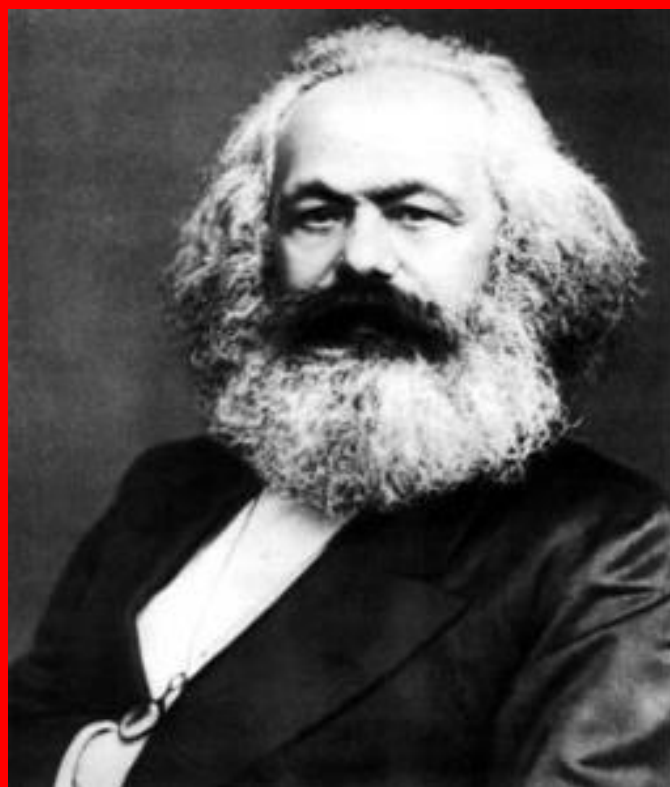


# **Worker Communism**

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

**(Part 4)**



**In defense of Marxism**

# **Internationalist Voice**

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## **The Economic Theories of the UCM**

Mansoor Hekmat, whose disciples gave the title, “Marx of the epoch”, developed all of the economic theories of the Unity of Communist Militants (UCM). Mansoor Hekmat completed a degree in economics in Iran and went to England to complete his higher education. He was obtaining a doctorate in economics in relation to the developments of 1978 and then returned to Iran. In explaining his decision to study economics, he wrote to his father:

“I thought if I become an engineer, maximum I could make beautiful homes for some people, but if I become an economist and write a purely economic theory I may save the world from hunger.”  
[1] [Our translation]

We do not believe that Marx, with his genius, invented the theory of the emancipation of workers but, on the contrary, we believe that the process of the formation of the working class as a social class considered Marx as the great thinker of the working class among of dozens of theoreticians. Pure economic theory cannot save the world from hunger, war and, in a word, modern savagery but the social class, the working class, and the solution of the communist revolution will not only save the working class but also the entire human race from the barbarism of capitalism. Thousands of experts and bourgeois theoreticians, like Mansoor Hekmat, have, for decades, tried to offer a less troublesome solution to the crisis of capitalism but capitalism has finally shown its ugly face by choosing its solution, namely, war.

Due to its historical limitations, the peripheral capitalist bourgeoisie has failed to accomplish its historic tasks to become like the capitalist metropolis, the left of capital in peripheral capitalism can easily hide its demands and wishes in the guise of Marxist. On the one hand, accomplishing the bourgeois-democratic tasks and, on the other hand, low economic growth, have been concerns for the left of capital in capital’s peripheral regions. In such contexts, the wishes and desires of the peripheral bourgeoisie, such as economic growth, technological development, raising living standards and dozens of other demands, are expressed by the left of capital. In Iran, the bourgeois-democratic revolution (the Constitutional Revolution) carried out some of these tasks and prepared the groundwork for economic growth. However, the low rate of economic growth in the age of the bourgeois-democratic revolution that appeared shortly after the era of capitalist decline, the era of imperialism, has prevented the bourgeoisie from playing a progressive role in the growth of economics and politics in society.

As the former class system, the history of the capitalist mode of production can be divided into two periods. The first period is that of the growth of capitalism when the bourgeoisie played a progressive role in the development of the productive forces and when the relations of production were in line with the development of the productive forces. The second period, the period of

capitalist decadence, was the period when the bourgeoisie lost its progressive role and evolved into a reactionary class and the capitalist relations of production have been chained to the hands and feet of the productive forces. It is important to note that with the arrival of the era of capitalist decline, the growth of the productive forces has not stopped but, rather, has become destructive.

With the arrival of capitalism in the era of imperialism, the era of revolution or imperialist wars began. We will discuss the issue of war and the position of the UCM in the next part and the theory of capitalist decadence in further articles.

With these explanations, we will first draw from the language of the UCM and its theoretical leader, Mansoor Hekmat, to try, very briefly, to consider the economic issues of the UCM and to see how these ideas were in line with the continuation of wage slavery. One of the fundamental issues of the UCM has been imperialist super-profits in the dominated countries. The fundamental core of the theory of the imperialist super-profits of the UCM is that in the era of imperialism, imperialist countries export capital to the dominated countries that have cheap labour, in other words, countries where the workers' wages are low. In such countries, they issue capital to gain extra super-profits or, in the language of the UCM, to obtain benefits that are greater than those derived by the monopolies that exploit the workers of the imperialist countries.

“In the era of imperialism the export of capital in order to earn super-profits, the profits above what monopoly [capital] earn of exploitation of the workers in the imperialist countries, becomes extremely important, and all countries around the world were drawn under the yoke of capital and imperialism.” [2] [Our translation]

According to the UCM, antagonism between labour and capital has reached its peak in developed capitalist countries. To relieve this contradiction, capitalism moves to the oppressed nations where they produce imperialist super-profits, super-profits that cannot be drawn from the shoulders of the proletariat of the metropolitan countries. The metropolitan capital then transfers the super-profits to the metropolis country and this transfer leads to the decline of the antagonism between labour and capital in the metropolitan countries. When the antagonism between labour and capital ended, the proletarian revolution actually lost its meaning or was transferred to an uncertain future. Mansoor Hekmat states the following:

“The fundamental relations of classes in the highest stage of capitalist development is such that the contradictions between labour and capital in the advanced capitalist countries will reach the highest levels for fertility and fierce. Capital is looking to discount these contradictory moves to outside of the borders and seeks super-profits, super-profits that cannot be pulled off the shoulders of the proletariat's own country, to lead lagging nations into the circle of the world capitalist system based on a clear division of the world between the metropolitan and dominated countries. Imperialist policy, a policy that caused this economic relationship, is the reaction and

national oppression. A reaction to the face of the labour movement and the oppression of the oppressed nations that their internal economic relations are based on the production of imperialist super-profits.” [3] [Our translation]

Another aspect of the UCM theory of imperialist super-profits in the dominated countries is that through the brutal exploitation of the working class and other working people in oppressed countries, those imperialist countries earn huge profits that are then transferred to their own country to create a labour aristocracy. We have previously noted the UCM notion of metropolitan capital and how it could reduce the antagonism between labour and capital and we now see how metropolitan capital converts workers into bourgeois workers. Mansoor Hekmat writes:

“At the economic level, imperialism in the dominated country exerts the most extreme conditions on the working class and other toiling masses, while at the same time, imperialist countries just rely on brutal exploitation and gaining huge profits creates the material basis of the labour aristocracy, namely parts of the working class that directly and indirectly benefit from these super profits.” [4] [Our translation]

The UCM has divided capitalist countries into the imperialists and the dominated and in the oppressed countries (the dominated) the imperialist exploitation is carried out through the issuance of capital and this results in the production of imperialist super-profits in the dominated countries. These super-profits are not only conducive to the emergence of a labour aristocracy in the imperialist countries but also lead to the continuation and survival of the aristocracy.

