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WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' COMMUNIST PARTY OF IRAN

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INTRODUCTION

Toufan is the Monthly Journal of the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran.

The English edition of Toufan contains selected articles from the monthly journal. This edition is being produced for the benefit of the fraternal English-speaking comrades and friends of the Iranian revolution.

Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran

Communique of the Central Committee of the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran

We inform all the Iranian revolutionaries and internationalist friends of the Iranian revolution that, after 14 years of struggle of the Marxist-Leninists of Iran around the organ *Toufan*, in spite of the fascist terror and repression of Mohammad Reza Shah, in spite of all kinds of conspiracies which for years, and by all kinds of tricks, were carried out by the opportunists against the sacred banner of reconstitution of the Party, victoriously concluded its First Congress, which took place under the most clandestine conditions.

The First Congress of the Party, by adopting a clear political and organizational line, charted the path of the Iranian communists for the accomplishment of the people's democratic revolution and the advancement of the Iranian society towards socialism. The First Congress of the Party draws a clear and solid

line of demarcation with the Khrushchovite revisionists and the new right opportunism, the so-called "theory of three worlds".

The First Congress of the Party, after the election of the Central Committee and the First Secretary, elected the late Comrade Ahmad Ghasemi, the model of determination and dedication of the Iranian communists to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, as Permanent Chairman of the Party.

LONG LIVE THE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' COMMUNIST PARTY OF IRAN!

LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM AND PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!

(No. 1, October 1977)

The Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran, a New Era in the Class and National Struggle of the Toiling Masses of Iran

It is over 16 years that the struggle of the toiling masses of Iran, and at its head the struggle of the heroic working class of Iran, has been without its vanguard. With the appearance of Khrushchovite revisionism, this sworn enemy of Marxism-Leninism, in the land of the Soviets, in the Party of the great Lenin and Stalin, and following it the drawing of the majority of the Central Committee of the Tudeh Party of Iran into the cesspool of class capitulation and betrayal, the army of the working class and labouring masses of Iran lost its general staff. The Party organizations, which were dealt a terrible blow by the fascist and repressive regime of Mohammad Reza Shah after the 1953 coup, completely disintegrated due to the betrayal of the revisionist majority of the Central Committee. It was as a result of this betrayal and disintegration that the political representatives of the non-proletarian classes came onto the scene and as a result the mass movement of June 1963 (Khordad 15, 1342) was defeated. The result of this betrayal was the diversion of the revolutionary youth from the correct path in their struggle against the criminal and sellout regime of the Shah

and it left the spontaneous struggle of the working class and other labouring masses without perspective. The result of this betrayal was to clear the way for the growth of all kinds of diversionary ideas which were spread amongst the revolutionary youth, inside and outside the country, as "Marxism-Leninism". In spite of all their attempts the revisionists could not put an end to all the hopes of the proletariat and the labouring masses of Iran. After the disintegration of the Tudeh Party a number of most faithful, dedicated and determined cadres of the Party put the reconstitution of the Party above all other tasks, and with the publication of the first issue of *Toufan*, 14 years ago, began their organized struggle on this sacred path. The long and difficult struggle of the Marxist-Leninists of Iran for the achievement of the task of the reconstitution of the Party of the proletariat in Iran has been based on the universal truth of the scientific socialist ideas, on consciousness of the historic role of the proletariat and on the specific experience of the struggle of the working class and peoples of Iran. Today, after 14 years *Toufan* has the honour to joyously inform its readers and

supporters of the good news of the reconstitution of the Party. Today, after 14 years of struggle, which was full of ups and downs, for the reconstitution of the Party of the working class of Iran and the defence of the ideals of communism, in the midst of the grave and critical conditions of the Iranian society and the complicated international situation, at a time when the defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism more than ever assumes great importance, the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran, this vanguard Party of the working class of Iran, has been reconstituted.

But during the long years of struggle for the reconstitution of the Party, various groups and elements came into being in Iran which adopted ideas and methods of work that were non-Marxist, abstract, dogmatic and isolated from the laws of class struggle and based on mistrust of the labouring masses. But it was not too long before the harsh and bitter reality of struggle exposed the thorough alienation of their political and ideological line in front of the masses. Today, a section of the Iranian revolutionaries who fell into the trap of this deviation, are either in the prisons of the Shah, this lackey of U.S. imperialism, or they have shed their blood in vain. Another section, by persisting in their adventurist and opportunist line, and following political defeats and bewilderment, fell into the lap of the traitorous Central Committee of the Tudeh Party and the agents of Russian imperialism. It is the responsibility of the Iranian communists to rally the revolutionary youth around the banner of the Party and its principled and revolutionary line and around the central issue of revolutionary struggle and preparation for the mass, violent struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party. The intensity of national and class struggle and the economic and social crisis that today, in Iran, holds the regime of the Shah and imperialism in its grip, are the proof of the correctness of our slogans and programmes and have prepared conditions for the mobilization of the forces of the youth in the service of the ideals of the working class and the oppressed masses of Iran.

But various organized intellectual groups abroad which have run the whole gamut of following Castroism and anti-Marxist-Leninist struggle, are all involved today in giving sermons about the "establishment" of the party of the Iranian working class. The main section of these groups up to now have not taken any positive step in the direction of their "establishment of the Communist Party of Iran". In the complicated international situation and the emergence of the new right opportunist trend with its new melodies of class collaboration and national betrayal, which is being presented under the so-called "theory of three worlds", they have taken the rightist stand or are bewildered and in the grip of "inability to take a stand". The traitors of the Central Committee of the Tudeh Party too, by relying on the immense material assistance which has been put at their disposal by the Russian social-imperialists and the European revisionists, and by taking advantage of the glorious history of the Iranian working class and its Party, are actively trying to set up some prospects for themselves — prospects which bring nothing but consolidation and intensification of colonialism and exploitation for the Iranian people, workers and labouring masses.

Today we are witnessing the intensification and upsurge of the movement and the interest of the masses of workers and peasants in political life and political struggle. The demonstrations of the impoverished and plundered masses for freedom and better living conditions, the uninterrupted strikes of the working class in large and small industrial centres across the country, the scattered but growing skirmishes of the peasants in the countryside with the bloodsucking landlords and government agents, the revolutionary rebellion of the masses of the youth and intellectuals, etc., are all indications of the awakening political and social consciousness of the labouring masses of our society,

which is advancing with great fervour. The strikes which have been organized by the workers themselves, the spontaneous demonstrations of the masses of the labouring people without any leadership, the intensification of repression along with the new imperialist hypocrisy, organized under the name of "Carter's policies", designed to calm the anger of the masses — all these events taking place at this time in the political, social and economic life of Iran are clear indications of the urgent need for a revolutionary party of the working class, a party which recruits into its ranks the most conscious, dedicated and devoted workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals, a party which takes up the leadership of all the anti-imperialist struggles and class struggles. The experience of the struggles and the work of the Iranian communists, the experience of the organizations and comrades of the Toufan Organization inside the country, clearly show to any true communist the vital need for the party. The workers' movement in Iran has long passed the stage of communist circles. Now, it is the duty of the communists to assimilate socialist ideas with the spontaneous movement of the workers and labouring masses. In such conditions, there is a need for a party which is not only ideologically homogeneous, but capable of acting as a single body organizationally. The dispersed organs of *Toufan*, its committees and units which were, at different locations in Iran, were never able to carry out this task. There was a need for a centre and a central organ that could at any moment, in the process of national and class struggle, put the whole party into motion. The central organ outside the country was never able to carry out this important task. Every true communist grasps this issue. *Fourteen years' experience of the publication of Toufan abroad is the best testimony of this fact.* In today's complicated situation only such a central organ is capable of safeguarding the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism from all kinds of enemies. At this time, it is the duty of all the Iranian communists to organize all their activities, struggles and organizations around this central organ and direct all their energy for the advancement and improvement of its struggle. The First Congress of the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran has testified to all these facts. It elected unanimously the late Comrade Ahmad Ghasemi, whose life was an example of struggle on the path of the ideals of communism and defence of the Party of the working class of Iran, to the position of Permanent Chairman of the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran.

The anti-Party clique of Forutan will certainly quibble with the Iranian communists and will scream everywhere: "Why did they reconstitute the Party...?" They will not be inspired to hear the reply that for many years these opponents of the Party gave themselves the right to impose their views on everyone, so today it is painful for them to finally hear the call of the Party from the womb of our homeland. It is painful for these opponents of the Party, who gave themselves the right to implement their deviationist views, to see the supporters of the Party materialize the ideals of the proletariat with such painstaking effort.

The fact is that the reconstitution of the Party was not a simple task. The fact is that for the reconstitution of the Party, for the founding of the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran, a sharp struggle full of ups and downs was necessary, not only against the system of terror and repression of the Shah and imperialism, against revisionism and opportunism of all hues, outside the Marxist-Leninist Organization of Toufan, but also a most intense, complicated and difficult struggle had to be waged within the Toufan Organization, against the anti-Party line of Forutan and his conspiratorial attempts.

Through the years Forutan carried out every conspiracy in order to liquidate the ideals of the reconstitution of the Party of the working class and to "unite" Toufan Organization with the "Revolutionary Organization of the Tudeh Party" of Lashae,

Parsanezhad and Keshavarz. After the death of Comrade Ghasemi, the great leader of the Iranian communists, Forutan imposed a resolution on the Central Organization of Toufan according to which even discussion on the question of reconstitution of the Party was no longer on the agenda. To carry out his nefarious designs, he imposed "Confederationism" on the Central Organization so as to divert the attention of the comrades from the task of reconstitution of the Party of the working class, and giving assistance to the Iranian comrades — to the task of work amongst students abroad, the creation of student organizations, one after another, and "reconstitution of the Confederation".

A small number fell into his conspiracy. But neither the comrades in Iran nor the majority of honest comrades abroad, who had dedicated their lives to the ideals of the working class and the toiling people of Iran, could bear this diversionist line. In this way, 14 years of struggle of *Toufan* bears its precious fruit. Today, *Toufan*, the monthly organ of the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran, has the honour to announce to all its readers and supporters the news of the reconstitution of

Long Live the Red Banner of Comrade Ghasemi!



Comrade Ghasemi

when he was in the leadership of the Tudeh Party, to the time of his death on February 13, 1973 (24 Bahman, 1352), was full of complicated struggles and unconditional defence of the interests of the working class.

Because of this we can affirm that he always upheld the banner of Marxism-Leninism. And because of this, during and after his life, he was always under attack by all kinds of opportunists and traitors to Marxism.

One of the outstanding points about Comrade Ghasemi was his role in the struggle against the factionalists in the Tudeh Party. The publication of the book *The Path of the Tudeh Party of Iran* by Comrade Ghasemi, against "What Is to be Done" of Aprim, and also his famous theses in rejection of the pamphlet "What Is to be Done" confirmed the victory of the Central Committee and the whole Party against factionalists. His role in investigating the factionalists in 1947 is another proud moment of the Tudeh Party. The opportunist elements in the leadership of the Party could never bear the existence of such a valuable individual. For this reason, he was hated and disliked by elements such as Bahrami, Joedat, Yazdi, Sharimy, Eskandari, Radmanesh, etc. . . It is not surprising that in the midst of the struggle of the people in Iran, these elements, with a planned conspiracy, under the guise of participation in the celebration of the Congress of the Communist Party of China, sent him to China, and in this way the Executive Committee of Tehran was deprived of the wise leadership of this comrade.

The letter of June 1953 (Khordad 1332) to the Central Committee of the Tudeh Party in Moscow, signed by Joedat,

the vanguard of the working class of Iran, *from the Central Organ of the Party in the country.* From now on, *Toufan* has the honour to carry out its activity under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran and to follow the general line and directions of the Central Organ. We invite all the revolutionaries, especially the revolutionary youth, to rally around the banner of the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran and to bring into full play and direct the united forces for the overthrow of the yoke of oppression of the butcher Mohammad Reza Shah and the imperialist domination, in order to create an independent and free Iran, liberated from colonialism and exploitation.

LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM AND PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!

LONG LIVE THE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' COMMUNIST PARTY OF IRAN!

(Editorial Board of *Toufan*)
(No. 1, October 1977)

Bahrami, Alavy and Yazdy against Ghasemi and Kyanouri, pointed out that it would not be wise for Ghasemi to return to Iran.

In a document to the Central Committee the following is mentioned:

"During Ghasemi's absence, they did not refrain from using shameless and cowardly means against him. They shamelessly took advantage of the prestige of the Soviet Union among the labouring masses of Iran and published that Ghasemi had been exiled to Siberia in the Soviet Union. They sent commissions to cities to fabricate accusations against Ghasemi and all kinds of slanders and criticisms, which were invented in the minds of those who hated him."

Comrade Ghasemi presented the following opinion regarding the defeat of August 20th, 1953 (28 of Mordad, 1332) (This is the date of the CIA-staged coup in Iran — *trans.*):

"In my view the defeat of the 28th of Mordad took place because the majority of the Executive Committee of Tehran basically was being led by erroneous theories. It followed the line that the leadership should be put in the hands of the national bourgeoisie, and in its tail one should take over the ministerial positions."

In order to become familiar with the glorious life of Comrade Ghasemi and the depth of his struggle in the Central Committee of the Tudeh Party and his role in the leadership, we reproduce below an introduction from his theses "The Views of Ahmad Ghasemi about the Defeat of the 28th of Mordad and the Pamphlet 'The 28th of Mordad'":

"Why was the Tudeh Party of Iran unable to pull itself out of the events of 1332 (1953) and the following events with dignity? What and who were the source of the problems?"

