

# PROGRAM OF THE PROLETARIAN PARTY OF IRAN (RANJBARAN)

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## INDEX TO PROGRAM

### Section 1: Our General Positions and Program

- 1 – Introduction
- 2 – The history of several thousand years of class struggle: the history of progress from the sphere of necessity to the sphere of freedom
- 3 – The state: instrument of repression for the ruling classes
- 4 – Class struggle is the main motive force in the development of human society
- 5 – Social production is in contradiction with private property
- 6 – Socialism is the first phase of the transition to socialization of the means of production and exchange
- 7 – Communism is the highest phase of human society
- 8 – Our world outlook
- 9 – Continuous revolution

### Section 2: The Present World Situation

- 1 – The era of imperialism and multi-national corporations
- 2 – The Situation in peripheral countries
- 3 – The Situation in imperialist countries
- 4 – The Situation in Iran:
  - 1) – In the world arena
  - 2) –The Situation of the Capitalist class
  - 3) –The Situation of the Working class
  - 4) –The Situation of Women
  - 5) –The Situation of Youth (adolescents)
  - 6) –The Situation of the resident Nationalities in Iran
  - 7) –The Situation of the Petit bourgeoisie in Iran's rural areas

8)-The Situation of educated people in Iran

### **Section 3: The Situation of the World Communist Movement and Socialism:**

- 1 – A brief review of the history of socialism
- 2 — The World Communist Movement's situation today
- 3 – The Communist movement in Iran

### **Section 4: Our Specific Program and Tactics**

- 1 – The communist party is necessary for the revolution
- 2 – The process of creation of a single vanguard party of the working class
- 3 – Our program for the guidance of workers and mass movements:
  - Workers movement
  - The movement of toiling peasants in rural areas
  - The women's movement
  - The youth movement
  - The question of children
  - Oppressed nationalities and national movements in Iran
  - Democratic demands
- 4 – The struggle against imperialist interference in the internal affairs of Iran
- 5 – The way of making revolution in Iran
- 6 – The world revolution and us
- 7 – The friends and the enemies of the Iranian revolution

## **SECTION 1**

### **OUR GENERAL POSITIONS AND PROGRAM**

Theoretical and organizational divergence is the clearest symptom of the malady plaguing the communist movement in both Iran and the world. This divergence reveals itself through the existence of various parties and organizations and is reflected in their various programs. Their programs, despite having common ground and common objectives, lack sufficient power, quality and sharpness to forge the theoretical and organizational unity of these forces; they are not able to consolidate and energize these diverse factions and create enough power such that the present difficulties can be overcome and society transformed.

The existing parties and organizations in Iran also singly lack the theoretical and organizational authority to unite the various factions of the communist and working class movements – and thus have been reduced to marginal roles in the workers' movement. Theoretical disputes take place within the small confines of academic discourse and outside of the context of class struggle in our society and as a result, the correctness or the incorrectness of any particular line cannot be tested in light of practice. In addition, apathy in regard to active ideological struggles has been widespread.

This abnormal situation can be seen as arising mainly from the following factors:

1 – The organized elements of the neo-communist movement in Iran after the 19 August, 1953 coup basically arose out of two factions: the Tudeh Party and the National Front. Poisonous views of these two political organizations such as the dominance of reformism and opportunism in the Tudeh Party on the one hand; and on the other hand the bourgeois and petit-bourgeois politics and world view of the National Front, have resulted in religious idealism and mysticism being injected inside the communist movement. Doubtless, weakness and limited knowledge resulting from the failure of the Tudeh Party to effectively disseminate Marxist literature is also another debilitating factor. Beyond these factors, one must recognize that petit-bourgeois class influences in the neo-communist movement and the absence of an organic connection with the working class movement caused its inclination toward opportunism and revisionism. In addition, the ascendancy of revisionism within the Soviet communist party and then within the Chinese communist party were important factors further aggravating the theoretical and organizational divergence of the communist movement in Iran.

2 – The aggravation of the theoretical and organizational divergence cannot be related only to the above referenced factors and others, such as the complexity of the current situation, the reign of revisionism in previously socialist countries, and the suppression of communists. Since a genuine proletarian party takes as its duty the organization of the proletariat on all bases, but primarily the ideological leadership of the class struggle of the working class and the toiling masses, the pressing responsibility of all communist organizations is to unite with the vanguard elements of the working class. It is in this manner that all of the diverse organizations will be tested, the pure will be separated from the impure, and the conditions for unity will be created.

In the absence of this integration into the working class, a party's theory and general policy is not an adequate guarantee against the outbreak of revisionism and of all kinds of ideological-political deviations. Therefore, establishing the correct path, and following it, is a vital necessity.

In other words, unity comes from the struggle; and the struggle must be carried out along a path that must be traveled. This path is the direction toward which communist organizations are joined by the heroic proletarian movement, which has not backed off even for a moment from the struggle against the most brutal regimes in history. Today, the obstacles which have prevented communists from achieving integration into the working class are: ideology, policy, work methods and petit-bourgeois tendencies in our organizations.

While we struggle against these deviations, it is in the continuous emphasis on theoretical and practical achievements of the working class at the international and national level, and in the progress toward unity with the proletariat and mass movements that we can find an opportunity to found a communist party which is truly able to lead the working class and the toiling masses.

3 – In The Manifesto of the Communist Party there is mention of feudal socialism, bourgeois socialism, petit-bourgeois socialism and utopian communism. None of these viewpoints nor their

related organizations has been able to guide the working class and they have only served to preserve the status quo.

**FEUDAL SOCIALISM:** Due to the intensified globalization of capitalism, the last bastions of feudalism; which are basically reliant upon super-structural factors, especially religion, have been rapidly breaking down. But the imperialist powers have sought to strengthen reactionary religions in order to protect their own interests, to suppress the masses, and to create deviations in social movements. Nevertheless, Feudal Socialism is fading more and more.

**BOURGEOIS SOCIALISM:** This deviation is widely represented in social democratic and revisionist literature, and relies upon its “defense” of the immediate interests of the working class for its legitimacy, claiming that in this way the proletariat can ultimately gain satisfaction of its demands. In this manner, it preoccupies the working class solely with its daily demands, thereby blinding it from its general and strategic interest: the destruction of the capitalist order. In the past 100 years, bourgeois socialism has appeared in the workers’ camp as “a wolf in sheep’s clothing”. It has become the most dangerous internal enemy of the working class. It has inflicted severe blows to the liberation movement of the proletariat and the toiling masses, and in this manner it has greatly served the cause of the perpetuation of the capitalist order.

**PETIT-BOURGEOIS SOCIALISM:** The petit-bourgeoisie, due to its inability to acquire power and since it constantly vacillates in its alliances with the proletariat or with the bourgeoisie, suffers from instability. Due to the rapacious activities of large multinational monopoly capital, this “class” has become more and more broken down and is driven toward the proletariat. Therefore, in furtherance of its short term interests, petit-bourgeois socialism takes advantage of some of the distorted ideas of the proletariat to serve its quest for parity. Like the last century’s bourgeoisie, it sees everything in light of its own interests. But because of its economic weakness in society, it is compelled to propagate its ideas via the intellectuals among the political forces of the working class. These efforts of petit-bourgeois socialism actually serve, in practical terms, the interest of the bourgeoisie. The leading (and empty) banner of this socialism is “liberty, equality, power to the workers”. This slogan is derived via a manipulation of the bourgeois slogan of “liberty, equality, fraternity”, by putting “power to the workers” in place of “fraternity”. This implies that everyone’s liberty and equality is thereby secured. But this is not the case. The existence of a ruling class (“workers in power”) in a society implies the existence of other, potentially antagonistic classes. Therefore, “workers in power” can be nothing less than the dictatorship of the proletariat, against the bourgeoisie. As a result, in socialism, due to the role to be played by the proletariat in the transition to communism, neither full economic equality nor political equality can exist since the proletariat must seek to eradicate bourgeois relations.

In the communist system where classes have been abolished, once again the slogan of equality, especially as it relates to the distribution of goods and services, is simply nonsense. In the socialist system, inequality is propounded via the principle of “from each according to his ability, to each according to his labor” wherein greater ability/productivity results in receipt of a greater share of the socially produced goods and services. In communism, inequality is propounded via the principle of “from each according to his ability, to each according to his need” wherein individual differences from the point of view of need result in receipt of a greater or lesser share of the socially produced goods and services.

**UTOPIAN COMMUNISM:** This deviation arises from idealist passions. It completely disregards the necessary material basis for the transition to communism. And it is oblivious to the historical reality that world revolution experiences uneven growth and does not occur all at once. On the contrary, revolution occurs in the weakest links of the imperialist chain of captivity: meaning,

where objective conditions for a revolutionary uprising are in place and the subjective factors are added, a revolution can be triumphant.

Despite the emphasis of the founders of scientific communism (Marx and Engels) and that of its developers (Lenin and Mao Tse-Tung), that socialism is a complete historical period of revolutionary transition, utopian communists claim that even in backward countries, after the victory of the proletarian revolution, it is possible to immediately abolish wage-labor relations and enter directly into communist society. This is just the same as anarchists believe: after the overthrow of the capitalist state, the state must be eliminated at once. Utopian communism also eliminates the historical transition period of socialism with the stroke of a pen, thoughtlessly setting aside the teachings of scientific communism. The most important point in those teachings is as follows: The necessity of the existence of the communist party for the leadership of the proletarian revolution is actually undeniable: the Party must guide the violent smashing of the bourgeoisie state, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the building of socialism under this dictatorship, and the advancement of the proletarian class struggle in the period of socialism in the direction of the complete abolition of classes – both at the national and international levels.

The anti-proletarian viewpoints mentioned above, when they permeate the workers' movement, cause mental and organizational deviation; they become an impediment to the resolute movement of communist organizations in the direction of unity with the working class, to the realization of that unity, and to the ultimate victory of the revolution. Therefore, the defects of these viewpoints must be ruthlessly exposed.

The program of Iran's Ranjbaran Party, which is explained below, is based upon the following foundations:

1 – The experiences of the class struggle in the world over the past 150 years, and the application of the lessons of the great proletarian teachers.

