

Toufan International

The International Bulletin of the Party of Labour of Iran

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Defending the Rights of the People and Fighting against Despotism are Communist Tasks!

Despite the brutal repression of the ever-intensifying struggles of the Iranian people in the past six months, the movement has marched forward. Contrary to what the mafia of power led by the Supreme Leader and his appointed president Ahmadinejad hoped for, this suppression weakened the regime of the Islamic Republic. The movement has further isolated the regime domestically and internationally.

This movement is democratic, has bourgeois character, and has few ties with the working class. In dealing with the recent struggle of the Iranian people, we continue to see a one-sided approach by some forces in the Iranian opposition.

The movement started peacefully and continued essentially within the framework of the rules of the Islamic Republic. The barbarity of the dominant faction of the regime and the brutal repression of the movement radicalised the people. The movement confronted the reactionary ruling clique more or less with violence but failed to prepare the ground for a general strike to advance the movement toward a general uprising.

This failure is due to the fact that the present movement has not established strong ties with the working class. The movement has tended to stagnate and become a smoldering fire. This weakness of the movement has become foundation to activate the reactionary forces seeking a velvet revolution in Iran. These forces try to infiltrate the movement of the masses. Their representatives outside Iran have appealed to the imperialist forces and have used the brutality of the Islamic Republic and repression of the people and the rigging of the recent elections as excuses to seek and justify the interference of the imperialist-Zionist forces into Iran's internal affairs. In alliance with the world reactionary forces, they try to divert the sharp edges of the struggles of the Iranian people away from the US and Israel and onto others. The slogan "Death to the US imperialism" and "death to Israeli Zionism" have switched to "Death to China", "Death to Russia", "Death to Syria", etc. The fabricated lies and propaganda against the movement of the Palestinian and Lebanese people that were spread **Continued on Page 2**

We Strongly Condemn the Criminal Execution of Ehsan Fatahian!

Once again, the regime of the Islamic Republic of Iran acted barbarically and added one more page to its long criminal record. The Islamic Republic of Iran executed the young Kurdish activist Ehasan Fatahian.

Ehsan Fatahian was convicted and sentenced initially to a 10-year prison term by the Islamic courts. But because Ehsan resisted confessing to the regime's fabricated accusations and chose instead to stand by his belief in social justice, the tyrannical regime of the Islamic Republic changed Ehsan's sentence to the death penalty. Despite strong and widespread domestic and international protests, the Islamic Republic carried out the execution, and consequently faced outrage, hatred, and public anger.

The Party of Labour of Iran (Toufan) strongly condemns the execution of Ehasan Fatahian and expresses its utmost disgust at the regime of the Islamic Republic. We convey our sympathy to Ehasan's family. **Continued on Page 6**

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On the Thirty first Anniversary of the fall of the Shah's Regime

Thirty one 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 **Continued on Page 6**

Defending the Rights

all over the Internet represented a psychological war fueled and facilitated by the agents of the imperialists and the Zionists. In this situation, one cannot adopt a one-sided position and leave the people alone in the claws of global propaganda. It is the duty of the communists actively and responsibly to participate in the present movement and defend its democratic nature, elevate and sharpen its slogans and demands, prevent itself from deviating, and neutralise the sinister goals of its enemies.

We cannot blame a movement for its "early" arrival and for its lack of sufficient preparation to confront the regime of the Islamic Republic. Some shortsightedly blame the movement for its "early" arrival. This shortsightedness stems from the lack of ability to assess the objective conditions of the struggle. Our task is to show the futility of the peaceful struggle and to expose those who promote the non-violent and pacifist agenda in the struggles against the vicious violent attacks of the regime of the Islamic Republic. Such individuals threaten to disarm the masses psychologically in the struggle against the Islamic Republic in its totality. In our opinion, it is irresponsible to label the present movement as a "velvet revolution" and to shirk our duty to carry out revolutionary activities against the regime in the fronts where we have forces.

