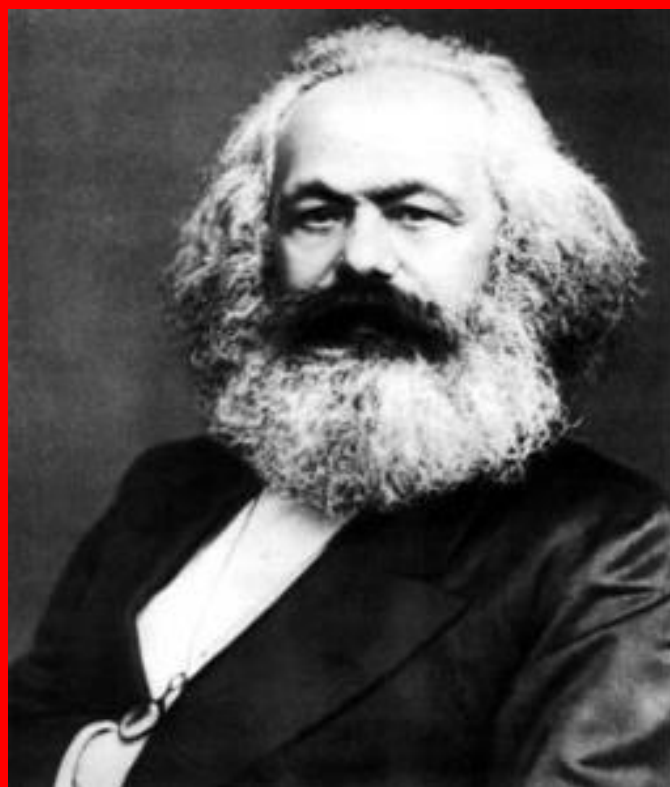


Worker Communism

Radical Conscience of the Left of Capital

(Part 8)



In defense of Marxism

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The Place of Worker-communism in History

One of the characteristics of worker-communism was the adoption of a radical phrase. Further, the seemingly revolutionary and communist terms of the Unity of Communist Militants (UCM) acted as a cover for the counterrevolutionary and bourgeois nature of this political tendency. Particularly, in the course of time, this political tendency tried to align itself with the communist left by hiding its counterrevolutionary nature. The radical phrase and the pretence to converge with the communist left led, at some point, to a mistaken belief, somewhere in the political milieu of both the Iranians and non-Iranians, whereby this tendency was perceived as “communist left” or influenced by the communist left. Practical translation of this phenomenon to a new generation that is approaching political issues, suggests that the internationalist position in its evolutionary process is leading to counterrevolutionary positions.

It was in this context that Babak Kasrayi, an adviser to the Central Committee of the Worker-communist Party of Iran (WCPI), when giving reasons for his recent resignation, claimed that “worker-communism” belonged to the communist left but seemed to have been neglected by the working-class struggle on account of being ultra-leftist [1].

According to the e-journal *Alternative*, an inappropriate and heterogeneous mixture of the varied tendencies of the political apparatus of capital, entered the political milieu with impact, before being silenced in a text which claimed that the roots of worker-communism should be sought in the communist left:

“‘Worker-communism’ or the ‘communist left’? The first fundamental step of worker-communism was to distinguish between the classical Marxist tradition until the present (Marx, Engels, Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg, Trotsky and Gramsci), between the party and class, between self-striving and the self-spontaneous struggle of the working class on the one hand, while its struggle in the form of party activities and communist organizations (the communist movement) was established to crumble away and, in turn, a new plan was apparently devised to respond to this issue ... Providing ideas in this form, in the modern history of communism in Iran, could be new, but it has views and trends which are similar to the positions of [Mansoor] Hekmat, and of course at a much higher-quality level. In the history of international communism, it is possible to trace where the problem lies - of course, not our problem, but Hekmat’s problem - which concerns the so-called blood enemies of Lenin and Bolshevism, who are basically portraying themselves as ‘anti-Bolshevik communists’! This is the same known current as the ‘communist left’, which, in the very early years after the October Revolution, separated its path from Bolshevism and became a major critic. Lenin in *‘Left-wing’ Communism: An Infantile Disorder* engaged in a fierce controversy with [the communist left]” [2].

Alternative also suggested that the communist left believe in the self-collapse of capitalism, writing that:

“The collapse of capital, in contrast to the expression of some Marxist tendencies (such as the communists left), does not take place in the form of self-collapse” [3] [our translation].

Before the collapse of the Berlin Wall, Abdullah Mohtadi was the first General Secretary of the “only Communist Party” in the world, namely the Anti-communist Party of Iran. Then, following the metamorphic wave of Stalinist parties, after the collapse of the Berlin Wall, it became social democratic and abandoned the label of communism. Mr Mohtadi says that worker-communism has borrowed its positions from the communist left and thus, in his break with the radical phase of the left of capital and in his writings about social democracy, states:

“The viewpoint of ‘worker communism’, which itself was borrowed from the extreme marginalized and martial currents of the European left, such as the [International Communist Current (ICC)] and others, represented a strong opposition to the trade unions ... The ICC ... was the name of a publication as well as a small melancholic left group in Europe in the 1970s and 1980s which opposed trade unions, calling them servants of the bourgeois, who are opposed to democracy, and arguing that it was the bourgeoisie’s trick to create illusions among the working class. They did not differentiate between democracy and fascism, and they rejected both [democracy and fascism] as various manifestations of capitalist rule, considered the participation of the working class in elections and parliament to be a betrayal, and knew that this was a taboo subject. They also considered national and liberation movements to be reactionary, the appendages of imperialism, and so on. There were many of these types of groups at that time” [4][our translation].

Definitely this list can be extended. None of those who have scrambled to show that the roots of worker communism can be found in the communist left have attempted to offer a brief explanation of the communist left, nor have they, in their claim that worker communism is influenced by the communist left, referred to the texts of the communist left. Before examining the charlatanism, lies and disgrace of these new leaders and scholars, a brief explanation or introduction to the communist left is necessary. Why an introduction? Because even a short introduction to the communist left requires a separate and serious article.

The advent of the wave of world revolution - and, with it, those problems that challenged the advance of world revolution - prepared the material context for the communist left. The signs of the defeat of this wave of world revolution led to the isolation of the October Revolution, which soon showed signs of degeneration. The decadent process of the October Revolution had an impact on all communist parties and revolutionary currents. In such a context, the necessity for the existence of the communist left was more and more prominent. Internationalists from Bulgaria to Germany, from Russia to America, from Britain to the Netherlands, from Italy to ... rose to defend communist positions. But, in three countries where the Marxist tradition was strong, namely, in Russia, Germany and Italy, the communist left turned out to be strong and coherent. In short, the reaction of the communist left was a global response.

First of all, it should be emphasized that internationalists, until the last minute, tried to stay aligned to the currents that would lead to degeneration and defend proletarian positions, while never wanting to split. The revolutionaries who were shaped by the Communist Workers’ Party of Germany did not split from the German Communist Party but were expelled from it. The

same is true of the Italian left, and especially of Comrade Bordiga. The conditions for Russian internationalists were much harder than for others due to violent oppression.

With the victory of the Stalinist counterrevolution, which coincided with the start of the black anti-revolution era, the internationalists, in the form of a faction, defended communist positions. In the meantime, the Italian communist left faction was of great importance. Today, the communist left includes three major internationalist tendencies, but introducing every communist left tendency is not the purpose of this section. However, the main communist left tendencies are as follows:

- Internationalist Communist Tendency
- International Communist Current
- Bordigist currents (international communist parties)

To get to know each of these currents, see the links section on the International Voice website. As explained earlier, the communist left found it necessary to defend the basic positions of Marxism and the first signs of counterrevolution. The basic positions of the communist left are as follows:

- **Internationalism** - Internationalists believe that capitalism is a global production system which has spread itself to the gloomiest points on the globe. The bourgeoisie is a global class and consequently the proletariat is also a global class. Therefore, the communist programme and platform in the era of capitalist decadence and the era of imperialism can only be from an internationalist perspective.
- **Global socialism** - Internationalists believe in a global revolution, and consequently socialism is also a global community. This issue and the counterrevolutionary thesis of “socialism in one country” are discussed in detail in the previous section.
- **Rejection of parliamentarism** - Internationalists believe that, with the onset of the era of communist revolutions, any disturbing illusion in relation to parliament is a dirty punch in the eyes of the working class. Parliamentarism will be discussed in detail in this section.
- **Rejection of national movements** - With the advent of capitalism in the era of communist revolutions, national movements have become the infantry in imperialist conflicts and part of imperialist policies. National movements are discussed in detail in this section.
- **Rejection of trade unions** - Trade unions all over the world have become instruments of capital. The main task of unions is to control the working class and distort the class struggle of the workers. Unions are discussed in detail in this section.

- **The International and Internationalist Communist Party** - Internationalists believe that without the International and internationalist Communist party, it is not possible for communist revolution to succeed. Disagreements are about the nature, function, role and relationship of the party with class.

With the slightest explanation of the communist left, we find that none of those who have tried to suggest that the roots of worker-communism must be found in the communist left, nor have tried to show that worker-communism believes in the same positions as the communist left. First, let us look at the lies and spells of Mr Mohtadi, who is struggling to work round the clock in order to play the role of one of the region's gangsters in the sphere of imperialist politics, has long acted as a servant to the countries of the region. With the arrival of Trump and the intensification of imperialist tensions among the gangsters in the region, such mercenaries have become more successful. The black bands, as a band of toilers (Mohtadi's band), by attracting gunmen who have lost their social identity, in the camp sponsored by gangsters in the region, try to increase their chances of acceptability, following the developments in the region and at the threshold of the gangsters in the region. These innumerable handservants to the gangsters of the area have become part of the policy of imperialism known as the concept of socialization. Talabani and Barzani have played such a role, with the campaigns of the US Army and the Iraq War bringing them to power, and now they have become the symbol of nationalist gangs. In the culture of subservience to which they belong, internationalists, such as the ICC, are called "super-marginal and Martian". Apparently, Mohtadi did not bother, before commenting on the ICC, to at least visit the site of the current or to at least raise his awareness of the ICC, as that would have been overwhelming!

First, the ICC is the name of the current, not the erroneously translated name of the ICC. The name when translated into Persian was not inaccurate due to a grammar problem in the language; that is, "leader" was translated as "German ideology" in Persian.

Second, the ICC is the name of the current, not the name of the publication. Publications of the ICC use different terms, such as internationalism, world revolution, and so on.

Thirdly, it is quite natural that, in the menial culture of Mohtadi, which has a long history, internationalists are accused of being on the "melancholic left". Still, they are creatures who still believe that Lenin was a German spy.

Fourth, Mohtadi resorted to falsehood on a clear day, writing: "It was the name of a publication and a small marginal leftist group in Europe in the 1970s and 1980s." He used the past tense, that is, it no longer exists. Contrary to the hopes and desires of the left of capital, the ICC is still one of the beacons of the internationalist stance which defends proletarian positions.

We will return to the other slogans of Mohtadi in relation to the positions of internationalists, trade unions, national movements, parliamentarism, democracy and so on in this part.

Before proceeding with this discussion, clarifying a problem is necessary for those who are unfamiliar with the history and positions of the communist left. The “communist left” and “council communism” are two intellectual attitudes, with two completely separate historical traditions. In our opinion, the communist left is a defender of the proletarian positions and the continuity of the history of communism, while council communism is an idealist view of the evolution of historical events. The confusion probably explains why militants of the communist left are associated with the stagnation of the class struggle while the domination of the counterrevolution is oriented towards “council communism”.

Let us see how accurate the *Alternative* journal comments are. This online publication was supposed to present a new alternative to Iran’s political milieu. It was not only for internationalists but also for every serious human being in the political space, as it clearly addressed the complexity of the political apparatus of capital, due to a lack of any theoretical coherence and the heterogeneity of the views held. Like a “shining meteorite and jumping fountain”, it entered the political milieu at a speed that tolled “the sound of death and desolation”.

Before continuing the discussion, referring to the classic Marxist tradition of the alternative to “Marx, Engels, Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg, Trotsky and Gramsci” is essential. This publication attempted to present Gramsci as being in the classical Marxist tradition. Gramsci had neither a theoretical nor a historic role in the Marxist tradition, as in the case of other names mentioned above. Gramsci’s reactionary and Stalinist positions on fascism, Gramsci’s role in undermining the left wing of the Italian Communist Party, and the united front of Gramsci (united with the democratic and bourgeois parliamentary faction), among other factors, explain Gramsci’s role and position. It was only after the beginning of the anti-revolution era that the Communist International (Comintern) pushed him from the margins towards the middle in order to confront the communist left, including Comrade Bordiga; for Gramsci, the Communist Party without Bordiga was meaningless. Gramsci, under the guidance of and pressure of the Comintern was placed in the leadership of the Communist Party, as the new conditions needed to be in Gramsci’s name.

As previously mentioned, the *Alternative* journal claimed that the communist left believes that capitalism will spontaneously lead to its collapse – or, in other words, the communist left is “deterministic”. A territorial translation of this idea is that the communist left does not interfere in the class struggle. This publication fails to give the slightest explanation of its claims, nor does it refer to the texts of the communist left. Apparently, this has been understood from other texts. There is not the slightest truth in this: the famous slogan of the internationalists, “Communist Revolution or the Destruction of Humanity!”, expresses that, if the working class does not fulfil its historical decree, then the destruction of not only the working class but the whole of humanity is certain. Internationalists believe that any class mode of production consists of two historical periods. The first phase is the period of growth and prosperity; the second period is the period of degeneration and the disintegration of the mode of production. Capitalism been growing in the community for centuries; in the first period, it played a revolutionary role, symbolized by the great French Revolution, then entered the decadent period

with World War I. Capitalism, with its degeneration, began the era of social revolutions. It was in this context that the era of communist revolutions began.

