

Tudeh News

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The Report of the Central Committee of the Tudeh Party of Iran to the 5th Congress

Part 1) Assessment of the developments in Iran between the two congresses

Comrades!

The 4th congress of the TPI took place in the winter of 1998, coinciding with important events in Iran and 7 months following the historical victory of the people in the presidential election in May 1997. The Central Committee's report, approved by the 4th congress had emphasized: "Our party believes that the root cause of all the current predicaments and upheavals are in our country's political ruling structure ... in our class analysis we showed that the ruling regime represents the most reactionary and anti-popular classes and strata, with a single objective of protecting their interests through safeguarding their political rule...the ruling clergy has a horrendous track record of betraying the national interests which leaves no room for any hope or optimism towards their intentions...".

During this period the essential part of our party's analysis had focused on showing the inappropriateness of the optimism promoted towards Khatami's potentials and his abilities as the elected president. While a certain political forces and many of the

rightwing opposition groups accused the TPI of extremism and lack of understanding of the developments in Iran, they believed that Khatami's victory would end the rule of the reactionary forces and a major step towards realization of a "civil society" and a "popular state". Our party believed that within the framework of the Velayat-e Faghih's regime [the ruled the Supreme Leader], the establishment of a civic society and the establishment of law and social justice are impossible. In other words, we opposed the notion promoted by Khatami and his supporters during the election campaign that claimed the possibility of achieving their slogans while upholding the Velayat-e Faghih's regime...(Ibid).

After five years, it is imperative to review the important political, economic and social developments in Iran. We ought to re-examine Khatami's government, the reform process and present a concrete position regarding the current state of the movement and Iran's future developments.

a) Iran's Socio-Economic Situation

In the past decade, the Tudeh Party of Iran has been one of the most persistent critics of the socio-economic policies of the Velayat-e Faghih's regime which has been working for the interests of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the large merchant capitalism. The main characteristics of the regime's policies during the last decade have been: to look after the sanctity of capital - unconditional support for the private sector as the main driving force of economic development - serious negligence of Iran's domestic

production and discarding the need for investment in this sector and its support to establish strong economic basis, creating jobs and generate the prospects for growth - allowing an uncontrolled goods import which has damaged the domestic production, leading to a negative imbalance in the economy and causing tens of billions of dollars of borrowings from the banks, capitalist monopolies and foreign countries. The regime's actions have created a sick and unproductive economy in which a major part of the economic activities comprise of movement of funds and foreign currency dealings.

The fact is that just before Khatami's government came to power, the previous eight years of disastrous policies pursuit by Rafsanjani's government had plunged the economy into a serious crisis. Contrary to a fallacious propaganda by the government of the so called "chief of construction" [Rafsanjani], during that period, Iran was a country owing tens of billions of dollars of foreign debt, with unprecedented poverty and deprivation suffered by millions of its citizens which were unable to even maintain the minimum of living standards. Mohammad Khatami, in his first speech addressing the people on the national television in the summer of 1997, while mentioning the crisis caused by eight years of "economical adjustments" [during Rafsanjani's government], stated that: "economic matters are among the most urgent issues that the government must address and we have to solve these problems and with god willing we shall try to resolve these issues in such a way that wouldn't put pressure on our dignified people."

Based on Khatami's promises, the people were hoping the new government and reappraising of the past policies would lead to a new process in the economic policies of the country. However, after announcing the composition of the new administration and appointment of executives from Rafsanjani's government and their cronies to key

positions responsible for economy - it became clear that no serious change could be expected with regard to the disastrous state of the economy. Since then, the continuation of the policies inherited from Rafsanjani's government which were essentially the IMF's dictates, have had a disastrous effect on our country.