“The division of the countries of the world into imperialist and dominated, imperialist exploitation of the toilers of the dominated countries, imperialist super-profits of the monopolies by means of the export of capital, the emergence and continuance of labour aristocracy in the imperialist countries.” [5]

We will return to all of these issues. However, it is now important to point out that, in the short term, the failure of the wave of world revolution (1917–1923) was also a failure of the class-consciousness of the proletariat. The proletariat, especially in the anti-revolutionary black period (1930–1968), was dominated by the ruling class—by Stalinist ideology in both the Eastern and the Western bloc—under the ideology of bourgeois democracy. Bourgeois democracy has become an effective weapon with which to protect capital and, as such, it acts as a poison for class-consciousness.

The formation and strengthening of the left of capital are necessary in a capitalist society and this is part of its metabolism in the era of capitalist decadence. The political apparatus of the left of capital, including the necessity for the ex-UCM and the ideology of worker-communism and/or the British Labour Party, do not represent the labour aristocracy but indicate the following.

First, a faction of the bourgeoisie will wear a left-wing cloak to fulfil its demands and express its wishes through a leftist ideology.

Second, capital can produce parties and trends that, in the short-term, might be able to limit or retain control of the struggle of the working class. It is an undeniable fact that the ruling ideas are the ideas of the ruling class and this rule will only be violated in revolutionary situations. Marx states this very clearly:

“The class which has the means of material production at its disposal has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it. ... hence among other things rule also as thinkers, as producers of ideas, and regulate the production and distribution of the ideas of their age: thus their ideas are the ruling ideas of the epoch.”[6]

The UCM continues its contradictory and incoherent statements. We have already seen that in the metropolitan context, through the transfer of imperialist super-profits from the imperialist-dominated countries to the metropolitan countries, capital undermines the antagonism between labour and capital, yet now, the UCM talks about the crisis that is bringing capital to ruin.

”Firstly, by intensifying competition, crisis provides the necessary ground-works for the internal purging and re-organisation of capital and thus the increase of its profitability, and, secondly, since capital emerges out of every crisis more centralized, the next crisis appears with greater and deeper dimensions, causes more intensified competition and its alleviation necessitates a more all-sided reconstruction for capital. Thus, with every crisis, capital comes one step nearer to its disintegration.”[7]

According to the UCM, capital is close to collapse with every crisis. If the metabolism of the real world was in accord with the fantasies of the UCM then, instead of fighting capital, the proletariat would have waited peacefully for the final crisis and would finally have witnessed the disintegration of the capitalist mode of production. However, the functioning of the capitalist system does not accord with the fantasies of the UCM, rather, capital eventually overcomes its crises through war, something that is meaningless to the UCM.

The UCM continues to talk nonsense and baloney.

Eventually, the bourgeoisie will triumph at the level of the living standards of the working class and will begin a new round of capital accumulation:

”Either the proletariat enjoys such ideological-political-organisational strength that it draws the economic crisis of the bourgeoisie to the political arena and to a direct fight over the political power and thus it destroys for ever the bourgeois economy together with its crisis; or, the struggle becomes confined to the economic level and the bourgeoisie becomes victorious in its assault on

the level of subsistence of the working class, exploitation intensifies, and the necessary conditions for the commencement of a new cycle of capital accumulation are created for the bourgeoisie.”[8]

Contrary to the demagogy of the UCM, the lowering of wages by capital will not offer a solution to the crisis. Lower wages and lower standards of living for the workers may provide a short-term solution to the accumulation of capital but it cannot ensure the accumulation of capital in the long-term. Capital, therefore, resorts to its long-term solution—warfare. On the other hand, victory in an economic struggle or even victory from a successful strike does not always result in the sense of raising real wages despite the fact that wages have risen.

Lowering the wages and living standards of workers are short-term solutions in response to the crisis of capitalism. In other words, the bourgeoisie is waiting for the right conditions to provide its final solution, namely, war. The history of capitalism has shown that the capitalist solution to the accumulation of capital is a cycle of crisis, war and reconstruction.

We realized very rapidly that from the perspective of the UCM, the antagonism between labour and capital in the advanced capitalist countries has reached its peak. To mitigate this antagonism, capital moves to the oppressed nations where they produce imperialist super-profits and then transfer those super-profits to the metropolitan countries to create a labour aristocracy.

Since the workers have achieved the status of the aristocracy and, therefore, do not seek political power, the bourgeoisie’s victory is in its onslaught on the workers and a new round of capital accumulation begins. However, capital is close to collapse with every crisis.

Concurrent with the review and analysis of the economic issues of the UCM and the way in which these ideas serve the continuity and survival of wage bribery, we have to return to the Marxist explanation and definition of these concepts. However, our Marxist approach to these concepts is, nevertheless, not devoid of shortcomings and deficiencies that only be resolved by referring to the classic Marxist texts.

## **The Marxist concept of super-profits**

The fundamental pillar of the capitalist mode of production is that commodity production and the value of any commodity under capitalism is equal to the amount of the socially necessary labour that is carried out to produce that commodity. It should be noted that the individual value of each commodity is not equal to its social value. In determining the social value, the commodity value is equal to the average value of manufactured commodities and, in terms of the added value, this is considered to be the average of the total produced surplus value. That the individual value of a

commodity does not equal its social value depends on the fact that the conditions of production are not the same and the issue of supply and demand has not been considered. From this explanation it can be assumed that the commodity value is equal to the following equation:

Value of commodity = constant capital + variable capital + surplus value.

However, the goods are produced under different production conditions and, depending on the level of evolution of labour productivity in each unit of production (the factory), the amount of work carried out to produce that product can be more or less than the average work carried out. There are three modes for the production of a commodity will be considered.

*Case one:*

Lower cost than the average cost spent to produce the goods → gains more surplus value than other capitalists → the extra surplus value (or more profit) is increased and is greater than the average surplus value.

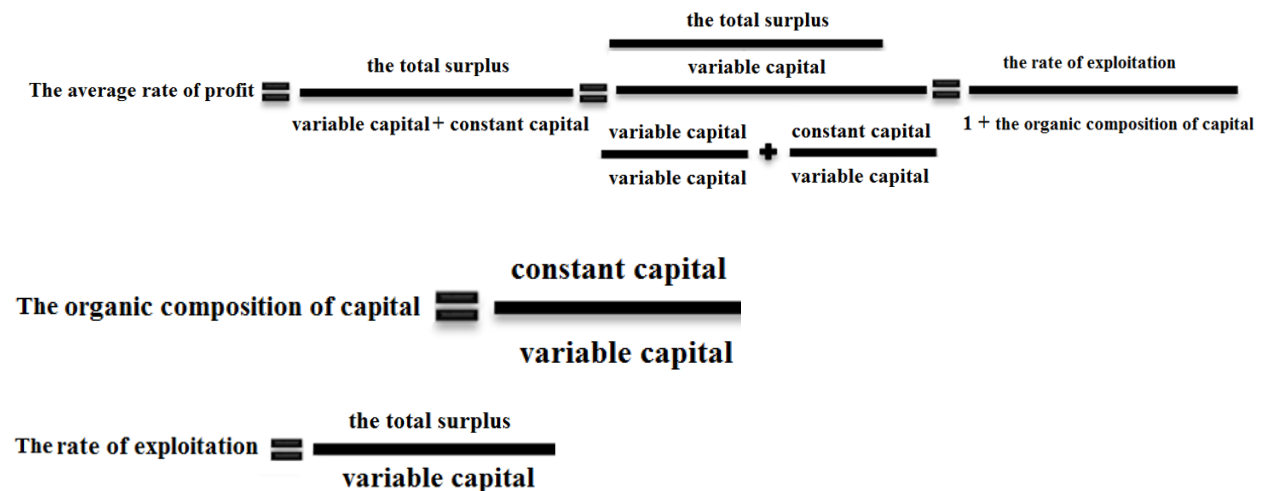
*Case two:*

The average cost spent to produce the goods → gains average surplus value → employer increases the average surplus value.

