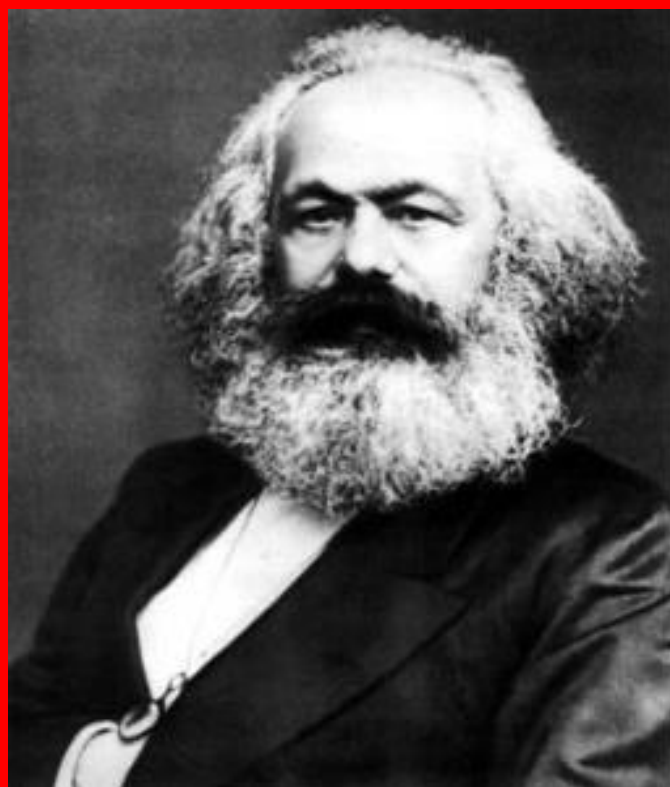


# **Worker Communism**

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

**(Part 11)**



**In defense of Marxism**

# **Internationalist Voice**

E-mail: [internationalist.voice@gmail.com](mailto:internationalist.voice@gmail.com)

Homepage: [www.internationalist.tk](http://www.internationalist.tk)

# Issues of the text

## Issues of part XI (this part):

- The ideology of Marxism-Hekmatism
- Worker communism and westernism
- Worker communism and the Freedom Guard

## Issues of part X:

- Worker communism and the acquisition of political power
- Worker communism and the ideology of the personalities
- Worker communism and relations with foreign governments

## Issues of part IX:

- Background to the faction of worker communism
- What is worker communism?
- Worker communism and workers' dilemma

## Issues of part VIII:

- The Place of Worker-communism in History
- Worker-communism and the Communist Left
- Worker communism and Trade Unions
- Worker-communism and the National Question
- Worker communism and Independence for Kurdistan
- Worker-communism and Parliamentarism
- Worker-communism and Democracy

## Issues of part VII:

- Worker-communism and Stalinism
- Worker-communism and Maoism
- Worker-communism and the transition state
- Worker-communism and socialism in one country
- Socialism or state capitalism

## Issues of part VI:

- Rebuilding the Third Line Under the Title of Revolutionary Marxism
- The formation of the only communist party of the world
- Bundism and the special rights of Komala
- Marxism or narcissism

## Issues of part V:

- War and the Unity of Communist Militants
- The era of imperialist wars and the era of communist revolutions
- The left of capital perspective on the reasons for the formation of the imperialist war between Iran and Iraq
- Turning workers into cannon fodder on the battlefield of war to defend the imperialist war
- Vote for war credits

- The bankruptcy of the Unity of Communist Militants
- Worker-communism and other wars
- The Unity of Communist Militants and the coup

**Issues of part IV:**

- The Economic Theories of the UCM
- The Marxist concept of super-profits
- The value of labour power and the Unity of Communist Militants
- Absolute ground rent and differential rent
- The Marxist concept of capital accumulation
- The minimum programme of the UCM

**Issues of part III:**

- The 1979 Revolution in Iran from the Perspective of the Unity of Communist Militants
- The Marxist conception of social revolution
- The democratic revolution from the perspective of the Unity of Communist Militants
- Retaking the democratic revolution
- Stealing the work of others

**Issues of part II:**

- Changing the name of «Sahand» to the «Unity of Communist Militants»
- The Marxist-Leninist ideology of the «Unity of Communist Militants»
- The country of the «Unity of Communist Militants»
- «Unity of Communist Militants» and the Iranian “communist” movement
- «Unity of Communist Militants» and the theocratic faction of the bourgeoisie

**Issues of part I:**

- Introduction
- Azarakhsh (“Lightning”)
- Sahand: sympathizer of the Alliance for struggle for Working Class Cause
- Current three and Alliance for struggle for Working Class Cause (Arman)
- Sahand and the Anti-Imperialist Struggle
- The petty bourgeois Khomeini

