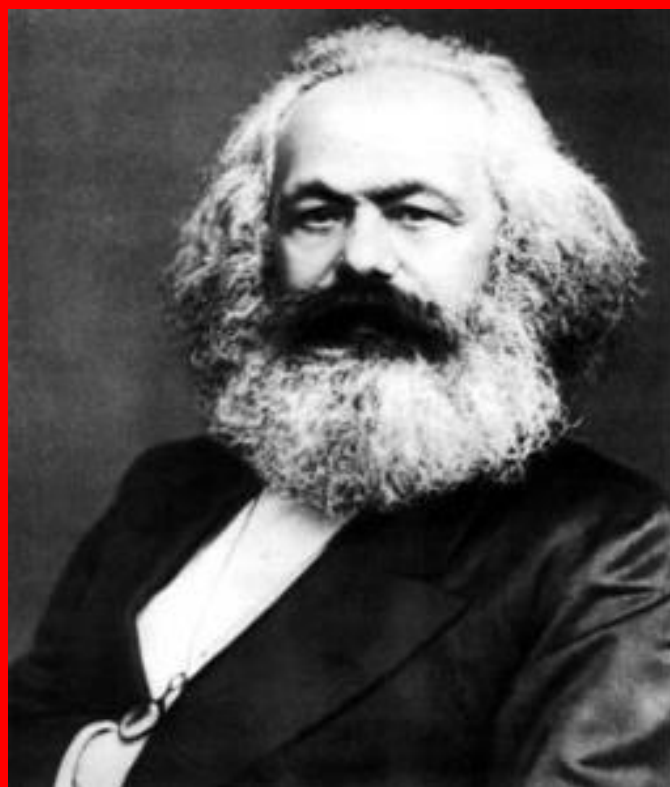


# **Worker Communism**

## **Radical Conscience of the Left of Capital**

**(Part 3)**



**In defense of Marxism**

# **Internationalist Voice**

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## **The 1979 revolution in Iran from the perspective of the Unity of Communist Militants**

During the developments of 1979 and beyond, the Unity of Communist Militants believed a revolution was underway in Iran. This issue has been repeated by the heirs of the Unity of Communist Militants (UCM) apart from the different inner tendencies, namely political currents entitled "Worker Communism" at the various social events. If we put to one side the hyperbole of the heirs of the Unity of Communist Militants, the Unity of Communist Militants did not play a role in the development of the social events during those years, and as such, the other trends of the left of capital would not affect social developments. However, a review of the ideas and theories of the Unity of Communist Militants on the concept of social revolution makes naked the anti-Communist, reactionary and bourgeois nature of this political current.

In the first step, we will try, very briefly from the language of the Unity of Communist Militants and its theoretical leader Mansoor Hekmat, to see which revolution was going on in society and the victory of that revolution, what would replace which social system in society instead of the capitalist mode of production and this political current was seeking to respond to what social. The issue from that aspect is that it is essential that the phrase radical tendencies of the left of capital, for example, Peykar, Razmandegan, etc, called these events an uprising, not a revolution.

The Unity of Communist Militants considered the economic crisis of 1976 as the context of the formation of the revolution of 1979 and evaluated the nature of the revolution as a democratic revolution. The aim of the revolution would also be to uproot the exploitation and imperialist reaction in Iran, and it was said:

"Iran's current democratic revolution that took place in the context of the economic crisis of mid-1976, in the early stages and with the February uprising, brought down the regime's reign that was a direct defender of exploitation and imperialist reaction." [1] [Our translation]

We currently put aside the issue of how an economic crisis, in the era of imperialism, and also in an isolated state, led to the revolution. We will return to the issue of the anti-Marxist thesis of "socialism in one country". But now we will continue to discuss the revolution of the Unity of Communist Militants. The Unity of Communist Militants state that during the anti-imperialist and monarchy movement leadership was in the hands of the reactionary and counter-revolutionary bourgeois, during the revolution of 1979. Furthermore, it always takes the name of the petty-bourgeois leadership. This movement overshadowed the developments of 1977-1978 as well as the revolutionary movement of the proletariat and in the process replaced the monarchist bourgeoisie with the Islamic bourgeoisie.

We will return to the Kautskyistisk understanding of the Unity of Communist Militants in the concept of imperialism in the next part of the discussion "imperialist super-profits". Next we will consider Mansoor Hekmat, when his anti-imperialist emotions, especially his anti-American fever were too high with regards to the nature of the anti-imperialist revolution of 1979:

“One of the manifest aspects of our revolution has been its open anti-imperialist character. Imperialism in general and U.S imperialism, as the dominant imperialism on the politics and economy of Iran, in particular, has been a target of the Iranian revolutionary proletariat's protest.”[2] [Our translation]

Since the Unity of Communist Militants and Mr. Hekmat were unknown in the political milieu of 1977-1979, certainly the fiery anti-imperialist and anti-American sentiment from Mansoor Hekmat and the Unity of Communist Militants could not play any role in Iran's political milieu. However, the unity of Communist Militants as a political current, no matter how weak, was looking for answers to the questions of how that anti-imperialist revolution (namely the revolution that was underway) and the class struggle was put forward in this current. Mansoor Hekmat in this regard says:

"We are specifically seeking answers to questions that the class struggle and the current revolution put forward to us."[3] [Our translation]

The main question for Mansoor Hekmat was how and in what way to accomplish the achievements of the anti-imperialist revolution. Consolidation of the new order under the guise of defending the gains of the revolution against imperialism is not limited to this current, and all currents of the left of capital played a significant role in the consolidation of the new order and the stability of the Islamic bourgeoisie, but with a radical phrase and revolutionary titles. We have looked in detail at this issue in the past. [4]

We have also clearly seen in the previous sections that according to the beliefs of the Unity of Communist Militants at the time of 1979, other classes, not merely the working class, were demanding revolutionary developments in the anti-imperialist revolution. One of these classes, the "petty bourgeoisie" and on the other hand, Khomeini's "petty bourgeois leadership" was evaluated. On the role of the anti-imperialist revolution, Khomeini believed the Unity of Communist Militants, and Mansour Hekmat stated:

“Khomeini, who owes his respectability among the masses not to Islamic jurisprudence but to his active presence in anti-monarchist struggles, himself only adores establishing Velayat-e-Faghih [Guardianship of the Islamic Jurists] and attaining a privileged position for the clergy in the hierarchy of power.”[5]

Unlike the political folly of the left of capital that created an anti-imperialist militant of a criminal such as Khomeini and created respect for him from the masses, the internationalists declared in February 1979 that Khomeini was no more progressive than the Queen of England or the first emperor Bokassa. Indeed, carrying out an anti-imperialist revolution requires that the working class be exposed as a black army rather than as a social class following the demands of another social class, namely the bourgeois class. The Unity of Communist Militants also want to mobilize the working class to establish a new order and wage slavery dominated by the new bourgeoisie under the guise of defending the gains of the revolution and to defeat the counter-revolution (the bourgeoisie who have lost their power). Hekmat says:

“To mobilize workers and the broad masses of working people to defend the gains of the revolution and to decisively defeat counter-revolution.”[6] [Our translation]

Let's identify Hekmat's perceptions and harvesting of the gains of the revolution and how he wants to mobilize the working class. The Unity of Communist Militants as other currents of the left of capital believed that the capitalism of Iran was dependent on capitalism and they have sought to achieve independence capitalism. This would mean their country acquires independence and gets rid of imperialist domination. Their country would achieve freedom. Mansoor Hekmat, unaffected by this, presented his demands:

"For the real struggle against imperialism, to supply real bread, independence, and freedom, it should be the Provisional Government supporting workers, not workers supporting the Provisional Government." [7] [Our translation]

With the stability of the Islamic bourgeoisie which was accompanied by the suppression of the struggle of the working class, the class struggle took the form of self-defence. Under such circumstances, in February 1979, the Unity of Communist Militants also believed that although the revolution has lost its inner boiling and ability to move, it was still unbeaten:

“But if the Revolution has not managed to solve its basic problem, the problem of taking power has not lost its inner boiling and ability to move. In other words, if the revolution did not succeed, it is not a failure.”[8] [Our translation]

The essential question for the Unity of Communist Militants was how to return the inner boiling and potential to a revolution where paralysis has taken its limb. How to return happiness to the revolutionary movement of the working classes (yes, revolutionary classes from the perspective of the Unity of Communist Militants). Mansoor Hekmat states his concerns:

“Now the main question is that if from the point of view of objective and economic conditions and the roots of the revolutionary movement of the toiler classes, the heart of revolution is still beating, how can we explain the paralysis of the limbs of revolution, namely, abandon the bulk

of the workers and the toilers who are directly struggling for political power as explained directly and what should we do at this given point to draw them into the struggle?"[9] [Our translation]

We have seen in previous discussions that the Unity of Communist Militants evaluated the petty bourgeoisie revolutionary class and thought that Khomeini, the leader of the petty bourgeoisie believes that other revolutionary classes pursued the objectives of the revolution. The Unity of Communist Militants continues its exploration to discover those dimensions, and with the help of other revolutionary classes and quasi-Maoists (multi-classes) it will advance the revolution as stated below:

"Cognition of these main fronts of the revolution - by the Communists, and their active participation in the struggle of the revolutionary classes and especially the working class, in the areas will inevitably follow." [10] [Our translation]

Apparently the menial Maoists' praise and compliments of the Unity of Communist Militants from the "revolutionary classes" never ends! It is important to note that the victory of the anti-imperialist revolution, or to put it more clearly, the triumph of this revolution, led to this kind of social system. The Unity of Communist Militants state:

"We must stress that the slogan of the establishment of the people's democratic republic which includes, in the most resolute and comprehensive form, the conditions necessary for the preservation and defence of the gains of the revolution, is the fighting slogan at the present stage." [11]

We very quickly noticed that from the perspective of the Unity of Communist Militants a revolution was underway in Iran. This revolution was anti-imperialist, and the nature of the anti-imperialist was also a democratic revolution and social system that would be established the day after the victory of the democratic revolution in the society; this was the Democratic People's Republic.

But before the review and analysis of the nature of the anti-imperialist revolution of the Unity of Communist Militants and the social system that the victory of the anti-imperialist revolution of the Unity of Communist Militants would lead to, namely the social system called the "Democratic People's Republic", we express our explanation and vision of the concept of the social revolution. This issue stands apart from the Marxist attitude to the concept of social revolution and its material force in different social systems but also a new dialectical social system which would replace the old social system is also investigated.

## **Marxist conception of social revolution**

Since the social classes were formed and the exploitation of man by man began, this exploitation took on a systematic form and a class took on all the blessings of material production. This exploitation provided the contexts of the formation of uprisings, rebellion, riots and even revolutions. But the material conditions for social protest, revolt and rebellion are very different to the material conditions of social revolution. If the material conditions are provided for the social protests, but the subjective conditions are not prepared, or the protesters do not have a horizon or perspective for their protest, society will explode, and protests will be formed more in the form of a rebellion, uprising or even revolt.

The social revolution is a process where the relations of production and consequently a new social relation of production will replace the old social relations. It is an undeniable fact that "the history of all hitherto societies is the history of class struggle." But this does not mean that the battle of exploiting the history with the rulers of class societies always resulted in a social revolution and the transformation of the relations of production.

Before the feudal relations of production were replaced by relations of the production of slavery, the history of slavery was rife with rebellions; the most famous of them being the slave uprising led by Spartacus. Slaves' living conditions and the oppression they faced formed the basis for the slaves' protests. In 73 BC Spartacus began leading the protests. During the revolt of Spartacus, many slaves were freed and joined the ranks of the rebels. Slaves led by Spartacus resisted against the Army of "Rome" for several years. Finally, the revolt of Spartacus in 71 BC, despite the sacrifices and heroic resistance, was crushed by the army of "Rome" and the captured slaves were crucified.

The revolting slaves were not an alternative to the system of slavery; they wanted to be released and to return to their homeland. Slaves never had the possibility of a feudal system, and they neither wanted nor could have been promoted to the ruling class, but they dreamed about a free life without their slavery chains.

