

**The Report of the Politburo of the Central
Committee of the Tudeh Party of Iran to the
Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee**

(January 2002)



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Our Party's (Enlarged) Central Committee Plenum, which took place last May, analyzed the Iranian and the world situation and issued a document to further clarify the Party's policies. Therefore this meeting will concentrate on the events that have occurred in the last few months.

During the last (Enlarged) Plenum, our country was on the threshold of a presidential election. Weeks before the election, the reactionary regime initiated a massive onslaught against dissident political forces. The regime by arresting tens of political and social personalities and those with an active role in promoting reforms dealt an effective blow against the reform movement in Iran. Detention of scores of nationalist-religious figures under trumped up charges of "incitement against the state" was in reality a declaration of war by the reactionary rulers against the reform movement and the complete suppression of the popular movement.

The onset of this widespread attack coincided with a more concerted campaign to force Khatami (President) and his followers to accept the regime's "red line" in defending the state and to distance themselves from reformers who believed in carrying out the promises of a "civil society" and the establishment of a government for the people. Mohsen Rezai, a secretary of "Council of

Expediency" [former head of the revolutionary guards] and a spokesperson for the ruling reaction, reaffirmed the above strategy in one of his speeches by advising Khatami before the election either to resign and continue with cultural duties or unwaveringly accept the notion of "Velayat Motlag Fagieh" [i.e. the absolute rule of the spiritual leader - Khamenie].

Few months before the presidential election, in analyzing the reform movement and the policies of the 2nd of Khordad front, consisting of Mr. Khatami's supporters, and particularly the slogan of "active calm" adopted by these forces to confront the reactionary rulers – our part reached an important conclusion and stated that: "few months after the adoption of this policy we ought to examine its effects and see what dilemmas the popular movement is facing. Since its introduction, in the face persistent attacks by the reactionary forces, the 'active calm' slogan has in practice been nothing but silence, inactivity and appeasement, by some sections of the reform leadership, towards the ruling reactionary forces. Furthermore, this policy has exasperated people's loss of confidence in the reform movement, whose allies such as the students, women and working masses have dangerously been led astray and confused ... If we were to analyze the recent events realistically, we must say that the policy of 'active calm' has been a quagmire, which is slowly swallowing the popular movement..." (Nameh Mardom, No. 597, November 29, 2000)

The disregard by the reform movement, and especially its leadership, to these calls from our Party and other progressive forces, created a difficult situation for the reform movement on the verge of the election. Even Khatami, during the presidential campaign, implicitly admitted his government's shortcomings and weaknesses, and promised, if elected, to take steps to bring about his promises of a "civil society" and a government of the people.

In this situation, our people and progressive forces faced a complex and important choice. On the one hand, the reactionary forces could have interpreted a widespread boycott of the election as a de facto vote of no confidence against Khatami and as a green light to quell the popular movement completely and violently. At the same time it could have been argued that voting for Khatami may only served to confuse the masses, given his weak track record and the fact of that under the rule of the "Velayate Faghih" (supreme spiritual leader) there are no possibilities for fundamental and enduring transformations toward democratic developments.

Our Party's analysis, just as stated in the (Enlarged) Plenum, was that "today, the reactionaries, anticipating a resounding defeat in the summer elections, plan to resort to all available means to deter the public from participating in the elections. By interpreting the low turnout as skepticism of people toward the reform process, transformation of the last few years will be attacked by the reaction. The people and the progressive forces know that the 2001 presidential election is not about electing someone with the platform to bring about fundamental, democratic and enduring changes but a referendum to say no to a despotic regime, which the "2nd Khordad Front" (the umbrella reformist group) calls the 'rule of force'. The Tudeh Party of Iran, just as in 1997 presidential elections, cannot agree with Khatami's claim that it is possible to bring about freedom and a "civil society" within the framework of the regime of "supreme spiritual leader". However, in light of the current situation and to be present in the mass referendum against the regime of "supreme religious leader", we must actively participate in the 2001 presidential election..." (Document of the Enlarged Plenum, Nameh Mardom, No. 609, May 22, 2001).

With this view, our Party participated in the June 2001 election along with 22 million other Iranians. At the same time, our Party warned that this was Khatami's

last chance to turn his promises into reality.