"There can be no doubt that the attitude of our Party toward the coup of the 28th of Mordad was not the attitude of a fighting party. It was possible that our Party's struggle against the coup would face defeat but would still come out of the struggle with dignity. But our Party not only was defeated by the instigators of the coup, it was also defeated by the public opinion of the Iranian people, because it did not participate in any confrontation and did not make use of any opportunity and, in one word, it became only an observer. The majority of the Executive Committee in Iran, by submitting false reports about the ratio of forces in Iran, presented the coup d'état as a *fait accompli*. But subsequent information from Iran and world events showed that the Tudeh

Party of Iran, by using all its resources, could have suffocated this offspring of imperialism and reaction in its womb . . . No one can deny that our Party did not have the overall consciousness to know that in response to the coup d'etat, one cannot participate only in observation. Our Party was in possession of such a force in the enemy camp so as to become aware of their plans and not be taken by surprise. Our Party was in possession of such a base amongst the masses of people to be able to confront the conspiracy of the Court in the situation of Mordad of 1332. The Party was in possession of such organizational capabilities so as to organize all the necessary forces. But the Party was isolated from all its forces and the reason for this isolation was internal factionalism. . .

"Our Party's defeat today is not only the result of the coup of the 28th of Mordad. The defeat stemming from the coup was a big defeat, but it was not the first defeat for the Party.

"Our Party had faced defeats in the past but was able to overcome them by its efforts. This time too, if the Party had not been crippled it could have compensated for the defeat of the 28th of Mordad. Our Party after the coup d'etat had still remained untouched and it had the ability to again stand up and triumphantly battle with the enemy. But again instead of its forces being used against the enemy, they were used for internal quarrels. We were faced with one defeat after another and our Party could no longer straighten its back.

"One of our objective defeats after the 28th of Mordad was the publication of the pamphlet: 'The 28th of Mordad'. (This pamphlet was written by the Tehran Executive Committee in the absence of Comrade Ghasemi — *trans.*) In this pamphlet, the leadership of the proletariat in the movement was basically denied.

"Factionalism of the Executive Committee had divided the Party's cadres into two groups. One group, who were the resented elements, were discharged from their Party positions and, with nothing to do, were waiting around to be expelled. The other group who were the Executive Committee, were waiting for the revolution to arrive so they could hang their political rivals from the poles. . . I do not agree with those who, in search of the reason for the defeat of the 28th of Mordad, only consider the events and decisions made in the days of the coup d'etat. . ."

About the pamphlet "The 28th of Mordad", of the Executive Committee, the comrade writes:

"The masses of the Party were for the first time hearing from the Party leadership that the task of the leadership of the revolution in Iran during the present stage is basically on the shoulders of the national bourgeoisie, and not the proletariat. With the publication of this pamphlet the earth trembled under the Party. That is why the analysis of 'The 28th of Mordad' pamphlet is one of the most important tasks of our Party."

After the defeat of the 28th of Mordad, Comrade Ghasemi made all kinds of efforts to convince the leadership of the Party that the Executive Committee of the Party should not leave the country and for this reason voted against their departure. He writes:

" . . . We pulled out of one barricade after another and when the enemy captured them we 'triumphantly' shouted: 'You see! We were right.'

"The barricades were evacuated and unfortunately these evacuations were on the basis of group and individual interests. The main issue of difference, in my opinion, is the investigation of this group. . ."

Comrade Ghasemi was a worthy Marxist-Leninist and a great revolutionary. We can recall one of his revolutionary deeds on the question of the "secret" report of Khrushchov about Stalin to the 20th Congress of the CPSU in 1956. Comrade Ghasemi was the only member of the Central Committee of the Tudeh Party who did not agree with the "secret" report of Khrushchov

in condemnation of Comrade Stalin and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Those who are familiar with Khrushchovite revisionism can imagine the dangerous consequences that threatened the life of the comrade for his resistance to Khrushchovite revisionism and imagine the farsightedness of the comrade and his consciousness of Marxism-Leninism, for at that time there were many parties, let alone an individual, which were unable to identify Khrushchovite revisionism.

After the degeneration of the Central Committee of the Tudeh Party into revisionism, Comrade Ghasemi went to the West and fell into the claws of agents of the revisionists and SAVAK, that is "The Revolutionary Organization of the Tudeh Party Abroad", which almost resulted in his death. But the Iranian Marxist-Leninists, who were continuing the struggle against the reactionary forces and the revisionists under the banner of the newspaper *Toufan*, rescued this esteemed comrade along with two other comrades of that time, Saghvae and Forutan.

We remember clearly that on the day of his rescue he told the comrade who was the founder of *Toufan* and who held the initiative for this action in his hand:

"Dear Comrade: You are not aware of the historic significance of your action and with it the effective blow you have dealt upon the reactionary forces and the revisionists. This step of yours will be registered in the history of the struggle of the Iranian people as an historic event."

Experience proved that the rescue of the comrade and his participation in the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Organization of Toufan bestowed a great force on all the Iranian Marxist-Leninists. It was because of his principled stand that he did not reconcile with another comrade who had wrong views about Stalin. During his lifetime in the Third Period of *Toufan* he strived to train the comrades from the Second Period as principled and honest comrades, faithful to Marxism-Leninism. With his first contact with the comrades of the Second Period he realized the problems with the leadership of the Second Period. He was well aware that the enemies of Marxism-Leninism will attack the comrade who was the founder of *Toufan*, the only paper which spoke on behalf of the Iranian Marxist-Leninists; and did so. He gave valuable assistance to the comrade who was the founder of *Toufan* in smashing the vacillating elements in the leadership of the Second Period of *Toufan*. It was under the guidance of Comrade Ghasemi that he was able to expel all the subversive elements from the ranks of *Toufan* and rally all the sincere comrades around himself. It was in this way that the Marxist-Leninist Organization of Toufan was born and adopted the name of Third Period of *Toufan*.

In the new period, the persistent and outstanding struggles of Comrade Ghasemi in the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Organization of Toufan against the erroneous views of his old colleague, Forutan, have a definite place. In this period, Forutan, like the revisionists and factionalists Yazdi, Bahrami, etc., attempted to expel the comrade from the leadership in order to be able to implement his erroneous views and smash the Marxist-Leninist movement of Iran. Forutan attempted to introduce Comrade Ghasemi as *anti-Marxist, counter-revolutionary*, and even a *murderer*, to the comrades of the Central Organization of Toufan. In his letter of November 1973 he tried desperately to slander the past of the distinguished comrade. He claimed that whatever the Central Committee of Tudeh Party has mentioned against Ghasemi is correct. The traitorous attacks of Forutan against the Central Organization of Toufan, which took place with the backing of vacillating elements in the Central Organization, made the late comrade very unhappy. Comrade Ghasemi made many attempts to bring Forutan onto the correct path. The late comrade, in his letter of Nov. 1, 1973, explains with reason his points of differences with Forutan. These are the following:

— One of the first differences of opinion with Forutan is on the question of the place of imperialism. According to Forutan, the contradiction between the oppressed peoples and imperialism and the contradiction between the imperialist countries are not considered as part of the fundamental contradictions of the contemporary world.

— Forutan believes that, of the two fundamental contradictions of the Iranian society, that is, the contradiction between the people and imperialism and the contradiction between the peasant masses and the medieval system and the regime which represents it, the latter is the principal contradiction.

— Forutan considers "The Revolutionary Organization" as Marxist-Leninist.

— On the issue of the constitution and the activities of the Confederation within it, Forutan believes that the Confederation should work within the framework of the constitution.

— The issue of which is primary in the Party — unity or struggle. He holds that in the Party, struggle is primary.

— Opposition to the reconstitution of the Party.

With the exposure of the erroneous positions of Forutan and the points of difference, the Central Body of the Toufan Organization, after seven years of struggle, was able to remove one of the barriers which had hindered the advancement and

Message of the Founding Congress of the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran to the Party of Labour of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha

The First Congress of our Party was held on . . . , 1977. Delegates from abroad participated in the Congress. This victorious Congress was held after 14 years of continuous struggle of the Iranian communists, who were organized around the newspaper *Toufan*. It is certain that the holding of this Congress after 14 years of struggle against revisionism and opportunism of all hues, each of whom attempted by different means, even by infiltrating the Toufan Organization, to prevent the establishment of the Party — is a great success. Today, during this critical historical period, after 16 years, the Iranian Marxist-Leninists were finally able to reconstitute the vanguard Party of Iran, a party which at one time was the largest Communist Party in the Middle East.

The holding of the First Congress of the Party in the unprecedented conditions of repression of the bloodsucking Pahlavi regime, which is well-known by the whole world, is an indication of the vigorous determination of the Iranian communists, like the other communists of the world, to smash the regime of the Shah and his imperialist backers. Our Congress was held in the conditions when the preachers of the so-called "Marxist" "theory of three worlds" are attempting to divert the revolutionaries of the world from their correct path and impose

Message of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania to the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran

In the joint meeting of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran held in Tirana, our Party received the following message on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania on the occasion of the reconstitution of the Party of the working class in Iran:

Dear Comrades:

The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and all the communists of socialist Albania from the bottom of their

development of the Marxist-Leninist Organization of Toufan.

Comrade Ghasemi in his letter of Nov. 1, 1973 about Forutan writes: "The truth of the matter is that Forutan is entangled in a web of contradictions which arise from violating Marxist-Leninist stands, personal animosity and endless hostility towards Comrade Ghasemi."

Alas! The comrade did not live long enough to see the result of his collective efforts, after seven years of ceaseless struggle against reaction and all opportunism within and without the organization; the fruit of which was the reconstitution of the Communist Party of Iran. He passed away on 24 Bahman, 1352, (February 13, 1973). With the loss of such a comrade, the Marxist-Leninist movement of the world and Iran lost one of its best sons. But what remains from him is his Marxism-Leninism and his principles, which he left for his comrades-in-arms. What he had desired materialized when his militant comrades in the First Congress of their Party reconstituted his glorious Communist Party. Comrade Ghasemi dignified our Congress and for this reason he was elected as the Permanent Honorary Chairman of the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran.

LONG LIVE THE MEMORY OF COMRADE AHMAD GHASEMI!

class peace, instead of class struggle, on the fighting masses. But our young Party is determined to wage struggle against all the machinations of the old and new revisionists of whatever variety and shade, and in this way carry out our national and internationalist duty.

All the delegates to the Congress supported the just struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania against the revisionists and opportunists of all hues. Our Party declares its deep solidarity with the PLA under the leadership of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the great Marxist-Leninist and teacher of the world proletariat, whose struggle in defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism is an inspiration for all the communists of the world. Our Congress has faith that the struggling people of Albania under the leadership of the glorious Party of Labour of Albania with Enver Hoxha, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our time, at the head, will daily achieve greater victories.

(From the First Congress of the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran — Central Committee of the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran.)

(No. 1, October 1977)

heart congratulate the Central Committee of the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran and all the Iranian communists and masses for the reconstitution of the Party of the working class.

We hope that the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran daily achieves greater victories in its struggle against the fascist regime of the Shah and its imperialist protectors, who rule the destiny of the Iranian masses; and that it achieves even greater victories in its struggle against revisionism and

opportunism, that every day changes its colour on the world scale.

The formation of the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran is another example of the iron will of the world communists who, in the most difficult conditions and under fascist repression and terror, are able to hold high the glorious banner of Marxism-Leninism and defend the sacred duty of proletarian revolution. The establishment of the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran is the turning point in the struggle of the Iranian masses and the Iranian working class. The reconstitution of the vanguard Party of the Iranian working class is a great success, not only for the Iranian communists, but also

Message of the Communist Party of Italy (Marxist-Leninist) to the Founding Congress of the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran

Dear Comrades:

Our warm and enthusiastic greetings to the Founding Congress of the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran, to the delegates who have gathered together under the severest conditions of secrecy and to the heroic proletariat of Iran.

The Iranian people have a great heroic tradition of anti-fascist and anti-imperialist struggles. This struggle has been strengthened by the blood of the Marxist-Leninists and all the patriots who have fallen under the barbaric suppression of the Shah, this running dog of U.S. imperialism. The people of Iran have never been duped by the phoney "reforms" that have been so much praised by the traitorous revisionists of the so-called "Central Committee of the Tudeh Party". Your Party will definitely bring victory to the cause of struggle for socialist revolution and establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Iran.

The Founding Congress of the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran is another testimony to the victory of the struggles of the Marxist-Leninists of all countries in defence of the principles of Marxism-Leninism against revisionism and any opportunist deviation. Such struggle has also developed in Italy, and our Party is in the process of vigorously struggling against capitalism and the revisionist betrayal of Togliatti and Berlinguer, against the policies of the Italian revisionists, policies of disarming the proletariat and the masses of the people and against the so-called "Eurocommunism" and the "historic compromise". Our struggle on the international scale against the imperialist policies of the two superpowers, the U.S. and the

Message of the Communist Party of Spain (Marxist-Leninist)

To the Central Committee, to all the militants of the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran,

Dear Comrades:

With a great deal of happiness, our Party received the news of the convening of the Founding Congress of the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran. Through this message we convey the fraternal greetings of the Communist Party of Spain (Marxist-Leninist) and all the toiling masses of Spain to the Iranian Marxist-Leninist communists and declare our solidarity with you, with the proletariat, the peasants and all the peoples of Iran. We are confident that you will achieve great victories.

The establishment of the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran is an historic step in the struggle against the criminal regime of the Shah, against its main backer, Yankee imperialism, against social-imperialism and all reactionaries.

for the world communists, and it will strengthen their struggle on the international scale.

With the establishment of your Party, proletarian internationalism has been strengthened on the international scale.

Finally, our Party expresses its deepest gratitude for the message sent by the Founding Congress of the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran to the Party of Labour of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha. We express our warm regards to the comrades of the Central Committee of the Iranian communists.

(No. 3, December 1977)

Soviet Union, against Khrushchov-Brezhnev revisionism and for an international communist movement is daily acquiring greater strength and developing successfully.

For many years, proletarian internationalism was the inspirer of our relations with Comrade Ghasemi who died after many long years of heroic struggle for the victory of communism in Iran, with the Iranian Marxist-Leninists of Toufan, who for the past 14 years have carried out uninterrupted struggle for the reconstitution of the Party, against all those who, until a few months ago, were actively committing sabotage against this important victory of the Iranian proletariat. In the present conditions, our fraternal relations will continue to develop further. The mutual support for the victory of the revolutionary struggles of our peoples in the specific conditions of our two countries is bound to increase further.