This issue is also correct about the feudal system (the serf or vassal system). Several riots and rebellions have been recorded in the feudal system era (serf system). Peasants or serfs were no longer slaves. They had authority over their own lives but were dependent on the land. If the owner of the land changed, they were actually passed on to the new owner. One of the most famous peasant revolts was Pugachev's Rebellion which occurred between 1773 and 1775 in the Russian Empire. [12]

The peasants (serfs) never revolted against the aims or demands of the capitalist system. At best their horizons were a piece of land and relative justice. The exploited peasants (serfs) did not

create new production relations; no bourgeois revolution converted the peasant class or even farmers into the ruling class and would not have been able to do so. In other words, the peasant class did not become the capitalist class, but the capitalist relations of production gradually grew in the womb of the feudal system and the new class, namely the capitalist class, was not replaced by the peasant class or even farmers but was replaced by the master class.

Within the feudal system the conception of two social classes emerged, namely, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and both classes were then transformed into the main classes of society. In fact, the growth of these classes in society would end the rule of feudalism. In other words, within the feudal relations, the conception of capitalist relations emerged and began to grow. Workshops, factories and other industries were not created by the feudal class but by the capitalists and in the feudal system.

The gradual growth of capitalist productive relations within the feudal system has created the heterogeneity of the superstructure of society, namely political power with the infrastructure of society that has provided the grounds for the formation of the bourgeois revolutions. "Liberty, equality, fraternity" was the slogan and symbol of the French Revolution. This slogan was not the slogan of peasants or farmers, but the slogan of a class that was growing and that represented the new productive relations within the feudal system that was growing, namely the bourgeois class, which at that time was the revolutionary class. New relations of production (the capitalist relations of production) that took over society needed freedom for citizens and equality, "the law is the same for all" in society.

The Iranian Constitutional Revolution that was due to the influence of the French Revolution had two main demands: "Parliament" and "constitution" which had freedom and justice as the main slogan. The Constitutional Revolution represented a bourgeois-democratic revolution of Iran, which due to the restrictions of a peripheral country like Iran was delayed. Finally, the Constitutional Revolution, after years of effort, achieved victory in 1906 which led to the formation of the National Assembly and the adoption of the first constitution of Iran. [13]

Only one social class in the history of humanity has arisen and according to its material conditions it has been capable of offering an alternative to the system that exploits them. This is the proletariat class, and its alternative is the communist system. Unlike previous systems, where their embryo was initially created within the previous class system and began to grow within the old system and eventually became the ruling system, the alternative was the proletariat in the capitalist system. In other words, the embryo of socialist relations of production cannot occur within the capitalist system so that it can continue to grow.

But again, unlike the exploited classes of the past, the class of slaves and the class of serfs (or even farmers) for the first time in history, the exploited class's mission is to be the ruling class



and to create new relations of production, to be a class that cannot release itself unless it releases the whole of humanity from the yoke of the class society and then destroys itself as a class.

“In all revolutions up till now the mode of activity always remained unscathed and it was only a question of a different distribution of this activity, a new distribution of labour to other persons, whilst the communist revolution is directed against the preceding mode of activity, does away with labour, and abolishes the rule of all classes with the classes themselves, because it is carried through by the class which no longer counts as a class in society, is not recognised as a class, and is in itself the expression of the dissolution of all classes, nationalities, etc. within present society”[14]

Although the material basis of the socialist relations of production within the capitalist system comes up, socialist relations cannot arise within capitalism under any circumstances. The productive forces of capitalism and the growth also create a significant conflict. On the one hand, productive forces are collective, but on the other hand, the relation of production is private or capitalist. In other words, under capitalism, the growth of the productive forces, and the antagonism between labour and capital would provide background material conditions to the Communist Revolution. Therefore, objective conditions are supplied for the Communist Revolution.

The Communist Revolution is the first revolution in the history of humanity that exploited class with their class consciousness and with relative knowledge of the future relations of production and revolution to eliminate the contradiction between the productive forces and relations of production.

The Communist Revolution is a world revolution. In other words, the Communist Revolution is a political earthquake that has its center in the country or countries but the condition of its victory is spreading waves of the political earthquake to other regions and countries. Otherwise, like the October Revolution, despite the sacrifices of the Russian proletariat, the revolution will be isolated and will eventually fall into decline. The socialist relation of production is only possible on a global scale and cannot form islands of socialism within capitalism. Engels clearly emphasizes this issue in the Principles of Communism. And in the question and answer the following global nature and form of Communist Revolution is emphasized:

“Will it be possible for this revolution to take place in one country alone?

No. By creating the world market, big industry has already brought all the peoples of the Earth, and especially the civilized peoples, into such close relation with one another that none is independent of what happens to the others. ...It is a universal revolution and will, accordingly, have a universal range.”[15]

No social systems disintegrated during their period of prosperity. It was only after a period of decline that the old social system was replaced by a higher social system. This is also true in the case of the capitalist system. The history of the capitalist mode of production can be divided into two periods. The first period is when the bourgeoisie played a revolutionary role, and the relations of production provided the possibility for the growth of the productive forces. The second period is when capitalism was entering into its period of decline. The bourgeois class is an anti-revolutionary and reactionary class, and capitalist relations are an obstacle to the development of the productive forces. In the era of capitalist decadence, capitalist relations of production became chains and shackles on the hands and fed on the productive forces. It is only at this stage that the material conditions will be provided for a social revolution and in the current era of the communist revolution.

More than a hundred years ago, Lenin offered a clear picture of the rise of capitalism and the role of the bourgeoisie and named different historical periods of capitalism. With the beginning of the imperialist world war of 1914 the bourgeoisie lost its progressive role and took a reactionary and counter-revolutionary role, in other words, capitalism entered into its period of decline, and he states the following:

“The usual division into historical epochs, so often cited in Marxist literature and so many times repeated by Kautsky and adopted in Potresov's article, is the following: (1) 1789-1871; (2) 1871-1914; (3) 1914 - ? Here, of course, as everywhere in Nature and society, the lines of division are conventional and variable, relative, not absolute. We take the most outstanding and striking historical events only approximately, as milestones in important historical movements. The first epoch from the Great French Revolution to the Franco-Prussian war is one of the rise of the bourgeoisie, of its triumph, of the bourgeoisie on the upgrade, an epoch of bourgeois-democratic movements in general and of bourgeois-national movements in particular, an epoch of the rapid breakdown of the obsolete feudal-absolutist institutions. The second epoch is that of the full domination and decline of the bourgeoisie, one of transition from its progressive character towards reactionary and even ultra-reactionary finance capital. This is an epoch in which a new class—present-day democracy—is preparing and slowly mustering its forces. The third epoch, which has just set in, places the bourgeoisie in the same "position" as that in which the feudal lords found themselves during the first epoch. This is the epoch of imperialism and imperialist upheavals, as well as of upheavals stemming from the nature of imperialism.” [16]