In mid summer 2002, Mohammed Reza Aref, the Vice-President, in a meeting with George Abed, the head of Middle East and Persian Gulf branch of IMF, emphasized that Velayat-e Faghih's regime is interested in expanding its relationship with this powerful organization of global capitalism. In his speech Aref stated: "hopefully the realities of Iran's economy would be reflected in the IMF reports for further consideration, and this would become our ammunition in revising the laws for attracting foreign investments, reviewing the laws governing taxation and fixing the exchange rates, reducing government's power, promoting privatization, removing non-tariff barriers on imports, deregulation of import-export - these are among the most important policies in the Third Development Plan inline with the economic structural reform...".

The implementation of IMF's policies by Khatami's government is not a groundless assertion on behalf of our party. A comparison between the policies employed by his government and those prescribed by the IMF clearly indicates the adoption of its directives, which their applications in other countries have failed. The policy templates prescribed by the World Bank and the IMF for all countries requesting funds from these imperialist organizations, can be briefly characterized as:

Privatization of state owned industries, which will lead to a decrease in public services, increase in unemployment and poverty;
Floating exchange rate and directing the local economy towards exporting cheap raw materials and permitting unrestricted imports of the essential goods at high prices;

Increasing the interest rate in conjunction with freezing the income levels - as a justification for restraining inflation;
Eliminating price controls, which would rapidly lead to increases in price of daily foodstuff and public services;
Removal of customs tariffs with the objective of promoting domination of local markets by foreign commodities and finance.

The systematic application of these conditions through economic restructuring would result in decreased budget for public services, particularly, in key areas such as education, healthcare and elimination or drastic decrease in food and fuel subsidies.

Over that last few years the destructive consequences of these policies have been reflected in the Nameh Mardom [TPI's central organ] - these have prolonged the economic crisis, intensified poverty, further deprived the destitute strata and on the other hand, have increased the wealth of a small group of capitalists dominating the economy.

Even on the basis of the government's statistics for poverty line and income levels, 15% of the population, approximately 10 million people are living below the poverty line.

The unprecedented widespread poverty and hardship has produced social deformities and deeply effected the society. Among these are the growth of prostitution and drug addiction within the youth. According to the official and the available statistics there are 2 millions drug addicts in Iran, The head of the taskforce against drug addiction recently admitted that according to unofficial statistics the number of addicts in Iran is approximately 5 million. However, the government economic policies have had other adverse effects, the most important of which are complete reliance of the nations economy on oil revenue, increased inflation, massive growth of private capital and wealth, and widespread rise in unemployment. According to the journals of the Central Bank of the Islamic Republic

(No. 273 and 274), "during the first and second quarters of last year, 59.7% of the government's income was based on oil exports" and interestingly these statistics state, "the tax revenues during this period grow by 18% but it was 14.5% below the legislated amount and last year the government income had a shortfall of 33.9%". In another word the major part of the government's planned income in the annual budget did not materialise. The increasing poverty and inflation, (12% according to the official figures) has been accompanied by the government's full support and admiration of the private capital - leading to unprecedented gains for the private sector. According to a report by the Central Bank, the size of the money supply has reached an astronomical level. Khatami's government promised to control the rate of money supply and to restrain the inflation. But increasing inflation and the growth of money supply by 28%, clearly demonstrating the failure of the economic policies pursuit by Khatami's government. And this was in spite of warnings and recommendation by the progressive forces and economics experts concerned about the working masses of our country.

Unemployment and the pressures exerted on the working class are among the most important problems of our society. According to the official figures published by the Central Bank, the number of people employed is estimated at 16 millions and it emphasises: "based on the number people in jobs, the unemployment rate is 16.03% of the total active workforce...". According to the same report, just during 2001 the unemployment had increased by 6.9% to a total of 3.2 millions.

The dire economic situation has led to an increasing number of workers in the manufacturing sectors not being paid for months and are faced with very difficult conditions, struggling to maintain their lives. Many of the recent labour protests in the past year were in opposition to the continuation of the "privatization" and the

“adjustment of manpower” (i.e. layoffs, redundancies and creating part time jobs) and also against lack of any trade rights in labour relations and not being paid for months.