We return to an eloquent text from *Alternative*. Apparently, this e-journal underestimates human intelligence and looks on the bright day. Apparently, it does not understand that, in the era of electronic communication, any investigation into the authenticity of this lie takes only a few moments:

“Some of these so-called currents are blood enemies of Lenin and Bolshevism, who are basically presenting themselves as ‘anti-Bolshevik communists’! This is the same current known as the ‘communist left’ which separated itself from Bolshevism in the early years after the October Revolution and became a heavy critic of it. Lenin was in a heated debate with them in the *‘Left-wing’ Communism: An Infantile Disorder.*”

Alternative did not hesitate to read the book *‘Left-wing’ Communism: An Infantile Disorder* and pick up a pen, repeating the rumours and lies that opponents of the internationalists throw at the communist left, instead of at least becoming acquainted with the issues of the communist left and the contexts in which the communist left was formed. No, *Alternative* merely repeated the lie that communist leftists are the ‘blood enemies of Lenin and Bolshevism’. Fortunately, **Lenin himself** responds to these embarrassing lies in *‘Left-wing’ Communism: An Infantile Disorder*, insisting the communist left “praises us Bolsheviks and admires us”:

“The communist ‘left’ have a great deal to say in praise of us Bolsheviks. One sometimes feels like telling them to praise us less and to try to gain more knowledge of the Bolsheviks’ tactics” [5].

Apparently, *Alternative*, despite its “leap of imagination”, has no knowledge of the history and positions of the communist left; indeed, its knowledge is based on a handful of second-hand writings of others and is not ashamed of repeating their lies. The communist left believed and still believes that the wave of world revolution began with the victory of the proletarian revolution of October 1917, which depended on the continuation and progress of world revolution. The internationalists believed that, with the new conditions, parliamentarism, trade unions and national movements had been barriers to the advancement of global revolution, in turn rising up to defend communist positions. Anton Pannekoek, in his book *World Revolution and Communist Tactics*, written in 1920, considered parliamentarism, trade unions etc. as preventing the progress of revolution around the world, not the bloody feud with Lenin and the Bolsheviks. He ends his book with the following statement, which does not require any additional explanation:

“The common struggle against capital will unite the proletarian masses of the whole world. And when finally, at the end of the arduous struggle, the European workers, deeply exhausted, stand in the clear morning light of freedom, they will greet the liberated peoples of Asia in the East and shake hands in Moscow, the capital of the new humanity.”

That Pannekoek later on, under pressure from the counterrevolution and the weaknesses of the German-Dutch communist left, in relation to the organizational issue, was confused and metamorphosed himself towards ‘council communism’. This does not reduce the legitimacy of the positions contained in this booklet. It should be emphasized that Pannekoek, before metamorphosing into ‘council communism’, was a member of the Comintern, as well as active in the Communist Party of the Netherlands, the Worker-communist Party of the Netherlands and the German Communist Party.

Probably the authors of the *Alternative* journal read somewhere that the communist left was against the ‘Bolshevizing’ of the parties in the Comintern, as well as the lies that posited it as the enemy of Bolshevism. After Lenin’s death, and especially since 1925, the Stalinization of the parties of the Comintern under the banner of ‘Bolshevization’ was put onto the Comintern’s agenda, with the aim of turning the parties focused on the Comintern into part of the foreign policy of the Bolshevik Party, which was once again united with the state. The internationalists opposed the Comintern becoming part of the foreign policy of the new government.

Alternative put together extracts from the writings Abraham Ziegler who belonged to the tendency De Leonism, which it published as “Do Workers Need a Party?”, written as a critique of Pannekoek-Mattick, along with extracts from Pannekoek’s own article entitled “The Party and the Working Class”, written in 1936, the year in which he once considered himself a ‘council communist’, in order to prove that worker-communism is rooted in the communist left! This *Alternative* publication states:

“The two main tendencies of the so-called ‘communist left’ are apparently on opposing sides: the Dutch-German branch of this current, represented by figures such as Anton Pannekoek and Hermann Gorter, is the tireless enemy of the Communist Party in its Bolshevik-Leninist model; in contrast, the Italian branch, based on the views of Amadeo Bordiga, essentially emphasizes the creation of a party organized by a minor revolutionary and the acquisition of power in this way (a similar view to Blanqui).

The commonality of these two currents, although apparently antagonists, permits them to use a common title, “communist left”. This is summarized by the fact that both of which, in a way and in practice, distinguish between economic struggle and the political struggle of the working class, while eliminating the differentiation and dualism of the party-class relationship in favour of one of the parties. Of interest here, which we will explain in this book, is that Hekmat’s work in practice is based on the same common ground, namely, to highlight and eliminate these dichotomies in the years after the discussion of the issues concerning worker communism first, with his presentation of the early discussions of worker communism (1989-1992), in the same way as the German-Dutch communist left, then, walking towards a dead end, jumping to the opposite side and, with controversial articles such as “The Party and Political Power” (1998), expressed ideas similar to those of Bordiga (Bordigism), without going beyond the framework of the so-called ‘communist left’. Here, we do not intend to describe or discuss the opinions of the ‘communist left’ (councilism), examine its controversy with Lenin and the Bolsheviks, criticize its views, and so on. Only a brief overview of the main views of the German-Dutch

branch, especially in relation to the issue of the relationship between the party and class, can justify their high degree of resemblance to the views of Hekmat in the first period of worker communism (1989-1992), when it appeared in a reasonable form. To take a more careful approach in this regard and to avoid the adoption of arbitrariness, we will use the summary provided by Abraham Ziegler (a non-Leninist writer) in his discussions of the two major theorists of the German-Dutch current of the communist left, namely, Antoine Pannekook and Paul Mattick.” [6][our translation].

Human beings are amazed the abilities and genius of the *Alternative* journal in its analysis, research and anatomy concerning the positions of the communist left! The journal did not strive to refer to the texts and positions of the communist left, nor provide evidence for its false claims that worker-communism is rooted in the communist left or other fictional claims regarding the communist left.

The separation of the political struggle from the economic struggle in the era of capitalist prosperity was the result of certain conditions. During the Second International, the political struggle was separated from the economic struggle whereby the unions were thought to be purely economic formations, while the political struggle was passed to the party, which would advance the struggle through parliament. With the outbreak of World War I, and the integration of the unions in the capitalist state, which coincided with the beginning of the era of communist revolutions, parliament lost its radical role. The new conditions changed the forms of struggle while the aforementioned separations lost its necessity. In the era of capitalist decline, there is just one type of class struggle.

By leaning on the basic positions of the communist left, we will show how claims that worker-communism is rooted in the communist left is no more than a lie. Just as Stalinism is not rooted in communism, worker-communism is not rooted in the communist left, but in Stalinism-Maoism, as thoroughly investigated in previous sections. We will also examine the historical process by which, at some point in time, the UCM sneakily pretended to converge with the communist left.

Worker-communism and the Communist Left

As previously explained, Mansoor Hekmat has found that his anonymous group has become one of the main actors in the formation of an organization called the ‘Anti-communist Party of Iran’, declaring that it is part of a current which reflects of the historical need of the global working class! That current (the UCM) is not an Iranian or Kurdish current but part of a global movement. Demagogy, which has occurred in different countries, has made this phenomenon a necessity. This current will create the Communist Party of Iran, which in turn will create a new communist international. Hekmat reports:

“We are part of a global movement. We are not an Iranian, Tehranian or Kurdish current ... our current [the UCM] reflects the historic need of the global working class, the need that has appeared in different countries in this period... Our current will create the Communist Party of Iran and the Communist Party of Iran will create the International. [7][our translation].

In pursuit of such goals, the activists of the UCM, together with Komala activists in Europe, have sought to contact, as well as facilitate discussion and debate with, European currents. In this regard, the journal *Communist Worker*, itself an organ of the UCM, published an interview with Farhad Basharat, a member of the UCM in Europe, which we will look at before continuing our discussion:

“[Question]What are the closest currents and communist organizations to revolutionary Marxism in Iran? What do I need to count on with the prospect of creating a new and Leninist international? I mean, with the prospect of creating a new and Leninist international, what forces should be considered?

“[Answer] We have, so far, been able to engage with the currents in Europe which we consider to be attributable to revolutionary minorities inside the first, second and third international. We now have contacts with more than 15 currents belonging to this spectrum all over the world. In my reply to the previous question, I talked about the characteristics of these currents to a certain extent. On this spectrum, Italian communists are particularly important. The current that has shown most interest and sensitivity towards the communist movement of Iran and the UCM is the party known as the ‘International Communist Party’, which publishes the political organ *Battaglia Comunista* every two weeks. So far, it has published articles in more than six issues of its organ about the communist movement of Iran and the positions of the UCM. They have translated the pamphlet, *The First of May and the Duties of the Iranian*, from English to Italian and distributed it as a supplement to their publication among Italian workers. In Britain, there is a current with known as the Communist Workers’ Organization (CWO) which publishes a journal entitled *Workers’ Voice*. This organization works closely with the above-mentioned current. They have close ties with our comrades in the UK. In the defence and propaganda of the communist movement of Iran, the UCM and Komala have achieved a great deal ... Another current is the International Communist Current, which publishes a publication called *World Revolution*. This current for the first time published one of the declarations of the UCM in English and put us in contact with several other currents. But the complete ignorance of these comrades about the struggles of workers and working people in dominated countries, and the lack of any Leninist understanding of imperialism and the formation of the party, have led to significant differences of opinion with the communist movement of Iran ... To the same extent, we see that there are many forces internationally which are associated with the creation of a new Leninist international” [8][our translation].

Much of this section and later sections will revolve around defending the internationalist position. Our defence of the positions of the communist left and its intrinsic tendencies is neither blindly religious nor an exercise in scholastic adherence, but a defence of the proletarian position of the commonplace nature of the Marxist tradition. So, before we continue with our

discussion, we wish to express our critique of the tradition we belong to, namely, the communist left. Lessons from such mistakes will light our way towards the future.

The common principles and traditions among internationalists are that they choose not to engage in the debate with the currents on the left of capital, namely, the left wing of the bourgeoisie. Internationalists have no criticism with the left of capital, as their critique of capital is only made through communist revolution. Internationalists see such currents as class enemies: on the one hand, some of these currents are highly radical, while, on the contrary, some of the tireless work by internationalists is about supporting the trends or intermediate circles that exist between proletarian and bourgeois positions, so that some of them can move towards proletarian positions.

According to the described principle, the publication of the UCM declaration by the ICC, as well as the ICC putting activists from the UCM in contact with other currents and holding numerous meetings with UCM activists, which is not mentioned in this interview, there is nothing to defend, which, being honest, is a position that must be seen as an error. The ICC, which is one of the communist left poles, was defeated in defending proletarian principles at this point. We should learn from the ICC's mistake.

The publication of the texts of the UCM in the organ of the ICP (*Battaglia Comunista*), and the existence of any relations between the CWO and the activists of the UCM was also a violation of proletarian principles. We will return to this issue soon.

The intensification of the class struggle in the late 1960s and early 1970s brought new challenges to the internationalists: the need to leave behind absolute isolation and to prompt discussions that determined the tasks of the internationalists. In such a context, the ICP (*Battaglia Comunista*) understood the necessity of debate among the internationalists and took the initiative to hold internationalist conferences, as follows:

- First Conference, April and May 1977, in Milan
- Second Conference, November 1978, in Paris
- Third Conference, May 1980, in Paris
- Fourth Conference, September 1982, in London

There was no specific criterion for organizing the First Conference, but the general idea of the ICP (*Battaglia Comunista*) was that the invitees should be belonged to the Revolutionary Corps. But, after the First Conference and before the Second Conference, the following criteria were announced:

- The recognition of the October Revolution as a proletarian revolution.
- The recognition of the break from social democracy which was carried out by the First and Second Congresses of the Comintern.
- The unreserved rejection of state capitalism and self-management.
- The unconditional rejection of communist and socialist parties, namely, bourgeois parties.

- The orientation towards the organization of a revolution referring to the ideology and doctrine of Marxism as the science of the proletariat.

These conferences were necessary and important, and a valuable achievement for the communist left. Our critique concerns the Fourth Conference. After the Third Conference, a polemic between the ICC and the ICP (*Battaglia Comunista*) occurred, centred around the role and function of the party. Given the circumstances, the ICC failed to attend the Fourth Conference. Every until this point is acceptable, but opening the doors of these international conferences for internationalists to bourgeois and counterrevolutionary currents cannot be defended under any circumstances. Activists of the UCM, under the title the ‘Supporters of the Unity of Communist Militants’, in the process of communicating with the CWO and the ICP (*Battaglia Comunista*), were able to attend the Fourth Conference of the communist left. If holding meetings and publishing UCM texts were a mistake on the part of comrades from the ICP and CWO, the invasion of activists from a bourgeois current at a conference for internationalists was even more a departure from proletarian principles.

The entrance of a bourgeois current at the conference for internationalists became a subject of the polemic on the communist left. In such a context, the CWO wrote in its organ, *Revolutionary Perspectives* 6, that, after learning about the counterrevolutionary nature of this current, the invitation was a mistake.

