# Toufan International

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#### The Nobel Peace Prize and the Islamic Republic's Consternation!

"This Prize does not belong to me alone, it belongs to all those who struggle for democracy and human rights in Iran" (Shirin Ebadi, Interview with Der Spiegel, Oct 13, 2003)

#### A Glance at the Past Political History of the Nobel Prize

It is obvious that the rewarding of the Nobel Prize in Peace is merely a political act. The rewarding of the Nobel Prize in Sciences might be in some cases free of political motivations, but it will be wrong to think that the Nobel Prize will always be given to a well deserving individual.

The past history of rewarding the Nobel Prize has not always been honourable. Henry Kissinger was the former US Secretary of the State, one of the major architects of the wars in Vietnam and Cambodia, and the architect of the plan to drop chemical bombs on Vietnamese and to burn the villages. Kissinger committed all these war crimes calmly and "democratically". He was the architect of the military coup d' etat in Chile and he remained an ally of the regime of Pinochet up to its last day. Kissinger had a bloody hand in the massacre of 30000 Chileans by the military Junta, supported the Shah of Iran wholeheartedly, etc. Such a criminal is a Nobel Peace Prize winner! Alongside with this criminal is the other Zionist, Menachem Begin, a terrorist who massacred thousands of Palestinians. Begin continued his Zionist and criminal policies also after he was elected as the Israeli Prime Minister. (With apology to the Worker-communist Party of Iran, residing in London and Los Angeles!) The Nobel Peace Prize Committee awarded such a sick (!) criminal with the Prize. Awarding the Nobel Prize to Kissinger and Begin were the attempts of the imperialists to put make up on the face of the two most hated individuals of recent humanity. Today, there are some associations and groups that have requested the International Criminal Court and the Belgium Judicial Branch to put Henry Kissinger on trial as a war criminal. The revolutionary political forces must take a cautious and vigilant attitude towards the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize and asses its significance and validity on an individual basis. The fact that Shirin Ebadi is awarded the Prize today will not lower the political nature of awarding the Nobel Peace Prize. Continued on page 2

#### Which Choice, the Choice of Reviving the Dead?

Recently, Said Hajarian, the theoretician and the brain of the Reformists in Iran, has started to talk. He, after the disgraceful defeat of the Reformists and in order to relieve the activists of his collapsed front, talked about three choices. The third choice which he advised must become a source of new entertainment for the pro reform movement in Iran. Mr. Hajarian is concerned that the activists, particularly the youths, of his broken and divided reformist front leave him and that no controlling factor is imposed upon them. Hajarian who is the founder of the Islamic Republic's information apparatus has had the critical years of the regime under his skillful control. He planed the reform movement in order to save the regime of the Islamic Republic.

Mr. Hajarian stated in a gathering that:

"He is asked to prepare a statement, but he prefers to raise a discussion". He continued that:

"The topic of my discussion is what is to be done after reform".

After giving his analysis on the demoralised situation of the years following the 1953 Coup d' etat in Iran, Hajarian stated that:

"The resistance of the Conservatives against the reform movement can create a wave of

demoralisation and social problems that may lead to lumpenism and gangster mentality".

He then pointed out that some gangs were already formed and hopelessness and demoralisation might lead to defeatism. Hajarian added that:

"This section of society has reached the conclusion that the enemy is at home not abroad and the domestic enemy should be gotten rid of first".

"some Iranians take photo with American soldiers in Iraq. When they return to Iran, they say that the American soldiers are polite and respect us. They say that the Baathis are bad".

In this situation, what is Mr. Hajarian's advice for the people?

"We do not have the right to distantly watch the situation. We do not have the right to be neutral. We do not have the right to be passive. We must be a player. We must take the third choice".

And what is Mr. Hajarian's third choice?

"The Reform is dead, but long live reform".

He then raised the question "Can we carry out reformist activities after the Reform is dead?" He compared the collapse of the reform movement in

Iran with the collapse of a building.

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#### **Peace Prize**

### The Political Motive behind Awarding Ebadi This Year's Nobel Peace Prize

The European States have different opinion from USA on how to deal with the US-called "Axis of Evil" and on how to fight terrorism. The USA and Europe do not even have a common opinion on how to fight the Islamic fundamentalism; one puts stress on "the clash of civilisation" and the other on "mutual understanding and toleration". The lack of US and Europe's common approach to some problems can be seen in the disagreements on the US invasion of Iraq.

The US, in order to impose its hegemony on the world and to plunder the natural resources of the Middle East, invaded Iraq under the cover of fighting against terrorism, of injecting human rights and democracy to the people of Iraq, and to implement its program of a "better world" in Iraq. None of the US promises were implemented and the US was exposed in the eyes of the people of the world for its lies and deceit. Many European states were opposed to the US policy of bullying and seeking hegemony. The Europe states foretold rightly some of the consequences of the US policy. When George Bush dreamt that God had ordered him to take peace, freedom, democracy, open society, etc to Iran, Syria, and North Korea, the Europeans protested Bush's policy and did not side with the US imperialists. The European Union has invested in Iranian Reformists and is carefully following the development of the events in Iran. The imperialists are aware of the extent of the Iranian people's discontent and disgust from the Islamic Republic. They are aware that the regime lacks any social base among the general population. The imperialists' policy on Iran is to exert pressure and to dialogue with the Islamic Republic at the same time. Once again today, the cowboy George Bush in blowing the war horn and is threatening western Iran with cruise missiles. The US imperialists in cooperation with the Israeli Zionists are planning another adventure in the region. The European imperialists are trying to leash the US mad dog and tell him that violent adventures and bullying other nations are not always useful to the capitalist system. The European imperialists recommend that, at this juncture, the heads must be cut off with cotton (scalpel), that reform must be strengthened, the actions must advance in Iran according to well managed and well calculated plans, and that the revolution must be aborted in Iran. The European imperialists oppose the US violent and dominant actions because they themselves do not have enough force at this juncture to dominate and plunder the world as they wish. The dedication of the Nobel Peace Prize to Shirin Ebadi must be looked at from this angle and through these motives.

