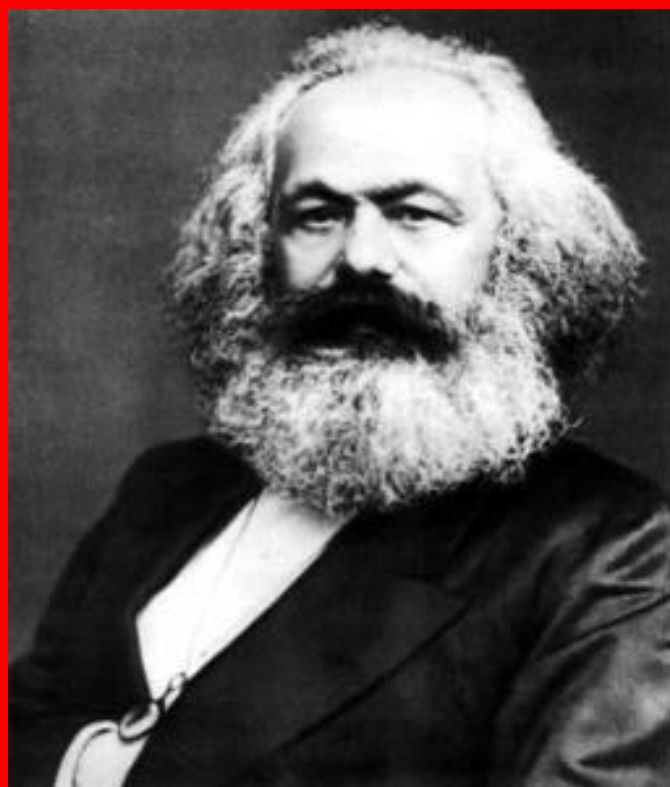


Worker Communism

Radical Conscience of the Left of Capital

(Part 5)



In defense of Marxism

Internationalist Voice

E-mail: internationalist.voice@gmail.com

Homepage: www.internationalist.tk

Issues of the text

Issues of part V (this 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

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

War and the Unity of Communist Militants

War, and taking a position on war, determines a political stance and, more importantly, the class attachment of a political tendency (i.e., belonging to the working class or the bourgeois class). In the upside-down world of capitalism, war and internationalism are touchstones that show how or where the working class or the bourgeois class stand on a political issue. During World War I, the majority of the members of the Social Democratic Party betrayed the proletarian position, joined the capital and labour factions and turned themselves into cannon fodder, while only a handful of Bolsheviks and minorities in European countries remained loyal to the proletarian position. Following the degeneration of the Comintern and the parties organized within it in the early 1930s and during World War II, the workers became cannon fodder in the name of communism. Only internationalist communists (the Left Communist), in absolute isolation, remained loyal to the proletarian positions and described the war as an imperialist war and harassed by both the allies and the axis.

The question that arises here is this: what was the position of the Unity of Communist Militants (UCM) regarding the Iran-Iraq war? Further, how have the heirs of the UCM (the Worker-communism) viewed this issue?

The UCM's reactionary position toward the Iran-Iraq war has always been a problem for the Worker Communism. The ideologues of worker-communism have generally tried to avoid discussing or addressing this issue. If they have been forced to refer to it, they generally lie and attempt to provide a revolutionary explanatory. One of the disciples who tried to explain the UCM revolutionary position on the Iran-Iraq war is Majid Hosseini. He turns black into white, clearly lying to bring honour to the UCM. Mr Majid Hosseini does not care one iota about the lies he is telling but it is important to note that through the lies, deception and hypocrisy he presents a revolutionary image for Mansoor Hekmat. Majid Hosseini's eulogies about the UCM and about Mansoor Hekmat himself are associated with the eulogies of Fakhreddin Hejazi.[2] He says:

“The Communist policy of the UCM towards the Iran-Iraq war in the writings of...the Islamic Republic and victimization fantasies... Prevented the illusions to the Islamic Republic and saved lives of thousands of left activists that were to be sacrificed in the Iran-Iraq war. The existence of this organization was an anchor for left activists and vagrant of collapsed organizations and individuals left out of the other currents.” [3] [Our translation]

First, contrary to the lies of people such as Goebbels, at the time of the Iran-Iraq War in September 1980, Mr Majid Hosseini, claimed that the UCM was only an anonymous circle and could not prevent thousands of left activists from being sacrificed in the war. Second, the bourgeois politics of the UCM was to participate in the war in order to “defend the revolution”,

in other words, this required turning workers into cannon fodder for the war. However, thousands of people could not accept the reactionary and counter-revolutionary calling of the UCM. Even if a worker falls for the UCM explanation of the war, the UCM's hands are still stained with the blood of the proletariat.

In her eulogy on the “revolutionary” position of the UCM toward the Iran-Iraq war, another disciple of the religion of the Worker-communism, Ms Soraya Shahabi, placed herself on the line. Apparently, for her, there is no such concept as the historical memory and it is possible that the style of the Stalinist tradition has nurtured and rewritten historical memory. On 6 June 2015, during her speech in London on the occasion of the “Week of Hekmat”, entitled “Mansoor Hekmat and the Iran-Iraq war”, she preached nonsense in her defence of “The Achievements of the 1979 Revolution”:

“At the time of the Iran-Iraq war, in a situation where the of the communist movement in Iran was dizzy, what kind of war is and how it is and is to be resolved, this clear communist line [the line of UCM] from the most basic level of analysis and explanation, until the last tactical ring defines a proletarian policy ... Hekmat was theoretician and practising of it...Maintaining and restoring relations of production that have been molested by the Iranian revolution is only possible with repression of the revolution. Revolution must be suppressed, not the Islamic Republic! ...The Iranian revolution, which is the greatest contemporary revolution, a revolution in which the working class and labour made councils, defeated most part of the state machine, and despite the Islamic current caused the armed uprising and military barracks to be evacuated, from the point of view of the interests of the global bourgeoisie, it must fail. And to defeat this revolution, the bourgeoisie must be a queue! The bourgeoisie must be united. The local bourgeoisie must unite under the authority of the monopoly bourgeoisie.” [Our translation]

Many individuals in the audience were flabbergasted when listening to the nonsense of Lady Soraya Shahabi that referred to the greatest contemporary revolution that had broken the bourgeois state machine and that through imperialism, Iraq had been raped in order to defeat the revolution. Such assertions express the level to which these disciples accept such nonsense. It is not appropriate that Mansoor Hekmat announced that thousands of people (of course, we want to lower thousands to hundreds) gathered around the Worker-communism without knowing that "Lenin is an eatable or drinkable phenomenon!"[4] Historical memory is alive, Ms Soraya Shahabi has only undermined her own intelligence.