2 – Common features of the proletarian point of view which form a proper basis for the unity of communists around these basic points of program and tactics; the refinement of that program via debate over differences; and finally, achievement of a wider unity of view and the strengthening the position of the proletariat in the revolutionary movement.

We do not maintain this program in order to be "holier than thou"; we extend our hand to all communists who struggle to correct mistaken ideas and to grow and evolve according to the laws of dialectics.

For this reason, the banner of "workers of all countries unite!" must be jointly raised and we must unite to defend the short and long term interests of the proletariat. The world can only be transformed through unified material forces and not by disparate factions scattered over the four corners of the world.

2 – The history of several thousand years of class struggle is the history of the movement from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom:

Human beings are social beings who work and live in a collective manner. That which has been created and produced in human societies during the past several thousand years is the product of the collective physical and mental labor of human beings. Progress has been achieved via three basic practices: the struggle for production, scientific experimentation and class struggle, along with the summing up of the experience derived from these activities in order to promote

the quality and quantity of these practices. Therefore, the masses of people who are the primary makers of history must have the right to utilize their own produced goods. With the formation of class society, primitive public ownership gradually faded away from human society. Humans emerged from communal life to enter in a society characterized by antagonistic classes.

In this manner, step by step human society came to be divided in two antagonistic classes. On the one side, there were slaves and on the other side, the slave owners. The increasing concentration of slaves in the process of production, along with the development of tools, caused the volume of production to rise.

The ever increasing daily plundering of production, as well as the violent and savage acts against the slaves, by the slave owners, became incompatible with the progress of humanity; the slavery system became a brake to the movement of history. Humanity had to reach toward freedom away from this particular realm of necessity. Slave revolts finally opened the way to the establishment of the feudal system. That system also came to meet the same fate as slavery, and finally the capitalist system prevailed over feudalism. Presently we are in the era of the struggle of the working class against the capitalist system for the succession of socialism.

3 – The state: instrument of repression for the ruling classes:

Since the state is the product of antagonistic class contradictions, the exploiting classes through the state apparatus exert their class rule in society ; however, the ruling class asserts that the state is an organ which is somehow ‘above’ society – that it provides a means for establishing equitable relations among the people. Meanwhile, the main function of the state has been the repression of the deprived and marginalized classes and of the actual producers of material wealth.

Today “democratic states” protect the interests of the bourgeoisie. In this manner, parliamentary democracy and the right to vote fall directly into the service of the owners of capital. The workers’ state is also a class-based state which is equipped with its own repressive tools. But there are fundamental differences between capitalist states and workers’ states:

A – The workers’ state, as the representative of the people, is a genuine supporter of the workers and the toiling masses. On the other hand, capitalist and pre-capitalist states represent the minority, the owners of the means of production and the circuits of exchange.

B – The proletarian state is founded with the ultimate aim of abolishing the state. On the other hand, the non-proletarian state is established with the aim of consolidating and continuing exploitation by the ruling classes, along with oppression and repression of the majority of people.

4 – Class struggle is the main motive force in the development of human society:

It is true that the various human activities in the theoretical and practical arenas, such as the struggle for greater productivity and the search for knowledge of nature (scientific experiments), have had a tremendous effect on social progress; but they are not the main factors in changing the social order and in eliminating unjust relations among the people. A social order begins to perish when all the productive forces for which it is sufficient have been developed, that is at such time as the material productive forces of society come into antagonistic conflict with the existing relations of production. Consequently, the oppressed and exploited classes rise up in protest to their inhuman living conditions and take measures to overthrow the ruling classes. The slaves revolt against slave owners; the peasants revolt against feudal landlords; the

proletariat and toilers revolt against the bourgeoisie (i.e. the struggle of the proletariat through socialism for the eradication of capitalist relations of production) are the main motive force in different economic systems for change, for the rise to power of progressive classes, and finally historically, for the abolition of classes.

5 – Social production is in contradiction with private property:

In the process of transformation of human society and the satisfaction of the various human needs, production also takes an increasingly social character.

However the distribution of the vast wealth produced by the real producers under private property relations results in conditions wherein a hand full of exploiters plunder the fruits of the labor of others, in this manner the social character of production comes to be in flagrant contradiction with the private ownership of the means of production. It suffices to note that today a few capitalists each have income equivalent to that of two billion people. This gap is continuously widening and bringing the world closer to dysfunctional imbalance and social revolution. The solution to this contradiction has to be the elimination of relations based on private ownership of the means of production and exchange, and the replacement of that with the social ownership of the means of production. This matter is so essential that the ultimate resolution of all existing social problems depends upon the resolution of that contradiction. This great responsibility can only be taken up by the proletariat, which owns nothing but its labor power.

6 – Socialism is the first phase in the transition to socialization of the means of production:

The transition from class society (capitalism) to a classless society (communism), extends through a long historical era during which time the necessary material basis for this transition to communism (that is, to a superior society) will be established. This long historical era is called socialism or the transitional period to the higher phase of communism. The abolition of private ownership of the means of production and exchange, and the replacement of that with collective ownership; the suppression of social inequalities such as reactionary rules and traditions; different legal, sexual, racial, national, religious privileges; the contradiction between mental and physical work; and the contradiction between the town and country; It will create the conditions for the abolition of wage labor and relations based on the market forces of supply and demand at the international level; and the captivity of human beings due to dependency upon the division of labor. These are conditions which we cannot establish immediately. In each country the manner of transition must be accurately studied and planned by workers' and toilers councils and their elected governments according to specific conditions (meaning the degree of consciousness and the level of organization of its masses, and the degree of maturity of its productive forces) .

Naturally, in opposition to these changes, the vestiges of the former orders will resist and seek to undermine the progress of socialism in all kinds of ways. Consequently, the dictatorship of the proletariat is the number one necessity in order to neutralize that resistance and the attempts at subversion by the vestiges of the bourgeoisie and other supporters of private ownership of the means of production; and in order to organize the broadest democracy for the majority of people, including nonconformists under banner of "Let a hundred flowers blossom, let a hundred schools of thought contend". Progress toward communism and its ultimate achievement cannot be attained without successive cultural revolutions during the period of socialism, in order to advance the class struggle at the national and international levels. The danger of a reversion to capitalism continues to exist throughout the transitional period.

## 7 – Communism is the superior phase of human society:

When socialism becomes the prevailing material force in the world and when we are able to eliminate private ownership over the means of production and exchange, social ownership will be established and the exploitation of man by man will be eliminated. “Alienation” generated by class society will also be eliminated. The transition to communism will free humanity from the various oppressions caused by sexual, racial, national, religious, and other distinctions which are the full expression of class injustice. Only then will humanity live in harmony with nature. It is at that moment in history alone that the slogans of “one for all and all for one” and “individual freedom is the guarantee of freedom for all” would be realized in any meaningful way.

In a dynamic communist society, however, the struggle between old and new and between correct and incorrect must always continue.

## 8 – Our world outlook:

The above seven points, which present our general points of view of society and the process of its transformation until now (historical materialism), are not the result of thought alone, but rather are the product of a multi-faceted analysis of several thousands years of historical changes of human society – taking into account both objective and subjective factors. During more than half a century of practical and theoretical efforts, Marx and Engels summed up human historic experience, and the result became scientific communism, that they named “scientific socialism”. For the first time in history they drew a sharp line of demarcation separating scientific socialist theory from the prevailing superstitious views that held that the existing human condition is the inevitable result of supernatural forces. This theory was then developed further through class struggle by the proletariat and new scientific achievements. Lenin and Mao Tse-Tung through the process of active participation in the class struggles in Russia, China, and throughout the world developed this scientific theory. On this basis:

Our world outlook is dialectical materialism and our guiding theory is scientific communism which has been formulated by Marx and Engels and which Lenin and Mao Tse-Tung enriched and further developed. With scientific advancements and with the growth of class struggles, this development will continue further.

Scientific communism, which is derived from dialectical materialism, not only explains the development of human society from the first primitive commune to the advent of scientific communism (by historical materialism) but it also explicitly proclaims the necessity of and the path to transforming the present unjust world: the mobilization of all of the material forces favorable to that transformation. Such slogans as: “Proletarians of all countries unite” and “Proletarians and all oppressed peoples of the world unite” are expressions of the material forces of this transformation.

In this manner, scientific communism, believing phenomena to be material and objective, holds that practice is the criterion for the measurement of truth. From this solid foundation we proceed, acknowledging that during some moments of history, concept and theory may assume a place of supreme importance but it nevertheless must always be a summation of objective realities and must be validated by practice. Scientific communism not only emphasizes theory and practice but also emphasizes the correct method of work in advancing theory and practice. Only under such circumstances can revolutionary practice grow in every respect and produce a correct result along with a correct revolutionary outcome. Based on this, scientific communism places exceptional importance on the mode of thinking and the mode of practice, and it struggles against subjectivism, hegemonism, one – sidedness, dogmatism and schematism. In



the full range of our method of work, this guides us to bind theory with practice, to create close bonds of unity with the masses and to apply criticism and self-criticism: all of this with the objective of advancing correct work methods along and of seeking the truth from within reality.

## 9 – Continuous Revolution:

Scientific communism teaches us that with the overthrow of the bourgeoisie in one country, only the reign of the exploiting classes in that one country is temporarily overthrown; the class struggle continues. For this reason in the process of class struggles there is always the possibility, and the danger, that the bourgeoisie will return to usurp political power. Therefore, the constant mobilization of the masses is required for a long, hard, revolutionary battle to block the return to the capitalist order. In other words, the proletarian revolution has by necessity an international character. Only after the seizure by socialism of the mainstream of world history, the overthrow of the bourgeoisie in the advanced industrialized countries, and the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, will the world reach its superior phase of communist society – and once and for all it will relieve itself of classes and class struggle.

## SECTION 2

### THE PRESENT WORLD SITUATION

#### 1 – The Era of Imperialism:

- From the analysis of scientific communism we know that presently we are living in the era of imperialism, in the specific phase of the reign of multinational monopolies over the world. The goal of multinational monopolies is the establishment of a world empire of capital, accomplished through the demolition of national borders; the repression of local, national and regional resistance and complete effective control over the natural, human and social resources of the countries of the world.

