-Sadr in this council as representing an imperialist trend and the P.M.O.I.'s emphasis on the clericalism of the future transitional government which is manifested in the of the Democratic Islamic Republic are factors which have prevented any known left force to participate in this council.

TO BE CONTINUED

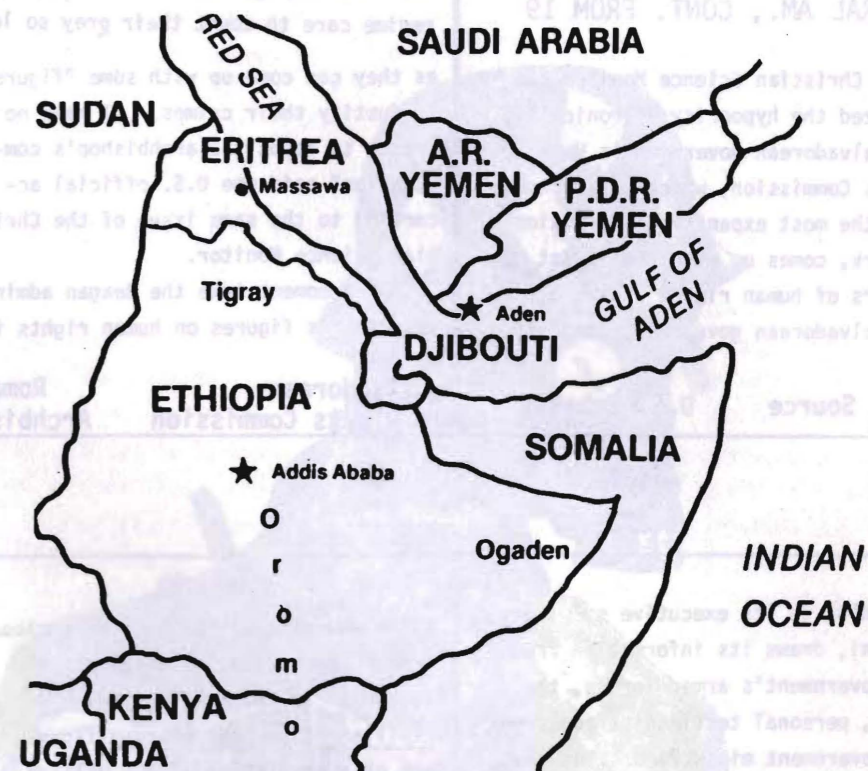
S. AFRICA, CONT. FROM 12

Eritrea: The freedom fighters of the EPLF inflicted a major defeat on the occupying Soviet-backed Ethiopian army on January 15 by capturing the Eritrean cities of Tesseni and Alighader. Tesseni, a town bordering on the Sudan, is of strategic importance and together with Alighader (which has the largest cotton plantation) can contribute immensely to confront famine because of their well established system of irrigation. Ethiopia has been the occupying force in Eritrea since 1962 and ever since has been challenged by the Eritrean people for independence and the right of self-determination.

Morocco: Thousands of people protested the increase in food prices proposed by the murderous King Hassan II. Several were reported killed in Berkane according to reports by AP. In Nador, shops and factories closed and workers went on strike to protest the brutality of the regime. The Wall Street Journal of January 23 reported that at least 200 people had been killed to date. Apparently, King Hassan decided to reverse his decision and ordered that the price increase plan be abandoned.

YOUR COMMENTS ON THIS PUBLICATION ARE WELCOMED. SEND ALL CORRESPONDENCE TO:

I.S.A.
P.O. BOX 7191
AUSTIN, TEXAS 78712



Central America

"Kissinjure" and Company have done it again, though not unexpectedly. The Bipartisan Commission on Central America in its January 11 report recommended a five year, \$8 BILLION program of economic and military aid almost exclusively for the puppet regimes of Central America, contingent on the Reagan administration's certification of "progress in human rights". The "Raygun" administration did not hesitate, meanwhile, to claim "improvement" in the human rights record of the Salvadorean junta. With regard to the record of those massacred, the following figures were published last month:

There are several elements of criminal hypocrisy and bias embodied in

the U.S. government's claims. The Christian Science Monitor (Jan. 25) notes, "The U.S. Embassy, according to [U.S.] officials involved in the tabulation process, relies solely on newspaper announcements and information provided by the Salvadorean military for its figures. 'if the army says a mass grave is filled with guerrillas killed in combat, we record the information as it is given to us'". This is just like asking a criminal defendant to pass verdict on his own trial! But if the State Department's sources are questionable, their puppets in El Salvador are even worse! Even the imperialist-manipulation

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lated Christian Science Monitor has realized the hypocrisy: "Ironically, the Salvadorean government's Human Rights Commission, which claims to have the most expansive information network, comes up with the lowest numbers of human rights abuses". The Salvadorean government commission,

ther the U.S. government nor its puppet regime care to count their prey so long as they can come up with some "figures" to justify their crimes. "I have no reason to doubt the archbishop's computation" said one U.S. official according to the same issue of the Christian Science Monitor.