This issue indicates that in the growing period of the capitalist system, the material conditions for the Communist Revolution were not yet available. Yet the era of communist revolution had begun. The Commune of Paris occurred when the worldwide capitalist system had not yet entered into its period of decline. (Internationalists divide the capitalist system into two periods. The first period is from 1600 to 1914, when capitalism was in its progressive period. The period of decline began from 1914-ongoing). The Commune of Paris in the cradle of bourgeois civilization was slaughtered by civilized barbarians. If it had not been slaughtered, its

development towards a global communist system would not have been possible at that point. Engels explains it well:

“Everywhere that revolution was the work of the working class; it was the latter that built the barricades and paid with its lifeblood. Only the Paris workers, in overthrowing the government, had the very definite intention of overthrowing the bourgeois regime. But conscious though they were of the fatal antagonism existing between their own class and the bourgeoisie, still, neither the economic progress of the country nor the intellectual development of the mass of French workers had as yet reached the stage which would have made a social reconstruction possible. In the final analysis, therefore, the fruits of the revolution were reaped by the capitalist class.”[17]

As mentioned above, the outbreak of the First World War showed that capitalism was entering into its period of decline, and capitalism was the era of imperialism. We believe that in the decline period of capitalism, in the era of imperialism, all states regardless of their size, large or small, regardless of their military and economic power, from the more significant gangsters like America and Great Britain to the smaller ones like Iran and Pakistan, are imperialists.

In other words, with the arrival of capitalism, due to the era of decline, the era of imperialism, the era of communist revolution also began. This means that the revolution on the agenda in all countries, whether a capitalist metropolitan or a capitalist periphery, is the Communist Revolution. The Communist Revolution is valid in Great Britain, Germany, etc. as well as in the most peripheral capitalist countries like Afghanistan. Certainly, the Communist Revolution in a capitalist peripheral country will be part of the world revolution, not an entirely distinct and isolated phenomenon and on the other side because part of the world revolution will need help from the international proletariat. This is definitely a great responsibility that sits heavily on the shoulders of the proletariat of the metropolitan countries. Without the help of the proletariat of the metropolitan countries, all aspects of the process will not go forward regarding the Communist Revolution in peripheral countries.

It is also essential that the social revolution (Communist Revolution) is not limited to the few days that the revolution will win, but that the whole process of revolution is considered. For example, the October Revolution is achieving the goals of a process that took many years and finally, on October 25, 1917 during an armed uprising, the political power was taken by the proletariat of Russia.

## **Democratic Revolution from the perspective of the Unity of Communist Militants**

We have clearly explained our understanding and perceptions from the contexts of the formation and creation of social revolutions and in the current era, the Communist Revolution. Let's see

how the positions and objectives of the Unity of Communist Militants have been alien to Marxism. How as a current of the left of capital, its theories and positions have been in the service of the sterilization of the class struggle. Again we return to final slogan of the first manifesto of the previous "Sahand" and the next Union of Communist Militants:

“For a people’s democratic republic!” [18] [Our translation]

The Unity of Communist Militants demand the establishment of the Democratic People's Republic. The question that certainly arises is why the Unity of Communist Militants definitely does not want a dictatorship of the proletariat, the Soviet Republic, but demands a Democratic People's Republic. It is here that Maoism of the Unity of Communist Militants manifests itself. Since the Unity of Communist Militants has the same understanding and believes in the concept of revolution with Mao, and again as Mao believes that the revolutionary classes, four classes (namely the working class, peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie class and with three separate points, were too ashamed to clearly set the “national bourgeoisie” as a separate class, so they represented it with three separate points instead.) are demanding democratic changes in society, we must also consider the interests of other classes. In other words, the working class as the mere numbers must be in the service of objectives, other classes. Hekmat writes:

“The same ruling imperialist relation has provided the objective conditions for the existence of other revolutionary classes (peasants, urban petty-bourgeoisie under disintegration,...) who have interests in the overthrow of imperialism and the elimination of its intense exploitation and fierce dictatorship, and who resort to revolutionary methods of struggle against the existing system. Hence the working class is not the only class demanding revolutionary changes in the present revolution of Iran.

Therefore the revolution in Iran is democratic since the ruling imperialist system in the dominated Iran, has given a democratic content to the Iranian revolution, from the point of view of the objective conditions (intense economic exploitation and violent political repression of the working class and other toiling classes: peasants, urban petty-bourgeoisie...) and also from the point of view of the subjective conditions (the presence of classes alongside the working class - mainly the peasants - prepared, as a result of the objective conditions of their social existence, to accept revolutionary methods of struggle against the existing system).”[19]

It is important to note that despite the UCM being the main struggle of the working class, even with their belief in the UCM, the communist revolution (social revolution) is not possible because it also looks at the nature of the anti-imperialist revolution. Regarding the disciples of Kautsky, activists of the UCM, it is not because of their misconceptions that they could not understand the Marxist concept of imperialism, but also because they belong to the left of capital, imperialism for them is a tyrannical power and force, and the antagonism between labor and capital should be dominated and overshadowed by the anti-imperialist struggle of the UCM:

“The present revolution in Iran, despite the domination of capital, is a democratic revolution precisely because of its anti-imperialist character... For this reason, although the main struggle is between the working class and the bourgeoisie of Iran, the revolution in Iran is not immediately a socialist, but a democratic revolution.”[20]

The next issue that arises, for a moment, just for a moment we imagine that the Iranian proletariat was listening to the commands of the UCM and a black army was following the demands of the other social classes and delivered the victory of the democratic revolution to the UCM. This class will not tell themselves, before the democratic revolution the social system was capitalism and we were wage slaves, and after the democratic revolution the social system will be capitalism, and we must continue to be wage slaves. What affect will this revolution have on our wage slavery?