The last point to be noted in evaluating the country’s socio-economic conditions is the fact that during the recent years of economic crisis and difficulties faced by the major sectors of the economy, Khatami’s government had the benefit of an increase in oil revenues. For instance, the government has had an extra 5.3 billion dollars during 2001 and 2002. The main point is that this surpluses revenue could have been used for investing in national production, reducing the economic burden shouldered by the working people and improving the social services. But the fact is that the large capitalists and the dealers [middlemen] have plundered a major part of this additional income through various scheme such as bogus credits to given to tens of “state owned” or “partially state owned” companies. However, the working people of our country did not receive any share from this surpluses oil revenue.

Comrades!

The deep socio-economic crisis in the country is the root cause of the masses deep frustration and their mistrust of the current political structures. During the last 6 years the people have learned from their painful experience that the economic policies of Khatami’s government, contrary to the promises, have done nothing for the deprived people but instead have followed the same destructive policies of Rafsanjani’s government, resulting in intensification of problems, poverty and deprivation for the large majority of our nation. Instead of fulfilling its promises, Khatami’s government continued with the old policies and was unable to take any steps towards meeting people’s demands for attaining social justice. Certain circles close to Khatami claim that a “crisis-creation” tactic by his opponents did not give Khatami’s government a chance to implement its plans.

However, the undeniable fact is that during the past six years Khatami’s government has not offered a justifiable plan for protecting the rights of deprived strata and working people. On this basis the track record of Khatami’s government, which came to power with the support of 20 million people, promising to fight against socio-economic collapse is a failure and it is in contradiction to the interests of the majority of our deprived people.

b) Political developments in Iran, the reform process, and the historic outcome of the 2nd Khordad experience

The 23rd of May 1997 [election of Khatami on the 2nd Khordad, in the Iranian calendar] was a turning point in the struggle of our people against the Velayat-e Faghih’s regime. While supporting the demands of the popular movement for reforms for the establishment of democracy and a state based on the people’s aspirations, our party from the beginning made it clear that contrary to promises made by Khatami and his close circles it does not believe that the people’s demands could be achieved in conjunction with preserving the structures of the despotism, i.e. absolute the rule of supreme leader (Velayat-e Faghih). On 26th of May 1997, while welcoming the people’s historic poll in rejecting the official candidate of the Velayat-e Faghih, the TPI’s Central Committee stated that: “what is already clear is the fact that despite the demands of the people for implementing democratic changes, the leadership of “Velayate-Faqih” is determined to continue its policies and obstruct any fundamental changes in our society....today, contrary to hopes and wishes of millions of people, the same structures and individuals that during the last 18 years have betrayed the objectives of the 1979 revolution (i.e. freedom, independence and social justice) are still leading the country towards the edge

of the cliff, and forcing horrific conditions on our people...”

By evaluating the country’s situation, analysing its social class struggle and the inconsistent and unstable combination of the political forces that have gathered around Khatami (reformist within government), the Tudeh Party of Iran, saw it as its duty to warn the political and social forces against the unrealistic prospects of negotiations from the top and behind the closed doors and drawing their attentions towards the importance of organizing a mass struggle.

In our analysis we avoided the shift to the right, i.e. advocating that fundamental changes demanded by the people could be achieved by Khatami through the policies of the reformists in government – we also avoided leftist deviation, which dismisses any possible gains from the events of 2nd Khordad and the subsequent process which has been initiated in the country. The Tudeh Party of Iran was able to pursue a consistent and persistent policy in informing the popular movement and attempting to mobilize progressive and freedom-loving forces inside the country.

