

KAR

INTERNATIONAL

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of Iranian People's Fedaii Guerrillas (OIPFG)

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25'

Feb. 6: ANOTHER TURNING POINT IN THE ORGANIZATION'S MARCH FORWARD *

The people's overwhelming response to the organization's extensive propaganda in connection with honoring the anniversary of the people's armed uprising and also the Siahkel Resurgence (the starting point in our organization's armed struggle,) and wide participation of the people in this meeting was another turning point in our organization's march forward.

The Organization of Iranian People's Fedaii Guerrillas since it began its revolutionary activity hitherto in the course of more than a decade of bloody heroic struggle have confronted many ups and downs. With the help of the experience that the organization has gained throughout its existence and learning from its defeats and victories, it has been able to continue its resolute march forward.

Our organization is the product of relentless activity and revolutionary struggle of the Fedayeen who were not afraid of problems and hardships and with faith in the masses and the working class in front of firing squads, in prisons and in their heroic struggle, devotedly resisted against their class enemies and guaranteed the survival of the organiza-

tion. They raised the red flag of the people's Fedayeen for the cause of liberations, democracy and socialism.

Anytime there was a costly strike on our organization from the enemy, the people's Fedayeen, who would sacrifice everything for the emancipation of the toilers, with their hearts set on hatred from class enemies and faith in emancipation of workers and toilers from the chains of oppression and exploitation; with faith in a bright future, reorganized and rebuilt the organization and continued their struggle.

We remember the difficult situation in the fall of '71 after the spring and summer attacks on the organization, the majority of the members were either arrested and imprisoned or martyred and except for a number of comrades no one was left. The organization was in a situation that there was not enough money to buy blankets or to feed the comrades. The condition was so bad that comrade Abdal Hossein Baratti was forced to go back to the hiding place that was already deserted to supply a blanket. Since the place was already identified by the police Comrade Abdol Hossein was shot

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The Outlook of El Salvador Revolution

Cities fall one after the other, revolutionary forces have freed the Morazan area in the North and are moving towards the South. Revolution probe is flowing through the society, the toilers are asking for a revolution and not only these people but the doctors have also believed the revolution and go on strikes to protest the National Guard and terrorist groups intervening in medical matters and kidnapping the wounded.

The regime has become so abjected that the defense minister, Garcia, admits "the enemy has really been luminous"

Economic crisis has been transformed to a societal one with the continuous hegemony of the revolutionary forces within the masses' movement. There is no other way, the revolution must succeed, this is the revolution's outlook.

The National Guard, Police, and terrorists groups are the only bases of

imperialism and bourgeoisie. Experience has shown that not only the revolution of El Salvador, but no other one will ever succeed without smashing the anti-popular army and replacing it with the people's.

For some who believed the Republican's victory in the U.S. will bring a much more brutal policy to cope with El Salvador, it should be noted that the Democrat counterparts were doing identically a very fine job savagely repressing the revolution. Long before taking over, Reagan, declared his unconditional support for Junta. The frustrated Congress now is facing a dilemma, "should we keep on sending these gratuity helps to the Junta?", or, "is there any hope for the future?". The only remaining alternative for the imperialism is a direct military intervention, like the one experienced back in 1965 in the Dominican

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The Ayatollah Khomeini and the Question of the Universities*

The Ayatollah Khomeini's speech on November 19, 1980 provided another context for exposing the regime and in part revealed the ruling apparatus' fear from the Communist's and other revolutionaries. He said: "The universities were in the hands of the Communists. The guerrillas, and the other discordant organs". Elsewhere in his words, the tenor was that the universities had been turned into fortifications; and lastly, his gut feeling was: "The danger that the universities pose is greater than many bombs".

Ayatollah Khomeini has correctly realized that the universities are barricades. They are indeed fortifications for the progressive forces, where in the dark ages of the "Pahlavi" regime, the revolutionaries on behalf of the toilers and in opposition to dictatorship and imperialism, were in struggle. The universities are those same barricades where

masses' brave children initiated their mighty struggle against the shah and imperialism. The Ayatollah has just grasped this and he has indicated to "Bani-Sadr" and the other liberals that they really have not developed a genuine feel for politics. He is, however, unaware that Bani-Sadr was casting slogans around closing-down of the student's political offices at the universities a year ago, and in the same period, having implemented his genuine feel for politics, he celebrated the regime's consolidated strength upon the newly-shed blood of the university (Tehran) martyrs.

In another section of his speech, Ayatollah Khomeini justifies the universities close down by saying that many of the previous regime's torturers were university graduates!

Ayatollah Khomeini and Bani-Sadr are both afraid of the same cause, name-

ly, in the prevailing revolutionary atmosphere the universities have become toilers' protective fortifications. The Ayatollah (despite his wishes) has best described the circumstances of the revolutionary students.

It is in fact true that the universities pose greater danger against imperialism and its internal base than many "bombs". Even more dangerous than hundreds of bombs is the knowledge that the communists and other revolutionaries have disseminated among the masses thus far. The Islamic Republic Party and its supporters have been unconscious of the fact that universities shut down will not prevent the "bomb" from explosion. The liberals, however, have intended to preserve these "bombs" within these institutions and neutralize them with their "expertise", they had hoped for maintaining students in them short of student

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The Ruling Apparatus and the Land Question

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Torture: A Disgraceful Mark On The Islamic Republic Regime

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of further evidences of brutal tortures used by the Islamic Republic regime. From among many documents, here we refer to a few of the cases.

The comrade who was captured while discussing politics in front of a stall writes:

"Five Pasdars [revolutionary guards] arrested me and threw me into a car. In a deserted area they delivered me to some other guards and told them that I was a Fedaii and should be taken to the headquarters. On the way, they used abusive language directing it to the communists. One of them asked me if I had a wife and children, when I said yes, he turned and said that all communists are known to be exchanging their wives. I warned one of the pasdars who was cursing the communists the most, and told him to be careful of his language, otherwise we (the supporters of Fedaii) would identify him and would retaliate as he deserves. After an hour we reached Station no. 1 as it was called. After being transferred to the prison, two other people who were captured with me were transferred to another place and I was left to face ten pasdars alone who beat me as they pleased. As soon as they found out that I had ulcers, they concentrated on beating me in the stomach. At this point I was studying the behavior of the pasdars. One of them who was barely eighteen, appeared to be sympathetic towards me and was trying to discourage the others from beating me. I was then handed to the prison warden. I should also mention that in the prison, while I was being questioned by three interrogators, one of the pasdars suddenly placed his gun at my forehead and pulled the trigger, of course the gun was empty but I was shaken (subconsciously), this caused them to laugh loudly. One of them said "look at him, is he supposed to be a Fedaii guerilla?". I was then transferred to a dark cell. There I met a comrade whom I found out to be also a Fedaii supporter. He was captured for having sold the KAR newspaper. We were appreciative of each other's company. At around 12 midnight, 2 or 3 pasdars threw their flashlights on our faces and took the comrade with them. Once outside, behind the cell, they started to kick and beat him up. After fifteen minutes he was thrown back into the cell. It was too dark and I was only able to locate him with my hand. With much difficulty he barely said that he was O.K. and that I should go to sleep...I couldn't sleep all night long expecting to be taken out for beating any moment."