The lack of participation of the revolutionary forces in the movement will give the regime an open hand to mobilise its forces against the demanding masses.

Those who shirk their duties and characterise the struggle of our people as the "war of gladiators," unrelated to the masses, have not grasped the content of the struggle and the movement the masses have waged. They think that making a revolution is as easy as biting a ripe peach! They cannot go through the process of gaining the trust of the masses and manifesting any ability to raise suitable demands and slogans in order to gain a leadership position. To them, this movement, the biggest movement since the 1979 Iranian revolution, is not a movement but a quarrel within the ruling elite in which they do not want to get involved. These forces and individuals are waiting for the advent of a pure worker-movement, especially a movement that accepts their leadership from the very start. Not to see the participation of the masses in the struggles stems from political blindness and lack of grasp of the political situation. This deviation is the continuation of the same erroneous political line that wanted to form a third front at the time of the possible invasion of Iran by the US imperialists and Israeli Zionists, an illusive front with no army, a front that was capable of

fighting simultaneously against the Islamic Republic and the US-Israel invasion. The reflection of this reactionary theory can be seen in the present movement. The architectures of this theory are inactive and have left the people alone in a critical situation. Concretely, in the condition of today's movement in Iran, the masses are on the streets with the banner of reformism under which their hatred against despotism is hidden. Every wise individual must know that we have to build revolution and democracy in Iran with the existing material. We are talking here about the seizure of the leadership of the movement. Talk about forming the third front is cheap because, despite its "revolutionary" appearance, it practically invites the people to become inactive, and it sabotages the general front against the mafia of power. The sympathisers of the front cross out and negate both the reformist leadership of the movement and the movement altogether. They are under the illusion that if they bury their heads in the sand and imagine the issue has nothing to do with them, they can free themselves from dealing with the rapidly developing movement. The democratic movement in Iran is deepening, the inner-government contradictions are intensifying, the forms of struggles are changing, and the experience of the masses is accumulating. The movement will push forward with increasing experience and will pass through many ups and downs to find its real leadership. The communists must participate in democratic movements even though their leaderships are non-proletarian. This participation, together with the participation of the working class, gives a democratic movement continuity and endurance. In dealing with "pure" communist movement, Lenin addressed the significance of a democratic movement:

"Let us now deal with the *democratic* tasks and with the democratic work of the Social-Democrats. Let us repeat, once again, that this work is *inseparably* connected with socialist activity. In conducting *propaganda* among the workers, the Social-Democrats *cannot* avoid political problems, and they would regard any attempt to avoid them, or even to push them aside, as a profound mistake and a departure from the basic principles of international Social-Democracy. Simultaneously with the dissemination of scientific socialism, Russian Social-Democrats set themselves the task of propagating *democratic ideas* among the working class masses; they strive to spread an understanding of absolutism in all its manifestations, of its class content, of the necessity to overthrow it, of the impossibility of waging a **Continued on Page 3**



Defending the Rights

successful struggle for the workers' cause without achieving political liberty and the democratisation of Russia's political and social system". (The Tasks of Russian Social Democrats, Lenin)

Comrade Lenin expresses the same idea in his other work "What is to be done?" as

"...We must take up actively the political education of the working class and the development of its consciousness. *Now* that Zarya and Iskra have made the first attack upon Economism, 'all are agreed' on this (although some agree only in words, as we shall soon see).

The question arises, what should political education consist in? Can it be confined to the propaganda of the working-class hostility to the autocracy? Of course not. It is not enough to *explain* to the workers that they are politically oppressed (any more than it is to explain to them that their interests are antagonistic to the interest of the employers). Agitation must be conducted with regard to every concrete example of this oppression (as we have begun to carry on agitation round concrete examples of economic oppression). Inasmuch as *this* oppression affects the most diverse classes of society, inasmuch as it manifests itself in the most varied spheres of life and activity-vocational civic, personal, family, religious, scientific, etc., etc.- is it not evident that *we shall not be fulfilling our task* of developing the political consciousness of the workers if we do not *undertake* the organisation of the *political exposure* of the autocracy *in all its aspects*? In order to carry on agitation round concrete instances of oppression, these instances must be exposed (as it is necessary to expose factory abuses in order to carry on economic agitation)".