*Case three:*

A greater cost than the average cost spent to produce the goods → gains less surplus value than other capitalists → and the employer receives a lower surplus value (or a lower profit) than the average surplus value that other employers gain.

To expand on this discussion, we consider three of the classical Marxist formulas, namely, the average rate of profit, the rate of exploitation and the organic composition of capital.





In the capitalism of free competition, goods were not exchanged on the basis of their social value but on the basis of the price of the products. Because the price of production in the market is nothing other than the average cost to produce each product plus the average general profit, for ease of discussion we assume a fixed price of production. In the capitalism of free competition, capital is poured into profitable areas. Hence, a great deal of capital was channelled into the profitable areas until the rate of profit in these sectors was oriented towards the global average rate of profit. Marx explained the “law of the tendency of the average rate of profit” in detail in Chapter 10, Volume III of *Capital* in a section entitled, “Align the average rate of profit through competition.”

From this explanations, three forms of capital can be assumed and the above three cases can be considered to produce a similar product. The first type of capitalist will gain more profit than the average profit. The second type of capitalist will gain profit that is equal to the average profit and the third type will gain less profit than the average profit. Certainly, with the effects of free competition, the third type of capitalist will try to compensate for the deficiency of surplus value by raising labour productivity. Now, if a section of the capitalists can gain a special position or have the power or ability to protect this particular position for themselves, then they have been able to substitute free competition with a monopoly.

In contrast to free competition, in the era of monopoly, this violates the law of the average tendency rate of profit and, consequently, the most concentrated and powerful capitalists successfully invest in some areas of manufacturing, finance and so on and they prevent the free transfer of other capitalists into these branches. It is natural for monopoly capitalists to make monopoly domination the priority for the branches that are most profitable for them. The domination of the monopoly in the extractive industries and in heavy industries leads the ratio of earned surplus value to be more than the ratio of capital already achieved. The dominance of monopolies in banking capital creates monstrous power that prevents the free movement of capital and actually violates the law of the average tendency rate of profit.

Monopoly capital is the successor to this competition. Monopoly capital replaces free competition but with the dominance of monopolies rather than free competition and by taking over production, monopoly capitals impose monopoly prices. Monopoly profits (super-profits) will replace the average profit and super-profits overshadow the law of the average tendency rate of profit.

Monopoly capital → monopoly profit

To be able to again reduce the cost of producing goods and by determining the monopoly price in the market and delivering this to the buyer, capitalists who have been able to gain a unique position and have achieved a monopoly will increase their extra surplus value (super-profits). In this case, the price of the product, not the price of production, will be the price of the monopoly.

Production price ➡ the average cost of production ➡ the average profit

Monopoly price ➡ cost of production ➡ monopoly profit

On the other hand, the monopoly pricing mechanism is one of the main channels for the transmission of the surplus value gained by non-monopoly capitals for the monopoly capitals. The process of exchanging goods between the monopoly and the non-monopoly is an unequal exchange because the prices of the goods that the non-monopoly bourgeoisie buy from the monopoly bourgeoisie are higher than their value and, on the other hand, the prices of the goods that the monopoly bourgeoisie sells to the non-monopoly bourgeoisie are lower than their value.

Of course, small and non-monopoly capitals oppose the super-profits earned by monopoly capital. As investors in these sectors, they will also have a stake in the lucrative arena and will be opposed to monopoly prices and will dream of returning to the law of the tendency of the average rate of profit. In mentioning this, it is important to note that the total profit of social capital is the constant amount, in other words, it is equivalent to the entire produced surplus value in capitalist society and the acquisition of super-profits by monopoly capital makes not the smallest change to the whole profit of social capital. Monopoly capitalists that rely on the monopoly power of capital and on their monopoly positions, can gain huge profits at a higher rate than the average, in other words, the acquisition of super-profits by the monopoly explains why other capitals gain profits that are lower than the average rate of profit.

At least for a while, monopolies try to monopolize the new techniques in order to benefit from the profits of their monopoly. The profits of monopolies are much higher than the profits of non-monopoly capital and this is the same for super-profits, regardless of whether these are super-profits in Japan, Germany, Brazil or Iran. In order to earn super-profits, most investments of the capitalist metropolises are based in the metropolitan countries, not in the periphery countries of capital. We will return to this issue.

The UCM evaluated Iran's economic system as being like the other peripheral countries of capital, the dependent capitalist system that is in service to imperialist super-profits and, as Mansoor Hekmat states below:

“Dependent capitalism is a system that, firstly capitalism has been stationed on it and secondly, the internal market of it is in the service of imperialist super-profits.” [9] [Our translation]

Mansoor Hekmat continues:

”In view of the intense conditions of imperialistic exploitation of the working class, the average rate of profit of capital in the country is very high and the different strata of capital in Iran have become dependent on the imperialist system, precisely due to the high profitability resulting from

the operation of the imperialist system in Iran... In this way, *the dependence of the profit making by capital* in Iran to the operation of imperialism, forms the basis of the dependence of Iranian capitalism to imperialism.”[10] [Emphasis in original]

The UCM will argue that dependent capitalism is a particular type of economic system that, because of cheap labour, is a market in the service of imperialist super-profits. First, both periphery and metropolitan capitalism are capitalists. In other words, the domestic markets of both are in the service of imperialist super-profits. Second, the power of the bourgeoisie depends on its production capacity, technological capability, amount of profitability, the extent of the availability of raw materials and, ultimately, on its influence in the world markets. In other words, a country’s dependence on the world capitalist system is in reverse proportion to the power of the national bourgeoisie. There are no entirely independent nations. Both industry and domestic markets have lost the meaning of independence and have been intertwined to form a network. The most independent states, such as the US, Germany, and Japan, still have a level of dependency. The industrial giant of Europe, Germany, is unable to produce without help from other countries, for example, a car cannot be fully produced in Germany without importing some of the techniques, components, materials, etc., from other capitalist countries.

All of the previously mentioned attempts of the UCM regarding the dependent capitalist system and the anti-imperialist struggles are in line with the move towards “independent capitalism” and this was a dream of metropolitan capitalism. In other words, the UCM dreamed of metropolitan capitalism for Iran. Of course, this industrialization was only possible through the increased exploitation of wage slaves and was at the cost of the exploitation of the proletariat. The UCM clearly stated its dream of metropolitan capitalism in the following:

”The sector of the production of the means of production does not develop in the country and instead, assembly industries, consumer commodities and services expand. In order to make the country dependent on its food products, imperialism specifically causes the destruction of the country’s agriculture.”[11]

The UCM believed that the conditions of imperialist super-profits should be reproduced in the periphery countries of capital. In other words, there must be dictators in the periphery of capital to ensure that the conditions of imperialist super-profits continue.

“The production of imperialist super-profits in a capitalist country means that the necessary conditions for the production of super-profits (of which cheap labour and high exploitation rates are the main pillars) should arise again in every circle of reproduction of the whole social capital. In other words, the debate is not over the precedence of cheap labour in this country, but on keeping it cheap. And again, it is not about over the high rate of exploitation, but about keeping it high.” [12] [Our translation]

Our economist (Mansoor Hekmat) describes the Marxist concepts as the narrative of a faction of the bourgeois economy. First, it should be emphasized that super-profits are not produced but, rather, it is the surplus value that is produced. When the produced surplus value is distributed between capitalists it takes the form of profit. The surplus value and, in this case, the extra surplus value, takes the form of profit that can then be distributed. Super-profits are distributed, not produced.