For a moment take the Reagan administration's figures on human rights in

tion uses this figure, not so much from spiritual concern, Reagan has as much spiritual concern for the Salvadorean working class as Hitler did for the Jews, but rather to provide a justification for sending more military aid to the junta. Two questions immediately arise: Why should a government with an "improved" human rights record need more arms? Wouldn't this "improvement" be re-

Year	Source	U.S. Embassy	Salvadorean Human Rights Commission	Roman Catholic Archbishop's Office	Socorro Jurdicio Cristiano
83		1677	1002	5142	5670
82		2722	--	5399	5967

according to its executive secretary, Cestoni, draws its information from the government's armed forces, the press, personal testimonies and several government ministries. Yet the numbers they come up with are less than that of the U.S. Embassy to whom they were the source! Maybe it is time the military junta in El Salvador accused the U.S. of sabotage against its own puppet regime, and maybe the U.S. government should condemn the Roman Catholic Archbishop's office of "communist" activity. More probably, nei-

El Salvador to be "honest and serious" (we do appreciate the difficulty involved). Is the killing of 1,677 civilians (the U.S. Embassy figure) out of a population of 4.5 million in one year called "human rights" let alone "improvement"? This would be equivalent to 100,000 people if the same thing happened in the U.S.! Note, however, that from October '79 to May '82 a total of 35,000 non-combatant civilians were killed. And don't forget, the Reagan administra-

versed because, after all, to expect a repressive military junta not to use arms is to expect a hungry wolf to take care of a lamb.

Let us not have any illusions! The discovery of such hypocrisies to cover up the crimes committed against the toiling peoples of the world is neither uncommon nor unfamiliar to most of us. Yet this particularly bizarre situation does indicate the extent of the rotten and criminal foreign policies and the propaganda machinery.

NEWS BRIEFS

- The New York Times of January 24 reported that the officially proposed military budget for FY '85 is \$307.7 billion (\$108.7 billion for the Air Force, \$101.3 billion for the Navy, and \$77.9 billion for the Army). This represents an approximate increase of 15% in real terms compared to that of last year. The Wall Street Journal of January 11 reported that Reagan will probably request \$2 billion for research on advanced missile systems for '85.

Also in his FY '85 budget, "Raygun" has asked for \$15.2 billion in "aid" to various countries. The largest of the allocated aid funds (\$2.3 billion) will go to the fascist government of Israel and the puppet Mubarak regime of Egypt (\$2.2 billion). The Christian Science Monitor reports that "Nearly all the U.S. aid to Israel and Egypt would be a gift, not to be repaid". What this means is that the American people's tax money

sustains the brutal suppression of Palestinians, the plunder of Lebanon, mutual recognition of the apartheid regime of South Africa, and all other crimes committed by the "State of Israel", while at the same time thousands of poor in the U.S. have died from cold weather this winter alone. CBS News reported that the poverty level in the U.S. increased by 47% this year.

- The two largest corporate mergers in U.S. history occurred when Texaco bought Getty Oil for \$10 billion and Standard Oil bought Gulf for

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DOWN WITH WORLD IMPERIALISM!