In the process, the ICP (*Battaglia Comunista*) began to disclose the counterrevolutionary and bourgeois nature of this current (first, the UCM, and then the Communist Party of Iran). In this regard, a letter from the ICP, addressed to the Supporters of the UCM, also referred to the bourgeois nature of this current, as well as the economic debates of the UCM, the reactionary stance of the UCM in relation to the Iran-Iraq War, and so on. At the same time as the metamorphosis of the UCM and Komala into the Communist Party of Iran, the ICP criticized the programme of the latter and its democratic revolution. Regarding this situation, the ICP wrote:

“We started a movement on our side in order to influence this current and actually contribute to the qualitative uprising centred on basic issues such as Stalinism and the democratic revolution” [9][our translation].

Exposing the bourgeois and counterrevolutionary nature of the Communist Party of Iran from an internationalist perspective, was questioned by some of its activists. Those who, in the style of bourgeois propaganda, had scrambled to offer a strong image of the Communist Party of Iran, were now the activists in the party referring to its shaky foundations, saying:

“One of the comrades of the spokesman on the tape [an internal tape of the Communist Party of Iran] says: ‘The Communist Party in the international arena, if not millions, has tens and hundreds of thousands (!) of followers interested in it.’ Suppose this is the case, but does the size of a current indicate its legitimacy? Especially in the theoretical arena? In addition, all forces in the international arena have been deeply critical of the Communist Party of Iran such

as *Battaglia*, the RPP, the CWO etc. Inside Iran, it should also be said that, although the conditions of repression do not allow us to have any news about these forces and circles, the pamphlets we have received here and there indicate that, inside Iran, critiques have been written of the Communist Party of Iran and its theories. In the case of abroad, among Iranians, there is no longer a need to acknowledge the fact that none of the critiques was answered” [10][our translation].

If we put aside the Goebbels-like lies of the Communist Party of Iran in relation to the tens and hundreds of thousands of followers who are interested in the party in the international arena, its activists in Italy have challenged the party. They have argued that, if the issues were opened up, then it would be seen as though the programme and theory of the Communist Party of Iran were proletarian, or conversely bourgeois:

“If the content of the discussion is opened up, not only will the organization of its sympathizers be questioned, so will its claim to have proletarian and communist theory and programme? Comrade Abdullah Mohtadi, when Secretary General of the party, issued a report to the plenum, stating that the party’s knowledge of global currents was limited.

Further, he propounded alongside Trotskyism, the communist left, it [the communist left] needs to get out of the way. I am sure, if any supporters have questions about what the communist left means and its mistakes, they will not be answered” [11][our translation].

This comment from Secretary General Mohtadi suggested that he was not fully aware of global currents either; but this was not because of his lack of knowledge, but because he was lying. That is, Farhad Besharat had not only announced the exact list of currents involved, but also published it.

This process had a profound effect on the Supporters’ Organization of the Communist Party of Iran in Italy. The Supporters’ Organization was plunged into crisis, publishing several articles, including “About the Changes to the Supporters’ Organization of the Communist Party of Iran Abroad” and ‘Summoning the Past to Justify the Present’. The crisis was so critical that the Communist Party of Iran was unable to fully restore the Italian unit. Former supporters, commenting on the internal atmosphere of the Communist Party of Iran and its theoretical debates, as well as their own perspectives, wrote the following:

“We, internationalist communists, former members of the Supporters’ Organization of the Communist Party of Iran, declare that there is no room for internal theoretical-political struggles in the Communist Party of Iran and its Supporters’ Organization, and any protest should be confronted with suppression, expulsion and ridicule ... Our gathering of every colour, race, nationality and country will consign the bureaucratism and nationalism of the Communist Party of Iran to the same dustbin as Stalinism. This is the step we are taking” [12][our translation].

Given the crisis and collapse of the Supporters’ Organization of the Communist Party of Iran in Italy and the possibility of spreading the crisis to other countries, especially Britain, the

leaders of the Communist Party of Iran chose to stop this happening by critiquing the political platform of the ICP (*Battaglia Comunista*). Responsibility for this was assumed by Hamid Taghvaei, one of the leaders of the Communist Party of Iran. It is important to note that Taghvaei represented the positions of the leadership of the Communist Party of Iran through its theoretical journal, *Towards Socialism*, which conveyed the official line of the party, and should not be associated with the current factions of worker-communism.

Those with insignificant knowledge are beholden to the second-hand positions of the political apparatus of the left of capitalist. As for internationalist communists, who have defended proletarian positions against the dawn of counterrevolution and bourgeois ideology for a hundred years, they claim that the communist left is unfamiliar with the theoretical principles of Marxism, writing:

“At least we had the impression that the ‘communist left’ was a theoretical current, whose problem should be further explored in terms of not understanding the relationship between theory and practice, and not in the lack of familiarity with the theoretical rulings and principles of Marxism” [13][our translation].

Just the ideologues of capital, whose insignificant knowledge is beholden to second-hand Stalinism-Maoism, take up the theoreticians’ gestures by touching precious gold, those on the communist left are unfamiliar with Marxism and express themselves as the theoreticians of the left of capital, in other words they are theoreticians who do n’t know Lenin is eatable or drinking phenomenon. Only the heroic speeches of the Italian communist left spokesman, Comrade Bordiga, during the sixth far-reaching executive meeting of the Comintern, held between 17 February and 25 March 1926, can be offered as valid defence of the communist left of Marxism. With his courage, sharpness and Marxist clarity, this spokesman, during the Comintern’s executive meeting, which had begun with a ‘united front’, a ‘workers’ state’, ‘Bolshevization policy’, the prohibition of factions in the Comintern etc. was condemned. We are talking here of an internationalist, who, in a personal meeting, astonished Stalin. Contrary to the vigour of bourgeois ideology, the communist left was formed in defence of the principles and the theory of Marxism, as well as in defence of proletarian internationalism, in defence of the global revolution, in defence of the global concept of socialism, in rejection of parliamentarism, in negation of anti-labour unions, in rejection of national movements which became part of imperialist struggles, in defence of ... Of course, the ideological bellwether of worker-communism, Mansoor Hekmat, states that Lenin’s contributions to the critical discussion about Rosa Luxemburg and the debate in his book, *‘Left-wing’ Communism: An Infantile Disorder*, are critiques of non-social communism. Hekmat says:

“In addition, the basis of these discussions involving Lenin, especially in writings such as “What Is To Be Done?” and “One Step Forward, Two Steps Back”, can be seen in the critique of Rosa Luxemburg, while Lenin’s later discussions in *‘Left-wing’ Communism: An Infantile Disorder* is specifically about non-social communism” [14][our translation].

Hekmat repeats the nonsense of his ex-comrade. Rosa Luxemburg is source of inspiration for the proletariat whom Lenin called ‘Eagle’ and the communist left is non-social, but the religion of worker-communism became social by becoming involved in society.

This ideologue of worker-communism, with his “critique” of the programme of the ICP (*Battaglia Comunista*), wants to reveal the non-proletarian positions of the communist left and clarify the degree of closeness or distance they have with ‘revolutionary Marxism’. At the height of distraction, he writes:

“But, given this distinction and the historical and theoretical-political independence of the current of the ‘communist left’, and, in particular, the ‘Internationalist Communist Party’ from this non-proletarian perspective, to what extent is an expression of consistency and its proximity to revolutionary Marxism itself another issue? Above all, the study and review of opinions and demonstrable positions are required by this current and our goal of criticizing the ‘political platform’ is nothing but a clarification of this issue” [15][our translation].

When the crisis of “revolutionary Marxism” arose, the same ideologues stated that “revolutionary Marxism” itself was always a temporary intellectual and political framework for the two struggle traditions, namely, worker socialism and the radicalism of the non-worker left. The ideologue of the left of capital wants to compare the positions of the communist left, with its temporary intellectual framework of beliefs, and those of the left of capital, in our opinion. See how much this ideologue of the left of capital struggle to speak coherently, so much he struggles, so much he imagines better the swamp to which he belongs.

The ideologue of the left of capital grabs everything in order to pretend that the communist left does not have an inner coherence to its theories. His head, full of desperation, insists that all the platform of the ICP offers are opinions without a clear and comprehensive presentation:

“Indeed, it can be said that the platform of the ICP [*Battaglia Comunista*], in terms of the form of regulations and the issues raised, is not a coherent political platform, nor is it similar to a party programme; rather, it is a diverse set of theoretical comments and political positions without displaying any clear and comprehensive political behaviour or offering any theoretical insight” [16][our translation].

Of course, the bourgeois “theoretician” does not show why the theories provided by the communist left are not coherent and why they have no internal cohesion. These statements only express the bankruptcy of the author of *Towards Socialism*, who grabs everything to pelt the communist left with. But the most ridiculous thing is to say that the political theories and positions of the communist left are not clearly expressed! In the black era of counterrevolution and in all social events, the communist left has defended Marxism. The ICP (*Battaglia Comunista*) is rooted in the internationalist faction of the Italian communist left which, from the very beginning of the outbreak of opportunism in the Comintern, was clearly defending proletarian positions. Incidentally, the clarity, transparency and sharpening of the internationalist faction of the Italian communist left in the class struggle, the role of the

revolutionary organization, the evolution of capitalism, etc. were able to turn this internationalist faction into the main pole in defending proletarian positions. More than half a century after the magnificent achievements of this faction, the ideologues of the left of capital were still learning about second-hand Stalinism-Maoism.

Internationalists believe in a worldwide party. The same applies to the internationalist communist tendency, which, despite the fact that it has sections in different countries, does not consider itself to be a global party, but one with only one tendency. Previously it was known as the International Bureau of the Revolutionary Party. In contrast, the new name better describes the more principled nature of the internationalist communist tendency. The ICC is correctly opposed to the formation of a party with a Maoist style in one of the most remote Iranian villages, which has nothing to do with the working class and the class struggle. Of course, all these tendencies and currents believe in the party, as well as recognize that, without the International and ICP, there is no possibility of a victory for the communist revolution. One author from the left of capital writes as below:

“This emphasis is on the perennial importance of the party, compared to other organizations on the ‘communist left’ such as the ‘International Communist Current’ ... which basically does not believe in the formation of a party, except under special revolutionary conditions and the era of the uprising; this is a positive point” [17][our translation].

Certainly, the left of capital, because of its class belonging, will have a different attitude to the internationalists in relation to the historical trend in the evaluation of the capitalist relations of production. It is the demagogues and liars on the left of capital who are accusing the internationalists of being ‘deterministic’. According to the internationalists, they speaking nonsense claiming that the growth rate of productive forces has made the duty of all tasks clear and without the need for a conceptual struggle. The aforementioned author writes:

“Believing that the relations of production and the degree of growth in productive forces have paved the way for everything, such that any concrete battle and struggle does not directly and unswervingly target the entire capitalist system, is vain and futile. Take the European ‘communist left’ current and, specifically, the ICP, and the currents that begin with the global domination of capital and imperialism and end up with complete pacifism and inertia” [18] [our translation].

It has been repeatedly explained that the internationalists believe that all class systems have undergone a period of growth and degeneration. Capitalism has also entered its decadent era, and so direct communist struggle is the order of the day. Instead of bringing the proletariat together under the various banners of the bourgeoisie, we should be active in the class struggle. If the working class does not act on its historical verdict, the destruction of humanity is certain.

Worker communism and Trade Unions

What were the contexts of the formation of trade unions? After the victory of the French Revolution, which brought the bourgeoisie to political power, the bourgeoisie banned any community establishing itself in working-class society, claiming that it would be an attack on freedom and human rights. It was only after half a century of struggle that the workers were able to impose the legal existence of unions on the bourgeoisie.

When the mode of capitalist production was not yet in full swing across the entire universe and the bourgeoisie continued to play a progressive role in society, there was a separation between the political struggle and the economic struggle. Trade unions were thought to be purely economic, while the political struggle was passed onto the party which took its fight to parliament. Unions were schools for struggle, while struggle was a school for communism. Reforms were an opportunity for the working class to improve living conditions in capitalist society, which in turn could be more humane through daily struggles. Unfortunately, the separation of the political struggle from the economic struggle provided grounds for the integration of unions in the capitalist state.

With the outbreak of the World War I, which signalled the arrival of capitalism in its decadent era, this led to the integration of social democratic parties into the capital camp, while unions headed in the direction of recruiting and providing services to the capitalist state. The mobilization of workers by trade unions for the purposes of imperialist warfare in World War I indicated that trade unions were merged into the capitalist state, and were no longer worker organizations, but capitalist institutions in the workplace. In turn, and during the German Revolution as part of the global revolution, the role of trade unions in suppressing the struggles of workers is another bloody story that is remembered as an unforgettable lesson for the working class. In November 1918, the German trade unions formed a counterrevolutionary guard to support Ebert, in an effort to suppress the workers by imposing a false illusion on the state of working class.

The permanent integration of unions in the capitalist state is of great importance to the bourgeoisie for the penetration of bourgeois ideology within the working class and the close contact between junior members of unions and workers in the workplace. Currently, in most countries, the duties of unions as official and respectable representatives of the 'working class' include providing necessary advice to the employer and the state, making necessary decisions and trying to present bourgeois laws in the workplace as acceptable to workers, as part of the function of the institution of the capitalist state. The tasks of unions, in concrete form, are to play the role of bourgeois advisers, to control the sale of the workforce, and to reduce the conflict between work and capital through controlling and limiting the class struggle.

