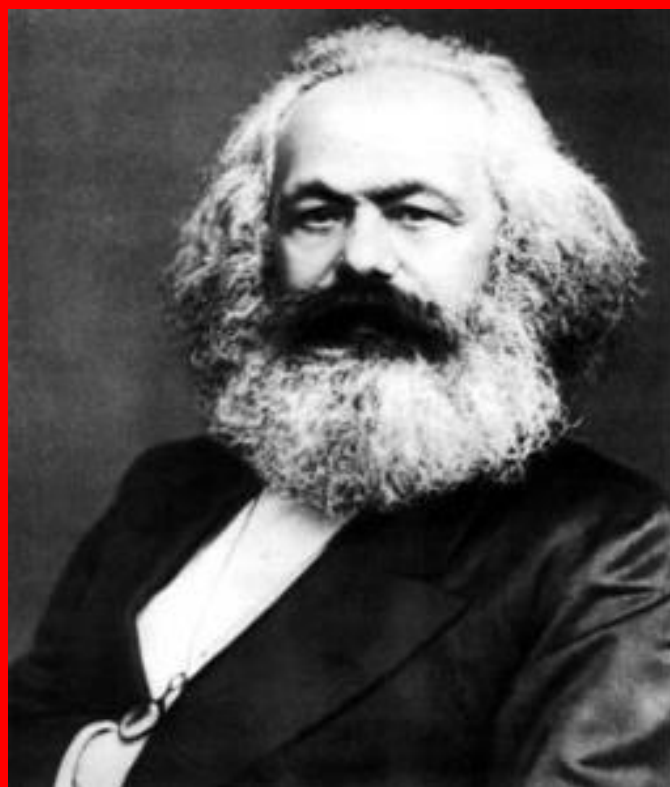


# **Worker Communism**

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

**(Part 7)**



**In defense of Marxism**

# **Internationalist Voice**

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

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

# Issues of the text

## Issues of part VII (this 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

## Issues of part VI:

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

## Issues of part V:

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

## Issues of part IV:

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

## Issues of part III:

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

**Issues of part II:**

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

**Issues of part I:**

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

## **Worker-communism and Stalinism**

In the previous sections, we have clearly shown that the origin of worker-communism has been second-hand Stalinism and during its evolutionary process has been fed by a Maoist context. Stalinism is not just a referral or a loyalty to Stalin the individual, such a visionary approach would be highly superficial and would not be taken seriously. Stalinism represents the victory of the counter-revolution from the ruins of the glorious October Revolution that followed the breakdown of the wave of world revolution and expresses the declaration of belonging and loyalty to the anti-communist and bourgeois theses under the name of communism. We will focus on the core of Stalinism, namely, the anti-Marxist thesis of “socialism in one country” in the following pages of this section. In this section on the language of the theorists of worker-communism, we will look briefly at Khrushchev’s views on the question of Stalinism and at how his revisionism dominated the Soviet Communist Party.

A characteristic of Stalinism, irrespective of its traditional type or its radical phrase, such as worker-communism, is its particular ideological view of the historical events that have a special place and play a special role in this ideology’s personality (the cult of personality). The historical context and the intervention force of society, namely, the proletariat, will be obedient to the ideological character, which becomes even more ridiculous with the death of the characters (individuality), for example, with the death of Stalin in Russia or the death of Mao in China. Worker-communism has not gained political power anywhere and, so, with the death of its ideologue (Mansoor Hekmat), the mode of production would also be changed. However, Mansoor Hekmat’s death accelerated the collapse of worker-communism. Whether of the traditional type or the radical phrase, Stalinists are unanimous in their belief that with the death of Stalin, the Soviet Communist Party became the advocate of bourgeois reformism. Their point of reference is the Khrushchev’s revisionism. As Mansoor Hekmat wrote:

“The sovereignty of revisionism on the communist parties of Soviet and china has led to defeat and retreating of the global working class of its two important strongholds in these countries. Now the bourgeoisie in the Soviet Union has succeeded in destroying the dictatorship of the proletariat and revive its political sovereignty and capitalist system in this country ...Today, these two countries belong to the bourgeois-imperialist counter-revolutionary camp of the world. Today, the Soviet Union is at the world level is ensign and the point of reliance on the revisionism of Khrushchev and the advocate of bourgeois reformism, which in the era of imperialism is a reactionary current.” [1] [Our translation]

It is an irrefutable fact that on the ruins of the defeat of the October Revolution, on the bones of the communists beaten till bloody, the bourgeoisie re-established its political sovereignty in Russia. When and how it was restored expresses the distance between the opinions of the two classes. Internationalists believe that it was not Stalin’s death but the late 1920s, after the defeat

of the wave of world revolution, that the bourgeoisie, using Stalinist ideology, was able to celebrate its counter-revolutionary victory on the ruins of the October Revolution. However, the radical phrase Stalinists (including the Unity of Communist Militants) assessed the coming of Khrushchev in the mid-1950s as the revival of capitalism.

The Unity of Communist Militants (UCM) believed that the early advance of the proletariat in the cause of building socialism was defeated and that at the time of writing the programme for the UCM, the Mars of 1981, the Soviet Union was the flagship of Khrushchev's revisionism. In other words, at the time of Stalin and until the arrival of Khrushchev, the Soviet proletariat continued to build on socialism. We will bypass the view that the imperialist World War II was evaluated as progressive and, consequently, that the creation of state capitalism in the Eastern European countries, which took place at the time of Stalin, was an advance in the construction of socialism and that this progress was defeated after the coming of Khrushchev. The UCM programme noted:

“The Soviet Communist Party has become a bourgeois party, and the bourgeoisie, relying on it, the early advance of the Soviet proletariat in the building of socialism has dragged to failure and has established a monopoly of state capitalism in this country. The Soviet Union is today the flagship and the centerpiece of the Khrushchev revisionism of.” [2] [Our translation]

The radical phrase Stalinists believed or continue to believe that after Stalin's death, Khrushchev's revisionism dominated the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the communist movement more generally. Therefore, they did not evaluate the socialist Eastern bloc and its satellites after Stalin's death but in their literature they referred to some as progressive and as approaching becoming socialist states. One such country was Cuba, where Mansoor Hekmat believed the socialist breeze had blown. In the late 1950s, following the overthrow of the Batista regime, Cuban guerrillas established a new government and emphasized that they were not seeking communism or Marxism but seeking democracy and social justice. However, following tensions with the West and especially the US, at the time of Khrushchev they were drawn to the Eastern bloc, at the head of which was the Soviet Union, and they became members of the cast in the Cold War. No social revolution (socialist) has taken place in Cuba. Despite this, Mansoor Hekmat stated:

“For example, the Cuban Revolution, nobody voted to bring Batista out. This should not be a concern. What I and you should ask is that what this government wants? What does it do and who does it represent in the community? What system is it?” [3] [Our translation]

These are merely brief mentions of the UCM view of the advance of revisionism and its domination over the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which, in the opinion of the UCM, resulted in the defeat of the proletarian efforts to build socialism when Khrushchev came to

power. In none of the works of the UCM is there anything to deny Stalinism. Therefore, in order to illustrate the Stalinist and counter-revolutionary nature of the UCM, we will mainly rely on the topic of the ideology of Stalinism. However, prior to discussing these issues, we will make brief reference to the Maoism of worker-communism.

## **Worker-communism and Maoism**

The bourgeois ideologue, Mansoor Hekmat, laughed at the Red Book of Mao and when he was promoted to a leadership position his demagogic approach was that his Marxism had originated in Marx and was not related to Maoist traditions. First, let us take a look at Mansoor Hekmat's view of the phenomenon of the domination of revisionism within the Chinese Communist Party, which, according to him, had led to the expulsion of the working class from political power in China. The UCM programme, written by Mansoor Hekmat, states:

“The sovereignty of revisionism over the Soviet and Chinese Communist Parties has led to the defeat and rejection of the global working class from their two major bases in these countries ... In China, with the definitive control of revisionism on the Communist Party of the country, the working class is expelled from political power and the power of bourgeoisie and the capitalist system have been consolidated, and today these two countries belong to the bourgeois-imperialist counter-revolutionary camp of the world ... China is also the flagship and the point of reliance on the “three worlds” revisionism and the advocate of the most reactionary trends and currents of Bourgeois.” [4] [Our translation]

According to the programme of the UCM, there was a period during which the working class in China possessed political power and revisionism had not yet dominated the Chinese Communist Party. According to the arguments of the UCM, after the definitive domination of revisionism over the Communist Party of China the working class was driven out of political power in China. This explanation and argument is found not only in the UCM but also in the Maoists of the radical phrase in the Revolutionary International Movement (RIM) and the Communist Party of Iran (MLM) [5]. We will return to the shared arguments of the Maoists and Mansoor Hekmat.