## **The ideology of Marxism-Hekmatism**

We have examined, in the Section Two, that the class consciousness of the proletariat is not an ideology, as opposed to the class consciousness of the proletariat which evolves into a collective process, where ideology is acquired individually and is individual. In the ideological view, it is not the historical course of events but the ideological character that plays a special role. We have again examined how Stalinism, following the defeat of the tide of world revolution, in its pursuit of emptying Lenin's revolutionary positions, produced a kind of ideology, a religion of Lenin's revolutionary theories, called "Marxism-Leninism". Stalinism with "Marxism-Leninism" went to war with the revolutionary ideas of Lenin. It is important to note that, in Lenin's lifetime, neither Marxism-Leninism, nor even Leninism was used, only the term Bolshevism was used, and it was Bolshevism that was prevalent. It was only after the death of Lenin and the rise of Stalinism that Marxism-Leninism was promoted and transformed it into the official ideology of the former Soviet Union, similar to an official religion in some countries.

Certain conditions, such as World War II, or liberation movements and the like, which created a chance for worker communism, prior to worker communism coming to power, would provide a better basis for presenting a new kind of ideology such as Hoxhaim, although not as important as in the case of Albania [1]. However, supporters of worker communism made great efforts for their leader Mansoor Hekmat to be taken seriously, not at the level of Sadr Gonzalo [2] or Sadr Avakian [3], but at the level of Marx; even better, they want him to be seen as the Marx of his era. This was not about the additions of Hekmat to Marxism-Leninism, but an emphasis on Marxism, in order to lay the groundwork for complementing the ideology of "Marxism-Hekmatism". Like religious followers, Hekmat's disciples did all they could to praise their leader. This show was completed by the installation of a statue of Mansoor Hekmat near the tomb of Marx in order to accommodate Marxism-Hekmatism. It is said that, if a lie is repeated more and more, eventually it will be considered to be a certainty. Let us take a look at Mansoor Hekmat's disciples' description of their leader and how they elevated the sublime positions of Hekmatism, as well as their eulogy for Marxism-Hekmatism. That the leadership of an intellectual tendency is capable of presenting such ideas and then disseminating them only indicates that the body of this intellectual tendency is ready to accept such ideas.

It is sometimes argued that Mansoor Hekmat did not believe in the personality creed; rather, it was his followers who, after his death, attributed such a status to him or promoted "Marxism-Hekmatism" as his teachings. All of this is groundless; in the discussion of characters, we saw that he played a central role in the personality cults of worker communism. Mansoor Hekmat also played an important role in promoting "Hekmatism". In his speech at the meeting of the politburo of the Iranian Worker Communist Party, he repeatedly reiterated the concept of "Hekmatism" for his disciples. He even blamed them for having failed to learn his teachings over the years, to rise to the level of Hekmatism and to be in line with Hekmatism. Apparently, absolute truth can only be visualized in the luminous existence of Mansoor Hekmat, and the prophet, despite his great efforts, never delivered

salvation to his disciples in the end. Apparently, worker communists are more loyal to religions than to bourgeois materialism. At the meeting of the politburo, he said:

“As I will argue in the leadership debate, this has nothing to do with following the line of Mansoor Hekmat and Hekmatism ... Worker communism and Hekmatism are not the governing thread in this assembly.” [4] [Our translation]

As we have seen, Mansoor Hekmat far from disagreed with the proposition of “Hekmatism”; rather, he repeated it over and over to his disciples to make it clear to them that he was Marx of their time. Compare superstition and the personalization of Mansoor Hekmat with the conditions that Marx and Engels faced by having to join to a secret communist society. For them, anything that would lead to superstition, authority and personality cults should be removed from the statute. One of Mansoor Hekmat’s disciples, who believes that Hekmatism is the key to solving problems and advancing worker communism, gave the following eulogy (it is important to note that this text was written before the death of Mansoor Hekmat, who himself was one of the target audience):

“Mansoor Hekmat is not just the result of a given history or the product of certain struggles over a period of 20 years. It is not a collection of articles. Moreover, it is a line, a method and an attitude towards contemporary capitalist struggles. It is the strategy of the victory of socialism in the present world. It is Marxism in the post-Lenin era. It is today’s reading of Marxism. It is the ‘ism’ of the current era. It is Hekmatism! ... Hekmatism must be known. Hekmatism should be studied. Hekmatism should be taught ... Hekmatism must be represented in the struggles.” [5] [Our translation]

One of the leaders of worker communism and a follower of Hekmat claims that the man he followed even promoted Marx’s works. He also provided a list of writings by Mansoor Hekmat to show how he was promoted to the position of the Marx of his time.