Of course, the narrow sections of the bourgeoisie are still opposed to trade unions. This will help to provide a radical picture of unions. In capitalist dictatorship, in which unions are associated with the opposition, belonging to the state of capital takes on an obscure and vague form. But, even in these countries, the work of trade unions is to be accepted as a legal entity.

In times of crisis, unions direct negotiations towards the sole objective of fighting and depriving workers of their class identity, which is in contrast to the spirit of workers' struggle; and, if needed, planned strikes will undermine the revolutionary potential of workers.

Playing the role of police, by providing individual services on the one hand and suppressing workers on the other, is another part of the duties of the unions. In a recent example from the UK, i.e., in the democratic world, not a dictatorship, staff from the largest union, Unite, created a blacklist of workers whom they found to hold politically inappropriate view, which they provided to employers to prevent these workers from being hired, thereby ensuring the security of production and industry [19].

In the conditions of a stagnant class struggle, unions collate a blacklist of protesting workers to break their morale and confidence because the alternative is long-term unemployment. In the extreme conditions of class struggle, with the direct questioning of revolutionary workers, unions have fallen into the hands of the police; and, by questioning the most militant workers, through slander, defamation and even by considering themselves as policemen, revolutionary workers are attempting to undermine the class struggle. If necessary, as was the case with the German Revolution, they are responsible for the direct repression of workers by acting as a guard at the gates of capital.

In the era of imperialism, trade unions have evolved into giant organizations, becoming part of the state apparatus, with employees who have all the tools of power, money, the news media advertising and so on. Unions, especially in metropolitan countries, are the main shareholders in companies and play an important role in exploiting the working class. The income of trade unions derives from the exploitation of workers to an astronomical extent. One of its former leaders, Reza Moghaddam, accused worker communism of obtaining money from the state without transparency. Mahmoud Ghazvini, a worker-communist, replied in a statement that worker-communism has never received money from the state; however, **in just one case**, it received \$400,000 from the anti-war movement, which includes left currents and **unions**. Ghazvini wrote:

“The jointly run TV channel of the Hekmatist Party and the Iraqi Worker-Communist Party, which, for a period, broadcast on a 24-hour basis, was fundamentally funded through leftist and anti-war currents in Japan and South Korea. The anti-war movement in Japan and South Korea, after the occupation of Iraq, stood behind the Worker-communist party of Iraq. To start the project, **in just one case, about \$400,000** was contributed by the anti-war movement, which included left currents and trade unions in both countries; and, at the same time, we released a report. As far as I remember, the Hekmatist Party itself collected about \$150,000. Comrades from the Iraqi party and Comrade Aman Kafa from the Hekmatist Party travelled to Japan several times for the project” [20] [our emphasis] [our translation].

So, in just one cases, \$400,000 was made, not from Europe or North America, but from South Korea and Japan, where the union tradition is low to an organization of the left of capital. This case alone reflects the role played by unions in the financial oligarchy.

All the tendencies and attempts on the right and left of capital, apart from the criticisms about the form or leadership of unions, aim to depict unions as **worker organizations**. Of course, the radical phrase part of the left of capital has a dual role for the unions:

- Defend the interests of workers in periods of class struggle is at a low level
- Against the interests of workers in periods of class struggle is intensified

Such a view holds that the union is not against the working class but against the revolution. The bureaucratic structure and the domination of corrupt leaders in unions, as spoken by the radical phrase part of the left of capital, and even the possibility of the withdrawal of unions, reflect the bourgeois nature of unions. The metabolism of unions is not about the free activities of its members, but refers to their part in the administrative apparatus of state capital.

As we have seen, aspects of the radical phrase part of the left of capital highlight the double role of unions, defending the interests of workers when the class struggle is at a low level, and opposing the interests of workers when the class struggle intensifies. Now, worker communism wants unionism to play a double role, not from the point of view of class struggle, but in geographic terms. In its view, trade unions in the metropolitan countries are reformers; but, on the peripheries of capital, they are the champion and defender of the economic interests of workers. According to *Towards Socialism*:

“First of all, we must say that, methodologically, the same assessment of the status of all unions and, in principle, any existing trade-economic organization of the working class as a whole, and the adoption of a single and general position in relation to all these organizations, is basically contradictory to Marxism ... For example, can trade unions in Britain be equated with unions in Bolivia or those in US with those in India, and can we consider them to be an essential part of imperialist domination (regardless of the validity of this theory)? Surely not ... Even if we do not view this fact from an analytical perspective, given the limited familiarity with the history and activity of trade unions, for example, in Latin American countries, and how they compare with the functioning of European unions, it is enough to acknowledge the baseless and false adoption of a single position against unions” [21] [our translation].

Leaders of worker communism want to give the communist left a lesson in Marxism. These leaders with their regalia and long hair should be reminded that the form of organizing workers is not arbitrary, nor is the will of workers themselves; rather, it arises from the development of capitalism. Capitalism, despite being a dominant global system, does not grow linearly in all countries. Consequently, the working class is also a global class, with different growth rates in different countries. The nature of unions comes from the evolution of global capitalism, although unions can take different forms in different countries. It is just as valid to state that unions are reformist in the metropolis and militant in peripheral capital; it is also just as valid to claim that the bourgeoisie is reformist in metropolitan capital and revolutionary in peripheral capital. In the era of imperialism, the bourgeoisie is counterrevolutionary everywhere, and unions in the era of imperialism are everywhere in the capital institution of the workplace.

The left of capital accuses internationalists of not seeing the reality of the struggle of the trade unions in peripheral countries, such as South Africa and Chile, against capitalism and imperialist domination, as this writer explains.

“As far as trade unions in the dominated countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are concerned, internationalists must have lost sight of the fact that, in many of these countries (such as Chile, Bolivia, South Africa etc.), trade unions are against capitalism while the imperialist rulers have repeatedly fought them. Even today, [trade unions] are engaged in such a struggle (only the weaknesses, mistakes and deviations of these unions are completely different). The fact is that the absence of a workers’ aristocracy in the dominated countries, the violent, public and openly confrontational response from the state to every strike and protest movement of the workers, and the close and often revealing economic and political issues in many of these countries are among the causes that give rise to revolutionary tendencies in the workers’ movement, which makes it difficult for compromise and reformism” [22] [our translation].

Incidentally, referring to labour struggles outside the control of unions in the peripheral countries of capital helps to clarify the reactionary nature of trade unions. The heroic struggles of the Tekel workers in Turkey in 2009 not only took place beyond the control of trade unions, but protesting workers also occupied the office of their unions. Capital’s police came to the aid of the unions. We have not forgotten the workers’ screams that, if unions are there to support us, why are they not with us? The story of these labour struggles and, at the same time, of anti-unionism has been clearly described by the internationalists [23]. Another example is a strike by South African miners, which was declared illegal by the major trade unions, in which 34 miners were massacred [24] and where all the efforts of the unions to break the strike represented another response to the left of capital. This list can be extended. It is not far-fetched to state that, during workers’ protests, when the struggle becomes more radical, workers organize themselves outside of their unions. Contrary to the various leftist tendencies of capital, which state that unions and syndicates, in Western Europe, because of the “workers’ aristocracy”, cannot play a radical role in labour struggles, but can fight in peripheral countries for the working class, the events in South Africa, Turkey etc. expose trade unions as institutions of capital in the workplace. The role of unions during these events once again proves the reactionary position of the left of capital and the legitimacy of the positions of internationalists, who claim that trade unions throughout the world have become capitalist organizations. The main task of unions, whether on the peripheries or in the metropolis, is to control the working class and to deflect the class struggle of workers.

Worker communism calls on internationalists to apply a policy of neutrality towards trade unions. What demagogy! What impartiality! Internationalists declare that unions are integrated into the state of capital and part of the capitalist state, while the duty of internationalists is to defend proletarian positions and expose the bourgeois nature of unions within the working class. The defence of the left of capital of unions does not concern their blindness to the realities but the alignment of their class belonging with the capital camp. In *Towards Socialism*, they write:

“They are not only seeking to establish, support or even adopt a neutral policy towards existing unions and the union movement, but also using all their power to crush any kind of mass worker organization. The opinion of the ‘Internationalist Communist Party’ on trade unions is false and unfounded in most of the countries of the world ... In these countries, on the one hand, the struggle concerning economic demands and trade unions is a major aspect of the workers’ movement, and the union plays a decisive role in the labour movement as an appropriate container of, and organization to advance, these struggles. In the first industrialized countries of the world, the history of the labour movement and the union movement has been interwoven; a large cohort of workers has long been organized in their trade unions and alliances, while the forms, traditions and methods of union struggles have become part of the culture and the general understanding of workers” [25] [our translation].

The position of the communist left regarding unions is based not only on a theoretical basis but also on its class belonging in relation to the labour camp. Certainly, the internationalists are not neutral, but their duty is to defend the interests of the class they belong to. The nonsense from the left of capital is that unions are massive organizations of workers. But, unions are as much a form of labour organization as social democratic parties are labour parties. In other words, they are the same as those who slaughtered Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht.

They use demagoguery to claim that unions, as a form of labour organization, have played a decisive role in advancing the struggle of the labour movement. If the purpose of the left of capital relates to the time before the merger of unions in the capital state before the World War I, then this might be true; but, after that, unions as an organ of capital at work have engaged in the suppression of the class struggle. Given the level of membership of atomized workers in them, unions are not proletarian by nature; meanwhile, the membership level of atomized workers in social democratic parties is high. Does the high percentage of atomized workers in social democratic parties lend them a proletarian nature? Absolutely not. Such an argument would insist that social democratic parties are workers’ party: in other words, when social democratic parties hold political power, the state is also a workers’ state! In all imperialist wars, workers dressed in military uniform and were sent to carry out imperialist assassinations. Yet, the participation of atomized workers in imperialist wars does not mean that such wars are proletarian either. The nature of the working class is a class phenomenon, not a sociological discussion.

The left of capital complains that internationalists do not interfere in unions to radicalize them, accusing them that their pacifist position provides the scope for compromising and opportunistic leadership of unions:

“Not supporting the struggle to change the status of unions and avoid creating new unions actually means accepting and confirming the current situation. The pacifist position of the [ICP], except for supporting the compromising and opportunistic policies of union leaders and abandoning the fate of workers’ economic struggles, has no other consequence.

First of all, we must continually pursue proletarian alternatives, policies and the functions with regard to unions, whether in general terms or in dealing with any strike and struggle, and ensure that the level of concrete practical guidelines can be adopted by the masses of the working class, that the political deviations and weaknesses and organizational constraints (such as bureaucratic buildings, the inability to organize the unemployed) of existing unions can be criticized and disclosed, and that leaders of the labour movement can be equipped to overcome these deviations and weaknesses” [26] [our translation].

The internationalists are not demagogic, while the conquest of labour unions by proletarian forces is as valid as the conquest of those social democratic parties that were once labour parties. This is an illusion; social democratic parties and unions are well aware of how to control and channel any opposition before it becomes dangerous. In the exact same way that the capitalist state must not be regarded as a tool in the service of the communist revolution, but destroyed, trade unions as part of the capitalist state should not be tolerated. Trade unions are the first frontier that the proletariat must conquer in the communist revolution. Labour power (the dictatorship of the proletariat) is possible only through global councils.

Contrary to the demagogy of worker-communism, the influence of bourgeois ideology among the workers in metropolitan countries is not only because of the presence of a workers’ aristocracy, but also because of the poisonous nature of democracy. We will further explain the poison of bourgeois democracy as a continuation of wage slavery in the context of democracy [27]. Against the demagogy on the left of capital from a Marxist perspective, due to high labour productivity in metropolitan countries, workers in the metropolis are exploited more than their class sisters and brothers in peripheral capitalism. One capitalist ideologue writes:

“It is a fact that existing unions are the gateway to the infiltration and influence of bourgeois reformist and opportunist policies within European workers’ movement, given that this stems from the aristocracy of workers in these countries and their domination of unions. European trade unions have historically been made an essential part of the economic struggle of workers and, under today’s conditions, the cause of their existence is nothing more than this ... It would certainly have been more desirable for the bourgeoisie, which was not, in principle, confronted with organized and united workers in unions, if workers were deprived of these existing unions in their economic struggles” [28] [our translation].

This view is not only due to a lack of knowledge about Marxism on the part of the bourgeois ‘theoretician’, but also a result of his class belonging, which states that trade unions have historically emerged as an organization of economic struggle, while, today, they are the cause of their existence. Only in a period of capitalist history were unions an organization of the economic struggle of the working class. Another aspect of the statements on the left of capital is that, due to the existence of a “workers’ aristocracy” in metropolitan capitalism, the working class in this context has become reformist, rather than seeking revolution, compared to the working class in peripheral capitalism, which is revolutionary. In other words, this time, the periphery capitalism will be of the revolutionary vanguard.

Most disgracefully, it is a great lie that the bourgeoisie is faced with unified and organized workers in unions. Workers are not organized in unions; rather, workers are members of unions in the form of atomized workers who lack any class unity. What decision of a union is a collective decision? What decision of a union is based on the general assembly? Unlike the demagoguery of worker communism, unions, as institutions of capitalism, are especially important for the far-sighted bourgeoisie, because they play a significant role in securing production and industry.

Finally, the bourgeois theoretician, out of desperation and helplessness, is lobbing mud at the internationalists, while insisting that the ICT has no clear understanding and cognition in terms of either the struggle or Marxism, as explained below:

“Anyone who does not understand the above points, basically has no clear understanding and cognition of the real-life struggle between the bourgeoisie and the workers, nor of Marxism as the practice of science and revolutionary intervention in this struggle; and, unfortunately, this applies to the ICT. Its incorrect assessment and analysis of the issue of unions have made the ICT a fatalistic and completely passive actor” [29] [our translation].