#### The Objective Consequences of This Action

"Whoever is fighting for human rights in Iran has learned how to put up with fear" (Shirin Ebadi, Ibid) Regardless of whatever the inter-imperialist fights are about, the dedication of the Peace Prize to Shirin Ebadi, who is totally unaware of the contradictions behind the scene and who carries out her

Independent, fight makes we Iranians glad. Among those who have given the Prize, she is one of the most deserving, and we cannot stop ourselves from congratulating her. The Prize, as Mrs. Ebadi rightly expressed, belongs to all those who fight for democracy, freedom, and human rights in Iran. The Prize belongs to the entire Iranian masses that did not bow to the dark reaction, and 25 years after their revolution, they are still fighting to continue, deepen, and to develop their uprising. A nation that buried one of the most hated regimes of the history, the Shah's regime, and that fights to send the unpopular regime of the Islamic Republic to the garbage heap of history, deserves to live in a humane condition and to receive many prizes. The world must recognise the struggle of the Iranian people for freedom and democracy. The winning of the Nobel Prize is a boost for the Iranian women who entered in the struggle against the reactionary Islamic regime on the first day it took power. Every Iranian activist must feel proud for winning the Prize and must utilise his feeling as a tool to fight against imperialism, monarchism, and against the regime of the Islamic Republic.

The dedication of the Nobel Peace Prize to an Iranian woman who resides in Iran and who opposes the reactionary Islamic regime shows that the regime change from within is possible. This clearly opposes the hated CIA-boosted monarchists outside the country who wish to "liberate" the nation by outside forces and by rolling the US tanks towards Iran. The regime of the Islamic Republic, the Israeli Zionists, the US imperialists, and the Iranian monarchists are all sad from rewarding Shirin Ebadi with the Prize. The so-called Worker-communist Party of Iran cannot be happy from this event because it contradicts the US and Israeli war plan for Iran.

## The Appearance of Mrs. Ebadi, an Important Political Display

## "The winning of the Nobel Prize gives me energy to continue my struggle determinedly" (Shirin Ebadi, Ibid)

Mrs. Ebadi was a lawyer who was dismissed by the regime of the Islamic Republic. What a big shame for the regime when the people of the world heard that the Islamic regime considers women incompetent to practice law! The world heard that in the Islamic Republic in order to exit Iran, Mrs. Ebadi must gain official permission of her husband, even if she wants to travel to Europe for the Nobel Peace Prize ceremony! In this particular case, it would have been better if her husband had abdicated and had appointed the Supreme Leader for this sick job! The world heard that a woman is half worthy of a man in the regime of the Islamic Republic, not mentioning the fact that the regime does not value any human life, male or female. The world heard that the struggle is going on in Iran and that the women's movement is a pillar of this struggle.

Mrs. Ebadi courageously and beautifully appeared on the scene and participated in the radio-television-

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press interviews. She took off her Islamic veil, the symbol of shame of the Islamic Republic, and displayed the wishes of the Iranian women. This courageous and respectful act was an expression of disgust for the Islamic Republic's policy of forced Islamic veil.

Shirin Ebadi's pose is a dagger that goes in and comes out from the heart of the Supreme Leader, and it will go deeper in the future.

The rewarding of the Prize to Shrin Ebadi will cause new fighting grounds in Iran. The Regime is one step closer to its grave. The Iranian women and the freedom loving people of Iran will be encouraged to step up the fight for democracy and human rights. We now have a better ground to inform the people of the world of the demands of the Iranian masses. The Islamic Regime is in a state of shock now and is retreating. This state of shock should be developed to the destruction of the regime's brain by inflicting heavier blows.

In this situation, we must pay attention to the raising of the suitable demands and slogans that mobilise the people and force the regime to retreat further. The demands to arrest and prosecute judge Mortazavi <sup>1,</sup> to revoke the death sentence of Afsaneh Norouzi and to free her and to arrest and prosecute the judge who sentenced her to death, to investigate and put on public trial those who carried out the chain political assassinations, and to bring to justice those who murdered Zahra Kazemi <sup>2</sup> are among the demands that corner the officials of the Islamic Republic.

When a newsman asked Shirin Ebadi about her opinion on the struggle of the Palestinian people, she replied that "An unequal war is going on in Palestine. I condemn the violence of the Israeli army".

#### A Press Interview

Der Spiegel: Is there any right to interfere for democracy and human rights?

Ebadi: Never. The struggle must rise from within the country and society. Foreign interference makes the liberation of the country more difficult. No country has the right to impose its will on the others. Even if the imposition of the will is for a good reason, it often has the opposite result.

Der Spiegel: Is the interference in Iraq useless?

Ebadi: Well, look at the situation in Iraq and Afghanistan. Are the human rights implemented there? Not at all. The American presence in these countries is a calamity. There will be no democracy as long as the basic daily necessities are not provided. Every nation should have the right to choose its own path and to liberate itself by its own hand, etc.

