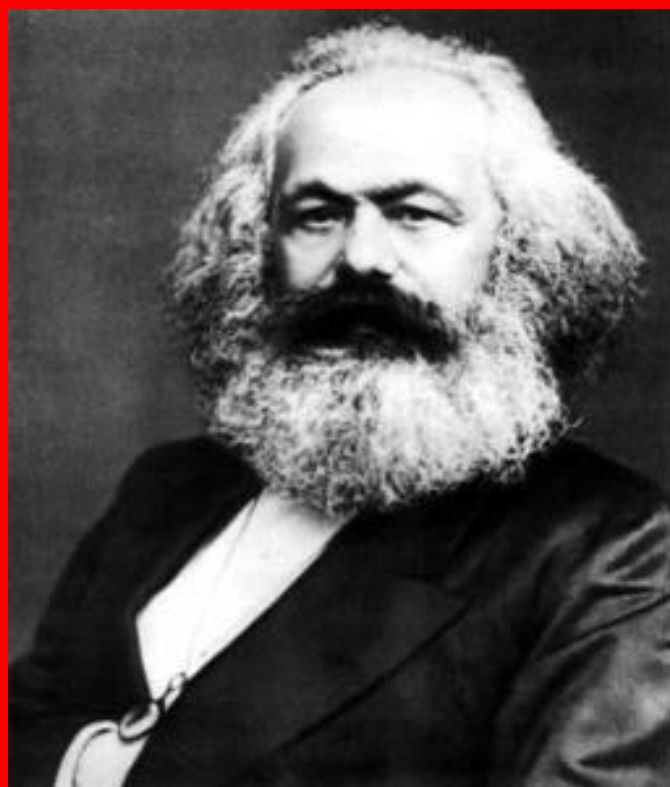


# **Worker Communism**

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

**(Part 6)**



**In defense of Marxism**

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## **Rebuilding the Third Line under the Title of Revolutionary Marxism**

The revolutionary struggles of 1978–1979 led to the formation of a generation that was protesting the current order and demanding radical changes in society. This generation had insurrectionist views and was in pursuit of its ideal society. The systems of the former Soviet Union and China were not attractive to them and they were looking for a better and more radical alternative. By establishing the tendency of the Third Line [1], which was a radical phrase, they were able to absorb others within the generation and their numbers grew rapidly.

Before proceeding with this discussion, it is necessary to explain that the concept, “radical phrase”, in terms of the theory of the internationalists who refer to the currents or tendencies of the left of capital that try to use radical terms in their positions. In a similar manner to the parties of worker-communism in Iran, the revolutionary communist party in the US and so on, these groups try to present a radical and revolutionary image of their counter-revolutionary positions in order to attract the layers of protesters in society.

However, the Third Line tendency, which was full of paradoxes and internal contradictions, had been established from a set of positions and consistent theories of the left of capital that were not part of its theoretical basis. The radicalism and the protest attitude of the Third Line would, in the short term, have masked its inner contradictions although, in the long term, the inner contradictions of the Third Line would have been revealed and, consequently, it would have undergone an internal crisis. The unity of Communist Militants (UCM) was a small group belonging to this tendency. In this regard, Mansoor Hekmat said:

“We generally saw ourselves on this third line, and especially on the left wing of it ... Therefore, we as a circle, firstly, we saw the third line as the mainstream of the communist movement.” [2] [Our translation]

As we have already referred to the Stalinism that was influenced by Maoism (the Third Line), which the UCM called the mainstream of the communist movement, and we have explained how this tendency has played an anti-communist role in all social events, here we merely reiterate the connection between the UCM and the history of the Third Line.

Mansoor Hekmat correctly believed that the history of the tendency that he represented was not separate from other currents within the Third Line. In this regard, he said:

“Our history was not isolated from the history of the Peykar and the Razmandegan, But the dirty Islamic republic sprinkled blood to one of the most important center of the left, and eliminated the best people of a community.” [3]. [Our translation]

In the short term, it is definitely possible to use the term “radical” and to say that it took a radical position on social events but that in the long term there is a need to provide real explanations for these events.

Despite its radical appearance, the protestations of the Third Line tendency was shown to have inner contradictions and these were clearly revealed in all social events, particularly because a generation of ideals, protest and insurgents in society formed the ranks of this tendency. One of the obvious examples of this contradiction was the position of the Peykar with regard to the war between Iran and Iraq. In its organ (Nr 73), which had adopted a position similar to the UCM during the two days when it was annexed to the Peykar 73, it assessed the war as unfair and reactionary. The internal contradictions of the Third Line led to a crisis within the tendency. Most of the currents within the Third Line were in crisis prior to the summer of 1981, before the massacre of the Islamic bourgeoisie (Razmandegan, Nabard, Arman, Vahdate Englab, etc.). The Organization of the Struggle on the Path to the Emancipation of the Working Class (Peykar) did not disintegrate because of the unbridled crackdown of the Islamic bourgeoisie but, because of its internal contradictions, it experienced a crisis and disintegrated. The crisis within Peykar made its butchering and slaughter much easier and bloodier. We have already stated that due to the close relationship that the Tudeh Party of Iran had with the Soviet Union and because its propaganda system was dominated by Stalinism, at that time, aside from the Tudeh Party of Iran, the radical phrase part of the left of capital did not theoretically dominate even the political apparatus of the left of capital (Stalinism). Their position was to search for ideals, justice, national independence, economic development and democracy.

Their positions were full of contradictions and confusion that did not even have the appearance of minimal consistency. In the end, the positions of the radical phrase wing of the left of capital revealed their inner contradictions and the tendency of the Third Line was faced with a deep crisis. In the long term, it was not possible to respond to social events with a series of inconsistent and radical phrase positions. As a consequence of this crisis, the currents of the Third Line lost their meaning and it was no longer possible to gather people around this tendency. The form and arrangement of the Third Line tendency had lost its charm for the radical phrase wing of the left of capital; a different alternative to the radical phrase wing of the capital was the order of the day.

Of course, two currents of the tendency of the Third Line were not part of the crisis in 1981. In other words, their crisis was delayed. The first of these was the Revolutionary Organization of the Toilers of Kurdistan of Iran (Komala) and the second, the UCM, was responsible for the reconstruction and restoration of the positions of the Third Line under the new name of “revolutionary Marxism”. The reason why, in 1981, Komala was not undergoing the same crisis as other groups in the Third Line will be discussed in the next few pages. Mansour Hekmat evaluated the historical context and the conditions for the formation of revolutionary Marxism

and considered them to be a critique of the ideological and theoretical premises of the petty-bourgeois radical left and the unprecedented upsurge of the working class movement following the 1979 Iranian Revolution. According to Mansoor Hekmat, revolutionary Marxism is not part of the critique of the basic foundations of capitalist relations or the theoretical premises of the bourgeois left but is formed from a critique of the theoretical premises of the left of the petty-bourgeoisie. So, it would seem that all the nonsense that suggests that their Marxism (the Marxism of the UCM) comes from the West and is rooted in Marx itself, was simply a lie for the demagoguery. Mansoor Hekmat states:

“The revolution initiated two important developments. First, a growing critique of ideological and theoretical premises of the petty bourgeois radical Left from a Marxist standpoint, and second, an unprecedented upsurge of the working class movement. Together the two elements created conditions most conducive for the emergence of a revolutionary Marxist organizational trend distinct from the existing radical Left.” [4]

As we have already explained, in December 1979, when the class struggle was in serious retreat, the Circle of Sahand ended its support for the Arman and declared itself as a group, the UCM. The ending of the support and the announcement of independent activity was manifested in its impact on the organizations of the Third Line tendency. According to Mansoor Hekmat, revolutionary Marxism grew rapidly during the Iranian Revolution, criticizing the ideological foundations of petty-bourgeois socialism and breaking the populist left. Of course, the UCM was also an overwhelming and clear defender of this break with the populist left. He said:

“A parallel development could also be observed at the ideological and organizational level. Principled and revolutionary Marxism grew rapidly in the course of the revolution, questioning and criticising the whole ideological foundation of Iranian petty bourgeois socialism. This process affected all organizations of the radical Left and in particular those of the Third Line. This radicalism could be identified by a return to Marxist classics and the works of Lenin, an emphasis on the primacy of class struggle, a re-orientation towards work among the working class, and the advocacy of radical tactics. The most vocal and consistent exponent of this break with the populist Left was Ettehad-e Mobarezan-e Kommonist (Unity of Communist Militants).”[5]

To play the role of rebuilding the Third Line required that the background of the carriers of revolutionary Marxism should be regarded as guiltless and Marxist. The activists of the UCM, with the Stalinist tradition style that had developed, rewrote the history of their group. The group formed by a circle of fans of the Arman one of the groups of the Third Line that was considered to be the only communist group that had advocated the independent interests of the working class and had expressed the goals and policies of the proletarian conscious of Iran and the UCM during stormy period, has never done left and right! The UCM announced that turning the workers into cannon fodder under the name of defending the revolution, evaluating the bourgeois

leader (Khomeini) as the petty-bourgeoisie and then evaluating the petty-bourgeoisie as revolutionary, the four class theory of the revolution of the UCM, were all proletarian goals. The UCM wrote as follows:

“There is only one exception. ‘The unity of communist militants’ is the only communist group that can safely claim that since its establishment has been an advocating of the independent interests of the working class and expressing the goals and policies of the conscious proletariat of Iran ... The unity of communist militants’ during this stormy period, has never done left and right.” [6] [Our translation]

The scenario that was then meant to take shape, namely, the ideology of revolutionary Marxism, represented the radical phrase wing of the left of capital and was supposed to be a flag under which to gather the protesting insurgent militants in society. This time, the ideology of revolutionary Marxism was supposed to form a barrier to the radicalization of criticism from the protesting militants on the left of capital.