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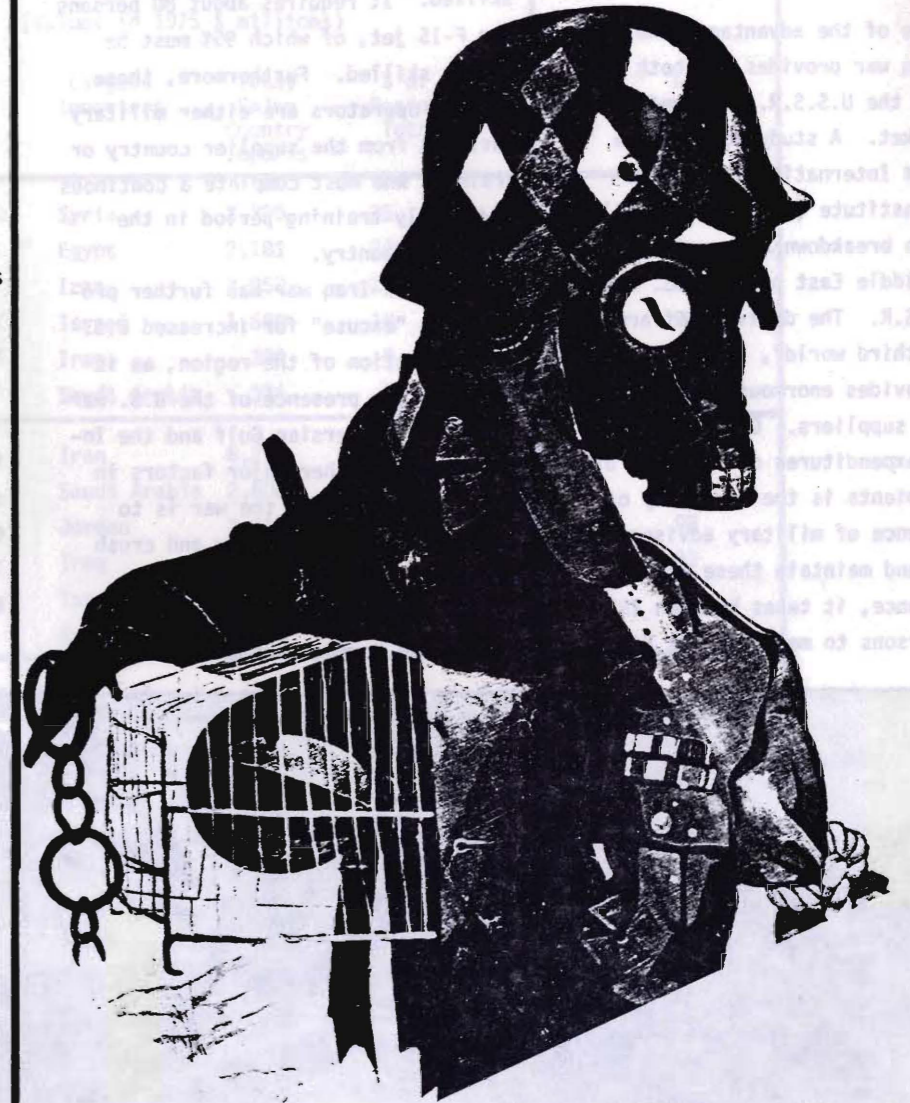
\$13 billion. Such large mergers, above anything else, are indicative of the ever-increasing accumulation of capital in the hands of fewer and fewer monopolies, and in turn indicates the imposition of their will over the political, economic, and social activities of the peoples of the entire world.

- The official U.S. budget deficit has been estimated to be \$183 billion for 1984. It is interesting to note that the biggest increase in the budget was for military spending, up by 18%. In inflation-adjusted terms, an 18% rise corresponds to a military budget of \$313 billion. This amount exceeds the defense budget at the height of the Vietnam War, when 500,000 U.S. troops were fighting against that liberation movement.

- More than 1/2 million protestors gathered in Manila calling for the overthrow of the Phillipines' dictator, Ferdinand Marcos. (Wall St. Journal, Jan. 31)

- More than 21,000 farmers have been arrested in 4 days of protests against low crop prices and land redistribution in the south Indian state of Karnataka, the Press Trust of India news agency reported.

- According to research published in the Christian Science Monitor of January 26, the average household in the U.S. watches 7 hours of t.v. per day. Advocation of pornography, violence against society, racism and political brainwashing for 7 hours a day!



- Reagan has restored 800 covert-staff positions of the CIA to work with "friendly nations" (read puppet regimes) in order to "contain" activities of freedom fighters.

- The anti-people government of China will buy \$1 billion worth of equip-

ment from the west this year. It should sign over 1000 contracts for such purchases.

This only indicates the velocity with which the reactionary revisionists in China are moving towards full establishment of what the heroic people of China had gotten rid of under Comrade Mao.

- Japan boosted its military budget officially by 6.55% this year.

LONG LIVE THE SOLIDARITY OF ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD!