“Nader [Mansoor Hekmat], in this time, has fought in defence of Marx’s legitimacy ... and promoted Marx’s works ... Compare his criticism of democracy with the criticism of Hegel’s philosophy of law and the Jewish question, compare a *Better World* with *Critique of the Gotha Programme* and *The Communist Manifesto*. I do not need to name any of Mansoor Hekmat’s other works in the past five years and his earlier works ... I reiterate that, yes, I, along with hundreds of other communists, recognizes Mansoor Hekmat as the Marx of this era and the leader of Bolshevism in the post-Lenin world.” [6] [Our translation]

We also believe that, for any serious and searching person who does not seek discipleship nor is caught up in a sectarian framework, reading Mansoor Hekmat’s writings and comparing them with Marx’s works, if there is room for comparison, will reveal the depth of differences. Apparently, from the perspective of the apostles of Mansoor Hekmat, for some in the political arena, there was a suspicion that he was as likely to evaluate himself as Lenin. However, this misconception diminishes the position of that noble leader, diminishes the nobility and superstition that surround it, and reduces the grandeur and superman qualities of this

honourable man. So, another disciple of Mansoor Hekmat, Mr Assadpour, emphasizes that he was not Lenin of his time, only the Marx of his time, and writes:

“It has been in the political arena of Iran for many years that it is known (not only by lovers of him) that Mansoor Hekmat considered himself to be, instead of Lenin, the Marx of his era!” [7] [Our translation]

In order to gain a better understanding of the abolition of the ideology of Marxism-Hekmatism from the point of view of Hekmat’s disciples, we have to look at some of the apocryphal statements of these apostles. In the following sentence, the “Marxist-Hekmatist principles” as in the Stalinist “Marxist-Leninist” principles are intended for us to consider. Both try to present dogmatic principles of their ideology:

“Let me first emphasize that entering the gun factory and taking the ‘armed struggle’ to the field of politics and the struggle of communists and workers are not in themselves elective principles. Our struggle is not about inevitable Marxist-Hekmatist principles. We are Marxists and Hekmatists.” [8] [Our translation]

In the following, we are not seeking to determine the concept expressed in the sentence, but rather the doctrine of Marxism-Hekmatism and the presentation of the ideology of Marxism-Hekmatism:

“This approach, contrary to the teachings of Marxism and Hekmatism, has nothing to do with consciousness or ignorance of the left.” [9] [Our translation]

The dogmatic and ideological approach is repeated in the literature of worker communism. Here, too, we aim not at the concept expressed in a sentence, but at the repetition of Marxist-Hekmatist theory:

“Arming the forces with Marxist, communist and Hekmatist theory.” [10] [Our translation]

The Fifth Marx International Congress was held at the University of Paris in October 2007. Apparently, this congress was not up to date, unaware that Marx belonged to the 19th century and that the Marx of our time was to be discovered and introduced on the podium of universities. Ms Majedi accepts responsibility for presenting Hekmatism to this congress, providing a Hekmatist interpretation and calling for Hekmatism to be expanded. She writes in a report about her attendance:

“In early October, the Fifth Marx International Congress was held in Paris ... The worker communism of Mansoor Hekmat, Hekmatism, must be represented and presented at this congress. My seminar was about the validity of Marxism today and for this world. Providing a Hekmatist interpretation of Marxism and worker communism ... We call for the spread of Hekmatism and worker communism.” [11] [Our translation]

In 2007, in conjunction with the Fifth Marx International Congress, we witnessed a series of protests and labour strikes in France, which unfortunately achieved no success. Ms Majedi blames the lack of a workers' victory for the lack of an international of worker communism and argues that Hekmatism should be introduced to the younger generation of the working class around the world:

“The recent French workers' strike and its defeat underscore the importance of a worker communist international. The advance of worker communism and Hekmatism is important to the young generation of the working class and the left of the world, inspired to mobilize around its living, dynamic, attractive, radical and militant Marxism, whose its feet is on the ground.” [12] [Our translation]

Recently, another disciple of Mansoor Hekmat outdid the eulogies of his predecessors, namely, the personalities of worker communism. He claimed (yes, he only claims) that all communist thinkers, such as Marx, Lenin and Luxemburg, can be found somewhere in worker communism. He was not able to provide the slightest argument or evidence to support the validity of his statements. Christ's disciples argued better than this disciple of Mansoor Hekmat. The flattery of these disciples is really more embarrassing than religious panegyrists:

“I claim that Mansoor Hekmat is the Marx of our epoch. So much of Mansoor Hekmat's name is in our language; Marx's name is not, there is so much criticism and praise about Mansoor Hekmat which is not about Marx. There is so much love and hatred for Mansoor Hekmat which is not about Marx ... the transparency of Marx's thought! It may be more correct to say that Marx himself was the same, but we need a clear and modern language to express the critique of capitalist society!