It was assumed that this would lead to the UCM being promoted to the level of the workers’ representative. In preparation for such a scenario, the workers were reminded that they should not forget that the UCM was their true representative:

“We published this news to say that workers! your representatives are Communists, Communists, and in particular the Unity of Communist Militants.” [7] [Our translation]

In order to validate their second hand Stalinist and Maoist approaches, under the ideology of revolutionary Marxism the workers and revolutionaries were advised to criticize populism and were told that to be able to critique revisionism and populism they did not need to know the history and experience of the workers’ movement and the classical Marxist texts but only needed to study the second hand Stalinist literature on revolutionary Marxism. Revolutionary Marxism would provide the answers to all of the problems and, most importantly, was the only credible experience and future hope. One question was answered in the following way:

“We cannot introduce any works other than the works of revolutionary Marxism in the critique of populist revisionism.” [8] [Our translation]

Finally, the ideology of revolutionary Marxism was successful in reassembling several of the positions of the left of capital and in retouching them it produced consistency in the inconsistent positions of the Third Lines and, again, appeared to be radical, asserting that revolutionary Marxism would be able to organize the dispersed forces via an assembly called the Communist Party of Iran. The formation of the Communist Party of Iran indicated that the UCM, together with Komala, had succeeded in rebuilding the Third Line under the concept of revolutionary

Marxism. Of course, in explaining this point it is important to note that following the defeat of the bourgeois and the petty-bourgeois illusions, revolutionary Marxism would, apparently, be able to eliminate the barriers to the formation of the Communist Party and, in September 1983, the Communist Party of Iran was formed.

“The Communist Party of Iran has been constituted in the continuation of the victorious struggles of revolutionary Marxism against the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois illusions and delusions and the revisionist thoughts that the left of Iran was drowning in itself. Revolutionary Marxism in Iran relies on revolution which took to the scene of the struggle the vanguard of the proletariat, was ripen and over the course of several years, criticized petty-bourgeois socialism claiming Marxism in its methodological foundations, economic, political and organizational and raised with firmness the independent flag of communism of Marx, Engels and Lenin. The rapid growth and formation of revolutionary Marxism in Iran was the political and institutional reflection of the objective presence of the working class in Iran at the scene of revolution, at the same time, the class, with its active presence in the field of revolutionary struggle provided the material background and favorable conditions for transforming this revolutionary theory into a social material force and strengthening of the political and institutional forces and its vanguard organizations.” [9]

After all this, and within a few years, the philosophy of invention in relation to the historical context and the social conditions of the formation of revolutionary Marxism and the struggle against other non-Marxist tendencies that had resulted in revolutionary Marxism and raised the independent flag of the communism of Marx, Engels and Lenin, was revealed to have contradictions and it faced a crisis. The founder of this political tradition came to the conclusion that revolutionary Marxism itself was, after all, a temporary intellectual and political context for two different traditions of struggling. Mansoor Hekmat emphasized its temporary aspects and spoke of different traditions: in his opinion, the struggle for worker-socialism and the tradition of the struggle for non-worker left radicalism. He wrote:

“In this way, ‘Revolutionary Marxism of Iran’ itself was a **temporary** Intellectual and political framework for two **different** traditions of struggle. Worker socialism and radicalism of the non-working left of Iran. The gap between these two traditions until the plan of discussions of the First Congress of the Unity of Communist Militants was not yet evident.” [10] [*Emphasis in the original text*] [Our translation]

Of course, the disciples of Mansoor Hekmat stepped forward and announced that their leader had said that the theory of revolutionary Marxism was Marxist in its social context but, like the rest of left, it was bourgeois and petty-bourgeois, in other words, it was a movement belonging to the bourgeoisie or, at best, belonging to the petty-bourgeoisie. The basic question that arises here is how can a bourgeois social context provide a Marxist theory? At first glance, this may indicate



the poverty of the theoretical stance and opinions of its contributors but, in reality, it represents the vain efforts of the left of capital to provide theoretical coherence for its bankrupt political positions. As Rahman Hossein Zadeh writes:

“Mansoor Hekmat said and wrote that revolutionary Marxism is Marxist in theory, but its social context is like the rest of the left, and it must change social raids and would be in the context of social-working.” [11] [Our translation]

Finally, we conclude that the so-called revolutionary Marxism could not have had any effect on the lives of wage slaves as it would have had to have changed the social rails and be placed in the context of the working class. We will turn to this issue again in the discussion of the worker-communism faction. Agitators and propagandists of revolutionary Marxism state that their approach cannot be seen as being able to revolutionize the working class because revolutionary Marxism was still socially located on the pillars of the other social classes and needs to be transformed into the social application of Marxism. After years of demagoguery about revolutionary Marxism being an independent communist flag, it is now preached that the ideology of revolutionary Marxism has been the social platform of other classes and has nothing to do with the working class! This argument is stated as follows:

“This communism, our communism (the current so-called revolutionary Marxism), also does not answer this contradiction and the ineffectiveness of communism to the life of our working generation. Was said that revolutionary Marxism was still socially located in another class pole and should be change to the social application of Marxism and put it on its social and class background.” [12] [Our translation]

As we have already mentioned the Communist Party of Iran used the ideology of revolutionary Marxism to reconstruct and restore the positions of the Third Line under its new name and, in the short term, this organization raised the flag of the radical phrase wing of the left of capital. We have repeatedly stated that during those years, the circles and collectives had always taken a radical position and had been critical toward the left of capital and, on occasion, they had also presented serious criticisms of left of capital. The formation of an aggregation under the name of the Communist Party of Iran, with the ideology of revolutionary Marxism, effectively prevented the radicalization of these critiques, in practice, preventing them from raising questions about the left of capital. If the blood-bath of the Islamic bourgeoisie had not gone away, if the left of capital had not poisoned the political milieu with its seemingly radical and counter-revolutionary ideology, if the critics had continued to criticize, then it might have been possible to go beyond the critique of these circles and to move towards internationalist positions (communist positions). With all this in mind, we now examine the formation of the Communist Party of Iran.

## **The formation of the only communist party of the world**

Prior to examining the aggregation of the tendencies that formed the Communist Party of Iran, it is essential to provide a short explanation of our notional theory of the Marxist concept of working-class organization and, especially, the Communist Party.

It is necessary to mention that, from the beginning and consistently, the organizational issue could not be determined for the labour movement and for Marxism, since this has undergone fundamental change with the development of capitalism. The organization of the working class in response to the development of capitalism has evolved from the concept of the proletariat. Examining these developments and the changing the forms of proletarian organization, in other words, examining the experiences of the workers' movement and learning from these experiences is one step in the direction of taking the next steps.

The organization of the proletariat through the Communist League was the first form of organization of the working class in the history of the worker's movement as a social class. In the year 1848–1849, in presenting their manifesto, for the first time in the history of this social class, the workers provided their social class bill of indictment against the bourgeois class and the manifesto of the workers ended with a call for the “workers of all countries to unite!” The Communist League was dissolved in 1849 following the suppression of the revolution and the collapse of the revolutionary wave in Europe.

The First International presents the arrival of the proletariat onto the stage of social and political struggle as a social class in the major European countries. In the First International, all of the forces of the working class, apart from its political orientation, were gathered in an organization to advance the workers' economic, political and educational struggles. The First International was dissolved in 1876 following the defeat of the Paris Commune and the ebb of the class struggle.

The labour parties formed the Second International in 1889 during the era when capitalist society was flourishing. Its short-term goal, its “minimum programme”, was the struggle for social reform within the capitalist system. The long-term goal was to establish a political framework for the pursuit of the historic mission of the proletariat, the social revolution. Within the Second International, the distinction was made between the general organization of the class (trade unions) and the special organization of the class (the party), the goal of the latter was to defend the proletarian historical programme. During this period, the goal of the organization was to **organize** the working class. Unions were a school for struggle and the struggle was a school for communism. Reforms provided the working class with an opportunity to achieve betterment in capitalist society and through these everyday struggles, capitalist society could have become more humane. However, the Second International was formed on the basis of the national

workers' parties of different countries, an approach that was in opposition to the final goal of the proletariat. On the other hand, the short-term struggle for reform was becoming a dominant trend. After the death of Engels, the position of the reformists grew within the Second International. At the beginning of the First World War, the majority of parties in the Second International defended the bourgeoisie and turned the workers into cannon fodder in the imperialist war—only a small minority remained loyal to proletarian positions. Following the merger of the labour parties into the camp of capital, the Second International collapsed.

During periods in which the conditions were not conducive to the emergence of a revolutionary party, periods in which the revolutionary organization has no direct influence on the class and the revolutionary struggles of the working class, or in periods when the class struggle is in decline and retreat, such organizations are dissolved once the historic need for them has ended and they are then re-formed with the rise and expansion of the class struggle, for example, as was the case for the Communist League and the First International. However, throughout history, the working class has always posed an issue for bourgeois ideology. The purpose of the infiltration of bourgeois ideology is to sterilize the class struggle of the proletariat and to create the main obstacle to allowing the working class to implement its historical ordinance (communist revolution). Therefore, the continuation of a proletarian organization with different organizational forms has been a historical necessity for the proletariat. In periods of declining class struggle, a revolutionary organization with a very weak influence on the working class continues to operate and in periods when the working class has a strong influence and revolutionary conditions, which can have a direct and immediate impact on the class struggle, it takes the form of a party. The revolutionary organization is a bridge between the stagnant periods of class struggle and an evolved stage of the class struggle in which the proletariat challenges the bourgeoisie. The task of the revolutionary organization is to actively participate in the class struggle, to defend the proletarian positions and programme and to strive to prepare for the future of the internationalist party. For example, when the revolutionary wave began, the Bolsheviks in Russia and the Spartacus League in Germany had a revolutionary organization that took the form of a party. It is not unnecessary for internationalists, even if their organizations exist in different countries, to call themselves currents, tendencies, etc., such as the “International Communist Current” or the “Internationalist Communist Tendency”.

In contrast to the growth period of capitalism, during the period of capitalist decline the proletarian political organizations can only take the form of revolutionary minorities whose task is neither to organize the working class nor take power in its stead, without being the **political leadership** - a political compass with political clarity and influence over the working classes; these are the fundamental elements of the implementation of a communist revolution. The Third International was formed when social revolution was on the agenda. With the formation of the Comintern during the era of capitalist decline, the trade unions were merged into the state apparatus and workers' councils were introduced as proletarian instruments.