At a time when many progressive opposition forces were defending the policies of the reformists in the government, and while they were supporting the reformist’s tactics of “negotiation and appeasement from the top”, without involving the masses as a means of pressuring the reactionary forces. At the time our party emphasised its position in the 4th congress: “in the current stage, our people with their action [election of Khatami], have chosen a possible non-violent unarmed confrontation [with the regime]. The next stage is a broad participation of the masses in a struggle to achieve those demands and slogans which were behind the spirit of the 2nd Khordad. The important issue is that even a partial accomplishment of these demands will aid to create the transitional stage...” More importantly, unlike some views propagated about the possibility of transformation of

Velayat-e Faghih regime and its change to a “popular rule”, our party strongly believed that: “this does not imply the regime’s transformation from within, because this transformation has pinned its hopes on gradual changes through the forces and groups within the state. In our analysis we pointed to an important element with its important and distinctive characteristics - that is the development of the people’s awareness as a result of their experiences gained during the years of oppression and despotism under this regime. This element has developed through the confrontation between the people and the state, which does not perceive itself aligned with the interests of the regime and in order to progress its affairs, it also uses the forces within and the peripheries of the power structure ...” (4th congress of TPI).

The events of past six years have provided a powerful set of criteria for assessing and judging the policies of our party. The current events in our society - the impasse of the reform process - the people’s increasing frustration towards Khatami’s (and his associates) policy of appeasement, submission - the intensification of economic and political crisis - inclination of the masses and social forces towards a struggle separate from the forces within the regime - the growing perception of necessity to establish a broad front comprising of all the anti-despotic forces, these confirm the validity of our party’s views, which were presented six years ago.

During the recent years we have repeatedly stated and we still see the need to reiterate that; any policy based on the accepting the legitimacy of the Velayat-e Faghih, i.e. acknowledgment of the divine and eternal absolute rule by the clergies over economics and political matters, which serves no benefit but to prolong the despotic rule.

To sum up the principle views and policies of Khatami and the reformists in government, it can be stated that Khatami and an important section of his supporters in

the “2 Khordad front” believed that due to the growing contradictions in our society, the prolongation of the Islamic Republic’s rule would become difficult. Therefore the need to allow certain social reforms, relaxation of policies and a shift towards a “religious populism” in order to restore the regime’s lost social base. And by further broadening of the regime’s social standing they hoped to achieve political stability and secure regime’s future. The route taken by these forces to implement the reforms was through negotiations and “bargaining” from the top and attempting to convince the regime’s leaders that in the absence of reforms, the society will move towards a wide scale explosive situation, in which case the present “regime” and the ruling clergy will become its first casualty. By recognising the extent of the people’s hatred towards the current regime, they [the reformist] believed that if this crisis is not resolved, its perils might go beyond the collapse of the Islamic Republic’s regime, leading to a serious possibility of the people’s beliefs in the religion and the clergies would be irreversibly damaged.

Opposing this viewpoint that has been pursued by Khatami and his associates, the supreme leader (Velayat-e Faghih) and the reactionary rulers believe that any opening in the political atmosphere of the country and change in the regime’s structure in favour of people’s demands, and weakening of power leverage would transform the oppressed expectations of millions of Iranians into an uncontrollable surge. By emphasizing the external dangers and stressing the need for closing ranks around the Supreme Leadership as the core to “protect the regime” and opposing any serious changes in the regime’s structure the ruling reaction considers the continuation of the reform process as the cause of political destabilization. After a short period of temporary retreat following the May 1997 victory [Khatami’s election], the regime started an organized and successful campaign to bring the reform process to a halt and eventually crushing it completely.

The CC meetings in their analysis have been critical of the policies and tactics of Khatami’s government and the 2nd Khordad Front’s ideologues, warning against their ineffectiveness. For instance, Khatami’s government had thought the political development may be achieved through “lawfulness” and respect for the “law” and had focused its efforts on this approach. Right from the beginning, our party warned against this naivety and maintained that the “law” in a country that “Velayat-e Faghih” [supreme leader] controls all the levers of legislative and judicial systems, is nothing but an instrument of repression in the hands of reactionary rulers, therefore the reform process can not proceed on this basis. Obviously, the view held by our party was not meant to promote violence in the society but it was intended as a serious warning about the consequences of this policy to form the basis of the reform process.

