

On the Present Situation in Iran and the Tasks of the Party

Adopted by the Founding Congress of the CPI (MLM)

1. The question of political power and how to settle accounts with that has now become the central question and focal point of the attention of society. This situation is unprecedented since the crisis period of 1981-1982. Different classes and strata in one way or another and to different degrees are challenging the present miserable and intolerable situation. The ruling reaction and its monstrous Islamic system is hated and condemned by the masses. Religion has lost its legitimacy among the masses.

2. The Communist Party of Iran (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist) (CPI(MLM)) has been born under these conditions and has established that the central task of the revolution is the seizure of political power through the strategy of people's war, and it is preparing for this.

3. During the present period, the intensification of the contradictions the different classes and strata have with the regime has given rise to different forms of struggle and resistance. At the same time, splits and in-fighting within the ruling class have intensified.

4. The present period is characterised by mass movements of different classes and strata. The masses have used various forms of struggle and resistance spontaneously and have dealt blows to the regime. The righteous movement of the workers against poverty, misery and exploitation continues without interruption. In the past several months this movement has intensified and become more organised; it has adopted more militant forms of struggle, and in some cases it has rebuffed the bosses and the state. The student movement and the resistance and opposition of the women and youth to oppression and political, social and cultural discrimination have developed. In the countryside, the peasants are protesting against the economic policies of the regime; in the shanty towns, the struggle of the impoverished masses is growing; and finally the oppressed nations are fighting for their just de-

mands, especially in Kurdistan.

5. In recent years, cracks and fissures within the ranks of the Islamic Republic have been developing around which policy to adopt against the intensifying struggles of the masses, especially how to suppress and contain them. The campaign of the "Second Khordad" [the date of the presidential elections when the so-called reformer Khatami became president, in May 1997] was put forward by the ruling class in order to contain and divert the struggles of the people and in this way save the Islamic Republic from its death.

The architects of the "Second Khordad" or "national reconciliation" campaign have tried to forge an alliance with the vacillating forces outside the regime — those who are called "national-religious" forces as well as reformist intellectuals who are discontent with the regime. By forging such an alliance the regime has attempted to gain the support of the masses and divert their struggles. This alliance is in fact a class alliance between the political representatives of the middle bourgeoisie on the one hand and the regime as representative of the bourgeois-landlord classes dependent on imperialism, on the other hand. This strategy calls upon the angry and hate-filled masses to calm down and reconcile; it spreads the policy of non-violence and pacification among the masses. This strategy tries to waste the fighting energy of the masses by holding "election campaigns" and uses the masses as an ignorant army of one or the other faction of the regime. They try to propagate the paralysing view that the masses should choose between "bad and worse" and hinge their hopes on promises of reform and improvement under the Islamic Republic. The lynchpin of the strategy of "national reconciliation" is that the people, hoping for salvation from their miserable situation, have no choice but to extend their hands to the lords of this regime.

6. The strategy of "national reconciliation" is the application of a global policy which the imperialists are imple-

menting in the different parts of the world in order to contain and control the ever-intensifying mass movements. The deepening poverty and misery of the masses around the world has given rise to these movements. Even though the internal contradictions among the different factions of the Islamic Republic have their roots in different rival economic, political and military groupings, each with different international connections, nevertheless the regime as a whole is supported by the imperialist powers. The imperialists try to establish a kind of stability and calm favourable to themselves and reduce political and social tensions that could lead to the weakening and disintegration of the Islamic Republic. They are afraid of the development and intensification of the mass struggle, which could wrench control of society from the hands of the Islamic regime. Under the present conditions, the imperialists pursue these aims by supporting the "Second Khordad" campaign and the rectification, but not elimination, of the present regime. It is true that there is open rivalry among the US, European and Russian imperialist powers over the scope and depth of their domination over this region, but given the balance of power and the mitigation of the competition between them in the aftermath of the fall of the Soviet bloc, today they are more able to follow common policies in Iran.