WAR, CONT. FROM 2

deed, one of the advantages that the Iran-Iraq war provides for both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. is a good weapons market. A study done by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI)(Table II) shows the breakdown of arms supplied to the Middle East by the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. The delivery of arms to the "third world", in its aftermath, provides enormous profits to the arms suppliers. One consequence of such expenditures on the part of the recipients is the necessity of the presence of military advisors to operate and maintain these weapons. For instance, it takes between 29 to 41 persons to maintain one F-4

Phantom, of which 80% must be highly skilled. It requires about 80 persons per F-15 jet, of which 95% must be highly skilled. Furthermore, these skilled operators are either military advisors from the supplier country or trainees who must complete a continuous and costly training period in the supplier country.

The Iran-Iraq war has further provided an "excuse" for increased U.S. militarization of the region, as is shown by the presence of the U.S. war fleet in the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. Other major factors in the continuation of the war is to strengthen the local army and crush the Kurdish people's struggle.

The war and the importance of the Straits of Hormuz have given ample

reason for the U.S. to send its warships to the Gulf, while the British and French are also preparing to move in.

We said that one advantage of continuing the war is to crush the heroic Kurdish movement. Next to the Palestinian movement in the region is the Kurdish struggle for self autonomy. It could be said that after the temporary defeat of the Palestinian movement, the struggle of the heroic Kurdish people is the strongest movement in the region. The Khomeini regime has been using the war as a cover to crush the Kurdish people's resistance. On February 24, Mohabad, one of the largest cities in Kurdistan, was bombarded. The Islamic Republic report-

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DOWN WITH THE IMPERIALIST-DEPENDENT REGIME OF THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC!

TABLE II: MIDDLE EAST: ARMS IMPORTS AND SUPPLIERS, 1970-74 AND 1975-79 (Values in 1975 \$ millions)

	Total Value	% Third World Total	Largest Importers	Total Value Country Imports	% of Region Total	Largest supplier/ country	% of Country's Total
1970-74	9,344	50	Syria	2,320	25	USSR	95
			Egypt	2,181	23	USSR	98
			Iran	2,053	22	USA	60
			Israel	1,688	18	USA	97
			Iraq	336	4	USSR	94
			Saudi Arabia	324	3	USA	51
1975-79	20,141	48	Iran	6,229	31	USA	81
			Saudi Arabia	2,806	14	USA	79
			Jordan	2,615	13	USA	98
			Iraq	2,418	12	USSR	93
			Israel	2,008	10	USA	95
			Syria	1,170	6	USSR	84

Source: SIPRI, YEARBOOK, 1980, Tables 3.6 and 3.7

WAR, CONT. FROM 22

ed that Iraq was responsible for this action. The magnitude of the bombardment, according to independent sources, was very massive. On February 26, according to the "Islamic Republic" newspaper, Colonel Salami, defense minister of the Islamic Republic regime, visited Mohabad. In his statement to reporters he said that the Mohabad bombardment was actually a miracle, because it showed who the enemy of the Kurdish people really is! This clearly shows the one aspect of advantage for the Khomeini regime in the Iran-Iraq war.

On the economic front, the clandestine ties of the Khomeini regime with the U.S. are now being uncovered. The monthly publication, ENERGY BACKGROUND, in its December 1983 issue reported the resumption of Iran's oil shipments to the U.S. The significance of publishing such news is to prepare for the open support of the

Khomeini regime. In most cases, the economic ties of Khomeini's regime with the U.S. are in indirect form through surrogates such as Turkey and Pakistan. According to the "Islamic Republic" newspaper of February 20, imports from Turkey were on the downside from 1976 to 1979 but have been rising since 1979 such that in the first six months of this year along, \$658 million worth of goods are to be imported to Iran from Turkey. Also, on February 21, the Christian Science Monitor reported that Turkey's trade with Iran passed \$2 billion, an even higher mark. The coincidence of publishing such news on February 20 by the "Islamic Republic" newspaper, and on February 21 by the Christian Science Monitor is, in our opinion, one of "God's miracles"! However, the majority of companies in Turkey that receive this contract money are actually American firms, as shown in the October 1982 issue of MIDDLE EAST magazine, which further reported that the Iran National Oil Company had

approached the Turkish firm "Indistri Tesisative Mesemati (ITM)" to rebuild the Abadan refinery. ITM is linked to the main Turkish engineering companies, Ubin and Gemas. Together they represent 44 American firms, including M.W. Kellogg, which designs and builds refineries. The February 20 issue of the "Islamic Republic" newspaper also reported that imports from Pakistan, another U.S. puppet in the region, dropped from \$34 million in 1976 to \$27 million in 1979, but since then have been increasing such that in the first six months of this year it will top \$153 million (the actual figure is believed to be much higher). Western countries have also been engaged in business in Iran; an Italian construction company and a Dutch consulting firm approached Iran in 1982 to complete construction of the Bandar Abbas oil terminal at an estimated cost of \$1.5 billion. West Germany has been working on a nuclear power plant at Bushehr. Japan is another very active imperialist country in