One of Mansoor Hekmat's disciples, Mahmoud Qazvini, a former member of the Central Committee of the Worker-communist Party and a Hekmatist party , spoke about the scandal of the “ideologues” of worker-communism (such as Ms Soraya Meteor) and, as a former party leader himself, he stated:

“I want the members of the Worker Communist Party of Iran to ban Hamid Taghvai in the comment on political and theoretical matters, to avoid he lose face himself and all of them. I am ashamed that at one time such a person was the leader of a party that I was a member of. So far, I do not know any Marxist claimer to comment so unthinking on issues.” [5] [Our translation]

While we review the bourgeois and reactionary position of the UCM towards the Iran-Iraq war, in that the UCM was in the service of making workers into cannon fodder for the war, we are going to discuss what led to the wars. That is, with the arrival of the decadent era of capitalism all wars are imperialist and reactionary and the only revolutionary war is the class war (class struggle).

The era of imperialist wars and the era of communist revolutions

War is not the product of the harsh policy of an unconventional state, rather, it stems from the need for substantial capital; avoiding war in the era of imperialism is not possible. For more than one hundred years, communists have been announcing that with the arrival of capitalism in its decadent era, the era of social revolution and imperialist, war has begun. The era of imperialism means that in order to resolve its long-term crisis and to ensure the long-term accumulation of capital, capitalism is forced to engage in war. The history of capitalism has shown that the capitalist solution to the accumulation of capital is a cycle of crisis, war and reconstruction. Any damage suffered in the process of capital accumulation can lead to far more dangerous reactions, for example, World War I and World War II and dozens of other great wars and regional wars have resulted from capital's reaction to the damage caused in the process of capital accumulation. Capitalism is able to function during the crisis of the destruction of constant capital (the means of production, cities, infrastructure, facilities, etc.) and even variable capital (labour power—the massacre of workers) and it can deal with the reducing rate of profit and provide the conditions for another round of capital accumulation.

It is an undeniable fact that despite the growing era of capitalism, in the era of capitalist decadence, without imperialist wars, the division of the world is almost impossible or is very difficult. However, it should be noted that the interests of the imperialist gangsters can clash even within a bloc, for example, they can be hostile to the imperialist battlefields of Vietnam with Cambodia in the former Eastern bloc or those between Greece with Turkey in the former Western bloc. World War I demonstrated that as a social system, capitalism had entered its period of decline and, as already mentioned, the era of social revolution and imperialist war has begun. The danger of imperialist war represents a new phase in the life of capitalism and in the era of imperialism it is not possible to avoid war. For a World War to be possible, the following two conditions are necessary:

- two political blocs, economically and militarily.
- the working class must be defeated on a global level.

Following the collapse of the bipolar world (the Eastern and Western blocs), not only did two coherent political, economic and military imperialist blocs exist but we also witnessed tensions between the great imperialist gangsters. Although under the current circumstances the working class is unable to provide an alternative to capitalist barbarism, it is not yet defeated. So wars tend to be regional wars, such as the Balkans, Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya and dozens of other regional wars.

The bourgeoisie tries to grab an arms production policy to deal with the crises. Although the military production policy was proposed and continues to be proposed as an essential tool for dealing with the crisis, it cannot continue forever. If the value of the manufactured goods (weapons) is ever to be realized, war must break out in order for the goods to play their destructive role. Although weapons' production provides employment, employment that will also produce surplus value, its process leads to the reduction of constant capital and causes crises. This is because military goods do not enter the process of the production phase, which leads to a reduction in constant capital.

Reconstructing the damage caused by the First and Second World Wars led to an era of growth and economic prosperity across the decades that followed. The cycle of crisis–war–reconstruction was then repeated and today the war has shaped the process of regional wars.

The left of capital perspective on the reasons for the formation of the imperialist war between Iran and Iraq

According to the UCM, the Islamic Republic failed to suppress the revolution and the train of revolution, despite its loss of internal momentum, continues to flourish. The continuation of the Iranian Revolution had jeopardized the US imperialist domination of the region and, therefore, imperialism ordered its operant, Iraq, to invade Iran in order to halt the revolution and to overthrow the undesirable Islamic Republic, thus allowing the monopoly bourgeoisie to take control of the administration. With the resurgence of the monopoly bourgeoisie, the domination and hegemony of US imperialism were re-established in the region. The UCM wrote:

”The Iranian revolution, a revolution so immense that the overthrow of the Shah's regime was only a small manifestation of the preludes of the proletariat and the toiling people's awakening in its context, could not and cannot leave everything intact. The continuation of the Iranian revolution has endangered the domination of U.S. imperialism over Iran and the region not from the viewpoint of the re-division of the world among the imperialists but from the standpoint of the very existence of imperialism's domination. Iranian revolution has disrupted the equation of power not among the different strata of the bourgeoisie but in the first place and essentially between the proletariat and the monopoly bourgeoisie....The suppression of the revolution and the replacement of the government, were increasingly making, then, an attack from "outside"

(outside of the political forces active within the country) a suitable and desirable course of action for imperialism; the Iran-Iraq war took place in the continuation of such an attitude to the government and also to the revolution, and in the context of the intensification of the activity of *Bakhtiars*, *Palizbans* and *Oveissies*, etc. and the amateur coups of the timid monarchists.”[6]

Prior to examining the arguments of the UCM, we will very briefly look at the historical context. Contrary to the demagogy of the UCM, the US had already informed Iran of Saddam Hussein’s war preparations. In this regard, Washington sent a senior CIA agent, George Cave, who was also fluent in Persian and had worked for many years as a diplomat in Tehran, to inform Iran of Saddam Hussein’s military secrets and his preparations for war.

Three Americans were present at the meeting with the Iranian authorities: Bruce Lingen, George Cave and a CIA oil analyst named Ron Smith. George Cave stated that the Iranian authorities were provided with good, detailed information. In May 1979, Charles Ness, the US chargé d’affaires in Tehran, wrote to Washington: “Providing useful information could come in the long term to re-establish formal relations with Iran’s future intelligence agency.” [7] [Our translation]

Although Iraq was not part of the Eastern bloc, Soviet interest in Iraq rose sharply from 1958 onward. In summary, the historical background is as follows. With the onset of the Cold War in the early 1950s, the US ambassador, George Kennan, proposed that the government needed to deal with the Soviet advances in the Middle East by creating containment.

In 1955, Turkey and Iraq agreed to the Baghdad Pact and, later, Iran, Pakistan and Great Britain joined the Pact. However, the US was a serious economic and political supporter and for reasons of convenience, it did not officially join the Pact. Britain assessed the Baghdad treaty as a “Financial Ring” of defence in the Middle East against the Soviet Union that could be used to actually surround the Soviet Union and, in the process, could cause the Soviet to collapse.