The fact is that the capitalist system is a global system and, consequently, the reaction of the workers' movement is also global. Following the wave of world revolution, the workers' movement in China, albeit with a slight delay, was challenging capitalism. Between 1919 and 1927 we witnessed the battles and victories of the anti-capitalist struggles of the Chinese proletariat that had been calling for the death of capitalism. However, the irrefutable fact is that after the Chinese proletariat had drawn blood in 1927, particularly the proletariat of Shanghai and Canton (which was the result of the policy of creating a united front with the Kuomintang of China), the Chinese Communist Party joined the bourgeois camp. After this date, the history of

the Chinese Communist Party has been the history of the political apparatus of the left of capital. Something that was also called the “mass revolution of China” was actually the gravestone of the proletarian revolution of China that was drowned in the blood of the workers of Shanghai and Canton. The working class has never been able to take political power in China. What constitutes the “political power of the working class”- as it is seen by Mansoor Hekmat and the Maoists—is, in fact, the formation of state capitalism with the ideology of a Maoist political superstructure that, at the height of the anti-revolutionary era, was shaped over the ruins of the defeat of the anti-capitalist and heroic struggles of the Chinese proletariat. [6]

Mansoor Hekmat expressed his Maoist insight and understanding of the sovereignty of the people and the exercise of the sovereignty of revolutionary democracy in the free zones. First, let us take a look at Mansoor Hekmat’s speech to the Third Congress of Komala. He said:

“It's talk about that how the force of mass must be used to promote their material and spiritual life, how to make it alive and activate. The political dimension of the issue, in my opinion, is more important at this stage, that is, how can revolutionary democracy in the liberated areas be implemented? Have we clarity plan for the realization and implementation of revolutionary democracy and the granting of sovereignty to the deprived people of Kurdistan and whether we are going to implement it?” [7] [Our translation]

In the Maoist literature, “free zones” are of particular importance and refer to the areas where Maoist forces have taken control from the government forces. The irrefutable fact is that commodity relations (capitalist relations) are still dominant in these areas even though the People’s Army (Komala or any other name) has control over those areas. It is also an undeniable fact that the departure of Komala to the villages was due to Maoist understandings rather than being a response to the police and security pressures. At this point, Mansoor Hekmat was playing a very important role in the policies of Komala. The question that arises here is concerned with the meaning and understanding that Mansoor Hekmat had of the realization and practice of revolutionary democracy in the free zones. We hear the answer to this question:

“After the arrival of Mansoor Hekmat in one of the villages of the Bukan area, Rahman Hussein Zadeh, who was then responsible for the village committee of the Komala in the area, recalled: 'Nader [Mansoor Hekmat] asked me what the village committee is doing? ... Nader said that it is better to do things that directly benefit the working people of the region and have a positive impact on their daily lives and make life better for them. He said that this area will not remain in your control long-term, the regime will soon capture everywhere. You have to make sure that the people remember the Communist regime and have benefited from it. People should live in relative comfort we are in the position of a government. We want people to live in relative comfort. He suggested that we set up a health plan and help them with the villagers, for example,

cover sewage, provide health education classes, and teach people how to take care of themselves and their children’.” [8]

From the imagination and perception of Mansour Hekmat we can understand the realization and application of revolutionary democracy under the rule of Komala. If the realization of such acts is called the government of Komala there is definitely no problem but referring to it as “communist rule” is to place a slur on the ideas and principles of communism and to present a monstrous image of communist society. For the time being, we are convinced that “communist rule” does not make sense. Government means the existence of a kind of state whereas a socialist or communist society lacks any state. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is itself a kind of state, it is not the communists but the working class that act as a dictatorship through the global councils. We refer to this in more detail in other sections of this article.

Once the realization and the exercise of revolutionary democracy has occurred in the free zones, the realization of the issues mentioned above was seen as being part of the practice and function of the government of Komala.

Years later, Mohammed Fatahi, a member of the Central Committee (Hekmatist), confessed that no workers in the free zone felt that the rules of the class society were under the leadership of the Maoist style Komala government and they felt it was no different from the rule of the Islamic Republic. He wrote:

“I am telling about Komala, because it was the crown jewels of the left on a large social scale and controlled areas of the country under its domains...No worker felt that the class rules were different under the leadership of the two governments and by going of Komala, his salary was lower and his hours of work went up. In the mind of the community, Komala was a military force that retreated and went and went and went.” [9] [Our translation]

## **Worker-communism and the transition state**

After the overthrow of capitalism by the communist revolution, it will not be possible to directly establish a communist system and society will still need a form of “state”. In other words, there is a revolutionary transition period between capitalist society and communist society in which a political transition will also take shape— one where the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat will be the form of that state and this will mean a complete breakdown of the bourgeois state apparatus. In his letter of March 1852, written to J. Weydemeyer in New York, Marx stated this as follows:



“... And now as to myself, no credit is due to me for discovering the existence of classes in modern society or the struggle between them. Long before me bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this class struggle and bourgeois economists, the economic economy of the classes. What I did that was new was to prove:

1. that the *existence of classes* is only bound up with *particular historical phases in the development of production* (historische Entwicklungsphasen der Produktion),
2. that the class struggle necessarily leads to the *dictatorship of the proletariat*,
3. that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the *abolition of all classes* and to a *classless society* .”

Political power, earned on a global scale or, at least, on a regional scale, is the first condition and the first step in the transition from capitalist society. Unlike previous transitions, this transition can only start from within the capitalist system and, therefore, the necessary condition for the commencement of this process is the existence of a communist revolution. Earlier transitions have always begun from within the previous social system and have gradually grown to become a dominant social system.

In contrast with earlier periods, the main institutions of the capitalist state, such as the police, the army, the judicial system, etc., cannot serve the proletariat but must be destroyed. Following the first victory of the proletariat, capitalism will show its reaction through reactionary warfare, such as the attack on the October Revolution. At this point, the main orientation of the dictatorship of the proletariat must be in the direction of the destruction of the power of capitalism and the advance of the victories of the proletariat and everything should be directed toward this. However, Mansoor Hekmat believed that after a victory, the proletariat should not be invited to the conflict for at least 10 years and should have a flexible diplomacy. We currently put aside Mansoor Hekmat’s opinion and demagoguery of the advancement of the communist revolution, which he refers to as being “invited to the conflict”. Mansoor Hekmat says:

“Another point is that, in my opinion, people see themselves in the government ... Such a government should have an extremely flexible and wise diplomacy. In my opinion, the intention of war and the issuance of such things should never be left to any place. Must give assurance that we do not fight with anyone. Are you fascist? Bravo, good for you! We want to do another thing here. I do not think that we should invite any controversy. There should never be hostility towards the West and the countries of the region. The solution is that you have a flexible diplomacy... As a result, the key is that the victorious communism, it must be idolatry and will coexist with the world of his time. At least 10 years.” [10] [Our translation]

Contrary to the demagoguery of the left of the political capitalist apparatus, the first task of a victorious communist revolution is not ultra-flexible and wise diplomacy and the creation of a socialist island, which is not possible, but the endless effort, support, assistance and backing for

the spread of the wave of the universal revolution in the direction of victory. We should not forget that the wave of the universal revolution (1917–1924) did not occur in Moscow or Leningrad but that its failure was in Berlin and Munich and that about twenty-thousand revolutions in the heart of Europe were massacred by the barbarians, which paved the way for the growth of Nazism in the 1930s. [11]

Contrary to Mansoor Hekmat's view of the "rule of the people", only the social class is only interested in communism and for this reason the class independence of the working class and the emphasis of its communist programme are of particular importance. Only the working class as a whole class can take society towards communism, not a minority of the class, even if it is a revolutionary minority.

Since the capitalist system is a universal system, the dictatorship of the proletariat removes the political and economic dominance of global capital from its dominant territory and, consequently, although it restricts and makes conditions on profitability, the accumulation of capital, etc., it is still under the impact of the global capitalist system. In such a situation, embryonic socialism begins to grow in the form of contingent and limited conditions under the rule of the dictatorship of the proletariat. At this point, we are faced with the manner in which capitalism is being destroyed and with the growth of the socialist mode of production. The decline of the global capitalist system and the growth and enlargement of the embryo of socialism depend entirely on the evolution of the universal revolution.