The events following the election have clarified many essential issues about the future of the reforms. The Norouz newspaper 9th of August 2001, reporting on Khatami's inauguration ceremony, elaborated on his "renewed vows with the people": "establishing a religious rule of the people as the country's main issue; constantly aligning the political regime's actions with the will of the people; strengthening the civic organizations; paying specific attention to employment and reduction of the unemployment rate; industrial redevelopment and scientific expansion; clarifying the responsibility and the importance of each branch of government; striving towards the rule of law and scrutinizing power of authority; maintaining the belief in the social and cultural growth as the building block for a multi-faceted economic expansion...". Assessment of the events of July through December of 2001 demonstrates that Khatami's government has not only been unable to take any significant step towards reaching these goals but has in fact retreated in the face of increasing pressure by the forces of reaction. To clarify this view, one must consider the following points.

- **"Establishing a religious rule of the people"** - It must be said that the regime in our country today is a religious dictatorship built on the principle of "Velayat Fagieh" (the absolute rule of the supreme religious leader) with an infrastructure ruled by large commercial capital, bureaucratic bourgeoisie and parasitic financial capital. Attributing the character "of the people" to a regime would logically imply that the people have a role and can affect their own future. This characterization, in itself, contradicts a "religious" rule, which believes its legitimacy to be from God and only its acceptability from the people. The contradiction has created an ideological crisis within the

reform movement. In the light of a regime with a “absolute supreme religious leadership” exerting “absolute power” over the people’s “lives, honor and property”, how can people play a role in determining their future? The recent events, such as the intensified aggression by the reactionary forces against the parliament, which must be the embodiment of peoples’ rights and interests and one of the pillars of a “rules of the people”, prove this branch’s utter ineffectiveness and lack of rights with regards to the “supreme leader” and its judiciary power. It further shows that a “religious rule of the people” is just an empty slogan, the realization of which is essentially impossible. The arrest of several members of parliament for criticizing the regime clarifies the extent of the rights of the people and their elected officials in this regime of “supreme religious leader”. The reactionary forces are sending this message that “freedom” in this “exemplary government” extends only to the utterances and obidiance towards the will of the “supreme leadership” and the “Islamic apparatus”, including the Guardian Council, the judicial branch and the machinery of oppression.

- Constantly aligning the political regime’s actions with the will of the people and strengthening the civic organizations: Khatami's government has again performed negatively in this regard. Reforming the functions of a political system requires a clear plan and reliance on popular support in forcing the reactionary groups to accept such reforms. The old strategies have, however, so far prevailed: behind-the-scenes maneuvering, shutting out the people, and putting the “regime’s

interests” ahead of the peoples’. As a result, not only has the political regime not reformed but the same old, reproachable methods of governance, based upon violent suppression of freedom and of the citizens’ rights, have also continued. The recent events demonstrate the cooperation between the ruling reactionaries and the compromising reformers in assailing the reform movement and the forces supporting it. The regime has always considered the student movement as one of the fighting forces of reform and as a threat to its existence. Along with an onslaught against the nationalist-religious groups, the regime has doubled its efforts to quell the student movement. Towards this goal, the arrest of the many active members of the “Bureau for Strengthening Unity” (an umbrella student group) heralded a concerted effort by the security forces to destroy this organization from within. The conscious or unconscious cooperation of a part of the reform movement guaranteed the success of this plot by creating a split with the student organization and depriving the reform movement of one of its more effective “civic organizations”. Some nationalist-religious groups in analyzing the status of the above-mentioned umbrella student group have given the following accurate assessment: “Ali Bagheri has become the deputy governor of Gilan province. He is also in the Participation Front and was previously close to the Organization of the Islamic Revolution Mujaheddin; Majid Farahani is a member of the Political Bureau of the Participation Front; Serajeddin Mir-Damadi works in the Interior Ministry and is a member of the Imam’s Line Coalition; Doroudian has become a City Councilor;

Meysam Saiedie has joined the Participation Front and is now a member of Parliament. Mousavi Khoehniha is a member of Parliament. These are a few people who until recently were members of the 'Unity Strengthening Bureau'. Of course, there are also others, such as Bigham and Moeen, who have become lieutenant governors. Others have obtained other posts. The Bureau has been a ladder of success for all of them. Some of these figures, during their student years, had independent viewpoints and could attract the support of students but have now become part of the ruling regime and consequently promote the conservative wing of the Bureau. They and their more senior cohorts look at the students as tools. They have attained power and prestige, as well as other economic benefits. It appears that the upper echelons of power have agreed that the student movement must be under control. Last year, Mr. Younesi (Interior Minister) told a gathering of student organizations that no new student organization would be allowed to form and that the current organizations must do a house cleaning to expel those that don't belong."