Why can't Hamid Taghvaei be the Lenin of our time? In my opinion, Lenin belongs to a century ago, and Hamid belongs to today! There is so much criticism and appreciation about Hamid, but not about Lenin. So many of Hamid's articles are considered to be like articles from Lenin on the sidelines. Hamid Taghvaei is the Lenin of today and a strong leader of 99% of the community ... Why can't Mina Ahadi or Nasrin Ramadanali or Mehrnoosh Mousavi be Rosa Luxemburg?” [13] [Our translation]

This believer, this wayfarer of pure Hekmatism, has confused his religion, namely, worker communism, with Marxism. Marxists view social events with a dialectical attitude. Marx's greatness was not due to his genius in the social sciences but to the alignment of Marx with the rise of a social class called the working class. It was not Marx who brought communism to the working class; rather, it was the working class that made Marx a thinker. Lenin became Lenin only in the shadow of the rise of the working class in pursuit of a social revolution. Rosa Luxemburg would never have been a genius in the social sciences without a workers' movement entering onto the field of struggle.

Proponents of worker communism claim that communism in Iran without Mansoor Hekmat would have been at the level of communism in Turkey or Pakistan. The issue here is not the

working class or the struggles that the working class has recorded in its historical struggle; rather, it is the communist one. The question that arises is, how is communism in Iran better than Turkey despite the existence of a “great man like Mansoor Hekmat”? Again, one of his disciples claims:

“Communism in Iran without Mansoor Hekmat would have been like communism in Turkey and Pakistan.” [14] [Our translation]

Which horizon has communism opened up in Iran, both regionally and globally, which has not been opened up in Turkey? What tradition of struggle has communism brought to Iran? Contrary to the demagoguery of the followers of worker communism, Mansoor Hekmat, with his radical turn of phrase, was able to silence the last shimmering criticisms of the left of capital, thereby preventing it from furthering its critique and advancing toward communist and internationalist positions. It should not be forgotten that, after the Third International, it was the only revolutionary programme to look at social events from the internationalist horizon.

Mansoor Hekmat’s disciples speak of thousands of his brilliant works, pointing out that a communist party in the US has even adopted and announced the “Programme for a Better World”, one of these thousands of brilliant works, as its programme and platform. If we sum up the writings, speeches, interviews, memos or anything that this saviour of humanity gifted us over the course of our 24 years of political life, they would only total 625. These exaggerations, these lies “thousands of glittering effects”, makes the disciples themselves look ridiculous. Whether or not the party paid his dues on time, whether or not the party paid him justly, is not our concern. One particular journalist, an ideologist who works for a media outlet, who should arrange interviews, articles, memos, and so on, wrote in his eulogy to his leader the following:

“Mansoor Hekmat, the greatest leader of the labour communist movement, without the help of a discount barrister, promoted bold and uncompromising human rights in the last hundred years. The thoughts and politics of Hekmat have touched upon various aspects of political and social movements in Iran, the Middle East and even the world. You know, these days, the “Programme for a Better World”, one of the thousands of brilliant works by Mansoor Hekmat, has been adopted by the communist current in America, which has announced it as its own programme and platform. It is no coincidence that from the women’s liberation movement to the labour movement, the movement against execution, the council movement and the children’s rights movement, we see the stamp of the worker communism of Mansoor Hekmat and we see how Hekmat returned communism from the margins to the context of society. This philosophy, which came after Lenin and the October Revolution, whose wave has not slept for 97 years, well, it is unprecedented.” [15] [Our translation]

Mansoor Hekmat’s disciples are apparently not ashamed of exaggeration and sectarian thinking and claim that he returned communism from the margins to the context of society. Our specific question to this disciple is, what was the fate of the party in the US which



adopted the “Programme for a Better World” as its programme and platform? We know the answer: the party was removed from the scene.

## **Worker communism and westernism**

Ideologies of worker communism have tried to pretend that worker communism is a Western phenomenon. It is a trend rooted in Western culture and civilization and, with the victory of worker communism, Western culture and civilization will rule over Iran. It is incorrect to portray Western culture as progressive and Eastern culture as backward. Let’s first see what Mansoor Hekmat preached about in this regard:

“The most important asset of the Worker Communist Party is that it is a Western party ... a party whose roots are in Western European thought, culture and civilization ... That is to say, with the victory of the Worker Communist Party in Iran, Western civilization wins ... Open up the country to the West and then present it alongside Western civilization and Western criticism of the world, with a Western worldview ... as a result of the daily political disagreement with Western governments that may arise or, if not, reaching a deeper peace with the people of Western Europe and the US ... a country is created that seems to speak of a set of values that are Western which the freedom seeker feels comfortable with it.”[16] [Our translation]

Mansoor Hekmat not only considered himself a supporter of Western civilization but also viewed the pro-Western bourgeois and reactionary currents of Iran as progressive. Pointing to their power, he argued that they are not marginal but social and that they have transferred the capitalist system to Iran. On the topic of being progressive and of the most reactionary and the most rabid tendencies of the bourgeoisie, Mansoor Hekmat said:

“But what is the point of pro-Western power? Firstly, on a larger historical scale, this is a major current of politics. It is not a marginal current. It represents a kind of nationalism in Iran. It represents a kind of bureaucratism and secularism in Iran. These [bourgeois tendencies] are the ones who brought us schools, built the universities, built the roads and paved the roads. These are the ones who moved society from the feudal system to the capitalist system. People remember that too.” [17] [Our translation]

Given the ideological superstructure of the Islamic bourgeoisie and the restrictions it has imposed on society, the propagation of Western culture and civilization can be heard not only among the youth but also among the middle class. One can absorb the force with which they want to grab Western culture and civilization, albeit in the form of socialism. Now that we have at least become acquainted with Mansoor Hekmat’s views on Western culture and civilization and pro-Western Iranian currents, let us examine this issue from the Marxist horizon, to see how well they fit into bourgeois theory.

The first bourgeois revolution occurred in England in the mid-17th century which led to generalized democracy in society [18]. Following this bourgeois revolution, the newly

emerging democracy in England bloodily suppressed the first communist movement in modern history, the Levellers [19]. The most famous bourgeois revolution occurred in France in 1789, which is even more famous than the British bourgeois revolution. The French Revolution, with the slogan “Freedom, Equality, Fraternity” and its declaration in support of human rights, opened a new chapter in human history; but this exceptionally new democracy in France, which crowned itself with sovereign power, in 1841 and especially in June 1848, commemorated the uprising of French workers. Years later, during the first proletarian revolution in human history in 1871 (Paris Commune), the same civilized barbarians, inspired by the same modern Western culture, massacred at least 20,000 Parisian proletarians in one bloody week, with another 40,000 arrested.

The civilized barbarians, referring to the same Western model of civilization, imposed World War I on the proletariat in Europe, which in turn led to the Russian proletariat ending the first imperialist war with the October Revolution. These same democrats, these civilized barbarians, the same major Western powers, after the October Revolution, suppressed the October Revolution by resorting to Western culture and civilization and by forming a white army.

During the German Revolution of 1918-1920, about 20,000 German workers were slaughtered by Western civilization. We refer here not to communist narrators and witnesses, or to bourgeois Republicans, but to the truth teller Emil Julius Gumbel [20], who published in 1924 a book entitled *Four Years of Political Murder*, which depicted the political slaughter at the heart of Europe during German Revolution, with an appeal to democracy. These civilized barbarians, by killing a leading section of the German proletariat, paved the way for another world war in 1939. By resorting to Western culture and civilization in the name of democracy, proletarian leaders of the West, including Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, were brutally murdered.

It was the Westerners who bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki in the name of democracy and freedom. Colonization and then colonial wars were pursued by these same Westerners, by these same democrats. To this list we can add dozens more of the crimes of the Western bourgeoisie.

The emergence of the bourgeois revolution in the West also provided the basis for the emergence of the social class, the working class, in the West. Wage slavery is an integral part of bourgeois civilization. If bourgeois civilization, bourgeois culture and bourgeois democracy first emerged in the West in the first place, consequently, the proletariat, internationalism, proletarian culture and so on were formed in the West. Unlike bourgeois culture and civilization, proletarian culture and civilization do not recognize the West and the East, and internationalism is the cornerstone of this.

## **Worker communism and the Freedom Guard**

The diehard tradition of armed struggle is strong in all four parts of Kurdistan, including Iranian Kurdistan. Kurdish nationalism, especially its radical phrase wing dressed in socialist clothing, by sanctifying the armed struggle, has been able to attract protesters from society and, especially, young people into its ranks. Much of the worker communist force is made up of people who were once involved in armed struggle in Iranian Kurdistan via Komala. During those years, many people were dug out from their social identity and became a Peshmerga force (partisan) and camped for years. Some of them had extensive experience in guerrilla warfare with the Islamic Republic's military and were among the elite commanders of the Peshmerga wars.

During the formation of the Worker Communist Party, many of them left the camp and entered Western countries as refugees. Worker communism no longer had a military force. With the formation of the Iraqi Worker Communist Party, the Iranian Worker Communist Party was able to deploy its military force in Iraqi Kurdistan under the auspices of their Iraqi counterparts, which in turn led to the creation of a political-military patrol for the Iranian Worker Communist Party.