Another comrade said that he was captured and was taken from Tehran to Isfahan (500 miles away) without his knowledge. There he was interrogated. His account of the events are as follows:

"They took me to the jail and I was there until morning when they questioned me four times until noon. I was beaten during the intervals since I had been forced to confess to being a communist, a Fedaii supporter and a political activist. The next day, some other prisoners were brought in. Severe physical tortures were used against them. They were beaten in their soles with thick wires so that their

feet were bleeding. Two days later I was taken to be questioned again. The investigation was in regard to an address in a village in the vicinity which I had given them. Apparently they had been unable to locate the address. Their communication facilities enabled them to cover all cities (most of these facilities including the radar system belonged to the army). Once I was returned to jail I was physically punished in front of other prisoners, following that I started a hunger strike..."

A comrade who was captured in the southern part of the country in the war zone, narrates his prison experience as follows:

"While I was taken to the jail blind-folded, the pasdars were pretending that we were passing through narrow and winding passages with heavy iron gates. From time to time, they were ordering me to bend my head or to lift my foot. This reminded me of methods used by Savak against Yousef

An old man of 60-70, who had a sun worn face and worn and calloused hands was saying that;

the Iraqis took his daughter, killed and ate his cows and destroyed his house. When the Iraqis retreated, pasdars came in and arrested him, after a severe beating they accused him of siding with Sadam Housain.

A man from the vicinity of Majidieh, Susangard, told us that;

he was tortured several times. He had been accused of directing the Iraqis while they were in the village. But he swore that the Iraqis had not even reached the village. They had been 30 kilometers away from the village.

I had been in this torture house for four days when they brought in the tortured figures of four militant comrades. One of them tried to get to the basin to throw some water on his face but collapsed half way and lost cons-

sciousness. His face was black and blue and swollen. His jaw stiff and he could not move it, a tooth had been broken. Another comrade's back was dark blue from the lashes he had received. He was neither able to walk nor to sit nor to sleep. He could not relieve himself of the pain no matter how he turned. A worker from a ceramic plant with a crouched and bent figure, had been tortured several times. He was blind-folded and taken to the jail, his cell mate who was an old man with a cane had been told that the worker was Sadam Housain and he should beat him up if he was a good Moslem. Consequently, the old man had started to severely beat the worker up.

As the above cases demonstrate, most tortures were used against the detainees as they were captured and before interrogation to weaken the detainee's morale, and once in the course of interrogation as means of extracting information and confession. There were several cases in which torture was used as a means of punishment even after the detainees had been convicted and sentenced.

A report from the women's prison supports the above statement:

"In this prison there is a special "hit squad" which is in charge of suppressing the prisoners. This group savagely beats the prisoners. As a result of one of their attacks to a female political prisoner, she had to stay in hospital for 2 months and her face and head were covered and marked by the heels of the torturer's boot. Most of these torturers are true Lumpins [scoundrels and scamps]. One form of torture used in this prison is fake execution which is a terrifying psychological method of torture. The mother of a Mojahdeen supporter has lost her hearing

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Zarkari, a martyred Fedaii member...

After a preliminary interrogation and beating and cursing, I was taken to a cell. The cells next to me were occupied by Arabs from the province of Khuzistan. At 7:30 am I was awakened by the opening sound of the cell gate. All night I had slept on the cold and damp floor of the cell covered with a light blanket. They permit me to go to the toilet. As I entered the yard, I was astounded. The "yard" was in fact as big as a roofless room of 13"x10" and was filled with 50 prisoners in a squatting position with blankets covering them. The toilet was in a corner and the small yard was filled with stale and foul odor. Among them was a villager from Darkhovin village who had been severely tortured and whose house had collapsed during the Iraqi mercenaries' raid. As a result he had been forced to cross the desert taking his wife and child to Ahwaz. He had been in detention for fourteen days and had not heard from his family. Another man who was missing a leg and was called Abdul-Amir and had a wife and a son named Mehdi told me his story as follows:

The Iraqis had attacked his farm in Darkhovin, killing his ass and eating all his melons. In the middle of all this confusion, Pasdars accused him of collaboration with the Iraqis, and captured him!! within nineteen days he had been tortured several times.

About KAR INTERNATIONAL

KAR INTERNATIONAL is a collection of selected articles and news items from KAR weekly [KAR in the principal Iranian language means labor] the organ of the Organization of Iranian People's Fedaii Guerillas (OIPFG), translated and adapted by the supporters of the OIPFG for progressive and anti-imperialist forces in the U.S.

By translating the works of the OIPFG we hope to better acquaint anti-imperialist forces with the revolutionary movement of the people of Iran and the viewpoints of the OIPFG and thus contribute to world's working class movement and the struggle of oppressed masses against U.S.-led imperialism.

KAR INTERNATIONAL was first published in early 1980 as a quarterly journal. But, its publication was ceased temporarily due to technical problems in printing and distribution.

In this new format we hope to have eliminated most of the problems experienced in the first stage.

We take full responsibility for the selection and translations of articles from KAR weekly. Any shortcomings due to the quality of translation is ours and not of the OIPFG.

THE ORGANIZATION OF IRANIAN PEOPLE'S FEDAII GUERRILLAS was formed in 1971 under the most barbaric dictatorial regime in history. SAVAK, the secret police of the Shah, in collaboration with the CIA made every attempt to eliminate the organization, but failed.

Over the years since its inception, the members and the leaders of OIPFG were subjected to the most brutal tortures, mass killings and executions, but nevertheless the OIPFG staged the most heroic struggle ever against the criminal regime of the Shah and proudly carried forward the red banner of the Iranian proletariat across the land.

Years of heroic struggle during the darkest years of the Shah's regime and the crucial role it played during the people's insurrection, made the OIPFG the largest mass organization within the Communist movement of Iran.

WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT

War and the Upsurge in the Workers' Struggles

In the 91st issue of KAR [See KAR INTERNATIONAL Vol. I, No. 2] we examined the effects of the war on the workers' struggles up to early November. In this article we will study and briefly analyze the events of the past three months concerning the workers.

During the first days of the war the workers were overcome by chauvinism. Among the more backward layers of the workers ultra-patriotic fervor coupled with religious fanaticism were so strong that the entire atmosphere of factories had been affected. The workers repeated with joy and even pride the feigned patriotism of capitalistic propaganda. A pre-occupation with national solidarity has so strongly afflicted the workers that class struggle was mitigated and consequently the workers' struggles slowed down. The capitalists and the government (which will go to any lengths to support the capitalists) used the war as a pretext to prepare to violently suppress the workers' movement. The slightest protest movement by the workers was forcefully crushed as "serving counter-revolution" and being instigated by the fifth column". Government and the capitalists intensified their campaign against the workers' trade rights. The onslaught of managerial and governmental orders and codes of discipline was enforced as being necessary due to the urgent circumstances caused by the war.