- In the present situation, the imperialist banner calls for the creation of a world-wide “free market”. However the foundation for this deceptive slogan (“free market”) is the submission of billions of workers; deliberate and flagrant interference in the internal affairs of all countries, especially the removal of any obstacles to the circulation of capital and commodities produced in the imperialist countries; and the pursuit of the maximum possible profit by multinational capital. These aggressive and rapacious activities produce immediate results: a dramatic widening of the gap between poverty and wealth, and the dragging of the world to the brink of barbarism.

- The existence of international monopoly capital is characterized by the constant rivalry of capitalist powers. At the present time the rivalry within the great axis of capital, especially the US and the European Union for control of world markets is intensifying. With the rapid growth of China, Russia and India, the possibility of the emergence of a rival axis needs to be considered. US imperialism has tried to impose its hegemony over the other emerging axis of capital. With this intention, the US attempts to bring the important strategic resources required for the economic and military control of the world under its influence. Those attempts have created resistance within the other axis, from Europe.

\_ It is been more than 30 years since the US as a superpower began its decline, and the privileges that had gained in the 20th Century have been gradually diminishing. For this reason, in order to escape from its downward spiral of economic recession and crisis, the US is turning to wars of aggression. To strengthen its position, US imperialism is trying to bring all of the

countries of the American continent under a regional free market. But because of the historical experience of the Latin American peoples with US interference in the past, the US hasn't been able to fully succeed, and even the NAFTA treaty with Mexico and Canada has not produced the desired results.

- European imperialists on the one hand are in chronic economic crisis; and on the other hand, in order to take the initiative in its rivalry with the US, Japan and China, for nearly fifty years the creation and expansion of a European Union has been at the top of their agenda. Despite having the opportunity to expand the European Union to 25 countries, they have not been able to convince the European people of its necessity. Therefore, their position is somewhat fragile. And yet they are trying to expand their influence beyond Europe to the Mediterranean (Northern and Central Africa and the Middle East) and even to Latin America.

- Due to Japan's military weakness; its economic influence on the US; its close relationship with the US; and the fact that it has limited acceptance by other Asian countries, it is only in the economic sphere that it seeks to influence these countries. Because of its aggressive, expansionist policies in past centuries, Japan has not gained much of a foothold. Meanwhile, the influence of China among south – East Asian countries is expanding.

-In other words, the world of imperialism has multiple axes. American hegemony has sharpened world imperialist contradictions, and its military interference in a series of countries has intensified their contradictions with the US.

-In its confrontation with the capitalist system, the proletariat not only tries to overthrow this system in the advanced countries, but it also tries to achieve its hegemony in the struggles of peripheral countries for their liberation from the rule of the world capitalist system.

The world's principal contradiction (in infrastructure) is the contradiction between socialized productive forces and the private ownership of the means of production, which is reflected within the superstructure as three basic contradictions:

1 – The contradiction of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples against imperialism and reactionary rulers in peripheral countries.

2 –The contradiction between multinational monopolies, and between the imperialistic axes for the redivision of the world.

3 – The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the advanced capitalist countries.

Of these three basic contradictions, the main contradiction is the contradiction of the proletariat and the oppressed masses against imperialism and the reactionary rulers of peripheral countries. Meanwhile, the two other basic contradictions are also intensifying. Therefore, these contradictions internationally have provoked a world-wide struggle against the reign of capital. In other words, as capital increasingly takes on an international character, it causes the proletarian revolution to also take on an increasingly international character.

2 – The situation in the peripheral countries:

- The growth of the bourgeoisie in Europe from the latter part of the 15th Century and thereafter, along with the drive for the conquest of unknown territories (the search for a maritime route to India, the discovery of the American continent) resulted in a large part of Asia, Africa, America

and Australia coming under European colonial rule during the 16th to 19th Centuries. Despite the growth of the bourgeoisie, its development to the imperialism stage however has not been universal. Imperialist powers must take steps to protect their rule. They collaborated with feudal regimes on the three continents and caused these countries to be transformed into colonial and semi colonial countries. For this reason, the bourgeois relations in these countries could not fully develop in all of their aspects.

- With the victory of the October revolution in Russia, and then in China, the liberation struggles of the oppressed nations against colonialism and imperialism began to reach their peak. In this manner, by the 1960's, most of the colonial and semi colonial countries had won their political independence.

- The defeat of fascism and the political defeat of imperialism in World War II caused an intensification of military and economic assaults by imperialism in the second half of the 20th Century. In this manner, imperialism tried further to restore its political influence in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

- Due to the temporary defeat of the socialist axis and the invasion of the peripheral countries by imperialist capital, the bourgeoisie of peripheral countries became more collaborative with the imperialist powers. While during the first half of the 20th Century, national movements under the leadership of communists and with the support of the socialist axis were able to resist imperialism, in the second half of 20th Century (and especially in the last quarter of that century), the bourgeoisie of the peripheral countries had no alternative except to participate in the world market of the international capital. Under such conditions, imperialism advanced its expansionist aims through the deceitful appearance of some accommodations toward some of the nationalist movements, and in this manner it actually succeeded in further weakening the peripheral countries. Whether these movements raised the nationalist banner or were formed under the guidance of religious forces, these movements fell to be in the service of dictatorships, and to collaborate with imperialism.

- In this manner, the contradictions of the people of these countries against imperialism, and against ruling reactionary and despotic classes are mixed together.

Therefore the struggle against imperialism cannot be separated from the struggle against the ruling regimes of these countries. The achievement of the goal of freedom for the oppressed nations more and more depends upon the leadership of anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-capitalist revolutions that are led by the proletariat and the toiling masses and of the support of international proletariat.

3 – The situation in the imperialist countries:

- The growth of capital under the control of multinational monopolies and the promotion of neo – liberal policies by them clearly indicate their intent to convert the world market to their fiefdom and to pursue the maximum possible profit. This pursuit has caused some of this capital to be transferred to peripheral regions for the exploitation of the cheap labor force there.

- During the last three decades, with the steady increase in profits via the export of capital to peripheral countries, the rate of chronic unemployment in the imperialist countries has increased. This phenomenon has put an end to the era of welfare states which had been put in place to corrupt the working class and to compete with the social welfare programs of eastern block countries. The welfare of the working class and the toiling masses has worsened on a

daily basis; the relative economic position and job security of the people has worsened on a daily basis; and the value of the work force has begun to sink to the minimum.

- The stock exchange has become the determining factor for this barbaric system of capitalism. Despite the small role of stock market capital in actual production, its destructive effect has exploded in magnitude. Manipulations of the ups and down of stocks by the giant corporations, on the one hand, leads to bankruptcies among mid-sized corporations and unemployment for millions of people. And on the other hand, these same manipulations devour whatever little money the middle “class” has managed to save, often resulting in personal bankruptcies and a descent to the lowest classes.

- The new industrial revolution has brought the spread of computerized work and robotics to more and more workplaces, throwing more and more workers out into the army of surplus labor or degrading them into mere appendages of machines. It has also brought about destructive economic policies hidden under the mask of flexible working hours, expansion of individual work , and the distribution of different levels/steps of production to different regions of a country and even to different countries. This has dramatically increased the exploitation of the cheap labor force composed of women, children and undocumented immigrant workers. Because of this situation, nearly 40 million workers have become unemployed in the advanced industrial counties (8% to 10% of the employed work force in these countries). The imperialist powers are not willing to eliminate unemployment because in this manner they can easily exploit cheap labor. This is why that the level of poverty and misery is rising.

- The collaboration of imperialist governments with traitorous labor unions and reformist parties has created disunion and conflict among the workers of both the metropolis and the peripheral countries. It has facilitated the intrusion of confusion and distortions in the lives of the workers and the toiling masses. The widening of the gap between poverty and wealth in these countries has caused disillusionment of the working class and the toiling masses who then no longer follow these unions and the reformist parties. And at the same time they have lost any hope they had regarding capitalist governments, as they watch the satisfaction of their needs become an increasingly distant prospect. In this manner, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in these countries has sharpened.

- With the increasing globalization of capital, this creates an opportunity for the proletariat of the advanced industrialized countries to see the necessity for more solidarity among themselves and the toiling masses of the third world. This type of solidarity can be witnessed during demonstrations against the World Trade Organization, and in the opposition of the workers and the toiling masses of the world against the US and its allies’ military invasion in Iraq. These struggles have shown that the destiny of the workers of the advanced capitalist countries is more and more linked to the destiny of the proletariat and the toiling masses of the Third World;

- The middle “class” which had achieved significant improvements in its welfare in these countries after World War II and which had become a supporter of imperialism, now has seen how the rapacious activities of multinational capital have eroded their economic / political / social rights – and has risen in opposition;

- Despite the controls and severe censorship exerted by mainstream corporate media and by imperialist governments and despite the intensified campaigns of disinformation against the people, because of the possibilities of the information age and the internal contradictions between imperialists, the people, more than any other time in the past, have informed themselves about the corruption, robbery, bribery, and extortion carried out by big capitalists, by

chief executive officers and by top government officials. These officials have become more and more exposed to public outrage.

- Parliamentarianism, which was the “Ace card” of bourgeois democracy, has lost its credibility due to its close association with the interests of monopoly capital. As we know, these governments, through their widespread mainstream media outlets, are constantly trying to present themselves as the representatives of the people. But the people every day are finding out that these governments are only the representative of the minority of exploiters in their society.

#### 4 – The Situation in Iran:

##### 1) – In the world arena

Iran is a vast country (1,648 million square kilometers) in the heart of the Middle East with a population of over 70 million, and with a mixture of more than 65% urban residents and less than 35% rural residents. Its vast resources of gas and oil, its large domestic market and its important strategic position between the East, West, North and South has placed Iran in a crucial position in imperialist expansionist policy and strategy.