- Respecting the citizens' rights:

A total opposition by the whole regime to the demands of the workers and the masses with regards to freedom and the right to assemble and to strike is another example of the regressive attitudes of the officials and of part of the reformers not believing in the principle of the people having the right to determine their own future. Economic injustice, coupled with poverty and deprivation, has intensified the workers actions in recent months. The regime, on the other hand, has devoted all of its attention to limit

and suppress strikes and demonstrations. The essence of the ruling reactionaries' policy, which appears to have been adopted by some of the reform leaders, is that the "social movements must be de-politicized". Another words, by emptying these movements of all political factors, it would be possible to prevent the formation of a national opposition movement against the regime of "supreme leadership". The Resalat newspaper, a mouthpiece of the ruling circles, in its August 15, 2001 editorial, summarized the regime's policy on this issue: "Even if a social movement may not follow any political goal, political tendencies would inevitably draw it towards politics. The political management of the society must have a grand plan for managing social developments, and depoliticizing social movements must surely fit within this framework." The important point from this analysis is that the ruling reactionaries are deeply scared of coming together of the social movements into an unstoppable revolutionary force. With this point in mind and aiming to confuse the whole issue, the editorial writer continues: "A union of the two strong social movements (the workers and the students) is both positive and negative. Positive because of transferring the experience of the 'diseases of extremist radicalism and adventurism' would bring some normalcy and logic to the demands of these movements."

- The necessity to attempt to govern by law and oversee the power:

The subjects of "law" and "rule by law" have been and still are weak points of reform process and the forces of the Second of Khordad front. In numerous theoretical discussions with these forces, we have repeatedly

analyzed the subjects of "law" and "lawfulness" in the regime of "supreme leadership" from different angles. We have emphasized that in a regime that the unlimited powers of "supreme leader" goes beyond law and elected officials and institutions, "law" is a tool in the hands of reactionary rulers to suppress peoples rights. This is due to the fact that institutions, which oversee the law and their executive units, are completely in control of the "leadership". The actions of regime's judiciary branch, with Khamenei's complete support, and its role to stop reform movement and imprisoning opposition confirms above viewpoint. We have witnessed numerous times in the last five years that not only Khatami and his sympathizers have not been able to take any measures to solve this problem, but he has clearly admitted that they practically can not do anything because of his limited authority in these issues. Despite these experiences, insistence of the leadership of the Second of Khordad front to work in the framework of "law", which reactionaries established, is a chain that has strangled the movement and is wasting its energy.

- Adopting economic policies to solve unemployment, poverty and growing deprivation in our society: Record of Khatami's government in these issues, compare to issues that we reviewed earlier, is worse and almost in all areas has followed the policies of the most reactionary social forces in Iran, particularly large merchant capitalists and new bureaucratic bourgeoisie. The four-year programme that was introduced by Khatami's government, which was approved by Majlis (parliament), is an important document to

clarify the major goals of his government in nation's socio-economic policies. Mazaheri, Khatami's deputy in charge of economy, in explaining new government's goals in economic policies, said " economic growth with all its characteristics, such as privatizing tools, free trade, trade and economic regulations reform, exchange structure, bank investments, and... are all conditions to safeguard peoples rights". And to theorize the new government's economic policies, which has no fundamental change from the destructive and anti-people policies of Rafsanjani's government - his policies brought new levels of poverty and deprivations to Iran -, he continued on as " Reducing control of government in various sections of economy, reducing banks involuntary loans, and increasing financial resources for banks to accelerate privatization process have been the most important government goals in the last four years and will continue. There is an old saying that it's a mistake to try something that's been tried. It's not clear based on what practical experience Khatami's government is boldly insisting to continue these policies without any regards toward our countries devastating economic conditions. Are these not the same policies of "privatization", "providing investment safety", and etc. that were carried out during Rafsanjani's eight year tenure? After winning presidential race in June of 97, in reviewing the economic condition of the country and describing the overall situation, Mr. Khatami proclaimed that because of adopting wrong measures, Iran is in the verge of bankruptcy. So how are those wrong measures are now proposed as the solutions to rescue our country from unemployment, poverty and deprivation. In recent