Mrs. Ebadi who was at the centre of the attention of the world's mass media utilises this exceptional opportunity to expose in a diplomatic language the regime of the Islamic Republic, the US imperialists, and the Israeli Zionists. She rightly condemns the US invasion of Iraq and Afghanistan. By doing this, Mrs. Ebadi struck a heavy blow at the heart of the monarchists and their allies, the Worker-communist

Party of Iran, who count the days until the US invasion of Iran.

Mrs. Ebadi demands the freedom of all political prisoners in Iran. She asks the Islamic Republic to agree to a referendum in Iran.

At the same time, Mrs. Ebadi stated that some interpretation of Islam is compatible with the human rights. But she blamed the Islamic regime for the violation of human rights. She implicitly made the regime of the Islamic Republic responsible for the ugly face Islam has assumed in the world. Shrin Ebadi condemned the hostility merely on the basis of the belief in Islam towards the Moslems.

Our Party disagrees with the view that religion, Islam or others, is compatible with human rights. Religion, by its nature, does not recognise any significant role for the individuals and regards the human beings as impotent individuals who must be led by a superstitious force. However the statement she made has two consequences. First, it creates a wave of solidarity in the Islamic world with Iran. Second, the content of her statement points out that religion is a private matter and it should be separated from the state.

The communists have always raised the struggle against religion from the angle of the class struggle and not from the angle of merely an anti religion struggle. The communists raise the separation of state and religion, which is a progressive and democratic demand, as the first step to overcome superstition and the historical lack of knowledge.

Compare this stand with the rotten stand of the Worker-communist Party of Iran on "political Islam". The WCPI and its sympathisers in Iraq are cooperating with the US colonial forces of occupation in Iraq to fight "Political Islam", a cooperation that will end up with Israeli Mussad.

Mrs. Ebadi wants to respond to the reactionary violence of the regime of the Islamic Republic with peaceful measures that avoid any appeal to violence. She escapes from revolution and she thinks that a fundamental change in the society is possible without appealing to revolutionary violence. History has proven the rottenness of this belief. The communists have always tried to convince the ruling class to voluntarily and peacefully transfer of power to the majority, laborers of cities and towns, but they have been responded to by bullets and death squads. Thus, organising the training of the masses according to the principle of "not resorting to violence" does not have a good end result and contradicts the lessons of the history. In order to end a war and reactionary violence and oppression, you must resort to force. There is no other option.

Mrs. Ebadi still has hope for and attachment to gradual reform. She has been unable to accept the principle that no reform is carried out without enormous pressure from the masses that are ready to sacrifice and resort to violence. Even if the Islamic regime carries out her "reform", it is because of the regime's fear of the violent indignation of the people who have practically refuted the path of reform.

Shirin Ebadi invites the people to strengthen a

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reform movement which has no clear agenda and which is under the condition in which all political organisations are illegal and many of their activists are in prison. Our Party opposes these erroneous trends of thoughts.

Our Party supports the fights Shirin Ebadi has waged against the Islamic Republic. Her winning of the Nobel Prize has released a force that can be a source of significant developments in Iran. We have to see how this force will be utilised towards imposing more pressure on the regime, freeing political prisoners, prosecuting judge Mortazavi, freeing of Afsaneh Norouzi, prosecuting those who have a bloody hand in the chain political assassinations, etc. Shirin Ebadi can play an important role in this arena.

- 1- Judge Mortazavi, Chief Justice of the Islamic Republic's Supreme Court
- 2- Zahra Kazemi, Iranian-Canadian journalist, was arrested by the authorities of the regime while she was taking pictures of the families of the political prisoners in front of Evin prison, she was murdered by a blow to her head while she was in the custody of the regime.

#### Which Choice?

"If a building is destroyed, not all materials will be disposed. The materials of building the past reform remains. Parliament, organisation, state, forces, and experience remain. We must reconstruct the reform ...we must reform the Reform movement".

The audience did not want to believe that the grand theoretician of the reform movement was carrying water in a sieve. The reform of the Reform is the third choice put forward by Mr. Hajarain.

Our questions to Hajarian are that should we do business as usual, be kept in dark, kept hopeful with empty promises, and put our heads with empty stomachs on the pillow of reform?

Hajarian's third road is the continuation of the road to rescue the regime of the Islamic Republic. Hajarian is searching for a Christ to revive the dead reform and to give a new life to the regime.

A trend that delivered a molehill and not a mountain when it had the support of 20 million votes of the people who were ready to sacrifice and defeat the ultra reactionary Conservatives is now, at a time that it is utterly broken and abject, trying to whitewash the crimes of the butchers in Iran.

The pain of reformers of the Reform must be ended as soon as possible with a revolutionary surgery that brings hope to the people. There is no third choice. After 25 years of practical experience with the Islamic regime, only one choice remains, to end the era of horror caused by the capitalist regime of the Islamic Republic. It is only through revolutionary violence, a violence that has the support of and is carried out by the masses and is under the leadership of the working class party, that the blood thirsty regime in Iran can be surrendered to the

people's demands. The path of victory for the masses is to build and strengthen their nation-wide organisation. Reform is achieved only in the midst of class struggles and class battles, and for the revolutionaries, it is the conquest of just a trench for the final battle.

The present situation in Iran is the product of the rule of not only Conservatives, but of the Reformists also. The Reformists played games with the Iranian people and pulled the struggle of the masses into deviated channels for many years. The Reformists were and are part and parcel of the Islamic regime and are responsible for the social ills that Mr. Hajarian is talking about.