LONG LIVE THE FOUNDING CONGRESS OF THE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' COMMUNIST PARTY OF IRAN!

LONG LIVE THE GLORIOUS STRUGGLES OF THE IRANIAN PEOPLE!

LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM!

LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!

From:

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Italy (M-L),

Fosco Dinucci

(No. 1, October 1977)

Our Party is very proud of the realization that our Iranian class brothers, after 14 years of existence combined with the difficulties of the Marxist-Leninist Organization of Toufan; their heroic struggle against the arbitrary and criminal regime of the Shah, against U.S. imperialism, against the revisionists, and against internal opportunists who had the design of preventing the establishment of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party, this indispensable weapon for the victory of the people's revolution and socialism, from now on can rely on the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran. In these moments, with respect and praise we remember Comrade Ghasemi, this great Marxist-Leninist and internationalist, who passed away on February 13, 1974 and was not able to witness this important event. *May his name be a symbol to the Marxist-Leninists and the people of Iran!*

The Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran has

been founded in an important period of the struggle of the proletariat and peoples of Iran against the fascist dictatorship of the Shah, against Yankee imperialism, against Soviet social-imperialism and against contemporary revisionism and opportunism of all hues. At the present time the "new" opportunists are involved in propaganda about the "theory of three worlds", an anti-Leninist and harmful theory. It attempts to pass itself off as a Marxist-Leninist theory, but it is nothing but a rotten revisionist theory which betrays the interest of the international proletariat. It attempts to deny, evade and falsify the nature of class struggle. It is a theory that does not consider the fundamental contradictions of our era, and under the pretext of opposition to Russian social-imperialism, it prettifies Yankee imperialism and international reaction. It is a theory that belittles the role of the Marxist-Leninist parties and introduces notorious murderers such as Pinochet, Mobutu and Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, etc., as "allies" of the peoples. In the face of such sinister theories, our parties hold that if we firmly rely on Marxism-Leninism, nothing and no one can stop the wheel of revolution.

The international links and fraternal co-operation that our Party maintained with the revolutionary organization of Toufan will now undoubtedly be more consolidated and expand with your Party, in the common struggle against the two superpowers, international reaction, revisionism, social-chauvinism and

Message of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile

With great and deep joy, we revolutionary communists of Chile heard of the convening of the Founding Congress of the Party by the Marxist-Leninists of Iran.

For many years we have had close relations with the Marxist-Leninist Organization of Toufan, and we know that the struggle to reconstitute the Party has not been a simple task. For 14 years our Iranian comrades have been striving and have continued to wage their persistent struggle against all enemies, including enemies within their own ranks, against opportunists who have been exposed, and their destiny, like that of all reactionaries and opportunists, is to irresistibly fall deep into the garbage heap of history.

The persistent struggle that our Iranian comrades have waged for many years has led to victory, and the working class and people of Iran can now rely on their Marxist-Leninist Party to lead the revolutionary struggle. The importance of this event reaches beyond the borders of Iran, because today the international communist movement joyfully embraces a new vanguard in its ranks.

This moment at which our fraternal Iranian Party has come into existence has great significance, because it advances the serious struggle against those opportunists in the Marxist-Leninist movement who are waiting to launch a surprise attack.

The present struggle is nothing but a continuation of the struggle against the Soviet revisionists and is a part of the ruthless struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism.

The theories that the opportunists present today, such as dividing the world into three sections and the "third world" as the motive force of history, even though new in form, in terms of content they are the same old revisionist theories, theories that end up with class conciliation, the proletariat trailing behind the bourgeoisie and the liquidation of the revolution. These theories are a hindrance to the struggle for true national independence of the people and lead to dependence upon one or the other imperialism.

But, in spite of the revisionists of all hues, the struggle against the two superpowers, the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of the world is developing further, and the people under the leadership of their vanguard Marxist-Leninist parties are

opportunism, on the basis of irreconcilable struggle for the defence of the eternal principles of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

Our Party holds that the historic 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Report by Comrade Enver Hoxha were the line of demarcation between the genuine Marxist-Leninists who defend Marxism-Leninism and support it, from the revisionists and opportunists of all hues who evade and attack it.

Dear Comrades:

Once again we wish you great success in your struggle and again declare our internationalist solidarity with you.

LONG LIVE THE FIRST CONGRESS OF THE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' COMMUNIST PARTY OF IRAN!

LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTIONARY FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO PARTIES AND TWO PEOPLES!

LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!

VICTORY TO MARXISM-LENINISM

Madrid, November 1977

Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Spain (Marxist-Leninist)

(No. 2, November, 1977)

carrying on this struggle on a correct basis.

The genuine Marxist-Leninist parties are strengthening their unity, which is based on the eternal principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. This unity of the genuine communists of the world for the victorious development of revolution is irresistible.

Our Party, in the same way as your Party, is struggling under difficult conditions and has won important victories in the struggle to resist the dictatorship and develop the broad people's anti-fascist front. Our Party has also become strong, and recently the 2nd National Party Conference was convened under conditions of secrecy, which is a very important event for the struggle of our people.

Dear Comrades:

We believe that with the reconstitution of the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran at the present time, the revolutionary activity in Iran and the struggle against the dictatorship of the Shah will broaden and develop still further. Our great solidarity and that of the communists of the world is with you in your struggle.

We are sure that the unity between our two parties will strengthen further. The signing of the Joint Communiqué between our two organizations in December of last year, our joint participation in the international conferences and our continuous contact, have all assisted us in strengthening our relations. In this manner, another step is taken towards the unity of the Marxist-Leninists of the world.

LONG LIVE THE CONGRESS OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY OF IRAN!

LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM AND PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!

LET US MOVE FORWARD TOWARDS THE FIGHTING UNITY OF GENUINE COMMUNISTS OF THE WORLD!

WE WILL WIN IN OUR COMMON STRUGGLE!

The Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile

(No. 2, November 1977)

Message of the Organization for the Reconstruction of the Communist Party of France

Dearest Comrades:

With a great deal of joy and enthusiasm, we greet today the convening of the Founding Congress of the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran. The convening of this Congress is an historic victory for the working class and peoples of Iran, who have been deprived of their irreplaceable leader, the Communist Party, for the past 16 years. After the degeneration of the Tudeh Party, which in the past was the vanguard Party of the proletariat and people of Iran, the Iranian communists launched the struggle for the sacred cause of reconstituting the vanguard Party of the labouring masses of Iran. This historic moment has now arrived.

Dear comrades, at this moment we wish to congratulate you. We hold that the existence of the Party is the pre-condition for the working class, peasantry and the people of Iran under its leadership to achieve new victories in their struggle for the overthrow of the fascist regime of the Shah, the expulsion of U.S. imperialism and the accomplishment of the democratic revolution, a stage in the establishment of socialism.

The founding of your Party is not only a victory for the working class of Iran. It is also an important contribution of the Iranian Marxist-Leninists to the current struggle in the international communist movement.

The founding of the Party is also the total refutation of the counter-revolutionary views and theories, like the so-called "theory of three worlds" which attempts to put out the fire of struggle of the proletariat and peoples of the world by inviting them to openly collaborate with the bourgeoisie, imperialism and reaction. The founding of the Party expresses with full force that it is the proletariat that leads the class struggle. The founding of your Party is the fruit of your long and difficult struggle against those opportunists, like Forutan, who have continuously attempted to hinder the reconstitution of the Party. He ridiculed the comrades who in the difficult conditions of Iran were

carrying out their struggle. He considered that they were only few and not worthy of attention. On the contrary, he even desired unity with those who support the "theory of three worlds" and openly support the Shah (the so-called "Revolutionary Organization of the Tudeh Party"). Following this path, he went so far as to negate organizational discipline. In the discussions that Forutan held with our comrades, he attempted to weaken and divert the vigorous spirit against opportunism by spreading the view that one cannot believe in the existence of two irreconcilable lines in the international communist movement. In this way, he wanted to prevent us from openly attacking the "three worlds theory" and its supporters and limit the struggle within the framework of "ordinary" comradely struggle.

The experience of your struggle once again proves that all the opportunists, in spite of all their verbal differences with one another, are united in attacking the proletariat and its vanguard.

Dear Comrades:

As you are aware, our organization was founded in the heat of such struggle against the opportunists and their "theories". The comrades of Toufan gave us fraternal and valuable support right from the beginning. A deep internationalist relationship has developed and has been consolidated between our comrades in the course of common struggle. We too, today, have the momentous task of reconstituting the Party of the French proletariat. We will not hesitate to use the last drop of our energy in this effort. Your struggle, as the struggle of all the Marxist-Leninists in the world, gives us great encouragement.

LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!

National Committee of the Organization for
the Reconstruction of the Communist Party of France

(No. 3, December 1977)

Joint Communiqué of the Communist Party of Germany (Marxist-Leninist) and the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran

Recently a joint meeting was held between the delegations of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany (Marxist-Leninist) and the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran. In this meeting, which was held in an atmosphere of sincere communist fraternity, various issues were discussed and both sides held common views on the issues under discussion.

The two parties declared their full solidarity with each other in the struggle against the two superpowers, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism and also the struggle against West German imperialism and the new bourgeoisie in East Germany and the fascist regime of the Shah.

Both parties held the same analysis on the international situation. The two fraternal parties consider it as their duty, above everything else, to defend the unity of the international

communist movement and the principles of Marxism-Leninism in the face of modern revisionism, of whatever form: Soviet revisionism, "Eurocommunism" or the international opportunist trend with the Chinese leadership at its centre.

The two parties condemn the "theory of three worlds" and hold that this "theory" is a counter-revolutionary and revisionist theory. The two parties seriously condemn the splittist policies of the Communist Party of China on the international scale, and are determined to struggle against the hostile and chauvinistic activities of the leadership of the Communist Party of China which are being carried out against those fraternal parties who defend Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The two parties hold that they should strive to expand their co-operation, to consolidate and deepen the unity of fraternal parties who defend the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Long Live Proletarian Internationalism!

Message of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan (Left) to the Founding Congress of the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran

The Central Committee of the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran:

Dear Comrades:

Our Party expresses its warmest greetings to the fraternal Iranian Marxist-Leninists on the occasion of the convening of the First Congress of the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran and the reconstitution of the vanguard Party of the Iranian proletariat.

The reconstitution of the Party of the Iranian proletariat was the outcome of the struggle against all the intrigues and destructive attempts of the enemies of Marxism-Leninism and enemies of the working class and the people of Iran.

The establishment of the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran is a guarantee for the victory of the revolution in Iran, for the overthrow of the regime of the Shah and the rule of the fascist bourgeoisie and all reactionaries of Iran and an end to the dependency on American imperialism.

The establishment of the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran is another victory for the Marxist-Leninist parties in their struggle against all the international opportunist trends and is of great assistance to the strengthening of the unity of the Marxist-Leninists all over the world.

LONG LIVE THE VICTORY OF THE 1st CONGRESS OF THE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' COMMUNIST PARTY OF IRAN!

LONG LIVE THE UNITY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF JAPAN (LEFT) AND THE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' COMMUNIST PARTY OF IRAN!

LONG LIVE THE INVINCIBLE UNITY OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST PARTIES ON THE BASIS OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!

Central Committee of the
Communist Party of Japan (Left)

Joint Communiqué of the Red Flag Party of Venezuela and the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran

In November 1977, a joint meeting of the Red Flag Party of Venezuela and the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran took place. During this meeting, the two fraternal parties expressed their views concerning the situation at home, the international situation, and issues concerning proletarian internationalism. The joint discussion took place under the conditions of vigorous fraternity and comradely sincerity. This meeting proved the deep ideological unity of the two parties based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

First, the delegation of the Red Flag Party of Venezuela explained the situation in Venezuela and pointed out that the severe political and economic crisis in Venezuela is an outcome of the schemes that imperialism, the bourgeoisie and the big landlords of Venezuela have planned and put into practice in order to rid themselves of the deep crisis of capitalism in the stage of dying imperialism.

These schemes in their essence contain severe and repressive measures against the people and their Marxist-Leninist vanguard. These conditions reveal the violent nature of the regime and the bourgeois democracy of Venezuela, that with every passing day we are witness to the increase of its militarism and fascism. But the broad masses of the people, and particularly the working class, have not let these go unopposed, and the outcome of this situation has been and will continue to be great class clashes in the course of which the Marxist-Leninists play a decisive role in leading them. The aim of the Marxist-Leninists is to lead the exploited masses of Venezuela to smash the bourgeois system through people's war and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat in Venezuela, which will take the form of people's democracy in its initial stage.

The delegation of the Red Flag Party of Venezuela exposes and condemns the line of class conciliation of the revisionists and reformists who spread illusions about parliamentarism and act as a hindrance to the struggles of the people.

Then the delegation of Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran, in turn, explained the social and political situation of Iran: "Our delegation exposes the thorough rule of imperialism, and particularly U.S. imperialism in Iran, the bloodsucking fascist dictatorship of the Shah, the anti-people

mockery of 'Carter's policy' in Iran, and also the traitorous policy of the revisionists who attempt to preserve the rule of the reactionary classes." The delegation of the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran gave a detailed description of the heightening of mass struggles in Iran, and stressed the necessity of the leadership of the Party of the working class for these struggles.

Both delegations observed their complete commonness of views on analyzing the internal political situation. Both parties declare that our era is the era of the downfall of imperialism and the era of proletarian revolution. Both parties declare the correctness of the analysis based on the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, from which the following principles are derived: Class struggle is the only motive force in history; dictatorship of the proletariat is the only way to end the exploitation of man by man and mass revolutionary violence under the undivided leadership of the Party of the working class is the only means to guarantee the victory of the proletariat.

Revisionists of all hues have always attacked these three principles in order to divert Marxism-Leninism. The Titoites, the Khrushchovite revisionists, the "Eurocommunists", the followers of the "theory of three worlds", etc., in spite of their phoney differences, in spite of the various forms under which they reveal themselves, all have a common nature: Their desire is to conciliate the irreconcilable contradictions between the exploited and the exploiters, between the peoples and imperialism, and in this way serve international reaction.