As previously mentioned, the main factor in the earning of super-profits is the special position of monopoly capital, not the high or low exploitation rate. More importantly, when the super-profits of the monopoly capital are acquired it is not just the workers under their scope that are exploited but the workers in other areas who are exploited for the acquisition of surplus value.

Second, it should be noted that for the rate of exploitation to be high, either labour power should be cheap or the organic composition of capital should be high and it is quite logical that capital will flow towards sectors that have a less organic capital composition.

Third, as the voice of the anti-dictatorship and, consequently, the militancy of the anti-dictatorship struggle, the UCM believes that through the reproduction of the dictators, the labour force must be kept low to maintain high exploitation rates. Such confusion can fall on deaf ears in the anti-dictatorship movement and deaf ears are alien to the Marxist concepts and the anti-capitalist movement. Certainly, according to its historical and temporal needs, capital can assume a different political superstructure. Capital can even take the form of a bourgeois democracy in the periphery. It must be stressed that bourgeois democracy, whether in metropolitan capital or in periphery capital, is not a stable and constant legality. Any time that the need for capital is required, it tarnishes its principles, puts aside its embellished face and shows its ugly face. The genocide of the Parisian proletariat in the cradle of bourgeois civilization and the massacre of thousands of revolutionaries in Germany during the defeat of the German revolution are just two examples.

Of course, the UCM complained that even the most liberal bourgeoisie is not demanding independence from imperialism or for the roots of imperialist super-profits to be cut, it is, itself, seeking independence from imperialism. In the previous sections, we saw how, in the name of anti-imperialist struggles, this highlighted the most reactionary tendencies of the bourgeoisie who were dubbed as the petty-bourgeoisie and then assessed as revolutionary. Mansoor Hekmat makes such a demagoguery:

”We must note that in the present situation of the Iranian revolution, the bourgeoisie itself, even its most liberal section (through its ideologues and political leaders) does not in the least demand independence from imperialism. Therefore at the practical level the above problem can be formulated such: the bourgeoisie of Iran *neither demands, nor is capable*, of independence from

imperialism and at any rate requires the preservation of naked dictatorship.”[13] [Emphasis in original]

The UCM speaks about the possibility of a class struggle between oppressed countries (peripheral capitalism) and an imperialist oppressor (metropolitan capitalism) that is cruel and seeks to earn super-profits by exporting capital to countries under domination. Here, one of the basic Maoist foundations is laid bare and the Maoists make themselves visible. To the imperialist power, war must have a radical look in order that the class struggle can be easily overshadowed by the anti-imperialist struggle.

The basic questions that arises are these: What is the phenomenon of imperialism that made the UCM fervently seek independence from it? What is the Marxist concept of imperialism?

Unlike the demagoguery of the left of capital, including the UCM, imperialism represents a stage in the evolution of global capitalism, particularly because in the era of capitalist decadence all countries have been integrated into the world capitalist system. In other words, the whole world has been entered into the mechanism of international capital and, because capital cannot be accumulated in absolute isolation, there is no escape for any state and, therefore, all states are obliged to integrate themselves into the global market. In the period of the decline of capitalism, in the era of imperialism, **all** states, regardless of their size, large or small, regardless of their military and economic power, are imperialist.

In the decadence period of capitalism, imperialism is related to the redistribution of the global market and this includes all the countries of the world. In such circumstances, the imperialist countries, whether they are big gangsters like the US and Great Britain or small gangsters like Iran and Pakistan, are trying to undermine each other and to take over the others' markets. It is a fact that small gangsters like Iran take a lower proportion of the surplus value compared to the big gangsters, such as the US, but it is the same surplus value, namely, the blood of the proletariat that is sucked by a small gangster (small imperialist). We have already stated that the UCM perception of the concept of imperialism is taken from a Kautskist understanding. The disciples of Kautsky point out that:

”At the economic level, in the dominated country, imperialism imposes upon the working class and other toiling classes the most intense conditions of exploitation, and creates, in the metropol country, precisely on the basis of this process - production of super-profits - the material basis for the creation of a labour aristocracy.”[14]

Over a hundred years ago, Lenin unveiled the capital-friendly ideas of the disciples of Kautsky (the UCM), as can be seen below:

”Kautsky’s reply to Cunow is as follows: imperialism is not present-day capitalism; it is only one of the forms of the policy of present-day capitalism. This policy we can and should fight, fight imperialism, annexations, etc.

The reply seems quite plausible, but in effect it is a more subtle and more disguised (and therefore more dangerous) advocacy of conciliation with imperialism, because a “fight” against the policy of the trusts and banks that does not affect the economic basis of the trusts and banks is mere bourgeois reformism and pacifism, the benevolent and innocent expression of pious wishes. Evasion of existing contradictions, forgetting the most important of them, instead of revealing their full depth—such is Kautsky’s theory, which has nothing in common with Marxism.”[15]

With total hypocrisy and using absurd methods, the UCM distorted the revolutionary positions of Lenin, clearly lying and stating that the essential core of Lenin’s theory of imperialism is the production of imperialist super-profits through the issuance of capital:

“The production of imperialist super-profits through exporting capital is the base axis in the imperialism theory of Lenin.” [16] [Our translation]

The UCM evaluated the export of capital as the core of Lenin’s theory of imperialism and came to the conclusion that in the metropolitan countries, capital is not able to produce super-profits and so imperialism exports capital to the dominated countries and capital is only to be export to the dominated countries. In other words, capital does not export or reduce the export of capital to countries in which the organic composition of capital is high. This is actually the same understanding as the notion that “the characteristic feature of imperialism is industrial capital”. Of course, this approach is unable to explain why, after World War II, US capital was exported to Canada, Europe and Japan, namely, to the other metropolitan countries. We will return to this issue later in the context of capital accumulation. It should be noted, however, that monopolies existed before imperialism and the phenomenon of super-profits is not peculiar to the era of imperialism. In the era of capitalist decadence, in the era of imperialism, no capital can continue its momentum without relations to the market, either in metropolitan capitalism or periphery capitalism. In the market, the rules of the capitalist system are dominant and the features of imperialism express the dominance of finance capital over other capital. In other words, in order to reject imperialist domination, the only revolutionary alternative is a world communist revolution; any other alternative would appear to be radical for the survival of capitalist barbarism. Yet, Lenin himself responded to this absurd and nonsense talk as follows:

”The inaccuracies in Kautsky’s definition are glaring. The characteristic feature of imperialism is not industrial *but* finance capital. It is not an accident that in France it was precisely the extraordinarily rapid development of *finance* capital, and the weakening of industrial capital, that from the eighties onwards gave rise to the extreme intensification of annexationist (colonial) policy. The characteristic feature of imperialism is precisely that it strives to annex *not only* agrarian territories, but even most highly industrialised regions (German appetite for Belgium;

French appetite for Lorraine), because (1) the fact that the world is already partitioned obliges those contemplating a *redivision* to reach out for *every kind* of territory, and (2) an essential feature of imperialism is the rivalry between several great powers in the striving for hegemony, i.e., for the conquest of territory, not so much directly for themselves as to weaken the adversary and undermine *his* hegemony. (Belgium is particularly important for Germany as a base for operations against Britain; Britain needs Baghdad as a base for operations against Germany, etc.)”[17]

## **The value of labour power and the Unity of Communist Militants**

In a capitalist society, labour power is a commodity and the value of this commodity in the capitalist society, like any other commodity, is to be determined by the amount of necessary social labour for its reproduction. In other words, the value of labour power at any point in time or location (country specific) will be different. In the metropolitan capitalist countries, the reproduction of this commodity is more expensive and its value is high, hence its maintenance is more important. However, in the capitalist periphery, the cost of reproducing this commodity is low and its care and maintenance are not of considerable importance.