The party is the **political organism** that is created by the proletariat in order to develop, expand and deepen its own class-consciousness and through the exercise of **political leadership** (by directing, guiding and leading the proletariat) it aims to destroy the capitalist state and system in order to build a communist society. The task of the party is to defend the communist programme until the elimination of social classes has been achieved; with the disappearance of social classes, the party also loses its necessity. The party is neither the class itself nor the mass organization of the class (the councils during the revolutionary period) but a vanguard of the class. In the revolutionary period the working class exercises its dictatorship through global councils. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the dictatorship of the organized class through the workers' councils, not through party dictatorship. [13]

The political leadership of the party is a collective leadership, not the personal leadership of someone who is very famous in bourgeois parties, such as those known as personalities in the Worker-communism Parties. We will return to this issue later.

Throughout the history of the working class, the proletarian revolutionary organization has always been a direct and indirect target of bourgeois attacks. On the one hand, the downfall of the class struggle and, on the other hand, the penetration of bourgeois ideology, places revolutionary currents in danger of degeneration, a clear example of which would be the degeneration of the Comintern and the communist parties in the late 1920s. To defend against such a situation and in defence of communist positions and revolutionary principals and the revolutionary organization, a revolutionary current may build a faction. The task of the faction is not to actively participate in the struggles of the working class but to engage with the militants of the revolutionary organization themselves. A clear example of such a communist movement is that of the Left Communist Faction during the decline of the Communist International. It is important to note that the Italian Left Communist Faction was not a faction within the Italian Communist Party but was a faction within the Communist International. Indeed, one of the fundamental differences between the Italian Left Communist faction and Trotskyism was that the former wanted to move forward to discuss with clarity all the tendencies and currents that were involved in the struggle against the decadence of the Communist International and the defence of the communist programme. In contrast, the Trotskyist current moved with haste and without serious debate and, despite the start of the anti-revolutionary black era, it began the process of Kurdish National revolutionary era was the order of the day, while for the Italian faction the formation of the Party at that time was meaningless. Trotsky was not able to understand the counter-revolution. Trotsky was not able to understand the counter-revolution and he asserted that May and June of 1936 in France (workers strike, factory occupations, etc.) was the beginning of the revolution.

We have previously explained that proletarian political leadership is a collective leadership manifestation of proletarian class-consciousness that can manifest itself in the representatives of

the class and it should not be reduced to a technical level. Contrary to the class-consciousness of the proletariat (communist consciousness), which is a collective characteristic, the characteristic of all ideologies—including the ideology of worker-communism, the empowerment of personalities, the creation of extraordinary leaders, the sanctity of individual creativity, etc.—lead to the continuation and redevelopment of the ideological superstructure society, which is aimed at subjugating wage slaves. The founder of worker-communism recommends to his disciples that they should not forget that they are sober politicians of the country, lest they forget that they are important and high profile figures in society. In training his disciples in the bourgeois societies, Mansoor Hekmat teaches how to play the role of a politician:

“We are the few hundred people who create a political-party movement in Iran. This movement may continue to have a liberated area, or may have fallen into power, may be in war, may be in peace. Maybe in the coalition cabinet. The expectation that comes from the comrades is that I am a prominent politician of this country. Each of us must think that he is a high-profile political figure in society. Well, obviously, he should not spurious think like that ... and it must really be such a person.” [14] [Our translation]

With this explanation in mind, we return to the formation of the Communist Party of Iran. As we explained earlier, the formation of the Communist Party indicated that the UCM had been able to rebuild the Third Line as “revolutionary Marxism” and had done so through a collectivist approach called the Communist Party of Iran. Two currents had played a role in the formation of the Party. We have already examined the Unity of Communist Militants, we now look at the new actor in the formation of the Communist Party, namely, Komala. In the fall of 1969, a group of Kurdish intellectuals who had Maoist tendencies and who were influenced by the Revolutionary Organization of the Iranian Tudeh Party, founded the organization that was later called the Revolutionary Organization of the Toilers of Kurdistan of Iran (Komala). The name itself indicates that Komala was an organization for the toilers, not for the working class and, moreover, for the toilers’ of a specific region, Kurdistan in Iran. In this regard, in the debates of the First Congress it was stated that:

“All our opinions were inspired by Mao's thought without any social research, without a clear and closed connection with the masses, and we only accepted Mao's thought under the influence of the disproportionate perceptions of the social status of Kurdistan.” [15] [Our translation]

The members of this gathering were mostly arrested before they became seriously involved. Years later, during the release of political prisoners in the fall of 1978, these people were released from prison and they took part in a massive gathering to rebuild their organization in the fall of 1978, which was still profoundly influenced by Maoism. The gathering later became known as the First Congress of Komala. The Congress continued to emphasize the semi-colonial-semi-feudal thesis of Iranian society and ended its work by agreeing its logo and name.

At that time, one of the main pillars of Komala was its anti-dictatorship stance, in other words, it was anti-monarchy. According to Komala, every regime that came to power that was not that of the Shah was in the interests of the revolution and it evaluated the thinking that with the coming of the Islamic Republic the situation would get worse, an incorrect view. Komala went so far as to compare the disgraceful Islamic Republic with the interim government in April 1917 in Russia and to demagogically discredit Lenin to justify its reactionary and counter-revolutionary positions. At the First Congress Komala asserted:

“This opinion is wrong that perhaps the coming of the Islamic Republic is worse than the current situation. Every regime and apparatus come to the power instead of the Shah's monarchy, it is in any case in the interest of the revolution, and such a republic can only be recognized by people themselves direct experiences. Sample formation of the interim government of Russia, which Lenin, in April 1917, was still opposed to the uprising, but he later agreed that he would not stop the people from coming to the resurrection.” [16] [Our translation]

In addition to social protests and anti-dictatorship, Kurdish society had the opportunity to protest against their national oppression.

A large part of these circles that were anti-dictatorship and demanded independence, masked their nationalist protest in the guise of left-wing politics, which was very convenient for Komala. These circles found Komala to be a useful flag for their protest and joined the organization and formed foundations. The fact is that the Komala organization was formed during the developments of 1979. Mansoor Hekmat points this out:

“The formation of the Kamalah in the broad meaning of the word was formed in the revolution [1979].” [17] [Our translation]

However, when Komala was formed it lacked a programme, a statute and an opinion and position on the social events. Komala suffered from a lack of knowledge even when compared with other currents within the left of capital. It did not even have an official publication. Komala's only published newsletter contained news on events related to the national liberation war in Kurdistan. In this regard, Majid Hosseini, one of the former leaders of Komala, said:

“In addition to the political consequences of the regime's attacks and capture of cities, with the start of the second round of the "movement" the May 1980, until the Second Congress of [Komala] the spring of 1981, Komala was faced with another political problem, the identity crisis, and proposing of the viewpoints famous to one and two. The Democrat party understood this situation, and during this time escalated propaganda against Komala, around that the organization does not have a program and statute and it's not clear what the policy is and what it is. On behalf of the left, the Peykar and the Fadai Khalq guerrillas put pressure on the Komala to

discuss the future of the armed struggle, the national issue, the program and the constitution and.....” [18]

In 1980, Komala was suffering greatly from a lack of political knowledge and theoretical poverty, even in comparison with the other currents of the left of capital. Despite its numerical growth and influence in Kurdish society, it still lacked a statute and a programme and it functioned like a circle. In 1980, in a very poor internal theoretical publication and via its “Viewpoint One” and “Viewpoint Two”, it tried to give, at the very least, some coherence to its disadvantaged position and it also proposed its draft statute. Political confusion and the lack of the least amount of uniformity of consistency throughout this so-called theoretical pamphlet can be seen as we look at some of the text.

For Komala, the political superstructure that followed the developments of 1979 (and in certain other circumstances) that took the form of the clergy of Islam is not evaluated as bourgeois but has its roots in feudal relations of production. Although this appears to be show the poverty of Komala’s knowledge, in reality this assessment demonstrates that Komala belonged to the left of capital and did so in order to respond to the specific circumstances of the Kurdish community at that time. The fundamental question is why the ideology of Maoism can be a superstructure of society in China, why Stalinist ideology could have been the superstructure of the Eastern bloc countries, why Nazi ideology could have been the ideological superstructure of Germany in the late 1930s and early 1940s yet the Islamic clergy, a special form of ideology, cannot be the political superstructure of Iranian society? Komala writes:

“The roots of the emergence and evolution of the clergy can only be conceived within this relationship [feudal relations of production] (pre-feudal relations, namely slavery, is not meant because the discussion is on the bourgeois or non-bourgeois nature of the clergy, and the purpose is proving clerical dependence on production before the mode of production of capitalism).” [19] All the efforts of Komala that were in this direction were in opposition to the clergy and, at its head, the bourgeois Khomeini. The bourgeois leadership of Iran was struggling around the clock to restart the bourgeois apparatus in the process of accumulation of capital. However, because of the disorder that occurred during the revolutionary struggles, the demands of the Khomeini were not to be evaluated as bourgeois:

“Khomeini’s demands are not essentially bourgeois, but an attempt to preserve the institutions and independence of the interests of the clergy, which is itself related to the construction of feudal relations.” [20] [Our translation]

After much preparation, the underground class of the leader of the bourgeoisie of Iran, Khomeini, was eventually evaluated as petty-bourgeois, although, of course, with feudal tendencies and imagination. The petty-bourgeoisie can also show opposite tendencies. The

criminal Khomeini was seen as being neither reactionary nor bourgeois nor counter-revolutionary but was only reduced to having reactionary petty-bourgeois tendencies:

“Khomeini gradually became the main element among the clergy... around himself has pseudo-fascist Phalanges Hezbollah factions that do not turn away from anything. The reactionary and even feudal fantasies exists in her ideology. We know that the petty bourgeoisie can have diverse tendencies, from the extreme left to the reactionary right. Khomeini represents the reactionary tendencies of the petty bourgeoisie.” [21]

Finally, after evaluating Khomeini as being non-bourgeois in nature, Komala described its four-class and Maoist theory as the class composition in relation to the events of 1979. The interesting point is that under the Maoist four-class view, only the national bourgeoisie forms the ranks of the revolution and the “comprador bourgeoisie” is usually placed in the counter-revolutionary camp. However, Komala apparently ignored its four-class theory and declared that even parts of the comprador bourgeoisie had joined the revolutionary line-up (the opposition). It stated:

“To understand the nature of the new ruling class, must first consider the composition of the "opposition" classes in the time of the Shah...Not only the tailors masses, not only the petty-bourgeois masses, but also the modest, non-bureaucratic bourgeoisie, and even parts of the comprador bourgeoisie, were joined to the lineup of the opposition.” [22] [Our translation]

Komala also divided Iran’s sovereignty into bourgeois and petty-bourgeois and viewed the clergy as forming the petty-bourgeois faction, which was, of course, in the service of the dependent capitalism. We will pass on the way in which this contradicts the theory of feudal relations but the fundamental question is, does not the political superstructure reflect the infrastructure of a society? Can the petty-bourgeoisie constitute state sovereignty? The logical consequence of such a thought was that in Iran, the mode of production was both bourgeois and petty-bourgeois. In other words, we are faced with a new kind of mode of production in human history, the petty-bourgeois mode of production. Komala expressed its nonsenses as follows:

“Between the two [sovereignty] factions the bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeoisie, there were contradictions from the beginning ... The ruling clergy can not be anything but an agent of dependent capitalism and the entire governing body, except for the consolidation of the dependent capitalist regime and the rebuilding and development of its repressive machine can not do anything else.” [23] [Our translation]

It is an irrefutable fact that the periphery of the bourgeois is often unable to deliver its demands with its class ideology and it, therefore, seeks to dress up Marxism to achieve independence, economic development and democracy and it expresses its demands using the language of the left. This issue is not specific to Iran and it can clearly be seen in other countries. Komala also



clearly displayed this attitude. During the first presidential election, most of the Third Line currents boycotted the election but because of the self-determination in much of the Mojahedin's demands, Komala supported Rajavi's candidacy. Majid Hussein, a former leader of Komala, explained the reason for the adoption of this policy by the then leader of Komala:

“Supporting Massoud Rajavi's candidacy on behalf of Komala because the Mojahedin had accepted a number of autonomous demands was another example of the manifestation of nationalism, and was the type of response of the leadership of the organization in those years.” [24] [Our translation]

Over time, the Stalinism within Komala overcame the Maoism and, during those years, Komala was closely associated with other trends within the Third Line. Yet despite this, Komala was theoretically one of the most backward currents within the Third Line. It represented a kind of radical pragmatism from the horizon of the Third Line in Kurdistan, which has been able to attract the protesting and young generation of the Kurdish community. The opinion of one of the former leaders of Komala in relation to the positions, views and theory during the time of Komala is as follows:

“From a formal and theoretical point of view, Komala represented the most backward section of populism (Maoist) in Iran.” [25] [Our translation]

In April 1981, Komala held its Second Congress in order to rethink its intellectual turmoil and to at least provide theoretical coherence. As we have previously stated, Komala presented its views in “Viewpoint One” and “Viewpoint Two” through its internal publications, which reflects Komala's theoretical poverty even in comparison with the other currents on the left of capital. The Komala Congress did not have the theoretical ability or the opportunity to respond to the problems it faced and to provide independent standpoints. Hence, in practice, it saw taking up the position of a radical phrase group of the left of capital as a way out, i.e., the positions of the Unity of Communist Militants. By accepting these positions, Komala effectively delayed its crisis, in other words, its crisis was tied to the crisis of revolutionary Marxism. However, the resolutions of the Second Congress of Komala were also highly heterogeneous, which could be a reflection of its internal contradictions as well as a reflection of the protest generation within it. Komala's adoption of revolutionary Marxism was justified thus:

“Continuing and ultimately it, with accepting the view of revolutionary Marxism at the Second Congress of the Komala on behalf of this organization, the spring of 1981, the last barrages of resistance of populism were left behind. This action of Komala kicked off the obstacles and left in Iran more than any other period closed to each other.” [26] [Our translation]

Before proceeding with the discussion, it should be noted that there is no possibility of the formation of a revolutionary faction from within the left of capital. There are theoretical reasons for this and, therefore, it should not be reduced to technical issues. In contrast, the possibility of the loss of peoples and the orientation of the circles to the internationalist position is possible. An example of this is the crisis in the Italian section of the Communist Party of Italy, which was influenced by the internationalist positions and by the militants accepting the internationalist positions. We will mention this issue in the section on left-communism. As we explained earlier, the resolutions of the Second Congress of Komala were heterogeneous and contradictory. On a particularly critical issue, the national issue, the Congress adopted the unconventional position of the left of capital, which could be a reflection of inner controversy. Majid Hosseini explained this as follows:

“By accepting the revolutionary Marxism viewpoint, Komala could go bypass the currents of the so-called third line and politically placed in a more offensive and supportive position. But the congress stepped back in addressing the national issue. In the resolution saying that the Kurd issue, the National issue, is related to the bourgeoisie, and the proletariat should not practice in it, and the national issue is solved in socialism. This apparently left position was righteous, non-practice and subjective, and brought immediate societal and practical consequences for Komala.” [27] [Our translation]

During the Second Congress, Komala announced that the national struggle in Kurdistan was not a continuation of the conscious struggle of the working class and was not in keeping with the communist agenda but was a national struggle that had been established as a consequence of the specific conditions in Kurdistan. This struggle would not bring about a change in the relations of production. In other words, the struggle for national liberation is within the range of bourgeois movements and cannot be viewed with the horizons of class struggle. The resolution of the Second Congress states:

“Set up the resistance movement [the national struggle in Kurdistan] has not been the continuation of the conscious struggle and was not according to the program of the working class. This movement has developed and continues in certain concrete conditions ... This movement can not conquer the victory of the bourgeoisie in the sense of changing relations Production in the Kurdistan Region.” [28] [Our translation]

Komala’s Second Congress considered that the elimination of national oppression would only be possible with the realization of socialism. This position is not in line with the criteria and framework of the left of capital. The Congress also considered eliminating national oppression through the realization of the proletarian programme:

“The elimination of national oppression is ultimately possible by the right of self-determination for the oppressed peoples of Iran only through the realization of the socialist program of the proletariat.” [29] [Our translation]

In respect to the national issue, the second resolution of the Congress did, in fact, question Komala’s activities and operations. In other words, the implementation of this clause in the resolution of the Second Congress required a fundamental change in the functioning and political life of Komala, the majority of whose activities were summed up as guerrilla warfare (national issue). On the one hand, this presented a serious problem for Komala’s activists and for Komala’s identity, which was summarized as national liberation, and, on the other hand, the lack of importance given to national liberation and guerrilla warfare among Komala’s rivals in the struggle for national independence would strengthen the Democratic Party of Kurdistan. Following Komala’s Second Congress, its contact with the UCM becomes more serious.

“However, this Congress [the Second Congress] turned to the left a lot and solving the national problem entirely postponed to socialism, which resulted in many problems for the organization and its cadres that brought forward propaganda activities. The rejection of the national issue in this form, and its postponement to socialism, brought about a kind of austerity and frustration in the Komala ranks, and virtually gave this field to the Democratic Party [of Kurdistan]. Contact with the unity of Communist militants was the only thing that could have pushed Komala away.” [30] [Our translation]

Mansoor Hekmat was definitely very happy with the fact that the opinions of his anonymous group had reached the ears of Komala. At that time, Komala had established a bureau, an office and military forces that represented the radicalism of the left of capital and it became one of the actors in the Kurdistan issue. However, Mansoor Hekmat was more clever than optimistic about the resolution of the Second Congress of Komala in relation to the national issue. He could have predicted that this resolution would question the existential philosophy of Komala. The forces of Komala, the facilities of Komala, the identity of Komala and so on, were of great importance for the long-term goals of Mansoor Hekmat. Mansour Hekmat evaluated the resolution on the national issue incorrectly and, instead, preached the routine position of the left of capital. In connection with the meeting held between Komala and the UCM, we read:

“Zhoobin [Mansoor Hekmat] at the meeting expressed his satisfaction with the orientation of the Second Congresses and the turn to the left of Komala and called it an important event in the communist movement, but he criticized the turning more to the left on this congress, including the postponement of a national solution to socialism. According to Zhoobin [Mansour Hekmat], the national question was a real ting, and putting it on socialism and pacifist approach to it was a political mistake, opening the way for the Democratic Party [of Kurdistan] and will isolating Komala.” [31] [Our translation]

Komala was apparently unaware of the consequences when it issued its congressional resolution and it was now caught up in a predicament. Using the radical phrase positions of the left of capital, Mansoor Hekmat saved Komala from this predicament and blocked the radicalization of criticisms of the national issue from within Komala. Following the meeting between Komala and the UCM, Komala called for an extraordinary conference that has become known as the 6th Conference. In a resolution at that conference, Komala corrected its earlier position in relation to the national issue and stated that the elimination of national oppression was only possible with the realization of socialism. Thus, it wrongly regained the position of the left of capital. This shift in positions was explained as follows:

“Following these tapes, Komala's leadership immediate called for an extraordinary conference, known as the 6th Conference, in which it issued a resolution that corrected the mistakes of the Second Congresses.” [32] [Our translation]

On the one hand, the positional and theoretical poverty of Komala was on the same scale as the left of capital and, on the other hand, the leaders of Komala knew that in the long term, its practices would have to change. Continuing their activities, which meant playing the role of the important actor in Kurdistan and the region, required change in its organizational form in order to overcome its shortcomings. In such a situation, the formation of the Communist Party makes sense for Komala. Komala's opinion on the contexts of the formation and the concepts of the Communist Party was even more backward and more mechanical than other currents of the left of capital. The development of the programme of the Communist Party was a major problem—the preparation of social conditions, the evolution of the class struggle and the issue of building the party were reduced to the drafting of the programme. Komala wrote:

“In the current circumstances, the main ring for the creation of the party is the formulation of the program. Any kind of giving priority to the problem of linking the program [to the class] and even the eclecticism of the program and the link [to the class] a sign of limited understanding, economistic and non-dialectical understanding. In our view, the process of codifying the program is at the same time, the process of expansion and deepening link [to the class], the process of expanding and deepening revolutionary practice.” [33] [Our translation]