Both parties declare that it is of utmost importance for the Marxist-Leninists to defend the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and the correctness of the analysis based on the four basic contradictions in the present era by Lenin and Stalin:

- The contradiction between labour and capital.
 - The contradiction between the camp of socialism and the camp of imperialism.
 - The contradiction between the peoples on the one hand and imperialism and social-imperialism on the other hand.
 - The contradiction within the camp of imperialism.
- Both parties condemn the war preparations of imperialism.

and social-imperialism, particularly the U.S. and the Soviet Union, and stress that such a war prepared by them would be a war for the redivision of the world, and only revolution under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist vanguard can smash it. Both parties realize the necessity of exposing the nature of the nonsensical "theory of three worlds", which under the pretext of preventing a world war, negates the basic contradictions of our era, and preaches unity with imperialism and internal reaction.

The Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran and the Red Flag Party of Venezuela again declare that the defence of the unity of the international communist movement is of utmost necessity and condemn the splittist activity of the preachers of the "theory of three worlds" against the unity of the international communist movement.

On the Unity of Marxist-Leninists: Resolution of the Founding Congress of the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran

The Congress of the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran, on the basis of the years of experience of the struggle of the comrades of Toufan Organization in Iran and on the basis of investigation and observation of the theory and practice of revolutionary organizations which are struggling against the bloodsucking regime of Pahlavi in Iran, and by analyzing the nature of these organizations on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, draws the conclusion that:

1. At the present time, except for the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran, there exists no other Marxist-Leninist organization or party in Iran.

2. There is the possibility of the existence of certain cells which have come into being as a result of internal struggle of the revolutionary organizations in Iran. It is the duty of the Party to strive, if it comes into contact with such cells, by adopting correct and principled policies, to organize these cells into the Party.

3. It is the duty of the Party to strive to raise the level of consciousness of the masses, and to carry out struggle against all sham "Marxists" and revisionist views and theories.

On the International Situation: Excerpts from the Resolution of the Founding Congress of the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran

The Party has come to the conclusion that the world today is divided into two diametrically opposite camps, the camp of imperialism and the camp of anti-imperialist struggle.

At the head of the imperialist camp are the two superpowers, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. The reactionary and counter-revolutionary forces of the world, the bourgeoisie of the imperialist countries, the ruling cliques and forces that guarantee the domination of colonial and neo-colonial systems in the regions of imperialist and social-imperialist influence, all belong to the imperialist camp.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania is in the forefront of the camp of anti-imperialist struggle. All the socialist countries and all the Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations, all the revolutionaries of the world and the international proletariat, the national liberation movements who are fighting to liberate the peoples from the yoke of imperialism, social-imperialism and their running dogs, and all the progressive forces belong to the anti-imperialist camp.

Imperialism and social-imperialism are the enemies of the world's proletariat and peoples. They are the perpetuators and protectors of colonial and neo-colonial systems. They are the supporters of the reactionary and oppressive regimes and are the main sources of wars of aggression and plunder all over the world. The two superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, are the main enemies of the peoples of the

This meeting ended in a warm and fraternal atmosphere. Both parties, considering their commonness of views concerning the common struggle of the peoples of Venezuela and Iran, and the world revolution, stressed the necessity of extending their active internationalist relations and the mutual solidarity between the two parties.

The National Political Committee of the Red Flag Party of Venezuela

The Central Committee of the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran

(No. 2 November 1977).

4. On the international level, on the basis of proletarian internationalism, our Party has the duty to make all efforts for developing close co-operation, on all fronts, with all Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations of other countries and to adopt and implement correct and principled policies for increasing the consolidation of the ranks of the Marxist-Leninists on the international level.

5. Based on the principle of proletarian internationalism, our Party considers its duty to wholeheartedly defend the socialist countries, especially the People's Socialist Republic of Albania under the leadership of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the great teacher of the world proletariat, and to unconditionally support the struggles of the peoples of these countries, especially the glorious people of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, against the machinations, provocations and aggression by imperialism, social-imperialism and all reaction.

(No. 2, November 1977)

The socialist countries are fortresses of the international proletariat and peoples who are struggling to liberate themselves from the yoke of bondage. Any measures in the direction of consolidation of these fortresses enjoys the full support of the international proletariat and all the forces of the camp of anti-imperialist struggle.

On the basis of the principles of proletarian internationalism, our Party unconditionally supports the glorious Party of Labour of Albania led by Comrade Enver Hoxha. The Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran supports the revolutionary ideas which the Seventh Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania put forward.

Our Party openly proclaims its opposition to any effort or plot designed to split the unity of the anti-imperialist camp in its struggle against imperialism, social-imperialism and their lackeys. It is conducting a principled struggle for the unity of all the forces which are fighting imperialism, social-imperialism and their lackeys.

We declare our opposition to the "theory of three worlds" and all other counter-revolutionary theories. This "theory" does not

present the fundamental contradictions in the world from a class standpoint. It pretends that Soviet social-imperialism is the main danger, prettifies American imperialism and presents the European and Japanese imperialists as oppressed. On the basis of this falsification, it calls on the proletariat and the peoples of the world who are fighting for their liberation from the imperialist yoke, to collaborate with their exploiters and world imperialism and to forget their fundamental struggle on the pretext that they must defend their national independence against Soviet social-imperialism.

The "theory of three worlds" is a new opportunist trend which advocates class collaboration, class conciliation and co-existence. The aim of this theory is to bring about capitulation to imperialism, especially American imperialism, to disarm the proletariat and the peoples of the world in the struggle they are waging against any form of exploitation and enslavement. This theory leads to abandonment of the struggle against imperialism and revisionism. Therefore, our Party condemns this theory as anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary.

(No. 1, October 1977)

Resolution from the Founding Party Congress: On the Present Situation in Iran and "Carter's Policy"

In view of the deep dissatisfaction of the Iranian masses, and in line with the orders of his imperialist masters, the regime of the Shah has introduced some "reforms" in the Iranian society, of which the "land reform" is the main element.

Since the "royal reforms" have only been introduced in order to secure the imperialists' interests and to facilitate increased exploitation of our national resources, these reforms could have resulted in nothing but the creation of miserable conditions for millions of toiling masses in the cities and rural areas.

Prior to the "royal revolutions" our country was not only self-sufficient with respect to agriculture, but was also an exporter of agricultural products. The policies of the Shah's puppet regime, which are dictated by imperialism for maximum exploitation of our country, have ruined the economic situation of the peasants, by importing foreign agricultural products to the Iranian markets and by creating financial and technical difficulties in the production and sale of our agricultural products, and they are aimed at generating all-round dependency on imperialism, thereby completely ruining the national agricultural production and increasing the poverty of the Iranian peasantry.

The grave economic situation of the country's peasantry and the all-round economic dependency have led to periodic and continuous famines for our starving masses. Our toiling masses are faced with severe shortages of the most basic food items. We are experiencing large-scale migration from the countryside to the cities, which swells the ranks of the urban proletariat. The Iranian puppet regime is itself encouraging this migration in order to serve the imperialists' interests.

The imperialists never cease for a moment in their exploitation of the Iranian proletariat, this creator of immense wealth. Everywhere in Iran, there are many exploitative enterprises of the imperialists. Imperialist assembly plants for industrial production are engaged in savage exploitation of the Iranian proletariat, in plundering the Iranian markets, and accumulating imperialist capital.

The doors of the large industrial institutions are closed to the capital of the Iranian national bourgeoisie. The Iranian capitalists have to either invest their capital jointly with that of the imperialists and become a dependent bourgeoisie, or invest in small institutions and steadily witness their own bankruptcy due to competition from international monopolies.

Due to the cruel imperialist plunder our masses are daily

impoverished. The same people who have opened our borders to the aggressive and exploiting imperialist forces are preparing the grounds for further imperialist plunder by means of imposing junk commodities of imperialist culture, by misleading public opinion, promoting degeneracy, slavish spirit, superstitious beliefs, indifference, passivity, depression, hopelessness, tranquillity, etc. Peoples' culture, freedom of thought, the belief in the unlimited energy of the masses and the fighting spirit for a better future are suppressed with censorship and torture to create a complete darkness in which our national wealth can be plundered by the shipload. Imperialism doesn't hesitate to use direct intervention to expand its cultural domination.

The "cultural institutions" of the imperialist embassies play a very important role in this respect; for example, the "Iranian-Russian" association has become a place for soothing patriotic feelings, for dissatisfied intellectuals, or even revolutionary people.

The Iranian puppet government not only safeguards the imperialist interests in Iran, but this obedient slave also considers it to be its duty to use the Iranian army for securing imperialist interests in the Middle East by suppressing the liberation movements of the people of the area, by spending our national resources for the protection of imperialist profits and for the expansion of imperialist hegemony in every part of the world.

Imperialism, with the collaboration of the criminal Iranian ruling class and the traitorous Shah at its head, has turned our fatherland into an appendage of the world imperialist system.

The arbitrary rule of the regime, the severe political and cultural oppression and the economic chaos are all enacted by a rotten bureaucratic administrative body whose responsible officials have as their only objective to take their share of the wealth created by the exploitation of the Iranian masses and to enrich themselves.

But the Iranian masses, who are witnessing with open eyes their country's plunder and exploitation at the hands of the imperialists and their local henchmen, cannot take these things calmly. The wave of the people's opposition and resistance is growing daily. Work slowdowns, industrial sabotage, strikes, formation of armed groups of patriotic youth, and sabotage of institutions directly dependent on the imperialists, all prove the daily rising resistance of the Iranian masses to imperialism and its running dog, the Shah. The Iranian masses are neither afraid

of torture and execution, nor of the army and SAVAK; none of these can prevent strikes and protests of our masses.

The people will not tolerate the Shah's shameful regime any more. The growth of the peoples' resistance to this regime and the beginning of the struggle for liberation from the yoke of the black rule of Mohammad Reza Shah have instilled deathly fear in the hearts of the imperialists and their local servants. With its open and direct "policy" of massacre and plunder, with its boundless support for such disgusting characters as the Shah and Co. all around the world, imperialism is the direct cause of the mass resistance and the explosive situations in all countries under its domination around the world. Imperialism is particularly aware that the beginning of the people's struggle is the beginning of its own downfall. It received a harsh lesson from the heroic masses of Indochina. Soviet social-imperialism, moreover, with its socialist mask, is always ready to abuse the national liberation movements so that it can replace American imperialism.

American imperialism, having repeatedly suffered defeats all over the world, has gone into a frenzy. It is forced either to use a democratic mask and resort to deception of the people in order to regain its lost reputation or to leave the arena to the rise of the peoples' struggles in the countries under its domination and to face the likelihood of the expansionist plans of its rival, Soviet social-imperialism. These are the only two roads open to American imperialism.

The new American government with Carter at the head raised the "human rights" issue in order to save its crumbling world-wide system of exploitation. In the countries under its rule, like Iran, it has established "committees to defend human rights". In some countries, it has tied its military "aid" to the condition of the "exercise of human rights" by the neo-colonial state machine of these countries. Everywhere, it has engaged its supporters, in the form of politicians and intellectuals or those who are in the "opposition", in the "human rights" debate in some form. American imperialism carries out propaganda, spreads rumours, promises political and democratic liberties, and even goes as far as releasing some political prisoners. However, neither the face-lifting of existing regimes with human rights debate, raised by a

Hold High the Great Banner of Great Stalin: On the Occasion of the 98th Anniversary of the Birth of Great Stalin

"... We should all defend the good and immortal work of Stalin. He who does not defend it is an opportunist and a coward... All of Comrade Stalin's theoretical works are a fiery testimony to his loyalty to his teacher of genius, to great Lenin and Leninism..."

(From the Speech delivered at the Meeting of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow on November 16, 1960 by Comrade Enver Hoxha)

One of the methods the opportunists and reactionaries have employed to attack Marxism ever since its foundation, is to allege that the application of Marxism is restricted to particular areas and eras only. They have always ridiculed the revolutionary essence and principles of Marxism. Great Stalin, the faithful disciple of Lenin, great teacher of the proletariat, genius leader of the anti-fascist war, writes about this matter in his immortal work *Foundations of Leninism* (1924) in defence of the eternal and global achievements of Leninism: "... Some say that Leninism is the application of Marxism to the conditions that are peculiar to the situation in Russia... But if Leninism were only the application of Marxism to the conditions that are peculiar to Russia it would be a purely national and only a national, a purely Russian, and only a Russian, phenomenon. We know, however, that Leninism is not merely a Russian, but an international phenomenon rooted in the whole of international

development..." But after Stalin's death and after the establishment of Khrushchovite revisionism, the revisionists have always used the same rotten method to ridicule Marxism-Leninism. Because of the changes in the world situation, Khrushchov changed the basic principles of Marxism, substituting his peaceful road, his revisionist peaceful co-existence, and his collaboration with the imperialists, for class struggle. His French, Spanish, and other followers have proceeded along this path so far that now, in France, they recognize the dictatorship of the proletariat as only belonging to the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, and in Spain, they say the presence of American troops and capital is for the benefit of "peace", "socialism" and "social progress". The "three world" opportunists, these new traitors to Marxism-Leninism, in their defence of their "theory", have resorted to the hoax of "immense and thorough-going changes" in the world situation, in order to create the impression that the teachings of Lenin and Stalin about the era of imperialism have become outdated.

The Iranian masses, at the cost of numerous sacrifices, have learned that imperialism is never going to give them real democracy and peace. Our masses know perfectly well that dictatorship and "democracy" are two methods which imperialism replaces one with the other according to the situation. If today, imperialism overthrows a dictator and replaces him with a so-called democrat through a coup d'etat, then the next day, if it is in its interest, it will not refrain from a coup d'etat against this same so-called democratic government.

The oppressed peoples of the world, including the Iranian people, will never be fooled by imperialism's crocodile tears or fall into the trap of this mockery of "human rights". The world's peoples have learned through experience that as long as imperialism is dominating a country it will never give up the plunder of the natural resources of that country. The imperialist-dependent governments, of whatever kind they may be, be it the Shah's black dictatorship or the "people-loving democracy" of Greece, they are all carrying out the orders of the imperialists, and are the agents for establishing the domination of their people by imperialism. The people have no security from such governments.