"The capitalism of Iran, precisely because it is still present the day after the victory of the democratic revolution, relies on the exploitation of imperialist capitalism and cannot be consistent with the economic demands of the proletariat, and that its axis is going beyond the possibilities of the bourgeoisie in such countries.”[21] [Our translation]

Of course, with the UCM winning the democratic revolution, some conditions and reservations were made, namely the formation of the desired Party of the UCM. It was stressed at the same time that the proletariat is not allowed ("cannot") directly to undertake a socialist revolution but would also have to satisfy the minimum program. The Communist Party of Iran has made the UCM program its own program and was supposed to be the only Communist Party in the world, we can read below:

“We announce that the necessary condition for the victory of the democratic revolution of Iran is the formation of the Communist Party and providing it is led by the proletariat in the ranks of the revolutionary movement ... In such circumstances the class-conscious proletariat and its Communist Party cannot handle an immediate socialist revolution.... the political and economic context of the democratic revolution is to achieve the minimum program of the proletariat”. [22] [Our translation]

The Unity of Communist Militants grabs whatever to save capitalism from the range of attacks from the proletariat and rants that the objective and subjective conditions for socialist revolution are not available. However, the existence of the capitalist production relations does not provide the objective conditions for socialist revolution. Yet after the constitutional revolution (bourgeois-democratic revolution), the society of Iran was not capitalist. The Unity of Communist Militants raised its Maoist argument that the class composition of the motive forces of the revolution and the classes which were looking for democratic demands in a revolutionary way, limits the revolution within the democratic framework. The proletariat must create the

revolution for the benefit of other revolutionary classes, however, according to the beliefs of the UCM.

“We believe that the current revolution, because of the objective and subjective conditions, cannot be an immediate socialist revolution.” The ongoing revolution cannot have on its agenda to immediately destroy capitalism. The class composition of the driving forces of our revolution, on the one hand, the existence of non-proletarian classes and layers alongside the proletariat, which with a revolutionary manner struggles to achieve its democratic aspirations and On the other hand, being unprepared for the necessary subjective conditions for the mobilizing of the proletariat limits the Iranian revolution in a democratic framework. [23] [Our translation]

Let us see the demagoguery and populism of the UCM, namely the necessary unpreparedness of objective and subjective conditions for socialist revolution and the overshadowing of proletarian struggles in the interests of other classes, states one of his later disciples, namely Mahmoud Ghazvini. Apparently this senior cadre of worker-communism has forgotten the evolutionary process of his ideology (worker-communism) and in relation to the unpreparedness objective and subjective conditions in the previous quotation, of course unconsciously discloses the worker communism as seen below:

“The difference between the revolutionary populism of 1979 with the vulgar socialism of Hamid Taghvai is “that the populism of the year 1979 does not show that the objective and subjective conditions for socialism are ready and that is why it gives up its socialist agenda and struggle for the immediate establishment of socialism and engages in a democratic revolution and creates a revolution for the other classes.”[24] [Our translation]

The question that arises here is what areas of formation are there in the democratic revolution thesis, and in what circumstances and in response to which problems in the labor movement have been proposed? The roots of the democratic revolution thesis should be searched for information about the revolution of 1848 in Germany and the revolution of 1905 in Russia. Marx and the Communist League expected that the German bourgeoisie gained power in 1848 and established a bourgeois republic. Marx and the Communist League also hoped that this Republic, in turn, would relatively quickly lead to a proletarian revolution. However, the surrender of the German liberal bourgeoisie to the Prussian government caused by Marx is reconsidered in this scenario. In fact, the Address of the Central Committee of the Communist League (March 1850) was the analysis of Marx and Engels of the new conditions. The idea of the democratic revolution was that the proletariat also did the bourgeoisie’s tasks as well as its own tasks through a continuous or uninterrupted revolution. This democratic revolution is in fact a dual power situation between the workers and the petty bourgeoisie and was considered as a step towards a proletarian dictatorship. Before 1850 ended, Marx and Engels had abandoned the theory of democratic revolution and had concluded that any hope of a proletarian revolution followed by a bourgeois

revolution in 1850 was too optimistic. Engels in 1895 at the beginning of the class struggle in France wrote:

“History has shown that we, and all who thought like us, were wrong. It has made it plain that the condition of economic development on the continent at that time was not yet ripe enough by far for the abolition of capitalist production; it has proved this by the economic revolution which since 1848 has transformed the whole continent.”

The second case was the Russian Revolution of 1905 and the two tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution of Lenin. Lenin was trying to grasp the heterogeneous development of Russia where ten million workers were exploited in large companies by world capital, but still, a reactionary semi-feudal regime had political power in its hands. Due to the obeisance of the liberal bourgeoisie against the tsar's promises in 1905 and the obeisance of the Mensheviks, Lenin was obliged to offer an alternative to the new conditions. Lenin concluded that the proletariat should start a "revolutionary dictatorship of the workers and poor peasants" and also to carry out the tasks of the bourgeois.

Lenin was against the tsarist autocracy but not against the imperialist dictatorship, and when capitalism had not yet entered into the period of decline and Russian society was in transition to capitalism, he raised the solution of a "dictatorship of the workers and poor peasants". Lenin was never against the dictatorship of capitalist rule but could not offer the alternative of another bourgeois republic or even a "Democratic People's Republic".

Lenin, like Marx and Engels, addressed the analyses of the conditions and developed much of its views in light of the experience of the labour movement. If the Address to the Communist League of Marx and Engels presented new prospects, "April Theses of Lenin" was also an evolution concerning new social conditions, both in the theories of Lenin and the workers' movement.

What was the background to the April Theses of Lenin? The Old Bolsheviks' programme was outdated and capitalism entered its period of decline, the era of proletarian revolution and the imperialist wars. The Bolsheviks had to offer their alternative program and solutions for the new terms and conditions. Unfortunately, the majority of the Bolsheviks, especially the Old Bolsheviks, were not able to understand the new situation, especially the development of capitalism and were still immersed in the past. Only a tiny minority of the Bolsheviks, led by Lenin, were to meet the new requirements. It was in such a context that Lenin's April Theses was formed and the April Theses of Lenin replaced the old Bolsheviks' program. However, the program met strong opposition among the old Bolsheviks, who were represented by Kamenev, and it therefore failed with 12 votes to 2 votes. But eventually the Bolsheviks abandoned the integrated support of the interim government and were prepared for the Soviet power. The

second thesis of Lenin's April Theses raised councils as a political power of the proletariat. After that, the slogan all power to the Soviets was used by the Bolsheviks.