Worker communism was aware of this and still is; due to the current situation in Kurdistan, because of the strong roots of nationalism, but with no military potential, the chances of any force claiming power are drastically reduced. Given the conditions in the region, the possibility of a sustained military force for worker communism has been ruled out. Worker communism attempted to resolve this problem through the use of an unstable armed force, which secretly travelled to Iranian Kurdistan for organizational purposes. After the necessary preparations, the armed forces of the Iranian Worker Communist Party launched its first public-political propaganda campaign from 14-16 September 1999, in connection with its political-military patrol. Issue No. 31 of the *International*, the organ of the Worker Communist Party at the time, conducted an interview with Mansoor Hekmat on the importance of the political-military patrol of the party. Hekmat said in that interview: "Having the potential to assert itself as an armed party in large measure is a vital condition for any serious activity in Kurdistan." Rahman Hosseinzadeh, then Secretary of the Kurdistan Committee of the Worker Communist Party, writes in this regard:

"The formation of the armed forces and the organization of military activity were among the policies of the party in Kurdistan. The first conference of party cadres, held in 1992, clearly set out our policy framework in a resolution ... Following the call of the Kurdistan Committee a year ago, young and other interested people in the field were organized. Soon, the armed units of the party formed to meet the needs of this period. During this period, military and political training, exercises and manoeuvres were put in place to enhance political and military capabilities. Our recognition was that our force was ready to be inside Iran. With Abdullah Darabi joining these units, thus providing high-level command, it was high time for the political-military patrol inside Iran, which we had been preparing for a long time, to begin." [21] [Our translation]

The Iraqi Kurdistan region could not tolerate the military force of worker communism in Sulaymaniyah, Iraqi Kurdistan. In July 2000, Iraqi Kurdistan Patriotic Union forces stormed the headquarters of the Iraqi Worker Communist Party in order to destroy it. In the attack and subsequent incidents, six worker communism activists were massacred by the Patriotic Union.

After the US invasion of Iraq and the disintegration of civil society in Iraq, there was a possibility that what had happened in Afghanistan before could be repeated in Iran. Worker communism was approved to set up the Freedom Guard by the Hekmatist Party in 2005, to prevent civil society from breaking up in the process of the overthrow of the Islamic Republic. Peshmerga is associated with Kurdish nationalism, so the term *guard* replaces *Peshmerga*, so as to present a more modern image of the armed forces. The Freedom Guard was supposed to be organized and armed in the neighbourhoods and, by taking control of the cities, in the process of overthrowing the Islamic Republic, prevent the Iraqiization and Yugoslavization of Iranian society. Concerning the main duty of the Freedom Guard, Hekmatists write:

“Organizing the Freedom Guard is an important part of the work to undermine the Islamic Republic and to facilitate its overthrow, and it is an important link in the gaining of power by the party. But, in addition, organizing the Freedom Guard in the current situation, given the danger of an American attack and the likelihood of turmoil and war, has become one of the most important actions of the Hekmatist Party.

The Freedom Guard is a tool used by the working class and the party to ensure the political, social and economic security of society during the process of the overthrow of the Islamic Republic. The Freedom Guard, in addition to guaranteeing the people sovereignty over their lives and a means at their disposal, will shorten the lives of ethnic, nationalist, Islamic and political gangs. The Freedom Guard must provide the basis for this form of empowerment for the people and the party.” [22] [Our translation]

If we exclude the Iraqiization and the Yugoslavization scenario of Iranian society, the fact is that worker communism sought to exert social influence by displaying military power in Kurdish society. A series of conversations was held on Partow TV about the Freedom Guard and the urgent need to fight against the Islamic Republic and other dark forces, which was later published in written form. In these conversations, there was an attempt to cover up the struggle against the regime in radical clothing. Salam Ziji, one of the officials of the Freedom Guard, explains:

“What are the basic duties of Freedom Guard units?

[Response] Each Freedom Guard unit should essentially consider its political role at the centre of its activities today. In the place where it is formed, it should strive to impassion that space against the Islamic Republic and to encourage and mobilize the people against the policies of the Islamic Republic in various dimensions. Enlightenment and awareness against the ethnocentric and religious policies that are responsible for the atrocities and calamities

inflicted by the government are among the most important and essential tasks of any unit.” [23] [Our translation]

According to the definition put forward by Freedom Guard officials, in the duty of the Freedom Guard, we see only an anti-regime struggle that other currents of anti-regime movements are doing on a daily basis. Of course, Freedom Guard officials have emphasized that the Freedom Guard has not carried out any military operations against the Islamic Republic and is currently only organizing, preparing and arranging for future developments, as stated by the following official:

“The Freedom Guard has not imposed any war on any person or entity so far; at this point, it is only preparing and organizing, making the necessary preparations and organizing its forces for future developments.” [24] [Our translation]

Now, let’s put aside the agitations and propaganda that stem from newspapers and television to see what the Freedom Guard has done in reality. Although it is still in a preparatory phase prior to entering the war with the Islamic Republic, it has carried out operations, some of which we will briefly look at. In one of these operations, a unit of the Freedom Guard, while campaigning, warns intruders against ill-treatment of women and youth. The report reads:

“On 4 November 2011, a unit of the Freedom Guard, known as the Nasim Guard Freedom Unit, participated in a large-scale propaganda campaign in large areas of the city of Sanandaj. In this widespread move, which ended successfully, the Nasim Guard Freedom Unit received a wide welcome from the people of Sanandaj. In the course of this operation, it has also taken action against certain individuals affiliated with the Salafi Islamic Reactionary Movement and the Islamic Republic, who have made threats and created a hostile atmosphere in society, especially for women and young people.” [25] [Our translation]