We have always said that agitation must be conducted with regard to every concrete manifestation of despotism, oppression, and arbitrariness. We have always said that democratic struggles must be waged against the regime of the Islamic Republic in order to prepare the ground for open and legal activities of the working class. We have always said that the government support for the capitalists must be exposed and that the repression by the Security and Basig and Guardian forces must be fought back. We have always said that the tasks of democracy must be publicly expressed, and that those who forget to be in forefront of the movement to solve the democratic problems of the labourers are not considered communists by the masses. We have always said that it is easier for the communists to mobilise and organise the working class in a democratic condition than in a repressive and despotic atmosphere. We must fight against all manifestation of oppression against minorities, nationalities, youth, students, women, teachers, workers... and as Lenin has stated we must "*undertake* the organisation of the *political exposure* of the autocracy *in all its aspect*".

The party of the working class has the task of leading the democratic movement too. It cannot withdraw from participating in the democratic movement. Lack of participation of the communists in the movement will give the bourgeoisie an open hand to assume the leadership position. In a democratic movement, the communists have enormous interests in creating a better condition for the proletariat and for the non-proletarian sectors of the society.

The communists have the task to politically expose the autocracy among all sectors of the society, and by doing this; they question the regime in its entirety.

Lenin wrote on the

Continued on Page 4

Defending the Rights

significance of the participation in a democratic movement that:

"...Political exposures are as much a declaration of war against the *government* as economic exposures are a declaration of war against the factory owners. The moral significance of this declaration of war will be all the greater, wider and more powerful the campaign of exposure will be and the more numerous and determined the social *class* that has *declared war in order to begin the war*. Hence, political exposures in themselves serve as a powerful instrument for *disintegrating* the system we oppose, as a means for diverting from the enemy his casual or temporary allies, as a means for spreading hostility and distrust among the permanent partners of autocracy.

In our time only a party that will organise really nation-wide exposures can become the vanguard of the revolutionary forces. The word nation-wide has a very profound meaning. The overwhelming majority of the non-working class exposures (be it remembered that in order to become the vanguard, we must attract other classes) are sober politicians and level-headed men of affairs". ("What is to be done?" , Lenin)

Comrade Lenin emphasises that:

"In reality, it is possible to 'raise the activity of the working masses' *only* when this activity *is not restricted* to 'political agitation on an economic basis'. A basic condition for the necessary expansion of political agitation is the organisation of *comprehensive* political exposure. *In no way* except by means of such exposures *can* the masses be trained in political consciousness and revolutionary activity. Hence, activity of this kind is one of the most important functions of international Social-Democracy as a whole, for even political freedom does not in any way eliminate exposures; it merely shifts somewhat their sphere of direction. Thus, the German party is especially strengthening its positions and spreading its influence, thanks particularly to the untiring energy with which it is conducting its campaign of political exposure. Working-class consciousness cannot be genuine political consciousness unless the workers are trained to respond to *all* cases of tyranny, oppression, violence, and abuse, no matter *what class* is affected — unless they are trained, moreover, to respond from a Social-Democratic point of view and no other. The consciousness of the working masses cannot be genuine class-consciousness, unless the workers learn, from

concrete, and above all from topical, political facts and events to observe *every* other social class in *all* the manifestations of its intellectual, ethical, and political life; unless they learn to apply in practice the materialist analysis and the materialist estimate of *all* aspects of the life and activity of *all* classes, strata, and groups of the population. Those who concentrate the attention, observation, and consciousness of the working class exclusively, or even mainly, upon itself alone are not Social-Democrats; for the self-knowledge of the working class is indissolubly bound up, not solely with a fully clear theoretical understanding — or rather, not so much with the theoretical, as with the practical, understanding — of the relationships between *all* the various classes of modern society, acquired through the experience of political life". ("What is to be done", Lenin)