- The struggles of the Iranian peoples over the past 100 years have consistently proceeded from three bases:

In the arena of independence: The struggles of the Iranian people against the influence of imperialism, and the intense rivalry between the imperialists for control of Iran, resulted in Iran not becoming a colony. But its semi-colonial position which persisted until the 1979 revolution brought a succession of dominant influences, mainly those of Russia, Britain, Germany and the US. This domination broke down during the 1979 revolution. Despite this new political independence, after the revolution the other axis of capital (mainly the European Union and Japan) jumped into the vacuum created by the defeat of US policies, and it expanded its economic influence in Iran. Presently, the rivalry between the US and Europe to gain renewed influence in Iran continues.

In the arena of freedom: Slavery and feudal systems characterized the past 2500 years in the form of despotic regimes which ruled in Iran. These governing structures coexisted in close proximity, most often with the largest land owner and wealthiest merchant responsible for the control of waterways and the main commercial roadways. Their control relied upon two powers: material (the ownership of land and water, collection of taxes and revenue) and spiritual (enforcement of the Zoroastrian religion up until the invasion of Arabs and Islam, and the overthrow of the Sassani dynasty). These traditional structures ruled over the people’s lives and property and kept them under severe exploitation and oppression. This condition of extreme oppression persists. The Iranian people are eager for democratic freedoms, and the struggle for that freedom goes on.

In the arena of social justice: Contemporary with the slow growth of industrial capital, the proletariat also grew slowly in numbers until the end of the reign of the Ghajar dynasty; and then grew rapidly during the reign of Reza Shah. The struggle of workers for to gain their rights has joined with the people’s struggles for independency and against dictatorship. Although the working class of Iran in the first half of the 20th Century quantitatively still did not comprise a significant portion of Iran’s population, its efforts in the class, anti-imperialist, and anti-dictatorship struggles qualitatively set it clearly above other social classes and strata. Thus, the different regimes in Iran could see that their most dangerous, most serious enemy was those

trade unions and political organizations which constituted The Communist Party of Iran (1920). Through nearly 100 years, these organizations along with militant workers and vanguards were continually subject to the most brutal torture, were thrown in prison, exiled, deprived of political rights and executed;

- The constitutional revolution started by combating royal despotism, by extending law and order to social relations and by creating security mainly for merchant capital. But due to its class composition, that revolution could not eliminate feudal relations and could not win the ultimate victory against imperialism. Consequently, the constitutional revolution stalled mid- way in the process of transforming Iranian society.

-The democratic and anti-imperialist uprisings which occurred after the constitutional revolution and which gained the participation of Iran's revolutionary social democrats, were routinely suppressed. Meanwhile, the very visible presence of socialist Russia on the world stage caused great concern among Iran's bourgeoisie and among the imperialist powers especially the British, who for the sake of their vital interests blockaded the Soviet Union via Iran. Among the consequences of that policy was to bring to power the bourgeois feudal reign of Reza Shah.

- The 1979 revolution under the banner of "independence and freedom" succeeded in sending the monarchy to the trash bin of history. But due to the weakness of the communist movement; the weakness of, and collaborationist tendencies of, the secular bourgeoisie; and the compromise which was achieved at the international level among the imperialists (at the Guadalupe Conference), the leadership of the revolution fell into the hands of religious forces – ultimately leading to the formation of the Islamic Republic. Through this same process, the merchant bourgeoisie usurped power and was able to draw the support of the intermediate bourgeoisie and petit-bourgeoisie toward itself;

- Iran today has been transformed into one of the centers of conflict among multinational capital and the capitalist axes. More than 100 years of struggle by our people and the collaborationist positions of the various bourgeois and petit-bourgeois factions have taught us that as long as the struggle remains under the leadership of the bourgeoisie, there can be no hope. Because of the bourgeoisie basically leans toward collaboration with imperialism, democracy and social justice can only be achieved when political power is seized by the proletariat, and the councils of workers power are established, along with a socialist state.

2) -The situation of the bourgeoisie in Iran:

- Given the prevalence of dictatorships in Iran's modern history, along with the land reforms ordered by Mohammad Reza Shah and the central role of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie in the national economy, the bureaucratic bourgeoisie has occupied a primary place in Iran's capitalist system.

- Iran's bureaucratic bourgeoisie is dependent upon imperialism. This bourgeoisie has a direct share in formal political power [the government] and operates under cover of organizations like the Foundation for the Impoverished and Devotees, the Foundation for Martyrs....etc. This bourgeoisie is the main beneficiary of the oil income of the country. In recent years this stratum also has gained complete domination over the domestic stock market. For this reason, the workers' number one conflict is with the employer known as "the government", which wraps itself in several different cloaks.

-The middle bourgeoisie in Iran celebrated the pinnacle of its power during the time of Prime Minister Mosadegh. After the August 1953 coup, this class became undermined by the

rapacious activities of big capitalists who were dependent upon imperialism; it was never able to attract the masses of the people to support its political standing. Under these emerging conditions it could not find a way to save itself except by coming to terms with imperialist capital, and by accepting the policies of the bureaucratic and comprador bourgeoisies.

- The economic policy of the Islamic Republic is to seek accommodation with international capital, which is seeking to devour the world market via the privatization of government institutions.

- The bureaucratic and comprador bourgeoisies are the worst domestic enemies of the working class and the deprived masses.

- The middle bourgeoisie, due to its accommodation with the big capitalists and imperialism and its enmity toward the working class, is also target for the socialist revolution.

3) – The situation of the working class of Iran:

- Due to the defective growth of Iran's bourgeoisie, which mainly is mercantile and comprador, a relatively low percentage (10%) of workers are employed in industrial workplaces with more than 10 employees. The vast majority of workers are employed in workplaces of less than 10 employees, in the service sector, agriculture, forestry, fishing, mining, electricity and gas sectors, construction, etc. The current distribution of workers is the following:

5.5 million Industrial workers, 3 million agricultural workers and 1.5 million workers in the service sector;

- The working class in the early part of the 20th Century was not the primary producer of goods and services in Iranian society. But with the growth of capitalist relations, the size and role of the working class has steadily grown and its economic struggles also intensified. While the struggles of the working class and of the communist movement in Iran have been carried out at the same time, have often been interrelated with each other, and to some extent have grown parallel to each other, the workers movement still has not been able to produce many communist cadres from within it self.

- The existence of unvarnished dictatorial rule both during the monarchy and the Islamic Republic has caused the workers to be deprived of even the most basic rights – including the right to have independent trade unions and has led to the mobilization of the various sectors of the working class in their conflicts with the capitalists and the regime to be conducted by their own cadres and not by communist cadres. Consequently, the struggle for the formation of independent worker organizations can likely be best advanced by these workers and with their support. Nevertheless the struggle of the working class, without the leadership of the communist party, will not be able to establish a nationwide independent worker organization: an organization capable of spearheading a movement with the aims of overthrowing the regime of Iran's capitalists, of seizing power by the proletariat, of abolishing private property of the means of production, and of building socialism. For this reason, the working class of Iran still has not completely been transformed from a class "in itself" to a class "for itself".

- Commodity imports continue unrestrainedly to weaken the domestic economy; goods smuggling has come to comprise approximately 30% of imports to Iran. Domestic industries such as sugar, tea production, textiles and others are faced with serious difficulties and as a result unemployment among the rank and file of the workers has dramatically increased.

- The policy of structural downsizing, dictated by international capital, has led to the sale of state owned factories to private ownership; the dominance of mercantile and finance capitals has caused many factories, one after the other, to close down with workers becoming unemployed by the tens of thousands.

- The regime's efforts to cripple the existing flimsy labor laws are aimed at freeing the hands of capitalists to reestablish the law of jungle factories has led not only to the workers of small workplaces (under 5 workers) being eliminated from even the flimsy protections; but, the regime also threatens to remove protections from nearly all workplaces (those with 10 workers or under). In addition, at this time the regime is trying hard to establish a temporary recruitment law (already over 50% of the workers are employed under this law) to create the conditions for brutal exploitation of workers;

- The continuous rise in protests, in open conflict and in the movement of the workers against their employers shows that the contradiction between the workers and the capitalist order in Iran is intensifying and deepening

4) -The situation of women in Iran:

- The perpetuation of thousands of years of a traditionally backward, class-oriented, patriarchal culture and the reign of a medieval religious regime armed with the most despicable laws against women for the past 27 years in Iran, has reduced a woman's status to half of that of a man. Women are stoned to death; kept hidden in their homes; forced to sell their bodies for subsistence; they are denied guardianship of their children; they do not even have the right to choose their own clothing, etc.

- Lower status for half of the population of Iran for centuries – such that a human being loses freedom simply by being born female in a patriarchal society and becoming “woman” – is one of the main spurs to resistance in women's struggles for equal rights.

- Class culture, reactionary customs and traditions, and the rotten religious beliefs which operate in all aspects of people's lives all conspire to promote the social privileges of men – which are the other half of the population: transforming fathers, husbands, brothers and sons into owners of women.

- The two-fold exploitation of women, by capital at work in the factory and by men as the means of life reproduction reduces her to being a slave at home and a commodity in society.

- This general state, along with countless other restrictions, on the one hand has converted our country into a vast prison for women; and on the other hand, the resistance against this regime which considers the rule of man over woman as one of its legal responsibilities and which recognizes only the sexual identity of women, is ready to explode like a volcano.

- Therefore, the question of women and their prominent role in society is one of the fundamental bases of struggle against the exploitation of human by human in general and against the Islamic Republic in particular. This question is of singular importance. For this reason it is necessary to respond to the general demands of the women's movement and their independent organization. Also, it is essential to emphasize the importance of the close connection between sexual inequalities and the rule of capital, and to explain to them that unequal relations in society will persist until the destruction of class society. Therefore, only the socialist and communist solution is the answer to the question when sexual oppression will finally be eliminated in society. For this reason, communist women struggle on two fronts:



-The class struggle in all of society,

-Special struggle for women's rights and against sexual oppression;

The emancipation of women must be considered in the context of class society; women's struggles for liberation must proceed in the same direction as the general struggle to overthrow the exploiting classes. Only socialism can create the basis for the complete emancipation of women from exploitation and from class and sexual oppression.