The Nasim Guard Freedom Unit, in the above operation, at best, performed the duty of the police, in order to stop women and young people being harassed. Another unit involved in other operations distributed statements condemning the US and the UN economic blockade of Iran to pedestrians and motorists. Is the Islamic bourgeoisie opposed to condemning Iran’s economic blockade? The report reads as follows:

“On the night of 5 January 2007, the Freedom Guard in the city of Kamyaran made its presence felt. In a precise and organized operation, at 10 p.m. local time, Unit 5 of the Freedom Guard, turned up armed on Beheshti Avenue and moved among the people along the road to Kamyaran Tobrehriz. Members of the Freedom Guard Unit distributed a statement from the Hekmatist Party, which condemned the US and the UN economic blockade and its consequences for the Iranian people to pedestrians and passengers in cars and vehicles in transit.” [26] [Our translation]

All operations were supposed to be carried out in coordination with the Freedom Guard General Command. But, it appeared that one of the units went rogue and failed to coordinate

its actions with General Command. This unit sought to finance party activities by taking hostage an adult child of one of the capitalists in Sanandaj. This raised serious problems both for the unit and for the Hekmatist Party; one of the Hekmatist Party leaders explains the problem as follows:

“We in the leadership of the party were informed at the time of the incident. All the members of the leadership ... were rushing to find a solution to stop the incident. After the incident, we tried to contact the family as soon as possible and make up for the problem. Security issues and then arrests did not allow us to make up for it.” [27] [Our translation]

But this unit of the Freedom Guard was merely involved in an adventurous attempt to compete with other nationalist currents in Iranian Kurdistan; we will return to this issue. After the extensive propaganda about the formation of the Freedom Guard, the noise gradually died down. Rahman Hosseinzadeh, a leader of worker communism, says:

“We set up the Freedom Guard, a very important project, which, in the first year, carried out 22 operations. But how many operations has carried out in the last five years? Obviously, it’s inappropriate to ask, as sharp leadership recognizes the appropriateness of power, which means you do not put all your potential into one basket.” [28] [Our translation]

Following the Hekmatist adventure of the Freedom Guard, in December 2009, a court in Sanandaj issued an international arrest warrant for 12 Hekmatist activists, some of whom were considered Freedom Guard officials, on the basis of being a “terrorist and organized criminal gang” on the Interpol listings. Interpol also issued a wanted poster. The aim of the criminals sitting in the Sanandaj court was to impose restrictions on the movements of the Hekmatists, as they were claimed to be somehow responsible for the Freedom Guard. Here’s a look at the announcement made by the Hekmatist Party:

“The Hekmatist Party strongly condemns this Interpol action. We ask Interpol to refrain from acting in this way, and to abrogate the list immediately. We consider Interpol, the police and the member governments of this entity to be directly responsible for whatever happens to these people. We hold Interpol responsible for strengthening the police atmosphere in Iran. We are able to defend ourselves against the thugs of the Islamic Republic and its associates; if they cross the border, we will stop them. At the same time, we will not only bring this issue before the relevant courts in Europe and the US, but we will also sue Interpol for endangering the security of the Islamic Republic’s opposition ... At the right time, we will offer the international police a choice. With the whole population willing and able to take part in this action, we will introduce ourselves to Interpol in protest. And we will force the international police to declare that the Islamic regime’s request is not based on any action. We will practically and officially rub the muzzle of the regime in soil and make it more invalid than ever.” [29] [Our translation]

The Hekmatists after a lot of exaggeration and hyperbole were clear: they would defend themselves against the thugs of the Islamic Republic and its associates (“if they cross the

border, we will stop them”) or they bring the matter before the European and US courts and sue Interpol (indeed, they followed up on this with a lawyer and launched the “Stop Campaign”). Finally, after three years of trying, Interpol removed the names of 13 people from its public most-wanted list, but they are still on the non-public list. Of course, being put under the pressure of the Islamic bourgeoisie by the Western gangs, in line with the standardization of the Islamic bourgeoisie, was one of the reasons for ceasing the pursuit of these political opponents through Interpol. The Hekmatist Party’s announcement in this regard is as follows:

“Interpol made a significant retreat as did the Islamic Republic by removing the name of the opposition’s 13 political figures from its public list. The withdrawal is solely the result of the joint work of the movement against the terrorist plot of the Islamic Republic ... The Hekmatist Party, while appreciating the ‘Stop Campaign’, will do its utmost to bring this campaign to a close and completely erase the names of these 13 political activists from view”. [30] [Our translation]

Although the Freedom Guard project was an adventure which was doomed to fail from the beginning, the blows to it affected society to a lesser extent. Unlike this project, the adventure that the Hekmatists pursued during the student protests in relation to “Students for Freedom and Equality” dealt the greatest blow to the student movement, which is still unable to straighten its back. Political frustration was one of the consequences of the failure of the student movement, with the Hekmatists playing the biggest role in the defeat.