The misery and strife of the war, however, was becoming increasingly apparent. The workers were feeling the heavy weight of the high prices and the unavailability of basic means of subsistence on their shoulders and worker poverty was becoming more and more widespread.

As war causes an increase in layoffs, factory shutdowns, and unemployment, even employed workers lose their confidence in their ability to provide for their families in the near future. The capitalists exploit the wartime measures to outlaw workers opposition and choke their voices. The war, however, teaches the workers invaluable lessons. They discern that the capitalists are leading the war to further their own benefits. The suppressive army is absolved, the budget for arms flows into the treasuries of capitalists and imperialists. The government alleviates itself from the crisis by transferring the hardship to the masses of workers and laborers. On the other hand workers' councils are under governmental pressure. Liberal managers and the Islamic Council, each in their own way, suppress and plot against the true representatives of the workers. Any sort of workers' protest against capitalist abuse is subdued. Workers are fired at the slightest sign of unrest. In their daily experience, the workers discovered the deceitful nature of the capitalist's and government's "defense of homeland". They discern that with the increasingly deteriorating economic situation, they must bear the weight of the economic havoc. In accordance with its class interests, the government is unwilling to make the rich pay the price of war. The



workers thus realize that the war is detrimental to their class interests.

The workers' struggle against their miserable existence is thus triggered. Individual protest evolves into group movement in the form of sit-ins and demonstrations. As protests become more widespread and the workers engage in revolutionary actions to ameliorate their livelihood, the war is forgotten and the ultranationalistic fervor dissipates. The Islamic Republic's government propaganda is no longer effective. Workers' struggle in November and December were sporadic and disorganized. It is noteworthy, however, that the workers have combined economic and political struggle. On the one hand they strive for better living conditions and on the other they voice their disapproval of war.

IRAN NATIONAL and BENZ-KHAVAR protested the decrease in their wages due to the war, and conflict between workers and their employers is on the rise.

The workers of MELLI SHOE factory stopped working in order to protest a rise in the salaries of the managers. The protest resulted in retreat by the management. The workers have also formed an investigative commission to stop the plunderous cheating by the capitalists in these days of crisis.

Workers of the CHITE TEHRAN textile mill have also created a committee to expose the secret dealings and embezzlement by the management.

The powerfully united action of the Machinegun Mfg. workers guaranteed the failure of the plot by the management to reduce their wages by one third. The demonstration by 3,000 workers displayed one more time the power of the workers in unity. The worker's struggles for their basic needs and against increases in work hours, and their protests against cuts in what little bonus they receive as part of their wages are on the upswing.

The nature of the deceitful promises of the government was once again revealed when the "Pasdaran" [revolutio-

nary guards] attacked the CANADA DRY workers who were sitting in to demand payment of their bonuses. The Pasdaran opened fire on the workers, killing one worker and wounding several others.

The workers of the PAKSAN company have been demanding their bonuses for the past few days. They will no longer fall for the empty promises of management. They are refusing to let trucks (taking their products out to the market) leave the factory until their bonuses are paid.

The DOKHANIYAT (tobacco factory) workers have also blocked the factory exit, not letting products leave the premises until their bonus, which is really a portion of their wages, is paid.

In the war torn parts of the country the worker's struggle for their overdue wages is growing rapidly. The Khorramshahr port workers, for instance, staged a march in Tehran, but the Islamic Republic government has not yet responded to their demands. The Oil workers of the South staged a sit-in to demand their wages and improvements in their living conditions. The Pasdaran have cut off the utilities of the residential houses in the Olympic village, which the workers have occupied. The workers' assembly of the war stricken regions has declared that if their demands are not investigated by the government, they will resort to other measures.

The workers of the Telephone Network Project have formed a council of their true representatives and are de-

manding payment of their overdue wages. The actions of the workers against representatives who have sold out to management indicates a radicalization trend in the councils. The struggles of the workers of Arj, Iralco, Persepolis, and Ziba factories show that the workers are seeking to create councils of their true representatives. Awareness is enhanced and is growing among the workers. This is confirmed by the anticapitalist manifestations and radicalization of the councils. The awareness of the workers is increased in the process of their struggles. The active and direct involvement of a great portion of the working masses indicates a new upsurge in the struggles of the Iranian working classes.

* KAR No. 94, Jan. 22, 1981



The Outlook of El Salvador Revolution

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Republic. But according to comrade Salvador Carpio the FPL leader, "The imperialism would have to face another Vietnam in the case of direct attack on El Salvador".

The U.S. Imperialism would certainly try to stop the revolution, by sending troops from Honduras and Guatemala, also by taking advantage of certain agreements of the Organization of American States [O.A.S.] and military pacts, should the junta fail. But the revolutionary prominence in Guatemala will keep the Garcia's trembling regime from assuming such a role. Also, the chaotic state of the economy in Central America has caused the rapid transmission of El Salvador's economic crisis throughout the whole region. Obviously this has drastically affected Honduras.

On the other hand, Nicaragua, Cuba, and other progressive countries as well as all the revolutionaries around the world are increasingly supporting the revolution in El Salvador, and this sure

puts the revolution in a much more favorable position.

Revolution in El Salvador will teach new lessons to communist revolutionaries who, in our country, are impatiently waiting for a great victory of the El Salvador toilers. These lessons include, not surrendering to reformists and traitors seduction, unveiling the pseudo-revolutionary faces, decisively insisting on the poor peasants and workers positions and demands, not forgetting the responsibility of revolutionary seizure of power, and finally to annihilate the capitalistic machine of the oppressor regime.

El Salvador communist revolutionaries are carrying the red flag, fifty years ago flown by Comrade Farabondo Marty, on the way to a free El Salvador. Free from oppression and exploitation, a socialist El Salvador. Yes they are still carrying the same flag under the glorious leadership.

* KAR NO. 97, Feb. 12, 1981



PEASANT MOVEMENT

The Ruling Apparatus and the Land Question

1. Land Reform Bill to be halted:

The Continuation of the war between Iran and Iraq and deepening of economic crisis, is unveiling the ruling apparatus and revealing its reactionary nature. For the government, the war has created a golden opportunity to crack down on the people's anti-imperialist and democratic struggle.

The ruling apparatus, which had to back down (under pressure from the masses) on a number of issues and give limited concessions, is now using the opportunity provided by the war to take back its concessions. One such concession was the Land Distribution Bill which was conditionally approved by the Revolutionary Council as a result of increasing pressure from the peasants' mass movement. Now, Ayatollah Khomeini has ordered to halt the Bill before it is implemented.

