Toufan International

The International Bulletin of the Party of Labour of Iran

No. 27 March 2009

On the Thirtieth Anniversary of the Shah's Flight from Iran! On the Thirtieth Anniversary of the Iranian Revolution!

Thirty years ago, on January 16, 1979, following the continuous and multi-million strong demonstrations by the people of Iran, the Shah fled the country. On that historical day, some pro Shah individuals who saw the beginning of end of the monarchy's reign cried at Mehrabad Airport in Tehran. The Shah's escape from Iran was a turning point in the anti-monarchy revolution in Iran. A few weeks before leaving Iran, the Shah delivered a radio-television message to the Iranian people in which he said "I heard the voice of your revolution". He hoped to stop the crushing feet of the revolution from moving forward. But it was too late for him and his regime, and the people responded to his message with chants of "Death to the Shah".

His US imperialist masters advised the Shah to leave the country. They were concerned about the total destruction of vital US interests in the Middle East. After the Shah fled the country, the reign of power was transferred to the army generals and to Bakhtiar, the Shah's appointed prime minister.



Robert Huyser, the US army general and Deputy Commander of NATO, made trips to Iran for two months on a secret mission. **Continued On Page 2**

Khavaran Rose Garden. A Crime that Will not be Washed off!

From January 9 to January 16, 2009, the forces of the regime of the Islamic Republic of Iran have bulldozed and destroyed a section of Khavaran Rose Garden. They have added fresh soil to its land and planted rows of trees in order to cover up the horrendous crimes committed by the regime in the summer of 1988. Khavaran is a desolated area southeast of Tehran and adjacent to the cemetery of the ethnic minorities in Iran.

During the 1980s, the regime of the Islamic Republic carried out waves of executions of the activists from all strata of society who wanted to carry the Iranian Revolution forward. These executions culminated in the secret massacre of the political prisoners in the summer of 1988. In the summer of 1988, after the regime of the Islamic Republic accepted the UN-ceasefire resolution on the eight-year long Iran-Iraq war, Khomeini ordered the mass execution of the political prisoners. In a matter of a few months, many thousands of revolutionaries and communists, many of whom were finishing their prison sentences, were executed all over Iran. Those who were executed in Tehran prisons were dumped in several unmarked mass graves in Khavaran.

The Islamic regime has never acknowledged the massacre of 1988 and has never revealed the mass graves or the number of prisoners who were executed. According to the UN reports, between 5,000 and 10,000 were executed in the summer of 1988 in a short period of time. According to the reports by the families of the victims and by some other reports, as many as 30,000 prisoners may have been executed.

The mass graves in Khavaran were discovered later by a curious individual with some stray dogs hanging about. As soon as the news spread about the mass graves, the families of those who lost loved ones in the massacre rushed to Khavaran site and discovered more mass graves. Since then, the families of the fallen comrades take flowers to Khavaran every summer to commemorate the loss of their sons, daughters, wives, husbands, fathers, mothers, and comrades. The families put flowers along the rows of the mass graves until the area

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He later revealed that his mission was to back Prime Minister Bakhtiar, to direct and maintain the Shah's army, and to design plan for breaking up the mass demonstrations. General Huyser was also sent to Iran to minimise the threat to the US vital interests in case the revolution holds ground. The "Memoirs", "Confessions", and "Conversations" published in the past two decades show the extent to which the heads of the Shah's army betrayed the country and acted as lackeys of the US imperialists.

The Shah's escape and the fall of his criminal regime did not result in victory or prosperity for the Iranian masses. Poverty, joblessness, corruption, addiction, prostitution, suppression, political oppression, and class gap have intensified and spread widely during three decades of rule under the Islamic Republic. However, January 16, 1979, the day the Shah fled the country, is marked as a shining day in the struggle of the Iranian people and is hailed by the masses.



The Shah fled the country, but his army continued to slaughter people who were demonstrating in the streets. We can hardly find a single day during the period the army was in power that people were not gunned down. Despite all suppressions, the revolutionary movement marched ahead. At the peak of the movement, more than 15 million people (nearly 40% of the population) were in the streets daily. The people participated in the protest movement fearlessly and with enormous self-sacrifice. Finally, on February 11, 1979, the armed insurrection began and the Shah's institutions started to collapse one after the other like a house of cards.

Thirty years ago, one of the glorious revolutions of history took place in Iran. This revolution shook the entire Middle East and removed the tool of the US imperialists from power. The Iranian Revolution, tempered and solidified, not overnight but over more

than a year, brought millions of people into political activity. Millions of women, who were oppressed by reactionary traditions, joined the movement and made a fundamental change in the traditional family unit. The objectives of the revolution were to establish a democratic national government and to carry out fundamental changes in society.