years, the rate of unemployment has reached unprecedented level. In some provinces, such as Lorestan, Mazandaran, East Azerbaijan, Central and Khorasan, a number of production facilities are in the brink of total bankruptcy. It's not surprising that from the beginning of the first five-year economic growth program up to early 1998, the index of poverty growth increased seven times, and it has increased nine times by early 2001. Even official statistics, published by the Iran Statistics Center, states that 30 percent of Iran's population live under poverty and Iran's per capita has reduced four times in the past 20 years. Although national revenue has increased, due to increase in crude oil price, there have not been specific programs by the government to utilize this extra revenue to improve country's economic conditions. And while our workers and toilers suffer more from economic derivations every day, this revenue has been pocketed by regime's leaders and their children - known as "agha-zade-ha" - through mafia organizations, such as "under-previlaged foundation", "martyr foundation", "15th of Khordad foundation", "Imam's committee" and tens of other government, semi-government and private firms.

Based on above analysis, it is quite clear that Khatami's government has not been able to take any step to fulfill any of his promises to people. And it is obvious that continuing these policies will result in more disaster for our country. That is why majority of people in our country, especially pro reform social forces, disgusted by backward and reactionary rulers and disappointed by reformers in government are wandering about the future beyond aborted reforms.

Where is Iran Headed To? What Is the Way Out Of the Crisis?

What is clear is that our country is confronting a serious political, economical and social crisis. The reactionary ruling, intensifying its full-scale assault on the reformists along with condescension and submission of governing reformists has been able to halt the process of reforms. The ruling reactionaries know well that even with Khatami at the helm, with the "in circle" reformists fear of intervention of people in the struggle against the "supreme leadership" regime, they will be able to gradually retreat the gains and with year 2005 elections and ineligibility of Khatami for another term, announce the end of "reform" project. Reaction believes with failure of Khatami, the reform process will fail as well. Contrary to the viewpoint of ruling reactionaries and a number of governing reformists, the Tudeh Party of Iran has believed and still does that the reform movement in our country has not been the brain child of one person but has its roots in the objective backgrounds rising from the class antagonism existing in the society. People's struggle for positive changes in their political, social and economical lives is not a transitory and separated phenomenon. Reactionaries might be able to make difficulties for this struggle, by coercion, or force it to retreat here or there but the popular struggle for achieving freedom, democracy and social justice will continue until its victorious conclusion and rejection of the "supreme leadership" regime.

The experience of the last five year process confirms the viewpoint of our Party, both at the time of May 22nd elections and repeatedly afterwards, despite all the rightist propaganda attacks, that has announced and still is standing by its position that in the medieval framework of "supreme leadership", one can not be hopeful for radical, democratic and lasting reforms. Masses and social forces defending the reforms have experienced the validity and rightfulness of this view in the last five difficult years. And that is why these forces are now looking for ways

and means to relieve the society out of the current crisis.

The fundamental question in this sensitive juncture is that how can society be freed from the current crisis and open the door for the future. Our party's position in this regard has always been based on organizing the masses and popular movement and elevating it in terms of organization and formation in order to confront the reactionary ruling's moves. This question is propounded that how this policy in the current difficult and arduous situation is practical. In other words, how should the political activists and progressive and freedom loving forces, including our party's militants, who are fighting in the ranks of popular movement to fulfill the aspirations of the popular movement enact this policy. The (expanded) plenum of the central committee in May 2001 has emphasized on the necessity to intensify the struggle to establish a united front against the dictatorial regime based on common program and slogans. Confirming this view, we believe that along with these efforts, social protest movements on different issues should be organized and with all available means ruling reactionaries should not stay unanswered. Strikes against the continuing arrests, repression and pressures by the reactionary ruling are among the most effective means of political struggle which if progressive forces can bring about its means, undoubtedly will be able to force the reactionary ruling to retreat. The success in such matter is in need of elevating organization, coordination among progressive and freedom loving forces, religious and non-religious, and moving beyond the reaction-imposed boundaries of "in circle" and "out of circle" delineations. Today, reaction's sword confronts not only the "different thinkers"(i.e. the opposition), but also those who are not willing to submit to ruling despotic regime's dictates. For despotism night-watchers and guards, Ayatollah Montazeri, who at one time was the deputy of the "supreme leader" and all the current heads of the regime went regularly to "seek his advise" on various

issues, is as right-less and should be silenced as a radical student who inspired by leftist ideas and has risen against the reactionary regime. In clear terms, in imposing despotic rules and repression, all citizens regardless of their views and thinking are equal.