Following the coup of Abdul Karim Qassem in 1958, someone who had Soviet tendencies, Iraq withdrew from the Baghdad Pact. The headquarters of the Baghdad Pact was subsequently transferred to Turkey and the name of the pact was changed to the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO). Following the coup led by Saddam Hussein, Iraq continued its orientation towards the Soviet Union and in 1972 it signed a treaty with the Soviet Union whereby weapons and thousands of Soviet advisers were sent to Iraq.

However, during the eight-year war, but not at the time of its occurrence, Iraq’s relationship with the Soviet Union deteriorated: pro-Soviet Palestinian groups in Iraq were expelled and pro-Soviet groups were suppressed. Subsequently, the Soviet influence was reduced and there was an increased penetration from the US.

With this background in mind, we will return to the demagoguery of the UCM. According to the UCM, the attackers that were ordered by imperialism to “invade” the border were trying to crush the revolution. Of course, the question that arises is why did US imperialism resort to Iraq to suppress the Iranian Revolution when Iraq had Soviet sentiments? Is it not logical reasoning that a country like Turkey, which was a member of the CENTO pact and had a very close relationship with the US, would be more likely to take action to suppress Iran’s revolution? Apparently, the UCM blows into the bell of the trumpet rather than using its own mouthpiece (the UCM does not know which end is up). These elements of the preparations for the war propaganda of the left of capital have been used to emphasize the importance of invasion in order to provide contexts for participation in the war—a war that according to the UCM’s demagoguery was imposed:

“The military clashes between the Islamic Republic regime and the Ba’athist regime of Iraq, which had started a long time ago, have now assumed more extensive dimensions with the invasion of the Ba’ath regime into the Iranian borders and this has become one of the acute problems of the present situation.”[8]

The UCM continues to argue that the Iranian Revolution has damaged imperialist interests and, therefore, that imperialism is looking to damage the revolution. The UCM states that the fundamental blows have affected the imperialist interests of Iran’s revolution that seek to secure and protect the interests of the oil monopolies in the Gulf, thus, in practice, serving the consolidation of US imperialist domination and finally setting up a “monopoly bourgeoisie” that has imposed this war on Iran. It is inappropriate that the Islamic bourgeoisie is also referring to the “imposed war” in its advertising.

“To revive the stability of the imperialist security of the Gulf, upon which effective blows have been delivered as a result of the Iranian revolution, and to secure and protect the interests of the oil monopolies in the Gulf, thus serving in practice the consolidation of the domination of U.S. imperialism over the Gulf region.”[9]

Of course, from the perspective of the UCM, imperialism (for internationalists any capitalist state is imperialist) has lost interest in Iran because of the drastic blows caused by the revolution and it now wants to revive its interest. Through the coup, imperialism failed to suppress the revolution and, therefore, it must suppress the revolution by using external forces or by making it ineffective. It is in this context that imperialism has now resorted to war.

“Here is the middle-east, the Gulf region, a region where the monopoly capital under the leadership of American imperialism had established, until before the Iranian revolution, definite relations with the proletariat of the countries in the region (and thereby with the non-proletarian toilers)...Here, in this region and in the most important dominated country of the Gulf (both

economically and politically), a revolution is in progress which has threatened these relations together with their internal imperialist balance and equilibrium, and its continuation will throw the imperialist economy and policy into the abyss of crisis, not only in Iran but in the whole of the middle-east. Here the proletariat has definite ideals, aims and possibilities and the monopoly capital is likewise looking for the creation and revival of definite economic and political conditions. Here a definite line up, because of the progress of Iranian revolution, has come to exist between the two camps of revolution and counter-revolution over definite questions, etc... To explain the necessity of war is to analyze its place in the course of development of these relations of production and class relations and class conflicts.”[10]

The UCM evaluated the Iraqi government as an operative of US imperialism, something akin to Fedaiian’s “King chaining dog of America”. Such assessments may be appealing to the left of capital and they are suitable for the anti-imperialist struggle but they are alien to the anti-capitalist battle and also to Marxists (internationalists) because the duty of every state is to ensure class domination over society. In the era of capitalist decadence, in the era of imperialism, when capitalism extended its rule over all the earth and the most remote parts of the planet were also penetrated, the duty of every imperialist state was to defend the interests of the ruling class of its own country within the global capitalist system.

“The invasion of the Ba'ath regime of Iraq into Iran, in its continuation and depending on definite circumstances, has the possibility of becoming a war of annexation (in the form of the division of Iran, the military occupation of Iran, annexation of regions of Iran into Iraq, etc.). This invasion is in reality in the service of providing grounds, facilities and help for the bourgeois-imperialist counter-revolution in accomplishing its final assault on the Iranian revolution, and thus is in its nature against the revolution of the workers and toilers of Iran.”[11]

In challenging the rants of the UCM, it should be emphasized that for the bourgeoisie, as well as the proletariat, class interests take precedence over national interests, hence, the bourgeoisie not only attacks other bourgeoisie that are threatened by the danger of revolution, or worse, have been severely weakened by revolution, but it also assists the bourgeoisie. One of the great examples is the Paris Commune. When the revolution threatened the bourgeoisie in France and the French bourgeoisie was preparing for the destruction of the Paris Commune, Prussians not only stopped their attack but they freed tens of thousands of prisoners to help the Versailles army to push for the suppression of the Paris Commune. Somehow, this also occurred in Russia when a bloc of imperialist countries, known as the “Entente”, intervened and organized a military offensive to crush the Soviet Republic.

If the revolution had continued as the UCM stated, in the class interests of the bourgeoisie, both that of Iran and Iraq, Iran would have needed to declare a joint war against both the revolution and the proletariat. Finally, following a lot of preparation, the UCM demagoguery states that the war serves to suppress the revolution and to prevent the development of the revolution and, therefore,

it urges the workers to participate in the war in order to defend the gains of the revolution. The main ideas of the UCM are wrapped up in expressions about defending the revolution, i.e., leading workers to an imperialist mess (which means war) in order to defend the interests of its own bourgeoisie.