Due to its extreme theoretical poverty, Komala was not able to formulate a programme that would be well-received by the tendencies of the radical phrases of the left of capital and, therefore, it logically presented the UCM programme of a proposed programme for the Communist Party of Iran. Mansoor Hekmat was to be responsible for any minor changes that needed to be made. We will return to these minor changes that would make the Communist Party programme more capital-friendly. The adoption of the UCM programme as a draft programme for the Communist Party of Iran is described as follows:

“The correct and timely encounter of the unity of communist militants attracted more trust of the leadership of the Komala and a wider range of its cadres. After the sixth conference round of discussion over the program, the proposed program of the unity of the Communist militants to form the party was seriously planned in the Komala organization. The joint meeting of the Central Committee of the Komala and the unity of communist militants was held, it was decided the program that unity of communist militants had been prepared and had already been acquired by Komala and many other leftist organizations, being the basis for the drafting of the new common program of Komala and the unity of communist militants, and Mansoor Hekmat took responsibility on the writing of the new text.” [34] [Our translation]

Finally, in May of the 1982, Komala held its Third Congress. With the approval of the programme of the Communist Party, this Congress paved the way for the formation of a new organization under name of the Communist Party of Iran. The Communist Party of Iran hosted its constituent assembly in one of the Kurdistan villages under the rule of Komala, thus declaring its existence. Those who have listened to the audio-tapes of the founding congressional are aware of the sounds of various kinds of animals in the background. If this style for holding the founding congress was welcomed by the Maoist because it expresses their strength and reflects their belonging to the village and the peasants (which is the main force of their revolution), it was alien to the radical phrase Stalinist currents who evaluated society as capitalist and also to other similar traditions on the left of capital. Extending the flag of Stalinism in one of the villages under the control of Komala is explained as follows:

“In the course of almost five years of continuous and determined struggle for revolutionary Marxism in removing the theoretical and practical obstacles that has been in the way for the establishment of the Communist Party in Iran ...The Communist Party of Iran in the continuing of that achievements and by relying on those class barriers that formed revolutionary Marxism from the beginning and on the context of the Iranian revolution, one after another was to conquer the proletariat of Iran. The history of the formation of this party is the history of conquering these barricades. Crashing the narrow-minded and Short-sighted views of the petty-bourgeoisie claiming Marxism and the promotion and consolidation of proletarian critique of capital and imperialism among a large section of the pioneer of the communist movement of Iran in the first years after the uprising, to raise the independent flag of the proletariat in a mass revolutionary movement to the wide of the Kurdish peoples movement and its leadership and organizing under this flag and compilation and presentation of theoretical principles and the political aims and slogans of the proletariat in the form of a communist program ....These are all the solid foundation stone and foundations and the stableness that gave revolutionary Marxism in Iran the historical opportunity and possibility to establish the Communist Party of Iran on September 2, 1983.” [35] [Our translation]

The founding congress of the Communist Party of Iran emphasized that revolutionary Marxism was not just a theoretical movement but that the Iranian Communist Party includes forces that, in the past and currently, have had a live and massive revolution on their agenda. In other words, the goal of forming the Communist Party of Iran was to organize a vibrant and massive revolution. The Party was supposed to be the headquarters of the revolutionary command that would lead to a democratic revolution. How, after decades, do the heirs of what we will refer to as “the anti-Communist Party of Iran” respond to these demagogueries? Like the bourgeois parties, through agitation and propaganda, the new party strove to pretend to be a suitable vessel for the protesting forces within society:

“But revolutionary Marxism of Iran was not just a theoretical movement, and the Communist Party of Iran was built on the path of a communist revolutionaries, and now it has embraced forces that, in the past and present, have organized and led a huge live revolution on their orders. If the absence of an independent proletarian party made a decisive victory to the Iranian revolution impossible, the growth and deepening of the proletarian and revolutionary movement against the most brutal and massive invasion of the bourgeoisie beholden to the work of revolutionary Marxists which the Communist Party of Iran represents and encompasses them. The revolutionary Marxist who today is the ranks of the Communist Party of Iran was the forces that ...did not go back one step of the struggling to form the Communist Party of Iran and finally in the revolutionary Kurdistan, in the head of the earth, freed and protected by the forces of the masses and in advance, founded the Communist Party of Iran.” [36]

By forming the anti-Communist Party of Iran, a party that was built on the ruins of the defeat of the class struggle, a party whose formation was a barrier to any radical critique of the left of capital, the complete ideological and organizational breakdown of the socialists of Iran—from nationalist and populist traditions - was announced. This was a party whose main force consisted of the nationalist and populist movement (Kurdish National Movement).

“The formation of the CPI marked the final ideological and organizational break of Iranian socialism from the nationalist and populist tradition.”[37]

The basic question that comes to the mind of each truth seeker is this, after all this agitation, after the breakup of populism, after raising the independent flag of the proletariat, after the formation of the headquarters of the great and vibrant revolution, will the programme of the Communist Party of Iran fulfil the goals of the proletariat? The Communist Party believed that the conscious proletariat, which had now established its revolutionary headquarters in the Communist Party of Iran, could not immediately achieve a socialist revolution but must first seek a democratic revolution—the theme of the democratic revolution was also realized in the Party’s minimum programme. The programme of the anti-Communist Party states:

“In such a situation the proletariat and the communist party of it cannot do an immediate socialist revolution ... The political and economic content of the victory of the democratic revolution is the realization of the minimum program of the proletariat.

- The direct participation of people in the administration of the country, the strict abolition of the election of governors, prefects, and mayors by the government, the election of these officials at all levels by the people and their cancellation whenever a majority of electors decide.
- ensuring the safety and health of the workplace and reducing workplace hazards to the minimum possible, regardless of profitable considerations, monitoring regular medical examinations against the risks and diseases caused by the type of work at the expense of employers and the state,
- Supplying welfare and cultural needs in the work environment and residential areas of the community, such as auditoriums, rest rooms, dining, bathrooms and toilets, land and gyms, nurseries and kindergartens, clinics, libraries and adult literacy classes at a cost Employers and government
- Set up a dispute resolution court with a jury consisting of elected representatives of the workers for arbitration in cases of dispute between the worker and the employer. The cost of forming courts should be entirely up to the employers.
- confiscation and nationalization of foreign and domestic monopoly capital,
- Control the democratic councils of the people on foreign trade,
- Provision for a progressive taxation of inheritance and property, and on the income derived from the ownership of the means of production and exchange
- In a situation where the provision of minimum livelihoods and welfare requires to the workers to provide round the clock, burdensome and onerous work that destroys their health and well-being and deprivation them from possibility and opportunity of spiritual growth and raise their level of political and class consciousness, we are for supply of the comfort and material well-being of the workers and in order to protect the working class from physical and psychological deterioration and increasing their ability to struggle for the definitive release of the oppression and exploitation of capitalism, we want realization of the following points to all workers:
  - Reduced weekly work to a maximum of 40 hours and a minimum of two consecutive days per week for each worker;
  - Reducing the maximum retirement age to 55 years
  - Reducing the working days of breastfeeding mothers to 7 hours.” [Our translation]

Most of this nonsense (albeit not all) will be realized in countries with bourgeois democracies but the demands made in some such countries are greater than those set out in the programme of the anti-Communist Party of Iran. For example, some Western European countries have a 37-hour working week, as opposed to the 40-hour requirement of the Communist Party of Iran, and new mothers are entitled to a year or more of maternity with a salary, yet wage slavery continues

across the globe, including in the so-called capitalist heaven. The improvement in some conditions in Western bourgeois democracies is in line with the benefits of capital accumulation because despite these conditions, private ownership of the means of production, namely, the capitalist dictatorship, makes life hell even in the paradise of capital for wage slaves.

The fact is that the left-wing of the bourgeoisie has a periphery in which it can express its desires, the left-wing guise that looks for a conventional bourgeois democracy that is in keeping with the accumulation of capital. In this sense, the announcements of the choices of governor, prefects, mayor, etc., are akin to those of a bourgeois democracy rather than a communist society. The selection or even the dismissal in a general election of each of these representatives maintains the foundations of bourgeois society. The emptying of the concept of communism and its presentation within a capitalist-friendly image was the form taken in the agitation of the anti-Communist Party. Their propaganda is no more than demagoguery.

The dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, the exercise of sovereignty of the workers through the global councils, with the right to vote and rights over the dismissal and the installation of governors, mayors, etc., namely, the bourgeois democracy, varies and expresses two different types of social system.

For Mansoor Hekmat, the function of the left of capital, which is in line with the needs of capital, can adopt different procedures and forms in accordance with the needs of capital. This relates to the history of the workers' movement and he states that when parties want to appear as social forces they turn to the right. In contrast, Mansoor Hekmat states that his current was among the few communist organizations since the Bolsheviks who wanted to be a mass party on the basis of radicalism and maximalism:

“Historically whenever Left parties have wanted to become social forces and to assert themselves on a social scale, they have turned to the right. And they have justified this shift to the right by claiming that society is even further to the right, so if they want votes, they have to make a turn to the right. And, of course, historically they have failed in this. Some representative of a radical Left party may get into parliament few or a spell, but in the next round he or she will be sent home packing. We are among the few communist organisations since the Bolsheviks who want to become mass parties on the basis of our radicalism and maximalism.”[38]

We now return to the issue of the scale of Mansoor Hekmat's turn to the right, the concept of the left of capital and the demagoguery of this ideologue of the bourgeoisie. The UCM claimed that it was the only group that did not turn either left or right, the only group that was communist. This is, of course, a lie and in a publication of April 1981, we read the following:



“in this kind of circumstances:

14) Reducing the maximum retirement age to 50 years

17) Reducing the working day of breastfeeding mothers to 6 hours.”

Yet, two years later, when the UCM tried to appear as social force, in the programme of the anti-Communist Party—which was actually the programme of the UCM—Mansoor Hekmat was responsible for the “minor” changes that effectively turned the above demands to the right and he did so on the same scale as the bourgeois parties:

- “Reducing the maximum retirement age to 55 years
- Reducing the working day of breastfeeding mothers to 7 hours.”