The historical experience in various countries around the world and also in Iran (as seen in the up rise of the university students in the past months) shows that violence and bloodshed is always imposed by the reactionary forces on the people and the society. At the onset of the reform process, through a handpicked parliament (5th) the regime passed the Media Law to stifle its opposition in the media, and it later moves, through “legal” means they besieged the reform process by legislating bills “Islamic Punishment” and allowing the “student militia”, i.e. tugs, to enter the universities. Under an atmosphere of inactivity and inappropriate slogans and conducts, in conjunction with appeasement by Khatami’s government, the ruling reaction began its organized raid against media and students. Closing down the “Salaam” newspaper – raiding of dormitories in Tehran University’s by the Velayat-e Faghih militias - imprisonment of more than 1400 student activists - vast propaganda to propagate terror and an atmosphere of self censorship - accusing the reformists of complicity with the US -

regular and direct interference by the Velayat-e Faghih into activities of the legislative organisations (e.g. a decree preventing the 6th parliament from debating and altering the media legislations), these all show that the present reactionary laws and more importantly, the constitution of Islamic Republic are tools in the hand of reaction and obstacles on the way of the reform process.

The policies adopted by the reformists in government since 1997 have served to “protecting the regime” instead of meeting the demands of the popular movement – steadily causing cynicism among significant segments of the social forces directed towards the potentials of the 2nd Khordad movement. This, in turn has allowed the ruling reaction to regain some of its lost ground. The so called policy of “Active Calm”, which our party rightly called it the quagmire of the reform process, was embraced by the reformist at a time when the ruling reaction had begun an extensive assault against the movement, violently crushing the student’s protests. This was nothing but yielding to the demands of the reactionaries under the cover of “protecting the regime”. “Active Calm”, meant that the reformist in government remained silent about the extensive raids of “Velayat-e Faghih’s” tugs - arresting hundreds of students and dissident forces – attacks on newspapers, critics, journalists and writers, and also imposing restriction on the activities of the 6th parliament. With their silence and the policy of appeasing the regime’s rulers the reformist in government have generated a serious sense of pessimism among the social forces within the movement, especially among the students, the youth and the workers. We can see the logical and actual consequences of such policies in the rural and urban council elections in February 2003. According to the figures released by the government, contrary to the previous election turnouts in the last council election, only about 50% of eligible electorates voted. In many large cities, such as Tehran and Esfahan, more than 80% of electorates did not vote. The Central

Committee of our party in its statement asserted: “feeble and fruitless performance of the councils during the last 4 years, lack of organization, inability to resolve problems, lack of assistance to create civic organisations in order to resolve peoples issues have shown that the anti-popular reactionary regime of Velayat-e Faghih is determined to make every effort to prevent the real popular organisation from playing an active role in determining the destiny of the developments in our country”. The pressures exerted by the ruling reaction during the last four years, along with submissive behaviour of the reformists in government did not allow the urban and rural council to have an active and effective role in determining the local policies, which was expected by the people. As a result of these unconstructive activities, those claiming to be reformists, caused disillusionment and more importantly caused distrust towards those whom, for six years, have made various promises - but due to their inclination in protecting the despotic “regime” and their inability to cross the boundaries set by the ruling reaction, they have not been able to take the essential steps in accomplishing people’s demands for social justice and attain the suppressed freedom and rights.

The last council elections shows a new era has started, given the people’s realistic assessment of the futility of electing appeasers into decision-making positions – and as comrade Khavari stated in his speech on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the foundation of TPI: “following the people’s disappointment in the reformists and their revulsion towards the Velayat-e Faghih’s forces, they are moving towards an era beyond the Impotent Reforms...”. The result of the last council elections was the endpoint for progressing the reforms by only bringing the people to the ballot boxes. The people made a strong statement: they will no longer be manipulated as tools for the deals made behind the scene. Clearly, if the current situation continues, similar responses could be expect in the forth

coming election of the 7th parliament and the upcoming presidential elections.

Dear comrades!