“workers and toilers of Iran assess the present war, a war between two capitalist governments whose consequence is in the service of suppressing and preventing" the escalation of the Iranian revolution; and hence they defend the revolution and its gains against the war of the capitalists.”[12]

Turning workers into cannon fodder on the battlefield of war to defend the imperialist war

The UCM used all its efforts to assert that the disgraceful Islamic Republic had failed to overthrow the revolution. In its coup, the bourgeoisie had also failed to suppress the revolution and, despite all the problems, the train of the revolution had continued at pace, thus forcing the bourgeoisie to resort to its operant, Iraq, to suppress the revolution. Workers participating in the war must defend their revolution. The UCM stated the following and recalled the workers participating in the imperialist war:

“Participation in the war would only mean that the workers defend their revolution against the war of capitalists and fight for the achievements that they gained in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and now extending and the realization of these achievements will be against the entire bourgeoisie and will weaken the ranks of the bourgeoisie more and more.” [13] [Our translation]

The UCM turns workers into cannon fodder under the guise of defending the gains of the revolution but the achievements of which revolution? The proletariat’s revolutionary struggle had been defeated earlier in the years 1978–1980 because of the undisputed dominance of Iran’s left of the capital political milieu, which had resulted in the resounding defeat of the proletariat. In September 1980, at the time of the outbreak of the war, the Iranian proletariat had lost the last strongholds of the remnants of the revolutionary struggle. Thanks to this failure, that bourgeoisie (whether with the Islamic ideological superstructure or the ideological superstructure of the left of capital, such as the majority of Fedaiian, the Communist League, the UCM, etc.) was able to turn the proletariat into cannon fodder for eight years. Certainly, without planning, one cannot participate in the war and defend the revolution. To mobilize the proletariat to participate in the war the UCM needed to present its platform and a practical solution. In this regard, the UCM provided its proposed platform as follows:

“From the viewpoint of the workers and toilers of Iran, the invasion of Iraq is another manifestation of the attempts of the bourgeois-imperialist counter-revolution in preparing and creating the grounds and conditions of its final assault on the revolutionary workers and toilers of Iran. Such attacks whether they are carried out by the *Palizbans*, *Bakhtiars*, *Madanis*, etc., or by the Islamic Republic regime or by the armies of the countries of the region or by the army of U.S. imperialism, can be answered in a revolutionary manner only through the creation of a revolutionary front based on armed workers and toilers and under the leadership of communists. Attempts towards the organisation of this front regardless of the imminence of this or that certain attack, is at this moment the task of the communist movement of Iran.

(c) Merely advocate the struggle against the present regime and overlook the Iraqi war and the politics, which are followed by it.

(f) Agitation for the independent arming of the masses and the necessity for the masses and the revolutionary organisations to be permanently armed.

(g) The agitation and organisation of defence committees in factories, localities, schools, offices, etc, independent of the government and bourgeois parties.

(j) The agitation of masses by historical examples of victorious mass resistances under the leadership of communists (examples such as Vietnam, Korea, Albania, etc.)

(k) The agitation and organisation of mass resistance in the probable occupied zones with the purpose of expelling the occupying forces.”[14]

The UCM was so enamoured with participating in the war that in order to defend the gains of the revolution it stated that those who are merely promoting a fight with the Islamic bourgeoisie (the current regime) are ignoring the war in Iraq. In other words, although they do not participate in the war, they must fight decisively. Better than this, they cannot keep the bourgeoisie out of the line of the gunfire from a proletarian attack. In reality, it was not irrelevant that the UCM continued to view the Islamic bourgeoisie, led by the criminal Khomeini, as the petty-bourgeoisie!

The left of capital still continues its demagoguery so that it can more easily throw soil into the eyes of the proletariat. Bringing the proletariat to the imperialist slaughter in wars like Vietnam and Korea provide successful examples of mass resistance. More importantly, the leadership of the anti-communists (a Stalinist) is introduced to communist leadership.

Does the UCM agitate for the masses to be armed and does it raise the need to arm the masses? We shall return to this issue later in this article. The UCM was horrified by the premature uprising (early uprising) but, at the same time, it agitated for the arming of the masses! This was merely to bring the workers into the war in order to expel the occupying forces. The blood of the workers must be thrown up so that the interests of its own bourgeoisie can be provided for. Drawing the proletariat into the imperialist shambles should also be referred to as defending the gains of the revolution. The left of capital plays its role well.

As an executive and operant of the policies of US imperialism, Iraq invaded Iran to suppress the revolution. To defend the revolution and to drive out the occupying forces, the UCM called for the organization of a revolutionary front that was to participate in the war with the invasive bourgeoisie. However, this front needed to be independent of the Islamic bourgeoisie! The UCM did not consider the Islamic Republic to be identical to the revolution since the Islamic Republic defends against the invasion of US imperialism and so the “revolution” that is independent of the Islamic Republic must defend itself. To mobilize the masses to war, the counter-revolutionaries (the Islamic Republic) established the Organization for Mobilization of the Oppressed (Basij), therefore, the revolution has also mobilized the masses to war and to stimulate and organize mass resistance “the army of the masses” needs to be established.

In such circumstances, in contrast to the Iraqi invasion, the counter-revolution (the Islamic Republic) and the revolution are on the same side but they constituted two fronts against the invasion. The counter-revolutionary front, the Islamic Republic’s defence against the invasion, is unfair and the revolutionary front of the proletariat, which is independent of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie and defends the revolution against the invasion of imperialism, is fair. The two fronts of revolution and counter-revolution should not be mixed. However, the other social-chauvinists of the left, like the Communist League, the Socialist Workers, the Fedaiian Majority and so on, did not respect this distinction. On the contrary, they wanted to appear as a single unit in the face of the invasion of Iraq, a unit within which they would emerge as one body. In this regard, even the Fedaiian Majority went as far as to want to blend the blood of Pasdars (the Army of the Guardians of the Islamic Revolution) with the Fedai (a pro-Soviet leftist organization) in order to nourish the revolutionary tree but the UCM wanted the lines to be respected (revolution and counter-revolution) and did not want the blood to be blended and intermixed.

The UCM continually repeated phrases such as “occupied regions”, “occupying army”, “invasion”, “Iraqi mercenaries” and so on, in order to stimulate the emotions of the masses and to make it easier to draw them into participation in the war to defend the revolution.