The halt on distribution of land among the peasants was not a surprise. Ever since Mr. Izadi, the Minister of Agriculture propounded the necessity of reconsideration of the Land Distribution Bill some reactions to the Bill surfaced. For example, Ayatollah Rohani's reaction toward the land reform bill ratified by the Revolutionary Council was: "Land reform has to be based on Islamic laws...such a land reform [ratified by the RC] is in conflict with Islamic laws and if it has been approved by the RC, it is a violation" (bamdad daily, March 1980).

Or Ayatollah Ghomi declared that according to Islamic laws on agriculture one who owns the land does not cultivate, but gives it to others to be cultivated upon a contract...and this is not certainly against the Islamic laws" (Kayhan daily, March 4, 1980).

As time passed, the opposition of the "leaders" to the Land Distribution Bill grew stronger. Ayatollah's Rabani Shirazi, Montazeri and others declared on various occasions that the right to land ownership should be respected.

On a Friday mass prayer in Ghom, Ayatollah Montazeri commented: "No One has the right to confiscate and distribute the land owned by others. Wherever there is a wasteland [desert land] or land confiscated from the previous regime, it may be distributed among the landless so that the land may flourish" (Jomhuri Islami daily, Aug. 16, 1980).

The most important opposition came from the Ghom's Society of Theology Teachers (Hose Elmieh Moddarsin Ghom) in an open letter to the representatives of the parliament [Majlis]. First of all, this society is highly prestigious among religious establishments and its views reflect the thinking of the clergy. In the open letter it was declared "The Bill is in conflict with Islamic principles, contradicts religious proclamations in particular those of Iman Khomeini" (Kayhan daily, December 23, 1980)

With all the outright opposition from the religious hierarchy, the government is still making contradictory statements about the fate of the Bill and is awaiting a proper moment to halt the implementation of it. Mr. Salamati, the Minister of Agriculture in Rajaii's government declared in an interview that "Naturally, the implementation of the Bill would face difficulties which are minor problems, but misunderstanding about the Bill itself has caused some unfavorable reactions" (Jomhuri Islami daily, October 23, 1980).



While the government would prefer to halt the land reform program, it refrains from official announcement of it. With respect to this problem Mr. Salamati stated that "We met with Imam Khomeini and discussed the problems and difficulties that we face at the present time and the potential problems that might arise in the future. And he [the Imam] appointed Ayatollah Behesthi, Montazeri and Meshkin to study the Bill more carefully and we ordered some governmental units to study the Bill with care and caution so that we may alleviate some of the problems in implementations of the reform" (Jomhuri Islami daily, October 23, 1980).

The words "care" and "caution" meant a halt to the land reform program so that the government may face less problems.

Ayatollah Rabani Shirazi clarified the meaning of "caution" by stating that "In order to prevent conflict and confrontations the land distribution program should be halted temporarily" (Islamic Revolution daily, September 1980).

But, it seemed that all these religious declarations and proclamations did not make the point clear enough that the government is not willing to go ahead with the land reform bill. For debate over the question of implementing

or not implementing continued. For example the Omatt daily under the headline of "Imam has neutralized the extensive efforts of anti-land reform elements" wrote: "This is another indication of the defeat of anti-land reform elements...at a time when the peasants, following the Imam's order, are cultivating the land...opposition to land reform would be anti-revolutionary" (Omatt No.80).

But, the war created the opportunity for such "anti-revolutionary" elements to advance their views under the label of "War time plan for agriculture" and alleviate anxieties and worries expressed by the landowners.

Ayatollah Behesthi in a radio-TV interview explained the order to halt the Bill: "Under present circumstances [war], Imam Khomeini's view is that section A

and B of the Bill be implemented and Section C to be postponed so that we may concentrate our efforts on sections A and B. (Jomhuri Islami daily, November 25, 1980).

By halting the implementation of section C of the Land Distribution Bill which pertains to the land owned by the landowners what is left to distribute is wasteland [desert land] and lands owned by the government.

Thus, what is being implemented is exactly identical to the land distributions plan devised by the Bazargan cabinet. It is interesting to note that Etelaat daily wrote that the Bazargan land distribution plan intended to decisively support and protect land ownership and the feudals.

Not long after this revelation by the Etelaat came Khomeini's order to stop the distribution of the land owned by the feudals and the owners.

The steps taken by Khomeini clearly proved that these vacillations on the part of the ruling apparatus with regards to everyday and immediate problems is a result of the pressure exerted upon them by the masses and that these manoeuvres will not cover the reactionary nature of the government for a long time. The ruling apparatus which sees its mission to reconstruct the dependent capitalist system by implementing some reforms is in no way capable of meeting

the toilers' demands, including the peasants. But, due to prevailing misgivings about the government and the propaganda about the "revolutionary" and "anti-imperialist" nature of the government, it is necessary to analyze the government's staggering moves. Therefore, we now turn to the ruling apparatus' policies towards the peasant movements, the nature and the context of the land distribution plans, the impact of the proposed plans and future of the peasant movement.

2. The Revolutionary Movement of Land Confiscation is on the Rise

During the revolutionary uprising of 1978-79 various strata of the society participated in the struggle. But the class identity of the masses was not quite clear. Although the Shah's overthrow was a reflection of the masses class demands, behind this "common goal", however, rested various goals and motivations. The establishment of the compromise organ [the Revolutionary Council and Bazargan's government] gradually revealed various motivations and revealed the class identity of the masses.

The struggle of the peasants proceeded along the same lines. The difference was that when the "city" had been mobilized the "village" was still silent. This was due to the geographical spread of the villages, low level of consciousness, conservative nature of the peasantry and the temporary effects of the Shah's land reforms [the Shah's land reform program was first introduced under the "White Revolution" in the early 1960's].

Peasants' participation in the masses movement lacked homogeneity and uniformity. It depended upon the social, geographic and the class structure of the village. Factors such as the percentage of the peasants in the agricultural labor force, the presence of semi-proletarian elements commuting between the villages and the cities, and in many areas the question of national minorities were all important in the peasant's mobilizations. The spread and the penetration of the revolutionary movement and its victorious prospect, weakening of the oppressors' forces, the escape of the landowners, etc., induced the peasants in most areas to join the movement.

The poor and landless peasants' dream of acquiring a piece of land were being materialized, so they vigorously participated in the struggle. The middle stratum of the peasantry who wanted to free themselves from the yoke of the bank loans and interest payments participated in the movement. The upper stratum of the peasantry also joined the movement in order to strengthen their own position in the village and prevent possible confiscation of their land by the poor.

As noted earlier the uprising had a broad class character and it was only after the Shah's downfall that the class distinctions began to emerge, thus the "Down with the Shah" slogan transformed into land confiscation slogans.