Utilizing current circumstances, the efforts in organizing popular movement should be doubled. Without doubt, the reactionary ruling is bent on limiting these possibilities. Establishing independent workers organizations (open or underground), joining various workers' actions together, by increasing the awareness in the ranks of the working class, forming independent student organizations, forging bridges between student and worker actions and also increasing organized activities in the ranks of women who are a major and effective part of the popular movement against the reactionary ruling are among the urgent duties that should be followed with revolutionary pursuit. The popular movement for breaking the current deadlock requires concrete political action program for confronting the reaction's offensives.

Those sections of governing reformists who are still true to their promises to the people in defending the reform process should discard the destructive policy of "active calm", confronting the policies of ruling reactionaries actively. Silence against the reactionary ruling and hope for the mirage of "the negotiations among the three heads of branches" only results in further retreat against the reactionary ruling's demands. It is clear that with the growing crisis in our society, our country will face important events in the coming months, which require vigilance and care in assessing the events and providing guiding analysis. The progressive and freedom loving forces in our country can and must play their critical role in this regard and seal their mark on the popular movement.

The Struggle Of Humanity Against “New World Order”

A brief analysis of the world events

Since the last plenum of the Tudeh Party of Iran nine months ago, undoubtedly the enormous consequences of the 11th September terrorist attack in New York would fundamentally influence any analysis of the recent world events. The upheavals of the last 3 months and the loaded statements of political leaders in various countries evidently point to the fact that from the moment the first plane crashed into the WTC towers all subsequent world mainstream events and the reaction of imperialism have been exactly calculated in response to the consequence of the “terrorist attack”. In view of some sober minded political analysts, the outcome of the recent developments and their effects on the proliferation of neocolonialism are comparable to the tragic consequences following the collapse of socialism in USSR and Eastern Europe in early 1990’s.

From the very first minutes of this unjustifiable crime its negative and destructive socio-political effect on the struggle of the world’s progressive movements were obvious. It has made all responsible political forces search the root causes and seek a way out of the present situation. Within the first hours following the 11th September terrorist attack, the Tudeh Party of Iran, along with most of the world’s workers and communist parties explicitly condemned this action.

While condemning terrorism and stressing the rejection of terrorism by communists, our party warned the US to refrain from military retaliation and drew attention to the necessity of noting and dealing with the underlying socio-economic factors which have led to the growth of terrorism. Predictably the US and its NATO allies, speedily organized the “anti-terrorist coalition” coercing other countries to join the “coalition”, which immediately implemented the policy of military invasion

in preparation for war. Interestingly some of the preparatory elements such as the presence of British military forces in Oman, under the pretext of military manoeuvres were in place.

The US led war waged on Afghanistan has practically created the conditions for the presence and unhampered operation of the NATO forces. This war is undoubtedly only the beginning of the United State’s actions in ensuring its control over the regional resources and markets, especially the vast oil reserves. The negative trends in the Middle East and the current escalating dispute between Pakistan and India, as the consequence of terrorism by Muslim extremists organized and supplied by Pakistan intelligence service, the terrorist and provocative actions of Israel’s government unleashed against the Palestinians are all part of a continuing policy to prolong the presence of US forces in Central Asia.

Our views about Bin Laden and Taliban are very clear. We believe that those whom the USA calls monstrous evil and blames for the terrorist attacks on New York and Washington, not long ago were the close, trusted allies of the Pentagon and functioned as its armed puppets in the war against the former Soviet Union and progressive forces in Afghanistan. Our party, in a number of articles in its publications and journals, has revealed the historical link between the USA and yesterday’s “freedom loving Mujahedeen” and the today’s terrorists.