The essential task of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the expropriation of the exploiting class through the socialization of the means of production and the progressive development of this socialized segment in order to remove all productive activities. At the transitional stage, the non-exploitative classes and layers in society that are based on the non-socialized sector of the economy will continue to exist and will still bear the stamp of classes. The elimination of non-social classes and layers, the gradual solution for the social sector, will slowly lead to the abolition of the final classes, which will also lead to the decline of the proletarian state.

Indeed, through planning that is based on the social and individual needs that are organized by the workers' council, the socialist revolution will provide society with the means of production. It should be emphasized that placing the means of production in the service of social needs according to the structures of the dictatorship of the proletariat is substantially representative of socialization. In the *Communist Manifesto*, Marx writes in this regard:

"The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degree, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralise all instruments of production in the hands of the State, *i.e.*, of the proletariat organised as the ruling class; and to increase the total productive forces as rapidly as possible."

Having briefly explained our views on the transition from capitalism to socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, we will now turn to the ideology of worker-communism in relation to this issue. According to Mansoor Hekmat, during the transition period, which is also the revolutionary period, there is no council, nor is there a constituent assembly or a parliament but, in the process of dispossessing the regime—and not the capitalist system—the parties are committed to building society and to giving power to the people—not to the working class. We currently put aside the populism and the people’s government of Mansoor Hekmat and he states:

“We believe in a transitional category of revolutionary times. When we annihilate the Islamic Republic, there is no council, and nothing else... There is no constituent Assembly, there is no parliamentary, as a result, in the process of dropping the regime, certain parties are sure to come power and these parties are committed to building a society and empowering the people.” [13] [Our translation]

We have previously considered the UCM’s Maoist (multi-class) approach in relation to the social revolution, which is also relevant to the transition government. Mansoor Hekmat believed that the working class of Iran was not capable of establishing its own government but that the combination of class forces (Maoist multi-class) has the ability to perform another revolution and this is a revolution for democracy:

“The working class of Iran in the present situation does not have the capacity to immediately establish its government immediately. Creating this preparation is our duty. But in any case, a combination of the class forces of the community is capable of carrying out “another revolution.” This revolution is a revolution for democracy, and is component and sectional in the whole process of the workers' revolution. The victory of this revolution is helping the victory of the workers' revolution. The victory of this revolution with real force and is already available classes demanding revolutionary democracy is a practical task. This revolution must definitely overthrow the present state and the existing political regime. What can and should be sidelined immediately?... The revolutionary republic for us is the continuation of the revolutionary fate of tomorrow's overthrow through the formation of an interim revolutionary state. This revolutionary government is vital. If one is to facilitate socialist struggle for political democracy, if anyone wants to do revolution for the democracy, or even if someone has two eyes and sees that if he himself does not revolutionize, there are certain social classes and social strata doing revolution for the democracy, then must answer what should be the outcome of this revolution in relation to political power.” [14] [Our translation]

Mansoor Hekmat wanted to revolutionize democracy. The result of a democratic revolution is the formation of an interim revolutionary government that will lead to the formation of a revolutionary republic. Mahmoud Qazvini, a former member of the Central Committee of the

Workers-communist Party of Iran and the Hekmatist Party, provided more detail about the interim government proposed by his leader:

“I can say that this government is not just the government of the working class. It is the government of the working class government and the masses of the uprising of the people, many of whom not only seek socialism but also oppose it. We consider this a fuzzy state in the revolution, this state is not an organ of the implementation of the historical intentions of this or that class. Our participation in this state depends on the interests of the progress of the workers' revolution. No matter how far the victory over the Islamic Republic and political Islam is made more complete and deeper and this does not mean except the formation of the interim government, the victory of the workers' revolution is easier and more rigorous. This is state of Air Forces of revolution of 1979, is the government of the victory of the participants in the July 18 rebellion, the state of the Fereydunkenar rebels. This is not a state of order, a state of war.” [15] [Our translation]

Perhaps, at first glance, the above nonsense reflects the author's lack of knowledge of Marxist positions in relation to the state but, in fact, it is the expression of the views of left of capital that pours soil into the eyes of the working class. The demagoguery that suggests that the state is not an organ of the implementation of the historical intentions of this or that class is misleading, on the contrary, the state is applying the dictatorship of one class against another class. The state is a product of the irreconcilability of class antagonisms. A state made up of classes is not a concept! In principle, no matter what form it takes the state is essentially a capitalist machine. In Engel's famous work, *The Origin of Family, Private Property and State*, his historical analysis clearly states that the Marxist idea of the state is precisely the state that is the product of the irreconcilable manifestation of class contradictions. He writes:

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

Of course, according to the Mansour Hekmat, the revolution for democracy is vital since it is part of the entire process of the workers' revolution. He believed that, first, the “revolutionary republic” does not represent the political superstructure of the economy and, second, that through

its process the revolutionary state (the revolutionary republic) becomes obsolete and is replaced by the dictatorship of the proletariat:

“We do not look at the revolutionary republic as the ‘political superstructure of Iranian economy’ but we consider it as ‘state in a revolutionary period’, which must organize the atrocity of the toilers from above, for the cause of democracy. If a revolution is possible for democracy, then the democratic revolutionary state is not only possible, but it is vital. That itself the historical process of this revolution and the revolutionary state at what time interval do ‘old’ and put on the order of the day the dictatorship of the proletariat, is another matter.” [16] [Our translation]

According to Mansoor Hekmat’s reasoning, up to this point we are experiencing a revolutionary government (revolutionary republic). Finally, on a bright day for the revolution and in the process of the continuation of the revolution, a top-down process, the dictatorship of the proletariat is placed on the proletarian agenda. The proletariat within the revolutionary government (the revolutionary republic) then proclaims the formation of a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and this is also the property of every real revolutionary state that is formed from the most active part of the revolutionary classes (not just a revolutionary class). Mansoor Hekmat presents his multi-class and Maoist dictatorship thus:

“The same force that organizes the uprising and places the councils in the position of acceptance of the "fait accompli" is the same force that... propound the idea of transferring power to the councils and organized a violent act to overthrow of the bourgeois state and transfer of the real power, the same force is Inevitably and subject to objective political conditions, naturally finds itself in the position of leadership of the process of continuation of the revolution "from above" and the suppression of the armed resistance of the bourgeoisie, and should take this duty with the same degree of certainty. The property of any interim revolutionary government is the formation of the most active part of the revolutionary classes, namely actual uprisers.” [17] [Our translation]

We have already seen that Mansoor Hekmat advised that the revolutionary government should abandon the conflict for at least 10 years and should use diplomacy. After the 10-year period, in the process of the continuation of the revolution the revolutionary state would metamorphosize from above into the dictatorship of the proletariat. The period of repression of the bourgeoisie can begin with the formation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. According to Mansoor Hekmat, the dictatorship of the proletariat has two-stages:

“The dictatorship of the proletariat (or the transitional period in general) consists of two distinct, more or less distinct periods: the first period of the political establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the second period of social transition under the stabilized’ dictatorship of the proletariat.

The first period is a period that begins immediately with the formation of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is the period when the working-class government as a temporary revolutionary state of workers acts a 'Revolutionary period state'. The basic duty and priority of this state, like any state resulting from the uprising, is the suppression of the necessary inevitable and, to the end of life, the defeat of reactionary, that is, the bourgeoisie ... In other words, the dictatorship of the proletariat during this period is the 'interim administration' of the dictatorship of the proletariat, with the characteristics of a temporary revolutionary state.

The second period corresponds to the political stability of proletarian power. This is the period in which the dictatorship of the proletariat acts as a "non-temporary" state. Here, the very profound definitions of Marxism about the dictatorship of the proletariat as the direct organization of the whole working class as a ruling class and the establishment of proletarian democracy in its most comprehensive form are practically materialized." [18] [Our translation]

For the first time in history, the communist revolution (the labour revolution) will be the revolution of an exploited class not only against its own exploiting class but also as a revolution against any form of exploitation of man by man. The proletariat has no historical duty to consolidate its class power over other social classes but has a duty to form a classless society. Although the dictatorship of the proletariat takes the form of a state, in its own process, by dismantling the material relations of society, the state is no longer a means of repression or, better, if stabilized, the state is no longer the state but goes into decline.