5) – The situation of youth in Iran:

- Approximately 60% of the population of Iran is comprised of youths. Given the inhuman restrictions imposed on youth by the Islamic regime, they have been chained in a prison as vast as Iran itself. The youth movement against oppression, stress and painful restrictions is erupting like a volcano.

-The drumbeat of Iran's revolution to a large extent is in concert with the drumbeat of the youth movement, which has the momentous responsibility of advancing not only the revolution and also of constructing tomorrow's modern society. Creativity, ability, enthusiasm, strong desire and radicalism are special characteristics that this generation brings with it to all other sectors of society: in protest alongside the workers and other impoverished people; in resistance against sexual apartheid; in defense of freedom of thought and expression at the schools and universities; in defense of democracy; in support of women's rights and the rights of nationalities; in defense of workplace rights and in combat against unemployment.

We must grasp the nature of the great importance of this movement, and we must help this struggle for liberation from the exploitation and the oppression of the bourgeoisie, and from the vestiges of feudalism and the backwardness of the medieval age;

-Because of the presence of approximately 18.5 million university and high school students in Iran, youths form the most educated component of the people. For this reason, they have a readiness to acquire scientific and other knowledge and to correctly analyze the process of change in society. Considering the kind of pressure that is being applied to this stratum of society, if the proper conditions are created, youths can rapidly achieve class consciousness. Therefore, they are worthy of being resolutely supported by communists; through that support, youths will continue to join us.

6) – The situation of the resident nationalities of Iran:

- Iran is a country with multiple nationalities (or ethnic groups). These nationalities, throughout history, have always found ways to live peacefully side by side. With the emergence of capitalist states in Europe and Russia and their economic-political and military invasions of the other continents, Iran was also targeted by these invasions. The traditional homelands of some of the nationalities of Iran were carved up into many pieces, and as they later seceded, became part of other political jurisdictions. Internally, after Reza Shah took over the throne, the bourgeoisie and its intellectuals would not tolerate any other national characteristics, but their own: that is the nationality of Fars. Even the languages of other nationalities in Iran came to be considered "foreign" languages; the arrogant chauvinism of Fars sought to suppress the influence of any of the other nationalities. Therefore, "the right of nationalities to determine their destiny and the establishment of an independent state", if it leads to freedom from the bondage of the reign of imperialism and the bourgeoisie, should be supported by the proletariat of that nationality and the other nationalities in Iran. But if a nationality in its drive toward secession should fall into the

trap of imperialist intrigues, or if the bourgeoisie of that nationality cooperates with imperialism to oppress the proletariat of that nationality, then the secession of that nationality cannot be supported since it would arise from cooperation with imperialism and the bourgeois chauvinism of that nationality..

- “The right of a nationality to determine its destiny till the establishment of an independent state” is basically the demand of the bourgeoisie of that nationality. In a socialist society, the proletariat of different nationalities forms a single inseparable unit under the leadership of a single communist party. It has no interest in secession and tactically and strategically is an organic unit.

Support for “the right of a nationality to determine its destiny till the establishment of an independent state” is reactionary; and it most often only serves the retrograde bourgeoisie of that nationality in its drive to regain power, which in turn only weakens the proletariat of that nationality and the proletariat of the other nationalities of Iran.

7) – The situation of the petit-bourgeoisie in rural areas of Iran:

-The semi-feudal system in Iran was wiped out, not by a revolutionary blow struck by the impoverished peasant masses, but by an agrarian reform program implemented “by royal decree”. That program complied fully with the demands of the imperialist bourgeoisie and with the mounting pressure exerted by the emerging industrial capitalists since the era of Reza Shah’s monarchy.

Consequently:

-The vestiges of feudal production can still be seen in some regions of Iran.

-The self sufficient agriculture of Iran changed to commercial agriculture.

-In spite of the destruction of feudal relations of production in rural areas by the Shah’s reforms, the modernization of agriculture did not progress to the point where it could produce sufficiently to meet the demand generated by the rapidly growing industrial cities. Agricultural production lagged behind industrial development, with the result that agricultural products must be imported from abroad;

-The Shah’s reforms also caused the formation of new strata in the villages and in the branches of agriculture.

-For every two peasants who became landowners through the agrarian reform program, one peasant remained landless. In this manner, the vast strata of the middle peasants and the impoverished peasants, who historically comprised the bulk of the rural population and of the village petit -bourgeoisie were formed. A large number of landless peasants became a cheap labor force in the cities, attracted by the prospect of work in the emerging product assembly industry while others remained in the villages as farm-workers (in both modern and traditional agriculture).

-The rich peasants became fatter in the process, and through the Shah’s agrarian reforms took advantage of the regime’s financial assistance and the agricultural cooperatives to mechanize their agricultural production.

-During the three stages of these agrarian reforms, many of the feudal landowners, in order to keep their land, turned to mechanization / modernization and commercial agriculture, and in this manner the stratum of the bourgeois landlord was created who run the industrialized and capitalized agriculture. This stratum continues to own 80% of the arable land and continues to benefit from all of the governmental programs and assistance; it also benefits from international capital. This stratum shows itself as the modern agricultural corporations. The production of this stratum is primarily for export and their domestic consumption is minimal. The leading members of this stratum are the same as those of the financial mafia within the ruling class;

- A number of mechanized agricultural firms, were under government control, occupying the most desirable lands in Azerbaijan, Khuzestan, the Ghazvin plain, Jeeroft and... which have been mechanized and which operate under conditions of capitalist production, and which after the 1979 revolution, have come directly under the control of the Islamic Republic. A considerable portion of the most desirable agricultural lands such as the endowed property of the Astane Ghodse Razavi were cultivated with mechanized agriculture and also came under the control of the government and the financial mafia.

-As a result, an active socialist revolutionary force in the villages which fights for the abolition of private ownership of land can only be composed of farm-workers, part-time farm-workers and impoverished peasants. The remaining strata of the rural petit bourgeoisie, because they are so attached to the land and to private ownership, typically resist the revolution and can act against it.

-Since the success of the revolution in the agricultural sector depends upon the liberation of farm-workers and the impoverished peasants from capitalist rule, with the seizure of power by the proletariat, the land will gradually come under public ownership and the councils of farm-workers and impoverished peasants will determine the process of production and distribution. It is only under this condition that agricultural production can be brought into harmony with the socialist economic structure.

8)- The situation of educated people in Iran:

- Half of the educated people in Iran are employed by the government (10% of the entire country's employment), since the government has a substantial role in management of the country, and needs technocrats to oversee government functions;

- By the rapid population growth in recent decades, the conversion of Iran's demographic profile into that of a young country (about 17 million pupils and 1.5 million students), the influence of science and technology from abroad, and chronic unemployment have resulted in youth placing a very high value upon science in order to ensure future employment security. They seek university education. Therefore, the percentage of Iran's educated people compared to the entire population is high (20%).

-The trampling upon the most basic democratic rights of intellectuals, in the areas of literature, art, and journalism by the Islamic Republic regime; the appointment by the regime of incapable individuals in critical posts; and overt discrimination, has led intellectuals to intensify their struggle against the regime.

-The emancipation of Iran's educated people is also tied to the workers movement. The history of the past 100 years of Iran shows that whether under the monarchy or under the reign of the Islamic Republic, one of the social groups that has suffered under continuous oppression, has been the strata of the intellectuals and educated.

## SECTION 3

### The situation of the World Communist Movement and Socialism:

1 – A brief review of the history of socialism:

-With the rise to predominance of the capitalist order over all of the pre-capitalist orders, and with the forced march of millions of people into the market of supply and demand for capital and labor, socialist (including utopian) ideas regarding how the people could be liberated from the capitalist order began to appear. In the first part of the 19th century, as proletarian experience in struggle against the bourgeoisie accumulated, and with the development of scientific communism, a comprehensive presentation of socialism as the alternative to the capitalist order emerged. Despite the ups and downs of the workers movement, with the revolt of the workers in Paris and their formation of the Commune in the year of 1871 (even with its short life of 70 days), with the great October Revolution of 1917 in Russia and with the great October Revolution of 1949 in China, along with the establishment of communist parties in numerous countries of the world: communism progressed from being “a specter haunting Europe” to being “a worldwide revolutionary force in the world” – the objective alternative to the capitalist order;

-The Paris Commune was the birth of a class movement which “attacked the champions of the throne”; this first step in the proletarian march ultimately led to the October revolutions. The Commune in its 70 days of its life, with its election of foreigners to positions of leadership, was first to raise the flag of proletarian internationalism. The Commune, with its abolition of the army and police; by arming the people; by separating religion from the state; by destroying the state bureaucratic machine; by implementing wage parity, and..., put in place the main foundational elements for the construction of a society in the hands of the proletariat. Meanwhile, the defeat of the Commune left behind as an inheritance a most valuable experience for the preparation of future proletarian struggles, which can only result from revolutionary practice. The experience of the Commune demonstrated that the working class cannot simply usurp the existing state machine and to operate it for its own aims. The defeat of the Commune proved that the Proletariat cannot seize the state apparatus easily and use it to realize its own aims. The Commune was intended to be a republic that had to not only overthrow the monarchy and the capitalist order but also had to overthrow class supremacy. A salient fact that emerged is that the working class, in the absence of a powerful revolutionary vanguard party- the communist party – cannot succeed in its historical role to build a new society;

-The October Revolution of 1917 in Russia, which benefited from the experience of the Paris Commune, destroyed the bourgeoisie’s state machine and, despite the fact that Russia was not a developed capitalist country, began the construction of socialism. Its historical achievements, such as the establishment of the workers state and democracy based on workers councils; progress toward the abolition of private ownership of the means of production; the emancipation of women, peasants and oppressed national minorities in Russia; the elimination of salary privileges which existed under past regimes and decreasing the disparity in salaries from 20 : 1 to 5 : 1; free education for workers’ and toilers’ children; free public healthcare for the masses; refusal to participate in World War I and the recall of all military forces from the war fronts; advancement toward the construction of socialism; the proclamation of support for the struggles of workers and the toilers, of the oppressed nations of the world against imperialism and... : all of these were victorious achievements of socialism which created a great hope in the hearts of the billions of people fighting to throw off the yoke of the capitalist and pre-capitalist systems of injustice. But these positive steps for the advancement of socialism very soon became engaged in a life and death conflict with backward elements:

a-The proletarian revolution emerged victorious in an imperialist country which still exhibited vestiges of the pre-capitalist order. Russian society prior to the revolution was basically a petit-bourgeois society which resisted the advancement of the proletariat.