It is nonsense to claim that the communist left, including the ICT, has no clear understanding of the class struggle, to that it is unfamiliar with Marxism; only a secretive sect would have members who do not know whether Lenin is an eating or drinking phenomena. The communist left has been the true continuation of communism since the decline of the Comintern and the only true defender of Marxism. Incidentally, the position of the ICT is not passive but has actively challenged the idea of unions as a capital institution in the workplace. The passionate defence by the ICT of Marxism stems not only from its search for the ideals of the communist left, but also from its support for the class struggle of the proletariat. The extent of the ICT’s defence of Marxism has been much greater than the scale of ideologues from the sphere of worker communism.

Mansoor Hekmat appears as the “foresighted” adviser of the peripheral bourgeoisie and states that if they allow unions to be formed, workers in peripheral capital will not sell their workforce cheaply. Hekmat writes:

“The UCM from workers’ point of view criticized, and the position was that, if the situation stays as it is, this is because workers in such a country will sell their workforce cheaply. As a result, the lack of democracy, of a free press, and of a progressive cultural relationship represents the framework in which workforce costs are kept low. If unions are allowed and political parties are allowed, in a country where workers are in such a situation, workers are organized and forced to work to improve their economic situation by seeking higher wages and reduction in their hours of work. As a result, the economy does not profit from this level of technology and this level of capital accumulation ... If unions exist on a wide scale, low wages cannot be easily imposed” [30] [our translation].

Calling for wage increases, in other words, is the struggle for a more expensive workforce, the struggle for the right to organize, the struggle for improving working conditions, etc. Although this is against the bourgeoisie's interests, it is within the framework of the capitalist system, not against it. Most importantly, for foresighted capital, the early depreciation of the workforce is not economical, while, in the long term, it will lead to a reduction in capital accumulation. The metropolitan bourgeois is well aware of this issue, and Hekmat calls for such a "recovery" for the workers of peripheral capital. These workers have sent messages to unions under the guise of being organizations of workers. Meanwhile, the workers of Iran state that they do not have any unity surrounding their struggles except trade unions:

"If, today, the representatives of Iranian labour organizations are not with you, if, today, you do not hear the message of solidarity from Iranian workers' organizations about your struggles, this is because any attempt to unite and organize the workers of Iran is suppressed by the Islamic Republic. This is because Iranian workers lack their public and mass organizations. Iranian workers in their fair and rightful struggles have no unity except you" [31] [our translation].

The Iranian workers in their battles require class solidarity with their own chained class sisters and brothers from all parts of the world. The workers' struggle anywhere on this planet will have its impact elsewhere, but Iranian workers do not need solidarity from the capitalist organization in their struggles. All of these efforts are only aimed at securing legitimacy for unions as a form of labour organization among workers. The political apparatus of the left of capital is doing what it needs to do. Everywhere, due to the radicalization of the workers' struggle, trade unions are the first to be challenged by the working class.

With the growth and evolution of capitalism, the form of the struggle of the working class evolved. The First International has had another form than the Communist League. Then, with the evolution of capitalism, the Second International was reliant on reform, because the era of communist revolutions had not yet begun. With the arrival of capitalism in its decadent era, and with the advent of the era of communist revolution, the Third International was formed. In the present era, there is only one type of class struggle.

Worker-communism and the National Question

When capitalism played a progressive role in society and the bourgeoisie, as a progressive and revolutionary class, continued to struggle with the chains of feudalism, the creation of new nations was a step in the development of productive forces. This meant that the new nations were able to develop in the social context, in the global market. Therefore, communists and proletarian internationalists often supported national liberation movements. This support emanated from the left of capital as a response to the era of capitalist decadence.

The irrefutable fact is that the historical stage of capitalist development underwent a complete process in the world. The capitalist world cannot be divided into different parts or areas of

history: one part of capitalism is aging and old (metropolitan capitalism) while the other is young and dynamic (peripheral capitalism). Like any other class system, the capitalist mode of production is an integrated and uniform system which has periods of growth and decadence. Above all, capitalism has entered its decadent era.

The state and the capitalist-free nation cannot exist during the period of capitalist decadence. Each new state that evolves must integrate itself into the mode of capitalist production and participate in the global market. This means that new nations emerging from national movements will become imperialist countries, regardless of their size or their economic and military power.

In the era of imperialism, the “National Liberation War” is part of the imperialist policy of large and small gangsters and their conflicts. Defending national liberation movements in fact means defending an imperialist power against another imperialist power using national or “socialist” terms. Only in a socialist society, in a classless society, does the exploitation of man by man become obsolete. In turn, the oppression of smaller ethnic groups will not be meaningful, while the unfettered growth of any popular group will be the condition of the growth of all popular groups.

But Mansoor Hekmat believes that, since the proletariat has not completed all its growth stages in peripheral capital, it stands shoulder to shoulder with the democratic bourgeoisie, of course, by exposing the bourgeois disengagement in the National Liberation War:

“In the war, whose purpose is national liberation, the tactic of participating in this war, not because of its nature, but rather unconditionally, involves the relations between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The proletariat, which has not yet completed its stages of development, must fight in the war against tyranny and national oppression, along with the democratic bourgeoisie, by exposing the discontinuity of the bourgeoisie and propagating the principled hostility it has with it” [32] [our translation].

Of course, over time, Hekmat has evolved his views on the national issue. He believes that the liberation movements are the reserve force and the potential components of the socialist revolution for the proletariat. This ideologue of the left of capital writes:

“Therefore, movements and democratic revolutions and liberation in dominated countries, such as the revolutionary struggles of oppressed nations around the world for self-determination, are all, in the current era of reserve power, potential components of the global socialist revolution of the proletariat” [33] [our translation].

As we have seen above, according to Hekmat, the proletariat, which has not yet completed its growth, stands shoulder to shoulder with democratic bourgeoisie when participating in the National Liberation War. Given the development of Hekmat’s positions in the present era, during the era of imperialism, the liberation movements of the reserve force and the potential of the socialist revolution will emerge. The logical consequence of the Hekmat’s argument is

that the democratic bourgeoisie is also a potential force of the socialist revolution. In other words, the bourgeoisie, against its class interests and against its class demands, participates in the socialist revolution (the demands of the class of the proletariat). Probably, for the purposes of Mansoor Hekmat, the “socialist revolution” equates to the “people’s revolution of China” or, more precisely, the gravediggers of the proletarian revolution of China, which was drowned in the blood of the workers of Shanghai and Canton. These nonsensical delusions come from someone who was taken the title of the Marx of his time.

The left of capital is dissatisfied that the communist left does not send workers to the imperialist massacre, in contrast, it insists on the independent queue of the proletariat.

In the attitude, thought and culture of the political apparatus of the left of capital, defending proletarian positions is a prescription for struggle. On the subject of turmoil, *Towards Socialism* states:

“‘The Internationalist Communist Party!’ Indeed, for a party that has existed for more than 30 years, with its own avowal ‘explicitly, decisively and clearly’ calling on workers to fight against fascism, while opposing oppressed people’s liberation, boycotting national liberation movements and breaking away from democracy, a more irrelevant name than this cannot be given” [34] [our translation].

The Italian section of the ICT does not want workers to be cannon fodder in imperialist conflicts, while highlighting the independent nature of proletarian positions. Further, it considers bourgeois democracy as the corollary of the influence of bourgeois ideology, which is a barrier to the development of a class struggle and views liberation wars as part of the imperialist policy of large and small gangsters. Given such positions, it hangs the glorious medal of internationalism around its neck. The ICT is rooted in the Italian communist left faction, which, during World War II, evaluated the war as imperialist and saw both sides of the war as reactionary. Contrary to Stalinism (the ideological origin of worker communism), the ICT from a Marxist perspective took account of the formation contexts and progress of fascism and persisted with the independent struggle of the working class, which continues to this day. According to the “theoretical” publication, *Towards Socialism*, with its intellectual bankruptcy, the left of capital grabs everything in order to give minimum coherence to its dispersed positions. The left of capital, however much scrambling it does, with every effort, it sinks more into the slime, while smearing Lenin’s name too:

“Of course, the ICT is basically opposed to the Leninist critique of its positions or does not think it applies to today’s conditions; but, in any case, one thing is certain: it is a continuation and the current representation of the views of Kievsky and the tendency of imperialist economism of the early iterations of European social democracy. Further, along with the breakdown of ‘democracy, anti-fascism and liberation movements’, it is actually disconnected from Leninism ... In the aftermath of the World War, liberation and nationalist struggles (in particular, the struggle against national oppression in the context of a country and, more generally, the democratic/anti-imperialist revolutions in dominated countries) did not subside

and stop; rather, they have greatly increased in range and number. The anti-imperialist movements and revolutions of the dominated nations throughout Africa, Asia and Latin America (from India and Algeria to China and Vietnam, from Mozambique and Angola to Iran and Nicaragua), as well as the decades of struggles in Ireland, Eritrea, Basque Country, Palestine, Kurdistan etc. ... bear witness to our claim to have solved the national problem and gained self-determination” [35] [our translation].

Lenin was an internationalist who believed that the fate of the October Revolution was tied to world revolution, not to national liberation revolutions. Contrary to the views of the left of capital, Marxism is neither a sect nor a religion that cannot change; rather, it is fluid and has evolved along with the evolution of capitalism. Great Marxists like Lenin have tried to enrich it. But internationalists believe and the hundred years of experience have shown that Lenin had ambiguities in relation to the national issue, while Rosa Luxemburg’s perception of the national issue was a Marxist conception.

With the arrival of capitalism in the era of communist revolution and the formation of the Comintern, the proletariat’s task was to conquer state power. Therefore, any attempt to form a new state would remove the proletariat from its goals and be against communist revolution. After the imperialist Second World War, and especially the Cold War, when imperialist tensions intensified, the liberation movements became part of the imperialist policy of gangsters.

On the Marxist horizon and with the arrival of capitalism in its decadent era, the era of imperialism, national movements and liberation lost its revolutionary character. Each of these movements, in the event of a victory and the formation of a state, becomes an imperialist state, even if it is a weak imperial state. In other words, the nature of liberation movements is derived from the evolution of capitalism and, consequently, from the evolution of the class struggle. But, for the left of capital, the nature of these movements results from dictatorship, domination etc.:

“But have these movements lost their revolutionary and progressive character? Did the history of these movements end in this concept?

Certainly not!

The fact is that many national and liberation movements in our era have not only lost their revolutionary and democratic character; but, because of the expansion of the influence and domination of imperialism and the escalation of exploitation, dictatorship, and the political and economic lawlessness of the masses in dominated countries (as we see in most countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America), more than ever, they have also been radicalized in terms of purpose and their objective content. The sovereignty of both concept and political content for the proletariat in dominated countries is nothing but reactionary, unbridled violence and dictatorship: it is not a form of political suppression that can best guarantee the profitability and accumulation of capital in these countries. And it is precisely for this reason that the national and liberation movements in these countries, in terms of their subjective and objective outcomes, have to go further than the feudal and bourgeois-liberal critique of imperialism, and

their democratic and revolutionary character is more and more visible and prominent” [36] [our translation].

In the previous sections, we responded to the prattling of worker communism on issues such as the relationship between dictatorship, profitability and capital accumulation, and there is no need to repeat them. It is nonsense to say that liberation movements have become more radical and their revolutionary character has been significant and prominent. Can they use an example? The Kurdish part of Iraq has become the autonomous region for the national Kurdish movement due to imperialist tensions. Has the Kurdish region of Iraq brought a bouquet of flowers to lay before the working class? What has it done except suppress workers and serve regional gangsters? The Palestinian movement was once a model of a campaign on the left of capital and a liberation movement, but now where is it? Apparently, these movements do not value their own words.

The internationalists are accused of having an economistic understanding of imperialism and being unable to understand the domination of imperialism around the world. First, let us see how the left of capital has interpreted the dominance of imperialism. According to *Towards Socialism*:

“The ICP can, because of its economistic understanding of imperialism, and the failure to understand the meaning and political consequences of the ‘imperialist rule over the world’ - which is probably the only consequence of the imminent occurrence of World War III! - close its eyes to reality. It does not recognize the national liberation movements of our era nor deny the revolutionary and progressive nature of these movements; but the fact is that more than half of the world’s people, given the real conditions of their lives, cannot stop the revolutionary struggle against imperialism. As long as imperialism exists, there will also be national liberation struggles and movements; and, as long as there are reaction and violence and naked dictatorship, which are the requirements for the rule of imperialism, the existence of revolutionary-democratic movements against imperialism is also a historical imperative. The era of wars and revolutionary movements against imperialism can only end with imperialism itself” [37] [our translation].

First, apparently, the UCM well understood the domination of imperialism, and it was its correct understanding which assessed the criminal Khomeini as anti-imperialism, while internationalists evaluated him at the same time as reactionary.

Secondly, unlike the left of capital, from the Marxist point of view, imperialism is not a major economic, military and oppressive power, such as the US or Britain. The Marxist definition of imperialism is based on a proper understanding of the development and evolution of global capitalism and the degeneration of capitalism, which can never be limited to actions of the state or particular states, and no country alone can escape this global system. Imperialism is a way of life for the capitalist system in the era of capitalist decadence. With the arrival of capitalism in its decadent era, all major gangsters, such as America and Britain, or small gangsters, such as Iran or Pakistan, are imperialist.