“But the defence of the revolution against Iraq and in the occupied zones inevitably drives the proletariat to the forms of struggle of the Uprising period. There is no doubt that the commanders of the mercenary occupying army of Iraq are and will be no different from the military commanders of the regimes of Shah, Oveissie, Azhari, etc. Here the revolution is being attacked precisely by methods, which the regime of the Shah propounded and adopted, and the proletariat can and must, by taking into account the mentality of the masses in the occupied areas, agitate and organise various forms of forcible resistance against the Iraqi invasion. Both of these two forms of resistance (resistance in regions under the control of the Islamic Republic regime and in regions occupied by the Iraqi army) assume their real meaning, only as the different forms of the single tactical policy of the proletariat, i.e., the tactical policy of defending the revolution.”[15]

The imperialist war between Iran and Iraq, which was in the imperialist interests of both countries, was interpreted as the invasion of the operant of imperialism on the Iranian Revolution. This means that the Iranian bourgeoisie was not able to crush the Iranian “revolution” and, therefore, the operant of imperialism had invaded in order to stop the movement of the train of revolution, imperialism had thus prevented the movement of the revolutionary train. In other words, through its operant, Iraq, US imperialism and the Islamic Republic were fighting each other in order to suppress the “revolution”. This scenario, although persuasive for the disciples of the religion of the Worker-communism, merely expresses the confusion of the left of capital that wants to grab hold of the radical phrase by sending workers into the imperialist shambles (war) to give them a “proletarian” identity.

Vote for war credits

In 1980, when the imperialist war of Iran-Iraq took place, the UCM was a small, unknown group and, therefore, they had no representatives in parliament who could argue for the adoption of their policy position towards the war. However, the UCM activists overcame these barriers, appearing as the consultants of the Islamic bourgeoisie and stating that, “the capitalists and their government should pay the cost of the war!” In other words, they voted for war credits that would be used to push back the invaders’ attack. The UCM writes:

“At the present moment we cannot limit the struggle to fight just to the regime, being in the service of invasion... We can only offer and insist on the demands of the proletariat against the Islamic Republic and that the independent struggle against any foreign invasion could prevent the strengthening of the ranks of the bourgeoisie and lead to strengthening and promoting the struggle of the proletariat... The capitalists and their government should pay the cost of war.”
[16] [Our translation]

Of course, the vote for war credits was also declared as a proletarian demand: workers need weapons and military equipment to be able to defend the revolution and so the capitalists must pay for the cost of this. In other words, in the opinion of the UCM the proletariat is arming itself at the expense of the capitalists. The question that arises for these demagogues is where do the capitalists earn their money? Is not the money of the capitalists generated from the workers’ blood (surplus value) as a result of their exploitation? What is the origin of money in capitalist society?

Thanks to the imperialist war on both sides, working hours had increased, labour intensity had become more inhumane, real wages had fallen and, under the rules of war, any protests were brutally repressed. The UCM actually wanted to further the war at the expense of the workers so that the interests of its own bourgeoisie would be provided for.

The bankruptcy of the Unity of Communist Militants

At the time of the Iran-Iraq war, the left of capital dominated the political milieu of Iran and there was no internationalist tendency, not even an extremely weak one. However, internationalist tendencies at the international level were analysed in the Iran-Iraq war from an internationalist perspective and were defended from proletarian positions. Some of the texts have even been translated into Persian. [17] [Our translation]

One of the currents of the left of capital that represented the radical phase factions of the left of capital, the Organization of the Struggle on the Path to the Emancipation of the Working Class (Peykar), adopted a non-bourgeois position with regard to the Iran-Iraq war. [18] In an article, the UCM attacked its comrades in the left, who, in theory, are anarchists but in practice are pacifists. In this regard, the UCM said that the tactic of transforming reactionary warfare into war against the reactionary (civil war) is anti-internationalist. This is because it had led the proletariat to defeat and had strengthened the positions of imperialism in the region and, apparently, the UCM proletariat was not ready to take power:

"The tactic of 'converting the reactionary war into a war against the reactionary'... this tactic is objectively anti-internationalism, because of propelling of the Iranian proletariat towards defeat and causing consolidation of the imperialist reaction and violence in the whole region... And the proletariat in Iraq should not adopt this policy." [19] [Our translation]

The UCM then accused the anarcho-pacifists, of course, from the perspective of the UCM, of encouraging the proletariat without considering the political and organizational readiness for an early uprising and it then warned them that the failure of the uprising would lead to the consolidation of the monopoly bourgeois:

"Anarcho-Pacifists ... With the onset of war, put on the agenda of day order of the revolutionary proletariat the overthrow of the bourgeois rule... They don't understand that if overthrowing the current government does not lead to the establishment of a democratic revolutionary alternative, it will lead to the consolidation of the counter-revolution under the leadership of the monopoly bourgeoisie, and hence uprising (civil war and ...), apart from the preparation of the revolutionary proletariat, apart from the need to provide an independent proletarian alternative, apart from the programme of the proletariat in the present revolution, and apart from the need for organizational preparedness of the proletariat (the issue of party) that is a necessary condition of a victorious insurrection led by the proletariat, puts generally on the agenda of the masses." [20] [Our translation]

The UCM continued its argument by accusing the anarcho-pacifists of calling the proletariat to engage in a formidable, unplanned, barren, premature and, most importantly, non-realizable uprising.

“The social-chauvinism invites the proletariat to give up the fight for the political power, and Anarcho-Pacifism invites it [the proletariat] into an indecisive, unprofessional, slavish, unprofessional, and inevitably premature and non-realizable uprising.” [21] [Our translation]

We have noticed that, in the opinion of the UCM, the proletariat was politically and organizationally unprepared for the uprising and that the uprising was premature and non-realizable! One should not seek the overthrow of the bourgeoisie but at the same time call to “Arm the workers!” [22] We have seen earlier that the UCM was promoting the slogan to incite the arming of the masses. Make no mistake, this call to arms was not supposed to enable the workers or the masses to challenge the bourgeoisie since the conditions for the uprising were not ready. It was, in fact, intended to turn the workers into cannon fodder in the direction of defending of the interests of its own bourgeoisie under the guise of defending the revolution. The UCM did not shout, “Workers arm yourselves!”, this was a call to “Arm the workers!”. In the first case, the workers would have reached a degree of class-consciousness that meant they were arming themselves and constituting their own armed forces. In the latter case, a third actor was needed to arm the workers for a specific purpose, rather than the workers arming themselves.

Comparing the UCM slogan of “Arm the workers!” with the slogan of the Fedaiyan Majority- “Arm the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps with heavy weapons!” - shows that the extent of the intersection between the two political tendencies goes beyond the level of their influence in society. Both currents were attempting to turn the workers into cannon fodder in an imperialist war and their hands were stained with the blood of the workers.