Sadly, Mansoor Hekmat is polluting the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia, the survival of which was tied to the advent of the global revolution—there was never a serious suggestion of socialism in one country.

“In Bolshevik thinking, the second phase of the dictatorship of the proletariat was depicted virtually in the context of a global revolution, and therefore, in practice, until the years of 26-24, in discussions about socialism in a country, practically and completely was not occasion concrete and serious attention and analysis.” [19] [Our translation]

It is an irrefutable fact that the Bolsheviks assessed the continuation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia in the context of a global revolution. That the discussions on “socialism in one country” began in the years 1924–1926, marked the advent of the counter-revolution because of the failure of the wave of global revolution, which celebrated its victory by establishing the anti-Marxist thesis of “socialism in one country”. We will address this issue in the following pages. Mansour Hekmat’s demagoguery states that the horizons and economic prospects of the dictatorship of the proletariat were not put in front of the prominent leaders of the working class in Russia, in other words, he seems to be suggesting that if he had been there at the time and had put this perspective in front of the leaders of the Russian working class, developments in Russia would have taken a different direction. In contrast to Mansoor Hekmat’s demagoguery, it should

be stressed that the construction of an economy that is superior to capitalism, namely, the advance towards a socialist economy, is not possible within the framework of a national state but requires a global effort and the cooperation of the world proletariat. Mansoor Hekmat remarks:

“The fact that Leninism was not represented in the economic debates of 1924-1928 was partly due to the fact that the horizon and the prospect of the transition from the dictatorship of the proletariat to the revolutionary period, in which the economy was subordinated to political, a dictatorship state of the proletariat in the broad sense of the word, with the task of building a ‘superior economy of capitalism’, was not seriously placed in the agenda of the conscious avant-garde of the Russian working class ...If Lenin was, we would probably have had a much clearer picture of the economic tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat today. Because the discussions of the years 1924-1928 were precisely the discussions that took place during the period of the transition of the dictatorship of the proletariat from the revolutionary period to the period of stability and the “normal” performance.” [20] [Our translation]

Having reviewed the counter-revolutionary and Stalinist views of Mansoor Hekmat and the UCM in relation to the transitional state, we will now consider the issue of socialism in one country from the perspective of the internationalists and will then consider the Stalinist opinions of Mansoor Hekmat.

## **Worker-communism and socialism in one country**

According to Marxist concept and also from the perspective of the internationalists, socialism and communism are not two separate concepts but are used to describe a society in which the mode of production is socialist. In other words, it describes a non-class society in which the means of production is social and not state-owned. After the capitalist mode of production we will only see one kind of mode of production, the socialist mode of production (communism). A socialist society differs from a communist society in terms of the distribution of material benefits, which, in a socialist society, will continue to be kept within bourgeois limits. Marx points to this as follows:

“In spite of this advance, this equal right is still constantly stigmatized by a bourgeois limitation. The right of the producers is proportional to the labour they supply; the equality consists in the fact that measurement is made with an equal standard, labour.”[21]

Although the slogan of the socialist society is “to each according to his work”, the basic and fundamental characteristic of the socialist society is the socialization of the means of production; the socialization of the means of production is never a collective concept, nor does it become state-owned. We will, of course, return to this issue. The motto of the socialist society, “to each according to his work”, expresses a kind of justice that contradicts the concept of communism

and a communist society. Hence, in a communist society, equal rights must be converted into unequal rights in order to adhere to the concept of communism. Marx explains how to turn justice into injustice in a communist society in order to adhere to the concept of communism:

“Thus, with an equal performance of labour, and hence an equal in the social consumption fund, one will in fact receive more than another, one will be richer than another, and so on. To avoid all these defects, right, instead of being equal, would have to be unequal.”[22]

The unequal distribution of material welfare that results from the unequal division of social labour and, in particular, the division and the contradiction between intellectual work and physical activity, must disappear from society if it is to become communist. In other words, society must be able to advance from the lower stage of communism (socialism) to the advanced stage of communist (communism itself). In this regard, Marx describes the social context of these conditions, namely, the unequal distribution, as well as the social context of the decline of the unequal distribution:

“But these defects are inevitable in the first phase of communist society as it is when it has just emerged after prolonged birth pangs from capitalist society. Right can never be higher than the economic structure of society and its cultural development conditioned thereby.

In a higher phase of communist society, after the enslaving subordination of the individual to the division of labour, and therewith also the antithesis between mental and physical labour, has vanished; after labour has become not only a means of life but life's prime want; after the productive forces have also increased with the all-around development of the individual, and all the springs of co-operative wealth flow more abundantly - only then then can the narrow horizon of bourgeois right be crossed in its entirety and society inscribe on its banners: From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs!”[23]

It is important to note that in the shadow of the socialization of the productive forces, the remaining effects of bourgeois rights (equal distribution for equal work), which are the result of the production of an abundance of material wealth, decline in a socialist society (rather than suddenly disappearing) when society gradually enters the higher stage of communism.

With this brief explanation of the concept of socialism, we return to the contexts of the formation of the anti-Marxist thesis of socialism in one country. In his work on the principles of communism, Engels emphasized that the communist revolution is not a national revolution but a universal revolution that will happen on a global scale:

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

No. By creating the world market, big industry has already brought all the peoples of the Earth, and especially the civilized peoples, into such close relation with one another that none is independent of what happens to the others.



Further, it has co-ordinated the social development of the civilized countries to such an extent that, in all of them, bourgeoisie and proletariat have become the decisive classes, and the struggle between them the great struggle of the day. It follows that the communist revolution will not merely be a national phenomenon but must take place simultaneously in all civilized countries – that is to say, at least in England, America, France, and Germany.

It will develop in each of these countries more or less rapidly, according as one country or the other has a more developed industry, greater wealth, a more significant mass of productive forces. Hence, it will go slowest and will meet most obstacles in Germany, most rapidly and with the fewest difficulties in England. It will have a powerful impact on the other countries of the world, and will radically alter the course of development which they have followed up to now, while greatly stepping up its pace.

It is a universal revolution and will, accordingly, have a universal range.”

For Marx, Engels and the communist movement, capitalism is a universal system and, consequently, the proletariat is also a global class. Therefore, logically, the response of the proletariat or, in other words, the solution for the proletariat, has to be universal. This issue was even more significant during the wave of world revolution. The Bolsheviks, with Lenin at their head, knew that the Russian revolution would be isolated without the victory of the revolution in other capitalist countries, especially in Germany where the revolution had begun. Therefore, they were waiting for a workers’ revolution to take place in at least some European industrialized countries and Lenin insisted that the European revolution was important for humanity. In his farewell letter to the Swiss workers, Lenin argued that the idea of a revolutionary class in Russia that was isolated from other European workers, was wholly alien and stressed that these conditions would probably be very short-lived. In other words, the workers in Europe would revolutionize. He wrote:

“The idea that the Russian proletariat is the chosen revolutionary proletariat among the workers of the world is absolutely alien to us... It is not its special qualities, but rather the special conjuncture of historical circumstances that for a certain, perhaps very short, time has made the proletariat of Russia the vanguard of the revolutionary proletariat of the whole world.”[24]

In contrast to the different tendencies of the capitalist left, the Bolsheviks were more aware and emphasized that they should not forget that their revolution was part of a universal revolution and that the fate of the socialist revolution in Russia depended on the fate of the German revolution, in other words, on the fate of the universal revolution. They depicted their duties only through the horizon of the universal revolution. In this context, Lenin wrote:

“The great honour of beginning the revolution has fallen to the Russian proletariat. But the Russian proletariat must not forget that its movement and revolution are only part of a world revolutionary proletarian movement, which in Germany, for example, is gaining momentum with every passing day. Only from this angle can we define our tasks.”[25]

The victory of socialism on a global scale was an accepted thought in the communist movement prior to the defeat of the wave of global revolution. Even Stalin, in his pamphlet, *Concerning Questions of Leninism*, first published in May 1924, clearly rejected the idea that socialism could be built in one country and by relying solely on the working class of one country. In the first edition of this booklet we read:

“But the overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie and establishment of the power of the proletariat in one country does not yet mean that the complete victory of socialism has been ensured. The principal task of socialism—the organisation of socialist production—has still to be fulfilled. Can this task be fulfilled, can the final victory of socialism be achieved in one country, without the joint efforts of the proletarians in several advanced countries? No, it cannot. To overthrow the bourgeoisie the efforts of one country are sufficient; this is proved by the history of our revolution. For the final victory of socialism, for the organisation of socialist production, the efforts of one country, particularly of a peasant country like Russia, are insufficient; for that, the efforts of the proletarians of several advanced countries are required”[26]