Freedom and "human rights" are not gifts which American imperialism and its servants will hand down with their bloodstained hands. The liberation of the masses can only be achieved through violent and persistent struggle against imperialism and its lackeys and against every system of exploitation and plunder.

Only when the people, under the leadership of the proletariat, rise and wipe out the imperialists and their running dogs, rid themselves of any kind of exploitation and oppression, and step onto the road of socialist construction, only then can we talk about real freedom, equality, brotherhood of mankind and human rights.

(No. 3 December 1977)

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The anti-Party clique of Forutan, in its hatred towards the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran, attempts to refute the immortal teachings of great Stalin's work "The Party's Crisis and Our Tasks", which has been translated by the Ahmad Ghasemi Committee in Iran. This clique, with its anti-Marxist

character, employs the same old hideous methods of opportunism and declares that this work of Stalin "applies to a party and to conditions which completely differ from the present situation in our organization and in our country. Should this 'recipe' of Stalin be implemented, our organization will experience a serious setback instead of approaching the sacred goal of reconstituting the Party of the Iranian working class by as little as one step" ("Toufan" no. 121, the fraudulent anti-Party clique's publication published abroad). What is the reasoning behind such conclusions? A look at the above-mentioned article will provide all the answers. It clearly reveals the main reason for the opposition of Forutan and his anti-Party clique to the Party and to Stalin's work. In their vain effort to refute Stalin's work and after some irrelevant, abstract and intellectual talk, these gentlemen finally take up four points from Stalin's work which relate to certain specific conditions of the Russian Social Democratic Party in that period. They compare these four points with the situation of Toufan prior to the reconstitution of the Party in the present conditions of Iran, and then prematurely and subjectively they reach the conclusion: "You see we were right!"

"It is impossible to find the smallest similarity between the Russian Social Democratic Party and the situation of our organization." Indeed, such "dexterity" has to be praised! Even an ostrich will not bury his head in the sand as easily as you have and proclaim: "I am right..." How could someone read "The Party's Crisis...", which others have also read, then omit its most important and basic points, and expect no one to notice it!?

The contradictions between your confusion-mongering article and Stalin's article are so blatant that all those who you were trying to fool, i.e., all revolutionary youth and supporters of Marxism abroad, have ridiculed your writing. Listen to the following few lines from a letter we received from a group of supporters of the Party in Europe: "It is definitely necessary to take a basic step. This step can be nothing but the establishment of a newspaper for *all of Russia* (emphasis by the author of the letter). A newspaper which will take a central position in the Party's work and which will be published *in Russia*' (emphasis by the authors of the letter). This is the whole essence of Comrade Stalin in his work 'The Party's Crisis and Our Task'. A newspaper published in Russia for all of Russia, of which you only mention the latter part. But you don't dare to say where this organ should be published, in Iran or abroad..." These sharp comrades mention the following in their letter: "... write the truth! You should write how you are comfortably sitting in Europe and you don't dare go to Iran. Admit that you think it is a pity to leave beautiful Europe and go to Iran among a handful of peasants, without electricity, water and sanitation... You should write that you are after the Party's leadership (of course abroad) and that you will by no means accept a lower position! By hiding your anti-Party line... you want the Party to have, at the moment of its reconstitution, thousands of trained cadres, who must definitely have millions of workers as followers!..." You can see that neither your old heavenly ideologue nor the hues and cries raised by your intellectual demagogues sitting in Europe have the slightest effect in the Iranian society, nor can they throw dust in the eyes of the emigrated youth. Today, you have even reached the point where you are trying with a thousand and one tricks, to push the Confederation of Iranian Students Abroad into taking a stand against the Party of the working class, ignoring the fact that the masses of emigrated youth are completely aware of the anti-Party and anti-Marxist character of your clique and that they will not fall into your trap.

Now, let us take a look at Comrade Stalin's book and find out what irritated you so much that you had to compare it to the "recipes" of some Tehran quacks. In his work, Stalin mostly emphasizes the necessity for a nationwide newspaper to be prepared and published by the Central Committee in the

country; he writes: "... It would be strange to even imagine that organs published abroad, far away from the reality of Russia, could coordinate the Party's work as a whole, which has passed the stage of circles...", and: "Without going into the fact that only a limited number of them enter Russia, this organ is naturally going to fall behind with respect to the Party life in Russia; it is impossible for them to report and investigate, in time, questions which will move the workers...", and: "... Consequently, organs published and conferences held abroad, although of great importance for the unity of the Party, are insufficient for being in command of the crisis and solidly uniting local organizations. A basic action is absolutely necessary. This action can be nothing else but the establishment of a newspaper for all Russia, a newspaper which will be the central task and will be published in Russia...", and: "... for these reasons we emphasize the need for a newspaper, a newspaper precisely for all of Russia (and not published abroad) and precisely a newspaper providing leadership (not only one pleasing everybody)...", and: "... a newspaper which has been well organized across Russia can be a most effective tool in the hands of the Central Committee to transform itself from a merely figurative centre into a real centre of the whole Party. (our emphasis - Toufan). Stalin, "The Party's Crisis and Our Tasks."

Yes, it is true that the central body of Toufan Organization on February 28, 1969, when Comrade Ghasemi was still alive, passed a resolution with the effort of this comrade and other genuine comrades in the central body, to transfer the leadership to Iran. In this resolution it was emphasized that it is impossible to lead the working class and resistance movement from abroad. But Forutan, with thousands of tricks, replaced this resolution, immediately after the death of Comrade Ghasemi in 1974, and imposed his own anti-Party resolution on the central body of Toufan, claiming that both resolutions were identical and contained the same political line. (This short article does not permit us to go into depth about how Forutan found his way back into the Organization after being expelled from it when Comrade Ghasemi was still alive and his method of imposing such a resolution. We will describe these methods in detail at some other time.) This resolution, which Forutan was constantly promoting regardless of its content, contains the following: "The reconstitution of the working class Party in Iran is a more or less protracted process which will begin with the formation of the leading cores and organizations in various points of the country, which will be linked to the masses and will lead their struggle." If the communists could really lead the struggle of the masses without their Party, why would it be necessary to reconstitute the Party in Iran at all? If the communists can lead without their Party, why should they not proceed with the revolution and even begin the building of socialism? Of what necessity would the leadership of the Party be to the dictatorship of the proletariat? The truth is that this resolution postpones the reconstitution of the Party indefinitely. The truth is that this resolution constitutes a tool in Forutan's hand to fulfill his treacherous plan of uniting with "Sazemane Enghelabi" ("the Revolutionary Organization of the Tudeh Party") and giving this sell-out group and followers of the "theory of three worlds" control of the Iranian communists, and smashing the only active organization of the communists in Iran through such "unity". This treacherous plan is in line with the treacherous designs of Teng Hsiao-ping. It is no accident that Forutan has so much aroused the interest of the Chinese opportunists and is constantly invited to visit and observe China...!

In his phoney paper "Toufan", No. 121, Forutan shamelessly gives the slogan: "The reconstitution of the working class Party is the basic duty of the Toufan organization." In his so-called "publication" No. 25, "The Unity of our Theory and Practice", he writes: "... the 'leftist line' has been demonstrated in many-

ways, particularly with respect to the reconstitution of the Party, and has even become dominant." He treacherously ridicules the memory of Comrade Ghasemi and his eternal contribution to the communist movement in Iran, by saying that he belonged to those who repeatedly "reconstituted" the Party. Forutan himself acknowledges the existence of two opposite lines about the "most essential duty of the Toufan organization" prior to the reconstitution of the Party and then he shamelessly writes in his article in the "Toufan" No. 121, in the name of his own followers who participated in the Conference, that "... in the investigation of the causes of the organizational crisis... the conference had unanimously agreed that for a long time there have been two opposing lines in the central body and in the organization, especially with respect to the organizational matters, which were struggling with each other..." In reply to the comrades of the Committee from Iran, he adds: "... our problem is that a group in the central body had deviated from the Marxist-Leninist line regarding organizational questions and has changed the disciplined and centralized character of the organization..." If it was true that the differences were only of an organizational nature and about the Leninist organizational principles, then the question should have been resolved with the

On the Occasion of the Sixtieth Anniversary of the October Revolution

Sixty years have passed since the Great October Socialist Revolution, the revolution that led all humanity and the oppressed masses towards true liberation and made the cause of the liberation of mankind from class oppression of the previous eras and capitalism become the order of the day. On November 7, 1917, the Soviets, the Workers, Peasants and Soldiers of Petrograd conducted an armed revolt under the leadership of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) and Lenin and Stalin, attacked the Winter Palace of the tsars and overthrew the "provisional government", the symbol of the bourgeoisie and the treachery of the opportunist socialists, and established the new era of socialism.

Leninism, the symbol of this proletarian socialist revolution, with its clear line, enriched Marxism and scientific socialism, and armed the proletariat and the oppressed peoples with a sharp weapon.

The great class battles of the proletariat reaped their fruit for the first time in the Paris Commune of 1871, and tolled the bells of the doom of the oppressor classes, the bourgeois and feudal classes. The Great October Revolution, in an armed and bloody battle under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party against the internal and external enemies, by relying on Marxism, established the dictatorship of the proletariat. This revolution taught that the class struggle of the proletariat and its dictatorship over the defeated oppressor classes is the only way to overthrow any kind of oppression, whether it is class or national oppression.

The experience of the October Socialist Revolution and Leninism showed that without a communist party that is the general staff of the revolution of the oppressed masses, the oppressed masses cannot be liberated from any yoke, and cannot be saved from the twists and turns and the traps laid by the enemies of revolution.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was the first socialist state and system in the history of mankind, the first red bastion of the revolution of the workers and oppressed peoples all over the world. The resolute defence of Leninism and the socialist construction have always been synonymous with the name of great Stalin. The more than 30 years of struggle of the peoples and the proletariat of the Soviet Union under the leadership of Comrade Stalin smashed the attacks, aggressions and blockades

expulsion of Forutan from the central group and from the Toufan Organization in 1973. The Party would have been reconstituted in Iran several years ago, and the leadership would have been transferred to Iran as well. But this was not the case. What prevented the reconstitution of the Party, in the form of excuses and conspiracies, was the existence of an anti-Party and anti-Marxist line in the central body which opposed the correct line of the communists, organized in Toufan. Only with the expulsion and the smashing of this line, which was later transformed into the anti-Party faction of Forutan, by opposing the vacillation and bureaucratism of some former comrades of Toufan, and with the brave efforts and foresight of the comrades in Iran and the supporters abroad, could the Iranian communists fulfill this critical task of reconstituting the Party.

ETERNAL GLORY TO GREAT STALIN!

LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM AND PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!

LONG LIVE THE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' COMMUNIST PARTY OF IRAN!

The editorial board of *Toufan*
(No. 3, December 1977)

of the imperialists, Trotskyism and revisionism, and finally in the Great Patriotic War annihilated Hitlerite fascism, saved humanity from the yoke of this monster and dealt irreparable blows to world imperialism.

The main content of socialism is the dictatorship of the proletariat over the overthrown classes and their fierce attempts, and the successful transformation of the socialist society to communism.

After the death of great Stalin and the coup d'état of the Khrushchovite revisionists, these revisionists isolated the Bolshevik communists in the Party and eliminated them, they shamelessly negated the dictatorship of the proletariat, this necessary teaching of Marxism-Leninism, and they replaced it with the "party of the whole people" and the "state of the whole people". The revision of the principles of Leninism and Marxism through seizing state power by the revisionists demonstrated that the class struggle of the defeated bourgeoisie against socialism not only has not been ended, but the fact that its new forms are becoming even fiercer, more delicate and more treacherous shows that the proletariat is still taking the initial steps in the proletarian socialist revolution.

Traitors such as Brezhnev and the revisionist, social-fascist Russian party also "celebrate" the sixtieth anniversary of the October Revolution; but this "celebration" of theirs is to cover up their imperialist and bourgeois nature and their ugly features, using the red banner of the October Revolution.

Soviet social-imperialists distort the facts, and place their own name upon the achievements of Lenin and Stalin and the Bolshevik Party under their leadership, and present their militarism, hegemonism and hysterical arms buildup in competition with the western imperialist world as the "development and strengthening of socialism".

The Soviet superpower, side-by-side with the U.S. superpower, is one of the most dangerous and principal enemies of socialism, proletarian revolution and liberation movements.

In the social-imperialist Soviet Union, the proletariat has been caught under the yoke of capitalist and imperialist exploitation, the laws of the socialist system do not operate there, and their "socialism" is of the capitalist-imperialist type. In the Soviet Union, the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois classes are rapidly

growing and consolidating themselves. Today the laws of capitalism operate upon the economy of the Soviet Union. The soaring prices, strikes for more wages, the exploitation of the proletariat by western capital, the entanglement of the economy in periodical crises of imperialist capital, etc., are its characteristics. Today, in the social-imperialist Soviet Union, where the profits resulting from exports of capital in various ways and profits gained by selling military armaments reach billions of rubles, there exist hundreds of prisons and asylums for the Bolsheviks and the peoples. The KGB has saturated the patience of the people, there exist more than five million unemployed workers, and the peoples and nationalities of the Soviet Union are under severe national oppression in the same manner as the tsarist period. The social-imperialist revisionists of the Soviet Union, similar to their tsarist ancestors, highly promote the church and religion in order to chain the proletariat and prevent the socialist revolution.

The "Central Committee of the Tudeh Party", the traitors to the people and ideals of the workers of Iran, attempt at all times and everywhere to serve their social-imperialist masters in the best way by distorting the facts about the Iranian society and the world concerning the hegemonism of the Russian superpower. The Central Committee, by resorting to the old methods of those who are nurtured by imperialism, under the slogans and fallacies of "socialism" and taking advantage of Marxist phraseology, attempts to get our people to conciliate with the fascist regime of the Shah and the ruling classes within the framework of "non-capitalist road of development", "the peaceful road of revolution", and the "variety" of ways to gain political power. Classical revisionism is a new phenomenon within the Marxist-Leninist and workers' movement of Iran, and in the form of a fifth column of a social-imperialist superpower is even newer. Therefore, a merciless and resolute struggle by the revolutionaries and the people of Iran against this traitorous clique and their masters will hasten the pace of reaching the goal of an emancipating revolution, and bring the October of the proletariat of Iran even closer.