The choice of relying on a foreign enemy to defeat the domestic enemy is not the Iranian people's choice. It is not the choice of those individuals who take photos with the polite American soldiers. It is the choice of those who rule in Iran. It the choice of the ruling elite that eventually capitulates miserably to the US imperialists in order to preserve its power through alliance with the foreign forces and not through the support of the masses. The policy of the Islamic Republic is to unconditionally preserve its power at all costs. The authorities of the Islamic regime are the first to come to term with the US imperialists.

Only one path and only one choice is left for the Iranian people; organising, building the Party, relying on the energy on the millions-strong masses, responding to reactionary violence of the regime with revolutionary violence, and establishing a socialist society on the ruins that the capitalist regime of the Islamic Republic has brought in Iran.

#### Free Ahmad Batebi



Ahmad Batebi, a university student, is a political prisoner in Iran. He is being brutally tortured in the dungeons of the Islamic Republic for holding above his head the bloody t-shirt of his friend who was attacked by the thugs of the Islamic security forces.

The authorities in the US do not talk about the show trials and they attempt to erase this dark chapter of the US history. Joseph McCarthy lived happily and in peace after he finished his mission! J. Edgar Hoover lived a comfortable life and kept his noble job until he died in 1972.

The duties of McCarthy were taken by President Lyndon Johnson, one of the criminals of the Vietnam War who realised on time that "communists are not better than the Chicago gangsters"! Anti-communist Nixon took the responsibility of carrying coups d' etat in Asia and Latin America. He shamelessly interfered in the affairs in Guatemala, had bloody hands in the massacre of the Guatemalan communists, was a CIA conspirator against the progressive President Arbenz, and he found communism in the face of his every opponent. President Nixon was impeached for the Watergate scandal, and he resigned from the presidency. After a few years, Mr. spy, T10; that is Ronald Reagan, was put in the White House. These US presidents were all trained in the anti-communist school of McCarthy and Hoover. Senator McCarthy is dead and J. Edgar Hoover's body has already decomposed, but the spirit of McCarthyism is still alive in the USA.

Several years have passed since we wrote this article, but communists add to their experience by referring to history. The communists must not allow the people become the victims of revisionists, social democrats, and class conciliators. Imperialism has not and will not change its nature.

Now several years after publishing this article, it is good if the activists who were deceived by the revisionists and reformists or who have deviated to right and "left" wake up and look at the history of Bush's activities and realise that he is taking the same road that his predecessors took and that he is involved with the same filthy work. George Bush is the legitimate son of the US McCarthyism, and he has nothing to present to the people of the world except poverty and death.

We communists must tell the people of the world the truth about the system of imperialism and exploitation. We do not have the giant propaganda machine that the imperialists have and our ideological fire power is restricted, but we have Stalinist steeled resolve. We are inspired by the movement of the masses, we carry out organised work, and we have party discipline. This is why the source of our energy is unlimited and eternal. We continue the path of our fallen comrades who had carried the banner of the struggle and revolution by their self-sacrifice. We continue to carry this banner and will hand it over to the future generation. Victory is ours because we look into the future and because the liberation of mankind is our goal. Undoubtedly, human kind will be liberated from the claws of the class and imperialist monster!

- 1- Elia Kazan died on 29 September 2003.
- 2- Sultan Salahuddin Ayyubi, a Kurdish reactionary leader.
- 3- Columbine, A high school in Littleton Colorado

- USA, where 15 students were massacred by two teenage fellow students.
- 4- Ayandegan, a daily news paper published in Iran in 1980.

Engels writes, "because the state arose from the need to hold class antagonism in check, but because it arose, at the same time, in the midst of the conflict of theses classes, it is, as a rule, the state of the most powerful, economically dominant class, which, through the medium of the state, becomes also the politically dominant class, and thus acquires new means of holding down and exploiting the oppressed class....".

In a democratic republic, Engels continues, "wealth exercises its power indirectly, but all the more surely", first by means of the "direct corruption of officials" (America); secondly, by means of an "alliance of the government and the Stock Exchange" (France and America).

At present, imperialism and the domination of the banks have "developed" into an exceptional art both these methods of upholding and giving effect to the omnipotence of wealth in democratic republics of all descriptions. ....

Another reason why the omnipotence of "wealth" is more certain in a democratic republic is that it does not depend on defects in the political machinery or on the faulty political shell of capitalism. A democratic republic is the best possible capitalism. political shell for and. therefore. once capital has gained possession of this very best shell (through the Palchinskys, Chervovs, Tseretelis, and Co.), it establishes its power so securely, so firmly, that no change of persons, institutions or parties in the bourgeoisdemocratic republic can shake it.

Lenin, The State and Revolution

violated these rights using the argument that a noncommunist has no fear of confessing so. Who ever tried to use the Amendments had something up his sleeves! This criterion was the same as of the butcher Ayatollah Khalkhali's. The anti-communists have no differences in the nature of their arguments. Their differences are in their names and forms. The fascist organisations such as "American Legion" put the name of the communists on their blacklist in order to settle the final accounts, and three former FBI agents published these names in the journal "Red Channels" in order to prevent anyone from offering jobs to them. This is similar to what the Islamic Republic did with the communists or even with the dead bodies of the communists. This is similar to what Khomeini did with the news paper Ayandegan when he said that "I do not read Ayandegan anymore"; that is, he issued a secret code to ban the paper and to persecute its editorial board.

Ben Hecht wrote that:

"The freedom of opinion is a valuable gift in the USA. In my youth era, this freedom was a model without which no politician could be elected for presidency or for hunting a dog. But nowadays, this model could bring a small prison for its adopter".