b-The workers state that came to be built upon the ruins of World War I also suffered through four years of civil war; it had to struggle mightily to establish itself despite those ruins.

c-The proletarian social revolution has an international character. The victory of socialism in one country, without the continuation of revolution in other countries, would face a blockade by the imperialist countries. The defeat of the revolution in Germany and Hungary, the absence of revolutionary advancement in other European countries, along with the siege of Soviet Russia by 14 imperialist countries, caused the revolution to retreat from an attack mode to a defensive mode in order to protect its identity, as well as its very existence.

d-The absence of past experience in the advancement of socialist relations; the aggravation of resistance by the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie against socialism; and the need to strengthen the defensive capability of state councils to confront internal and external counterrevolutionary resistance, came to be impediments to the blossoming of socialist democracy, the creation of prosperity and improved welfare of the people.

e- After years of ideological polemics at the leadership level of the communist party of Russia regarding the construction of socialism, the kind of solutions they offered did not go beyond maintaining the control of capital in the hands of the state. This inertia, along with the persistence of a massive petty-bourgeois stratum, resulted in the dramatic growth of bureaucracy. The proletarian state gradually lost its close relationship and strong bonds with the masses of workers and toilers and increasingly relied upon "top down" solutions or repression.

f- In the 1930s, the policy of reliance upon elites for advancing solutions to economic problems (instead of reliance upon the masses and their mobilization), caused the creation of a distinctive stratum consisting of production, military, cultural and ...cadres whose interests were not tied to the masses and to the proletariat; they were merely protective of their own positions within the state bureaucratic apparatus.

g- The proclamation of the abolition of classes in Russia by comrade Stalin (18th Party Congress) was a deviation from the teachings of scientific communism which recognizes that socialism must occupy an entire historical era, created the basis for the growth of bourgeois elements in all of Soviet society's cells, including within the communist party. Soviet society became increasingly vulnerable to influence and sabotage, and to the undermining of this "fortress of socialism" from within.

h- The growth of Nazism and fascism in Europe, and its attack on the Soviet Union, pushed this government to concentrate on the production of military hardware rather than on production of goods and services for the masses. World War II, and caused great devastation in the Soviet Union, cost the lives of over 25 million people there, among them many of the best and the most loyal communist cadres. These events show that the international bourgeoisie will try with all of its might to block the start of socialism and to isolate it. To accomplish that, it is willing to commit any type of crimes against humanity;

i- Against all the great pressure exerted by the international bourgeoisie with the goal of destroying the soviet state, the government of the Soviet Union, instead of relying more on the masses in the struggle against the agents of imperialism and the internal bourgeoisie, (including the ideological-political struggle within the party), resorted to violence, which led to the

annihilation of a number of outstanding party cadres and the international communist movement. This method of resolving existing contradictions within the party, allowed the revisionists usurp leadership positions within the party and the state and to transform socialism from within;

j- In this manner, the base for all out attack by the agents of the bourgeoisie against the centers of the party and of political power and their complete usurpation was established. Modern revisionism is not a sui generis phenomenon, but rather like cancer cells, throughout the life of nearly 40 years of the government of the Soviet Union it exploited party and state weaknesses, gradually bringing down the Soviet government and restoring capitalism to the throne;

- In socialism, private ownership of the means of production and exchange must be converted to collective ownership. Collective ownership means the ownership of all those individuals in the society who are participating in production and exchange. History has shown that if the workers and the toiling masses do not get control of production in their own hands, and if ownership becomes concentrated in the hands of the state, as soon as the state deviates from the proletarian political line, socialist relations would be replaced with capitalist relations. Therefore, the control / ownership must not be in the hands of the state but must remain in the hands of the workers and toilers councils in all production units until such time as the rules and regulations put in place by the councils permanently avoid any sabotage in the development of the productive forces. This process did not occur in the Soviet Union. On the contrary, under state ownership, the managers of the production units took complete initiative and control into their own hands. After the change in the nature of the Soviet Union, many of these same managers became the owners of those production units.

- In this manner the advancement of socialism stalled after a brief period of prosperity and success in its life and death struggle against the bourgeoisie. Political power in Russia once again fell into the hands of bourgeoisie. The vestigial criticism of the petit-bourgeoisie and of utopian communists (who from the earliest years of the Soviet Union, following Lenin's death, were judged to be bourgeois) ignores the existing objective reality in the Soviet Union and the difficulty of progress. The advancement of a society in history is always tortuous; this stems from objective conditions, and has never been without ups and downs, without setbacks, without mistakes and the constraints of intellectual limitations. Bourgeois solutions come to the fore due to weaknesses of socialist solutions; the petit-bourgeoisie continuously seeks to extend its role in production. Once revisionism arrived at the helm, profits flowed to the executives of production units, leading to complete surrender to the bourgeoisie's laws of supply and demand; market relations became the norm, and socialist values, one after the other in industry and agriculture, were annihilated. A similar trend has emerged in China, within its own specific conditions, after 27 years of severe ideological struggle within the communist party between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie regarding whether the primary emphasis should be on building socialism and/or on the continuation of the democratic revolution. With the victory of the political line of not limiting the role of the bourgeoisie in production, the revisionists arrived at the helm, and China has since followed the capitalist road to development.

2- The situation of the communist movement at present:

- The international communist movement has experienced two big historical splits: one of them due to the old revisionists (Bernstein and Kautsky) and the second due to the modern revisionists (Khrushchev and Deng Xiaoping). In the first split, it was mainly the working class of the advanced capitalist countries which became divided between the communist and reformist lines. In the second split, the working class of the entire world, which had previously united

under the guidance of revolutionary discipline, has become divided in two new camps of communism and reformism. A critical distinction resides in the fact that despite the first split, the working class was able to capture political power in Russia, and the new communist movement continued the struggle in an offensive mode. Communist parties did away with reformist social democratic leadership, grew rapidly, and became bastions in defense of workers against the influence of bourgeois socialism. However, in the second split, conditions have been far less favorable: modern revisionists have had political power in their hands; numerous “worker” parties that existed at the time of the split or which had just come into existence were under the influence of reformism and class collaborationist revisionists (old and modern); and so communists were not able to expand their influence among the working class. At the present time, over half a century since the usurpation of power by Khrushchev’s modern revisionism and over 30 years since Deng Xiaoping’s style of revisionism has passed, but the international communist movement has not yet been able to create theoretical and practical unity, nor organizational solidarity, thus it is severely weakened and splintered.

- The defeat of communists and the working class has enabled the petit-bourgeoisie – especially in the peripheral countries – to gain influence in the communist workers movement, and to intrude its own anti-proletarian views within this movement under the banner of the working class views! The sectarianism of today stems from the petit-bourgeoisie’s social status and small producer mentality. In political and organizational areas of activity, it shows itself as factionalism, pluralism, egalitarianism, negativism, purism (theoretically and/or organizationally). In practice sectarianism serves the interest of bourgeois imperialism since it atomizes the workers and the communist movement. The thread that is woven through petit bourgeois ideologies and views and that is masked in the name of communist parties, of communist workers, of revolutionary communists etc, lies within the petit-bourgeoisie’s self-centeredness.

- Since the advancement of history and the construction of socialism and communism is a task that must be handled by the workers and toilers, the slogan of “The proletariat of all countries unite” has stamped itself for more than 157 years as scientific socialism’s banner. Therefore, the matter of unity within the vanguard of the worker’s movement is of the outmost urgent necessity in the struggle for unity within the ranks of the working class.

-The intensification of the fundamental international contradictions and especially the contradiction between the working class and toilers and imperialism; between the imposition of the “free market” and the tens of millions of people who denounce and condemn globalization and the rule of capital over the world, confronts communists now with the reality that they must either unite in this international struggle against the order of international capital and take up the leading and vanguard role or abandon the initiative to the hands of the petit-bourgeois forces who are also in opposition. This petit-bourgeois movement has not made much progress, and if communists can unite on the basis of scientific communism and the essential points of the program and tactics of international revolution, they would be able to play a decisive role in bringing imperialists and international reactionaries to their knees.

### 3 – The situation of the communist movement in Iran:

The communist movement in Iran, under the influence of the international communist movement, has proceeded through four relatively distinct periods:

#### a- The revolutionary period:

This period coincides with the emergence of two lines – revolutionary and reformist – in the international working class movement. At the beginning of the last century (c. 1900) Iranian

revolutionary workers and intellectuals, in close association with the Russian workers social democracy, accepted the Leninist revolutionary line. Based upon the experience gained from the bourgeois democratic revolution (1906) and the revolutionary movements which followed, and with guidance from international communism, they founded the Communist Party of Iran on 22 June, 1920; This occurred in the middle of their participation in the Jangal revolutionary armed uprising. After the defeat of the Jangal uprising, despite some errors in their analysis of the class nature of Reza Shah (the late Mohammad Reza Shah's father) as evidenced by their support for him, but consistent with the analysis of the semi-feudal / semi-colonial conditions which existed in Iran at that time which pointed to the essential task of liberating peasants from the yoke of feudalism, this Party placed agrarian revolution at the top of its agenda. The Party not only participated in the Jangal uprising, it also founded the Soviet-Gilan Republics. But even after the rise to prominence of an ultra-left line, and the defeat of the Gilan Republics, the Party continued to organize workers, women, teachers and others. Finally after more than ten years of political activity, the Party was suppressed by Reza Shah, and its organizational structure in Iran was shattered.