7. Splits and cracks within the Islamic Republic regime has weakened the ruling class. This has in turn opened some avenues for the masses to enter the field of struggle. The cracks among the different factions of the regime are real, but they all have one common aim and that is to save the ruling system. These two factions of the Islamic Republic are "two wings of one bird". One faction's moderateness complements the other faction's extremism. The conservatives create credit for the "reformers" through their untamed terror and suppression. The "reformers" calm and dope the masses and open the way for the suppressive measures of the conservatives.

When the existence and interests of the system are seriously challenged, they both join hands in suppressing the struggle of the masses.

8. Through the presidential election of the "Second Khordad" in [May] 1997 the regime succeeded in spreading illusions [about the possibility of the system reforming itself] among the masses and bought some time and opportunity for itself. But in recent years, with the exposure of the empty promises of the new president and his ilk and with the intensification of the suppression of the masses, in which the new president's faction joined hands with the conservative faction, important blows have been dealt to the "Second Khordad" campaign. During this period the mass movements of the different popular classes and strata have increased, and a new round of struggle of the masses against the regime has started. This new round is irreversible and the country is pregnant with upheavals and explosive events.

9. Under such conditions the struggle of the masses against the ruling class sometimes intertwines with in-fighting within the ruling class. On the one hand, the "Second Khordad" faction tries to employ tricks in order to infiltrate the mass movements and blur the line of demarcation between the people and the regime. And on the other hand, sometimes the in-fighting within the ruling class fans the flames of upheaval, which gets out of their control. It is important to adopt policies and revolutionary methods that prevent the enemy from mixing with the ranks of the people.

POLITICAL LINE AND TENDENCIES

The heightened activity of the different class forces gives rise to contradictory political tendencies. These tendencies are reflected in all the social movements and influence them positively or negatively. Under the present conditions, we can mainly observe the following political lines and tendencies:

1. The reformist line propagates "electoral stupidity" and legalism (i.e. containing the struggle within the framework of the constitution of the Islamic Republic) and opposes violent struggle against the regime. Middle bourgeoisie and well-off petite bourgeoisie, who are active under the name of

"national-religious forces", spread this line. This line provides the main base for the "Second Khordad" campaign; the regime makes use of these forces to carry out its "Second Khordad" campaign to save its system.

2. The line of supporting conciliation with imperialism (the pro-imperialist line) is propagated by a broad alliance, which extends from the ruling class itself to those outside the regime, including the overthrown [in February 1979] reactionary monarchist forces. These forces try to shove down the throat of the masses the view that the only solution to the economic problems and difficulties is to establish more open and deeper relations with imperialism. In this way they want to weaken the spirit of self-reliance and self-belief among the masses and keep them waiting for the mercies of the imperialists, thus paralysing the people.

3. The chauvinist line, under the slogan of "Iran for Iranians", is a common point that unites the "Second Khordad" alliance. This slogan is now raised by a section of the ruling class and is supported by the "national-religious" forces. The middle bourgeoisie, frightened by the spectre of the disintegration of the status quo and the economy and the dangers to the country's sovereignty, increasingly clings to nationalism. This line tries to develop a harmful tendency among the working people of the different nations of Iran, as well as between the oppressed masses of Iran and Afghanistan. This kind of tendency sows the seeds of disunity among the working people and undermines the united struggle of the people against the Islamic regime.

4. In recent years the nationalism of the oppressed nations has become stronger. It is true that this nationalism is just. But unlike the period of the 1979 revolution, when the communists and revolutionaries had an important role to play in the movements of the oppressed nations, today it is the reformist current that has more influence. For example, today a strong current within the Kurdish bourgeois class (outside the organisations of the Kurdish movement) has united with the strategy of the "Second Khordad" and spread a reformist line within the Kurdish movement. Under the influence of this cur-

rent, the line of the leading organisations of the national struggle in Kurdistan has increasingly become reformist in relation to the ruling power. This nationalist tendency has a negative influence on the development of a nation-wide general movement for the overthrow of the reactionary regime.