For the purpose of discrediting John Huston's committee, the HUAC selected a group to publish the list of the members of the Committee and of those artists who supported the Amendments to the US Constitution. Suddenly, it became clear that the popular US comedian Danny Kay who mistreated because of his support for Amendments was a Jew whose real name was David Daniel Kamirsky. Edward J. Robinson was also a Jew whose real name was Emanuel Goldenberg. Suddenly, all leftist intellectuals were beaten by the stick of anti-Semitism, and the HUAC accused them of faking their past history. The HUAC named Robinson a Jewish gangster and broke him to the point that he "voluntarily" and because of hunger and poverty appeared in front of the House Committee and sought forgiveness. Suddenly he became a good boy and honey and milk flowed, and he gained significant roles in several films. Some of the leftists and communists who were subpoenaed were broken by the imperialist judiciary system, some became living dead without any sign of inhumane torture on their bodies and faded through times and dissolved themselves into an ugly bourgeois life style. Not everyone could be as heroic as two US-Italian workers, Sako and Vatsti.

The US capitalists were not yet satisfied with their work in HUAC. When the period of mental torture of the leftists and communists was finished and when the continuous persecution, pressure, poverty, and threat weakened the determination of the progressive activists, a committee was formed with the assistance of Ronald Reagan and Cecil B. Demille to rehabilitate those who cooperated with the authorities. Anyone seeking rehabilitation had to contact the FBI, further betray the comrades and those who might have been leftists, publish a

regretful statement in a recognised and credible paper, and go to the Congress to appreciate the work of HUAC that showed him the correct path and promoted virtue and prohibited sin. Then the Uncle Sam like Lajevardi (the butcher of Evin prison) would smile detestably and rehabilitate the regretful individual.

It is clear that the American type democratic torture was lengthier, more effective, more planned, and more cleverly enacted than that of Lajevardi. One of the victims of this process was Elia Kazan, a popular director of US cinema. His cooperation with the HUAC and the US police, the exposure of his friends and comrades, his repentance of being a member of the Communist Party, his statement that was published in the press, and the lies to interpret and justify his filthy acts were never forgiven by the community of the progressive US artists. Elia Kazan was not Lionel Stander who refused to degrade himself by not confirming the list of the FBI exposed and published communists in the show trials. His stand did not make the enemy happy. Kazan was not Pete Seeger who did not approve the police plot to break him and his comrades, but he stood up instead and sang a revolutionary song. Seeger did not allow his enemy to peacefully end the show trials under the statue of Lady Liberty. Elia Kazan was not Charlie Chaplin who was attacked by the right-wing conservatives because of his work "The King in New York" and "The Modern Time", but he did not surrender or renounce his radical past. Elia Kazan was not Albert Einstein whose lectures on the theory of relativity were boycotted, but he did not yield himself to the pressure. Elia Kazan did not want to become like Jack London whose body was found outside New York after he wrote the "Iron Heel", as the bodies of two Iranian writers Mokhtari and Poyandeh were found outside Tehran. The US authorities did not see any need to accuse the private circles of the murder of Jack London, which was worse than what President Khatami did about Mokhtari and Poovandeh. The US police announced the cause of Jack's death as suicide! Elia Kazan did not want to see his work set on fire, as the books "Spartacus" and "Freedom Road" were burnt in the USA. He did not want his work to have the same fate as the work of distinguished Iranian literary figures who are the victims of the dark forces of the Islamic Republic. Elia Kazan disgracefully capitulated and became an informer because his attachment to his personal interest was by far stronger than his dedication to progressive causes. Elia Kazan died in the heart of the progressive Americans and of the people of the world.

In the era of McCarthyism, many American communists who tried to immigrate to Europe in search of livelihoods could not obtain passports. Their crime was that they were communists. Elia Kazan cooperated with the US police, exposed his associates, and received an Oscar award this year. Elia Kazan harvested the fruits of his betrayal, but many progressive US artists did not applaud or stand up for him when he entered the hall at which the Oscar ceremony was held. **Continued on page 5** 

discovered communist elements in the film industries. Cooper did not know in what film he had discovered these elements because he did not remember even what book he had read the night before. It was insignificant for HUAC even if Cooper did not remember names because his participation in HUAC was significant to the trial! Many experts were carefully planning the Washington DC trials. The FBI was busy faking documents about these individuals. Today no US official talks about those trials as if nothing has happened and no crimes have been committed by McCarthyites. It was exposed in 1985 that the former US president, cowboy Ronald Reagan, and his ex-wife Jane Wyman were unofficial collaborators of the FBI and carried the codes T10 and T9. They spied on the progressive actors/actresses to uproot the leftists and communists from the US film activities. Howard Fast, the great American writer and producer of valuable works such as "Spartacus" and the "Freedom Road" and who was a member of the Communist Party of USA and one of the leading members of the anti fascist movement, was imprisoned because he did not name the names of the pro Spanish republic fighters who participated in the anti-fascist Spanish war and who immigrated to the US after Franco brutally suppressed the pro republic movement. In his 1990 memoirs "Being Red", he writes that "The censorship in the US was successful exactly when it did not exist". The head of the FBI Edgar Hoover sent an agent to Boston to convince Little Brown, the owner of the company that published Howard Fast's works, that the FBI would not favour the publication of "Spartacus". The Iranian authorities employed similar methods when they announced that "Imam Khomeini does not read Ayandegan4".