Further, it must be emphasized that revolutionary defeatism is currently not a concept used for an uprising but the UCM hijacked every possible thread to ensure that no one would directly oppose the Iran-Iraq war because it led to the failure of class struggle. It is interesting that the UCM also recommended that the proletariat of Iraq should adopt its policies and it ranted at length:

“Defence of the Revolution and the struggle for the development of its achievements can only be the real internationalist tactic of the proletariat of Iran. Because objectively it expresses further weakening of the ranks of the bourgeoisie in the region and prevents it from strengthening the power of the bourgeoisie... it is internationalist because it relies on the policy that the proletariat of Iraq and the proletariat of the region have adopted the same policy and with detailed consideration of the circumstances of their struggle they have formed their tactics based on this policy.”[23] [Our translation]

If, in order to mobilize the masses, the Islamic bourgeoisie preached the promise of paradise to the Basijis (member of the Organization for Mobilization of the Oppressed), the secular bourgeoisie, namely, the UCM, preached that the war would bring a situation that would favour the proletariat, a situation in which it could develop the achievements of the revolution. They, therefore, drew the proletariat into the war as cannon fodder:

“If the war intensifies the possibility for the defeated counter-revolution (which invades from outside the borders) to grab at (or, at least, come closer to) political power, and if this third force should enter the country by jets, tanks and cannons to assist the bourgeoisie, then taking a "stand against" it and "impeding" its arrival and establishment can place no task on the agenda of the proletariat but to array geographically and militarily against this third force... This prevention has no meaning other than defending the gains of the revolution against the means that the war make available to the bourgeoisie to take them back, and expanding these gains on the basis of the circumstances that the war may bring about in the advantage of the proletariat... Taking the hands of the Mullahs off the government and economy, restoring the bourgeois law and order, and reorganizing the chaotic economy; this is the platform of the monopoly bourgeoisie.”[24]

The monopoly bourgeoisie was supposed to reduce the power of the mullahs in respect of the government, the economy and the sovereignty. However, not only, was not it the case that the mullahs' failed to rule Iran but the political superstructure of the Absolute Governance of the Jurist was also created. What was the Worker-communism (the heirs of the UCM) response to this nonsense? If the social-chauvinists, such as the Fedaiyan Majority, had minimal internal coherence in drawing the workers into the massacre, they even publicly announced that they had become an integral part of the intelligence apparatus. However, the UCM, with entire bankruptcy and with confusion of thought, was trying to provide a radical stance for its war policy, namely, participating in the war.

The UCM had gained so much of a “proletarian” position that they accused their critics, those who considered the policy of participation in the war as a defence of the revolution and a defence against Iraq, of belonging to the petty bourgeoisie whilst they (the UCM) remained loyal to proletarian politics in order to mobilize the workers for the imperialist war:

“Only a petty-bourgeois tied in phrases, or any one who still identifies the Islamic Republic regime with the "revolution", can regard the policy of "defending the revolution against the war of the capitalists" as defencism against Iraq.”[25]

We have already stated that Marxism is not a religion and that Marxist theories are not holy revelations. With changes in society and the lessons from past experience, a political tendency can criticize its earlier political orientation, its position, its theory or theories and replace them with a new position or theory. This process is quite logical and principled. On the one hand, this

issue shows the loyalty of a tendency to the principles in which it believes and, on the other hand, it shows the seriousness of a tendency. Yet, the heirs of the UCM easily and simply deny everything and, ultimately, with a lack of principle that completely denies that they had summoned the workers under the title of participating in the war in order to defend the revolution. The history of this tendency is fraught with lack of principles. Obviously, they are lying when they say that they considered the war to be reactionary from the outset. They hypocritically state:

“We, from the beginning, considered this war to be reactionary, and against the interests of the masses of people, workers and toilers had no interest in this war.” [26] [Our translation]

The activists of the Worker-communism are also not shy of deception, hypocrisy and lying and, apparently, lying has become a well-established tradition in the religion of worker-communism!

Worker-communism and other wars

We have investigated the position of the UCM in the face of the Iran-Iraq war and have shown how under the title of defence of the revolution they called workers to participate in the imperialist war. The question that arises here is what is the position of the heirs of the UCM (the Worker-communism) in respect of other wars? We investigate the position of Mansoor Hekmat on the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait. Mansoor Hekmat claimed that the Palestinian issue was behind the event, that the Arab nation had been humiliated and that Saddam Hussein had become a justice seeker who wanted the accumulated wealth to be in the hands of all the Arabs. Mansoor Hekmat stated:

“Palestine is behind this event. Why would the Arab people become happy? Because they think the Palestinian issue has the answer. Because for years, they have been humiliated by Israel and the United States. As a result, they are happy and make [Saddam] the leader of the Arab world... With the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait for its own interests, it has stirred up a thousand and one problems that were dormant in the Arab world, including the Palestinian issue, deprivation, poverty and so on. It is clear that Saddam Hussein later says that I am a representative and all wealth accumulated here must be in the hands of all Arabs.” [27] [Our translation]

We use the context of the left communist to discuss the suggestion that national liberation movements are part of the infantry in imperialist tensions. The Palestinian issue has also been part of the tensions between imperialist policies of the big and small gangsters. At that time, Saddam Hussein tried to cover his imperialist ambitions with his nationalist ambitions and to position himself as representing Pan-Arabism and as the successor to Abdul Nasser. Yet neither Saddam Hussein nor Gamal Abdel Nasser were able or wanted the accumulated wealth to be in the hands of all the Arabs. Mansoor Hekmat continued his inconsistent line of thought by

asserting that the problem of the Arab nation is not only that its workers are oppressed but also that the Arab world has been humiliated.

“The problem of the Arab nation is not just that its workers are oppressed. The Arab people have been made helpless for thirty to forty years...The Arab world has been humiliated and the Arab world has been humiliated and sees that it can claim something from this channel.” [28] [Our translation]

Mansoor Hekmat is trying to pretend [dissemble] that the main contradiction in the Arab world has been the conflict between the oppressed and injured (humiliated) countries and the oppressive (humiliating) countries. In other words, in the narrative of the left of capital, the antagonism between labour and capital is dominated by the anti-imperialist struggle. It is not because of a lack of knowledge of the left of capital that it cannot understand the development and function of capitalism but because it belongs to the left of capital.