5. In opposition to the above-mentioned lines and tendencies, which hamper the advance of the mass movements against the regime, a different tendency has risen from the womb of the mass outbreaks and struggles: radicalism, a militant and violent approach towards the ruling political power. This tendency is an expression of the class steadfastness of the basic masses of society; it is a reflection of the intense oppression and exploitation they suffer and of the violent conditions of their life and labour. One remarkable way this tendency is expressed is identifying and punishing the mercenaries and spies of the Islamic Republic in the midst of the mass upheavals and ambushing them in popular neighbourhoods. Another example is the attacking and burning of military patrols, police posts, banks and government buildings. As the uselessness of the reformist lines is exposed, radicalism grows and develops more and more among the masses. Along with the development of this favourable tendency, which provides more possibilities for developing revolutionary thinking among the masses, there is also a strong current, especially among the youth, to rupture with religion and to develop hatred towards the Sharia [Islamic rules and regulations] and superstition.

6. Given the above-mentioned objective and subjective factors, the instability and the ever-deepening crisis and frictions, there will continue to be mass rebellions and ever-growing struggle. The intensification of the poverty, lack of rights, futurelessness and insecurity experienced by the masses; the inability of the regime and its imperialist supporters to deal with the increasing problems within the society; the ineffectiveness of relying only on methods of continuous and naked suppression; and the coming to the political field of a new generation free from a defeatist and capitulationist spirit – these are all factors ensuring that the intensification of crisis and social upheaval is the most probable trend.

7. Under these conditions, as a result

of the social upheaval, some changes in the form and structure of the regime and some shifts in the reactionary political power might occur. But even in that case, the central task of the communists, the seizure of political power through people's war, will not change.

REVOLUTIONARY OPPORTUNITIES

1. A mentality of changing the present order has penetrated the different layers of society, and large sections of the masses feel not only the necessity for, but also the possibility of, change. The masses have set foot in the field of struggle in great numbers. Their struggle is continuous and developing. The masses are developing radical forms of struggle that seize the offensive. Today, the masses feel the absence of a leading revolutionary force; they search for a philosophy, a path, which can deal with the fundamental problems of society and carry them towards their dreams and desires. They need a leading revolutionary party and they have asked for it in a thousand ways.

2. The position of the regime in the regions of the oppressed nations has become weaker and more brittle. Specifically in Kurdistan, where there has been two decades of experience in armed struggle, today the desire to resort to arms and violent struggle against the enemy is strong among the masses. Moreover, splits amongst the different factions of the regime have, in some cases, even led to the violent resolution of their disputes. Police authority has weakened.

3. Under these circumstances, in order to develop and extend its influence in society, the Party has a fundamental strength that other class forces lack: the ideology, political line, Programme and strategy of the Communist Party, which corresponds to the short-term and long-term interests of the oppressed masses and to their radicalism. The communists, in competition with other class forces, and in the struggle to overcome their lagging behind and to win over the masses, can be victorious only by persisting with revolutionary ideology and extremely hard work in order to advance and spread the Party's Programme and path.

THE PRESENT POLITICAL TASK OF THE PARTY FOR THE PREPARATION OF THE PEOPLE'S WAR

1. In order to accumulate and develop its forces as a step towards the initiation of people's war, the Communist Party must clarify its political tasks in the present situation. By carrying out its tasks with perseverance and resoluteness, the Party will be able to overcome its lagging behind in a decisive way and come to the fore of the class struggle. With clear political mind and courage, in practice it will be able to specify and chart its tasks and carry them out as necessary steps towards the initiation of people's war. This will play a decisive role in coming from behind to the fore.