The start of the defeat of the wave of universal revolution and, consequently, the suppression of the class struggle, led to the rise of the counter-revolution. We first try to distinguish between the possibility of “the victory of socialism in one country” and the “final victory of socialism”. Hence, there is the possibility of a victory for socialism in one country but the ultimate victory of socialism requires the joint efforts of the proletariat of at least some European countries. It is significant that the pamphlet speaks of socialism (the lower stage of a communist society) rather than communism (the high stage of a communist society). Stalin transformed his position and wrote:

“It goes without saying that for the *complete* victory of socialism, for a *complete* guarantee against the restoration of the old order, the united efforts of the proletarians of several countries are necessary. It goes without saying that, without the support given to our revolution by the proletariat of Europe, the proletariat of Russia could not have held out against the general onslaught.”[27]

Following the defeat of the wave of the universal revolution, which occurred in the shadow of the massacre of tens of thousands of revolutionaries in the heart of Europe, in Germany, the grounds for the failure of the October Revolution were provided in Europe. The failure of the wave of world revolution was, of course, also accompanied by the victory of the counter-revolution that was built on the bones of the communists that were beaten bloody. It was in this context that, in 1926, Stalin eventually declared “the victory of socialism in one country”:

“The party has always convinced the idea that the victory of socialism in a country, means the possibility of building socialism in that country, and which that task can be completed by the forces of a single country, had put its point of departure.” [28] [Our translation]

To demonstrate the accuracy of their argument, the Stalinists and the defenders of socialism in one country used a quote from the *Communist Manifesto* and a quote from Lenin to suggest that, perhaps, the anti-Marxist thesis of socialism in one country was rooted in Marxist theoretical debates. We take a look at the quote from the *Communist Manifesto*:

“Though not in substance, yet in form, the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie is at first a national struggle. The proletariat of each country must, of course, first of all settle matters with its own bourgeoisie.”[29]

First, it should be noted, the unanimous formulation of a clause in *Manifesto* by proletarian scholars. They repeatedly pointed to the universal nature of the capitalist system as well as the universality of the working class and the universal response of the working class. Second, *Manifesto* was written in the era of the development of capitalism, namely, when the communist revolution was still not on the agenda of the proletariat. However, it emphasizes that in terms of meaning and content, the revolution cannot be national even though it takes a national form. Third, it has been written that the proletariat of each country must, of course, first settle matters with its own bourgeoisie. This does not mean that the proletariat of each country initially establishes socialism in its own country and then socialist states, together, establish a federal socialist system. With this explanation in mind, we return to the next quote of the Stalinists, which refers to Lenin. In an article written in 1915 that focuses on the critique of federalism, entitled *On the Slogan for a United States of Europe*, Lenin wrote:

“The slogan of a United States of the World would hardly be a correct one, first, because it merges with socialism; second, because it may be wrongly interpreted to mean that the victory of socialism in a single country is impossible, and it may also create misconceptions as to the relations of such a country to the others.

Uneven economic and political development is an absolute law of capitalism. Hence, the victory of socialism is possible first in several or even in one capitalist country alone. After expropriating the capitalists and organising their own socialist production, the victorious proletariat of that country will arise against the rest of the world—the capitalist world— attracting to its cause the oppressed classes of other countries, stirring uprisings in those countries against the capitalists, and in case of need using even armed force against the exploiting classes and their states.”[30]

The fact is that in the years before the October Revolution, the Bolsheviks, with Lenin at their head, inherited certain ambiguities from the Second International. The evolution of the class struggle forced Lenin to adapt his tasks and horizons. It was within this context that Lenin produced his *April Theses*, which became the guide for the Bolsheviks. In previous sections we have discussed the new conditions that it set out. The quotations from Lenin, cited above, confirms the correctness of the claim that Lenin evolved his views in response to the evolution of the global class struggle. On the basis of this explanation we will discuss the uneven economic and political development of capitalism.

The unconventional growth of capitalism was most evident in the era of capitalist development prior to its entry into the decadent era. As a result, in the peripheral countries of capital, there was a tendency for capital to attempt to generate accelerated growth to the level of the capitalist metropolises or to surpass the metropolises in their growth. However, this tendency was reversed when capitalism entered its decadent era. Because the capitalist system has spread to all parts of the earth and the global crisis of capitalism does not ignore any country, the consequences of capitalist crises are more destructive in the peripheral countries of capital.

The fact that capitalism has entered its decadent era does not mean that there is no great difference in the level of growth of productive forces anywhere in the world nor does it mean the end of the growth of the productive forces, it simply means that the growth of the productive forces is achieved in a highly destructive way.

The growth of the proletariat is also different in different parts of the capitalist world because the characteristics of the proletariat are closely related to the growth of capitalism in each country. However, once capitalism has entered a era of decline and has fully entered into the era of imperialism, the solution is the same for all countries, namely, the proletarian world revolution. The irrefutable fact is that the communist movement, including the Bolsheviks, believed that socialism was not a national issue but a universal one. The establishment of the Third International (the Comintern) as the World Party of the Socialist Revolutionary was an obvious objective example of such a perspective. With this in mind, we return to the views of the Worker-communism and Mansoor Hekmat. In line with the presentation of his counter-revolutionary and anti-Marxist ideas, Mansoor Hekmat falsely portrayed the position of the internationalists. First, let us look at the way in which Mansoor Hekmat fabricated the position of the internationalists:

“The viewpoint of Left Communism or the Internationalist Communist Party, sanctity and theorizing the unwillingness of the proletariat to carry out its economic tasks after earn of [political] power. This system of thought does not have any explanation of a different economy, non-capitalist for that period. Inevitably, a form of capitalism that is supposed to grow a lot productive forces, is based on the dictatorship of the proletariat, and it does not consider it

necessary to think about the proletarian revolutionary economic and revolutionary problem of the proletariat and to earn the readiness to operate it. In my opinion, this view is nothing but is also gradualism and economism in the theory of Marxism ... that without the German revolution in Russia, the revolution would not succeed, it does not give any guidance to anyone.” [31] [Our translation]

Contrary to Mansoor Hekmat’s demagoguery, left communism (the internationalists) has assessed the fundamental mistake of reducing the problem of the development of the revolution to one of economic development and the direct management of production by the proletariat and has clearly addressed these issues in the critique of the workers’ opposition in Russia. Despite some serious criticisms, the workers’ opposition in Russia was unable to understand the causes of the failure of the wave of universal revolution. Reducing the defeat to economic development and the direct management of production by the proletariat, which was the core of the platform of the workers’ opposition in early 1920 in Russia, was a fundamental mistake. This view suggests that socialism can be created in one country. It is not disgraceful that the theoretical leader of the workers’ opposition, Alexandra Kollontai, later turned to the defence of socialism in one country and she stood with Stalin.

We continue to examine how Mansoor Hekmat faked the opinions and positions of the internationalists in order to see how, in the shadow of that fakery, he tried to justify his counter-revolutionary and anti-Marxist ideas. In the next section, namely, on the subject of Left Communism and worker-communism, will investigate the reason for these efforts, namely, that Mansoor Hekmat and his comrades were under pressure to prevent the collapse of their members and sympathizers. In considering this issue it is essential to point out that Mansoor Hekmat’s use of the notion of the opposition in the following sentence does not refer to the Russian workers’ opposition faction but to the left communists (the internationalists):

“Nowadays many, including some of our comrades in our own seminars, believe of opposition to the ‘necessity of a universal revolution’ and ‘the impossibility of socialism in one country’ as evidence of its ‘internationalism’. In my opinion, this view has no particular aspect of internationalism. Why should one who believes that the fate of the Russian revolution, due to the industrial retreat of Russia, has been tied to the German revolution, is necessarily called an internationalist?...But this position so-called internationalist stand of the opposition, as I have already mentioned, actually has its own limitations of theory of the opposition, and its common form with the official line, in the face of the breath of Socialism as its specific economic and social relations, and its requirements in the Russian society after the revolution, reveals. The whole point is that the only revolution in industrial Germany can provide the level of the productive forces that are essential for socialism for the proletarian revolution. This is the viewpoint in which the feasibility of moving ahead of the Russian revolution to the level of revolution in the Russian economy has already been made premature. The fact is that the German

Revolution had a decisive place in the Bolshevik strategy. The likely outlook for this revolution and the practical horizon that such a revolution would bring against the Russian proletariat, was itself one of the factors that did not undermine the next steps of the Russian revolution in the context of the economic transformation of Russia itself. Indeed, the Bolsheviks had fulfilled their economic horizons subject to the German revolution.” [32] [Our translation]

The internationalists have stated that for the October Revolution to advance as part of the world revolution it required the German revolution, not because of the level of the growth of the productive forces in Russia, which Mansur Hekmat had called Russian industrial backwardness, but because of the universal nature of the communist revolution. In other words, if the revolution had not happened in Russia but had taken place on an advanced island, such as Britain, then for success, as part of a world revolution, it would have require the victory of the revolution in other countries. If, for now, we leave to one side the necessity of the fundamental economic and social base for the advancement of the communist revolution and the spread of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the direction of socialism, the global bourgeoisie, under siege from the victorious revolution, would try to defeat the victorious revolution by creating economic, political, ideological and military quarantine. Thus, the only way to confront the siege of the victorious revolution is the extension and development of the revolution in other regions.

