

the time of this writing. The Revolutionary Guards did attack the offices of the People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran (OMPI) and the OIPFG: the OMPI placed an armed guard around its office and succeeded in defending it, and while the OIPFG headquarters were indeed burned, that did not hold back their growth and influence. The OIPFG and the Workers Syndicates jointly sponsored a Mayday demonstration which attracted 500,000 people. During the last few weeks, huge crowds have marched openly in Tehran under the banners of the OIPFG and OMPI in support of the occupation of the U.S. embassy. A few Trotskyists have been jailed, but the government has been forced to cancel scheduled executions.

Despite these right-wing currents there is a progressive side to the Islamic revival that is sweeping the Middle East which much of the U.S. left has failed to understand and appreciate — largely due to its

knee-jerk anti-clericalism. Islam represents a third force in the region, one which is opposed to the interests of both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. It would not have been able to make the gains which it has made if it were wholly reactionary and anachronistic. Obviously it is inadequate to the broader revolutionary current and obviously it imposes fetters on those very forces which it releases — the clearest examples are the repression of women and homosexuals and sexuality in general. But the left brings no credit on itself for its failure to understand what is positive in this Islamic movement and what is the basis of its appeal.

It is within this framework — not outside it — that the boldest revolutionary thrust to date has taken place: the students' seizure of the U.S. embassy, which is in its ninth week as we write. By taking the embassy, the students let loose the storm which was held back the February before. Very quickly two

governments fell: first the Bazar-gan/Yazdi regime which was presumed to be secretly pro-U.S. (Ibrahim Yazdi's secret meeting with Zbigniew Brzezinski led many to conclude that he was the CIA's main conduit in the Iranian inner circle); then the "moderate" government of Abol-Hassan Bani-Sadr. Now Khomeini's longtime loyalist, Sadegh Ghotbzadeh, is feeling the heat.

Thus far Khomeini himself has embraced the revolutionary fervor, and his public statements have all supported the students. Throughout the Middle East and Africa — from Palestine and Eritrea to Western Sahara and South Africa — revolutionary anti-imperialist movements have cabled their support, stressing the grave threat posed by the U.S. The revolutionary left in this country should not hesitate to join the chorus.

January 5, 1980

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# Documents of the Iranian Revolutionary Movement

**Below we reprint documents from three of the armed revolutionary movements in Iran.**

*Excerpt from "On the Revolution," translated from Kar (Labor), newspaper of the Organization of Iranian People's Fedayee Guerillas, December 1979.*

All of these forces -- workers, peasants, students, craftsmen, merchants, and soldiers — rose up roaring the slogans of "death to the Shah" and "death to imperialism." There was a common cause and each was determined to remedy the existing situation in favor of their own socio-economic interests. But what were the results? Due to

the lack of a revolutionary nationwide organization of the working class, it was the clergy who benefited most from the opportunity for agitation and propaganda by its large-scale and direct contact with the masses through its traditional religious organization. Thus, using the popular cry of "death to the Shah," they were able to direct the revolutionary movement and mobilize the masses under their own leadership.

The clergy, relying on the masses' religious beliefs and their hatred of the Shah, and on the upheaval created by an economic and political crisis, raised the motto of "Islamic Republic" as the only cure for the people's problems. How-

ever, "the Islamic Republic," which the narrow-minded clergy is striving for, is the canonic rule of a Moslem clergy leadership. This has been crystallized in the recent Constitution passed by the "Experts Assembly." This Islamic rule is in contradiction to imperialist domination; it is also in contradiction to the existing objective realities of Iranian society.

The liberal Bourgeoisie, who had been prevented by the Shah's dictatorship from developing its social interests — namely, the exploitation of the people — to its fullest potential, had asked for some reforms from his so-called Majesty. Immediately after the movement became widespread, the liberal Bourgeoisie

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tried to interpret the motto of "Islamic Republic" according to its own viewpoint and interests. For some time they made an effort to intimidate the Shah with the threat of a mass "outburst," and thus gain some privileges for themselves. However, in the midst of mass uprisings, when the Shah's destiny became clear, they tried to take advantage of the narrow-minded clergy's fear of the Communist movement of Iran, and to represent themselves as the experts to bring about the Islamic Republic, and thus take possession of power.

The liberal Bourgeoisie was fearful of the scale of the revolutionary movement and since they themselves could not bring it under their control, they decided the best way would be for them to act and appear religious and use every opportunity to put themselves into power. The liberal Bourgeoisie, relying on their methods of manipulation, have sought and are seeking to continue their reconciliatory policy, which is aimed at the revival of the previous constitution without the monarchy. This, in turn, would be basic imperialist dependent capitalism. They are the ones who for many years have advised Imperialism that the Shah should be a king and not a tyrant.

At this stage the narrow-minded clergy have adopted a policy of seeking to limit the influence of the liberal Bourgeoisie on governmental policies in order to compensate for their own shortcomings and to prevent their declining popular support.