During the revolutionary wave that was formed between 1917 and 1922, the Russian proletarian revolution triumphed in a country where the division of the population to the proletariat and the bourgeoisie was not only done on a large scale, such as in Great Britain, Germany, France and so on, but it was not even done at the relative level, like the level in Iran in 1978. In many parts of Russia, particularly in the eastern part of Russia, capitalism was not formed at all or had spread very little. Before 1917 the Russian proletariat population was less than ten million people as much of the population had been killed in the imperialist war, the First World War. This can be compared with the social conditions of Iran in 1979. When the Russian proletarian revolution took place, the rural population was about a hundred and three million, while the urban population was only about twenty-two million.

With these explanations it can be noted that the social conditions of Iran, namely the rate of development and the spreading of capitalism in Iran in 1979 were greater than in 1917 in Russia, but this cannot be a reason to justify the need for a democratic revolution. So how should we search the backgrounds of the democratic revolution of the UCM?

The Unity of Communist Militants believed other revolutionary classes in 1979 were demanding revolutionary developments, therefore we must take into consideration the wishes and interests of other revolutionary classes, as such a thing was only possible through the Maoist thought (multi-classes) of the UCM.

The Unity of Communist Militants insisted that the victory of "democratic" revolution would not violate the basis of private ownership of bourgeois to the means of production, namely exchange, commodity production, buying and selling of the labour force. Therefore, capitalism would still remain in its place. There is no news of the destruction of capitalism! It does not fear the national bourgeoisie, nor is it intended to replace capitalism with another production mode. It is only intended to create terms and conditions for the bourgeoisie. The Unity of Communist Militants explained the content of its democratic revolution as below:

"The content of the victory of the democratic revolution is creating the most appropriate political and economic conditions for the development of the class struggle, which from the view of the proletariat, first of all, is being expressed in the most compact form of the minimum demands. From economic perspectives, the realization of these demands does not exist at all, which means the destruction of capitalism, it does not mean establishing "another" mode of production, but merely a pattern that the proletariat imposes on the bourgeois economy and the restrictions that govern the operation of this system...the intervention of the revolutionary proletariat in determining the length of the working day, the minimum wage, vacation time, health and



insurance, how to manage the industry, the livelihood of the unemployed, as well as the position of the non-proletarian working class, does not violate the basis of private ownership of the bourgeois and the means of production, exchange, commodity production and buying and selling of labour force, but undoubtedly affects the limits and restrictions of the conditions of profitability and capital accumulation. "[25] [Our translation]

The Unity of Communist Militants stated that the victory of the democratic revolution would not violate the buying and selling of labour. In other words, the sales force will continue to work as before, but with the conditions and restrictions.

The Unity of Communist Militants as the left faction of capital gives a "guarantee" to the right faction of capital that the day after the victory of the democratic revolution it will retain the capitalist mode of production. Activists of the UCM won the honour as experts of capital to take action regarding the long-term goals of capital and to provide practical solutions for managing and organizing the sale of labour power due to social conditions and the need for capital.

The day after the victory of the democratic revolution and the establishment of the People's Democratic Republic of the UCM, labour power becomes a form of commodity (according to the UCM, the day after the victory of the democratic revolution it will still be capitalist and based on imperialist exploitation) and the value of this commodity in the capitalist society, is determined like any other commodity by the amount of necessary labour spent on its re-production. In the peripheral countries of capital, the average value of the labour power is lower than the average value of the labour power in the metropolitan countries of capital, and consequently, the average yield and average life expectancy of labour power is low in the peripheral countries of capital. The left of capital, especially in the peripheral countries of capital, always accuses the right of capital of being narrow minded and recommends long-term interests of capital, while efficiently maintaining labour power is in the interests of capital. This part of the tasks of the UCM is to be done by institutions of capital such as trade unions, particularly in the metropolitan countries of capital, to diffuse the anger and protests of the workers, by channelling their protests. Even if capital is required to take "radical" actions as well, they will also strike. If capital is required, this will also raise the value of labour power. However, all anti-labour measures, the actual reduction of the value of labour power, layoffs and other anti-labour actions have always already been confirmed by unions.

The image that the UCM with all its demagoguery offered from the day after the victory of the democratic revolution, even as a story for primary school children, was also not convincing. The workers raise their demands in such ways that deny the brutal exploitation of the bourgeoisie. The workers did not demand anything from the bourgeoisie; otherwise the bourgeoisie would have pitied and forgiven them. Gasconade gives a "moral" identity to the social capital.

"The demands of the revolutionary proletariat must be addressed in such a way that forecloses the possibilities of this brutal exploitation of the bourgeoisie. The economic demands of the proletariat, which primarily determines the value of labour power in the capitalist economy, interferes with the political leverage of the high and low levels." [26] [Our translation]

If in the imagined world of the UCM all capitalists were like Bill Gates, i.e. 'philanthropic', perhaps it would no longer be necessary to politically lever society up and down. Bill Gates, the founder and principal shareholder of Microsoft, has spent about \$30 billion on charity in the service of education, health, and providing free internet in public libraries, and so on. Mr. Gates also recommends that other capitalists do such charity work. Propaganda institutions of capital and journalists of capital are all in power in spite of the human characteristics of Bill Gates who writes: "Philanthropy is very important to Gates". However, at the same time, Microsoft will lay off 18,000 of its employees. [27] For the 18,000 people, the times became black in their eyes. 18,000 families were ruined. In addition, for Mr. Gates humanitarianism is of utmost importance. However, Mansoor Hekmat, on the day after the victory of the democratic revolution, where the capitalism of Iran will be based on imperialist exploitation, will interfere or create problems in the process of capital accumulation. Such a thing will only be possible in the world of science of the UCM.