Thirdly, the left of capital in states that contain half of the world's population cannot oppose revolutionary struggles against imperialism due to the control exercised over their living conditions. The ideologue of capital reduces the antagonism between work and capital to the antagonism between peripheral and metropolitan capital, in the same way that the struggle of oppressed people (peripheral capitalism) against imperialism (metropolitan capitalism) is a historical imperative. For communists and internationalists, because all countries are imperialist, the anti-imperialist struggle means the anti-capitalist struggle, whether on the periphery of capital or in metropolitan capitalism.

The theoretician of *Towards Socialism*, due to the intensity of his desperation and getting into trouble, states that the lack of unconditional support for national liberation movements reduces the internationalists to the level of the most reactionary bourgeois parties:

“‘The unconditional support of national liberation movements and the boycott of participation in them’ is a summary of the position of the ‘Internationalist Communist Party,’ which has strictly avoided being ‘on the political ground of the bourgeoisie’ and adopted the position of the most reactionary bourgeois parties” [38] [our translation].

The left of capital has understood the reality of the positions of the communist left. National movements are the political ground of the bourgeoisie and participating in them does not represent compromise with the bourgeoisie, but a conversion and a connection on the bourgeois front. The ICP, by defending proletarian positions, will not fall into the positions of the most reactionary bourgeois parties, such as worker communist parties, but remain among the vanguards of Marxist positions. But, what about the positions of the one of the most reactionary bourgeois parties on this issue, namely, the Communist Party of Iran? How did the party play an appendage role in the imperialist tensions? After the ceasefire in the Gulf War (the US's first war with Iraq), we witnessed protests in Iraq along with the torture, massacre and displacement of millions of people. Putting aside the political leadership and compass of struggle, among the main tasks of the party, the only Communist Party the world (the ‘anti’-communist party of Iran) could not even give out a simple statement about the events. Mansoor Hekmat replies to this question:

“The reason why the statement was not issued, indeed, the reason for the lack of official reaction from the political bureau to this day, is the fact that this event was a practical burden on the Kurdish organization of the Communist Party. Our organization in Kurdistan has been in the context and at the centre of this turbulence and conflict. Any response from the political bureau, which would be a *fait accompli* for the Kurdish organization of the party and, from above this organization, put it in a new practical position in relation to the parties involved in the region, would be irresponsible. The lack of rapid communication with Komala comrades in Kurdistan following the war in the region prevented us from being able to timely coordinate ourselves with these comrades and publicly declare the official position of the party. In addition, there is still a basis for using the Kurdish organization of the party to locate facilities on Iraqi soil, without interfering in the internal affairs of this country. In addition, it is independent from

everyone's perspective in the case of recent events, which restricts the scope of official comment by the Communist Party” [39] [our translation].

The main force of the party, under the guise of Komala, has become part of the imperialist tensions. Understanding this issue and digesting it were initially difficult, for the simple power of Komala, which in the name of liberty and socialism, had become partisan (Peshmerga). One of the former partisans of Komala, when recalling the humiliation and insult of the partisan forces, provides a good illustration of how Komala became an infantry amid the imperialist tension [40]. Accepting this issue was difficult for Komala forces early on; but, over time, it became not only a bitter reality but a tragedy. Many times, the Iraqi state punished Komala by bombing its headquarters and, each time, some of Komala’s partisans died. This meant that, as Komala remained within the sights of Iraqi foreign policy, it could not make the slightest mistake. The most prominent and elite partisans of Komala in the Shawan battalion died in the Iraqi chemical bombing raids. The theorists of worker communism must explain why these people were the victims of imperialist tensions and what policy was responsible for sacrificing these people.

Mansoor Hekmat, in connection with the bombing of Komala’s camps by Iraq, and how 23 of the most militant and elite partisans of Komala were victimized by such a policy, says:

“The camps were gradually transferred to the depths of Iraqi Kurdistan and the Iraqi military control areas. Military transfers were really only allowed with Iraqi permission and the freedom of the organization was restricted to sending troops to Iran ... Military activity came to a standstill. The financial dependence of the organization increased, allowing the deployment of camps, while financial facilities and equipment were placed higher on the list of demands of Komala [from Iraq] than weapons and ammunition. At the hands of the Iraqi regime and the Iraqi Army, the organization came under pressure ... Maintaining the balance and the policy of non-interference in the ‘internal affairs of Iraq’ became much more difficult. As an example, only to intimidate Komala and separate it from the Iraqi Kurdish opposition, the Iraqi regime bombed our camps on several occasions. In only one case of chemical bombardment of the central camp of Komala, 23 of our most prominent and oldest activists lost their lives ... The relationship with Iraq (in fact, being vulnerable to Iraqi retaliation) imposed silence on Komala and the Communist Party of Iran, which politically was no longer possible” [41] [our translation].

The US, in line with its imperialist interests in Syria, has trained and armed Kurdish troops under the name of “People’s Protection Units”. This has annoyed one of the main American allies in the region, Turkey. The strengthening of the Kurdish national movement in Syria strengthens the Turkish Kurdish movement, which is not welcome for Turkey. In order to address Turkey’s concerns, the US informs the Turkish authorities each month of the list of weapons provided to the People’s Protection Units; more importantly, it guarantees Turkey that weapons and equipment will be collected as soon as it defeats the Islamic State. In this regard, note the references to former US Secretary of Defence, James Mattis, below:

“James Mattis also said in a letter to the Turkish Minister of Defence that the US produces a list of weapons made available to the ‘People’s Protection Units’ in Syria each month and issues it to Turkish authorities. The US Secretary of Defence said that the exact number of weapons delivered to the Kurds is specified, adding that this equipment will be collected as soon as victory is declared over the Islamic State” [42].

The Secretary of Defence is openly telling his Turkish counterpart that the People’s Protection Units are aligned with the imperialist interests of the US. When the US achieves its goal, the People’s Protection Units will lose their necessity and the weapons will be collected. It is valuable for the US to turn the partisans of the People’s Protection Units into cannon fodder, instead of their own soldiers, to pursue their imperialist interests.

The different tendencies on the left of capital, with the titles of “Rojava socialism”, “Kobani’s resistance” and so on, are defending the Syrian National Movement for Kurdistan, which currently plays an infantry role in the American-led Western-Arab bloc. All the sects belonging to worker communism also not only recognize the Syrian Kurdish movement, but also support and defend Rojava and Kobani’s resistance, and all see the fate of Kobani’s autocracy. But the interview with Salih Muslim, one of the main figures of the Rojava, poured cold water on the left of capital. In the interview, he stated that the US, as a supreme global power, aims to strengthen democracy around the world, and the Kurdish people are prepared to have a solid relationship with the US.

Worker communism and Independence for Kurdistan

We have already explained that imperialism is a step in the life of capitalism; and, since capitalism is a global production system, no country can be outside this system of production. In the era of capitalist decadence, all states, regardless of their economic and military power, are imperial. Each new state will be also an imperialist state. One particularly objective example contributes to the comprehension of the subject: worker communism wants to form an independent Kurdish state in Northern Iraq. If such a state is formed, then the Kurdistan state will be an imperialist state, and a weak imperialist state at that. This means that worker communism supports Kurdish imperialism, which will be formed in the future, against Arab imperialism (Iraq). The result will be that worker communism will try to deflect or degrade the class struggle in the region. These remarks in the political space on the left are capital are full of “disbelief” and offer a verdict which sounds like evil poetry.

The necessity for the independence of Iraqi Kurdistan was introduced by Mansoor Hekmat in 1995 with his call for a referendum on “separation”. The Iraqi Worker communist Party approved this proposal from Hekmat to solve the problem. Much later, the Kurdish region in Iraq announced that, on 25 September 2017, Iraqi Kurdistan would hold a referendum on the establishment of an independent state. It also announced that a referendum would be held in Kirkuk’s oil-rich province. Other than the result of the referendum, the Kurdish region of Iraq has strived to join with Kirkuk in Iraqi Kurdistan.

All the sects belonging to worker communism have welcomed this referendum, which was part of their demands after Hekmat put forward his plan in 1995. All branches of worker communism have emphasized the provision of conditions for a free referendum, and appeared as Barzani advisers. They call for the thief's nest (UN) not to withdraw from this referendum and should recognize this referendum like any referendum in another country, and they say:

“From today, we should say no to the first fraud in the referendum! No one, and in the first instance, the Kurdish region of Iraq, is entitled to the outcome of the referendum subject to anything other than the free will of the people! The United Nations has no right to withdraw from this referendum! We have to force them [the UN] to recognize this referendum in the same way as a referendum in any other country and commit itself to it!” [43][our translation].

Who makes decisions in the thieves' nest (the UN)? The fact is that the decisions are taken in line with the imperialist interests of the gangsters themselves. Forcing the UN to recognize the referendum is just more demagogy and only serves to legitimize the thieves' nest. The thieves gathered in the UN only vote on resolutions that are in line with their own interests. Worker communism has portrayed two scenarios for holding a referendum in Iraqi Kurdistan. In the first case, a referendum would be held under the leadership of worker communism and, in the second case, worker communism would be in the opposition in Kurdistan. We examine both modes. What happens if the referendum is led by the worker communists? They will argue that Iraqi Kurdistan would immediately face socialism:

“A referendum in Iraqi or Iranian Kurdistan is another example of the Leninist and Hekmatist methodology of a non-socialist movement. Obviously, we want the state that is formed after the referendum in Kurdistan to be a more democratic, liberal and modern state. As long as this state is freer, it will be in the interests of socialism and the working class. If the referendum is conducted with our leadership, the most liberal state will be established in Kurdistan, and we will quickly form councils and mass organizations from above, mobilize the vast masses of the workers and toilers behind us and bring about socialism without delay” [44] [our translation].

This story cannot be accepted even by primary schoolchildren. If a referendum is conducted with the leadership of worker communism, the most free state possible will be established in Kurdistan. Will Kurdistan be the “freest” state in the world by holding a referendum under the leadership of worker communism? What if the outcome of the referendum is negative? The nonsense about “the most liberal state” in Kurdistan is just propaganda before the referendum. The most liberal state is just a dictatorship. They want to form the council from **above** and go straight to socialism. Such distortions are not caused by the unconsciousness of the worker communism writer about the basic positions of Marxism, but derive from the expression of bourgeois class demands in Marxist clothing. They are just laughing at their own intelligence. The second case would be not holding a referendum under the leadership of worker communism. Even holding a referendum in this case would put worker communism in a better position to advance the socialist revolution:

“The day after the referendum about the independence of Iraqi Kurdistan, we are not supposed to be the opposition while the others are in the government. If someone says that, in the Iranian-Iraqi Kurdistan, we have a referendum on determining the fate of Kurdistan, this does not mean that, after the referendum, the communists and the working class must form the opposition, while Talabani and Barzani and the Democratic Party take power. It is clear that we have to have a programme after the referendum. Now, we have to say what characteristics the state that comes after the referendum should have. This does not make us much less supportive of socialism.

For Iraqi Kurdistan, we have to define the interim government after the referendum and put it in place. This will put us in a much better position after the referendum to advance the socialist revolution in a state that [only] seeks to refer to the referendum, but gives the result of it beforehand to others” [45] [our translation].

A referendum on the survival of Iraqi Kurdistan (or Iranian Kurdistan) is in the framework of the current state or whether Kurdistan will be an independent state. It is the same as holding a referendum in a country about joining the EU or, conversely, holding a referendum about leaving the EU, such as in the UK in 2016. In 1995, a referendum was held in the Province of Quebec on seeking independence from Canada, which is a kind of referendum Iraqi Kurdistan is scheduled to hold. The Quebec referendum had no impact on Canadian class forces.

But worker communism wants to determine the profile of the future state by introducing a referendum on Iraqi Kurdistan and putting it to the community. The Iraqi Kurdistan referendum will put worker communism in a better position to pursue a socialist revolution. These falsehoods and nonsense can only be expressed in sects such as worker communism.

Worker-communism and Parliamentarism

As noted earlier, in the era of capitalist prosperity, unions were merely an economic formation, as the political struggle was passed onto the party, which, through parliament, would advance the struggle by imposing reforms. The working class was still not prepared to create its own organs to guide society and establish its dictatorship; the workers’ councils did not yet have a conception. In spite of the awareness of parliamentary constraints, and in line with the demands of workers and the imposition of reforms on the centre of power of the bourgeoisie, the communists went to parliament. Communists were aware that parliament divides the working class into different countries, while the task of representing parliament is to defend the interests of its nation, which is in contradiction with proletarian internationalism.

With capitalism entering its era of decline, the era of communist revolutions or imperialist wars began. In the era of imperialism, the imposition of sustained reforms on the bourgeoisie lost its meaning. Increasing non-productive costs, increasing the cost of military and arms recaptures, increasing the cost of the state apparatus, and ... the impossibility of sustained reforms in the epoch of capitalist decadence have made this become a reality, in turn making it impossible to

manoeuvre and introduce sustainable reform. The myth of improving living conditions, the reproduction of labour in modern conditions, is only to ensure the continuity of exploitation and wage slavery.

With the victory of the October Revolution, as part of the wave of global revolution, and in the process of forming the Comintern, new conditions were imposed on the proletariat. The Comintern emphasized the conquest of power by the proletariat and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat through the workers' councils, declaring:

“The immediate task of the proletariat is now to conquer state power: the conquest of state power means the destruction of the bourgeois state apparatus and the organizing of a new proletarian power system” [46].