For us, the present democratic movement in Iran contains valuable lessons. We should learn from these lessons and sum them up. To us, uprising must be an offensive to seize the political power. This is an important lesson that we have to derive from this movement. We must know that without ties with the working class, the movement cannot deepen, spread widely, or be continued. A democratic movement cannot be sustained if it is waged in only a few major cities. One must learn that it is an absolute necessity to have command and communication headquarters for carrying a successful struggle against the ruling circles. In the battle fronts, our forces must have a sufficient and fast mobility and be able to adopt the tactic of "surprising the enemy". We must prepare the masses to make sacrifices and to base themselves on the public resolve that "To live badly forever is worse than to die. We must use appropriate tactics to exhaust the regime's repressive forces. We must identify the heads of the regime's hooligans and publish their identities for people to see. This will be a good psychological war to neutralise a section of the repressive forces. Also, inflicting mass violence on the regime's forces is a revolutionary tactic for which preparation must be made well in advance. However, all these tactics and forms of struggles will bear fruit only if they are carried out under the leadership of the party of the working class. We call on all progressive and revolutionary forces to join us in carrying out an organised, massive, conscious, well-prepared, and forceful struggle. We are for waging a democratic struggle that is an inseparable part of an anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist struggle.

In our Program, we have stated that:

"We are for the establish- **Continued on Page 5**

Defending the Rights

establishment of socialism in Iran. But socialism will not be established by mere wishes. The party of the working class is forced to stay as an opposition force for more or less a long time before it seizes the political power through a violent revolt and starts to implement its socialist program. We are for abolishment of private ownership of the means of production. In this, no section of bourgeoisie is our ally.....

During the period in which our Party has not seized political power due to subjective and objective factors, we continue to carry out our revolutionary activities and persistently try to work in the existing capitalist system towards the improvement of the living conditions for the working people. We support any democratic demand that benefits the public and weakens the base of the present despotic capitalist regime in Iran...

The communists seek increasingly broad participation of the masses in the movement for self-determination and seek true democracy and unconditional freedom for democratic activities. Under a democratic atmosphere, the communists are able to raise the level of consciousness of the working class, to increase their preparedness to fight, to make the formation of the political and economical organisations of the labourers possible, and to train the masses for the open class battles against the bourgeois class in its entirety.

The Party of Labour of Iran (Toufan) wants to lead the struggle of the working and to establish a socialist Iran".



The Struggle of

working class has become a potential force in the sense of quantity and concentration relative to the past and has a higher degree of readiness to seize political power, but it is facing the most distressed and destitute period of its history. On one side, the miserable economic conditions and the repression of all political, economic, and

social institutions of the working class; on the other side, the lack of a single and powerful political command center reduces the sharpness and effectiveness of the united struggle of the labourers. However, the Iranian workers have never given up striving for their demands. They are waging battles, though not as a single body, in the forms of strike, sit ins, demonstrations, work-to-the-rule, etc. The hundreds of worker-strikes in the past few years are indicative of growth of a worker-movement that has put the formation of independent trade unions at the top of its agenda. The formation of syndicates of Tehran Vahed Bus Drivers Company, Haft Tapeh Sugar-Cane Company, etc. and the united struggles of workers in these syndicates are valuable victories that have frightened the anti-worker regime of the Islamic Republic. The continuous suppression of the newly established trade unions and the detainment and mistreatment of their leaders have not caused any hesitation in the resolve of the workers. These trade unions enjoy wide domestic and international support. The recent protest by workers at Pars Wagon Company is another shining example of the resolve of the labourers to achieve their demands. These workers, who had not been paid for three months and who had been ignored by the capitalist employers and threatened by the company's security office, expressed their anger by smashing the chairs, windows, and tables of the company. These are sparks that could turn into a bonfire. The regime of the Islamic Republic is frightened to death by the rebellion of the "blue collar" workers and does not see any solution except detainment and expulsion of the wage labourers. But the regime is incapable of ending the workers' protests. For years, protests have become normal responses of the labourers to the grave economic conditions. These protests challenge the regime daily and with an increasing degree of power. The regime detains the worker-activists and prominent leaders of the established syndicates because it is terrified of the united struggle of the working class.