This form of demagoguery is based on lies and has no principles, like all other bourgeois currents it is part of the tradition of this anti-communist movement. Slurring the proletarian and communist values has been one of the masterpieces of this radical phrase and capital friendly current.

In order to attract the radical forces towards themselves and, on the other hand, to prevent any radicalization of criticisms to the left of capital, in forming a cumulative assembly under the name of the Communist Party of Iran the ideologues of this anti-communist organization declared that the currents of communism in Iran were divided into two distinct elements: the Communist Party of Iran and the revisionist enemies of the Communist Party:

“Now as far as goes back to Iran, the division of the currents claiming of Communism into two distinct parts, the Communist Party of Iran and the revisionist enemies of the Communist Party, have been developed into a visible phenomenon.” [39] [Our translation]

Years later, Mansour Hekmat, the ideological leader of worker-communism, stated that the Communist Party of Iran was a confluence of different political and social trends. There were three lines in the Communist Party that expressed class membership and movement. Of the three lines—the right, the centre and the left—as a member of the working class, Mansoor Hekmat belonged to the left-wing tendency and he stated:

“The basic discussion we have made in that party since then is that the Communist Party of Iran is confluence with various political and social trends, and we have named these tendencies ... we see three lines ... The Communist Party of Iran in a historical material process was broken down due to the political situation and because of the class and divisional differences it contained.” [40] [Our translation]

Finally, after a lot of demagoguery about raising the flag of independence of the working class, the revolutionaries who founded the headquarters of the great and present revolution (which

aimed to lead and organize the great revolution) and the development of the communist forces were split into the Communist Party and the revisionist enemies of the Communist Party and we heard from the leader that this was merely part of the agitation of the propaganda machine. In fact, the formation of the Communist Party occurred as a result of a compromise and has since been tied to that compromise in all of its actions and activities. This issue is explained as follows: “In this plenum [the second plenum of communist party of Iran] about the founding congress of the [Iranian Communist Party] and providing it, Mansoor Hekmat says: ‘The founder's congress has a compromise, until its determination date, until its next actions, until its announcement, until its aftermath, until its mode of operation is fully sealed of compromising.’ a few sentences continue: ‘as soon as the debate was to be deeply, annoyance come.’ and ‘We came forward with compromise, but we should not make compromise as principles.’ At the same meeting, in the explanation of the distance between the word and the action says: ‘in between words to the action located of other classes’.” [41] [Our translation]

## **Bundism and the special rights of Komala**

The history of the workers’ movement is the expression of the interests of the entire class, thus, the advancement of the interests of a particular group within the working class contradicts the nature and objectives of the working class. Yet, with all this, groups of the working class have tried to advance their own interests despite the fact that the advancement of the interests of an independent group is alien to working class traditions. One obvious example of this is Bundism. The General Union of Jewish Workers (the Bund) was formed in 1897 and, which involved workers from Russia, Poland and Lithuania. The Union joined the Russian Social-Democratic Party during its First Congress in 1898. In 1903, during the Second Congress of the Social-Democratic Party of Russia, the Bundists demanded that they be recognized as representatives of the Jewish workers of Russia and that they functioned as a special group of Jewish workers. The Congress rejected this request because it was not in line with the interests and class unity of all workers. As a consequence, the Bundists left the party.

As previously explained, Komala was able to set up an office and a force in Kurdistan and became one of the actors of the nationalist issue in Kurdistan. Mansoor Hekmat knew that providing Komala with a radical role in the Kurdish movement would not produce a targeted and radical assessment of Komala. Thus, Komala could not have been a flag for the formation of the Communist Party of Iran because it would first have to change its nature to become proletarian. Therefore, Mansoor Hekmat argued that relations within the Kurdish community, as in other parts of Iran, were capitalist (this is quite true) and that two social classes were influential in the social developments of that society. Therefore, the Democratic Party of Kurdistan represents the Kurdish bourgeoisie and Komala represents a proletarian force. In this regard, Mansoor Hekmat

advised that the identification of Komala as a proletarian force should be considered as one of the central tasks of the communists. He wrote:

“In the field of propaganda, the attention and activity of the communists must mainly focus on explaining the pivotal political issues and the real prospects of this movement and in identifying the Komala as the proletarian and pioneering force in the resistance movement [Kurdish national movement].” [42] [Our translation]

The first step was the introduction of Komala as a proletarian force in the political milieu that was supposed to serve as the next step. The next step was to gain support from Komala and especially the base forces of Komala. Mansoor Hekmat was aware of the national struggle and the role that Komala played in the Kurdish Autonomy Movement, especially during the various meetings that had been held with the Komala forces prior to the formation of the Communist Party of Iran. It was during these meetings that Mansoor Hekmat posited the “special rights of Komala” and convinced the participants that the position of Komala would increase rather than reduce, for example, by promoting it as the national defender of the proletarian militant! Mansoor Hekmat knew that the phenomenon of “special ethnic rights” not only does not exist in the history of the communist and workers’ tradition but is also in opposition to the proletarian principles that defend the interests of the whole class. However, Mansoor Hekmat belonged to a different tradition, a bourgeois tradition in which deals and compromises are natural and are in line with class interests. Mansoor Hekmat assessed this as a tactical compromise against the pressure of nationalism and he believed that it was necessary in order to strengthen communism. This compromise and capitalist-friendly innovation of Mansoor Hekmat is explained as follows:

“In the winter of 1983, a seminar was held under the title of the Northern Primary Seminar in Kurdistan, in which Mansoor Hekmat presented his theses on the theory of the formation of the party and the concrete way of doing it in Iran ... One of the discussions of this seminar was on National Movement and the role of Komala in the coming days of the formation of the Communist Party, which led to the adoption of a document known as the special rights of Komala in the founding congress of the Communist Party of Iran .... Mansour Hekmat defended the argument of the special rights of Komala and convinced the participants that it was necessary to recognize these special rights in view of the characteristics of the resistance movement in Kurdistan and strengthening Komala against its nationalist rivals such as the Democratic Party [of Kurdistan]. He was aware of this that this is a kind of compromise against the pressure of nationalism on Komala and the communist movement, but tacitly, it was a necessary and true compromise.” [43] [Our translation]

Before focusing attention on the special rights of Komala, it is also necessary to mention that during the constituent congress of the Communist Party of Iran, Mansoor Hekmat and the UCM had still not established their position and that they soon backed down against the position of

Komala, thus taking leverage of the Party at the right time. It was in keeping with this context that Abdullah Mohtadi, one of the cadres of Komala, was elected to the position of First Secretary General of the Communist Party at its founding congress. This tribute to Komala is explained as follows:

“The founding congress [of the Communist Party of Iran] ... elected Abdullah Mohtadi as the first secretary general of the party, and this was the most controversial and in the opinion of the opposing people it was giving tribute to the pressures of nationalism within the Komala, which tried to keep Komala untouched as far as possible from the aliens!” [44] [Our translation]

After the formation of the Communist Party of Iran and the election of Abdullah Mohtadi as its General Secretary, it was time for the ideological ceremony to present the election of the new leader of Komala. As with the bourgeois parties, the introduction of the ideological symbol of the party is the responsibility of the leader. Abdullah Mohtadi spoke to the members of Komala telling them that nothing important had happened: I am the Secretary General of the Party and Komala makes up the majority of the Party’s members. Mansoor Hekmat provided a better explanation for the selection of General Secretary Abdullah Mohtadi:

“When the party was formed, Secretary-General Abdullah Mehtadi spoke to all that nothing important has happened. See, I am the secretary general of the party and see that Kamala has the majority of the members of this organization. He was responding to a pessimistic.” [45] [Our translation]

With these explanations, we return to the special rights for Komala. It is interesting to note that with demagoguery, giving tribute to a national group induces the removal of barriers to the path of the universal unity of the proletariat. Apparently, the proletariat of Iran achieves universality not in its place of work or in its social life but in the camps of Komala where it does not have even the smallest amount of class power. Marxist and proletarian concepts, principles and values are drained into slime and the special rights of a national group are spoken of as Marxist principles. Let us examine some of the special rights of Komala.

“This part of the statute that formulated on the basis of the views of the revolutionary Marxism on the national question and the principled Marxist approach to the obstacles that this issue has to the universal unity of the proletariat, is explained with precise and clear manner on the basis and necessity of the special rights of the Kurdistan part of the Communist Party of Iran and on this basis defines the position of the Komala in the Communist Party of Iran.

Article II: Komala personality can be do:

1. Establish and adopt the position, policies and slogans of the proletarian Kurdistan on the national issue and determine and approve the right of self-determination to the Kurdish nation.

3. To name of yourself and in relation to the interests and issues of the people of Kurdistan, to attend the international level and internationally authorities and make the necessary decisions.
7. Determining and setting its tactics in the direction of continuing or defeating a revolutionary war of the people of Kurdistan against the central government. If necessary, enter into negotiations with the central government on issues related to the demands of the people of Kurdistan, and wherever the interests of the movement of the people of Kurdistan Movement, signing the necessary conventions.
8. Organize and lead the revolutionary sovereignty in Kurdistan at all levels. Determine the participation way of itself in the highest organs of sovereignty stemming from the victory of the People's Movement of Kurdistan.” [46] [Our translation]

Earlier, we explained that giving special privileges to a particular ethnic group is in opposition to the nature and objectives of the workers’ movement, rather, the interests of the whole working class must be considered. Bundism and the Second Congress of the Social-Democratic Party of Russia lie within the historical memory of the workers’ movement. Special privileges or special rights are alien to the tradition of the internationalists and the communists and if, as a result of the influence of the bourgeois ideology of a particular group of the working class, one element gains privileges, the communists and internationalists will certainly struggle against it.

Retaining common bourgeois traditions and agreeing to special ethnic rights also contrasts with the Marxist concept of the Party: when this occurs the Party loses its integrity and solidarity and becomes a federation.