Meanwhile the unexpected meeting of ex-prime minister Bazargan, as the representative of the liberal Bourgeoisie, with Brzezinski, and the ongoing compromise between the U.S. government and the Iran-

ian ministry of foreign affairs regarding the admittance of the ex-Shah to the United States, has resulted in the intensification of popular protest against the U.S. government. In the midst of this new movement, during one of the demonstrations in front of the U.S. Embassy in Tehran, a group of anti-imperialist students took over the Embassy Compound and demanded the extradition of the criminal Shah of Iran.

The various moves of the U.S. government are now the main topic of discussion on any street corner in Iran. Wherever there is a discussion, people talk about the takeover of the U.S. Embassy and the necessity of a deeper popular struggle against the economic, political, military, and cultural domination of imperialism. Our people have understood well their revolutionary tasks, from the days of the February uprising until now, and have crystallized it in the slogan, "After the Shah, it is the U.S. Government's turn."

Participation in this struggle is not limited to this or that method or tactic. The struggle should be organized in all possible and available channels. Social consciousness should be deepened. People should be organized. They should be prepared for a long-term bloody struggle against imperialism and its lackeys, if necessary. It should be well understood that only those who rely on their labor power have the full potential to drive the revolutionary popular march of the toiling masses to the very end of its victorious goal.

We should well understand that some reactionary and dependent capitalist tendencies will do their best to exploit the revolutionary anti-imperialist and democratic struggle of the people. While the

takeover of the U.S. Embassy is in itself an anti-imperialist act, this struggle should be deepened and intensified to the just demand of ousting all imperialist elements from Iran and putting an end to their domination. On the other hand, now that the U.S. Government has been damaged, it sees the foregoing events in opposition to its interests.

If the ever-deepening process of popular anti-imperialist struggle continues — a struggle which inherently demands a complete end to the economic, political, military, and cultural imperialist domination — this will not be tolerated by the U.S. Government. More economic, political and even military pressures of the U.S. Government against the Iranian people are expected. If so, then it is only popular power and international solidarity which can resist to the end and defeat imperialist invasion. Those who disregard or distort the sharp direction of the struggle against the main enemy, namely U.S. Imperialism and its dependent capitalist class in Iran, are not serving the immediate and basic interests of the Iranian people.

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*Excerpts from a speech by Masoud Rajavy of the People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran (OMPI) on May 25, 1979, a national day of protest against American Imperialism, in commemoration of the martyred Mojahedin founders.*

In today's gathering there is a delicate point which is full of depth and meaning, and that meaning is the fact that whether it be our gathering, or the other gatherings throughout the nation, one thing is absolutely clear and that is when we are moving on the right path or when we put our finger on the right point we all stand united. In this point I mean the path or line of anti-imperialism or anti-colonialism. . . . The secret behind our holy unity until yesterday was "Down with the traitorous Shah!" and to-

day it is "Down with American Imperialism!" . . .

I would like to explain whom our revolution is against. Now after the victorious battle against the dictatorial tyranny of the Shah's regime is over, the Imam Khomeini has stated emphatically again and again to the people, "We are in a stage of anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism." This imperialism that we talk so much about — well — what is it? The simple definition is "world-eater" and "the world-eaters" are the imperialists! Have you heard of cannibals? Well, these "world-eaters" are worse! In this world there are two camps — one

from their meagre wages, or the loans obtained by pawning their few possessions. Who was behind the Coup of 1953 in Iran? Who sent 10 million dollars to Ashraf Pahlavi in Geneva so she with Alien Dulles, the head of American espionage, was able to build conspiracy against the legal government of Dr. Mohammad Mossadeq and overthrow it? Who organized the Savak? Who built the prisons and torture chambers? And after all whose trademarks are on the tools and devices of torture? By whose guns did our mothers and our sisters fall in their hundreds and thousands on the 17th Shahrivar? (The massacre of

lah Khomeini as their leader and the other organizations and political parties. ... In short the aim of the "crafty doves" is to create a split and force the people to fight each other. Their methods are more destructive than even an atomic bomb! The people do not fear the atomic bomb, because, the ones left behind shall be more united and know their enemies — but what about the people who have no unity? ...

A revolution is like a swift-flowing river; if it doesn't move forward it's certain to flow back, and will stagnate in the middle. Just as there is no halt in the earth's movement, any pause or stoppage would be wrong. So if we don't go forward there won't be any other meaning except we have gone back. So we have found a way of progress today, in those clenched fists raised against our main enemy. If we go forward in this way we shall see "The weakest house is the house of the spider." We shall see that Imperialism has no cunning or deceit that can work on us, because their roots are not rooted in justice. This world is not without a day of reckoning, and justice will prevail. Injustice will end.