We have noticed that the Arab nation has been humiliated for decades but that it was rehabilitated by the occupation of a small Arabic country (Kuwait). Let us see the reaction of the West to the rehabilitation of the Arab world. If the Western gangsters had resorted to atomic bombs in their combat operations that would have led to the end of capitalism. According to Mansoor Hekmat, if Western gangsters cannot subdue the Arab world in a very colonial way, the US will fail and vast revolutions will begin in Europe. Mansoor Hekmat had a prophetic vision about this:

“A widespread Western-wide dispersal in the region will not go away until the atomic bombs do not destabilize, and will not stand from move until not broken-down, otherwise, it is the end of capitalism. It will be the end of the current system of the world that began with Perestroika. The end of the ‘Cold War’. If they fail at the beginning of the war that subdued the Arab world in a very colonial way, apart from this there will be a decisive defeat of the US in the world and a vast revolution in Europe will start.” [29] [Our translation]

The Arab world lined up behind the Western gangsters, an imperialist massacre took place and the Arab world itself became part of this military expedition and widespread massacres. With the onset of the imperialist slaughter (the start of the war), the gangsters called on the Arab countries or used the language of the UCM and the Arab world was not only subdued in a very colonial way but as a former close ally of the Western gangsters it was actively involved in the killing of the proletariat and also prepared itself for the next massacre. Most ludicrous of all is that in the case of the outbreak of war, if the Western gangsters had been unable to subdue the Arab world in a very colonial manner, a vast revolution in Europe would have begun. What revolution would have started in Europe? The left of capital is not the material force of the revolution and the development of the class struggle of the proletariat, rather, imperialist tensions constitute the material force of the revolution. [Our translation]

Mansoor Hekmat believed that the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and the possible response of the West to the military expedition are the most important events in recent history and he believed that the war should not take place. The question that arises here is what was Mansoor Hekmat's solution for avoiding war?

“The argument I have is that this is one of the most important events of contemporary history. It is more important than the start of World War II. It could be the start of World War III, and it is not guaranteed to be atomic and only related to the USA, it will be a war against each other. The situation is just as important.... Let the Arabs decide themselves. This decision is not about a gap between nations and governments and their positions. It is a formula for firstly having a broad social justification.

Secondly, in my opinion, it will avoid the outbreak of war. This is assuming that Egypt and so on did not start a war with Iraq but began to negotiate. All over the world which says that entrust to the Arab world, they say from this point that if you give to these [Arabs], they will probably end in peace and there will not be a big change in the lives of the people.” [30] [Our translation]

Mansoor Hekmat wanted the Arabs to make their own decisions and he continued by saying that if the decision were given to the Arabs, they would probably end up with peace. Apparently, the ideologue of the left of capital is incapable of understanding that capitalism is a global system that has flaws and that the most remote corners of the planet also have flaws. This war was not caused by the humiliation of the Arab nation, not because Saddam Hussein was a dictator but by capitalism's reaction to its own needs. Global capitalism has pursued particular interests in this war.

From the language of its ideologue, the left of capital continues its capital approbation statements. These statements continue to be friendly to capital. However, they also have only minimal coherence. Mansoor Hekmat says:

“Arab nationalism has already been able to impose recognition of the weight of economics and politics of the Arab world to the West. Up here the West has pledged to make compromises on the Palestinian question, which until yesterday was unprecedented. In addition, there have been side benefits. Nationalism in the Middle East regained the initiative of Pan-Islamism. Islam was referred to as the secondary role in the politics of the Arab world, as a mobilizing tool in the service of political action, which is essentially nationalist. The recent conflict in Iran has even helped the case of Pan-Islamic factions such as Hezbollah to be closed. As for Iraq, self-survival is considered, after a respectable military resistance, a political victory, and in the long-term even military victory. The occupation of Iraq by the United States or even the long-term military presence of the United States in the region will definitely turn the current war into second

Vietnam for this country [USA]. This is a situation that will probably lead to a split in the unity of the West and isolation of the United States from the European continent. Besides this case, the situation in Iraq as an influential country in the Arab world will be strengthened.” [31] [Our translation]

Thanks to the military expedition of the Western gangsters, it was assumed that nationalism had reinstated the impetus for Pan-Islamism and that Islam would play a secondary role in the Arab world in terms of mobilizing the masses. Most importantly, Iraq’s position as an influential country in the Arab world is strengthening.

Iraq is not only becoming an influential country in the Arab world but has actually become a weak country in that it has come under the sphere of influence of the Iranian gangsters, which have an ideological Islamic superstructure.

Islamic ideology not only became the banner of the reactionary movements in the Middle East but also played, and still plays, a major role in the imperialist tensions. If the nationalist movements have been instrumental in the Eastern bloc and in line with the imperialist interests of the Eastern bloc, Islamic movements have been a tool of the Western bloc that has been used to deal with the advance of the Eastern Bloc. With the collapse of the Eastern bloc, there has been a loss of support for nationalist movements and they have become meaningless. However, in addition to being a tool, Islamic movements are used by Western gangsters in the imperialist competition in the Middle East and Iran.

Moving forward to consider the war in Afghanistan, the US military expedition to Afghanistan was in line with the new world order and in keeping with the US consolidation of its positions following the collapse of the bipolar world (Eastern bloc and Western bloc). In so doing, it took the title of the war of modernization and political Islam. Employing demagoguery, the US war of modernization, namely, a military expedition of Western gangs led by the US, they argued that with very few casualties they could compromise the regime and make life better for the people of Afghanistan. This military expedition was supposed to bring the victory of civilization over Islamic barbarism. The ideologue of the left wing capital has outdone the supremacy of the capitalist journalists in demagoguery:

“In the war in Afghanistan, however, the US was still struggling to stabilize its power, but it was a matter of overthrowing the rule of political Islam, which could with few injuries lead to comprising to the regime that is better for the people [of Afghanistan]. America each formula was obtained from the war, the result of the Taliban's defeat was not the victory of the United States as the sole power of the world. The result of this victory from the perspective of the people of the world is the failure of political Islam and the victory of civilization over the [Our translation]

The Unity of Communist Militants and the coup

The Nojeh coup plot was discovered on 9 July 1980. The aim of the coup was to attack the house of Khomeini, to capture parliament and to broadcast the arrests of those responsible for the Islamic Republic. After the victory, the coup, which was more than just the officers and commanders of the Air Force, was supposed to reinstate Bakhtiar (the King's last Prime Minister) as the interim Prime Minister. The coup was also called the "great salvation of the Iranian uprising". The coup was discovered before any action took place and was severely suppressed.

Since the UCM believed a revolution was underway, a revolution that the Islamic Republic had failed to suppress, it believed that through a coup, imperialism would suppress the revolution and capture its stronghold.