Never before has the working class and socialism been attacked so severely by its enemies. The theoreticians of the "theory of three worlds", who invite the ruling proletariat, workers and oppressed peoples of the world to conciliate and co-exist in a "just manner" and "reasonable way" with the

The First Conference of the Youth Organization of the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran

The convening of the Conference of the Communist Youth of the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran is another step towards the realization of the goals of the historic Congress of the Party.

The Conference was convened at a time when the party comrades inside and outside Iran are relentlessly waging a struggle against reaction and opportunists of all hues in the defence of their rights and the goals of the working class.

The Youth Conference took place in an atmosphere of absolute secrecy and was successfully concluded with the found-

The Youth Conference

The struggle of the communist youth of Iran has a glorious history. The 1940's marked one of the most shining and turbulent periods in the struggle of the communist youth of Iran. During this period, the Youth Organization of the Tudeh Party, which had organized a great number of the youth around itself, played a valuable role in dissemination of communist ideas amongst the youth and in attracting them to the Tudeh Party, the party of the

bourgeoisie, fascism and Western imperialism in order to "struggle" against the Soviet superpower, are the irreconcilable enemies of Marxism-Leninism, because the content of the "theory of three worlds" and its practical result comprise co-existence and conciliation of the revolutionaries and the proletariat with the reactionary and bourgeois ruling classes. It means accepting the very oppression that Marxism-Leninism — the guiding light for the liberation of humanity from the exploitation of man by man — came into existence to eliminate.

Amidst this revolutionary turmoil and the warmongering of the superpowers and world imperialism, the followers of the "theory of three worlds" in practice stand with the front of counter-revolution and reaction, side by side with the Western imperialist fronts in "defence of the fatherland".

Socialist Albania with its Party of Labour, in the present situation, is the only revolutionary and socialist base of the proletariat and oppressed peoples which without any vacillation is defending the fruits of the Great October Socialist Revolution and Marxism-Leninism and upholding the torch of Marxism-Leninism and the dictatorship of the proletariat in the world of imperialist monsters.

The many varieties of opportunists, the Russian social-imperialist superpower and the revisionist bourgeoisie feel a great deal of hatred and resentment towards socialist Albania, because of the upholding of the Leninist Bolshevik principles and their continuation and development by the Party of Labour of Albania under the leadership of the great teacher of the proletariat, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Similar to the socialist Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin, this fist in the face of the imperialist and revisionist bourgeoisie deals telling blows against the capitalist and colonialist world and changes the face of the world in favour of socialism and the liberation of the oppressed people from the yokes of colonialism and exploitation. The development of the revolutionary workers' movement in the revisionist countries for socialist revolution testifies to the coming defeat of the revisionist bourgeoisie and heralds a bright and shining future of socialism in these countries.

LONG LIVE OUR SACRED RED BANNER, THE BANNER OF SOCIALIST REVOLUTION, THE BANNER OF MARX, ENGELS, LENIN AND STALIN!

(No. 2, November 1977)

ing of the Youth Organization of the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran. In this conference resolutions were passed on the situation in Iran, on the international situation, and in support of the Confederation of Iranian Students Abroad.

The Conference of the Communist Youth of the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran, in order to disseminate Marxism-Leninism amongst the Iranian students abroad, also decided to publish the organ *Towards the Future*. This organ will act as the Central Organ of the Youth Organization, until the establishment of the centre of the Youth Organization in Iran.

Iranian proletariat. After the coup d'état of 1953, this organization was smashed by the coup regime. But the members of this organization, in the years after the coup, continued their struggle under the bayonets of the coup regime. They continued their struggle in the form of underground cells or by participation in the mass movements. Many of these comrades gave their lives in the struggle against the fascist regime. After the



فروردین ماه
۱۳۰۲
آوریل ۱۹۷۸

بسوی آینده

ارگان مرکزی سازمان جوانان حزب
کمونیست کارگران و دهقانان ایران

بیدار هر که شست در ایران رود به دار بی دار و زندگی بیدارم آرزوست

Masthead of the Central Organ of the Youth Organization of the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran

revisionist betrayal of the majority of the "Central Committee of the Tudeh Party of Iran", the Iranian proletariat lost its vanguard and as a result the youth organization, an organization which under the leadership of the Party could carry out the task of disseminating communist ideas and organizing the youth, was also liquidated. Finally, with the efforts and struggle of the Marxist-Leninists who were organized in the Toufan Organization, the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran was reconstituted in our homeland and like the salamander raised from the ashes.

According to the will and the decision of the First Congress of the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran, and according to the correct guidelines of the Central Committee of the Party, the Youth Organization, like an infant but capable of growth, came into being and held its First Conference (Founding Conference). The Youth Organization was founded in order to consolidate and develop the links of the masses of the youth, and in the main the labouring youth, with the Party. It was founded to tear apart the heart of the class enemy with the bayonet of the Party, on the one hand, to increase the capabilities and the force of the Party, and on the other hand, with persistent struggle to bring new blood and young forces to the Party. The Youth Organization took up the task of training the youth with the Bolshevik and communist spirit and kindling the fire of love for and dedication to the Party and the proletariat and sacrifice for the masses in their heart, and preparing the youth for recruitment

The "National Unity" Policy of the Shah

The propaganda organs of the black regime of the coup d'etat (referring to the reinstalment of the regime of the Shah through the 1953 CIA coup d'etat - *trans.*) have for some time now been making a lot of noise about the "necessity for consolidating national unity" and the preservation of the "integrity of Iran". The propaganda for the above issues take the form of various "Party" conferences and meetings, obligatory "patriotic" demonstrations of various sections and classes of the people at various times, and is discussed at length in the *Rastakhiz* newspaper, the mouthpiece of the regime. The rotten "intellectuals" of the regime in these groups desperately try to make the people accept its meaning for "national unity" and to explain the "secrets of the lasting monarchical rule" to them in the same manner as magicians and skilful tricksters playing puppet theatre. The puppet shows of the regime installed by the black coup d'etat about the "necessity for consolidating national unity" have reached their maximum at a time when Iran's fighting masses have risen up with unprecedented courage and shaken the oppressive system of the butcher Pahlavi family with their heroic and daring uprisings. The slogan "Death to the traitorous Shah, lackey of imperialism!" which daily echoes from each corner of our country, which is infested with the Pahlavis, clearly shows the aim of our wretched and deprived masses and exposes the

into the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran to struggle for the achievements of the ideals of the proletariat.

The Youth Organization holds the view that in the conditions of our country, besides working amongst the labouring masses, we should never give up the opportunity for attracting and training the youth from other sections and classes who are part of the people, especially the students and intellectuals. Today we are witnessing the dissemination of all kinds of diversionary, anti-communist and non-communist views, which are being passed off as "Marxism-Leninism". Those views which are being propagated, be it by the reactionary forces or by the non-proletarian classes, are aimed at polluting communism and are causing confusion amongst the youth, especially intellectuals. It is the duty of the Youth Organization of communists to rise in defence of Marxism-Leninism, to defend the purity of communism by facing, and waging struggle against, all kinds of thinking and ideas from non-proletarian elements which are labelling themselves as communists, and to bring up the youth as Bolsheviks, alien to pessimism and fear and armed with dedication and selflessness so that they are prepared to resolutely march towards the bright future, towards a world without oppression and exploitation.

The Founding Conference, inspired by the decisions, resolutions, the line and program of the Party, with the adoption of its constitution and the election of its Central Committee, victoriously ended.

source of the bondage, misery and poverty of our people in the bloodstained hands of the imperialist plunderers.

The shameless regime is placing emphasis on the royal family and the person of the lackey Shah as "symbol" of the unity and integrity of Iran, which under these conditions can only have the meaning that the people who are rebelling are opposed to "national unity" and allegedly want to "dismember" Iran.

But what does "national unity" really mean in the lexicon of this puppet regime of imperialism? What is this absolutely criminal and traitorous Pahlavi regime really seeking in its "unity" in Iran?

A study of the official propaganda of the shameless coup d'etat regime and the emphasis in this propaganda on the special conditions under which the militarist Reza Khan and his butcher son came to power in Iran, as well as the various measures which have been carried out for the sake of maintaining Iran's "unity", all these demonstrate that the CIA-installed regime is trying to present the Pahlavi family, particularly the person of the militarist Reza Khan and the butcher Mohammad Reza Shah, as the symbol of the "national unity of Iran".

The "historians" of the black coup d'etat regime are shamelessly describing history in this framework. They are endlessly writing about the "historic", nay shall we say,

"heavenly" mission of the detested Pahlavi family. They attach a sacred halo to the militarist Reza Khan and describe the period before his imperialist-inspired coup d'etat as being so dark and saddening that readers of historical documents are compelled to perceive him as the saviour of a torn-apart Iran. More ridiculous than anything else is the fiction which the "intellectual" servants of the black coup d'etat regime are concocting about their master, the butcher Mohammad Reza Shah, being the symbol of the "national unity" of Iran. The Shah, who like his militarist father received the throne from British imperialism at a time of crisis, when Iran was occupied by foreign armies, is using every opportunity to emphasize his "historic mission" to "save the fatherland" from disintegration and dismemberment.

In the phoney celebration of the anniversary of the "liberation of women" he went so far as shamelessly claiming to have been the only one opposing the foreigners, while nobody else thought of Iran, and also to have been the only one who "saved" Iran from dismemberment and occupation.

This is only one side of the coin of the puppet coup d'etat regime's propaganda policy to show the Pahlavi family, with the Shah at its head, as a symbol of the "national unity" of the Iranian nation. Securing the religion of Islam and resistance to communism is the other side of the propaganda coin of the black coup d'etat regime. The propaganda of the despised coup d'etat regime tries to depict the puppet Shah as an opponent of communist "conspiracies" and to create the image of him seriously defending the principles of Islam and fighting the communist influence.

Meanwhile, in the framework of defending Islam, the puppet Shah tries to oppose the liberation movement of the Iranian people and, in general, every oppositional voice. He brands all his opponents and any movement which is opposed to his black regime as being communist, and carries this method of his as far as "accusing" the progressive priests and the vexed masses of the Iranian people who believe in the Islamic traditions, of being united with and dependent on communism.

Other aspects of the puppet regime of the Shah's "crusade" against the liberation movement of the Iranian people are the attempts to weaken the masses of the people, the attempts to convert the class struggle into a religious one, between Moslems and Kaffirs and to attract the people to the "orthodox religious Shah". The slogan "Death to the Shah, death to communism", which the SAVAK wrote on the walls of Azarabadegan University on the second day of the uprising of our people in Tabriz, fully reveals the filthy and degenerate aims of the traitorous Shah. This slogan only shows the desperate means to which the regime of the Shah had to resort so as to create contradictions in the ranks of the rebelling people of Tabriz at a time of the greatest crisis in the history of our people. But the above-mentioned ridiculous slogan could not have the slightest effect on the sacred unity of the people of Tabriz and could not divert the resistance of our people against the bloodthirsty regime of Mohammad Reza Shah into a religious war amongst our people.

In continuation of its propaganda about "national unity" and the necessity of defending Islam, the puppet regime of the Shah tries, directly and indirectly, to depict the Soviet Union, which prior to the degeneration of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union into the marsh of revisionism, was the true vanguard of the toiling and oppressed people of the world, as Iran's main enemy, as the enemy of "national unity", as the main force of the dismemberment of Iran in 1946 (1325), as the present threat to the "independence and national unity of Iran", as the base of atheism and communism, and finally as the centre of conspiracy and provocation of the Iranian peoples.

The thoroughly traitorous regime of Mohammad Reza Shah, by resorting to slanders and accusations, attempted to present

the uprising of our oppressed masses all over Iran, specially in Tabriz and Qom as the result of the machinations of alien elements who have instigated the people. The shamelessness of the puppet Shah has reached such a level that he attributed the bloody uprising of the people of Tabriz to "alien elements" who had come from "the other side of the border" (that is the Soviet Union) in order to instigate the people of Tabriz. As though the poverty-stricken and repressed life of our people could not possibly be the reason for the uprising of the masses against the regime of force and plunder of Mohammad Reza Shah! Meanwhile the SAVAK organization had spread various rumours that the Tabriz uprising was directed by underground units of the Democratic Party of Azerbaijan (which of course receives orders from Moscow).

Continuing the same policies, the traitorous Shah not only overlooks the activities of the harmful paid elements of the revisionist and traitorous Tudeh Party but in various ways does propaganda for them. For example, the writers and poets of the revisionist Tudeh Party are free in their activities. This includes their role in various meetings which are being held in Tehran, such as the poetry nights at the Iran-Germany Cultural Society, the poetry-reading and speakers' programme at the Arya Mehr University, etc. It allows them to screen Russian movies. SAVAK with a lot of commotion imprisons the known elements of the lackey Tudeh Party, such as Beh Azeen, so that they may acquire some currency and trust.

By emphasizing the activities of the elements of the traitorous Tudeh Party in Iran and by magnifying their role in the national liberation of the Iranian peoples, the dark regime of the coup d'etat attempts to prove that Iran is facing the danger of "communist aggression" from the Soviet Union and their native lackeys. Therefore in order to preserve the "integrity" of Iran from the danger of "disintegration" and for the defence of the principles of Islam in the face of the attacks of the atheists, it is essential to strengthen "national unity" around its "symbol", which is the traitorous Shah.

Of course, the lackey Tudeh Party, consciously and for the sake of taking advantage of the occasion, has increased its poisonous and reckless activities in the national liberation movement of the Iranian people.