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camp consists of imperialists, and in the other camp are the deprived nations and the people. There is no connection of relationship between these two camps except slavery and war. We are either held captive or rebel. In this connection there is no quarter given or mercy shown, they don't exist! Who are the guardians of these "world-eaters"? Look at the four corners of the world today and you will understand! Who in recent years had slaughtered one million people in Indonesia? Who slaughtered three million in Viet-Nam? Who slaughtered tens of thousands in Chile? Who put his illegitimate baby in the Middle East, that today is causing so much bloodshed? Whose hands are behind South Africa? And who is destroying the roofs over the heads of the black people? Who was behind the ones who destroyed the houses of the people — here in the South of Tehran. It didn't matter to them at all, how these houses had been built, the hardship entailed saving

people praying in Jaleh Square on the morning of Friday, September 8th, 1978.) And who started the fire in the Rex Cinema? (The Rex Cinema in Abadan was burnt down with no survivors from the audience. It was a Savak operation.) And who organized the cudgel-carrying gangs? (Policemen and paid Shah supporters would club to death wounded people in hospitals and attack demonstrations to cover the excuse for soldiers opening fire.) And who are the ones who plundered and carried off our oil? From 1974-1976 the sales of guns to Iran increased seven-fold! . . .

The American political plans to trigger a civil war shall start in the following ways. First, to incite the national minorities like the Kurds, Arabs, and Baluch, against Farsi-speaking Iranians. Then to start agitation in the autonomous regions. . . . Secondly, starting feuds between the different revolutionary groups, especially between the Islamic revolutionaries with Ayatol-

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*The resolution of the Kurdish delegates, led by Ayatollah Sayed Ezeddin Hosseini of the Party of the Toiling Masses, presented to the government of Iran and Ayatollah Taleghani, March 23, 1979.*

In the name of the merciful and generous God:

The Iranian Islamic Revolution, with the character of anti-imperialism and anti-dictatorship, has passed through an important stage in defeating the dictatorial monarchy. Yet, the attainment of its principal goals are to be achieved by continuing the struggle of all national and progressive forces throughout the country. With regard to this fact, the Kurdish people, from the beginning, have insisted that the com-

plete vindication of their national rights be recognized as a part of these principal goals of the Iranian revolution. However, in spite of the insistence and urging of the Kurdish people, and despite the necessity and the priority felt by everyone in this regard, the resolution of this matter is being postponed. Thus, Kurdish delegates, from urban and rural areas of Kurdistan, have gathered in Sanandaj and are negotiating with the delegates, fully authorized by the revolutionary leader, Ayatollah Khomeini, and led by Ayatollah Taleghani, and representatives of the provisional government of the Islamic Revolution, led by Mr. Hajj Seyed Javad, the Minister of Interior.

Once again, the delegates feel it necessary to announce their full support for all eight demands drafted by the Kurdish delegates in Mahabad and supported by millions

right, they oppose any plan for considering secession.

1. The right of self-determination implies the establishment of the cultural, political, and economic sovereignty for the people in their historical territory. Related to this is the fact that recognition of this right will provide and guarantee national unity and integrity.

2. Politically, the autonomous government should be elected by Kurdish people themselves, should administer the political and official power in Kurdistan, and should participate in the central government in unity with the other Iranian nationalities having equal rights.

3. The severance of military dependency on imperialist countries and all foreign expansionist powers, and the establishment of a people's army throughout Iran which would be administered by the central government in order to protect the

against the imperialist powers and all types of dependency upon the international and regional expansionist powers, the support of liberation movements of the oppressed masses, and the friendly cooperation with all countries which recognize the right to the independence and sovereignty of Iran, will be administered by the central government.

6. The elimination of all forms and manifestations of cultural oppression, which guarantees freedom and respect for religion, language, customs, traditions, and beliefs of all Iranian nationalities. The Kurdish language should be recognized as the official language in all educational, official, and social institutions of the Kurdistan territory, however noting and emphasizing the point that the Persian language will remain, as previously, the official language throughout Iran.

7. The development of agriculture and industry in Kurdistan and the provision of such a priority such that it guarantees the recovery from backwardness which has stemmed from national oppression; and the total severance of the colonial and imperialist economic influence throughout the country and its basis in Kurdistan.

8. The provisional government of the Islamic revolution is expected to refrain from any contact, negotiation, and compromise with reactionary opportunist agents with regard to the resolution of problems related to the Kurds and Kurdistan; and note that the resolution of the people's principal problems is only possible within the framework of fraternal agreement and understanding between the people's representatives.

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of Kurdish people in all the cities and villages of Kurdistan which were submitted to the central government. They further proclaim their repeated support for the Ayatollah Khomeini's leadership and for the government of Mr. Bazargan. They also feel it necessary to re-emphasize and repeat that while they consider that the undeniable and uncompromisable principle of the right to self-determination is their, and all other nations', natural

borders and the achievements of the revolution.

4. The establishment of a security force of people under the supervision of the autonomous government of Kurdistan would be responsible for internal security and order and would replace the previous police and gendarme.

5. The foreign policy, the principles of which can be summarized as the protection of the independence and integrity of Iran, the struggle