The communists who gathered at the Second Congress of the Comintern - and, in accordance with the new conditions, the arrival of capitalism in the era of decadence and dismay, and the era of imperialist wars and communist revolutions, not the age of parliamentarianism - wrote:

“Parliament has become a tool for lying, deceiving, violence and a tedious nagging. With looting, destruction, invasion, militarism and imperialist destruction, parliamentary reforms without any sustainable gain have lost any meaning to masses of workers.”[47]

After the Second Congress of the Comintern, any illusion that the proletariat can achieve power through parliament, or reduce the burden of crises through parliamentary intervention, or any distracting illusion about the electoral theatre and the parliamentary circus, only serves to strengthen the illusions of bourgeois democracy and throw dirty soil in the workers' eyes.

With the slightest explanation about the position of the communists in relation to the issue of parliament in the era of decadent capitalism, we return to the position of worker-communism in this regard. All tittle-tattle on the left of capital about the revolution and the destruction of the state machine is only demagogy. The left of capital wants to play a role in the game of political power. We will discuss in Section 10, taking political power from the standpoint of worker communism, here we are just referring to the parliamentarism of worker communism. Mansour Hekmat claims that, through elections, the chances of worker-communism winning political power are greater:

“If we come to power at elections, we have to assume that they are going to plan a coup tomorrow. I will not discuss it now, but the very essence of the electoral process is the greater chance it offers of bringing communists to power” [48] [our translation].

Hekmat, about 100 years after the statement of communists in relation to the nature of parliament, repeats the same rubbish from the left of capital. He rants that, in the electoral process, the chances are greater for communists to take power.

It is in the shadow of such statements that the ideologues on the right wing of capital speak of the “communist” states of North Korea, Cuba, China and so on. Contrary to such a thirst for the power of capital, from the Marxist point of view, neither the communists nor the party of the working class alone, but the entire working class through soviets will apply its dictatorship. Hekmat says that if he is given three months to campaign and if elections are held freely, his party will become the largest party in parliament:

“There are two conditions, in my opinion, where the chance of us coming to power is strongest. One involves democratic and electoral conditions, and the other involves revolutionary conditions. In both of these conditions, we are going to get power. In both of these, worker-communism comes to power. That we should first be present in order to come to power will be discussed later. Suppose this force has been able to bring itself to a free electoral scene in a country that is not an Islamic republic. In a democratic election process, if there were to be such a process in Iran, we would get power. The Worker-communist Party, in my opinion, will gain the highest number of votes from among people who have been freely able to go to the ballot boxes. I do not think monarchists have this chance. It is a mistake to think that elections will be in their favour [monarchists] and that only the revolution will come to our advantage. The election is in our favour too. And precisely because of this, I think they will not go to the elections unless they are forced to. If there is a process for electing a free parliament, a process for holding free parliamentary elections, and for introducing candidates in different areas and counting the votes of all the people, the Worker Communist Party will come to the parliament as the largest party in the country. It may not be the majority, but if they let it run a free election campaign for three months, it would be the largest political party in the country” [49] [our translation].

Free elections are the discoveries and demagogy of Mansoor Hekmat. In his version of free elections, a worker has one vote, but do the media and advertising companies also has a vote? The election is as free as the sale of labour by workers, with huge corporations engineering public opinion. Let us just refer to one item. Recently, ideologues and journalists from capitalism announced that Facebook played a significant role in regulating and managing the “Brexit” referendum and the US presidential election. They also uncovered millions of donations to Facebook. Worker communism can enter the electoral campaign as the left wing of capital with monarchists as the right wing of capital, which would set the electoral campaign alight. This is essential for the legitimacy of parliament, but propagating nonsense in the name of Marxism should not be allowed. Better still, you cannot use Marxist terminology and throw dust and soil in the eyes of the working class.

Following the developments of 1979, using the parliamentary tribune, the left of capital introduced the candidates in the election or, more specifically, defended their preferred candidates. The most radical phrase if the right election conditions are available to them, will be the elections. For example, when Nahid Riazi, a member of the Central Committee of the Hekmatist Party, was a candidate in the Danish parliamentary election in 2005, the party institutions, under the slogan “Support Nahid Riazi’s candidacy for the Danish parliamentary elections”, entered the campaign.

In parliamentarism, parliament is not at the service of communism, but communism is used to legitimize parliament. In parliamentarism, parliamentary representatives play a major role, and the working class plays the role of the infantry for parliamentarism. Parliamentarism is reinforcing the illusion among the working class that others are able to advance struggle on their behalf. This is what worker communism preaches. Worker communism wants to participate in the interim government, and organize people (who includes people?) in the councils and from **above**. Its supporters write:

“We also want to participate in the interim administration and organize people in councils on a large scale ... The interim government is a tool for advancing the working class from above. Anyway, we even want an assembly of people’s deputies, who have been elected directly, and to freely vote for a constitution for a better world. The struggle for the most advanced and modern laws and regulations and the totality of a better world will be a struggle within the interim government from above and with pressure from the bottom-up” [50] [our translation].

There are no borders for the bankruptcy of the authors of worker communism. They want to create councils for the people from above; such councils will be no better than the “German Labour Front” [51] or Islamic councils.

About a hundred years ago, in 1920, the first Communist Party of Iran, unlike the left of capital, believed that due to the existence of private property even the most democratic parliamentary system represents a bourgeois dictatorship. The first Communist Party of Iran, beyond the democratic revolution of the UCM and the council (Soviet), was presented as the only alternative to capitalism and it emphasized that the duty of party propaganda is relentless Soviet power. About a hundred years ago the following was written:

“Even the most democratic parliamentary system or bourgeois republic where the slogan expresses the will of all people, all nations, and all classes, due to the private ownership of land and the means of production, will continue to be in operation under a bourgeois dictatorship. In opposition to this system, the proletarian democracies or councils (Soviets) that have been realized in Russia and a number of other countries and power mass organizations, the captive capitalist class – The proletarians and the semi-proletarians, namely the vast majority of the population, are converted to the sole and fixed basis of the state apparatus, from the bottom up to the top, from the local to the central one. Thus, it is only council rule that can supply local and regional self-management in an incomparable manner more broadly than anywhere else and without authority from above. It is the duty of the party to endlessly explain to the Iranian workers and peasants that the council is the only power that can become a real power for the working people to save them from the exploitation and tyranny of the landlord.” [our translation]

Worker-communism and Democracy

The bourgeoisie itself has been the product of a process of evolution in the mode of production and exchange. The economic growth of capitalism and its transformation into a productive ruling relationship required a social and political relationship, in which citizens have equal and identical rights, according to the law, and freely venture to buy or sell the workforce. It was in such a context that bourgeois democracy replaced feudalism. Democracy has a class load. Lenin describes this clearly:

“It is constantly forgotten that the abolition of the state means also the abolition of democracy; that the withering away of the state means the withering away of democracy.

At first sight this assertion seems exceedingly strange and incomprehensible; indeed, someone may even suspect us of expecting the advent of a system of society in which the principle of subordination of the minority to the majority will not be observed—for democracy means the recognition of this very principle.

No, democracy is not identical with the subordination of the minority to the majority. Democracy is a state which recognizes the subordination of the minority to the majority, i.e., an organization for the systematic use of force by one class against another, by one section of the population against another.”[52]

The fact is that bourgeois ideologues, as part of the superstructure of the class society, have a duty to champion the legitimacy of the upside-down society. In light of ideologues and immeasurable possibilities, the ruler’s idea is the idea of the ruling class. Marx explains this as follows:

“The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e. the class which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it. The ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relationships, the dominant material relationships grasped as ideas; hence of the relationships which make the one class the ruling one, therefore, the ideas of its dominance. The individuals composing the ruling class possess among other things consciousness, and therefore think. Insofar, therefore, as they rule as a class and determine the extent and compass of an epoch, it is self-evident that they do this in its whole range, hence among other things rule also as thinkers, as producers of ideas, and regulate the production and distribution of the ideas of their age: thus their ideas are the ruling ideas of the epoch.”[53]

In the most democratic countries, the dictatorship of capital is applied, because the means of the production of materials and public opinion are in the hands of the bourgeoisie, while the workers and the deprived masses have no involvement in the affairs of society. The most democratic and free election is a kind of demagoguery against the working class, and it prevents workers from exercising their power. The most liberal parliamentary elections seek to

undermine the class struggle and lead the class struggle towards legal channels in order to sterilize it. The most democratic and transparent parliamentary election aims to create a dispersal of class consciousness.

But, for the ideologue on the left of capital, Mansoor Hekmat, contrary to Lenin's doctrine of democracy, the solution to the question of democracy is the precondition of the mobilization of the working class for socialism. In this context, he writes:

“We said that the solution to the question of democracy is itself the pre-condition for the independent and extensive mobilization of the working class for socialism”[54] [our translation].

We have already explained that democracy is poisonous for the working class in the evolution of the class struggle. This issue is particularly important in Western countries, with their established tradition of bourgeois democracy. Bourgeois democracy has a bearing on the evolution of capitalism in these countries. Capitalism first began to grow in Western European countries; bourgeois revolutions first took place in Western Europe; and, consequently, bourgeois culture in these countries has an established tradition. This tradition and established culture have also been transmitted by Europeans to North America or Australia. This culture has played a crucial role in influencing bourgeois ideology in the working class through literature, art and so on. In bourgeois ideology, individualism, national ownership etc. play an essential role, precisely in conflict with proletarian internationalism.

Again, we return to the democracy of Mansoor Hekmat, who once believed that it would be a mistake not to expect revolutionary democracy to come from the political figures in the non-proletarian classes, but from anti-imperialists, such as Khomeini. For example, he points to the “non-proletarian revolutionary democracy” attitude by Sheikh Ezzedine Hosseini (a cleric opposed to the regime of the Islamic Republic who supported the Kurdish national movement):

“The parties, groups, forces and political figures of the non-proletarian classes (and thus Khomeini, the clergy, the students of the Imam [Khomeini], and so on), they are only to that degree and extent anti-imperialists who move in the political struggle alongside the proletariat and its political organizations ... The claim of being ‘anti-imperialist’ and suppressing workers and communists is demagogy. The service of imperialism is behind the scenes; and, if we imagine that, ‘well, you cannot expect anything else from non-proletarian democracy’, we are hardly at fault and ... as an example of the attitude of ‘non-proletarian revolutionary democracy’ among communists, let’s look at the positions of Sheikh Ezzedine Hosseini” [55].

Hekmat considers and complains about the degree of anti-imperialism in the case of Khomeini to be low. Meanwhile, he considered the convergence of one of the Kurdistan mullahs with the nationalist movement of Kurdistan to be an example of the attitude of non-proletarian revolutionary democracy. This nonsense is written by somebody whose eloquent and expressive speeches have led him to be called the ‘Marx of our epoch’.

In the journal *Towards Socialism*, they accuse internationalists of being decisively and clearly disconnected from democracy and complain about internationalists who reject participation in bourgeois movements:

“The ICP is decisively and clearly disconnected from democracy. To be specific, it believes that, in our time, we need to support democracy and the struggle for democracy, fight for the realization of democratic demands and rights (women’s liberation, state-church separation, the right of nations to determine their own fate, freedom of opinion and expression etc.) and stand up against the violation of these rights by the bourgeoisie by supporting and participating in democratic movements and revolutions - all of this is denied and condemned” [56] [our translation].

Internationalists, including the ICP, proudly embrace this entire accusation and decisively declare that they do not believe in bourgeois democracy and bourgeois movements. The internationalists are fighting for the communist revolution, and this is possible only through class struggle. But, apparently, teaching by the left of capital about ‘Marxism’ to the internationalists does not end. They preach that a working class without democracy and without training in democracy can never destroy capitalism and establish socialism, and they say:

“Everyone who is familiar with the most basic principles of Marxism knows that a working class without democracy and a struggle for democracy, and without training in the process of this struggle and taking advantage of its achievements, will not be able to overthrow the capitalist system and establish socialism. We know that the working class needs democracy, because the democratic conditions provide the best grounds for deepening the class struggle and its clear and free expansion” [57] [our translation].

The emphasis by the left of capital on democracy and the teaching of democracy to workers only reflects the class demands of the left of capital, which uses Marxist language to gain more power. The ‘theorists’ on the left of capital should remember that, rather than democratic conditions, the capitalist crisis offers the best grounds for deepening the class struggle.

For internationalists, dictatorship capitalism and democratic capitalism are two sides of the same coin. The political superstructure of capital can take different forms, according to the needs of capital. In France, in the cradle of bourgeois civilization, in the cradle of democracy, following the defeat of the Paris Commune, the same civilized barbarians massacred more than 50,000 workers within a week. In Germany, capital according to its own needs took on the form of dictatorship, leading, in the late 1930s and early 1940s, to the massacre of millions of people. Later, it took on the form of democracy. Many examples can be noted. But the perception of this problem for the ideologues of worker-communism is upside-down logic. They claim we must fight along with the democratic bourgeoisie against capitalist dictatorships, as happened during the Second World War, when Russia fought alongside America and Britain to defeat fascism and Nazi Germany. The realistic logic of worker-communism is as follows:

“Indeed, that is upside-down logic. It is the logic of someone who does not understand that the era of imperialism is the era of decline and the rottenness of **capitalism**, and not the decay of the **struggle against reactionary and dictatorial capitalism**” [58] [original emphasis] [our translation].