The key to success of the struggle of the workers is their unity and the presence of their independent and powerful organisation in society. This unity and organisation, combined with socialist consciousness gained from the militant party of the working class, will bring about the final victory: The destruction of the suppressive capitalist apparatus, the abolition of the private ownership of the means of production, and the establishment of socialism.

Today, when the reactionary regime of the Islamic Republic has murdered hundreds of young activists after the **Continued on Page 6**

We Condemn

The execution of Ehsan was carried out as the regime of Islamic Republic faced a political-economic-social crises in which the struggle of the masses has intensified, and in which the chants "Death to dictator", "Imprisonment, torture, execution, has no affect anymore", etc are being heard from every corner of the towns. Under this situation, the regime vainly thinks that imprisonment and execution of the political activists can create an atmosphere of fear and intimidation to frighten the masses and stop the democratic movement from advancing. In this political climate, the execution of Ehsan or Ehsans, as history has shown, has had the opposite result for the rulers. In the final stage of its life, the regime of the Islamic Republic can only drag the Ehsans to the gallows but cannot execute the masses of millions in their struggle. The people of Iran, Kurd, Baluchi, Persian, Azeri, Turkeman, Arab, etc. turn their grief over Ehsan's death into a force to uproot the violent capitalist regime and continue their united struggle to remove all social inequalities and to establish democracy and social justice. The execution of Ehsan is a sign of weakness of a regime that has reached its dead end.

The fate of this anti-human regime is nothing but its violent overthrow. In tomorrow's Iran, those who ordered the killing of the people and those who had carried out will be put on trial and will be punished.

Death to the regime of crime and the execution of the Islamic Republic!

Long live freedom and socialism!

The Struggle of

Recent presidential elections and when it finds itself weak in the face of the protest movement of the masses, we must intensify our struggles and make the noose tighter by demanding the immediate release of the worker-activists, of the syndicates' leaders, and of all political prisoners.



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International Conference

- Workers' Communist Party of Denmark**
- Communist Platform of Italy**
- Communist Party of Mexico (Marxist-Leninist)**
- Communist Platform (Marxist-Leninist) of Norway**
- Communist Party of Labour of Dominican**
- Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Venezuela**
- Revolutionary Communist Party of Volta**
- Party of Labour of Iran (Toufan)**



On the Anniversary

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. Robert Huyser, the US army general and Deputy Commander of NATO was sent to Iran to minimise the threat to the US vital interests in case the revolution holds ground. 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 one years ago, one of the glorious revolutions of history took place in Iran. This revolution shook the entire Middle East and removed the puppet of the US imperialists from power. The objectives of the revolution were to establish a democratic national government and to carry out fundamental changes in society. However, the fall of the Shah and 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 more than three decades of rule under the Islamic Republic.

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 and political freedom.

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.

International Conference

on the ties between the communists and working class when democracy is established.

Our delegate explained that:

The recent presidential elections in Iran was rigged, the elections in the Islamic Republic have always been sham and were based on lies and deception, and the two factions of the Islamic Republic are fighting against each other for domination. But the struggle of the Iranian people is a just struggle with democratic demands and has nothing to do with inter-government fighting over the result of June 12, 2009 elections in Iran. An intense struggle has been waged to seize the leadership of the movement. The recent struggle of the masses is the expression of the 30-year suppressed demands of the people. The masses use every opportunity to express their opposition to the rule of the Islamic Republic.

Our delegate also explained that, in the absence of a strong and influential communist party, the reactionary imperialist-Zionist forces try to issue inaccurate slogans and demands in order to direct the movement of the people on a deviated path and finally seize its leadership. We stressed that the communists should participate in and support the democratic movement in Iran.