After the Khomeini appointed government took office, the people's demand became more specific and clear: the formation of peasants and workers councils, nationalization of the industries and its control by factory councils and the confiscation of the land. Meanwhile the peasants put forward their own historic demand of land distributions, and more important, the formation of peasant councils and unions. But the peasants were disillusioned. They thought the new government was

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after a fight with police and SAVAK agents. We remember in those hard times the determined figures like Comrade Hamid Ashraf, Hassan Noroozy, Saffary Ashtiani, Ahmad Zibrum, Mehdi Fazilat Kalamand Farrokh Sepehri who with no fear on their minds challenged and defeated the problems decisively and resolutely. They assumed the responsibility of reorganizing the organization.

We remember the severe conditions after the summer of '72 and all throughout the year of '73 and despite all these, the organization was overcoming hardships and obstacles and expanding. We remember the conditions which even after the 1976 attacks on the organization, which cost the life of great revolutionaries like Comrade Hamid Ashraf, the organization managed to survive and was able to play a significant role in the uprising.

None of the enemy's strokes on the organization's body was able to prevent its continuation, growth and spread and obstruct its development and evolution. In the course of more than eight years of bloody, decisive and relentless up to the February's uprising, the name "Fedayeen" was kneaded with the name of communism, Communists regained the prestige that was badly hurt after the Tudeh Party's betrayals and its leaders disgraceful escape from Iran. It was necessary for the masses to perceive in their experience that "Fedayeen", these true and genuine communists, unlike the "Tudeh Party" leaders will not turn their back to the proletariat and other toilers and will not betray them.

After the February uprising which led to the possibility of public activity, masses appealed on a large scale to our organization which had manifested its loyalty to the working class and other toiling masses in practice in its eight year bloody and devoted struggle. In a very short time our organization became a major social force and its activities expanded all throughout the country. It could mobilize thousands of masses in its demonstrations and meetings in Tehran, Turkman Sahara, Kurdistan, Azarbayjan, North, South and Center and to organize them in their revolutionary struggle. Our organization's defense of workers, peasants, struggle, and Kurdish, Turkman and other oppressed nationalities struggle for freedom, attracted a massive support for the organization among the masses and hundreds of revolutionary tasks were weighing down on our shoulders.

However, along the expansion of the organization due to a number of objective and subjective conditions, the rightist opportunism began to grow in the organization.

With the rise of opportunism in the organization the danger of a right deviation was threatening the danger of opportunism, was many times deadlier than that of the enemy in the past.

This time the damage was done by

penetration of bourgeoisie ideology in our cadres, by publicizing an opportunistic policy, a gradual corruption and at last by diverting the cadres that despite their honesty did have a knowledge of these deviations. This stroke could drain the revolutionary content of the organization's programs and transform it to the outgrowth of bourgeoisie.

In the beginning this deviation was in the form of a tendency and it had not yet developed to a full and concrete opportunism. The alert revolutionary cadres warned against the danger and pursued an internal ideological struggle against it. This struggle led to the formation of two factions in the organization and also to the confrontation of the two policies, two policies which constituted two opposing poles of the continuum. Finally, in spite of all the impediments and recourses to irregular means on the part of the majority of the "Central Committee" which had fallen completely in opportunism, the internal conflicts were revealed and it ended with a decisive separation in the organization and the historical split took place. This split was indeed the split of the majority of the "Central Committee" from the revolutionary struggle and the mass movement. Following the split the faction known as the "majority" rushed toward a total rejection of revolutionary policies turning their backs to the revolutionary struggle. "The Majority" tumbled in the opportunism and social reformism of the "Tudeh Party" and despite superficial varnishings and sham quarrels, it practically adopted the line and policies of the "Tudeh Party".

The revolutionary faction of the organization faced lots of difficulties following the split. Its first task was to explain the opportunistic nature of the "Central Committee" and the roots and the nature of the split that was unknown to the people because of the sectarian actions of the "Central Committee". Many people and even the supporters of the organization were caught by surprise and confusion. They did not realize the causes of the split and the nature of these two lines. Lies and deception by the "Central Committee" which had turned away from the revolutionary traditions of the past and basically did not believe in them and yet called itself "Fedayeen" accentuated this confusion.

The primary tasks of the organization were; to reorganize all the forces, to establish new organs, and to consolidate the organization all over the country in order to participate actively in the struggle and to mobilize and take the leadership of that struggle. Reorganizing the forces and resupplying the facilities that the "Central Committee" by abusing the organizational levers has seized, and efforts to present a program as a revolutionary policy was the heavy burden on the shoulders of the "Fedayeen". This prevented the organization from an extensive participation in the mass struggle and playing an active role in the political scene.

The organization within a few mon-



ths due to the persistency and perseverance of our comrades and unlimited support of our supporters who have a mission to raise the flag of the organization and succeeding the revolutionary line, was able despite all the problems and efforts by the "Central Committee" to spread lies and rumours across the country, to come out of this severe test proud and honoured, and it once again proved the legitimacy of the revolutionary line taken by the "People's Fedayeen" and this unshakeable faith in the working class. In the course of these months the organization tried to draw the line between opportunistic and revolutionary lines very rigorously and solidly and publicize it as much as possible.

More than 150,000 participate in the demonstrations of Feb. 6.

The anniversary of the people's armed uprising and Siahkal Resurgence was a great opportunity to initiate a massive move by the organization, to isolate the opportunists within the people, to propagandize extensively among the masses, and finally to form a revolutionary alternative in the movement that while defending the fundamental interests of the workers and other toilers, moves uncompromisingly and decidedly to take the leadership of the masses.

With the onset of this move within the last two weeks, with persistent effort of members and supporters of the organization our slogan was written on the walls of every alley and street. Hundreds of thousands of tracts and posters were distributed in schools, factories and streets that was met with extraordinary welcome by the masses.

The organization's invitation to the people to participate in honoring the anniversary of these two historical events, was also an invitation to the masses to endorse the true "Fedayeen" and the revolutionary faction of the organization.

The rightist "majority" demonstrated their obedience and servitude to the Islamic Republic by boycotting the meeting.

They blind heartedly imagined that they could prevent the vast participation of the people in this meeting, unaware of the fact that the masses have already realized their true nature and they are no longer able to exploit the name of the "Fedayeen" to divert the people's movement.

The massive participation of the people in this meeting, despite being boycotted by Tehran Security Headquarters, the rightists "majority" and propaganda by the TV and radio, was a sign of people's rising consciousness and discreditability of the Islamic Republic Regime and the social reformists.

The sensational resistance of the people against the armed attack of the "revolutionary guards" and the falangist gangs expressed the militant and revolutionary spirit of the participants.

The people's backing for the demonstrators showed that the masses are able to distinguish their friends from their enemies and collaborator leaders and reformists are not able to deceive them.

The Islamic Republic regime has attempted to avoid the name of "Fedayeen" from being brought up on Feb. 6th in order to prevent people from remembering the memories of heroic anti-dictatorship—anti—imperialist struggles of the people's Fedayeen. But this move had such a great internal and international reflection that the regime lost the track and had to admit the Fedayeen's move. The leaders of the Islamic Republic had to continue their acts of demogogy and lying. In any case, this has no advantage for the Islamic Republic except disgrace.