The stand on the revolution, the Marxist-Leninist analysis of it, and the examination of the events that took place during and after the revolution, will help to advance and develop the present struggles of the workers and toilers and to pave the way for the future revolution. The counter revolutionary and reactionary rule of the Islamic Republic has blinded some "left" organisations in their evaluation of events preceding the revolution. Some political organisations living in ideological poverty believe that if one hails the Iranian revolution, he is a defender of the Islamic Republic. These are the same organisations that believe our opposition to imperialist aggression, our condemnation of sanctions against our people, and our stand for the territorial integrity of Iran ranks us among the allies of the Islamic Republic. The Islamic Republic has indoctrinated such groups. They dance to the Islamic Republic's tune without using their brains. In fact, we are confronting an extremely deviated analysis of Iranian society, analysis that expresses itself in all fronts of social struggles. These organisations expose their inability to adopt an active and wise role in the political struggles of our society.

Some think that a revolution is not a revolution unless it is victorious. To these organisations, if a revolution faces defeat due to the weak role of its leadership or due to of the greater strength of its enemies, that revolution is not a revolution. To these forces, the Constitutional Revolution in Iran that neither put an end to feudalism nor overthrew the monarchy is not a revolution. To them, neither the 1905 revolution nor 1917 revolution in Russia nor the 1949 revolution in China was a true revolution because the revolutionary forces were eventually defeated. To these groups, there is only one revolution; "the irreversible world socialist revolution" in political, economical, and cultural spheres. These groups try not to understand the process of waging class struggle. They flounder in their historical dizziness.

The 1979 revolution in Iran teaches us that the defeat of the revolution has everything to do with the seisure of power by the bourgeoisie. Under the leadership of the bourgeoisie and in countries such as Iran, it is impossible to achieve democratic rights, political freedom, freedom of expression and assembly, freedom to form organisations, or progress and social justice. In the era of imperialist rule, any move towards independence and **Continued On Page 3**

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progress is a move against the interests of the looting imperialists. The domestic bourgeois class has thousands of visible and invisible ties to imperialism and it is unable, due to its historical weakness, to stand up to the imperialist domination and has to betray the revolution. Furthermore, due to its intrinsic contradiction with the exploited masses, the bourgeoisie will aim its guns at the working people who have found a chance during the period of revolutionary upheaval to express their longsuppressed demands. This is what happened with 1979 Iranian revolution. There were continuous clashes for three years between the revolutionary masses who demanded freedom and the reactionary Islamic rulers represented by Khomeini, Rafsanjani, and Khamenei, among other. Finally in 1981, the capitalist regime of the Islamic Republic carried out a bloody suppression of the revolutionary masses and their political organisations. The overthrow of the regime of the Islamic Republic was then on the agenda of the democratic political organisations.

To achieve the democratic demands of the 1979 revolution, to secure the fundamental rights of the workers and toilers, and to guarantee the independence and territorial integrity of Iran, the masses need to organise another revolution, a socialist revolution under the leadership of the party of the working class. Only this revolution can solve the fundamental problems which plague Iranian society.

Rose Garden

was covered by roses. Khavaran then was named "Golzar", the Rose Garden.



Despite all threats and intimidations by the security forces of the regime, the families get together in Khavaran particularly at the end of August to talk about the many years of pain and suffering they have endured during the rule of the Islamic Republic, to discuss the situation of the country and the world, and to find a path forward. The gathering in Khavaran has become a tradition by now and is a front of struggle against the criminal Islamic regime. These gatherings have received the attention of the Iranian masses and of the progressive people of the world. The national and international coverage of the struggle waged by the families of the victims of the 1988 massacre has frightened Iranian regime. The authorities have never hidden their concerns about this witness to the horrendous crime they committed in the summer of 1988 or that Khavaran may expose the ugly face of their political system. They try to destroy this evidence and hide it from the eyes of the public with the hope that it will be erased from the nation's memory.