Although they are more wealthy, the reason that workers in the capitalist metropolises have a smaller share of gross domestic product and are enduring greater exploitation is that in metropolitan capital the high proportion of the organic composition of capital is the result of high labour productivity. Despite having very low living standards, workers in the periphery of capital have a greater proportion of the social, gross domestic product and, also, fewer metropolitan workers are exploited. It should be noted that the working class share of gross domestic product (the value produced in society) varies inversely with the rate of exploitation. The average ratio of the organic proportion of metropolitan capital to peripheral capital is about three times. Something that cannot play an important role in labour productivity is the price of labour in a capitalist society. In other words, labour rights do not play a decisive role in labour productivity, it is the underlying factors that play a major role in labour productivity, that is:

- the modern, sophisticated computerization of constant capital that is used in production processes (the high organic composition of capital);
- the extent of expertise and skills of the workforce; and
- the special privileges that, despite the equality of the organic composition of capital and the skilled labour force, result in a production process with higher labour productivity.

For graduates of the faculty of the bourgeois economy, which also takes the title of the “Marx of the epoch”, an understanding of the most basic Marxist concepts has, apparently, been difficult. The UCM believes that cheap labour is the source of imperialist super-profits. It states that labour

power is cheap for monopoly capital and expensive for non-monopoly capital. It asserts that the high exploitation rate can be a factor in the “production of super-profits”, while the rate of exploitation in the Marxist sense, as we have seen above, is lower in the periphery of capital than in the metropole countries of capital. Mansoor Hekmat wrote:

”The basis of capitalist production in the dominated country is the production of imperialist super-profits on the basis of the exploitation of cheap labour-power and the reproduction of its necessary economic and political conditions.”[18]

While in the brick factory and in this branch monopoly, capital is very low, foreign investment is meaningless, the cheapest labour works in inhumane conditions and has a poor working environment but there are no super-profits. Many of Iran’s workers work in workshops where fewer than 10 people are under the domination of non-monopoly capital and they place their cheap labour power at the disposal of these capitalists. The value produced in these workshops is far less than the value produced in large industries yet there are no super-profits.

We return to the history of the labour movement, to England after the introduction of the Factory Act of 1833 that regulated workers’ hours from 5.30 am to 8.30 pm. In other words, this was a 15-hour working day and only after the struggles that occurred in Europe and the US was it reduced in 1850 to a 12-hour day, from 6 am to 6 pm.

Thus, workers sold their labour power for far less than its value. The length of the working day was so long that exploitation was carried out in its most extreme form and workers did not enjoy a minimum of human livelihood, as Marx, the great thinker of the proletariat described “A dwelling in which the population is not well-suited to human dignity”, where there is “malnutrition, disastrous conditions a lack of any health care”, namely, “where workers live in conditions that are worse than prisoners”. Yet, in all this, we can see that Marx did not talk about the production of super-profits. [19]

Years later, when Mansoor Hekmat’s disciples had awarded him the title of the Marx of the epoch, during a speech given to the Marx society in London, entitled “Oral History of the UCM”, he used demagoguery and preached:

"The Unity of Communist Militants from the standpoint of the worker criticize [capitalism] and the position was that the situation is so because the workers in these countries sell their labour power cheaper. As a result of the lack of democracy, the absence of a free press and the absence of progressive cultural relations, this framework can keep labour power cheap. If the union allowed and the political parties allowed, in a country where workers are in this situation, workers are organized and try to improve their economic situation, this will force them to increase wages and to reduce their working hours, and then the economy with this level of technology and the capital accumulation situation will not give profits.” [20] [Our translation]



In a most horrendous way, this defender of democracy, this ideologue of the left of capital, rejected the facts. In the capitalist metropolises, the press is free to channel public opinion and those of bourgeois political parties, especially the left-wing, can easily work to manage the affairs of the capitalist system. Unions are allowed to operate in order to more easily channel the class struggle and to feed it through the legal and bourgeois ducts. Compared to the capital periphery, workers in the capitalist metropolises are more exploited and capital accumulation in the capitalist metropolises is greater than in the capitalist periphery.

The left of capital will hold onto anything to overshadow the class struggle with the struggle for democracy. The bourgeois ideologue has the dream of metropolitan capitalism.

For the graduates of the bourgeois economy school, it should be noted that a monopoly brings super-profits and, in Iran, capitals that are monopolies, rather than capitals that are non-monopolies, gain and will achieve super-profits. Despite the conditions, better working environments and relatively higher wages that it provides, the Iranian National Oil Company is a monopoly but it uses more advanced techniques to increase labour productivity (increasing the organic composition of capital) and this results in a high rate of exploitation. In other words, from the Marxist perspective, the workers of the National Oil Company who have more benefits are exploited more than the workers in the brickworks.

Because the industry uses more machinery and advanced techniques, this results in increasing the organic composition of capital to compensate for the losses that are due to expensive labour. However, this high organic composition results in more labour power and greater productivity, followed by a reduction in labour power that will eventually be a consequence. The massive army of the unemployed will be affected by the exchange of labour supply and demand, which will make the actual purchasing power of the labour force cheaper (purchasing power).

However, the UCM continues its nonsense and states that in the absence of cheap labour power the most extensive underground mines and deposits will not be the target of capital exports.

“The largest underground mines and reserves, in the absence of cheap labour power do not necessarily target the issuance of capital, because capital is not seeking use-value, it is seeking surplus value and it is also [seeking] a favourable rate.” [21] [Our translation]

The living conditions of the working class in the twentieth century and the early decades of the twenty-first century—housing, food, clothing, health and general living standards—(the era of capitalist decadence) are not comparable to those of the nineteenth century (the flourishing era of capitalism) and, clearly, the standard of living has increased. In the nineteenth century, a worker worked a 16-hour day and only had one day off each week. Now a worker only works an eight-

Benefits, such as the principle of profit sharing and social insurance schemes, etc., are in line with the needs of capital. Prudent capital, unlike “short-sighted” capital, considers its long-term horizon. Capital, especially the capital of a metropolis, considers its long-term goals and the availability of metropolitan labour power is a prerequisite for the production of surplus value.

First, the bourgeois ideologues consider that this issue is what distinguishes capitalism from earlier systems of production, yet the demagoguery of the ideologues of the right and left of capital should be emphasized because, in comparison with the level of the development of productive forces, the proletariat is also poorer than it was in the past. Upgrading the living standards of the working class as a result of the class struggle has been achieved, otherwise, the bourgeois class would not have been seen as generous and gracious.

Second, the community is growing and this development has its own particular needs. If in the nineteenth century, education had not been necessary for continued livelihood, today, education is essential. If in the nineteenth century, the concept of owning a car was out of the realm of the worker, today it is a necessity to enable him to travel long distances.

## **Absolute ground rent and differential rent**

Before continuing the debate and in order to gain a better understanding, we are going to define the concepts of absolute ground rent and differential rent and we refer readers to the classic Marxist texts, particularly to Volume III of *Capital*.

### **What is absolute ground rent?**

The owner of an oil well, land or a mine, requires special profits from the producing capitalist due to his monopoly of the oil, land or mine, which leaves the capitalist with profit that is only comparable to the average profit in society. The added profit that comes from this and goes into the pocket of the owner of an oil well, mine or land is called “absolute ground-rent.”

### **What is differential rent?**

This refers to extraordinary surplus value that is in addition to the absolute ground rent awarded to the high-grade mines, high-grade oil wells, high-grade land, and so on because of their fertile or better conditions compared to the downscale oil wells, mine or land. Because the monopoly ownership of these mines, oil wells and land is in the hands of their owners, the owner is awarded a differential rent.