It is lies the of Mansoor Hekmat that suggest that perhaps the communist left (the internationalists) believed that only revolution in industrial Germany could have provided the proletarian revolution with the level of productive forces that were vital to socialism. Internationalists believe that capitalism is a global system and that commodity relations have penetrated even the most remote parts of the globe. Therefore, the internationalists draw the conclusion that the nature of their communist revolution is based not on the special relations of a particular country but on the global capitalist situation. We do not deny that the proletariat differs in different parts of the world and that there are great differences in the level of growth of the productive forces, as well as the productive forces themselves, but the function and metabolism of the capitalist system works at the global level, hence, the response to it will also require a universal communist revolution.

Internationalists not only accept the economic tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat but, incidentally, they also view those tasks from an internationalist horizon. If in a concrete form, we return to the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia, the dictatorship had a difficult economic duty: the reconstruction of the force and the means of production that had been damaged by the developments that resulted from the revolution and the civil war. At this stage, the need for the technical presence of the technocratic petty-bourgeois was also required. The irrefutable truth is that it is not possible for the proletariat of one country to solve such problems; it requires the cooperation and collaboration of the international proletariat or, at least, the proletariat of several countries. Yet, according to Mansoor Hekmat’s demagoguery, those who say that the thesis of

socialism in one country is not possible take away the economic tasks of the proletariat and give those tasks to the bourgeoisie. Mansoor Hekmat blames the Bolsheviks for not having the theoretical and practical readiness for the economic tasks of the proletariat and, therefore, for allowing the industrialization process to be carried out by the bourgeoisie. In other words, if Mansoor Hekmat had been in Russia at that time he would have told the Bolsheviks about the economic tasks of the proletariat and the outcome of events would have been different. Such nonsense is only given credibility among of his disciples. He wrote:

“There is no doubt that the October Revolution failed in its economic tasks, or in any case, the economic tasks of the October Revolution are issues that could be the axis of political deviations and in any case, have a serious relationship with it. In my opinion, the lack of readiness for these economic tasks has played a vital role in defeating of the Bolsheviks in Russia. The methodology of comrade Ghulam in fact is not different from the methodology of the Internationalist Communist Party [Battaglia Comunista], which he criticizes here. This methodology sanctifies and theorizes the Bolsheviks' unwillingness to carry out the post-revolutionary economic tasks. With the verdict that the economic building of Socialism is not possible in a country, from before does not put economic duty on shoulder of the proletariat in one country and so, in front of the bourgeoisie, which presents a kind of economic tasks for the material improvement of society remains defenceless and alternativeness and for this reason it fails and inevitably gives the industrialization of Russia into the bourgeoisie. In general, those who argue with this point of view of impossibility of socialism in one country, and then give this "internationalist" answer that the revolution can only triumph internationally to have an economic meaning for the proletariat, they sanctify the theoretical and practical unattractiveness of the Bolsheviks to deal with the economic tasks of the proletariat after the acquisition of power. This is the drawback of discussion of the both comrade Ghulam and Internationalist Communist Party [Battaglia Comunista], which the comrade tried to make a distinction with it. Now I'm adding this much that the lack of preparation for defining and explaining the economic tasks of a proletarian revolution in a country, when this revolution has happened in a country anyway, this means that communists do not have an economic alternative to the position of the bourgeoisie.” [33] [Our translation]

In order to continue this discussion, we must inevitably make brief reference to the contexts of the formation of socialism. The mode of capitalist production grew within the feudal system that lasted from the 15th to the 19th centuries. The bourgeoisie itself was the product of an evolutionary process in the mode of production and exchange. The economic growth of capitalism and its transformation into the dominant relations of production required a social and political relationship that manifested itself in the great revolution of France in 1789. It was no coincidence that the motto of the French Revolution was “freedom-equality-fraternity”, which was the basis of the flourishing of capitalist society. Being a free citizen means the buyer and the seller of labour are contracted as having free and equal rights. Equality means equality before the

law and fraternity means a feeling of belonging to bourgeois society. In other words, as long as the society did not experience a superficial level of growth of the productive forces globally and had not created its gravediggers globally, namely, the proletariat, the talk of socialism could only be a kind of fiction. Even after the formation of capitalism, Marx mentions all kinds of socialism—reactionary socialism, conservative socialism, imaginary socialism, etc.- whose purpose is everything except the liberation of humanity from the exploitation of human by human.

It is a fact that through the development of the means of production and the breakdown of the old relations, wherever it has come to power the bourgeoisie has played a revolutionary role in history. With the growth and development of large industries, as well as by taming nature, the bourgeoisie had established areas of macro production. At the same time, the bourgeoisie has also created its gravedigger, the proletariat. It is worth distinguishing the universal tendency of the capitalist mode of production from the methods of pre-capitalist production. **The growth of the productive forces has, as a consequence, the emergence and formation of a proletariat at the global level that provides the material context of the necessity for socialism.** The perception of socialism is first possible through the growth and flourishing of the productive forces. Marx expresses this clearly in the following:

“There appears here the universalizing tendency of capital, which distinguishes it from all previous stages of production. Although limited by its very nature, it strives towards the universal development of the forces of production, and thus becomes the presupposition of a new mode of production...This tendency - which capital possesses, but which at the same time, since capital is a limited form of production, contradicts it and hence drives it towards dissolution - distinguishes capital from all earlier modes of production.”[34]

We now return to Mansoor Hekmat and his bourgeois and reactionary idea of socialism. Mansoor Hekmat believed that socialism could even be realized in Ghana, one of the most peripheral countries of capital. According to Mansoor Hekmat, socialism is a collection of relations between individuals and their means of production, as well as the distribution of social income. Hence, these relationships can be established anywhere. He expressed his Stalinist-Maoist understanding, which contradicts the Marxist understanding, as follows:

“The response of a communist must be that ‘the building of socialism in one country’ means the low level of communist society, is practical even in Ghana. Because socialism is a collection of relations between individuals, between individuals and their means of production, as well as the distribution of social income.” [35] [Our translation]

We have already explained that socialism is possible, first and foremost, through the growth and prosperity of the productive forces. Contrary to the nonsense of Mansoor Hekmat, socialism is not only possible in Ghana but also in the most advanced and powerful European countries, such



as Germany, because the global capitalist system and the mode of capitalist production form an interconnected network in which the “independent state” has lost its meaning.

However, socialism, whether in Ghana or Germany is only possible as part of the process of the world revolution. In the process of the world revolution, a heavy duty falls on the shoulders of the proletariat of the metropolitan countries in that they are required to help prepare the social conditions for the expansion of production that has become socialized. The task of building socialism in Ghana is not only the responsibility of the proletariat of Ghana but also of the entire proletariat. We continue to explore our understanding of the bourgeois, Stalinist-Maoist thoughts of Mansoor Hekmat who claims it is possible to establish socialism on an island in the middle of the ocean:

“If the discussion is about a low phase, namely about that in Russia in 1924 next, consciously can go towards the building of an economic relationship and a certain level of productive forces that would take from each according to his work and give everyone as much as his work, and the element of wage labour among them is destroyed, I answer it positively. It can be, and for this there is no need for a world revolution. Even do not need for a country of the size of Russia ... Why is it not possible after interrupting the foundations of the old society, to organize social production with new relationships? Because not being the World Revolution?! If the theory that ‘socialism is only possible globally’ is correct, if this theory is correct that ‘Socialism can not be deployed in a society’, then I ask how is it that in this world young utopian people go to buy islands in the middle of the ocean, where they live in a communist way? Do they have to establish an ownership relationship between themselves?” [36] [Our translation]

Socialism is neither a state nor the “collective” ownership of the means of production but the socialization of the productive forces and the socialization of production. Comparing primitive life on an island in the middle of ocean—where there is no wage labour—with socialism presents a brutal illustration of socialism. Primitive life cannot be adapted to the metropolises and modern society and, most importantly, social production cannot be adapted to primitive production. If such an idea were to be put into practice the socialism of Mansoor Hekmat would be no better than the socialism of the Cambodian dictator, Pol Pot.