This move was an end to the passivity of the past few months of the communist movement. It showed that the

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THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC GOVERNMENT DISGRACEFULLY AGREED WITH THE UNITED STATES IMPERIALISM *

In past days, the Iranian and world press published the terms of the agreement reached on the question of releasing the American spies between Iran and the Imperialist government of the U.S.

Behzad Nabavi, the government spokesman announced the general outline of this mutual agreement in a press interview. The mutual agreement has been reached a long time ago, but it needed some diplomatic elaborations and resolution of some minor differences which should have been resolved after a period of apparently reciprocal ultimatums and secret negotiations.

The government spokesman, Behzad Nabavi, in his press interview pretended that this mutual agreement was in the interest of Iranian government and that the United States imperialism has retreated and accepted Iran's suggested terms. But this is not true. When one looks carefully at his explanations, one realizes that he is lying. His diplomatic gestures are for deceiving and mocking the masses of people and he obviously wants to hide reality.

But the only thing that was close to reality in Nabavi's statements was his reply to a question raised by a reporter from the Islamic Revolution daily, the organ of a faction of the liberals, in which he explicitly expressed the goals and role of the hostage taking in the competition between the two main factions of the ruling apparatus, i.e. the liberals and the Islamic Republic Party [IRP].

Today 14 months after the U.S. spy nest takeover, our toiling masses realize that the government, under the cover of anti-imperialist struggle has deceived

them and now disgracefully has given in to the U.S. Imperialism.

The reality is that our toiling masses are realizing well that the spy nest takeover has been used as a pretext for a power struggle between the liberals and the IRP rather than as a pretext for intensification of struggle against imperialism, dependent capitalism, big landowners, and all the imperialist agents and elements.

The masses are observing that the ruling apparatus not only did not stage a real anti-imperialist struggle but even evaded to expose the U.S. imperialism by trying the hostages and eventually backing down from its previous conditions.

During the period of hostage taking the IRP tried to strengthen and reinforce its position in the governmental organs of power vis-a-vis its rivals...the liberals.

Now, the IRP has moved one step forward to strengthen its position at the international level.

The release of the spy hostages was an attempt by the IRP to improve its relations with the imperialist governments. This is of special importance for the party because the continuation of existing economic crisis on the one hand and the war and its consequences on the other hand, has threatened not only the position of the IRP, but the existence of the ruling apparatus in its entirety.

The IRP is trying to improve the conditions for the importation of imperialist capital and goods and obtaining American arms through a quick resolution of the hostage crisis. This will enable the IRP to overcome some of its economic and as a result, political problems.

Mr. Nabavi, in his press conference claimed that "in future, the struggle of the government against imperialism will continue." However, the toiling masses of our country through their experience, have become familiar with the anti-imperialist struggle of this government! And according to Mr. Nabavi himself, there is a major difference between what the rulers of the capitalist countries express in public and what they do in practice and in their secret negotiations, meaning that the anti-imperialist rhetoric of the IRP is very different from a true anti-imperialist struggle.

A true anti-imperialist struggle, one that the masses are demanding, is a struggle against the internal basis of imperialism, the dependent capitalists, feudals, all the organs and institutions tied to imperialism and dependent capitalism. It is a struggle for the cancellation of all of the confining contracts with all the imperialists.

However, today the masses observe that not only the takeover of U.S. Imperialism's spy nest did not lead to the radicalization of the ruling apparatus, not only is there any encouragement on the part of the government for the anti-imperialist struggle of the people, not only has there been any major action taken against the capitalists and feudals, not only the confining contracts of the previous regime with the imperialists have not been cancelled and exposed, but the position of the capitalists is becoming stronger every day. The bourgeoisie-bureaucratic reforms have been stopped, the Army has been reconstructed, oppression has been intensified and finally the government and the parliament, with extremely humiliating conditions, demand a return to the kind of relationships with the U.S. imperialism which existed before the embassy takeover. The U.S. imperialism

did not even agree with the humiliating conditions of the parliament. But Mr. Nabavi claims, "these were of political importance for us" meaning that, from his perspective, it is not important if the U.S. imperialism does not return the wealth of the Shah and his family which has been stolen from Iranians. The bill passed by the Iranian Parliament regarding the wealth of the Shah had only political importance!

What the U.S. imperialism, despite the claims of the Iranian government, has agreed to pay, is 8 billion dollars. Half of this amount will be returned to the United States to cover the repayment and interest on loans and there is no doubt that the remaining money will be allocated for the purchase of arms and other commodities from the U.S.

This is the balance sheet of a government which has made a lot of noise with claims of being anti-imperialist! This is what the government of the Islamic Republic is feeding the masses.

The other question is whether with the resolution of the hostage crisis, the crisis of relationship between the U.S. imperialism and the government of Iran will be resolved. The answer is negative. Because the prevailing crisis in the society, the struggle of the toiling masses and the contradictions within the ruling apparatus led to the takeover of the American Embassy which in turn intensified the crisis between the two governments. It is possible that the resolution of the hostage crisis will reduce the intensity of tensions between Iran and the U.S., but as long as the society is caught up in a crisis; as long as the internal contradictions of the ruling apparatus continues; as long as the struggle of the masses is growing, the crisis relationship between the two governments is likely to be prolonged. The important point is, however, that the struggle of the masses won't allow either the IRP or the liberals to improve their relationships with the U.S. imperialism.

* KAR No. 94, Jan 22, 1981

Feb. 6: ANOTHER TURNING POINT IN THE

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People's Fedayeen in spite of the capitulation and renegation of the rightist "majority" are still the pioneers in the fight for liberation (emancipation of mankind) democracy and socialism.

They still occupy the very first lines of struggle for independence, jobs, housing, and freedom with a firm will. This move shined a new light on the Iranian toilers and drove the liberals and social reformists to extremities on their political battlefields.

The day after the Feb. 6 discussion on this revolutionary move manifested itself as a political pivotal subject. The majority of the people supported this move, its slogans and its long term goals. The people's enthusiasm to know more about the plans, slogans, and goals of the organization provided a good background for the organization's activity and propaganda among the masses.

This move demonstrated the true capacity and ability of the organization to organize and mobilize the masses and revealed contrary to what the rightist

"Majority" and demagogical Islamic Republic's propaganda assert, the organization and its supporters are a major social force that is able to play an important role in the political scene and balance of power and the separation of the rightist "majority" has not been able to gain much mass support and weaken the organization seriously. The massive participation of the people despite "Tehran's Security Headquarters" and the rightist "majority" boycott proved this fact and rejected all the propagatory cries.

This move showed that the organization has been able to isolate the rightist "majority" and to rebuild the organization after the strokes of opportunism.

It can now prepare itself to undertake more important responsibilities and a more active part in the struggle in the political scene and mobilization of the masses.