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LEBANON, CONT. FROM 5

his refusal to allow the Palestinian Liberation Army (PLA) to help the Palestinians who were being massacred by the barbaric army of King Hussein of Jordan (remember-Black September, 20,000 Palestinian fighters were killed); Assad who joined forces with the Phalangists in the '75-'76 war in Lebanon against the progressive Lebanese movement and Palestinians, is now being portrayed as the savior of the progressive movement! If history really repeats itself, the first time such a tragedy would be perceived as a joke, the second time, in the case of Lebanon, it may be vice versa; it is extremely difficult to joke when you have been stabbed in the back several times; and there are a lot of "external" and "internal" forces sharpening their knives for Lebanon. When the context of the conflict in Lebanon is being diverted from an anti-imperialist one to that of contention for power among various forces, then the most likely winners of the game will be imperialism, Zionism, and the reactionary puppet regimes (and of course the Soviet Union will try to get its own share of the pie); it will be a chess game where the people's movement is used as a pawn, their land serving as the chess board.

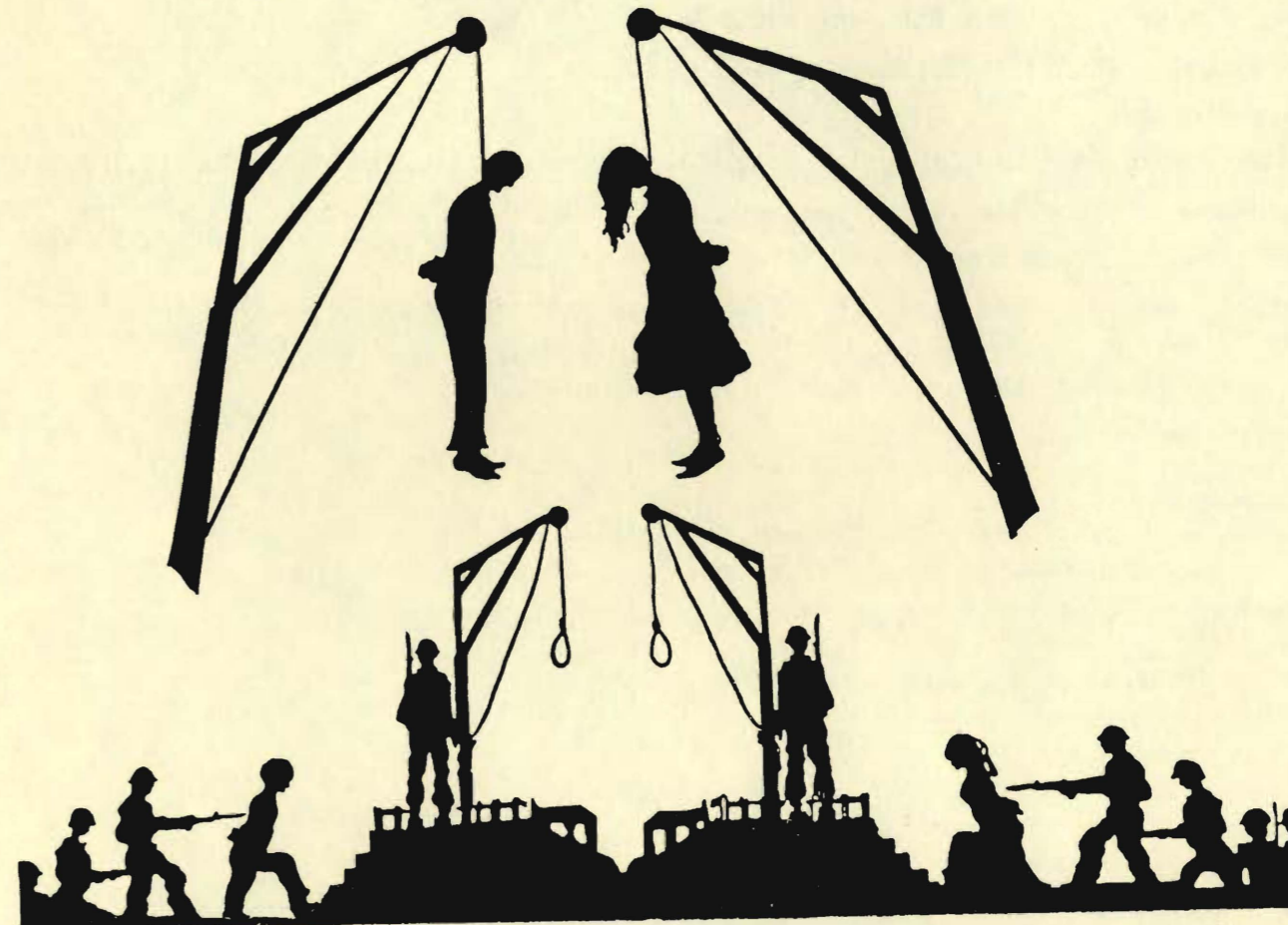
After months of rhetoric and the inability of the Phalangist government of Amin Gemayel to consolidate its grip, especially in the army, the need for a more stable equilibrium was felt by all parties. The Moslem prime minister, Shafik Al Wazzan, submitted his resignation and appealed to Gemayel for a "government representative of all factions". As the opposition increased its pressure and the Syrian regime, which had "politely" withdrawn during the Israeli invasion, increased its activities, the Gemayel government announced its willingness