"The capitalism of Iran in practice will not be able to accumulate profits within such "imposed" constraints and conditions.... The superstructure of society on the "following" day of victory of the democratic revolution ("Democratic People's Republic" or in the case of other political states, which represent the rule of the revolutionary proletariat and its democratic allies) on the one hand is at odds with the practical needs of capital accumulation in Iran....The revolutionary proletariat will, can and should not place the burden of the consequences of the crisis on the shoulders of the working people but rather the bourgeoisie." [28] [Our translation]

Even more ridiculous is that because of such constraints and conditions the accumulation of capital will not be possible. Capitalism is the relations of production and capital is social capital. Capital does not know anything, not God, not religion, not politics, not ethics, not conditions, but the blood of workers (surplus value) that must be injected into the process of the circulation of capital to be accumulated. Capital is like the vampire "Dracula" that will only drink fresh blood - the blood of workers (new surplus value). Capital can survive in the short-term on without new blood (new surplus value), and without the accumulation of capital but in the long-term, this creates serious problems in the process of accumulation and raises serious risks, examples of which are World War I, II, and others.

As long as capitalism is the formation of the dominant mode of economic-social formations in the world, wherever a revolution undermines or crushes the relations of production, capital will

seek to revive this relationship. To what extent this will be successful or not depends on extending or not extending the world revolution.

The UCM demagoguery will not put the burden of the crisis on the shoulders of the toiling masses but on the shoulders of the bourgeoisie. This will be done through their People's Democratic Republic in which capitalism continues to remain based on imperialist exploitation. Engels in his famous book called "Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State" in its historical analysis, said:

“The state is, therefore, by no means a power forced on society from without; just as little is it 'the reality of the ethical idea', 'the image and reality of reason', as Hegel maintains. Rather, it is a product of society at a certain stage of development; it is the admission that this society has become entangled in an insoluble contradiction with itself, that it has split into irreconcilable antagonisms which it is powerless to dispel. But in order that these antagonisms, these classes with conflicting economic interests, might not consume themselves and society in fruitless struggle, it became necessary to have a power, seemingly standing above society, that would alleviate the conflict and keep it within the bounds of 'order'; and this power, arisen out of society but placing itself above it, and alienating itself more and more from it, is the state.”

Unlike the left of capital, about a hundred years ago, in 1920, the first Communist Party of Iran believed that even the most democratic parliamentary system, because of private property, represents a bourgeois dictatorship. The first Communist Party of Iran beyond the democratic revolution of the UCM and council (Soviet) was presented as the only alternative to capitalism and emphasized that the duty of party propaganda is relentless Soviet power. About a hundred years ago the following was written:

"Even the most democratic parliamentary system or bourgeois republic where the slogan expresses the will of all people, all nations, and all classes, due to the private ownership of land and the means of production, will continue to be in operation under a bourgeois dictatorship. In opposition to this system, the proletarian democracies or councils (Soviets) that have been realized in Russia and a number of other countries and power mass organizations, the captive capitalist class – The proletarians and the semi-proletarians, namely the vast majority of the population, are converted to the sole and fixed basis of the state apparatus, from the bottom up to the top, from the local to the central one. Thus, it is only council rule that can supply local and regional self-management in an incomparable manner more broadly than anywhere else and without authority from above. It is the duty of the party to endlessly explain to the Iranian workers and peasants that the council is the only power that can become a real power for the working people to save them from the exploitation and tyranny of the landlord." [Our translation]

Numerous times and on different occasions, the leaders of the Unity of Communist Militants falsely stated that their ideology and their positions are from Europe and Marx's capital came to Iran. It would be more logical if they said their ideology and their positions through the Maoist and Stalinist literature had been entered, tinkered with and assembled by the UCM. Why do you give a wrong address? As long as the working class as a social class does not stop performing its historical mission as the gravedigger of capitalism, it will be a platform for obtaining power from the left wing of the capital. This issue is more naked and visible in capitalist metropolises than the periphery of capitalism. Engels explains the problem as below:

“As long as the oppressed class – in our case, therefore, the proletariat – is not yet ripe for its self-liberation, so long will it, in its majority, recognize the existing order of society as the only possible one and remain politically the tail of the capitalist class, its extreme left wing.”[29]

## **Retaking of democratic revolution**

Marxism is not a religion, and Marxist theories are not a divine revelation. Marxism is the theory of the emancipation of the proletariat. Marxists use the experiences of the labor movement to analyze the social conditions and to provide their theories to develop the class struggle.

With the developments and changes in society and with the lessons of past experience, a political tendency can be to criticise its earlier position, theory or theories and to replace an old position or theory with the new theory. This process is quite logical and principled.

Marx and Engels through the Address to the Communist League reconsidered the democratic revolution and considered the communist revolution. Engels boldly wrote that "history has shown that we, and all who thought like us, were wrong". Lenin through the April Theses reconsidered the democratic revolution and provided a thesis of socialist revolution and in conjunction with this change explained that "Our theory was not a dogma." This, on the one hand, indicates the loyalty of a tendency to the principles, which it believes in and, on the other hand, shows the seriousness of a tendency.

The basic question is whether UCM, which has now formed the only communist party in the world, has dealt with this issue. In concrete terms, what happened to the fate of the democratic revolution, as we explained in the previous pages, and the heirs of the UCM, who now formed the only Communist Party in the world?

The only Communist Party of the world, with its theoretical leader Mansoor Hekmat, very easily and simply repudiated everything and with a lack of principles completely denied that they believed in the democratic revolution and told outright lies that they believed the socialist revolution was the only possible and necessary social revolution in Iran as the following states:

"With all the places that a victorious democratic revolution - based on our assessment of the likely course of events – has in our current strategy, never considered and does not consider the coming revolution in Iran necessarily and by definition, a "democratic" revolution. While the communist party replaced "democratic" revolution instead, it is a hypocritical claim. The revolutionary Marxism of Iran from the beginning and always, which in accordance with proof and in dispute with the populist movements, that only the social revolution (in the sense that Marx uses) necessary and possible in Iran is a socialist revolution and has underlined that only socialism is responsive to the broad masses of chaotic situations in capitalist society." [30] [*Emphasis in the original*] [Our translation]

This liar has a short memory. Mahmoud Ghazvini, a former member of the Central Committee of the Worker-Communist Party of Iran, a former member of the Central Committee of the Hekmatist Party and one of the disciples of Mansoor Hekmat, forgot the leader had lied and had repudiated everything and he unintentionally revealed the lies of his leader and to explained the reasons for the retaking of democratic revolution and the acceptance of the socialist revolution as shown below:

"We eliminated the Revolutionary Democratic Republic from our programme not because the methodology and the theory behind it were wrong because Mansoor Hekmat and we together all began to believe in the socialist revolution and accepted positions of communist unity. We eliminated the Democratic Republic from our programme because of the image it presented and there was a sense that we were supporting the revolutionary democratic republic or a stage in the revolution. With the elimination of the programme, a methodology that has been defended in the anatomy of left liberalism is in place... We eliminated the Revolutionary Democratic Republic from our programme; rather we do not believe in the methodology of participating in the above for the advance of revolution in the revolutionary period. Not because of the current movement that is in front of our eyes but because we don't have any plans or ideas. We, with the methodology of Lenin and Hekmat, go to scout out the current movement that is in front of our eyes now." [31] [Our translation]

The history of this tendency is lacking in principles. They eliminated the Revolutionary Democratic Republic from their programme because they offered the image of the Democratic Republic of the Revolution. Because it was presenting the image of a Revolutionary Democratic Republic. Unless the democratic revolution imagined itself to be a communist society? Apparently, in their lacking in principles, they grasp to the Lenin!

## **Stealing the work of others**

It is common in the political milieu of the left that Mansoor Hekmat, according to his abilities and knowledge of foreign languages, studied the work and articles of the left authors and then represented the same theories and views as his achievements. It is usually argued that the original authors were not familiar with the Persian language, so they were or are unaware of a takeover by Mansoor Hekmat. However, there is at least one private complainant.

One of the currents of the left of capital, the communist unity [32] years ago claimed that the pamphlet, "The myth of the national bourgeoisie" published by the UCM written by Mansoor Hekmat, was from the communist unity. It is important to note that the lack of explicit and public denial by the heirs of the UCM and Mansoor Hekmat is a serious question. Such was the claim of the communist unity:

"Years ago, before the comrades of the UCM managed to explore the myth of the national and progressive bourgeoisie and publish a brochure with this name in May 1979, our comrades in internal discussions with the Organization of Iranian People's Fedai Guerrillas (1974) were preparing "a research project on the national bourgeoisie of Iran". This entry was released, later in 1977, as an adjunct to the pamphlet "political, economic crisis of regime and the role of the Left". And comrades of the "Unity of communist militants", two years later, have adapted the thesis of the document - without mentioning the source." [33] [Our translation]

### **To Be Continued**

Issues in the next part:

- Economic theories of the UCM
- Marxist concept of super-profits
- Value of labour power and the UCM
- Marxist concept of capital accumulation
- Minimum Program of the UCM

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1 January 2012

## Notes:

[1] Program of the Unity of Communist Militants, page 11

[2] Two Factions within the Bourgeois-Imperialist Counter-Revolution, part 3

[3] The Myth of the National and Progressive Bourgeoisie

[4] For more information about the role of the left of capital in the consolidation of the leadership of the clergy, refer to the article «Developments of 1979, a view of the positions of the left of capital and internationalists» published on the website of Internationalist Voice.

[5] Two Factions within the Bourgeois-Imperialist Counter-Revolution, part two

[6] The preface to the pamphlet unemployed workers sit in the Ministry of Labour - April 1979

[7] The preface to the pamphlet unemployed workers sit in the Ministry of Labour - April 1979

[8] Introduction of the pamphlet of Prospects of adversity and new advancement of revolution thesis about the political importance of the economic crisis.

[9] As above

[10] As above

[11] The Iranian revolution and the role of the proletariat

[12] Yemelyan Pugachov was not a peasant but was also an army officer and lived in prosperity. During his missions and by observing the living conditions of peasants and the oppression that was inflicted on them, he supported the peasants and led the uprising and protests of the peasants. Many lords escaped and the military units of the Russian Empire were crushed. Pugachov tried to create a reform in the region he dominated. He announced the abolition of serfdom, and military service was also abolished, while tax was eliminated. Finally, the uprising of Pugachov was crushed, and Pugachov was arrested and taken to Moscow where he was brutally executed.

[13] The political and economic development of capitalism, in other words, the expansion of capitalism into new areas and conquering new areas, did not excluded Iran. Iranian economic trade expansion with Turkey, India, Russia, etc. wanted necessary changes in the infrastructure and superstructure of society. Iran was one of the main markets for Russian goods; Russia needed to penetrate its goods into the most remote villages of Iran. This required road lines which Russia played an important role in building and expanding. Great Britain reduced the influence of Russia and in line with the area of its influence of Iran, established and expanded the telegraph network. In 1870, Iran was actually covered by the Post and Telegraph.

With the changes that occurred in the infrastructure of Iran, Iran's major cities became economic centres and trade grew. Workshops and small factories in different industries were created. Topics like law, equal rights, nationality, independent sovereignty, etc. were formed in the society as a consequence of this. The Eighth Principle of Amendment to the constitution says: "The country's citizens are equal before the law state." In such circumstances, the bourgeois-democratic revolution of Iran (the Constitutional Revolution) was formed to demand the constitution and to limit the powers of the king and to transfer the power to parliament.

[14] The German Ideology- Karl Marx

[15]The Principles of Communism

- [16] Under a false Flag – Lenin
- [17] Manifesto of the Communist Party -The 1893 Italian Edition
- [18] The Iranian revolution and the role of the proletariat (Theses)
- [19] As above
- [20] As source 18
- [21] Toward Socialism No: 5 - First Period
- [22] Program of the communist party of Iran
- [23] As source 23
- [24] Populism of Hamid Taghvai and the Charter of Overthrow of the Worker Communist Party - Hekmatist (Mahmoud Ghazvini)
- [25] As source 23
- [26] As source 23
- [27] <http://www.geekwire.com/2014/breaking-microsoft-cutting-18000-jobs-next-year-14-workforce>
- [28] As source 23
- [29] Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State
- [30] Toward Socialism No: 1 - second Period
- [31] As source 24
- [32] Communist unity was one of the currents of the left of capital that was shattered in 1991. The Communist unity against other currents of the left of capital, within the framework of the left of capital, had a minimum harmony in its theoretical position.
- [33] “Communist party of Iran” or “Communist party” of UCM? – page 138