2. The Party must be part of the mass movements and put forward its revolutionary policies and struggle to give them a revolutionary direction; it should win over, mobilise and organise forces from amongst the mass movements. The arena of activity of the Party should be those movements that provide more potential for strengthening our vanguard Party, provide more material for the initiation of the people's war and create favourable conditions for the development of the revolution. In the service of carrying out these tasks, the Party should expose and render ineffective every strategy that the enemy employs to contain the movements of the masses and its own crisis. At every step, the Party must expose the aims of the suppressive measures and the deceptive plans of the Islamic reactionaries. The Party should use the present opportunity for organising the struggles of the masses against these plans – today specifically against the electoral campaigns of the regime.

3. The Party should fight against the reactionary and conciliatory lines and tendencies that are put forward by the ruling and bourgeois classes and that influence the ranks of the people. Against the reformist line, the Party should uphold the line of violent overthrow; against the pro-imperialist line, the line of independence and self-reliance; against religious and superstitious thought, scientific and advanced dialectical materialist thought; against chauvinism and nationalism, the line of internationalism, as well as the right to self-determination of nations, up to

secession; and it must expose, and fight against, patriarchal and male-dominating views.

4. The Communist Party of Iran (MLM) should propagate its Programme and Constitution among the broad masses. It should determine the disunities and unities that exist between the programme, line and aims of the different parties of the popular classes with that of the working class and new-democratic revolution. It should continuously clarify and propagate the line of demarcation with these other parties. This should serve to forge a popular united front under the leadership of the Party.

5. The Party should determine strategic and tactical, general and particular slogans for each period and popularise these amongst the masses. Slogans such as:

Long Live Revolution, Long Live Communism!

Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!

Raise High the Victorious Flag of People's War!

Long Live the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement! Long Live Proletarian Internationalism!

Long Live the New-democratic Revolution towards Socialism!

Down with the Islamic Republic and Its Imperialist Masters!

Break the Chains and Unleash the Fury of Women as a Mighty Force for Revolution!

Join the Ranks of the Communist Party of Iran (MLM)!

Join the Preparation for the People's War!

The Right to Self-determination to the Point of Secession!

Down with the Theocratic Regime!

Down with the Islamic Republic!

Political Prisoners must be Freed!

Down with the Enemy of the Youth!

Smash Electoral Deception!

Burn the Compulsory Hejab [the Islamic covering]!

Freedom of Thought is Impossible under this Regime!

Make Kurdistan the Cemetery of the Fascists!

Land to the Peasants!

The Right to Organise, the Right to Strike!

Imprisoned Workers must be Freed!
Condemn the Expulsion of
Afghanistani Immigrants!

Appendix to the Political Resolution:

(The complete Appendix is available from AWTW upon request.)

ANALYSIS OF THE MASS MOVEMENT AND TASKS OF THE PARTY

The repeated mass outbreaks and the more ongoing movements of the different classes and strata increasingly draw the masses into political life. The scope of these struggles differ and they encompass various forces....

The mass movements are an important arena for accumulating our primary forces for initiating the people's war. This activity should be carried out in such a way that it does not become a stage in and of itself, because the people's war will not grow out of these movements spontaneously. In the same way that the people's war will not grow out of the reformist mass movements, it will also not grow spontaneously out of revolutionary political struggles. Even though during the present period it is necessary to carry out various activities amongst the masses, the initiation of the people's war will not be a continuation of the current mass struggle. To initiate the highest form of struggle, which is the armed struggle, active and specific preparation will be required.

Mao said that before the initiation of people's war everything should serve its initiation. This must be done in close and active connection with the class struggle and revolutionary practice. The Party must deal with the important political questions and struggles of the day that concern the masses; it should analyse them and clarify its position regarding them and carry this out with maximum effort in both words and deeds.

MASS OUTBREAKS

Spontaneous and militant mass outbreaks mainly happen in working class and poor neighbourhoods of the cities around economic demands and oppression by the state apparatus....