The people's response to the organization's invitation showed that the rightist "majority's" warbling and lying have no real base among the masses. It is certainly possible for a period of time they play obstinate and keep on abusing the name of the "Fedayee".



This is a task for us, the revolutionary forces and the toiling masses that by exposing the reconciliators and reformist nature of abuse. Compromise with bourgeoisie and obedience and servitude to it have not been Fedayeen tradition and will not ever.

The red and revolutionary flag of the people's Fedayeen should be cleaned up from this disgraceful stain.

This move was another turning point in the organization's developing march forward. It gives heavy responsibility to our organization in relation to shaping a revolutionary line, presenting a revolutionary platform and plan,

organizing the people's struggles, playing an active role in the political scene, and finally uniting the revolutionary communists around a revolutionary line and policy until the bloody flag of the Fedayeen becomes the flag of the workers and the toilers of Iran in their fight for the emancipation from exploitation, oppression, and capital to fulfill the slogan of "INDEPENDENCE, JOB, HOUSING, and FREEDOM."

* KAR No. 98, Feb. 19, 1981

The Ruling Apparatus and the Land Question*

continued from page 4

capable of meeting their demands whereas the transitional government was not willing nor capable of meeting people's demand for land, jobs, housing and freedom. The leaders were calling for "revolutionary patience" and a unified support for the government so that the ruling apparatus may move quickly to pick up the pieces and preserve whatever had been left from the Shah's regime and reconstruct the system, step-by-step, before the masses are disillusioned.

Thus, it was in the context of these struggles and illusions that the peasants revolutionary movement was being formed. On the one hand the movement to confiscate the lands of the big landowners had begun in some areas by the revolutionary actions of the peasants (such as Gonbad and Kurdistan). On the other hand, in some other regions the peasants had started to resist the landowners attempts to repossess the land. As the struggle of the peasants against the landowners intensified the government kept defending the interests of the landowners as it had from the very beginning.

In principle the fundamental task the Bazargan government foresaw was to restore the system. With respect to the peasants and the land questions, the Bazargan government undertook to reinforce the results of the Shah's land reform. For the Shah's land reform had already removed the feudal obstacles to the dependent capitalist system and the dispossessed labor force not only met the immediate need of the capital for labor but also met the foreseeable labor needs by providing a "reserve" army of

laborers" at the edge of the urban areas in shanty towns. Thus from an economic point of view the liberal-bourgeois government of Bazargan did not "free the peasants from the land" to provide the "free labor" and develop markets by instituting a land reform program. Moreover, from a political point of view the Khomeini appointed government which had been supported by millions of people did not deem it necessary to implement a land reform for the purpose of mobilizing support among the masses.

Thus, due to 1) The resolution of the land question based on international division of labor and the needs of monopoly capital during the Shah's regime and 2) incomplete dispossession of the peasants and lack of the penetration of the capitalist production relations in all villages and finally due to the prevailing revolutionary conditions in the villages the peasant-land question still existed and the government was faced with the confrontations between landowners and the peasants. Majority of the owners sensed the "lack of security, stability and order" and were fearful that the bourgeois-liberal government of Bazargan might be forced to give some concessions on the land question to restore the bourgeois order. The rest of the landowners who had encroached to repossess the peasants' land were fearful of the peasants' growing moves to resolve the land question in a revolutionary manner. Thus, the landowners exerted pressure on the government to take a position.

The appointment of Mr. Izadi [a defender of the big landowners] as the Minister of Agriculture removed the lan-

downers' misunderstanding about the government's good intentions. The government cried out from its loudspeakers that "the land ownership is sacred". Furthermore, Mr. Izadi quoting Khomeini and other religious authorities proclaimed that land confiscation is against the Islamic laws and the revolution and, therefore, relieved the landowners on the one hand and threatened the peasants on the other.

Khomeini's unconditional support of the government and the masses' illusions about Khomeini and thus about the Bazargan cabinet created a situation where the government had hoped to control and liquidate the peasant movement by promises, threats or violent repression. Wherever promises did not work, the government resorted to repression blaming "anti-revolutionary" elements causing trouble (e.g. in Gonbad and Kurdistan) or by arming feudals (e.g. Kurdistan and Baluchistan).

The peasants are threatened to legal reprisals if "illegal" acts of land confiscation were carried out by them. Two bills have already been passed which protect the landowners against the land seizure by the owners land is considered a crime and the "criminals" could be sentenced to jail or to exile.

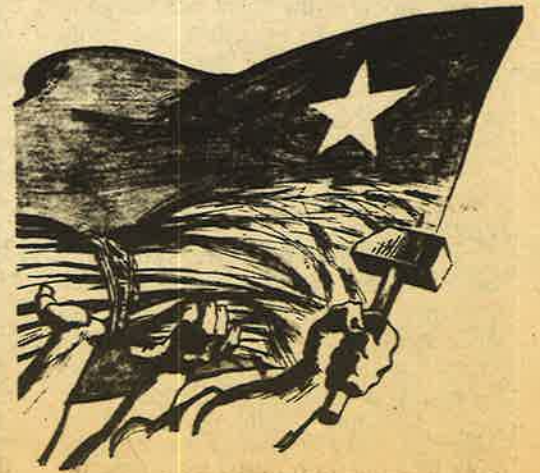
Thus, the government is reacting to peasant movement by promises that are never delivered, all sorts of religious declarations and arming the feudals to violently repress the peasants.

With all such measures, the movement was increasingly growing and in the summer of 1979 the revolutionary land confiscation had occurred in many regions including Kurdistan, Turkman Sahra, Baluchistan, etc.

Promises, threats and repressions did not only prevent the peasants' illusion about the ability of the government to deliver its promises were being cast away gradually. But, the "revolutionary transitional government" which had the reconstruction of the dependent capitalist system in mind resorted to overt policies to defend the landowners, to preserve and protect the ownership of the land, and to repress the peasant movements. An example of these policies is a bill passed in September 1979 which reflects the essence of the transitional government's thinking on the land question. Since this bill is very similar to recent positions taken by the government, we will analyze it in the next issue.

TO BE CONTINUED

* KAR No. 94, January 22, 1981



Torture:

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ability as a result of a beating in prison. A pregnant woman went into miscarriage after being severely beaten. The protesting mothers of the prisoners were arrested and put in locked prison toilets with no electricity and the next day they had received 15 to 20 lashes as punishment. Torture received by a female supporter of Mojahedeen cost her paralysis in one arm."

According to one report from a Ghaem Shahr prison,

"The guards of the female section of the prison had beaten the women with clubs and boots for singing revolutionary songs."

The above cases have been selected from among numerous reports sent to us

as well as those sent to other progressive and revolutionary forces.

All these prove the fact that torture is being used against the revolutionaries who are fighting for the victory of our toiling masses and are struggling against Imperialism. Torture is being used in the process of their detention, transfer, interrogation and even after conviction.

Now we have to pose the question to those who still speak of "rumor" of torture. What do they call all these atrocities.