With these explanations in mind, we come to the new assertions of the UCM, which declare the possible loss of differential rent, whereas in the framework of the capitalist system there is no possibility of loss of differential rent. Mansoor Hekmat says:

”In other words, the surplus-value which is obtained by the owners of the means of production in the Iranian oil industry (the oil companies and the Iranian state) is theoretically divided into two parts: 1- the profit of capital (including the surplus-profits resulting from the utilisation of the cheap labour-power of the Iranian oil workers by capital) and 2- the differential rent, (the difference between the cost of production in Iran and the average cost of production in the world). The reason for the existence of the differential rent, is the very monopoly ownership of the Iranian state (or the monopoly right of extraction which is granted to the oil companies in Iran) over Iran's oil resources. (In the absence of this monopoly ownership or right of extraction, the different capitals could proceed, unhindered, to produce oil products in Iran, in which case: on the one hand, this would reduce the average cost of production of every barrel of oil in the world and, on the other hand, would lead to the increase in the production costs of every barrel of oil in Iran. Thus, the free movement of capitals in the absence of monopoly ownership and the competition of these capitals, would eliminate the existing difference between the cost of production in Iran and the average production costs in the world, and would reduce the differential rent to zero.)”[22]

First, due to the monopoly prices, Iran’s oil industry earns monopoly profits and, consequently, from the acquisition of super-profits (which are part of the surplus value produced around the world) it gains part of the surplus value produced by the metropolitan proletariat. This does not only occur in Iran but also in the other petroleum exporting countries, whether they are a metropolis or a periphery. Gulf sheikhs or the world’s richest bourgeoisie that live in Mexico are involved in the exploitation of the international proletariat. As noted earlier, super-profits should not only be looked for in the production of surplus value but also in the distribution of surplus value between the different capitals. It should be emphasized that the profit of each capitalist is not equal to the surplus value produced by the workers exploited by an isolated capitalist because of the entire surplus value produced in the society. Super-profits are only embodied in the process of dividing surplus value into profit-making, each capital tries to increase its profits at the expense of lowering other capital gains. Therefore, the phenomenon of super-profits should be viewed from a single capitalist horizon.

Second, when a peripheral country (such as Iran) acquires super-profits, the theory of “producing super-profits based on cheap labour power” becomes invalid and it only becomes useful for recruitment to the anti-imperialist struggle.

Third, it is only in the minds of the learned bourgeois economists that it is possible to lose differential rent within the capitalist system. In the framework of the capitalist system, there is no possible loss of differential rent.

## The Marxist concept of capital accumulation

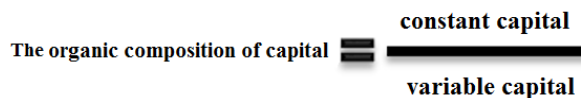
The process of capital accumulation expresses that part of the surplus value that is produced by the working class and will not be consumed or saved by the bourgeois class but will re-enter capital through a cyclical process and, consequently, will increase the amount of circulating capital. Increasing and decreasing the production of surplus value leads to an increase and a decrease in the accumulation of capital.

The bourgeois state is in the service of capital and capital accumulation. The cost of a large part of the infrastructure of the community, the lines of communication, the training of labour power, communication, etc., is the responsibility of the bourgeois state in order to facilitate investment conditions. It also has to create the necessary conditions for the exploitation of labour power and the potential to increase profitability for capital. If the purpose of the capitalist state is **to create the necessary conditions** for capital accumulation, the aim of capital itself is not the creation of the necessary conditions but **the accumulation of capital**.

In the accumulation of capital, a temporary interruption can occur without capital experiencing a serious crisis but serious damage to capital accumulation will lead to a crisis of capitalism. This crisis is not a temporary situation that can be resolved. The crisis of capital continuously intensifies and, eventually, capital will offer its long-term solution, i.e., war.

The reconstruction of the damage caused by the First and Second World Wars led to a period of growth and prosperity during the later decades. A cycle of crisis was then repeated and the process was also repeated—war followed by reconstruction. Today, war has taken the form and followed the trend of regional wars. We will review this issue clearly in the next section (War and the Unity of Communist Militants). The era of imperialism means that capitalism is forced to solve its long-term crisis by resort to war and the history of capitalism has been a cycle of crisis, war and reconstruction. In times of crisis, capital has carried out the destruction of constant capital (the means of production, cities, infrastructure, factories, etc.) and even the destruction of variable capital (labour power—the massacre of workers) to confront the declining rates of profit and, thus, to provide conditions for another round of capital accumulation.

The tendency of the declining rate of profit is due to the constant changes in the organic composition of capital. In other words, to increase the organic composition of capital the constant capital should be increased or the variable capital should be reduced or the constant capital should be increased and the variable capital should be reduced. Yet, by reducing the variable capital, the source of surplus value also becomes more limited. However, capital attempts to compensate by reducing the rate of profit and increasing the productivity of labour. The centralization of the means of production and placing constant capital



in the hands of a few capitalists leads to absorbing advanced technology in the production process and, hence, increasing productivity. Reducing the rate of profit in major industries and dismissing the labour power are the effects of this approach.

The day after the victory of the democratic revolution, the UCM wanted to create unfavourable conditions for capital accumulation. In other words, it wanted to stir up trouble in terms of the accumulation of capital and to sink Iranian capitalism into a deep economic crisis. The proletariat, which holds political power, took advantage of the opportunity to destroy capitalism. The Union of Communist Militants apparently tells “bedtime stories” designed for children:

“The negation of imperialist conditions of production and exploitation by the organized power of the revolutionary proletariat and through political and legal levers, neither means the destruction of capitalism, nor is it equivalent to the establishment of "independent" capitalism; but it only means that Iranian "dependent" capitalism has been driven towards a deep economic crisis. Iranian capitalism, precisely because of still being, on the "morrow" of the victory of the democratic revolution, capitalism based on imperialist exploitation, cannot be compatible with the economic demands of the proletariat whose corner-stone is to go beyond the bourgeoisie's capabilities in such a country. To the extent that the revolutionary and organized proletariat becomes able to impose on the bourgeoisie the most favourable economic situation for the development of the class struggle, the bourgeoisie will be put in the most unfavourable conditions for accumulation and thus Iranian capitalism will sink into an acute and deep economic crisis.”[23]

To create trouble in the process of capital accumulation and to impose class struggle for the bourgeoisie, the UCM wanted to draw capitalism into a deep economic crisis because the bourgeoisie had a clement heart and acquiesces to the demands of the proletariat. Capital is the vampire “Dracula”, who will only consume fresh blood, the blood of the workers (surplus value). Any damage to Dracula’s bloodsucking, namely, in the process of capital accumulation, will lead to more dangerous reactions. The First and Second World Wars and dozens of other regional wars were the response of Dracula to problems with the process of capital accumulation. Due to the barbarism of capital, only a world communist revolution that can be cast into the dustbin of history and the dirty capitalist system prohibit the issue of capital accumulation and the emancipation of humanity.

We put aside the demagoguery of the UCM and return to the real world and the barbarism of capital. It is worth mentioning that in large-scale production and industry-wide, much capital accumulation takes place and it could not take place without the existence of monopoly capital. It is only in the shadow of huge industrial monopolies that the productivity of labour increases. It should be noted that labour productivity today is achieved in different and highly advanced technological contexts. Apart from the increase in the number of workers in the non-manufacturing sector, the working class as a class, produces social welfare and continues to be exploited through wage slavery. In contrast with the metropolitan countries of capital, the level of

development of the productive forces and the concentration of capital in the periphery countries of capital is lower and production is much higher within the metropolitan petty-bourgeoisie when compared to the relatively large population of the community in the country. Compared to the metropolitan petty-bourgeoisie, the production of the peripheral petty-bourgeoisie is much higher and they form a relatively large part of the population. However, in the era of the decadence of capitalism, the struggle between labour and capital means that the struggle of all the exploited against the exploiters and the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is on a global level.