World’s situation on September 11

Since September 2000, the US government had been facing an economic downturn and growing popular resistance against the reactionary policies of its government. From mid-2001 this economic crisis spread and engulfed Europe. At the same time imperialism had become concerned and nervous in relation to the growing spread of a massive struggle against the transnational corporations and capitalist institutions such as IMF, World Bank and World Trade Organization as demonstrated on the streets of Seattle, Davos, Bangkok, Okinawa, Ottawa, Guttenberg and Genoa. An effective, widespread and powerful movement against capitalist globalisation had developed. The leaders of G7 countries

were facing unprecedented mass protests and difficulties wherever they convened their meetings. Weeks before the terrorist tragedy, during the world conference against racism held in South Africa, the USA and its strategic ally Israel practically experienced the united opposition of the world's people against their policies. In many countries around the world, governments and non-governmental organisations voiced their concern over the Star Wars programme. The diversity of the slogans and the forms of this struggle indicated capitalism's inability to satisfy people's expectations, which in turn caused new strata of people such as the youth and environmentalists to be attracted to this campaign. The signs of growing confidence in the labor movement in the USA and worldwide had made capitalism fearful of a new era of the people's opposition and struggle to be taken over by radical forces. To ensure the accelerating growth of capitalist "Globalization" and in order to resolve its structural crisis, imperialism needed to expand militarism on a global scale. This is a known fact that the globalisation of capitalism and the hegemonic military-political domination of imperialism are indivisible.

The terrorist attack on September 11 practically presented the required conditions for imperialism to reverse the course of events. What is thought provoking is that in a single moment and the circumstances of political struggle were overturned. The labour movement was drawn into a defensive position and the peace movements defending independence and national sovereignty found themselves in an unfavourable condition.

This has been followed by global capitalism on progressive forces to support the "war against terrorism" and abandon the class struggle. The imperialist circles, under the pretext of promoting "patriotism" and "fight against terrorism" are demanding the workers and progressive forces to relinquish their political, economic and social rights and demands.

World Economic Conditions

The capitalist world, in the recent months, has tried to claim that the enormous economic crisis it faces and the insoluble

problems of capitalism are the results of the terrorist attack. In the weeks of the second half of September 2001, the largest transnational companies controlling air transportation announced bankruptcy and laid off hundreds of thousands of employees while blaming the terrorists attack. The truth, however, is that from the onset of the 21st century and months before the tragedy of the 11th September 2001, the outlook for the world capitalist economy and particularly for the US was bleak. Overproduction in the majority of manufacturing sectors around the world, and the lack of confidence amongst the main players of global economy have created the conditions for a deep recession in capitalist countries. Since September 2000, the electronic industry and information technology stock markets have crashed and are hit by crisis. The impact of the US economic problem on European countries is threatening an economic collapse.

This crisis has all the signs and indications of a classic cyclical recession that capitalism has been going through in the past 170 years. While many of the needs of the working people around the world have remained unanswered, over production of a range of products from microelectronics to automobiles have paralyzed these industries. This crisis has deep roots and it points to the closing stages of the capabilities of the main factors which had facilitated the economic growth of US and other capitalist countries during the 90's. Among these factors are the opening of the East European economies to the plunder of capitalism, exploitation of skilled and educated workforce of the former socialist countries and the technological advancement of capitalism in reducing the production costs of many commodities. During these years the free movement of capital to Asia and Latin America had connected their cheap and unorganized labor force to the exploitation network. At the same time waves of privatizations carried out in the developed countries without any concern for its social consequences was also instrumental in heightening the levels of profits. The combination of these factors in the 1990's led to a rapid increase in the rate of surplus value. In the past decade the "New World Order" has been the most important element for the profitability of the corporations: it has opened the door to new

markets, for the first time millions of workers in the former socialist countries were exploited, grounds were laid for ever increasing and more profitable exploitation of workers in Asia and Latin America. During this period trade and investment laws were legislated in favour of large capital and the World Trade Organization (WTO) was used to remove any obstacles ahead of capital movement.

In order to continue the process of globalization of capitalism and resolving its crisis, imperialism needed to expand its militarism on a global scale. The September 2001 terrorist attack followed by the declaration of “war against terrorism”, with emphasis on the role of the arms industry must be analyzed within this framework. In the current circumstances the process of militarisation of economy will assist the military-industrial complexes to prevent the intensification of this crisis.