On the basis of its special rights, Komala can be present at any international or regional institute in relation to the “people of Kurdistan” without having to conform to the positions of the Party and without being subject to Party control. No matter how much they may be in conflict with the interest of the proletariat, Komala is able to be a signatory to any convention that is in the interests of the people of Kurdistan. This cannot be seen as a problem for the anti-Communist Party of Iran! The fact that the national movements are the infantry in imperialist tensions and the signed conventions are part of the imperialist policies of the large and small gangsters is not a problem for the anti-Communist Party.

With its special rights, Komala may, if necessary, enter into negotiations with the central government on issues related to the “people of Kurdistan.” We currently put aside the technical problems and the consequences that the negotiation with the central government would have had for Komala and note that the rival of Komala in the national movement, the Democratic Party of Kurdistan of Iran, paid a heavy price for this with the assassination of its leaders. Just look at the moral aspect of the issue. Imagine the summer of 1988 when the Islamic bourgeoisie again launched a blood-bath and when Komala was negotiating with the Islamic bourgeoisie on issues relevant to the “people of Kurdistan.” On one side of the negotiating table were the butchers of the Islamic bourgeoisie and, on the other side, the representatives of the “people of

Kurdistan”(Komala) who were bargaining (negotiating) for the interests of the “people of Kurdistan.” It is really disgusting!

## **Marxism or narcissism**

Marxism is the theory of the conditions for the release of wage slaves. Marxism is not dogma but is fluid and evolves with the evolution of capitalism and with the history of the labour movement and Marxists add to its richness. Great Marxists in the history of the labour movement and in the richness of Marxism have given immortal services to the labour movement. Marx, Engels, Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg, Bordiga and Pannekoek are just a few examples. These thinkers did not dream of becoming famous and Marxism is not a religion and does not make a fetish out of these thinkers. After the defeat of the wave of the world revolution and the triumph of Stalinism from the ruins of the October Revolution and after the death of Lenin, the counter-revolution with Stalin at its head was advancing along a path that would empty the revolutionary positions of Lenin. It began to produce a kind of ideology, a kind of religion and to transform Lenin’s revolutionary theories into a kind of fetish. Under the name of Leninism and with the statue of Lenin, Stalin waged war on Lenin’s revolutionary and communist ideas. Lenin is not depicted through his statues but through his revolutionary theories and proletarian battles.

Humans (and characters) are the product of their own social conditions and the phenomenon of the cult of personality is a product of a special need. The class society, in line with its own needs, creates a personality cult due to certain social conditions. For the ultimate victory of the counter-revolution from the ruins of the October Revolution, the formation of a particular kind of ideology that was embodied in the personality of Stalin was essential. Melding the supernatural with the ideological personality of the leader, a leader who has acquired the abilities of the “gods” and surrounds time and space. Ideologues of worker-communism have played a significant role in the formation of the cult of the personality within worker-communism (e.g., the personality cult of Mansoor Hekmat). In this regard, we consider the conversation between Hamid Taghvaei and Mansoor Hekmat from the language of Hamid Taghvaei:

“I said to Zhoobin that he was like Lenin. It was not just a joke, and I really saw similarities between his personality and Lenin, the sharpness, the clarity of the word, and the wilfulness was a distinctive feature of both. Zhoobin said, jokingly, you are probably also Trotsky. And then we started dreaming about that our homes will be museums in the future and [people] will come to see our little office. I was said people will surely say that Zhoobin and Hamid and others have been living and worked in these houses and this office. I joked around with my wife Mitra and I was said she should take notes of everything, because in the future, must with style of the wife of Lenin, Krupskaya, should be write my memories... None of us thought that one day the statue of

Zhoobin would be raised in the Highgate cemetery of London opposite to the tomb of Marx.” [47] [Our translation]

One of London’s tourist attractions is Highgate cemetery where Marx and his family were laid to rest. Not directly in front of Marx’s tomb, as the disciples of Mansoor Hekmat would have like, but a little bit further along, a small statue of Mansoor Hekmat has been installed. According to Hamid Taghvaei, those whose graves are closer to Marx’s tomb than the statue of Mansur Hekmat are more Marxist, more important and more well-known! Contrary to these ideological and religious ideas, Marx is embodied in communist consciousness. The phrase from Marx, which is carved on his tomb, is a true portrayal of this thinker of the proletariat: “Philosophers have only *interpreted* the world, in various ways. The point, however, is to *change* it”.

In the second part of this article we explained that unlike the national leftists of today, such as the worker-communists, Sultanzadeh was an internationalist who believed in the world revolution. Mansoor Hekmat, with demagoguery and by aligning unrelated names, was, on the one hand, discrediting a great internationalist like Avetis Sultanzadeh and, on the other hand, resorting to the lie that their apparently second-hand Stalinist ideas had come from Europe. We have clearly explained all these lies in the previous sections. If we leave aside the above issues, Mansoor Hekmat scrambling to raise his position in the political milieu up to the level of Avetis Sultanzadeh:

“You are going to look at Sultanzadeh and Haydar Amo-Oghli, and come forward to bring Jazenai, Ahmadzadeh and Pooyan and bring all their literature and put at a table and then [put literature] of the UCM and see what these said? The UCM from my point was the bridge that connected the communism of Iran to European communism, to the Marxist communism of the Western world.” [48] [Our translation]

Because his anonymous group has found an ear and had become one of the main actors in the formation of an organization called the anti-Communist Party of Iran, Mansoor Hekmat took advantage of the situation and declared that their current was a reflection of the historic need of the global working class (!) and that their current (the UCM) is not an Iranian or Kurdish current but is part of a global movement. The demagogy, the need for which appeared in different countries during this period, increased the necessity for their existence. Their current would first establish a communist party in Iran and then that communist party would create a new communist international. Would it have been the case that a few years after the communist international had been created by the anti-Communist Party of Iran the latter would have declared that it was a confluence of different social movements, all which had been stamped by compromise stamp?. What was the response of the ideologists of worker-communism to this nonsense of Mansoor Hekmat?

“We are part of a global movement. We are not an Iranian, Tehranian or Kurdish current... our current reflects the historic needs of the global working class. The need that has appeared in different countries in this period... the communist party of Iran will make the communist international. Our current will create the communist party of Iran... Those comrades who were insistent that we instead of the duties of students abroad, they put forward the fundamental issue of internationalism on the agenda of Congress, [they] showed breadth of their opinion.” [49] [Our translation]

The propaganda about the construction of the communist international continued but was more intrinsic. During the constitution of the foundation of the anti-Communist Party of Iran it is also announced that the Party would establish a new communist international, the headquarters of the fighter command of the international working class, alongside of the global elements of the world working class. It was supposed that on this occasion, the Party of Iran would play the role of the Bolshevik Party and this would lead to the formation of the International.

“Our party can and should with the power of the revolutionary proletariat of Iran and alongside of the various parts of the world working class, on the context of the bankruptcy and the continuing decline of revisionism globally and the deadly economic crisis that has captured the capitalist world, to set up the combatant headquarters of the working class, the new communist international.” [50] [Our translation]

Following this, the propaganda machine of the new party announced that the new communist international would be created by the anti-Communist Party of Iran and that it was time to prepare the interior of the new party. In the internal relations of the new party, it was announced that in the international arena, the Communist Party had, if not millions, tens and hundreds of thousands of sympathizers and supporters and that the anti-communist party of Iran was so influential that it would be able to reverse the fortunes of the British trade union movement. The expression of such nonsense in inter-party relations represents the level of acceptance of such thoughts in the internal relations of the new party-relations that were more in keeping with an ideological or religious sect than with a bourgeois party.

“One of the comrades of the spokesman on the tape says: ‘the communist party in the international arena, if not millions, but tens and hundreds of thousands!! of sympathizers and supporters.’... ‘For example, it was said in a banner that our party would be able to reverse British multi-year Trade-Unionism.’” [51] [Our translation]

After his promotion to leader, in a lecture entitled, “Will Communism win in Iran?”, Mansoor Hekmat suggested to his disciples that they were important and key figures within the community and he told them that they could not have authority of their own country, the country where they had grown up or where they had perhaps organized hundreds of thousands of



community elites. The organization of hundreds of thousands of other elites in the community is not exaggerated but is a clear lie in the pursuit of its goals. This is an ideological system and shows adherence to the leader. The Mujahedin was the only current of the opposition that held meetings with audiences of 100,000 people (or several hundred thousand people) in Tehran. If the figures provided by Mansoor Hekmat were correct, he could have had the same credibility as the Mujahedin. Mansoor Hekmat claimed that people within the Worker-communist Party of Iran had better abilities than the ministers and lawyers to manage the community. Of course, in the following sections we will see that these highly educated, competent and capable people were not capable of being in line with the positions of worker-communism! The emphasis of the leaders of worker-communism, the elites, the ministers, the lawyers and so on, was the humiliation of the working class. The real translation of the brilliant words of the leader of worker-communism is based on the further rumination of the cerebral secretions of the other ideologues of the bourgeoisie, which suggest that intelligent people enjoy great opportunities in the society because of their education and effort whereas less talented and lazy people eventually form the ranks of the working class. Mansour Hekmat said:

“Mr. Khatami can do the dialogue of civilizations, but you cannot have the authority of the country where you grew up, and perhaps at that time, you have organized a hundred thousand of elites of that society. They do not think that the same people who are in the worker communist party and in the communist movement, if they participate in a job ad in a free environment, their ability to manage the community will be greater than those ministers and lawyers. First, they have suppressed them so that they can rule.” [52] [Our translation]

On 15 May 2000 (please remember the date), in his speech entitled “The Oral History of the UCM”, Mansoor Hekmat promised that if within 20 or 30 years (that is, several years) they had failed to remove the Worker-communist Party from the scene of the struggle and had established a headquarters and office, photographs of the creators of the UCM would be posted on the walls and second-hand Stalinist handouts would be placed behind the showcases. Apparently, Mansoor Hekmat’s self-fascination had no limits and he claimed that if it had not been for the UCM, then socialism in Iran would not be any greater than it was in Brazil, Argentina, Turkey and Greece! Is there a fundamental difference between the socialism proposed in the political milieu in the countries he mentioned? The four-class party of the UCM, the petty-bourgeois evaluation of the leader of the bourgeoisie of Iran, a criminal like Khomeini turning the workers into cannon fodder in an imperialist war, etc., are all introduced as part of another type of communism. What hypocrisy!