In the absence of cheap labour power, the UCM claims that the largest mines and underground reserves will not become the targets of any country seeking capital export. They assert the following:

“The largest underground mines and reserves are, in the absence of cheap labor, the vast majority of mines and underground reserves do not necessarily target for the export of capital, because capital is not seeking use-value, looking for surplus value and at a favorable rate.” [24] [Our translation]

Unlike the demagogues and the nonsense of the UCM, the export of capital is primarily due to raw materials and underground reserves, not to cheap labour power. We examine one of the most advanced countries of the metropolitan capital, namely, the US, where there is no cheap labour power:

“In 1970, five major American oil monopolies and members of the international oil cartel at the same time sold 50 percent of coal and 85 percent of natural gas production in America, almost half the discovery of uranium resources in the country and 75 percent of new agencies and controlled uranium enrichment. So while we see natural gas that is cheaper than coal, almost all of these resources are in the hands of a few monopolies that are in the oil cartels. It will also be responsible for the pricing of goods and will calculate prices rather than the cost of production of natural gas, but the cost of coal production is much more expensive and will be supplied and will have huge super profits...Of the total 16 billion dollars that the American monopoly invested in 1972 outside the borders of the country in the oil and gas industry only 1.9 billion of it was in the Middle East.” [25] [Our translation]

Again, we return to the reactionary position and capital-friendly UCM in relation to the issuance of capital for the “production of imperialist super-profits” in the oppressed countries. First, it should be stressed that the export of capital has not only occurred in backward countries or dominated capitalist countries and that investment does not only take place in industrial undertakings. However, despite all of this, monopolies gain enormous super-profits and since all monopolies have monopolist principles, everywhere in the world—whether in the US, Russia or Iran—a monopoly brings super-profits.

“A monopoly brings super-profits, the excess profit that is higher and greater than the ordinary profit of capitalism in the world.” [26] [Our translation]

Now, by referring to the statistics we will show that, contrary to the false claim of the UCM, capital flows are exported to metropolitan countries where there is no cheap labour and not to the peripheral countries of capital where labour is cheap. We take a look at German investors in the early twentieth century:

“Around the year 1910, of the 35 billion marks [Germany] invested, seven billion was in Asia, Africa and Australia, 10 billion in the United States and the rest, namely, 18 billion, in Europe.” [27] Labour is not cheap in Europe and the organic composition of capital is also high.

The two tables below are borrowed from the booklet, *Summoned the Past to Justify Present*. We shall return to this brochure on the topic of the communist left. [28] The following table shows the percentage of US foreign direct investment in 10 major countries. The statistics show that across 20 years of investment, much of the investment has been in metropolitan countries and has increased. The table shows the ratio of US investment to total investment.

Country	Year 1957	Year 1966	Year 1977
Canada	% 33,7	% 30,3	% 22,3
Great Britain	% 8,1	%10,4	%11,5
Germany	% 2,3	% 3,7	% 4,1
Swiss	% 0,3	% 3,7	% 4,1
France	% 0,8	% 3,5	% 4,5
Brazil	% 3,3	% 1,7	% 3,9
Australia	% 2,3	% 3,7	% 3,8
Belgium and Luxembourg	% 0,8	% 1,5	% 2,8
Japan	% 0,7	% 1,4	% 2,7
Netherlands	% 0,8	% 1,7	% 2,7
Total	% 53,1	% 63,3	% 65,8

The following table shows the amount of US direct investment in eight Latin American countries. The statistics show, first, that a small percentage of invested capital has been in peripheral countries and, second, that the amount of investment has fallen. The UCM theory of the capital export to countries of cheap labour power for the production of super-profits is invalid and is only useful for the disciples of the religion of Hekmat.

Country	Year 1966	Year 1977
Argentina	% 1,5	%1
Brazil	% 1,7	% 3,9
Chile	% 1,5	%1
Colombia	% 0,9	% 0,5
México	% 2,6	% 2,1
Panama	% 1,6	% 1,4
Peru	% 1,3	% 0,9
Venezuela	% 4,1	% 1,2
Total	% 15,2	% 11,1

## The minimum programme of the UCM

If we put aside the seemingly radical slogans and terms of the UCM, the objectives and demands of the left of capital will be clearly visible. This Republic also crystallizes itself in the “minimum programme” [29] of the UCM that will fulfil its demands through the constitution. The fact is that the rules and conditions of the bourgeoisie of Western Europe are more progressive than the revolutionary Republic of the UCM. [30] Let us see the purpose of the faction on the left of capital:

“The revolutionary republic and the outlines of its content are to promote the goal of the revolutionary camp and to describe the claim for political and economic demands, at least in the program of the communists, as the practical content of this republic ... We communists, rely on the working and toiling masses, on their direct and armed souls, their revolutionary masses, to give them bread and freedom to their own power, in the form of a certain revolutionary republic, with a clear constitution (the minimum part Communists program).” [31] [Our translation] [*Emphasis from the original text*]

Now the UCM evaluates itself as the proletariat and raises its demands using the language of the proletariat. Its minimum programme, which is aimed at limiting the class struggle of the proletariat and serving the continuation of wage slavery, is called the programme of the conscious proletariat. Yet the UCM is aware of its class interests as part of the left-wing of capital. The left of capital explains:

“Today, the proletariat of Iran has a programme. The minimum part of programme, the conscious proletariat, has answered the above questions.” [32] [Our translation]



Finally, after preparing and organizing their opinion, the UCM produced its main statement. This is transforming the UCM into an alternative that will lead to a new wave of mass democratic struggle that will overshadow the class struggle, a known approach within the left of capital. The UCM was dreaming of taking up this leadership and stated the following:

“The minimum programme of communists, which must plan and formulate the content of the victory of the democratic revolution in the form of certain economic and political demands, is the clear image that communists must draw from the present revolution and its purposes for the masses...the conversion of communists to an alternative to lead a new wave of mass democratic struggles is not possible without providing consistent and extensive advertisements of the minimum programme and its demands.” [33] [Our translation]

Although this appears to indicate the confusion of the authors of the “programme of the proletariat”, in fact, in order to make it easier to create a demagogy, the programme of the UCM, the left of capital, has been trying to use radical language to formulate words that describe a contradictory concept. Let us take a look at the jumbled “programme of the proletariat”, which, at that time, was the “only” communist party of the world:

“The political themed minimum proletarian programme breaks down the bureaucratic-military state apparatus of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of a democratic government which means exercising the will and sovereignty of workers and toilers. This government will be the guarantor of an extensive democracy in which the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie can expand and evolve in its most free, clearest and broadest form.” [34] [Our translation]

This political tendency has played the most important role in slashing the values, terms, ideals and goals of communism and internationalism. Although, they had not fewer demagogues than the other tendencies of the left of capital, but also more.

First, in the capitalist system, breaking down the bourgeois state machine is only possible through a communist revolution because all factions of the bourgeoisie are reactionary and want to maintain the system and its state machinery. The only revolutionary class is the working class who want to break down the state machine and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, not a bourgeois democracy that is a naked dictatorship and an unrestrained market.

Second, “the will and sovereignty of the workers” is only possible through the dictatorship of the proletariat, namely, through the councils of workers, not through democratic governance that is a kind of will and sovereignty of capital.

Third, any state essentially means the dictatorship of one class over another. The dictatorship of the proletariat through its councils indicates the dictatorship of the working class. The most

democratic bourgeois state represents the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie against the working class.