#### b- The period of reformism:

During World War II, while Iran was occupied by Allied forces and after the fall of the despotic monarchy of Reza Shah, the Tudeh Party of Iran arose as an anti-fascist democratic front, through the class reconciliation of a number of communists and democratic intellectuals. Tudeh was founded in October, 1941. Due to its eclectic views and political line, and then its blind faith in its pursuit of Soviet policies, it consequently was unable to think with its own brain, Tudeh's leadership could not correctly distinguish its friends from its enemies, and failed to function as a genuine proletarian party. During the military coup of 19th August 1953, the Tudeh Party backed the national bourgeoisie and did not take measures against the coup plotters. After the coup, the Tudeh Party also tried to align the struggle of the Iranian working class with the political line of the modern revisionists in power in the Soviet Union at the time. As a result, it rapidly lost influence among the ranks of the working class – and was never again capable of accomplishing any success in this area of activity.

#### c- The period of splits and alternative solutions:

The new communist movement of Iran, on the basis of criticism of the historical opportunism of the Tudeh Party's leadership, and in its battle against Khrushchev's modern revisionism, and as the result of a wide split among cadres and members of the Tudeh Party, was formed in the decade of the 1960's through the creation of the "Revolutionary Organization of the Tudeh Party of Iran in Exile". The struggle against modern revisionism at the international level was being spearheaded by such authoritative communist parties as the Chinese Communist Party. It helped our organization to participate in this struggle, to learn the principles of communism in greater depth, and to apply them. But due to the absence of strong ties with the workers and impoverished masses, the Party could not comprehend the changes in the semi feudal system which had occurred due to the agrarian reforms of the Shah. So, the dogmatic and stereotypical copying of Mao Tse-Tung's theory (based on the necessity of the "New Democratic Revolution" in semi feudal – semi colonial countries) led to a determination that this theory coincided with the conditions in Iran, and "The Path to Encircling the Cities Via the Villages" was incorrectly selected as the path to revolution.

Sometime after the formation of this organization, other organizations such as "The Marxist-Leninist Organization of Toufan" (in exile, 1967), "The Kurdish Revolutionary Organization of the Toiling Masses in Iran"- (Komele, founded in Iranian Kurdistan in 1969) and "The Revolutionary



Communist Organization” (in exile, 1970) were created. Despite theoretical differences on some issues, these organizations basically aligned themselves against the reformist line of the Tudeh Party.

Inside Iran, during the latter half of the 1960's, a number of revolutionary intellectuals, in answer to the poverty and misery that the Shah's reforms had created for the impoverished strata in rural areas and for the urban petit-bourgeoisie, initiated urban guerilla warfare through two factions: the People's Fedaie Guerillas (Left) and People's Mujahedeen (religious).

Guerilla warfare, despite its apparent radicalism, inflicted a severe blow to the principles of a proletarian party because it sprang from the groundless notion that it is possible to achieve revolutionary victory in Iran – despite the absence of a leading proletarian organization, despite the absence of a conscious, resolute mobilization, organization and arming of the masses. They presumed that their guerilla operations could play the role of “a starting motor” which could then mobilize the masses to become the “engine” of revolutionary victory. Because of the failure of armed guerilla operations and the ideological struggle between supporters of the mass line and those of the guerilla insurgency line, a split occurred within the People's Mujahedeen organization. Its Left faction formed the “Marxist- Leninist Organization of Peikar”. Other splits erupted among the militants of the People's Fedaie who were in prison.

“The Revolutionary Organization” which from the beginning had the intention of establishing Marxist-Leninist unity in Iran, struggled to create a new communist party. It maintained that there needed to be a clear line of demarcation between it and modern revisionism; it sought to seize power via armed revolution and the violent overthrow of the Shah, leading to the establishment of the people's democratic dictatorship under proletarian leadership. However, in the beginning there were many inaccurate and widely varying perceptions of the Organization and its principles. Also, during the years before the 1979 Revolution, because of its allegiance to the political line of the “three worlds theory”, the Revolutionary Organization could not succeed in promoting unity among communists. Consequently, the Left movement, following the 1979 Revolution and due to the lack of a correct Marxist political line, faced the worst divisiveness ever after fruitless efforts toward unity in the struggle to form a single working class vanguard party. After the unification of Komele with the League of Militant Communists in 1983, they soon after announced the formation of the “Communist Party of Iran”. They then claimed that the process of party building had ended and that all of the existing organizations outside their party belonged to the bourgeoisie. This party then also fell victim to divisiveness, and soon split; with the splitting faction calling itself the “Workers Communist Party” and repeating the same accusation against the “Communist Party of Iran” that it belonged to the bourgeoisie!

The communist movement of Iran – after 88 years of development; after 88 years of momentary triumphs, long lasting defeats and suffering through periods of bloody repression – today is in the worst possible condition. It subsists in a state of divisiveness, sectarianism and self centeredness, isolated from the working class and the masses. It still has not been able to unite around a single political line. In today's situation, where uprisings of the masses, workers and intellectuals erupt on a daily basis, the different sections of the communist movement on the scene are not acting in solidarity. Their connections to the working class are weak and they simply do not have much of an effect on the political scene of the country.

d- The new period and the scramble for unity:

Abroad, despite renewed efforts to unify communists, divisionism remains prevalent. Under the present conditions, communist organizations in the best case scenario, create united front type

entities which neither take action nor last long. The condition of the communist movement abroad is deplorable. This sad condition is the result of two factors which function together in a dialectically connected manner:

1 – The petit bourgeois origins of the members of these organizations:

The petit-bourgeoisie- especially its upper and middle strata – has bourgeois tendencies; if at certain times it is compelled to unite with the proletariat, it is because of the inevitability of crisis for this class and its extreme weakness.

The petit-bourgeoisie takes one step toward the proletariat in order to then take two steps away from it. This peculiarity is also responsible for the specific sectarianism of the petit- bourgeoisie. For this reason, their loud cries for unity become an echo which is heard so often that it comes to be ignored, and passes on, without effect.

2 – Historical isolation of communists from the working class:

This factor exists due, on the one hand, to the brutal repression of communists by dictatorial regimes in Iran, and on the other hand to the lack of an accurate and long range program which aims to bond with the working class and the workers movement.

This two-fold cause results in a vicious cycle which spins around itself; the origins of the petit-bourgeoisie cause isolation from the working class, and the isolation from the working class intensifies the fatal defects of the petit-bourgeoisie's role in the communist movement.

The way out of this vicious cycle, after the formulation of a relatively correct political line, is through political activity: mobilization in the direction of building ties with the working class and fundamental change in the class origins of those organizations which form the movement. Progress in linking up with the working class is to be measured by the extent to which we become one with that class. It is in the progress made in this direction that communist organizations are tested: some depart from the scene while others become increasingly visible. An organization which takes a resolute step in this direction, and which tries to correct its line and remedy any shortcomings, will be able to unite a broad section of the communist movement in Iran. It is only from that moment in history that the communist movement of Iran will be able to make its mark on events and to blaze its trail.

## **SECTION 4**

### **OUR SPECIFIC PROGRAM AND FUNDAMENTAL TACTICS:**

1 – “For the revolution, a revolutionary communist party is required”:

In order for the working class of Iran to overthrow the despotic reign of the Islamic Republic of Iran and to seize political power, it has no other option but to create the subjective and objective conditions necessary to bring about this historical confrontation. The bourgeoisie of Iran, in collaboration with the bourgeoisie of imperialist countries and other reactionaries, would never submit themselves to the will of a majority of voters among the Iranian people, and offer the power to the workers and the toiling masses in a peaceful manner. No exploiting class in power, at any time in history, has ever done such a thing willingly. For the same reason, the repressive machinery – such as the military, police, the prison system and the judiciary – play a key role in suppressing the exploited and deprived people in the service of the exploiting class. Therefore, the Iranian proletariat, despite its reluctance for bloodshed and for the war that is being imposed

on it, has no other alternative except bloody confrontation with the machinery of repression. It must prepare itself for a long and hard struggle. "Political power comes out of the barrel of the gun".

Such a revolution can never take place without political and organizational leadership that is capable of mobilizing the masses. For that reason, the most pressing responsibility of the vanguard elements of the proletariat is to work toward the creation of a single communist party in Iran that has close bonds with the working class, with the impoverished masses and with grass root movements.

We must take this responsibility very seriously and work resolutely toward total accomplishment of this task. Consequently:

a- To abolish capitalist rule and relations of production, it is necessary to carry out the proletarian revolution and to consolidate a socialist system.

b- Revolution is the task of millions of people who must be conscious, mobilized, determined, organized and armed. Without a mass uprising, the success of the revolution is inconceivable.

c- The correct leadership of the communist party is the basic prerequisite condition for directing the proletarian revolution toward victory.

2 – The formation process of a single vanguard party of the working class:

Due to the dialectical process through which a vanguard communist party must be formed, the following essential insights must be acknowledged with precision:

a- Since the communist party is one part of the working class and its vanguard, any party worthy of the name must have strong ties to the working class and the impoverished masses. The cadres and the members of such a party must come mainly from within the working class and the impoverished masses; and like a fish in the water, cannot even for a moment to be apart from the class struggles. Therefore, it is the responsibility of communists to be relentlessly active within the storm of working class struggle. Through this class struggle, party cadre become fire-tested, and recruitment of pioneer members from these movements can further strengthen the communist party. Therefore, bonding with the working class is a fundamental responsibility for which we must be organize our selves.

b- The only way to recognize the class essence of organizations which claim to defend communism is whether they are willing, on the basis of the teachings of scientific communism, to unite around the fundamental points of the program and tactics, and to show that their intention is to change the world by creating a single working class party.

c- Ideological-political struggle against the influence of the petit-bourgeois and bourgeois views within the Left movements of Iran is an essential item on the agenda of those seeking the creation of that single party.

d- The three basic insights, above, and more specifically, the close bond with the working class among the leadership of the class struggle, are matters which gradually materialize. It is natural that the party, at its birth, cannot be expected to immediately exhibit the best of these qualities. What is important is the class position toward those main objectives.

3- Our specific program for the guidance of worker and mass movements:

This program does not encompass all of the demands of these movements. It is the most urgent of them, in the present situation, which must be satisfied in our fight against the regime. Complete satisfaction of these demands also can only be achieved through socialism.