It disseminates its slavish ideas amongst the oppressed and deprived masses of Iran through its pamphlets and newspapers (such as *Naveed* newspaper). It also carries out widespread propaganda for its social-imperialist masters. In such a dirty affair, the lackey Tudeh Party not only benefits from the tolerance of the shameless regime of the Shah, but it also benefits from the severe conditions of political and social repression, repression of the news and also the frightful lack of progressive culture amongst the people.

The Chinese opportunists directly and emphatically support the traitorous Shah, who attempts to present himself as the "champion" of resistance in the face of social-imperialist aggression in Iran and the Middle East. The Chinese opportunists by their invention of the anti-Marxist "theory of three worlds" have joined the ranks of the eulogists of the dependent and anti-national policies of the Shah, this known lackey of the U.S. imperialists.

Their Iranian supporters "the Revolutionary Organization of the Tudeh Party of Iran Abroad" also deceitfully attempt to carry out propaganda about these "positive" points of the Shah and his "anti-imperialist" side amongst the people, and participate in assisting the SAVAK to hunt down the revolutionary elements. The traitorous Shah has responded to their eulogy by offering the Iranian market to Chinese commodities. The Customs Office of Iran reports that in 1355 (March 1976 - March 1977), China imported from Iran 100 million tooman worth of commodities, but its exports to Iran were 800 million tooman. There is no need

for further explanation!

On the basis of the above we can summarize the foundation of the demagogic propaganda policies of the puppet regime, which is in the service of the aggressive designs and plunder of imperialism:

1. To present the Shah as the symbol of "national unity and integrity" who fights against any "conspiracy" against the "integrity" of Iran.

2. To present the Shah as the symbol of "defence", of resistance in the face of atheism, the communist plot, and the "champion" of resistance in the face of the greed of the "communist" Soviet Union in Iran and the region.

The emphasis of the dark regime of the coup d'état on the turbulent periods of the revolutionary history of the Iranian people, the "terrifying" memory of which still remains in the rotten imagination of the traitorous regime, the emphasis on the strategic importance of Iran in Asia and the Middle East and the role of the Soviet Union in the history of the past 50 years of Iran, is only to show that Iran, especially during the past 50 years, has always been watched and aggressed upon by the Soviet Union and its Iranian supporters. Therefore the necessity of resisting this attack demands that the puppet Shah take any measures he sees necessary, any measures that guarantee "unity and integrity" of Iran and the Iranian Islamic traditions, and wherever it is required. It was on the basis of this logic that the puppet Shah, in response to the occupation of his embassy in East Berlin, in order to present the occupation as more than what it was and in order to place this in the framework of his "theory" of "communist aggression" which is "threatening" Iran, severed all diplomatic and economic relations with East Germany. *Keyhan* newspaper is presently writing a series of articles under the title of "War-mongering of the Soviet Union in Iran" and attempts to attribute all the movements of the Iranian peoples in Iran and abroad to the plots and instigations of the Soviet Union.

The repeated aggression of the puppet Shah on behalf of U.S. imperialism against the rights of the peoples of the Persian Gulf and Africa is another result of the practical application of the Shah's policy of "preventing Soviet aggression" in the region. With the help of this "logic" he strives to justify his role as the gendarme of the Gulf and if necessary Africa and the Indian Ocean, to neutralize the pro-Western forces (and possibly his opponents who observe his activities with suspicion and doubts), which are in some sort of contradiction with social-imperialism, and in the extreme case make them agree with his aggressive designs. Following the above "logic", the puppet Shah made a visit to Oman and Dhofar for a few days, before his recent trip to the United States to visit his master Carter. It was his intention to make international public opinion, and especially those in the West who are critical of his policies, "understand" that it was as a result of his fascist and aggressive policies that Oman, which at one time appeared to have "slipped away", has been returned to the arms of the West.

Of course, the issue of "struggle" or "resistance" of the puppet Shah in the face of the goals of the Soviet Union is more of a fairy tale which is the creation of the revisionist supporters of the "theory of three worlds". Presently, the Soviet Union, through unequal trade, plunder of natural resources, especially natural gas, selling of "technology", dispatch of scientific and military advisers, control of certain branches of industry, huge sales of arms, etc. possesses vast interests in Iran. The Soviet military advisers are involved in training the Iranian army in the use of heavy Russian weapons in the Artillery Headquarters of Isfahan, and certain Russian weapons such as the RGB-7 anti-tank weapon that are directly assembled there.

The only issue which arises on the question of the contention of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism in Iran (and on which the Shah as the representative of U.S. imperialism

comes face to face with the Soviet Union) is that the Soviet social-imperialists are seeking absolute hegemony in Iran and are not content with the "insignificant crumbs" that the U.S. imperialists have thrown them.

Of course, Soviet social-imperialism and its fifth column, the revisionist Tudeh Party, are by no means unhappy about the so-called "fight" which the Shah carries out against them. On the contrary, they are very happy, because they are aware that the traitorous Shah is so much hated and despised by the Iranian peoples that whosoever comes under his attack is automatically liked by the oppressed peoples of Iran. In this way the Soviet social-imperialists and their Iranian servant, the traitorous Tudeh Party, can pass themselves off as opponents of the Shah and, when the opportunity arises, place their chain of slavery around the neck of our peoples.

Under the banner of "Shah, the symbol of national unity and integrity" and by shaking the Soviet scarecrow, the filthy coup d'état regime is only attacking the interests of our plundered and deprived masses. On this issue we should mention the fascist laws which ban any demonstrations against the puppet regime (which go against "national unity") and have established the most repressive and unprecedented political, social and cultural life for our people.

The merciless suppression of the national and revolutionary Constitutional, Junjal, Colonel Tagheekhan Pessian, Sheikh Mohammad Khiabani movements; the merciless suppression of the repeated uprisings of the people against the condition of poverty and repression of the Pahlavi regime in 1332 (1953), 15 Khordad 1342 (June 6, 1963) and the recent uprising in Qom and Tabriz; the violent massacre of the Iranian peoples in Azerbaidjan, Kurdistan, etc., are all the outcome of the rule of the filthy and degenerate Pahlavi family and the explanation of the meaning of their phrase "national unity and integrity".

By emphasizing the role of "alien elements" amongst the people or exaggerating the activities of the traitorous Tudeh Party's agents in the national liberation movement of the people of Iran, the puppet coup d'état regime attempts to justify all the fascist and plundering measures and to create splits, suspicions and doubts amongst the people. But the attempt of the puppet Shah to demagogically put a mask on the aggressive and plundering policies of the U.S. imperialists in Iran, which take place by his bloodstained hands, and the contradiction of this policy with the expansionist policies of Soviet social-imperialism in Iran and the Middle East, will be in vain, because the peoples of Iran are well aware that the puppet Shah is nothing but a protector of the interests of imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, and the executor of its plundering designs in Iran and the Middle East.

The "national unity and integrity" of the butcher Shah's policy, which is materialized in the framework of the Rastakhiz Party, in addition to clumsy demagogy, in fact reflects this reality that the shameless Pahlavi dynasty, with the traitorous Shah at the head, protects the "integrity" of the interests of Western imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, in this part of the world. Any attempts, by any force, aimed at "dismembering" or "confiscating" these interests will face the "crusade" of the Shah, the running dog of U.S. imperialism. The idle talk of the puppet Shah about aggression of the "Northern plunderer" will no more fool anyone. The Iranian peoples are well aware that behind the "resistance" of the Shah in the face of the greed of Soviet social-imperialism lies the defence of the plundering interests of Western imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, and not the interests of the oppressed peoples of Iran and the Middle East.

The Iranian people are well aware of the filthy and plundering nature of U.S., Russian, English, French, German, Japanese, etc., imperialism and their lackeys, be they in "power" or in the "opposition". And in spite of repeated recommendations of the

two-faced supporters of the "theory of three worlds", the Iranian people do not consider themselves as partners of the "national unity" of the traitorous Shah or his so-called "struggle" against Soviet social-imperialist aggression. The struggle between the U.S. imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists is the struggle between two plunderers, which is alien to the interests of the peoples, and supporting one imperialist or the other not only does not give rise to liberation; on the contrary, in the extreme situation it results in the substitution of one imperialist for the other.

The only path to the liberation of the world's peoples from the yoke of exploitation and colonialism of all kinds is revolution, a

The Shah and "Human Rights"

The criminal regime of the Shah with its SAVAK once again has shown its filthy and criminal nature. The cowardly attacks against the university students and the people who have risen against the devious crimes of the Shah, have silenced all the hullabaloo about the "democratization" and "support for human rights" of the fascist regime of the Shah. During the incident of November 12 (Aban 30) alone, when students had gathered to hear a speech at the Technical University of Tehran, close to 20 people were killed. The total number of people killed on this day reached 93. Considering the intensity of repression and violent attacks of the criminal police of the Shah, this is not an overestimation. It has been also reported that in another incident at Carvan sara Sangi, over 120 people were badly beaten and arrested. The total number of arrests is mentioned to be 2000.

What is important to mention here is the intensity of the violence of the police and military of the criminal Shah against the students and people who at various places, such as the Technical University of Tehran, Amir Abad, etc., had risen to oppose the crimes of the Shah. The criminal regime this time also, mercilessly and with unprecedented cruelty stained its shameful hands with the blood of the brave masses of our people.

But it is important to note and emphasize certain points. The criminal regime has adopted a deceitful measure: The police and the guards of the fascist Shah, with civilian clothes and under the label of pro-Shah elements — as though "aroused" by the "slanders" of the demonstrators against the Shah — attacked and violently killed and injured the students and the heroic and brave people of Iran.

The criminal regime, by using the SAVAK under the hoax of carrying out an order from the Ministry of Justice for the arrest of "hoodlums", began to arrest the people. It is known to everyone that the Ministry of Justice of Iran has no legal and judicial powers. The criminal regime of the Shah cannot fool everyone by these tricks. We have not forgotten the statement of the lawyers of the Ministry of Justice in July 1977 which condemned the control and domination of the executive power over legislative and judicial powers, which is increasing with the new legislation. The judicial power of Iran is subservient to the executive power. It has no freedom. The Ministry of Justice of Iran in practice has no legal rights.

But no matter what kind of deceit the regime resorts to, it is already condemned to defeat. The fact that the unprecedented intensity of repression and oppression continues is an indication that the Iranian people will never be fooled by the criminal and reactionary regime of the Shah, which is rotten to the core. Furthermore, the practice of the Shah has exposed the nature of the opportunists, the revisionists and the followers of the "theory of three worlds", who have been doing propaganda about the "independent" and "national" policies of the Shah, or speak of "democracy" of the criminal regime of the Shah, or those who speak of "lessening of terror". Persecution, massacre and torture

revolution which wipes out imperialism, social-imperialism and their native lackeys and brings peace, well-being and genuine fraternity for the peoples.

OPPOSE THE SLOGAN "INTEGRITY AND NATIONAL UNITY" OF THE TRAITOROUS SHAH WITH THE SLOGAN OF UNITY OF ALL THE GENUINELY REVOLUTIONARY FORCES!

DEATH TO IMPERIALISM, ESPECIALLY THE TWO SUPERPOWERS, U.S. AND SOVIET UNION!

From the editorial board of *Toufan*, the Central Organ of the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran

is the most basic, elementary and dominant method of the criminal regime of the Shah. It is interwoven with his nature. The prevalence of torture in the Shah's prisons is known to everyone. Even at the time when the dark regime of the Shah was trying to deceive the people by saying that the conditions of the prisons are better and the prisoners live comfortably, even at that time, they would put the prisoners under physical and mental pressure. They prevent the prisoners from sleeping. They interrogate the prisoners from 7 a.m. to 1:30 p.m. and from 3 to 7 p.m., without interruption. This is usually carried out at least for a week and sometimes for weeks, without paying any attention to their physical or spiritual conditions. It is obvious that these interrogations take place under bad conditions of either physical weakness of the prisoners (bad food, severe pressure and mental stress due to the interrogations) or the torture and constant intimidation of the criminal SAVAK.

The regime of the Shah, under the pressure of the struggle of the heroic people of Iran, has been forced to deny torture. And on the threshold of his trip to the U.S., in order to dupe public opinion, along with Sweden and 14 other countries, the Shah hypocritically signed a resolution against torture in the U.S. But it has been confirmed that the filthy regime of the Shah has established secret chambers where it violently tortures the brave sons of the Iranian peoples, away from the eyes of foreign visitors. Meanwhile, 50 prisoners, long after the date of their release, have been missing and there is no sign of them. The intensity of the pressure of the SAVAK's centres in various cities is unimaginable. The criminal SAVAK agents in the cities and various provinces are competing with each other in persecution, torture and massacre of the masses of the people. Fearing that they may not discover certain information which later may be discovered in Tehran, and as a result losing their share of the "honour" (glory) to repress the people, they torture the sons of the peoples with unimaginable intensity and are not afraid of blinding, crippling and maiming or even killing (without any reason).

During the height of hypocritical propaganda about "human rights" by the Shah, pressure, intimidation and massacre are continuing as always with intensity.

The recent crimes are not the first nor the last crimes of the Pahlavi dynasty. But these crimes are taking place in a specific situation, where the whole propaganda machine of the regime and other supporters of the imperialists, at the time of the Shah's visit to the U.S. to receive new orders from the chief of the world's thieves, Carter, were noisily propagating the view that the U.S. desires the establishment of democracy in Iran. But it is known to all that these crimes of the Shah and all his other crimes are being carried out with the total approval of the U.S. The traitorous Shah during this trip, under the open command of the U.S., declared his opposition to an increase of oil prices at the oil conference in Caracas and openly betrayed the interests of all the oil-producing countries. This born imperialist lackey has always

carried out the orders of the U.S. on every issue. He does not even have the freedom to independently implement the U.S. policies according to his own initiative in Iran. Radio Peking, the mouthpiece of the Chinese opportunists, which is praising the "national independent" policies of the Shah, spouts nothing but shameless hypocrisy and demagoguery.