“I think that in the future of the Iranian society, perhaps 20 to 30 years if the day of socialism triumphs in Iran, or a communist party and, for example, the worker communist party be a current that cannot eliminate it from the scene of an open struggle and they can stablish headquarters, bureau and office of it, photo of the creators of the UCM will be put on the walls

and will be put the pamphlets that I called out behind the showcases and they say that these discussions started from these [persons] and will show the status of this organization in history. Without the UCM, socialism in Iran would not be more than Brazil, Argentina, Turkey and Greece, if it get a lot of luck. The UCM. The UCM has caused that another type of communism being introduced to the society of Iran.” [53] [Our translation]

The whole effort of the leader of the Worker-communism had been to pretend that communism is associated with worker-communism. The entire propaganda machine of worker-communism, with full agitation that is akin to other bourgeois parties, was engaged in a scramble to pretend that worker-communism was the flagship of communism. Donations received from the bourgeois institutions (surplus value earned from the blood of workers) provided a boost for the organization’s propaganda machine. Their ideological propaganda tradition is also familiar in the political milieu. The Mujahedin claimed that no one was opposed to the Iranian regime and that, other than the Worker-communist Party, no one believed in the need for a communist society! What a lie! What obscenity!

For almost one hundred years, the international communists (left communists) have defended the proletarian position with their teeth and in the darkest periods of the counter-revolution they have defended the proletarian position and have declared that only a communist revolution across of the globe would save humanity from destruction. Now, an ideologue of the left of capital, by resorting to several Stalinist approaches in line with its class and bourgeois interests, was pretending to be the flagship of communism. Mansoor Hekmat noted:

“This position seems to me to be of a degree, arises especially in recent years in Iran. Communism associates with worker communist Party. In a sense theoretically too, the worker communist party has also been the flagship of communism. As a thought, as an alternative and as a kind of society, outside of us somebody does not believe that a communist society should come. In propaganda of a current is not that it should bring communist or socialist society, and the line of worker communism is which it is associated.” [54] [Our translation]

When the Communist Party of Iran was scheduled to be established by the New International, it was later announced that the Party was the site of a confluence of social movements. After the failure of the International Renaissance Project through the Communist Party of Iran, it was assumed that worker-communism would take over the task of reviving communism and reviving Marxism using the several approaches of Stalinism! Unfortunately, the leader of the Worker-communism is no longer alive to explain how the ideologues of the Party—who were not in line with worker-communism (we will return to this in later)-would be able to revive the International in the name of worker-communism.

“If communism has a future in global scale is through the parties that do it ... But if something is going to revive communism in the world, is the power and competence of the two or three worker communist parties of the world which in the countries of medium size be power. This rehabilitates the communism, revives Marxist theory, revives the manifesto, revives the capital... We are the parties that can become a power community, we will revive communism. This is the only real response after the collapse of the Eastern bloc ... This will come from us.” [55] [Our translation]

In fact, the construction of the Communist International was also part of the agitation of the propaganda machine and the demagoguery of the Worker-communism in pursuit of the goal of achieving political power. From the standpoint of that party, the groups formed in other countries should play the role of a jumping-platform to strengthen the Worker-communism in Iran and to help it to gain political power.

In the next section on socialism in one country, we will see that Mansoor Hekmat did not intend to start a revolution. He believed in ultra-flexible and wise diplomacy and did not intend to enter into hostilities with the West and the countries of the region. Finally, Mansoor Hekmat expressed his true understanding of the process of building the Communist International, the political expansion of worker-communism and his approach to gaining political power for worker-communism.

“In my opinion, our point of departure for the creation of the International is to find, or helping to create, organizations in the most important countries of the world, which have more or less the same program and practical agenda and have been busy by influencing of their community... In a word, the political expansion of the worker communist party of Iran – bringing it closer to [political] power, contact with the communist circles of the more important countries to push them to form active political parties with similar agenda as ours, and definitely creating a trilogy for the international publication of our views and finding our associates, this, in my opinion, is the real way forward in the path of a communist worker international.” [56] [Our translation]

All of these exaggerations, the lies and the political charlatanism, were laid out in the late 1990s within the conditions that Kourosh Modarresi, the Head of the Inland Committee of the Worker-communist Party of Iran, devised during the April Crisis of worker-communism. He confessed that almost until late 1997, the Party activities inside of the country had undergone a complete recession, in other words, it was not engaged in any activity.

“The internal committee is composed of a one-and-a-half year plan of action, codified and approved by the political office. This committee created, following a relatively complete

recession in organized activities within the country, since the establishment of the party.” [57]  
[Our translation]

Mahmoud Qazvini, a former member of the Central Committee of the Worker-communist Party and a Hekmatist, commented on Hamid Taqvaei, according to Mansoor Hekmat the second character of the UCM, commented as follows. Mahmoud Qazvini could generalized his thoughts on the leader of the UCM, his ideological leader, Mansoor Hekmat, saying that he demanded that the disciples of worker-communism avoid political commentary on the leader of the Worker-communism. Mahmoud is also ashamed that such a leader has once been his leader. Confused positions, under the title of worker-communism, which are disparate and bourgeois positions, are baseless and unfounded and it is for this reason that the disciples of the religion of worker-communism did not doubt or hesitate because they had been brainwashed and were unable to think for themselves. He wrote:

“I call on the members of the worker communist party of Iran to ban Hamid Taqvaei from political and theoretical commentary so that he do not carry more than this his honour and all of them. I am ashamed that such a person was at one time the leader of the party I was a member of. So far, I do not have any Marxist contender to comment so careless on the issues...These word are obviously unfounded. These word says for this reason that the members of the worker communist party of Iran did not find any suspicion and thought. Says for the humans that they are brainwashed and unable to think.” [58] [Our translation]

## **To Be Continued**

Issues in the next part:

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

M. Jahangiry  
10 November 2016

## Notes:

- [1] The third line was Stalinism influenced by Maoism, the characteristics of this line were described in the first section.
- [2] Report of Mansoor Hekmat from the Central Committee of the UCM to the First Congress of the UC, *Towards Socialism* No. 5.
- [3] The History of the UCM, Speech to the Marx Society of London, 15 May 2000.
- [4] Left Nationalism and Working Class Communism
- [5] As source 4
- [6] *Communist Worker* No. 1, Pages 2 and 19.
- [7] *Communist Worker*, 27 March 1981, pages 15–20.
- [8] Reply to Letters, *Communist*, No. 12, page 14.
- [9] Declaration of the Founding Congress of the Communist Party of Iran, September 1983.
- [10] On the Activity of the Party in Kurdistan, Mansoor Hekmat, page 18.
- [11] Working Class and Communist Organization or Working Class and Left-wing Coalition Organization, Rahman Hossein Zadeh.
- [12] Evaluation of battles and branches of the worker communism in Iran, part 3, Majid Hosseini, 18th January 2008
- [13] For more information of the positions of *Internationalist Voice* in this regard, reference is made to the series of articles, “Class Consciousness and the Revolutionary Organization”.
- [14] Speech at the Opening Ceremony of the Second Congress of the Communist Worker Party of Iran, April 1998.
- [15] From the debates of the First Congress of Komala, page 31.
- [16] From the debates of the First Congress of Komala, page 442.
- [17] The Crisis and Branches in Komala, a lecture to the Marx Society of London, March 2001.
- [18] As source 12
- [19] The internal theoretical journal of Komala, page 54.
- [20] The internal theoretical journal of Komala - Page 57
- [21] The internal theoretical journal of Komala - Page 72
- [22] The internal theoretical journal of Komala - Page 68
- [23] The internal theoretical journal of Komala - Page 74
- [24] As source 12
- [25] As source 12
- [26] As source 12
- [27] As source 12
- [28] Resolutions of the Second Congress of Komala, page 21.
- [29] As source 28
- [30] Biography of Mansoor Hekmat by Soheila Sharifi - Page 34
- [31] As source 30
- [32] As source 30
- [33] Resolutions of the Second Congress of Komala. Page 24
- [34] As source 12
- [35] Announcement of the Founding Congress and the first plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Iran, 15 September 1983.
- [36] Declaration of the Founding Congress of the Communist Party of Iran
- [37] Left Nationalism and Working Class Communism
- [38] Party and Society: From a pressure group to a political party

- [39] *Communist*, No. 15, December 1984
- [40] The Crisis and Branches in Komala, a lecture to the Marx Society of London, March 2001.
- [41] Evaluation of battles and branches of the worker communism in Iran, part 3, Majid Hosseini, 18th January 2008
- [42] Notes on the Communist Propaganda Tasks in Relation to the Revolutionary Movement of People of Kurdistan.
- [43] Biography of Mansoor Hekmat by Soheila Sharifi - page 44
- [44] Biography of Mansoor Hekmat by Soheila Sharifi - page 47
- [45] Crisis and Branches in Komala, Mansour Hekmat.
- [46] The Constitution of the Communist Party of Iran.
- [47] Biography of Mansoor Hekmat, Soheila Sharifi, page 24.
- [48] Oral History of the UCM, Mansoor Hekmat.
- [49] Mansoor Hekmat's report from the Central Committee of the UCM to the First Congress of the UCM, *Toward Socialism* No. 5, pages 22-24.
- [50] Declaration of the Founding Congress of the Communist Party of Iran.
- [51] About the Organizational Changes of the Organization of Sympathizers of the Communist Party of Iran Abroad, pages 7 and 35.
- [52] Is it Possible to Win Communism in Iran? Mansoor Hekmat.
- [53] Oral History of the UCM, Mansoor Hekmat.
- [54] As source 52
- [55] Party and Community: from pressure group to political party.
- [56] Mansoor Hekmat's letter under the title, "To comrade Bahman Shafiq, copy to the comrades of the Central Committee on the text of Rafiq Bahman Shafiq."
- [57] The Fact, Kourosh Modaresi, 23 April 23 1999.
- [58] The Populism of Hamid Taqvaei and the Overthrowing Charter of the Worker-communist Party—Hekmatist, Mahmoud Qazvini.