"The success of the coup is not to substitute the new administration in place of the current ruling, but to include the emergence of a political force that can be applied to the united and undisputed leadership in the camp of the bourgeois-imperialist counter-revolution, organizing the final storming of the bourgeoisie for definite suppression of the revolution and the establishment of favourable governance of this class." [33] [Our translation]

The UCM argued that the bourgeoisie had certainly welcomed the coup, however, the bourgeoisie was invisible and did not intervene in the affairs of state because the administration of the country and the provision of the conditions for capital accumulation was, according to the UCM, of course, carried out by the "traditional petty-bourgeoisie". The intended purpose of the UCM's "traditional petty-bourgeoisie" was the same as the Islamic bourgeoisie, that is, the same as criminal leaders such as Khomeini. These demagogues only continued for two months, up until the bloodiest massacres in the modern history of Iran (20 June 1981) when the bourgeois villains declared that there were to be no "wounded" and that the soldiers should just "kill in the street" and when they still obstinately called for a "petty-bourgeois leadership." The UCM proclaimed that the petty-bourgeoisie, which had become reactionary, assuming that it had previously been revolutionary, and would be against the coup. [34] The left of capital stated:

"Confrontation of class forces in favour of and against the coup does not entirely match the forces of revolution and counter-revolution and cannot be classified. The bourgeoisie will undoubtedly be in a favourable position in the coup and will bring in its wake a large part of the upper strata of the petty bourgeoisie – especially in the modern and bureaucrat sectors of the petty bourgeoisie. Traditional petty bourgeoisie - which is already fully converted to reaction and plays an active part in the society of the current ruling - because that coup is tantamount to it losing all its current concessions, will be the actual force against the coup. This section of the petty bourgeoisie will try to organize the defence of the present government's reactionary front

against the coup. The fundamental forces of the revolution, the proletariat and non-proletariat working people, since for them the coup means a return to the previous situation – it is the most rabid form of rule of the bourgeoisie, and potentially the most decisive force in the struggle against the coup.” [35] [Our translation]

The bourgeoisie was supposed to welcome the coup and, at the same time, two completely different fronts emerged to defend against it: the reactionary front, which was represented by the petty-bourgeoisie, and the revolutionary front, which was to be the most decisive force fighting against the coup.

While the UCM was attempting to call the proletariat to join the struggle of the bourgeois, unfortunately, the last stronghold of the Iranian proletariat that had survived the struggles that had taken place between 1978 and 1980, which was being suppressed by a rabid and unbridled Islamic bourgeoisie, was breathing its last breath and could not regain its strength. However, the UCM tried everything to lead the workers into the bourgeois camp but it did so by taking an approach that was suggestive of a proletarian position and one that aimed at defending the democratic achievements.

According to the UCM, suppressing the coup would mean the defeat of the bourgeoisie, which was consolidating its rule, and also regaining lost strongholds for the continuation of the revolution and the conquering of new positions that would promote the revolution. We look at the confusing approach of Mansoor Hekmat:

“From the standpoint of the proletariat and the non-proletarian working class, suppressing the coup could only be the concept of the bourgeoisie defeat in the consolidation of its authority, preventing the emergence of a fresh reactionary, the development of democratic gains, obtaining lost strongholds, continuing the revolution, and conquering new strongholds to promote the revolution. Hence, the realization of the potential of the main forces of the revolution against the coup lies in moving the communist alternative to the masses and the absorption of them to whatever wider proletarian that is consistent with democracy, disclosure and the constant rejection of liberalism and the fight is against political indifference. And the basis of the proletarian tactics is to create a revolutionary queue against the coup not in unity with the traditional petty bourgeoisie and with the support of the liberal bourgeoisie, but also in the fight against them and to prepare grounds for organizing more independent mass resistance.” [36] [Our translation]

Finally, as previously announced, the coup was discovered before it was able to take any action and it was violently suppressed by the Islamic bourgeoisie, not the petty-bourgeoisie. What was Mansoor Hekmat’s response and that of his disciples in the religion of worker-communism?

Would suppressing the coup lead to conquering the lost strongholds of the revolution? This nonsense was written by someone who has been given the title the “Marx of the epoch”.

In the name of communism, Stalin threw to the ground the most honourable and the most cherished communists, the creators of the October Revolution. Fortunately, the religion of worker-communism did not have the opportunity to throw to the ground the most honourable communists but, unfortunately, it has played the most significant role in dragging revolutionary and communist values and terms like “international”, “revolution”, “communism” and “proletariat” through the mud, all, of course, in the name of communism.

To Be Continued

Issues in the next part:

- 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

M. Jahangiry

8 January 2016

Notes:

[1] For more information on this case, refer to the articles, Left Communists and World War II, from the Communist Left.

[2] In one of his famous eulogies for the criminal Khomeini, Fakhreddin Hejazi referred to Khomeini as the David of the time and the Solomon of the epoch, which is comparable to the “Marx of the epoch”, the title that Hekmat’s disciples use for him.

[3] Evaluation of battles and branches of the worker communism in Iran, part 3, Majid Hosseini

[4] The Fuhrer of “Worker Communism”, Mansoor Hekmat in his article “Goodbye, comrade” on 20 April 1999, touching precious gold as this: “Thousands honorable man rounding up to the party that they don’t know Lenin is eatable or drinking [phenomena] and Marxists and senior workers in the party should not indicate this as their less esteem but see that their own success.”

[5] The populism of Hamid Taghvai and the Charter for the Overthrow of the Worker-communist Party, Hekmatist (Mahmoud Qazvin).

[6] About the manifesto “The invasion of the Iraqi regime and our tasks”

[7] http://www.bbc.com/persian/iran/2015/02/150210_u01-revolution-cave-yazdi

[8] The invasion of the Iraqi regime and our tasks – Unity of communist militants

[9] As source 8

[10] War, theory and the “Theory of war”

[11] As source 8

[12] As source 8

[13] Towards Socialism No:3 - Anarcho-Pacifism

[14] As source 8

[15] As source 8

[16] As source 13

[17] In this regard, we can refer to the positions of the Left Communist, as set out in two articles from its two main tendencies:

- Statement on the Iran-Iraq War of the Internationalist Communist Tendency,
- The War between Iran and Iraq - A taste of capitalist barbarism, *Internationalism* No. 41.

[18] The reasons why one of the currents of the left of capital, namely, the Organization of the Struggle on the Path to the Emancipation of the Working Class (Peykar), adopted a non-bourgeois position is not the subject of this article and we do not discuss it here.

[19] As source 13

[20] As source 13

[21] As source 13

[22] As source 13

[23] As source 13

[24] As source 8

[25] As source 8

[26] The final messages and notifications of the first conference of the foreign organization of the Communist Party of Iran, page 10.

[27] Political discussion about the occupation of Kuwait and the regional crisis, Mansoor Hekmat.

[28] As source 27

[29] As source 27

[30] As source 27

[31] Bloody Sunrise of New World Order — War of the USA in the Middle East, *Worker Today* No.10.

[32] America Attacking and the New Strategy of Bullying Acts in the World, *Weekly International* No. 126, 4 October, Kourosh Modaresi.

[33] Our proposed tactical platform against the coup.

[34] The position of the UCM in relation to evaluating the class position of Khomeini as petty-bourgeois and then the evaluation of the petty-bourgeois as revolutionary, is referred to in Part I of this series.

[35] As source 33

[36] As source 33