The fact that months before this tragic terrorist attack the top five aerospace and armament monopolies in the USA had either closed or reduced their civilian productions and diverted these to manufacture of offensive planes, missile systems and armament, goes to demonstrate capitalism’s need to militaries its production and the value of the war in Afghanistan.

Bush’s action in allocating 75 billion dollars in the form of tax relief to large capitalist corporations must be seen and evaluated in this direction. The US government and its European allies have whipped up a hysteria over “war against terrorism” and are trying to create the appropriate conditions for the private sector to takeover part of the social capitals. As usual, workers are being asked, for the sake of “national unity” to relinquish their rights and demands for better working conditions and wages. “War against terrorism” has been used as a tool for creating better conditions for capitalist profiteering. The present efforts of the capitalist countries to impose a new definition of “terrorism” through the monopolized media is to make illegal any serious struggle in bringing about fundamental social-economic-political changes.

In the post cold war period and in order to stabilize its economic and military hegemonic position in the world, the US imperialism needed an ideological justification which would present its aggressive policies as logical.

Not only has “war against terrorism” not served US imperialism as means of consolidating its position as an irreversible single superpower in the 21st century, but it has served to mobilize a unique set of forces.

The real goal of imperialism in the current war

As stated above, the goal of the USA is to establish total economic and political domination in the economic and political structure in the Middle East and Africa. The interests of imperialism in this region as well its strategic position between the three continents of Asia, Europe and Africa is directly related to its need for energy resources. This region contains large oil and gas reserves. Political observers believe that in the future decades, due to rapid depletion of oil reserves accessible to Europe and North America, dependence of the key capitalist countries on the Middle East oil will increase. According to reliable energy analysts, the Middle East holds 65% of the production of oil and gas in the world. The position of Afghanistan in the light of regional control and transportation of oil from Central Asia to the new markets of energy cannot be ignored. In examining the position taken by imperialism on the a full-blown military attack on Afghanistan, this factor has to be considered too that its northern neighbours possess vast oil and gas reserves that would play a major role in the future of global energy. In 1998, Dick Cheney the present vice-president of the US stated: “ I cannot think of a time when we have had a region emerge as suddenly to become as strategically significant as the Caspian”. It goes without saying that oil and gas resources are worthless without suitable methods of transportation to the consumer markets.

In view of the sensitive attitude taken by of US imperialism toward the increasing influence of Russia and Iran in the region, the Afghan route would be considered as

important for transporting oil and gas to European markets or Persian Gulf.

Transportation of oil and gas from the Caspian Sea area via a pipeline through Afghanistan will allow US imperialism to diversify its energy resources while gaining an upper hand over the European Union in controlling energy resources and to access new profitable markets. Economic analysts believe that the South Asia, both in terms of its levels of energy demands and lack of competitors presents an attractive proposition to the US. Pumping oil and gas through Afghanistan and selling it in Pakistan and Indian ports to developing economies of South Asia is a very attractive field of activity for the US.

Undeniable documents prove that since 1995 American Oil Company UNOCAL has been working on the construction of oil and gas pipeline from Turkmenistan through Afghanistan to the free ports of Pakistan. One of the main success criteria for the realisation of this plan was the existence of a relatively stable and unified government in Afghanistan. After Taliban's gaining of control over Kabul in 1996, the Daily Telegraph reported: "oil industry insiders say the dream of securing a pipeline across Afghanistan is the main reason why Pakistan, a close ally of USA, has been so supportive of Taliban, and why America has quietly acquiesced in its conquest of Afghanistan." In the first year of Taliban ruling, the US practically adopted a silent and approving policy hoping that the fundamentalist regime will step in a path similar to Saudi Arabia regime. Some of the Taliban leaders travelled to Huston, invited by Unocal.

In February 1998, John Marcsca, UNOCAL's head of international relations, stated that the growth in demand for energy in Asia and the sanction policy of the US against Iran were the determining factors in its attitude that Afghanistan is the "only other possible way" for exporting Caspian Sea oil. Unocal plan for constructing a 1600 km pipeline that can handle one million barrels of oil in a day was seriously on the table up to 4 months before the bomb explosion in two US embassies in Africa during the summer of 1998. The strategic importance of Afghanistan was to such an

extent that a few days before the terrorist attack on New York on September 11, a research source with the energy commission of the US government states that: "Afghanistan's significance from an energy standpoint stems from its geographical position as a potential transit route for oil and natural gas exports from central Asia to the Arabian sea. This potential includes the possible construction of oil and natural gas export pipelines through Afghanistan." Considering the fact that the top executives of oil cartels occupy key positions in the government of the US, one cannot ignore the impact of this issue on their strategic decision making with regards to the war in Afghanistan. We should not forget that the determining principle in the foreign policy of the US is "full spectrum dominance" doctrine, meaning that the US should gain control over military, economic and political development in the world.