Our Party also pointed out that democratic struggle is an inseparable part of anti-imperialist struggle and that, due to the suppression of the democratic movement of the masses, the fascist and theocratic regime of the Islamic Republic has to ally itself sooner or later with the imperialists in order to preserve its ruling power.

The Conference passed several resolutions to support the struggle of the masses and the working class around the world.

At the conclusion of its work, the Conference made some decisions and set some tasks for the fraternal parties to work toward in their respective countries and elected a new Coordinating Committee. The Conference decided to hold a youth camp in a country where fraternal comrades can provide substantial support.

The Communist Party of Columbia (Marxist-Leninist) invited the participating Parties and Organisations to visit the camps and liberated zones under their control and to see the advances made in Columbia.

The Conference passed the following resolution unanimously to support the democratic struggles of the Iranian people.

Resolution on Iran:

We express our support for the just demands and struggles of the Iranian people to establish a democratic Iran. We believe that only the Iranian people have the right to overthrow the regime of the dictatorship in Iran.

Considering the lies and rumors that are fabricated against the interests of the Iranian people and considering the aggressive and warmongering policies of the imperialist to divide the world, we are opposed to the imperialists' and Zionists' interference in and conspiracies against Iran. Also, we condemn the torture, rape, and killing of the protestors in Iran by the barbaric and violent apparatus of the regime of the Islamic Republic.

We are of the opinion that the democratic struggles of the Iranian people are inseparable parts of their anti-imperialist struggles. The regimes that do not respect the masses and repress the democratic demands of their people will have to appeal to the imperialist forces sooner or later.

Long Live the Struggle of the Iranian People to Achieve their Democratic Rights!

Long Live the Struggle of the Iranian Working Class to establish a Socialist Iran!

Revolutionary Communist Party of Brazil
Communist Party of Ecuador (Marxist-Leninist)
Workers' Communist Party of France
Communist Party of Spain (Marxist-Leninist)
Communist Party of Columbia (Marxist-Leninist)
Workers' Communist Party of Tunisia
Revolutionary Communist Party of Turkey
Movement for Reconstruction of the Communist Party of Greece

Continued on Page 6

The International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations Met to Defend the Proletarian Internationalism!

(Report)

The International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations met for four days in November 2009 in a European country. Sixteen parties participated in the meeting and, due to certain logistical problems, some parties and organisations were not able to participate. After the hosting party greeted the participants, the Conference began. As the first item on its agenda, the Coordinating Committee reported its activities from the previous year to the Conference and submitted a proposal on the international situation and the recent world crisis. The participants analysed and discussed the proposal in detail. The participating organisations emphasised that it is needed, with consideration to the concrete situation in their own countries, to carry out revolutionary work and agitation especially among the working class.

The delegate from the Party of Labour of Iran (Toufan) gave a brief talk on the 1979 anti-imperialist and democratic revolution in Iran, on the short period of democratic atmosphere that came about after the revolution, on the growth of the organisation despite the splits that had taken place in the organisation two years earlier, on the growth of the other political and economic organisations of the masses, on the repression of democratic freedoms by the regime of the Islamic Republic and its allies the Tudeh Party and Fadaian Majority, on the stagnation of the movement and the destruction of the revolutionary organisations, on the need for the struggle to bring about a democratic atmosphere, on the necessity of democracy for the working class movement, and

Continued on Page 7

The Struggle of the Working Class Cannot Be Extinguished!

The Key to Workers' Success is Unity, Solidarity, and Organisation!

The Iranian working class has a history of valuable struggles and an extensive organisational and syndical experience. The Iranian workers have waged organised and united battles for generations to achieve their demands, and have made the supreme sacrifice on the path of their goals and ideals.

The worker-strikes of the past at the brickyards, tobacco, cotton and chintz, matches, and textile factories are shining examples of the struggles of the Iranian working class. Today, though, the



Continued on Page 5

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