Apparently, in Mansoor Hekmat’s bourgeois understanding of socialism, the material context of socialism, namely, the growth of the productive forces and the formation of the proletarian class, are absent. He evaluated the lives of nine young utopian members of the proletarian class who were living in a “commune” on a primitive island in the middle of the ocean and compared them with socialism. Socialism is not a generalized barbarism but a socialization and flourishing of productive forces.

Finally, Mansoor Hekmat's philosophy suggests that the construction of socialism, in the real and the Marxist sense of the word, was not only possible in Russia and, even more significant, that the avant-garde of the class, the Bolsheviks, were theoretically unprepared as they were still influenced by social-democratic thinking. For a long period, the horizons and views of the Second International influenced the Russian social-democracy thinking. Mansoor Hekmat wrote: "The construction of socialism in the real and Marxist sense of the word in Russia was not only practical, but also for the continuation of the revolution and stabilization of it vital...Certainly one of the most important factors in the inability of the working class of Russia to decisively complete its revolution was the theoretical unethicality of the avant-garde element of the class in this Revolution...The horizons and opinions of the Second International for the long period of time affected the thought of Russian Social-Democracy... Russian Social-Democracy for a long time understand and recognize the Marxist Principles according to this International and its leaders. The separation of the Bolsheviks from the intellectual and practical influence of the Second International was a step-by-step process. This process has historical and deterministic points and sections. But the important point is that this process has not been completely and definitively completed until the 1917...In short, the first intellectual influence of the Second International was that the working class of Russia and its leading party had already diminished the pre-feasibility of establishing socialist economic relations in Russia, mainly due to its "economic retardation" in its strategy." [37] [Our translation]

It is a fact that the Bolshevik separation from social-democracy took place as part of a process. Following the start of the First World War and the majority of social-democratic parties' defence of their own imperialist motherland in the war, and in the process of integrating the social democracy parties into the capitalist camps, the Bolsheviks and a few factions of the social-democratic parties took an internationalist stance against the war and were divided into two different camps. Contrary to the abuses of Mansoor Hekmat, the evolution of Lenin's views as a result of the evolution of the class struggle, especially as set out in the *April Theses* and in the process of attempting the socialist revolution, expresses the readiness of the avant-garde of the proletariat for the upcoming events.

Perhaps, at first glance, it appears that Mansour Hekmat is not acquainted with the topics of the period or is unaware of those discussions but such a view would be very naive. Mansoor Hekmat, as an ideologue of the left of capital, looks to social events from the horizons, from the views and the class interests of the left of capital. Many issues in various contexts, including the economic context at the leading level of the proletariat, emerged in the period 1917 to 1925. These topics form some of the very rich and still valid issues of the proletarian movement. The defeat of the wave of world revolution and the rise of the counter-revolution forced the internationalists to defend the proletarian and Marxist positions. In this context, the formation of Left Communism was a necessity. Internationalists from Germany to Russia, from Britain to the

Netherlands, from Italy to... have defended the communist positions. This will briefly be mentioned in the next section (Section 8).

## **Socialism or state capitalism**

Capitalist ownership of the means of production has taken different forms throughout its history. If, in the early stages of capitalism private ownership was dominant, in the present era it is no longer private and individual but, rather, it takes a “collective” form as cartels and trusts. In the era of capitalist decline, the ownership of capital tends to be in the form of “collective” ownership and state ownership. It is necessary to note that the collective ownership of capital never means social ownership of the means of production.

As mentioned, in the era of capital degradation, in the era of imperialism, capital desires to be collective and to become state-owned. Capital, especially in periods when it is perceived to be at risk, tends to become state-owned in order to guarantee the accumulation of capital. The desire to become state-owned is more visible in peripheral capital than in metropolitan capital whereas in metropolitan capital the productive forces have taken on a more social character (without being socialized).

Due to historical constraints, the bourgeoisie of peripheral capital has not been able to accomplish the historical tasks of metropolitan capitalism and the left-wing of capital wants its class objectives to have a left ideological superstructure. In other words, in the capital of the periphery, the left-wing of capital can easily deal with Marxist demands. In the metropolitan capital, this task is more visible in the form of social-democratic parties or labour parties.

The state, no matter its purpose, is essentially a capitalist machine. The more productive forces the state has at its disposal, the more it becomes a great capitalist and the more involved it is in the exploitation of the wage slaves. We have already explained that the dictatorship of the proletariat is a special form of state within which, step by step, the productive forces become social rather than state owned. The history of the workers’ movement has taught us that state ownership of the means of production is not a solution to the struggle of the proletariat, rather, the social ownership of the means of production and the decline of the state are the goals of the proletarian struggle. Engels explains this clearly in the following:

“The modern state, no matter what its form, is essentially a capitalist machine, the state of the capitalists, the ideal personification of the total national capital. The more it proceeds to the taking over of productive forces, the more does it actually become the national capitalist, the more citizens does it exploit. The workers remain wage-workers - proletarians... State ownership of the productive forces is not the solution of the conflict.”[38]

In terms of the legal status, state capitalism (state ownership) means that the state owns the means of production. Under state ownership of the means of production the relationship between work and capital continues to dominate and state economic planning is never in conflict with state ownership. In the model of state-owned capitalism, the disappearance of competition and its replacement with cooperation between the production units bears no similarity and has no affinity with the socialization of the productive forces.

In state capitalism, state ownership of the means of production continues to involve transforming the labour force into a commodity, which is the essential characteristic of capitalist relations of production. In so doing, an exploitative relationship is formed. In such societies and under this form of capitalism, state capitalism, the main features of capitalism—commodity production, wage labour, money, profits and the market—will remain. Examples of such are the former Eastern bloc, China, Cuba, North Korea and so on.

Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the communist revolution make the means of production available to the community through social planning based on social needs, which represents the socialization of the means of production. **The socialization of the productive forces means that the relationship of the labour forces is in line with the material needs of the society, not in the interests of private capital or state capital, i.e., the goal of surplus value.** Under such conditions, people are consciously and collectively working with the socialized means of production and the socialized labour force will be appear as one unit.

With these explanations in mind, we turn to the UCM and Mansoor Hekmat to see how they wanted to present a special form of capitalist barbarism (state capitalism) as “socialism”. Hekmat assessed the acquisition of state monopoly capitalism through a revolutionary and democratic government as a step towards socialism. Certainly, in order for commodity production to continue and in order to guarantee the accumulation of capital, the ideology of capitalism means that socialism is the same as the state ownership of the means of production and the state planning of production, in other words, it is the same as state capitalism:

“Confiscation, nationalize and... does not destroy capitalism, but it creates or develops a monopoly capitalism... And this monopoly state capitalism in the hands of a revolutionary and democratic government is a step towards socialism... Because a ‘revolutionary and democratic state’ is the most appropriate political mode to take power by the proletariat, and then the monopoly of state capitalism, is the most appropriate economic mode to start building socialism.” [39] [Our translation]

For Mansoor Hekmat, the monopoly of state capitalism was the most appropriate economic mode for socialism because he associated state ownership of the means of production in the

hands of a “revolutionary” and democratic state with socialism. We continue our inquiry into the socialist world of Mansour Hekmat, which is a special form of capitalist barbarity. Mansoor Hekmat’s utopian community involved peripheral capitalist politicians who, in their promotional promises, proposed a list of actions that they would perform if they came to power, although everyone knows that in tomorrow’s victory it will not be possible to fulfil such demands because there will be no material grounds for their realization. Mansoor Hekmat expressed the fulfilment of his “communist” demands as follows:

“Now, you think that the labourer’s family what percentage of their salary, what percentage of their purchasing power, is spend on housing, health, education, food, and transport. 80 percent? 80 percent of the wage is no longer important. Because it has these and society has eliminated a large part of wage labour, which he does, actually is no means for 80 percent. , and it is because of the difference of 20 percent that came to the factory. Later, in an accounted process, even 20 percent of the recreational and luxury products of the community are out of the realm of capitalism, and the organizing of using it. What will be the process of production? What will be the management? And so on, in my opinion, given today's computer technology, given the power of information exchange in the world, for all these, clear answers can be found.” [40] [Our translation]

The question that arises is how does Mansoor Hekmat guarantee all the basic needs of society, namely, housing, health, education, food and transport, which he considers to be 80 percent of the needs of the community? There is a weak mechanism for meeting the basic needs of society—social security. In Western European countries health and education are free and if someone is unable to afford the cost of housing, food, clothing, etc., they will receive these benefits through social security. Thus, according to the criteria of Mansoor Hekmat, Western European countries should be assessed as socialist. However, compared with their class brothers and sisters in peripheral capital, the degree of exploitation of the working class in the Marxist sense is very high in Western European countries.