Fourth, how can a democratic government (the dictatorship of capital), which is the will and the rule of capital, be the guarantor of an extensive democracy in which the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie can expand and evolve in its most free, clearest and broadest form? So, what happened to the concept of the antagonistic conflict between labour and capital? As stated earlier, the political content of the minimum programme of the left of capital (the UCM) appears to indicate the confusion of the authors of the programme but, in reality, they have tried to describe wage slavery using radical words, namely, democratic rule (bourgeois democracy). In the context of economics, the left of capital states its goals more clearly as “the practical negation of the rule of imperialism” and, of course, in addition, the workers have also been promised relative prosperity.

“... The economic content of the minimum programme of the proletariat constitutes the practical negation of the rule of imperialism and proletarian living and the working conditions and masses of working and poor people’s living conditions, the welfare of workers and toilers and removing economic barriers, and the development of the class struggle. Realization of this matter in addition to increasing the power of the working class in the struggle for definitive liberation will facilitate the joining of non-proletarian working people in this struggle...” [35] [Our translation]

The UCM scenario is not even possible in Hollywood movies, although, apparently, it has been possible to manifest itself in the advertising, agitation and positions of the UCM. More delicate and radical words are given to the demagoguery:

“The negation of imperialist conditions of production and exploitation by the organized power of the revolutionary proletariat and through political and legal levers, neither means the destruction of capitalism, nor is it equivalent to the establishment of "independent" capitalism; but it only means that Iranian "dependent" capitalism has been driven towards a deep economic crisis. Iranian capitalism, precisely because of still being, on the "morrow" of the victory of the democratic revolution, capitalism based on imperialist exploitation, cannot be compatible with the economic demands of the proletariat whose corner-stone is to go beyond the bourgeoisie's capabilities in such a country. To the extent that the revolutionary and organized proletariat becomes able to impose on the bourgeoisie the most favourable economic situation for the development of the class struggle, the bourgeoisie will be put in the most unfavourable conditions for accumulation and thus Iranian capitalism will sink into an acute and deep economic crisis.”[36]

The UCM, which now describes itself as proletariat, believes that a minimum programme is possible and that this would follow the victory of the democratic revolution. Yet, it denies that imperialist domination and capitalism would be retained. Since imperialist domination has gone and a popular government has come into force, the constitution is on the side of the people and

the labour law is in favour of the workers. As a result, on the one hand, the intensity of exploitation is reduced as workers have a 40-hour week (although unemployment insurance and the price of labour rises) and, on the other hand, it converts the dictatorship into a democracy.

Labour power was cheap in Iran (as, of course, it is in any other dominated country that agrees with the UCM) and there were high exploitation rates as capital was exported to Iran (as is the case of any dominated country). With the negation of imperialist domination, capital will not be funnelled to Iran, labour will be sold for a high price and, consequently, the rate of exploitation will be reduced and, therefore, imperialist super-profits will not be produced. Unlike the demagoguery of the UCM, Marx has shown that capital “is ultimately a productive relationship”, i.e., a productive relationship that regularizes the relationship between humans and the classes that are involved in it, not between countries.

Using a democratic government is not the most appropriate way to develop the class struggle and to create the most assertive antagonism between the social classes—the working class and the bourgeois class—that would provide the necessary conditions for the continuation and expansion of the class struggle. It is the class struggle that, in its expansion, makes it possible to gain a class awareness of the necessity for a social revolution, the communist revolution. Unlike the left-wing of capital, Marx teaches this:

”In the development of productive forces there comes a stage when productive forces and means of intercourse are brought into being, which, under the existing relationships, only cause mischief, and are no longer productive but destructive forces (machinery and money); and connected with this a class is called forth, which has to bear all the burdens of society without enjoying its advantages, which, ousted from society, is forced into the most decided antagonism to all other classes; a class which forms the majority of all members of society, and from which emanates the consciousness of the necessity of a fundamental revolution, the communist consciousness, which may, of course, arise among the other classes too through the contemplation of the situation of this class.”[37]

When the working class became a class in itself and a conscious class, at that time it considered that its historic mission was to take action on the abolition of the wage slavery system, the establishment of the classless society and the liberation of all mankind from the evils of capitalism.

In the era of capitalist decadence, the bourgeoisie became an economic and political ruling class in all countries. The growth of the national bourgeoisie is only possible within the framework of capitalist decadence and within the era of imperialism. The bourgeoisie is a reactionary class, the antagonism between labour and capital has been mastered, capitalist relations are reactionary and the only revolutionary alternative is to crush the political and economic relations of capitalism through a communist revolution and to attempt the establishment of socialist relations. Each

alternative, whatever its name, is merely retaining the barbaric capitalist system and it is reactionary. Certainly, the building of socialism in the peripheral countries (because of the low concentration of production and capital as well as the level of development of the productive forces) will be more difficult than in the metropolitan countries and this indicates a major task of the proletariat and the responsibility of the proletariat in metropolitan countries.

### **To Be Continued**

Issues in the next part:

- 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

M. Jahangiry

23 October 2015

## Notes:

- [1] Biography of Mansoor Hekmat, page 16
- [2] Program of communist party of Iran – page 7
- [3] Anarcho-Pacifism – page 14
- [4] Program of communist party of Iran – page 11
- [5] Two Factions Within the Bourgeois-Imperialist Counter-Revolution - Part II
- [6] German Ideology – Marx
- [7] A Consideration of the Marxist Theory of Crisis and Some Deductions about Dependent Capitalism.
- [8] As source 7
- [9] AS source 7
- [10] The Iranian revolution and the role of the proletariat (Theses)
- [11] The Myth of the National and Progressive Bourgeoisie
- [12] As source 7
- [13] AS source 10
- [14] Program of the UCM program – March 1981
- [15] Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism -Lenin
- [16] As source 7
- [17] As source 15
- [18] As source 7
- [19] For further information in relation to working time, see the chapters on “The struggle for the normal working day. Compulsory limitation by law of the working time. The English Factory Acts, 1833 to 1864” from *Capital* Volume I. On the living conditions of the proletariat, see the chapters, “The badly paid strata of the British industrial class”, “The nomad population” and so on from *Capital* Volume I.
- [20] Speech to Marx’s society in London (known as “The Oral History of the UCM”), Mansoor Hekmat.
- [21] As source 7
- [22] As source 7
- [23] Towards socialism - the first round - No. 2
- [24] As source 7
- [25] Summon the Past to Justify Present, page 31.
- [26] Imperialism and the Split in Socialism, Lenin, page 8.
- [27] Summon the Past to Justify Present, page 34.
- [28] Summon the Past to Justify Present is a pamphlet written by two ex-activists of the Communist Party of Iran (Ashkan and Poya) that criticizes the Iranian Communist Party and Union of Communist Militants. These comrades were influenced by the positions of the Communist Left (especially the Internationalist Communist Party of Italy [Battle communist]) and began to critique the left of capital. We will discuss this issue further in the context of the communist left.
- [29] The split between the minimum and the maximum programme was one of the weaknesses of the Second International. The proletariat is a global class, just as capitalism is a global system. Globalization means that the programme of the proletariat is global and internationalist. The

Third International and, then, the Communist Left clearly stressed that the Communist Party only has an internationalist programme that aims to establish the communist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

[30] Some sections of the minimum programme are as follows:

“Universal suffrage, equal, direct and secret for all individuals older than 16 years, both men and women, the right of every person above 18 years to be elected in the organs of representation...The direct participation of people in managing the affairs of the country, the strict abolition of the election of governors, burgomasters, districts, prefects by government, the selectivity of the authorities at all levels by the people and revocable whenever the majority of the electorate will not have their ...”

[31] The Current Situation, its Prospects and the Tasks of the Communists, Statement of the UCM.

[32] Communist Workers - organ of the UCM, Issue 3

[33] Two Factions Within the Bourgeois-Imperialist Counter-Revolution - Part III

[34] Program of communist party of Iran – page 15

[35] As source 34

[36] Towards socialism - the first round - No. 2

[37] German Ideology -The Necessity of the Communist Revolution