The high-ranking authorities of the Islamic Republic are fully aware of the deep anger and disgust of the families of the victims and consider the gatherings in Khavaran as a court of public opinion against the Iranian regime. The gatherings in Khavaran also form a nucleus of an independent organisation of the families of the victims of the Islamic terror. The regime cannot tolerate such organisations and will attempt to suffocate them before they are born. The regime is aware of its class interests and acts accordingly. The offences against "The Mothers for Peace", who demonstrated in Tehran in solidarity with the people of Gaza during the recent Israeli aggressions in January 2009, indicate the extent to which the authorities are fearful of the formation of independent organisations. The regime does not tolerate the formation of any independent organisation, political, cultural, social, guild, or other. The destruction of "Khavaran Rose Garden" is the regime's attempt to hide the truth and to discourage independent organiation and inquiry.

Golzar e Khavaran is a symbol of resistance and a memento of the combatants and the revolutionaries who fought for freedom, democracy, and social justice. This witness to the crimes of the Islamic Republic must be preserved, and the public, especially the youth, must be informed and educated about the regime's hideous crime in the summer of 1988.

There have been many protests nationally and internationally against the destruction of Khavaran. Amnesty International has sent a protest letter to the regime of Islamic Republic stating that:

" Amnesty International calls on the Iranian authorities to immediately stop the destruction of hundreds of individual and mass, unmarked graves in Khavaran, south Tehran, to ensure that the site is preserved and to initiate a forensic investigation at the site as part of Continued On Page 4

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thorough, independent and impartial investigation into mass executions which began in 1988, often referred to in Iran as the "prison massacres". The organization fears that these actions of the Iranian authorities are aimed at destroying evidence of human rights violations and depriving the families of the victims of the 1988 killings of their right to truth, justice and reparation."

We will continue to expand and intensify these protests. We call on all progressive organisations and individuals to mobilise the people against the destruction of Khavaran. We will not allow the regime of Iran to achieve its sinister goals. A people's tribunal should be set up to investigate the massacre of the political prisoners in the summer of 1988 and bring to justice those responsible for this heinous and unprecedented crime.

"Khavaran Rose Garden" is a symbol of resistance to the crime of the capitalist regime of the Islamic Republic. The memory of the August 1988 massacre can never be erased from the minds of our people.



To Surrender

our people. In taking these actions, he had the support of his imperialist allies. Together, they violated legal norms and formal international agreements.

The administration of Iran's former president Khatami signed the traitorous "Additional Protocol" that gave the imperialists the opportunity to inspect every corner of Iran at any moment they desire, to investigate Iran's scientific and military capabilities, and to spy for foreign intelligence agencies. The Protocol gave the imperialists the chance to identify Iran's strategic locations for future bombardment. The Protocol violates Iran's national sovereignty and must be declared void. Newly elected President Obama has declared that one of the significant points of his foreign policy is to investigate the relation with Iran and to find a solution to the so-called Iran Atomic Crisis. It appears that President Obama's statements on Iran have different tones than Bush's. He has stated that he will not tolerate an atomic Iran and that he will sign an atomic security agreement with Israel so that he can respond to any atomic attack on Israel by an atomic attack. One may conclude from Obama's statements that he does not disagree with Iran's enrichment activities and, contrary to his predecessor, he acknowledges Iran's right to uranium enrichment activities, and that he is opposed to Iran making or even attaining the science and ability to make atomic weapon. Apparently, President Obama's tone is for calming the opponents of Iran's enrichment activities and to prepare the ground for compromise with Iran. He has said many times that he

opposes military actions against Iran and that he prefers to resolve differences diplomatically. He has emphasized that he does not favor regime change in Iran. Therefore, the problems should had been resolved because Iran has repeatedly declared that its nuclear activities have a peaceful purpose and that it is ready to accept the International Atomic Energy Agency inspection team. So, why have the hostilities between Iran and the US not ceased?

The fact is that the US acknowledgement of Iran's right to uranium enrichment and Iran's acceptance of an IAEA inspection team will result in Iran's return to the position of pre-enrichment activities, the position that Iran was given the right to uranium enrichment and that the IAEA was supposed to help Iran to become self sufficient in its pursuit and use of nuclear fuel. But by this compromise, the influence of the US in the region in not guaranteed, and the US will not have a regime in Iran, as it has in Saudi Arabia and in Gulf sheikhdoms, to secure its political interests. This compromise will not join Iran to the US political orbit that safeguards its strategic control of the energy resources of the entire Middle East.

Also, the US administration is demanding that Iran stop its support of "terrorism," a term the Western imperialists call any action against the US and Israeli domination in the region. By the Western imperialist definition, Palestinians, Iraqis, Lebanese, Iranians, Afghans, North Koreans, Venezuelans, Bolivians, Cubans are all considered terrorist because they resist domination and defend the independence and national sovereignty of their countries. What the US wants is an Iranian foreign policy that is consistent with the Zionist policies in the region, a foreign policy that makes Iran a collaborator of Israel. This demand is expressed implicitly and hides itself behind the uproar against Iran's mysterious and imaginary nuclear bomb.