Nothing can fool the Iranian people anymore. Neither the traitorous Shah's cabinet changes, nor the preaching of the known elements who pretend to be democrats and the declarations of those traitors who hypocritically have "captured the fortress of freedom from within", can divert our determined people from the path they have adopted. Our peoples with their

The Tabriz Uprising

Following the massacre of the people of Qom, where more than 700 people were killed, and the spreading of this news throughout Iran, an immeasurable wave of hatred was raised against the regime of Mohammad Reza Shah. The reaction of the masses of Tabriz to this news shook the throne of Mohammad Reza Shah.

On Wednesday and Thursday, February 15th and 16th, leaflets were distributed by the revolutionaries. One of the leaflets was signed by Ayatollah Shariatmadari (a religious leader — *trans.*) who is a resident of Tabriz. All these leaflets invited the people to close the shops and to gather in the mosques on Saturday, February 18, in order to commemorate and honour the martyrs of the city of Qom. The people of Tabriz, in their indignation about these indiscriminate massacres of the regime, gathered in small groups on Saturday morning to go to the mosques. But when the residents of Tabriz approached the doors of the mosques they found that armed security forces had blocked the entrances and prevented the people from entering the mosques. As the masses were stopped the crowd grew denser, until they flooded the streets. When the demonstration reached its peak, dozens of people joined them at every corner. The police were fleeing from the demonstrators, and the orders of the high police officials to shoot were not carried out by the Tabriz policemen, because a majority of them are residents of the city themselves. This angry flood divided itself into four parts at the Shahnaz crossroads of Tabriz, each heading in a different direction. In fact, the whole city had come into motion. The people, big and small, young and old, were marching, shouting the slogans "Death to the Shah!" in Turkish, and attacking banks and movie theatres. In their attack on the office of the Shah's Rastakhiz Party they demolished and burned the office, while shouting the slogan "Rastakhiz has been exposed!", in Turkish. They ridiculed the pictures of the Shah and his nefarious family, and then burned them. The voice of the angry masses of Tabriz also reached other cities, and early on Sunday morning, the news was carried abroad by Party comrades and the events of Saturday were published in issue No. 5 of the monthly bulletin of the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran. This united movement, which involved more than 70,000 people of the city of Tabriz, shook the fragile foundations of the Shah's regime. The traitorous Pahlavi regime, which was panic-stricken by the flame of the people's rage, sought for help from wherever possible to counter the anger of the people of Tabriz: starting from the ground and air forces, the gendarmerie, police and SAVAK to even the forestry guards. It brought all of them to Tabriz and scattered them all over the city. The regime did not stop here; it brought its troops from the Rezaiyeh base, who were about to leave for Somalia, for assistance. At two o'clock in the afternoon the masses attacked the police stations, including the central police station. After these events the massacre of the people began and the hail of the machine guns started. The resistance of the masses was incredible. They courageously stood

flesh and skin know the criminal regime of the Shah. They know well that for the overthrow of the criminal regime of the Shah and the expulsion of his imperialist masters, they must resort to armed violence. The freedom and liberation of the people from oppression and slavery is only possible through the new democratic revolution under the leadership of the working class and its only genuine general staff, the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran.

**VICTORY TO THE NEW DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION!
DOWN WITH THE CRIMINAL REGIME OF THE SHAH
AND ALL IMPERIALISM!**

in front of the gun-barrels aimed at them saying: "If you are not a coward then prove it, shoot. We are not afraid of your bullets." With all their arms, the agents of the regime fled the scene. Old men, women and children were also participants in these glorious demonstrations. From Sunday on, small anti-riot tanks were stationed in all the streets and back alleys of Tabriz. But despite all this, the demonstrations on Sunday were even larger than on the previous day. In fact, the unarmed masses were scattered everywhere, facing tanks and other military equipment, e.g. helicopters, which were used to shoot the people. The number of persons killed in the Tabriz riot was over 400, and more than 2000 were wounded. In one of the Tabriz streets alone, more than 50 corpses were counted. A doctor informed our comrades that 12 people died from their wounds in Tabriz's Pahlavi Hospital. The people's response was excellent both on Sunday when the fighting was going on and on subsequent days. They came in groups to the hospitals to donate their blood for the wounded. But even here the evil SAVAK organization could not restrain its hatred for the masses and constantly tried to harass the blood donors, under various pretexts.

The fascist regime of the Shah rewarded the soldiers and SAVAK agents in return for their crimes. They were rewarded by the regime with 500 toomans for each bullet they had fired.

Meanwhile, when the students of Tabriz University arrived at the University they saw that all departments were covered with the slogan: "Down with the Shah, and Down with Communism!". The conscious students immediately realized that the SAVAK itself had painted these slogans on the doors to cause disunity amongst the people and exposed this activity. The news of the huge demonstrations reached the students at about 11 a.m. Within a short time about 300 students started a demonstration, burned the barracks of the University guard, and then joined the main demonstration in a disciplined manner.

After the events of Tabriz the people in several other cities also burned the offices of the Rastakhiz Party and blasted and demolished statues of the Shah. The anti-Shah activities are on the increase, particularly in the northern cities of Iran; the regime is presently heavily controlling the streets in the north and scrutinizing all travellers. More than 800 SAVAK agents, according to our Party's sources, were sent from Tehran to Tabriz in the second week of the Tabriz uprising. The control has been greatly intensified especially after the publication of a leaflet in Tabriz on February 24, warning that, "If the Iranian regime does not soon release those who were arrested and if it continues to torture them, it will be subject to a terrible revenge." So far, more than a few hundred people have been arrested just for distributing this leaflet.

What was strikingly apparent in these magnificent demonstrations and could be felt was the need for organization, since due to the lack of leadership, uniform slogans were not given, or a slogan given was opposed by others. These large

demonstrations, which reflect the people's hatred and contempt for the Pahlavi regime, clearly show our people that no demonstration can fully exert its pressure without having organization and correct leadership. These events have shown our young communist comrades the need to expand, as fully as possible, their organizational efforts, and to take up the heavy task of leadership by uniting with the toiling masses.

Every day, it is becoming clearer to our toiling masses that without a centre or leadership it is impossible to resist to the end an organized enemy who is armed to the teeth. What our Party

The Soviet Social-Imperialists Strengthen their Bonds with the Reactionary Regime of Iran

Presently, the radio and press of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania are giving special attention to the struggle of the communists and labouring masses of Iran. Many articles have been broadcast from Radio Tirana and have appeared in the Albanian press, including ATA (Albanian Telegraphic Agency), in support of the struggles of the Iranian people and working class and in exposure of the lackey Pahlavi regime and its imperialist and social-imperialist supporters. The following is one of these articles:

Tirana, December 16, 1977 - ATA

A delegation representing the reactionary Iranian regime is presently in the Soviet Union to participate in the meeting of the Permanent Commission for Economic Cooperation between Iran and the Soviet Union.

Yaganeh and Segachkoff, the Chairman of the State Council for Relations with Foreign Countries, while examining the relations between Soviet social-imperialism and the reactionary regime of Iran, dwelt on their interests in increasing cooperation between the two countries.

Meanwhile it is reported that the Kremlin clique has already

On the Visit of the Vice-Chairman of the National People's Congress of China to Iran

Once again, and this time on the occasion of the trip of Teng Ying-chao, Chou En-lai's wife and Vice-Chairman of the National People's Congress of China to Iran, the radio and press in China have spoken and written about the "independent nationalist" policies of the government of Iran, the "opposition" of the Iranian government to the aggressive policies of the two superpowers as well as the great role of Iran amongst the "third world" countries in "confronting" imperialist policies and the "just" position of Iran in regards to the Middle East, the Indian Ocean and of South Asia becoming a nuclear-free zone. "The leadership of the Shahanshah" in Iran has made Mrs. Teng Ying-chao hum melodies such as "we have seen with our own eyes that the royal government and people of Iran under the leadership of the Shahanshah Aryamehr (King of Kings and Light of the Aryans — *trans.*) are using all their efforts and have achieved significant successes in vigilantly protecting and guarding their independence and sovereignty for the cause of the construction of the country, the development of culture and the economy . . ." What was said on Radio Peking depicts another discovery of these "leaders": ". . . Today the two superpowers have their eyes on Iran. And this country is vigilantly guarding against any aggressions from outside its borders, especially regarding the Hormoz Strait, and Shahanshah has asked the Iranian people to always be ready to defend their homeland", and it adds: "While Iran continuously strengthens its national defence force to protect its independence and integrity, at the

could accomplish in these events was to spread the news of the movement to different parts of Iran, and even abroad, and furthermore, wherever our communist comrades or supporters of the Communist Party were present, they participated in the resistance of the masses with complete devotion. Surely, the reconstitution of the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran is a great step in the direction of organizing the resistance of our masses against the decadent Pahlavi regime and its imperialist supporters.

signed a series of agreements with the reactionary regime of Iran, which will open the way in this country for further infiltration of Soviet capital into the various economic branches. The Moscow leaders give great consideration to transportation of Iranian gas through the Soviet Union, because through this they are able to control the gas export of Iran to other countries as well as gaining some profit.

The Soviet social-imperialists have their eyes on the other natural resources of Iran and Moscow is trying to grab them. That is why the Soviet social-imperialists, besides providing technical "assistance" to Iran, have sent a number of "experts" to this country. According to the Iranian press reports, economic activity between the two countries has increased tenfold during the last 10 years.

The Soviet social-imperialists have also expressed willingness to deliver arms to the reactionary Iranian regime. The Soviet social-imperialists even on this front are contending with U.S. imperialism and are making efforts for all-sided plunder of Iran, to obtain greater concessions and to take part alongside the reactionary Iranian regime in the exploitation and suppression of the Iranian working masses.

same time it strives with all its force to further develop its economy . . ." Chou En-lai made the same sort of statement when he was alive: "Recently, Iran, along with other members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, has started a successful struggle against the Western imperialist cartels in preserving and defending its sovereignty and independence over its natural resources and has achieved certain victories. We support your struggles and wholeheartedly wish you success." These words, which even the imperialist masters of the Shah, being afraid of public opinion, utter with caution, could only cause amazement for the Iranian people, who justly hold deep respect and friendship for the Chinese people.

A regime which was built upon selling out the country; a father and son who were born as bootlickers of British and U.S. imperialism; a regime whose disgusting existence is dependent upon satisfying the interests of imperialism and the reactionary classes; a regime which uses terror and suppression of the masses as its means to rule and whose achievements have been the plunder of our national wealth and the ruthless exploitation of our working people, and the absolute economic, military, political and cultural dependency of the country; a regime, which, "thanks" to its existence, has made Iran a model of group exploitation and with many chains has brought her under the bondage of imperialism — it is from such a regime that we would expect to hear the idle talk about "national independence", "economic development", "national defence", etc.

Is it not known to everyone that the traitorous Shah came to power by the hands of the CIA? Is it not known to everyone that the role of Mohammad Reza Shah, his army and his whole existence is dependent on imperialism? Is it not known by all that the purchase of \$19 billion worth of armaments is for the purpose of suppressing the Iranian people and the national liberation struggles in the region? Is it not known that the arms buildup of the Shah is for the purpose of carrying out his role as the gendarme of the region? This point has been confirmed even by the Shah in his numerous interviews! Is it not known by all that the Iranian economy, under the "watchful eyes" of the Shah, is devastated and has become bankrupt? Is it not known by all that, "thanks" to the existence of the regime, everyone has a share in plundering the resources of our people? Is it not known to everyone that Soviet social-imperialism too has a big share of this loot and with the aim of taking a bigger share it is colluding and contending with the dominant superpower in Iran, U.S. imperialism? And finally, who will believe that over 30,000 U.S. military advisers in Iran are there for the purpose of protection of the independence and integrity of Iran? Is the suppression of the national liberation of Dhofar by the Iranian army and the presence of thousands of Iranian soldiers across the Gulf for the prevention of aggression from outside Iran's border, "especially the Hormoz Strait"? Iran imports over 80 percent of its food-stuffs and for the past two years has purchased more than 12 billion toomans worth of imported food — Iran, which was self-sufficient until 15 years ago! Is this a proof of agricultural development? Is the suppression of the masses and the massacre of the heroic people and the existence of over 100,000 political prisoners an indication that "Shahanshah" has asked the Iranian people to be prepared for national defence? The fact is that Iran has become a garbage dump for U.S. weapons, and the bilateral agreements with the U.S. for the protection of the Shah that go under the name of defence of Iran against internal and external enemies, in reality are against the masses of the Iranian people. Is this an indication of the vigilance of Iran in the face of the superpowers? The regime of the Shah rests in the arms of the

imperialists. You speak of the great role of Iran in the "third world"! Even if we accept the impossible, that is your anti-Marxist thesis of the existence of the "third world", but then how could a regime whose whole existence is dependent on imperialism, and whose heart beats with the same rhythm, play a role against imperialism itself? Of course, based on such analysis, the degenerate sister of the Shah, Ashraf, then could be called an old friend and the representative of the peoples of Iran (Chou En-lai's welcoming speech for Ashraf in 1971).

The basis of all these absurdities is the opportunist "theory of three worlds". The Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran considers this so-called theory to be full of sophistry and anti-Marxist, and also considers as its duty to analyze its roots in the course of time and reveal its counter-revolutionary and anti-Marxist nature for our people. For our Party, the regime of Iran headed by the Pahlavi dynasty, these enemies of the peoples of Iran and defenders of the interests of imperialism and the reactionary classes, not only is not independent, but can never be so. Such flatteries and recognition, by the Chinese opportunists for the Pahlavi dynasty, such upside-down presentation of the facts, taking the wolf for the lamb and black for white, will never deceive our people like others. Our people have felt the weight of the burdens of imperialism, and have felt the viciousness of its running dogs with their flesh and will enhance their struggles even further. In their time, Khrushchovite revisionism and the renegade "Central Committee of the Tudeh Party" dealt heavy blows to the struggle of the working class and the working people of Iran, but were not able to stop these struggles from becoming deeper and stronger. Today, when the Party of the working class of Iran has been reconstituted, it has vigilantly dealt with this neo-revisionist trend and the Chinese opportunists, and will lead the working class and peoples of Iran to the final victory. The people's democratic revolution, this pathfinder of socialism in Iran, is the only path of liberation for our peoples.

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