It is against this tendency in the US policy making that China and Russia have been developing a policy definition to stabilize and consolidate their interests in the Central Asia. The "New Defence Plan" published a year ago by China considers the "crucial interests" of this vastly populated country in "creating and developing a new regional security order". In June, China, Russia and four Central Asian republics founded the "Shanghai Cooperation Organisation". Jiang Zemin, China's leader, stated that the main purpose of such an action was "to foster world multi-polarisation" which directly confronts the US "full spectrum dominance." The Chinese leadership is fully aware that the US, while attempting to install a stable and pro-imperialist government in Kabul, for a long time has been trying to prepare the ground for a strong and strategic economic relation between Central Asian countries and its faithful ally Pakistan in confronting the influence of China and Russia in the region. In a way, Afghanistan is the key to the West's control over Asia.

New tensions in the Middle East – violation of rights of the Palestinian people

The world is still witnessing the increased tensions in the Middle East. The continuing

oppression of the Palestinian people by the Israeli government and the intensification of military conflict in this region by Sharon's government are driving the Middle East into a dangerous and explosive situation. Sharon's right wing government, while relying on the events of the September 11 has intensified the violent suppression of Palestinians. Enforcing martial law in the occupied territories, destruction of homes and schools, building of new Jewish settlements and attacks on the self-governing bodies of the Palestinian government are all in direct violation of the signed peace treaty.

Our party along with the progressive and peace loving forces in the world, condemns the militaristic and oppressive policies of Sharon against the Palestinian people, and believes that only through intense international pressure on the Israeli government and the cessation of military action, this region can escape a full blown war.

Objectives of the people's struggle

Following the terrorist attack on the US, all over the world people have been experiencing enormous international tension. In the name of war on terrorism, the world now witnesses the security and intelligent services of western countries intensifying their activities. Laws and legislations that limit the social and democratic rights of the individuals are being introduced. Capitalist countries are reviving the dark era of "Macarthysm" in controlling freedom of thought. Within the western countries, the ruling rightwing forces have openly and specifically embarked on policies that would virtually make struggle for democratic and human rights impossible. The new definition of terrorism and the policies implemented around it, introduced in the US, Britain, Denmark and the majority of European Union countries, practically identifies the struggle for individual rights and also liberation movements as terrorism. Recently it was announced that the countries of the European Union would deny travel visa to the representatives of FARC (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia). This shameful action is taken at a time when the European Union has taken a mediation role in the civil war in Colombia.

The strategic main task for progressive forces must be to broaden the initiatives that

would enhance world peace and limit imperialism's potential to extend its militarism. Fighting the reactionary policies of capitalist countries is the only way to stop the growth of fascist tendencies. Struggle for a peaceful, just world, free of terror, is the principal issue of our time and now is tied closely with the campaign to limit the power of the most reactionary factions of international capitalism.

During the weeks following the terrorist tragedy, in the majority of the countries around the world we have witnessed the promising and positive phenomenon of a quantitative and qualitative growth of an antiwar movement – again the same forces are participating, who, a few weeks before 11th of September were involved in successful campaigns against capitalist globalization. This demonstrates the flexibility required by the popular movements and the importance of recognizing the necessities at each given moment. It is a fact that there is an inherent relation between capitalist globalization and imperialist militarism. The efforts of the Tudeh Party of Iran along with other workers and communist parties are in line with the creation of a vast global front against the most reactionary circles of transnational capitalism. In spite of the never ending lies and efforts of imperialist mass media to divert public opinion - various strata of people in the majority of countries of the world are increasingly expressing their hatred of war and discontent with the warmongering policies. Daily protests of people in the majority of countries against bombing of Afghanistan during the war are clear signs of people's readiness to support innovative movements for world peace. This vital matter must be acted on with the importance it deserves.



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