Howard Fast had to publish his book "Spartacus" by himself in a few copies and in a pamphlet form. The wife of a captive communist who was an architect was fired from her job two hours after her husband was convicted with the reason that she had not chosen a good color for the façade of a high school! Of course, it was the right (!) of the manager to fire her. The imperialist system destroyed the livelihood of thousands of people by using police pressure and showed the flag of democracy to the unconscious and quiet majority.

George Thomas Mann was an "early" anti-fascist who opposed fascism before the US entered WWII in 1941. He was under more pressure in the era of McCarthyism than in 1933 and had to leave the US for Switzerland.

On the second week of the HUAC hearing on the "subversives" in the film industry and after testimony from "friendly" witnesses, the Committee started its questioning of 10 "unfriendly" witnesses, the Hollywood 10. Contrary to the US Constitution, these 10 artists were asked "are you now, or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party of the United States?" John Howard Lawson protested the invasion of his constitutional rights, tried repeatedly to answer in his own words, was interrupted more than 10 times in two minutes, and was ejected from the witness stand and threatened with a charge of

contempt of Congress. The Hollywood 10 argued that the inspection of beliefs was illegal according to the Amendments to the US Constitution, and they defended the democratic rights given by the Constitution. Ring Lardner, one of the 10 figures on trials, declared his position that "my knowledge about the inspection of beliefs strengthened my view that there is no essential difference between the inspection of beliefs and the imposition of beliefs". Samuel Goldwyn said that "The most un-American activity which I have observed in connection with the hearings has been the activity of the HUAC itself".

The resistance put up by the Hollywood 10 resulted in the formation of a committee by John Huston, William Wyler, Phillip Dunne, and others to defend the First Amendment to US Constitution. Humphrey Bogart, Laren Bacall, Danny Kaye, Catherine Hipburn, Edward Robinson, Judy Garland, Ira Gershwin, Fredrich March, Gene Kelly, and others either joined or supported the Committee. The Committee for the First Amendment had a full page ad placed in various publications and stated that:

"We the undersigned, as American citizens who believe in constitutional democratic government, are disgusted and outraged by the continuing attempt of the House Committee Un-American Activities to smear the Motion Picture Industry. We believe that these hearings are morally wrong because any investigation into the political beliefs of the individuals is contrary to the basic principles of our democracy; any attempt to curb freedom of the expression and to set an arbitrary standard of Americanism is itself disloyal to both the spirit and the letter of the Constitution".

Soon after the Committee started its work, the US authorities changed the accusations of these 10 people to "agents of the USSR and of Comintern" in order to change the public opinions on them. The "civilised" imperialists used the same weapon that the pro Shah uncivilised Savakis and lumpen Shaaban Bimokh used against the progressive Iranians. These 10 leftist or CP members refused to cooperate with the HUAC and were charged with "contempt of Congress", "not uncovering their secret beliefs", and "not answering the respected inquisitors" The US authorities sentenced them with imprisonment and practically deprived them of the right to work after they were released. The victims were not executed, but they were deprived of livelihood. This is the difference between the US judicial system and the Islamic Republic judicial and legal system based on "The Law of Punishment" of "enemies" of the Islamic Republic, especially the communists.

The victims of witch-hunting McCarthyism were put under tremendous police pressure to repent their "crimes", to expose and betray their comrades in the Communist Party, to name names, and to issue statements in good standing papers expressing their aversion of communism and leftist activities. Since then, every progressive individual who wanted to appeal to the Amendments or use the right of being silent in front of a judicial court was considered guilty. The authorities **Continued on page 6** 

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#### McCarthyism

and anti-Nazi intellectuals sought refuge in the US. About 200 intellectuals sought refugee status especially when President Roosevelt led many into confusion by his attack on "financial and commercial capital", which he then labeled as the sick tumors of capitalism.

As soon as the progressive intellectuals put their feet on the US land, the FBI director J. Edgar Hoover put them under his surveillance. Hoover considered these asylum seekers as agent of Comintern and the friends of the Socialist Soviet Union. Hoover made them the prey of secret police organisations, and the FBI collected information about them.

The distinguished US writers Lillian Hellman and Dashiell Hammett, who suffered extensively under the fascist trend of McCarthyism and whose books were banned in the "civilised" USA, stipulated in their wills that their assets be used to establish a foundation that helps the intellectuals who were put in a needy position. They wanted to see the path of their struggle being continued. They wanted to ridicule the fear of death, to erect a monument of resistance against the reaction, and to inspire all freedom loving artists and film makers.

During the McCarthy era in the US, the term censorship was not used and there were no "Ministry of Islamic Culture and Guidance", but no bookstore was going to sell or lend Hellman and Hammett's books without gambling with its existence. The American censorship is modern, invisible, and systematic.

For the US imperialists, communism was equivalent to insanity and mental illness. The imperialists argued that a healthy and wise individual will never seek communism. Thus they sent the communists to psychiatric hospitals. The communists alongside with criminals, drug addicts, drug traffickers, individuals infected with tuberculosis, syphilis, etc were not allowed to enter the democratic and civilised USA. On their application forms given by the US embassies, the individuals seeking US visa had to deny their sympathy for communism.

Thomas Mann and his wife Katie Mann, Heinrich Mann and his wife Nelly Mann, Lion Feucht Wagner, Anna Seghers, Bertolt Brecht, and others were victims of system of terror of the US imperialism.