In the worker movement:

- The struggle to carry out independent local, regional and national organization of workers through different forms;
- The struggle to achieve recognition of the worker's right to strike and to protest;
- The struggle for the prevention of worker expulsions ;
- The struggle for permanent employment, and denunciation of temporary employment as a conspiracy to enslave workers;
- The struggle to get back paid wages and to be paid on time;
- The struggle to increase the minimum wages up to three times the existing typical wage, and to guarantee annual cost of living adjustments tied to the yearly calculation of inflation;
- The struggle to provide housing, transportation to work and back, and free food for all workers during working hours at the work place:
- The struggle for a seven hour workday for men and a six hour workday for women, and for a five day workweek;
- The struggle for even fewer hours of work in factories with difficult and/or dangerous or unhygienic conditions;
- The struggle for elimination of late night and graveyard shifts except in those situations where it is absolutely necessary; for elimination of overtime work in excess of one day per month, with compensation no less than 1.50 times the regular wage;
- The struggle to ensure safe, hygienic, and secure workplaces staffed with medical personnel to maintain healthy workers and to reduce work-related accidents to the absolute minimum;
- The struggle to guarantee one month paid vacation per year and the on-time payment of wages, bonuses and new year's gifts;
- The struggle to establish labor laws promulgated by workers which shall codify the above demands;
- The struggle for the participation and control by workers in setting production targets as well as annual earnings targets for factories.

Our party is striving to resolve all of these issues, while at the same time working to increase the level of class consciousness among workers regarding the necessity of overthrowing the religious bourgeoisie in Iran and of building socialism and communism. Our party's participation in every aspect of workers' struggles must be joined with the aim of building socialism. This fundamental concept applies the same way to each struggle at every aspect of society.

In the movement of the toilers in rural areas:

- The struggle against state cooperatives, to transfer their management to farm workers ;
- The struggle to free farm workers and poor peasants from the claws of banks, loan sharks, and state cooperatives;
- The struggle to obtain financial aid for the well being of, and improved living conditions for, farm workers and poor peasants;
- The struggle to form regional cooperatives in which farm workers and poor peasants provide the leadership;
- The struggle to seize the giant agribusinesses from bourgeois landlords, to eliminate the extortionist behavior of the giant agricultural corporations, and to organize them into regional cooperatives;

The successful struggle to resolve the above issues now would make our socialist approach toward solutions much easier after the revolution.

In the women's movement:

- Defending the creation of a single national organization of women for the purpose of combating the patriarchal order;
- Struggle to codify a women's right to divorce;
- Struggle to keep religion out of women's affairs;
- Struggle to officially recognize March 8th as International Women's Day;
- Struggle to ban dress codes, killing by stoning, polygamy, and concubinage and to establish women's custodial rights vis-à-vis their children;
- Struggle to achieve equal pay for equal work for women and men;
- Struggle to create permanent and full time work for women;
- Struggle to codify time off, with full pay, two months before and three months after giving birth;
- Struggle to provide child care centers near women's work locations and for free child care for their children during their work hours;
- Struggle to eliminate prostitution, and to establish freedom of choice for women to control their bodies (including the right to abortion and to the control of their reproductive systems);
- Defense of equal rights for women and men in all aspects of society; the elimination of all types of sex discrimination;
- Struggle against patriarchy in the family and in society;
- Struggle for acknowledgement in the law that any harm against women, such as any type of sexual discrimination, humiliation, insults, rape, battery, the forcing of women to prostitution....etc. is a crime;

- The creation of safe shelters with proper care for women who are compelled to leave their homes;

- Struggle to create special opportunities for the development of women for the purpose of achieving equal standing with men in society;

- Struggle to eliminate the anti-woman content in textbooks and in the mainstream media.

In the youth movement:

- Struggle to mobilize youth into different political, artistic and athletic pursuits for their training and for their healthy development;

- Struggle to ban religious interference in the affairs of youth, adolescents, and children at home, at school and in society;

- Mandatory education for adolescents up to the age of 16, free hygiene and universal healthcare up to the age of 20;

- Struggle against all of religious and social traditions which lead to the segregation of sexes;

- Struggle for financial aid to the children and adolescents of low income families, up to the age of 18;

- Struggle to ban children's and adolescents' employment until age 18;

- Struggle to ban the marriage of boys and girls prior the age of 18 and to establish the right to freely chose a spouse;

- Struggle to provide stipends to children and adolescents during their technical training in different business organizations;

- Struggle for the implementation of programs to teach sex education in schools.

The movement for the defense of children:

- Struggle for acknowledgment in the law that any harm to children, adolescents and youth is a crime such as sexual assault, battery and disrespect whether at home, school or in society ;

- Struggle against dehumanizing factors, such as those experienced by street children, who have to be protected until their problems are resolved;

- Struggle to ensure that orphans and homeless children will benefit from the total support of government, allowing them to enjoy all the possibilities of education, hygiene and recreation in the best possible way;

- The creation of kindergartens for the children of workers, of the toiling masses and of the impoverished families;

- Struggle against any kind of discrimination against children who are born out of wedlock.

On the question of oppressed nationalities and national movements:

- Struggle for the acceptance of the right of a nationality to self-determination, including the right to secede and to establish an independent state;
- The struggle for the voluntary and free unification of Iran's nationalities on the basis of mutual respect;
- Struggle against any type of chauvinism of dominant or oppressed nationalities, to defend and support the proletariat of oppressed nationalities by advancing the class struggle within these nationalities;
- Struggle against the designation of any official language or religion in Iran;
- Struggle to allocate sufficient funding for the eradication of backwardness among non-Farsi speaking nationalities in Iran;
- Struggle against any type of reactionary national movement which collaborates with imperialism and with other reactionaries in the world.

On the question of other democratic demands:

- To defend the freedoms of belief, of expression, of the press, and the rights to strike, to protest and to organize. To prohibit any type of persecution of an individual for his or her beliefs or ideology;
- Struggle for the unconditional release of all political prisoners and of all those who have been imprisoned for their beliefs;
- Struggle to ban all psychological and physical torture during detention;
- Struggle to ban capital punishment along with all other medieval revenge laws;
- Struggle to create humane conditions in prisons through improved hygiene, healthcare, work and respect for the rights of prisoners;
- Struggle to secure the right of the people to trial by jury, and to restore an independent judiciary system which is free from government interference;
- To defend the rights of homosexuals;
- Struggle against the phenomenon of bribery, which is a grievous social crime;
- Struggle against drug smuggling, for severe punishment of drug lords and to provide medical treatment for addicts free of charge;
- Struggle to seize control of the different administrative, social or productive institutions by workers and employees;
- Struggle against the import of smuggled commodities from abroad which disrupts the livelihood and the jobs of the workers and the toiling masses.

4- Struggle against imperialist interference in Iran:

- Struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist order in Iran cannot be successful without the elimination of imperialist interference;
- To expose the policy of the ruling bourgeoisie as well as the bourgeoisie in the Opposition of the Islamic Republic, which cooperate with imperialists, is an important measure;
- Struggle against imperialism by exposing its policies, program and tactics which seek to unite with reactionaries inside of Iran to gain influence.

#### 5 – On the question of the Iranian revolution:

- As a result of the existence of oppressive and anti-democratic regimes which have relied upon violence to maintain their rule, the Iranian revolution will not be possible without armed struggle;
- Considering the fact that the workers and the toiling masses are the main force in the Iranian revolution in its struggle against the capitalist order, the Iranian revolution must fundamentally be carried out by them. These forces are primarily concentrated in the cities. For this reason all the strikes and the demonstrations which must initially be conducted separately need to progressively change to widespread, coordinated strikes and urban revolt so as to promote revolutionary conditions, and to finally take over state power;
- Due to the existence of advanced industrial regions as well as backward regions, and to the existence of national contradictions, the growth of the revolution in Iran has been uneven. For this reason, in any region where the workers and the toiling masses can take over power, the destruction of the state machine and the immediate consolidation of revolutionary rule must be at the top of the agenda of the workers and the toiling masses council of that region.

#### 6 – We and the world revolution:

Since the Iranian revolution is a part of the world proletarian revolution, the final victory or the defeat of socialism in Iran depends upon the advancement or the setbacks of the world proletarian revolution.

- Because of the continuous interference of imperialism in the internal affairs of Middle Eastern countries, and specifically of Iran, and given the present invasion of the region, the fates of the revolutions in all countries of the region are intertwined. Without the support and the mutual aid of the revolutionary forces and the communists of the region and the world, the victory of the revolution in Iran will be difficult to achieve. For this reason, international activities must work in concert with revolutionary activities inside Iran.

#### 7 – The friends and the enemies of the Iranian revolution:

On the basis of the above six points:

- The workers and the toiling masses (which include industrial workers, farm workers, service sector employees, public and private sector employees, the impoverished peasants, new settlers, university and high school students, soldiers and low ranking officers, and a portion of the intelligentsia such as university professors, doctors, engineers, university graduates, writers, news paper journalists, and artists who have no interest in the survival of the capitalist order) are all potential friends of the Iranian revolution.



- Technocrats and the middle stratum of the petite-bourgeoisie of Iran are considered to be a middle force, which is neither happy with the ruling elite nor does it support the proletarian revolution, due its social status. The effort of the proletariat must be directed toward protecting this position of the middle force; and it must implement policies which can prevent this middle force from becoming sympathetic to the counterrevolution.

- The Iranian bourgeoisie in its entirety (along with tribal leaders, a large section of the clergy, high ranking military officers, Islamic guards, mobilizing units, different groups of Hezbollah under the religious mafia, a variety of security organizations, the parties which support the Islamic Republic and the upper stratum of the Iranian petite-bourgeoisie) protect the regime and are the enemies of the Iranian proletariat.

- When encountering the enemies of the Iranian revolution, our policy must be to unite the majority, keeping the middle force impartial; the suppression of the counterrevolutionaries must be a top priority. In this connection, finding the weakest link in the reactionary forces and attacking it is a task of utmost importance. It must be carried out in an organized manner, and planned properly only at the appropriate time.

The End.