The left of capital accuses internationalists (including the ICT) that they do not recognize the war against imperialists and, consequently, turn their back on democratic revolutions, anti-imperialist struggles and democracy, which leads to the collapse of the socialist revolution, as explained in *Towards Socialism*:

“The ICT does not understand that our era is not the only war **between** imperialists, it is the era of revolutionary wars **against the imperialists** too, the era of democratic anti-imperialist revolutions that provide the context and preconditions of the socialist revolution ... The ICT, by breaking with democracy, has not only turned its back on democratic revolutions, it has also disconnected itself from the proletariat and socialist revolutions” [59] [original emphasis] [original emphasis] [our translation].

It is not conceivable, given the logic of the left of capital, how it is possible not to believe in democracy and democratic revolutions, and so on, while belonging to the proletarian camp and fighting for a socialist revolution. It was not the communist left that broke away from the proletariat and the socialist revolution; rather, it was the left of capital (worker-communism), which, in line with its class and bourgeois demands, committed crimes with, among others, Khomeini, a petty bourgeois and anti-imperialist, while, during the Marxist phrase, transformed workers into black army for the Islamic bourgeoisie. We never claim that worker-communism broke away from proletarian positions or betrayed the proletariat; but we emphasize that you belonged to the capital camp from the very beginning.

Sometimes, it is believed that the *Towards Socialism* writer is not able, in a rational way, with solid internal consistency, write a few pages against the internationalists. In his bankruptcy, he intends to smear. The more he scrambles, the more he becomes delirious. But the fact is that there is nothing under the author’s feet. It is not possible to build a fortress in the sand. At the height of the distraction, the *Towards Socialism* writer states:

“‘Training and guidelines’ are summarized in this sentence: Desist from the class struggle in any real and concrete form possible! ‘The Marxism of ICT’ does not interpret the world, but it doesn’t show how to change it either! It is a Marxism that has been caricatured in which, in its critique, man has to persistently prove the obvious, such as why we should fight, why we need a revolution and what it is, why democracy is desirable, why fascism is bad, and so on ... ‘Imperialist economism’ is the most appropriate name which can be applied to this ‘caricatured Marxism’” [60] [our translation].

Unlike the lies of worker communism, the Marxism of the communist left not only proclaims the need to change the world through communist revolution, but also fights in that direction.

The communist left has declared that the destruction of humanity is certain if the working class does not fulfil its historical mission.

The communist left has no critique of the left of capital. This is not rational; nor does the communist left need to be reminded of Marxist axioms and the lexicon of class struggle when talking about the political apparatus of the left of capital. Because these obviously allow for the expression of the class and social demands of the two classes facing each other.

Eventually, the leader of worker communism, Mansoor Hekmat, reveals his heart and his main demand: the formal acceptance of capital - in other words, the legalization of worker communism in Iranian society:

“If we were legal, if our party had an office in Tehran, when the people wanted to speak, we would answer them. Our meeting would only be a street away and people could come and hear our answers ... but this is not the case in this country. The people are silenced, killed and beaten” [61].

To Be Continued

Issues in the next part:

- Worker communist fraction
- What is worker communism?
- Worker communism and workers

M. Jahangiry

11 September 2017

Notes:

[1] Babak Kasrayi, a former adviser to the Central Committee, resigned his membership of the WCPI on 24 March 2011.

[2] *Alternative*, Issue 11. The e-journal was a publication positioned on the new spectrum and younger wing of the left of capital, published from March 2010 to March 2012. In an article entitled “What Alternative? Alternative for ?”, which prescribes the publication of the journal, describes itself as follows:

“*Alternative* defines itself as being in a dialectical relationship between continuity and disconnection with the history of the communist movement and the existing groups and organizations (as the last product of this history). We stand, without doubt and proudly, on the brilliant path of this history; from social democracy and the Constitutional Revolution until today. From Haydar Amo-oghli [I] and Avetis Sultan-Zade [II] to Ja’far Pishevari [III] and Khosro Roozbeh [IV], from Bijan Jazani [V] and Masoud Ahmadzadeh [VI] and Hamid Ashraf [VII] to Taghi Shahram [VIII] and Foad Mostafa Soltani [IX] and Alireza Shokouhi [X], and from Hossein Riahi [XI] and Alireza Sepasi [XII] to Gholam Keshavarz [XIII] and Mansour Hekmat, along with other comrades who have devoted or sacrificed their lives in different periods of contemporary Iranian history in pursuit of communist ideals.”

[I] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Haydar_Khan_Amo-oghli

[II] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Avetis_Sultan-Zade

[III] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ja%27far_Pishevari

[IV] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Khosro_Roozbeh

[V] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bijan_Jazani

[VI] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Masoud_Ahmadzadeh

[VII] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hamid_Ashraf

[VIII]

https://fa.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D8%AA%D9%82%DB%8C_%D8%B4%D9%87%D8%B1%D8%A7%D9%85

[IX] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Foad_Mostafa_Soltani

[X] One of the founders of the Stalinist organization who was executed.

[XI] One of the founders of the Maoist organization who was executed.

[XII] One of the founders of the Organization of the Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class.

[XIII] One of the leaders of the Communist Party who was assassinated in Cyprus in August 1989.

The list itself expresses intellectual turmoil and the lack of internal consistency in the opinions of this publication. If the name of an internationalist, such as Sultanzadeh, was removed from this list, it would be more coherent than objecting to references to Sultanzadeh.

Alternative expresses its own opinion and, at the same time, its intellectual turmoil as below:

“We believe that the Organization of Iranian People’s Fedai Guerrillas, in a specific historical period, namely in the 1960s and the first half of the 1970s, ... could play a very positive role in the evolution of communist struggles. This current was able to break with the Tudeh Party and its reformism and opportunism, while opportunism brought a new generation of the revolutionary left on the scene. This returned him to the affections of the left and restored the reputation of the left, which had been lost due to the performance of the Tudeh Party in 1953,

at the expense of its blood and soul. In this way, the current course could determine such a hegemony for the left in the social sphere, which, after several decades of its repetition, has become a dream for all ... On the other hand, we commemorate the fact that Comrade Hekmat played an irrevocable role in distancing the communist movement from populist ideas by resolving the contradictions and issues created in the years following the February 1979 uprising. The intention here was to return communism to its real position, to allow for the expression of the protest of the working class against capitalism, etc., etc.: that is, the achievements that were a major step forward in influencing the establishment of the Communist Party of Iran (September 1983) ... Trotskyism can be regarded as the most important attempt to allow classical Marxism to persist into the 1930s, and especially in post-World War II conditions. It is also true that this tradition has many lessons and experiences to learn. We do not think that anyone doubts the fact that the most advanced part of the communist movement, internationally and in the Marxist theory of history, was historically formed in Western Europe.”

[3] As above

[4] Introduction to the break-up and transition by Abdullah Mohtadi, February 2017.

[5] “Left-Wing” Communism: an Infantile Disorder - Lenin

[6] As source 2

[7] Report by Mansoor Hekamt of the central committee of the Unity of Communist Militants to the first congress of the Unity of Communist Militants

[8] Interview with Comrade Farhad Besharat, a member of the Organization of the Supporters of the UCM abroad, January 1982.

[9] Communiqué issued by the International Bureau of the Revolutionary Party in relation to the Communist Party of Iran.

[10] On the organizational changes to the Supporters’ Organization of the Communist Party of Iran abroad, pages 7 and 8.

[11] About the organizational changes of the supporters’ organization of the communist party of Iran in abroad, page 22.

[12] From a communiqué issued by the former Supporters’ Organization of the Communist Party of Iran in Italy on 12 May 1985.

[13] *Towards Socialism*, second period, Issue 2, page 45.

[14] Speech to the Marx Society by Mansoor Hekmat, 20 November 2010.

[15] *Towards Socialism*, second period, Issue 2, page 44.

[16] As above

[17] *Towards Socialism*, second period, Issue 2, page 49.

[18] *Towards Socialism*, second period, Issue 2, page 53.

[19] Officials of the union Unite compiled a blacklist of more than 3,200 workers, in conjunction with 40 companies. Officials of the union divided the workers on their blacklist into three groups: “militant”, “troublemaker” and with a warning to be “careful”. The result of the blacklist was that many of the workers were left idle for a long time. Long-term unemployment has led to painful problems for these workers in the democratic country of the UK. *The Guardian* report can be read in the link below:

<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/apr/04/unite-officials-face-allegations-of-collusion-with-firms-that-are-blacklisting-activists>

[20] http://m-ghazvini.com/?page_id=319

[21] *Towards Socialism*, second period, Issue 2, page 56.

[22] *Towards Socialism*, second period, Issue 2, page 57.

[23] For more information on the glorious struggles of the workers of Tekel against the state and the union, read the link below:

<http://en.internationalism.org/icconline/2010/01/tekel-turkey>

[24] For more information on this topic, see “Developing Worker Strikes in South Africa After the Massacre of Workers and the Role of Trade Unions as part of Capital Institutions” on the website of Internationalist Voice.

[25] *Towards Socialism*, second period, Issue 2, page 57.

[26] *Towards Socialism*, second period, Issue 2, page 60.

[27] In order to better understand the influence of bourgeois ideology on the working class and the role of bourgeois democracy in it, see Anton Pannekoek’s book *World Revolution and Communist Tactics*.

[28] *Towards Socialism*, second period, Issue 2, page 58.

[29] *Towards Socialism*, second period, Issue 2, page 59.

[30] Oral History of the UCM, Mansoor Hekmat

[31] Messages and notifications from the First Conference of the Overseas Organization of the Communist Party of Iran.

[32] *Towards Socialism*, No:3 - Anarcho-Pacifism, Mansoor Hekmat

[33] *Programme of the Communist Party of Iran*, First Edition, page 12.

[34] *Towards Socialism*, second period, Issue 2, page 63.

[35] *Towards Socialism*, second period, Issue 2, page 64.

[36] *Towards Socialism*, second period, Issue 2, page 65.

[37] *Towards Socialism*, second period, Issue 2, page 66.

[38] *Towards Socialism*, second period, Issue 2, page 67.

[39] “The Consequences of the Middle East War - The Events in Iraqi Kurdistan - Interview with Communist No. 61”.

[40] “At this time, we had no choice but to retreat to Iraqi soil. At this time, as almost all of the central facilities of Komala were in Alan, they had to be moved ... with the transfer of the central headquarters of Komala to the village of Maluma In Iraq, we were still in the newly formed Dalahu battalion, and our bevy continued to operate under the command of Selah Khebat in this battalion. The Dalahu battalion was located on the slopes of the ‘Beh mo’ mountain range, and the Iraqi security forces were also nearby. We stopped at the Iraqi checkpoint when we arrived at the ‘Beh mo’ gate. Our guide said we should wait until an Iraqi officer arrived. Each of us was supposed to give him our name and our father’s name. I, Selah Khebat, Hamid Bavryz and martyr Sediq (known as Sadiq RPG), were sitting in the first car. In the same car was Mohammad Nabavi, the mediator between Komala and the Iraqi forces. The other units were in a mini bus. In a matter of minutes, Iraqi forces pulled two of our comrades out of the car and kicked one of them. I could not tolerate this scene and I could not watch an Iraqi mercenary beat my comrade. On their bases, there was no qualitative difference with the Islamic revolutionary guards and the Iraqi security forces. I said to Comrade Mohammad Nabavi: they beat our comrades. Without waiting for his answer, I went down and took my gun out of the holster and walked 40 yards towards a bastion of Iraqi soldiers. They were all shocked. The Iraqi forces, who were about 100 in number, directed their weapons at me. Comrade Nabavi

was also surprised and nervous. In Arabic, a few sentences were exchanged between him and the soldiers of Iraq which I did not understand. He also called me to drop my gun and go back to the car. It went to my pride, but returned to the car again. As soon as I reached 'Beh mo' I wrote a protest letter to the Central Committee asking them to stop this type of humiliation and insults as soon as possible and express my opposition to diplomacy at any cost, and I emphasized that I had taken weapon on the road to liberty and socialism, and nothing else.”
From the memoirs of Khaled Ali Panah, which appear on his blog.

<https://foolad.wordpress.com>

[41] Mansoor Hekmat - “diplomacy” or political choice?

[42] <https://www.radiozamaneh.com/346619>

[43] Soraya Shahabi - Kurdish region of Iraq and self-made independence trap.

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

[45] As above

[46] From: Invitation to the First Congress of the Comintern, 24 January 1919.

[47] Theses on parliamentarism from the Second Congress of the Third International.

[48] Is it possible to achieve communism in Iran?

[49] As above

[50] As source 44

[51] The Nazi regime in Germany in 1933 set up a workers' organization known as the “German Labour Front”, which was aimed at controlling workers and luring them towards Nazism.

[52] The State and the Revolution of Lenin

[53] Marx's German Ideology

[54] The Iranian Revolution and the role of the Proletariat (Theses) Hamid Taghvaie & Mansoor Hekmat

[55] Prospects of adversity and new advancement of revolution thesis about the political importance of the economic crisis

[56] *Towards Socialism*, second period, Issue 2, page 70.

[57] *Towards Socialism*, second period, Issue 2, pages 70-71.

[58] *Towards Socialism*, second period, Issue 2, page 71.

[59] *Towards Socialism*, second period, Issue 2, page 72.

[60] *Towards Socialism*, second period, Issue 2, page 73.

[61] Mansour Hekmat in discussion with Kiyomars Navidi, *Didar* 23 (21 February 1999).