* KAR No. 94, Jan. 22, 1981



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THE STATE AND THE PEOPLE

Torture: A Disgraceful Mark On The Islamic Republic Regime *

The heroic people of Iran have not forgotten the memory of the tortures by the Shah's regime, and it wasn't long ago that the people stormed in and captured the dreadful torture chambers of Evin and Committee jails, when to the disbelief they realized that the regime of the Islamic Republic has revived torture again.

The people who assumed the torture chambers with the tools and devices would be converted into museums, were soon to realize their mistakes. The Islamic Republic government while drawing the constitution was under pressure by the masses, who for years had suffered under the torturers of Imperialist supported regime of the Shah, was forced to include an article regarding the prohibition of torture. But the article was phrased very obscurely. The "Assembly of Experts" [Majlis] formulated the article as follows:

"Any type of torture for the purpose of extracting information and confession is prohibited."

The twist in this article is that only torture for the purpose of extracting information or confession is prohibited while torturing for any other purpose or reason has been left open. Thus, under the pretext of religious punishment (flogging), providing legally the means by which any type of torture and mistreatment of the prisoners could be freely exercised.

At that time we acknowledged the hidden ramifications of the article in that particular form and the way it violated the basic human rights of the people and that it could be used as a pretext to legalize torture. It should be emphasized that this approach to the issue of torture takes place at a time when the Charter of Human Rights in article no. 5 explicitly states that:

"No one should be subjected to torture or punishment or treatment

which is cruel and against basic human dignity or humiliating".

As it could be seen the prohibition of torture or cruel treatment in this article is generalized and is not restricted to banning of torture for extracting information or confession.

Later, the General Assembly of the United Nations, under the pressure from non-aligned countries was forced to give a more comprehensive and explicit definition for torture. In resolution no. 3452 dated Dec. 9, 1975, which is to be abided by all members of the U.N.; the torture has been defined as such:

"Torture is defined as any action conducted by an official authority towards an individual causing pain and suffering. This (pain and torture) is referred to physical, psychological or mental torture .

The action as such is only regarded as torture when it is exercised by an official authority for the purpose of extracting information or confession about the detainee himself or a third party; or torture be exercised as punishment towards a person for committing or being accused of committing certain action; or the objective of torture be to threaten the individual himself or other individuals..."

Comparing the article no. 5 of the Human Rights Charter and resolution no. 3452 with article 38 of the Islamic Republic constitution demonstrates the fact that the organizers of the constitution were not even willing to acknowledge the basic principles of human rights which even capitalist governments have been forced to accept.

But the tragedy doesn't end here. The issue is that the suppressive and intelligence and security apparatus of the Islamic Republic does not even abide by this deficient law in article no. 38 of the constitution!! The undeniable facts reveal that even to include such an article

in the constitution has not prevented the captured from being immune to torture during the detention, transfer and interrogation procedures and even after conviction.

The truth is that even the existence of such a law does not solve the problem. Was the occurrence of torture on a massive and terrifying scale during the Shah's time due to the lack of law? We know very well that under the previous regime there was a law (which is still valid) that would prevent the legal and non-legal government authorities from exercising torture and would assume heavy penalties for those ordering or carrying out the torture (article 131 of the general penal code) but all these were nothing but games played by the regime. Since the Shah's regime was anti-people by nature and violated the basic rights of the people, the criminal Savak agents without inhibition or fear of laws or penalty would openly and freely exercise torture.

After the people's insurrection of February 1979 and the overthrow of the Shah's regime, the interrogators of the new regime, although somewhat different from the previous ones, have an open hand to freely exercise torture. The existence of article no. 38 in the constitution has not solved any problem. The officials are not responsible before any government authority thus, can act freely and despotically without any respect for the law.

"THE METHOD OF INTERROGATION WITH MENTAL AND PHYSICAL TORTURE IN THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC."

From the very first month after the insurrection, torture was used against revolutionaries and activists in interroga-

tion and investigation procedure. All kinds of physical, psychological and mental torture as well as fake executions were used against the accused. However the torture methods were mainly different from the previous regime's methods in that, the Islamic Republic agents were inexperienced and tortures were not applied in a systematic manner. The tools and devices used were still limited. (In some cases systematic torture was used which demonstrates that some experienced ex-torturers of the previous regime were utilized!)

To terrorize a detainee, he is first brutally beaten; after transferring him to a car, he is blind-folded and covered with a blanket or he is forced to lie down on the floor of the car while he is blind-folded. While in the car the detainee is "entertained" with more beating. Once he is transferred to the "Committee jail" or one of the "secure houses" of the committee, the beating is continued by several torturers from all sides. This method reminds one to what was known as Savak's "soccer chamber". All these are done for the purpose of weakening the detainee's morale and prepare him for interrogation. At this stage the interrogation begins by first asking the detainee his home address, his organizational ties and political beliefs and etc... It has been observed that in some cases the detainee has been forced to accompany the interrogators to his own house, there, in front of his relatives and neighbors he has been brutally beaten, injured and insulted.

Methods of torture against political prisoners and revolutionaries have been disclosed by our comrades who have supplied various documents while in prison. In addition, other documents have been exposed in publications of other revolutionary organizations such as Mojahdeen which contributes to piling up

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The Ayatollah Khomeini and the Question of the Universities*

continued from cover

offices; they had wanted to deprive the students from their gathering centers — their offices and sports club — and instead keep them entirely busy with their school—work! in the closed door classrooms so that they would break relations with the masses. When the Liberals speak of reopening the universities, their true intention is that controlled form of universities of the shah's era; that any democratic and political gathering would be prohibited, separated from, and kept out of touch with the masses problems.

Let the regime's various factions teach one another lessons of politics! No longer any policy may obstruct history in its path.

The regime is bound to reopen the universities; and it is not, contrary to Ayatollah Khomeini's assertions, afraid of such institutions producing ill-trained graduates, as the government already sustains a good number of them at its service (Ghotbzadeh, Dr. Yazdi, Dr. Cham-

eran and...), rather, the regime is worried about burgeoning of communists and revolutionaries inside these institutions. What it is asking for are students who like a slave absorb whatever capitalism injects into their minds and ultimately become servants of the capitalists, and that they, unless in support of the re-

gime, would not involve themselves with politics.

After the years of braggings by the capitalist ruling class, the toilers of our country are still facing misery and even more deplorable conditions of life. They are gradually discovering the anti-popular nature of the regimes two major factions [the IRP and the liberals], and as days pass by they become more convinced of the communist's truthfulness and

validity of their way. They will discover that only a people's government, a government that has evolved from the heart of the masses and their councils, is capable of introducing peace and comfort, and make the slogans: Employment, Housing, Freedom, and Independence a reality.

*KAR No. 91, Jan. 1, 1981

**THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC
DISGRACEFULLY AGREED
WITH THE UNITED STATES
IMPERIALISM**