The entire imperialist system pretends that the terror of communists and progressive individuals was the work of the FBI and senator McCarthy alone, as President Khatami tries to pretend that the assassination of intellectuals in Iran by the Islamic death squads is the work of private circles that are not dependent on any factions of his regime and has nothing to do with the Islamic Republic! McCarthyism was the product of terror of the era in which the communist and workers' movement in the US was on the rise, Stalin was at the head of the Bolshevik Party, and the USSR had world popularity. The US intellectuals together with the worker-movement had leftist tendencies. The witch-hunting McCarthyism had the task of suffocating this movement. Robert Taylor whose historical films were seen by many youths for many times was put on trial because he

admired in his movies, "Song of Russia", the wheat produced by a farmer in the USSR in 1944. According to McCarthyites, he had sympathy for communism and carried out propaganda for communists because there were scenes in his movie that showed the Russian children were happy and smiling. The mass media of US imperialists had formally told the American people that the Russian children were always unhappy. The judicial system of US monopoly capitalism put Robert Taylor on trial, threatened him, and pressured him to insult communists in order to save his own life. "democratic" McCarthyism is the face Hezbollahism in which smiling is considered a sin. For the depressed US capitalism, McCarthyism was the need of the day because the film writers were on strike in Hollywood, Mao Zedong was marching victoriously towards Beijing, the Soviet Union had defeated the war machine of Nazism, the Korean war had begun, and the democratic and workermovement was advancing. The "Red Menace" had shaken the imperialist world.

McCarthyism was present in the US even before senator McCarthy was elected to his office. From the time the "House Un-American Activities Committee" (HUAC) was formed in 1938 in the "democratic" US Senate, the progressive German writers were investigated. McCarthy from the state of Wisconsin secured the votes of German-American citizens for himself because he proposed peace with Nazi war criminals and was elected to office. The first stone of this building was laid in fact in 1934 by Samuel Dickstein, a senator from the US Democratic Party. The witch-hunting gained momentum after 1944 when Parnell Thomas, the Chair of HUAC, together with careerist and anti-communist senator Nixon from California formed "The Film Unity to Preserve American Ideals". Parnell Thomas who claimed he was for a healthy and clean America was imprisoned in 1948 for committing fraud. HUAC chairman John Parnell resigned from Congress and was then charged with salary fraud. He had billed the US Treasury for non-existent people and pocketed the money in his bank account. Nixon was the man who had a criminal hand in the 1953 coup d'etat in Iran. Sam Wood who was the head of "Unity" believed that the communist plot deprived him of an Oscar award. He considered all those who disagreed with him as agent of Moscow and put their names on his black list. Sam Wood's ally was Walt Disney who, from the time his operation was struck by cartoonists and animators, considered the communists as the enemy of his Mickey Mouse. This group viewed President Roosevelt, who encountered Stalin humbly and with respect and during whose era the trade unions and state machineries were strengthened, as a communist dictator who would destroy USA. The "Film Unity" wanted to fight against communists, extremists, and half witted individuals and "shut off the faucets that put communist tendencies in film scenarios".

The first trial was held on the first week of October 1947 with the participation of Gary Cooper who claimed he had **Continued on page 7** 

not been invited at all because the hall had room for 3400 people and not for 5800! This is a "convincing" reason that shuts the mouths of critics! The writers for the imperialist system started to make noise that these directors and film makers were not the first rate artists and that they had no chance to win awards. For these writers, not inviting the mentioned artists was not enough. The artists must be "democratically" terrorised in the eyes of the public opinions. The imperialist mass media recognises the "freedom of expression" only for themselves, in any condition, and as they wish.

Ed Harris and Bono who were opposed to the US invasion of Iraq went to the ceremony to sing "The Gangs of New York". The organisers of the ceremony immediately tried to discredit the honorable work of these individuals by saying that they each have made only one song. Aki Kaurismaki, whose movie "The Man Without a Past" was nominated for an Oscar award, officially declined the invitation to participate in the ceremony because he considered the ceremony as a show to cover up the US crimes. He was immediately thrown the accusation of "The noisy protest is better for he who cannot tolerate to lose quietly". Will Smith stated that he had no good feelings for the participation in the ceremony. He did not go to the ceremony and the imperialist media fed the people with their own interpretation of his statement.

Despite all these conspiracies and throwing mud at the people and labeling people as foolish, Ms. Nicole Kidman and Mr. Adrian Broody as the best actress and actor of the year demanded peace and the end of the war. The Spanish director Pedro Almodovar read a statement in English with his Spanish accent demanding peace and an end to the war while the authorities of his country, contrary to the demands of over 95% of the people of Spain, willingly participated in the slaughter of Iraqi people. The protest against the war and for peace reached its peak when Michael Moore, the author of "Stupid White Men" and the director of the movie "Bowling for Columbine<sup>3"</sup> won an award. When he stood up to receive the Oscar award, the audience rose up and applauded him for the content of his work. The book "Stupid White Men" is one of the best selling books of the year. In his book, Moore addresses George Bush directly. We recommend this book to all. The movie "Bowling of Columbine" is a documentary, analytical, and exposing film in which Michael Moore displays the dirty role of the US arm producing companies such as Lockheed and of the mass media in brain washing the American people. He reveals the social situation of the region, exposes the role of the former President Ronald Reagan's friend Richard Huston, and shows the relation between the US domestic and foreign policy including the coups d' etat in Iran and Chile, the invasion of Iraq, and the expansionist US policy.

When Michael Moore reached the microphone in the Oscar ceremony, he shouted that the man who has

occupied the presidency in the US has dispatched military arsenal to Iraq for fabricated reasons. He added "Shame on you George Bush". This clear attack on Bush threatened the sellout artists who were invited for the purpose of filling the hall, some of whom tried to protest Michael Moore's statements many progressive minded participants applauded him. Michael was ridiculed by the media that he was presenting on the scene his practice of participating in the peace movement. The already trained orchestra at the ceremony started to play music in order to stop Moore's message from reaching the crowd. Michael Moore's voice was lost in the music and commotion. However, the applause for Moore suffocated the worthless voice of the imperialist media that were making noise against Moore as a "noise maker".