One of the former Hekmatist leaders left the Hekmatist Party, despite being loyal to Mansoor Hekmat, in protest against its failure to support “Students for Freedom and Equality” as well as the Freedom Guard project. Concerning the failure of the latter, before it becomes a real entity, Mr Qazvini wrote:

“The Freedom Guard or the armed forces of the Hekmatist Party, as the Hekmatist Party declared it four years ago, did not find any foreign entity. Only in Kurdistan on a very limited level did efforts to form it fail so quickly ... The Hekmatist Party’s theory is that the armed organization of the people in the environment, regardless of the factors of the day, the traditions of the people’s struggle, etc., is a theory similar to that of the Communist League [here, Qazvini refers to a Maoist organization in Iran which should not be confused with the Communist League of Marx]. However, if the Communist League could carry out a serious action on the basis of its theory, the Hekmatist Party would not be able to turn its theory into even the least amount of practice. The foundations of this theory were shaken from the start.” [31] [Our translation]

The Freedom Guard was supposed to guarantee the political and social security of society and to cut off ethnic, nationalist and Islamic currents from people’s lives. During the protests of November 2019, the province of Kurdistan was one of the areas where the repression of the Islamic bourgeoisie was especially violent and the death toll was very high. Under such circumstances, the Freedom Guard was supposed to guarantee the protection and security of

the protesters. But the Freedom Guard, according to a former Hekmatist leader, did not fundamentally become a foreign entity; it was merely an adventurous propaganda exercise in competition with other Kurdish nationalist currents, and the noise of propaganda was quickly silenced.

### **To Be Continued**

Issues in the next part:

- The collapse of worker communism
- Worker communism and not being on the line
- The split in the Iranian Worker Communist Party
- Worker communism and the acknowledgment of failure
- The practice of worker communism is bourgeois communist by type
- Subsequent crises

M. Jahangiry  
16 May 2020



## Notes:

- [1] <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hoxhaism>
- [2] [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abimael\\_Guzm%C3%A1n](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abimael_Guzm%C3%A1n)
- [3] [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bob\\_Avakian](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bob_Avakian)
- [4] Mansoor Hekmat's speech to a session of politburo of the Iranian Worker Communist Party, 7-8 July 2001
- [5] Ali Javadi - Hekmatism: The Key to Solving our Problems and Moving on!
- [6] Iraj Farzad - Mystical and Sufi Opportunism in the Guise of Worker and Socialism, 2 July 1999
- [7] <http://www.hekmatist.com/2014/040314-mostafa-bahman-shafiq.html>
- [8] <http://www.azadi-b.com/arshiw/?p=4312>
- [9] Reza Danesh - Communist Party or Alliance with the Non-worker Left
- [10] Mohammad Fotouhi Sara - Privative Party and Marxist Educational Organizations
- [11] Azar Majedi - Strike of French Workers and the International Congress of Marx: A Congress of Hope or the Subject of Marxist Work?
- [12] As source 11
- [13] [http://www.azadi-b.com/G/2019/01/post\\_385.html](http://www.azadi-b.com/G/2019/01/post_385.html)
- [14] Nasser Asghari - On the sidelines of a critique of the Socialist Workers' Alliance of Komala
- [15] <http://www.azadi-b.com/arshiw/?p=47809>
- [16] Is it Possible to Win Communism in Iran?, Mansoor Hekmat.
- [17] As source 16
- [18] [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/English\\_Revolution](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/English_Revolution)
- [19] The Levellers were an egalitarian, even crude communist, movement in the 17th century in Britain which sought to distribute communal wealth equally among members of the community. This movement was cruelly suppressed by the Democratic Republic of Cromwell.
- [20] [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Emil\\_Julius\\_Gumbel](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Emil_Julius_Gumbel)
- [21] *International* No. 31
- [22] On the Tasks and Framework for Organizing Freedom Guard Units
- [23] <http://www.azadi-b.com/arshiw/?p=49406>
- [24] The Freedom Guard is a Pressing Necessity for the Fight Against the Islamic Republic and its Black Forces.
- [25] Freedom Guard command in Kurdistan - announcement on the Freedom Guard's presence in Sanandaj
- [26] Freedom guard activities in 2009
- [27] [http://m-ghazvini.com/?page\\_id=319](http://m-ghazvini.com/?page_id=319)
- [28] Rahman Hosseinzadeh - Differences Between the Working Class and the Communist Party or the Working Class and the Left Coalition Organization
- [29] <http://www.hekmatist.com/161209hezb.html>
- [30] <http://hekmatist.com/2012/Hekmatist-interpol.htm>
- [31] Mahmoud Qazvini - Freedom Guard, so inaudible that it will not be understood