In the community of peripheral capital it is not possible to guarantee everyone’s basic needs. Apparently, because he talks about the possibility of the victory of communism in Iran, in the communist world of Mansoor Hekmat the worker attends for work because it allows him 20 percent access to the recreational and luxury products available in the community. Whether this can be seen as a brutal image of a communist society or a rudimentary image of a socialist society, a caricatured form of Mansoor Hekmat's demands existed in the former Eastern bloc. Mansour Hekmat provides a concrete example of how his demands can be fulfilled, namely, by providing housing, health, education, food and transportation for the community, which he also related to the former Eastern bloc:

“Truly, in my sense, I envy people like Castro and the current of Castro in Cuba. They came, 20 years, 30 years were had power, they brought health, brought housing, cleaned the streets, they said you did not have the right to slap to someone's ears. Their socialism was not scientific and was not revolutionary Marxism, if Castro was here now, he would say, go on with your work, dear sir! My socialism was not scientific, but do you know how many millions of people multiplied by how many hours perceived themselves to be happy? Do not talk anymore. If we have wisdom we say we understand it and this gives us morale.” [41] [Our translation]

We have now discovered that Mansoor Hekmat wanted to provide the basic needs of society (housing, health, education, food, etc.) by adopting a system similar to that in Cuba—generalized barbarism and a special form of capitalism, state capitalism. Mansoor Hekmat may envy Castro, he may have the wisdom to figure out what Castro was saying, but he cannot foist the barbarities of capitalism (in which the state owns the means of production) in the name of socialism. In contrast to the radical phrase ideologues of the left of capital that have played a major role in besmirching the ideals and values of communism, the internationalists have been defending proletarian positions and goals for more than a hundred years and are still defending proletarian positions and goals.

We can now see how Mansoor Hekmat wants to organize society to become more prosperous the very next day after his party comes to power. Like the political demagogues, he offers promises before the election. The fight against economic corruption (extravagance and disgust), the fight against dictatorship (repression), the provision of freedom (free and prosperous manpower) and the removal the community's basic needs from the market is supposed to provide a more prosperous community for the majority of society.

We have already explained that state economic planning is never in conflict with state ownership. The disappearance of competition and its replacement by the cooperation of production units, which was the prevalent model in the former Soviet Union (state capitalism), has nothing to do with the socialization of the productive forces. In the former Eastern bloc, the market did not exist in its prevailing sense (free market). However, labour power was transformed into goods, which resulted in both surplus value and capital accumulation. Mansoor Hekmat stated:

“In my opinion, the organization of a more affluent society with the same capabilities is possible immediately. It may be possible for two reasons at the outset: one is that manpower is freed. I think a free and happy human being in the same amount of time is better created, made and produced. Initiates, gives heart, concentrates, burns heartily... Second, in my opinion, misappropriate and extravagance in these countries is tremendous. That is, the capital that is being used in Iran for the restraint of the rule and sponging on others of the ruling classes is unlimited. First, we can easily ensure that things like health, education, transportation, art,

housing and food come from the marketplace ... The system I suggest is that let's take the people's needs one after the other from the free market and give out from the market system.”  
[42] [Our translation]

The utopia and dreamland world of Mansoor Hekmat, which we have discovered through reviewing his ideas, would, if realized, be a Cuban-like society. It is likely that he envies Castro. Such societies represent a special kind of barbaric capital, one in which labour power is still transformed into a commodity. Contrary to Mansoor Hekmat’s demagoguery about such societies, the people in those societies are not happy. In those societies, people are forced to live in a society that is like a large prison. The productive forces in those societies are greatly faded.

Socialism is not generalized barbarity but represents the socialization of the productive forces, which is directly related to the material needs of the society and not to state capital or “collective” capital, both of which are more in keeping with the production of surplus value. Internationalism is the fundamental principle of socialism and in a socialist society the needs of society can only be realized from the perspective of internationalist horizons. Within socialism, which is a global community, people consciously and collectively develop a socialized means of production. People do not try to escape from such societies because they really do feel happy.

## **To Be Continued**

Issues in the next part:

- Historical Place of Worker Communism
- Worker communism and communist Left
- Worker communism and trade unions
- Worker communism and the national question
- Worker communism and independence of Kurdistan
- Worker communism and parliamentarism
- Worker communism and democracy

M. Jahangiry  
18 May 2017

## Notes:

[1] The Programme of UCM

[2] As source 1

[3] Mansoor Hekmat in conversation with Dariush Navidi, *Bidar Magazine*, 1999.

[4] As source 1

[5] It should be noted that the Communist League has long been under the name of the Communist Party of Iran (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist).

[6] For more information on the positions of the internationalists on the mass revolution of China, the failure of the anti-capitalist struggles of the Chinese proletariat, the areas of crisis in the anti-revolutionary camp and the emergence of an ideology called Maoism, see the *Internationalist Voice* pamphlet entitled, “Maoism — the Real Child of Stalinism.”

[7] Biography of Mansoor Hekmat written by Soheila Sharifi page 34

[8] Biography of Mansoor Hekmat written by Soheila Sharifi page 38

[9], The Problem of Communism in Iran is not Sectarianism but Bourgeois Gender of its Political Tradition!, Mohammad Fatahi.

[10] Is it Possible to Win Communism in Iran?, Mansoor Hekmat.

[11] For more information about the German Revolution and the massacre of communists and revolutionaries, see the series articles “German Revolution” in five parts of the ICC.

[12] Manifesto of the Communist Party, Marx and Engels.

[13] Mansoor Hekmat’s talk in Paltak on 26 December 2001, in *Hekmat* No. 2.

[14] Mansoor Hekmat, *Towards Socialism* No. 2 (Second Period).

[15] The Populism of Hamid Taqvaei and the Overthrowing Charter of the Worker-communist Party-Hekmatist, Mahmoud Qazvini.

[16] As source 14

[17] As source 14

[18] As source 14

[19] As source 14

[20] As source 14

[21] Critique of the Gotha Program

[22] As source 21

[23] As source 21

[24] Farewell Letter to the Swiss Workers (April 8 1917)

[25] Speech Delivered at the Opening of the Conference April 24

[26] J. V. Stalin, “Concerning Questions of Leninism”, Part VI, in Stalin Works, Vol. 8, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1954,

[27] J. V. Stalin, “October Revolution and the Tactics of Russian Communists”, in Stalin Works, Vol. 6, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1954, p. 391

[28] Leon Trotsky-The Third International After Lenin

[29] Manifesto of the Communist Party - Marx and Engels

[30] Lenin - On the Slogan for a United States of Europe

[31] Bulletin of Soviet Debates — The Grounds for the Deviation and Defeat of the Proletarian Revolution in the Soviet Union.

[32] Bulletin of Marxism and the Soviet Union — The Main Lines of a Socialist Critique of the Experience of the Soviet Union’s Labour Revolution.

[33] As source 31



- [34] Marx - Grundrisse- *Circulation costs. – Means of communication and transport.*
- [35] As source 33
- [36] Bulletin No. 2 — Problems in Analysing the Failure of the Proletariat in the Soviet Union.
- [37] As source 32
- [38] Engels - Anti-Dühring
- [39] *Towards Socialism* No. 1 (First Period), page 23.
- [40] Is it Possible to Win Communism in Iran?, Mansoor Hekmat.
- [41] Speech to the Opening Ceremony of the Second Congress of the Communist Worker Party of Iran, April 1998.
- [42] As source 40