From an ideological point of view, despite the general hatred that these basic masses have for the Islamic regime, religious and superstitious views are influential among them. Belief in a god-given destiny is still an important

fetter on the fighting energy of the masses. The ruling reaction on the one hand spreads the opium of religion, and on the other hand spreads the real drug opium among the youth in order to kill their rebellious spirit. Moreover, the Islamic ideology and culture that is dominant in the society spreads male chauvinist oppressive and misogynist anti-women views and behaviour amongst these masses. This is an important factor that divides the ranks of the people. National chauvinism (the ugliest of which is aimed at the Afghanistani masses) and religious discrimination (Shiit against Sunni and Islam against other religions) are two other factors consciously employed by the regime to divide the masses. In order to develop a revolutionary influence on the movements of the toiling masses, the Party must propagate and agitate for the unity and solidarity of the toilers of all nations; it must encourage and support the participation of women in these movements; and it must ruthlessly criticise national and gender-based discrimination and degradation. The Party must not only take hope and optimism among the poor masses, but also put forward a clear vision of the possibility of change and the real path of liberation. The Party must also propagate the necessity of revolutionary unity amongst them and with the other sections of the masses.

THE WORKERS' STRUGGLE

The workers' movement ... continues without interruption. In recent years these movements have become more militant. The workers occupy factories, take officials hostage, shut down the roads and highways around the factories and engage the suppressive forces of the state. The workers' movement is spontaneous and unorganised....

One relatively old tendency in the workers' movement is independent syndicalism and economism. This trend exists in the form of scattered circles, some of whose members belonged to left organisations during the period of the 1979 revolution. From an ideological point of view, some of these circles are against having a revolutionary party and oppose the need to arm the advanced forces of the workers' movement, and the working class in

general, with the ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.... Politically this trend moves the masses away from revolutionary struggle against the regime; it reduces the horizons of the struggle and instead organises the workers to struggle for economic demands. In this way, they not only undermine the role and influence of the workers in the general mass movements, but they also undermine the ability of the workers' movement to impose its demands on the enemy and rebuff its attacks....

But the most important problem with the economist and syndicalist line is that they deny the duty of the working class to lead the armed revolution with the aim of overthrowing the oppressive and exploitative order and move to socialism and world communism. This line merely calls on the workers to struggle for their economic demands and recognises the economic organisations of the workers as the main tool and the strike as the most important method of struggle. So the communist vanguard must fight this line essentially around the issue of the basic aims and organisation of the working class and its strategy for seizing political power.

PEASANTS' STRUGGLE

During the past few years, different strata of the peasants have carried out struggles around different issues. But these struggles have been overlooked or forgotten due to their scattered, limited nature and their low political influence, compared to the struggles in the cities. Some of the issues of the peasants' struggle have included struggle against the return of the big landlords to the countryside because the state has given them back their land; struggle against the state's method of pricing [the state buys their produce and sells them materials such as fertiliser and seeds]; and struggle over public services such as education and health in the countryside. These struggles have been carried out in the form of demonstrations in front of state offices, attacking returnee landlords with the aim of repossessing land, closing roads and engaging the state police force. In some regions, such as Kurdistan, where national oppression is merged with other class and social oppression, the peasant struggle has continued under the umbrella of the

national movement....

The countryside and peasant strata continue to carry the heavy burden of semi-feudal relations, tradition and religious superstition. Patriarchal and religious male chauvinist views have deep roots in the countryside. Therefore, it is necessary to spread revolutionary ideology and to fight against the different aspects of reactionary ideology and tradition in order to unleash the energy of the masses in the countryside and to bring forward the advanced men and women.

In order for the Party to carry out the strategy of people's war, with the poor peasant masses its main force and the countryside its main battleground, it has to unleash the hidden revolutionary forces in the countryside. The village youth are extremely deprived of the possibility of work and pastimes, are searching for work or education, and have to commute between the city and countryside; they engage in poli-

tics more than others and have the greatest potential to absorb revolutionary consciousness and join the anti-regime organisations and struggles. It is also important to support the peasant movement and popularise the peasants' demands in other mass movements and struggles.

THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

...The Communist Party can and must mobilise and organise fresh, persistent and militant forces from amongst the oppressed masses, the toiling women and the revolutionary fighters of the women's emancipation movement. This is necessary for carrying out proletarian revolution and training leaders and fighters for the Party and the people's war. The Party must encourage the women to break the chains of tradition, which have been imposed on them by family and society. The Party must expose the tricks that the reactionary Is-

lamic Republic employs against women, such as "Islamic feminism"....

...Moreover, the Party must fight against the revisionist and reductionist line that denies the necessity of struggling against the oppression of women as one of the vital fronts of struggle against the reactionary system. These lines negate this necessity under the guise of upholding "class struggle". The Party should also criticise reformist thinking and policies within the women's movement.

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

The youth movement is expressed mainly in movements in the neighbourhoods and the student movement.... The resistance of the neighbourhood youth has intensified in recent years to the point that they organise and plan to beat and even kill the para-military youth forces of the regime. The Islamic Republic, frightened that these violent

Message to the Founding Congress of the

Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement 1 May 2001

Dear Comrades,

Rarely has a vanguard party of the proletariat been so sorely needed or so thoroughly prepared as the newly founded Communist Party of Iran (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist) (CPI(MLM)). Since even before the formation of the Union of Communists of Iran (Sarbedaran) in 1976, revolutionaries of your country, armed with the liberating ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, struggled mightily for this ideology to take root in the soil of the struggles of the peoples of Iran and to build a proletarian party, which alone can lead the people out of the hell in which they are now trapped by imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

We know only too well the history of the last several decades: the protracted struggles carried out against the US-backed regime of the Shah; the struggles within the Iranian revolutionary movement itself, between those who sought an easy ride to power by hitching themselves to the Soviet superpower and the Maoists who upheld the road of people's war; and the exuberance of the whole Iranian people when the hated despot was finally

chased from his throne.

In that great revolutionary movement the young forces of the Iranian Maoist movement played a vigorous role and their ranks and influence grew by leaps and bounds. But the communist movement of your country had not yet achieved the crucial step of forming a vanguard proletarian party. As a result of this and other factors, the proletariat, whilst fighting heroically, was not able to take its necessary place at the head of the whole people.

Instead, a filthy band of mullahs, representing a reactionary feudal ideology, was able to hoodwink a large section of the people fed up with the Shah's imperialist-sponsored "modernisation". The weakness of the communists, including some ideological and political errors on their part, made it difficult to "go against the tide" that was sweeping the country at that time, and the leadership of Khomeini was not sufficiently challenged.

We all know the tragic results of Khomeini's betrayal: the thousands of executions, the abolition of any democratic rights, the trampling of minority nationalities, the barbaric efforts to repress the Iranian women whose revo-

lutionary spirit had so flourished in the revolution against the Shah, and the terror imposed throughout the whole society, which made the repression of the Shah look pale by comparison. Yet, at the very height of this fascist, obscurantist assault on the people and on the revolution, comrades of the Union of Communists of Iran (Sarbedaran) raised high the red flag of armed revolution in the city and forests of Amol. Although this uprising was defeated, Sarbedaran wrote a glorious page in the history of the people's struggle, which even wholesale massacre and torture and long, bitter years of exile could not wipe out.

Throughout the twists and turns of the revolutionary struggle in Iran, in the cruellest moments, as well as in times of a revolutionary tidal wave, it has been the Maoists, and only the Maoists, who have represented the long-term interests of the proletariat and the people. And it has been only the genuine communists that have been able to learn from the experience of the people and from their own mistakes to provide clearer and more correct leadership, whilst never renouncing the vision and orientation of fight-

struggles might grow, arrest and execute these militant youth....

The youth increasingly hate the yoke of religion and the chain of tradition. This provides favourable ground to spread new and advanced proletarian thinking among the young people. In order to utilise this favourable ground, the Communist Party must fight against superstitious, religious and traditionalist beliefs, habits and behaviours, as well as against male chauvinist and national chauvinist values and views among the youth. The Party must find ways to arm the new generation of fighters with the political experience of the previous revolutionary generation....