In recapping the events of the past six years, while we point out the historic opportunity that was sunk in the quagmire of appeasement and compromise, it is also imperative to state that the start of reform process following Khatami's election [23rd May 1997] has shaped a new political atmosphere. Among the characteristics of this new political atmosphere are the admirable rise in political awareness of social forces, especially among progressive youth and students - broadening of demands and increased readiness of a wide spectrum of people to join the ranks of the struggle - escalation of workers struggle against the anti-popular policies of the Velayat-e Faghih's regime - politicization of demands among the social forces, which have grown to high-levels in the ranks of the students and is rising among the working people and the working class. This trend is a powerful point within the popular movement and if it is mobilized, it would be able to clear the path towards significant future developments defeat the deceptions of the ruling reaction.

Today it can confidently be said that the result of six years of Khatami's government is the testament to the failure of the premise to transform and reforming the Velayat-e Faghih's regime from the above. It is the failure of negotiating with the ruling reaction and conflict-resolution behind the closed doors. It is the failure of the policy of not trusting the people and not to allow them to determine their future. And most importantly, it was the failure of the premise held by Khatami, Nabavi and the other leaders of 2nd Khordad Front which believed in the possibility of achieving freedom, civic society and a "popular" government within the framework of Velayat-e Faghih's regime. The failure of Khatami's efforts and his associates in moderating the oppressive policies and breaking the monopoly of power in the hands of a gang of medieval

mindful leaders and their armed and semi armed mercenaries has shown that without a widespread and organized popular struggle the despotic ruler wouldn't yield to the public demand of relinquishing the monopoly of power and despotism.

As our party stated many times in the Nameh Mardom [TPI's central organ], the outcome of the current movement and the struggle for fundamental changes is heavily dependent on the united effort by all political forces that believe in freedom, democracy and social justice - and all efforts must be directed towards this objective. Thus, the formation of a united front comprising of all forces committed to independence, peace, freedom and social justice is an indisputable necessity.

Events in the region and their impact on our county's political developments

Comrades!

The events of the past few months in our region have had a significant impact on the developments and trends of the events in our country. The massive imperialist military attack on Afghanistan and the military occupation of Iraq by the US and Britain, are among the most important events which during the last few months have been attracted the attention of our country's political and social forces. The Tudeh Party of Iran along with the world public opinion, the workers and communist parties and the progressive forces around the world expressed its strong opposition towards the military attack against Iraq. The TPI demanded the resolution of conflict by means of negotiations through the UN. The US's attempt to impose its political, economic and military rule over the region meant that Bush administration by ignoring all international laws and the UN Charter, and despite the opposition and demonstrations by tens of millions of peace-loving people around the globe, attacked Iraq and occupied this country. The presence

of hundreds of thousands of American and British troops next to Iran's borders and in the Persian Gulf region is a serious danger to our national sovereignty that must be dealt with, intelligently and carefully. We have pointed out in the party's central organ that in this very critical and perilous situation, we must remove any excuses from any aggressive force in order to protect our country's key interests, sovereignty and its territorial integrity. Our foreign policy must be consistent with our capabilities and the present situation. The past difficulties and conflicts with the US should be resolved through open negotiations, Iran should officially announce that it is not developing weapons of mass destruction and is ready to cooperate with international organizations associated with the UN.

The other important issue is the political position of certain Iranian political forces with regard to these intrusions. The visible support given by the Iranian monarchists to the US's interference, in conjunction with

Perspective of developments in Iran and our propositions

Comrades!