In Iran, a faction of the regime of the Islamic Republic tries to capitulate to the US imperialists' demand at the cost of national betrayal. This faction cowardly asses the capitulation as the only means that will enable the Islamic Republic to survive. The other faction of the Iranian regime insists on the right to uranium enrichment but does not consider the endorsement of the "Additional Protocol" as a betrayal of Iran's national interest. One must ask this faction on what social force it can rely when it comes to standing up to the world offenses. If a government does not want to rely on political bluff, then it must rely on the support of the masses, and it must mobilizes the people in defense of the country's national interest. This mobilization of the masses against foreign intervention and aggression is possible only through democratization of the society, through freedom of the democratic political organizations and trade unions, and through recognition and observation of civil and human rights. Otherwise, an oppressive regime cannot utilize the country's resources for a national and anti-imperialist resistance.

We have declared repeatedly that we defend the right of the Iranian people to enrich uranium. If the regime of the Islamic Republic, or any faction of it, surrenders to the bullying of the imperialist powers on the question of uranium enrichment, it will be a traitor in the eyes of the masses and to the national interest of the country. The suspension of the uranium enrichment program will be the beginning of the surrender to the dictates of the imperialist powers. The right to uranium enrichment is a right for all nations.

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To Surrender on Iran's Nuclear Energy Question is to Betray the National Interest of our People!

Imagine the situation when a bully grabs a passer-by and threatens him unless he surrenders his possessions. Imagine that in the midst of this situation when the friends of the bully arrive at the scene with innocent faces and ask the passer-by to comply with the bully's demand so that he can be freed! Imagine the situation when the bully tells the people that he can let the passer-by go free, that he is peaceful and is willing to make concessions, and that he observes the will of the international community, but this terrorist passer-by does not want to submit to the demand. And imagine the situation when the friends of the bully insist that both sides should compromise and that the passer-by should accept the bully's conditions!

Look at the respect the bully's friends have for the passer-by and look at the justice served by the bully himself!

This is the situation with Iran's uranium enrichment program. The US imperialists and Israeli Zionists demand that Iran give up its legal and indisputable right to develop nuclear energy. The US allies come to scene and impose sanctions and economic blockades, and threaten the territorial integrity and instigate the neighboring countries. The CIA arms and mobilizes the separatists, and all of these activities are to force Iran to surrender. Their proposal for compromise is that they will lift the sanctions if Iran stops its nuclear developments! One must ask, according to what legal, judicial, human, or logical basis have they imposed these economic blockades? The illegal UN Security Council resolutions against Iran have all violated international agreements, and from now on, any international agreement can be violated or rendered moot by the Security Council under the pressure of the imperialist powers. These powers have established the law of the jungle in the UN under the guise of "natural" actions. The adoption of the UN Security Council resolutions

against Iran is recognition and legitimization of the imperialist interference in the affairs and destiny of the Iranian people. Iran's surrender to this bullying of the imperialist powers is a return to the past when Iran was not active in uranium enrichment and depended on the enriched uranium of the imperialist powers. In the case of return to the past, Iran loses its independence and the bullying powers achieve the right to interfere in the internal affairs and legitimate activities of our people.

To deceive the public, the imperialists accuse Iran of making atomic bomb "secretly". Their argument is that they checked every corner of Iran and did not find atomic weapons or activities related to making atomic weapons, and therefore, Iran is making the bomb secretly! This is the same argument with the same warped logic they used against Saddam's regime before the invasion and occupation of Iraq: "We can't find any weapons; therefore, Iraq must have "secret" weapons and is dangerous." The imperialists accuse Iran of lying after they themselves fabricated lie after lie against Iraq in order to prepare the ground for the invasion and occupation that has taken the lives of more than 1.5 million Iraqis so far. Now they are fabricating lies against Iran and other nations. One must ask what legitimacy and moral high ground these liars have in evaluating the work of smaller liars.

French President Sarkozi has threatened Iran several times with atomic bombardment. US president George Bush and the Israeli Zionists threatened Iran many times with invasion. One must ask them on what ground they give themselves the right to threaten another nation. Did the God give them this right? Do they feel they are from a supreme race who can judge better about whether something is good for other nations?

George Bush's policy on Iran was all threat, sanction, and resolution against **Continued On page 4**

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