to negotiate. At the same time Israel agreed on partial withdrawal on the condition that some consensus was derived from the negotiations between the Druze and the Lebanese government mediated by Saudi Arabia. Later, Israel's Shamir even announced a willingness to reach agreement with all parties, including Syria, provided it was guaranteed that Israel would not be attacked from South Lebanon. Syria's main thrust was, however, abrogation of the May 17 agreement between Israel and Lebanon². A variety of other demands were put forth by the "opposition", for example, the replacement of the "peace-keeping force" with UN forces, the resignation of Gemayel, a 6:6 ratio of representation between Moslems and Christians, etc. But it is important to note that all parties involved were demanding change without touching the structural basis of the status quo, and this is exactly the ground for a final compromise. In fact, the later military confrontation was intended merely to strengthen the bargaining position of the respective sides. Many think that negotiations and military confrontations are mutually exclusive. As the present situation in Lebanon has shown so clearly, such a perception is wrong. The withdrawal of the multi-national troops was to be substituted with a more concrete military involvement and show of military muscle from the 16-inch barrels of the Sixth Fleet's guns, so as to strengthen the position of pro-U.S. forces in reaching a more favorable compromise. It is a variation on the theme of the same old story: a combination of the right amount of carrots and sticks to get the optimum results. The Christian Science Monitor reported that American envoys in Lebanon and Syria were "working around the clock". "Senior Israeli officials are reported to have advised the administration that no progress will be

made towards a political reconciliation as long as the U.S. fails to make a military show of force in Lebanon." The thunder of indiscriminate shelling of civilian populated areas by the U.S. Sixth Fleet was the affirmation of the Israeli request. But the White House Deputy Press Secretary did not hesitate to say that "the crisis in Lebanon may prove to be an opportunity to form a responsible, broadly representative government". Interestingly, the Christian Science Monitor concludes that "increasingly, the most likely compromise for all sides seems one in which Syria and Lebanon's Muslim majority will trade some gradual, face-saving arrangement of U.S. and Israeli troop withdrawal for on-the-ground recognition of the new balance of power in Lebanon". The details of compromise are yet to be defined, however, the essence of it stands clear: the subordination of the anti-imperialist struggle of the masses to the power-sharing among various parties who are willing to submit to continued U.S. domination of the country. Yet, one must not underscore the potential of the Lebanese anti-imperialist movement. Neo-colonial policies may delay the glorious day of the burial of imperialism, but they cannot stop the movement. Indeed, by prolonging its parasitic existence, imperialism is guaranteed to receive a more deadly blow by liberation movements. The objective conditions for a democratic revolution in Lebanon will give birth to a truly vanguard organization. Then, instead of being used as the chess board of contention, Lebanon will become a battleground against world imperialism and its revisionist apologists; the process has long been started.

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