The events in the country are moving rapidly towards a wide range of dangerous crisis. In the recent months the wide scale attacks by the ruling reaction against the dissident forces, and radical forces and in particular assaults against the student movement, are indicative of the reactionaries determination to wrap up the reform process and return to pre-1997 conditions, prior the presidential election. The reactionaries believe that if they succeed in doing so, then they can reach a concession with the Bush administration and resolve their problems, preparing the conditions for the regime's survival. In dealing with these attacks, the 2nd Khordad Front is in a dangerously confused and indecisive state. Proposing tactics such as mass resignation [by reformists in government] or organizing a referendum has not gone beyond slogans in spite of threats posed

their close ties with the US ruling circles, reveals the Bush administration's attempts in shaping the future political power structure in Iran – similar to the present attempts that we are witnessing in Iraq. Obviously, a vast majority of our people are opposed to such interventions into the affairs of Iran. The appalling dossier of Pahlavi's regime, squandering of the national wealth for half a century, impositions of a police state through Savak [intelligence services] and imprisonment of supporters of freedom are all similar to the policies pursued by the leaders of the Velayat-e Faghih's regime, which need not to be tried again. Confronting these policies is the duty of all our country's progressive and freedom-loving forces.

from the ruling reaction. Although the "political fasting" is a step forward, but overall it is not a broad mass movement which could have significant impact on the current events.

The basic question is that given the present situation, how should we be dealing with the future events. As mentioned earlier, our party believes that in the current situation all efforts must be concentrated around organizing an independent mass movement outside the ruling framework and the boundaries set the reactionary rulers. On this basis, the Central Committee of the party presents the following specific proposals to the 5th Congress:
Formation of autonomous labour unions and attempt to form a central council for labour affairs to coordinate the labour and political struggle of workers around the country;

Formation of autonomous student unions capable of organizing the national student movement, and at the same time could take practical steps towards linking their struggle with the struggles of the other social forces;

Intensification of efforts for organizing women's movement through developing local organizations and boosting awareness among the working women;

Formation and expansion of other labour, social and local institutions that can have effective impact on increasing the awareness and organisation among the social forces;

Taking practical steps to form a broad front of all the forces opposing despotism and defending freedom. A minimum political strategy truly reflecting the demands of vast sections of our society for freedom and social justice is a necessity for such a front. It should be noted that the gathering between various political personalities and forces is only possible through multilateral negotiation, flexibility, avoiding sectarianism and imposition of views while respecting the opinions of others. Successful past experiences (such as African National Congress, Palestine Liberation Organization and Freedom Coalition in Iran in 1944) have shown that such alliances have only been successful when parties, political forces and social figures would have a mutual agreement on a minimum plan for struggle to resolve the most fundamental issues and problem facing the movement, while maintaining their own goals and views, and respecting the opinions of the others.

Until such a time and in parallel with efforts to form a broad anti-despotism front, the basic cells of such a front could be formed overtly and covertly, from grass root by directing and encouraging the people to linkup at workplaces and residential areas, promoting these to popular cells of the united front.

Only through creation of this broad front the planning for the next steps can be evaluated. Tabling slogans such as referendum or mass resignation in order to mobilize public opinion could only be become effective against the ruling reaction, if these are accompanied with organised resistance of popular forces.

Dear Comrades!

Now it has become blatantly clear to the majority of the political and the social forces

fighting for freedom that without organisation, without qualitative elevation of the movement against the despotic regime, the reform process cannot be taken out of its current impasse and it cannot proceed with the struggle for popular movement. Now, the popular movement is seeking a radical powerful leadership that is devoted to social justice and freedom. Presently, our society is going through a transition period towards conditions in which the foundations for fundamental and democratic developments are laid through establishment of a national coalition government. Today, the despotism's blade is not only targeting the dissidents but also a broad range of religious-nationalist forces that previously were the allies of the regime's leaders. In our country this demonstrates the apparent class demarcations within the struggle. A class struggle that on one side is the ruling despotism, i.e. the representatives of a small minority comprising of the big merchant capitalists and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, and on the other side are the social classes and a broad strata ranging from the workers, the working class to the petty bourgeoisie and sections of national capitalists. This is the essence of the current intense class struggle in our society, and it is on this basis that our party considers the formation of a united front against dictatorship, consisting of the above mentioned classes and strata, as an assured alternative for the movement to progress the reforms and stirring towards to create the possibilities for fundamental, stable and democratic developments in our country.



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