THE KURDISH MOVEMENT

The Kurdish movement has strategic importance from the point of view of some of the goals of the proletarian revolution (solving the land and the

national question) as well as from the point of view of the strategy of people's war and the establishment of base areas. We have direct and close experience of the role played by the Kurdish movement in the course of the 1979 revolution and its aftermath. The Kurdish movement demonstrated its revolutionary potential even after the bloody suppression, retreat and setback of the political-military forces of this region and even during the deceptive campaign of the "Second Khordad". In the last three years there have been several mass outbreaks in Kurdistan, mainly launched by young women and men....

During the present period, the nationalist trend within the Kurdish movement has become stronger. At the same time, the forces of this movement have come to a dead-end in carrying out their armed struggle, and this has led them to undermine or even negate the armed struggle in the theoretical

sphere....

[Changes] could result in the loosening or even collapse of central government rule in this region and the formation of power by regional parties. It is also possible that a new round of armed struggle and military engagement will start in the region. This would open up a favourable opportunity for the Party to develop its influence. In order for the Party to be in a position to influence the situation, the Party from today must deal with the key questions of the Kurdish movement: it has to propagate the necessity and possibility of developing armed struggle in Kurdistan; it has to expose all the tricks and manoeuvres of the regime and the imperialists regarding Kurdistan; and it has to struggle with harmful reformist tendencies and truncated nationalist solutions for class and national questions in Kurdistan. ■

Communist Party of Iran (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist)

ing to rid the whole world of class exploitation.

The formation of the vanguard communist party in Iran represents a truly great step in the history of class struggle in your country, which will no doubt have profound ramifications in the whole region and beyond. While the formation of the party alone will not automatically solve all the problems of leading the revolution forward, its formation is the necessary and indispensable precondition for advance.

Mao Tsetung taught: "The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." The history of the Iranian communist movement also underscores both aspects of this profound truth. Where are the large opportunist organisations of the past? Their right and "left"-in-form errors have led them into political, ideological and organisational bankruptcy. The future belongs to the vanguard proletarian party built on a solid Marxist-Leninist-Maoist foundation, with a core of tested, trained and tempered cadres wholly devoted to the cause of the people. With such a party, great deeds will be accomplished.

From the very formation of the

Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, the comrades from Iran have played a central role. Despite being severely weakened by the attacks of the enemy, you took upon your shoulders a heavy burden in the fight for the Maoist line internationally, and your class determination and revolutionary optimism added considerable strength to our fledgling efforts to regroup the genuine Maoist forces. We have grown stronger together and learnt from each other, and our unity is unbreakable.

Today the masses in Iran are again awakening to political life. The terror of the enemy, whilst in no way diminishing, is less able to intimidate the people. The illusion of "reform" by a so-called democratic section of the ruling class is badly tattered, despite the efforts of many opportunists to patch up these illusions. The conditions of the masses are intolerable, and they yearn for revolution.

But history has shown, in Iran and everywhere, that however heroically the people struggle, it is only under the leadership of the proletarian party that real liberation can be achieved. Only by waging a protracted people's

war will it be possible to rip Iran free from the clutches of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism and cleanse the society of the ugly and vicious sores that reactionary rule has produced. We know that the CPI(MLM) has set itself the extremely difficult task of organising, initiating and leading such a people's war to victory. We are confident that with this Marxist-Leninist-Maoist line in command, the genuine revolutionary elements of your country, and most especially the workers and the poor peasants, will increasingly come to see that this line and no other, that this Party and no other, can pioneer the way forward.

Comrades, however difficult and tortuous the road ahead remains, the formation of your Party makes the future that much brighter for the people of Iran and for the whole international proletariat.

Long Live the Communist Party of Iran (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist)!
Glory to the Martyrs of the Iranian Communist Movement!
Forward to People's War!