Michael Moore and the likes are continuing the path of honourable artists such as Humphrey Bogart who undertook the fight for the people. This inspires us to stand up and take our hats off in honour of these brave men and women who wage a fight in the jaws of the crocodile. The policy that governed the Oscar ceremony in its 75<sup>th</sup> birthday in 2003 remained essentially unchanged and was inspired by the spirit of McCarthyism.

We ask our readers to read again the article we published in 1999 on the occasion of Oscar ceremony in order to expose once again the ugly features of US imperialism and its class democracy. We want all to see that the imperialists repeat their ugly actions, that this conduct is not an aberration but is the law of the imperialist ruling system. We ask our readers to compare our report on 2003 Oscar ceremony with the report by monarchist paper London Keyhan on the same ceremony that millions of people around the world watched on television in order to see the monarchists' false stand on democracy. The press censorship can clearly be seen in their report. Democracy is a class concept and remains so. The monarchist paper London Keyhan is in favor of democracy, but only in the style of Bush, the Shah, Pinochet, Batista, Suharto, Sharon, Nixon, and Hitler.

Now here is the article we wrote in 1999.

### The Spirit of McCarthyism and the Presentation of the Oscar Awards!

As usual, the presentation of the Oscar awards was held in the US this year with gory and extensive propaganda. Some films were awarded and some people left the hall of imperialist international propaganda empty handed. In this aspect, there were no differences between this and the past year ceremonies. But this year, the Greek-American director and film maker Elia Kazan who was once a communist and who made the beautiful movie "America America" received an Oscar award. When Elia was receiving the award in the ceremony, many of the participants not only did not applaud for him, but they did not even rise. Why?

Over 60 years ago and before the Second World War, many communists **Continued on page 8** 

## Toufan International

#### The International Bulletin of the Party of Labour of Iran

No. 16 December 2003

## Reviving the Spirit of McCarthyism! On the Occasion of 75th Oscar Awards Ceremony in 2003

We published an article in 1999 on the occasion of offering Oscar award to Elia Kazan<sup>1</sup>, the Greek-American director and film maker. Concerning the invasion of Iraq by the US imperialists and the slaughter of thousands of Iragis and the reflection of this barbarity among the artists in the world, particularly in the US, we find it useful to republish the article. The significance of republishing the article can also be seen in the situation that the "democratic" representatives of the monopolies in power have imposed the policy of suppression in the 21st century on the resistance and the vast protest of the progressive US artists who opposed the expansionist policy of the US imperialism. In this regard, the spirit of McCarthyism of the 1940s and 1950s governs the political environment which has not changed. The dreadful specter of McCarthyism with its full bloody body is in front of us once again. After September 11, the US imperialists extensively violated the democratic rights of the American people through declaration of an extraordinary situation. The US imperialists grossly violated human rights, justified the use of torture to gain confession from the accused, erased the border line between accused and guilty, violated the judicial principle of "not guilty until proven in a court of law", switched the punishment to before committing a crime, and instigated a wave of racist attitude towards Arabs. Moslems, Turks, Indians, Iranians, and others.

The oppressive policy of US imperialism that orders the arrest of individuals without judicial and legal authorisation and sends them to unknown prisons for undetermined period of time reminds us Iranians of the Islamic Republic's "safe houses" and of the secret "penitentiaries" of the Islamic Pasdaran Brigade. George Bush, who is a fraudulent stock player and is an ally of US oil companies and of the Bin Laden's family, suddenly felt that he was a Salvationist and the messenger of God with a dream to save American people, the same as Khomeini felt about the Iranian people. George Bush suddenly felt that he had to finish the crusading war to "save" the people

of Iraq. This time and contrary to the past, this crusading war was carried out with the close collaboration of the sons of Salahuddin Ayyubi<sup>2</sup> in Iraqi Kurdistan. George Bush used the tool of religion, the opium of the masses, to create an atmosphere of suppression and strangulation in the US. When he well known artist Dustin Hoffman, Richard Gere, George Clooney, Paul Newman, Pierce Brosnan, and others protested Bush's warmongering policy, the press announced that their invitation to Oscar ceremony was canceled. The movie "Chicago" by Richard Gere was nominated for 6 Oscar awards. but Richard was not allowed to participate in the ceremony. The pressure of the public opinions forced the board of the Academy to review their threatening decision that was made with the goal of closing the lips of the artist protestors. The large film producing companies threatened to cancel their contracts with the artists for their un-American conduct.

The US police was heavily present at the location at which the ceremony was held and threatened the protesting artists as soon as they entered the hall. Despite all the political, economical, propagandist, police pressure, the popular representatives rose up and let the people of world know about their call for peace. The directors, film makers and other artists sent the message to the world that not all American are Bush's kind and that the US has a progressive, democratic, humanist, and fighting aspect that represents the real wills of the American people. There are fighting individuals and artists and others who cannot be brainwashed by the world's biggest brainwashing machine!

Immediately after entering the hall at which the Oscar ceremony was held, Susan Sarandon and Tim Robbins raised their hands for a sign of victory and sympathy for the people of Iraq and for the world protest marches against the war. Three nominees for the Oscar awards, Warren Beatty, Robert Redford, and Sean Peen and two active and loud anti-war activists, George Clooney and Martin Sheen, have

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